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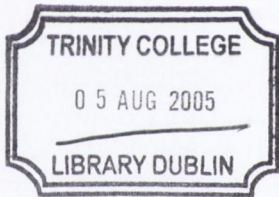
***Míadslechtæ* : An Old Irish Law Text on Status**

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## Summary

This thesis consists of an attempt to provide a critical edition, translation and analysis of the material contained in the Old Irish status text entitled *Míadslechteae*.

*Míadslechteae* is one of a number of early Irish law tracts that deal with the issue of status in early Irish society. In Ireland of the seventh eighth and ninth centuries a person's legal standing and entitlements were dependent on a variety of parameters - political power, wealth and material resources or one's level of achievement in the fields of ecclesiastical and secular learning.

*Míadslechteae* addresses each of these areas in turn. Initially it identifies twenty-six grades of secular society, including kings, lords and commoners. It also addresses the issue of the position of those without legal status. It then goes on to describe the grades of Latin scholars - those involved in the production in the large *corpus* of literature written in Latin that has come down to us. The scholars responsible for the propagation of the equally extensive *corpus* of learning in the vernacular are then analysed. Finally, the status of those in holy orders is dealt with in detail.

Like the majority of early Irish law texts, *Míadslechteae*, is preserved in manuscripts from the medieval period (i.e. the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries). The initial task was to transcribe the manuscripts in which our text is preserved. Following this, the structure of the text was analysed and it was segmented into its constituent components.

A linguistic analysis was carried out to establish the date of composition of the text. This established that the text was probably composed in the late eighth or early ninth centuries. The next major research task was to restore the medieval manuscript text to its Old Irish original. This formed the most difficult part of the research effort. The text survives in its entirety in only one manuscript with two accompanying fragments. In addition, it has suffered much corruption during the course of its transmission. Furthermore, a portion of the text consists of metrical material which proved particularly difficult to analyse and translate.

To assist in the task of restoring the text to an approximation of its original state, a number of sections were presented by the author for discussion and analysis to a seminar at the School of Celtic Studies at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Those attending this seminar included experts in the fields of Old Irish grammar, early Irish law and the transmission of medieval Irish manuscripts.

Finally a restored text and proposed translation were established . Detailed annotation to accompany both was also provided.

As a result of this study it emerges that *Míadslechte* adds considerably to the increasing body of information regarding early Irish society resulting from the process of analysing the Old Irish law tracts. While confirming information found in other law tracts dealing with similar material, it describes several grades of secular society not found in other sources. It preserves a unique description of the destitute in early Irish society. Its treatment of the grades of Latin scholars is also noteworthy. Finally, the description found in the text of the gradations of those in holy orders is of great interest.

In conclusion, this study establishes *Míadslechte* as an important primary source for our knowledge and understanding of the structure and make-up of early Irish society.

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## FOREWORD

### ***Míadslechteae* : An Old Irish Law Text on Status**

*Míadslechteae* is a text which deals with the various social hierarchies which existed in early Irish society, including the secular and ecclesiastical grades as well as the grades of Irish and Latin learning. A portion of this text comprising §§1-32 *infra*, was first published in O'Curry (1873 iii, 513-522) under the title 'A Law Tract without Title on the Classes of Society'. This edition consists of a brief introduction followed by the Irish text with an accompanying English translation. Subsequently the entire text was edited and translated in AL iv pp. 344-69 under the title 'Sequel to Crith Gabhlach'. In each instance both the Old Irish text provided and the English translation are unsatisfactory. The textual shortcomings of many editions of law texts from this period (i.e. the late nineteenth century) have been concisely summarized in Breatnach (1996a, 107) as 'omissions of words and phrases, mistranscriptions, misprints, misdivisions, wrong expansions, failure to indicate contractions, lack of *varia lectiones* ... and mistranslations'. All of these criticisms apply to the above-mentioned editions.

Our knowledge of the Old Irish law of status was greatly advanced by the publication of MacNeill (1923). This work contains, *inter alia*, translations of *Crith Gabhlach* and the Old Irish text of *Uraicecht Becc* (i.e. omitting glosses and commentary). It also contains a synopsis of our text (*op. cit.* 311-13) which the translator concludes with the rather curious comment 'As it [i.e. *Míadslechteae*] seems to be a literary rather than a juristic composition, I do not give a rendering [i.e. translation]', (*op. cit.*, 313).

The complete diplomatic text of *Míadslechteae* is printed in *CIH* 582.32-589.32. There are two additional fragments at 676.16-677.27 and 1567.1-35 respectively. The importance of our text can be judged by the frequent references made to it by scholars of Irish language, history and law over the years. These include contributions by Thurneysen, Binchy, McLeod, Breatnach, Etchingham and Russell among others. Bibliographical references to these various contributions are to be found in the textual notes.

This study consists of a critical edition with translation and commentary of *Míadslechteae*. It includes a description of the manuscripts in which the text is preserved, the orthography of these manuscripts, a discussion of the date of the text, an analysis of the metrical material and a survey of the structure and content of the text.

## INTRODUCTION

### Manuscripts

Our text is found in the following MSS :

A: TCD MS H.3.18 (now 1337), pp. 15a-17b. For a description of this composite MS cf. Abbott and Gwynn (1921, 140-1, 358-9) where this section is dated to the sixteenth century. This is the only complete copy of our text known to me. It is printed in *CIH* 582.32-589.32. The text begins at the start of the second gathering (i.e. folios 15-25). The first section (i.e. folios 1-14) concludes with a fragment of *Bretha Comaithchesa*, a commentary on horse-theft and two glosses on *Elga* (= Corm.Y 510, 714) and on *Melg* (= Corm. Y 862). Our text is followed in the second section by a passage beginning *Gaeth cach co fonadmaim* (for which see Meyer (1918, 364 ff.) and Thurneysen (1926, 11)). This, in turn, is followed by *Berrad Airechta* (for which see Thurneysen (1928)). Like all of the material in the first two gatherings of this MS, our text is written in a small hand and, with a number of minor exceptions, is un glossed.

The following marginal entries are visible in this portion of the MS :

1. On folio 15a. Entry on upper margin above column *a*. Written in dark ink in letters smaller than the main text :

*IN nomine dei ihesu christi*

2. On folio 15a. Entry on upper margin, underneath the religious invocation and spanning both columns , in very faint writing :

*is lir togarmand techtaite miadlechta n-*

This is a repetition of the opening line of the text (see §1 *infra*), perhaps a *probatio penna*.

3. On folio 16. Entry on upper margin, spanning both columns. Written in letters larger than main text :

*uii.(?) mbl-a ria srith(?) slani. a do fo .x. condirgi. rodet ni brec inbairi .ui.c.da.c.da mile re finntan iter daine ba haighi arilltaib ili*

This appears to be a fragment of verse with the following structure:

*uii.(?) bl-a ria srith(?) slani.  
a do fo .x. co ndirgi.  
rodet ni brec inbairi  
ui.c.da.c.da mile  
re fíntan iter daine  
ba haighi arilltaib ili*

“ ...,  
twelve with correctness,  
has been granted, no lie ...,  
six hundred, two hundred, two thousand,  
to Fintan amongst peoples,  
it was a fixed period ...,

I can make no further sense of this verse. Presumably it refers to the legendary, long-lived sage Fintan Mac Bóchra (for whom cf. McCone (1990, 75-6)). His great age is again referred in the text *Cethri Arda in Domain*:

*Fintan Mac Bócra meic Lamíach is é in tres fer tánic i nErind rí ndilind is eside ro chomét senchasa íarthair in betha .i. i nEspáin 7 i nErind 7 in cach conair dodeochatár Góedil archena .l. bliadna re ndilind 7 .u. c. 7 u. mbliadna iar [n]dilind a aes co n-erbailt ac Dún Tulcha,*

‘Fintan Mac Bóchra meic Lamíach: he is the third man who came to Ireland before the Flood and it was he who preserved the history of the westren world i.e. in Spain and Ireland and every path besides on which the Gaels came. Fifty years before Flood and five hundred and five years after the Flood - that was his age until he died at Dún Tulcha’, *LU* II. 10067-71.

4. On folio 17. Entry on upper margin, spanning both columns. Written in letters larger than main text : *Dath sula mæil meic milchon/ in airthur lestair linaigh/ brat brain lenn luin luim luaimnigh./ gual crainn glain guirm giuis gimaig*

This appears to be a fragment of verse with the following structure:

*Dath sula mæil meic milchon*  
*i n-airthur le stair linaigh*  
*brat brain lenn luim luim luaimnigh*  
*gual crainn glain guirm giuis gimaig*

The colour of the eye of Máel mac Milcon,  
to the front of a lined vessel(?),  
plumage of a raven, cloak of a ... fluttering blackbird,  
charcoal of a bright green bristling fir-tree.

I take Máel mac Milcon to be a personal name. Cf. *Māel-Milcon mac-side Māel-fithrich*, O'Brien (1962, 145, 141 b 47). The metre appears to be *rannaigeacht bec* (7[2]+7[2]+7[2]+7[2]) with rime between the final of line *b* and that of line *d*. In lines *c* and *d*, each word (with the exception of the final) consists of a stressed monosyllable. There is alliteration in every line.

**B** : TCD MS H.3.18 (now 1337), pp. 148a-149b. This section of H.3.18 is also dated to the sixteenth century; cf. Abbott and Gwynn (1921, 358). Note however that this particular fragment does not appear to have been catalogued. The fragment contains §§1-13 of the text dealing with the grades of kings and lords. It is printed in *CIH* 676.17-677.27. It is preceded in the MS by the text *Fodla Tíre* (for which cf. MacNiocaill (1971)). It is followed in the MS by extracts from *Bretha Comaithchesa* with commentary in Old Irish. The fragment is contained within the seventh section of the MS (i.e. folios 139-51). A number of scribal hands are represented in this section. As far as I can determine, the same hand has transcribed folios 139b-49b. The text is written in a small hand and is un glossed.

**C** : TCD MS H.4.22 (now 1363), p. 67a. This fragment contains §§42-55 of the text dealing with the grades of poets and other related material. §§53-4 have been omitted. It is printed in *CIH* 1567.1-35. The fragment is described in Abbott and Gwynn (1921, 204) as follows: 'After p. 67 there was formerly, according to O'Curry, "a loose unpagged leaf stitched to p. 67," and containing a tract entitled *Miadlechta Filid* and a glossary, transcribed in O'C. 2070-2078.' This page has since been lost. We are,

therefore, entirely dependent on O'Curry's transcripts of the MS.

### Orthography of the manuscripts

The following is a description of the principal later features and peculiarities of the orthography of A, B and C. The form in the MS is given first followed by the restored form in parentheses. It should be noted that length marks are rare in all MSS. Examples are instanced by paragraph number.

#### A.

(i) Confusion of final unstressed short vowels: This is very common, a few examples being: *tuaiti* (*túaithe*) §6, *damna* (*damnae*) §27, *cedfaidhi* (*cétfaide*) §37, *lughu* (*lugu*) §57.

(ii) *ea* for *e* before a non-palatal consonant: Again a very common feature, e.g.: *easain* (*esáin*) §9, *feal*, (*fel*) §44, *fear* (*fer*) §54, *easbuc* (*epsco*) §56.

(iii) Ligatured *æ* to represent a diphthong. In Old Irish this ligature is used to represent the letter *e* but is usually distinguished from diphthongs. Cf. *GOI* §24.1. This feature is very common, e.g.: *æ*n (*óen*) §18, *fæsam* (*fáesam*) §2, *conæ* (*con-oi*) §9, *gæs* (*gáes*) §22.

(iv) The use of *g*, *b*, *d*, where OIr. has *c*, *p*, *t*, respectively: Only the following examples occur: *lig* (*lieic*) §4, *codat* (*cotat*) §54, *roded* (*ro déi*) §54 .

(v) The use of *gh*, *bh*, *dh*, *mh*, where OIr. has *g*, *b*, *d*, *m*, respectively: A very common feature, e.g.: *brothlaighe* (*brothlaige*) §30, *diabhul* (*díabul*) §8, *adhall* (*adall*) §13, *damh* (*dám*) §46.

(vi) The confusion of lenited *g* with lenited *d*: The following examples occur: *eolaid* (*éolaig*) §2, *oenuidh* (*óenaig*) §5, *salmchetlaigh* (*salmchétlaid*) §32, *suighe* (*suidiu*) §34, *ro hainmnidhedh* (*ro hainmniged*) §49, *ursclaidhe* (*airsclaigi*) §54.

(vii) The confusion of lenited *c* with lenited *t*: The following examples occur: *imdith* (*imme-dích*) §12, *caith* (*cáich*) §23.

(viii) Omission of lenited *f*: The following examples occur: *oglaithem* (*ógflaithem*) §1, *lethlaithem* (*lethflaithem*) §1, *doet* (*do-fét*) §10, *a repaidh* (*a frepaid*) §23.

This is not a late feature and occurs in Old Irish itself. Cf. *GOI* §231.7.

(ix) Loss of final lenited dental: A common feature: *airdnime* (*ardneimed*) §7, *naisci* (*naiscid*) §46, , *co dia* (*co dead*) §66, *file* (*filed*) §41, *aighe* (*agaid*) §59.

A somewhat different case (with delenition) is *cona daim* (*conid dam*) §24.

(x) Non-historic final lenited *d*, unlenited *t* and lenited *g*: The following examples occur: *saidh* (*suí*) §33, *o suidhiudh* (*ó suídiu*) §59, *mad beth* (*má beth*) §67, *ní t* §23 (*ní tat*), *airlisigh* (*airlisi*) §24, *tachtaidh* (*tachta*) §55.

## B.

(i) Confusion of final unstressed short vowels: This is very common, a few examples being: *huaithni* (*úaithne*) §20, *idna* (*idnae*) §11, *tuaithi* (*túaithe*) §8, *airi* (*aire*) §9.

(ii) *ea* for *e* before a non-palatal consonant: Again a very common feature, e.g.: *fear* (*fer*) §4, *leasugud*, (*lesugud*) §7, *miadleachtaib* (*miadsleachtaib*) §2, *seanathar* (*senathar*) §9.

(iii) Ligatured *æ* to represent a diphthong: A very common feature e.g.: *dæ* (*dóe*) §1, *fæsam* (*fáesam*) §2, *ænaig* (*óenaig*) §5, *særbiathad* (*sáerbiathad*) §10.

(iv) The use of *g*, *b*, *d*, where OIr. has *c*, *p*, *t*, respectively: Only the following examples occur: *onmid* (*óinmit*) §1, *techtaide* (*téchtaithe*) §1.

(v) The use of *gh*, *bh*, *dh*, *mh*, where OIr. has *g*, *b*, *d*, *m*, respectively: There is only a single example: *adhall* (*adall*) §13.

(ix) Loss of final lenited dental: There is only a single example: *seirrthi* (*seirthid*) §1.

### C.

(i) Confusion of final unstressed short vowels: This is very common, a few examples being: *file* (*fili*) §44, *filidechta* (*filedachtae*) §45, *bliadna* (*bliadnae*) §49.

(ii) *ea* for *e* before a non-palatal consonant: Again a very common feature, e.g.: *ceas* (*ces*) §43, *feadha*, (*fedae*) §49, *fear* (*fer*) §55.

(v) The use of *gh*, *bh*, *dh*, *mh*, where OIr. has *g*, *b*, *d*, *m*, respectively: A common feature: *damh* (*dám*) §46, *righ* (*rí*) §47, *feadha* (*fedae*) §49, *suidhe* (*suide*) §52.

(vi) The confusion of lenited *g* with lenited *d*: There is only a single example: *mac fuirmigh* (*macfuirmid*) §42.

(ix) Loss of final lenited dental: The following examples occur: *cona ed* (*conid ed*) §43, *laisin file* (*laisin filid*) §44, *dia* (*dead*) §49, *labra* (*labrad*) §55.

(x) Non-historic final lenited *d*, unlenited *t* and lenited *g*: The following example occurs: *tachtaidh* (*tachta*) §55.

### Relationship of manuscripts and method of editing.

The only complete version of the text is that preserved in the A MS (§§1-71). The beginning of the text (§§1-13) is preserved in MS B. However, the greater part of the metrical material that this part of the text contains (for which see 'Contents and structure' *infra*) has been transmitted in a much abbreviated manner in this MS. The C MS preserves that section of the text dealing with the poets (§§42-55, omitting §§53-4).

It is difficult to determine the relationship between the three MSS as they do not overlap at any one point.

MSS A and B (notwithstanding the missing metrical material already referred to) appear to be quite close. Occasionally the reading of B is superior to that of A : *idhna* A, *indnae* B §11; *aroslabra* A, *arrolabrathar* B §8. Moreover B sometimes preserves material lacking in A : *di atlu a dala* A, *dia etla dia cumasc dala* B §5; *da .iii. cumal dia sarugud* A, *da .iii. cumala a eneclann dia sarugud* B §5. (See also notes to §6 below).

MSS A and C may have once shared a common exemplar since both fail to deal with the *cano* grade of poet. However, each MS contains words and entire phrases missing from the other. The arrangement of material in each MS is also different. Occasionally the C MS preserves a superior reading to that of A: *ni nascar fair A, ini nascar fair C* §47; *romidharthar A, romidir C* §55.

The following text then is based on the A MS with the incorporation of superior readings and some additional material from the other two MSS where appropriate. For each paragraph a restored text is given first, followed by the text of A. For the text of the other MSS see below, Appendices 1,2. The variant readings are discussed in the notes.

### Title

The title is referred to in MSS A, B and C:

(i) §1: *[c]is lir togarmand techtaite miadlechta A, cis lir togarmanda techtaide miadlechta B.*

(ii) §2: *isna miadlechtaib A, isna miadeachtaib B.*

(iii) §32: *Miadhlechta ecna tra it ecsamla fri miadlechtaib tuaithe A.*

(iv) §42: *incipit miadhlechta filidh C*, not in A MS and not included in restored text.

The first element of the compound is not in doubt i.e. *miad*, (1) ‘honour, dignity’, (2) ‘rank, status’. The second element, *slicht*, has a variety of meanings including (1) ‘version, recension’ and (2) ‘section, division, class’. Cf. DIL S 271, 52 ff. DIL M 126, 75 ff. allows for both possibilities and translates as ‘grade of dignity or rank’ and adds a comment ‘of sections (*slechta*) in Law relating to grades and dignities’.

This second element (i.e. *slicht*) also occurs in the titles of several *Senchus Már* tracts, e.g. *Bretha for Maccslechtaib*, *Bretha for Catslechtaib* etc. Kelly (1988, 270, 274) translates as ‘son-sections’, ‘cat sections’. However, Breatnach (1996b, 30-1) translates as ‘categories of sons’, ‘categories of cats’. I would translate the title of our text as ‘divisions of rank/ honour’ as this better suits the use of the title in §1 (*Cis lir togarman techtaite miadslechtae?*) and §32 (*Miadslechtae ecnai tra, it écsamlai fri miadslechtu tuaithe*). The use of the title at §2 (*isnaib miadlechtaib*) and at §42 (*incipit miadhlechta filidh*) could carry both interpretations i.e. ‘divisions of rank’ or ‘sections of law dealing with rank’. This former interpretation is broadly in accord with MacNeill’s translation (1923, 311) of ‘classes of dignity’.



### The verbal system.

In the following the reading of the restored text is given, with significant MS variations in parentheses. Only finite verbal forms are dealt with here. Examples are instanced by paragraph number.

#### A. PRESENT INDICATIVE

##### 3 Singular Absolute

###### Active

*báidid* (baidhidh A) §37 (bis), *coillid*  
(colith A) §29, *dligid* §4 (bis) etc.,  
*iccaid* (icaidh) §57, *naiscid* (naisci A), §46,  
*naiscid* §47, *téit* §§28,57.

###### Relative:

*ásas* §§66,68, *dliges* §11, *saiges* (saighes A) §§5,61 etc.,  
*techtas* §34.

###### Deponent/Relative:

*ní maith fograigedar-som*  
(fograidedarsom A, ní maith fograidh son C) §50.

###### Passive

*rimthir* (rimthir A) §69, *rimthir* (rimthir A) §70.

###### Passive/ Relative:

*amail dlegar* (amail dleaghar A) §58, *luither* §13, *nascar* §47,  
*samaltar* (samailter A) §37, *mitter* (mitir A) §26.

##### 3 Singular Conjunct

###### Active

*náchid n-anaig* (rel.) (nachidnanaigh A) §59, *ro chrecca*  
(ro creca A) (rel.) §23, *ní dlig* (ní dligh A) §§24, 26, 28 etc.,  
*ní goin* §18, *nod nguín* (rel.) (nodgoin A) §59,  
*nád sáera* (rel.) (na saera A) §25,  
*nád techta* (rel.) (na techta A) §23, *nád tét*

(rel.) (na teit A) §24, *ní tét* (ni teit A) §25,  
*ní toing* (ni thoing A) §18.

Tmesis:

*ní ... móra* §46.

### Passive

*ní berar* (ni berar A,C) §46, *ní nascar* (ni nascar A,C) §46.

With tmesis:

*doná labrad léicther* (dona labrad leicther A, dina labra leicter C) §55.

### 3 Singular Deuterotonic

#### Active

*ad-chosnai* (rel.) (Dropped from MS, see notes to paragraph) §67,

*amail ad-cota* (rel.) (*atcota* A, B) §9, *ad-cumaing*

(*adcumaing* A) §48 (bis), *ar-imgaib* §24, *ar-da-naisc* (rel.)

(*ardonaisc* A,B) §7 (bis), *amail as-beir* (rel.) (*amail isbeir* A,

*amail asberar* B) §4, *amail as-beir* (rel.) (So B, *amail isbeir* A) §5,

*con-gaib* §48 (bis), *con-imthet* (rel.) (*conimtheit* A) §59,

*con-oi* (rel.) (*conæA*, *conae* B) §9, *con-oisce* §37,

*do-beir* (rel.) §28, *do-beir* (rel) §67, *do-eim* §45, *di-eim* §48 (bis),

*do-fet* §8, *do-fét* (rel.) (*doet* A, B) §10,

*do-fich* (So A, *dotaefich* B) §13, *do-fovla* (*dofóvla*) §37,

*do-gní* (rel.) §24, *do-nessa* (*donesa* A) §21,

*do-thét* (rel.) (*dotaet* A) §67, *fo-fich* (rel.) (*fofich* A) §57,

*fo-loing* (rel.) (*fonluing* A) §20 (bis), *for-beir* §32,

*forta-brissi* (*fortabhraidsi* A) §37, *for-cain* §§45,46,

*for-chain* (rel.) (*forcain*) §36, *fris-comairc* (*friscomarc* A) §39,

*imm-tá* (*imtha* A) §§37, 49, 60, 62, 65,66,

68, 70, *ro-saig* (*rosaigh* A) §§56, 67, *tremi-etha* (*tremætha* A,

*tremoetha* B *bis*) §4.

With relative form of pre-verb:

*ara-imgaib* (*arimgaib* A) §29, *imme-dích* (*immdith* A,

*imdi caem* B) §12, *itira-thá* (*iteratha*) §60,

*itira-thá* (*iteratha*) §62, *itira-thá* (*iteratha*) §65, *itira-thá* (*iteratha*) §66.

Deponent:

*arid-sissedar* (rel.) (aridsisither A) §59, *arros-labrathar* (rel.) (aroslalabra A, arrolabrathar B) §8, *con-midethar* (conmidither A) §54, *con-midethar* (conmidhidhar A) (rel.) §54.

Passive

*ar-ecar* §35, *as-berar* §35, *amail as-mberar* (rel.) (So A, asberar C) §46, *as-renar* §59, *con-gaibther* §48, *di-emar* §48, *do-gairther* (dogairter A) §25, *do-n-ingarar* (rel.) §24, *do-renar* (dorenaru A) §67, *fo-fechar* (fofechur A) (rel.) §60, *for-congarar* §53, *fris-comarcar* (So C, friscomarchar A) §46, *fo-ruimther* (fuirmither A, fuirmeadh ar C) §50.

3 Singular Prototonic

Active

*nád n-ascnai* (rel.) §67, *ní airchoimti* (ní urcoimhend A) *ní coimthet* (ní cæmthet A) §22, §34, *tairchella* (taircella A) §4, (So B, *tarceann* A) §7, *connach tairthet* (connach tartet A, contairtet B) §13, *ara tabair* (rel.) §67 (bis), *nád tabair* (rel.) (na tabair A) §67, *ara tabair* (rel.) §§67,71, *co frescai* (co freisce A) §23, *ní frecmairc* (ní frecnairc A, ní frecnarc C) §46, *tesairg* A, (omitted B) (Bergin's Law) §7, *timchella* (timcella A) §4, *nád roig* (na roigh A) §35.

Deponent (Tmesis): *conid ...toimdither* §4.

Passive

*i n-astaiter* (So B, i nastaiter A)(rel.) §2, *co ndéntar* (co ndentar A) §26, *dona timdibhenar* (rel.) (dona timdibhenar A) §34, *ima fuiglither* (rel.) (ima fuighlither) §46, *nád forcanar-som* (na forcanarsom C) §46, *in forcongarar* (in forcongarar A) §53, *ní forcongarar* (ní forcongarar A) §53.

### 3 Plural Absolute

#### Active

*ebait* (hebhait A) §41.

#### Relative:

*segtae* (seghdai A) §63, *segtae* (segda A) §66, *techtaite* §1, *tlentae* (*atlen-  
dae* A, *dō notlena ... dontlean dai* B) §3, *tráigte* (traigit A) §37.

#### Passive

#### Relative:

*bertar* (berar A) §11.

### 3 Plural Conjunct

#### Active

*dia mberat* (*diambiar da* A, *dia mbi 7 ardo* B) §10, *ní techtat* (*ni techtait* A) §22.

#### Passive

*assa midetar* (*asa midithar* A) (prep. rel.) §31.

### 3 Plural Deuterotonic

#### Active

*ad-gíallat* (rel.) (*atgíallat* B) §5,6,  
*atn-guidet-som* (*atguidhetsom* A) §7, §6, *as-berat* §59,  
*do-berat* (So B, *doberad* A) §3, *for-berat* §32,  
*immus-frecreat* (*imusfrecreat* A) §32, *immus-frecreat* (*imusfrecreat* A) §41.

#### Perfective:

*fo-roiglennat* (*foroighlenat* A, *forroglennad* C) §49.

## **B. IMPERATIVE**

2 Singular

Active

*sloind* §11.

3 SINGULAR

Passive

*sámaighther* (samuither A) §6.

## **C. PRETERITE ACTIVE**

3 Singular Absolute

*nenaisc* §4.

3 Singular Deuterotonic

Active

*as-bert* (So B, isbert A) §7, *fo-gelt* (fogelta A) §24.

3 Plural Deuterotonic

Active

*iarmi-fóchtatar* (iarmiadhaghecht A, iarmifocet- B) §2.

## **D. PERFECT ACTIVE**

3 Singular

*nád ragab* (rel.) (na ragaib A) (rel.) §27,

*amail rond-gab* (rel.) (amail, A,B. See notes) §46,

*amail rond-gab* (rel.) (amail rogab A,B) §47.

Deponent:

*ro mídir* (romidharthar A, romidir B) §55.

3 Singular Deuterotonic

*do-rigni* (rel.) (dorighne A) (rel) §56.

3 Plural

*arná dessetar* (ar cach nachdeis etar A) §24.

## **E. PERFECT PASSIVE**

### 3 Singular Conjunct

*ro hainmniged* (rohanmnighedh A) §49, *ro hainmniged*  
(rohainmnidhedh A, rohainmnigedh C) §49, *amail ro cét* (rel.)  
(amail rochet A, amail rocet B) §4, *ro déit* (roded A) §54.

### 3 Singular Deuterotonic

*amail as-rubrad* (rel.) (amail isrubrad A) §63,  
*amail as-rubrad* (rel.) (amail isrubhradh A) §66.

## **F. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE**

### 2 Singular Absolute

#### Active

*berae* (bera A,B) §5.

### 2 Singular Conjunct

#### Active

*cain-berae* (cainbera A,B) §8.

### 3 Singular Absolute

#### Active

Relative:

*bruäs* (bruidhes A) §30.

### 3 Singular Conjunct

#### Active

*mani crecca* (mana chreca A) §23, *mani gata* (mana gata A) §23.

### 3 Singular Deuterotonic

#### Active

*con-oiscea* (conoisce A) §37, *dod-cois* §23,  
*do-mela* (rel.) (domeala A) §30, *do-rogba* (rel.) §60,  
*cía fò-gé* (cia foighe A) §23, *má fò-ló* (nafola A) §59.

### 3 Singular Prototonic

#### Active

*mani n-asta* (mana nasta A) §22, *mani dílga*  
( mana dílge A) §59, *co frescai* (co freisce A) §23, *ma rí*  
(ma rí A) §59, *mani taibrea* (mana tabra A) §23.

### 3 Singular Prototonic

#### Passive

*ma thalltar* §59, *co festar* §2.

## G. THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB

### (1.) PRESENT INDICATIVE

#### 3 Singular

*atá:*

*atá* (ata A) §34, §44, §56.

Conjunct *-tá:*

*i tá* (rel.) §56, *ní tá*

(nitat A) §23.

*fil/ file:*

*fil* (rel.) §56 (*bis*), *ní fil* (

ni fuil A,C) §43, *inná fil* (prep. rel.) (ina fil A) §25,

*file* (rel.) (filit A) §56, *fil* (rel.) §58.

Relative:

*oldaas* (oldas A) §57, *indaas* (inas A) §57.

*do-coissin* (docusin A) §33.

#### 3 Plural *atáat*

*atáat* (atait A,C) §46, *atáat* (ata A) §57,

*atáat* §67.

Relative: *oldáte* (oldaite A) §45.

## **(2). CONSUETUDINAL PRESENT**

### 3 Singular Absolute

*biid* (bid A) §24, *biid* (bidh A) §29.

Relative: *bís* (bis A) §34, *bís* (bis) §45.

### 3 Singular Conjunct

*oca mbí* (prep. rel.) (oca mbi A,B) §11, *co mbí*

(co mbi A, C) §11, *ní bí* (ni bi A) §12,

*doná bí* (prep. rel.)

(dona bi A, C) §43, *ní bí* (ni bi A) §56,

*nád bí* (rel.) (nad bi A) §56, *ó ro bí*

(o robi A) §24.

### 3 Plural Absolute

*biit* (bit A, C) §49.

Relative: *bíte* (bite A) §56, *bíte* (biti A) §66.

## **(3). PERFECT**

### 3 Singular

*ro boí* (do boi A) §67, *ro boi* (ro boi A) §67.

## **(4). PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE**

### 3 Singular Absolute

*má beith* (ma beth A) §56, *má beth* (mad beth A) §67.

### 3 Singular Conjunct

*mani bé* (muna be A) §56.



## H. THE COPULA

### (1.) PRESENT INDICATIVE

#### 3 Singular:

Absolute:

*is* §7, §23 etc.

With *co n-*:

*conid* §4, §24 (*conad* A) (bis), §34 (*conidh* A) *passim*.

Where  $\bar{n}i = \bar{n}i \textit{ hansae}$ :

§1, §2, §3, §46, §59.

Negative:

*ní hé* (ni he A,B) §7, *ní* (ni A) §14, *ní* (ni) §50, *ní* (ni) §60.

Relative *as*:

*as* §34, *as* §57 (ter), §58.

Genitival relative:

*asa frén láime* (*asa frein laime* A) §13.

#### 3 Plural:

Absolute:

*it* §32, §49, §59, §66 (bis), §69, §70 (bis).

Relative negative:

*úair natat* (*uair natat*) §22.

With *co n-*:

*condat* §60, *condat* §61, *condat* (con A) §62,

*condat* §66, *condat* §67, *condat* §69,

*condat* §70 (bis).

### (2.) IMPERATIVE

#### 3 Singular

*nabad* (*naba* A) §67.

### (3.) PERFECT

#### 3 Singular

*robo* §21.

#### (4.) PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

##### 3 Singular

Negative:

*nábo* (naba A) §63.

With *ce/ma*:

*cid* §34, *mad* §53 (bis), *mad ... mad* ( *mad ... ma*) §59, *mad* §60.

With *sech*:

*sechib* §4, *sechib* §36.

Relative:

*bes* §12, *bes* §39, *bes* (bus) §43, *bes* §48, *bes* §63.

##### 3 Plural

With *ce/ma*:

*cit* (*cid*) §34, *mat* §67 (bis).

#### (5.) PAST SUBJUNCTIVE

##### 3 Singular

With *ce*: *ciped* (*cidhbedh* A) §30.

##### Dating.

Clearly the language of our text as described above reflects that of the Old Irish period.

The following features may be noted:

1. The preservation and correct usage of deuterotonic and prototonic forms of compound verbs.
2. The preservation of strong verbal inflexion, e.g. Preterite/ Perfect: *nenaisc* §4, *ro mídir* §55; Subjunctive: *cia fò-gé* §23, *má fò-ló* §59 etc.. There are no examples of the spread of weak verbal inflexion or other Middle Irish developments with the exception of the scribal forms discussed *infra*.
3. The preservation of deponent verbal forms:  
*con-midethar* §55 (bis), *ní maith fograigedar-som* §50.  
*toimdithe*, §4, *ro mídir* §55, *arid-sissedar* §59, *aros-labrathar* §8. There are no examples of originally deponent verbs being replaced by non-deponent forms.
4. The use of the infix pronoun as object marker:  
*atn-guidet-som* §7, *immus-frecreat* §§31,41 §41, *amail ad-cota* §9, *ar-da-naisc* §7 (bis),

*arid-sissedar* §59, *aros-labrathar* §8 *connach tairthet* §13, *atn-guidet-som* §7, *dod-cois*, §23, *mani n-asta*, §23, *mani dílga* §59. Note also *ní tá* §23 where the pronoun has the dative force (Cf. *GOI* §777.2(a)).

5. The absence of the independent pronoun functioning as the subject or object of a verb.-

6. The verbal form *do-coisin* §33.

7. The preservation of pretonic *di-* in the verbal forms *di-eim* (bis) and *di-emar* §48. But note *do-eim* §45, *do-fich* §13, *do-gní* §24 etc.

8. The use of the independent dative in prose: *is cumail*, 'it is by a *cumal*', §32; *Is sétaib*, 'it is by *séts*', §32; *cach neurt cach fólad*, 'with all strength and means', §59.

9. The use of the phrase *cis lir* §§1,2,3.

10. Two examples of tmesis: *ní hollamain ... móra* §46, *doná labrad léicther* §55.

For the linguistic features of the metrical citations in §§4-13 of the text see **Metrical passages** *infra*.

The text contains a handful of later verbal forms: *ni dliginn* §29, *ni urchoimend* §34, *ni fuilet* (?) §25, *filet* §56. For these forms, which are almost certainly scribal, see the notes to the respective paragraphs.

Thus, *Míadslechtæ* can be dated to ninth century at the latest on the basis of the linguistic evidence presented above. Unfortunately, I am aware of no external evidence (within *Míadslechtæ* or in other texts) that would allow such a date to be refined. (On the problems related to dating legal texts precisely cf. Breatnach (1996, 119)).

If we compare the language of our text with that of *Críth Gablach* (cf. Binchy (1941 xv-xvi)) we note that they share a number of undoubtedly old features e.g. the preservation of pretonic *di-* in verbal forms and the use of the independent dative in prose (points 7 and 8 *supra*). But *Míadslechtæ* preserves no examples of pretonic *to-* in verbal forms (cf. *do-beir* §28, *do-thét* §67 etc). - a relatively common feature in *Críth Gablach*. That text can be dated with accuracy to the first quarter of the eighth century (Binchy (1941, xiv)). On the basis of this evidence, we can assume that *Míadslechtæ* is the later text.

### **Metrical passages.**

In the section of our text dealing with the grades of kings and lords (§§4-13), each grade is first described in standard prose. There then follows a second description in metrical

format. (The structure of §4 is somewhat different). These metrical citations may have once formed part of a single composition which has since been lost.

In dealing with these metrical citations, each extract was initially broken down on the basis of meaning. Thereafter, an attempt was made to determine the metrical structure. From the resulting analysis it emerged that the structure of these citations is not syllabic, but rather based on the number of stressed words per line, linking alliteration between lines and line-internal alliteration. The type of linking alliteration (i.e. *fidrad freccomail*) in these sections of our text is similar to that described in Breatnach (1989a, 5): 'Linking alliteration is usually of the regular type, i.e. between fully stressed words, but we also find looser forms of alliteration, e.g. between stressed and unstressed words, between a voiced and an unvoiced consonant, between an initial and a non-initial consonant.' This type of alliteration has also been described in Murphy (1961, 38-9) and Carney (1981, 251-62). (For examples of similarly structured metrical material in legal texts cf. Binchy (1971) and Breatnach (1989a)).

I give below a suggested structure for each of the metrical citations. The numbers in square brackets beside each line indicate the number of stressed words. Linking alliteration is indicated by bold type.

#### §4

(a)

Triáth .i. rí . amail as-beir :

Triáth trom ,[2]

tremi-etha Érenn túatha [3]

ó thoinn co toinn. [2]

Tairchella tomus [2]

conid iarna **d**orn toimdither. [2]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between each line. In the case of *trom*, *tremi-etha* the alliteration is between a stressed word and an unstressed preverb. In the case of *tomus*, *dorn* the alliteration is between *t* and *d*. There is line-internal alliteration in every line except line 5. Of the twelve stressed words in this citation, eight begin with the letter *t*. (For an even more marked example of this alliterative phenomenon in the poem *Amra Senáin* cf. Breatnach (1989b, 24 §§1,2)).

(b)

Ardmac **r**íg , [2]  
romac **N**essa , [2]  
**n**enaisc íathu [2]  
Fer **F**éne. [2]

Notes: There are two stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between the first three lines. The lack of linking alliteration between lines 3 and 4 may be compensated for by the presence of line-internal alliteration i.e. *fer Féne*. (For this metrical phenomenon cf. Breatnach (1989a, 6).

§5

Berae do **r**íg [2]  
**c**lothach Coirpri [2]  
**l**óg cimbeda [2]  
do **c**humalaib cáinib [2]  
**c**o a secht saiges **A**ithirne [3]  
**i** cenn cachá **c**uinnsen. [2]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between each line. In the case of *ríg*, *clothach* the alliteration is between *g* and *c*. In the case of *Coirbre* and *lóg* the alliteration is between *c* and *g*. In the cases of *cáinib*, *co* and *Aithirne*, *i*, the alliteration is between stressed and unstressed words. There is internal alliteration in lines 2, 4, 5 and 6. Of the fourteen stressed words in this unit, seven begin with the letter *c*. Note that semantic units (e.g. noun + qualifying adjective) may span two lines (i.e. *ríg*, *clothach*).

§6

Rí túaithe [2]  
 toimsí co a secht. [2]  
**D**ligid dia **ś**árugud [2]  
 scéo gruaide grís [2]  
 cumail indraic co a secht. [3]  
 Sámaighther sóerbrethaib Cormaic.[3]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between each line. In the case of *secht*, *dligid*, the alliteration is between *t* and *d*. I take it that the conjunction *scéo* (which occurs six times in these metrical passages) is unstressed. Therefore the linking alliteration between *śárugud* and *scéo* is between a stressed and an unstressed word. However, for an example of *sceo* apparently carrying full stress cf. *sceo draigin* (Binchy, 1971, 158 l. 66). In the case of *grís*, *cumail*, the alliteration is between *g* and *c*. There is internal alliteration in lines 4 and 6.

§7

Aire ard ardneimed, [3]  
 conn a thúaithe **t**esairg. [3]  
**D**ligid dia **ś**árugud [2]  
 scéo aigthe **esáin** [2]  
 secht lána leth**ch**umala [3]  
 ar **c**ach n-airchonn co ricci trīar. [3]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between each line with the exception of lines 1 and 2. In the case of *tesairg*, *dligid*, the alliteration is between *t* and *d*. In the case of lines 4 and 5, the alliteration is between the *s* in *esáin* and the initial of *secht*. In the case of lines 5 and 6, the alliteration is between the *ch* in *lethchumala* and the initial of *cach*. There is internal alliteration in each line, with the exception of lines 3 and 6.

§8

Cáin-berae do cach airig **tuíseo** [3]  
**dia** sárugud dia esáin [2]  
teora léiri lethchum**ala** [3]  
**la** díabul fuiririd cen airbernad. [3]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. In lines 1 and 2 there is linking alliteration between the initial of *tuíseo* and that of *dia*. There is alliteration between the *-la* of *lethchumala* of line 3 and *la* of line 4. There is internal alliteration in line 3.

§9

Aire désa **dichle**, [3]  
**dia** díguin, dia sárugud [2]  
**d**ligid slán**chumail** [2]  
cach oín co mórfeser [2]  
la díablad fuiririd do thoir**thib**. [3]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between lines 1 and 2. In the case of lines 2 and 3, the alliteration is between the **d** *sárugud* and the **d** of *dligid*. In the case of lines 3 and 4, the *ch* of *slánchumail* alliterates with the initial of *cach*. There is no linking alliteration between lines 2 and 3 or between lines 4 and 5. There is internal alliteration in line 1.

§10

Aire **fine**, [2]  
finnathar a **thé**chtae. [2]  
**dia** sárugud dia thromgressaib [2]  
scéo air indlig**thig** [2]  
scéo aigthe esáin [2]

dligid cumail [2]  
cacha lámae co cethrar. [2]

There are two stressed words in each line. There is linking between lines 1 to 4 as follows: *fine*, *finnathar*; the *th* of *théchtæ* and the initial of *dia*; the *ss* of *tromgressaib* and the initial of *sceo*. The linking alliteration in lines 4 and 5 is between the initial of *indligthig* and that of *aigthe*. These lines may also be linked by their structural similarity. There is internal alliteration in each of these lines. There is no linking alliteration between lines 5 and 6. There is linking alliteration between *cumail* and *cacha* in lines 6 and 7.

§11

Indnae án díumsach, [3]  
sloind Coirpri Lifechair [3]  
cía dliges dia sárugud [2]  
scéo aigthe esáin anfir? [3]  
Dligid léir lethchumail [3]  
co trí firu. [2]  
Séire la diablád fuiririd, [3]  
connma imchastar Cormac. [3]

There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between the first four lines as follows: the *s* in *díumsach* and the initial of *sloind*; the *ch* in *Lifechair* and the initial of *cía*; the initial of *sárugud* and that of *scéo*. There is line-internal alliteration in line 1. There is no linking alliteration between lines 4 and 5 but there is internal alliteration in each case. Lines 6 and 7 are linked by the *r* in *firu* and that in *séire*. I assume that the word *trí* in line 6 is stressed. Otherwise the line contains just one stressed word. There is no linking alliteration between lines 7 and 8.



§12

Ánruth **án**, [2]  
imm-dích a chrích **cetharaid** [3]  
co n-airgaile **úäid**, [2]  
co **ndlig** dia **esáin** [2]  
**ardcumaile** **certtrian** [2]  
scéo **gaisced** n-innraic [2]  
fri **rúamna** rus. [2]

There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between the lines as follows : the initials *án* and *imm-dích*; the initials of *cetharaid* and *co*; the *d* in *úäid* and that in *ndlig*; the initials of *esáin* and *ardcumaile*; the initials of *certtrian* and *gaisced*(this would indicate that *scéo* here is unstressed); the *r* in *innraic* and the initial of *rúamna*. There is internal alliteration in lines 1,2,3 and 7.

§13

Dóe **ard** [2]  
**asa** frén lámae **luither** [3]  
co mbi **trelam** **tenn**. [2]  
**Dligid** cumaile **lethtrian** [3]  
**fria** chuinnse **cucht** [2]  
ara **dínsem** la **díth** tlachta. [3]

There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between the lines as follows: the initials of *ard* and *asa*; the *th* of *luither* and the initial of *trelam*; the *t* in *tenn* and the *d* in *dligid*; the *r* in *lethtrian* and that in *fria*; the *t* in *cucht* and the initial of *dínsem*. There is internal alliteration in lines 2,3,5 and 6.

From the above it can be seen that each metrical citation is made up of lines containing either two or three stressed words. Most lines are linked by alliteration - often of the looser type referred to above. Line-internal alliteration is also frequent.

The above metrical citations exhibit the following linguistic and syntactic features:

1. Bergin's Law: *conn a thúaithe tesaig* §7 .
2. Tmesis: *conid iarna dorn toimdither* §4. For a second example in our text cf. *ní ... móra* §46.
3. Preposed genitive: *Érenn túatha* §4, *gruaide grís* §6, *aigthe esáin* §§7, 10, 11, *ardcumaile certrían* §12, *cumaile lethrían* §13.
4. Preposed adjective: *lána lethchumala* §7, *léiri lethchumala* §8, *léir lethchumail* §11.
5. Independent dative: *Sámaighther sóerbrethaib Cormaic* §6, *scéo air indligthig, scéo aigthe esáin* §10.
6. Conjunction *scéo*: §§6,7,10 (bis),11 and 12.

Note that each of the metrical citations (with the exception of §5 and §9) contains at least one of the above features.

### Contents and structure

The contents of *Míadslechteae* are arranged into four sections:

SECTION 1: The grades of secular society: §§1-31.

§1: Begins with a question as to how many titles the divisions of rank possess. This is followed by a list of twenty-six titles referring to the lay members of society.

§2: Begins with a question as to the number legal entitlements of the divisions of rank. A list of nine items is provided.

§3: Begins with a question as to what confers rank. Three characteristics are listed followed by a list of three things which detract from a person's honour.

§4: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the *triath* - the highest grade of king.

§5: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the *rí rí*.

§6: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the *rí túaithe*.

§7: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the *aire ard*.

§8: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the *aire túiseo*.

§9: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the *aire désa*.

§10: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the *aire fine*.

§11: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the *indnae*.

§12: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the *ánruth* lord.

§13: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the *dóe*.

§14: Contains a note on the reckoning of honour-prices in *séts* as opposed to *cumals*.

- §15: Contains material on the *ógflaithem*.
- §16: Contains material on the *lethflaithem*.
- §17: Contains material on the *flaithem óenescae*.
- §18: Contains material on the *bóaire*.
- §19: Contains material on the *tánaise bóairech*.
- §20: Contains material on the *úaithne*.
- §21: Contains material on the *seirthid*.
- §22: Contains an explanation as to why some persons are without honour-price.
- §23: Contains material on the *fás foigde*.
- §24: Contains material on the *bógeltach faithche*.
- §25: Contains material on the *aithech baitse*.
- §26: Contains material on the *óinmid*.
- §27: Contains material on the *midlach*.
- §28: Contains material on the *reimm*.
- §29: Contains material on the *riascaire*.
- §30: Contains material on the *sinnach brothlaige*.
- §31: Contains a list of seven items on the basis of which persons are judged.

SECTION 2: The grades of Latin scholars: §§32-41.

- §32: Contains a note on the correspondence between the ecclesiastical and the lay grades.
- §33: Contains a list of the seven grades of Latin scholars.
- §34: Contains material on the *rosuí*.
- §35: Contains material on the *ánruth* Latin scholar.
- §36: Contains material on the *suí*.
- §37: Contains material on the *sruth di aill*.
- §38: Contains material on the *fursaintid*.
- §39: Contains material on the *freisnéidid*.
- §40: Contains material on the *felmac*.
- §41: Contains a note on the correspondence between the grades of Latin learning and the ecclesiastical grades on the one hand and the grades of poets and secular grades on the other.

SECTION 3: The grades of poets and related material: §§42-55.

§42: Contains a list of the seven grades of poet.

§43: Contains an etymology of the word *éces*.

§44: Contains an etymology of the word *fili* and related words.

§45: Contains material on the *ollam*.

§46: Contains material on the three different types of *ollam*.

§47: Contains material on the *ánruth* poet.

§48: Contains material on the *cli*.

§49: Contains material on the *dos*.

§50: Contains material on the *macfuirmid*.

§51: Contains material on the *fochloc*.

§52: Contains material on the *bard*, *fer cerdae* and *cáinte*.

§53: Contains a note on praise and satire.

§54: Contains a list of suitable weapons for various persons.

§55: Contains an estimation of a free person in *cumals* attributed to the poet Morann.

SECTION 4: The grades of the church and related material: §§56-71.

§56: Contains material on the most noble type of bishop.

§57: Contains a note on three types of crime and how they are atoned for.

§58: Contains a note on the honour-price of the virgin bishop.

§59: Contains material on the compensation due to the virgin bishop on foot of various injuries.

§60: Contains material on the reckoning of compensation for the remaining virgin grades.

§61: Contains material on the reckoning of the honour-price of the monogamous bishop.

§62: Contains material on the reckoning of the honour-price of the monogamous priest.

§63: Contains material on the reckoning of compensation for the remaining monogamous grades.

§64: Contains material on the reckoning of the honour-price of the penitent bishop.

§65: Contains material on the reckoning of the honour-price of the penitent priest.

§66: Contains material on the reckoning of the honour-price of the remaining penitent grades.

§67: Contains material on the three types of *athláech*.

§68: Contains material on the compensation for damage to property due to the virgin grades.

§69: Contains material on the compensation for damage to property due to the monogamous grades.

§70: Contains material on the compensation for damage to property due to the penitent grades.

§71: Contains material on the compensation due for damage to property to the three types of *athláech*.

The structure of the A MS reflects these divisions of the text. At the beginning of each section space has been left for a large initial capital. In only one case (that of Section 2) has the capital letter been subsequently written in. Each section is separated from the following one by a blank space wide enough to accommodate two lines of writing.

#### SECTION 1:

This section deals with the grades of kings, lords and commoners. The honour-price and entitlement to refectation of each grade is given. The reference in §4 to the *triath* who 'goes through the kingdoms of Ireland from wave to wave' is interesting in that it seems to refer to 'someone of higher standing than a king with dominion in his own province alone', (Breatnach (1986, 193)). Among the grades of lords are the *indnae* (§11), *ánruth* (§12) and *dóe* (§13) who appear to have a martial function in society. At the top of the hierarchy of commoners are the *ógflaithem* (§15), *lethflaithem* (§16) and *flaithem óenesrae* (§17) who derive their status from their possession of hereditary serfs. Another unusual designation is the *úaithe* (§20) who apparently acts on behalf of the less fortunate members of the community. The amount of information provided in the text for each grade is quite limited. This section concludes with a description of eight types of person who have no legal rights.

#### SECTION 2:

This section deals with the seven grades of Latin scholars. The honour-price of five of these grades is provided, but in the case of two (the *ánruth* §35 and the *sruth di aill* §37) this is omitted. The retinue of the top three grades (*rosúí* (§34), *ánruth* (§35) and *súí* (§36)) is also provided. Otherwise these grades are distinguished by function and breadth of learning.

#### SECTION 3:

This section deals with the seven grades of poets. For the most part the text provides etymologies for the names of the grades of poets. The retinues of the *ollam* (§45), *dos* (§49) and *fochloc* (§51) are provided but no further information on parameters of status. Three sub-grades of poet are then referred to. This section of the text concludes with three seemingly unrelated paragraphs : §53 comments on the propriety of praise and satire and contains a biblical citation; §54 provides a list of ‘weapons’ appropriate to various classes of person; §55, attributed to the legendary poet Morann, contains a list of various parts of the body and organs that attract a fine of one *cumal* if damaged.

#### SECTION 4:

This section deals with the manner of reckoning compensation for the various grades of ecclesiastics. The text distinguishes between three sets of grades: the virgin grades (§§56-60), the monogamous grades (§§61-3) and the penitent grades (§§64-6). Compensation for death and serious injury are dealt with first. §59 dealing with the virgin bishop is a paraphrase of Irish Canon IV (cf. Ó Corráin (1984, 164-5) and Kelly (1988, 267)). The monogamous grades are entitled to two thirds of the compensation due to the virgin grades (§61). In turn, the penitent grades are entitled to two thirds of the compensation due to the monogamous grades (§64). The three types of *athláech* and their appropriate compensation are dealt with in §67. This section concludes with a discussion of the compensation due to the sets of grades previously described for damage to property.

#### **Quotations from other texts in *Míadslechteae*.**

(i) Each of §§4-13 contains a citation from a now lost metrical text on status attributed to Cormac Mac Airt. §4 also contains a second citation referring to Conchobar mac Nessa which may, therefore, be from a different source .

- (ii) §36 contains a citation attributed to Cenn Fáelad.
- (iii) §46 contains a citation referring to Ailill Mac Máta.
- (iv) §53 contains a citation from *Prov. xxvii*, 21.
- (v) §67 contains a citation from *Rom. v*, 20.

In addition to the above, as already noted *supra*, §59 is a paraphrase of Irish Canon IV. (Cf. Bieler (1963, 170-1)).

#### **Quotations from *Míadslechteae*.**

- (i) §4: *Tairchella tomus = Tairceall .i. timceall, ut est taircell tomas, CIH 1530.16.*
- (ii) §5: *Berae do rí / clothach Coirbre = clothach .i. enech, ut est toimsi do rí clothach coirpri, CIH 1559.42. (Also CIH 812.2-3).*
- (iii) §7: *Aire ard ardneimed / conn a thúaithe tesaírg. = 7 fos aire ard ardnemed con a tuath tesaírg, CIH 1291.15-16.*
- (iv) §9: *Aire désa dichli = Aire desa dithle, CIH 1282.34.*
- (v) §13: *fria chuinnse cucht = cucht .i. gne ut est fri cuinnsi, CIH 1560.4 (Also 812.6-7).*
- (vi) §57: *At-taait trí cinaid fo-fích duine .i. cin as lugu oldaas : íccaid dia indili. Cin as chutrummae fris : téit fadeisin ind. Cin as mó indaas : a bás la héraic ó chiniud = Berim do breith gac duine ina cion an tan na faghtar eiric, mar adeir an taiselbad dligthe-so sis: atait trí ciona duine .i. cion is lugu fadheisin, ioc dia innile; cion is cutruma fris, téit inn; cion dō is mó oldas, a bas ann la heiric in ciona, CIH 1303.7-10. (Also CIH 731.19-20).*

#### ***Míadslechteae* and other status texts.**

As a tract dealing with the subject of status, *Míadslechteae* is closest textually to the other two important status tracts i.e. *Uraicecht Becc* and *Críth Gablach*. Like *Uraicecht Becc*, *Míadslechteae* seeks to address the subject of status with respect to all classes of person. Thus it covers the secular grades, Latin scholars, the poets and ecclesiastics. As is the case with *Uraicecht Becc*, the amount of information provided regarding the various grades is quite limited. However, *Uraicecht Becc* enjoys the benefit of accompanying glosses and commentary, neither of which is found in *Míadslechteae*. Where the two texts come closest is in their treatment of the poets. The wording of both texts at this point, while not identical, is very close in many cases. Many of these etymological explanations of the poetic titles which occur in both texts have also found their way into

Cormac's Glossary. (On this subject see Russell (1999, 107-9)). As a status text *Críth Gablach* confines itself to the secular grades. It is thus narrower in scope than either *Uraicecht Becc* or *Míadslechteae*. However, our text displays little of the comprehensive and detailed treatment of legal topics such as is found in *Críth Gablach*. Finally, as has already been noted (p. 31 *supra*) §59 of *Míadslechteae* is a paraphrase of Irish Canon IV.

### **Conclusions.**

*Míadslechteae* is an Old Irish law tract which deals with the subject of status. It attempts to provide a comprehensive representation of early Irish society with respect to grades of persons and hierarchies. It contains a variety of material (i.e. prose, verse, biblical citations and an adaptation from a Latin source). While its treatment of many individual grades is not detailed, its importance lies in the amount of unique material that it contains. For example, many of the secular grades referred to are found only in *Míadslechteae*. These include the sections dealing with Latin scholars, the grades of the church and those without legal rights. Along with *Uraicecht Becc* and *Críth Gablach* it is a valuable primary source of information on the variety of social hierarchies which obtained in early Irish society.



## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

§1.

Cis lir togarman techtaite míadslechteae? Ní hansae: a sé fichet .i. tríath, rí rí, rí túaithe, aire forgill, aire ard, aire túiseo, aire désa, aire fine, indnae, ánruth, dóe, ógflaithem, lethflaithem, flaithem óenescae, bóaire tánaise, bóaire túiseo, úaitne, seirthid, fás faigde, aithech baitse, bógeltach faithche, óinmit, midlach, réimm, riascaire, sinnach brothlaige.

is lir togarmand techtaite miadlechta n̄ ase .xx.it .i. Triath ri rig tuaithe aire forgill aire ard aire tuisse aire desa airi fine dæ oglaithe lethlaithem flaithem oenesca boaire tanuise boaire tuisi huaitne seirthiudh fas faigde aithech báiise bogeltach faithche oinmit midlach reim riascaire sindach brothlaighe

How many titles do the divisions of rank possess ? Not difficult; twenty-six i.e. *triath, rí rí, rí túaithe, aire forgill, aire ard, aire túiseo, aire désa, aire fine, indnae, ánruth, dóe, ógflaithem, lethflaithem, flaithem óenescae, bóaire tánaise, bóaire túiseo, úaitne, seirthid, fás faigde, aithech baitse, bógeltach faithche, óinmit, midlach, réimm, riascaire, sinnach brothlaige.*

§2.

Ceist : ‘Cis lir a ndliger,’ iar-míad-fóchtatar ind eolaig, ‘isnaib míadlechtaib?’ Ní hansae : a nóí. Co festar cía méit i n-astaiter cách diib iter a lín 7 a n-úaithe, iter a mbiathad 7 a n-esáin, iter a nguín 7 a ndíguin, iter a sár 7 a sárugud, iter a fáesam 7 a turthugud, iter a n-eneclainn 7 a n-enechrucce 7 a n-enechgreiss.

Cislir andliger iar-míadhaighecht indeolaid isna miadlechtaib n̄ anoi cofestar cía meit inastaiter cach dibh iter alín 7 anuaithe iter ambiathad 7 anesain iter anguin 7 andíguin iter asar 7 asarugud iter afáesam 7 aturthugud iter aneneclainn 7 anenechrucce 7 anenechgris

‘What is the number?’, the knowledgeable ones inquired, ‘of their entitlements in the divisions of rank’. Not difficult; nine. So that one may know with what amount each of them is established with regard to their full retinue and their lesser retinue, both their refectation and their being refused hospitality, their being wounded and violation of

their protection, their being insulted and their being dishonoured, their protection and their sanctuary, their honour-price and the fine for dishonouring them and the fine for defaming them.

§3.

Cis lir do-berat míad 7 eneclainn do chách ? Ní hansae: a trí: áirilliud 7 innracus 7 enncae. A trí danó tlenae míad coindfe ar chách .i. anfolud 7 docherd 7 anenncae.

Cislir doberat miadh 7 eneclainn do cach nī atri airilliudh 7 indracus 7 endce Atri dō atlendai miadh contfe arcach .i. anfolud 7 docerd 7 anendge

How many things confer honour and honour-price on all? Not difficult; three : wealth and integrity and innocence. Three things moreover take away fitting honour from all : bad conduct and base calling(?) and lack of innocence.

§4. Tríath .i. rí . amail as-beir :

Tríath trom,  
tremi-etha Érenn túatha  
ó thoinn co toinn.  
Tairchella tomus  
conid iarna dorn toimdither.

Dligid a sóerbiathad fō lín cen timdibe sechib dú timchella. Dligid cóic cumala dergóir scéo lieic lógmair dia díguin, dia esáin nó dia grised grúaide.

Cóic cóicid Érenn tremi-etha a mámu uile. Amail ro cét do Choncobur :

Ardmac rí ,  
romac Nessa ,  
nenaic iathu  
Fer Féne.

Triath .i. rig amail isbeir triath trom tremætha erind tuath othuind co tuind taircella tomus conidiarnadurn toimdither dligid asærbíathad folin cintimbe secibdu timcella dligid .u. cumala dergoir scelig logmoir diadiguin dia esain l dia grised gruad Coic coicid erenn tremætha amamu uile amail ro chet do concobur ardmac righ romac nesa nenaic iathu fer fene

A *triath* i.e. a king. As it says :

A mighty *triath*,  
goes through the kingdoms of Ireland from wave to wave.  
He fixes a measurement so that one measures according to his fist.

He is entitled to his noble refection according to (the size of) his full retinue without curtailment in whatever place he visits on his circuit. He is entitled to five *cumal*'s of red gold and a precious stone for the violation of his protection, for his being refused hospitality or for blistering of his cheeks. The five provinces of Ireland, he goes through all of their submissions. As has been sung concerning Conchobur:

The noble son of a king,  
The great son of Ness.  
He has bound over  
The lands of the *Féni*.

§5. Rí rí .i. rí ad-gíallat secht ríg túath. Cumal cach ríg dó dia aír, dia esáin, dia etlu, dia chumasc dála nó chuirnthige nó óenaig. Dligid a sóerbiathad fó lín cen timdibe. Dá secht cumal a eneclann dia sárugud, dia esáin, dia ainmed, dia díguin, amail as-beir Cormac:

Berae do ríg  
clothach Coirpri  
lóg cimbeda  
do chumalaib cáinib  
co a secht saiges Aíthirne  
i cenn cach cuinnsen.

Comdíles dia díguin nó dia sárugud nó gruaide grís.

Ri ri .i. ri adgíallat .uii. rígh tuath cumal cach rígh do dia air dia esain diatlu adala † achuirmtighe † a oenuidh Dligid asáorbiathad folin cintimdeibhe Da .uii. cumal diasarugud diaesain diaainmed amail isbeir cormac Bera do rig clothach coirbre logh cimeda do cumalaib cainibh co a .uii. saighes aithirne icend cachacuindhsen comdílus dia diguin † dia sarugud † gruaidhe grís.

A king of kings i.e. a king to whom seven kings of a *túath* submit. A *cumal* per king for him for his being satirized, for refusing him hospitality, for evading him, for causing an affray at his assembly or at an ale-house or at a fair. He is entitled to his noble refection according to (the size) of his retinue without curtailment. Twice seven *cumals* is his honour-price for his being dishonoured, for refusing him hospitality, for blemishing him, for violating his protection, as Cormac says:

Adjudge oh Coirbre, for a famous king,  
the value of a captive in(?) fair *cumals*.  
up to the seven which Aithirne seeks,  
...

(The fine is ?) equally forfeit for violating his protection, or for dishonouring him or for warming of cheeks.

§6. Rí túaithe .i. rí ad-gíallat secht túatha. Ar-gellat .i. iter (?) 7 nadmanna. Sé cét a lín. Dligid a sóerbiathad. Secht cumala cachá láme dia ainmed, dia sárugud, amail as-beir Cormac :

Rí túaithe  
toimsi co a secht.  
Dligid dia sárugud  
scéo gruaide grís  
cumail n-indraic co a secht.  
Sámaighther sóerbrethaib Cormaic.

MS A: Rig tuaithi toimse co a .uii. dligid diasarugud sceo gruaidhe cumail inruic co a secht samuithes sáerbrethuibh cormaic

MS B: Rig tuath toimsi 7 rí- .i. rig tuath .i. rí atgíallat. uii. tuath argeallat .i. iter 7 nadmanna se .c. a lín dligid asairbiathad .uii. cumala cachá laime dia ainmed diasarugud amail asbeir cormac rig tuaithi toimsi co a .uii. dligid 7 rí

A king of a *túath* i.e. a king to whom seven *túaths* submit. (?) both (?) and sureties. Six hundred (is the size) of his retinue. He is entitled to his noble refection. Seven *cumals* from each hand (which has a part in) blemishing him, for dishonouring him, as Cormac says :

A king of a *túath* : he is to be assessed up to seven.  
for dishonouring him and warming of cheeks  
he is entitled to a fitting *cumal* up to seven  
let it be fixed by the noble judgements of Cormac.

§7. Aire ard .i. forgill : fer tairchella túatha comsáera fris i cáin 7 cáirdiu, 7 ní hé arda-naisc congíallnai ná dligud flatha 7 atn-guidet-som na túatha 7 is rí arda-naisc. Dligid a sóerbiathad co ricci tríchait oc lesugud túaithe. Dligid secht lethchumala indraici dia díguin, dia sárugud, amail as-bert Cormac:

Aire ard ardneimed,  
conn a thúaithe tesaig.  
Dligid dia sárugud  
scéo aigthe esáin  
secht lána lethchumala  
ar cach n-airchonn co ricci triär.

Aire ard .i. forgill tarcenn tuaithe comsáera fris a cain 7 cairde 7 nihe ardonaisc congiallna nadligned flatha 7 atguidhetsom natuatha 7 is rig ardonaisc. Dligid a særbiathad coruice .xxx. oclesugud tuaithe dligid .iii. lethchumala inraice diadiguin diasarugud amail isbert cormac Aire ard airdnime conatuithe tesaig dligid dia sarugud sceo aighthe esain .iii. lana lethchumala ar cach nurconn coruice .iii.

An *aire ard* i.e. of superior testimony. A man who restrains *túaths* equally noble to his in the matter of written law and treaty; and it is not he who binds them with regard to joint service or the entitlement of the lord; and the *túaths* invoke him as surety and it is the king who binds them. He is entitled to his noble refecton to the extent of thirty when acting for the benefit of the *túath*. He is entitled to seven standard half *cumals* for the violation of his protection, for his being outraged, as Cormac said :

An *aire ard*, a high-ranking noble,  
he protects the head of his *túath*,  
for his being outraged and the driving away of face  
he is entitled to seven complete half *cumals*  
from every responsible person, up to three.

§8. Aire tuíseo : do-fet fini comchenél dó co rí 7 arros-labrathar. Dligid sóerbiathad fichet in tan bís oc lesugud túaithe. Teora lethchumala ina esáin 7 ina sárugud, ut dixit Cormac :

Caín-berae do cach airig thuíseo  
dia sárugud dia esáin  
teora léiri lethchumala  
la díabul fuiririd cen airbernad.

Aire tuisi dofet *fine comcenel* do co rí 7 aroslabra Dligid saorbiathad .xx. intan bis aclesugud tuaithe teora lethcumala ina asain 7 inasarugud ut d̄r cormac Cainbera do cach airigh tuisi di-  
asarugud dia esain teora leire lethcumala la diabul fuiririud cinairbernad

An *aire tuíseo*: he leads a kindred of his peers to a king and he can speak on its behalf. He is entitled to the noble refecton of twenty when he is acting for the benefit of the *túath*. Three half *cumals* for refusing him hospitality and for outraging him, as Cormac said :

Fairly should you adjudge for every *aire tuíseo*  
for his being outraged, for his being refused hospitality  
three exact half *cumals*  
along with doubling of refecton, without diminution.

§9. Aire désa : fer con-óí déis n-athar 7 senathar amail ad-cota riam 7 dotairchi(?). Dligid sóerbiathad dechenbuir dó i tuaith. Dligid cumail cach oín co mórfeser dia sárugud nó dia esáin. Ut dixit Cormac :

Aire désa dichle,  
dia díguin, dia sárugud  
dligid slánchumail  
cach oín co mórfeser  
la díablad fuiririd do thoirthib.

Aire desa .i. fer conæ deis nathar 7 atsenathar amail atcota riam 7 dotairch dligid særbiathad .x.nebuir do atuaith dligid cumail cach ain comor.ui.ur diasarugud † dia easain Aire desa dichli diadiguin diasarugud dligid slan cumail cach ain comor.ui.ear ladiablad fuiririd do tortaibh

An *aire désa* i.e. a man who preserves the vassalry of father and grandfather as he finds it before him and [?]. He is entitled to the noble refection of ten while in the *túath*. He is entitled to a *cumal* from each one of up to seven persons for his being outraged or for his being refused hospitality. As Cormac said :

(For) neglecting an *aire désa*

by violating his protection, by outraging him:

He is entitled to a full *cumal* from each one of up to seven persons

With doubling of refection made up of produce.

§10. Aire fine .i. fer do-fét fini dia mberat a séutu do fláith. Dligid sóerbiathad seissir i túaith. Dligid cumail cachá lámae co cethrar dia sárugud nó dia esáin , ut dixit Cormac :

Aire fine,

finnathar a théchtae.

dia sárugud dia thromgressaib

scéo air indligthig

scéo aigthe esáin

dligid cumail

cachá lámae co cethrar.

Aire fine findathar.i. fer doet fine diambiar da seta coflaith dligid sárbiathad .ui.ir atuaith dligid cumail cachalaime co cethrar diasarugud † dia esain ut d̄r cormacc Aire fine findathar atechta diasarugud diatromgressaib sceo air indligthig sceo aighte asain dligid cumail cachalaime co cethrar

An *aire fine* i.e. a man who leads a *fine* when they bring their *séts* to a lord. He is entitled to the noble refection of six (when) in the *túath*. He is entitled to a *cumal* from each one up to four persons for his being outraged (or) for his being refused hospitality , as Cormac said :

An *aire fine*, let his propriety be discovered.

For outraging him, for heavy attacks on his honour,

with illegal satire and with driving away of face

he is entitled to a *cumal* from every actively involved

party up to four persons.

§11. Indnae : fer oca mbí sochraite do macaib bertar dó 7 do bráithrib co mbí tríchait gaiscedach. Dligid sóerbiathad cóicir occa fíni. Dligid lethchumail co triar dia sárugud, dia esáin, ut dixit Cormac :

Indnae án díumsach,  
sloind Coirpri Lifechair  
cía dliges dia sárugud  
scéo aigthe esáin anfir?  
Dligid léir lethchumail  
co trí firu.  
Séire la diablad fuiririd,  
connma imchastar Cormac.

Idhna .i. fer ocambi sochraiti domacuib berar do 7 do bratrib combi .xxx.uit gaisgedach. Dligid sárbiathad .u.ir oca fine dligid lethcumail co triar diasarugud dia esain .ut dixit. cormac IDhna an diumsach sloind coirpre lifechair ciadliges dia sarugud sceo ai esain anfir dligid leir lethcumail co tri firu seire ladiablad fuiririd(?) connma imchastar cormac

An *indnae* i.e. a man who has a group of followers made up of youths born to him and of kinsmen, so that it numbers thirty warriors. He is entitled to the noble refection of five persons (when) amongst his *fine*. He is entitled to half a *cumal* (from) up to three persons for his being dishonoured, for his being refused hospitality. As Cormac said :

A proud, splendid *indnae*,  
declare O Coirpre Lifechair:  
What is he entitled to for his being outraged  
and unjust driving away of face ?  
He is entitled to an exact half *cumal*  
(from) up to three men  
Food with doubling of refection  
...

§12. Ánruth .i. fer imme-dích a mennut 7 a chrích. Guin duini dó i cach tréimse do chethrib ráithib na blíadnae. Ní bí bes úaitiu fichit fri crích anechtair. Sóerbiathad cethrair dó cach leth ina thúait. Dligid trían cumaile dia sárugud 7 dia esáin 7 dligid gaisced n-inraicc inna eneclainn. Ut dixit :



Ánruth án,  
imm-dích a chrích cetharaird  
co n-airgaile úaid,  
co ndlig dia esáin  
ardchumaile certtrían  
scéo gaisced n-innraic  
fri rúamna rus.

Ansruth .i. fer imdith amennut 7 acrich guin duine do incachtreimsi do ceitribh raituib na bliadna. Nibi besuaitiu .xx. fricrich anechtair særbiathad cethrair do cachalethe 1 gaca clethe inatuaith Dligid triancumail diasarugud 7 dia easain 7 dligid gaisced inraic inaeneclainn.

Ansruth an imdich acrich cetharaird conairgaile uadh condliḡ diaesain ardcumaile ceirttrian sceo gaisged ninraic fri ruamna rus

An *ánruth* i.e. a man who protects his abode and his territory. He kills a man in every quarter of the four quarters of the year. He is not wont to be outside his territory with less than twenty people (with him). The noble refection of four persons for him everywhere (he goes) in his *túath*. He is entitled to a third of a *cumal* for his being outraged and for his being refused hospitality and he is entitled to a suitable set of weapons by way of his honour-price.

A splendid *ánruth*  
He defends his territory in four directions  
With skill of battle  
So that he is entitled to an exact third of a noble *cumal*  
For his being refused hospitality  
And a fitting set of weapons for reddening of faces.

§13.

Dóe .i. fer imbirtae fir ar alaile connach tairthet a chomlann. Do-fich a gressa cen adall fine occa. Dligid a sóerbiathad 7 a amus ó cach cléithiu 7 lethtrían cumaile dia esáin nó dia sárugud 7 gaisced nó timthach. Ut dixit Cormac :

Dóe ard  
asa frén lámae luíther

co mbi trelam tenn.  
Dligid cumaile lethtrian  
fria chuinnse cucht  
ara dinsem la díth tlachta.

Dæ.i. fer imerta fir aralairé connach tartet achomlonn dofich agressa cen adhall fine aco dligid asærbiathad 7 aamus ocachleithe 7 lethtrian cumaile dia esain 1 diasarugud 7 gaisced 1 timthach ut d̄ cormac Dæ ard asafrein laime luitter combi trelam tenn dligid cumaile lethtrian fra cuinnse cucht aradinsem ladith tlachta.

A *dóe*, i.e a man who carries out an ordeal on behalf of another so that his opponent does not overtake him. He avenges attacks on his honour without going to the kin thereat. He is entitled to his noble refection along with his servant from every client and (to) one sixth of a *cumal* for his being refused hospitality or for his being outraged along with a set of weapons or a garment. As Cormac said :

Noble *dóe*  
whose root of arm is set in motion  
so that it becomes a strong weapon  
he is entitled to one sixth of a *cumal*  
on account of the appearance of his face  
for insulting him, along with forfeiture of a garment.

§14.

Óthá sin trá ní i cumalaib a ndíre acht i sétaib bóchethrae nó bóslabrae.

Otha sein tra ni cumaluib andire acht a .s.uib bocethruib 1 boslabhra

From here on, their honour-price is not (reckoned) in *cumals* but in *séts* of stock or cattle.

§15.

Ógfaithem .i. fer tri sencléithe cona comarbaib téchtaib. Dligid sóerbiathad deichenbuir. Dligid deich séotu béodile dia sárugud nó dia esáin.

Ogfaithem .i. fer tri seincleithe cona comorbaib techta Dligid særbiathad .x.nebuir dligid .x.s.u beodile dia sarugud nodiaesain.

An *ógflaithem*, that is, a man of three (generations of) hereditary serfs with their proper heirs. He is entitled to noble refection as one of a company of ten. He is entitled to ten livestock *séts* for his being dishonoured or for his being being refused hospitality.

§16.

Lethflaithem .i. fer dá chléithe cona comarbaib téchtaib. Dligid sóerbiathad ochtair 7 cóic séotu día sárugud 7 día esáin

Lethflaithem .i. fer da cleithe conacomorbuib techtaib Dligid sárbiathad ochtair 7 .u.s. dia sarugud 7 esain

A *lethflaithem*, that is, a man of two hereditary serfs with their proper heirs. He is entitled to the noble refection of eight and five *séts* for his being dishonoured and refused hospitality.

§17.

Flaithem óenescair .i. fer óencléithi cona múr 7 a chomarbaib téchtaib. Dligid sóerbiathad cóicir 7 cethri séotu bóslabrae día esáin 7 día sárugud.

Flaithem oenesca .i. fer æncleithe conamur 7 a comorbaib téchta. Dligid saerbiathad coicir 7 .iiii.s. beoslabrae dia esain 7 diasarugud.

A lord of a single vessel, that is, a man of a single hereditary serf with his wall and his proper heirs. He is entitled to noble refection of five and four livestock *séts* for being refused hospitality and being dishonoured.

§18.

Bóaire .i. fer selbae bunaid cona inud de thír. Deich mbaí lais 7 ní goin duine acht i ló chatha; ní toing luige acht fo óen i mbliadnai. Dligid sóerbiathad cethrair i túaith 7 trí séotu bóslabrae día sárugud 7 a esáin.

Boaire .i. fer selba bunuid conainud *no* indiud dotir .x. mba lais 7 ní goin duine acht a lo catha nithoing luighe acht fo æn ambliadnai Dligid saerbiathad .iiii. atuaith 7 tri.s. boslabrae dia sarugud 7 aesain.

A *bóaire* i.e. a man with possessions of stock and his (proper) extent of land. He has ten cows. He does not kill a person except on a day of battle. He does not swear an

oath except once a year. He is entitled to the noble refection of four in the *túath* and three *séts* of cattle stock for being dishonoured and refused hospitality.

§19.

Tánaise bóairech : ocht mbaí lais i forus cona inud de thír. Dligid sóerbiathad triir i túaith 7 dá sét bóslabrae inna díre.

Tanuisi mboaire ocht mbaí lais a forus conainniud dotir dligid sárbiathad trir ituaith 7 da.s. boslabra inadire

A *bóaire* of second rank : he has eight cows in a cattle pound with his proper portion of land. He is entitled to the noble refection of three persons (when ?) in the *túath* and two *séts* of cattle-stock as his honour-price.

§20.

Úaithne : fo-loing 7 fris-ellagar .i. in fer fris-eillget trúaig 7 aidliccin. Fer fo-loing enechgressa cen imlúad fine. Dligid sóerbiathad deisse 7 boin lethgabála. Cóic séoit día sárugud , día esáin.

Huaitne fonluing 7 frisellaghar in fer .i. friseillget troigh 7 aidheilgen fer foloing einechgressa cin imluad fine. Dligid sárbiathad deisi 7 boin lethgabála(?) .u.s. diasasarugud diaesain

An *úaithne* : he endures and claims are made against him. The man wretches and poor people make claims against. A man who endures attacks on his honour without involving (?) the *fine*. He is entitled to the noble refection for two and a cow of second rank (?). Five *séts* (are due) for dishonouring him, for refusing him hospitality.

§21.

Seirthid .i. óclach de dagcenéul nó fer forais nó mac tuisig .i. do-nessa do seir thuisig oc tuidecht i ndáil nó i ndúnad nó úair robo toisech a athair nó dag a chenél nó ara gaisced. Dligid a sóerbiathad i túaith 7 a ben 7 samseisc focail 7 colpthaig inna eneclainn dia air , dia ainmed.

Seirthiud .i. oclach do daghceenel † fer forais † mac tuisigh .i. donesa do seir tuisigh octaidhecht andail † andunad † uair robotaisech aathair † dagh achinel † araghais dligid asárbiathad ituaith 7 aben 7 samseisc focail 7 colpthaig inaeneclainn diaair diaainmedh

A *seirthid* i.e. a young man from a noble kindred , or a man of the household , or a son of a *toisech* i.e. he walks beside the heel of a *toisech* when coming into an assembly or an encampment ; or because his father was a *toisech* , or good (is) his kindred, or on account of his set of weapons. Himself and his wife are entitled to noble refectioin in the *túath* and a three-year-old proper dry heifer and a two-year-old heifer are his compensation for his being satirized (or) for being blemished.

§22.

Na nóí ngráda déidencha-so, ní techtat dlígéd dia mbreith i nairechus ná dámrad ná díre sainrethach mani n-asta selb ná gáes ná sochraite. Ní cóimthet díre díthecht ná dithír ná dochrait ná anfoltach, úair natat inraici nadmae ná ráithe ná aítire ná nóill ná fiadnaisi.

Nanai ngrada deidinachso nitechtaít dlígéd diambreith an airechus nadamradh nadire sainruthach mananasta sealb nagæs nasochraite Nicæmthet díre díthecht na dithir nadochrait na hanfolta uair nata tindraice nadhma naraithe nahaitire nanaill nafiadnaisé

These last nine grades, they possess neither the right to be brought into nobility, nor retinue nor particular honour-price, unless possessions or wisdom or followers establish it. Honour-price does not accompany one who lacks possessions nor one who is without land nor a friendless one nor one guilty of bad behaviour, for they are not fitting (to act as) enforcing surety or paying surety or hostage surety or (to make) oaths or (to give) evidence.

§23.

Fás foigde .i. fer ro chrecca a déis 7 a ferann 7 a selb 7 nád techta fo thúaith co lléir na cléithe co frescaí cuile cáich; 7 ní tá díles dod-cois fria galar nó frepaid; 7 is fás danó cíá fo-gé mani gata nó mani crecca a enech airi amal choin. Is fás dó danó a fáithche fria galar 7 a frepaid mani taibrea nech ní dó ar Día. Is fás danó a saíre 7 a díre 7 a eneclann.

Fas faigthe .i. fer rocreca adeis 7 aferann 7 aselb 7 natechta fotuaith coleir nacleithe 7 cofreisce cuile caith 7 nitatdíles dodcois fria galar 7 frepaid 7 isfas dō cíafoighe managata 7 mana chreca a enech aire amal coin IS fas dō dō afaithec friagalar 7 arepaidh manatabra nech ni do ardia. IS fas dō asaire 7 adire 7 aeneclann

‘Futility of begging’ i.e. a man who has sold his vassalry and his land and his property and who does not possess any client in all of the *túath* so that he has hopes with regard

to everyone's larder and he does not have possessions which might support him when he is ill or recovering and it is futile moreover even though he beg unless he steal or unless he sell his honour like a dog. His infield is barren for him when he is ill and when he is recovering unless someone gives him something for the sake of God. Futile moreover is his free status and his compensation and his honour-price.

§24.

Bógeltach faithche .i. fer méite coimse nád tét tar crích nach do airlisi rí g acht biid inna mennut fadeisin. Ar-imgaib comlonn óenfir ó ro bí cona gaisciud fair, conid dam cáin cen fedain don-ingarar. Bógeltach .i. fer fo-gelt a bú i faithchi ar chách arná dessetar coin alltai impu. Conid sí a main in sin. Ní dlig díre ná soiri ar is gním meicc nó mná do-gní.

Bogeltach faithce .i. fer meite coimse nateit tar crích nach do airlisigh rí g acht bidh inamendat fadeisin arimgaib comlonn æn fir orobi conagaisciud fair conadaim cain cinfedhain doningarar Bogeltach .i. fer fogelta abu afaithce arcach nachdeis etar coin allta ime conadhsi main insein Nidlig díre nasaire arisgnim meic l mna dogni

A 'cow-grazer of the infield' i.e. a man of suitable size who does not go across the border or to the enclosure of a king , rather, he remains in his own territory. He avoids single combat (even) when he has his weapons with him, so that it is a "docile ox without a halter" that he is called. A *bógeltach* i.e a man who grazed his cattle in an infield in front of everyone so that wolves might not sit down amongst them. So that is what his wealth consists of. He is not entitled to compensation or independent legal status since it is the work of a boy or a woman that he does.

§25.

Aithech baitse .i. fer nád sáera dán ná trebad. Ní fuilech re dáim in fer-sin inná fil gnímu laích lais. Ní tét i ráith ná i n-aitiri fri flaith ná eclais ar is gáe gréine do-gairther.

Aithech baitse fer nasaera dan natrebad nifuil(?) redaim infersin inafuilgnimiu laich lais niteit araith nainaitire friflaith naeclais aris gæ greine dogairter

A 'rent-payer of baptism' i.e. a man whom neither craft nor husbandry ennobles. This man who does not have the functions of a warrior, he is not valiant in front of a retinue. He does not act as paying surety nor hostage-surety with respect to lord or Church, for he is called a sunbeam.

§26.

Óinmid .i. fer mitter im drochmnaí 7 ónna co ndéntar mer 7 fonachtaide .i. fosceinnid.

Ní dlig díre in fer-sin.

Oinmit fer mitir imdrochmnaí 7 ona condentar mear 7 fonachtaide .i. fosgenigh ní dlig díre infersin

A fool i.e. a man who is adjudged (?) with regard to a bad woman (?) and foolish : so that he becomes demented and ... i.e. one who leaps. That man is not entitled to compensation.

§27.

Midlach .i. mí lí áig .i. midellach .i. fer nád ragab seilb ná orba, nád treba, nád trebthar dó. Nó midlach .i. medón-ellach in sin, arindí as mellach ó deilb 7 chenul conid damnae cimbetha in sin tar cenn túaithe.

Midlach .i. miliaig .i. midhellach .i. fer naragaib sealbh nahorba natrebad natrebthair do l midlach .i. medhonellach insin arimí ismellach odeilbh 7 ciniul conadamna cimedha insin tarcend tuaithe

A coward i.e. bad colour in battle i.e. mid-possession (?) i.e. a man who has not taken possession of property or inheritance, who does not plough and for whom ploughing is not done. Or a coward i.e. he is (a man of) middle-possession(?), for the reason that he is pleasing with regard to appearance and kindred. So that he is one fit to be a hostage on behalf of a *túath*.

§28.

Reimm danó .i. fuirseóir nó drúth. Nach fer do-beir remmad fó chorp 7 a enech. Ní dlig díre úair téit asa richt ar bélaib slúag 7 sochaide.

Reimm *dano* .i. fuirseoir l druth *nachfer dobeir remmad fo corp 7 a enech nidligh díre uair teit asaricht arbeluib sluagh 7 sochaide*

A *reimm* moreover i.e. a buffoon or a jester. Any man who contorts(?) his body and face. He is not entitled to an honour-price for he distorts himself in front of hosts and crowds.

§29.

Ríascaire .i. loingsech in sin ara-imgaib a chenél 7 a fine. Coillid cáin 7 rechtgi 7 biid ó ríasc do ríasc nó ó sléib do sléib. Nó ríascaire .i. ráthbuige doir do flaith 7 eclais. Ní dlig díre.

Riascaire .i. loingsech insin arimgaib achenel 7 a fine colith cain 7 rechtge 7 bidh oriasc doriasc † osleib † riascaire .i. rathmaighe dær doflaith 7 eclais nidliginn dire

A marsh-dweller i.e. he is an exile whom his people and kin avoid. He transgresses law and ordinance and he is wont to go (lit. 'be') from marsh to marsh or from mountain to mountain. Alternatively a marsh-dweller i.e. a *ráth*-builder who is unfree with regard to lord and Church. He is not entitled to compensation.

§30.

Sinnach brothlaige .i. bruar cach biid dó iter díles 7 indles. Nó cummae lais cipid bruäs nó do-mela.

Sindach brothlaighe .i. bruar *cach*bidh do iter dilis 7 indlis † cuma lais cidhbedh bruidhes † domeala

A 'fox of the cooking-pit' i.e. he receives the crumbs of every (type of) food, both proper and improper; or he does not care whatever it might be that he crunches or consumes.

§31.

A secht asa midetar doíni: cruth 7 cenél, tír 7 trebad, dán 7 indbas 7 indracus.

Sieaacht asamidithar duine cruth 7 cenel tír 7 trebad dan 7 indbus 7 innrucus.

(There are) seven things on the basis of which persons are appraised: appearance and kindred, land and husbandry, skill and wealth and worthiness.

§32.

Míadslechteae ecnai tra, it écsamlai fri míadslechtu túaithe. Ar is cumail for-beir eineclann grád n-ecalso ó adandaid co salmchétlaid. Is sétaib immurgu for-berat Féni 7 filid óthá ísel co úasal. Immus-frecreat immurgu i fortach 7 i ndíthech : epscop 7 rí bunaid cach cinn 7 ollam filed, sacart 7 suí danó, 7 fer midboth 7 fochloc.



Míadhlechte ecna tra itecsamla frimíadlechtaib tuaithe ariscumail forbeir eineclann grad neclasa oadhannad co sailmcetlaigh. asetaib immurgu forberat fene 7 filid otha isel cohuasal imusfrecreat immurgu afortach 7 andithech Espoc 7 ri bunuidh cach cinn 7 ollam filed sacart 7 sai dano 7 fer midhboth 7 fochloc

The divisions of rank of Latin scholarship moreover, they are different from the divisions of rank of the *túath*. For it is by a *cumal* that the honour-price of the grades of the Church increases from candle-lighter to psalm-singer. It is in *séts*, however, that the *Féni* and the poets increase (with respect to honour-price) from low to high. They correspond to one another, moreover, in the matter of overswearing and denial by oath (as follows): a bishop and a king of every individual and a chief poet, a priest and a sage moreover, a *fer midboth* and a *fochloc*.

§33.

Secht ngrád ecnai danó do-coissin .i. rosuí 7 suí, ánruth 7 sruth di aill 7 fursaintid 7 freisnéidid 7 fealmac.

Secht ngraidh ecna dano docusin .i. rosai 7 saidh anruth 7 sruth doaill 7 fursaintid 7 freisneidhit 7 fealmac

There are seven grades of Latin scholarship, moreover i.e. *rosuí* and *suí*, *ánruth* and *sruth di aill* and *fursaintid* and *freisnéidid* and *fealmac*.

§34.

Roosuí danó trí anmann techtas i.e. roosuí 7 ollam 7 suí litre la flaith. Ollam ina súidiu i tig midchúarta, ar is é bis i tig fri rig insin. Rosuí danó, ní airchoimti ní i cethéoraib rannaib súithi. Ocht scripuil for deich n-uingib for deich cumalaib a díre. Cethrar ar fíchit a dám. Sechtmad ércá a báis ina thoichned. Suí litre : atá tréide conutaib lais, conid comdíre fri rí ruirech : bith dó i n-ucht 7 i lár a descipul oc foglaimm ad. Is é fer inso dona timdibhenar a díre cit saerbratha fo bith as n-éola inna pennait 7 inna dlígiud.

Rosai dano trí hanmanna techtas .i. rosai 7 ollam 7 sai litre laflaith Ollam inasuíghe atig midchhuarta arise bis atig fri righ insin Rosai dano niurcoimdend ní acetheora randaib saithe ocht scripuil for .x.nuingib for .x.cumalaib a díre .iiii.ar ar .xx.it adamh .uii.mad eirce abais ina toichnedh Sai litre ata treidhe conutaib lais conidh comdíre fri rí ruirech bith do inucht 7 i lar adeseapol acfoglaim uadh ISe fer inso donatimdibhenar a dhire cid saerbratha fobith asneola inapennait 7 inadlígíud

A *rosúí*, (there are) three titles which he possesses : *rosúí* and *ollam* and *súí litre la flaith*. An *ollam* sitting in the banqueting-house : for it is he who is wont to be together in a house with a king. A *rosúí*, moreover, he does not plead ignorance with regard to (any of) the four divisions of learning. His honour-price (consists of) eight scruples along with ten ounces and ten *cumals*. His retinue (consists of) twenty-four persons. (The penalty) for withholding food from him (is) one seventh of the body-fine for his death. A *súí litre*, there are three things which ... by him so that he has equal honour-price with a *rí ruirech* : his being in the bosom and in the midst of his pupils (and they) learning from him. This is the man whose honour-price is not diminished even though they be (his own) fair judgements (?), for he is knowledgeable regarding his penance-payment and his legal due.

§35.

Ánruth danó ar chethardae as-berar .i. ar áini a forcetail, ar ilar a chétfaide, ar súlbairi a insce, ar méit a eolais. Ar ar-ecar i cach rainn iter filedacht 7 léigenn 7 coimgne acht nád roig co cléithe nammá. Dá fer deac a dám.

Anruth *dano* arcetharda asberar .i. araine aforcetail arilar acetfadha arsulbhuire ainnsce armet aeolais ar arecar incachrainn iter filidhecht 7 leighinn 7 comgne acht naroigh cocleithe nama dafer .x. adamh

An *ánruth* moreover, he is so called on account of four things i.e. on account of the splendour of his teaching, on account of the abundance of his opinions, on account of the eloquence of his speech, on account of the extent of his knowledge. For he is found in every division (of learning) including poetry and Latin learning and history, except that he does not achieve perfection. His retinue (consists of) twelve men.

§36.

Suí .i. fer for-chain cethramad rainn súithi sechib í díb, ut Cenn Fáelad: Suí cáem canóine conid iar maisi án maith. Ochtar a lín. Secht cumala a díre.

Sai .i. fer forchain cethramadh raind suite seicibi dib .ut cenn fáeladh Sai cáem canoine conid-hiarmaisi an maith ochtar alin .uii. cumala adire.

A sage i.e. a man who teaches one of the four divisions of learning, whatever one of them it may be, as Cenn Fáelad (said): A fair sage of canon law, so that it is good, wonderful ... His retinue (consists of) eight persons. His honour-price (is) seven *cumals*.

§37.

Sruth di aill, is é a bés sídi : báidid cach mbeo n-étromm n-énirt, do-fofla ailchea, conoise gne trága la tess síne. Imm-tá samlaid in fer samaltar fris: báidid drochlégnidi, forta-brissi co n-ailchib teistenne 7 cétfáide 7 is túalaing a forcetal con-oiscea gne n-aisndisen co ndílgud immun áes mbecléiginn indligthech tráigte i frencarcus ánotha.

Sruth do aill ise abessaidhe baidhidh cach mbeo netruim nainirt dofofla ailche conoise gne tragma laes sine IMtha samlaid infer samailter fris baidhidh drochleighniudha fortabhraidsi conailchib testenna 7 cedfáidhi 7 istualaing a forcetal conoise gne naisneisin condilgudh imanæs mbecléighind indligthech traigit ifrencarcus anrotha

A *sruth di aill*, this is its custom : it drowns every small, weak insubstantial thing, it carries away rocks, it changes the appearance of the strand with the ardour of a storm. Thus likewise is the man who is likened to it: he overwhelms poor scholars, he crushes them with foundations (based on ) scriptural quotations and interpretations and his teaching is capable of altering the form of discourse with remission regarding the irrational ones of little learning who wilt in the presence of an *ánruth*.

§38.

Fursaintid danó fortuisim(?) a aite i céill olloman. Téora lethchumala a díre 7 cétfáid cen airchoimted uad-som ar idnai a mesraigthe 7 ar áini a intliuchta.

Fursaind dano fortuisim aaitte iceill ollamon teora lethcumala adire 7 cedfáid cach nurcoimdedh uadhasom aridhna amesraigthe 7 araine aindtliuchta

A *fursaintid* moreover, ... his teacher ....Three half *cumals* (is) his honour-price and an opinion without excuse from him on account of the purity of his judgement and the splendour of his mind.

§39.

Freisnéidid .i. fris-comaire dia aitiu i céill a olloman. Cumal a díre 7 cétfáid cen airchoimted uad-som do neoch bes ansam dó.

Freisneidhid .i. friscomaire diaaite iceill aolloman cumal adire 7 .c.f. cachnurcoimdedh uadhasom doneoch besandsom do

A *freisnéidid* i.e he questions his teacher ... His honour-price is one *cumal* and an opinion without excuse from him with regard to whatever he finds most difficult.

§40.

Felmac .i. fuil-mac: mac iar léigenn a sálm. Lethchumal a díre.

Fealmac .i. fuil mac mac iarleighind asalm lethcumal adhire

A *felmac* i.e. a blood-son : a youth having learnt his psalms. His honour-price (is) half a *cumal*.

§41.

Conid inunn immus-freccrat gráda ecnai 7 ecalsa fri gráda filed 7 Féne. Acht is ecnae máthair cach dáno díb conid asa bais uili ebait.

conidinand imusfreccrat gradha ecna 7 eclasa frigradha file 7 fene acht isecna mathair cacha dana díb conidasabais uile hebhait

So that the grades of Latin learning and the ecclesiastical grades correspond to each other in the same way as the grades of poets and freemen. However ecclesiastical learning is the mother of each of these professions since it is out of her palm that each of them drink.

§42.

Secht ngrád filed danó .i. éces, ánruth, clí, cano, dos, macfuirmid, fochloc.

echtngraid file *dano* .i. eces ansruth cli cana dos macfuirmidh fochloc.

(There are) seven grades of poets moreover, that is, *éces, ánruth, clí, cano, dos, macfuirmid, fochloc*.

§43.

Éces .i. écmacht ces .i. dona bí ces na ainces do astud fair no ní fil ní bes ches dó inna dán, conid ed a ainm : nemches no écmacht ces.

eces .i. ecmacht ces .i. donabí ces nahainces do fástodh fair † nífuil ní bus ces do inadan conadh edh aainm *nemces* † ecmachtees

An *éces* i.e. “debility (is) impossible” i.e. (a person) on whom no debility or difficulty is established, or there is nothing that he is not able for in his craft, so that this is his name : “non-debility” or “debility is impossible”.

§44.

Fili .i. fialsú .i. suí uad. Ar a fel laisin filid is séis no forcetal isin gnáthbérlu, conid d atá felmac 7 felsab 7 fili 7 filedacht. No fili .i. fí 7 lí .i. fí a omna fair 7 lí a dáno.

Fili fialsai .i. sai uadh arafeal laisin filidh is seis † forcetal isimngathberla conade ata fealmac 7 feallsub 7 fili 7 filidecht. No fili .i. fí 7 lí .i. fí aomna fair 7 lí a dána

A *fili* i.e. a noble sage i.e. a sage of poetic learning. For the word *fel* according to the poet is poetic knowledge (*séis*) or instruction (*forcetal*) in the ordinary speech. So that it is from it (i.e. the word *fel*) that (the words) “pupil” (*felmac*) and “philosopher” (*felsab*) and “poet” (*fili*) and “poetry” (*filedacht*) originate. Alternatively, a *fili* i.e. venom (*fí*) and beauty (*lí*) i.e. the venom of his being feared on him and the beauty of his craft.

§45.

Ollam .i. oll do-eim .i. for-cain cethéora ranna fesa filedachtae 7 fo bíth is lia bís fora dítin-som oldáte na gráda olchenae. No ollam .i. oll a dám : cethrar ar fíchit.

Ollam .i. oll do eim .i. forcain cethora ranna foraditensom oldaite na gradha olcena † ollam .i. oll adam cethrar ar .xx.

An *ollam*, that is, greatly he protects, that is, he teaches the four divisions of poetic knowledge and because it is a greater (number) which he is wont to protect than (is the case for ) the other grades. Alternatively, an *ollam*, that is, great (is) the size of his retinue : twenty-four.

§46.

Ar atáat tri ollamain and .i. ollam gáise : suí cach éolais imma fuiglither. Fris-comarcar, ní frecmairc. Ní berar ainces úad i mbrethaib aithre 7 senaithre. No ollam ard, immurgu : naiscid, ní nascar. Cote-side ? Ní ansae : amal rond-gab rí Connacht, amal as-mberar :

Ní hollamain n-ard cóiced n-Ailella maic Máta móra.

Ollam éicsi danó : for-cain cethéora ranna filedachtae cen ainfis n-indib, nád forcanar-som immurgu ó neuch. Cethrar ar fíchit a dám.

Aratait tri hollamuin and .i. ollam gaisi sai cach eoluis ima fuighlither friscomarchar nifrecnaire ni berar ainces uadh imbrethaib aithre 7 senaithre † Ollam .i. uille inlin bis foradinsom oldati

nagradha olcena ł ollam ard immurgu naisci ni nascar. caidisi .ni- amail ri connacht amail  
asmberar nihollamain nard .u.eth naillelo mic mata mora ł ollam .i.oll doeim .i. each æn bis  
cinuaisl fis nangrad ... Ollam eicsi dano forcan cethora ranna filidhecht cin ainfis ninntiudh

For there exist three (types) of *ollam*, that is, an *ollam* of wisdom : a sage of all knowl-  
edge on which judgment is sought. He is questioned, he does not ask questions. He is  
not found to be perplexed with regard to the judgments of fathers and grandfathers. A  
high *ollam*, moreover, he binds, he is not bound. Of what kind is he ? Not difficult :  
like the king of Connacht is, as it is said :

The province of Ailill Mac Máta does not magnify the high *ollam*.

An *ollam* of poetic learning, moreover : he teaches (the) four divisions of poetry with-  
out ignorance regarding them, and he is taught, moreover, by no one. Twenty-four  
persons (is the size of) his retinue.

§47.

Ánruth .i. ard : naiscid aní nascar fair, amail rond-gab rí Érann. Ánruth .i. sruth cáin  
molta úad 7 sruth indbasa dó.

Anruth .i. ard naiscidh ni nascar fair amail rogab righ erann [Ollam eicsi dano forcan cethora  
ranna filidhecht cinanfis ninntiudh] Anruth .i. sruth cain molta uadh 7 sruth indbais do.

An *ánruth*, that is, (he is) noble : he binds that which is bound on him, as is (the case  
for) the king of the *Érainn*. (A second type of ) *ánruth*, that is, a fair stream of praise  
(emanates) from him and a stream of wealth (flows) to him.

§48.

Clí .i. is é a bés in cléithi : is trén 7 is díriuch 7 con-gaib 7 con-gaibther, di-eim 7 di-  
emar. Ad-cumaing ó chléithiu co lár. Is samlaid a ngrád n-í-siu i tegdais na filedachtae  
.i. is trén a cherd is díriuch a mes i cúairt a dáno. Con-gaib a feib. Di-eim bes ísliu do  
neoch(?), ad-cumaing a dán ó ánruth co fochloc.

Cli .i. ise a bés na cleithe is tren 7 is direch 7 congaib 7 congaibther dieim 7 diemar adcumuing  
ocleithiu colar IS amlaid ingradh isi ateaghais nafilidhechta .i. istren acerd 7 isdirech ames  
acuairt adana congaibh afeibh diem besisle doneoch atcumuing adan oanruth cofochloc

A *clí*, that is, this is the custom of the house-post : it is strong and it is straight. It supports and it is supported. It protects, it is protected. It extends from roof to floor. Thus is this grade in the 'house' of poetry, that is, strong is his craft and upright is his judgement with regard to the domain of his profession. He upholds his distinction. He protects anyone who is lower in rank ... his craft extends from *ánruth* to *fochloc*.

§49.

Dos .i. fo chosmailius dois feda ro hainmniged .i. is tri anman fedae fo-roiglennat a ndán. Imm-tá samlaid is a hanmaim feda 7 a cosmailius ro hainmniged dos. Ar is ann is dos a crann dead blíadnae 7 it cethéora duilli bíit fair. Cethrar danó dām in duis.

Dos .i. fo cosmailis fedha rohanmnighedh .i. as trianmain fedha foroighlenat andan. IMtha samlaid isahanmaim fedha 7 acosmailes rohanmnidhedh dos arisann is dos in crann dia bliadain 7 itcetheora duille bit fair cethror dano dam in duis.

A *dos*, that is, it (i.e. this grade) has been named by analogy with a 'tree' *dos*, that is, they can learn their craft by means of names of trees. Likewise it is from the name of a tree and by analogy (with it) that a *dos* has been named. For when a tree is a *dos* is at the end of a year and there are wont to be four leaves on it. The retinue of the *dos*, moreover, (consists of) four persons.

§50.

Macfuirmid .i. is macdae a dán .i. ní maith fograigedar-som acht(?) ar macairbi is maith de .i. mac fo-ruimther fri dán ós mac.

Macfuirmid .i. is mac do a dán .i. ní maith fograigedar son acht(?) ar mac airbi is maith de .i. mac fuirmither re dan osmac

A *macfuirmid*, that is, childish is his craft, that is, he does not pronounce well ... A son who is set aside for the craft of poetry from the time he is a boy (?).

§51.

Fochloc .i. fo chosmailius fochlocain co ndib nduillib. Días danó do-som. No fochloc .i. fo chlí seca (?) .i. Cen forbairt fora dán. No chael a dán ar oítid.

Fochloc .i. fo cosmailius fochlocain condib duillib dis dano dosam. † fochloc .i. fochlí seca .i. cenforbairt foradan. † cael adan aroige.

A *fochloc*, that is, by analogy with a *fochlocan* with two leaves. Two persons moreover for him (by way of retinue). Alternatively, a *fochloc* ...(?) that is, without increase with regard to his craft. Alternatively, meagre is his craft on account of youthfulness.

§52.

Bard danó: fer cen dliged foglaimme acht intliucht fadesin. Fer cerdae immurgu, láncherd la suide. Cáinte: fer ... a biad tresin ainim n-aíre.

Bard *dano* cindliged fogluime acht indtleacht fadesin. Fear cearda *immurgu* lancheird lasuide. Cainte fear ararasar abiad t̄n ainim aire

A *bard*, moreover: without the prerogative of learning, but intellect alone. A ‘man of craft’, moreover, he has complete craft. A satirist: a man ... his food by means of the blemish of satire.

§53.

Ceist, in forcongarar taurchreic molta nó aire ? Mad iar ndligiud na treibe déodae, ní forcongarar acht molad Dé nammá 7 is nem a lóg. Mad iar ndligiud na treibe domundae, immurgu, for-congarar ut Salmon : *Quomodo probatur in conflatorio argentum et in fornace aurum, sic probatur homo ore laudantis.*

C̄s inforcongarar turachreic molta no aire. madiar ndligiud natreibhe deodha ni forcongair acht molad de nama 7 isnem alogh. madiar ndligiud natreibhi domhonda immurgu forcongarar. ut salmon quomodo conprobator argendum inconflatona 7 infornace aurum sic homo ora laudantis

Is payment for praise or satire ordained ? As for the law of the godly folk, only the praise of God is ordained, and heaven is its reward. As for the law of the worldly folk, however, it is ordained, as Solomon [said] : *As silver is tested in the crucible, and gold in the furnace, thus [is] a man in the mouth of one who praises.*

§54.

Con-midethar arm cóir comadais cach duini déin dligthidi eter maccléirech scéo láech, eter fer 7 mnaí:

treslisen cach maccléirig nó cháembachall fri hairsclaigi úad,

cui céil cotat ro dét do cach mnaí,

dá gaí imm echlaisc n-airegdai cach laích ina láim,



taballlorg do fíledaib iar córus a ngráid,  
ar is ed a comadas cóir con-midethar arm nderb dóib

Conmidhithar arm coir comadhuis *cach*duine dein dlighthide *iter mac* cleirech *sceo* laech *iter*  
fear 7 mnai treslisen *each mac* cleirigh no caembachall *frihursclaidhe* uadh *cucæl* codat roded  
do *each mnai* dagaí imechluisc nairidhgha *each*laich inalaim tabhall lorg dofiledhaibh iarcorus  
agraidh arised a comadhas coir conmidhidhar arm ndearbh doib

He adjudges a proper, fitting weapon for every eager, lawful person - both clerical stu-  
dent and layman, both man and woman:

A three-pronged staff(?) for every clerical student or a fair crozier for defending him-  
self,

a hard distaff has been granted to every woman,

two spears and a noble horse-switch for each layman in his hand,

a writing tablet for poets according the propriety of their order.

For that is their proper suitability wherewith he adjudges a fixed weapon for them.

§55.

Ro mídir Morann fer saer co cumalaib:

cumal cechtar a dá súla ar chruth 7 déicsin 7 chumtach,

cumal béoil ar blaisecht 7 labrad,

cumal tengad tachtá doná labrad léicther,

cumal srónae ar bithchlúais 7 boltnugud,

dí chumail chlúaise ar éstecht 7 imchoméit,

cumal brágat ar fuluth 7 guth,

dí chumail dá dóet ar lúth 7 neurt,

dí chumail dá lám ar airgabáil 7 fognum,

dí chumail dá chos ar fórimthecht 7 fólach,

cumal bronn ar thucht 7 fóbairt.

Romidharthar morand fer saer co cuimnib *cumal* ceachtar adasul ar chruth 7 deicsin cumthach  
. *cumal* beil arblaisecht 7 labhrad . cumul tengad tachtaidh donalabrad leicther cumol tsona  
arbithchluais 7 bolltnugud . dacumail cluais aréisteht 7 imcoiméit . *cumal* braighet ar fuluth

guth . dachumhuil didhoit arluth 7 nirt . dachumoil dilaim arurgabail 7 fognum . dachumoil  
dichos arformteacht 7 folad . cumal brond arthucht 7 forbairt.

Morann has estimated (the honour-price ?) of a noble man with *cumals*:

a *cumal* for each of his two eyes on account of appearance and viewing and ornament,

a *cumal* for a mouth on account of tasting and speech,

a *cumal* for a tongue of choking by which speech is prevented,

a *cumal* for a nose on account of (...?) and smelling,

two *cumals* for an ear on account of listening and guarding,

a *cumal* for a neck on account of (...) and voice.

two *cumals* for two upper arms on account of power and strength,

two *cumals* for two hands on account of taking hold and labour,

two *cumals* for two legs for walking about and support,

a *cumal* for an abdomen on account of appearance and increase.

§56.

Cía neimed as úaisliu fil i talmain ? Neimed n-ecalso. Cía neimed as úaisliu fil i n-  
eclais ? Neimed n-epscoip. Is é epscop as úaisliu diib-side epscop ecalso Petair, ar is  
fó mám bite flaithi Rómán 7 ní bí fó mám nech nadbi ógae nó aithrige nó lámnamnusa  
dligthig. Conid do súidiu ro-saig secht cumala cach gráid donaib secht ngrádaib file  
fair, má beith éraic dó itir. Mani bé éraic, bás duini ind.

Cía hairm i tá in sin ? At-tá isin tráchtad do-rigni Augustín do grádaib ecalso 7 dia  
ndírib 7 dia toichnedaib 7 i nós ecalso Petair 7 impir in betha uili.

ia neimhead asuaisle fil italmain neimedh neclasa .cianeimed isuaisliu fil aneclais neimed neaspuic.  
ISe espac asuaisliu dibsidhe easbuc ecalsa peatair arisfo mám bite flaithe romhán 7 nibi fo-  
moam neich nadbi oighe 1 aithrige nolanamnusa dligthig conadhdsuidhiu rosaigh .uii. cumal  
cachgraidh dona.uui.ngradhaib filit fair mabeth eric do itir munabe eric bas duine ind. Ciahairm  
ita in sin ata isintrachtadh dorighne aughuistin dogradhaib eclasa 7 diandiribh 7 diatoichnedaib  
7 anos eclasa petair 7 impir inbeatha uile.

Who is the most noble dignitary who exists on earth ? A dignitary of the church. Who  
is the most noble dignitary who exists in the church ? A dignitary who is a bishop. The  
most noble bishop amongst these is a bishop of the church of Peter, for the princes of

the Romans are wont to be under his yoke and no one who is not chaste or penitent or (who is not) in lawful wedlock is wont to be under his yoke. So that it is for this reason that he attains seven *cumals* for each of the seven grades which are upon him if he receives a body-fine at all. If he does not receive a body-fine, a person is to be killed for it (i.e. the crime).

Where does that thing exist (i.e. where is that statement to be found) ? It exists in the commentary which Augustine made regarding the grades of the church and their honour-prices and their being deprived of food and (also) in the tradition of the church of Peter and the emperor of the entire world.

§57.

At-taait trí cinaid fo-fích duine .i. cin as lugu oldaas : iccaid dia indili. Cin as chutrum-mae fris : téit fadeisin ind. Cin as mó indaas : a bás la héraic ó chiniud.

Ata trí cinaid fofích duine .i. cin asluga oldas fadeisin ícaidh dia indile cin ascutruma fris teit fadeisin ind cin asmó inas abás laheric ochiniudh

There are three crimes which a person commits i.e. a crime which is less than himself (in value) : he atones (for it) by means of his property. (If it be) a crime equal in value to him(self) : he forfeits himself for it. A crime which is greater than himself : he is killed for it and a body-fine (is paid) by his offspring.

§58.

Ocus i n-Érinn, cía díre as úaisliu fil indi ? Díre n-epscaip ógae cona lánfoltaib amail dlegar dó.

Ocas aneirind ciadire asuaisle fil inde dire *epsuic* oighe conalanfoltaib amail dleaghar do

And in Ireland, what is the most noble honour-price which exists there ? The honour-price of a virgin bishop with his full obligations as is required of him (i.e. a virgin bishop who carries out his obligations as he is legally required.)

§59.

Caite fiach gona epscaip ógae ? Ní hansae : trí cimbithi crochtha cacha lámae nod nguín. Is lethfiach a gona inna díguín.

Cach duine arid-sissedar 7 náchid n-anaig cach neurt cach folud 7 con-imthet bibdada : secht cumala cach áe.

Telcud fola danó, má rí talmain nó má fo-ló inindraig : crochad in bibdad ind nó it secht cumala iter a fólach 7 a éraic.

Mad ina agaid, as-renar comleithet a aighthe d'argat 7 a mullaig d'ór ; 7 adgaire n-ainme i sochaidi co cenn téora mbliadnae ó súidiu innonn : is cumal ind mani dílga.

Mad anfót, is leth secht cumal ind. Bánbéim ar óenlus, is cethramthu secht cumal ind.

Má thalltar ní dia fult, sét cach foiltne ind co fichit foiltne.

A sárugud ar óenlus do gabáil a lámae no a étaig no do thiscáil a chluic airi, is lethfiach a gona ind ; as-berat araili is lethfiach a dígona .

Caite fiach gona *espuic* oighe. ní tri cimidh a crocha cacha laime nodgoin islethfiach aghona ina díguin. Cachduine aridsisither 7 nachidnanaigh cachnirt *cach folud* 7 *conimtheit* bidhbadha .iii. *cumala* cachae Telgudh fola do mari talmain nafola *inindrih* crochadh inbidbad ind noit .iii. *cumala iter* afolach 7 aéric Madinaaighe asrenar comlethet aaghthe do argat 7 a mullaigh do or 7 adgaire nainme isochaide co cenn teora mbliadnae osuidhiudh anunn iscumal ind manadilge Maanfot isleth .iii. *cumal inn* Banbeim araenlus iscethraimthi .iii. *cumal* ind. Mathalltar ni diafult .s. cachafuilte ind co fichit fuiltne. A sárughudh araenlus dogabhail alaime no a étaigh no do tiscail achluic aire islethfiach agona ind asberatislethfiach adígona araile

What is the penalty for slaying a virgin bishop ? Not difficult : three hostages are to be hung in respect of each hand which slays him. It is half the penalty for slaying him (which is due) for violating his protection.

Every person who stands by and does not protect him with all strength and means and who accompanies (the) criminals (responsible) : seven *cumals* are due in respect of each one.

Shedding (his)blood, if it reach the ground or if he suffer a wound that requires a bandage, the criminal is to be hung for it. Alternatively, there are seven *cumals* (due) with respect to both his sick-maintenance and his body-fine.

If it (i.e. the injury) be to (lit. on) his face, (a portion of) silver equal to the breadth of his face and (a portion of) gold (equal to the breadth) of his crown is paid (as compensation); drawing attention to a blemish amongst a crowd till the end of [a period of] three years from that time : a *cumal* is due for it unless he (the injured party) remits it (the offence).

If it (i.e. the injury) be (caused through) inadvertence, half of seven *cumals* (is due) for it. A bloodless blow (delivered) intentionally, it is one quarter of seven *cumals* (which is due) for it.

If anything be cut away from his hair, a *sét* per hair (is due) for it, up to (a maximum of ) twenty hairs.

To intentionally dishonour him by seizing his hand or his garment or by removing his bell, it is half the penalty for killing him (which is due) for it. Others say (that) it is half the penalty for violating his protection (which is due in this case).

§60.

In sacart ógae danó is tánaise epscuip ógae. Is cumal itira-thá a ndíre do cach fogail fo-fechar friu 7 do cach cáttu.

Imm-tá samlaid cach grád n-ógae co ticci maccléirech n-ógae, condat secht cumala ina guin nó chimbid ; acht ní cach cimbid acht secht cumala ind indiu la imbed na ndoine, nó in bibdu(?) do-rogba in cinaid ; 7 mad de bunad chenúil dó 7 is sáerchland - lethfiach a gona inna díguin , *ut supra diximus*.

IN sacart oighe dō istanaisi espuic oighe is cumal iter atha andire docachfogail fofechur friu 7 do cach cata IMtha samlaid cachgradh oighe cotice macleirech noighe condat .uii. cumala inaguin nocimidh acht nicach cimidh acht .uii. cumala ind indiu laimedh nanduine † inbidhbu dorogba incinaidh 7 madobunadh ciniuil do 7 isærchland lethfiach a gona inadiguin ut supra diximus.

The virgin priest, moreover, he is second (in rank) to the virgin bishop. It is a *cumal* which is between (i.e. separates) their (respective) compensation with regard to any attack which is made on them and with regard to everything involving honour.

Likewise in the case of every virgin grade up to a virgin clerical student, so that there seven *cumals* (due) for killing him or (alternatively) a hostage ... ; and if he is from the original stock and it is a noble family, (the penalty) for violating his protection (is) half the penalty for killing him, *ut supra diximus*.

§61.

Epscop óenséitche danó, dá trian saiges co hepscop n-ógae do cach cáttu 7 do cach díriu, condat dá secht cumal inna guin 7 a leth inna díguin.

Easpoc aenséitche dō datrian saighes co hespoc noighe do cach cata 7 docachdíre condat da .uii.

*cumala inaguin 7 aleth inadiguin*

A bishop with one wife, moreover, (it is) to the extent of two thirds that he attains to (the status of) a virgin bishop with regard to anything involving status and compensation, so that there are twice seven *cumals* (due) for killing him and the half (of that amount) for violating his protection.

§62.

Imm-tá samlaidh sacart óenséitche : is cumal itira-thá cach n-áe, condat dá trian secht cumal do maccléirech óenséitche.

IMtha samlaidh sacart ænseitche iscumal iter atha cachnæ condatrian .uii. cumal domac cleirech ænseitche.

Likewise in the case of a priest with one wife : it is a *cumal* which is between (i.e. which separates) each of them, so that it is two-thirds of seven *cumals* (which is due) for (an injury to) a clerical student with one wife.

§63.

Is a trián danó segtae na gráda óenséitche frisna gráda ógae do cach fogail iter dergbéim 7 bánbéim 7 chnocbéim 7 sárugud 7 imchim, iter ní bes ar óenlus 7 nábo ar óenlus, amal as-rubrad i ngrádaib ógae.

ISatrian dō seghdai nagrahdai ænséitce fris nagraða oighe do cach fogail iter dergbem 7 banbém 7 cnocbeim 7 sarugud 7 imcheim iter ni bes ar ænlus 7 naba ar ænlus amail isrubrad angradhaib oighe

It to the extent of one third that the married grades (lit. grades of one wife) attain to (the status of) the virgin grades with regard to (compensation for) every attack (involving) a bloody blow and a bloodless blow and a blow which raises a lump and dishonouring and a violation, whether it be intentional or unintentional, as has (already) been said with regard to the virgin grades.

§64.

Epscop aithrige danó, dá trian saiges co hepscop n-óenséitche. Noí cumala 7 dí baí inna guin, lethfíach a gona inna díguin 7 inna sárugud.

Espoc aithrighē dō datrian saighus co hespoc nānsēitche .ix. cumala 7 dabai inaguin lethfiach agona inadighuin 7 inasarugud

A repentant bishop moreover, (it is) to the extent of two thirds that he attains to (the status of) a bishop with one wife. (The penalty) for killing him (is) nine *cumals* and two cows. Half the penalty for killing him (is due) for violating his protection and for outraging him.

§65.

Imm-tá samlaid sacart aithrige : is cumal itira-thá 7 epscop n-aithrige.

IMtha samlaid sacart aithrige iscumal iteratha 7 espoc n-aithrighē.

Likewise in the case of a repentant priest : it is a *cumal* which is between (him) and a repentant bishop (as regards compensation etc).

§66.

Imm-tá samlaid cach grád ásas diarailiu co dead : is cumal itira-thá condāt téora cumala i nguin maccléirigh aithrige 7 a leth inna díguin.

It comdíri danó 7 maccléirigh bíte iter túaith 7 eclais, cen guin cen gait 7 it dá trian segtae na gráda aithrige frisna gráda ónsēitche do cach cáttu 7 cach díriu iter teilciud fola 7 bánbéim 7 dergbéim amal as-rubrad.

IMtha samlaid cachgradh ásas diarailiu codia iscumal iteratha condāt teoracumala anguin mac cleirigh aithrige 7 aleth inadighuin IT comdire dō 7 mac cleirigh biti iter tuaith 7 eclais cinguin cingait 7 itdatrían segda nagradha aithrige frisnagradha ænsēitche do cachcáta 7 do cachdíre iter thelcodh fola 7 banbém 7 deargbéim amail isrubhradh

Likewise in the case of each grade which increases with respect to another to the end : it is a *cumal* which is between (i.e. separates) (each one), so that three *cumals* (are due) for killing a repentant clerical student and half (of this amount) for violating his protection.

They have equal honour-price to clerical students who are wont to be between the laity and the church, without killing, without stealing; and it is to the extent of two thirds that they attain to (the status of) the grades married with one wife with respect to every issue of honour and every compensation (which may be due) for shedding of blood and

bloodless blow and bloody blow, as has (already) been stated.

§67.

At-taat trí athlaích i n-eclais .i. athláech ara tabair anmcharae a theist 7 ad-chosnai sacarbaic, bís i firóntaid ecalso, cen chommu coise ná láime. Is ó grád ógae dorenar immurgu. Is comdíre fri maccléirech n-ógae, condat secht cumala inna guin; 7 is comdíre do cach cáttu olchenae 7 theilciud fola 7 bánbéim.

Athláech ara tabair anmcharae a theist, nád n-ascnai sacarbaic cadacht : dá trían ro-saig cosin n-athláech toísech.

Athláech aile do-beir crích fria thola 7 do-thét co cléirchiu indiu, nád tabair anmchara a theist : dá trían saiges cosin n-aithláech medónach.

Nabad machtad la nech comdíre donaib athláechaib fri áes n-ógae má beth dia seirc la Día 7 di méit a saíthair, mat comlínaí a fertai nó mat lia, amail ro boí Petar 7 Pól fri Eoin 7 ro boí Antan 7 Martan, ut dicit scriptura : *Ubi autem abundauit delictum, superabundauit gratia* .

Atait trí haithlaich ineclais .i. athlæch aratabair anmcara atheist 7 sacarbuic bis afír aéntaidh eclasa cincomus coise nalaimé isogradh oige dorenaru iscomdíre fri maccléirech n-oighe condad .iii. cumala inaghuin 7 iscomdíre do cach cáta olchena 7 telcod .f. 7 banbeim Athlaech aratabuir ateist nadnasnai sacarbuic cadacht datrian rosaigh cosin athlaech tuiséach athlaech aile dobeir crích friatola 7 dotaet co cleirchiu iniu natabair anmcara ateist datrian saigheas cusin athlæch medonach Naba machtad la nech comdíre donathlæchuib fas noighe madbeth diaseirc ladia 7 di met asæthair matcomlina aferta nomatlia amail doboi petar 7 pol friheoin 7 amail roboi antan 7 martan ut dicit scriptura ubi habundabit dilectum super habundabit gratia

There are three ex-laymen in the church i.e. an ex-layman for whom a confessor gives testimony and who attends the sacrament, who is wont to be in true fellowship with the church without power of hand or foot. It is with respect to a virgin grade that he is paid compensation, however. He has equal honour-price with a virgin clerical student, so that there are seven *cumals* (due) for killing him; and he has equal honour-price with regard to anything else which has to do with honour and spilling of blood and a bloodless blow.

An ex-layman for whom a confessor gives testimony and who does not yet attend the



sacrament: (it is to the extent of) two thirds that he attains to (the status of) the first ex-layman.

Another (type of) ex-layman who places a boundary on his passions and who is just coming to clerics today, (and) for whom a confessor does not give testimony, (it is to the extent of) two thirds that he attains to (the status of) the intermediate ex-layman.

No one should be surprised that the ex-laymen have equal honour-price with the virgin ones, such is God's love for them and on account of the extent of their labour and if their good works are as numerous (as those of the virgin grades) or if they are more numerous, as was the case of Peter and Paul with respect to John and as was the case of Anthony and Martin. *As Scripture says: But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound.*

§68.

Ocht cumala i ndíriu séoit epscuip ógae. Secht cumala do śacart ógae. Sé cumala don grád tánaisiu. Imm-tá samlaid cach grád ásas diarailiu co dead: is cumal iter cach n-ae , conid cumal i ndíriu séoit maccléirig ógae.

Ochtcumala indíri .s. espuic oighe .uii. cumala disacart oighe .ui. cumala dingrad tanuisiu. IMtha samlaid cach gradh asas diar.ii. codiad iscumal iter cach næ conad cumal indíre hseoit mac cleirigh oighe

Eight *cumals* by way of compensation (regarding property) for a virgin bishop. Seven *cumals* for a virgin priest. Six *cumals* for the next grade. Likewise, each grade increases with respect to the other to the end: it is a *cumal* (which separates) each one so that it is a *cumal* (which) the compensation (regarding property) of a virgin clerical student (consists of).

§69.

Dá trían saiges epscop óenséitche co hepscop n-ógae, condat cóic cumala 7 dí baí i ndíriu séoit epscuip óenséitche. It dá trían saiges int aile.

Inna cumalaib rímthir, condat cethair cóicait aidche di phennait do maccléirech óenséitche i ndíriu a séoit.

Da trian saighes espac ænséitche cohespoc noighe condāt .u. cumala 7 dābai indīre aseoit espuc  
ænséitche itdatrian saighus inaile

INacumalaib rímthir condāt ceitri .l.ait aidche dopennuit di maccleirech ænséitche andīre aseoit

(It is to the extent of) two thirds that the bishop with one wife attains (the status of) the  
virgin bishop, so that (there are) five *cumals* and two cows (due) by way of compensa-  
tion (regarding property) for the bishop with one wife. It is to the extent of two thirds  
that the other one attains (status).

It (i.e. *dīre*) is reckoned in *cumals* so that four times fifty nights of penance (are due)  
for a clerical student with one wife by way of compensation (regarding property).

§70.

Imm-tá samlaid epscop aithrige: it dá trian saiges co hepscop óenséitche do díriu a  
séoit, condāt téora cumala 7 téora bai i ndíriu séoit epscuip aithrige. It dá trian do cach  
grád fri araill co ricci dead.

Inna cumalaib rímthir condāt trí cóicait aidche do maccléirech aithrige i ndíriu a séoit.

IMtha samlaid espoc aithrige itdatrian saighus co hespoc ænséitche . do díre aseoit condatteora  
cumala 7 .iii.a bai andíri .s. esbuic aithrige it datrian do cach gradh friaraill corice deadh  
inacumalaib rímthir condāttri .l.at aidche do mac cleirech aithrige indīre a .s.

Likewise (in the case of) a repentant bishop: it is (to the extent of) two thirds that  
he attains (the status of) the bishop with one wife with respect to his compensation  
(regarding property), so that (there are) three *cumals* and three cows (due) by way of  
compensation (regarding property) for the repentant bishop. It is to the extent of two  
thirds that each (penitent) grade corresponds to the other. It is reckoned in *cumals* so  
that three times fifty nights of penance (are due) for a repentant clerical student by way  
of his compensation (regarding property).

§71.

Athláech ara tabair anmcharae 7 sacart teist: comdíre a séoit fri maccléirech n-ógae  
.i. cumal dóib. Athláech aile danó, comdíre a séoit fri maccléirech n-óenséitche imm

chethri coíctea aidche dóib. Athláech aile danó, comdíre a séoit fri maccléirech n-aithrige : trí coícait aidche dóib.

Athlæch aratabair anmcara 7 sacart teist comdíre a .s. fri mac cleirech noighi .i. cumal doibh. athlæch aile dano comdíre a .s. fri mac cleirech noige im .l.at aidhche dóib. athlæch aile dano comdíre a.s. fri mac cleirec naithrige tri caecait aidhche doib.

An ex-layman for whom a confessor and a priest give testimony: his compensation is equal to that of a virgin clerical student : a *cumal* for (both of) them. Another ex-layman, his compensation is equal to that of a married clerical student with regard to two hundred nights (of penance). Another ex-layman, his compensation is equal to that of a repentant clerical student : one hundred and fifty nights (of penance) for them (both).

## NOTES

§1

**Cis lir.** *is lir* A, *Cis lir* B. Space has been left in the A MS for a large initial *C*. I restore the B reading in this case.

**togarmann.** *togarmand* A, *toggarmanda* B. I restore *togarmann*. *Cis lir* is followed by the nominative plural (see Bergin 1943, 140). The B reading is probably the Middle Irish accusative plural for the nominative, cf. Breatnach (*SnaG*, 249). For the Middle Irish *-nd/-nn* alternation cf. *GOI* §151(c).

**techtaite.** *techtaite* A, *techtaide* B. I retain the A reading. The form is 3 pl. pres. ind. active relativ of *techtaid* ‘possesses’. For the substitution of *d* for *t* in MS B see ‘Introduction’ p. 6 *supra*.

**míadslechteae.** *miadlechta* A, *miadleachta* B. I restore *miadslechteae*. The word *slicht*, the second element of the compound, is a masculine u-stem. For the alternation *-a/-ae* in the nominative plural of u-stems see *GOI* §312. For a note on the title of the text see ‘Introduction’ p. 8 *supra*.

**ní hansae.** *nī* A/B.

**a sé fichet.** *a se .xx.it* A, *a se no a .u. xx.it airechdai cadeat* B. When we rationalise the inconsistencies in both MSS here we note that the list of designations numbers twenty-six. However the *aire forgill* referred to in both MSS is not accorded separate treatment subsequently (see §7 and notes thereto). For the combination of digits and tens see *GOI* §391. Thus I restore the gen. sg. *fichet*. For the alternation *-i/-e-* in *fichit/fichet* see Breatnach (*SnaG*, 229).

The actual number of grades that the text deals with in this opening section is twenty-five (see ‘Introduction’ pp. 26-7 *supra*). MS A omits two grades here, *indnae* and *ánruth*. Binchy’s punctuation at *CIH* 676.21 (i.e. *reim riascaire* for correct *reim, riascaire*) adds to the confusion when attempting to reconcile the numbers. Note also

that the grades described here as *boaire tanuise* and *boaire tuisi* are later designated the titles *boaire* (§18) and *tanuisi mboairech* (§19) respectively. Also, the descending order of the classification appears to be broken. Note the uncertainty in MS B regarding the number of grades (*a se no a .u. xx.it*). For another example of uncertainty with respect to numbers in this MS note *cid lir a ndliged ... .ni. a ndæno a do .x.* in §2 *infra*.

For *airechdai* added by B see *DIL* A 196, 59 ff. Perhaps here used substantivally i.e. ‘twenty-six or twenty-five noble ones’.

**Triath, rí rí, rí túaithe.** *Triath ri rig tuaiti* A, *triath rig rig tuaithe* B. Cf. Binchy’s note *m* to *CIH* p. 582 : ‘*supply ri*’. The restoration is justified by the manner in which the three grades are subsequently treated in the text (see §§4-6). For the threefold gradation of kings cf. Binchy (1941,104-5), Charles-Edwards (2000, 130-2), Kelly (1988,17-18) and McLeod (1986, 59-60).

**ógflaithem, lethflaithem.** *oglaithem lethlaithem* A, *ogflaitheam lethflaitheam* B. For the spelling of the A MS see *GOI* §231.7.

**úaitne.** *huaitne* A, *huaithni*. For the *h* in the MSS cf. *GOI* §25 and Breatnach (*SnaG*, 229).

**seirthid.** *seirthiudh* A, *seirrthi* B. For the loss of the final lenited dental in the B MS see ‘Introduction’ p. 6 *supra*.

**sinnach brothlaige.** *sindach brothlaige* A, *sindach brothlach* B. *brothlach* in the B MS appears to be genitive plural.

§2

**Ceist : Cis lir.** *Cis lir* A, *C̄sc cid lir* B. I tentatively restore *Ceist* from the B MS. Perhaps the opening line is a quotation from another text.

**ndliged.** *dlig-* A,B. I expand the final syllable as *-ed* i.e the short nominative plural of the neuter o-stem, plurality being indicated by the context. See *GOI* §§278, 286.

**íarmi-fóchtatar ind eolaig:** *iar miadhaighecht indeolaid* A, *iarmifocet- an eolaig* B. *miadaighecht* appears to be a *hapax legomenon*. The example from our text is quoted in *DIL* M 126, 53 with the meaning ‘honour, dignity’.

*indéolaid* is written as a single word in MS A. *DIL* I 225, 22 takes the word as deriving from *in-* (see *GOI* §872) and *déolaid* (see *DIL* D 27, 1). The meaning ‘due, rightful’ is suggested. However, there are several examples of confusion of *-d/-g* in this MS (see ‘Introduction’ p.5 *supra*). Also, the B MS reads *an eolaig*. One could, therefore, take the word to be gen. sg. of *éolach* and translate ‘according to the honour of the knowledgeable one’.

For *mifocetul*, Binchy’s expansion of the B MS, cf. *CIH* 676 note *m* where the reading *imfocetul* is tentatively suggested. Reading *imfocetul* one could translate ‘according to the great chanting of the knowledgeable one’. However, the use of the intensive prefix *imm-* is rare in Old Irish (see *DIL* I 107, 21). Reading *mifocetul*, ‘evil chanting’ hardly makes sense.

On the basis of the reading of the B MS, where *iarmi-* looks like a preverb, I tentatively emend to *iarmi-fóchtatar ind eolaig*, which at least makes some sense. Cf. *Is annsin tra iarmifochtatar*, ‘it was then that they inquired’, *Anecdota* II 48.18. For *éolaig* meaning ‘the learned’ see *DIL* E 150, 56 ff.

**co festar.** For *co n-* with the subjunctive cf. *GOI* §896. I take the form to be the impersonal passive. However, the form could also be interpreted as being active.

**cia méit.** *cia meit* A, *cia miad* B. I adopt the A reading. I take it that what is being referred to here is the size of the honour-price of the various grades. The reading of the B MS would mean ‘what is the honour with which each one is established?’.

**cách diib.** *cach dibh* A, *cach dib donahib læchaib* B. The word *læech* in the B MS might refer to the lay grades which are the subject of this section of the text (See *DIL* L 18, 51 ff).

**a noí.** *a noi* A, *a ndæ no a do .x.* B. For the actual number of offences involved see note *infra*.

**úaite.** *uaite* A, *uaithne* B. The scribe of the B MS may have been influenced by the word *huaithni* in the previous paragraph. For the palatalization in this form see Bergin (1907,74).

**iter a lín 7 a n-úaite** ... On the variation in the size of a person's retinue see Binchy (1941, 82). Both MSS enumerate thirteen items requiring payment of compensation. The distinctions to be drawn between some of these items is unclear e.g. *sár 7 sárugud*, *fáesam 7 turthugud*. Consequently, it is difficult to determine how the items should be grouped. The following arrangement, while not definitive, at least gives a tally of nine :

- 1 : *a lín 7 a n-úaite* : referring to retinue
- 2 : *a mbiathad 7 a n-esáin* : referring to refecation
- 3 : *a nguín* : referring to wounding
- 4 : *a ndíguin* referring to violation of protection
- 5 : *a sár* referring to insult or humiliation
- 6 : *a sárugud* referring to dishonouring
- 7 : *a fáesam* referring to protection granted to others
- 8 : *a turthugud* referring to sanctuary
- 9 : *a n-eneclainn 7 a n-enechruice 7 a n-enechgris* referring to (fractions of) honour-price.

For the term *fáesam* note *Caide foessam ? ni teit for henech*, *CIH* 31. For the last three items note *teora fodla fuil for inchaib duine... enicland 7 enechruice 7 enechgriss .i. i lan 7 i leath, .i. i leith 7 i sectmad, .i. trian 7 int aenmad rann .xx.it*, 'there are three divisions on a person's honour ... honour-price and the fine for dishonour and the fine for defamation i.e. (the) full (amount) and half, i.e. into half and a seventh, i.e. a third and the twenty-first part' *CIH* 1613.19 ff. (*Uraicecht Becc*). For the treatment of these items with respect to the poets cf. Breatnach (1987, 32).

For another example of ambiguity regarding numbers of items in the B MS cf. §1 supra.

§3

**Cis lir do-berat.** *Cis lir doberad* A, *Cis lir doberat* B.

**áirilliud 7 indracus 7 enncae.** *airilliudh 7 innracus 7 enncae* A, *airilliud 7 innrachus 7 idna* B.

cf. *Cid dobeir dire do neoch .i. cid dobeir eniclainn do nech a tir. .Nī. airilliud i. i tochus. 7 inrucus .i. i mbreithir. 7 idna .i. im gnimrad.*, ‘What confers honour-price on a person? i.e. what confers honour-price on a person on land. Not difficult; wealth i.e in possessions, and integrity i.e in word, purity i.e with respect to deeds’ = *CIH* 1613.17 ff. (*Uraicecht Becc*).

Note the similarity between *Uraicecht Becc* (1613.17-21) and §§2, 3 of our text.

Note also that MS B reads *idna* in place of *endce* A. However cf. *Cengair trefogail dodafet airilliud indrucus endge it teora eirce airliter*, ‘one proceeds by means of three divisions which take precedence over them : wealth and integrity and innocence. It is three payments which are arranged’, *CIH* 527.6 ff (*Córus Bésgnai*).

Commenting on the citation from *Uraicecht Becc* MacNeill (1923, 278 note 1) comments ‘By “merit” is to be understood the possession and worthy use of qualifying wealth , by “integrity the potential and actual fulfilment of functions and duties, by “purity” being guiltless of misdeeds.’

**danó tlenae.** *A tri dō atleandai miadh contfe ar cach A , C̄sc c̄it tlena a miad contfar cach .nī. a tri dontleandai miad contfe ar cach B.* For the length of the final vowel in *danó* cf. Breatnach (2003, 139). Both MSS appear to have transmitted the text corruptly. The reading of the A MS is listed by *DIL* under *as-tlen*, ‘takes away, filches’ (A 439, 85 f). The B MS points to *do-tlen*, ‘takes away, steals, deprives of’, (*DIL* D 383, 38 f). I follow Binchy’s note *q* to *CIH* 676 and accordingly restore *A trí dano tlenae* and take the form to be 3rd plural present indicative relative of *tlenaid* ‘takes away, steals’. For another example of the simplex in a similar context cf. *ar-berna díre dia tlether enngus*, ‘it diminishes honour-price if innocence be taken away’, Breatnach (1989, 14 §14) = *CIH* 2212.28 ff. This latter clause is also cited at *O’Dav* 1529 : *Tlethar .i. foxal ut est arberna dia thlethar engus .i. dia netla as a nemurcoit conid urcoidach* = *CIH* 1528.16.

For the notion of honour being stolen or taken away note ... *flaith gonus a cele ... .i. gatuidh a laneclainn uadh co roica in cinuidh ...*, ‘... a lord who kills his client ... i.e. ... it takes away his full honour-price until he makes restitution for that crime ...’ *CIH* 1908.23-28. In note *o* in *CIH* 676 Binchy says ‘two obscure letters above t’. These letters belong to the word *airilliud* in the previous line and have been written subscript. They do not belong to the word *tlena*.



**anfolad.** Perhaps meaning ‘lack of possessions, poverty’? Here juxtaposed with *áirilliud* ‘wealth, possessions’. For the adjective *anfoltach* in the context of lack of honour-price see §22 *infra*.

**docherd.** Cf. *DIL* D 222, 70 where the meaning ‘base calling’ is given. However, the context requires a word meaning the opposite to *innracus*, ‘worthiness, integrity’. Translate ‘non-fulfilment of duties’? Alternatively read *dochert*, ‘impropriety’?

**anenncae.** *anendge* A, *aninnche* B.

§4

Cf. Breatnach (1986, 193) where part of this paragraph is translated. The paragraph is also discussed in Etchingam (1996, 131), Etchingam (1999, 155), Breatnach (1989, 36) and Charles-Edwards (2000, 519-20).

Much of the first part of the paragraph is omitted from the B MS.

**triath.** There are two citations of the word *triath* in Cormac’s Glossary:

*Corm. Y 1198* : *T]riāth .i. rīg treime ethæ iāthæ (.i. iārsinni trēith n-ethas iāthæ)* ‘a *triath* i.e. a king who penetrates lands (i.e. after ? who takes lands)’.

*Corm. Y 1202* : *Triāth tra trēidi fordingair .i. triāth rī, triāth muir, triāth torc. Deiligther didiu ina rēmmenaib .i. triāth rī didiu, trēith a rēim, triāth muir .i. trethan a rēim, triāth torc .i. trēithi a rēim. Triāth .i. rī, tūr-sūth a taithmech. Triāth .i. muir, tūr-uath a taithmech. Triāth .i. torc, tūr-sōd a taithmech* ‘*Triath* moreover signifies three things i.e. *triath* : a king, *triath*: the sea, *triath*: a boar. They are distinguished, moreover in their genitives .i. *triath* : a king moreover, *trēith* is its genitive, *triath*: the sea, *trethan* is its genitive, *triath*: a boar, *trēithi* is its genitive. *Triāth* i.e. King : land-peace is its analysis. *Triāth* i.e. the sea : land-terror is its analysis. *Triāth* i.e. a boar : land-turning is its analysis.’

Stokes (1891, 206) suggests that *triath* may be cognate with the first element of Latin *strū-avus* = *trūavus*. However, this is rejected in *LEIA*, T 142, presumably on the grounds that *-ia-* cannot reflect *-i-*. For further citations of words from our text in Cor-

mac's Glossary see §§ 42 to 49 below dealing with the poets.

**amail as-beir.** *amail isbeir A, amail asberar, B.*

The following are the occurrences of phrases introducing the metrical sections dealing with kings and noble lords:

amail isbeir 583.7 = amail asberar 676.30

amail isbeir 583.15 = amail asbeir 676.36

amail isbert 583.25 = amail asbert 677.6

ut d̄r̄ 583.30 = ut d̄r̄ 677.9-10

*Omitted A* = ut d̄r̄ 677.13

ut d̄r̄ 583.40 = ut d̄r̄ 677.15

ut dixit 584.5 = ut dixit 677.19

*Omitted A* = ut dixit 677.23

ut d̄r̄ 584.17 = ut dixit 677.27.

The first point of interest is the absence of a nasalizing relative clause in all of the Old Irish examples. Cf. *GOI* §498. For a similar scenario in the text *Uraicecht na Riar* see Breatnach (1987, 119) notes to §4 and Breatnach (1986, 28). For the omission of the nasalizing relative marker in manner clauses see Ó hUiginn (1986, 54-5). The second point to note is the close correspondence between the two MSS in the distribution of Irish and Latin usage. For the initial *i* in *isbeir/isbert* see Breatnach *SnaG*, 236).

I take it that the subject of *as-beir* ('it') is the metrical composition from which the citation is taken.

**Tríath trom** etc. I divide the verse into lines on the basis of semantic units. For the metrical structure of this and other passages in this section of the text cf. 'Introduction: pp. 19-26 *supra*. Generally the B MS omits all but the first line of the metrical citations.

**tremi-etha.** *tremaetha A bis, tremoetha B.*

For this rare verb cf. *DIL* T 295.73, *GOI* §856 and *VKG ii* §716.5

**Éreinn túatha.** *erind tuath A, erinn 7 rl B.*

I follow Breatnach(1986, 193) and restore *túath* of MS A to accusative plural *túatha*. One could also restore to accusative singular *túaith* and translate 'the land of Ireland'.

Cf. *i túaith Egept* (Stokes, 1883, line 3144). I also restore *erind* to (preposed) genitive singular *Érenn*.

**ó thoinn co toinn.** Presumably the notion being expressed here is that the power of the *triath* extends throughout the entire country : ‘from wave to wave’ i.e. ‘from coast to coast’. A similar notion is found in *Cogitosus Secunda Vita S. Brigidae: ... cuius parrochia per totam Hiberniensem terram diffusa est, à mare ad mare extensa est*, Colgan (1647, 518). This has been translated by Connolly and Picard as follows : ‘... its *paruchia* extends over the whole land of Ireland, reaching from sea to sea’, Connolly, Picard (1987, 11).

**taircella tomus.** Cf. *Taircheall .i. timceall, ut est taircell tomas : CIH 1530.16 = O’Dav. 1584 : Taircell .i. timchell, ut est tairchell tomais*. Stokes translates ‘*tairchell*, i.e. a surrounding, ut est a going round of measurement’.

The verb may be a form of *do-airchella*, ‘confines, guards’ but in this context meaning ‘fixes, establishes’?. Cf. *DIL D 185, 9 ff.* Alternatively, the verb could be *do-airgella*, ‘gives pledges’. In that case the sense would be ‘he gives pledges with respect to a measure’.

**conid iarna dorn toimdither.** I take this clause to be an example of Tmesis III as defined in Greene (1977, 24 f.). For *dorn* as a measure of length cf. Kelly (1997, 563 ff.). Presumably the concept being expressed here is that the *triath* has the authority to establish the size of various measurements. Alternatively, this passage may refer to the establishment of persons in their proper grade in the *túath*. Note *Ní túalaing brithemnachtae la Féniu nád fiastar cid asa fil mes 7 tomus cach gráid fó miad, fri air fri othrus fri eneclainn fri lóg n-enech fri díre. Rí ruirech, is asa thochus mittir cách la Féniu*, ‘He who does not know on what basis each grade is estimated and measured in accordance with his rank for [compensation for] satire, for sick-maintenance, for payment for an offence to honour, for honour-price, for penalty payment, is not capable of passing judgement in Irish law. A king of over-kings, it is with reference to his qualifications that everyone is estimated in Irish law.’ Breatnach (1996, 28), normalised from *CIH 1292.29-31*

**fó lín:** *fó* = *fo* (preposition) + *a* (possessive pronoun 3rd singular masculine). Cf. *GOI* §§441, 837C. For the construction cf. *grád fó dán fodeisin* ‘a grade in accordance with his own skill’, Breatnach (1987, §9).

**timdibe:** *timbe* A, omitted B. I adopt Binchy’s tentative restoration *CIH* 583 note *a*. Cf. *fo lin cin timdeibhe*: *CIH* 583.14-15. Alternatively, one could read *timme*, the verbal noun of *\*do-imben*, ‘curtains’. Cf. *DIL* T 172, 15.

**sechib dú:** For the omission of the pronoun in this expression cf. *GOI* §461(b).

**sceo lieic lógmair:** *sce lig logmoir* A, om. B.

*sce* must be a mistake for *sceo*. For the use of the feminine form of the adjective with a masculine consonantal stem in Middle Irish cf. O’Brien (1954, 347) and Breatnach (*SnaG*, 252).

For a different interpretation of this phrase see Ó Corráin (1999, 310-11), where the writer reads *.u. cumala dergoir [H] scelig logmoir* and translates ‘seven (sic) *cumala* of red gold [or] of precious stone’.

**dia grised grúaide:** *dia grised gruad* A, omitted B. I restore the genitive plural *grúaide*. The noun *grúad* is, in origin, an s-stem. Cf. *DIL* G 166, 36 ff. The MS reading reflects the influence of the o-stems on other stem types in Middle Irish. Cf. *SnaG* (249-50).

**tremi-etha a mámu uile.** *tremætha a mamu uile* A, *tremoetha uiletha a ninada uile* B. I take it that the scribe of the B MS originally intended the following: *tremoetha a ninada uile*, ‘he penetrates all their sites’.

**amail ro cét do Conchobor.** *amail rochéit do concobur* A, *amail rocet do concobar* B.

**Ardmac ríg ...:** For this verse cf. Meyer (1914, 28), Carney (1971, 54) and Breatnach (1986, 193). As regards the metrical structure, Meyer comments: ‘In der zweiten Langzeile fehlt freilich die Bindung’. Carney emends ... *iathu fer* to ... *īatha fēr* stating that ‘This interpretation is supported by the alliterative pattern’. However cf. *GOI* §232.4 where it is stated that lenition is found in neuter plurals which do not end in *-a*.

§5

A portion of this paragraph has been translated in McLeod (1987, 80-1) : ‘As Cormac says : You should award to a renowned king, [O] Coirpre, the value of a captive for fine *cumals* as far as his seven which he claims for the breach of his protection or for his contempt or (satire-)blistered cheeks.’

**Rí ríg.** *Ri ri* A, *Rig rig* B.

**rí ad-gíallat.** Thus A, *rig atgiallat* B.

**cumal cach ríg dó.** I take this as a distributive genitive, literally ‘a *cumal* of every king for him i.e. a *cumal* per king for him’.

**día etlu, dia cumasc dála.** *di atlu a dala* A, *dia etla dia cumasc dala* B. I take the reading of the B MS here. *etla* is the verbal noun of *as-tlen* ‘takes away, filches, removes secretly’. Perhaps in this context meaning ‘diminishing (honour), or evading him’. I can make no sense of *atlu* of MS A.

For *cumasc dála* see a *charr ar bélaib cechtar n-a(e)í do grés fri cumascc cu[i]rmthige*, ‘his spear in front of each of these (for use) in the event of a fight in a banqueting hall’ (Binchy, 1941 l. 592-3.) = *CIH* 570.23-4.

**fó lín cen timdibe.** *fo lin cin timdeibhe* A, *fo lin cin timdibe .i. c.c. a lin* B.

**dia díguin:** om. A, *dia digna* B. I adopt Binchy’s emendation, *CIH* 676, note *t*. The offence of *díguin* entailed payment of full honour-price to the victim (cf. Binchy (1941, 82-3). However, it would also be possible to allow *digna* to stand. Cf. *dignae*, ‘reproach, contempt’ : *DIL* D 94, 45.

**Dá secht cumal a eneclann.** *Da .iii. cumal dia sarugud* A, *da .iii. cumala a eneclann dia sarugud* B. This clause occurs word for word in *Críth Gablach*, where it describes the honour-price of the *ri bunaid cech cinn*. Cf. Binchy (1941, l. 475-6) = *CIH* 568.26.

**clothach.** Cf. *clothach .i. enech, ut est toimsi do rig clothach coirpri*, CIH 1559.42. For *toimsi* cf. 676.37 (= MS B).

**Coirpri.** *coibre* A, *coirpre* B.I take this to be the vocative and translate ‘Give , O Coibre ...’. However, the vocative particle is absent from both MSS. Cf. *sloind coirpre lifechair*, §11 584.6 = MS A. For further examples of the omission of the vocative particle cf. *Fedelm banfaith, co acca ar slúag?* TBC Rec. 1, ll. 54, 58, 63 and note p. 242.

**lóg cimbeda do chumalaib caínib:** For an example of a person being paid by way of compensation cf. *Mad fuil graine hi toll narai rig fergnia dāor hi sodain co lui rig* , ‘If it be a one-grain wound in the hollow of the temple of a king, an unfree henchman [armed] with a corselet [is due] for this.’ Binchy (1966, 26 §6) = CIH 2306.34 ff. Note the comments in McLeod (1987, 87) and Kelly (1997, 592).

The value of the *cimbid* was seven *cumals* as is clear from the following citation from the text *Berrad Airechta* :

*Caite a sslan na aitire ? .i. a fomeilt 7 a imluath 7 a gnim 7 log .iii. cumal niath iar ndithmair .i. logh cimmedha, ar is cimidh ind aitiri iar ndithmair fuirri* : CIH 597.26-7 (*Berrad Airechta* §67 = Thurneysen (1928, 24). This is translated by Stacey as follows :

‘What is the compensation of the *aitire*-surety ? i.e. [the price of ] his maintenance and [of] his disturbance and [of] his [missed] work, and the price of the seven *cumals* of a warrior after forfeiture, i.e. the [ransom]-price of a captive, for the *aitire*-surety is a captive after falling forfeit’, Stacey (1986, 223).

**co a secht saiges Aithirne.** ‘up to the seven which Aithirne seeks’ i.e. this is how the fourteen *cumals* are arrived at : seven *cumals* in respect of the *cimbid* along with the seven which Aithirne seeks.

**i cenn cacha cuinnsen.** *cuinnsen* appears to be genitive singular of *cuinnsiu* , ‘face, countenance’. However, the meaning of this line is obscure to me. This phrase (along with the preceding reference to Aithirne) has been omitted from McLeod’s translation referred to above. Note the similarity to the following lines from *Bretha Nemed*

*Toísech:*

*Fír do rí g rúirech  
ro-saig dá secht cumala  
fora gnúso gné*

‘Confirm for a king of great kings, that he attains twice seven *cumals*, depending on the appearance of his countenance’. Cf. Breatnach (1989, 14-5 §16) = *CIH* 2212.36.

**gruaide grís:** Note the preposed genitive.

§6

As this paragraph is quite corrupt I provide the diplomatic text of both MSS in the edition. I have attempted to provide an eclectic text. See Binchy’s note *u* to *CIH* 676 where he states that ‘the entire paragraph is confused and incorrect’. Unusually, the A MS seems to have preserved the verse citation only without the accompanying prose. The material here appears to have been influenced by or confused with the content of the previous paragraph. It can hardly be the case that seven *túatha* submit to the *rí túaithe*, as in the case of the *rí túath*. The content of this paragraph may have been influenced by that of the previous one. For a clearer description of this grade cf. *Ríi benn cétamus, cid ara n-eperr? Is é rí túaithe insin las mbiat .vii. ngrá(i)d Fêne cona fofodlaib i céilsini ... vii. cumala a ene(ch)lann*, Binchy (1941, ll. 448-451 = *CIH* 568.10-12)

**Rí túaithe.** Om. A, *Rig tuath toimsi 7 rl- .i. rig tuath ... rig tuaithe toimsi* B. This phrase comprises the opening words of the metrical citation and seems out of place here. It is repeated in the correct position in the B MS. I therefore delete it from the restored text at this point.

**rí ad-gíallat secht túatha.** Omitted, A, *ri atgíallat .uii. tuath* B. This phrase echoes the B MS reading *rig atgíallat .uii. rig tuatha* at §5. Perhaps a case of haplogy. Possibly we should read *rí ad-gíallat secht ngrád túaithe*. See introductory note to paragraph *supra*.

**ar-gellat:** Cf. DIL A 399, 8. The meaning here is unclear. Cf. the following list of

entitlements apparently due to the poet Fergus Tuile : *airfide, ara biatha, ara gealla túatha* CIH 1123.10 (= *Bretha Nemed déidenach*).

**iter 7 a nadmanna:** The text is obviously incomplete here. Possibly we should read *iter a rátha 7 a nadmann*.

**sé cét a lín.** Omitted, A, *se cet a lin* B. The retinue of the lowest grade of king can hardly be six hundred. Perhaps we should restore *is é cét a lín*, 'his retinue numbers one hundred'. This would be half the number referred to in the gloss in the previous paragraph : *dligid a sairbiathad fo lín cin timidibe .i. c.c. a lín* CIH 676.34-5. Alternatively, the word *lín* may refer to the number of soldiers this grade of king commands in battle cf. *ri aentuaite secht cet laech lais*, CIH 1602.4 (= *Uraicecht Becc*).

**secht cumala cacha lámae dia ainmed.** Omitted, A, *.uii. cumala cacha laime dia ainmed* B. This is an example of the distributive genitive i.e each one of the persons who plays a part in causing a blemish to him must pay seven *cumals*. Cf. *cumal cach rí*, 'a *cumal* per king', §5 supra and *trí cimbihi do chrochad cacha lámae no-d-nguin*, 'three hostages are to be hung for each one who has a part in wounding him', §59 *infra*.

**toimsi :** *toimse* A, *toimsi* B. The reading *toimes* in CIH 583.20 is an error. I tentatively take this form to be the verbal of necessity of *do-midethar* and translate 'he is to be assessed' (assuming a zero form of the copula). Alternatively, the form could be the genitive singular of *tomus*, 'measure, measuring'. Cf. *do laim fir toimsi techta .i. do laimh inti doni in tomus cu dligthech*, CIH 483.13 ff. (= *Cáin Aicillne*). See Thurneysen (1923, 355-6) where he translates 'von einer Manneshand gebührenden Maßes'.

**sceo grúaide grís:** *sceo gruidhe* A, om. B. I follow Binchy's suggestion (CIH 583 note c) and supply *grís*.

**cumail n-indraic:** *cumail inruic* A, om. B. I restore nasalization of the adjective after the accusative singular *cumail*.

**sámaighther:** *samuither* A, om. B. I take the verb to be *sámaigid*, 'fixes, establishes'.



Cf. *sámaighther sámugud airech échto co tri séotu deac*, ‘let the *aire échto* be fixed, up to thirteen *séts*’, Breatnach (1989, 14 §15 = *CIH* 2212.32-3) (= *Bretha Nemed Toisech*).

**sóerbrethaib:** *særbrethuibh* A, om. B. Note the independent dative plural.

§7

Some of the material in this and the following paragraphs is translated in Thurneysen (1930, 379-82) where he discusses the various grades who act as representatives of *túath*, *fine* etc.

**Aire ard .i. forgill.** Thus A, B. Note that the word *forgill* is an interlinear gloss in both MSS. These glosses may be later than the main text. MacNeill (1923, 312) and McLeod (1986, 62-5) both indicate that the grade of *aire forgill* was not part of the original hierarchy of lords.

**fer tairchella túatha :** *tar cenn tuaithe* A, *fear tair ceann tuatha* B. The reading of the B MS is corrected to *no taircella* in the right-hand margin. I take this to be the original reading, though this is by no means certain. I take the verb to be *do-aircheil/do-airchella* ‘guards, restrains’ (from \*to-air-cel-). Another possibility is that the form belongs to the verb *do-airgella* ‘gives a fore-pledge for’ (from \*to-air-gell-). Note *OCUS ARINDI DONAIRGELLA CACH ARA CETHRAI .i. arinni ara tabartar gell toiridhnec tar cenn a cethradh*, ‘for the reason that everyone gives a fore-pledge on behalf of his animals i.e. for the reason that a helping pledge might be given on behalf of his animals’, *CIH* 412.1 ff.(= *Di Chetharślicht Athgabála*). However the occurrence of the phrase ‘tar cenn’ in both MSS is problematic. This phrase occurs again in a gloss on the term *rath n-aitiri*: *Rath naitire .i. aitire cairdi son bis tar cenn thuaiti iarna aitite ocus iarna tabuirt a slain acht bid aitire techtae. Cadead-side? ni anse, tanuisi tuisig son du a natamar dano tanisi la tuaith uili; ni didiu icas-[s]ide fri cach is rath fair ocus ni athcuirither a frithise*, ‘The fief of an *aitire*, i.e. that is [the fief] of an *aitire* chairdi who [acts as surety] on behalf of his tribe, [which fief is given] after he has been acknowledged, and after he has been given his compensation, provided that he is a proper *aitire*. What are those [fiefs]? Not difficult, that is [the fief] of the tanist of the chief [of the tribe] where he is acknowledged, moreover, as tanist by all the

tribe; anything then that that person pays in respect of each person is a fief upon [the offender] and [cannot] be returned', Stacey (1994, 92) = Thurneysen (1930, 381-2) = *CIH* 919.40-920.2

At all events, the *aire ard* appears to be acting as an *aitire* for the *túath* with respect to written law and treaty. Cf. Stacey (1994, 96).

**i cáin 7 cairdiu:** *a cain 7 cairde* A, *coit- 7 a cairde* B. I can make no sense of the B reading.

**ní hé arda-naisc congíallnai ná dligud flatha:** *ar-naisc* is here followed by the dative. Cf. *arus-nena nertaib dorn do gāllaib*, 'he shall bind her with powers, a handful of hostages', Murphy (1952, 147). However this is the only example of the word *congíallnae* in *DIL*. Perhaps we should read *co ngíallnai*, and translate 'and it is not he who binds them with base-clientship'.

**oc lesugud túaithe.** *oc lesugud tuaithe* A, *ac leasugud tuaithe* B. Cf. *do lesugud tuaithe .i. uair is ar daigin lesa oigh don tuaithe doníat é*, 'for it is on account of the complete benefit of the *túath* that they do it', *CIH* 1322.26-7.

**Dligid secht lethchumala indraici dia díguin.** *dligid .uii. lethcumala inraice dia diguin* A, *dligid leth .uii. cumala indraca dia diguin* B.

**Aire ard ardneimed:** *airdnime* A, *airdneime* B. For the opening lines of this verse cf. McLeod (1987, 44) where he translates 'The *aire ard*, a high sanctuary for his kingdom which he saves'. I restore *airdneime* to *ardneimed*. For further examples of the non-representation of final dentals in the MSS cf. 'Introduction': p. 6.

**conn a thúaithe tesaírg:** *cona tuaithe tesaírg* A. I can make no sense of the MS reading. Perhaps the text is assigning a martial function to the *aire ard*, just as it does to the *indnae*, the *ánruth* and the *dóe*. For *conn*, 'pre-eminent person, leader, chief' cf. *DIL* C 450,85.

Cf. *7 fos aire ard ardneimed con a tuath tesaírg .i. dighní a logh bais ari gonach leigann a ninrad do echtrannaib*, 'he carries out their *lóg báis* (?) so that he does not

permit their being invaded by outsiders', CIH 1291.15-16.

Note also : *Cis lir tairgsin cacha fine ? Conn ardolabraidtar, eaclais fosuigaidter, flaithe fordotuigaidter*, CIH 227.1-2 = *Di Astud Chirt 7 Dligid*, 'how many controls(?) are there for every kin ? A head who speaks for them, a church which provides (for them), a lord who protects them'. Cf. Binchy (1976, 21-2) and Notes to §8 below.

I take *-tesairg*, to be an example of Bergin's Law. For the deuterotonic present indicative *do-essuirg* cf. *DIL D 258*, 70 ff.

Alternatively, one could restore *conid túaith tesairg*, 'so that it is (his) *túath* which he protects'. For this construction (i.e. Tmesis III) cf. Greene (1977, 24).

**sceo aigthe esáin:** *sceo aighthe esain* A. I take *aigthe* to be genitive singular (preposed) of *agad, aiged*, 'face, countenance'. Cf. *DIL A 84*, 1 where it is stated that the form is 'not found in O.Ir. glosses or in the text of Laws'. This statement has been corrected by Binchy (1966, 55-6). Cf. further §§10, 11 *infra*. Alternatively, one might emend to the genitive singular of '*oígi*', 'guest, visitor'. The meaning would then be that the *aire ard* is due full honour-price if he is forced to refuse guests hospitality. Cf. *At-taat secht n-airlicthe do-sliat lóg n-enech ... airliciud biid dia tecmai dáim i n-águ a n-érco*, 'There are seven lendings which incur [the payment] of honour-price ... the lending of food if a party of guests happens [to arrive] on the date for paying it back', Breatnach (1998, 38 §10 = *CIH 572.12-14*).

Note also *esáin oíged úaidi*, 'driving guests away from it (i.e. the Church)' Breatnach (1989, 10 §6 = *CIH 2211.29*). However, such a reading in our text would be a severe emendation.

**secht lána lethchumala:** Note the preposed adjective.

§8

There is a partial translation of this paragraph in McLeod (1987, 42).

**fini comchenél:** *fine comcenel* A, *fine comcinel* B. I take *comchenél* as genitive plural and translate 'kin made up of his peers'. Perhaps we should read *fine chomcheniúil*. Cf. *Cétmuintir co córus lánrehta lánamna comcheniúil*, Binchy(1941, ll. 410-11 ff) = *CIH 567.27*.

**arros-labrathar:** *aroslabra* A, *arrolabrathar* B. The B MS preserves the deponent flexion of the verb. The A MS contains an infixed pronoun 3 singular feminine Class A referring to *fine*.

**Teora lethchumala ina esáin:** *teora lethcumala ina asain* A, *teora cumala ina asain* B. I adopt the reading of the A MS (i.e. three half-*cumals*) which is repeated in the verse section of the paragraph.

**teora léiri lethchumala.** Note preposed adjective *léiri*.

**la díabul fuiririd.** *la diabul fuiririud* A, omitted B. The inclusion of refection in honour-price is unusual. However note *la diablad fuiririd do thoirthib* in §9 below.

§9

**fer con-óí déis n-athar 7 senathar.** *fer conæ deis nathar 7 a tsenathar* A, *fer conæ deis nathar 7 seanathar* B. Cf. *Aire désa ... Os hé mac airech 7 aue airech*, Binchy (1941, ll. 328-36= CIH 566.14-9). The principle here is that it takes three generations of 'nobility' before one advances to the grade of *aire désa*. For the situation relating to the grades of poets cf. *Fili ón at óga fíríana folad ... os é mac filed 7 aue araili*, Breatnach (1987, 102 §3 = CIH 2336.15-18). For a general discussion of the three generation requirement with special reference to the grades of poets cf. Breatnach (*loc. cit.*, 94 ff).

For the notion of preserving the land of the *fine* cf. *trebar cach conæ a finntid oigi foric na facba domain bes mo inde foric fuirre*, 'prudent is the one who preserves his *fine*-land complete as he finds (it) and who does not leave any more harm on it than he finds on it (in the first place). CIH 535.30-1. (= *Córus Béscnai*).

Note further : *is mesech cach fer fine conæ a fintiu nadi ren, nadi sanna nadi fothlen*, 'capable is every man of the *fine* who preserves *fine*-land, who does not sell it, who does not alienate it, who does not diminish it', CIH 489.16-17 (= *Cáin Aicillne*, Thurneysen (1923, 370 ff)).

**amail ad-cota riam.** Thus A,B. I take it that the verbal form contains a masculine

infixed pronoun referring to *déis*. I restore the expected Class C form.

7 **dotairchi**. 7 *dotairch* A, 7 *dotairciur* B. The readings of both MSS are obscure to me. They may be corruptions of one of the following verbs : *do-áirci*, ‘causes, brings about’, *do-airicc*, ‘comes, finds, gets’ or *do-farcaí*, ‘guards, fences around’.

For the verb *do-áirci* with the meaning ‘produces, brings forth’ Cf. *DIL* D 186,44 and note *Is for anflaith tra na rig dogníter na tíre 7 na ferunda condat ambrite 7 connat taircet torad amal ba gnath doib*, ‘and it is through the unkingly rule of such that lands and territories become sterile and do not afford their wanted fruit’, Atkinson (1887, 4231-3).

Perhaps we should read *dod-áirci*, ‘who produces thus’ ?

Alternatively, we could expand as *dod-airchella*, and translate ‘who confines it (i.e. fences it in)’.

**dligid sóerbiathad dechenbuir dó i túaith**: *dligid sárbiathad .x.nebuir do a tuaith* A, *dligid sárbiatad .x.nebur a tuaith* B. The A reading represents the genitive singular i.e. ‘the noble refectio[n] of ten persons’. The B reading represents the dative singular i.e. ‘the noble refectio[n] of one of a group of ten’. For this construction cf. *GOI* §§251.2, 388.

**mórfeser**: *mor.ui.ur* A, *moirseisir* B. For the form cf *GOI* §§132,388.

**Ut dixit Cormac**. Om. A, *ut d̄r cormac* B.

**Aire désa díchle**: *Aire desa dichli* A, *aire desa dithle* B. The form in the A MS may gen. sg. of *díchell* ‘negligence’, verbal noun of *do-cíallathar*. Thus we could translate ‘an *aire désa* of negligence i.e neglecting an *a.d.*. For *dithle* of MS B cf. *DIL* D 147, 70 where the form is identified as the verbal noun of *do-tlen*, ‘takes away, steals, deprives of’. The sense then would be ‘diminishing an *a.d.* i.e with respect to his honour.’

**dligid slánchumail cach oín co mórfeser**: *dligid slancumail cach ain co mor.ui.er* A, *dligid cumala cach ain co moirseisir* B.

. Note the citation from Egerton 88, 7a : *Aire desa dithle(?) .i. lanfiach for gach fer .i.*

*rith go mor.ui.ear dona rigaib 7 dona gradhaib flatha uili fora ngelfine 7 fora ndaorcel-i, no gomad for cach nduine uile*, ‘for diminishing an *aire désa* i.e. full penalty on every person i.e. an extension to seven persons in the case of the kings and all the lordly grades, on their *gelfine* and on their base clients, or that it be on every single person’, CIH 1282.34-6.

Note the reference to compensation being paid by up to seven persons. For the extension of liability for wrongdoing to multiple persons cf. Thurneysen (1930, 382 ff).

**do thoirthib:** *do tortaibh* A, om. B. For the *torad/ toirthi* cf. *GOI* §309. But perhaps the reference here is to *tort*, ‘a loaf, cake’. Cf. *DIL* T 262, 65. *Uraicecht Becc* specifies the rations of bread that the lordly grades are entitled to e.g. *secht seoit diri airech desa ... biatad cetrui do ... ceitri bairgen cach fir cona nanlund 7 a tarsund*, ‘seven *séts* is the compensation of an *aire désa* ... he is entitled for refecton for four ... four loaves for every man with their relish and condiment’, CIH 1597.9 - 15.

#### §10

**Aire fine :** *Aire fine findathar* A, *Aire fine* B. I adopt the reading of the B MS here. The reading of the A MS appears to anticipate the first line of the following metrical citation.

**fer do-fét :** *fer doet* A/B. For similar examples of the omission of *f* in the A MS cf. Introduction: Orthography p. 4. For the leniting relative clause cf. *GOI* §494.

**fer do-fét fini dia mberat a séutu do flaith.** *diambiar da seta co flaith* A, *diambi 7 ardo .s. do flaith* B. The text here appears to be corrupt in both MSS. Binchy (CIH 583 note *h*) suggested reading *dia mberat a ?*. Thurneysen (1930, 379) had previously suggested restoring the sentence as follows : *fer do-fét fine dia mberat a séotu co flaith*. He translated : ‘ein Mann, der die Sippe anführt (ihr vorangeht) wenn sie ihre Wertgegenstände (wohl Abgaben) zum Herrscher bringen.’ However, *dia n-* meaning ‘when’ is used only with the narrative preterite cf. *GOI* §889. Thurneysen (*loc. cit.*) added two further examples of a third party representing the *fine* before a king or ruler. (1) *muire rechtgi doda-fet a tegh ri[g]*, ‘der m.r. der ihnen in das Haus des Königs vorangeht (offenbar bei derselben Gelegenheit)’, CIH 601.9 = Meyer (1904, 215). (2) *Nach breth*

*nad astaitheir itir feichemna manetar, a fuaidred a tig a muireach fadeisin ardo-feith co righ*, ‘wenn ein Spruch (richterliche Entscheidung) durch die Kontrahenten untereinander nicht festgehalten (anerkannt) wird, ist Einspruch dagegen im Haus ihres eigenen *muire* zu erheben, der sie zum König führt’, *CIH* 1969.26-7.

Another possibility is that we should adopt the reading of the B MS : *fer do-fét fini dia mbi* ..., ‘a man who goes before a *fine* from which he comes/ to whom it falls ...’.

Perhaps we have to do with a corrupt form of the denominative verb *sétaigid* ‘goes on a way, journeys’. This alternative however, would involve severe emendation.

The two MSS readings *iar da seta* A, 7 *ardo .s. do flaith* B. may represent forms of a verb *do/ da*, ‘gives’. Cf. Binchy (1938, 62) and (1941,36) and note the following examples : (1) *nir cagaidh (.i. nir cosmuil) sin do da (.i. do thabhairt) fair*, ‘it was not fitting to impose that on him’, Meyer (1905b, 483), (2) *cach fó dó in Duilibh (.i. co tuca Criosd gach maith dó)*, ‘may the Creator grant every good thing to him’, Meyer(1905b, 489).

**seissir** : *.ui.ir* A, *seiriur* B.

**dligid cumail cacha lámae** lit. ‘he is entitled to a *cumal* of every hand i.e. he is entitled to a *cumal* from every party who takes part in dishonouring him (up to four persons)’. Cf. §§6, 59.

**esáin** : *esain* A, *asain* B.

**finnathar**: *findathar* A/ B. I take this form to be 3 singular imperative passive of *ro-finnadar*. Alternatively, one could emend to the plural *finnatar a théchtai*, ‘let his entitlements be discovered’.

**sceo air indligthig**: I take *air* to be an independent dative and translate ‘and (his being wounded) with an illegal satire’.

**sceo aigthe esain**: Cf. note to §7 above.

§11

**indnae:***idhna* A, *idna* B. The correct Old Irish spelling *indna(e)* is preserved by the B MS in §1 *supra*. For the Middle Irish change of *-ndn-* to *-dn-* cf. Breatnach (*SnaG*, 234). For the etymology of this word cf. Pokorny (1928, 305-6) where he suggests a connection with the word *ind*, ‘point’ (*DIL* I, 211, 47). The original meaning of the word seems to have been ‘a spear, weapon’. This then could have developed into the meaning ‘the one who uses a weapon’. Note the similarity to the usage of the phrase *gáe deirg*, ‘murderer’. Cf. *techt ar slicht ga deirg iar nguín neith dot cairdib*, ‘pursuing a murderer after the killing of one of your friends’, *CIH* 1322.5-6. For discussion of an alternative etymology cf. McLeod (1987, 46). The word also means ‘battle-line, battalion’. This usage may be relevant to the present context. Cf. *Cond-recat dia mís, cách cona sóchraite co mbatar na da idna aigid i n-igid*, ‘They meet a month from that day, each with his army so that the two battle-lines were face to face’, O’Daly (1975, 40 §10). The sense could thus be interpreted as ‘the one who commands a battalion (of thirty ?)’. The use of this word to denote one of the grades of lord is unique to *Míadslechtae*.

**fer oca mbí sochraite do macaib bertar dó 7 do bráithrib:** *fer oca mbi sochraiti do macaib berar do 7 do bratrib* A, *fear oca mbi socraite do macaib 7 braithre 7 maic brathar* B. I adopt the reading of the A MS, (restoring *bertar* for MS *berar*) as it preserves the correct use of the preposition *do* with the dative plural of both nouns.

**co mbí tríchait gaiscedach:** *combi .xxx.uit gaisgedhach* A, *combi tricha gaiscadach* B.

**Dligid sóerbiathad cóicir :** *Dligid særbiathad .u.ir* A, *dligid a saerbiathad .u.ir* B.

**occa fini :** *oca fine* A, *oca fini* B. For the preposition *oc* meaning ‘with, among’ cf. *DIL* O 84, 80. Perhaps to be translated as ‘when amongst his kin’. The entitlement to refectation is usually qualified e.g. *oc lesugud túaithe*, §7 and *i túaith* §10. Perhaps this is another variation meaning ‘when acting on behalf of his *fine*’? Note Binchy’s comment (1941, 82): ‘Certain of the higher grades are allowed a larger d. [i.e. *dám*] when engaged on public affairs ... than that which accompanies them on private concerns’.



**Indnac án díumsach** : *IDhna an díumsach* A, *idan an díumsach* B. The words seem to me to be written separately in both MSS. Cf. note *a* to *CIH* 584, where Binchy proposes reading *andíumsach*. However it is difficult to see how the meaning ‘not proud/haughty’ would fit here. Note also the reference to the *ánruth án* in the following paragraph. The translation in *AL* iv 349 reads ‘unambitious’.

**Sloind Coirpri Lifechair** : For the use of the verb *sluindid* in the context of enumerating honour-price cf. *sluind do airig forgaill trichait sét sainriuth*, ‘declare for the *aire forgaill* thirty *séts* in particular’, Breatnach (1989, 14 §15). Note omission of vocative particle and cf. note to §5 above.

**sceo aigthe esáin** : *sceo ai esain* A, omitted B. I adopt Binchy’s suggested restoration (note *b* to *CIH* 584). Cf. §§7, 10 *supra*.

**dligid léir lethchumail** : Note preposed adjective.

**Connma imchastar Cormac** : This clause is obscure to me. For *connma* perhaps read *coinnma/coinme*, genitive singular of *coinnem* ‘visiting party, band of guests, free billeting’, *DIL* C 312.32 ff and cf. *CIH* 585.8 and note *c* to page. Cf. also *coinnmed*, *DIL* C 312, 76, ‘act of billeting, quartering’. For a reference to this custom cf. Kelly (1988, 31 and note 96 to page).

The form *imchastar* may be for *imcastar*, the protoronic present subjunctive passive singular of *imm-acci*, ‘looks after, regards’.

## §12

Note that there are three distinct grades of *ánruth* referred to in our text. The grade dealt with here is one of the lords. §35 *infra* describes an *ánruth* who is one of the grades of Latin scholars. §47 deals with the *ánruth* poet. The text does not comment on this fact. This is perhaps an indication of the compilatory nature of *Míadslechteae*.

An *ánruth* with military/martial functions is also described in *Berrad Airechta* : *Cadeat tra imdeгла fechemon ar naidmaim, ma theis for snadhuth ? Ata triar dod-n-eim la Féniu ar naidmaim .i. ansruth 7 daul (leg. dál) 7 a[e]nach. Is é ansruth imid-n-dich*

.i. *ansruth a athir 7 a tsenathir 7 ansruth fadesin. Ar ní ansruth cert oinfer hi si[n]:* Thurneysen (1928, 13 §45) = *CIH* 594.26-9.

‘This has been translated in Stacey (1986, 217): ‘What, then, are the defences [available to] a debtor [which protect him] from a *naidm*-surety if he seeks protection? There are three things which protect him from a *naidm*-surety in Irish law, i.e. a high-noble (*ánsruth*) and a court and an assembly. This is the high-noble who protects him i.e. a man whose father and grandfather were high-nobles and who is a high-noble himself, for a [high-noble of only] one generation is not a proper high-noble for this purpose.’ Thurneysen (loc.cit. p. 14) discusses the martial *ánsruth* and the *ánsruth*-poet. He does not refer to the *ánsruth* grade of Latin scholar. He also provides a translation of the first half of this paragraph.

**fer imme-dích a mennut 7 a chrích.** *fer imdith a mennut 7 a crích* A, *fer imdi caem menait 7 a crích* B. I restore the relative form of the preposition, for which see *GOI* §493.4. For the dental final in the A MS’s *imdith* cf. ‘Introduction’: p. 5. The reading of the B MS is obviously corrupt.

Cf. *Caiche crích .i. ansruth bis oc dighail greisi a coiccrích*, ‘a c.c. i.e. an *ánruth* who is wont to be avenging attacks against his borders’, *CIH* 610.13 [= *Dúil Dromma Cetta*].

**Guin duini dó i cach tréimsi do chethrib ráithib na bliadnae.** *guin duine do in cach treimsi do ceitrib raithuib na blaidna* A, *guin duini do in cach treimsi do cethre raithi na blaidna* B. Presumably the text is indicating here that the habitual use of violence (to enforce claims?) is one of the characteristic functions of this *ánruth*. Compare this to the description of the *bóaire* at §18: *ní goin duine acht i ló catha*. Note also *aithech baitside ... cen guin duine acht láa catha*, Binchy (1941, §12 ll. 142-3).

Is *cethruib* in MS A a rare example of the masc./ neut. dat. pl.? cf. *GOI* §385. If so *ráithe* is here treated as a masc./ neut. io-stem. Cf. *DIL* R 7, 64.

**Ní bí bes úaitiu fichit fri crích anechtair.** *Ni bi bes uaitiu .xx. fri crích anechtair* A, *ni bes uaiti .xx.ti fri crích anechtair* B. This is an example of the relative without antecedent with dative meaning. Cf. Breatnach (1980, 4 fn. 15). The unexpressed antecedent must refer to the *ánruth*’s military band, i.e. ‘he is not wont to be outside the territory (with a military band) which is less than twenty (in number).’

**Sóerbiathad cethrair.** *særbiathad cethrair A, soerbiathad .iiii.air B.* Note that the B reading is mis-transcribed as *.iii.air* at *CIH 677.22*.

**do cach leth.** *do cacha lethe l gaca clethe A, do cach leth B.* There is confusion in the MSS at this point. I tentatively adopt the reading of the B MS with the meaning 'in every direction' i.e. 'wherever he goes'. For the use of *do* with *leth* cf. *DIL L 126, 46*. Note in the following metrical citation : *imm-dích a chrích cetharaird*, 'he protects his territory in four directions'. The correction in the A MS may have been influenced by *ó cach cléithiu* in the following paragraph. Thurneysen (1928, 14) translates 'von jedem Dach (Haus) in seinem Stamm'.

Cf. *7 a di cumal cairdi gacha lethe dona cethre lethuib*, 'and his two *cumals* of treaty from every side of the four sides', *CIH 1397.25*.

**trían cumaile.** *triancumail A, trian cumaili B.*

**dia esáin.** *dia easain A, dia esain B.*

**gaisced n-inraicc.** *gaisced inraic A, caisced innraic B.*

**inna eneclainn.** So A, B. For the use of the preposition *i* with the meaning 'as, by way of' cf. *DIL I 7,9* and note *tabeir i taurchreicc céile*, 'he gives it as a fief of (lit.) clients', Binchy (1941, §19 l. 252).

**co n-airgaile úáid.** *co nairgaile uadh A, co ngaile uad B.* Note the proposed genitive. There may be a resonance of the poetic *ánruth* here with a play on the word *aí*, 'poetic composition, skill'.

**co ndlig.** *co ndliḡ A, omitted. B.* This reading should probably be expanded as the Mid. Ir. form *-dligenn*. One would not expect such a late form in an Old Irish text of this period. The syllable-stroke may have been added by a later scribe. But note also in this text *ni dligī* *CIH 585.29* and *ni urcoimdend 586.5*. Cf. 'Introduction': pp. 18-19.

**ardchumaile certtrian.** *ard cumaile ceirttrian* A, omitted. B. Note the preposed genitive.

**fri rúamna rus.** *fri ruamna rus* A. Perhaps read *rúamnad*? Again there may be a resonance of the *ánruth*-poet here, as this phrase could be interpreted as referring to reddening of faces by means of satire. Cf. *Ceist a gillai ... cia dán dognísiu? Ni handsa: Romna rossa .i. romand aigthe ic aerad*, Stokes(1905b, 22 §55) = *Imaccalam in dá thúarad*. Alternatively, the reference may be to the violent reddening of faces with blood by this martial lord.

§13

**Dóe:** *Dæ* A,B. Lindeman (1999, 179 ff.) derives this word from \**dwos-yo-*, ‘a living being, that which breathes’. But perhaps it is simply a figurative usage of *dóe*, ‘upper arm, arm, hand’ and note reference to *frén lámae* in the following verse citation. Cf. *DIL D 243,9 ff.*

**fer imbertae fír ar alaile.** *fer imerta fir aralair* A, *fear imerta fir araile no fer araile* B. I take *fír* to mean ‘proof, ordeal’ (for which cf. Kelly (1988, 209 ff)). It may, however, simply mean ‘truth, justice’. Thus the *dóe* is one who pursues justice on behalf of another (weaker) party. For *aralair* of the A MS cf. *CIH 584 fn. g.* Alternatively, *fír* may be the genitive singular of *fer* ‘man’. The sense would then be ‘one who employs a man on behalf of another’. This may explain the additional text of the B MS *no fer araile*. The verb may be *ar-áili*, ‘enjoins, urges an action’. Cf. *DIL A 367, 70 ff.* The text of the B MS could then be translated ‘a man who employs another man or a man who enjoins’.

**connach tairthet a chomlann.** *connach tartét a chomlonn* A, *con tairteit a cumala* B. I take the verb here to be *do-airret* ‘overtakes, pursues catches’. Cf. *DIL D 193.17 ff.* The analysis of this verb is not entirely certain i.e. *do-áiret* (\*to-ad-reth-) or *do-airret* (\*to-air-reth-). Note also *tairthet cach fer imm alaile*, ‘which every man pursues about another’, *Wb.27d23* where the editors analyse the form as \*to-air-thét. Cf. *Ped. ii §840.1.*

Another possibility is that we have to do with the verb *tarmi-tét* with the meaning

‘transgresses, violates’. The sense then would be ‘so that his opponent does not violate him’.

I can make no sense of the reading of the B MS ‘so that he pursues his *cumals*’.

**Do-fich a gressa.** *dofich a gressa* A, *dotafich a greis* B. The verbal form in the B MS appears to contain a feminine infix pronoun Class B (proleptic) referring to *gres(s)* ( $\bar{a}$ -fem.) where a Class A pronoun would be expected.

**cen adall fine occa .** *cen adhall fine aco* A, *cin adhall fini aca* B. *adall*, verbal noun of *ad-ella* ‘visits, approaches’. The sense would seem to be that the *dóe* can avenge attacks on his own honour (or that of others) without having to involve his kin. Contrast this with the case of the *indnae*, the make-up of whose band is set-out in §11 *supra*. Cf. *cen imlúad fine* in §20 *infra*.

For the adverbial use of the conjugated (3 sg. neuter) preposition *oc* cf. *DIL* O 83.48.

**ó cach cléithiu.** *o cach leithe* A, *o cach clethi* B. Note the confusion in the MSS between *leth* and *cléithe* in the previous paragraph. The use of the word *cléithe* ‘tenant’ is not common outside of our text. Cf. §§16,17 *infra*.

**7 gaisced nó timthach.** So A, *7 gaisced no tiumach* B.

**ut dixit.** *ut d̄r* A, *ut dt̄* B. I take it that the reading of the A MS here and elsewhere stands for the passive *dicitur*.

**asa frén láime luither.** *asa frén laime luiter* A. I take this clause to be an example of genitival relative (cf. *GOI* 507(c) and Breatnach (1980, 1-2). The verbal form would therefore be 3 sg. present indicative passive conjunct. Commenting on this verb *DIL* notes (*DIL* L 238.72 ff) that it is found ‘mostly in archaic passages, not all of which are clear’. *frén* is the earlier form of *frém* ‘root’. Cf. *DIL* F 407.30 ff and 408.19 ff. *frén láime* means literally ‘root of hand’ and presumably refers to the (upper) arm.

**fria chuinnse cucht.** *fria cuinnse cucht* A. Note the preposed genitive. The phrase *cuinnse cucht* is found in a number of glossaries: *cucht .i. gne, ut est fri cuindsi cucht*,

*CIH 812.6-7; cucht .i. gne, ut est fri cuinnsi cucht, CIH 1560.4.*

Note that the word *clothach* in §5 *supra* is also glossed in the above texts (which appear to be copies of one another). Finally note *Cuinse .i. drech, ut dicitur : cid cnedach a cuinsi cucht*, Meyer (1912, 31) = *CIH 2218.9-10 = (Bretha Nemed Toísech)*.

The concept here is that the face is used figuratively with reference to the honour that it may or may not display. For a discussion of this concept cf. Breatnach (1998, 42).

Note further :

*Fír do rí g rúirech  
ro-saig dá secht cumala  
fora gnúso gné*

‘Confirm for a king of great kings that he attains twice seven *cumals*, depending on the appearance of his countenance’, Breatnach (1989, 14-16 §16 and notes to paragraph p. 36-7). The meaning is, therefore that the *dóe* is entitled to payment of his honour-price provided his honour is intact.

**la díth tlichta.** The word *tlacht* has the meaning ‘garment, clothing’. Cf. *DIL T 194, 56 ff.* This may be a reference to the *timthach* which forms part of the *dóe*’s honour-price. Thus the *dóe* has an honour-price of one sixth of a *cumal* but he may also be entitled to forfeiture of a garment by a wrongdoer.

Note that the B MS breaks off here.

§14

As McLeod points out, (McLeod (1987, 62)), the text here seems to indicate that while the honour-price of lords is calculated in *cumals*, that of commoners is reckoned in *séts* of livestock. He also compares this paragraph with *Críth Gablach*’s treatment of the *óaire* : *Trí séoit lóg a enech, acht it séoit bóslabrae direnatar dó*, ‘his honour-price is three *séts*, but they are livestock *séts* which are paid to him by way of compensation’ : Binchy (1941, l. 119-120). Note further *bóaire febsa ... is di búuib atá a airechas 7 a eneclann*, ‘a *bóaire febsa* ... his legal status and honour-price consist in cattle’ *ibid* 152-3. Note further *ata coboduil for rath 7 for flathuib .i. flaith na dlig acht im oculus sil oculus beocethra(th), flaith athuigh nabit flaith a athair*, ‘there is a distinction with

respect to fief and lords i.e. a lord who is only entitled to butter and seed and livestock, a lord of a churl whose father was not a lord', Thurneysen (1925, 245) = *CIH* 1772.24 ff. In this regard note the different grades of *flaithem* referred to in the following passages.

**ní i cumalaib.** *ni cumalaib* A.

**acht i sétaib bóchetbrae nó bóslabrae.** *acht a .s.uib bocethruib l boslabhra* A. I take the dative plural ending of *bóchetruib* to be an error. I take *bóchetbrae* and *bóslabrae* to be nouns in the genitive singular dependent on *sétaib*. Both compounds seem somewhat tautologous, as *cethrae* and *slabrae* almost invariably refer to cattle. Perhaps these words are similar to compounds such as *cathgleo*, *slichtlorg* etc. discussed by Sjoestedt where she notes 'le deuxième terme de composition forme pléonasmie avec le premier', (Sjoestedt 1927, 400 and Uhlich (1993, 88 ff. §78(b)). The word *slabrae*, however, can refer to animals other than cattle cf. *At-chíusa iar sin sainslabra sainigthi remib .i. trí .III. ngabar ndubglas*, 'I see after that a special remarkable herd i.e. three times fifty grey-black horses', (Knott 1936, ll. 462-3).

On the association of payment in cattle and the lower grades of society note:

*Ro-cúala*

*ní tabair eochu ar dúana;*

*do-beir a n-í as dúthaig dó, bó*

: Murphy (1956, 90) = MV III.3.

## §15

This grade (the *ógflaithem*) and the following two (*lethflaithem* and *flaithem óenesrae*) are unique to *Míadslechteae*. If we take *cléithe* and *óencléithe* in §§16,17 respectively to refer to *senchléithe* then the status of these grades depends on the number of generations of *senchléithe* that they possess. For discussion of the term *senchléithe* cf. Thurneysen (1931, 81-3), Charles-Edwards (1986, 58-60) and Kelly (1988, 35-6).

MacNeill, referring to this section of the text comments : '*Flaithem* may be explained to mean "lordlike" (\* vlati-samos); *óg-* means "perfect", *leth-* "half". The three grades

of *flaithem*, instead of landed vassals such as are under a *flaith*, have tenants bound to the land, in number respectively three, two, and one. The likeness to lords is therefore very slight', MacNeill (1923, 312).

I take *ógflaithem* to mean 'complete/entire lord' as opposed to *óc-* 'young'. Perhaps this grade is described as complete because his lordship over *senchléithe* extends to three generations.

**fer tri senchléithe.** *fer tri sencléithe* A. I follow Charles-Edwards (1986, 59 fn. 9) and take this phrase to mean 'a man of three generations of *senchléithe*, namely, a man whose lordship over *senchléithe* has been inherited for three generations'.

**cona comarbaib téchtaib.** *cona comorbaib techta*, A.

**sóerbíathad deichnebuir.** *særbiathad .x.nebuir* A. Note the incorrect transcription *.x.nebur* at *CIH* 584.22.

§16

**fer da chléithe,** A. I assume that here and in the following paragraph *cléithe* stands for *senchléithe*. But see §23 *infra* where the phrase *na cléithe* may refer to tenants.

**cona comarbaib téchtaib.** *cona comorbaib techtaib* A.

**7 día esáin.** *7 esain*, A.

Note that the *lethflaithem* has half the honour-price (five *séts*) of the *ógflaithem* (ten *séts*).

§17

**Flaithem óenescraí :** *Flaithem oenescra* A. I translate 'lord of a single vessel'. Is *escrae* used figuratively to refer to his single hereditary serf? Or perhaps this term



refers to the association between the lord and beer. Only the lord was entitled to malt for brewing. Cf. *ar ní dlig aithech mraich corop flaith*, ‘for a rent-payer is not entitled to malt until he become a lord’, (Binchy, (1941, 254-5)). Note also *flaith corma*, *CIH* 1773.14.

**fer óencléithi.** *fer æncleithe* A.

**cona múr.** The primary meaning of the word *múr* is ‘wall, rampart’. Perhaps the meaning has been extended here to refer to the client’s house or dwelling.

7 **a comorbaib téchtaib.** *a comorbu techta* A. Note that MS *comorb-* is expanded as *comorbaib* at *CIH* 584.21 but as *comorbu* at 584.25. Presumably in the example here the MS reading is taken by Binchy to be in the dative singular. But there is no reason why the single *senchléithe* should not have more than one heir.

**bóslabrae :** *beoslabra* A. I restore on the basis of the MS reading at *CIH* 584.20. The MS reading *beoslabra* may have been influenced by the preceding *beodile*. However note the word *marbslabra* : *fiach mna marbslabra*, *CIH* 2154.21.

§18

This paragraph purports to deal with a grade designated simply *bóaire*, whereas the following paragraph describes the grade designated *tanuisi mboaire*. However, note that the designations and the relative order in which they occur here are different from those given in the opening paragraph of the text : *bóaire tánaise*, *bóaire túiseo*, §1 *supra*. As the hierarchy constantly descends from high to low (i.e. from kings to commoners), the sequencing found here is the expected one. Cf. McLeod (1987, 72 fn. 118). McLeod (loc.cit.) restores *bóaire* to *bóaire túise* and translates ‘a man in possession of family stock with their increase for land’.

The grades of *bóaire túiseo* and *bóaire tánaise* are also described in *Uraicecht Becc* : *coig seoid do boairig tuisi .i. tuisich na mboairech , in boairi is ferr*, ‘five séts for the chief bóaire i.e. the leader of the bóaires, the bestbóaire’, *CIH* 1611.17; *Tri seoit do*

*boairig tanaise .i. tanassi na mboairech, int ocaire is ferr*, ‘three *séts* for the second rank of *bóaire*, the second rank of *bóaires*, the best *ócaire*’, *CIH* 1610.40. In each case the text continues with commentary on the respective grade’s possessions of cattle and land : *A tri tochusa bo ... a tri tochusa tiri*, ‘three possessions of cattle ... three possessions of land’, *CIH* 1611.11-13.

Likewise, *Críth Gablach* also refers to the *bóaire*’s cattle and land : *Bóaire febsa, cid ara n-eperr ? Ar is di búuib atá a airechas 7 a eneclann. Tír dá secht cumal leis*, ‘the *Bóaire febsa*, why is he so-called ? Because his legal standing and honour-price consist in cattle. He has land to the value of twice seven *cumlals*’, Binchy(1941, §13 ll. 152-4).

**fer selbae bunaid.** *fer selba bunuid* A. I take *bunad* to refer to stock. Cf. *DIL* B 243.5. Note also Thurneysen (1936, 30) where the editor translates *bunad* as ‘das Stammvieh’. The sense would then be ‘a man with possessions made up of stock (cattle)’.

However, this phrase may refer to a man who has received his inheritance i.e. the original land of his father and grandfather. Note: *ceili bunaid-selba 7 bunaid ceniuil iar saire*, ‘ein Genosse, der ihm nach (Land-)Besitz (nach der Lage seines Landes) und nach Geschlecht angestammt ist seiner Freiheit nach (ohne Rücksicht auf sein Genossentum), Thurneysen (1923,381).

Another possibility is that the sense *fer bunaid* ‘the original owner’ is intended. Cf. *Ótha inna téora bliadnai ní dlig fer in bunaid cuit indib*, ‘After the three years the original owner is not entitled to a share in them (i.e. the bees)’, Charles-Edwards, Kelly (1983, §38 pp. 74-5 ).

**cona inud de thír.** *cona inud no indiud do tir* A. I take *inud* to be the dative singular of *inad*, ‘space, position’. *DIL* I 199, 62 also gives the meaning ‘space, extent, room’. Cf. *ineth cethri mbó ... di thalam*, Meyer (1912b, 316). The sense then, is that the *bóaire* has cattle and sufficient land on which to raise them.

The correction *no indiud* is added above the line and may have been influenced by the form *inniud* in the following paragraph. McLeod (1987, 72-3) translates this word as ‘increase’. Presumably the word is taken to be a form of *indad*, *indoth* ‘increase (of cattle), the young of cattle’, *DIL* I 213, 34 ff. The interpretation here is that the rent for the land is paid for with the newly-born cattle. A comparison is made between this scenario and that of the *ócaire* in *Críth Gablach* : *Tír .vii. cumal les ... foloing .vii.*

*mbúu co cenn mblíadnae. .i. adagatar .vii. mbaí ind, fáccaib in .vii.maid mboin dia bliadnae i fochraic in tíre*, ‘He has land to the value of seven *cumals* ... it supports seven cows till the end of the year i.e. seven cows are driven into it, (and) he leaves the seventh at the end of the year as payment for the land’, Binchy (1941, §10 ll. 91-4).

**Deich mbaí lais 7 ní goin duine acht i ló chatha** . x. *mba leis 7 ní guin duine s̄ a lo catha* A. Note the similarity between treatment of the *bóaire* here and that of the *aithech arathreba a deich* in *Críth Gablach* : *aithech arathreba a deich, deichde a búar sídi ... cen guin doine acht láa catha*, ‘the rent-payer who farms in tens, tenfold is his stock ... he does not kill a man except on a day of battle’, Binchy (1941, §12 ll. 132-143). The text here seems to be referring to the limited military capacity of the *bóaire*. Compare this scenario with that of the *ánruth* described in §12 *supra*: *Guin duini dó i cach tréimsi do chethrib ráithib na bliadnae*.

§19

Note that as in the case of the previous grade, the designation (*tánaise bóairech*) differs here from that in the opening paragraph of the text i.e. (*bóaire tánaise*).

**Tánaise bóairech.** *Tanuisi mboaire* A. The nasalization of the initial of *bóaire* is peculiar. Perhaps *bóairech* is intended as genitive plural with loss of the definitive article in the course of transmission i.e. the original reading was *tánaise na mbóairech* ‘the second-in-rank of the *bóaires*. Cf. *tri seoit do boairig tanaisi .i. tanassi na mboairech, int ocaire is ferr*, CIH 1610.40-41 (= *Uraicecht Becc*).

For further examples of the erratic marking of nasalization in medieval MSS cf. Kelly (1975, 73).

The second alternative (adopted here) is to take *bóairech* as genitive singular and translate literally ‘a second-in-rank of a *bóaire*’ i.e. ‘a second type of *bóaire*’. For similar formations cf. *amrae fiadat* ‘wonder of a lord’ i.e. ‘wonderful lord’, Kelly (1975, 77, 80 4a), *amrae n-anmae*, ‘wonderful name’, (idem. 81, 6b).

**ocht mbaí lais i forus.** So A. The possession of cattle pens and suchlike appears to be linked to the status of the *bóaire*. Cf. *Bóaire febsa ... Tech .vii. traiged fichet co n-airchai cóic traiged ndeac; cuit i mmuillin co n-airmil a muintir 7 a dáma; áith,*

*saball, lías cáirech, lías lóeg, mucfoil. It hé insin .vii. cléithe ó ndírenar cach bóaire ,*  
'A *bóaire febsa ...* he has a house measuring twenty-seven feet with an outhouse measuring fifteen feet; (he has) a share in a mill so that he can grind for his household and his retainues; (he has) a drying kiln, a barn, a sheep-fold, a calf-pen, a pig-stye.', Binchy (1941, §13 ll. 152-156).

**cona inud de thír.** *cona inniud do tir* A. See notes to previous paragraph.

§20

There is a partial translation of this paragraph in McLeod (1987, 77) :

'*Úaithne*, the man who supports and has demands made upon him, i.e. the wretched and the needy make demands on him; a man who suffers (pays for ?) defamations without involving the kin [in feud/payment?]'.

**Úaithne.** *huaitne* A. The primary meaning of this word is 'pillar, post, support'. Cf. *DIL* U 20.26. In this context it appears to mean 'the man who supports or sustains', cf. *fer fo-loing infra*.

**fo-loing.** *fonluing* A. The infixed nasal here is difficult to explain. If an infixed pronoun is intended one would expect a form such as *fa-lloing*.

**fris-ellagar.** *frisellaghar* A. I take the form to be 3 singular present indicative deuterotonic passive of *fris-eillig* (\*fris-in-long-). Cf. *DIL* F 426, 12 ff. The verb *in-loing* has the meaning 'imposes, puts in a claim'. Cf. *DIL* I 272, 62. Perhaps we should expect a syncopated form : *fris-ellgar* ?

**.i. in fer fris-eillget.** *in fer .i. friseillget* . I have altered the punctuation here in an attempt to improve the sense. Note the chaistic structure of these clauses : *fo-loing* ⁊ *fris-ellagar .i. in fer fris-eillget trúaig* ⁊ *aidliccin. Fer fo-loing einechgressa ....*

**aidliccin.** *aidheilgen* A. I take the form to be nominative plural of the o-stem *aidliccen* 'pauper'. Cf. *DIL* A 107.27 ff.

**Fer fo-loing enechgressa cen imlúad fine.** *fer foloing einechgressa cin imluad fine* A. *Enechgress* has the primary meaning ‘an attack on one’s honour, slander’. However, the word is also used to designate the fine or penalty due for such an attack. *Imlúad* is the verbal noun of *imm-lúadi* with the meaning ‘moves about, stirs up’. Thus, one could interpret the phrase *cen imlúad fine* as meaning ‘without stirring up/ involving the *fine*’. However this verb also has the meaning ‘discusses, debates, mentions’ . Cf. *DIL* I 101.9 ff. The sense here then might be that this grade of person can take responsibility for attacks on his honour without discussing the matter with the kin. Note *Do-fich a gressa cen adall fine occa* in §13. Alternatively the sense may be that he takes responsibility for or levies fines due to others for attacks on their honour i.e. he acts on behalf of those who are too weak to enforce their own claims. Again, note the similarity to the role of the *dóe* as described in §13. Perhaps this is why he is described as a ‘pillar/support’.

**boin lethgabála.** This phrase is cited in *DIL* L 132.41-2 and translated ‘a cow of the second quality’ (following *AL* iv, 351). This word *lethgabál* occurs in a number of other texts:

*Ma foeigem o fine 7 aitiú o flaith, slan do fine 7 diablad o flaith, t dō is aithgin o fine 7 lethgabál diabulta on flaith* , ‘if it be objection by the *fine* and acknowledgement by the lord, the *fine* is indemnified and a doubling (is due) from the lord, alternatively, it is restitution from the *fine* and a twofold *lethgabál* from the lord’, *CIH* 492.18-20 [= Commentary on *Cáin Aicillne*].

*coimhleccud (= comlogud ?) iter fomuilt in feruinn 7 in fiach eloda .i. etar fomuilt t etar eineclainn 7 lethgabail, 7 aithgin co los 7 ás 7 inforbairt do ic fris acht munur facuibh roid t cainnenn t abla ann do neoch roclann a lamh buden ...* , ‘adjustment between the use of the land and the penalty of evasion i.e. between use or between honour-price and *lethgabál* and restitution with increase and growth and produce to be paid to him unless he has left any madder trees or onion or apple in it with respect to something(?) which his own hand has planted’, *CIH* 1876.4-7 [= Commentary to *Di Thuasluccud Rudrad*].

*7 fomuilt in feraind a ndagaíd na .u.s. 7 na heneclainni 7 na lethgabala diabulta* , ‘use of the land against the *séts* and the honour-price and the twofold *lethgabál*’, *CIH*

2155.6-7 [= Commentary to *Di Thuaslucud Rudrad*].

*It ē frithfolaidi-seom dond f̄ir gráid .i. lá air n-indraic cech bliādna cona s̄il 7 a ithir 7 lethgabol étaig do brutt nō da léinid nō do inur*, ‘These are his reciprocal duties to the ordained man: a proper day’s ploughing each year, with its seed and its arable land and half of clothes for mantle or for shirt or for tunic’, O’Keefe (1904, 220 §14).

**Cóic séoit.** .u.s. A. I understand that a new sentence begins here. There can hardly be any connection between *boin lethgabála* and .u.s.. The relatively high honour of this grade is surprising. The figure of five *séts* puts him on a level with the *lethflaithem* described in §16 *supra*. The descending order of the hierarchy with regard to honour-price is also broken.

**día sárugud.** *dia sasarugud* A. A case of dittography as noted at *CIH* 584 fn. *k*.

§21

**Seirthid.** *Seirthiud* A. Note a similar spelling of this word in the A MS in §1 *supra*. For the agentive suffix *-id* cf. *GOI* §267.

**óclach de dagcenéul.** *oclach do daghcenel* A. For delenition in the compound *dagcenel* cf. *GOI* §137.

**fer forais.** Cf. *DIL* F 373.63-4,76-7 where this phrase is translated ‘a householding man’ (following *ALI* iv 353), perhaps meaning that this grade formed part of the *toisech*’s retinue. Cf. the citation from *Críth Gablach* in the next note. Alternatively, the meaning may simply be ‘an established man, a man of proper standing’.

**mac tuísig.** Note that the description of the *seirthid*’s background offered here is quite distinct from that given in *Críth Gablach*, as noted in McLeod (1987, 71). In this latter text he is described as one of the servants or hirelings (*amais*) of the king and his background given as follows : *Cair : cis-né amuis ata chórai la rí? Fer sóeras di chrú, fer sóeras di gabail, fer sóeras di chimbidecht, fer sóeras di fognam, di dóerbothus, di dóerfuidrius*, ‘Question : what are the servants which it is fitting for a king to have ? A man whom he saves from violent death, a man whom he saves from a gibbet, a man

whom he saves from captivity, a man whom he saves from service, from being a servile cottier, from being a servile tenant-at-will', Binchy (1941, §46 ll. 577-580).

**do-nessa do seir thuisig oc tuidecht i ndáil nó i ndúnad.** *donesa do seir thuisig oc taidhecht a ndail ł a ndunad* A. This description of the function of the *seirthid* closely resembles that given in *Crith Gablach*: *rigthid 7 seirthith 7 dá thóebthaid, it é a n-anman; it é ata chórai do buith i foitsiu thaige rí g ara choimthecht a taig immach [d]i maig i tech*, 'a front guardsman, a rear guardsman and two side-men, these are their names; it is these for whom it is proper to be on the south side of the house of a king to accompany him out of the house (and) into the house', Binchy (1941, §46 583-5). Presumably these were occasions of particular physical danger for the king or *toisech*.

**do-nessa.** Cf. *DIL* D 347.68 where the meaning 'tramples on, crushes' is given. However the sense 'walks, travels' is required here. Cf. *Ní trummu do[n]essa in n-usce oldás ela nó fandall*, 'He skims over the water as lightly as a swan or a swallow', *TBC Rec.* I, l. 742.

**nó úair robo toisech a athair nó dag a chenél nó ara gaisced.** *ł uair robo taisech a athair, ł dagh a cinel, ł ara gais* A. I tentatively restore *gaisced* for MS *gais* as the sense 'wisdom, sagacity' hardly fits the context. I am assuming that a suspension-stroke has been dropped from the exemplar. I take it that these phrases refer to the preceding material i.e. *úair robo toisech a athair* refers to *mac thuisig*; *dag a chinél* refers to *dag-cenél*; *ara gaisced* refers to *óclach* 'young warrior'. For the absence of nasalization in the form of the copula after *úair* cf. Ó hUiginn (1986, 44) and *GOI* §505. Alternatively, one could allow *gáes* to stand. The sense then might be that though the *seirthid* is a man of limited means, his intelligence elevates his status above those persons described in §§22-30 *infra*. Note the use of the word *gáes* in §22 *infra*.

**Dligid a sóerbíathad i túaith 7 a ben.** Whilst the *úaithe* is entitled to refectio for two persons (i.e. himself and one other) the *seirthid* is entitled to refectio for one and a half persons (i.e. his wife counting as a half as she has half his honour-price. Cf. *leth díri cach gráid túaithe fora mnái*, 'half honour-price of every lay grade with respect to

his wife', Binchy (1941 §11 l. 125).

**samseisc focail.** *samseisc focail* A. Note the etymological spelling of *samaisc* (\* *sam* + *seisc*, 'summer-dry') and cf. Kelly (1997, 63-4). For *focal* with the meaning 'judgement, test' cf. *DIL* F 185.64 ff. Note : *ag loige tri miach ... a taisbenad cach techta cona measaib 7 toimsib cona foclaib techtaib*, *CIH* 482.21-4 [= *Cáin Aicillne*]. Thurneysen translates 'Ein Rind im Werte von drei 'Säcken' ... mit dem Vorweisen aller Gebühr an Schätzungen und Massen, mit den richtigen Proben (mit dem Nachweis, daß alles nach Wert, Maß und Prüfung in gebührender Ordnung ist)', Thurneysen (1923, 353-4). The meaning in our text would then be 'a tested *samaisc*' i.e. an animal which has been examined and found to be free from defects.

**colpthaig.** For the *colpthach* cf. Kelly (1997, 62). The *samaisc* has a value of 12 scruples while the *colpthach* is worth 8. This gives a combined value of 20 scruples or 5/6 that of a milch cow i.e. almost two *séts*.

§22

Here begins a new section of the text dealing with those who have no legal rights. In most cases the text consists of an etymological explanation of the designation.

MacNeill comments:

'The description of the unpropertied grades does not much increase our knowledge of the social structure. There is nothing in it to show that these are really grades differing from each other in status, and we may rather understand the list to state nine ways in which a freeborn man may become bereft of franchise : by selling his property, by having no property but cattle which he puts to graze on the land of others, by being deranged in mind, etc', MacNeill (1923, 312-13).

Cf. Thurneysen(1928, 40 and fn. 3) where a translation of a number of these designations is given.

**Na nóí ngráda déidencha-so.** *Na nai ngrada deidinach-so* A. Note that in fact only eight grades are discussed in this section.

**ní techtat.** *ni techtaít* A.



**dia mbreith i nairechus.** So A. Lit. ‘their being brought into nobility i.e. their being granted legal status’. Cf. *Dair, cid dombeir in airechus hi ? ní, a mes, a sairi*, ‘(the) oak : what confers nobility on it ? Not difficult : it’s mast (and) it’s nobility’, *CIH* 582.12.

**mani n-asta.** *mana nasta* A. Lit. ‘unless it establish it’ i.e. unless possessions or wisdom or followers establish legal standing (*airechas*). The verbal form is preceded by a masculine infixed pronoun referring to *airechas*, a masculine u-stem.

For the relevance of *sochraite* ‘followers, retinue’ see §11 above: *Indnae : fer oca mbí sochraite do macaib bertar dó 7 do bráithrib co mbí trichait gaiscedach*, ‘An *indnae* : a man who has a group of followers made up of youths born to him and of kinsmen, so that it numbers thirty warriors’.

**Ní coímthet.** *Ni cæmthet* A. I take the verb to be 3 sg. present indicative prototonic of *con-imthet* ‘accompanies’. For the diphthong cf. *GOI* §179 and McCone (1997, 49).

**díthecht ná díthír ná dochrait ná anfoltach.** *dithecht na dithir na dochrait na hanfolta*. This appears to be a list of types of person who have no honour-price. Therefore I restore *anfoltach* for MS *hanfolta*. Perhaps a suspension-stroke has been dropped here from the exemplar.

**úair natat inraici nadmae.** *uair natat indraice nadma* A. For the adjective *indraic* meaning ‘worthy, qualified’ followed by the genitive cf. *Rucus ba n-inraic noilich fere adgair*, ‘Ich entschied, der Mann, der rechtlich belangt (der Kläger) sei des Eides würdig (sein Eid sei anzunehmen)’, Thurneysen (1925b, 361 §46) = *CIH* 2199.5 = [*Gúbretha Caratniad*].

Note that the words *naidm, ráth, aitare, noill, fiadnaise* etc. are commonly used when describing a person’s legal capacity. Cf. *.x. séoit a eneclann; immustoin, is naidm, is ráth, is aitare, is féichem, is fiadnaise friu*, ‘his honour-price is ten séts; he swears to that amount, he is enforcing surety, paying surety, hostage surety, contracting party, he

is eye-witness evidence to that amount', Binchy (1941, §24 ll. 347-9).

**noíll.** *naill* A. *Noíll* is a feminine guttural stem and an  $\bar{a}$ -stem. Cf. *DIL* N 60.5. The form in the MS would appear to be genitive plural of an  $\bar{a}$ -stem. However, a form in the genitive singular would reflect the case and number of the other nouns in this series. If one assumed that a suspension-stroke has been lost from the exemplar one might restore *noillech*. Compare the example from *Gúbretha Caratniad* given *supra*.

§23

**fás foigde.** *Fas faighde* A. Lit. 'futility of begging'. *Fás* is here used substantively. Cf. *GOI* §255. I take *foigde* to be the verbal noun of *fo-guid* 'begs, entreats'.

**fer ro chrecca.** *fer ro crecca* A. For the use of the perfective present here cf. *GOI* §530 and McCone(1997, 101 ff.). On the alienation of land cf. *Is mesech cach fer fine cona a fintiu nadi ren nadi sanna nadi fothlen nadi 'mfuich cintaib na coraib'*, *CIH* 489.16-17 (= Thurneysen 1923, 370-1 §33)[*Cáin Aicillne*]. Thurneysen translates 'Berechtigt ist jeder Mann der Sippe, der sein Sippenland bewahrt, der es nicht verkauft, nicht entfremdet, nicht heimlich weggibt (wörtlich 'entwendet') nicht durch Vergehen oder (ungünstige) Verträge schädigt'. Note also the description of the *aire désa* at §9 *supra*: *Aire désa: fer con-óí déis n-athar 7 senathar a mail ad-cota riam*.

**nád techta.** *na techta* A.

**fo thúaithe co lléir.** *fo tuaith co leir* A. 'throughout the entire *túath*'. For *fo* meaning 'throughout' cf. *DIL* F 169.55 ff.

**na cléithe.** For *cléithe* meaning 'tenant' see notes to §§16, 17 *supra*.

**co frescai.** 7 *co freisce* A. I adopt Binchy's suggestion (*CIH* 585 fn. a) and omit the conjunction here.

**cuile cáich.** *cuile caith* A. For confusion of final dentals and guttarals in this MS cf.

‘Introduction’: p. 5.

**7 ní tá díles dod-cois.** *7 ni tat díles dodcois* A. *ní tá* ‘he has not’. I take it that the negative particle contains a masculine infixed pronoun 3 singular Class A. For the intrusive dental cf. ‘Introduction’: p. 6. I take *dod-cois* to be 3 singular present subjunctive deuterotonic of *do-coisig* (\*to-com-saig-), ‘keeps, preserves’ with infixed pronoun 3 singular masculine Class C. For similar formations of the s-subjunctive cf. *GOI* §626. Note also *torad aláam íshed dodtoisged*, ‘it is (the) fruit of his hands that used to support him’. Wb9a6. The correct reading *dodcoisged* is given at footnote *c* to the page. For *díles* with the meaning ‘private property, possessions’ cf. *DIL* D 104, 64 ff.

**cia fo-gé.** *cia foighe* A. 3 singular present subjunctive deuterotonic of *fo-guid*, ‘begs, entreats’.

**mani crecca a enech aire amal choin.** *mana chrecca a enech aire amal coin* A. Note the following references to the selling of one’s honour : *frisín fer cerdda renas a ainech 7 a anmain ar bratt 7 ar biad*, LL 24819 -20 (= *Immacallam in dá Thúarad*), *co rirfe in fer uallach a enech 7 a anmain ar lóg oenscripuil*, LL 24821-2 (= *Immacallam in dá Thúarad*). I am unsure as to how to interpret the preposition *airi* in the above clause.

**a frepaid.** *a repaidh* A. For the omission of lenited *f* in this MS cf. ‘Introduction’: p. 5.

**Is fás danó a saire 7 a díre 7 a eneclann.** I take this clause to mean that this person’s independent legal status is worthless, that he is not entitled to compensation for wrongs done against him and that he has no honour-price.

§24

**Bógeltach faithche.** *Bogeltach faithce.* *Bógeltach* is translated ‘cow-grazier’ in *DIL* B 125, 78 (following *AL* iv 353). For the suffix *-ach* cf. Russell (1990, 86 ff.).

**fer méite coimse.** ‘a man of adequate size’. This person appears to be a habitual coward. The text may be stressing the fact that there is no physical reason for him to act in

this way as he is of normal build or without bodily defect. However *DIL* 307,56 takes *coimse* to be the word meaning ‘partnership, joint husbandry’ (participle of the verb *con-midethar*). Cf. Binchy (1941, p. 47) and Thurneysen (1923, 372). Perhaps the reference is to a joint grazing arrangement. However, the context is unclear to me.

**nád tét.** *na teit* A. The MS reading reflects the Middle Irish use of the absolute form of the verb for the conjunct.

**nach do airlisi.** *nach do airlisigh* A. For *nach* ‘nor’ cf. GOI §865. For the non-historic guttural final in *airlisigh* cf. ‘Introduction’ p. 6. The references here to going to the border or to the king’s enclosure might refer to failure to partake in military service. Cf. ‘free tribesmen owed their king a special period of military service : they were bound to join him on a hosting ... whether against another tribe or against internal rebels ... Each family had to contribute a quota of armed men and failure to appear when summoned to the hosting as well as desertion before the prescribed period had expired involved severe penalties’, Binchy (1970, 21).

**acht biid inna mennut fadeisin.** *acht bid ina mendat fadeisin* A.

**Ar-imgaib.** For this compound (which is not instanced in *DIL*) cf. Breatnach (1989, 30) who cites the following example : *ar imgaibh dlighi imatimairg mainder .i. inti imgaibes riar dlighi .i. is emh timaircter athgabail de a mainder*, ‘he who eludes legality, an enclosure compels him i.e. he who eludes the stipulation of law i.e. it is promptly that distraint is driven from him into an enclosure’, *CIH* 725.10-11 [= *Bretha Nemed Dédenach*]. Note also *ar iomghaibh Uladh anradha*, *CIH* 1118.37-8 [= *Ériu* 13, 24.12]. For another example of this verb from our text cf. §29 *infra*.

**ó ro bí cona gaisciud fair.** So A. For the use of *ó* with present indicative meaning ‘while’ cf. *DIL* O 78,85 (or perhaps 78.78). For the use of the perfective present here compare *l isin nuall dongniat horumaith for a naimtea remib* ‘or it is the cry that they make when their enemies are routed by them’, *MI*. 51c9

**conid dam caín cen fedain don-ingarar.** *cona daim cin fedhain doningarar* A. An ox

without a halter presumably means an animal that does no work and the reference here is to the fecklessness of the *bógeltach faithche*. Alternatively MS *cona daim cain* could stand for *conná daim cáin* ‘so that he does not submit (*daimid*) to legality’. However, it is not clear how this would fit the context.

**fer fo-gelt a bú i faithchi ar chách.** *fer fogelta a bu a faithce ar cach* A. The sense here appears to be that the cowardly *bógeltach faithche* herds his cattle close to his dwelling, in sight of all, as opposed to in dangerous distant places. *fogelta* could be the genitive singular of *fogelt*, the verbal noun of *fo-geil*. However *bú* would appear to be accusative plural and hence a finite verbal form is required. I have restored *fo-gelt* the 3 singular preterite deuterotonic form. Alternatively *fogelta* may be a corruption of *fo-geltatar* with loss of a suspension stroke. However a verbal form in the plural does not seem to suit the context here.

Another possibility is that the *bógeltach faithche* has no land of his own and therefore grazes his cattle on other persons land. Cf. *in saerbothach .i. is saer a bothachus fein re re samraid, amal carait coemcloide duit e ag denam do leasa; air ar ferann neich ele [bid] a' caithem a feoir 7 a uisce 7 nochan fuil ni uadha donti aga ta acht loim a bo*, CIH 1038.28-31. Thurneysen translates : ‘Der Frei-Hüttler, d.h. sein Hüttlertum ist frei während der Sommerzeit; er besorgt deine Sache wie (oder : als) ein Austausch-Freund. Denn [er ist] auf dem Land eines anderen, sein Gras und sein Wasser gebrauchend; und er liefert dem, bei dem er ist, nichts als die Milch seiner Kühe’, (Thurneysen (1926, 54 §121.)

One final possibility is that this alternative explanation of the title *bógeltach faithche* refers to trespass i.e. this man has allowed his cattle to trespass on another party’s in-field.

**arná dessetar coin alltai impu.** *nach deis etar coin allta ime* A. The MS representation of the verbal form (3 singular reduplicated preterite of *saidid*) may be indicative of corruption here. I take the form of the modal preterite with conditional force i.e. ‘that they would not/ might not sit’. Cf. Quin (1974, 45 ff).

**Conid sí a maín in sin.** *conad si main in sein* A. I take it that the possessive pronoun has dropped out of the MS here. Perhaps the text is underlining the fact that this per-

son's wealth consists of cattle alone and not land. Cf. *Is cnú chaeach nad bí a mmáin*, 'it is a blind nut whose worth does not exist', LL 36780 [= *Mo-Lling* ].

§25

**Aithech baitse.** For the spelling of the genitive singular *baitse* cf. Hull (1966, 172). This obscure term has been commented on by a number of scholars. Cf. MacNeill (1923, 289 fn. 3), Binchy (1941, 29) and Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen (1984, 405 footnote 2). As Etchingham (1999, 400) has pointed out, the *aithech baitside* of *Críth Gablach* (cf. Binchy (1941, §12 line 142 ff) has more in common with the *bóaire* described in §18 *supra*).

**fer nád sáera dán ná trebad.** *fer na saera dan na trebad* A.

**Ní fuilech re dáim in fer-sin .** *ni fuil- re daim in fer-sin* A. Binchy expands *fuil-* as *fuilet(?)*. Such a linguistically late verbal form would be unusual for our text (however cf. *CIH* 588.5 and 'Introduction': p. 19 *supra*). I tentatively expand the MS reading as *fuilech* 'bloody, valiant'. For this meaning cf. *DIL* F 471.29 ff. Thus, the sense would be that this person does not form part of a military band.

**inná fil gnímu láich lais.** *ina fuil gnímiu láich lais*. Perhaps *láech* is used here in the meaning 'lay person' (as opposed to *manach* or *cléirech*).

**Ní tét i ráith ná i n-aitiri fri flaith ná eclais.** Note *ráthbuige doir do flaith 7 eclais* at §29 *infra*.

**ar is gae gréine do-gairther.** *ar is gae greine dogairter* A. 'for he is called a sunbeam'. I presume the meaning here is that the *aithech baitse* is considered to be an insubstantial or ephemeral person.

The meaning of this paragraph is quite obscure in places.

Note the absence of *.i.* after the word *Óinmid* and compare with the other titles in this section. What follows appears to be an etymological gloss on *óinmid* i.e. *óinmid* = *ona* + *mitir*. Cf. *Onmit .i. mūt-onna .i. amlabar 7 bæth* Corm. Y 1029.

On the etymology of *óinmid* cf. O’Rahilly (1942, 149-152).

**fer mitter im drochmnaí.** This clause appears to be glossing the second syllable of the word *óinmid*. I can make no sense of it however. *mitir* may be a present indicative passive form of the deponent verb *midithir*. This verb is usually followed by the accusative or by the preposition *for* (cf. *DIL* M 132,77.) and not by the preposition *imm*.

The words *7 ona* are written above the line. Cf. *CIH* 585 footnote *f. ona* may be for *onna* for which see *DIL* O 147,50 and *Onna .i. bæth* Corm Y 1028.

**co ndéntar mer.** *co ndentar mear* A. Cf. ‘*Cid do-t-gni mer, a meic legind?*’, ‘What drives you mad, student?’, Jackson (1990, II. 596-7).

**7 fonachtaide.** Cf. *DIL* F 287, 56 ff where the reading *fonachtaide de* is suggested. Perhaps an agent noun *fonachtaid* is intended here but the sense is again obscure. Cf. following note to *fosceinnid*.

**fosceinnid.** *fosgenigh* A. Perhaps an agentive noun based on the finite verb *fo-sceinn* ‘springs, bounds’.

Cf. *Drúth .i. oinmit, quasi di-raith, cen fiach fair ina chintaib* Corm Y 472 = *Druth .uero. quasi di-raith .i cen fiach fair ina cintaib acht aithgin* *CIH* 613.41 [= *Dúil Dromma Cetta*]. Smith (1932, 71-2) translates ‘*Drúth* i.e. fool, quasi “without surety”, without a debt on him for his crimes’ to which the *Duil Droma Ceat* adds *acht aithgin*, that is he has no *díre* but he is entitled to *aithgin*, ‘restitution’ . . .’ He then goes on to compare the glossary entry with this paragraph i.e. *óinmid* ... *Ní dlig díre in fer-sin*.

**Midlach.** Cf. *Midlach .i. medōn-lax .i. leth-lax* Corm. Y 946.

Note that *milaig* is an interlinear gloss. Cf. *DIL* M 137, 54-6 where it is suggested that this word may be the genitive singular of *mí-liach*, ‘misery, misfortune’. Perhaps from *mí lí áig*, ‘bad colour of battle’ i.e. one who goes pale in time of battle, a coward?

**midellach.** *midhellach* A. Perhaps *mid-ellach*, ‘middle-wealth, property’. There are some similarities between the *midlach* and the *fer midboth* as described in *Críth Gablach*, for which see below.

**fer nád ragab seilb ná orba.** *fer na ragaib sealbh na horba* A. Cf. *Is airi ní comrai insci ná fíadnaise ar ní hinfiadnaisi acht fri cach súaill re secht mbliadnaib .x. nád rogab seilb na comarbus ria sin*, ‘The reason why he (the *fer midboth*) cannot preserve statement nor (give) evidence is that (a person) is not (considered) capable of giving evidence except as regards trifling matters before the age of seventeen who has not taken possession or assumed inheritance before that’, Binchy (1941, §6 ll. 34-7).

**nád treba nád trebthar dó.** *na trebad na trebthair do* A. Binchy expands MS *treb-* as *trebad*, ‘ploughing, cultivating’. However I take this to be a finite verbal form (3rd singular present indicative conjunct). For this progressive construction cf. *GOI* §507(e) note. Note also: *Molt cona fósair bás a thige; iss é bás óenchineda insin, fer nád treba seilb ná ferann dó fadeisin*, ‘a wether with its accompaniment is his food-rent; that is the food-rent of a solitary offspring, a man who does not plough land or territory for himself.’ Binchy (1941, §9 ll. 71-3).

**arindí as mellach ó deilb 7 chenul conid damnae cimbetha in sin tar cenn túaithe.** *arinni is mellach o deilbh 7 ciniul, cona damna cimedha in sin tar cend tuaithe* A. Perhaps the meaning here is that the *midlach* suffers from no physical disability and comes from a respected kindred and thus is a suitable party to be offered as a *cimbid*. Alternatively, one could restore *connách*, ‘so that he is not’. The meaning then would



be that the *midlach* is not a suitable person to be ransomed as a hostage.

The term *cimbid* usually refers to a person who has been seized and held captive by an aggrieved party for non-payment of a penalty due from him. Cf. Kelly (1988, 97). However, as Kelly points out (loc. cit. p. 98) the term can also be used of a person 'who faces death on behalf of a group or tribe'. He cites the following example from the first recension of the *Táin*: '*Táet nech úaib ar mo chend-sa*', ar *Cú Chulaind*, '*oc Áth Da Féarta*.' '*Nípa messe, nípa mé!*' ol *cách assa magin*. '*Ní dlegar cimbid dom cheniúl. Cía no dligthe, nípad mé dobertais tara chend i cimbidecht.*', 'Let one of you come to meet me at Áth Da Féarta', said *Cú Chulainn*. 'It will not be I!' 'It will not be I!' cried one and all from the place where they were. 'No scapegoat is owed by my people, and even if he were, it is not I who would go in his stead as a victim.' *TBC Rec. I* 2496-2500. This second meaning seems to be what is intended in our text.

§28

*Remm nomen do fuirseoir fobith cach riastardæ dobeir for a agaid*, 'A *remm*, a name for a buffoon, on account of every distortion which he places on his face', *Corm Y* 1080. The quantity of the vowel in the word *reimm* is unclear. The variant reading in the *Leabhar Breac* marks the vowel as long.

**remmad.** Cf. *DIL* R 44, 16 ff. I am not aware of any other occurrences of this word. However the context seems reasonably clear. Possibly the *reimm* is similar in nature to the person entitled *crossán* in other texts and discussed by Kelly (1988, 64 ff). Cf. *A tri nemptiger croosan*: *rig a oile, rig a teighe, righe a brond*, 'three things which confer status on a *crossán*: distending his cheek, distending his bag, distending his belly', *CIH* 2220.2 [=Bretha Nemed Toísech].

**fó chorp.** *fo corp* A. I take it that the preposition includes the possessive pronoun 3 singular masculine. Cf. *GOI* §837.C.

**Ríascaire.** Note the similarity between this designation and the *raitech* referred to in other texts. Cf. *DIL* R 6, 8.

**loingsech in sin ara-imgaib a chenél 7 a fine.** *loingsech insin arimgaib a chenel 7 a fine* A. For the verb *ar-imgaib* see note to §24 *supra*. Cf. *in raitech ascnama methusa .i. loingsech fine*, ‘the vagrant who seeks a land-holding i.e. an exile from the kin’, *CIH* 33.7.

The sense of the Irish text here is ambiguous and could mean either ‘an outsider who avoids his people’ or alternatively ‘an outsider whose people avoid him’.

**Coillid cáin 7 rechtgi.** *colith cain 7 rechtge* A. Cf. *Ogdiles cach nanrehtaid*, ‘every unlawful person is wholly without legal protection’, *CIH* 324.7.

**7 biid ó ríasc do ríasc nó ó sléib do sléib.** *bidh o riasc do riasc l o sleib* A. I accept Binchy’s suggestion and restore *do sleib* which presumably dropped out as a result of homoioteleuton. Cf. *raitech .i. ... duine dilmain bis for sibal a hinadh d’inadh*, ‘an unattached man who is wont to travel from place to place’, *CIH* 363.30-1 [= *Di Chetharslicht Athgabála*].

**rathbuige.** *rathmaighe* A. For this word cf. Breatnach (1983, 194). Perhaps the reference here is to a *ráth*-builder who works in damp or boggy conditions constructing moats or *crannógs*.

**doir do flaith 7 eclais.** I am unsure as to the significance of this phrase. Perhaps the *rathbuige* may be an unfree ecclesiastical or secular client. Cf. *Ní tét i ráith ná i n-aitiri fri flaith ná eclais* §25 *supra*.

**Ní dlig díre.** *ni dliginn dire* A. I restore the Old Irish form. Cf. *CIH* 585 footnote *j* where Binchy notes that the second *i* of the verbal form is subscript and that the double *n*-stroke may have been added later. Note also *ni urcoimhend*, *CIH* 586.5. Cf. ‘Introduction’: p. 19.

**Sinnach brothlaige.** *Sindach brothlaige* A. This designation also occurs in the text *Gúbretha Caratniad*: ‘*Rucus slān mīre meir[l]e.*’ - ‘*Ba gō.*’ - ‘*[Ba] deithbir, ar ba sinnach brothlaig dod-fuaid.*’, ‘Ich entschied : Der gestohlene Bissen ist Bußfrei.’ - ‘Du entschiedest falsch’ usw. - ‘Ich tat es sachgemäß, denn ein *sinnach brothlaig* (ganz armer Tropf) hatte ihn gegessen’, Thurneysen (1925b, 317-8, §11) = CIH 2193.26-7.

In a lengthy following note Thurneysen provides a translation of this paragraph of *Míadslechtæ*: ‘Er erhält die Brosamen (abfallenden Brocken) jeder Speise, sowohl (ihm) eigener als nicht eigener (*itir dilis ocus indlis*), oder : es ist ihm gleichgültig, was er zermalmt oder verzehrt’, Thurneysen (*ibid.* 318). Further, referring to the translation at *AL* iv 344, he appends a footnote on the phrase *cach biid dó iter díles 7 indles*: Die englische Übersetzung gibt : ‘of all food, natural and unnatural’. Aber nach unserem Paragraf bedeutet es wohl : nicht nur solche Brocken, die ihm zugesprochen werden und also ihm gehören, sondern auch andere, die er irgendwie erhaschen kann’, (*ibid.* 318 footnote 3). On foot of the reference *Lebid an brothlaig ... 7 cinnti conad í gait in fir fil for iarraid fuil sunnrad innti* in Eg. 88 f 33b (= *CIH* 1360.25-6), Thurneysen interprets the word *brothlach* as a pit where stolen goods are stored. He goes on to state : ‘So wird unser *sinnach brothlaig(e)* wörtlich : ‘Fuchs der (Diebs-)Grube’ einen armen Kerl bezeichnen, der seinen zusammengebettelten und -gestohlenen Brocken in einer solchen Grube sammelt’, Thurneysen (*ibid.* 318).

However *brothlach* also has the specific meaning ‘cooking-pit’. Cf. *DIL* B 205.79. For a description of the preparation of food in such pits cf. Kelly (1997, 337). Presumably these pits were frequented by scavenging animals at night-time or when those cooking the food had departed. Perhaps the *sinnach brothlaige* was so desperate for food that he also scavenged among the animals at the cooking pit. The reference to *díles 7 indles* might refer to proper food and improper food. On the subject of taboo foods cf. Kelly (1997, 352-3). Among the types of taboo foods referred to by Kelly are those contaminated by wild animals. Perhaps this is the case here.

**cummae lais ciped bruäs.** *cuma lais cidhbedh bruidhes* A. For the form *ciped* cf. Bergin (1938, 210) and note ... *ciped techtas nech...*, ‘whatever it might be that one possesses’ Wb.12d41.

*bruid* was a hiatus verb in the older period. Cf. *DIL* B 210, 74 ff. Therefore I restore *bruäs*.

§31

This paragraph contains a legal aphorism relating to the adjudgement of status. Perhaps the text is enumerating the attributes that the foregoing designations do not possess. Consequently they have no honour-price or legal status.

**A secht.** *Sieacht* A. There appears to be some corruption here. In the first instance, one would expect the particle *a* before the independent numeral (Cf. *GOI* §386). This probably should have been represented as a capital letter in the left-hand margin. Instead of this we find a capital *s*. The next letter may be the letter *i* but looks more like the beginning of a down-stroke which was not completed. Finally, the letter *t* is written above the letter *h* and may have been added later. I suggest that the exemplar may have begun with a capital *a* in the left-hand margin followed by the letters *se* + *acht*-symbol i.e. *A seacht*.

**asa midetar.** *asa midithar*. I tentatively restore a plural verb and noun for the singular forms of the MS. For the use of the verb *midithir* with the preposition *as* cf. *[A]tait .iii. cinela aire la Feniu asa miditer dire*, ‘there are seven classes of satire in Irish law in respect of which compensation is adjudged’, *CIH* 29.17.

§32

Here begins a new section of the text dealing with the grades of Latin scholars. MacNeill (1923, 313) comments :

‘The statement of the seven grades of Latin learning is obviously artificial, since one of the grades has the poetical title *sruth di aill*, “a stream from a cliff”. The names of all of the grades are purely Irish words, showing that, at the time of the tract, the boundary between Latin and Irish learning had been effaced.’

**Míadslechtea ecnai.** *Míadhlechtea ecna* A. The word *ecnae* has the meaning ‘wise person’(masc.) as well as that of ‘wisdom’ (neut.). For *ecnae* with the more specific meaning of ‘(scripturally based) Latin learning’ cf. McCone (1990, 22). I take the MS

form *ecna* to be genitive singular and translate ‘Latin scholarship’. However the MS form could also represent the genitive plural. The clause could then be translated ‘the divisions of honour of Latin scholars’.

**it écsamlai.** *it ecsamla* A.

**fri miádslechtu.** *fri miadlechtaib* A. The preposition *fri* is normally followed by the accusative case in Old Irish. Cf. *GOI* §839.C. For the replacement of the accusative by the dative in Middle Irish cf. *Breatnach* (*SnaG*, 239-40).

**Ar is cumail for-beir eineclann grád n-ecalso ó adandaid co salmchétlaid.** *ar is cumail forbeir eineclann grad neclasa o adhannad co sailmcetlaigh* A. I take *cumail* here to be an independent dative. For the notion of the honour-price of clerics differing by one *cumal* for each successive grade cf. *Cumal cach gráid gaibther iar n-enngus airchiunn*, ‘a cumal for every grade which is assumed in accordance with definite innocence’, *Breatnach* (1989, 14 §14 and note 35) [= *Bretha Nemed Toisech*]. For another example in this paragraph note *Is sétaib infra*. Additional examples in the text are to be found at §§66, 68.

**co salmchétlaid.** *co sailmcetlaigh* A. For further examples of the confusion of lenited *d* and *g* in this MS see ‘Introduction’: p. 5.

**Is sétaib.** *a setaib* A. I take *setaib* to be independent dative singular. The phrase is thus parallel to *is cumail* in the preceding paragraph.

**Immus-frecreat immurgu i fortach 7 i ndíthech.** *imusfrecreat immurgu a fortach 7 a ndithech* A. I take the verbal form to be an example of the personal reciprocal construction described by O’Brien (1938, 242). Presumably the notion being expressed here is that despite the fact that the honour-prices of the secular and ecclesiastical grades are calculated in distinctive manners, the legal capacity of the respective grades corresponds i.e. bishop with king and chief poet etc.

Cf. *ar na(ch) grád bís i n-eclais is coir cia beith a [a]urlann i túaith, dég fórtaiḡ nó díthiḡ nó fīadnaisi nó brithemnachta[e] ó chách dialailiu*, ‘for every grade which exists

in the church, it is proper that its equivalent should exist in the *túath* for the purpose of overswearing and denial by oath or evidence or judgement of one with respect to the other', Binchy (1941, §2 ll. 7-9).

**rí bunaid cach cinn.** *ri bunuidh cach cinn* A. Note that this grade of king is not referred to in the sections of our text dealing with kingship (§§4-6). Note also the *ri ruirech* referred to in §36 *infra*.

For the notion of equal status being accorded to bishops, kings and scholars cf. *Rii túaithe di[b] feraib deacc do lessaib túaithe ... Dá fer deac dano dām epscuip do les[s]ib ecalsa 7 túaithe ... Dám súad dano di[b] ferib deacc*, 'a king of a *túath* (travels as part of) a retinue of twelve men when acting on behalf of the *túath* ... The retinue of a bishop, moreover, consists of twelve men when acting on behalf of church and *túath* ... The retinue of a sage, moreover, consists of twelve men', Binchy (1941, §47 ll. 598-603).

Note also : *Grande crutnechtu do ollum ri[g] 7 escop 7 do ollum (?) filed. Grande seaccail do rig thuath 7 anroth filed 7 sacart ... graindi sebe do fir midboth 7 cech gradh cuma frisitngair*, 'A grain of wheat for a supreme king, a bishop and a master poet. A grain of rye for a superior king, an *ánroth* poet (poet of the second grade), and a priest ... A bean for a *fer midboth* and every person of equal status corresponding to him', Binchy (1966, 22-3 §2).

**fer midboth.** *fer midhboth* A. Note that the *fer midboth* is not referred to in the sections of the text dealing with the secular grades (§§1-31) *supra*.

Note the occurrence of the word *miadslechtæ* twice in this paragraph.

§33

The designations for the grades of Latin scholars differ from text to text.

Cf. *Sai litri ... tanaisi suad litri ... ocsai ... fear ceatrumun suithe ... mic leigind*, *CIH* 1615.4-14.[= *Uraicecht Becc*].

*Secht ngraid ecna : cæcach ... foglaindti ... deiscipul ... sdaraige ... foircetlaid ... saidh chanoine ... druumcli ... fer leigind*, *CIH* 687.3-5.

For a discussion of these grades and other ecclesiastical designations cf. Breatnach (1987, 84).

**Secht ngrád ecnai dan do-coissin.** *Secht ngraidh ecna dano docusin* A. For the usage of the verb *do-coissin* here cf. *GOI* §782(a).

**suí.** *saidh* A. For further examples of non-historic final lenited *d* in this MS cf. 'Introduction:' p. 6.

§34

**tri anmann.** *tri hanmanna* A. On the spread of the ending *-anna/-enna* to the nominative plural of neuter n-stems in Middle Irish cf. Breatnach (*SnaG*, 249).

**Roṣuí.** *Rosai* A. The text lists the sub-titles of this grade in the order *roṣuí*, *ollam* and *suí litre la flaith*. However it then describes the three sub-titles in the order *ollam*, *roṣuí* and *suí litre*. I do not understand the significance of the phrase *la flaith*, 'with a lord'. Perhaps this is a reference to the appointment of the senior ecclesiastical scholar by a lord. In addition to a king, each properly constituted *túath* was required to have a poet, a churchman and an ecclesiastical scholar. Presumably these persons were officially appointed. Cf. *Ni ba tuath tuath gan egna, gan egluis gan filidh, gan righ ara corathar cuir 7 cairde do thuathaib*, 'A *túath* is not a *túath* without an ecclesiastical scholar, a churchman, a poet, a king by whom contracts and treaties are extended to (other) *túaths*', Gwynn (1940, 31.10-11) = Breatnach (1987, 90).

**ina súidiu.** *ina suighe* A. For confusion of lenited *d* and *g* in this MS see 'Introduction:' p. 5.

**i tig midchúarta.** *a tig midhchuarta A.*

**fri ríg.** For the preposition *fri* with the meaning ‘along with, beside’ cf. *DIL F 416, 38 ff.*

**ní airchoimti.** *ni urchoimend A.* Note the Middle Irish verbal ending and cf. MS *dliginn* in §29. For the verb cf. *DIL A 384.18.* where it is analysed as (*ar* + denominative from *comét*) and this clause in our text is translated ‘he cannot excuse himself, may not plead ignorance’. On the basis of the form of the verbal noun (*airchoimted*, *DIL A 176,72 ff*) I restore *ní airchoimti*.

**i cethéoraib rannaib suíthi.** *a cetheora randaib saithe A.*

**Ocht scripuil for deich n-uingib for deich cumalaib a díre.** *ocht scripuil for .x. nuingib for .x. cumalaib a díre A.* A *cumal* is generally taken to have a value of three milch cows (Kelly (1997, 592)), while an ounce of silver was valued at one milch cow (Kelly (1997, 593)). A *screpul* was worth one twenty-fourth of an ounce (Kelly(1997, 593)). Thus, the honour-price of the *rosúí* was just over thirteen *cumals*. Note that the honour-price of the highest grade of king described in *Críth Gablach* is given as fourteen *cumals*. Cf. *Ríi bunaid cech cinn ... Dá .vii. cumal a eneclann*, Binchy (1941, §33 ll. 472-6).

**for deich n-uingib.** *for .x. nuingib A.* For *for* in the meaning ‘in addition to’ cf. *DIL F 298.78 ff.*

**Cethrar ar fichit a dám.** *.iiii.ar ar.xx.it a damh A.* Note that the retinue of the *rosúí* (twenty-four persons) is equivalent to that of the *ollam*-poet described in §45 *infra* and note also *Cethrar at fichit do ollamain for túathaib*, ‘Twenty-four people for an *ollam* when engaged on public business’, Breatnach (1987, 105 §5).

**Sechtmad érc a báis ina thoichned.** *.uii.mad eirce a bais ina toichnedh A.*

**conutaib.** This form is obscure to me. It may be a corruption of the verbal form *con-*



*utainc*, ‘builds, decorates’. Although not exactly similar to the case in question here, Breatnach (SnaG, 235) gives two examples of the replacement of lenited *g* by lenited *b*: *i nUib Cellaib* (= *Cellaig*), *LU(M)* 7040, *ros n-ordaib* ‘he arranged them’, Stokes (1883 II 3788) (= *ros n-ordaig*). The sense however remains obscure: what are the three things which the *suí litre* builds or decorates? Perhaps *tréide* here has the meaning ‘three persons’. Cf *DIL* T 291, 59 ff. Note the following verse from *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn*:

*Dleaghair i gcuibhreann riogh raith,*

*Breitheamh is file is flaith;*

*An rí ag nach bia an tréidhe thall,*

*Ní dhligh Féine a eineaclann.*

‘They are appointed to attend on gracious kings,

A brehon, a *file* and a prince;

The king who has not the three named,

His honour-price is not sanctioned by Fenian law.

(Dinneen (1908, 344 ll. 5351-4)).

The ‘three persons’ may be a reference to a king, an *ollam*-poet and a churchman. One might then translate out text as ‘he supports/ establishes three persons’.

Another possibility is that the letters *t* and *c* have been confused in the MS. The form could then be a corruption of *con-ocaib*, ‘lifts up, raises, exalts’. The sense would then be that ‘he exalts three persons’.

A final suggestion is that the form is a corruption of the third singular perfect of *con-tibi*, ‘laughs, mocks’, i.e. leg. *con-atib*. However, it is difficult to see how the sense would fit the context here.

**conid comdire fri rí ruirech.** *conidh comdire fri rí ruirech* A. Note that the title *rí ruirech* has not been referred to previously in the text. The title *suí litre* also occurs in *Uraicecht Becc*: *sai litri comsære do fri rig næntuaite .i. inti aca ta saidecht na litri .i. in fear leginn .i. coimeniclann do frisin rig aca ta in æntuath*, ‘a sage of the letter (he is) equal in nobility to the king of a single *túath* i.e. he who has the mastery of the letter i.e. the *fer léiginn* i.e. he has equal honour-price to the king who has the single *túath*’, *CIH* 1615.4-5. Note that *Uraicecht Becc* compares the *suí litre* to the lowest grade of

king. However the *suí litre* and the *rí ruirech* are treated together in the poem *Suidigud Taige Midchuarda*:

*Suí litri 7 rí ruirech  
is réim cosmail cóir  
dlegait athbach maithglan mín  
is prímhruachait dóib : .*

‘A *suí litre* and a *rí ruirech*,  
it is a similar, fitting course.

They are entitled to a fair, bright, smooth division,  
and a superior rump for them. (LL 3726-9)

**bith.** So A. I have allowed the MS reading to stand. For this rare form of the verbal noun of the substantive verb cf. *GOI* §727.

**i n-ucht.** Cf. *DIL* U 51.12-3 where our example is translated ‘in the company of’. Perhaps to be understood as ‘in the bosom of’.

**oc foglaimm ad.** I take this to mean that the *suí litre*’s pupils are learning from him. Alternatively, *úad* could be taken to be the genitive singular of *aí*, poetic inspiration, learning. The meaning then would be that the pupils of the *suí litre* were learning the art of poetic composition from him.

**Is é fer inso dona timdibhenar a díre.** *Is e fer inso dō a timdibhenar a dhire* A. *dō* is the usual contraction for *danó* in this MS. However, if one were to expand as such, it would be difficult to account for the following *a* in the MS. The verb appears to be the 3 singular present indicative passive prototonic of *do-immidiben*, ‘cuts away, shortens’. The literal sense is ‘for whom (his) compensation is not reduced / diminished’. Another possibility is to restore *is é fer inso danó nád timdibhenar a díre*. However, this would be a severe emendation.

**cit saerbratha.** *cid saerbratha* A. This phrase appears to refer to circumstances in which the honour-price or compensation due to the *suí litre* might be expected to be reduced. *AL* iv 356 reads *cid saebratha* and translates ‘should he teach (or speak) in silliness’. Cf. *Ar nī hinill do crāibdech airbera bith nach cruth la sōerbrāth fein*, ‘For

it is not safe that a pious person should consume in any way on foot of his own fair judgement (i.e. on his own initiative)', Meyer (1903, 29). Thus, the sense in our text might be that the honour-price or compensation due to the *suí litre* is never reduced, even when the amount of compensation has been decided by himself.

Cf. *saifither ecna i ssaibbretha .i. gebthair ciall ecoir as*, 'learning will be perverted into false judgements i.e. the incorrect sense will be derived from it', *LL* 24781-2 (p. 830) = *ssaibbretha* = Stokes (1905b, 40 §214).

**fo bíth as n-éola inna pennait 7 inna dligiud.** *fo bith as n-eola ina pennait 7 ina dligiud* A. For the nasalization after the copula here cf. *GOI* §504(d). For the word *éola* cf. *GOI* §360. For the expression *is éola i* cf. *DIL* E 150.39 ff. to which may be added *Taman ... ní héola i fedaib*, 'A *taman* ... he does not have knowledge of letters' Breatnach (1987, 112 §18). For *pennait* cf. Binchy (1938,56).

Perhaps the general sense of this sentence is that the compensation due to the *suí litre* does not diminish but rather increases by way of the *pennait*-payment. Cf. .vii. *ngraid ecalsa olcena direnaidther hi comdiriu fri grada fene acht inni tormaig pennuid di diriu grad necalsa*, 'The remainder of the seven grades of the church are paid in equal *díre* with the [corresponding] lay grades save in so far as 'penance' increases the *díre* of the church grades', Binchy (1938 §4).

Note also *Fænan cuma du gradaib ecalsa ... itir biatad 7 turtugud 7 diri act doformagar pendait do suidib la diri*, 'likewise for the ecclesiastical grades ... with regard to feeding and protection and compensation, however *pennait*-payment is increased in the case of the latter besides compensation', *CIH* 1602.38 - 1603.3 [= *Uraicecht Becc*]

§35

On the three distinct grades with the title *ánruth* in *Míadslechteae* cf. notes to §12.

**ar chethardae as-berar.** Referring to the *ánruth* poet *Uraicecht Becc* has the following: *ANRUTH .i. ... Cetharda ara nabarr anruth ris .i. ar aine a fóircedail. ar amuinnsi ngaisi, ar súlbairi a indsci. ar imad a eoluis*, *CIH* 1596.26-29.

**ar áini.** *ar aine* A.

**ar ilar a chétfaide.** *ar ilar a cefadha* A. I restore the genitive plural *a chétfaide*. Cf. *cetfaide ecnai*, Meyer (1903, 25).

**a insce.** *a innsce* A.

**ar méit.** *ar met* A.

**i cach rainn.** *in cach rainn* A. Cf. *MAD BREITEM TEORA MBRET .i mad breteam bus eolach isna teora brethaib .i. i fenecus 7 i filidicht 7 i legend*, ‘if he be a judge of three judgements i.e. if he be a judge who is knowledgeable with regard to the three judgements i.e. with regard to Irish law, and poetry and Latin learning’, *CIH* 1612.23-4 [= *Uraicecht Becc*].

**filedacht.** *filidhecht* A. For the spelling *filedacht* cf. Breatnach (1987, 124).

**acht nád roig co cléithe nammá.** *acht na roigh co cleithe nama* A. For *cléithe* in the meaning ‘perfection’ etc cf. *DIL* C 229.60 ff. Cf. *siú rosiacht cleithe*, ‘before he attained the perfection (of his studies)’, Meyer (1907, 304). Alternatively, *cléithe* could be taken to mean the head of the school of learning. The sense then would be that the *ánruth* is proficient in every field of learning but he has not attained the position of head of the school of learning. For *acht nammá*, ‘except’ cf. *DIL* N 13.4 ff.

**Dá fêr deac a dâm.** Cf. *Ánruth ... Dá fêr deac dó for túatha*, ‘An *ánruth* ... Twelve men for him on official business’, Breatnach (1987, 108 §12).

§36

**fer for-chain cethramad rainn suíthi.** *fer forcain cethramadh raind suite* A. Presumably the sense here is that this scholar teaches just one of the four branches of learning. Compare this with the *rosuí* described in §34 *supra*: *Rošuí dano, ní airchoimti ní i cethéoraib rannaib suíthi*. Note also *FEAR CEATRUMUN SUITE .i. inti acata (sic. leg. ata) isan cetramad lucc on said .i. in sdaraide*, ‘a man of a quarter of knowledge i.e. he who is in the fourth position from the sage i.e. the *staraige*’, *CIH* 1615.10-11 [= *Uraicecht Becc*].

**sechib í díb.** *seicib i dib* A. For the use of *sechi*, ‘whatsoever’ and the present subjunctive of the copula cf. *GOI* §461(b).

**ut Cenn Fáelad.** For the story of *Cenn Fáelad* cf. *CIH* 250.33 - 251.3. Cf. MacNeill (1922, 26) where the author takes this citation as evidence that ‘Cenn Faelad wrote still another tract on the subject of the politico-legal grades ...’. Note also McCone (1990, 23-4) where the tale is summarised. A further citation attributed to *Cenn Fáelad* is to be found in *Bretha Nemed Toísech*. Cf. Breatnach (1989, 12 §8).

**conid iar maisi án maith.** The meaning of this clause is obscure to me. For *iar maisi/íarmaisi* cf. *DIL* I 23.80 ff. Perhaps read *conid maith iar maisi án ?*

§37

Note MacNeill’s comments : ‘The description of this grade is very poetical, but indicates a tutor who assists the backward pupils’, MacNeill (1923,313).

**Sruth di aill.** *Sruth do aill* A. Note *sruth do aill* also at §33. In *MV* I §§2,67 etc. this designation is applied to the third highest grade of *sóerbard*. In that text it is variously spelt *sruth di aill*, *sruth d’aill*. I take it that the term literally ‘a stream from a cliff’ and therefore restore *di* for *do*.

**a bás sídi.** *a bes saidhe* A. For this construction cf. *GOI* §481.

**báidid cach mbec n-étromm n-énirt.** *baidhidh cach mbec n-etrúim n-ainirt* A. I do not understand the palatalization in the word *etrúim*. The spelling *ainirt* might represent the negative particle *an-* + *nert*. Cf. *GOI* §§869-70.

**ailchea.** *ailche* A.

**con-oisce.** Cf. *DIL* C 455.28 where the verb appears under the headword *con-oscaigi* (\**com-uss-scuich-*).

**con-oisce gné trága la tess síne.** *conoisce gne tragha la tes sine* A.

**la tess síne.** ‘with the ardour (lit. warmth) of a storm’.

**in fer samaltar fris.** *in fer samailter fris* A.

**forta-brissi.** Cf. *DIL* F 363.24 ff where it is suggested that *-ta-* may be an infixed pronoun and that *báidid* and *fortabraid-si* are second plural in number. However, I take the form to be a corruption of *for-brissi*, ‘breaks down, crushes’, with an infixed pronoun third person plural Class B referring to *drochléignidi*.

**co n-ailechib teistemne.** *co n-ailechib testemna* A. The noun *teistimin* is indeclinable in the singular (cf. *GOI* §302.2). Therefore I take *teistemne* to be in the genitive plural.

**is túalaing a forcetal con-oiscea gné n-aisndísen.** *is tualaing a forcetal conoisce gné naisneisin* A. For *is/ní túalaing* followed by a finite clause cf. *NI TUALAING RODGABA ATHGABAIL NADI FORNAISC*, ‘he is not capable of taking distraint who is not able to bind it’, *CIH* 358.1 [= *Di Chethatslicht Athgabála*]. For a further example note also *DIL* T 339.67 ff.

**gné n-aisndísen.** *gne naisneisin* A.

**immun áes mbecléiginn.** *iman æs mbecl Leighind* A. Binchy reads *iman æs in becleighind*.

**tráigte.** *traigit* A. I restore the 3 plural relative form of the verb. On the loss of the 3 plural present indicative relative ending in Middle Irish cf. *SnaG* (296-7).

**i frecnarcus ánrótha.** Note the genitive singular. *Ánruth* is normally treated as an *o-*stem (*DIL* A 353.53). However note *conid amlaid-sin is cudruma eneclann in anrada filed*, ‘so that it is thus that the honour-price of the *ánruth*-poet is equal’, *CIH* 1618.23 [= *Uraicecht Becc*].

§38

This paragraph and the one that follows are very similar in structure and are particularly obscure.

*Fursaintid danó*

*fortuisim a aite*

*i céill olloman*

*Téora lethchumala a díre*

*⁊ cétfaid cen airchoimted úad-som*

*ar idnai a mesraigthe ⁊ ar áini a intšliuchta.*

*Freisnéidid*

*.i. fris-comairc dia aitiu*

*i céill a olloman.*

*Cumal a díre*

*⁊ cétfaid cen airchoimted úad-som*

*do neoch as ansam dó.*

The grades in question may correspond to the *foglaintid* and the *discipul* listed at *CIH* 2101.2-3 and the *mic leigind* listed at *CIH* 1615.14 [= *Uraicecht Becc*]. They are evidently students as the references to *aite* and *ollam* indicate. See note to §32.

**Fursaintid.** *Fursaind* A. Presumably a suspension-stroke has been omitted in the MS. The form is an agentive noun based on the verb *for-osnai*, 'lights up, illumines'. Cf. *DIL* F 360.30 ff. and 490.74 ff. Note also *ADANDAID .i. fursantaid cainle*, *CIH* 2102.16. The *aclaid/adantaid* was one of the three sub-grades of the *gráda ecalsa* Cf. Breatnach (1987, 85). As for the function of this grade MacNeill remarks 'analagous perhaps to the demonstrator of science of our time', MacNeill (1923, 313).

**fortuisim.** This form is obscure to me. Cf. *DIL* F 369.62 ff. which suggests 'possibly a corruption of some form of *for-osndai*'. Pedersen (VKG ii, 624) cites a formation \*fo-to-ess-sem- which glosses Latin 'suffundere'. Cf. *arna fothismide* M1 85d8, *fotheistib* M1 110d10.

**i céill olloman.** ‘with respect to the wisdom of an *ollam*’. I do not understand the significance of this phrase which also occurs in the following paragraph. Perhaps it refers to the student drawing on the learning of his *ollam*? Alternatively *ceill* could be the dative singular of the noun *cell*, ‘church settlement, building’. The meaning then would be that the *fursaintid* works in the chief scholar’s room.

**7 cétfaid cen airchoimted úad-som.** 7 *cedfaidh cach nurcoimdedh uadha-som* A. This phrase occurs in a slightly different format in the following paragraph. I tentatively restore *cen* for MS *cach*. The exemplar may simply have read *c-*. For *cétfaid*, ‘understanding, meaning, opinion’ cf. *DIL* C 156.31 ff. For *airchoimted*, ‘excusing, excuse’ cf. *DIL* A 176.72 ff. *úadha-som* may be the Middle Irish form of the 3 singular masculine conjugated form of the preposition *ó* for which see *DIL* O 73.53 ff. The sense then is that the *fursaintid* is expected to have an ‘explanation without excuse i.e. a ready answer’ for any question put to him.

§39

**Freisnéidid.** Cf. *DIL* F 411, 43 and 49-52 ff where the word is linked to the verbal form \*fris-indet- (for which see *DIL* F 42829 and 429, 41) meaning ‘tells, relates’. MacNeill (1923, 313) suggests ‘interrogator’.

**fris-comairc dia aite.** *fris-comarc dia aite* A. For *fris-comairc do*, ‘asks of’ cf. *DIL* F 425.28 ff.

**i céill a olloman.** Note the similarity to *i céill olloman* of the previous paragraph.

**7 cétfaid cen airchoimded uad-som.** 7 *cetfaidh cach n-urcoimdedh uadha-som* A. Cf. notes to previous paragraph.

§40

**Felmac .i. fuil-mac.** *fealmac .i. fuil mac* A. I am not sure how to interpret the etymological gloss. The first component of the word *fel* means ‘poetry, science’ Cf. *DIL* F



70.80 ff. Perhaps the gloss originally read *fial-mac*, 'noble son'. Note also *Felmac .i. mac uād; fel .i. ái; fele .i. ēcess, unde dicitur filidecht .i. ēcsi*, 'a *felmac* i.e. a son of poetry; science i.e. poetry; *fele* i.e. a poet whence *filedecht* i.e. poetry' Corm Y 599.

#### §41

**immus-frecreat.** *imusfreccrat* A. Cf notes to §32 and note the similarity in the wording of both paragraphs.

**fri gráda filed.** *fri gradha file* A. For further examples of the loss of a final dental in this MS cf. 'Introduction:' p. 6.

**máthair cach dno díb.** *mathair cacha dana dib* A.

On the relationship between clerical and ecclesiastical grades cf. *Cia de as sruithiu, in rí fa epscop ? Is sruithiu epscop, húare arnéraig rí fo bíth creitme; tuargaib epscop dano a glún ria ríg*, 'which is the more noble, a king or a bishop ? A bishop is more noble, for a king rises up before him on account of faith. However a bishop raises his knee before his king', Binchy (1941, §48 ll. 604-6).

#### §42

Here begins the section dealing with the seven grades of poets. MacNeill (1923,313) notes : 'The seven grades of Irish learning are the same as in the other lists, except that the highest grade is called *éces* instead of *ollam*. The title *ollam*, however, is found later in the text.'

This fragment on the poets was once preserved in a second MS (here denoted C) which has since been lost. Fortunately it had been transcribed by O'Curry prior to its disappearance. See 'Introduction:' p. 4. The text of this fragment is given in Appendix 2.

This section of the text appears to have been poorly transmitted. The A MS is particularly corrupt. Entire words and phrases have been dropped, misplaced or repeated. As a result, the restoration of the text is tentative in places.

*incipit miadhlechta filidh.* Added C.

**clí, cano.** *cli, cana A, cana, cli C.*

**macfuirmid.** *macfuirmidh A, macc fuirmigh C.* This is the sole example of confusion of lenited *d* and *g* in this MS. Cf. 'Introduction:' p. 7.

Note that although the grade of *cano* is included by both MSS in this introductory list neither provides any subsequent information about it. See note to §48 *infra*.

§43

**éces.** *eces A, eceas dna C.*

**écmacht ces.** *ecsmacht ces A, ecmacht ceas C.* I take it that a form of the copula (*is*) is to be understood here. Otherwise one would expect the genitive singular *cesa*.

Cf. *na n-eiges .i. na nai gan ches .i. na bhfiled*, 'of the wise ones i.e. of the ones without incapacity i.e. of the poets', Calder (1917, 2264).

*Ēces .i. ēcmacht-ces .i. ēcmacht a ches d(o) airiuc i cetheora rannaib fis filidechta*, 'a poet i.e. impossible debility i.e. (it is) impossible to find his incapacity in the four divisions of knowledge of poetry', Corm Y 538.

**dona bí ces na ainces do astud fair.** *dona bi ces na hainces do fástodh fair A, dona bi ces anceas na anfis fair do astod C.* In a passage describing the *ollam* the text *Uraicecht na Ríar* has the following : *Fili ón at óga fíríana folad, óná ainces berar inna dána dlúim*, 'That is a poet whose qualifications are complete and genuine, who is not found to be perplexed in the mass of his craft', Breatnach (1987, 102-3 §3.) As Breatnach points out (*loc. cit.* p. 117), this citation in *Uraicecht na Ríar* derives from *Bretha Nemed déidenach*. This portion of our text would also appear to be quite similar to the citation from *Bretha Nemed déidenach*. Cf. *Fer dána diamhain, doná bi ces, na ainces i gcetheoruibh rannuibh fis filidhechta*, CIH 1114.33-4 [= Ériu 13, 18.10-11]. The citation also occurs in O'Davoren's Glossary : *Ceas .i. gnathac. ainneas .i. ingnat-ach. dina bi ceas nainneas (leg. na ainceas) i cetheoraib randa feasa na filaighechta*, CIH 1481.2-3 [= O'Dav. 409].

**no ní fil ní bes ches dó inna dán.** *no ni fuil ní bus ces do ina dan A, no ni fuil ceas dó ina dán C.* For lenition after the relative form of the copula cf. *GOI* §495(c).

**conid ed a ainm: nemches no écmacht ces.** *conadh edh a ainm nemces no ecmacht ces, cona ed a ainm nemceas no ecmacht ces C.* For loss of final lenited *d* in *cona* in the C MS cf. 'Introduction:' p. 7.

§44

Both MS versions of this paragraph are translated in O'Curry (1861, 461-2).

**Fili .i. fialsuí .i. suí uad.** *Fili .i. fialsai .i. sai uadh A, File .i. fialsui lasi mbiat felmaic .i. suid C.*

**Ar a fel laisin filid.** *ar a feal laisin filidh A, ar a feal laisin file C.* For the loss of the final dental in *file* in the C MS cf. 'Introduction:' p. 7. Cf. *DIL* F 70, 80-2 and S 154, 58-60 where the following emendation is suggested: *a [ní is] feal laisin filidh*. Compare ALI iv 358: *a [ní is] feal*. However, as Breatnach (1990, 96) has pointed out, the neuter article is regularly used to mark words being cited or analysed. Thus, I take the *a* preceding the word *fel* to be the neuter singular article and translate 'what the poet understands as the word *fel*'.

**is séis.** *is seis A, iseis C.*

**isin gnáthbétru.** *isinn gathberla A, asin gnathberla C.* I take it that an *n*-stroke has been misplaced in the case of the A MS. Cf. *in gnathberla fogní do chach iter fira 7 mhna*, 'in the ordinary speech which serves everyone, both man and woman', Calder (1917, 2514-5).

**conid d.** *conade A, cona de C.* For the loss of the final dental in both MSS cf. 'Introduction:' p. 7. The MSS spellings may reflect the delenition of the dentals.

**filedacht.** *filidecht A, C.* For the forms *filedacht/filidachtae* cf. Breatnach (1987, 124).

No **fili** .i. **fí** 7 **lí** .i. **fí** a omna fair 7 lí a dána. Thus A, omitted C.

Similar etymologies of the word *fili* are to be found in *Auraicept na n-Éces* and in Cormac's Glossary :

Cf. *File* .i. *fel sai no fial sai* : no file onni is 'filososubus' .i. *fe feallsom, ar dlegar don filid feallsamhnacht aigi* : no file .i. *fi ani aorus, 7 li anni molus* : no file .i. [it Eg.] *fele ai, ar dlegar de ar is ed nodus-saora, feile dano indracus nos-ditne an file 7 rla* : no file 'a flectendis carminibus' : no file .i. *fel sai, sai fhoglama, amal ata felmac* : no file .i. *fi a oumna 7 li a danu fair* : no file .i. *fial do aei* : no file .i. *fi oulc 7 li maith* .i. *moulad 7 aorad. Cubhaidh cia fhasus deisidhe ainm in fhilid dia fhognat.*, 'A poet i.e. a poetic sage or a noble sage: or *file* from the word 'philosophus' i.e. ... a philosopher, for the poet should know philosophy; or *file* i.e. venom (is) that which he satirises and beauty that which he praises; or *file*: ... generosity of poetic inspiration, for it is required of him, for it is that which ennobles him, generosity moreover (is) the honour which protects the poet etc.; or *file* 'a flectendis carminibus'; or *file* i.e. a poetic sage, a sage of knowledge, as in the word *felmac*; or a *file* i.e. the venom of his being feared and the splendour of his poetry on him; or *file* i.e. noble with respect to poetic learning; or a *file* i.e. venom, evil and splendour, good i.e. praising and satirising. It is fitting that the name of the poet whom they serve develops from that ...' Calder (1917, 3306-14).

Note that the citation from *Auraicept na n-Éces* is particularly close to our text.

Cf. *Fili* .i. *fí a n-aoras 7 lí a mmolas 7 brecht a fūacras in file*, Corm(Y) 600.

The following is added at the end of this paragraph in the C MS : .i. *rofallnastar i fis sech na uili*, 'he has held sway with regard to knowledge beyond all others'.

§45

**for-cain cethéora ranna fesa filedachtae.** *forcaín cethora ranna fora ditensom* A, *forcana cetheora ranna fesa filidechta* C. For the forms *filedacht/filedachtae* cf. Breatnach(1987, 124).

The words *fesa filedechtae* have been dropped from the A MS and the following clause misplaced. See the following note. Compare the statement here to that at §34 describ-

ing the *rošuí* : *ní airchoimti ní i cethéoraib rannaib suíthi*.

On the four divisions of learning cf. *cethri ranna fesa na filidechta .i. canoin 7 gramatach 7 sdair 7 rim. isi in canoin .i. sencus mor 7 bretha nemed 7 ae cana 7 ae cermna. isi in gramatach .i. na tri .l. ogum 7 na remenna 7 na duili; isi in sdair .i. tana 7 togla 7 tricha scel 7 tri .xx. foscel; isi in rim bretha cae cainbrethaig; 7 primaicecht .iii. mbliadna in cach rann dib fa durgres*, ‘the four divisions of knowledge of poetry i.e. *canóin* and *grammatach* and *stair* and *rím*. This is the *canóin*: the *Senchus Mór* and *Aí Cermna* and *Aí Cána*. This is the *gramatach* : the thrice fifty ogams and the inflected cases and the elements. This is the *stair* : cattle raids and destructions and thirty stories and thrice twenty sub-tales. This is the *rím* : the judgements of fair-judging *Cae* (?). And primary instruction for three years in each division of them always, *CIH* 1106.4-9.

**fora dítin-som.** *fora diten som* A, *fora titin-som* C. I take *dítin* to be the dative singular of *ditiu*, the verbal noun of *do-eim* ‘covers’, ‘shelters’. This clause has been misplaced in the A MS.

For the retinue of the *ollam* poet cf. *Cethrar ar fichit do ollamain for túathaib*, *Breatnach* (1987, 104 §5).

Similar etymologies of the word *ollam* are to be found in *Cormac’s Glossary* and in *Uraicecht Becc* :

Cf. *OJlldam .i. oll-a-dāmh, an cethrar ar fichit. Aliter ollam .i. all-ūaim .i. amail is doilig ūaim bis fo aill do t[h]ogail, nō saigid ūaime bis fo aill, sic is doilig saigid for dān 7 ēcsi ind ollaman. Nō ollam .i. oll-diem .i. is oll inni dītiness .i. cethrar ar fichit. Nō oll-di-ēmid .i. ollam ērnas na cesta*, ‘An *ollam* i.e. great his retinue, the twenty-four. Otherwise *ollam* i.e. a cliff-cave i.e. as it is difficult to attack a cave which is underneath a cliff or to approach a cave which is underneath a cliff thus it is difficult to ‘attack’ the craft and learning of the poet. Or an *ollam* i.e. greatly he protects i.e. great what he protects i.e. the twenty-four. Or *oll-di-ēmid*(?) i.e. an *ollam* who solves the questions’, *Corm* Y 998.

Cf. *OLLUM .i. oll doem .i. is oll inni didnes a bundsach comairci darna tuataib ... No ollam .i. oll uaim .i. uaim bis fo aill: amail is dithoglaig i-side, is amlaid is ditoglaig*

*int ollam im cetra rennaib fesa filidechta do beth aigi ... No oll a dam .i. in cetrar .xx.et* , ‘An *ollam* i.e. greatly he protects i.e. great is what his rod of security protects (while travelling) across *túaths* ... Or an *ollam* i.e. a great cave i.e. a cave which under a cliff: as that is impossible to attack likewise it is impossible to ‘attack’ the *ollam* on account(?) of his having the four peaks of knowledge of poetry ... Or great his retinue i.e. the twenty-four’, *CIH* 1596.30-35 [= *Uraicecht Becc*].

§46

There is a partial translation and discussion of this paragraph in Binchy (1958, 49-50). As can be seen from the notes there, the text here has been badly corrupted. Cf. also Byrne (2001, 175-6) where the text is emended to read : *ní hollam nad cóiced nAillelo Maic Máta móra*, ‘he is no *ollam* who does not magnify the Fifth of Ailill Mac Máta ( or ‘whom the Fifth ... does not magnify’). See note below.

Note three sub-divisions of the *ollam* and compare to the three sub-divisions of *rosuí* in §34 supra.

**Ar atáat.** *ar atait* A, C.

**tri ollamain.** *tri hollamuin* A, so C.

**Ollam gáise.** *ollam gaisi* A, C. For the treatment of the noun *gáis* as an  $\bar{a}$ -stem see *GOI* §259.4. Cf. *OLLAM GÆISI .i. int sai brethemun* : *CIH* 1618.12 [= *Uraicecht Becc*]. This person appears to be a judge.

**suí cach éolais.** *sai cach eoluis* A, *sai cacha eolais* C.

**imma fuiglither.** *ima fuighlither* A, *ima fuiglither* C.

**Fris-comarcár, ní frecmairc.** *friscomarchar ní frecnairc* A, *friscomarcár ní frecnarc* C. Note the combination of active and passive forms in this section of the text : *naiscid/ní nascar, for-cain ... nád forcanar-som*.

**ni berar ainces úad.** *ni berar ainces uadh A, ni berar ancuís uada C.* See notes to §43 *supra*.

**i mbrethaib aithre 7 śenaithe.** So A,C. I am unsure as to what is being referred to here.

*! Ollam .i. uille in lin bis fora dinsom oldati na gradha olcena A.* This sentence is a repetition of some of the material in the previous paragraph relating to the *ollam*. For this reason and because of the fact that it does not occur in the C MS, it has been omitted here.

**naiscid, ní nascar.** *naisci, ni nascar A, nascid, ni nascar C.* For the loss of the final dental in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6. Binchy (1958,50) translates ‘he binds, he is not bound himself ( i.e. he takes hostages from other kings and gives none himself)’.

**Cote-side.** *caidi side A,C.* For the restored spelling see Quin (1966, 140). For a similar example of *cote* construed with the anaphoric pronoun (but with plural subject) cf. *Córus ecalso cétamus, ataat dá thucht for suidiu. Coteat-sidi ?*, ‘The arrangement of the church firstly, there two aspects to that. What are they ?’, Breatnach (1989, 8 §2).

**amail rond-gab rí Connacht.** *amal ri connacht A, amail rig connacht C.* I adopt Binchy’s suggestion (1958, 50 footnote 2 and *CIH* 587 footnote a) and restore *rond-gab*. For the construction cf. *GOI* §781.

**amail as-mberar.** Thus A, *amail asberar C.*

**Ní ollamain n-ard cóiced n-Ailella maic Máta móra.** *ni oll- nard .u.eth naill- mic mata mora A, Ni ollam nard coicid naililla mic mata mora C.* *oll-* is the usual representation of the word *ollam* (nominative singular) in the A MS. However, as both MSS show nasalization of the adjective *ard*, the accusative singular form *ollamain* is to be expected. Binchy (1958, 50) translates ‘The province of Ailill Mac Mata [sic] does not magnify the high *o(llum)*’. Note also Bergin (1938, 211) where this sentence is

similarly translated. See also Byrne (2001, 175-6) where the text is emended to read : *ní hollam nad cóiced nAillello maic Máta móra*, ‘he is no *ollam* who does not magnify the Fifth of Ailell Mac Máta (or ‘whom the Fifth ... does not magnify’). For the MS contraction *aill-* for *Ailill/ Aillella* cf. O’Brien (1956,182).

Note tmesis *Ní... móra*.

*l ollam .i. oll doeim .i. cach æn bis cinuais l fis nangrad*. The etymological gloss *ollam .i. oll doeim* occurs in the previous paragraph. The remainder of this sentence, as Binchy suggests (*CIH* 587 footnote *c*), appears to be corrupt. Perhaps translate ‘An *ollam*, that is, greatly he protects, that is, everyone who is wont to be without nobility or knowledge of the grades (of status ?)’. Again, as this clause duplicates information already contained in the text and does not occur in the C MS, it has been omitted here.

**Ollam éicsi danó : for-cain cethéora ranna filedachtae cen ainfis n-indib, nád forcanar-som immurgu ó neuch. Cethrar ar fichit a dām.** *Ollam eicsi dō forcan cethora ranna filidhecht cin ainfis ninntiudh A, Ollam eicsi dno forcain ceithri randa filidecht na forcanar som imorro o nech Cethrar ar fichit a damh ... Ollam eicsi dono forcain ceotheora ranna filidechta cin ainfis inntu C*. This sentence has been misplaced in the A MS and instead occurs in the middle of the next paragraph which deals with the *ánruth*. The sentence occurs in the correct sequence in the C MS but, oddly, is repeated (just as in the A MS) in a somewhat different format in the paragraph dealing with the *ánruth*. I have provided an eclectic text.

**cethéora ranna filedachtae.** *cethora ranna filidheacht A, ceithri randa filedechta C*. For the forms *filidacht/filidachtae* cf. Breatnach (1987, 124).

**nád forcanar-som immurgu ó neuch.** Omitted A, *na forcanar som imorro o nech C*. This phrase is only found in the C MS. However it fits in with active/passive structure *for-cain ... for-canar* found in the descriptions of the preceding grades of *ollam* : *fris-comarcar ... ní frecmairc* and *naiscid ...ní nascar*.

Note also *cía suí for-chanar 7 na forcanar o dhaoinibh ?*, ‘which sage is instructed and is not instructed by persons?’ Gwynn (1940, 26.1-2) = *CIH* 1120.2.

Also *am̄ asberar i mbrethaib nemed* : ‘*Ciasuí forcain na forcanair o duinib*’, ‘as is



stated in Bretha Nemed: who is it(?) who instructs and is not instructed by persons', MV i, 23.26 = *ut dicatur isna br- nemed .i. 'Cia suí forcanar nad forcanar duinib'*, *ibid* 28.30-1.

Finally *Forcan .i. forcetal, ut est cia suí forcanar na forcanar doinibh ? .i. cia an suí donither d'forcetal ⁊ nochan dentar a forcetal ó dhaoinaib ? suí iumbhuis greine t boinne*, 'end(?) i.e. teaching, that is, who is the sage who is taught (and) who is not taught (by) persons ? i.e. who is the sage who is taught and who is not taught by persons ? A sage of great knowledge of (the rivers) Graney or Boyne', *CIH* 1500.4-6 = O'Dav. 882.

#### §47

This paragraph describes two types of *ánruth* - one belonging to the hierarchy of the kings and the other to that of the poets. Cf. Binchy (1958, 50). With regard to the first Thurneysen (1928, 14) comments : '*ánruth* könnte hier, wie bei den *fili*, die an zweithöchster Stelle Stehenden bezeichnen, also die höchste Adelsklasse nächst dem König'.

**Ánruth .i. ard : naiscid.** *Anruth .i. ard naiscidh* A, *Ansruth .i. ar donaiscid* C. The reading of the C MS may represent the compound verb *do-naisc*, for which see *DIL* D 346,72 ff. As Thurneysen (1928, 14 footnote) notes '*ard* ist zu *anruth* zu ziehen, wie Z 14 [i.e. line 14 of page 358 of *AL* iv] von *ollam ard* gesprochen war, im Unterschied vom *ollam* der *fili*. Dort wird der König von Connaught als Beispiel eines *ollam ard* aufgeführt'.

**naiscid aní nascar fair.** *naiscid ní nascar fair* A, *donaiscid iní nascar fair* C. The reading of the A MS may have influenced by *naiscid ... ní nascar fair* in the preceding paragraph. Presumably the sense here is that the *ánruth* takes responsibility for those who are bound over to him i.e. his clients or subjects.

**amail rond-gab rí Érann.** *amail rogab righ erann* A, *amail rogab righ erenn* C. Referring to the expansion of MS *e<sup>r</sup>* as *Érann* Binchy (1958,50) states : 'In the official edition [i.e. *AL*] the final word has been extended *Érenn* and translated 'king of Ire-

land’, though this would have the effect of making the ‘king of Ireland’ inferior in status to the king of Connacht! As Thurneysen has already pointed out (Bürgsch. p. 14), *eṛ* should be extended *Érann*, and the reference is to the king of the Érainn, one of the most important tributaries of the king of Cashel. But there were several powerful Ernean tribes in Munster, and there seems to have been no ‘mesne’ king who was overlord of them all; hence the name must be restricted to one of these tribes, perhaps the Corcu Loígde ... or the Uí Liatháin.’

**sruth indbasa dó.** *sruth indbais do A, sruth innmasa do tar eis i log a molta C. indmas (DIL I 237,66 ff)* was originally inflected as a masculine u-stem, later taking on the flexion of the o-stems.

Material regarding the *ánruth* poet similar to that contained in this paragraph is to be found in *Uraicecht Becc* and Cormac’s Glossary :

*Ánrud nomen secundi gradus poetarum .i. srut[h] án in cháinmolta uad ocus sruth ina mmōine chuige tar a n-ēisi, ‘Ánruth: the name of the second grade of poets i.e. the splendid stream of the fair praise from him and the stream of wealth to him in return for them’, Corm. Y 40.*

*ANRUTH .i. anreid .i. fireth do in ecsi do denum; † ansruth .i. sruth an na heicsi uad-sum do cach, ⁊ sruth set ⁊ indmusa o cach do-sum Cetharda ara nabarr anruth ris .i. ar aine a foircedail. ar amuinnsi ngaisi, ar súlbairi a indsci. ar imad a eoluis, ‘Ánruth i.e. very easy i.e. it is truly easy for him to fashion the poetry. Or Ánruth i.e. the splendid stream of poetry from him to all and a stream of valuables and wealth from everyone to him. (There are) four reasons why he is called an *ánruth*: on account of the splendour of his teaching, on account of astuteness of wisdom, on account of eloquence of his speech, on account of the extent of his knowledge’. CIH 1596.26-9 [= *Uraicecht Becc*].*

This paragraph is somewhat similar in structure to §37. Note the extended analogy. Also *sruth do aill* : *is é a bés-side* = *Clí is é a bés na cleithe*. *Imtha samlaid in fer samailter fris* = *Is samlaid a ngrád í-siu*.

**is é a bés in clithe.** *is e a bés na cleithe* A, *is e bes na clithi isin tegais* C. For the construction [genitive pronoun + head noun + definite article + noun in genitive] see Ó Gealbháin (1991, 137-9). Note that the C MS omits the possessive pronoun. I take *cléithi* to be genitive singular of the noun *cléithe*, a neuter io-stem, for which see *DIL* C 228,41 ff. However, there may be confusion between this noun and the feminine ā-stem *cléth*, ‘ridge-pole’, for which see *DIL* C 233, 27 ff. See note *infra*.

**díriuch.** *direch* A, *diriuch* C.

**con-gaib 7 con-gaibther.** So A, *congaib 7 congaibtear* C.

**di-eim 7 di-emar.** So A, C. Note the form of the preverb and see ‘Introduction:’ p. 19.

**ad-cumaing.** *adcumuing ... do neoch* A. The remainder of the paragraph, as far as the words *do neoch*, has been dropped from the C MS, probably through haplology (i.e. *ad-cumaing ... ad-cumaing*).

**ó chléithiu.** *o cleithiu* A. This form appears to be the dative singular of the neuter io-stem *cléithe*, ‘house-post’, for which see *DIL* C 228, 41 ff. See note *supra*.

**is samlaid.** *is amlaid* A.

**a ngrád n-í-siu.** *in gradh isi* A. The neuter gender has been restored.

**i tegdais.** *a teaghais* A.

**díriuch.** *direch* A.

**Con-gaib a feib.** *congaibh a feibh* A. For *feb* with the meaning 'qualifications' cf. *diaro scara fria feib fri saegul triir*, 'if it relinquish its qualifications for a period of three generations', Breatnach (1987, 108 §11).

**Di-eim bes ísliu do neoch(?), ad-cumaing a dán ó ánruth co fochloc.** Punctuation and interpretation are unclear to me here. The version of the text preserved in Cormac's Glossary (see *infra*) seems to mean that the legal status of the *clí* extends from *ánruth* to *fochloc* i.e. his status is lower than that of the *ánruth* but higher than all of the other grades below that, down as far as the *fochloc*. This corresponds to *Ad-cumaing ó chléithiu co lár* in the first part of the paragraph. Cormac's Glossary states that the *clí* protects all those lower than him in status but is protected himself by those higher in status. This corresponds to *di-eim 7 di-emar* in the first half of the paragraph. Perhaps the first clause here originally read *di-eim neoch bes ísliu*, 'he protects whoever is lower (than himself) in status'.

Material regarding the *clí* similar to that contained in this paragraph is to be found in *Uraicecht Becc* and Cormac's Glossary :

*Clí .i. ar a chosmaile fri clí thige asrubrad .i. is básad na cleithe, is balc oc lár, is caol oc cléit[h]e, is díriuch doem doeamhar. Sic clí eter filedaib: is balc a súire inna críchaib feisin, is séimiu i críchaib sechtair. Amail atcumaic in clí isin tegdais ó lár co cléithi, sic dano adcomaic airechas in grádha so dianid ainm clí ó ánrath co fochlagáin. Doeim dano in clí inní besidn-íse, doemar som ónní besadn-úaisliu. Is díriug i mbésaib a dána, 'A clí i.e. he has been so-called on account of his similarity to a house-post i.e. the characteristic of the ridge-pole is it is stout on the ground, it is narrow at the top, it is straight, it protects, it is protected. Thus is the *clí* amongst poets: stout is his nobility in his own territories, it is milder in outside territories. As the pole in a house extends from floor to ceiling, likewise, moreover the legal status of this grade whose name is *clí* extends from *ánruth* to *fochlocan*. Moreover, the *clí* protects the one who is lower than him (in status), he is protected by the one who is more noble than him. He is upright in the practices of his craft', Corm. Y 275.*

*CLI .i. fo cosmailius na clethi bis isin tegdais sdaraigi, is i bundremar barrcæl .i. bunremar e i naithfégad na ngrad is isli inas 7 barrcæl e i naithfégad na ngrad is uaisli inas, 'A cli i.e. by analogy with the pole which is wont to be in the dwelling of the historian: it is stout at the bottom (and) thin at the top i.e. he is stout at the bottom in comparison to the grades which are lower than him and thin at the top in comparison to the grades which are more noble than him', CIH 1596.24-6 [= *Uraicecht Becc*].*

As was stated in the notes to §42 one would expect our text to discuss the grade of *cano* next. However, this material has not been preserved in either MS. Nevertheless by examining the entries in Cormac's Glossary and *Uraicecht Becc* we can get some idea of what information on this grade *Miadslechtæ* might originally have contained.

*Cana nomen gráid filed .i. cáintid, ar[i]ní a[i]rchan córus a cherdæ fiad ríghaib 7 túathaib. Ipse (.i.esen) admall .i. admoltaid, is eisside as gréschi fria admolad 7 scélugud cid fiad grádaib filed, 'A cano i.e. the name of a grade of poet i.e. a satirist, for he recites the propriety of his craft before kings and members of the túath. An admall himself i.e. a panegyrist, he is the most constant with respect to praising and story-telling even in the presence of the grades of poets', Corm. Y 276.*

For *ar ní a[i]rchan córus* in Meyer's edition I read *ar[i]ní a[i]rchan*. The *Lebor Brecc* reads *iarsinní chanas córus*, 'because he sings ...', Stokes (1862, 11).

*CANO .i. iarsani canus a laidh a tig metrac midcuarta don derrschnugud duna gradaib is isli inas 7 d'onorugud duna gradaib is uaisli inas, 'A cano i.e. because he recites his poem in the merry house of the mead-circuit for the purpose of surpassing the grades which are lower than him and by way of honouring the grades which are higher than him', CIH 1596.22-4 [= *Uraicecht Becc*].*

§49

**fo chosmailius dois feda.** *fo cosmailis fedha A, fo cosmailius dos feadha C.*

**ro hainmniged.** *rohainmnighedh A*, this word and the four following omitted in C MS by haplology (i.e. *feda ... fedae*).

**is tri anman fedae.** *as tri anmair fedha* A, omitted C. I take it that *fid* here has the meaning ‘a letter of the Ogam alphabet’. Cf. *DIL* F 126,32 ff.

**fo-roiglennat.** *foroighlenat* A, *forroglennad* C. Cf. *DIL* F 234,85-6 ff. where the reading *foroighlenatar* is proposed. I tentatively take the form to be perfective present, with *-ro-* expressing possibility. Cf. *GOI* §531. The general sense of the passage would then be that the poets acquire their craft of writing by learning the (Ogam ?) alphabet.

**7 a cosmailius.** *a cosmailes* A, C. I take the *a* to be the preposition meaning ‘from, out of’. Alternatively, it could be the possessive pronoun 3rd singular masculine, meaning literally ‘its analogy’.

**ro hainmniged.** *rahainmidhedh* A, *rohainmnigedh* C. For confusion of lenited *d/g* in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 5.

**dead bliadnae.** *dia bliadain* A, *dia bliadna iarna toidecht is i cnoí no is i dercoin* C. For the loss of the final dental in *dia* in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction’ p.6. Note the additional text in the C MS. For MS *is i* Binchy suggests reading *asin CIH* 1567 footnote *f*.

**7 it cethéora duilli bíit fair.** *7 it cetheora duille bit fair* A, *7 i teora duille bit fair* C.

**Cethrar dano dām in duis.** *cethrar dano dam in duis* A, *cethrar dam duis* C.

Material regarding the *dos* similar to that contained in this paragraph is to be found in *Uraicecht Becc* and Cormac’s Glossary. There are two entries for the word *dos* in Cormac’s Glossary:

*Dos nomen gráidh filed .i. ar a chosmailius fri dos .i. is dos didiu isin bliadain tánaise in fochlac .i. it ceitheora duillne fair, cethrar dano dām in dois for túaith, ‘A dos: the name of a grade of poet i.e. on account of his similarity to a bush i.e. the fochloc becomes a dos in the second year. There are four leaves on it. Four moreover (is) the retinue of the dos in the túaith’, Corm. Y 423.*

*Doss .i. fili, quasi dúass .i. tinscra .i. tinde argaid*, ‘A *dos* i.e. a poet, like a reward i.e. a bride-price i.e. a rod of silver’, Corm Y 459.

*DOSS .i. dæ uais, duine uasal; † dos fo cosmailius in dossan treuillig (leg. treduillig) bis isin caill : amail didniuside (leg. didnius-side) in cois bis fai ar fuact 7 ar tes, is amlaid-sin didnusum (leg. didnus-sum) dan na desi remi, 7 a dan fodein in tres*, ‘A *dos* i.e. a noble human being, a noble person, or *dos*, by analogy with the three-leaved little bush which is wont to be in the wood: as it (the bush) protects the stem which is beneath it from cold and heat, it is thus that he (the *dos*-poet) protects(?) the craft of the two preceding persons and his own craft (is) the third(?)’, *CIH* 1596.20-2 [= *Uraicecht Becc*].

§50

This paragraph appears to be quite corrupt and its restoration is merely tentative.

**is mácdae a dán.** So A, *is mac dan do a dan* C. This clause and the following have been inserted above and below the first line of column *a* folio 17 of the A MS, apparently by the principal scribe. In the C MS this clause occurs at the end of the paragraph. ‘His craft is a son to him’ (?). I tentatively restore *macdae*, ‘childish’. Hence translate ‘childish is his art’ i.e. his poetry is unsophisticated or undeveloped? Note the reference to *macdán* ‘childish art’ in the citation from Cormac’s Glossary *infra*.

**ní maith fograidedar-som.** *ni maith fograidedar son A, Mucairbe ni maith fograidh son C.* For the verb *fograigidir*, ‘sounds, resounds’ cf. *DIL* F 239, 12. Perhaps the meaning here is ‘pronounces, recites’ (?). Cf. *ni rograigther (= ro-fograigther) cen guttai*, ‘nor can it be pronounced without vowels’, Sg. 4b14 and see fn. *a* to gloss.

**acht(?) ar macairbi is maith de.** So A, *acht is mac uirbe is maith de* C. This clause is obscure to me. For *mucairbe* cf. *DIL* M 179, 41 ff where the following interpretation is suggested: ‘*mucairbe* is not the right form, but *mac a*.’ For *airbe* being the name of some type of literary composition cf. *DIL* A 167, 1 ff.

**mac fo-ruimther fri dán ós mac.** *mac fuirmther re dan os mac A, fuirmeadh ar (?) C.*

In the A MS *fo-ruimi* is treated as a simple verb. The form *re* is also late. This clause may be a later gloss which was subsequently incorporated into the text. However note the similarity of the content to that of the citation from *Uraicecht Becc infra*. For *ós* ‘since he is’ cf. *GOI* §114.

Material regarding the *macfúirmid* similar to that contained in this paragraph is to be found in *Uraicecht Becc* and Cormac’s Glossary.

*Mucairbe .i. mac fúirmid, is mac dofúirmed a dána (nó is macdán dufuirim a dána), ‘Mucairbe i.e. a macfúirmid: it is a boy who used settle on his poems (?) ( or it is childish craft which settled on his poems)’, Corm Y 855.*

*MAC FUIRMID .i. mac æ .i. mac rofúirmed rehæ, re hoircetal, on lo robo mac becc; l mac fúirmid .i. mac iarmortaigh .i. mac robui ag iarumtorracht a dana on lo robo mac becc, ‘A macfúirmid i.e. son of poetic inspiration i.e. a son who was put to poetry, to versification from the day that he was a small child or a macfúirmid i.e. a son of following i.e. a son who was pursuing his craft since he was a small child’, CIH 1596.17-19 [= *Uraicecht Becc*].*

§51

**fo chosmailius fochlocain.** *fo cosmailius fochlocain A, fo cosmailes fochlocain C.* At *DIL F 197, 23 ff fochlocan* seems to be understood as a variant of *fochloc*. The two words are also confused in Cormac’s Glossary where the entry in the *Leabhar Breac* reads *Fochlocon .i. nomen graid filead*, Stokes (1862, 20) whereas the *Yellow Book of Lecan* reads *Fochloc nomen grāid filed*, Corm. Y 587. The context (*co ndib nduillib*) seems to require a plant-name of some sort. Cf. *DIL F 197, 43ff., 64ff.* where the words *fochloch* and *fochluc* are explained as the ‘name of an edible aquatic plant’. Cf. Kelly (1997, 310-11).

I provide the complete text for the entry in both MSS :

*Fochlocon .i. nomen graid filead fora chosmailius fri fochlocain asberar. dí dullind fairsium in cétbliadain. días dó (don fochlocon) for tuaith, Stokes (1862, 20)*

*Fochloc nomen grāid filed. Ar a cosmailius fri cois fochlocāin asberr .i. dā duillinn*



*fair in cēdbliadhain. Dis dano dām̄h fochlocāin for tūaith, 'A fochlocon i.e. the name of a grade of poet. It is so-called on account of its similarity to the stem of a fochlocán i.e. (there are) two leaves on it in the first year. Two persons, moreover, (is) the retinue of a fochloc in the tūath', Corm Y 587.*

**co ndib nduillib.** *co ndib duillib A, co ndib duillib C.*

**Días danó do-som.** *dis dano dosum A, dis dno C.* The remainder of this paragraph is omitted from the C MS.

**fo chlí seca.** *fochli seca A, omitted C.* This clause appears to be an attempt to provide an etymology for the word *fochloc* but I can make no sense of it. However note the similarity to the entry in *Uraicecht Becc*, the variants of which I provide here:

*FOCHLUOC .i. foch sec .i. seatha a dhan 7 secdha a logh; †fochlog .i. og a dan 7 og a logh, CIH 640.19-20.*

*FOCLUCC .i. fo-cli-sec .i. secda a dan 7 secda a logh. †focæl ogh a dan 7 og a log, CIH 1596.16-17.*

*FOCHLOC .i. fo chli a seacc .i. seacc a dan no seacc a logh; no fochloc .i. fo chli og .i. og a dan no og a log, CIH 2264.23-5.*

I can make little sense out of these glosses. For the word *secdae*, 'hard' cf. *DIL S 122, 65 ff.* The final clause in each gloss (i.e. *og a dan 7 og a log*) may mean that as the status of the *fochloc*'s poetry is so low, that the resulting payment for his work is meagre.

**No cháel a dán ar oítid.** *No cael a dan ar oige A, omitted C.* With regard to the word *óice* note the comment in *DIL O 117, 6 ff.* 'a later word than *oítu* which it supersedes'. I emend to the Old Irish word *oítid*. Perhaps the text is here referring to the limited number of the *fochloc*'s compositions. Cf. *Breatnach (1987, 110 §17.*

§52

This paragraph appears to deal with three sub-grades of poet but as *Breatnach (1987,82)* notes 'these extra three are not referred to as sub-grades'. The three sub-grades described in *Uraicecht na Ríar*, the only law-text that deals exclusively with the poets, are the *taman*, *drisiuc*, and *oblaire* for which cf. *Breatnach (1987, 112 §§18, 19 and*

20 respectively). The *bard* and *cáinte* appear together in the following citation: *Urgart saighidh go nonbhar .i. lethcerd, bard, cáinte, mac beoathar, deoraidh, daormhanach, feirghnia, fer miodhbha, mbruigher, 7 bothach*, ‘Prohibition extends to nine persons: a rimer, a *bard*, a satirist, the son of a living father, an alien, a base monastic client, a servant, a *fer midboth*, a ‘land-man’, and a cottier’, (*CIH* 1122.20-2 = *Bretha Nemed déidenach*). Note also in *lucht arar urgair dliged dul a rathaighis .i. bard 7 lethcerd 7 cainti*, ‘the ones whom legal propriety has prohibited from going surety: a *bard*, a rimer and a satirist’, *CIH* 28.35-6. = Heptads, gloss.

**Bard dan : fer cen dliged foglaimme.** *Bard dano cin dliged fogluime A, bard dno fer gin dliged foglama C.* On the importance of formal study with regard to the qualifications of the poets cf. Breatnach (1987, 98) where the definition of the *bard* given in our text is also translated.

**acht intliucht fadesin.** *acht indtleacht fadeisin A, acht inntlicht fadesin C.*

**Fer cerdae.** *Fear cearda A, fer cerda C.* This term means literally means ‘man of art’. It is regularly used to refer to a poet. Cf. *DIL* C 140, 22 ff. Note also *ar ní tabair labrai acht do chethrur : .i. fer cerda fri hair 7 molad, fer coimgni cuimnech fri haisnéis 7 scélugud, brethem fri bretha, sencha fri senchas*, ‘For he (a lord) does not grant speech save to four : a poet for satire and praise, a chronicler of good memory for narration and story-telling, a judge for giving judgments, an historian for ancient lore’, Meyer (1906, 32 Triad 248). However a more specific meaning may be intended in our text.

**láncherd la suide.** *lancheird la suide A, lanceird la suidhe C.*

**Cáinte : fer ... a biad tresin ainim n-aíre.** *Cainte fear ara rosar a biad tn ainim aire A, omitted C.* The words *ara rosar* are obscure to me. This sentence has been translated in McCone (1989, 129) : ‘a man on account of whom his food be obtained through the blemish of satire’. I am not sure what verb McCone intends here, perhaps *ro-saig* with the meaning ‘gets, acquires’ ? Cf. *DIL* R 100, 61 ff. The MS reading might then be a Middle Irish reflex of Old Irish *-roäsar*, the prototonic form of *ro-sásar*. I am also unsure as to the expansion of MS *tn*. What is clear is that a connection is being made

to food, satire and the *cáinte*. For the use of the threat of satire in order to obtain food and its relevance to the lower grades of *bard* see Breatnach (1987, 134-5) and McCone (1989, 129-31).

§53

The text of this paragraph and the following is not found in the C MS. I am assuming that the material dealt with here logically belongs in this section dealing with the poets. However there is no reference to grades or status such as we find in the preceding paragraphs. There are translations of this passage in Ó Corráin (1987, 295) and McCone (1990, 177).

**taurchreic.** *turachreic* A.

**na treibe déodaec.** *na treibhe deodha* A.

**ní forcongarar.** *ni forcongair* A. I restore a passive form for the active. Of the three occurrences of the verb in this paragraph this is the only active form. Perhaps a syllable-stroke representing the *-ar* of the passive ending has been omitted by the scribe.

**nammá.** *nama* A.

**a lóg.** *a logh* A.

**na treibe domundae .** *na treibhi domhonda* A.

**ut salmon : quomodo conprobator argendum in conflatona 7 in furnace aurum, sic homo ora laudantis .** So A. = *Quomodo probatur in conflatorio argentum et in fornace aurum, sic probatur homo ore laudantis*: Prov. xxvii, 21.

The Latin citations contained in the *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, including the one occurring in this paragraph, have been collected and analysed in Ó Corráin, D., Breatnach, L., and Breen, A. (1984, 430-438). A second Latin citation in our text is to be found in §67 *infra*.

I have divided this paragraph into clauses on the basis of sense. I am unsure as to whether a metrical structure is intended here. Line internal alliteration is frequent.

Furthermore, it is unclear how the material in this paragraph, describing the weapons which various persons are entitled to carry, fits into the structure of the text as a whole. Perhaps the reference to the poets is sufficient evidence to consider it as part of the section dealing with the poets which precedes it. The paragraph deals with clerics, women, lay persons and poets in turn. Each uses an implement fitting to their station to defend themselves - a pastoral staff, a weaving beam, a true weapon and writing tablets respectively.

**con-midethar.** *conmidithar* A. It is not clear what the subject of the verb is here. Perhaps Morann, as in the following paragraph. Alternatively one could restore a passive form *con-mitter* and translate 'a proper, suitable weapon is adjudged etc'. Finally, one could restore 3 plural *con-midetar*, 'they adjudge', in impersonal usage.

**arm cóir comadais.** *arm coir comadhuis* A. I take *comadais* as attributive genitive of the substantive *comadas* 'that which is fitting, suitability'.

**cach duini déin dlighthidi.** *cach duine dein dlighthide* A.

**eter maccléirech sceo láech.** *iter maccleirech sceo laech* A. Note that this is the only occurrence of the conjunction *sceo* outside of the metrical citations dealing with the kings and grades of lords (§§4-13 *supra*).

**eter fer 7 mnaí.** *iter fear 7 mnai* A.

**treðlisen.** *treslisen* A. Cf. *DIL* T 299, 76 ff. where this word is derived from *tri* + *slisiu*, 'shaving, splinter'. Cf. (*DIL* S 277, 59 ff). What precise weapon is referred to here is obscure to me. Perhaps a three-pronged staff?

**cach maccléirig.** *cach maccléirigh* A.

**fri hairsclaigi úad.** *fri hursclaide uadh* A. For confusion of lenited *d* and *g* in the A MS cf. 'Introduction:' p. 5. *airsclaige* is cited by Pedersen (*VKG* ii, 493) as the Middle Irish form of the verbal noun of *ar-clích*, the Old Irish form being *airchlige*. He explains the Middle Irish form (loc. cit.) as 'durch Kontamination mit *slaide* und *slige* 'schlagen''. However the following example occurs in the *Macgnímartha* section of *TBC Rec. I*: *ní chumcaitis in meic a ersclaige*, 'the boys would not be able to ward him off' op. cit. ll 554-5. This part of *TBC Rec. I* can with certainty be dated to the Old Irish period.

I take *úad* to the third singular masculine conjugated form of the preposition *ó/úa* 'from'. However I have no further examples of its use with the verb '*ar-clích*'. It may have agentive force i.e. 'for defending by him(self)'. For this use of the preposition cf. *DIL* O 76, 33 ff.

**cuicél.** *cucæl* A.

**cotat.** *codat* A. For this word cf *DIL* C 502, 40 ff.

**ro déit.** *roded* A. I take this form to be the perfect passive singular of the verb *daimid* 'accords to, grants'.

**dá gáí.** *da gaei* A. Cf. *dā gāi*, Hull (1949, 50 line 292) = LL 34565.

**imm echlaisc n-airegdai.** *im echluisc nairidhgha* A. For the preposition *imm* with the meaning 'along with, including' cf. *DIL* I 103, 52 ff.

**taballorg.** I take this to be a dvandva compound composed of the words *taball* 'writing tablet' and *lorg* 'staff'. Cf. *DIL* T 4, 15 ff. This is the only occurrence of the word that I am aware of. O'Curry notes 'The ancient Gaedhelic Tablet took, I believe, more the form of a fan than of a table, - a fan which, when closed, took the shape of a staff, and which indeed actually served as such to the poet and the historian. In a very ancient article in the Brehon Laws, which prescribes the sort of weapon of defence which

the different classes of society were allowed to carry on ordinary occasions to defend themselves against dogs, etc., in their usual walks, a passage occurs which throws some light on this subject. The article belongs to the Christian times, I should tell you, in its present form, as it prescribes a slender lath or a graceful crook for a priest, while assigns to the poet a *Tabhall-lorg*, or Tablet-Staff, in accordance with the privileges of his order etc', O'Curry (1861, 470-1). The more common spelling of this word is *támlorg*. For references to a similar set of wax tablets cf. *pólaire DIL P 194, 8 ff.* Note that contrary to the spelling of the headword in *DIL* the vowel in the first syllable is long.

**iar córus a ngráid.** *iar corus a graidh* A. I take *grád* here to refer to the order of poets i.e. the seven grades of poets.

**con-midethar arm nderb.** *conmidhidhar arm ndearbh* A. Note the similarity to the opening line of the paragraph *supra*.

§55

The C MS resumes at this point.

As in the case of the previous paragraph, I have divided this paragraph into clauses on the basis of sense. Again, I am unsure as to whether a metrical structure is intended here. Line internal alliteration is frequent. As is the case with the previous paragraph, it is not clear how this material fits into the structure of the text as a whole. The text indicates that a *cumal* is due by way of compensation for an injury to each of the limbs and organs listed. Cf. *cumal cainchuisi formnaib ech nallmuiri ... leir cumal(?) laime la bu dirirter aircet ina trian teit*, 'a *cumal* [is due] for [a blemish on] a goodly leg [together] with choice foreign steeds ... The exact *cumal* [which is due for a blemished] hand shall be paid, besides in cattle, in silver to the amount of one third', *CIH 2312.30-3* = Binchy (1966, 40, §30). Perhaps this is an attempt to explain how one arrives at an honour-price of fifteen *cumals* (i.e. the total number of *cumals* assigned here to the body as a whole) for a particular grade. This is one *cumal* more than the honour-price of the *rí rí*g in §5 *supra*.

**Ro mídir.** *Romidharthar* A, *Romidir* C. Note that the C MS preserves the Old Irish í-perfect. Cf. *GOI* §693.

**fer saér.** *fer saer* A, *fear saer* C.

**co cumalaib.** *co cuimnib* A, *cu cumalaib* C. *cuimne* ‘memory, memorial’ of the A MS hardly makes sense here. I therefore adopt the reading of the B MS.

**cumal cechtar a dá súla.** *cumal ceachtar a da sul* A, *cumal cechtar a da sul* C. I restore the genitive dual of the i-stem *súil*.

**ar chruth 7 déicsin 7 chumtach.** *ar chruth 7 deicsin cumtach* A, *ar cruth 7 deicsi 7 cumtach* C.

**cumal béoil.** *cumal beil* A, *cumal bel* C.

**labrad.** *labhrad* A, *labra* C. For the loss of the final dental in *labra* of the C MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 9.

**cumal tengad tachtá.** *cumal tengad tachtaidh* A, *cumal tengtha tachtáig* C. I take *tachtá* to be the genitive singular of *tachtad*, the verbal noun of *tachtáid* ‘chokes, stifles’. For the non-historic final *-d/-g* in the MSS cf. ‘Introduction:’ pp. 6-7. Note also *DIL* T 8, 15-6 where the reading *cumal tengad [ar] t.* is suggested.

**doná labrad léicther.** *dona labrad leicther* A, *dina labra leicter* C. For the loss of the final dental in *labra* of the C MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 7. I take this to be an example of tmesis, the verb being *léicid* construed with the preposition *do* meaning ‘permits, allows’. Cf. *DIL* L 78, 21 ff. The general sense of this line would then be that a *cumal* is due by way of a fine if the tongue is injured in such a way that speech is prevented or impaired.

**cumal írónae.** *cumol tsrona* A, *cumal srona* C.

**ar bithchlúais.** *ar bithchluais A, ar bithcluais C.* The text would appear to be corrupt here. If *bithchlúais* means ‘perpetual hearing’ or the like it can hardly be connected to *srón*. Perhaps there is confusion here with the following clause beginning *dí chumail chluaise*. Perhaps the text originally read *ar bithbolad 7 boltnugud* ‘for perpetual scent and smelling’ or something similar.

**boltnugud.** *boltnugud A, boltnugadh C.*

**dí chumail chlúaise.** *da cumail cluais A, da cumal cluaisi C.* Perhaps we should read *dí chumail dá chlúais* on the model of the treatment of the other pairs of limbs (i.e. hands, arms and feet) *infra*.

**ar éstecht 7 imchomé.** *ar éistecht 7 imchoimét A, ar eistecht 7 imcoimet C.*

**cumal brágat.** *cumal braiget A, cumal braget C.*

**ar fuluth 7 guth.** *ar fuluth guth A, ar fuluth 7 guth C.* I do not understand the use of the word *fuluth* here. A word referring to eating or swallowing would seem to be required.

**dí chumail dá dóet.** *da cumhuil di dhoit A, di cumal a da dot C.*

**neurt.** *nirt A, C.*

**dí chumail dá lám.** *da chumail di laim A, di cumal da láim C.*

**ar airgabáil.** *ar urgabail A, ar urgail C.*

**dí chumail dá chos.** *da chumail di chos A, di cumal da cos C.*

**ar fórimthecht.** *ar formteacht A, ar foirmtecht C.*

**7 fólach.** *7 folad A, C.* Cf. CIH 1567 footnote *j* where Binchy suggests reading *folog*



on the assumption that there has been an incorrect extension of *fol-*. Cf. also *DIL* F 283, 9 ff.

**cumal bronn.** *cumal bronn* A, C. Perhaps *brú* is to be translated ‘womb’ here and the following *forbart* refers to increase by way of procreation.

7 **forbairt.** 7 *forbairt* A, C.

The following is added at the end of this paragraph in the C MS : *gid sen ce robi a senaib nemdeitin dligid custrasta*. I am unable to make sense of this line. The last three words may be translated ‘of non-admission of what is right hitherto’. Perhaps these words refer to the material which follows this fragment of *Míadslechteae* (which breaks off here) in the C MS.

§56

At this paragraph a new section commences dealing with the topic of compensation due to ecclesiastics. MacNeill (1923, 313) comments ‘The tract ends with a rambling discourse about the honour-price of bishops, priests, and laymen who retire into religious life’. This material is only preserved in the A MS. As in the case of two previous sections dealing with the *Míadslechteae ecnai* (§§32-41) and the poets (§§42-55) respectively, the change of topic is indicated in the MS by two blank lines separating this section from the preceding one. Space was also been left in the margin for a large ornamental *C* which was not subsequently supplied. The material in §§56-9 (as noted by Ó Corráin (1984,165) and Kelly (1988, 267)) is based on Irish Canon IV (= Bieler (1963, 170-1)). Ó Corráin (1984,165) comments ‘it [i.e. the text in *Míadslechteae*] is so close to the text of the the *Canones Hibernenses* that it can be none other than a free rendering of it or of the text on which it is based’.

There is a partial translation of this paragraph in Etchingam (1999, 165).

**Cía neimed.** *ia neimhead* A.

**as úaisliu.** *as uaisle* A. I take this (and the two similar cases which follow) to be an

example of the comparative degree used for the superlative. For examples of this usage in Old Irish cf. Stokes (1905, xxx) and *GOI* §366.3. On the replacement of the superlative by the comparative degree in Middle Irish cf. Breatnach (*SnaG*, 257).

On the notion of the nobility of ecclesiastics cf. *biru is tresa eclais/ cach neimthiuso nár*, 'I adjudge that an ecclesiastic is more powerful than any other noble one of privilege': Breatnach(1989, 20 §24 and note p. 40 = *Bretha Nemed Toísech*).

**Neimed n-ecalso.** *neimedh neclasa* A. For the treatment of *neimed* as a neuter cf. *DIL* N 21,63 ff.

**as úaisliu . is uaisliu** A.

**Neimed n-epscaip.** *neimed neaspuic* A.

**Is é epscop.** *IS e espac* A.

**diib-side.** *dibsidhe* A.

**epscopecalso Petair.** *easbuc ecasta peatair* A.

**is fó mám bíte.** *is fo mám* A. I take *fó* to be the preposition with the possessive pronoun third singular masculine. The use of the relative form of the substantive verb here is unusual. The use of relative in adverbial cleft clauses of this type is a feature of later Old Irish. Cf. *GOI* §506. This may be evidence that this section of the text is somewhat later linguistically than the preceding material.

**flaithi Rómán.** *flaithe romhán* A.

**ní bí fó mám nech nadbi ógae nó aithrige nó lámnamnusa dligthig.** *nibi fo moam neich nadbi oighe l aithrige no lanamnusa dligthig* A. I take *nech* here to be the subject of the clause. The MS reading *neich* is in the genitive singular. If this is the correct reading the sense would be 'he (i.e. the bishop of the church of Peter) is not wont to be under the yoke of anyone who is not chaste etc'. However this would be an unlikely

interpretation. I take *nadbi ógae nó aithrige nó lámnamnusa dligthig* to be a series of predicative genitives (cf. GOI §250.3). I restore non-palatal *ógae* for MS *óige*. However note *co n-óigi* Stokes (1905, Epilogue 107) and *abb hóige* op. cit. (December 6). Note that *lánamnas* is here declined as a u-stem. In the later language it is declined as an o-stem (cf. *DIL* L 50, 46 ff).

**nech nadbi ógae.** Cf. *Gním ecalso ennge/ ... fris-toing dánu cach duini/ nád bí i n-enngus óg*, ‘The function of the church is innocence ... it rejects the gifts of all who are not in pure innocence’, Breatnach (1989, 14 §12 = *Bretha Nemed Toísech*).

**ógae nó aithrige nó lámnamnusa.** Cf. *óige 7 aithrige 7 lanamnus dligtech* : Atkinson (1887, l. 7083) and *a n-ichtarthuaiscerdach do aes aitherge, a n-ichtardescardach do ais lanamnassa dligthig*, ‘the left lower to folk of repentance. the right lower to folk lawfully married’, Stokes and Strachan (1901-3, vol. 2 p. 255 l. 10-11).

**do súidiu.** *do suidiu* A. For the meaning ‘on that account’ cf. *DIL* S 414.8 ff.

**ro-saig secht cumala.** *rosaig .uii. cumal* A. Cf. *Fir do rí g ruirech/ ro-saig dá secht cumala*, ‘Confirm for a king of great kings that he attains twice seven *cumals*’, Breatnach (1989, 14-16 §16 = *Bretha Nemed Toísech*).

**donaib secht ngrádaib.** *dona secht ngrádaib*. Cf. *Íar n-ordaib cengair co hepscoir co secht ngrádaib*, ‘In accordance with orders one advances to the bishop with seven grades’, Breatnach (1989, 12 §9). As noted by Breatnach (*loc. cit.* 33), the meaning here is that the bishop possesses all seven of the ecclesiastical grades.

**file fair.** *flit fair* A. I restore the Old Irish relative form. For the development of this form of the substantive verb with personal endings cf. Breatnach ( *SnaG* 323).

**má beith éraic dó.** *ma beth éric do* A. I restore the present subjunctive absolute of the substantive verb on the basis of the following conjunct form *mani bé*. The MS reading *ma beth* probably stands for the past subjunctive. Alternatively, this may be an example of the non-insertion of the glide vowel after *-e-* (Cf. GOI §86 p. 56). E.g.:

dative singular *leth*, 'side' for *leith*, Ml. 128a1; *asber*, 'he says' for *as-beir*, Thes. ii 244.22 (Cambray Homily); *ma beth*, 'if there be' for *beith* Thes. ii. 245.34 (Cambray Homily). For the use of the substantive verb and the preposition *do* to denote receiving or possession cf. *Rí benn/ biit dó/ secht cumala, / la enngus firflatho*, 'A 'king of peaks', there are seven *cumals* for him, when he has the innocence of the true lord.', Breatnach (1989, 14 §16).

**bás duini ind.** *bas duine ind* A. On the issue of capital punishment in cases of serious crimes against ecclesiastics cf. Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen (1984, 391).

**At-tá.** *ata* A.

**isin tráchtad.** *isin trachtadh* A.

**do-rigni Auguistín.** *dorighne aughuistin* A.

**do grádaib ecalso.** *do gradhaib eclasa* A.

**dia ndírib.** *dia ndiribh* A.

**dia toichnedaib.** *dia toichnedaib* A.

**i nós ecalso .** *a nos eclasa* A.

**impir in betha uili.** *impir in beatha uile* A .

§57

This legal maxim also occurs at CIH 1303.8-10 and 731.19-20 (see fn. e). It has been translated in Kelly (1988, 216).

*Berim do breith gac duine ina cion an tan na faghtar eiric, mar adeir an taiselbad dligthe-so sis : atait tri ciona duine .i. cion is lugu fadheisin, ioc dia innile ; cion is cutruma fris, tét inn ; cion dō is mó oldas, a bas ann la heiric in ciona, 'I adjudge each person for his wrongdoing when body-fine is not obtained, as the following exposition*

of laws states: there are three crimes of a person: a crime which is smaller than himself - he pays (for it) by means of his possessions; a crime that is equal to himself - he forfeits (himself) for it; a crime which is greater than himself - his death (atones) for it along with the body-fine for the wrongdoing', *CIH* 1303.7-10.

*Atait tri cinaid fofich duine .i. cin is lugu inas fadeisin, ic dia innilib; cin is cutruma fris, teit fein inn; cin is mo inas, a bas inn la eiric o ciniudh. CIH 731.19-20.*

**At-taat trí cinaid.** *Ata tri cinaid A.*

**fo-fích duine.** *fofich duine A.*

**as lugu oldaas.** *as lugha oldas A.*

**íccaid dia indili.** *icaidh dia indile A.*

**as chutrummae.** *as cutruma A.*

**téit fadeisin ind.** For *téit i* meaning 'becomes forfeit' cf. *DIL* T 136, 41 ff. and Binchy (1941, 66 s.v. *téit*). Kelly (1988, 216) translates 'a crime which is of equal value to himself for which he goes [into slavery]'

**la héraic ó chiniud.** *la heric o chiniudh A.*

§58

On the virgin bishop cf. Etchingham (1999, 70).

**Ocus i n-Érinn.** *Ocas a n-eirind A.*

**as úaisliu.** *as uaisle A.*

**fil indi.** *fil inde A.*

**Díre n-epscaip ógae.** *dire espuic oighe A.*

**cona lánfoltaib.** *cona lanfoltaib* A.

**amail dlegar dó.** *amail dleaghar do* A.

§59

The opening sentence of this paragraph has been translated in Ó Corráin, Breatnach, and Breen, (1984, 391).

**fiach gona epscuip ógae.** *fiach gona espuic oighe* A.

**Ní hansae.** *nī* A.

**trí cimbithi crochtha.** *tri cimidh a crocha* A. In Ó Corráin, Breatnach, and Breen, (1984, 391) the MS reading is divided *cimidha crocha*.

**cacha lámae nod nguin.** Literally ‘of each hand which slays him’ i.e. in respect of every person who participates in the crime’. For this usage of the word *lám* cf. *DIL* L 37, 3 ff.

**is lethfiach a gona.** *is lethfiach a ghona* A.

**arid-sissedar.** *aridsisither* A. I take it that the verb contains a neuter infix pronoun Class C. The usual meaning of *ar-sissedar* (*DIL* A 415, 6 ff) is ‘stands, rests, remains’. I have translated ‘who is thus inactive/ who stands (idly) by’. For this use of the neuter infix pronoun cf. *GOI* §422.

**náchid n-anaig.** *nachid nanaigh* A. For the use of the *-id-* form of the pronoun for the masculine cf. *GOI* §419. A further example is *ar ní bai isin dúnad nachidrubad-som*, ‘for there was no man in the camp whom he would not kill’, *TBC Rec. I* 3180.

**cach neurt cach folud.** *cach nirt cach folud* A. I take both of these nouns to be independent datives.

**con-imthet.** *conimtheit* A.

On the legal responsibility of onlookers and accessories to crime cf. Kelly (1988, 154 ff.).

Note the similarity (both in subject matter and wording) between our text here and the following passage from *Cáin Adomnáin*: *Nech gonus macclerech no mac endacc a téchtu cána Adomnáin, ocht cumala cacha láma, ocht mbliadna ind condice trí chét; cumal 7 bliadain penda ind cach óin o trib cétaib co mile no diarim 7 is cummae fiach nech fofich 7 aridaccai 7 nachidanaig a neort. Mad étged no anfes, lethfiach ind 7 arracuir asn-étged 7 asn-anfes*, ‘Whoever wounds or slays a young clerical student or an innocent child under the ordinance of Adomnán’s Law, eight *cumals* for it for every hand (engaged), with eight years of penance, up to three hundred; a *cumal* and one year of penance for it for each one from three hundred to one thousand or an indefinite number; and it is the same fine for him who commits the deed and for him who sees it and does not save to the best of his ability. If there is neglect or ignorance, half the fine for it, ... that it is neglect and that it is ignorance’, Meyer (1905a, 24-7, §35).

**bibdada.** *bidhbadha* A.

**Telcud fola danó.** *Telgudh fola do* A. I take MS *do* to be an error for *dō*, the usual contraction for *dano* in this MS.

**nó má fo-ló inindraig.** *na fola inindrig* A. The text appears to be corrupt here. The tentative restoration is on the basis of the Latin text: *Sanguis episcopi ... qui ad terram effunditur, si colirio indiguerit*, Bieler (1963, 170 §1).

For the word *inindraig* ‘that which requires a bandage’ cf. Binchy (1938b, 131 ff).

**crochad in bibdad.** *crochadh in bidbad* A.

**iter a folach 7 a éraic.** *iter a folach 7 éric* A.

**Mad ina agaid.** *Mad ina aighe* A. For the dropping of final dentals in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6.

**comleithet a aigthe d'argat.** *comlethet a aighthe do argat* A. Cf. *comlethet t'aighthe do dergór*, 'the breadth of your face in red gold': *TBC LL* l. 41 and *do-breth comlethet a enech di ór 7 argat do Ailill*, 'the equal breadth of his face in gold and silver was given to Ailill', Watson (1941 l. 1059-60).

The issue of compensating high-ranking individuals for injuries to the face with precious metal is referred to in the medico-legal text *Bretha Déin Chécht*: *Fuil grainne cruítnechta a ngruad rig ruireg co nderoim in aingraine contuit inn log lalaice di argat inn*, 'A wound [measuring] a grain of wheat in the cheek of a supreme king [and of such extent] that it can cover the single grain which falls into it - the value of a milch-cow in silver [is due] for it', Binchy (1966, 26 §5). Further *Mad a naigid rig tuat foferta(i)r fuil grainne .u. seoit do suidiu. mad ic toll ara uinge arcait 7 lulgach la .u. seota i sodain*, 'If a one-grain wound has been inflicted in the face of a king of [several] tribes (a superior king), five *seoit* [are due] to him. If it be at the hollow of the temple, an ounce of silver and a milch-cow, together with the five *seoit*, [are due] for this', Binchy (1966, 28 §12). Note also *op. cit.* §31 for a further example.

**adgaire n-ainme.** The exact meaning of the word *adgaire* is obscure (Cf. *DIL* A 56, 66 ff). Thurneysen (1931, 36-7) suggests 'zurückrufen', which would suit the context here.

On the fines in respect of facial disfigurement cf. Kelly (1988, 132). In the section of *Bretha Déin Chécht* dealing with the same subject the following citation occurs: *cumal cain etain ... cumal cach mbel nodifoclatar ... la cumail cech aonuig. la set cach aidbriuda ima ruide rus* 'a *cumal* for [a blemish in] the surface(?) of the forehead ... an exact *cumal* from every mouth that publishes it [the blemish] in the presence of an assembly ... together with [further payments of] a *cumal* for every assembly and a *sét* for every advertisement for which [his] cheek blushes', Binchy (1966, 40 §31). As Ó Corráin explains, this is a reference to the archaic institution of *iarmbrethemnas*, 'after-judgement': 'The payment of a *cumal* falls due for a disfigurement and may be claimed each year up to three years or more in the case of an injured bishop', Ó Corráin (1984, 165).

In the saga of Fergus Mac Léti, the text describes the attempts of the Ulstermen to conceal Fergus's blemish: *Ba si di comairli gæth nulad: in rig do tuidecht dia thig*



7 *glanad ara chind o ca[ch] dæscarsluag arna beitis druith na oinmiti and na æs aid-breda ainme for inchaib ind rig ...* ‘This was the counsel of the wise men of Ulster : that the king should come to his house and a clearing out of all common folk so that neither fools nor half-wits might not be there nor people who would publicize the blemish on the king’s face’, *CIH* 355.21-3 and Binchy (1952, 38 §7). Cf. also Ó Cathasaigh (1977, 132).

**i sochaidi** . *i sochaide* A.

**ó súidiu innonn**. *o súidhiudh amunn* A. For the non-historic final dental in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6.

**mani dílga**. *mana dilge* A. I assume that the verbal form contains a neuter infix pronoun. Alternatively one could read *mani ndilga* and translate ‘if he does not forgive him (i.e. the offender)’.

**Mad anfót**. *Ma anfot* A. For the loss of the final dental cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6.

**ar óenlus**. For this phrase meaning ‘intentionally, deliberately’ cf. *DIL* L 211, 6 ff.

**is cethramthu sécht cumal ind**. *is cethraimthi .uii. cumal ind* A.

**dia fult**. *dia fult* A.

**sét cach foiltne ind**. *.s. cacha fuilte ind* A. For the spread of the genitive singular feminine form *cacha/cecha* to non-feminine nouns in Middle Irish cf. *DIL* C 2. 78 ff. The MS readings *fuilte/fuiltne* are unusual and may have been influenced by the preceding dative singular.

**co fichit foiltne**. *co fichit fuiltne* A.

**A sárugud ar óenlus**. *A sárughudh ar aenlus* A.

**A sárugud.** *A sarugud* A.

**do gabáil a lámae.** Cf. *DIL* G 2, 46 ff. where this phrase is explained as meaning ‘expelling, removing (a person)’. Note *Ro diultsat friss 7 ro gabsat a láim*, ‘They refused him and seized his hand’, Mulchrone (1939 I. 870) and Charles-Edwards (2000, 29 fn. 77). See Thurneysen (1931, 12): “Die Hand jemandes ergreifen’ heisst in der Regel etwas Gewaltsames, ‘jemand vertreiben’”. However, the sense in our text here may literally be ‘to accost him by seizing his hand or garment’.

**no do thiscáil a chluic airi.** *no do tiscail a chluic aire* A. Lack of a bell would incur loss of status for the bishop’s church. Note that one of the seven types of church which is said not to be entitled to compensation is *ceall o teit cloc*, ‘a church from which a bell departs’, *CIH* 2, 10 and cf. Etchingham (1999, 78).

**as-berat araili is lethfiach a dígona.** *asberat is lethfiach a dígona araille* A. The syntax of this clause as it is preserved in the MS would appear to be corrupt.

§60

**in sacart ógae.** *in sacart oighe* A.

**is tánaise epscuip ógae.** *is tanaise espuic oighe* A.

**Is cumal itira-thá a ndire.** *is cumal iteratha a ndire* A. Note Thurneysen’s comment on the pre-verb: ‘an exceptional form appears in the relative clause *itira-thá* ‘which is between’ Laws iv. 364, 9. 19 (formed like *ara-*)’, *GOI* §835.B. This verbal form also occurs at §§62, 65 and 66 *infra*. For the verb *etar-bí* cf. *DIL* E 214, 10 ff. Note also Breatnach (1994, 197).

**do cach fogail fo-fechar friu.** I take this to be a nasalizing relative clause and an example of the *figura etymologica*.

**7 do cach cáttu.** *7 do cach cata* A. I take this form to be the short dative singular of the consonantal stem. Cf. *GOI* §315.

**Imm-tá.** *imtha* A.

**co ticci maccléirech n-ógae.** *co tice macleirech n-oighe* A. The meaning ‘clerical student’ is usually given the word *maccléirech*. Cf. *DIL* M 9,76. However in Etchingham (1999, 294 fn. 1) the meaning ‘ecclesiastical adherents’ is suggested.

**nó chimbid.** *no cimidh* A.

**acht ní cach cimbid acht secht cumala ind indiu la imbed na ndoíne, nó in bibdu(?) do-rogba in cinaid.** *acht ní cach cimidh acht .uii. cumala ind indiu la imedh na nduíne, nó in bidhbu(?) dorogba in cinaidh* A. Note that the word *ind* has been omitted from *CIH* 588.29. The text here is obscure to me. Perhaps some words have dropped out. I provide the following literal translation : ‘but not every hostage, rather seven *cumals* (are due) for it (i.e. the killing) at the present time on account of the number of the people, alternatively the criminal who commits the crime’.

Perhaps this paragraph is to be compared with the preceding one dealing with the virgin bishop. There the text states that three hostages are to be hung for every party who is involved in killing the bishop. (On the status of the *cimbid* in early Irish law cf. Kelly (1988, 97-8)). Perhaps the sense in the present paragraph is that the fine for killing the virgin priest is seven *cumals*. Alternatively a hostage has to be provided - presumably to be ransomed - for the compensation due. Note that the *aitire*-surety (who is also classed as a *cimbid* after forfeiture) must pay seven *cumals* to ransom himself. Cf. *7 log .uii. cumal niath* (.i. *lóg cimedha, ar is cimidh ind aitiri iar ndithmair fuirri*) *iar ndithmair*, Thurneysen (1928, 24 §67 = [*Berrad Airechta*] ) = *CIH* 597. 27-8. This passage has been translated by Stacey (1986, 223) : ‘and the price of the seven *cumals* of a warrior after forfeiture, i.e. the [ransom] price of a captive, for the *aitire*-surety is a captive after falling forfeit’. The phrase *la imbed na ndoíne* might refer to the number of people involved in the crime. Compare *trí cimbithe do chrochad cacha láime no-dnguin* in the preceding paragraph. The sense then would be that one hostage is to be provided by each of the guilty parties. Finally the phrase *nó in bibdu(?) do-rogba in cinaid* might indicate that, in the event of non-payment of the seven *cumals*, the guilty party is to be taken as hostage or killed.

7 **mad de bunad chenúil dó.** *mad o bunadh ciniuil do* A. The original MS reading may have been *mad do* with confusion of the prepositions *de/do*. For the use of the copula with the preposition *de* meaning the group whence a person originates cf. *DIL* D 141, 33. For the expression *bunad cenúil* cf. *DIL B* 242,83. This expression also occurs in the text *Cáin Aicillne* : *Mad ceili do flaith be[s] dech, ceili bunaid-selba ocus bunaid-ceiniuil iar saire*, 'Wenn (einer) ein 'bester' (zuständigster) Genosse eines Herrn ist, ein Genosse, der ihm nach (Land-)Besitz (nach der Lage seines Landes) und nach Geschlecht angestammt ist seiner Freiheit nach (ohne Rücksicht auf sein Genossentum)', Thurneysen (1923, 381 §44) = *CIH* 493, 31-2.

7 **is sáerchland.** 7 *isærchland* A.

§61

This paragraph has been translated in Etchingam (1994, 43).

**Epscop óenséitche.** *Easpoc aenséitce* A.

**dá trian saiges co hepscop n-ógae .** *da trian saighes co hespoc noighe* A.

**do cach cáttu.** *do cach cata* A.

**inna guin.** *ina guin* A.

**inna díguin.** *ina diguin* A.

§62

**Imm-tá.** *imtha* A.

**is cumal itira-thá cach n-áe.** *is cumal iteratha cach næ* A. One would expect a reference here to *cáttu* or *dire* as in the preceding paragraphs.

**condat dá trian.** *conda trian* A. As Binchy has pointed out (*CIH* 588 fn. *i*), this is a

case of homoioteleuton.

§63

**segtae.** *seghdai* A.

**iter dergbéim** 7 **bánbéim.** *iter dergbem* 7 *banbem* A.

**imchim.** *imcheim* A.

7 **nábo ar óenlus.** 7 *naba ar ænlus* A.

**amal as-rubrad.** *amail isrubrad* A.

**i ngrádaib ógae.** *a ngradhaib oighe* A.

§64

For a translation of this paragraph cf. Etchingham(1994,43).

**Epscob aithrige.** *Espoc aithrighe* A.

**saiges.** *saighus* A.

**dí baí.** *da bai* A.

**lethfiach.** *lethfiach* A.

**inna díguin** 7 **inna sárugud.** *ina dighuin* 7 *ina sarugud* A.

§65

**Imm-tá.** *imtha* A.

**aithrige.** *aithrighe* A.

**epscop n-aithrige.** *espoc aithrighe* A. I take it that the verb *etar-bí* is here followed by the accusative. Cf. *DIL* E 214,10 ff. This paragraph seems to have been condensed. One would expect a reference to a word such as *díre* as in §60 above.

§66

**Imm-tá.** *imtha* A.

**cach grád ásas diarailiu.** *cach gradh ásas diarailiu* A. Note also §32 *supra* and §68 *infra*. The notion here is that in the case of the hierarchy of the repentant ecclesiastics the difference between the honour-price of one grade and the next highest is one *cumal*. This notion is found in other texts which deal with the status of ecclesiastics. Cf. *Cumal cach gráid gaibther iar n-enngus airchiunn*, ‘a *cumal* for every grade which is assumed in accordance with definite innocence’ : Breatnach (1989, 14 §14 and note to line on p. 35) = *CIH* 2212.28 [= *Bretha Nemed Toisech*].

Note also *Cumal don aistreoir. Da cumail dun exercistidh. Tri cumala dun liactreoir. Cetra cumala dont suibdeochain. Cug cumala dun deocain. Se cumala dunt sacart. Sect cumala dun epscop. Cumal gacha graid gaibter ann iar nenngus 7 oirceand .i. gabtár cumal imarcraid du gach grad dib-sin ara beth a nglaine co fircinte*, ‘a *cumal* for the usher, two *cumals* for the exorcist, three *cumals* for the lector, four *cumals* for the subdeacon, five *cumals* for the deacon, six *cumals* for the priest, seven *cumals* for the bishop. A *cumal* is assumed for each grade there according to purity and certainty .i.e. an additional *cumal* is assumed for each of those grades for it being in cleanness with true certainty’, *CIH* 1595.18-22. [= *Uraicecht Becc*, commentary].

**co dead.** *co dia* A. For the loss of final dentals in this MS cf. “Introduction:’ p. 6.

**It comdíri.** *It comdire* A. I take *comdíri* to be attributive genitive singular of the noun *comdire*, ‘equal in honour-price’. Cf. *DIL* C 369, 72 ff. However *comdire* can also function as an adjective meaning ‘of equal *díre* fine’.

**maccléirigh bíte iter túaith 7 eclais.** *maccleirigh biti iter tuaith 7 eclais* A. Perhaps the meaning here is that the clerical student still retains a connection with the lay world.

**cen guin cen gait.** *cin guin cin gait* A.

**it dá trían segtae.** *it da trían segda* A.

**do cach cáttu 7 cach díriu.** *do cach cata 7 cach díre* A.

**iter teilciud fola.** *iter telcodh fola* A.

**7 bánbéim 7 dergbéim.** *7 banbem 7 deargbeim* A.

**amal as-rubrad.** *amail isrubhradh* A.

§67

On the term *athláech* cf. Etchingham (1999, 295-8).

There is a partial translation of this paragraph in Etchingham (1999, 296).

**At-taat.** *Atait* A.

**trí athlaích.** *tri haithlaich* A.

**anmcharae.** *anmcara* A.

**a theist.** This form is printed as *test* at *CIH* 589.7, 11. The MS reading in both cases is *t2*. However the word is written out plene (as *teist*) in the MS at 589.13. Therefore I print *teist* in all cases. For the palatal quality of the final consonant group cf. *GOI* §86(a). For the idiom *do-beir teist* cf. *DIL* T 123, 55 ff.

**7 ad-chosnai sacarbaic.** *7 sacarbaic* A. The verbal form has obviously dropped out of the MS here. It can be restored, however, on the basis of the form *nád n-ascnai* which follows. *Bretha Nemed Toisech* refers to attendance at the sacrament as one of the good qualifications which ennoble the church : *áes aithrige ascnamo sacarbaic a réir anmcharat co n-erroscaib crábaid*, ‘penitents attending the sacrifice under the direction of

a confessor with pious sayings', Breatnach(1989, 8 §3) = *CIH* 2211.10.

For an interpretation of the various stages of repentance described in this paragraph cf. Etchingham (1999, 297). The meaning here appears to be that a confessor can testify that the penitent has completed the stipulated penance and he is allowed once more to attend the sacrament of Communion.

**i fíróntaid ecalso.** *a fíraentaidh eclasa* A. For *óentu* meaning 'fellowship, community' cf. *DIL* O 108, 3 ff. Note also the examples *óentu na mbráithre*, 'community of the brethren' and *eclais óentad*, 'communal church' cited in Etchingham (1999, 297 fn. 3).

**cen chommus coise ná láime.** *cin comus coise na laime* A. Cf. *In mac aile, mac de, mac son bis i tesgaire a athar ina timaircnib techtaib cona coimdether cos na lam*, *CIH* 593.30-1. Thurneysen (1928, 11 §36) translates 'Der zweite Sohn, der Gottes-Sohn, das ist ein Sohn, der in der Verkündigung (unter dem Befehl) seines Vaters ist unter gebührenden Zwänge so dass er nicht Herr ist (verfügen kann) über Fuss und Hand.' However this phrase is described as 'a formulation with 'monastic' connotations of community and obedience' in Etchingham (1999, 297).

**Is ó grád ógae do-renar immurgu.** *is o gradh oige dorenaru* A. For the use of the preposition *ó* with the verb *do-ren* cf. *It hé insin .vii. cléithe ó ndírenar cach bóaire*, 'Those are the seven buildings with respect to which every *bóaire* is paid compensation', Binchy (1941 §13 l. 156-7).

I adopt Binchy's suggestion (*CIH* 589 fn. c) that the last letter of the form *dorenaru* represents a mistranscription of *u/o*, the abbreviation for Latin *uero* and I expand as Irish *immurgu*.

**7 theilciud fola 7 bánbéim.** *7 telcod .f. 7 bánbéim* A. The *.f.* standing for *folá* has been inserted above the line, with reference marks. The text may be abbreviated here, as it appears to be somewhat incomplete when compared to the surrounding paragraphs. One would expect a reference to other terms for injuries such as *dergbéim* or *cnochéim*. I am unsure as to whether *teilciud folá 7 bánbéim* are to be connected with the preceding preposition *do*.



**ara tabair anmcharae a theist.** *ara tabuir a teist* A. As noted by Binchy (CIH 589 fn. e) the word *anmchara* must be supplied here.

**nád n-ascnai sacarbaic cadacht.** *nad nascnai sacarbuic cadacht* A. The relative here has temporal force : ‘when/where he does not yet attend the sacrament’. For this use of the relative cf. Breatnach (1980, 6-7).

**do-thét co cléirchiu indiu.** *dotaet co cleirchiu iniu* A. I take it that what is meant here is that the ex-layman has only just entered the ecclesiastical environment and has not yet begun to carry out his penance.

**nád tabair anmchara a theist.** *na tabair anmcara a teist* A.

**Nabad machtad.** *naba machtad* A. I take the verbal form to be third singular imperative of the copula. For the omission of lenited *d* in final position in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6.

**donaib athlácchaib.** *donathlæchuib* A.

**fri áes n-ógae.** *fas noighe* A. Binchy suggests that the exemplar may have read *faes* with suprascript *i* and that this reading was subsequently miscopied. Cf. CIH 589 fn. h.

**má beth dia seirc la Día.** *mad beth dia seirc la dia* A. For the non-historic final *d* in *mad* cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6. Possibly one should restore *beith* which is the more common form in the Würzburg glosses. Cf. Kavanagh (2001, 118). For the substantive verb construed with the preposition *di* with the meaning ‘such is, if it be such’ cf. *DIL* A 471, 57 ff. Note also *Má beth tra do huáite ind aëssa gráid*, ‘if the ordained folk be too few’, O’Keefe (1904, 220 §13) = CIH 2130.28 and *Mā beith tra do uáisle ind fîr gráid*, ‘if the ordained man be so noble’, O’Keefe (1904, 220 §15) = CIH 2130.34. Kavanagh (2001, 120) describes this idiom (i.e. the construing of the substantive verb with the preposition *di/de*) as ‘indicating the source or origin from which an action proceeds’. For *dia seirc la Día*, ‘(such is) God’s love for them’ cf. *DIL* L 6, 52 ff and

note *coro fessid méit for serce lem-sa*, ‘so that ye might know the greatness of the love for you that I have’ Wb.14d16.

**di méit a saíthair.** *di met a saethair* A.

**mat comlainai a fertai.** *mat comlina a ferta* A. *comlín* is a compound of *com* + *lín*. *lín* is usually inflected as a u-stem but also occurs as an o-stem. Cf. *DIL* L 154, 72 ff. Perhaps we should restore *mat comlín a fertai*. Cf. *bit comlín fri fér*, ‘they shall be equal in number to grass’ *ML*. 90b8. Alternatively *comlina* may be genitive singular.

**amail ro boí.** *amail doboi* A. For *do* replacing *ro* as a preverb in Middle Irish cf. *Breatnach* (*SnaG*, 280). I am unsure of the meaning of this and the following clause and have translated them literally. Perhaps these are examples of the idiom *at-tá fri*, ‘treats, deals with’, for which cf. *DIL* A 471, 85ff. Note also *ba maith ro mboth friu*, ‘they were treated well’, Meid (1974, l. 134) and *Olc robá rim*, ‘Cruel have you been to me’, Marstrander (1911, 208).

**ut dicit scriptura: Ubi autem abundavit delictum, superabundavit gratia.** *ut dicit scriptura : ubi habundabit dilechtum superhabundabit gratia* A.= : *Rom.* v, 20

The full text of *Rom.* v, 20 is as follows: *Lex autem subintravit ut abundaret delictum. Ubi autem abundavit delictum superabundavit gratia*, ‘Moreover, the law has entered, that the offence might abound. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound.’ Binchy is in doubt as to whether or not the *h-* in *habundabit* is a mistranscription of *h/c(= autem)*. Cf. *CIH* 589 fn. *i*.

The Latin citations contained in the *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, including the one occurring in this paragraph, have been collected and analysed in Ó Corráin, D., *Breatnach*, L., and Breen, A. (1984, 430-438). A second Latin citation in our text is to be found in §53 *supra*.

§68

**i ndíriu séoit epscuip ógae.** *i ndiri .s. espuic oige* A. This phrase has been interpreted as ‘payment due to bishops for the destruction of an article of value’, Kelly (1997, 592). The phrase *díre (a) séoit* also occurs in the two closely related texts, the Rule

of Patrick and the Rule of Tallaght. (On the relationship between these two texts cf. Kelly (2002, 284-95)). *Ni dlig airchindech a réir for a manchu nā dlig dire a séoit nā toichneda a eclais side, manibat óga a frithfolaid asa eclaisi di baithius 7 comna 7 gabáil n-écnairce*, ‘An ernach is not entitled [to impose] his will on his manach, nor is he entitled to the fine of his “sed” ... of his church unless the reciprocal obligations of the church be fully discharged of baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession’, O’Keeffe (1904, 219 §9). The editor adds in a note (op. cit. 224) ‘What the precise meaning of the phrase - evidently a legal one - in this text is I cannot say.’ *Ni dliget dechmadu na bo chendaith na trian annoti na dire seoit do mháinib mina bet a frithfolaid techta na heclaisi innte do bathis 7 comnai 7 gabal n-ecnairce a manach* : Gwynn (1927, 78 §57). The editor translates (op. cit. 79) ‘compensation for valuables’. A similar version from the Book of Lismore is provided in Stokes (1890, 135) where it is left untranslated.

This phrase also occurs twice in the short text edited in Thurneysen (1931, 61-7 particularly §§1,2) : *Ar ni lais dire a seoit, acht colainn aithgena nama*, ‘Denn ihm gehört nicht die Buße (dire) für seinen (beschädigten oder gestohlenen) Wertgegenstand, nur das Corpus (der Gegenstand) das Ersatzes’, (op.cit. 63).

*is la-ssuide dire a seoit, acht trian do flaith*, ‘dem gehört die Buße (dire) für seinen Wertgegenstand, außer einem Drittel (davon) an den Herrn’, (op. cit. 63).

Finally, the word *sét* can also be used to describe a stolen article for which see Charles-Edwards and Kelly (1983, 161 ff).

The distinction being drawn here is between compensation due for manslaughter and physical injury (which has already been described in the text) and lesser compensation due for theft, damage to property etc.

**do sacart ógae.** *di sacart oighe* A. I take it that the prepositions *di* and *do* have been confused in this and the following paragraphs and that the expected preposition is *do*. Cf. *it séoit bóslabra[e] direnatar dó*, Binchy (1941, §10 l. 120).

**don grád tánaisiu.** *din grad tanaisiu* A. See previous note.

**Imm-tá samlaid cach grád ásas diarailiu co dead: is cumal iter cach n-ae.** *Imtha samlaid cach gradh asas diar.ii. co diad is cumal iter cach næ* . Cf. Note the similarity in wording to that of the first sentence of §66 *supra*.

**i ndíriu séoit maccléirig ógae.** *i ndíre hseoit maccléirigh oighe A.*

§69

**epscop óenséitche.** *espac ænséitche A.*

**cóic cumala 7 dí baí.** *.u. cumala 7 da bai A.*

**i ndíriu séoit epscuip óenséitche.** *i ndíre a seoit espuic ænséitchi A.* I have omitted the possessive pronoun. This wording of this clause may have been influenced by *i ndíriu a séoit* which follows.

**It dá trían saiges int aile.** *it da trian saighes in aile A.* Note the omission of the letter *t* in the MS reading *in aile*. I take it that *int aile* here refers to the priest with one wife. As the bishop with one wife attains two thirds the status of the virgin bishop, likewise the priest with one wife attains two thirds the status of the virgin priest.

**Inna cumalaib rímtir.** *ina cumalaib rímtir A.* I take it that what is reckoned here is the compensation. Perhaps restore the *rímtir*, the relative passive? On the other hand the reference may be to the grades with one wife i.e. ‘they are reckoned in *cumals*.’ If so, restore *rímtir*, the passive plural.

**condat cethair cóicait aidche di phennait.** *conda ceitri cóicait aidche do pennuit A.* For the loss of the final dental in the copula here cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6. I take the preposition *di* here to be partitive i.e. a period of penance. For *pennait* cf. Binchy (1938b, 56-7) where the term is explained as ‘the mulct payable to the Church for which the original penance has been commuted’. The sense here, then, would be that the clerical student with one wife is due a payment equivalent to two-hundred nights of penance by way of compensation. For the measurement of penance by periods of nights cf. Gwynn (1914, 170 §17). Note also *conad eadh doniat a .uii. qumala do hic*

*re flaith 7 a.7. mbliadna peinne do hic re eclais*, ‘so that this is what they do: they pay seven *cumals* to the lord and seven years of penance to the Church’, *CIH* 1400.26-7.

§70

**Immt-á.** *imtha* A.

**It dá trian do cach grád fri arail co ricci dead.** *it da trian do cach gradh fri arail corice deadh* A. I take it that *cach grád fri arail* here means that each penitent grade, from the bishop down to the clerical student is entitled to two-thirds of the compensation due to the corresponding grade of cleric married with one wife.

**inna cumalaib rímthir.** *ina cumalaib rimthir* A. Cf. note to previous paragraph.

**condat trí cóicait aidche do maccléirech aithrige i ndíriu a séoit.** *condat tri .l.at aidche do maccleirech aithrighe* A. Note that the figure given in the previous paragraph for the *penait* of the clerical student married with one wife is two hundred nights. Since the penitent clerical student is entitled to two-thirds the compensation of his married counterpart one would expect a figure of approximately one hundred and thirty nights instead of the one hundred and fifty given.

§71

**comdíre a séoit.** In the preceding paragraphs the phrase *díre (a) séoit* was taken to mean ‘(his) compensation (regarding property)’. I take *comdíre a séoit fri maccléirech n-ógae* as a nominal clause meaning ‘(he is entitled to) equal compensation (regarding property) to that of a virgin clerical student’. Perhaps the text originally simply read *comdíre fri maccléirech n-ógae*, ‘(he is) equal as regards honour-price to a virgin clerical student’. Cf. *Comdíre cach deoradh de fri ri[g] 7 espoc*, ‘Every ‘exile of God’ has equal *díre* with king and bishop’, Binchy (1938a, 6 §4 = *CIH* 2287.8) and *comdíre ollum fri rí g n-aentuaith*, ‘a chief poet is equal in honour-price to the king of a single *túath*’, *CIH* 1533.36.

**fri maccléirech n-óenséitche.** *fri maccleirech noighe* A. As Binchy suggests (*CIH* 589 footnote 1) *noighe* is an error for *n-óenséitche*.

**imm chethri coictea aidche dóib.** *im .l.at aidhche dóib* A. The *pennait* due to the married clerical student is given as two hundred nights in §69 *supra*. I suggest that the Latin numeral *.iu.* has dropped out here.

The preposition *imm* is followed by the accusative, therefore I restore *coictea* for MS *.l.at*. However, perhaps MS *im* originally read *.i.* as in the preceding sentence.

## APPENDIX 1

There is a second copy of the opening portion of our text (§§1-16) to be found in the Trinity College MS H.3.18. (now 1337) on pages 148a-149b, a transcription of which is given below.

*Míadslechte* from MS B. (TCD H.3.18 148a-149b).

§1

Cis *lir* toggarmanda techtaide miadleachta .nī. ase no a .u.xx.it airechdai cadeat .i. triath rig rig tuaithe aire *forgill* aire ard aire tuisi aire desa aire fine indna anroth dæ ogflaitheam lethflaitheam *flaitham* ænescra boaire tanuse boaire tuisi huaithni seir-rthi fas faigdi aithech bairsi bogeltach faiche onmid midlach reim riascaire sindach brothlach

§2

C̄sc cid *lir* andligned iarmifocet- an eolaig isnamiadleachtaib .nī. andæ no a do .x. co festar cia miad in astaiter cach dib donahib læchaib iter a lin 7 anuaithe iter ambiathad 7 an æsain iter anguin 7 andiguin iter a sar 7 a sarugud eter a fæsam 7 aturrthugud eter aneneclainn 7 aneinechruice 7 aneinechgris

§3

Cis *lir* doberat mias 7 eneclainn do cach fer dib a tri airilliud 7 inmrachus 7 idna c̄sc cit tlena amiad confar cach .nī. a tri dontlean dai miad contfe ar cach .i. anfoludh 7 docerd 7 aninnche

§4

Triath rig *amail* asberar triath trom tremoetha erinn 7 rl- coic coicid erenn tremoetha uilietha aninada uile *amail* rocet doconcoabar ard mac rig romac neasa nenaisc iatha fear feine

§5

Rig rig .i. rig atgiallat .iii. rig tuatha *cumala* cach rig do dia air diaa asain dia etla dia cumasc dala † cuirmthig no ænaig *dligid* asairbiathad folin cin timdibe .i.c.c. a lin da .iii. *cumala* a *eneclann* dia *sarugud* dia asain dia ainmed dia digna amail *asbeir bera* do rig *clothach coirpre* 7 rl-

§6

Rig tuath toimsi 7 rl- .i. rig tuath .i. ri atgiallat .iii. tuath argeallat .i. *iter* 7 *nadmannra* se .c. a lin *dligid* asairbiathad .iii. *cumala* *cache laime* dia ainmed *diasarugud amail asbeir cormac* rig tuaithi toimsi co a .iii. *dligid* 7 rl-

§7

Aire ard .i. *forgill*.i. fear tairceann (no taircealla *in marg.*) tuatha *comsæra friscoit-* 7 *acairde* 7 ni he ardonaisc congiallna na *dliged* flatha 7 atguideatseom natuatha 7 rig ardonaisc *dligid* a *særbiathad* coruice .xxx. fear *acleasugud* tuaithi *dligidleth* .iii. *cumala* *indraca diadiguin diasarugud amail asbert Cormac* aire ard *airdneime*

§8

Airi tuisi dofet fine comcinel do co ri 7 arrolabrathar *dligid* asærbiathad .xx. in tan bis *acleasugud* tuaiti teora *cumala* ina asain no ina *sarugud* ut  $\bar{d}r$  *cormac cain bera* tuisi

§9

airi desa .i. fer conae deis *nathar* 7 *seanathar* amail atcota riam 7 dotairciur *dligid* asærbiathad.x.nebur atuaith *dligid* *cumala* cach ain comoirseisir *diasarugud* *nodiaasain* ut  $\bar{d}r$  *cormac* aire desa *dithle diadiguin*

§10

Aire fine .i. doet fine diambi 7 ardo .s. *doflaith* *dligid* asærbiathad seiriur atuaith *dligid* *cumala* *cachalaime* co .iiii.*ar* *diasarugud* *nodiaasain* ut  $\bar{d}r$  *cormac* aire fine *findathar atechta* 7 rl-

§11

IDna .i. fear ocambi socraite do *macaib* 7 *braithre* 7 *maic* brathar combi *tricha* gais-



cadach *dligid* asærbiathad .u.ir ocafne *dligid* lethcumala cotriar diasarugud diaasain  
ut *dixit* .c. idan an diumsach

§12

Ansruth .i. fer imdi caem *menait* 7 acrich guin duini do incach treimsi do cethre raithi  
nabliadna nibes uaiti.xx.ti *fri* crich anechtair soerbiathad .iiii.*air* do cach leth ina tuaith  
*dligid* trian cumaili diasarugud dia esain 7 *dligid* caisced *inraic* inaeneclaimn ut *dixit*  
ansruth an imdith acrich cetharda congaile uad 7 ° f-

§13

Dæ.i fear imerta fir araile no fer araile contairteit acumala dotafich *agres* cinadall fini  
aca *dligid* asærbiathad 7 aamus ocach clethi 7 lethtrian cumala *dligis* diaasain no di-  
asarugud 7 *gaisced* notiumach ut *dixit*

## APPENDIX 2

A second copy of §§42-50 of our text was once preserved on a loose page stitched to folio 67 of the Trinity College MS H.4.22. This page has since been lost (cf. TCD catalogue p. X). Below is O'Curry's transcript of the text made before the loss of the page.

§42

incipit miadhlechta filidh Secht ngraid filid dna .i. ecas ansruth cana cli dos macc fuirmigh fochluc

§43

Eceas dna .i. ecmacht ceas .i. dona bi ces anceas na anfis fair do astod no ni fuil ceas dó ina dán cona ed a ainm nemceas no ecmacht ceas

§44

File .i. fialsui lasi mbiat felmaic.i. suid ar a feal laisin file iseis no foircedal asin gnathberla cona de atá felmac 7 fellsam fili 7 filidecht .i. rofallnastar i fis sech na uili

§45

Ollam oll doeim forcana cetheora ranna fesa filidechta 7 fo bith is lia bis fora titin som oldait na grada olcena No ollam oll a dam cethrar ar fichit

§46

ar atait tri ollamain and .i. ollam gaisi sai cacha eolais ima fuiglither friscomarcar ni frencarc ni berar ancuis uada i mbrethaib aithre 7 senaithre Ollam ard imorro nascid ni nascar caidiside Ní. amail rig connacht amail asberar Ni ollam nard coicid naililla mic mata mora Ollam eicsi dno forcain ceithri randa filidecht na forcanar som imorro o nech Cethrar ar fíchit a damh ... [Ollam eicsi dono forcain ceotheora ranna filidechta cin ainfis inntu]

§47

Ansruth .i. ar donaiscid ini nascar fair, amail rogab righ erenn. [Ollam eicsi dono

forcaín ceotheora ranna filidechta cin ainfis inntu] Ansruth .i. sruth cain molta uada 7 sruth innmasa do tar eis i log a molta

§48

Cli .i. is e bes na clithi isin tegais as tren 7 is diriuch 7 congaib 7 congaibtear dieim 7 diemar adcumaing a dan o ansruth co fochluch

§49

Dos .i. fo cosmailius dos feadha forroglennad a ndan imtha samlaid is anmairm feda 7 a cosmailes ro hainmnigedh dos ar is ann is dos in crand dia bliadna iarna toidecht is i cnoí is i dercoin 7 i teora duille bit fair Cethrar dam duis

§50

Mac fuirmid .i. fuirmeadh ar ... Mucairbe ní maith fograidh son acht is mac uirbe is maith de .i. is mac dan do a dan

§51

Fochloc .i. fo cosmailes fochlocain co ndíb duillib dis dno

§52

Bard dno fer gin dliged foglama acht inntlicht fadesin Fer cerda imorro lanceird la suidhe

§55

Romidir Morann fear saer cu cumalaib cumal cehtar a da sul ar cruth 7 deicsi 7 cumtach cumal beil ar blaisecht 7 labra cumal tengtha tachtai g dina labra leicter cumal srona ar bithcluais 7 boltnugadh da cumal cluais ar eistecht 7 imcoimet cumal braget ar fuluth 7 guth di cumal a da dot ar luth 7 nirt di cumal da láim ar urgail 7 fognum di cumal da cos ar foirmtecht 7 folad cumal brond ar thucht 7 forbairt. gid sen ce robi a senaib nemdeitin dligid custrasta.

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#### **Abbreviations.**

*AU* = *The Annals of Ulster (To A.D. 1131), Part i : Text and Translation*, eds. Seán MacAirt and Gearóid MacNiocaill (Dublin, 1983).

*AL* = Hancock, W. Neilson; O'Mahony, Thaddeus; Richey, A.G.; Hennessy, William M.; Atkinson, Robert (eds.), *Ancient Laws of Ireland* i-vi, Dublin 1865-1901.

*Anecdota* = *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, eds O.J. Bergin, R.I. Best, Kuno Meyer, and J.G. O'Keefe (5 vols. Halle.a.S. 1907-13).

*CIH* = Binchy, D.A. 1978. *Corpus Iuris Hiberniae*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

*Corm. Y* = *Sanas Cormaic : an Old-Irish glossary compiled by Cormac Úa Cuilenáin, Anecdota iv*. 1913

*DIL* = *Dictionary of the Irish language and Contributions to a dictionary of the Irish language* (1913-75; *Compact Edition*, ed. E.G. Quin, 1983). Dublin.

*GOI* = Thurneysen, Rudolph. 1946. *A grammar of Old Irish*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

*LB* = *Leabhar Breac. The Speckled Book*. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1876.

*LEIA* = *Lexique étymologique de l'Irlandais ancien*. Dublin and Paris. 1959-.

*LL* = *The Book of Leinster, formerly Leabar na Núachongbála i-vi* ed. R.I Best, Osborn Bergin, M.A. O'Brien and Anne O'Sullivan. Dublin 1954-83.

*LU* = *Lebor na hUidre/ Book of the Dun Cow*, ed. R.I Best, Osborn Bergin. Dublin 1929. Where necessary the hands of the three scribes are distinguished as *LU(A)*, *LU(M)*, *LU(H)*.

*MI.* = The Milan Glosses on the Psalms, Bibl.Ambr. C. 301 in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (2 vols, Cambridge 1901-3; reprinted Dublin 1975), vol 1, 7-483.

*MV* = *Mittelirische Verslehren in Irische Texte III*, 1-182.

*O'Dav.* = W. Stokes. 'O'Davoren's Glossary', *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* ii, 197-504. (1904).

*RC* = *Revue celtique* (Paris 1870-1934).

*Sg.* = Glosses on Priscian, Codex Sangallensis No. 904, n Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (2 vols, Cambridge 1901-3; reprinted Dublin 1975), vol 2, 49-244.

*SnaG* = *Stair na Gaeilge in Ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta*, ed. K. McCone, D. McManus, C. Ó Háinle, N. Williams and L. Breatnach. Maynooth 1994. References to authors of individual chapters and page numbers.

*TBC LL* = *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, form the Book of Leinster. Cecile O'Rahilly, Dublin 1967. References are to line numbers.

*TBC Rec. I* = *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, Recension I ed. Cecile O'Rahilly, Dublin 1976. References are to line numbers.

*VKG* = Pedersen, Holger. *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*. (2 vols, Göttingen 1909-13).

*Wb.* = Glosses on the Pauline Epistles, Codex Paulinus Wirziburgensis, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (2 vols, Cambridge 1901-3; reprinted Dublin 1975), vol 1, 499-712.