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A Linguistic Analysis of the Old Irish Hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum*

Ph.D

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February 2008

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Summary

The *Liber Hymnorum* (Book of Hymns) is a document containing hymns that were sung in early Irish monasteries in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. The *Liber Hymnorum* is preserved in two manuscripts: Trinity College Dublin's catalogue T. 1441, dated to the late 11th century, and the Franciscan catalogue A2, dated to the early 12th century. The Trinity and Franciscan texts seem to be independent recensions of a lost exemplar, which is thought to have been written in the late tenth century. The majority of the hymns in the collection are composed in Hiberno-Latin, but there are seven hymns in the native vernacular from the Old Irish period (700-900AD). The hymns, both those in Latin and in Irish, are supported by Middle Irish prefaces, interlinear glosses and lengthy scholia written in the margins.

The actual date of composition of each of these Old Irish hymns is still controversial, and there is a wide variation in professional opinions. Such variation arises because the Middle Irish scribes tended to modernise the language of the original hymns. In addition, there is evidence of late interpolations in some of the hymns, which may have led to incorrect assignments. The methodology employed in this study has been:

a. Scrutiny of the original manuscripts to check transcription accuracy
b. Analysis of the metrical arrangements to recover as much of the original texts as possible.
c. Analysis of the language to determine likely period of composition.
d. Study of the likely sources used by the poets.
e. Examination of internal evidence which may have a bearing on date.

The results of the above studies are presented in a final conclusion which assigns a date of composition to each hymn. A new edition of the hymns is outside the scope of this thesis, but it is hoped that this work will provide a solid platform for future researchers to edit and translate these poems.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank the all the members of staff of *Scoil na Gaeilge* in Trinity College for their generous assistance and support throughout the whole period of my research leading to the submission of this thesis. In particular, I am grateful to Professor Damian McManus for his open encouragement and enthusiasm in all those departmental matters which certainly eased the path of research and removed all those hurdles which might have impeded the work.

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Most of all I stand in awe of my supervisor, Dr Jürgen Uhlich, for his linguistic brilliance, his ever-goodnatured patience, his painstaking corrections and his relentless pursuit of excellence in this work. It was a truly memorable experience, and I have learnt much from it.

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Chapter 1- Introduction

Section 1: General Considerations

1.1 Aim of Thesis

1. One of the treasures of early Christian ecclesiastical literature in Ireland is the Irish Liber Hymnorum (Book of Hymns). This is an extensive collection of hymns used in the early Irish monasteries, and preserved in two vellum manuscripts of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, one in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (MS E4.2, Catalogue No. T 1441), and the other in University College Dublin (Catalogue No. A2). The collection comprises seventeen hymns in Hiberno-Latin and eight in Old Irish. The texts in the manuscripts are very similar, without being identical, indicating that both are derived from the same exemplar which appears to have been compiled in the tenth or early eleventh centuries. In 1903 Stokes and Strachan published the complete text of the OIr hymns in Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus (*Th*) II. Theirs was a critical text drawn from both manuscripts, designed to reconstruct the text of the exemplar, which had been modified considerably by later copyists. The Old Irish hymns were composed in an earlier period, and must have been taken from individual service-books. The aim of this thesis is to conduct a detailed analysis of the language of the hymns in order to determine the most likely date of composition. It is not intended in this study to re-edit the hymns or to provide a new translation. Instead the study will follow the critical edition and translation of Stokes and Strachan in *Th* II, but offer additional linguistic comment. In certain selected areas where the critical edition does not offer a translation, or where revision is necessary in the light of more recent scholarship, a new translation will be offered.

1.2. The Manuscripts

1.2.1. The T 1441 ms has been in the Library of Trinity College since the middle of the seventeenth century. Early editors have suggested that it may have come with Archbishop Ussher's collection, but O'Sullivan has shown this to be highly unlikely.[1] The provenance of the A2 ms is equally uncertain, but it is known to

[1] O'Sullivan W, 1956, 53.

have been in the Franciscan Monastery of Donegal in 1630, because Michael O'Clery tells us that he used it in his Martyrology of Donegal written in that year.[2] Shortly after that it was transferred, along with the other Donegal mss, to Louvain, and thence to the library of St Isidore in Rome. In 1872 it was returned to Dublin, and it found its way eventually to the Franciscan library in Killiney. In November 2000 it was transferred to UCD, where it was placed on the internet under the ISOS (Irish Script on Screen) project.

1.2.2. The two books must have been almost the same size before clipping, though the writing space has remained more or less the same in each.[3] The T 1441 book (coded T for Trinity) has thirty-four folios arranged in six groups, of which twenty-eight belong to the original text, and the rest are later additions. The A2 manuscript (coded F for Franciscan) has only twenty-three leaves, and probably consisted originally of two quires of twelve leaves each. In T the hymns in Latin are written in an archaic Irish majuscule, and the rest in pointed minuscule of three different sizes. The largest minuscule is reserved for hymns in Irish, versicles, and *Orationes*; the middle-sized script is used for prefaces and some headings and the minute script is employed solely for the glosses.[4] F is written in a large pointed miniscule with a small spiky minuscule for glosses and prefaces. Punctuation is entirely absent from the text of hymns, and is used sparingly in the headings and versicles, but more freely in the prefaces and glosses. Bieler comments that the scribe may have felt that the strophic arrangement, emphasised by initials, made punctuation largely superfluous.[5]

1.2.3. The decorative scheme is the same in both books. T must originally have been brilliantly coloured. The painter freely used green, red, yellow and purple, and varied his effects by the use of hatchings and dotting of one colour upon another. The decoration of F reveals a more minute quality of drawing and less showy in colour; they are drawn more finely and may not have been as vivid in colour. Henry and Marsh-Micheli compare the decoration in these two manuscripts with other works of known provenance and conclude that: 'these two books closely related in their text seem, as far as their decoration is concerned, to

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[2] See under Jan 18, Feb 1 and Sep 4 of O'Clery's *Martyrology of Donegal,* published by the Irish Archaeology and Celtic Society, 1894.

[3] The writing spaces are 20.3cm x 12.7cm in T and 20.3cm x 11.4 cm in F.

[4] Bieler 1948, 179.

[5] ibid. 179.

be due to two different hands and to artists with slightly different backgrounds, though possibly members of the same scriptorium at an interval of two or three decades'.[6] Henry went further. She showed that the F manuscript appears to be the slightly later recension, commenting that 'the evidence from the decoration point of view thus confirms the linguistic data and allows us to date the Trinity volume to the second half of the eleventh century, the Killiney one to the early twelfth.'[7]

1.2.4. The F manuscript bears the title *Liber Hymnorum quos Sancti Hiberniae composuerunt*, ('Book of Hymns which the saints of Ireland composed'). The first folio is unfortunately missing from the Trinity codex, and there is no confirmation that this was a general title. Each hymn, both Latin and Irish, is accompanied by a Middle Irish preface, as well as copious inter-linear and marginal glosses and scholia. The F ms contains the same number of Latin hymns as T, but only six of the OIr hymns. The list of these hymns, in the order in which they appear in the mss, is:

Incipit	***Later Title*** [8]
Sén Dé	Colmán's Hymn
Génair Patraicc	Fíacc's Hymn
Ad-muinemmar	Ninínne's Prayer
Brigit bé	Ultán's Hymn
Ní car Brigit	Broccán's Hymn
Ad-teoch ríg	Sanctán's Hymn
Atom-riug indiu	Patrick's Lorica (not included in F)
In spirut nóeb	Máel Ísu's Hymn (not included in F)

The last of these hymns, *In spirut nóeb*, is a Middle Irish composition and is not included in this linguistic study.

1.3 History of previous editions

1.3.1 Todd made the first attempt to edit the *Liber Hymnorum* for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society in 1855, when the first volume of *The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland* was published. A second volume was published in 1869, but the third volume was never finished due to the death of

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[6] Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1962, 134.

[7] Henry 1970, 56-9.

[8] The titles arise from the Middle Irish prefaces which traditionally attribute authorship, usually erroneously.

Todd. The main defect in Todd's edition was his reliance solely on T, and he was sometimes obliged to refer to printed evidence.[9] Stokes published some of the Irish language hymns in *Goidelica* (Second edition, 1872), in *The Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick* (1887) and in *The Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore* (1890). A number of the hymns in Irish are also available from Zimmer (*Keltische Studien I*) and Windisch (*Irische Texte I*).

1.3.2. Bernard and Atkinson published *The Irish Liber Hymnorum* (*LH*) in1898 for the Henry Bradshaw Society, with the complete text drawn from both mss. Their method of editing was to follow T throughout, but to highlight any differences from F in the notes. Their edition uses T's orthography faithfully, except that proper names are capitalised. The glosses from T and F are shown in turn. Atkinson was responsible for the editing and translation of the Irish texts, and for the metrical analysis, while Bernard supplied the notes, and both shared responsibility for the collation of Latin pieces. As mentioned above, Stokes and Strachan published the complete text in *Th* II. They listed the glosses from T and F in turn, but did not include explanatory notes as in *LH*. None of the editions listed made any attempt to translate the hymns or glosses which were written in Latin.

Section 2: Methodology Employed in this Thesis

2.1. As a starting point the original manuscripts were examined to check the accuracy of transcription in the printed texts. For the T text this entailed direct access to the T.1414 codex in Trinity College, together with a detailed study of the microfilm copy of the codex held in the School of Irish. For F it was found that the internet ISOS programme provided an excellent means for close scrutiny of the text, and direct access to the A2 manuscript was not considered necessary. In addition variant readings of individual hymns in other Middle Irish manuscripts were consulted for comparison purposes. Next the critical edition in *Th* II was studied, together with Bernard and Atkinson's *Irish Liber Hymnorum* (*LH*). A linguistic and metrical analysis of each hymn was carried out for the purpose of

[9] Bernard (*LH* I, *x*) comments that Todd did not have access to the F ms at the time of publication. The printed evidence used by Todd possibly refers to Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* (1645) which includes Fíacc's Hymn derived from F and translated into Latin.

determining the date of composition, and this study was complemented with an examination of the likely source material for the hymns. Several translations and commentaries of individual hymns in the literature were read with profit. Time and space did not allow a similar linguistic analysis of the Middle Irish glosses and scholia, but those of particular relevance are included in the study.

2.2. It was decided at the outset to present the material in a user-friendly manner. Consequently, the manuscript texts are displayed at the head of each stanza or strophe, rather than buried in footnotes, along with detailed textual notes. This section is followed by metrical and linguistic analyses. The critical edition and translation by Stokes and Strachan in *Th* II is, by and large, retained but occasionally a new translation is offered where *Th* II offers no translation or where more recent scholarship provides a better reading. The presentation of ms text involves no change to the original orthography, except for word separation. No capitals or punctuation marks are employed which do not appear in the text. Standard contractions representing unambiguous shorthand are silently expanded. Expansion of abbreviations by omission of letters are marked by *italics* in the text. The following forms of brackets are used: (1) Square brackets [ ] indicate that the letters enclosed may be regarded as secondary scribal additions, and are consequently not taken into account for translation purposes. Square brackets are also employed where a change to the *Th* II translation has been necessary. (2) Round brackets ( ) indicate that letters enclosed are those thought to have been in the original ms but are now missing, and these have been re-instated. (3) Brace brackets { } indicate that enclosed letters are listed in the early editions but are not visible to this writer (over 100 years later!). Outside the manuscript readings, italics are employed for the restored text, and for most terms and material appearing in a language other than English.

Chapter 2- Irish Hymnody

Section 1: General Considerations

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 The physical aspects of the two *Liber Hymnorum* manuscripts were considered in Chapter 1. This chapter is concerned with the provenance of the seven Irish hymns, and their use in the early Irish monasteries. These hymns appear to have been composed at various periods between the eighth and the tenth centuries and, apart from their liturgical importance, provide a fascinating window into the customs, fears, and pieties of early Christian society. To place the hymns in context, it is necessary to look briefly at the history of Christian hymnody and the process by which it was introduced into Ireland. There are also questions as to whether a specific Irish, Celtic or insular hymnody evolved that differed from the continental model, and the degree to which the pre-Christian native tradition influenced the development of hymns in Ireland.

1.1.2. The composition of Christian hymns dates only from the fourth century AD, the earliest extant hymn being *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*, composed by Hilary, bishop of Poitiers.[10] The metre in this hymn is the *versus popularis*, also known as the trochaic tetrameter catalectic, a type of verse highly popular in the Roman Empire.[11] This type of metre, and probably this hymn, had a profound effect not only on Hiberno-Latin versification, but also on the later hymns and poems in the Irish language.[12] If Hilary's hymns served as the starting point, Szövérffy believes it was the hymnody of Ambrose which provided the models for Latin hymns for more than ten centuries.[13] A precise dating of Hiberno-Latin hymns cannot be given, but Szövérffy believes the earliest among them may be the alphabetic hymn on Patrick, *Audite omnes amantes*, attributed to Sechnall (*Secundinus*). This hymn diverged somewhat from the Ambrosian model. Patrick was not a martyr, the language

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[10] This hymn is preserved only through Irish sources, including the *Liber Hymnorum* (F.6v in T and p.20 of F), and the late seventh-century *Antiphonary of Bangor*.

[11] This metre is illustrated by a verse of a song popular with the Roman army: *Gallias Caesar subegit/ Nicomedes Caesarem/ Ecce Caesar nunc triumphat/ qui subegit Gallias* (Murphy 1961, 9).

[12] Kenney 1929, 252-3.

[13] Szövérffy (1989, 33-4). The Ambrosian model envisaged three basic thematic categories of hymn: those for the canonical hours, those for feasts of the ecclesiastical year, and those for martyred saints.

employed is an extravagant panegyric, and its form differs from the continental pattern. In this divergence the Irish gave notice of separate development for centuries to come.[14] Between the sixth and eleventh centuries there arose a flourishing hymnody in the Irish church, with peculiar native linguistic and formal features. The earliest of these Latin hymns found their way into the *Liber Hymnorum.*

1.1.3. As early as the seventh century the Irish clerics turned to writing hymns in their native vernacular. However, the Irish language hymns may not have enjoyed the same status of those in Latin, judging by the palaeography of the T ms.[15] Nonetheless, Kenney considers it probable that Tírechán and Muirchú made use of Irish verse-material on St Patrick in their respective Lives.[16] Adomnán refers to the singing of Irish hymns in honour of Colum Cille as though it were a commonplace.[17]

1.1.4. The seven OIr hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum* exhibit individual idiosyncrasies in metrical form, thematic content and *genre*. Six of the eight Irish hymns are composed, broadly speaking, in *rannaigecht* format, in quatrains with a fixed syllabic count and rhyme between lines *b* and *d*. In two of these hymns, *Sén Dé* and *Ní car Brigit*, a few stanzas are in *deibide* metre but these might be later interpolations. The metre is heptasyllabic for the most part, but *Brigit bé* is composed in $5^2 5^2 5^2 5^2$ format. The other two hymns, *Admuinemmar* and *Atomriug indiu* are accentual compositions relying on rhythm rather than syllable count and rhyme. The metrical structure is dicussed further in Section 3 of this chapter. Thematically, we can divide the hymns into three main categories: (1) metrical lives of the saints: *Génair Patraicc* and *Ní car Brigit*, (2) protection prayers invoking God and particular saints: *Admuinemmar* and *Brigit bé*, and (3) the peculiar Irish prayer-formula called a *lorica*, *Sén Dé*, *Ateoch ríg n-amra*, and *Atomriug indiu*. Since three of the OIr hymns and at least one of the early Hiberno-Latin hymns are said to be of the *lorica* genre, it will be useful to consider the provenance of this particular prayer-form in more detail.

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[14] ibid. 37-8.

[15] Bieler (1948, 179) comments: 'The fact that in this earlier part of the manuscript majuscule is never used for the texts in the Irish language seems to indicate that, from the liturgical point of view, Latin and Irish hymns were not of equal rank'. In the slightly later F manuscript, however, no such distinction is made.

[16] Kenney 1929, 254.

[17] Anderson 1961, 202-3.

Section 2: Development of the Lorica Form

2.1. The *Liber Hymnorum* contains what may well be the prototype of the *lorica* form, the so-called *Lorica of Gildas*, a Latin metrical prayer or hymn. Despite its attribution to Gildas, most scholars now accept that the Irishman Laidcenn wrote this prototype *lorica* in the seventh century, [18] and consequently the work will henceforth be referred to as *Laidcenn's Lorica.* The word *lorica* is the Latin term for a military 'breastplate', a term used figuratively by St Paul in the New Testament.[19] Gougaud in a ground-breaking study in 1911-12, applied the term *lorica* to a certain type of prayer, which was the unique product of Celtic civilisation developed in the early years of Christianity.[20] In more recent times Kathleen Hughes pointed out the similarity of the *lorica* to exorcism formulae.[21] A *lorica* is essentially a prayer for the protection of the individual against both physical and spiritual dangers, though with more emphasis on the latter. In his study Gougaud examines all the *loricae* written in Latin and the Celtic languages, taking Patrick's Lorica as his paradigm.[22] The *lorica* developed into a magical charm in its own right, a point emphasised by the requirement that the prayer must be frequently repeated. The question arises as to whether the *lorica* form was imported or if it sprang up from native sources. Herren traces the origin of the phenomenon to the execration-tablets used in the Middle East from the second or third century AD. These execration texts were engraved in lead and sometimes buried with an image of the person to be cursed, listing the exact parts of the body to be affected. In opposition a Christian counter-curse tablet (or apotropaic prayer) was developed, showing the characteristics of the *lorica*. These may have been brought by the early missionaries who used these prayers as a guard against the spells that the

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[18] Herren 1973,1; Hughes K 1970, 52.

[19] Kenney 1929, 271. The relevant New Testament passages are: *1 Thes* v 8: 'But let us who are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate (*loricam*) of faith and love; and for a helmet, the hope of salvation'; cf. *Ephes* vi 11: 'Put on the whole armour (*arma Dei*) of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil', and *1 Thes* v8: 'But let us who are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love; and for a helmet, the hope of salvation'.

[20] Gougaud (I 1911, 265-81; II 1912, 33-41, 102-27).

[21] Hughes (1970, 48-61) also re-emphasised the Celtic characteristics of the *lorica.*

[22] Ó Duinn (1990, 6-11) lists three Hiberno-Latin *loricae*, together with twenty-three Old Irish, eight Scottish Gaelic, two Welsh, one Icelandic and eleven relatively modern pieces from Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

heathen sorcerers directed against them.[23] The form of this apotropaic prayer is exemplified in *Laidcenn's Lorica* which, after the usual heavenly invocations, proceeds to list all the parts of the body from head to toe in exhaustive detail, asking for specific protection from harm of each part. Interestingly, Herren shows that the detailed anatomical list is taken from the *Etymologies of Isidore* (or from a glossary derived from it), indicating a strong Irish monastic connection. The private nature of these prayers aims to secure protection for the individual suppliant rather than for the community, a development similar to the Celtic practice of private penance.[24] Herren concludes that, though their roots were buried in foreign soil, the *loricae* were a Celtic innovation.

2.2. Mac Eoin makes the point that, while the biblical text remained the inspiration, the *loricae* developed a pattern of their own, incorporating ideas derived from other sources.[25] There has been considerable debate as to whether the *lorica* is of Christian or pagan provenance, or a mixture of both. Greene and O'Connor, for example, in their translations of Patrick's Lorica and another OIr poem *Ad-muiniur secht n-ingena*, describe the former as 'a druid breastplate with Christian ornamentation', and the latter as 'a Christian breastplate with druid ornamentation'.[26]

2.3. Not all *loricae* follow the original Laidcenn model, and each hymn tends to adapt only the elements of the formula considered appropriate to the particular need. One category not found in *Laidcenn's Lorica* is invocation of the forces of nature. This feature arises in the so-called *Lorica* of Leiden, which Kenney describes as 'a love incantation modelled on, and to some extent using the language of, the *Lorica* of Gildas.'[27] This secondary model will be of importance in the study of Patrick's Lorica. How, then, can a *lorica* be distinguished from an ordinary protection prayer? Mac Eoin has analysed the general pattern of invocations in various *loricae*.[28] The Mac

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[23] Herren (1987, 26-31) acknowledges the work of WM Lindsay (Early Welsh Script, Oxford 1912, 23). Several inscribed amulets from Roman Britain have been found, one in particular in Caernarvon, inscribed in Hebrew and Greek, which appears apotropaic. This amulet, which can be worn upon the person, is likely to have belonged to a Jewish community in Roman Egypt.

[24] Herren 1987, 24-5.

[25] Mac Eoin 1962, 212.

[26] Greene and O'Connor 1967, 27. The second work, also known as *Nuall Fir Fhio*, appears also in Carey 2000, 136-8.

[27] Kenney 1929, 272. Read Laidcenn for Gildas in Kenney's comment.

[28] Mac Eoin, 1962.

Eoin pattern, as listed below, will be employed in this thesis as a litmus test for detecting the genuine *lorica* form:

1. Invocation of the Trinity.
2. Invocation of God as Creator.
3. Invocation of God as *Unitas.*
4. Invocation of Christ.
5. Invocation of angels and archangels.
6. Invocation of the different categories of saints: patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, etc.
7. Invocation of the elements, or the forces of nature.
8. List of the parts of the body with prayers for the protection of each.
9. List of situations or postures in which protection is called for.
10. List of dangers against which protection is sought.
11. Prayer for eternal salvation.
12. Prayer of a general nature.
13. Repetition of one of the above themes, or similar matter.

2.4. While the Mac Eoin pattern is useful in determining whether a particular prayer falls within the *lorica* genre, it is probably too rigid in its formulation. When we examine the three OIr hymns listed as *loricae*, it will become obvious that the composers have each employed the *lorica* theme as a literary *motif* rather than a paradigmatic prayer formula. Hughes points out that the *loricae* and prayers of detailed confession may have gained popularity in the second half of the seventh century following the plagues of 664-5, and further epidemics later in the same century.[29] The infernal powers against whom protection is sought in the hymns are obvious from the following extracts. Black devils tend to come in droves, viz.

rop saiget húan fri demnai, 'may it be an arrow from us against devils' (Colmán §10).

ria slúag ndemnae diar sénad, 'before a host of devils (do), to bless us' (Colmán §23).

do mídúthrachtaib demnae ndorchaide, 'from the malevolence of dark demons' (Ninínne §4).

ron-soíra Brigit sech drungu demne, 'May Brigit deliver us past hordes of demons'(Ultán §2)

don chath fri ialla ciara, 'for the battle against dark flocks' (Broccán §46).

ním-tharle demna díbocht, 'let not the godlessness of devils come to me' (Sanctán §4).

domm anacul ar intledaib demnae, 'to save me from snares of devils' (Patrick §5).

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[29] Hughes 1970, 59-60.

Section 3: Metrics

3.1. Rules of Engagement for Old Irish Poetry

3.1.1. As noted in 1.1.4 above, we can distinguish two basic divisions of metre in the Old Irish hymns of the *Liber Hymnorum,* the unrhymed accentual poems on one hand, and the *rannaigecht* quatrains with a fixed syllabic count and *b:d* rhyme on the other. The latter type are of particular importance in determining the date of composition since, although metrical texts undergo various modifications in the course of transmisssion, metrical criteria can often help in recovering the original text.

3.1.2. *In Early Irish Metrics* (*EIM*) Murphy sets out the basic rules for rhyme as follows: 'Rime in Irish normally begins with the first stressed vowel of the riming word. From that on, every vowel must be identical (the identity including identity of quantity), and every consonant (when the consonants are single and not in groups) must normally be balanced by a consonant belonging to the same phonetic class and having the same quality. Enclitics, such as suffixed pronouns or emphasising particles, are regarded as part of the stresses words to which they are attached'.[30]

3.1.3. The classification in *EIM* of consonants adapted to Old Irish, with examples of rhyme, is as shown in the Table below:[31]

Class	Description	consonants	Examples
g	voiced stops	p(bb)=[*b*] t(dd)=[*d*] c(cc)(gg)=[*g*]	*éc:bét*
k	voiceless stops	p=[*p*], t(tt)=[*t*] c(cc)=[*k*]	*ait:glaic*
χ	voiceless spirants	f (ff), ph, th, ch	*cleith:beich*
l	voiced spirants and weakly pronounced (voiced) liquids	b=[*v*] m=[nasal v] d =(ð) g =(γ), l, n, r	*faíd: Laíg: craíb*
L	strongly pronounced (voiced) liquids	m(mm)=[*m*], ll, nn, ng, rr	*gann: thall*
s	This class rhymes only with itself.	s and ss	*mass:glass*
	Lenited *f*	silent	*bréthir: tréthfhir*
	Lenited ***s*** as the initial letter of the second element of a compound	Disregarded in rhyme	*lánshúairc: Mánúailt*

[30] Murphy 1961, 30

[31] ibid. 32-9

Murphy comments that 'exceptions are frequent and have led Thurneysen (RC 6,329 n. 2) and Meyer (PIM 7) to make a broader classification for the Old and Middle Irish periods'. Some unusual exceptions such as the rhyming of a class ***g*** consonant with one from class ***k*** would probably be recognized by the poets themselves as giving imperfect rhyme, but certain other exceptions occur so frequently in the OIr and MIr periode that they must have been regarded as permissible. Three such exceptions have been noted by Murphy:

> When consonants of the ***ll*** class follow a long vowel, they may rhyme with consonants of the ***v*** class, e.g. *fo-déin: céill.*
>
> Class ***χ*** consonants may rhyme with Class ***l***, e.g. *gád: scáth, lúaith: búaid, brúach: lúad, brígach: díbad.*
>
> The addition of one rhyming word from the ***χ*** or ***l*** classes to a rhyming consonant from another class with nothing to balance the added consonant in the other riming word, e.g. *uirc: bruic, créchtach: bétach, drúcht: út.*

3.1.4. *Aicill.* An optional kind of metrical ornamentation is *aicill*, where a word in the end of one line rhymes with a word in the interior or beginning of the next. For example, in the following lines *Acht ro-fetar rega d'éc,/ Mór in bét! Ní fetar cuin*, the underlined words display *aicill.* Another metrical feature is internal rhyme between words in the interior of successive lines, but this ornamentation has not been given a special name.

3.1.5. Consonance *(úaitne).* Consonance can be regarded as a rougher form of rhyme, and is also an optional feature in OI syllabiv verse. It differs from *b: d* rhyme mainly in the treatment of stressed vowels: in consonance corresponding stressed vowels are not the same; they agree in quantity only. Also corresponding interior consonants, though they must belong to the same class, need not agree in quality, i.e. broad interior consonants may consonate with slender interior consonants of the same class. Final consonants must agree in class and quality. Consonance always appears with rhyme; usually to link an unrhyming endword in line *a* or *c* with rhyming endwords in lines *b* or *d*. Examples are: *fál: cél, dúire: áine, suidiu: togu, ríga: scéla: léga.*

3.1.6. Alliteration is another optional ornamentation in OIr *rannaigecht*. This feature applies to consecutive stressed words in the same line beginning with the same consonant or with any vowel. An unstressed word in between does not affect alliteration, nor does initial mutation of the alliterating letters (except for *f, p* and *s*). In certain circumstances alliteration is permitted across lines, and exceptionally, as in

Félire Óengusso, a form of binding alliteration between stanzas (called in MIr *fidrad freccomail*).

3.1.7. The stanzaic poems in the *Liber Hymnorum* are laid out mainly in *rannaigecht* quatrains with a fixed syllabic count and with rhyme between lines *b* and *d*. However, there are individual quatrains exhibiting *deibide* rhyme, i.e. rhyme between a stressed monosyllabic word and the unstressed final syllable of a disyllabic word, or any similar combination between a disyllable and a trisyllable. Such rhyme normally occurs between couplets *a:b* and *c:d,* but in this collection there is evidence of *deibide* rhyme in a *rannaigecht* setting.

3.2. Rhymeless Poetry.

3.2.1. The early native poetry (*retoiric* or *roscad*) is characterised by non-stanzaic accentual and alliterative verse and an absence of rhyme. As Carney demonstrated,[32] this form of verse came under pressure from the introduction of the rhymed syllabic poetry described above, and this led to the development of a new form involving stress count combined with syllabic counting of the line cadence. The two examples of this type of verse in the *Liber Hymnorum* are Ninine's Prayer and Patrick's Lorica.

[32] Carney 1971, 55

Section 4: The Singing of Hymns

4.1. Although some early scholars believe that the T and F mss, with their copious prefaces, glosses and scholia, are antiquarian documents rather than practical hymnbooks, Maire Herbert posits an alternative view. She rejects the view that the *Liber Hymnorum* is an antiquarian collection, engendered by the uncertainties of the post-Viking period, but argues rather it is the result of a literary flowering brought about by the merging of the secular and ecclesiastical domains in Irish monastic life. Here the literary techniques once applied solely to biblical exegesis are extended to Hiberno-Latin and Irish hymns, providing scholarly interpretation of the texts through the formulaic prefaces and comprehensive commentary.[33] The exemplar from which they are derived was almost certainly a collection of hymns from various service books.[34] It is of interest to know what constituted a hymn in early Ireland. Szövérffy, in his work on Latin Hymns,[35] cites St Augustine's definition: 'Hymn is poetry pertaining to things divine, and is to be considered primarily but not exclusively as liturgical. While liturgical (and paraliturgical) hymns are always associated with singing and liturgical chant, hymns outside the liturgy may or may not have association with music'. There is sporadic evidence from early Irish literature that these hymns were actually sung, but the verb *canaid* relates to chant as well as song. Describing Patrick's austerity, *Génair Patraicc* §13 states: *Ymmuin ocus abcolips/ na tri coícait nos-canad,* 'Hymns and the Apocalypse, the three fifties (of psalms) he used to sing', and in §15: *canad cét salm cech n-aidchi*, 'He sang a hundred psalms each night'. Later in the poem there are two references to the angels singing: *son in chétail fos-rolaich* (§26), 'the sound of the singing prostrated them', and *arid-fetis cen anad* (§32), '(they) sang over it ceaselessly'.There is a reference to performance of the hymn *Sén Dé* in the tenth-century poem *Immram Snédgusa ⁊ Maic Riagla.*[36] In the poem, two members of Colum Cille's community in Iona make a wondrous voyage across the ocean, and the following passage occurs: '*Canaid beos', ol in clérech ... / "Mac Dé don-fé", is é longaire ban nÉrenn*, ('Sing also, said the cleric .... / May the Son of God lead us; it is the sweet melody of the women of Ireland'). Finally, there is evidence from Hiberno-Latin hymnody, such as *Altus Prosator*, attributed by some to

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[33] Herbert 1989, 67*ff.*

[34] O'Neill (1984, 24) is of the opinion that the books were in fact meant for choir use, but suggests that the abundance of glosses were for use by teachers in the monastic schools.

[35] Szövérffy 1989, 29-30.

[36] Ó hAodha 1997, 425.

Colum Cille. In stanza 22 of *Altus Prosator* we read: 'In the fervent, resounding chanting of hymns, by thousands of angels flourishing in their holy dances'.[37] In the seventh century Antiphonary of Bangor, the hymn *Sancti Venite* is sung during the communion of priests in a monastery.

Section 5: Middle Irish Prefaces and Notes in the Manuscripts

5.1. The Middle Irish prefaces to the hymns set out the classical formula describing person, place, time and cause of composition. Most of the hymns are accompanied by marginal and interlinear notes, particularly F which includes lengthy commentaries in Irish on the text. The glosses include biblical commentary, extracts from the lives of saints, language notes and pseudo-etymological derivations of words, personal names and place-names. Bieler believes that part of the glosses was copied along with the text.[38] Various scholars have disputed the usefulness of these Middle Irish notes. The *Th* editors comment that 'the notes on the language are for the most part either superfluous or erroneous, and the various stories narrated to illustrate the text, particularly in Broccán's Hymn, may represent forms of the legends long subsequent to the composition of the poems'.[39]

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[37] Translation in Carey, 2000, 47.

[38] Bieler (1948, 178) describes one instance where this contention can be proved. The f.9v gloss on the Magnificat verse 1 in T reads: *eius anima dominum magnificat qui interiores affectus diuinis laudibus ac seruit mancipat.* The word *seruit* is an error for *seruitiis*. Zimmer found similar copying in Kelt. Studien I (1881,16).

[39] *Th* II *xxxvi*.

Chapter 3 - Colmán's Hymn (*Sén Dé*)

Section 1: General Considerations

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. The Irish hymn *Sén Dé*, otherwise known as Colmán's Hymn, appears to have been well known in the Middle Ages, and it seems that citation of the opening line was sufficient to invoke the whole text. As mentioned in Chapter 2, there are references to the first line of the hymn (*Sén Dé don-fé for-don-té*) in the tenth century poem *Immram Snédgusa ⁊ Maic Ríagla*. It is highly appropriate that this line should be invoked during a passage by boat, as legend has it that *Sén Dé* was composed en route to an island, to which Colmán and his disciples were fleeing from the Yellow Plague.

1.1.2. *Sén Dé* comprises a total of twenty-six and a half quatrains, and each manuscript includes its own Preface, together with scholia and glosses, all of which were added at a later date. As with the other works in the *Liber Hymnorum*, each of the two mss presents an independent recension of the original text. Unlike other hymns in the collection, however, the prefaces in T and F are different, but many of the glosses and scholia are practically identical, and show that they must have been copied from a common source. The hymn is a macaronic one, mainly in Irish but with a significant number of lines and stanzas in Latin.

1.1.3. The MIr Preface ascribes the hymn to Colmán moccu Clúasaig, called *fer légind* ('Latin scholar') of Corcach or, perhaps, to him and his pupils. The preface states that the hymn was composed to seek protection from the Yellow Plague (*Buide Chonnaill*) which reportedly devastated Ireland during the rule of the sons of Áed Sláne.[40] The last part of the hymn, certainly a later addition, is attributed to Díarmait úa Tigernáin, who was *comarba* of Patrick at Armagh, with interruptions, from 835 to 853. Alternatively, the gloss goes on to indicate that this last portion may have been a

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[40] Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill, (1963, 135) translate the following entries of the Annals of Ulster: AD 664.2: *Mortalitas in Hiberniam peruenit in kl Augusti*, 'the plague reached Ireland on the Kalends 1st of August'; AD 665.1: *Mortalitas magna. Diarmait m. Aedo Slane & Blaimac & Mael Bresail filii Maele Duin mortui sunt .i. don bhuidhe Chonaill*, 'the great mortality. Diarmait son of Áed Sláine and Blamac and Mael Bresail, sons of Mael Dúin, died i.e. of the *buide Chonaill*'.

joint effort by Díarmait and Mugrón, *comarba* of Colum Cille from 964 to 980.[41] The conclusion of the hymn contains an invocation of Irish saints, one of whom, Adomnán, died in 704.

1.2. Editions of the Hymn

Date	Editor	Publication	Translation
1866	WS Stokes	*Goidilica (Calcutta)*	English
1872	WS Stokes	*Goidelica (London)*	English
1868	B MacCarthy	*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*	English
1880	Windisch	*Irishe Texte I*	German
1897	Bernard and Atkinson	*Irish Liber Hymnorum I, II*	English
1903	Stokes and Strachan	*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus II*	English

H Gaidoz provided a commentary on the hymn in RC v 94-103, and Caitriona Ó Dochartaigh re-edited the hymn (in Irish) in her MA thesis *An t-Iomann SeanGaeilge 'Sén Dé'*, (University College Galway 1995).

1.4. Methodology

To attempt a more precise dating for this hymn, the following methodology will be applied. In Section 2 the manuscript readings will be presented on a stanza-by-stanza basis, and the text analysed for metre, language and meaning. The textual notes will critically review the language of the *Th* edition, without changing the text or translation, except in a few cases where *Th* offers no translation or where more recent scholarship has demonstrated an improved reading. In Section 3 the main features of the metrical system will be reviewed, and in Section 4 the language of the hymn analysed. Finally, in the concluding Section 5 the linguistic evidence will be presented and an assessment made of the likely date of composition.

1.5. The Stella Maris Error

Before analysing the hymn it will be appropriate to deal here with one controversial matter which came to light during a scrutiny of the Middle Irish glosses in the hymn. The first line in §9 reads: *Maire Ioseph donringrat*. The gloss on *Maire* in T is *.i. stilla ł stella maris interpretatur*, while F has *stilla maris ł stella*, where *stilla maris*

[41] According to the glossator of F, Diarmait ua Tigernáin, bishop of Armagh in 848, added lines 47-54, (§24 to §27), or Diarmait added the first two of these quatrains, and Mugrón, abbot of Iona from 964 to 980, added the remaining two.

means 'drop of the sea'. The *LH* editors comment that of these two interpretations *stilla* is probably correct.[42] The confusion seems to have arisen from an etymology of the Hebrew name *Miriam*. I am grateful to Prof. Andrew Mayes of TCD Hebrew, Biblical & Theological Dept, who pointed out that in Hebrew *mar* means a drop and *yam* the sea, which when translated into Latin becomes *stilla maris* ('drop of the sea'). St Jerome's *Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum* is preserved in three codices: the 8th century Monaco 6228, the 9th century Bamberg B iv and the 12th cent. Berlin 289. The Monaco and Berlin mss transmit the scribal error *stella* for *stilla* in its two instances but Bamberg has one *stella* and one *stilla* (*CCSL* LXXII, 76 and 137). [43] The error appears in all editions where the author's *stilla maris* is changed to *stella maris*. The works of Jerome were widely available in Ireland and the gloss on *Maire* in *Sén Dé* reflects the uncertainty. The error has prevailed and *stella maris* ('star of the sea') continues in church traditions up to the present time.

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[42] *LH* II 118.

[43] Todd 1855, 126 cites the following passage from Jerome: *Mariam plerique æstmant interpretari illuminant me isti, vel illuminatrix, vel smyrna maris, sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est, ut dicamus sonare eam stellam [*read *stillam] maris, sive amarum mare. Sciendumque quod Maria, sermone Syro, domina nuncupetur.*

Section 2: Textual Notes

§1

T	F
sen de donfe f*or*donte	sen de donfe f*or*donte
m*acc* maire ronfeladar	m*acc* maire ronfelathar
f*or* a oessam dun innocht	*for* a oesam dun i*n*noct
cia tiasam cain temadar	cia thisam cain temadar

2.1.1. Metrics. The metre is $7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$, with rhyme *-feladar: temadar* (T) and *-felathar: temadar* (F), described in *EIM* as *cummaisc rannaigechta móire ocus casbairdne* or *dían airsheng*. There is alliteration between *macc* and *Maire*, *tiasam* (*thisam* F) and *temadar*.

2.1.2. *macc maire ronfeladar*. There are few instances of the verb *felaid* ('covers') in the literature. The DIL editors offer: *Cruachu...felsus Crimthann*, where the verb appears to be a preterite with suffixed pronoun.[44] The form in this stanza is a rare example of an active verb taking a deponent ending in the present subjunctive.[45] The *Th* editors follow T with *ron-feladar*, probably to ensure visual rhyme with *-temadar*, although *ron-felathar* would make equally good rhyme. I am indebted to Dr Jürgen Uhlich of TCD who suggests that the basic verb may not in fact be *felaid*, but a deponent form *felithir* or *felaithir*. This verb is discussed in 4.4.4 (Section 4).

2.1.3. *for a oessam dun innocht/ cia tiasam cain temadar. Fóessam,* the verbal noun of *fo-sissedar*, has the literal meaning of 'standing under', in the sense of supporting, and is used in Law texts to render 'protection, safeguard'. The mss do not include the lenited *f* following the possessive pronoun, but *Th* restores it. The 3s present subjunctive *-temadar* features a deponent ending from the active verb *do-eim* which is treated in 4.4.4. In the compound *caín-temadar* the adjective *caín* is used adverbially and is prefixed to the verb like a preverb, as described in GOI §384. In this stanza the beneficiaries of God's protection are not named, but clearly 'us' is intended. The mss offer a choice of 1p present subjunctives in *cia tiasam* of T (< *téit*) and *cia thisam* of F (< *do-icc*), but the context ('going' rather than 'coming') supports the T reading. The *Th* editors state that the conjunct form after *cía* is irregular, and the true reading

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[44] *Ält Ir Dicht I* 17.12.

[45] This feature is discussed in *EIV* (McCone 1997, 74). Other notable instances are *ad-cether, - accathar*, and *con-oíther, -comathar*, 3s present subjunctives of *ad-cí* and *con-oí* respectively.

and interpretation are uncertain.[46] According to GOI §458, the unstressed form of *cía* can actually function as the indefinite pronoun 'whoever, whatever', taking the subjunctive when the verb is in the present tense, cf. *cía bronntar indi* (*Crith Gabl* 434). With verbs of going (which can govern the accusative) it carries the sense 'wherever'. Consequently, the phrase *cia thisam* in F could be translated as "wherever we come".

2.1.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Sén Dé don-fé fordon-té!	God's blessing lead us, help us!
macc Maire ron-feladar.	May Mary's son cover us.
For a fóessam dún innocht!	May we be under His safeguard tonight!
cía tíasam caín-temadar.	Whither we go may He guard (us) well.

§2

T	F
It*ir* foss no utmaille	Eter fos no utmaille
it*ir* suide no ṡessam	et*ir* suide no essam
ruire nime fri cech tress	ruri nime fri cech tres
ised attach adessam	iss*ed* attach adessam

2.2.1. *Metrics*. The metre here is $7^{3}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$, with rhyme *ṡessam : adessam*. There is alliteration between *ed* and *attach* in line *d*.

2.2.2. *eter suide no ṡessam/ ised attach adessam*. The question arises as to whether the *punctum delens* shown on *ṡessam* in the T ms is a scribal insertion or part of the original poem. The *Th* editors include this lenition marker, presumably based on their opinion that the hymn is from the ninth century. According to GOI §835 the preposition *eter* lenites the following word only in later Glosses (Ml and Sg). The absence of marked lenition on *suide*, (which otherwise would have alliterated with *ṡessam*), suggests a dating prior to Ml. Line *d* is a *figura etymologica* based on the verb *ad-teich,* whose verbal noun is *attach*. Pederson reads *ad-tessam* as a future tense,[47] but it is not possible to distinguish the *s*-future from the *s*-subjunctive with this particular verb (GOI §613, 662). As a *figura etymologica* one might expect a

[46] *Th* II, 299, note *h*.

[47] Ped *ii* 639.

nasalising relative clause, and we can take *adessam* as a phonetic **ad-d-tessam*.[48] F's *ruri* is preferred to *ruire* in T, which DIL describes as 'later'.

2.2.3. *Th* Text and Translation

Eter foss nó utmaille,	Whether in rest or in movement,
eter suide nó ṡessam;	whether sitting or standing;
ruiri nime fri cech tress,	the Lord of Heaven against every strife,
ised attach ad-[t]essam.	this is the prayer that we will pray.

§3

T	F
ITge abeil meic adaim	ITge abéil m*aic* adaim
heli enoc diar cobair	ele enoc diar cobair
ronsoerat ar diangalar	ronsoerat ar diangalar
secip leth fon m̓bith fogair	secip leth fon bith fogair

2.3.1. *Metrics*. The metre here changes to $7^2 7^2 7^3 7^2$, a loose form of *rannaigecht bec*, with perfect rhyme *cobair: fogair*, and consonance between *adaim, cobair* and *fogair*. There is also alliteration between *itge* and *abeil*, *hEle* and *Enoc*. It is noted that *diar* is monosyllabic here, as it is throughout the hymn.

2.3.2. *heli enoc diar cobair*. The noun *cobair* is described in DIL as having a very variable inflexion, and indeed is originally attested as a dental stem, cf. *lase dombeir dia cobrith nocco*, 'when God gives help therein (Wb 7c4), beside *is gnáth do cobir cach lobir*, 'He is wont to help every feeble one' (Wb 16a31). The dative singular is shown fairly consistently as *cobair* in *Fél*. Here the *Th* editors adopt an alternative spelling *cobuir*,[49] probably influenced by the desire to retain optical rhyme with *foguir*, which they read as the genitive of *fogur* ('sound'). In *Fél* Ep 445 Stokes translates *Héli* as the accusative of *Helias*, 'Elijah'. Again in *Fél* Aug 29 the genitive *Héli* is related to Elijah. However, the Latin prayer, *Commendatio animae quando infirmus est in extremis* (see annex A), which has striking similarities with this hymn and with the *Fél* Epilogue, has Elias.[50] On this basis Elias is the preferred reading.

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[48] The *Th* editors suggest the verbal form is equivalent to *ad-n-tessam* (*Th* II 300, note *g*).

[49] GOI §173 comments that gutturals and labials have what used to be referred to as *u*-quality when the syllable ends in a non-lenited *r, l* or *n*.

[50] *Libera, Domine, animam eius, sicut liberasti Enoch et Eliam de communi morte mundi.*

2.3.3. *secip leth fon ṁbith fogair*. The *Th* editors translate this line as: 'on whatever side, throughout the noisy world'. In their view, reading *foguir* as a verbal form, which the glossator seems to do, is syntactically improbable.[51] Atkinson, on the other hand, takes *fogair* as the 3s prototonic form of the verb *fo-geir*, 'heats, inflames, irritates, excites', and translates it as 'threatens'.[52] If *fogair* is to be read as a verb, it could be a case of Bergin's Law, except that there is none of the alliteration commonly associated with this rule.[53] A possible reading is the rare use of the prototonic form to introduce a relative clause, as discussed in GOI §38.3(a) and §493.6. Since the antecedent of the relative clause is *leth* (place) a more appropriate translation of *fo-geir* as a verbal form would be 'erupts'. The combination of *fo-geir* and *galar* is attested in early OIr: *fogeir a n-ggalar in uile corp,* 'the disease inflames the whole body',[54] although in the case cited the verb is transitive.

2.3.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Itge Abéil maicc Adaim,	May the prayer of Abel son of Adam,
Héle Enóc, diar cobuir;	Enoch, Elias help us;
ron-sóerat ar díangalar	may they save us from swift disease
sechip leth, fon ṁbith foguir.	on whatever side, throughout the noisy world .

§4

T	F
Noe ⁊ abraham	Noe oc*us* abraham
isac in macc adamra	isac in macc adamra
immuntisat ar tedmaim	immontesat ar thedmaim
nachantairle adamna	nachantarle adamna

2.4.1. *Metrics*. The metre changes to $7^{3}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$, a loose form of *fordúan* or indeed *casbairdine*, with perfect rhyme *adamra: adamna*. *Th* II emends both words to the OIr nominative *-ae* endings without impairing the rhyme. There is also alliteration between *-tisat/tesat* and *tedmaim/ t(h)edmaim*.

2.4.2. *immuntísat ar thedmaim*. The mss choice between verbal forms *immuntísat* and *immontesat* is intriguing. It will be recalled that in §1 T's 1p present subjunctive

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[51] *Th* II 300, note *dd*. T's gloss is: *fograiges .i. done tomaithium*, 'sounds, i.e. threatens'.

[52] *LH* II 14.

[53] See the examples presented in Bergin 1938, 197-214.

[54] *Cambrai Homily*, *Th* II 246.2-3.

-tiasam (from *téit*) was preferred to F's *-thisam* (from *do-icc*). Here the context would support either reading. The verb *imm-ticc* has the literal meaning 'comes around', and with the accusative can mean 'surrounds protectively', or 'protects'. Likewise, *imm-téit* renders the semantically similar 'goes around protectively'. The *-tesat* in F carries the hint of an early form, a pre-diphthongised version of *-tíasat* (from *-téit*). The T gloss is: *.i. tísat immund*, 'may they come about us'. The *Th* and *LH* editions omit the F gloss: *immuntiasa(t)*, 'may they go about us' Here *immon-tésat* may be regarded as the *lectio difficilior* and, as such, could place the stanza in the first half of the eighth century. On the other hand, one must not discount the possibility of scribal error and further corroboration would be needed for an early dating. There is some evidence to question the reliability of F's transcription against that of T, [55] and on balance the T text is the safer option.

2.4.3. *nachantairle adamna*. The verb *do-aidlea*, 'visits', has a 3s augmented subjunctive form *do-áirle*, *-táirle* (from **to-ad-ro-ell-*), and here is prefixed with the negative *nácha-* and the 1p infixed pronoun, to render 'may (it) not visit us'. One might expect the OIr *náchan-táirlea*, but the final *-ea* had fallen together with *-e* by the ninth century. The precise meaning of the word *adamna* is obscure, but the early editors translate it as 'famine'.[56] Meyer in Wortk. 131 derives the word from *ad* + *omnae* meaning 'great fear'. Atkinson, on the other hand suggests *a damna*, offering the translation: 'Against pestilence, lest any cause [of pestilence] visit us', cf. *damna dogra do't chairdib,* 'it is a cause of anguish to your friends'.[57] Vendryes provides an interesting summary, tentatively suggesting 'famine'.[58] The glossator in T seems to back both possibilities, and in an interesting piece of etymology attempts to connect

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[55] In §21, T's past subjunctive *roísed* is opposed by F's innovatory *roisad*, and. in §14 T provides the correct 3s preterite relative *soeras* against F's non-relative *soerais*.

[56] Stokes and Strachan (*Th* II 300, note *t*) refer to AU 825 in relation to *adamnae*: Magna pestilentia in Hibernia insola senioribus & pueris & infirmis; magna fames & defectio panis, 'a great pestilence in the island affected the old, the childen and the weak; [there was] great famine and shortage of bread' (Mac Airt, Mac Niocaill, 1963).

[57] MR 294, 8; SM *iii* 94.5.

[58] Vendryes 1981, A-15: "faim", mot dont l'existence n'est pas sûre, appuyée seulement par la glose .i. *gorta*, 'faim, famine'. La forme *adomnae* AU 825, nom. pl., paraît devoir être comprise comme *ad-omnae*, 'grande terreur'. Ped I 169 interprète *adamnae* au sens de "besoin" en comparant vbret. *edemnetic* gl. desideratrix, corn. *ethom* 'besoin' pl. *othommow*, bret. *ezom* 'id.', et en supposant un compose de *ad-* et d'un theme **ismn̥-* "dèsir" qui expliquerait aussi le grec *ίμερος* 'dèsir' de **is-miṛ*. Reconstruction très hasardée'.

the Irish *adamnae* with the name Adam: *.i. adamní .i. gorta quia per Adam uenit dolor* (T), 'i.e. great fear, i.e. famine, because (it is) through Adam came grief'.

2.4.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Nóe ocus Abraham,	Noah and Abraham,
Isác in macc adamrae;	Isaac the wonderful son;
immun-tísat ar thedmaim,	may they surround us against pestilence,
náchan-táirle adamnae.	that famine may not come to us!

§5

T	F
Ailme athair tri cethrur	Ailme athair tri cethrur
ocus ioseph a nuas(er)	oc*us* ioseph a nóser
ron-soerat a nernaigthi	ronsoerat a nernaigthi
co rig nilainglech nuasal	co rig nilainglech nuasal

2.5.1. *Metrics*. The metre changes to $7^2 7^2 7^3 7^2$, with apparently imperfect rhyme *n-uaser: n-uasal* (T) and *n-óser: n-uasal* (F). The T text is almost illegible at the end of line *b* and the *-er* ending is based largely on F. Superficially, there is no reason why *uas-* in T could not be expanded to *úas(ar)*. Apart from *óser* of the F text and *úaser* which is adopted from the *Th* II readings, DIL lists the spelling variations *ósar, osor, ossor* and *oisser*.[59] Stokes refers to two other 'imperfect' rhymes in the *Liber Hymnorum*, but in fact, neither of these references is relevant.[60] There are two issues affecting rhyme here, the quality of the medial *-s-* and the question of *úa-* versus *ó-* in the rhyming pair.[61] In DIL the word *ósar* (also *óser, uaser*) is defined as being derived from the comparitive of *oac, óc* (in a similar manner to its opposite *sinser*), meaning 'one who is younger, a junior'.[62] The word *ósar* undergoes occasional influence from *sinser*, producing a palatal *-s-*, and the spelling in F suggests such palatisation. The only possibilities for rhyme are *ósar: ósal* or *úasar: úasal*. In the former case *ósal*

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[59] cf. the eighth century Poems of Blathmac §105: *Ísu, ósar na huagae* (Carney 1964, 36).

[60] *Th* II 300, note *v* refers to rhyming in *Génair Patraicc, -toimled: fognad* (§3) and *-caned: anad.* (§13). The problem with the first case is not the final syllable but the quality of the interior consonants, *-ml-* being palatal, and *-gn-* neutral. In the second case, the actual rhyming pair in the mss is *-canad: anad*, and it is the editors who suggest that *-caned* should be read, but do not restore it.

[61] GOI §166b contrasts the neutral *-s-* in *úasal* with the palatal *-s-* in *ísel*. The latter takes the same form as *sinser* and its would-be analogue *óser*.

[62] For example, *ossar .i. fer iss oo*, CormY, 1032 (Meyer, 1912).

would be archaic and therefore unlikely in a ninth-century poem. In the second case the poet may have exploited the well-known alternation of *ó* and *úa* to create first *úasar* for the sake of the rhyme, and thence to the more familiar form *ósar*. The reversion to an *-er* ending was probably a later influence, possibly scribal. Alliteration arises between *ailme* (leg. *áilmi*) and *athair, ioseph* and *uaser*, *-ilainglech* and *uasal*.

2.5.2. *Ailme athair tri cethrur/ ocus ioseph a nuaser*. The *Th* editors restore the 1p present *áilmi* which had fallen together with the relative form, *áilme,* by the late OIr period. The glosses identify *athair* as Jacob, and *tri cethrur* as the twelve patriarchs.[63] Atkinson in *LH* II translates *úaser* as 'younger [brother]'. Here the word is used in the superlative sense; cf. *dommuinet is mé a n-oisser*, 'they think I am the youngest among them'.[64] DIL accordingly offers a translation of the line: 'Joseph being the youngest'. The glosses are etymological, *.i. a nuasal fer*, (T); *a nuasal fer* (F), 'their noble man'.

2.5.3. *Th* Text and Translation

Ailmi athair trí cethrur	We entreat the father of three tetrads
ocus Ioseph a n-úasar;	and Joseph their junior;
ron-sóerat a n-ernaigthi	may their prayers save us
co ríg, n-ilainglech n-úasal.	to the King, many-angeled, noble.

§6

T	F
Snáidsium moisi degtuisech	Snaidsium moysi deghthoísech
ronsnaid tria rubru*m* maire	ronsnaid dria rubr*um* mare
i*ess*u aaron macc amra	iessu aaron m*ac*c amra
d*aui*d in gilla dana	d*aui*d in gilla dana

2.6.1 *Metrics*. The metre is again an uneven *rannaigecht bec*: $7^3 7^2 7^2 7^2$ with rhyme *mare: dana* (F). The spelling *maire* in T for the Latin *mare* is a scribal error, perhaps influenced by the name *Maire* in §1. The *io*-stem nominative *dan(a)e* is restored, cf. *Dionis derb dáne*, 'Dionysius the sure, the bold' (*Fél* May 4). There is also alliteration between *Iessu* and *Aaron*. From the palaeographic viewpoint it is worth recording that

[63] Iacob T; Iacob, subplantor interpretator, 'Jacob signifies supplanter' Fmg. Strangely, Gaidoz (1881-3, 96, note 2) takes Isaac to be the father of the 12 rather than Jacob: 'C'est-à-dire Isaac, père de douze patriarches'.

[64] *Fél* 150.36.

the infixed pronoun *-n-* in *ronsnaid* in F is much lighter in tone than surrounding letters, but there is no suggestion of an attempted deletion.

2.6.2. *Snáidsium moisi degtuisech/ ronsnaid tria rubrum mare*. The *Th* editors emend *snáidsium* to *snáidsiunn,* against the evidence of the mss, perhaps influenced by the glossators' *ron-snáde sund* (T), 'may He protect us here' and *ron-snade sind* (F). Taking the following verb *ron-snáid* to be relative, they translate: 'May Moses the good leader protect us who protected us through the Red Sea'. If, however, one stays faithful to the *snáidsium* of the mss, the context becomes awkward, due to the switch from the singular to the plural. A possible interpretation is to treat these lines as two separate sentences: 'May Moses the good leader protect me. He protected us through the Red Sea'.[65] The early editors translate *ronsnáid* as 'who protected us', but a better translation might be 'escorted'.[66] One might have expected *ros-snáid,* i.e 'escorted them', but, with the first person plural, the poet seems to identify himself with the 'children of Israel'. By such association with the chosen race the supplicant can expect deliverance in the future as in the past. [67] The monosyllabic preposition *tria*, 'through', is 'fairly common in all periods outside the OIr Glosses'(DIL), and it is found in MIr texts such as *SR* 168, 1926, and 3128. Here it could be a scribal form for OIr *tre/tri*.

2.6.3. *Th* Text and Translation

Snáidsiunn Moysi degthoísech,	May Moses the good leader protect us,
ron-snáid tria Rubrum Mare;	who protected us through *Rubrum Mare*;
Iessu, Aarón, macc Amrai,	Joshua, Aaron Amre's son,[68]
Dauid in gille dáne.	David the bold lad.

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[65] For a discussion of the subjunctive form of *snáidid* see Breatnach 1977, 97.

[66] *Críth Gablach* offers the meaning in ancient law of 'giving safe conduct as far as the border of another tuath', cf. *fer midboth ... snádid a chomgrad tara thúaith fadesin.* 'He can escort a man of equal rank with himself as far as the border of his own tuath' (Binchy 1970, 1-2).

[67] The relationship with the Israelites seemed to have a particular resonance with the Irish. The covenant that the Israelites had with God was similar to the legal contract which clients (*céili*) had with their lord (*flaith*). For example, in the *Poems of Blathmac* §106 we read: *Cach feb tecommacht in rí/ do Iudib ara célsini,/ batar moíni do mogaib/ ro-coillset a cobfolaid*, 'Every advantage that the King had bestowed on the Jews in return for their clientship was "wealth to slaves"; they violated their counter-considerations' (Carney 1964, 37). The crucial word here is *célsine*. Note that Binchy, on linguistic grounds, regards the Blathmac stanza as a late interpolation (*Studia Hibernica* 16, 1976, 26-7). This does not invalidate its relevance to the subject.

[68] The father of Aaron is called Amram in the Vulgate (See Exodus 6:20).

§7

T	F
IOb cosna fochaidib	IOb cosna fochadib
sech na nemi ronsnada	sech na neme ronsnade
fathi fiadat ronanset	fathi fiadat ronainset
la secht m*acc*u mocaba	la sect maca mochaba

2.7.1 *Metrics*. The metre is again an uneven *rannaigecht bec*: $7^3 7^2 7^2 7^2$. The proper name *Iob* needs to be disyllabic, and it often takes this form, cf. *Fél*.[69] The rhyming scheme of *ronsnada: mocaba* in T is perfect only if the penultimate *-a* in *mocaba* is shown to be long, and if the medial consonant has neutral quality. That this is so is shown by the line in *Fél* Aug 1, *a féil macc Mochabae*, which guarantees a stress on the penultimate syllable of *Mochabae*.[70] In this stanza *Mocaba* is required to rhyme with *-snada* (see 2.7.3 below). Alliteration occurs between *fathi* and *fiadat, maccu* and *Mocaba.* Incidentally, the word *maca* in F has been inadvertently omitted by the scribe and appears in darker ink on the margin of line *d.*

2.7.2. *Iob cosna fochaidib/ sech na nemi ronsnada.* The *Th* II editors emend *cosna* to *cona* in the sense of 'with his', but do not mark lenition of the initial *f* as in the previous stanza. Perhaps the intent of the poet was *cosnaib fochaidib* but the final *-ib* was omitted before the homorganic *f.*[71] Footnote *d* (*Th* II 301) implies that only the T text has *cosna*, but the same form is perfectly clear in F. The neuter *n*-stem *neim*, 'poison', has nominative plural *neimi* like a masculine or feminine *i*-stem (Sg 139b6), and this is identical with the accusative plural. The noun *neim* can be translated figuratively as 'bane' or 'evil power', cf. (of Balor's eye): *ess de boi inn nem sin fuirri*, 'it had that poisonous power for this reason'.[72] Ó Dochartaigh takes *nemi* to be the accusative plural of *nem*, 'heaven'.[73] This translation would have Job escorting us past the heavens, presumably en route to the abode of God. However, I could not find any attestation of *nemi* meaning 'heavens', nor any Biblical connection between Job and the heavens.

2.7.3. *ronsnada.* The 3s *a*-subjunctive of *snáidid* is used frequently in *Fél*, and appears as *ron-snáda* in entries for Feb 23, Mar 13, 14, May 10, 28, Jul 14, Sep 20,

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[69] *amal sóersai Iób/ de fochidib demnae*, 'as Thou savest Job from the devil's tribulations' (Ep 518-9).

[70] The metrics in *Fél* requires a disyllabic foot at the end of each line (Stokes 1905, *xxxix*).

[71] The word *cosna* represents a rare form of the dative plural of the definite article (GOI §468).

[72] RC 12, 100 §133.

[73] Ó Dochartaigh 1995, 69. The DIL authors point out that in Middle Irish the plural, *nime,* is often used in reference to the seven heavens supposed to encompass the earth.

Oct 19 and Dec 17, in all cases exhibiting neutral quality in the medial consonant.[74] In particular, *Fél* Sep 20 guarantees *ron-snáda* through rhyme with *ndála*. The version in F, *ron-snade,* is also contextually possible as a 2s subjunctive ('may you escort us'), but a palatal *d* would negate rhyme with the *Mocaba* of the mss. Alternatively, F may reflect the palatal 3s subjunctive *snáidea*, at a period when the *-ea* ending fell together with *-e*, but again rhyme would not be possible due to quality of the medial consonants. On that basis, *-snada* would be a better reading. McCone argues that *-snada* is the older form,[75] and this verbal form is discussed in 4.4.5 (Section 4).

2.7.4. *fathi fiadat ronanset/ la secht maccu mocaba.* The OIr augmented 3p s-subjunctive of *aingid*, 'protects', with a 1p infixed pronoun is *ron-ainset*, as in F, although *Th* follows the variant form in T. Concerning the variant spellings *Mocaba*, *Mochaba,* it is probably inappropriate to apply strict Irish morphology to a foreign name like *Moc(h)aba*. There are different versions of the name in Irish texts. In *SR* 7460 the accusative plural is *Machabeorum*, apparently extracted from *Liber Machabeorum*.[76] In the *Poems of Blathmac* the genitive is written as *Machabea*, but Carney comments that *Machabae* (for *Machabaei*) should be read for *Machabea.*[77] Although the *Th* editors translate the name in this hymn as 'Maccabee', and Atkinson as 'Machabaeus', the composer may well have had in mind Machaba, the mother of the seven, who appears in *The Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac*.[78]

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[74] The *Fél* mss provide variant forms. Rawlinson B. 505 has *ronsnada* in all the above citations, Laud 610 has *ronsnade*, Lebor Brecc has *ronsnaidea, ronsnaide* and *ronsnaide,* the Franciscan ms has *ronsnade* for Mar 13 and *ronsnadæ* for May 10, Brussels 5100-4 has *ronsnaidea* for Dec 17, Cheltenham has *ronsnaide* for Dec 17 and the RIA 23/P.3 has *ronsnade* for May 14. (See *Fél viii-xxiv*).

[75] McCone 1997b, 305-6.

[76] Knott 1952, 115.

[77] Carney (1964, 86 and 152) has the *deibide* couplet: *martrae secht mac Machabea/ ro-nert a mbé bóidgenae*, 'the martyrdom of the seven sons of Machabaeus whom their smiling mother fortified'.

[78] Atkinson 1887, 225 and 463: There is a reference here to this Biblical incident: *Is adamraigti trá co mór ⁊ is indraice o foraithmet máthair na macc-sa; fechtnach imorro noem máthair na macc-sa .i. Machába a hainm, uair cia itconnairc a secht maccu do marbad i n-oen lo in fiadnaise, ni ba bronach de, acht ba subach forbailid, ar do-shail mor fhocraicc d'fhagbail o'n choimdid aire,* translated by Atkinson as: 'Very wonderful and worthy of remembrance is the mother of these sons. Happy the holy mother, Machaba; for although she saw in one day her seven sons killed in her presence, she was not sorrowful thereat, but was joyful and glad-hearted, for she hoped that they would receive a great recompence from the Lord'.

2.7.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Iob cosna fochaidib;	May Job with his trials;
sech na neimi ron-snáde!	protect us past the poisons!
fáthi Fíadat ron-anset,	may God's prophets protect us,
la secht maccu Mocabe.	with Maccabee's seven sons.

§8

T	F
Eoin baptaist adsluinnem	IOhain babtaist adsluin*nem*
rop ditiu dun rop snadud	rop ditiu dún rop snadud
i*ess*u con apstalaib	Isu cona apstalaib
rop diar cobair fri gabu{d}	rop diar cobair f*ri* gabud

2.8.1 *Metrics*. The metre is another variant of *rannaigecht bec*: $7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme *snádud: gábud.* The final letter in T's line *d* is illegible in the ms but *gabud* is restored with confidence. The two forms of the same name, *Eoin* and *Iohain*, are disyllabic, but *diar* is a contracted form. There is alliteration between *ditiu* and *dún, Ísu* and *apstalaib*. *Th* restores the possessive pronoun *a* in T's line *c* to ensure correct syllabic count.

2.8.2. *Eoin baptaist adsluinnem*. Regarding the option of *Eoin* (T) against *Iohain* (F), the latter occurs in the Turin Glosses, *ol Iohain fri dia nathir*, 'saith John to God the Father', referring to the Baptist.[79] The genitive case, also *Iohain,* occurs a number of times in *Fél* (Jun 24, Aug 29, Sep 24 and Ep 479). The spelling *Eoin* (both cases in the genitive and both disyllabic) also occurs in *Fél*, but is applied to John the Apostle, *metropoil ind Eoin* (Aug 3), and *ráid cosecrad ṁbaslic / Eoin*, 'tell of the consecration of the basilica of John' (Nov 19). The form *Iohain Babtaist* appears in *SR* 7489, 7500 (disyllabic) versus *SR* 7458, 7476 (monosyllabic) , while *Iohain* (the apostle) occurs in 7587, 7662 (disyllabic). On the other hand *Eoin* appears only once in *SR* 7401 (disyllabic), and relates specifically to the apostle.[80] The name *Eoin* does not appear at all in the OIr Glosses and, accordingly, *Iohain* is retained. The 1p present indicative *ad-sluinnem* (from *ad-sluindi*, 'invokes') shows assimilation of *nd*

[79] *Th* I, 426; Tur 26.

[80] Knott 1952, 110; 115.

to *nn*, a feature which first becomes common in Ml, while Wb retains *nd* before vowels and in final position (GOI §151(c).

2.8.3. *Th* Text and Translation

Iohain Baptaist ad-sluinnem;	John the Baptist we invoke;
rop dítiu dún rop snádud;	may he be a shelter to us, may he be a protection;
Ísu cona apstalaib	may Jesus with His apostles
rop diar cobair fri gábud.	be a help to us against danger.

§9

T	F
Maire ioseph donringrat	Maire ioseph doringrat
⁊ spiritus stefani	oc*us* sp*iritus* stephani
as cach ing donf*or*slaice	as cach iṅg dorf*or*slaigset
taithmet anma ignati	taithmet anma ignatii

2.9.1. *Metrics*. The metre of this mixed Latin /Irish stanza is a loose *rannaigecht bec* $7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$,[81] but there are two problems. First, the Latin genitive *ignatii* in line *d* of F produces one syllable too many, and makes irregular rhyme with *stephani*. The stress in the Latin genitive, *Stephani*, falls on the second syllable, as guaranteed by metre in *Fél* Aug 3 and Dec 26, where in both stanzas it rhymes with *n-áni*. A shortened genitive *Ignati* appears in *Fél* Dec 20, again in rhyming position, where its metrical partner is *-ráidi*. This tendency to contract *ii* (synizesis) is not unknown in Hiberno-Latin texts.[82] The rhyming partners of these Latin names in *Fél* indicate palatal quality in their final consonants, thereby ensuring perfect rhyme.[83] Another potential difficulty arises with the conjunction *ocus* in line *b* of F, which generates one syllable too many. The *Th* editors neatly avoid the problem by inserting the Latin *et* for the symbol ⁊, a format well attested in the OIr Glosses.[84] In OIr metrics there would not be alliteration between *spiritus* and *Stefani, anma(e)* and *Ignati,* since the stress on the

[81] In Latin words the syllable count of the foot starts from the position of the Latin stress.

[82] Bieler and Carney 1972, 4.

[83] Alternatively, the regular form *-rádai* would suggest a non-palatal medial consonant in *Ignati* but, by the same token, *ánae* might be read for *áine*, indicating a non-palatal medial consonant in *Stephani*. See Vendr Lex A-72, *án*.

[84] See Wb 7b4, 13d1, 19d11, 20c6, 27c15. There are also nine examples in Wb of the contraction ⁊ representing the conjunction *ocus,* but *et* is an appropriate form for a line in Latin.

two Latin names is normally on the second syllable, but perhaps this feature would be acceptable in Latin metrics where the stress is less accentuated in pronunciation.

2.9.2. *Maire ioseph donringrat*. The verbal form *don-ringrat* is the 3p augmented present subjunctive of *do-ingair* (with a 1p infixed pronoun), and the *Th* editors translate the line as 'may Mary and Joseph herd us', probably influenced by *in-gair*, which carries this semantic sense. Atkinson has the more socially acceptable 'watch over', and the DIL editors prefer the simple 'guard' or 'protect'. The infixed pronoun *n* is missing in F, probably due to a scribal error. There is, however, a case for reading F as a coherent independent version of the stanza, as discussed below. The interesting gloss on *Maire* was discussed in Section 1.

2.9.3. *as cach ing donforslaice / taithmet anma ignati.* The verbal form *don-forslaice* in T is the 3s augmented present subjunctive of *do-fúasailci*, allowing the translation: 'may commemoration of the name of Ignatius deliver us from every strait'. The reading in F, however, is substantially different. If the initial *dor-* is emended to *don-*, *donforslaigset* could be taken as a 3p perfect form of the same verb as in T. The only attested perfect form is in Ml 125a9: *dun-forsailc hi soiri iarum* 'He has delivered us unto freedom afterwards'. The plural form does not make sense with *taithmet* as the subject, nor does F's gloss support the plural.[85] It should be noted that a similar divergence between mss occurs in §16, where F again employs a plural perfect form beside T's contextually correct 3s subjunctive. Such awkward readings devalue the accuracy of F's scribe, and on balance T is preferred.

2.9.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Maire Ioseph don-ringrat,	May Mary and Joseph herd us,
et spiritus Stefani;	and the spirit of Stephen;.
as cach ing don-forslaice	from every strait may commemoration
taithmet anmae Ignati.	of the name of Ignatius deliver us.

§10

T	F
Cech martir cech dithrubach	Cach martir cach dibtrobach
cec*h* noeb robai hiṅgenmnai	cech noeb roboi i genmna
rop sciat*h* dun diar nimdegail	rob sciath dun diar nimdegail
rop saiget huan f*ri* demnai	rop saiget uai*n* f*ri* demna

[85] The associated glosses are*:* *ronfuaslice* (T) and *ronfuaslaige* (F), 'may it release us'.

2.10.1 *Metrics*. The metre here is $7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme between *ṅgenmnai* and *demnai* (*genmna*: *demn*a in F).[86] There is no other ornamentation.

2.10.2. *Cech martir cech dithrubach/ cech noeb robai hi ṅgenmnai.* The noun *díthrubach*, 'hermit', is derived from *díthrub* (*dí* + *treb*), an unoccupied place or desert, *treb* meaning 'house, tribe, stock'. The augmented preterite *robói* is here a genuine 3s perfect, 'has been', rather than a narrative preterite. T retains (or happily coincides with) the correct OIr dative of *iā*-stem *genmnae*, 'chastity'.

2.10.3. *rop sciath dun diar nimdegail/ rop saiget huan fri demnai.* The form *húain* in F is the more common 1p suffixed preposition in OIr, but *húan* exists alongside it in Wb 4d9 with: *nítaidirsed nech huann.* In addition a conservative version *ón-ni,* a relic from the period before diphthongisation, appears in Wb 4b19. *Th* retains the earlier form *húan.* Concerning the rhyming partner, *demnai*, GOI §925 comments that the Latin loan-word *demon* is inflected as an *o*-stem, modelled after the Irish *domun.* However, it sometimes models its plural on Latin *daemonia* with accusative plural *demnai*, like a neuter substantival adjective (GOI §280). This flexion is attested in *Fél* Ep 152: *is múr trén cen dolmai/ fri dóini, fri demnai* ''Tis a strong rampart without slowness, against men, against devils'.

2.10.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Cech martir cech díthrubach,	May every martyr, every hermit,
cech nóeb roboí hi ṅgenmnai,	every saint that has been in chastity,
rop scíath dún diar n-imdegail,	be a shield to us for our protection,
rop saiget húan fri demnai.	be a dart from us against devils!

§11

T	F
Regem regum rogamus	Rege*m* regum rogam*us*
in nostris sermonibus	in no*s*tris sermonib*us*
anacht noe a luchtlach	anacht noe a luctluct
diluui temporibus	diluuii temporib*us*

2.11.1 *Metrics*. The metre is *fordúan*, $7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$, with rhyme between Latin *sermonibus* and *temporibus. Regem* alliterates with *regum*, but *rogamus*, with its stress is on the

[86] This is classified in *EIM* as *aí fhreisligi* or *cró cummaisc etir rannaigecht mbic ocus casbairdni* (Murphy 1961,62-3).

second syllable, cannot complete an alliterative line, assuming Irish metrical rules apply here. The genitive *dïluuii* in F has four syllables, but T's late Latin synizesis is followed. The use of the 3s preterite *anacht* in place of the special relative form *anachte* is discussed below. To restore *anachte* would require elision between disyllabic *Nóe* and *a*,[87] but this option is disregarded, as a similar approach could not be repeated for a possible *anachte* in §15.

2.11.2. *anacht noe a luchtlach.* The *Th* editors believe that the most striking departure from Old Irish usage is the use of *anacht* (§§11 and 15) for the relative *anachte*.[88] The reading of a relative construction here is supported by both glossators (*in rí roanacht*, 'the king who saved'). There are no attestations of the special relative preterite *anachte*. Perhaps *anacht* always doubled as a 3s preterite relative form. Alternatively, one could read the line as a stand-alone sentence where the non-relative form would be appropriate. This approach is, however, devalued somewhat by the appearance of *anacht* in §15 in a more convincing relative construction. The *Th* and *LH* editors follow T with *luchtlach*, translating this word as 'crew'. DIL defines *luchtlach* as 'load, cargo of ship'. The case for reading 'crew' is based on *luchtlach lán cech laithi/ i llígflatha lestur*, 'the full crew of each day, in the vessel of the beautiful reign'.[89] Perhaps the term 'complement' would better embrace the notion of crew plus cargo of livestock. The phrase *a luchtlach* here functions as a dative of apposition (GOI § 251.2).[90]

2.11.3. *Th* Text

Regem regum rogamus	We call on the king of kings
in nostris sermonibus,	in our pronouncements,
anacht Nóe a luchtlach	who protected Noah with his crew
diluui temporibus.	in the times of the flood.

§12

T	F
Melchisedech rex salem	Melchisedech rex sale*m*
incerto de semine	incerto de semine

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[87] Metrics confirm the name *Nóë* to be disyllabic in *Fél* Ep 337 and 451.

[88] *Th* II xxxvii.

[89] *Fél* Ep 21.

[90] The *Th* II editors (302, note *i*) relate the construction to an example in *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie* I.6 (Stokes and Meyer, 1898-1907).

ronsoerat a airnigthe	ronsoerat a ernigthe
ab omni formidine	ab omni fo*r*midine

2.12.1 *Metrics*.The metre is a loose *fordúan*: $7^{2}7^{3}7^{3}7^{3}$, with irregular rhyme between the Latin *semine* and *-midine*, since the stress falls on the ante-penultimate syllable of these Latin words. However, see §18 where Latin *digno* rhymes with *regno*. There is no other ornamentation in this quatrain.

2.12.2. *Melchisedech rex salem/ incerto de semine*. These lines are not translated by *Th*, but seem to refer to certain passages in St Paul's Letter to the Hebrews (7:1-3): 'Hic enim Melchisedech rex Salem, sacerdos Dei summi, qui obviavit Abrahae regresso a caede regum et benedixit ei. Cui decimas omnium divisit Abraham: primum quidem qui interpretatur rex iustitiae: deinde autem et rex Salem, quod est rex pacis: Sine patre, sine matre, sine genealogia, neque initium dierum neque finem vitae, habens adsimilatus autem Filio Dei manet sacerdos in perpetuum' (Vulgate). 'For this Melchisedech was king of Salem, priest of the most high God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings and blessed him; to whom also Abraham divided the tithes of all: who first indeed by interpretation is king of justice: and then also king of Salem, that is, king of peace. Without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but likened unto the Son of God, continueth a priest for ever'. *(Douay-Rheims)*

2.12.3. *ronsoerat a airnigthe.* The composer of the poem must be fond of this particular verbal form as this is its third appearance in the hymn (see §§3 and 5). The noun *airnigthe* ('prayer') has a variety of spellings in the literature, *irnigde, irnaigde, irnichthe* being favoured in Wb, while Ml has *ernaigde, ernigde*, and *Fél* Ep 188 has *ernaigthe*.[91] In §5 the *Th* editors followed the mss with the plural *ernaigthi*, but here they follow T.

2.12.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Melchisedech rex Salem,	Melchisedech, the king of Salem
incerto de semine;	of uncertain lineage;
ron-sóerat a airnaigthi	may his prayers deliver us
ab omni formidine.	from all terror.

[91] The confusion between initial *air-*, *aur-*, *er-* and *ir-* is treated by Thurneysen in GOI §823.

§13

T	F
Soter soeras loth di thein	Sot*er* soeras loth di thein
qui per s*æcu*la habet*ur*	q*ui* p*er* secula habetur
ut nos omnes precamur	*ut* nos om*ne*s p*re*camur
liberare dignetur	liberare dignetur

2.13.1. *Metrics*. The metre is another loose *rannaigecht bec* variation, $7^{1}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$, with regular rhyme *habetur: dignetur.* There appears to be one syllable too many in line *b.* However, the form *sæcla* is permitted in mediaeval Latin.[92] There is also alliteration between *Soter* and *sóeras*.

2.13.2. *Soter soeras loth di thein.* The unusual word *soter* is simply a transcription of a Greek word, *σωτήρ*, meaning 'saviour'. The word Soter is judiciously inserted by the *Th* editors into T's confusing gloss: : *.i. ebreice Iesus grece saluator latine*, i.e. Hebrew Iesus, in Greek [Soter], 'salvator' in Latin. The line in the hymn refers to an OT incident, where Lot is saved from fire.[93] The 3s special relative preterite form *sóeras* is glossed *rosoerastar,* 'that delivered'. One might have expected the OIr dative *tenid* here, or the short form *ten* as in Ml 31d4.[94]

2.13.3. *Th* Text and Translation

Soter sóeras Lóth di thein	The Saviour who delivered Lot from fire
qui per sæcla habetur;	(and) who is esteemed throughout the ages;
ut nos omnes precamur	we pray that He may
liberare dignetur.	deign to deliver us all.

Note: *Th* does not translate the three lines in Latin, nor do they attract any glosses.

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[92] Väänänen (1981, 42) points out: '*C'est une syncope apparente que le cas des dérivés en -c(u)lum issu de *-tlom et en -b(u)l- de *-dhl-, où une voyelle épenthétique a été insértée dans ces suffixes après coup: perīc(u)lum, pōc(u)lum, saec(u)lum ....'.*

[93] Genesis 19:15: 'And when it was morning, the angels pressed him, saying: "Arise, take thy wife and the two daughters that thou hast: lest thou also perish in the wickedness of the city"'.
Genesis 19:24-25: 'And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven. And he destroyed these cities, and all the country about, all the inhabitants of the cities, and all things that spring from the earth.'

[94] GOI §323.3 comments that for *ten* in Ml 31d4 we should 'read *tein* as in later examples'. Further, 'it is doubtful if dat. *tein* is a short form from the stem *teneth-,* for in the language of poetry at least there is a noun *ten*, which occurs in composition: *ten-lach*, 'hearth' (beside *tene-folt*, 'fire-hair')'.

§14

T	F
Abram de ur na galdai	Abraam de ur na calda
snaidsiunn ruri ronsnada	snaidsiu*m* ruri ronsnada
soersum soeras in popul	soersu*m* soérais in popul
limpa fontis in gaba	limpha fontis i*n* gaba

2.14.1 *Metrics*.The metre returns to regular *rannaigecht bec*: $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with regular rhyme *-snada: Gaba.* The *Th* editors, however, change the rhyming pair unnecessarily to *-snádai: Gábai.* Their rationale seems to be as follows: first, they assume that the place-name *Gába* is inflected as a feminine *iā*-stem with dative *Gábai.* To achieve rhyme they change *-snada* to a supposedly 3s preterite flexion *-snádai.* There is alliteration between *Abram* and *Ur*, *soersum* and *soeras/ soérais.*

2.14.2. *Abram de ur na galdai.* The relationship between the three names, Abram, Abraam and Abraham, is explained by Jerome in *Hebr Quaes.*[95] The *Th* II editors did not see the form *Abraam* in F, but it is noted by Atkinson in *LH* II, 28. The glossator in F seems to misunderstand the particular significance of the name Abraam, and takes it to be the Hebrew accusative of *Abram* (*.i.* acus*atiuus* híc). This interpretation may have have encouraged the *Th* editors to drop the infixed 1p pronoun in *ron-snáda* in order to read *Abram* as the object of the verb (*Abram ... ro-snadai*, 'who protected Abraham'). The phrase *de ur na galdai/calda* is translated in *LH* II as the Biblical place-name, 'from Ur of the Chaldees'. However, the word *ur* in Hebrew means 'fire', which leads the *Th* editors to translate 'from the fire of the Chaldees'. They refer to *Codex Juvenci* where *úr* is glossed with Latin *ignis*.[96] This translation seems to be based on a tradition that was widespread during the Middle Ages, particularly in

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[95] The name *Abraam* first appears in Genesis 17:5: "Neither from now on shall your name be called Abram, but your name shall be Abraam, because I have made you a father of many nations". Jerome comments: 'Now the Hebrews say that God added the letters *he* from His own Name, which among ourselves is written with four letters, to the names of Abraam and Sarah. ... for the characteristic of that language is to actually write the letter *he*, but to read it as the letter A.' (*Hebr Quaes* ed. Hayward 1995, 49). For *Abraam* read Abrām, as written in the Hebrew original, *LXX*, Vulgate and modern translations.

[96] Stokes (*Th* II 44) in footnote *h* suggests *úr* is derived from the Greek *πῦρ*, or borrowed from the Hebrew *aur* 'light', or *ur* '*incendium*' (Corp. Gloss. Lat. vii. 383).

the east.[97] The *Th* reading of 'fire' rather than the placename Ur is probably based on what the editors believed was in the mind of the composer. The spelling *galdai* in F incorporates a phonetic nasalisation of *Calda*, which *Th* restores to the OIr genitive plural *Caldae*, cf. *amail sóersai Abram/ de lámaib na Caldae*, 'as Thou savedst Abram from the hands of the Chaldeans' (*Fél* Ep 455).

2.14.3. *snaidsiunn ruri ronsnada/ soersum soeras in popul*. Combining the lines *a* and *b*, Atkinson in *LH* II is faithful to T with 'Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees, may the king protect us, may He protect us'. (F's variant would read: '... may the king protect me....'). The *Th* editors take a radically different approach. They first emend *ronsnada* to *ro-snádai* which they read as a narrative preterite,[98] offering the translation: 'May the prince who protected Abraham from the fire of the Chaldees', but omit a translation of *snaidsiunn*, 'may he protect us'.The *Th* II reading also entails changing *soersum* in line *c* to *sóersunn*. In this, Stokes/Strachan may have been influenced by the glossator's *ronsoera sinn* (T), *ronsoerad sin* (F) 'may He free us'. In *LH* II Atkinson stays faithful to the T text with 'may He free me'. The form *-snáda* in the mss as the 3s present subjunctive of *snáidid* is supported in *Fél*, particularly *ron-snáda* (Sep 20), which is guaranteed by rhyme with *dála*.[99] The 3s special relative preterite *sóeras* in T makes better sense than F's non-relative *sóerais*. The subjunctive forms of the verbs *snáidid* and *sóeraid* are discussed in Section 4.

2.14.4. *limpa fontis i nGaba*. Concerning the place-name Gaba, Knott lists the proper name *Gabaa*, rhyming with *Algaba* in *SR* 5194.[100] This is the spelling used by Jerome in the Vulgate. The name confused the glossators who offered a number of suggestions, including *gábud*, 'danger'. A lengthy scholion in F's margin offers three different explanations for Gaba.

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[97] According to Bernard (*LH* II, 119), the Syrian church celebrated Abraham's escape from the furnace of Nimrod every January 25. The same legend emerges in the *Koran* xxi, 52-75 (ed. Dawood 1956, 294). A trace is also to be found in the Vulgate Bible, *Neh* 9:7: *Tu ipse domine deus qui elegisti Abram et eduxisti eum de igne Chaldaeorum*, 'Thou O Lord art He who chosest Abram, and broughtest him forth out of the Fire of the Chadeans, and gavest him the name of Abraham'.

[98] The augmented preterite appears in §6 of this hymn as *ronsnáid*, but *-snáidi* is a permissible variant.

[99] It is also possible to take *ron-* as an original scribal error occasioned by the presence of *ron-snáid* at the end of the line. Also *sóersum* in both mss could be the same mistake which produced *snáidsium* in F. On balance, it may be better to remain faithful to the mss, despite the pleonastic reading.

[100] Knott, 1952, 111.

2.14.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Abram de úr na Caldae	May the prince, who protected Abraham
snáidsiunn ruiri ron-snádai,	from the fire of the Chaldees, [protect us]
sóersunn, sóeras in popul	may He deliver us, who delivered the people
limpha fontis i nGábai.	with spring water in Gabaa.

§15

T	F
Ruri anacht tri maccu	Ruri anacht tri m*a*ccu
a surnn tened co ruadi	a surnd tened corrodi
ronnain amal roanacht	ronnain am*al* roanacht
d*aui*d de manu golai	d*aui*d de manu gólai

2.15.1 *Metrics*.The format is again *rannaigecht bec* $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with rhyme *ruadi: golai* in T, and *rodi: gólai* in F. The proper name *Góla* takes the genitive *Gólai*, usually with a short *o*.[101] However, the rhyme *trógi: Góli* is found in *Fél* Ep 481-4. The *d* in *ródi* is regularly palatal (cf. *co rūaide nō derge*, CormY 712), but neutral quality *ród(a)i* is required for rhyme here. There is alliteration between *-ain* and *-anacht.*

2.15.2. *Ruri anacht tri maccu/ a surnn tened co rrodi.* The 3s preterite verb *anacht,* discussed earlier in §11, arises again. The context here would support relative construction, although T's gloss is neutral: *roangestar*, i.e. 'he (or who) protected'. One would expect the special relative form *anachte,* thereby producing one syllable too many, without the possibility of elision. Nonetheless, the evidence of both mss indicates that *anacht* is the original form. *Th* reads *anacht* as a late relative form. It is, of course, possible to treat lines *a* and *b* as one noun-initial stand-alone sentence: 'The great King saved three children/ from a red furnace of fire', but the relative reading is better contextually. The phrase *surnd tened* is a familiar one in literature, cf. *trésna surnu tened* (*Fél* Pro 44), *rodoaser is tsurnn tened* (*SR* 7392) and *imman sornd tened* (*LU* 2503). The context of these lines is outlined in a lengthy scholion in F's margin, based on Daniel 3.

2.15.3. *ronnain amal roanacht.* Usually modal relative clauses following the conjunction *amal* are marked by initial nasalisation of the verb, and the *Th* editors

[101] *ibid.* 112. Knott says rhymes are doubtful in most cases, but lists rhyme *Gólai:glōriae* (*SR* 6643).

accordingly suggest reading *ro-n-anacht*.[102] However, GOI §505 comments that a formally independent clause can follow a conjunction like *amal*.[103] This line features another two forms of the verb *aingid*, 'protects', the 3s optative subjunctive *ro-ain*, and the 3s perfect *ro-anacht*.

2.15.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ruri anacht tri maccu	The Prince who protected three children
a surnn teined co rródi;	out of the fiery furnace with redness;
ronn-ain amal ro-anacht	may He protect us as He saved
Dauid de manu Golai.	David from the hand of Goliath.

§16

T	F
Flaithem nime locharnaig	Flathe*m* nime lócharnaig
ardonroigse diar trogi	ardondrósgset diar trógi
nat leic suum profetam	nad leic su*um* p*ro*phetam
ulli leonum ori	ulli leonum ori

2.16.1 *Metrics*. The metre changes again to a loose form of *rannaigecht bec*, $7^3 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with regular rhyme between *trógi* and Latin *ori.* There is no alliteration in this stanza. This is a nicely crafted quatrain with Latin words and phrases seamlessly integrated into an Irish poem.

2.16.2. *Flaithem nime locharnaig/ ardonroigse diar trogi*. The adjective *lócharnach* is derived from the noun *lócharn(n),* 'lamp, lantern' borrowed from the Latin *lucerna*, and is well attested in *Fél* and Sg 24a16. Here the *Th* editors translate the phrase as 'Lord of resplendent heaven', while Atkinson settles for the more prosaic 'Ruler of lamplit heaven'. The verb *ar-cessi* ('pities'), when followed by the preposition *di*, means 'has compassion on'.[104] Here T's *ar-roigse* (OIr *ar-roichsea*) is a 3s augmented present subjunctive. This verbal form is glossed *.i. ar-roairchise*, 'may He pity'. The *Th* editors translate the line 'may .the Lord .... have compassion on our wretchedness'. This reading, however, appears not take account of the 1p infixed pronoun *-don-*. One

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[102] *Th* II, 303, note *g*.

[103] Ó hUiginn (1986, 48) shows that 81% of non-copula clauses following *ama(i)l* mark nasalision.

[104] The perfect form is attested in Ml 61a 9: *air ar-rocheis-side di bochtai chaich*, 'for he had compassion on the poverty of all'. The 3s subjunctive is attested in Wb 5b35: *nád n-airchissa*, 'that he spare not'.

might have expected a class A pronoun, *-aran-* or *arin* as described in GOI § 411, but class B is also found with this verb, for example the 3p infixed pronoun *-ta-* in BDD 883.[105] The infixed pronoun in the verbal form *ar-don-roigse*, however, is best read as a 1p class C, even though the construction is not relative. Such confusion can be a feature of later texts (GOI §506). The transitive form of the verb is also found in Wb 5b35: *coní ecmi nád n-airchissa act is co archessea*, 'it may not happen that He spare not, but it is that He may spare'. On that basis a better translation may be 'may the Lord .... pity us for our wretchness'.The form in F, *ar-dond-rósgset,* whch looks like a corrupt 3p perfect is best ignored. . It will be recalled that a similar confusion in number occurred in §9, where F employed the plural rather than the expected singular subjunctive..

2.16.3. *nat leic suum profetam/ ulli leonum ori.* As is normal practice *Th* does not translate the Latin words, but the lines clearly refer to the prophet Daniel.[106]

2.16.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Flaithem nime lócharnaig	May the Lord of resplendent Heaven
ar-don-roigse diar trógi,	pity us for our wretchedness,
nád léic suum prophetam	(He) who did not leave His own prophet
ulli leonum ori.	to any mouth of the lions.

§17

T	F
Amal foedes in aingel	Am*al* faides in naiṅgel
tarslaic petrum a slabreid	tarslaic petru*m* a slabreid
doroit*er* dun diar f*or*tacht	dorroiter dún diar f*or*tact
rop reid remunn cech na*m*reid	rop reid re*moi*n*d* cech na*m*reid

2.17.1. *Metrics*. The metre changes again to *rannaigecht bec*, $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with rhyme *slabreid: n-amreid.* As discussed below there is clear evidence to justify emending the rhyming pair to *slabraid: n-amraid.* Alliteration occurs between *réid* and *remunn.*

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[105] *Nach duine isin tig ar-ta-ceisi guth ⁊ gním ⁊ bréithir*, 'Every one in the house spares them by voice and deed and word.'

[106] Glossed : .i. Danielem, qui bis in Babylonia traditus est leonibus et fuit cum eis in lacu leonum per ebdomadem plenam sine eibo, 'Daniel who was twice in Babylon given to the lions and was with them in the lions' den throughout a whole week without food'.

2.17.2. *Amal foedes in aingel/ tarslaic petrum a slabreid.*The earlier stem of the special relative form, */oides/faides* (3s special relative preterite, 'who sent'), is */oíd-*, attested in Wb, Sg, and *SR*, compared with */aíd-* which occurs in Sg and *SR*, alongside */oíd-*. The object of the verb */oídes* is *aingel*, and F shows the correct accusative nasalisation. The verb *tarslaic* (*.i. rotuaslaic* F) is the 3s perfect of *do-fúasailci (*to-fo-uss-léic-)*, a prototonic form heading a relative clause with subject antecedent.[107] *Th* translates the augmented form here as a preterite, but a pluperfect would suit the context just as well. The object of the verb is Peter, and both mss employ the Latin accusative *Petrum* rather than the OIr equivalent *Petar* which can be nominative or accusative, as attested in *Fél* and *SR*. *Petrum* is possibly used to avoid confusion of subject and object. Atkinson in *LH* II translates *a slabreid* as 'with his chain', assuming that *slabreid* operates as an independent dative (GOI §251), and taking *a* to be the possessive adjective rather than the preposition. The *Th* editors prefer the prepositional approach.

2.17.3. *slabreid.* Both mss have an unlikely dative form *slabreid*, which looks like a scribal modification of the correct dative *slabraid*, as attested in *i sslabrid* (Wb 23a2). This view is reinforced by a scrutiny of the F ms where the letters *ei* in the word *slabreid* are much darker than the others, indicating it was probably entered at a later date. It is not possible, however, to reach a similar judgement for the T text, as the manuscript is barely legible in this section due to darkening. The question arises as to why a perfectly good dative was altered in this way. It is likely that it was changed to provide optical rhyme with *n-amreid*. There is evidence that the original word was *n-amraid* as evidenced by rhyme with *Labraid.*[108] The final line of the stanza *rop réid remunn cech n amreid* is echoed in a poem appearing in the ninth century Codex Bernensis 363: *cach óin dod-géna samlid/ bid reid riam cach n-amreid*, 'whoever shall do thus, every rough will be smooth before him'.[109] Discussing these lines, Ó Cuív restores the older form *n-amraid* to rhyme with *samlid*, and expresses surprise that a ninth-century scribe should ignore the historical form, particularly when it was needed for rhyme.[110] The DIL editors comment that *amraid* was the earlier form of the

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[107] See McCone 1997, 139 and 142. This verbal form is discussed in Section 4.

[108] Alt. Ir. Dich.41, §34: *Ailill Abratchāin, aurgail ūais amraid/ Ūgaine, Eochu ān, Ailill, Lorce, Labraid.*

[109] *Th* II 235.16.

[110] Ó Cuív 1986, 111-2.

word before it came under the influence of *réid.*[111] It is not possible to say whether the poem in Codex Bernensis 363, which may be old, is earlier or later than our hymn. The *Th* reading is presented here but the original forms *slabraid* and *n-amraid* should be restored in any future edition. It is not possible to comment on dating implications since the analogical change from *amraid* to *amreid* since both forms can coexist..

2.17.4. *doroiter dun diar fortacht/ rop reid remunn cech namreid.* The verbal form *do-roíter* portrays the optative sense of the present subjunctive passive of *do-foídi* augmented with *ro-*, 'may he be sent'. The dative *fortacht* is the verbal noun of *for-tét*, 'helps'. The *Th* editors follow T with a MIr conjugated pronoun *rémunn* rather than restoring OIr *reunn* (disyllabic).

2.17.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Amal foídes in n-aingel	As He sent the angel
tarslaic Petrum a slabreid,	that loosed Peter from the chain,
do-roíter dún díar fortacht,	may He be sent to us for our aid;
rop réid reunn cech n-amreid.	may every unsmooth be smooth before us.

§18

T	F
Diar fiadat rontolomar	Diar fiadat rontolomar
nostro opere digno	nostro opere digno
robem occa i mbibethaid	robbem occai i mbethbethaid
in paradisi regno	in paradisi regno

2.18.1 *Metrics.* The metre $7^3 7^2 7^3 7^2$, is classified by Murphy in *EIM* [112] but there is a question mark concerning the rhyming of the Latin words *digno* and *regno*. In Irish metrics such rhyme would be regarded only as consonance, but it may well be acceptable in late Latin.[113] As it stands, both mss have one syllable too many in line *c*, and elision is accordingly required between *occa(i)* and *i*.[114] There is no other ornamentation in this stanza.

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[111] cf. *samlaid*, ZCP vii 268 §2.

[112] Murphy 1961, 62 : *aí fhreisligi* or *cró cummaisc etir rannaigecht mbic ocus casbairdni.*

[113] Väänänen (1981, 30) points out that the Latin *dignus* becomes *degno* in Italian, reflecting the sound change in the short *-i-* vowel in late Latin. It is likely therefore that perfect rhyme would occur here with *digno: regno*, since this hymn is derived from a Latin original.

[114] This particular elision is actually pointed out in *EIM* (Murphy 1961, 39).

2.18.2. *Díar fiadat ron-tolomar*. The verbal form is the augmented 1p present subjunctive of *tolnaithir*, later *tolaid*, 'makes pleasing'.[115] We would expect the form *-tolnomar* here. GOI §153 (e) describes how *-ln-* arising from syncope is retained in Wb and Sg, but in Ml transition to *-ll-* has begun, cf. *comallaid* (ms *commallaid*) for *comalnaid* in Ml 106a2). The spelling in the mss is probably derived from the assimilated form *-tollomar*. Retaining *-tollomar* would suggest a ninth century date of composition.

2.18.3. *robem occai i mbibethaid.* The 3s suffixed pronoun, *occai*, in F reflects the MIr confusion of final vowels, and T's *occa* is preferred. Concerning T's *bibethaid,* it appears that T's scribe inadvertently omitted the first *th* in *bithbethaid* through haplography. The version *bethbethaid* in F seems like another scribal error, occasioned by the second *-beth-* in the compound. Interestingly, the composer employs the long dative *bithbethaid* beside the short form *bithbethu* seen in the late supplementary stanza §22.

2.18.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Díar Fíadait ron-tollomar	May we please our Lord
nostro opere digno!	with our worthy work!
robem occa i mbithbethaid	may we be with Him in eternal life
in paradisi regno!	in the kingdom of heaven!

§19

T	F
Amal soeras ionas faith	Am*al* soéras ionas faith
a bru mil moir monar ṅgle	a bru mil moir monor gle
snaidsiunn degri tomtach tren.	snaidsium degrig tomthach tren
sen de donfe f*ordonte*.	sen dé don*fe* f*ordon*te

2.19.1 *Metrics*. The metre changes to *rannaigecht mór*: $7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$, with perfect rhyme *glé: -té.* There is more than usual ornamentation with alliteration occurring in *mil moir monar,* and *tomtach tren,* as well as *aicill*-rhyme between *trén* and *sén.* The last line of the stanza is a repeat of the first line of the hymn, indicating a particular *dúnad* or closure, known as *saigid.*

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[115] Glossed *.i. ro-tholtnagem*, 'may we please'.

2.19.2. *Amal soeras ionas faith/ a bru míl moir monor ṅgle.* The special relative 3s preterite form *sóeras* is used for the third time in the hymn,[116] cf. §§13 and 14. The T text preserves the nasalisation on *ṅglé* following the neuter *monar*, but this is common in chevilles even as late as *SR* 6519.

2.19.3. *snaidsiunn degri tomtach tren.* The mss diverge once more on the forms *snáidsiunn* (T) and *snáidsium* (F). Here the sense favours the plural suffix, since line *d* refers to 'us' rather than a first person singular supplication. Since *snáidsium* appears in F's §§6 and 14, as well as T's §6, we must face the possibility that *snáidsium* is a scribal error, largely confined to F, and caused by the palaeographic similarity of *nn* and *m*. The adjective *tomthach* is derived from *tomad*, the verbal noun of *do-maith*, 'threatens'. This verb has another possible meaning 'forgives' through association with *maithid*. The latter meaning could render an adjectival sense of 'forgiving', which is more in tune with modern concepts of deity. However, the latter meaning is unattested, and it would be safer to stay with the original 'threatening, ominous'.

2.19.4 *Th* Text and Translation

Amal sóeras Ionas fáith,	As He freed Jonah, the prophet,
a brú míl móir monor ṅglé,	from the belly of a great whale, a magnificent deed,
snáidsiunn degrí tomthach trén;	may the good king, ominous, mighty, protect us;
sén Dé don-fé, for-don-té!	may God's blessing lead us, help us!

§20

T	F
Rofir a fiada rofir	Rofir a fiado rofir
roerthar in guidise	rafirthar in guidi seo
robet maccan flatha de	robet m*a*ccan flatha dé
hi timchuairt na sculese	hi timchuairt na scuili seo

2.20.1. *Metrics.*The metre is $7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$ [117] with perfect rhyme in F with *guidi-seo: scuili-seo*, although the correct OIr spelling would be *guide-seo: scuile-seo*. Restoration of *guide-se* in T would also provide the required rhyme with *scuile-se*.[118] There is no

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[116] The present subjunctive *ron-sóerat* is employed three times (§§3, 5, 12) and *sóersum* (§14) once. This is more than matched by ten forms of this verb in the equivalent passages in the *Fél* Epilogue.

[117] Classified as *cummaisc rannaigechta móire ocus casbairdne* or *dían airsheng.*

[118] The optical rhyming is not mandatory, but seems to have been created by the scribes, sometimes at the expense of grammar. See discussion on *slabreid: amreid* in §17.

other ornamentation, the vocative *fiada* being lenited, thereby preventing alliteration in line *a*.

2.20.2. *Rofir a fiada rofir*. Atkinson takes the *ro* to be the intensive prefix, and offers a translation 'Truly, O God, in very truth be granted this prayer'.[119] The *Th* emendation to *rop* may be justified as the DIL editors comment that 'sometimes the final *b* or *p* is dropped out, at first before initial *b* or *f*.' [120]

2.20.3. *roerthar in guidise*. The mss offer a choice between *roerthar* (< *ernaid*) in T versus *rafirthar* (< *fíraid*) in F (which is actually written *-afirthar* with the initial *r* placed above the line). Both verbs are attested in the OIr Glosses, cf. *ro-erthar dúib uili* (Wb 18b23) and *ro-fírtha hi Críst* (Wb 14c32). The *rafirthar* in F betrays a MIr *ra-* for *ro-*. The glosses in both T and F, however, are MIr versions of *ernaid* viz. *roerniter* (T), *roernidar* (F). 'i.e. may it be granted'. It is possible that F's scribe made a mistake in transcription due to the repetition of *-fír* in the same line of the ms, a suspicion increased by the omission of initial *r*, later corrected. T also looks like the *lectio difficilior* here and it is safer therefore to follow T.

2.20.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Rop fír a Fíada rop fír,	Let it be true O Lord, let it be true,
ro-erthar in guide-se.	may this prayer be granted.
Ro-bet maccáin flatha Dé	May the children of God's Kingdom
hi timchúairt na scuile-se.	be around this school.

§21

T	F
Ro fir a fiada rop fir	Ro fir a fiado ro fir
risam huili sith ind rig	risam uile sith ind rig
sech roised roissam	sech roisad roisam
hi flaith nime cotrissam	in flaith nime cotrisam

2.21.1. *Metrics*. The metre changes dramatically to $7^{1}7^{1};7^{2}7^{2}$ *deibide*, with rhyme *fír: ríg* and *-issam: -rissam*. This is an unusual form of *deibide* with fully-stressed rhymes. In *EIM,* Murphy lists two types of *deibide nguilbnech*, $7^{1}7^{1};7^{1}7^{1}$ and $7^{2}7^{2};7^{2}7^{2}$, but this quatrain is an unclassified mixture of both.[121] There is alliteration

[119] *LH* II, 15.

[120] *DIL* letter I, 312, line 61.

[121] Murphy 1961, 68.

between *-ised* and *-issam* in line *c*, and *aicill* between *fír* and *síth*. *Th* II offers optical rhyme with *síd*, but rhyme is also possible between final consonants of groups l and χ, and this would allow *fír* to rhyme with *sith*.

2.21.2. *risam huili sith ind rig.* Both Atkinson and Stokes/Strachan take *síth* as 'peace', but there is a good case for its alternative meaning as an abode in the 'otherworld'; Ó Cathasaigh discusses this semantic development. The original meaning of *síth* shifted from the general (underworld) to the particular (hollow hill). The word later carried the sense of peace for unsettled and migrant people, in the way that the English word 'settlement' acquired a similar double meaning.[122] The glossator apparently equates *síth* with heaven (*celum*), perhaps in its pre-Christian sense of 'otherworld', or perhaps the peace one will enjoy in Heaven. The verb *rísam* is the contracted 1p present subjunctive of *ro-ic(c)*, translated: 'may we all reach the abode of the King'.

2.21.3. *sech roised roissam/ hi flaith nime cotrissam.* There are translation difficulties with these lines, and the *Th* editors leave line *c* untranslated. However, in a footnote Stokes suggests substituting *sechip* for *sech*, thereby rendering: 'whoever may reach, may we reach, may we meet in the Kingdom of Heaven'.[123] Such an emendation would generate one syllable too many. The metre could, of course, be restored by substituting *ríssam* for *ro-íssam* but that may be an emendation too far. There has been a number of attempts to deal with these lines. Atkinson translates: 'if one might attain, may we attain; into Heaven's kingdom may we win'.[124] This is unsatisfactory, however, as there is no attestation of *sech* with the meaning 'if', nor do the *LH* II editors take cognizance of the infixed pronoun in *cotrissam.* The verbal form *roised* is the 3s past subjunctive of *ro-icc*, but in Atkinson's translation he seems to read *-rois(s)ed* as the 3s secondary future of *ro-saig* ('reach or attain').[125] The alternative spelling in F, *roisad,* simply demonstrates the fluctuation of stem-final consonant discussed in *EIV*.[126]

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[122] O'Cathasaigh 1977/8, 137-135.

[123] *Th* II, 304 note *dd.*

[124] *LH* II, 15.

[125] GOI §520b remarks that the past subjunctive can be used in subordinate clauses without temporal limitation, as subjunctive of the secondary future, cf. *inda leu som nis-roissed imned na erchrae dogrés asoinmigi acloinaib* 'they fancied neither trouble nor decay could reach their property though they are wicked' (Ml 39c34).

[126] McCone 1997, 87.

2.21.4. Baumgarten has noticed the similarity between this stanza and two lines in the eighth-century text *Echtrae Chonnlai*, viz., *im loing glano cot-rísmis ma ru-ísmis síd mBóadaig*.[127] Now McCone translates this line as: 'In my ship of crystal may we encounter it, if we should reach the peace of Bóadag.'[128] Baumgarten derives the alternative translation: 'that we might meet in my boat of glass, if we could reach the *síd* of Bóadag'. Here Baumgarten reads *cot-rísmis* as a past subjunctive, and remarks that the verb occurs frequently with a neuter infixed pronoun in the sense of 'to meet, to join (also of cohabitation)'. Throughout the story in *'Echtrae Chonnlai'*, there appears to be deliberate interplay between the alternative meanings of *síd* as 'fairy-mound' and as 'peace'. Carey, in his commentary on *Echtrae Connlai*, translates this line as: 'we could come together in my crystal bed, if we reached the *síd* of Boadach'.[129] The verbal form *cotrís(s)am* is the 1p present subjunctive of *con-ricc*. The preverb *cot-* contains a 3s infixed pronoun, meaning 'may we meet it (or him)'.

2.21.5. Baumgarten offers a translation of lines *c* and *d* employing the construction: *sech : ro-íssam ro-ised, + cot-ríssam hi flaith nime*: 'may we not only meet those who attain it, but join together in the kingdom of heaven'. He takes *ro-ised* as the 3s past subjunctive, which forms an object relative clause, with the antecedent being implied.[130] Baumgarten does not, however, explain how the verbal form *ro-ised* renders a plural function and an infixed pronoun. McQuillan[131] seems to read 3s past subjunctive *ro-ised* in the present tense in his translation: 'Whoever reaches, may we reach'. None of the above solutions are completely satisfactory. My own proposal is to read *sech* as an equivalent to *id est*.[132] This construction normally requires a following copula, but it may be suppressed here for metrical reasons. Then, following Baumgarten's relative clause reading, a possible alternative for the last three lines is: 'May we all reach the peace of the King, that is, may we attain (that which) He could attain. In the kingdom of heaven may we join in it'.

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[127] Baumgarten 1975, 18-23.

[128] McCone 2000, 184-187.

[129] Carey 1987, 59.

[130] Baumgarten reads *sech* in the sense given by GOI §882, in which two parallel clauses may be combined in a single period by using *sech* before them, cf. in *Imram Brain: sech bid día, bid duine*, 'He will be both God and man' (Meyer, 1895, 23).

[131] McQuillan 2002, 45.

[132] Thurneysen in GOI §883 points out that *sech* can be found with the same meaning as *noch* ('and') at the head of a principal clause, and when used with the copula *is*.

2.21.6. *Th* Text and Translation

Rop fir a Fíada rop fir!	Be it true O Lord, be it true!
rísam huili síth ind ríg,	may we all reach the peace of the King,
sech roísed roíssam.	that is, may we reach (that which) He could reach.
Hi flaith nime cotríssam	May we meet in the kingdom of Heaven!

§22

T	F
Robbem cen es hi llethu	Robem cen æs illetha
la haiṅgliu i mbithbethu	la haiṅgliu i mbithbethu

2.22.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this *deibide* half-quatrain changes to $7^{2}7^{3}$, and the system continues with *rinn-ardrinn* rhyme, *llethu: mbithbethu*. The spelling *letha* in F is unusual, and it may be due to confusion of final unstressed *-u* with *-a* which occurred later than with other vowels. There is no other ornamentation in this half-quatrain. The presence of an ornate capital letter beginning the next line confirms that this is a genuine half-quatrain. The glossator in F confirms this, saying that the man whose turn it was to compose it died of the plague, or, alternatively, Colmán himself may have left it incomplete.

2.22.2. *Robbem cen es i llethu.* There are a number of possible translations for *i llethu* here. The problem is that *leth* is an *s*-stem noun with accusative plural *lethe*. Nor is it feasible to emend *lethu*, as *i llethu* is confirmed by rhyme *lethu: bethu* twice in *Génair Pátraicc* (§§17, 18), where it is translated as 'far and wide'. *Th* II tentatively takes it as 'widely', while Atkinson goes for 'in (endless space)'. The gloss in T is *.i. hi farsinge*, 'in wideness'. The glossator in F misreads *lethu* as a form of *leu*, 'with them', and adds a verse of poetry for clarification.[133] DIL lists 1 *lethu* s.v. 'in advbl. phrase *i ll.* (sense not clear)'. The noun seems to be *leithe*, a formation from *lethan* ('broad') or its comparitive *letha*. DIL s.v. *leithe* comments that it is noted in the Irish Grammatical Tracts as an irregular form, and this may account for the *io*-stem accusative plural.

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[133] *mo mathair ⁊ m'athair/ cein robatar na [m]bethu. bendacht for ec(?) rodosfuc/ robo bec mo {orait} lethu*, 'my mother and my father, as long as they lived; blessing on [death] which carried them off,/ small was my prayer with them'.

2.22.3. *Th* Text and Translation

Robbem cen áes hi llethu,	May we live without aging, far and wide,
la haingliu i mbithbethu.	with angels in eternal life.

§23

T	F
Reraig faithi cen dibad	Reraig fadi cen dibdad
aiṅgil apstail ard fegad	aiṅgil apstail ard fegad
tairset liar nathar nemda	tairset liar nathair ne*m*da
ria sluag ṅdemna diar senad.	ria sluag ne*m*na diar sénad.

2.23.1. *Metrics*.The metre changes to *rannaigecht bec*: $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with rhyme *fégad: sénad*. There is considerable poetic ornamention in this quatrain. *Aiṅgil*, *apstail* and *ard* alliterate and *aicill* occurs between *nemda(e)* and *ṅdemna(e)*. There is also consonance between *díbad*, *fégad* and *sénad*. Murphy in *EIM* cites three main types of conclusion as *saigid, ascnam* and *comindsma*.[134] The weakest *dúnad*, *comindsma* ('riveting together') entails the first consonant and vowel of the first syllable of the poem forming the last syllable of the last line of the *iarcomarc*. In the *ascnam* ('approach') *dúnad* the whole first syllable forms the last syllable of the last line of the *iarcomarc*, and in the *saigid* ('attainment') *dúnad* the whole opening word is repeated as the last word of the last line of the *iarcomarc*. In this hymn,the final word of §23, *sénad*, almost echoes the opening *Sén Dé*, but does not quite fit any of the EIM classifications. Finally, *Sén Dé* is repeated in T by the scribe rather than the poet.

2.23.2. *Reraig, fáthi, cen dibad,* etc. These lines seem to echo a stanza from the poem on the Airgialla, beginning *Arsiasar coimhdhi Temrae*, which has been dated to about 700 AD.[135] The *Th* editors translate *reraig* as patriarchs. Atkinson has 'great kings', possibly influenced by the glossators, who refer specifically to the antedeluvian kings (presumably from *ro-ríg*).[136] The DIL editors offer the meaning of *rerach* as 'an aged man', and comment that the word is confined to early literature or later archaising

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[134] Murphy 1961, 44.

[135] O Daly, 1952, 179-188. *Drucht ỷ daithen las sein/ apstail De do neim/ reraig faithe uasalaithre/ ỷ aingil gil, '* Dew and [light] along with that, God's apostles from heaven, aged men, prophets, patriarchs, and bright angels' (183, § 41).

[136] *secul fota a segul qui fuerunt ante diluuium*, 'a long life their life, who were before the flood'.

style. The word *díbad* (verbal noun of *do-ba*, 'dies') in the T text carries the semantic sense of destruction or extinction, later extended to dying without male issue, and thence to death generally. The *díbdad* of F, on the other hand, is the verbal noun of *do-bádi*, ('drowns, extinguishes'). The phrase *cen díbdad* (or *díbdud*) is a cheville, cf. *fáth cen díbdud* (ms Mat. 488.10). The *Th* editors interpret the phrase as 'without extinction', while Atkinson has 'without death'. The gloss in both mss relates *díbad* to *in poena* 'in punishment', which is not at all clear, and the adjective 'indestructable' is probably more appropriate.

2.23.3. *tairset liar n-athair nemda/ ria sluag ṅdemna diar senad.* The contracted 3p present subjunctive of *do-airicc* is attested in *Fél* Dec 13: *tairset co méit míle*, 'may they come with many thousands'. The F text preserves the correct accusative *athair*. The phrase *ria sluag ṅdemna* can lead to ambiguity, but is understood to mean that the heavenly party should come to bless us before the host of devils arrive. Both mss preserve the correct nasalisation after *ria*, although F's *nemna* is a phonetic version. The form *ria* is not found in OIr Glosses but, since this stanza is a later addition, a change to *re* would not be justified. The genitive plural of *demon* is restored, however, to *demnae* (modelled after Latin *daemonia*).

2.23.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Reraig fáthi cen díbad;	Patriarchs, prophets without extinction;
aiṅgil apstail, –ard fégad –	angels, apostles, - noble the sight;
tairset liar n-athair nemdae	may they come with our Heavenly Father
ría slúag ṅdemnae, diar sénad.	before a host of devils, to bless us.

§24

T	F
B*en*dacht for erlam patraic	B*en*dacht for erlam pat*raic*
co nnoebaib herenn imme	co noebaib herend uile
bennacht forsin cathraigse	bendacht forsin cathraigse
⁊ for cach fil indi	oc*us for* cach fil inde

2.24.1 *Metrics*. The metre changes to $7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$, with rhyme *imme:indi* in T, and *uile: inde* in F. When restored to OIr grammatical forms, the rhyme *imbi: indi* is perfect, while *uili: inni* in F remains problematic. Alliteration occurs between *hÉrenn* and *immi* (or *uili*). The deviation of T from the strict optical rhyming pattern hitherto employed for unstressed final vowels might indicate a later date of composition, when

final *-e* and *-i* had fallen together. The lateness of this stanza is highlighted by a marginal gloss in F,[137] which attributes it to Díarmait hua Tigernáin, who, according to the Annals of Ulster, died in 852.

2.24.2. *Bendacht for erlam patraic*. This word *érlam* is variously translated as 'patronage, patron, saint, founder (of a church or monastery)'. It is a word with strong connections with early Irish law.[138] Ó Riain comments that 'there can have been very little scope for the admission to Irish churches of foreign patrons whose family connections could not authenticate title'.[139] Here, in reference to Patrick, the term 'patron' is appropriate. Around him (*imme*) are the saints of Ireland, according to T, while F mentions all (*uile*) the saints of Ireland. The OIr masculine prepositional pronoun is *imbi,* cf. Wb 26a3. Its rhyming partner is the 3s feminine prepositional pronoun *indi*, as attested in the later Glosses.

2.24.3. *bennacht forsin cathraigse*. The *Th* editors choose to translate *cathair* as 'convent', and Atkinson as 'monastery'. Patrick was closely associated with Armagh in later hagiography. If, indeed, his *comarbae* Díarmait did compose this quatrain in the ninth century, as mentioned by the glossator, then 'monastery' (i.e. Armagh) would be appropriate. It might be prudent, however, to use the more neutral 'establishment'.

2.24.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Bendacht for érlam Pátraic,	A blessing on the patron Patrick,
co nnóebaib Hérenn imbi!	with the saints of Ireland about him!
bennacht forsin cathraig-se	a blessing on this convent
ocus for cách fil indi!	and on all within it!

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[137] *Dermaith ua tigernan comarba patraic is é rotuill na cethri runnusa l is rand Patraic ⁊ Brigtæ tantum fuit ⁊ mugron comarba colum cille fecit dorigne na da rannsa sis .i. na da rann dedencha*, 'Diarmait hua Tigernain, comarb of Patrick, it is he who added these four verses, or it is the verse of Patrick and Brigit only that he composed, and Mugron, *comarb* of Colum Cille, composed these two quatrains below, i.e. the last two quatrains' (Fmg).

[138] In *Córus Béscnai* (the tract on the regulation of proper behaviour) the family of the patron-saint (*fine érlama*) had first right of succession to the highest office. It was important, therefore, to record the saint's pedigree in some detail.

[139] Ó Riain 1989, 360.

§25

T	F
Bennacht for erlam brig*ti*	Bendacht for érlam brigte
co nogaib herenn impe	co nogaib herenn impe
tabraid huile cainf*or*gall	tabraid uile cainforgall
b*en*dacht f*or* ordan brigte	bennacht f*or* ordan brigte

2.25.1. *Metrics*. The metre here is again $7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$, with irregular rhyme *impe: brígte*, since non-palatal *-m-* is in a different consonant class from palatal *-g-*. Rather, the rhyme *impe: brígte* must be regarded as consonance. There is alliteration between *-ogaib, Hérenn* and *impe*.

2.25.2. *Bennacht for erlam brigti*. The accusative case *Brigti* is required here and one might expect nasalisation of *Brigte* following the accusative *érlam,* but this may have been dropped to avoid a homorganic grouping. A similar nasalisation of genitive *Brigte* in line *d* may have been eschewed since groups of three or more consonants are often reduced (GOI §180). Both texts preserve the correct OIr feminine prepositional pronoun *impe*. Otherwise, the first two lines follow the pattern of the previous quatrain, with 'virgins' replacing 'saints'.

2.25.3. *tabraid huile cainforgall*. The use of the 2p imperative *tabraid* is unusual in devotional pieces like this hymn, where the optative subjunctive is much more common. More significantly, *tabraid* is a late form of OIr *taibrid*, influenced by *tabair*, cf. *tabraid cend na fleisci led fair* (CormY 323). The compound *caínforgall* is translated variously as 'good testimony' (*Th* II) and 'fair testimony' (*LH* II). The noun *forgall* (< *for+gell*) means superior testimony, that is, the testimony of one of higher rank.[140] There are no glosses on this stanza, suggesting that language and content had a familiarity which would make further commentary superfluous.

2.25.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Bendacht for érlam Brigti	Blessing on the patron Brigit
co n-ógaib Hérenn impe:	with the virgins of Ireland about her:
tabraid huile caínforgall,	give ye all a fair testimony,
bendacht for ordan Brigte.	blessing on Brigit's dignity.

[140] cf. *la fear foirgell fiadnaise*, 'with a man of over-riding testimonies as witness' (CIH 208.18).

§26

T	F
Benedacht for colum cille	B*en*dacht for colum cille
co nnoebaib alban alla	co noebaib alban alla
f*or* anmain adamnan ain	for anmain adamnain ain
rola cain f*or*sna clanna	rola cain f*or*sna clanna

2.26.1. *Metrics*. The metre here is again $7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme *alla: clanna.* Line *a* of T has eight syllables. The noun *benedacht* is an unusual spelling, perhaps influenced by the Latin *benedictio*, and is rightly emended by *Th* II to *bendacht*. The stanza displays considerable ornamentation, with alliteration: *Colum Cille*, *Alban alla*, *anmain Adamnán áin*, *cain clanna,* as well as *aicill* between *áin* and *cáin.* As recorded in footnote 138 this stanza may have been composed by Mugron, a *coarb* of Colum Cille, who died in 980. In an interesting historical comment, Máire Herbert points out that the latter attribution provides evidence of the association of Columban with Patrician interests in the late tenth century.[141]

2.26.2. *co nnoebaib alban alla.* The stanza follows the pattern of the previous two, this time involving the saints of Alba. The adverb *alla* is derived from the preposition *al* ('beyond') and the 3s neutral prepositional pronoun, rendering 'beyond it' or 'yonder', or literally 'on the other side' as *Th* II has it.. Thurneysen provides the spelling *all(a)e* in GOI §825, indicating that the second *a* is a glide. It is clear that in the later period the unstressed final vowel had degenerated to a schwa, providing perfect rhyme with *clanna*, where the original *-nd-* of *clanda* had been assimilated to *-nn-* by the time of Ml. These features lend credence to a composition no earlier than mid-ninth century, and probably later.

2.26.3. *for anmain adamnan ain/ rola cain forsna clanna.* This stanza completes the third pillar of patronage in Ireland, Colum Cille, following Patrick and Brigit. The great Adomnán, on whose soul a blessing was willed, was the ninth abbot of Iona (624-704), and author of the *Life of Columba.*[142] The mss are largely in agreement,

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[141] Herbert 1989, 68.

[142] His father, Rónán, son of Tinne, belonged to the same royal race as Colum Cille. Adomnán is celebrated in *Fél* on 23 September: *Do Adamnán Íae assa tóidlech tóiden, ro ír Ísu úasal sóerad ṁbúan ṁban ṅGóidel*, 'To Adamnan of Iona, whose troop is radiant, noble Jesus has granted the lasting liberation of the women of the Gaels.'

although F provides a conventional genitive, *Adamnáin*. GOI §280 comments that masculine proper nouns in *-án* sometimes have vocative and genitive in *-án,* i.e. they are indeclinable, particularly in the ninth century. The Law which Adomnán introduced deals mainly with offences against women. The verbal form *ro-lá* is late. The original OIr form is *ro-laë*, expressed as trisyllabic *ru-lae* in Trip. 212,23 and *ro-laa* in Sg 75a4 (GOI §680). Taken as relative here, *ro-lá* is probably best translated as 'who brought forth', rather than 'imposed' as in *Th* II, or 'passed' as in *LH*. The phrase *forsna clanna* lends itself to different translations. Atkinson and the *Th* editors take it as 'upon the clans', a description not really appropriate to Ireland. The glossator reads it as 'on the women or on the tribes'. Perhaps 'for the people' would be better.

2.26.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Bendacht for Colum Cille	Blessing on Colum Cille
co nnóebaib Alban alla,	with the saints of Alba on the other side,
for anmain Adamnán áin	[and] on the soul of glorious Adamnán
ro-lá cáin forsna clanna.	who imposed a law on the clans.

§27

T	F
For fóesam rig na ndula	For foisam rig na ndúla
comairche nachanbera	commairche nachanbera
in spirut noeb ronbroena	in spirut noeb ronbroena
cr*íst* ronsoera ronsena	cr*íst* ronsoera ronsena.

2.27.1. *Metrics*. The metre here is: $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with rhyme: *-béra: séna*. There is alliteration between *-sóera and -sena,* and *aicill* occurs between *-broena* and *-soera.* The final *dúnad -séna* is designed to echo *Sén Dé*. The repetition of *sen de* (and its initials in F) in the mss are certainly scribal. In the ms texts, there is consonance between *ndúla* and *-béra.* Restoration of the OIr genitive plural, *ndúle*, would negate consonance due to the difference in final vowels, but in the periods of either Diarmait or Mugron *ndúla*: *-béra* consonance would have been be permitted.

2.27.2. *for fóesam rig na ndúla.* This phrase is an echo of a similar phrase in §1: *for a oes(s)am*. Here the protector is 'the King of the elements' or 'the King of Creation'.

Another expression for protection, *commairce,* later *commairche,* appears in line *b*.[143] According to the legal glossary in *Críth Gablach,* the general term for protection, *snádud,* was a privilege originally confined to members of the higher ranks of society, but later extended to all freemen. It meant the power to accord to another person immunity from all legal processes over a definite period of time. The words *fóessam* and *commairge*, often used as well for protection, are still obscure.[144] DIL indicates that *fóessam* applies to protection bestowed by the lord on his host while he is entertained and for a period after his departure. Additionally, *commairce* regularly refers to an escorting safeguard. Semantically, the first line might relate to a general protection bestowed by God, and the second to a protective escort on a journey.

2.27.3. *comairche nachanbera.* There are translational difficulties here. From the ms texts, the conjunct form can be either the 3s present subjunctive *-bera* or the 3s future *-béra*, but rhyme with *-séna* guarantees the latter. Consequently, Atkinson's version, 'his protection may He not take from us', will not do. The *Th* editors suggest emending the verbal form to read *nachan-méra*, to derive: 'A protection which will not betray us'.[145] It may be better, nonetheless, to follow Meyer who translates *comairche nachanbéra* as 'a safeguard that will not carry us off', i.e into captivity.[146]

2.27.4. *in spirit noeb ronbroena.* The final quatrain is an invocation of the three persons of the Trinity. It will be noted that the poet employs the term *Spirut Nóeb* in place of *Spirut Glan* which was in use in early Old Irish.[147] The verbal form, meaning 'may it rain on us', is employed in an abstract sense here. The language seems to echo lines of the earlier hymn *Brigit bé*, viz., *dia rath ron broína/ ron soíra Brigit*, 'From her bounty may Brigit rain on us, may she deliver us'.

2.27.5. *Th* Text and Translation

For foísam Ríg na ndúle,	(May we be) under the safeguard of the King of the elements,
comairche nachan-béra!	- a protection which will not carry us [off]!
in Spirut Nóeb ron-bróena,	may the Holy Spirit rain down on us,
Crist ron-sóera, ron-séna!	may Christ deliver us, bless us!

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[143] Ó Máille 1913, in *'Lenition of 'g' in Early Irish'* (ZCP 9, 342f.)

[144] Binchy 1970, 106-7.

[145] *Th* II, 306, note 1.

[146] Meyer 1917, 39.

[147] Carney (1983, 194) comments that in the eighth century the original designation *Spirut Glan* was changed to *Spirut Nóeb*, just as the term Holy Ghost became outmoded in our day and the Holy Spirit substituted.

2.27.6. Closure of the Hymn

Orent p*ro* nobis s*anct*i illi in c*ae*lis. quorum memoriam facimus in t*er*ris ut deleantur delicta n*ost*ra p*er* i*n*uocation*em* s*anct*i no*min*is tui ih*es*u ⁊ mis*erere* *qui* regnas in s*aecu*la s*aeculorum* Am*en*. T

Orent p*ro* nobis s*anct*i illi in c*ae*lis. qu*orum* memoriam facim*us* in t*er*ris ut deleantur delicta n*ost*ra p*er* inuocation*em* sancti nominis tui I*es*u ⁊ mis*erere* qui regnas in saecula saeculor*um* Am*en*. F

Let those saints in Heaven pray for us, whose memory we keep on earth, in order that our sins may be effaced through the invocation of your holy name, Jesus, and pity us, you, who reign forever and ever. Amen.

Section 3: Metrical Analysis

3.1 Metrical Structure

3.1.1. The metrical structure of the hymn is summarised in Table A. The original hymn probably ended with the first *dúnad* in §19. The remaining stanzas appear to be supplementary additions. A second *dúnad* occurs in §23, suggesting that the final four stanzas §§24-7 were added even later. The first 19 stanzas are in heptasyllabic *rannaigecht* form, but there is no fixed pattern to the number of syllables in the feet, varying between one, two and three syllables. The first supplementary stanzas §§20-23 comprise three couplets in *deibide* metre, while last five stanzas return to *rannaigecht* format. The original stanzas show little metrical ornamentation apart from alliteration, though §2 shows consonance and §19 *aicill*. There is richer ornamentation in some of the supplementary stanzas. Bernard and Atkinson did not think much of the metrical structure of this hymn, citing irregularities of measure, rhyme, ictus, and the fact that assonance and alliteration was not deemed essential in the stanzas.[148]

3.1.2. In the *rannaigecht* stanzas *b: d* and *aicill* rhyme is generally consistent with OIr metrical rules, even in a few cases where an Irish word is required to rhyme with a Latin or imported Biblical name. It is of interest to note that the stanzas which contain Latin words (§§9-15, except 10) show minimal ornamentation, the occasional alliteration occurring only between Irish words. We cannot be sure how Latin was pronounced in early Ireland, but it is unlikely that the native poets would have been conversant with the rhythms of classical Latin verse. Rather, the evidence is that Latin compositions were adapted to Irish metrics. In this hymn the Latin metre is identical to the Irish one, and the stress tends to fall on the penultimate syllable of the last word in each line (falling cadence). When the stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable, it is termed rising cadence. The distribution of Latin cadences in the hymn is: (1) rising cadence: *sermonibus: temporibus* (§11), *semine: formidine* (§12), and (2) falling

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[148] *LH* II *xxxv*. Despite the irregularities, the *LH* editors believed it was composed later than Ultán's Hymn, a piece in which the early careful workmanship evident in the Latin hymns was carried over. Later metrical pieces in Irish, they remarked, were poor specimens in comparison with Ultán's Hymn. In conclusion the editors remarked that 'it is more probable that the early Christian poets would, in their native poems, strive after the perfection which they had attained in their Latin poems, than that they would be content with such poor specimens as the kind we have here, after their success in the foreign language. The truth is that these Irish poems have all the appearance of being a sort of *versus memoriales* badly put together'.

cadence: *Mare* (§6), *Mocaba* (§7), *Stephani: Ignati* (§9), *rogamus* (§11), *habetur: dignetur* (§13), *prophetam, ori* (§16), *digno: regno* (§18). Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh has examined the Latin verses in some detail and believes that the Latin fragments in *Sén Dé* are closest to the sixth century Latin hymn, *Mundus iste transibit*.[149] Applying the Blume method for dating hymns, even with its limitations, Ó Dochartaigh believes the Latin fragments in *Sén Dé* belong to the seventh century.

Table A: Colmán's Hymn Rhyming Scheme

§	**Metre**	**Rhyme**	**Ornamentation**
1	$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$	*ron-feladar: temadar*	alliteration
2	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*ṡessam: ad-(t)essam*	alliteration
3	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*cobuir: foguir*	alliteration, consonance
4	$7^{3}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$	*adamrae: adamnae*	alliteration
5	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*n-úaser: n-úasal*	alliteration
6	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*Mare: dáne*	alliteration
7	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*ron-snáde: Mocabe*	alliteration
8	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*snádud: gábud*	alliteration
9	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*Stephani: Ignatí*	
10	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*ṅgenmnai: demnai*	
11	$7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$	*sermonibus: temporibus*	
12	$7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$	*semine: formidine*	
13	$7^{1}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*habetur: dignetur*	alliteration
14	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*ro-snádai: nGábai*	alliteration
15	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*rródi: Gólai*	alliteration
16	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*trogi: ori*	
17	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*slabreid: n-amreid*	alliteration
18	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*digno: regno*	
19	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*ṅgle: for-don-té*	alliteration, *aicill*
	Post dúnad 1		
20	$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$	*guide-se: scule-se*	
21	$7^{1}7^{1}$;	*fír: rig;*	alliteration, *aicill*
	$7^{2}7^{2}$	*ro-íssam: cot-ríssam*	
22	$7^{2}7^{3}$	*llethu: mbithbethu*	
23	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*fégad: sénad*	alliteration, *aicill*, consonance
	Post dúnad 2		
24	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*imbi: indi*	alliteration
25	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*impe: Brigte*	

[149] The metre of this hymn can be seen in the opening stanza: *Mundus iste transibit/ Cotidie decrescit;/ Nemo vivens manebit,/ Nullus vivus remansit.* 'This world will pass away; daily it wanes. No one will stay alive; no one has stayed alive'.

26	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*alla: clanna*	alliteration
27	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*nachan-béra: ron-séna*	alliteration, *aicill*

2.1.4. *Elision and Hiatus.* Of five potential candidates for elision only one, *hangliu i*, is elided. [150] There are no instances of elision in the Latin fragments, but two examples of synizesis occur (two unstressed syllables pronounced as one), viz. *diluui* for *diluuii* and *Ignati* for *Ignatii.* There is also one case of syncope, where the ms form *sæcula* (*secula* F) in §13 has to be emended to *saecla* for metrical reasons. There are two instances of hiatus, viz. the Irish version of the biblical name *Iob* (§7), and the Latin word *leonum* (§16), but these are irrelevant for dating purposes.

[150] According to *Early Irish Metrics* the rule for elision between words in Old and Middle Irish is: 'an unstressed vowel may (or may not) be elided when another vowel precedes it' (Murphy 1961, 39). The phrases which are potentially vulnerable are *anmae Ignati, robói hi, Noe a, occa i, hangliu i* (§§ 9, 10, 11, 18, 22 respectively).

Section 4: Linguistic Analysis

4.1. Final Unstressed Vowels

4.1.1. Stokes and Strachan contend that an inferior limit for the dating of the hymn may be found in the treatment of final vowels. As the table below shows, there is no confusion in rhyme, for example, between final *-ae* and final *-a*, a confusion well established for the middle of the ninth century by the St Gall glosses on Priscian.[151]

§	T	F	*Th* Edition	Classical Old Irish
7	*-snada: mocaba*	*-snade: mochaba*	*-snáde: Mocabe*	*-snáda: Machaba*
10	*ingenmnai: demnai*	*ingenmna: demna*	*ingenmnai: demnai*	*ingenmnai: demnai*
4	*adamra: adamna*	*adamra: adamna*	*adamrae: adamnae*	*adamrae: adamnae*
6	*maire: dána*	*mare: dána*	*Mare: dáne*	*Mare: dáne*
14	*-snada: gaba*	*-snada: gaba*	*-snádai: Gábai*	*-snada: Gaba*
15	*ruadi: Gólai*	*rrodi: Gólai*	*rródai: Gólai*	*rródai: Gólai*
16	*trógi: ori*	*trógi: ori*	*trógi: ori*	*trógi: ori*
	Post *dúnad*			
20	*guidise: sculese*	*guidiseo: scuiliseo*	*guide se: scuile se*	*guide se: scuile se*
22	*llethu: mbithbethu*	*illetha: mbithbethu*	*llethu: mbithbethu*	*llethu: mbithbethu*
24	*imme: indi*	*uile: inde*	*imbi: indi*	*imbi: indi*
25	*impe: Brigte*	*impe: Brigte*	*impe: Brigte*	*impe: Brigte*
26	*alla: clanna*	*alla: clanna*	*alla: clanna*	*allae: clanda*
27	*-bera: -sena*	*-bera: -sena*	*-béra: -séna*	*-béra: -séna*
27	*-bróena: -sóera*	*-bróena: -sóera*	*-bróena: -sóera (aicill)*	*-bróena: -sóera*

4.1.2. The only nominal case endings which can be restored with confidence are those which are validated by rhyme. In this poem rhyme between Irish and Latin words provides a useful indicator of the original pronunciation since, according to P. Breatnach, final unstressed syllables in Latin retained their distinct sounds in the Old Irish period.[152] The Latin words probably come from an original poem composed outside Ireland. Generally, the final unstressed vowels of the Latin words all rhyme with the sounds one would expect from canonical OIr pronunciation. In §6 the retention of OIr final *-ae* is guaranteed by rhyme between nominative *dán(a)e* and Latin *Mare*. Similarly, the OIr *iā*-stem dative singular *trógi* (§16) is guaranteed by

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[151] *Th* II, *xxxvi*.

[152] P Breatnach (1988, 61) makes the point that while short unstressed vowels were pronounced in Old Irish with the same clearness as in accented syllables, in Middle Irish they had become obscured and this often led to vowel substitutions in Hiberno-Latin writings, the substitution depending on the quality of adjoining consonants.

rhyme with Latin *ori*. This in turn helps to validate the OIr *iā*-stem dative singular *ródai* (§15) which rhymes with Irish *Gól(a)i* (Goliath), because *Gól(a)i* itself rhymes with *trógi* in *Fél* Ep 481-4. Although the sample is small, the metrical confirmation of these nominal forms provides justification for the *Th* II restoration of classical OIr final unstressed vowels in the original hymn. A question may also arise on the retention of *ó* in both *trógi* and *ródi*, since the *ó* is preserved in archaic texts prior to dipthongisation to *úa* (GOI 39-40). However, *trógi* is not necessarily archaic since diphthongisation before gutturals spread more slowly than other consonants (GOI §60), and the *-ó-* form is well attested in Ml. Nor can *ródi* be taken as an archaic form. The word *ródi* is the abstract noun of the adjective *ród* which the DIL editors describe as 'apparently an early form of *rúad*, surviving in MIr poetry and heroic literature as a distinct word'. It is unlikely therefore that the abstract noun *ródi* could be regarded as archaic when the adjective *ród* appears in *SR* and *TBC*.

4.1.3. In respect of the supplementary stanzas following the first *dúnad*, note is made of the rhyme *alla: clanna* in §26. Thurneysen provides the spelling *all(a)e*[153] in GOI §825, indicating that the second *a* is a glide. It is clear that this rhyme must have been composed in a later period when the unstressed final vowel had degenerated to a schwa, thus providing perfect rhyme with the *ā*-stem accusative plural *clanna*. In *Fél*, for example, final unstressed *-a* and *-ae* are generally distinguished for rhyming purposes, but are sometimes confused in non-rhyming positions. Further, the original *-nd-* of *clanda* had been assimilated to *-nn-*, and the latter spelling had become common by the time of Ml. Phonologically, the assimilation had begun at the time of *Fél*, where the original *nd* rhymes with double liquids (GOI §151c).

4.2. Nouns and Adjectives

4.2.1. The only other noun of note is the unusual dative singular *slabreid*, rhyming with *n-amreid* in §17. This feature is discussed in Textual Note 17, and *slabreid* is probably distorted from the OIr form *slabraid* for optical rhyme with *n-amreid* (originally *n-amraid*). In fact the original rhyme may well have been *slabraid: n-amraid*, but this would not have specific dating implications.

4.2.2. Only two examples of neuter gender are found in the hymn. Nasalisation in the nominative phrases *cech n-amreid* (§17) and *monor nglé* (§19) demonstrate retention

[153] *all(a)e* is derived from the preposition *al* + the 3s neuter suffixed pronoun.

of neuter gender, though both expressions appear in chevilles, and are possibly petrified forms.

4.3. Pronouns

4.3.1. There are no independent pronouns but the hymn presents a considerable number of both infixed and suffixed pronouns, all in the first person plural. The infixed pronouns are almost all class A, with only three in class B and two in class C. The only relative construction involving an infixed pronoun employs a permissible class A form (*ron-snáid* in §6). The form *cot-ríssam* (§21) is read as a 1p present subjunctive of *con-ricc* featuring a petrified neuter infixed pronoun as frequently seen in saga texts, rather than a meaningful object of the verb.

Class A

§	Pronoun	*Th* restored Text	Classical OIr
1, 19	1p	*don-fé*	*don-fé*
1	1p	*ron-feladar* (*ronfelathar* F)	*ron-feladar*
3,5,12	1p	*ron-snáid*	*ron-snáid*
4	1p	*immun-tísat* (*-tesat* F)	*immun-tísat*
6	1p	*ron-snáid*	*ron-snáid*
7	1p	*ron-ainset* (*ron-anset* T)	*ron-ainset*
9	1p	*don-forslaice* (*dorforslaigset* F)	*don-forslaicea*
14	1p	*ro-snáidi* (*ronsnada* TF)	*ron-snáda*
15	1p	*ronn-ain*	*ronn-ain*
18	1p	*ron-tolomar*	*ron-tolomar*
	Post *dúnad*		
27	1p	*ron-sóera*	*ron-sóera*
27	1p	*ron-bróena*	*ron-bróena*
27	1p	*ron-séna*	*ron-séna*

Class B

1, 19	1p	*for-don-té*	*don-fé*

Class C

4	1p	*nácha-n-tairle* (*nachantarle* F)	*nácha-n-tairlea*
27	1p	*nacha-n-béra*	*nácha-n-béra*
16	1p	*ar-don-roigse* (*ardonrósgset* F)	*ar-don-roichsea*

4.3.3. Pronouns suffixed to a Verb.

§		
6	*snáidsiunn* (*snaidsium* TF)	*snáidsiunn*
14,19	*snáidsiunn* (*snaidsium* F)	*snáidsiunn*
14	*sóersunn* (*sóersum* TF)	*sóersunn*

4.2.4. The suffixed pronouns here are also in the first person plural (although the mss show singular forms in some cases). GOI §430 comments that the intrusive *-s-* in the verbal stem of *snáidid* may have spread from the common *ainsium* where it is regular. Breatnach (1977, 97) states that, in the case of *snáidid*, the lack of attestation generally of forms without the intrusive *-s-* points to it being a genuine OIr feature. Breatnach (ibid, 101-4) has recorded the decline throughout the OIr period of the suffixed pronoun compared to the infixed equivalent. Those examples show the ratio of suffixed to infixed pronouns decreasing from 100% in the seventh century to 23% in *Fél* and 0% in *SR*.

4.3.5. Prepositional Pronouns.

§			Classical OIr
18	3s masc	*occa* (*occai* F)	*occo/ occa*
24	3s masc	*imbi* (*imme* T, *uile* F)	*imbi*
24	3s masc	*indi* (*inde* F)	*indi*
24	3s fem	*impe*	*impe*
1,8,10,17	1p	*dún*	*dún*
10	1p	*húan* (*huan* T, *huain* F)	*úain*, rarely *úan*
17	1p	*rémunn* (*remunn* T, *remoind* F)	*reunn/ riun*

4.3.6. The above forms conform to standard OIr grammar, with the exception of *rémunn* which is not well attested but is rendered as *reunn* in Ultán's Hymn and *riun* in OIPG.[154]

4.4. Verbal Forms

4.4.1. Present Stems (all present indicative except where otherwise stated)

§		Present ind form	3s pres indic
5	1p	*áilmi* (*ailme* TF)	*áilid*
8	1p	*ad-sluinnem*	*ad-sluindi*
	Post *dúnad*		
24	3s rel	*fil*	*at-tá*
25	2p impv	*tabraid*	*do-beir*

4.4.2. There are only four verbal forms exhibiting the present stem. §5 features the 1p present indicative *áilmi* (*ailme* TF), 'we entreat', while §8 has the 1p present indicative of *ad-sluindi, ad-sluinnem*, 'we invoke'. The OIr form would be *ad-*

[154] Breatnach in *Stair na Gaeilge* 329-30, 13.23 has collected 1p forms *rún* (*LL* 12849, 39317) and *romaind* (*LL* 12891).

sluindem but here both mss show assimilation to *-nn-*, a feature which first becomes common in the Milan Glosses. However, since there is no way to tell whether the assimilation is original or scribal, it cannot be used here as a dating criterion. Furthermore, there are several examples in *Fél* where *-nd-* begins to sound like *-nn-*, for example, accusative plural *rindi* rhyming with *lindi* in Ep 82-4, but dative plural of the same word spelt *rinnib* rhyming with *glinnib* in Pro 238-40. The late form, 2p imperative *tabraid* (OIr *taibrid*), 'give', appears in §25 of both mss, but this stanza is a later addition after the first *dúnad*. In any case, like *ad-sluinnem*, *tabraid* cannot be guaranteed by metre, and could be a scribal form.

4.4.3. Subjunctive Stems (all pres. subj. except where otherwise stated)

§		*s*-Subjunctive form	3s pres indic
1,19	3s	*don-fé*	*do-fed*
1,19	3s	*for-don-té*	*for-tét*
1	1p	*tíasam (thisam F)*	*téit*
4	3p	*immun-tísat* (*-tesat* F)	*imm-ticc*
6	3s	*snáidsiunn* (*snaidsium* TF)	*snáidid*
7	3p	*ron-ainset* (*ron-anset* T)	*aingid*
15	3s	*ronn-ain*	*aingid*
14, 19	3s	*snáidsiunn* (*snaidsium* F)	*snáidid*
14	3s	*sóersunn* (*sóersum* TF)	*sóeraid*
Post *dúnad*			
21	1p	*cot-ríssam*	*con-ricc*
21	1p	*ro-íssam*	*ro-icc*
22	1p	*rísam*	*ro-icc*
23	3p	*tairset*	*do-air-icc*
21	3s past subj	*ro-ísed* (*roised* T, *roisad* F)	*ro-icc*

§		*a*-Subjunctive form	3s pres indic
1	3s	*ron-feladar* (*ronfelathar* F)	*felaid*
1	3s	*caín-temadar*	*do-eim*
3,5,12	3p	*ron-sóerat*	*sóeraid*
4	3s	*náchan-tairle* (*nachantarle* F)	*do-aidlea*
7	3s	*ro-snáde* (*ronsnada* T)	*snáidid*
9	3p	*don-ringrat* (*doringrat* F)	*do-ingair*
9	3s	*don-forslaice* (*dorforslaigset* F)	*do-fúasailci*
16	3s	*ar-don-roigse* (*ardonrósgset* F)	*ar-ceissi*
17	3s pss	*do-róiter*	*do-foídi*
18	1p	*ron-tolomar*	*tolnaithir*
Post *dúnad*			
20	3s pss	*ro-erthar* (*rafirthar* F)	*ernaid*

27	3s	*ron-séna*	*sénaid*
27	3s	*ron-sóera*	*sóeraid*
27	3s	*ron-bróena*	*bróenaid*

4.4.4. As observed in Textual note §1, the verbal form *feladar/ felathar* may be a rare example of an active verb, *felaid*, taking a deponent ending in the present subjunctive. The only attestation found is *felsus*, the 3s preterite with suffixed pronoun. [155] Dr Jürgen Uhlich points out that the basic verb may not in fact be *felaid*, but a deponent form *felithir* or *felaithir*. A verbal form similar to *felsus* is *sexus*, 'he followed them', but the latter is derived from *sechithir*.[156] The active form arises because deponent endings were never used before suffixed pronouns. The 3s present subjunctive *temadar* (§1), on the other hand, is from a genuine active verb *do-eim*. The more common version of the verb, is derived from **di-eim* ('protects, defends'), but the form in this stanza is derived from **to-eim*, albeit with the same semantic sense. The DIL editors, under 2 *do-eim*, comment that the few forms of this verb may be due to confusion of pre-verbs.

4.4.5. The 3s present subjunctive in §7 is *-snáde* (*snáda* T), rhyming with *Mochabe*. As discussed in the relevant textual note, there is some doubt about the veracity of the spelling *Mochabe*, and this in turn leaves the form *-snáde* uncertain. However, the same form is rendered as *ron-snáda* in *Fél*, including the example for Sep 20, where it is guaranteed by rhyme with accusative plural *ṅdála*. One might expect *-snádea* but there is evidence that the original is the *a*-verb *snádaid*, with the *i*-verb *snáidid* a later development. In his note on palatisation and the present inflection of weak *i*-verbs McCone deals with this anomaly in respect of of weak *i*-verbs *ráidid* and *sáidid* where the stem-final consonant is assumed to be palatal throughout the paradigm.[157] This assumption is at odds with examples like 1p present *-rádam* (Ml 93a5), 3p *-rádat* (Wb 1d7, Ml 31a18), 3s relative *rádas* (Ml 42c4, 10) and 3s subjunctive *-ráda* (Wb 23b24), where one would expect *-ráidem*, *-ráidet*, *ráides* and *ráidea* respectively. McCone argues that the obvious approach is to start from a paradigm which basically had a non-palatal stem-final consonant, and generate the palatal variant from those forms in which the front vowel underwent weakening leading to palatisation after syncope. McCone's argument would account for the 17 non-palatal forms of *-snáda*

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[155] *Ält Ir Dicht I* 17.12.

[156] *Amra Choluim Chille*, (*LU* 818-9): *Libru Solman sexus*, glossed *ro siach libru Solman.* (ed. Stokes, RC 20, 254).

[157] McCone 1997b, 304 ff.

in *Fél*, together with *-snáda* here, preterite *-snádai* in §14 and *ro-snádat* in Broccán's Hymn §46 (see Chapter 7).

4.4.6. The verbal form in §9 *do-fúasailci*, (**to-fo-uss-léic-*) forms the 3s augmented present subjunctive *do-forslaice* (**to-fo-ro-uss-léic-*) into which the 1p class A infixed pronoun is inserted to render 'may he release us'. The OIr form is *do-forslaicea*, but the final *-a* had been dropped from the ninth century onward. Note also the 3s perfect prototonic of this verb *-tarslaic* in §17, which appears below in 4.4.10. The verb *ar-cessi* (**air-cess-*), 'pities', forms an augmented 3s present subjunctive *ar-roigse* (OIr *ar-roigsea*) in §16. In §17 the verb *do-foídi*, 'sends', also forms an optative present subjunctive passive *do-roíter*, 'may he be sent'. In the same vein the deponent *tolnaithir*, 'pleases, makes pleasing', is used reflexively in the 1p present subjunctive *ron-tollomar* (§18) in the sense 'may we make ourselves pleasing'. One might expect the OIr form *-tolnomar* here, but the assimilated form could be scribal.[158] The verb *ernaid* forms the 3s present subjunctive *ro-era*, with passive *ro-erthar* (§20), 'may it be granted'. It is notable that this OIr form is preserved in this stanza which follows the first *dúnad*. The mss glosses on *ro-erthar* are MIr versions *ro-erniter* (T), *ro-ernidar* (F).

4.4.7. Future Stems.

§		Future form	3s pres indic
2	1p	*adessam*	*ad-teich*
25	3s	*nachan-béra*	*beirid*

4.4.8. There are only two future stems, the first being *adessam* (*: sessam*) in §2 where the mss form represents *ad-[d]tessam*, with a phonetic spelling of the canonical OIr nasalised stem. The verb undergoes nasalisation as the line *issed attach adessam* is a *figura etymologica* based on the verb *ad-teich,* whose verbal noun is *attach*. It should be noted that *ad-[d]tessam* also represents the 1p present subjunctive, but it is not possible to distinguish the *s*-future from the *s*-subjunctive with this particular verb (GOI §613, 662). The second future stem is *nacha-n-béra* in §27. Note that *Th* II suggests the reading *nacha-n-méra* (against the evidence of the mss), and translates it

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[158] GOI §153 (e) describes how *-ln-* arising from syncope is retained in Wb and Sg, but in Ml transition to *-ll-* has begun, cf. *comallaid* (ms *commallaid*) for *comalnaid* in Ml 106a2). The spelling in the mss is probably derived from the assimilated form *-tollomar*. Retaining *-tollomar* would suggest a date of composition no earlier than the ninth century.

as such, but does not emend the verbal form.[159] It may be better, however, to follow Meyer who translates *comairche nacha-n-béra* as 'a safeguard that will not carry us off', i.e into captivity.[160]

4.4.9. Preterite Stems

§		Preterite form	3s pres indic
11, 15	3s rel	*anacht*	*aingid*
13, 19	3s rel	*sóeras*	*sóeraid*
14	3s rel	*sóeras* (*sóerais* F)	*sóeraid*
16	3s	*nád léic*	*léicid*
17	3s rel	*foídes* (*foedes* T, *faides* F)	*foídid*
10	3s aug	*robói* (*robái* T)	*at-tá*
6	3s aug	*ron-snáid*	*snáidid*
14	3s aug	*ro-snáidi* (*ronsnada* TF)	*snáidid*
15	3s aug	*ro-anacht*	*aingid*
17	3s aug	*tarslaic*	*do-fúasailci*
	Post *dúnad*		
26	3s perf	*ro-lá*	*do-cuirethar*

4.4.10. The main feature is the use of the 3s preterite *anacht* (§§11, 15) in relative constructions instead of the OIr special relative form *anachte*, and this may have dating implications. The special relative forms, with the exception of the 3s in *-as/-es*, had virtually died out by the start of the MIr period. There does not appear to be any attestation of relative *anachte* in the literature, and the only attested 3s special relative form of the *t*-preterite is *berte* (*Fianaig* p.28) from *beirid*. GOI §657 lists *luide* (Ml 127d3) and *gíulae* (Tur 125) as examples of the 3s relative form of the suffixless preterite,[161] but the appearance of these ninth century forms, together with *gáde* in Broccán's Hymn and *intí theite* in Sg 114b2, makes it difficult to establish a firm OIr date for the demise of forms like *anachte*. There was almost certainly a period in the ninth century when relative and non-relative forms appeared together.

4.4.11.The unusual 3s augmented preterite *ron-snáidi* in §14 does not have ms support, and the *Th* editors have emended *ron-snáid* for rhyme with the assumed dative of the place-name *Gába*. The mss may be right, if we read *ron-snáda* as a historic present of the non-palatal version of the verb *snádaid*. The form *tarslaic* (**to-*

[159] *Th* II 306 note *l*.

[160] Meyer 1917, 39.

[161] Another 3s special relative preterite form, *gáde* from *guidid* is to be found in Broccán's Hymn §25.

fo-ro-oss-léic) in §17 is a rare case of a prototonic verb introducing a relative clause (GOI §38.3). The *a*-vocalism of the stressed syllable would have arisen in the same manner as *tabair* does from *do-beir* (GOI §§82 and 532).

4.4.12. Concerning the augmented preterite forms listed above, only one could be read plausibly as grammatical perfect, that is §11: *robói i ṅgenmnai*, 'who has been in chastity'. Three cases are doubtful, though a pluperfect could well be understood in: §6: *Moysi ... ron-snáid tria Rubrum Mare*, 'Moses ... who (had) protected us through *Rubrum Mare*', §15: *amal ro-anacht Dauid*, 'as He (had) saved David', §17: *amal foídes in n-aingel/ tarslaic Petrum a slabraid*, 'as He sent the angel that (had) loosed Peter from a chain'. McCone argues that the augmented preterite has been used in OIr literature to describe a resultative effect which would be as relevant at the time of writing as it was at the time the action occurred.[162] The context makes it difficult to read such a resultative effect in §26 which would require an unaugmented preterite in canonical Old Irish: *Adamnán ... ro-lá cáin forsna clanna*, 'Adamnán ... 'who imposed a law on the clans'. The use of the augmented preterite here consigns §26 to the ninth century or later.

[162] See the treatment in McCone 1997, 93-8.

Section 5: Conclusion

5.1. Provenance of the Hymn

5.1.1. Gaidoz was the first to point out the particular characteristics of this hymn.[163] His view is that *Sén Dé,* with its unique mixture of Irish and Latin, unlike other hymns composed in this period, cannot have been inspired by Irish Christian mythology or hagiography. Gaidoz divides the hymn into three parts, the original poem extending to §19. These lines include an invocation of the Old Testament saints, which seems to be based on a Latin original. A similar invocation is found in the Epilogue to *Félire Óengusso*. Many of the same saints are described in the Roman Breviary.[164] A concordance between the *Commendatio*, *Sén Dé* and *Fél* Ep is shown at Annex A to this chapter. Gaidoz thought it possible that both of these Irish poems, together with the *Commendatio*, were based on the Latin text of some earlier prayer. In his view the phraseology has an analogy in the figures carved in early sepulchral monuments.[165] Gaidoz concludes: '*On voit par ces exemples que l'hymne de Colman n'est qu'un paraphrase irlandaise d'une ancien prière commune a toute l'Église, et que les mots latins dont il est farci appartiennent sans doute a l'original latin qui a servi de modèle au poète* (Gaidoz 1881-3, 103).

5.1.2. The question arises as to whether the hymn *Sén Dé*, whatever its source, can be included in the *lorica* genre, or whether it is a simple protection prayer. As discussed in Chapter 2, the criterion to be applied is the Mac Eoin pattern. The hymn *Sén Dé* fits reasonably well into the standard pattern, but excludes the invocation of angels and archangels, the invocation of the elements, parts of the body, and the general prayer. In that sense the hymn departs somewhat from the original concept of the *lorica* as an apotropaic charm or prayer. Rather, the hymn *Sén Dé* should be regarded as a literary composition, a learned invocation for protection, designed to mimic the *lorica* format.

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[163] Gaidoz 1881-3, 98.

[164] In particular the prayer *Commendatio animae quando infirmus est in extremis* (Étude sur les Ordines Commendationis Animae, Ephemerides Liturgicae xxxxix 1935, 3-27).

[165] viz., the passage through the Red Sea, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Ascension of Elijah, the tribulations of Job, David and Goliath, Daniel in the lion's den, the story of the three Hebrew children, Jonah and the whale, Susanna and the elders, the deliverance of St Peter, etc. (le Blanc 1879, 223-92 and Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times II*, 150ff.). Such carvings are also found in the high crosses in Ireland (Henry F 1964, 35-54).

5.2. Summary of Linguistic Evidence

5.2.1. An analysis of the language of this poem reveals the following features:

(1) This poem preserves the classical OIr final unstressed vowels in rhyming positions. In §6 the retention of OIr final *-ae* is guaranteed by rhyme in between nominative *dán(a)e* and Latin *Mare*, and in §16 final *-i* by rhyme between *iā*-stem dative singular *trógi* and Latin *ori*. Indirectly, dative singular *ródai* (§15) is validated through its rhyme with Irish *Gól(a)i*, which rhymes with *trógi* in *Fél* Ep 481-4.

(2) The line *eter suide nó ṡessam* (§3) may have dating significance. While *nó* lenites the following word as early as the Wb Glosses, *eter* only begins to lenite in the later Glosses (Ml and Sg). The mss clearly show initial lenition of *sessam* with *ṡessam* (T), *essam* (F), but not of *suide*.

(3) The most striking departure from Old-Irish usage is the use of *anacht* for the relative *anachte*.[166] Despite this aberration, there is nothing in the language which would place the composition of the original core later than the early ninth century.

(4) The second part of the hymn up to the second *dúnad* is distinguished by a major change in metre to *deibide* format in one and a half stanzas, although the language itself is not much later than the first section. §20 features a good OIr verbal form, *ro-erthar*, whose stem loses the *-n-* of the present indicative *ernaid.*

(5) There is only one clear instance of an augmented narrative preterite, *ro-lá* in §26, which is a late supplementary stanza.

(6) The final section, from §24 to §27, invoking Ireland's three major saints, is largely repetitive and formulaic. The rhyme *alla: clanna* (OIr *allae: clanda*) in §26 points to a later ninth century date as does the 2p imperative *tabraid* (OIr *taibrid*), although *tabraid* may be scribal.

5.3. Internal Evidence.

5.3.1. The mention of Joseph, husband of Mary, in §9 of this hymn has led early scholars to assign a superior limit to the date of composition. Bernard claimed that the name of Joseph did not appear in western martyrologies until the ninth century, and did not even merit inclusion in the litany for the Commendation of Departing Souls

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[166] *Th* II *xxxvii.*

until authorised by Benedict XIII in 1726.[167] However recent scholarship has cast considerable doubt on these assertions.[168] There is no positive evidence to support the contention, and an *ex silentio* argument such as that of the *LH* and *Th* editors is difficult to defend. On this basis the inclusion of Joseph's name in this hymn cannot be taken as a reliable criterion for a ninth-century dating. The language, however, gives a better measure in support of such dating.

5.4. Dating of the Hymn.

5.4.1. Based on the linguistic evidence it is difficult to disagree with the comment of the *Th* editors that the language of the hymn strongly resembles that of the *Félire Óengusso*, which was composed about 800.[169] This assessment applies to the original portion of the poem up to the first *dúnad*. The language of the supplementary stanzas would not be inconsistent with the attribution in F's gloss to a certain Díarmait ua Tigernáin, who died in 848.

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[167] *LH* II 158. The *Th* editors (II, *xxxvi*) agree, stating that Joseph 'seems not to be commemorated in Irish liturgies before about 800'.

[168] Ó Dochartaigh (2000, 66-8) notes that Joseph is celebrated in Fél Mar19 (*Ioseph, ainm as úasliu / aite álaind Íssu*), and receives a brief mention in the eighth-century Poems of Blathmac (Carney 1964). Furthermore, Joseph is treated with veneration in The Irish Gospel of Thomas, which Carney dates to about 700. As regards liturgical commemoration, Ó Dochartaigh goes on to show that the commemoration of Joseph in the Martyrology of Tallaght is most probably derived from an early continental source, and concludes that his May 19 feast day was known in Irish ecclesiastical circles in the early eighth century.

[169] *Th II. xxxvii.*

Annex A to Chapter 3:

Concordance between *'Commendatio animae quando infirmus est in extremis'*, *Sén Dé* and *Félire Óengusso*

Commendatio	**Sén Dé**	***Fél* Epilogue**
Suscipe, Domine, seruum tuum in locum sperandæ sibi salvationis a misericordia tua.		
Libera, Domine, animam eius ex omnibus periculis inferni, et di laqueis pœnarum et ex omnibus tribulationibus.		
Libera, Domine, animam eius sicut liberasti Enoch et Eliam de communi morte mundi.	§3. *Héle, Enóc diar cobuir*	445. *amail sóersai Héli la hEnóc don domun*
Libera, Domine, animam eius sicut liberasti Noe de diluuio.	§4. *Nöe ⁊ Abraham* §17. *anacht Nöe a luchtlach diluui temporibus*	451. *amail sóersai Nóë macc Lamech din díle*
Libera, Domine, animam eius sicut liberasti Abraham de Ur Chaldæorum	§14. *Abram de úr na Caldae snáidsiunn ruri rosnádai*	455. *amail sóersai Abram de lámaib na Caldae*
Libera, Domine, animam eius sicut liberasti Isaac de hostia et de manu patris sui Abrahae	§4. *Isác an macc adamrae*	467. *amail sóersai Ísac de lámaib a athar*
Libera, Domine, animam eius sicut liberasti Moysen de manu Pharaonis regis Aegyptiorum	§6. *snáidsiunn Moysi degthóisech ronsnáid tria Rubrum Mare*	503. *amail sóersai Moisén de manu Farónis*
Libera, Domine, animam eius sicut liberasti Lot de Sodomia et de flamma ignis.	§13. *Soter sóeras Lóth di thein*	459. *amail sóersai Loth de pheccad na cathrach*
Libera, Domine, animam eius sicut liberasti Danielem de lacu leonum.	§16. *nád léic suum prophetam ulli leonem ori*	499. *amail sóersai Daniél assin chuithi leoman*
Libera, Domine, animam eius sicut liberasti tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis et de manu Regis iniqui.	§15. *Ruri anacht tri maccu surnn tened co rródai*	507. *amail sóersai maccu de camíno ignis*
Libera, Domine, animam eius sicut liberasti Petrum et Paulum de carceribus.	§17. *Amal fóides in n-aingel tarslaic Petrum a slabreid*	513. *Rom-ṡóerae ... Pól Petar fiad rígaib De dígail na carcrae*

Chapter 4 - Fíacc's Hymn (*Génair Pátraicc*)

Section 1: General Considerations

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1. The Irish hymn *Génair Pátraicc*, otherwise known as Fíacc's Hymn, takes the form of a metrical life of Patrick, comprising a total of thirty-four quatrains arranged in *rannaigecht* format. The hymn appears in both T (folios 15-16) and F (pp 36-8). Internal evidence in the hymn itself suggests that it must have been derived from earlier sources, both oral and written. In the very first quatrain the author tells us: *Génair Pátraicc i nNemthur,/ iss ed adfét hi scélaib*, 'Patrick was born in Nemthur; this is what he relates in stories'. In §6 we read: *ised adfiadat líni*, 'this is what writings declare'. Indeed, the subject matter of the hymn represents a further development of the Patrick legend begun by his seventh-century hagiographers.

1.1.2. The date of composition of the hymn has been the subject of much scholarly debate. As cited in *Th* II *xxxvii*, Zimmer assigns the poem to the tenth century.[170] Thurneysen places it in the ninth century,[171] while Bernard and Atkinson believe it to have been composed in the eighth.[172] An examination of the language by the *Th* editors indicates a date not much later than 800 AD.[173] Kenney comments that internal evidence and language imply an eighth century date, making it one of the earliest hymns in the Irish language.[174] Binchy suggests, again on linguistic grounds, a mid-eighth century date.[175] Carney dates it to around 725, but says: 'the poem may be earlier than the date indicated, or for that matter slightly later.'[176] Ó Riain, from a study of the sources, believes the hymn could hardly have been composed earlier than the middle of the ninth

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[170] Zimmer Keltische Kirche 217.

[171] Thurneysen 1885, 329.

[172] *LH* II, 175-6.

[173] *Th* II xxxvii.

[174] Kenney 1929, 340.

[175] Binchy 1962, 124.

[176] Carney 1983, 178, 183.

century.[177] This wide spectrum of possible dates does not mean they are mutually exclusive. There is general consensus that the hymn is a compilation from various sources, and some stanzas may have been later interpolations, although the dating of these interpolations is still controversial.

1.1.3. The MIr preface attributes the hymn to Fíacc of Sletty, the son of Mac Ercae, son of Bregán, son of Dáire, son of Cathaír Mór. We are told first that the hymn was composed in the time of Lóegaire and then, towards the end, in the time of Lóegaire's son, Lugaid, possibly after Patrick's death. The place was Duma Gobla, to the north-west of Sletty, and the cause of composition, to praise Patrick.

1.2 Editions of the Hymn

The important editions of this hymn have been:

Date	Editor	Publication	Translation
1647	Colgan	*Trias Thaumaturga*	Latin
1868	MacCarthy	Irish Ecclesiastical Record	English
1872	Stokes	*Goidelica*	English
1874	Nat.MSS Ire.I	*Facsimile of T*	English
1880	Windisch	*Irische Texte I*	German
1880	Zimmer	*Keltische Studien II*	Metrical study
1887	Stokes	*Vita Tripartita II*	English (F text)
1890	Stokes	*Lismore Lives*	English
1897	Bernard and Atkinson	*Irish Liber Hymnorum*	English
1903	Stokes and Strachan	*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*	English

In addition several commentaries on the text have been published.[178]

1.3 Methodology

To attempt a more precise dating for this hymn, the same methodology employed in the previous chapter will be applied. In Section 2 the manuscript readings will be presented on a stanza-by-stanza basis, and the text analysed for metre, language and meaning, without changing the text or translation, except in a few cases where *Th* offers no translation or where more recent scholarship has

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[177] O Riain 1997, 709.

[178] FitzHugh provided a metrical study in *Italo-Keltic accent and rhythm* (Charlottesville, Va 1909); Ferguson translated it in *Trans RIA* 27, 105. Commentary has been provided by Loofs in *Antiquae Britorum Scotorumque ecclesiae quales fuerunt mores*, 44, 1882; Robert in *Étude critique* 1883, 49-54, and Thurneysen, who critically reviewed Zimmer's edition in *RC* 6, 326-36. In 1905 Bury (*St Patrick*, 263-6) provided a commentary and Zimmer revisited the hymn in 1908 (*Beiträge zur Erklärung altirischer Texte der kirchlichen u. Profanliteratur*), 1100-30; and RC 33 1912, 94-5.

demonstrated an improved reading. In Section 3 the main features of the metrical system will be reviewed, and in Section 4 the language of the hymn analysed. Finally, in the concluding Section 5 the linguistic evidence will presented and an assessment made of the likely date of composition.

Section 2: Textual Notes

§1

T	F
Genair Patraicc i nnemthur	Génair pat*raicc* i nne*m*thur
ised atfet hi scelaib	iss*ed* adfet hi scelaib
maccan se ṁblíadan dæc	maccan se ṁblíadan déc
intan dobreth fo déraib	intan dobreth fo deraib

2.1.1. *Metrics.* Both mss present a difficulty with line *c*, which appears to have only six syllables. The problem is with *dæc/déc* which was originally disyllabic,[179] and the *Th* editors accordingly restore the original *deac*. With this restoration, the metre in this stanza is *rannaigecht becc*, i.e. $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$ with perfect rhyme *scélaib: déraib.* There is no other ornamentation. The presence of the uncontracted *deac* is an important dating criterion, which will be discussed in 4.6 (Section 4).

2.1.2. *Genair patraicc i nnemthur.* The glossators describe Nemthur as *cathir sein feil* (*sen fil* F) *i mBretnaib tuaiscirt* (*tuascirt* F) *.i. Ail Cluade*, 'a city in North Britain, namely Ail Clúade', identified as modern-day Dumbarton. Ó Riain believes that the first mention of the place-name Nemthur occurs in *Bethu Phátraic*. If true, this could have dating significance for the hymn.[180] Byrne and Francis disagree.[181] They point out that Muirchú in describing Patrick's birthplace says: 'This place, as I am informed beyond hesitation or doubt, is Ventre.'[182] This chapter is missing in the Book of Armagh, but survives in the version of Muirchú's Life in the Brussels ms. Byrne and Francis postulate that Muirchú must have written something like **nemtr-*, which was misread as *uentr-*. If their reading is correct, Nemthur may well have been known as the birthplace in Muirchú's time. Perhaps the composer of the hymn had access to

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[179] See *Fél* Jul 15 and Sep 22, where the disyllabic form is confirmed by metre, compared with *SR* which uses mainly the contracted version. The latter feature arose during the course of the ninth century.

[180] Ó Riain 1997, 709. The phrase in *Bethu Phátraic* is *Hi nNemthur im ro genair inti noebPatraic* (Mulchrone 1939, 85).

[181] Byrne and Francis 1994, 69.

[182] Bieler 1979, 66: quem uicum constanter indubitanterque conperimus est esse Ventre.

an earlier narrative, hinted at in the next line. The 3s preterite *génair* (*gainithir*) is discussed in 4.4.12.

2.1.3. *ised atfet hi scelaib.* T's *atfet* features a petrified infixed pronoun and *ad-fét* has to be restored. In this relative construction with an object antecedent, *ad-fét* would be expected to undergo initial mutation, but it is impossible to say whether it is lenition or nasalisation, since lenition marking on *f* does not appear till Sg (GOI §231). Atkinson (*LH* II *xlvi*) was concerned that *ad-fét* might be a plural form, and in this he was probably influenced by the gloss in F, *periti*. Since *ad-fét* is a singular form the only feasible subject of the verb is Patrick, or 'one'. The word *scélaib*, 'stories' should perhaps be read as relating to oral narratives.[183]

2.1.4. *maccan se ṁbliadan dæc/ intan dobreth fo déraib.* The MIr genitive *ṁbliadan*, has to be restored to the OIr genitive plural *ṁblíadnae*.[184] Since the temporal conjunction *in tan* generally produces nasalisation (GOI §497), *do-mbreth* might have been expected here, but §27 of this poem also resists nasalisation in similar circumstances. The term *fo déraib* ('under tears') appears in *Fél* Ep173, *Mad étal nodgaba/ fo déraib co ṅglaini*, 'If he who sings it in tears (and) with purity is sinless', and in Prol 24, *aill fo díanaib déraib*, 'others under vehement tears'.

2.1.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Génair Pátraicc i nNemthur;	Patrick was born at Nemthur;
iss ed ad-fét hi scélaib,	this he declares in stories,
maccán sé ṁblíadnae déac	- a boy (was he) of sixteen years
intan dobreth fo déraib.	when he was carried off under tears.

§2

T	F
Succat a ainm i tubrad	Succat a ainm hitubrad
ced a athair ba fissi	cid a athair ba fisse
macc alpuirn m*aic*c otide	mac calpuirnd m*aic*c otidi
hóa deochain odissi.	hóa deochai*n* odissi

[183] See also Thurneysen, RC 6, 327.

[184] Breatnach (1994, 247) has collected a number of Middle Irish forms of this noun, including the genitive plural *blíadan*.

2.2.1. *Metrics.* The metre in this stanza is *rannaigecht bec,* i.e. $7^2 7^2 7^3 7^2$ with rhyme *fissi: odissi*, assuming the stress falls on the second syllable of *odissi*, like the Greek *Οδύσσεύς* (Odysseus). This would also permit alliteration between *deochain* and *Odissi*. The noun *hóa* in the mss has to be disyllabic for metrical reasons, and the *Th* editors accordingly restore the earlier *haue*.[185]

2.2.2. *Succat a ainm i tubrad.* Several variants of the name *Succat* [186] occur: *Succetus* in Tírechán, *Sucait* in *Bethu Phátraic*, *Succet* in *Vita Secunda* and *Tertia*, and *Suggeth* in *Vita Quarta*. In the Brussels ms (Bibl. roy.64) we read *Sochet* (but no name is listed in the Book of Armagh).[187] Ó Riain sees the closeness of *Sucait* and *Succat* as supporting his contention that *Génair Pátraicc* may be derived from *Trip*. However, since *Trip* is itself derived from a lost life via the W text the name *Succait* may have been in currency from an early date. The verbal form *tubrad* (a variant of *tabrad*), the passive preterite of *do-beir*, is employed in a prepositional relative clause: *i tubrad*, 'when he was carried off', rather than the *Th* translation 'in which he was carried off'.[188]

2.2.3. *cid a athair ba fissi.* The conjunctives *ced* or *cid* can mean'even', cf. *cid co hóir* (Wb 18d10), 'even for an hour'. Combined with the verbal of necessity *fissi* (from *ro-fitir*), the line reads literally 'even his father, he was [worthy] to be known'. *Th* II takes a similar approach: 'his father too were worthy to be known', but Atkinson takes a different meaning of *cid* with 'what his father was, were worth noting' (*LH* II, 32).

2.2.4. *mac calpuirnd maicc otidi/ hóa deochain odissi.* In the *macc alpuirn* of T the scholiast may have omitted the initial *c-* of Calpuirn after the preceding *-cc*.

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[185] The spelling *hóa* in the mss is Middle Irish, and the OIr spellings are: *aue*, *aua* and *hue* in AU 646, 744 and 780 respectively; *haue* in *Fél* Feb 8 and Apr 11; *haue* in Sg 29a10; *úa*, *óa* in *Bethu Pátraicc* 958, 2533; *hua* in *SR* 2784-3866.

[186] *Th* II 308, note *ff* compares the name *Succat* with the Welsh *hygad* 'warlike'. The F glossator provides an interesting etymological derivation of the name Succat: *bretnas sen deus belli uel fortis belli a laten, uaire su isin bretnais is fortis l is deus, cat is bellum,* 'British, the Latin of it is *deus belli* or *fortis belli,* because *su* in British is *fortis* or *deus, cat* is *bellum'*. No doubt the intention is to associate Patrick with divine and warrior qualities. The references to the listed names are as follows: *Succetus* (Bieler 1979, 124); *Sucait* (Mulchrone 1939, 10); *Sochet* (Bieler 1979, 66); *Succet, Suggeth* (Byrne and Francis 1994, 28); *Sochet* (Bieler 1979, 66).

[187] Mac Eoin (2002, 305-6) suggests that Succetus is a Latinised form of the British *su-* plus *ced* (gift), which figuratively means 'generous', a more suitable epithet than 'warlike'.

[188] Breatnach 1980, 6.

Both mss offer the phonetic form of *otide* with its phonetically lenited initial *F.* Here the *punctum delens* in *Th* II is editorial, and in future editions the form *Fotide*, albeit with silent lenition, should be restored. Patrick writes in the *Confessio: patrem habui Calpornum diaconum filium quendam Potiti, filii Odissi presbyteri*, 'I had as my father, Calpurnius, a deacon, a son of a certain Potitus, son of the priest Odisse'. A fuller genealogy is given in *Lismore Lives* p.293. The F gloss (under *Succat*) describes his pedigree: *mac Calpuirnd, meic Potide, meic Odisssi*, etc rather than *meic Otide*. Perhaps the original form in the poem was a lenited *Potide*, written *Fotide*, which in turn was mistakenly lenited by an early scribe to read *Otide*.

2.2.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Succat a ainm i tubrad;	Sucat (was) his name in which he was carried off;
cid a athair ba fissi;	his father too was [worthy] to be known;
macc Calpuirn maicc Fotide,	(he was) son of Calpurn, son of Potid,
haue deochain Odissi.	(and) a descendant of the deacon Odisse.

§3

T	F
Bai se blia*dna* i fognam	Bai se blíadna hi fognam
maisse dóine nistoimled	maisse doin*n*e nisto*m*led
bat*ar* ile cothraige	bat*ar* ile kothraige
cethartrebe dia fognad.	cetharthrebe dia fognad

2.3.1 *Metrics*. The metre here is a loose form of *rannaigecht bec*, $7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$, but the rhyming pair, *toimled: fognad* is problematic, producing only consonance, rather than full rhyme, since the middle consonants of each word differ in quality (the *-ml-* in verbal form *-toimled* being palatal versus the neutral *-gn-* of *-fognad*). The rules for consonance are less stringent. According to *EIM*, the corresponding interior consonants need not agree in quality, though they must belong to the same class.[189] In this case, the interior consonants, *-ml-*and *-gn-* all belong to the same class l. Murphy goes on to comment that corresponding stressed vowels need agree in quantity only, but final vowels must be identical. Here the second condition would not be met in classical Old Irish, but during the ninth century the vowels in a final unstressed syllable might have been reduced

[189] Murphy 1961, 34.

to a *schwa*. However, there might be a case for reading non-palatal *-tomlad* here which would provide perfect rhyme with *fognad*. This will be discussed in Section 4 (4.4.4 and 4.4.16).

2.3.2. *maisse dóine nistoimled.* The construction here is a *nominativus pendens* where the infixed pronoun is anaphoric representing the *iā*-stem *maisse*. The word *maisse* can express beauty and goodliness in general and, in particular, wealth, goods, etc. The *Th* editors translate the line as 'of men's wealth he used not to partake', while *LH* II has the more prosaic 'of men's food he ate not'.[190] The glossator in T understood *maisse* to mean 'good food and raiment' (*biad maith ⁊ etach*). In Patrick's case there is evidence of such austerity in his *Confessio*, when he writes: 'and in times of snow or frost or rain I would rise before dawn to pray'. Later, 'I was well and truly reduced by hunger and poor clothing.'[191]

2.3.3. *batar ili cothraige/ cethartrebe dia fognad.* The object of the 3s imperfect *fognad* (from the verb *fo-gní*, 'serves') is expressed generally either by the accusative case or the preposition *do.* Here it forms a prepositional relative clause with the latter, meaning: 'whom Cothraige of the four households used to serve'. The compound *cetharthrebe* ('four house-holds') is a genitive singular and qualifies *Cothraige*. The association with *cetharthrebe*, seems to have arisen from an etymological gloss on *Cothraige*: *.i. rolenastar int ainm as Cothraige*, 'the name Cothraige adhered to him' (T), *.i. cethairaige arinni dogníth* tribulus .IIII. 'four joints, because he used to serve four tribes' (T), *cethairaige .i.* agens *.IIII.* domibus seruitium (F), 'four joints, i.e. doing service to four houses'. The provenance of the name *Cothraige* has been the subject of much scholarly debate, and it could have implications for dating of the hymn, but such discussion would be outside the scope of this thesis.

2.3.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Boí sé blíadnai hi fognam;	He was six years in servitude;
maisse doíne nís-toimled;	of men's wealth he used not to partake;
bátar ili Cothraige	many were there that Cothraige
cethartrebe dia fognad.	of the four households used to serve.

[190] The sentiment expressed here is similar to that in §4 of the hymn *Ní car Brigit* where Brigit is described in the terms: *ní cair in domuin cathim*, 'she loved not to enjoy the world'.

[191] Duffy 1972, 81: et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per niuem per gelu per pluuiam:, and para 85: et in ueritate humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate.

§4

T	F
Asbert uictor f*ri* gniad	Asbert uictor fri gniad.
mil contessed for tonna.	⁊ milcon tessed f*or* tonna
f*or*ruib a chois f*or*sind leicc	forruib a choiss f*or*si*n*d leic
marait a es ní bronna	maraid dia æs ní bronna

2.4.1 *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is a loose form of *rannaigecht bec,* i.e. $7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$ with perfect rhyme *tonna: bronna.* There is a metrical problem with line *b* of F, the symbol ⁊ increasing the syllable count above the seven required. This must be regarded as a scribal slip and is ignored. Alliteration occurs between *tessed* and *tonna.*

2.4.2. *Asbert uictor fri gniad /milcon tessed for tonna.* In line *a Th* restores the OIr accusative *gniaid* of the masculine *d*-stem *gnía*, 'servant'. The scribe in T has attached *con* to *tessed* instead of *mil*, presumably to provide a complementizer for the 3s past subjunctive *-téssed* (from *téit*, 'goes'). F, in contrast, has the correct form *Mílcon,* genitive of the proper name *Míliuc.* The glossator of T compounds the error, glossing *mil .i. milid,* 'soldier'. The implications of leaving *-téssed* unadorned, without the conjunctions *ara* or *co* are discussed in 4.4.6. One possibility might be to read the clause *tessed for tonna* as a complement of the verb *as-bert* in the construction described in GOI §503 with its regular nasalisation. The verbal form *-tessed* is the 3s past subjunctive of *téit*, 'goes' and, as described in GOI §520.2b, it can be employed as a secondary future where there is no time limitation. In such a case the complementizer *ara* is usually employed, e.g. *as-rubart día hi recht ... ara-sechitis a thimnae*, 'God had said in the Law that they should follow His commandments' (Wb 29d23). These forms are discussd in 4.4.6. In furtherance of his argument that this hymn may be derived from *Trip* Ó Riain points out that the name of Patrick's angel is *Victoricus* in Muirchú, but *Victor* in both *Trip* and this hymn. However, this view is negated by the use of the name *Victor* by both Muirchú and Tírechán.[192]

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[192] Ó Riain 1997 708 n.46. See Bieler 1979, 116 for Muirchú's account: *:in rubo Victor erat anguelus,* 'in the bush was the angel Victor' ; and 124 for *Tírechán's: ut dixit illi anguelus Domini Victor nomine*, 'as the angel of the Lord, Victor by name, had told him'.

2.4.3. *for-ruib a chois forsind leicc.* The verbal form *forruib* is puzzling. The ending *-ruib* seems to have arisen from the later assimilation of lenited *m* and *b*.[193] *Th* accordingly restores it to the likely original *fo-rruim,* 3s preterite of *fo-ruimi*. This produced the translation 'he set his foot on the flagstone'. In his Supplement, Stokes later considered that *forruib* might be right after all, and settled on the perfect of *for-ben* to translate 'he has struck his foot on the flagstone.' The verbal form is discussed in 4.4.14.

2.4.4. *marait a es ní bronna.* This line is also troublesome. First, a problem arises from the use of the 3s plural *marait* in T with a singular subject *és* ('trace'). Both *Th* and *LH* read *marait* in T, but fail to notice *maraid* in F, which can be seen quite clearly. The simple solution is to follow F, but the *Th* editors seek to resolve their perceived difficulty by unnecessarily emending *marait* to *maraith*. The *marait* of T must be a scribal error, or possibly a MIr confusion between final *-t* and *-d*. The mss offer a lexical choice between the T text where *marait a és* means 'his (or its) trace remains', and F's *maraid dia ées* can be translated 'it remains after him (or it)'. Second, the 3s present indicative *bronna* (from *bronnaid*, 'spends, consumes') seems to be unattested elsewhere in an intransitive sense. The only gloss on *bronna* is partly illegible, but the *Th* editors suggest in note *i* that we read *ni tesban and* (F), 'it fails not (there)'.[194] The story of the angel's footprint is recounted in Muirchú (Bieler 1979, 82).

2.4.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Asbert Victor fri gníaid	Victor said to Míliuc's servant
Mílcon téissed for tonna;	that he should go on the waves.
for-ruib a chois forsind leicc;	he [Victor] set his foot on the flagstone;
maraid a és, ní bronna.	the trace of it remains, it wears not away.

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[193] For example, *rot marmais* for *rot marbais* (*SR* 1680), and *do nōemnib* for *do nōebnib* (*SR* 4194).

[194] *Th II* 310. The tradition behind the last two lines of this stanza is recounted by F's glossator in a marginal gloss. The relevant part of the gloss is: *i rricht eoin ticed Uictor aingel co Patraic intan roboi ic ingaire mucc Milcon meic hui Buan i nArcail, .i.*nomen uallis magnae *insen i tuasciurt Dal Arade ic Sléib Mís, ⁊ i Sciric sainriud ticed cucai:* ecclesia *sen* hodie i ualle illa, *⁊ maraid slicht a choss beos forsin chloich.* .....'in a bird's shape the angel Victor was wont to come to Patrick, when he was herding the swine of Miliuc, son of Ua Buain, in Arcal, (that is, the name of a great valley in the north of Dal Araide at Slemish) and in Scirit in particular he used to come to him. That is, the old church in that valley, and the trace of his feet remains on the stone.....'.

§5

T	F
Dofaid tar elpa huile	Dofaid tar elpa huile
de mair ba amru retha	de mair ba amra retha
*con*idfarggaib la german	conidfarcaib la german
andes i ndeisciurt letha	andes i ndesciurt letha

2.5.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is *rannaigecht bec,* i.e. $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$ with rhyme *retha: letha.* Although the rhyme looks perfect superficially, the OIr genitive is probably *Lethai,* assuming a nominative *Lethae*, cf. *Fél* 27 Jun. Uhlich argues that the OIr origin of *Letha* can only be either **Lethae* < *litawiį̄i*, like Old Welsh *Litau* etc., or **Lethai* < *litawi*.[195] In either case, OIr *Lethae* or *Lethai* would not rhyme with *retha*, genitive singular of *u*-stem *rith*, at least until the ninth century. There is alliteration between *elpai* and *huile*, and, since *andes* is stressed on the second syllable, between *-des* and *ndeisciurt.*

2.5.2. *Dofaid tar elpa huile.* According to DIL (D 263, 60), the 3s preterite verb *do-fáid* (from *do-feid,* 'leads') can be confused with the 3s preterite of *do-fóidi* ('sends') and *do-feth* ('comes, goes'). As it stands in the mss, the verb lacks an object, which would rule out the transitive *do-feid* and *do-fóidi*. Taking *do-fáid* as the 3s preterite of *do-feth* would produce: 'He went over all of Britain'. Here *Th* opts for the verb *do-feid*, and supplies the missing object by an emendation to *dafáid*, 'he led him'. In this they may have been influenced by the gloss in T: *rofaidestar uictor patraic dar sleib nelpa,* 'Victor led Patrick over Mount Elpa'. Indeed the context seems to support the idea of Patrick being led rather than being sent or going unbidded. The *Th* editors comment that *Elpae* here is a name for Scotland or Britain, and compare *iar ndul do Elpa fo secht* (*LU* 52a1), 'after going to Scotland seven times', and *sleibte Elpae* (*LL* 252a1).[196] Afterwards it was confused with *slíab nElpae*, 'the Alps' (*YBL* 169a2). Since the preposition *tar* takes the accusative, the following noun and adjective have to be restored to *elpai n-uili*.

2.5.3. *de mair, ba amru retha/ andes i ndeisciurt Letha. Th* prefers the simple *amra* in F to the comparitive *amru* in T. Here, the substantive is required since it

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[195] Uhlich 1995, 12, note 9.

[196] *LH* II 179: Bernard and Atkinson believe the mount of Elpa or Drumalban is the mountain chain dividing Argyleshire from Perthshire.

is followed by the genitive of *rith*, literally 'it was a wonder of a course'. The expression *Dé máir* may be an unusual form of the vocative without the particle *a*.[197] But since GOI §248 is quite adamant that *a* always precedes the vocative (except in early examples before *mo*), perhaps we should consider instead a petrified genitive *dé máir*, 'on a great day'. Alternatively, the *a* might have been lost by metrical elision across a line boundary.[198] The form *már* is common in early literature, although *mór* makes an appearance as early as Wb, and its presence cannot be taken as a reliable dating guide. As the *Th* editors remark in note *g*, *Letha* here represents Letavia (Armoric Gaul), although the glossators understood it as Latium (a region of Italy). The verbal form in *Th* II, *conid-fárcaib* has been emended slightly to restore OIr *conid-fárcab.*

2.5.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Da-fáid tar Elpai n-uili	He led him over all Albion
Dé máir! ba amrae retha,	great God! 'twas a wondrous course,
conid-fárcab la German	so that he left him with German
andes i ndeisciurt Letha.	southward, in the southern part of Letha.

§6

T	F
I ninnsib mara torrian	IN insib mara torrian
ainis innib adrimi	áinis indib adrimi
legais canoin la german	legais canoin la german
ised adfiadat líni	is*ed* adfiadat líni

2.6.1 *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is *rannaigecht bec,* i.e. $7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$ with perfect rhyme *ad-rími: líni.* There is alliteration between *áinis* and *indib*.

2.6.2. *i n-innsib mara torrian/ áinis indib ad-rími.* The opening account comes from Tírechán and is taken to mean 'in the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea'.[199] Line

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[197] The expression *a Dé* appears as a rare vocative in Wb 5a7 and Ml 87a2.

[198] Carney (1964, *xxxi*) provides examples of such elision.

[199] Bieler 1979, 125: Septem annis ambulauit et navigauit in fluctibus et in campestribus locis et in conuallibus montanis per Gallias atque Italiam totam atque in insoles quae sunt in Mari Terreno, ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum,: 'Seven other years he walked and sailed on water, in plains, and in mountain valleys throughout Gaul and the whole of Italy and in the islands in the Tyrrhene Sea, as he himself said in an account of his labours'.

b poses certain difficulties. The *Th* editors translate it as 'he fasted, in them he computed'. Here the editors read *ad-rími* for *do-rími* in the sense of counting or computing.[200] However, *ad-rími* also has a more general meaning of 'relating' or 'recounting'. Stokes later had second thoughts and in his Supplement (p.505) cites Sarauw who took *indib* not as 'in them', but as *ind ḟib*, and translated *indib adrimi* as '*sicut narrat*'. Thurneysen in GOI §911 takes *ḟib (feib)* as probably the dative of *feb* '(good) quality'. Wb 23a3 has: *ḟib as deg ropriched*, 'as it has been preached best'. A literal translation of the line would render the relative construction 'in the manner he relates', or 'as he relates'. This re-translation, however, is for a new edition of the hymn, and the original *Th* version is retained here. The 3s preterite *aínis*, 'fasted' is based on the verb *aínid*, which in turn is derived from *aíne* (*óene*), a latin borrowing from 'ieiunium'. According to GOI §924, the Irish word was modelled on *oín*, 'one', because Britannic forms like Mid. Bret. *yun, iun* resembled the numeral *un*.

2.6.3. *legais canoin la german/ ised adḟiadat líni.* The variation in tense is interesting. The verbs *áinis* and *légais*, referring to past actions, are in the preterite, while *adrími* and *adḟiadat* are in the present. The employment of the expressions *ad-rími* and *adḟiadat líni* strengthens the suspicion this hymn was based on an early written narrative (as well as oral tradition).

2.6.4. *Th* Text and Translation

I n-innsib Mara Torrian	In the isles of the Tyrrhene Sea
áinis indib ad-rími;	he fasted, in them he computed;
légais canóin la German:	he studied the canon with German:
ised adḟiadat líni.	that is what [his]writings declare.

§7

T	F
Dochum nerenn dodfetis	Dochum nerend dodfetis
aingil dé hi fithisi	aiṅgil dé hi fithisi
menicc atchithi hi fisib	menic itchíthe hi fisib
dosnicfed arithisi	dosnicfed arithisi

[200] *Th* II 312, note *o*. In relation to *computus* the editors refer to RC 6, 333.

2.7.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is *fordúan,* i.e. $7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$ with perfect rhyme *fithissi: -rithissi.* There is a metrical difficulty with line *c* where both mss have a syllable too many. The *Th* editors attempt to solve the problem by emending *atchithi/ itchíthe* to *atchíth,* an early form of the 3s imperfect with the proleptic infixed pronoun.[201] However, as discussed below, a less intrusive solution would be to read *ad-cíthe*, and assume elision with the following preposition.

2.7.2. *Dochum nerenn dodfetis /aingil dé hi fithissi*. The verb *do-feid* met in §5 returns here as the 3p imperfect. It is best to read the lines as a cleft sentence with a suppressed copula but, with the adverbial fronting, the clause should not have the relative construction marked by the 3s masculine class C infixed pronoun. Such confused relative forms arise in later Old Irish (GOI §506), but emending to *da-fetis* would be too drastic.[202] The preposition *dochum* is the proclitic form of *tochim* 'stepping towards', the verbal noun of *do-cing*, and both mss preserve *n-Érenn*, since *dochum* governs the genitive and nasalises. The use of inappropriate infixed pronouns in this poem will be addressed in Section 4. The word *fithis(s)i* is the dative of *fithis*, and *hi fithisi* means 'in a circuit', translated adverbially as 'back'. The early editors claim to read *fithissi* and *arithissi* in T, but I read *fithisi* and *arithisi* as in F.

2.7.3. *menicc atchithi hi fisib*. The forms in the mss, *atchithi* and *itchíthe*, are strange. *Th* emends the mss texts to the 3s active imperfect *at-chíth*, with a neuter infixed pronoun anticipating line *d*, rendering 'often he used to see in visions'. This approach has the advantage of meeting the heptasyllabic line requirement. The closest OIr form is *ad-cíthe,* the imperfect singular passive of *ad-cí*, where the preverb *at-* represents a MIr petrification of the 3s neuter infixed pronoun, cf. *atchíthe dó i n-aslingi*, 'was seen by him in a dream' (*LU* 3452). The verb could be restored to OIr *ad-cíthe* with meaning: 'often it used to be seen in visions', although this reading would require elision between *ad-cíthe* and *hi*. Atkinson in *LH* II, 32 adopts the passive translation, but without emending the T text. The *i*-stem adjective *menicc*, 'frequent' can be employed adverbally in Old Irish when it is preceded by the definite article, cf. *in menicc*

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[201] See Thurneysen 1883-5, 333, whose correction is acknowledged in *Th* II 312, note *o*.

[202] *Th* II (312 note *c*) suggests that we should read a class A pronoun, producing *da-fetis* in place of *dod-fetis*, although they stop short of altering it.

glossed. jugiter 'often' (Ml 86b4). In this stanza *menicc* is used as an adverb without the definite article, cf. *nos-molammar menicc*, 'we often praise them' (*Fél* 17 Jan).

2.7.4. *dosnicfed arithissi*. Here the feminine infixed pronoun clearly refers to *Ériu*, and both texts employ the nasalising option. The word *arithissi* is a petrified form of the OIr *frithissi* (from *fri-éis*, return track) with the masculine 3s possessive pronoun, and is translated as 'again, once more', e.g. *co tainic áfrissi*, 'till it came again' (Ml 82d9). *Afrithissi* is restored by the *Th* editors.

2.7.5. *Th* text and Translation

Dochum nÉrenn dod-fetis	To Ireland God's angels
aingil Dé hi fithissi;	used to lead him back (?);
menicc ad-cíth hi fisib	often he used to see in visions
dos-n-icfed afrithissi.	that he would come to it again.

§8

T	F
Robo chobair dond erinn	Ropo chobair dond érind
tichtu Pat*raicc* forochlad	tichtu pat*raicc* fo*r*ochlad
roclos cian son a garma	roclos cian son a ṅgarma
macraide caille fochlad.	m*acc*raidi caille fochlad

2.8.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is is *rannaigecht bec,* i.e. $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$ with seemingly perfect rhyme *-rochlad: fochlad.* Alliteration occurs in line *c* between *-clos* and *cian.*

2.8.2. *tíchtu patraicc forochlad.* The verbal form *fo-rochlad* is rare. The nearest attested form is the 3s perfect passive *fon-rochled* (Wb 19c13), translated by Kavanagh as 'we have been pre-destined.' [203] A similar problem arises in *Ní car Brigit* §35, where T's *i rrocloth* is corrected to palatal *i rrocleth* by note *i* of *Th* II 344. The regular form has palatal *-chl-* but in this stanza it may have been modified by the scribes for rhyme with *fochlad.* Alternatively, an innovatory non-palatal *fo-rochlad* may have arisen. It will be recalled that §3 presented the rhyme *-toimled: fognad.* These verbs will be discussed in Section 4. The

[203] Kavanagh 2001 under *fo-ciallathar*. In his Supplement (*Th* II 505) Stokes cites Sarauw's comment in ZCP 5, 16 that *fo-rochlad* is the perfect passive singular of *fo-ciallathar*, with meaning 'has been provided for' which Sarauw re-interprets as 'has been determined upon'.

glossator in F was confused by the form, glossing it as *roclos l foroclas*, 'was heard or was dug'. The antecedent is the *n*-stem *tíchtu,* the verbal noun of *do-icc,* attested in the early Glosses and in *Fél*, and in later language the dative *tíchtain* replaced the nominative, cf. *SR* 3531.

2.8.3. *roclos cian son a garma /macraide caille fochlad.* The perfect passive voice continues with *ro-clos*, the subject of which is *son*, 'sound', followed by a multiple genitival grouping. The F text indicates a 3p possessive pronoun with *a ṅgarma*, but T's feminine singular is better since *macraide* is of that number and gender (GOI §264). There has been much debate concerning the whereabouts of Fochlad wood, and the *Th* editors list the references in early literature to its location.[204]

2.8.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ropo chobair dond Érinn	A help to Ireland was Patrick's coming
tíchtu Pátraicc fo-rochlad;	which had been expected;
ro-clos cían son a garma	far had been heard the sound of the cry
macraide caille Fochlad.	of the children of Fochlad wood.

§9

T	F
Gádatar co tíssad in noeb	Gádatar co tissed in noeb
ara nimthised lethu	ara nimthised lethu
ara tintarrad o chlóen	ara tintarad o chlóen
tuatha herenn do bethu.	tuatha hérend do bethu

2.9.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is *rannaigecht chummaisc,* i.e. $7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$ with perfect rhyme *lethu: bethu* and additional *a: c* rhyme between *nóeb* and *chlóen*. Note that there is one syllable too many in line *a*. To achieve seven syllables *Th* found it necessary to drop the conjunction *co*.

2.9.2. *Gádatar co tíssed in noeb*. The question is whether or not dropping the conjunction *co* for metrical reasons can be justified grammatically. The line

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[204] *Th* II 312, note *q*: *silua Fochlithi* in The Book of Armagh, 10b1, 10b2 and 14b1; *super siluam Focluth*, 14b2, and in the Confessio: *putabam ipso momento audire uocem ipsorum qui erant iuxta siluam Vocluti, quae est prope mare occidentale*, 'I seemed at the same moment to hear the voice of those who were by the wood of Voclut, which is near the western sea'. It should be noted that this wood (probably in Co. Mayo) was known to Tírechán who was a native of the district (Bieler, 1943).

tíssed in nóeb can be taken as a complement clause following *gádatar*, and such clauses regularly take the subjunctive mood when used with the verb *guidid*.[205] McQuillan points out that complements in earlier texts can in fact be paratactical. He concedes nonetheless that the absence of the complementizer here may be due to purely metrical reasons. The appearance of the conjunct particle *ara* for the complements in lines *b* and *c* bears this out. A similar situation arose with the construction *asbert .....téssed* in §4, and this will be discussed in Section 4. Baumgarten comments that this line without the conjunction *co* is an asyndeton, a well-known rhetorical device in grammar.[206] This leaves a choice between T's *tíssad* and *tíssed* in F. The verbal form *tíssed* is well attested as the 3s past subjunctive. The version in T is a MIr form.[207] As in §4 we can read *tíssed* as a subjunctive of the secondary future as per GOI §520.2b.

2.9.3. *ara nimthised lethu.* The 3s past subjunctive comes up again, this time of *imm-ticc*, meaning to 'come around', or 'walk'. The *Th* editors remark (313 note *b*) that this interpretation is supported by a section in the *Confessio* para 23: *et sic exclamauerunt: "rogamus te, (sancte) puer, venias et adhuc ambulas inter nos"*, 'so they cried out: we ask you, (sacred) boy, come and walk once more amongst us.'[208] The spelling of the preposition *lethu* must have confused F's glossator as he thought it referred to 'Italy, or breadth of lands'. The form *lethu*, which appears in the Notes in the Book of Armagh,[209] is used in place of the more common *leu* or *leo*. The *-th-* was employed as a hiatus-filler and became a feature of later language. Although GOI §845 takes *lethu* as archaic, McCone regards it an early slippage from the spoken register.[210]

2.9.4. *ara tintarrad o chlóen/ tuatha herenn do bethu.* Here a similar construction arises with the 3s past subjunctive of *do-intai* ('turns') which takes *túatha* as its object, but the verbal mood is more speculative due to the

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[205] McQuillan 2002, 61.

[206] Baumgarten 1975, 23. Note that asyendetic constructions are used for emphasis, as for example, the phrases in English 'come, take it', or 'go, get it'.

[207] The confusion in MIr leading to forms such as *tísad* is discussed in McCone 2000, 182.

[208] Duffy 1972.

[209] *Th* II. 241, 4: *congaib lethu áth fithot*, 'he sets up with them at Áth Fithot.

[210] McCone 1985, 89.

augmentation, and is contingent upon the first two *desiderata* being fulfilled, that is, that he might be able to return and that he might walk with them.

2.9.5.*Th* text and Translation

Gádatar tíssed in nóeb,	They prayed the saint would come,
ara n-imthised lethu,	that he would walk with them,
ara tintarrad ó chlóen	that he might turn the peoples of Ireland
túatha Hérenn do bethu.	from iniquity unto [eternal] life.

§10

T	F
Tuatha herenn tairchantais	Tuatha hérend tairchaintais
dosnicfed sithlaith nua	dosnicfed sithlaith nua
meraid co de a iartaige	meraid co tí an iartaige
bed fas tír temrach tua	bid fas tír te*m*rach tua

2.10.1. *Metrics*. The $7^37^27^37^2$ metre in this stanza[211] includes perfect rhyme *nuae: tuae*. Alliteration occurs between *tír, temrach* and *tua*. The third line appears to have eight syllables, but we can assume elision between *dé* and *a* in T or *ti* and *an* in F. The adjective *nuae* is listed in *EIM* as being disyllabic.[212] It is assumed that *tuae* is similarly disyllabic.

2.10.2. *Tuatha herenn tairchantais*. Both mss show the contracted deuterotonic form, *tairchantais*, of the 3p imperfect of *do-airchain.* It is difficult to decide if the noun-initial syntax is a poetic confection, a cleft construction with a suppressed copula or a *nominativus pendens*. MacCana lists 13 examples of noun-initial clauses in *Génair Pátraic*, including this one, and comments that the syntax is 'mainly attributable to their verse setting, even if some can be explained as instances of a *nominativus pendens*'.[213] The contracted deuterotonic form is often employed in relative clauses, although this feature is more common when the antecedent is the object of the relative verb.[214]

2.10.3. *dosnicfed sithlaith nua/ meraid co de a iartaige*. The compound *sithlaith* in both mss is read as *síḋflaith*, 'prince of peace', although one could also read

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[211] Classified in EIM as aí fhreisligi, i.e. cró cummaisc etir rannaigecht mbic ocus casbairdni.

[212] Murphy, 1961, 4.

[213] Mac Cana 1973, 94-5.

[214] Schrijver 1997, 113 ff.

'realm of peace, cf. *luid hi sídflaith sóerdai*, 'he went into the noble realm of peace' (*Fél* Jul17). GOI §231.7 notes that 'occasionally lenited *f*, which was silent, is omitted altogether, especially when two words are written as one'. DIL lists a number of meanings for the noun *iartaige*: 'result, consequence (usually in bad sense), fate, a remnant, issue, posterity, offspring, or a legal liability'. The *Th* editors read *co dé* in the T text as meaning 'till Doomsday', comparing the phrase with *co dia* in *LU* 4b17, and read *iartaige* in its sense of 'posterity'. Reading the neuter definite article, *a n-iartaige*, the F text, (*meraid co tí an iartaige*) could be translated literally as: 'He will last till Fate comes'. The idea of Patrick having personal offspring or posterity is, of course, untenable, as evidenced from his own writings, and from the various early Lives. In the reading of T we would have to read *a iartaige* as his ecclesiastical successors, or his spiritual heritage. It appears that T has the *lectio difficilior* here. Although the mss offer the future tense *méraid* (TF) and *bid* (F), the context is one of direct speech, and the conditional tense, *mérad* and *bed* might be more appropriate.

2.10.4. *bedfas tír Temra tua.* The word *tua(e)* is found in two very different sources; first as a synonym of the disyllabic noun *dóe*, meaning 'rampart', as in *Fél* Mar 2: *slan doe*, 'a sound rampart', and *Fél* Aug 27: *co rríg nél nóeb ndoë*, 'to the holy rampart of the King of clouds'. The form *tua* appears in ZCP 8, 102.x: *tuislis ailcne lais a tua in lis.* In this hymn the context would place the noun in the genitive plural, viz. *tír temrach dóe*, 'land of the ramparts of Tara'. The second possibility is to read *túa* as a form of the adjective *tóe*, 'silent.'[215] As pointed out by the *Th* editors in note *k*, *Temrach* is a tenth-century genitive form, the earlier form being *Temro* or *Temra*. Either of these earlier forms could be substituted, if need be, without affecting the metre. The *Th* editors read *túae* as a genitive singular adjective 'silent', qualifying *Temrach*, and were probably influenced by T's gloss *cen gloir*, 'without glory'.

2.10.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Túatha Hérenn tairchantais	The peoples of Ireland used to prophecy
dos-n-icfed sídflaith núae,	that a new prince of peace would come to them,

[215] O Neill, 1907, 96 §2. In *The Rule of Ailbe of Emly* we find the line, *bad toé díscéoil a monar,* 'silent and without speech be his work'. In this poem the metrics show *toé* to be monosyllabic, but so also is *cóir* (p.93). The noun *tóe* ('silence') in Ml has *tuai* twice (58a5 and 112b3).

méraid co dé a iartaige,	that his posterity would remain till Doomsday,
bid fás tír Temrach túae.	that silent Tara's land would be desolate.

§11

T	F
A druid fri lóegaire	A druid ar lóegaire
tichtu Phatraicc ni cheilltis	tichtu phat*raicc* ni cheiltis
rofírad ind atsine	rofírad ind aitsine
inna flatha asbeirtis.	inna flatha asbeirtis

2.11.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is again $7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$ (*aí fhreisligi*), with perfect rhyme *cheiltis: -beirtis.* There is also consonance between *Lóegaire* and *fáitsine*. The metre shows that the hiatus in *druid* is preserved.

2.11.2. *A druid fri lóegaire/ tichtu phátraicc ni ceiltis*. Concerning the textual choice between prepositions *fri* and *ar*, the normal practice is to use *ar* or *for* after *ceilid* in the sense of hiding something 'from' someone. In this respect F appears the better reading. However, the DIL editors comment that in the negative the sense 'does not conceal' is a *litotes* used frequently to denote the positive 'admits, allows, concedes, states, declares'.[216] The *Th* editors in note *m* extend this argument to consider *ní cheiltis* as the equivalent of *as-beirtis*, possibly justifying the preposition *fri*. Attractive though this argument may be, no examples of such construction are listed in DIL, but this suggests it may be the *lectio difficilior*. The mss both show unhistoric lenition of *cheiltis* following the negative particle, (assuming a neuter infixed pronoun is not intended) [217] and *ní ceiltis* is accordingly restored.

2.11.3. *rofírad ind aitsine / inna flatha asbeirtis*. There is further evidence of scribal interpolation here, particularly the MIr lenition of *-fírad*. *Th* II restores *f áitsine*, given that the mss omit the initial *f* completely. Perhaps *fáitsine* without the lenition marker should be restored. However, the lenited form *Phátraicc* is justified, as exemplified by *do pheccad* (Wb 3b15) beside *di peccad* (Wb 24b4).

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[216] DIL under *ceilid* (c, d), p.99, 3-16.

[217] McCone (1997, 172) comments that in Middle Irish the standard Old Irish distinction between, say, *ní ceil* ('does not conceal') and *ní cheil* ('does not conceal it') tended to disappear through spread of the petrified infixed pronoun; this process was assisted by the lenition normal after the longer negative *nicon* in Old Irish, cf. *nicon chechrat*, 'they will not love' (Wb30c4).

The word *fáitsine* is well attested in early literature, where it is refers to both scriptural prophecy and pagan soothsaying. Noticeable is the use of the form *inna* for the feminine genitive article, as the later form *na* started to spread from about 750.[218] However, this feature did not preclude the use of *inna* when needed for metrical purposes. Finally, as noted in§10 the genitive *inna flatha* can refer to the 'prince' or the 'kingdom'. The *LH* editors favour the latter, but I believe the former is a better interpretation, considering that §10 prophesies the coming of the prince.

2.11.4. *Th* Text and Translation

A druid fri Lóegaire	Loegaire's wizads used not to hide
tíchtu Phátraicc ní ceiltis:	from him Patrick's coming:
ro-firad ind fáitsine	the prophecy hath been fulfilled
inna flatha as-beirtis.	of the prince whom they used to speak of.

§12

T	F
Ba leir pat*raicc* co mbeba	Ba leir pat*raicc* co mbebai
ba sab indarba clóeni	ba sab i*n*narba clóeni
is *ed* tuargaib a eua	is*ed* tuargaib a eua
suas de sech treba doine	suas de sech treba dóeni

2.12.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is *rannaigecht bec*, i.e. $7^27^27^27^2$ with (as restored) perfect rhyme *cloíne: doíne*. The editors correct the disyllabic *eua* to the phonetically identical *feba*, which would make perfect *aicill*-rhyme with *treba*.

2.12.2. *Ba leir patraicc co mbeba/ ba sab indarba clóeni*. The verb *baïd* forms a reduplicated *s*-preterite *bebais /-beb(a)e*, cf. *amal n-oinect ro-mbebe colinn Crist,* 'as once Christ's flesh had died' (Wb 3b3). Here *Th* restores the OIr conjunct *mbebae*. The phrase *sab indarbai demnae* appears in *Fél* Oct 17, and Stokes translates it: 'the strong expeller of demons'. The verbal noun *indarbae,* (from *ind-árban*, 'expels'), which is attested several times in *Fél*, is edited to the genitive *indarbai.* The same applies for the genitive *cloíne*, and for its rhyming partner, the genitive plural *doíne*.

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[218] Carney 1983, 199.

2.12.3. *is ed tuargaib a eua / suas de sech treba doine*. The proper noun *eua*, which is the OIr form of Eve,[219] makes no sense in the context. The *Th* editors' emendation to accusative plural *feba* is confirmed by the gloss *.i. a mathe*, 'his goodness'. The dropping of the initial lenited *f* in the mss is attested in the Glosses,[220] but the phonetic rendering of lenited *b* as in *eua* is less common.[221] The contracted deuterotonic verb *túargaib* (3s perfect of *do-fócaib*) is employed here to introduce a relative clause following *is ed*. The meaning of the last two lines is unclear. The phrase *sech treba* means literally 'beyond dwellings'. In one sense it could be read as an expression of the height of his virtues above that of ordinary men. The glossator in T seems to take the lines literally, suggesting his assumption into heaven (*ad caelum*), while F glosses *súas*, *.i. ar ec*, 'upon death'. The adverb *súas* is used in the sense of ascending into heaven, cf. *cechaing súas íar sétaib*, 'there went up along the ways (to heaven)' (*Fél* Oct 9). The meaning of *de* is uncertain, perhaps the 3s neuter of *di*, thus *súas de*, 'up from it'.

2.12.4. *Th* text and Translation

Ba léir Pátraicc co mbebae	Patrick was diligent till he died;
ba sab indarbai cloíne:	he was mighty in expelling iniquity:
is ed túargaib a feba	that hath raised his excellences
súas de sech treba doíne.	up beyond the households of mankind.

§13

T	F
Ymmuin ocus abcolips	Ymmuin oc*us* abcoilps
na tri coicat nascanad	na tri coicait noscanad
p*r*idchad baitsed arniged	pridchad batsed arniged
de molad dé ni anad	de molad de ni anad

[219] Knott 1952, 110.

[220] GOI §231.7: *innalaith,* 'into the Kingdom' (Wb 31a3); *meulae,* 'of my flesh' (Ml 47c4).

[221] There is an analogous instance in *Vita Fintani* (*Th* II 258, 31), dated to the late ninth-century: *ni longe co logne céle dé remut nó fer fas sruithiu*, 'thou shouldst not eat until a Culdee eats, or a man who is older'. Here the word *fas* is to be read as *bas* with lenited *b*, according to the editors' note *d*. For *eua* the sound of *bh-* is represented by *f* rather than *w*, but this may be a dialectical feature.

2.13.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is a loose form of *rannaigecht bec*, i.e. $7^{3}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$ with perfect rhyme *-canad: anad.* It is assumed that *abcolips* in T (a Latin loan-word) is stressed on the first syllable; the form *abcoilps* in F leaves the line a syllable short, and must be a transcription error. There is alliteration between *coicat* and *-canad.*

2.13.2. *Ymmuin ocus abcolips*. The usual OIr term for hymn is *iman(n)*, attested in *Trip* 1341 as *int immun*. Since the word is derived from Latin *hymnus*, the rare use of the letter *y* in the nominative plural *ymmuin* here is not surprising. The singular form appears in the MIr preface to Sechnall's Hymn: *ymmon do-r-roega i't biu*, 'a hymn which thou hast chosen in thy lifetime' (*LH* II, 102.51). Indeed, the first two lines of this quatrain may be derived from line 85 of Sechnall's Hymn, [222]: *ymnos cum apocalipsi psalmosque cantat Dei*, 'he sings hymns with the Apocalypse and the psalms of God.' Atkinson disagrees, commenting that *ymmuin* is not a reference to any particular hymn, such as that of Sechnall, but relates to Patrick's habit of singing canticles.[223]

2.13.3. *na tri coicait nascanad.* The verbal form in F, *nos-canad*, is the attested 3s imperfect of *can(a)id* with the 3p infixed pronoun, although the *Th* editors in note *w* seem to assume a palatal version *ca(i)nid* as they suggest we read *-caned.* The form *nascanad* in T reflects a MIr pronunciation. The construction is thus a *nominativus pendens* since the anaphoric infixed pronoun relates to the hymns and psalms. There are one-hundred and fifty psalms in the OT, hence the phrase *na tri coícait.*[224]

2.13.4. *pridchad, baitsed, arniged.* These verbs are inflected like 3s imperfects but, as discussed in Section 4, the first two are without the usual particle *no*. Bergin suggested the tense be changed from the imperfect to the present, *ar-neget*. He might have been influenced by Sechnall's Hymn, in which Kenney (*ibid.*) points out that 'the present tense is used, as though the subject of the

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[222] Kenney (1929, 259-60) describes Sechnall's Hymn, the first hymn written in Ireland, as the beginning of the Patrick legend. It is included in both mss of the *Liber Hymnorum*, but the earliest copy is in the seventh century *Antiphonary of Bangor*, and is given the title *Ymnum sancti patrici magister scotorum* (*LH* I,7). As noted earlier, the hymn can be dated to the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century. The connection of these lines with Sechnall's Hymn is noted in *Th* II 314, note *x*.

[223] *LH* II 182.

[224] This phrase occurs in *Fél* Ep 178, 9 as a genitive plural: *is arrae trí cóecat/ don dilmain nod-géba*, 'is a commutation of the three fifties (psalms) to the freeman who shall sing it'.

hymn were still alive. The use of the present may be a dramatic expedient on the part of the author, such as is frequently met with in later Irish hagiographical poems'. Despite Bergin's view, it would be unwarranted to ignore the evidence of the mss, particularly when the imperfect tense is supported by the F ms in three separate glosses: *donid praicep[t],* 'he used to teach'; *dognid batsed,* 'he used to baptise'; *dognith ernaigthe 7 aithrige*, 'he used to pactise prayer and penance'. The verbal form *ar-niged* is problematic. DIL lists the 3s present as *ar-neget* (**air-ni-guid-*), cf. *lase ara-n-neget* (Ml 61b1). Stokes and Strachan suggest we read *ar-negid* since the imperfect would be *ar-neigded*, and Pedersen *ar-nigded*. The context requires the imperfect tense, and *ar-nigded* should be considered in a future edition. These verbal forms are discussed in Section 4.

2.13.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Ymmuin ocus abcolips	Hymns and the Apocalypse,
na tri cóicat nos-canad;	the three fifties (of psalms) he used to chaunt them;
pridchad baitsed ar-niged,	he preached, he baptized, he prayed,
de molad Dé ní anad.	he did not cease from praising God.

§14

T	F
Ni congebed uacht sini	Ni congebed uacht síne
do ḟeiss aidche hi linnib	do fess aidche illinnib
for nim consena a ríge	for nim consena a rige
pridchaiss fri de i ninnib	p*ri*dchaiss f*ri* de i *n*di*n*nib

2.14.1. *Metrics.* The metre in this stanza is *rannaigecht bec*, i.e.$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$ (assuming elision between *conséna* and *a*), with perfect rhyme *linnib: ndinnib (innib).* There is also *a: c* rhyme between *síne* and *ríge*. Alliteration occurs between lenited *ḟeiss* and *aidche*, as well as between *dé* and F's *ndinnib*.

2.14.2. *Ni congebed úacht sine / do ḟeiss aidche hi linnib.* The narrative continues with both mss offering a MIr version of the 3s imperfect of *con-gaib*, (here in its meaning 'to keep'). The the absence of syncope to OIr *ní congbad* is puzzling, but clearly such an emendation would reduce the line to six syllables. The verbal root *-gebed* is a MIr one, cf , *inmain bec mi Febra dil / congeib dun na feli sin*, 'beloved and little the month of dear February/ which comprises for

us those festivals'.[225] One possibility is to read *nicon gebed,* which might be emended in a future edition to *nícon gaibed* in the sense of 'used not to hinder him', with the common confusion of *do* for *di* before *feiss*. It is possible to read a nasalising 3s masculine infixed pronoun in the verbal form, thereby supplying the object. This approach is supported by F's gloss: *ni gebed di dul ind,* 'it used not to keep him from going into it'. F maintains the correct OIr genitive *síne*, and T the correct dative *feiss* with historic lenition after the preposition *do*.

2.14.3. *for nim consena a ríge/ pridchaiss fri de i ninnib*. The 3s preterite of the verb *con-sní* is attested as *consénai,* as observed in the perfect *ad-ru choisséni* (Ml 69d4), 'he strove'.[226] The syntax of line *c*, however, lends itself to differing translations. The *Th* editors have 'he strove after his kingdom in heaven', while the *LH* editors favour: 'in heaven he won his kingdom'. The latter reading may be attractive in a strict grammatical sense, but the former fits the context better. The term *fri dé* is attested in Wb 6a30: *is fri de im-tíagam*, 'it is by day we travel.' There is also a choice between T's *innib* ('summits') from *ind* and F's *dinnib* (heights) from *dind*. The *Th* editors favour the latter, which includes the correct nasalisation, while *LH* opts for the former. The sentiment of the glosses embraces either meaning. The rhyming of *linnib* (from OIr *linn*) with *dinnib* (from OIr *dind*) may have dating implications, and is discussed in Section 4.

2.14.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ní congebed úacht síne	The coldness of the weather used not
do feiss aidche hi linnib;	to keep him from spending the night in pools;
for nim consénai a ríge,	he strove after his kingdom in heaven;
pridchaiss fri dé i ndinnib.	he preached by day on heights.

§15

T	F
I slán tuaith benna bairche	Hi slán tuaith benna bairche
nisgaibed tart na lia	nisgebed tart na lia
canaid cét salm cech naidchi	canaid cét salm cech naidche
do ríg aingel fogniad	do ríg aingel fognia

2.15.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is *rannaigecht bec*, $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, but the rhyming is between *liae* and F's *gnia* (emended to *liae* : *gniae* as in para 2.15.2)

[225] *Fél* 66, 29. Note also F's *nisgebed* in § 15 of this poem.

[226] GOI §681 derives *con-séna[i]* from *con-sní* after the analogy of *do-géni* from *do-gní*.

below). There would be further *a: c* rhyme between *Bairche* and *n-aidchi*, if composed in the ninth century when the final vowels sounded the same, but *a: c* rhyming is not obligatory in this poem. Alliteration occurs with *Benna* and *Bairche*, *canaid* and *cét*. The syllable count in *b* guarantees that *liae* (*lia* in mss) retains the original hiatus, as seen elsewhere in the rhyme *liaa: Iáa*.[227] A similar consideration applies to *gníae*.

2.15.2. *I slán túaith benna bairche/ nisgaibed tart na lia.* The *Th* editors mention in note *t* that *Benna Bairche* is the early Irish name for the Mountains of Mourne. The glosses identify this Slán as a healing fountain near Saul in Co. Down.[228] In T the word is glossed *in tipra*, 'the fountain'. The 3s feminine or 3p infixed pronoun in *nís-gaibed* is puzzling as Slán is usually treated as a masculine *o*-stem noun. Perhaps the *-s-* is a petrified MIr form,[229] and the OIr *ní-n-gaibed* might in future be restored.

2.15.3. *canaid cét salm cech naidchi /do ríg aingel fogniad.* The 3s present *canaid* looks out of place in the narrative, and the imperfect *canad* should be restored. The text in T preserves the correct accusative case *aidchi* when used as an adverb of time. The form *fogniad* in T is odd and it does not attract any gloss. Perhaps T's glossator was distracted by the verb *fognad* in §3. The spelling *fo* was often used for *ba* in Middle Irish (DIL I, 318, 32*ff*), and it would not be unreasonable for an eleventh-century scribe to use this later form. Consequently, the *Th* editors emend *fognia/ fogniad* to *ba gníae*. One may ask why *fo* was not employed in any of the other eight instances of *ba* in the hymn. In any case, whatever verbal emendation is employed, it would have to rhyme with *liae*. The *Th* emendation *do ríg aingel ba gniae* satisfies rhyme, rhythm and context.

2.15.4.*Th* Text and Translation

I Slán túaith Benna Bairche	In Slan, north of the Benna Bairche
-nís-gaibed tart ná liae-	- neither drought nor flood used to seize it-
canad cét salm cech n-aidchi;	he sang a hundred psalms every night;
do ríg aingel ba gniae.	he was a servant to the King of angels.

[227] ZCP 12, 394, §24.

[228] The fountain is described by Reeves in *The Antiquities of Down and Connor* (1890, 220).

[229] McCone 1997, 175.

§16

T	F
Foaid for leicc luim iarum	Foid for leic luim iaru*m*
oc*us* cuilche fliuch imbi	oc*us* cuilche fliuch imme
ba coirthe a ridadart	a corthe a rithadart
ni leicc a chorp hi timmi	ni leic a chorp i timme

2.16.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is a loose form of *rannaigecht bec* i.e. $7^27^27^37^2$ with perfect rhyme *imbi: timmi* or *imme: timme*. T preserves the earlier *imb-* form which fell together with *imm-* by the end of the eighth century,[230] and has the correct 3s masculine suffixed pronoun *imbi.* The spellings *imme* and *timme* in F shows the later confusion of final *-e* and *-i.* The *Th* editors alter *imbi* to the early ninth-century form *immi,* to reflect actual pronunciation. The only ornamentation is alliteration between *leicc* and *luim*. As noted in Section 3, this stanza has been of crucial importance for dating purposes, as the falling together of *mb* and *mm* can be dated roughly to the close of the eighth century.[231]

2.16.2. *Foaid for leicc luim iarum/ ocus cuilche fliuch imbi*. The mss offer a choice between *foaid* in T and *foid* in F. However, as before, the present tense is not appropriate for the context, and the imperfect *foad* (without *no*) should perhaps be restored. DIL describes *cuilche* as 'an outer layer of skins (worn by monks), garment, covering'. *Th* editors originally translated it as 'quilt', but later, in his Supplement Stokes settles on 'cloak'.[232] This is consistent with Stokes' view in *Fél* 88, 222 and 224 where he translates it as 'quilt' or 'cloak', and relates it to the German *hülle* (*Fél*, 315). McManus accepts the possibility of *cuilche* arising from an indigenous vocabulary (>**kolikia,* cognate with *hülle*), but states that this does not entirely rule out a borrowing from Latin **pelucia.*[233]

2.16.3. *ba coirthe a frithadart*. The noun *coirthe* ('pillar-stone') is a resonant echo of the expression *coirthe corad* ('warrior's pillar-stone') familiar from the

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[230] There are only a few examples of this feature in *Fél*, which is dated to about 800, but the contemporaneous assimilation of *nd* to *nn* is well attested in the following rhymes: *rindi: imbi* (Apr 26), *basille: finde* (May 17), *bille: finde* (Aug 8), *mindsa: frimmsa* (Dec 18), *suilgind: do-ruirminn* Ep 126/8) and *rindmas: -ingnas* (Ep 378/80).

[231] *Th* II *xxxvii*. See also GOI §152c.

[232] *Th* II 312 and 505.

[233] McManus 1983, 49, n.71.

saga-tales, and in this way the poet accords Patrick a heroic status.[234] The mss forms, *ridadart* and *rithadart,* are phonetic versions of the initially lenited *frithadart*, and *Th* restores *frithadart* here, perhaps anachronistically. The context of this stanza is similar to that of §14, raising the suspicion of a metrical gloss on line *b* of §14.

2.16.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Foaid for leicc luim iarum,	He slept on a bare flagstone then,
ocus cuilche fliuch immi:	with a wet quilt about him:
ba coirthe a frithadart;	his bolster was a pillar-stone;
ní léicc a chorp hi timmi.	he left not his body in warmth.

§17

T	F
Pridchad soscélad do cách	Pridchad soscela do chách
dogníth mórferta i llethu	dogníth mór ferta i lethu
íccaid luscu la truscu	íccaid luscu la truscu
mairb dosfiuscad do bethu	mairb dosfuisced do bethu

2.17.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is a loose form of *rannaigecht bec*, $7^{1}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme *llethu: bethu*. Elision takes place in line *b* between *mórferta* and *i*. Line *c* features intra-linear internal rhyme, *luscu: truscu*.

2.17.2. *Pridchad soscélad do cách.* The form *soscélad* in T could be read as a 3s imperfect of the verb *soscélaid*, forming an asyndeton with *pridchad*, viz. 'he used to preach, proclaim the gospel to all'. This late verb is clearly a back-formation from *soscélae*, not found elsewhere in the hymn, and is probably too late here. Similarly *soscélad* could be read as a verbal noun of the verb *soiscélaid*, but this too appears to be a late formation. Instead *Th* restores the standard OIr *soiscélae*, 'gospel', which is well attested in the Glosses. As in §13 the imperfect is supported by F's gloss: *donid praicep[t],* 'he used to preach'.

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[234] A similar expression appears in the Life of Colum Cille (*Lis Lives* 1094): *coirthe ... nobid foa cind do frithadart*, 'a pillarstone ... used to be under his head for a bolster'. Again in page 88 of *Fél* the *LB* notes to Mar 5 echo some of the same expressions, but with reference to St Ciarán: *⁊ cuilchi fliuch tairsib sin amuig,* 'and a wet quilt over them outside'. *Adart cloichi no bid ima cenn intan contuiled,* 'A bolster of stone was at his head when he used to sleep'.

2.17.3. *dogníth mórferta i llethu/ íccaid luscu la truscu.* Once again the tenses in the mss are confused, with the imperfect *do-gníth* followed by the present *íccaid*. Grammatically one would have expected the imperfect *íccad* to provide continuity with the imperfects *pridchad, dogníth* and *do-s-fiusced*. The present tense makes no contextual sense, even as a dramatic expedient, and consequently the imperfect might be restored (without *no*). The accusative plural *luscu* is employed here as a substantive, and is glossed *bacuchu* (*bauchu* F), 'cripples', cf. *ná losc cíarba lúath* (*Tec Corm* §12.6), 'nor a lame one though you be swift'.[235] Its partner in the line is the accusative plural of *trosc*, which is the name of a disease.[236] The glossators both identify the victims of the disease as *clamu* (*claimu* F) 'lepers'.

2.17.4. *mairb dosfiuscad do bethu.* The noun *mairb* is a *nominativus pendens*, taken up by the infixed 3p pronoun in *do-s-fiusced*, the imperfect of *do-fiuschi* ('wakens'). The same form appears in *Trip* 408.6, but T's non-palatal *dosfiuscad* may be a MIr form, cf. *fo-rochlad* in §8. In their introduction to the hymn, the *Th* editors imply that the OIr verbal form is *dosniusced*,[237] probably assuming nasalisation arising from the 3p infixed pronoun. DIL mentions that the verb *do-diuschi* is more commonly used in the sense of calling up the dead or evil spirits. The idea of Patrick awaking the dead initially proved controversial. The *Th* editors remark that Thurneysen thought this stanza to be interpolated on grounds of context, but that he later considered it to be genuine.[238]

2.17.5. On stylistic grounds, the *LH* editors criticize the repetition of various forms of the verb *pridchaid*, citing the 3s imperfect *pridchad* in this stanza and in §13, and the 3s preterite *pridchaiss* in §14, 18 and 20. They cannot believe that this is the work of a competent poet and suggest interpolation.

2.17.6. *Th* Text and Translation

Pridchad soiscélae do chách,	He preached the gospel to all,
do-gníth mór fertae i llethu;	he wrought many miracles far and wide;

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[235] Although the glosses refer to cripples, the word *losc* can also mean 'blind' as, for example, in Ml 45c9, and it may have been derived from the Latin *luscus* (one-eyed).

[236] For example, pestis (.i. lepra) que uocata est in *samhthrosc* (AU 554.2).

[237] *Th* II *xxxvii*, note 4.

[238] See *Th* II 316, note *l*. Thurneysen's initial comment appears in *Revue celtique* vi. 334-5. Stokes and Strachan remark that 'afterwards, at least, these miracles became part of the legend, cf. *Lis Lives*' p.166 (lines 598-614).

íccaid luscu la truscu;	he healed cripples and lepers;
mairb do-s-fiusced do bethu.	the dead, he awoke them to life.

§18

T	F
Patraicc pridchais do scotaib	Pat*raicc* p*r*idchais do scottaib
rochés mór seth i llethu	rochés mór sæth i llethu
immi con tíssat do brath	immi co tisat do brath
in cach dosfuc do bethu.	i*n* cach dosfuc do bethu.

2.18.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is a loose form of *rannaigecht bec*, i.e. $7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme *llethu: bethu* as in §9 and §17. There is *aicill*-rhyme between *bráth* and *cách*, and also alliteration between *Pátraicc* and *pridchais*. It will be noted that the same rhyme occurs in the previous stanza, and this raises doubts as to whether the same poet would have repeated an identical rhyme in consecutive quatrains.

2.18.2. *Patraicc pridchais do scotaib*. One would expect the imperfect *pridchad* here rather than the preterite since the narrative sense is the continuous past. A similar consideration applies to §14, and leaves one with the suspicion that both stanzas, or at least the offending lines, may be interpolations which took no account of the narrative style. The dative noun *Scottaib* clearly refers to the native Irish, as there is no evidence of Patrick conducting his mission in Albu.

2.18.3. *rochés mór sáeth i llethu*. The verbal form *rochés* in both mss is an example of main-clause preverbal lenition common in MIr texts, e.g. *fo-chairt* in *LU* 3281. This type of lenition is attested as early as the OIr glosses, albeit rarely, where it presumably occurred due to stray inroads from a lower register of speech, viz. *ro-chrocsat* (Wb 5c11).[239] The *Th* editors restore the 3s perfect, *ro-cés*, although the context would have supported the imperfect *césad* rather than the perfect. The employment of the augmented preterite is unusual here, but a genuine pluperfect can be read rather than a narrative preterite. From a stylistic viewpoint, the phraseology of *ro-cés mór sáeth i lethu* faithfully echoes a line of the previous quatrain: *do-gníth mór fertae i llethu*, and rhythmic style rather

[239] McCone 1997, 173.

than narrative consistency may also explain the choice of *ro-cés* rather than *césad.*

2.18.4. *immi co tíssat do brath/ in cach dosfuc do bethu.* Suprisingly, the singular noun, *in cách*, is subject of the plural verb, *tíssat*, but the noun must function here as a collective, as described in GOI §539. The presence of the definite article with *cách* associates it with a relative clause (GOI §490a) but, with an object antecedent, one would expect *do-uc* or *do-n-uc*.[240] The glossators distance themselves from the raising of the dead, and interpret the term *do-n-uc do bethu* metaphysically as brought *ad fidem* 'to faith'. There is a significant variation from Muirchú's version concerning the fourth petition granted to Patrick, where the angel tells Patrick that 'all the Irish on the day of judgement shall be judged by you'.[241] Since the hymn's narrative has followed Muirchú fairly closely, apart from a few sections influenced by Tírechán, this stanza must be derived from a different tradition.

2.18.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Pátraic pridchais do Scottaib;	Patrick preached to the Scots;
ro-cés mór sáeth i llethu,	he suffered many hardships far and wide,
immi co tíssat do bráth	so that everyone whom he has brought to Life
in cách do-s-fuc do bethu.	may come around him to Doom.

§19

T	F
Meicc emir meicc erimon	Meicc emir meicc erimon
lotar huili la cisal	lotar huile la císel
fosrolaic in tarmchosal	fosrolaic in tarmchossal
isin morchute nísel.	isin mórchuthe nísel.

2.19.1. *Metrics*. The $7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$ metre in this stanza is *aí fhreisligi*, with perfect rhyme in F *císel: n-ísel.* The variant reading in T, *císal,* listed as an alternative spelling in DIL, offers only imperfect rhyme with *-ísel*. There is no other ornamentation in the stanza.

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[240] The otiose *-s-* may be a hypercorrect response to the demise of infixed pronouns in contemporary speech, cf. *nís-ragbad* (*LU* 1229-30), 'she was not taken' McCone (1997, 175). Another MIr tendency was to prefix *f* to a vowel of deuterotonic forms, e.g. *do-fuc* (*SR* 1285).

[241] Bieler (1979, 116-7): Hibernenses omnes in die iudicii a te iudicentur.

2.19.2. *meicc emir meicc erimon/ lotar huile la cisal.* The mss spelling *emir* reflects a later confusion between lenited *m* and *b* in medial/ final positions and *Th* restores the genitive *Ébir*. Concerning the word *císel*, DIL lists two independent meanings. The first is that of a layer or row, sometimes of slaughtered bodies.[242] A possible figurative translation of line *b* would then be: 'they all went with rows (of the dead)'. A more likely meaning is related to the noun *cís* from the Latin *census*, meaning 'tribute', viz. *luid uadib cen chisel clé*, 'he went from them without wrongful offence'(*Met. Dinds* ii 28.39). In early literature the word *císel* is often associated with the devil.[243] Stokes proposes in his Supplement a derivation of *císel* is from the Latin *pistillus,* 'hammer'.[244] I have inserted the length marks on *Ébir* and *Érimón* not shown in the *Th* edition.

2.19.3. *fosrolaic in tarmchossal/ isin mórchuthe nísel.* The noun *tarmchossal* is discussed in depth by Thurneysen in *ZCP* 8, 76, and here means 'transgression, prevarication'. Thurneysen also points out in GOI §854 that the preposition *tairm-* or *tarm-* often renders the Latin *trans-*, as in *tairm-thecht* for *transgressio*. The verbal form *fos-rolaic* (from *fo-álgi*, 'casts down') should be *fos-rálaig* or *fos-rálaich*, but has come under the influence of *fo-léci* ('sinks down'). The same verb turns up as *fos-rolaich* in §31. The augmented preterite can be read as a pluperfect here.

2.19.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Maicc Ébir, maicc Érimón	The sons of Eber, the sons of Erimon
lotar huili la císel;	all went with the Devil;
fos-rolaic in tarmchossal	the transgression cast them down
isin mórchuthe n-ísel.	into the great low pit.

§20

T	F
Condathanic int apstal	Condatánic int apstal
dofaith gith gáithe déni	dofaith gith gæthe dene

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[242] LL 7425; ZCP 11, 109y: ba ard cisel choscair chain/Cormac co n-ani a chuir.

[243] The word appears also in Extracts from *Vita Sancti Findani*: *Ataich crist ocus patric artmache farná feil tám ná císel; teilc bruth is tart doit, teilc coil far císel*, 'entreat Christ and Patrick of Armagh, on whom there is neither plague nor Devil; throw off fever and thirst from thee; throw off hunger on the Devil' (*Th* II 258, 41).

[244] ibid. 505. See also *RC* 27, 87.

pridchais tri fichte blia*dna*	p*ri*dchaiss trí ficthte blia*dna*
croich cr*ist* do thuataib fene.	croich cr*ist* do thuathaib fene

2.20.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza reverts to *rannaigecht bec*, $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with perfect rhyme preserved in *déne: Féne*. There is alliteration between *croich* and *Crist*.

2.20.2. *Condatánic int apstal.* This stanza has caused considerable translation difficulties. The only gloss on *co-nda-tánic* is of little help: *.i. is e eret robai ic a foxail lais*, 'that was the time he was taking them with him' (F). If the line is taken to mean 'until the apostle came', then where is the main clause? It could be *for túaith Hérenn bái temel* in §21, giving: 'Until the Apostle came to them .... there was darkness on the land of Ireland'. This is unsatisfactory since it would involve spreading a single sentence across two quatrains. A better solution is to read *co-nda-tánic* in the narrative sense described in GOI §897b, where it is used in expressions such as 'they came and did'. Taking *co-nda-tánic int apstal* as a stand-alone clause, the sense would be: 'and so the apostle came to them'.

2.20.3. *dofaith gith gáithe déni*. The verb *do-faith* appears in the mss as *do-faid* in §5 and as *do-faith* in §24. In the latter case it was necessary to emend to *da-fáid* to suit the context, 'he led him'. It is surprising therefore that the *Th* editors reverse this policy and emend to *da-fáith* which is a later form, as noted in §5. Perhaps *da-fáid* should have been restored. The word *gith* in the second line also poses difficulties. The *LH* editors offer only a partial translation, but *Th* II emends *gith* to *cid*. According to DIL, the conjunction *cía* is sometimes employed with the 3s subjunctive present copula, cf. *corrici cíth besti béoa* (*Th* I 4.32), 'as far even as the living beasts'. The MIr form of *cith* is *gith* or *gidh*.[245] Thus *gith* can be replaced with *cith,* but the *Th* editors restored the more common form with *da-fáith cid gáithe déne,* 'even the wind's swiftness led him.'[246] The sense of the restored sentence is that even the forces of nature are brought into play in expediting Patrick's mission to the Irish. In this respect the

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[245] *gidh atá* (*Mon Thall* 56.11) demonstrates the MIr trend of replacing the OIr initial *c-* with *g-*.

[246] *Th* II 420. In the Addenda Stokes changed his mind, and thought *gith* to be sound. He equates it with Vedic *hiti*, which he says comes from a PIE root **ghi*, 'to impel', cf. Whitney, *Roots* 205'. However, there does not appear to be any other attestation of such a *gith* in the literature, and it would be safer to look for another solution.

phrase *gaithe déne* echoes the invocation of the forces of nature in Patrick's Lorica, i.e. *Atomriug indiu ...luathe gáethe,* 'I gird myself today... with the speed of wind'. Until the coming of Patrick, these forces were at the command of the druids, and this reference seems to prefigure the confrontation of Christianity and paganism. There are no glosses on this line, which suggests the glossators did not understand it.

2.20.4. *pridchais trí fichte bliadna/ croich crist do thuathaib fene.* The *Th* editors translate *do thúathaib Féne* as 'to the peoples of the Féne', while *LH* II has 'to the Fenian pagans', a phrase which might carry sectarian overtones today. I have altered the translation simply to read 'to the Féni'. The glossators are content simply to explain the origin of *Féne*: *.i. o Fenius Farsaid*, 'from Fenius Farsaid' (T); *.i. do rad dib ó Fenius Farsaid*, unde apud nos *Oic Fene* ple.... dicuntur ab illo. *Gaidil immorro*, ut dixi, *o Goediul Glas mac Niuil meic Feniussa Farrsaid*, ut alii dicunt, 'they were so called from Fenius Farsaid; they are known as Óic Féne among us. The name Goidel, however, as I said, [is] from Goidel Glas, son of Niul, son of Fenius Farsaid' (Fmg).

2.20.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Conda-tánic int apstal	Until the Apostle came to them
-da-fáith cith gaithe déne-	- even the wind's swiftness led him -
pridchais trí fichtea blíadnae	he preached for three score years
croich Crist do thúathaib Féne.	the cross of Christ to the Féni.

§21

T	F
F*or* tuaith herenn bai temel	For tuaith hérend bái temel
tuatha adortais sidi	tuatha adortais idla
ni creitset in fírdeacht	ní chraitset in firdeact
inna trínóite firi.	i*n*na trinote fire

2.21.1. *Metrics*. The loose *rannaigecht bec* metre $7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$ continues, with perfect rhyme in T's (restored) *síde: fíre*. The F text is more problematic. The OIr accusative plural of *idal* is *idlu*, as in Ml 36d16: *in doini adordais inna idlu l idail fadesin*, 'the men who worshipped the idols, or the idols themselves'. It should also be noted that the second element of the compound *fírdeacht* is disyllabic.

2.21.2. *For tuaith herenn bai temel/ tuatha adortais side*. The word *temel* is attested in the Glosses as a physical darkness but can also be taken as a spiritual darkness.[247] For the glossators the darkness was *adartha idal*, 'of the worship of idols'. The dative singular *túaith* can be translated as 'land' or 'people', and the poet may have engaged in some word-play to embrace both meanings. Dative singular *túaith* could be taken as 'land', and plural *túatha* in line *b* as 'peoples'. With respect to the lexical choice between *síde* and *ídla*, the former is better since *idla* (OIr accusative plural *idlu*) does not provide rhyme and has all the appearance of a displaced gloss. There are two possible readings of line *b*. Taking *síde* as accusative plural, *Th* translates 'the peoples used to worship *síde*'. If *síde* is read as genitive singular, an alternative would be 'who used to worship peoples of the *síd*'. The word *síde* is glossed *.i. sithaige no-adratis*, 'they used to worship elves' (F).

2.21.3. *ni creitset in fírdeacht/ inna trinóite fíri*. The choice is between T's *ní creitset* and F's *ní chraitset*. The root *creit-* is the norm, though Wb 12c33 has the verbal form *co-rochraitea* ('that .... may believe'). The latter root is a sporadic occurrence (see GOI §83), and *ni creiset* is preferred. Here the genitive *Tríndóte* is declined as an *ī*-stem noun, although in Patrick's Lorica the *Th* editors uniquely read the genitive case in *togairm Trindóit*. Overall this stanza seems to reflect paragraph 41of the *Confessio*.[248]

2.21.4. *Th* Text and Translation

For túaith Hérenn baí temel;	On the folk of Ireland there was darkness;
túatha ad-ortais síde;	the peoples used to worship *síde*;
ní creitset in fírdeacht	they believed not the true Godhead
inna Tríndóte fíre.	of the true Trinity.

[247] For example, the MIr note on Findbarr in *Fél*, 166: *fo teimel ro buí in inis co tangadar da mac Aedha*, 'in darkness was the island until there came two sons of Aed'.

[248] 'How then does it happen that in Ireland a people who in their ignorance of God always worshipped idols and unclean things in the past, have now become a people of the Lord and are called the children of God? How is it that the sons and daughters of Irish chieftains are seen to be monks and virgins dedicated to Christ?' (trans. Duffy 1972, 30).

§22

T	F
I nardmacha fil ríge	IN ard macha fil rígi
is cian doreracht emain	is cian doreract emain
is cell mór dún lethglasse	is cell mór dún lethglaisse
nimdil ced dithrub temair	nímdil cid dithrub temair.

2.22.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza continues with a loose form of *rannaigecht bec*, $7^2 7^2 7^3 7^2$, with perfect rhyme *Emain: Temair*, and alliteration between *-dil* and *díthrub*.

2.22.2. *I nardmacha fil ríge/ is cian doreracht emain.* The noun *ríge* is an interesting choice here. The standard meaning is 'kingship, sovereignty', and in religious poetry it is a synonym for the Kingdom of Heaven, as in §14: *for nim consénai a ríge*, 'he strove after his kingdom in heaven'. In this stanza it could also mean ecclesiastical rule from Armagh, contrasted with pagan rule from nearby Emain Machae, royal site of the Ulaid. The verbal form *do-réracht* is attested in the Glosses as the 3s perfect of *do-érig*, cf. *a ndureracht* (Ml 74b4), 'when he had deserted'. However, in verbs such as *do-érig* which have the 3s *t*-preterite ending in *-acht*, the active form falls together with the passive singular, and *do-réracht Emain* here could be interpreted as 'Emain has been forsaken'. The active verb itself can be used in a transitive sense, as for example in Wb 18c6: *is machtad limm athrete do-rérachtid máam firinne* et *sosceli*, 'I marvel at the readiness wherewith ye have abandoned the yoke of righteousness and gospel.' In a future edition it would be better contextually to read the active voice here to derive the meaning: 'it has long since abandoned Emain', (the 'it' being sovereignty). In a similar manner, the great church at Dún Lethglaisse is compared with the desolation (*díthrub*) of Tara. The sentiment expressed in this quatrain is similar to that found in the *Fél: At-bath borg tromm Temra/ la tairthim a flathe,/ col-lín corad sruithe/ maraid Ard mór Machae*, 'Tara's mighty burgh perished at the death of her princes; the great height of Machae (Armagh) abides (*Fél* Prol 165-8). Another quatrain has *Borg Emna ro tetha,/ acht mairte a clocha:/ Is rúam iarthair betha/ Glenn dálach dá locha*, ' Emain's burgh has disappeared, only its stones remain: the Rome of the western world is populous Glendalough' (*Fél* Prol 193-6). Mention of the deserted Tara ensures that the hymn cannot have been written before the latter half of the sixth

century.[249] The precise date for the destruction of Emain Macha has been the subject of much debate, but there is a general consensus that it occurred shortly after the establishment of the first church in Armagh, in the fifth century.[250]

2.22.3. *is cell mór dún lethglasse*. There is a political dimension to this stanza. Dún Lethglaise (present-day Downpatrick) was the royal seat of the Dál Fíatach, the ruling *gens* of the Ulaid in east Co. Down. In Muirchú's *Life* Patrick's burial place is stated as Dún Lethglaise but earlier it had been located in Saul.[251] In *Vita I* of St Brigit Patrick is said to be buried initially 'in a place nearby', and then moved for good to Dún Lethglaise.[252] The place nearby is probably Saul, where Patrick's grave was located through a note in the Book of Armagh.[253]

2.22.4. *nimdil cid dithrub temair*. The expression *ní-m-dil* is an interesting example of the negative copula with a class A infixed pronoun rendering a dative case, i.e. 'it is not dear to me'. Presumably the 'me' is the poet. Both glossators agree with the latter reading: *ni hinmain lem Temair cid fas,* 'Not dear to me is Tara, though it be desolate'. Other examples of this construction are *níb écen lóg na airlicud*, 'buying or borrowing is not a necessity for ye' (Wb 16c17), and with the class C 3s infixed pronoun as per GOI §427: *ní-pa-d n-aidrech*, 'he will not repent of it' (Wb 5c9). The final line of the stanza can lead to ambiguity in translation. The *Th* translation accords with that of the glossators, a statement that might imply nostalgia for the pagan past. This line is quoted by Lambkin as evidence of a tolerant attitude by the early church

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[249] As noted in *Th* II, xxxvii, the desolation of Tara is dated to AD 561.

[250] This is discussed in depth by Binchy 1962, 148-154. Binchy offers no firm date but comments that Patrick may have 'experienced the invasion of the province by the Uí Néill forces and eventually accompanied the defeated Ulaid across the Bann into the small remnant of their former dominions that was left to them. In this way one could account for the mystery of his death on Ulidian soil rather than in Armagh……'.

[251] Bieler 1979, 120: Dun Lethglaisse ubi sepultus est Patricius, ('Downpatrick where Patrick lies buried') and 117-9: Et respondens angelus dixerat: 'Reuertere ad locum unde uenis' (hoc est Sabul) … 'Reuertere igitur sicut tibi dico, et moriens ingredieris uiam patrum tuorum' ,'and the angel answered him and said: Return to the place from which you came, that is Saul……Return therefore as I tell you, and you will die and go the way of your fathers'.

[252] Connolly and Picard 1989, 58.

[253] Colombcille …. ostendit sepulturam Patricii [et] ubi est confirmat, id est *hi Sabul*, 'Colum Cille….shows Patrick's grave [and] confirms where it is, i.e in Saul' (*Th* II 269.37-8).

towards their pagan past.[254] The *LH* II editors, on the other hand, avoid such sentiment with: 'Tara, even though waste, is not dear to me'.[255]

2.22.5. *Th* Text and Translation

I nArd Machae fil ríge;	In Armagh there is the Kingdom;
is cían do-réracht Emain.	long since has Emain been forsaken.
Is cell mór Dún Lethglasse	Downpatrick is a great church;
ní-m-dil cid díthrub Temair.	it is not dear to me that Tara should be desolate.

§23

T	F
Patraicc dia mbai i llobra	Pat*raicc* dia mboi i llobra
adcobra dul do mache	adcobra dul do mache
doluid aingel ara chenn	dolluid aiṅgel ara chend
for set i mmedon laithe	f*or* set i *m*medon lathe

2.23.1. *Metrics*. The metre is a loose *rannaigecht bec*, $7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$, but the rhyme *mache: laithe/ lathe*, (normalised to OIr dative *Machi* and genitive *lathi*) is imperfect for the following reason. The medial consonant in *Mach(a)i* has neutral quality, while that of *la(i)thi* is palatal. These words actually consonate, but, possibly as a form of compensation for full rhyme, *aicill*-rhyme between datve singular *lobra* and *-cobra* (normalised to offered. *lobrai* and-*cobrai*). The *Th* editors suggest we read *ad-cobrai* for *ad-cobra* of the mss.[256] . As speculated below, *ad-cobrai* may be a rare 3s preterite.

2.23.2. *Patraicc dia mbai i llobra/ ad-cobra dul do mache*. The verbal forms *dia mboí* and *do-luid* are clearly 3s preterites, while *ad-cobra* is the 3s present indicative. As a 3s preterite one would expect *ad-cobair*, cf. *ata-cobair an Dagda dó a cairdeas collaidi,* 'the Dagda desired her for himself' (*Ériu* 12, 1938, 142.6). Perhaps *ad-cobrai* might represent a rare 3s preterite modelled on *do-gní*, which has a 3s preterite *do-rigni, do-rigéni* As noted in GOI §681, the

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[254] Lambkin 1999, 147 note 58.

[255] The rest of F's gloss is *ł nimdilgend*, ac si diceret*: ni dene mo chotladugud cid fas ł ni delcet .i. ni liach cid fas Temair, ł nimdil do Patraic 7 do Dia,* 'or it destroys me not, as they say: it causes not my……. that it be desolate, or *ní delcet*, i.e. it is not grievous that Tara be desolate, or it is not dear to me for Patrick or for God'.

[256] *Th* II 318, note *c* and *xxxvii*, note 2.

verb *con-sní* came under the same influence developing a 3s preterite *con-séna[i]*, cf. *ad-ru-choisséni* (Ml 69d4), also *con-húalai*. Another possible argument for reading *ad-cobrai* comes from GOI §678 which discusses certain verbs are which show the *-i* ending in the 3s preterite, such as *-creti* from *cretid* with its original *ī*-stem (-beside *creit*). Among the verbs which came under its influence are *ro-scáitchi* (< *scochid*) in *Fél* Prol 177 instead of the normal *ro-scáitch,* as well as the *ā*-verbs *ro-celebrai* and *ro-légai* (Trip 198, 4 and 208, 10 etc.) The glossators are anxious to point out that Patrick was in Saul during his illness, when he desired to go to Armagh (for his resurrection).[257] This may have something to do with the subsequent dispute over his final resting place, as recounted in Muirchú.

2.23.3. *doluid aingel ara chenn.* As the 3s preterite of *do-tét*, *do-luid* usually means 'came', but can be also read as 'went'. The hymn merely mentions an angel, which T's glossator identifies as Victor, while the gloss on the margin of F insists: *angelus non uictor sed alius*, 'an angel, not Victor but another'. F's glossator goes on to explain that this angel was just a messenger sent to redirect Patrick to Victor: *arachend .i. inna agaid dia gairm co ndechsad do Ui[c]tor*, 'to meet him, that is, to summon him to go to Victor'. In this way the text in F anticipates the next stanza.

2.23.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Pátraicc dia mboí i llobrai,	When Patrick was in sickness,
ad-cobra(i) dul do Machai.	he desired to go to Armagh.
Do-luid aingel ara chenn	An angel went to meet him
for sét i mmedón laithi.	on the way at midday.

§24

T	F
Dofaith fades co uictor	Dofaith fadess co uictor
ba hé aridralastar	ba hé aridralastar
lassais in muine i mbai	lassais i mmune i mbai
assin ten adgladastar	assin tein adgalastar.

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[257] *i ngalar* .i. *ic Sabull ardaig commad and nobeth a esérge*, 'in sickness, to wit, at Saul, that there (in Armagh) might be his resurrection' T. *i llobra* .i. *ic Sabull roboi Patraic intan tanic dó lobrai, co tanic for conair do Ardmacha commad and nobeth a esérge*, 'Patrick was at Sabull when sickness came to him on the road to Armagh, that there might be his resurrection' Fmg.

2.24.1. *Metrics*. The metre is a loose form of *rannaigecht*, $7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$, with perfect rhyme: *-rálastar: -gládastar*. There is no other ornamentation. Note the absence of potential elision in line *c* between *muine* and *i*.

2.24.2. *Dofaith fades co uictor*. The editors of *Th* seem to regard *dofaith* as a transitive form of *do-fed*, requiring an object, and, accordingly, emend to *da-fáid* with the class A infixed pronoun required by the context. Pedersen, on the other hand, believes it to be part of *do-feth* 'goes, comes' (Ped. ii, 514). The latter reading would obviate the need for inserting an infixed pronoun, but does not tie in contextually with the encounter with the angel. The relevant gloss seems to support the *Th* reading: *ruc dar conair fades ic tudecht do anair*, 'took (him) on the road southwards, as he was coming from the east'.

2.24.3. *ba hé aridralastar*. The *Th* editors translate *aridrálastar* as 'that had arranged it' with a question mark. The verbal form is the 3s perfect of *ar-áili* with a deponent ending and an infixed 3s neuter pronoun. DIL offers the meanings 'induces, causes, brings about', and the *Th* II interpretation 'arranged' seems to meet the textual requirements. The verbal form *arid-rálastar* appears in §38 of the hymn *Ní car Brigit*: *arid-ralastar ind nóeb*, 'the saint had arranged it', and in the *Poems of Blathmac*: *ara-rálastar mo rí*, 'my king prepared it'.[258]

2.24.4. *lassais in muine i mboí / assin tein adgladastar*. The word *muine* means a thicket of bushes. The *Th* editors translate line *c* as 'the brake wherein he (Victor) was flamed'. The form *adgalastar* in F seems like a scribal error, possibly resulting from the proximity of *-ralastar* in line *b*, and the context favours *ad-gládastar*. This story of the burning bush appears in Muirchú's *Life*, where comparison is made with the the incident involving Moses in Exodus 3.[259]. In the Biblical account, God appears to Moses in a burning bush and instructs him to deliver the children of Israel from the hands of the Egyptians, saying: 'for the cry of the children of Israel has come unto me'. There are clear resonances here with §8. The 3s preterite *ad-gládastar* ('addressed') lacks an object here, and *Th* emends to *at-gládastar*, against the evidence of the mss, to incorporate a 3s masculine infixed pronoun.

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[258] Carney 1964, 12-3.

[259] Bieler 1979, 116-7: *sed iuxta uiam rubus quaedam arserat et non conbure(ba)tar sicut antea Moysi prouenerat. In rubo Victor erat anguelus*. 'beside the road, however, a bush was ablaze, but it did not burn down, as had happened to Moses before. In the bush was the angel Victor'.

2.24.5. Because of its trisyllabic rhyming this stanza, like §7, is a little suspect. Muirchú has the angel ordering Patrick to return to Saul, but the hymn omits this important instruction, which will determine the final resting place of Patrick. The *LH* editors believe that this stanza may have been substituted for an earlier one, in which Patrick is forbidden to go to Armagh (*LH* II *xiii*).

2.24.6. *Th* Text and Translation

Da-fáid fodess co Uictor;	He (the angel) led him south to Victor;
ba hé arid-rálastar:	he (Victor), it was he that had arranged it:
lassais in muine i mbaí:	the brake wherein he (Victor) was flamed:
assin tein at-gládastar.	out of the fire he addressed him.

§25

T	F
Asbert ordann do mache	Asbert ordan do mache
do cr*ist* atlaigthe buide	do cr*ist* atlaigthe buide
dochum nime mosrega	dochum nime mosraga
roratha duit du guide	roratha duit do guide

2.25.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts to *rannaigecht bec*, $7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme *buide: guide*, (normalised to OIr *buidi: guidi*). In addition, dative singular *Mach(a)i* consonates with *buidi: guidi*.[260]

2.25.2. *As-bert ordan do mache/ do crist atlaigthe buide*. The feminine noun *Mache* is restored to the OIr dative *Machi* and the *iā*-stem *buide* to the OIr accusative *buidi*, following the 2s imperative *atlaigthe*. The *Th* editors read *ordan do Machi* as 'primacy to Armagh', while *LH* II 34 has: '(Leave thy) dignity to Armagh'. The glosses indicate subtle differences between T and F. T has: *do glór ⁊ t'airechas do Ardmacha amal nobethe fein ann*, 'thy glory and thy pre-eminence to Armagh, as if thou hadst been there thyself'. F has: *t'ordan ⁊ t'airichas do Ard Macha do crabud immorro ⁊ do dearc do Dun*, 'thy dignity and thy pre-eminence to Armagh, thy faith, however, and thy charity to Down'.

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[260] According to Murphy (1961, 34), for consonance stressed vowels need not be the same, but agree in quantity only. Corresponding interior consonants, though they must belong to the same class, need not agree in quality, i.e. broad interior consonants may consonate with slender interior consonants of the same class. Murphy comments that in stressed syllables consonants in Class χ, (like *-ch-*) can sometimes rhyme with those in Class l (like *-d-*).

2.25.3. *dochum nime mosrega/ roratha duit do guide*. The adverbial preverb *mos-* is well attested in Old Irish, and usually carries the sense of 'soon' or 'quickly'. Examples are *mus-creitfet* (Wb 5c2), 'they will soon believe', and *mu(s)-riis-si far ndochum* (Ml 34a4), 'I might soon come to you'. Here *Th* restores the OIr 2s future *mos-regae*. The spelling *-raga* in F is taken as a Middle Irishism. The *iā*-stem *guide* is restored to nominative plural *guidi*, to match the plural passive perfect *ro-ratha* (from *ernaid* 'grants'). The prayers granted to Patrick are listed in Muirchú's Life.[261]

2.25.4. *Th* Text and Translation

As-bert: orddan do Machi,	He said: "Primacy to Armagh,
do Críst atlaigthe buidi:	to Christ render thanks:
dochum nime mos-regae:	unto heaven soon wilt thou go:
ro-ratha duit do guidi.	thy prayers have been granted thee.

§26

T	F
Ymmon dorroega it biu	Ymmon doroega it biu
bid lúrech díten do cách	bid lúrech diten do chách
immut i llaithiu in messa	immut i llathiu mesa
regat fir hérenn do brath.	regait fir herend do brath.

2.26.1. *Metrics*. The metre in this stanza is a loose form of *rannaigecht mór*, i.e. $7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$. There is perfect rhyme *c(h)ách: bráth.* In T's line *c* elision occurs between *llaithiu* and *in*, but in F the definite article is simply omitted. There is no other ornamentation.

2.26.2. *Ymmon dorroega it biu/ bid lúrech díten do cách.* The 2s perfect form of *do-goa* is attested in early texts as *do-roéga* or *do-roíga*. The double *-r-* in the verb marks the nasalisation of the relative clause following the object antecedent. F's gloss suggests that the hymn in question is *Audite omnes amantes,* i.e. *Sechnall's Hymn* in praise of Patrick. However, the scholiast who

[261] Bieler 1979, 117: (1) 'your pre-eminence shall be in Armagh, (2) whoever on the day of his separation from the body recites the hymn that has been composed about you will be judged by you as regards the penance for his sins, (3) the descendants of Díchu, who kindly received you, shall find mercy and shall not perish, (4) all the Irish on the day of judgement shall be judged by you'.

wrote the preface to Patrick's Lorica makes a similar claim for that hymn, [262] and he may well have had this stanza before him. This is one of the five stanzas with monosyllabic cadence, and its version of the second petition, which is the somewhat different from Muirchú's account, (i.e. 'whoever on the day of his separation from the body recites the hymn that has been composed about you will be judged by you as regards the penance for his sins'). This strengthens the feeling that the stanza may be from another tradition.

2.26.3. *immut i llathiu in messa/ regat fir hérenn do brath.* Two different expressions for the Last Judgement are to be found in OIr texts: the masculine *u*-stem nouns *mess* ('judgement', verbal noun of *midithir*), and *bráth,* cf. *í llaithiu bratho* 'on the Day of Judgement' (Wb 25d20). The definite article is not always used before the word, cf. *co tí lae messa*, 'till the Day of Judgement come' (Ml 26a5), thereby providing justification for omitting the definite article in F. The context of the final two lines is the fourth prayer granted to Patrick as noted in §25, that 'all the Irish on the Day of Judgement shall be judged by you'.

2.26.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ymmon dorroéga it bíu	"The hymn which thou hast chosen in thy lifetime
bid lúrech díten do chách:	shall be a protecting corslet to all.:
immut i llathiu in messa	around thee on the Day of Doom
regait fir Hérenn do bráth.	the men of Ireland will go to Judgement".

§27

T	F
Anaiss tassach dia es	Anaiss tassach dia æs
intan dobert comman dó	intan dobert co*m*main do
asbert monicfed pat*raicc*	asbert mosnicfed pat*raicc*
briathar tassaig nirbu gó.	bria*thar* tassaig nirbu gó

2.27.1. *Metrics*. The $7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$ metre is a loose form of *rannaigecht mór*, with perfect rhyme *dó: gó.* There are only six syllables in line *a,* unless *dia* is taken to

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[262] *Th* II 354, 3-7: *Ocus is luirech hirse inso fri himdegail cuirp ⁊ anma ar denaib ⁊ dúinib ⁊ dualchib. Cech duine nosgéba cech dia co ninnithem léir i ndia ní thairisfet demna fria gnúis bid dítin dó ar cech neim ⁊ format bid co[e]mna dó fri dianbás bid lúrech dia anmain iarna étsecht.* 'And it is a breastplate of faith to protect body and soul against demons and men and vices. If anyone recites it every day with his mind fixed wholly on God, demons will not stand against him, it will protect him against every poison and jealousy, it will guard him against sudden death, it shall be a breastplate for his soul after death'.

be disyllabic. The *Th* edition does not comment on this, possibly accepting disyllabic *dia*. However, the preposition plus possessive pronoun, *dia*, is monosyllabic, as guaranteed by verse in *Fél*: *dia n-éiss a cuirp chráibdig*, 'after them, their devout bodies' (Prol 79), and *maraid dia n-éis uile*, '[he] abides after them all (Prol 252). There is one example of disyllabic *lia* ('with her') in §29 of the hymn *Ní car Brigit*, beside a monosyllabic version of the same word. A better solution for a future edition would be to add the emphasising pronoun *-se* to form *éis-se* (as in Wb 29d9, below). There is no other ornamentation.

2.27.2. *Anaiss tassach dia es/ intan dobert comman dó*. The feminine noun *éis* ('trace, track') appears in §4. According to DIL, it exhibits both *i*-stem *and ī*-stem inflection. Following the preposition *tar (dar)* it takes the *ī*-stem accusative case, cf. *ní déccu darmm ési*, 'I look not behind me' (Wb24a13), and *taibred ní tara éssi*, 'let him give something in lieu thereof' (Wb22a7). However, following the preposition *do*, it takes the *i*-stem dative case, as shown in Wb 29d9: *intain ron-anis-siu dom-héis-se*, 'when thou hadst remained after me'. The nasalised form *do-mbert* would be expected here following the conjunction *in tan* (literally 'at the time that'), as described in GOI § 497. In Ó hUiginn's survey of Old Irish nasalising relative clauses, he found that nasalisation occurred with *in ta(i)n* in an overwhelming number of relative clauses not involving the copula.[263]

2.27.3. *asbert monicfed patraic/ briathar tassaig nirbu gó* . Concerning the spelling, *mo-n-icfed* in T, there is a similar loss of final *-s* in Ml 34a4: *mu-riis-si far ndochum*, 'I will soon come to you'. The main problem is the verbal form *mo-n-icfed*, where one might have expected *-ticfed* from *do-icc* or *-ricfed* from *ro-icc*. If a scribal error is assumed, the form *mos-ricfed* is the more likely original, and this is suggested by the *Th* editors (note *k*). However, it may be a *hapax legomenon* based on an original verb *iccid*, from which all the *-icc* verbal forms are derived. This is discussed in Section 4. Concerning the noun *gó* ('falsehood'), Thurneysen in GOI §69 comments that OIr *áu* was in transition to *ó* by way of intermediate *áo*, all three spellings being found side by side. Accordingly one finds *gáu* in Wb and *gó* in *Fél.* A story is recorded in *Trip*

[263] Ó hUiginn (1986, 33-87) found nasalisation occurring in non-copula relative clauses with antecedent *in ta(i)n* as follows: Wb 31 (97%), Ml 62 (95%) and Sg 30 (97%).

(p.97) that Tassach, to his lasting shame, once told a lie. Probably the line 'Tassach's word was not false' alludes to this incident.

2.27.4. In Muirchú's Life the dying Patrick sets out from Saul to Armagh, but the angel Victor reroutes him back to Saul. Here T glosses *mos-nicfed*: *.i. co Sabull iterum*, 'to Saul again', while F has: *do Sabull intan atubrad fri Tassach*: "cur non pergis cum Patricio?" ille ait: "veniat Patricius iterum hoc, 'to Saul. When it was said to Tassach: "Why did you not go on with Patrick?" he said: "Patrick will come here again"'. The *Th* editors (note *ff*) comment that the statement of Tassach that Patrick would soon return seems not to be found elsewhere. Bishop Tassach does appear in Muirchú's *Life* but only to give final communion to Patrick. The *LH* editors see the introduction of Tassach as controversial and indicative of interpolation.[264] Whatever the provenance of this stanza, it betrays, albeit coyly, a bias towards Downpatrick's claim on Patrick's body.

2.27.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Anaiss Tassach dia és,	Tassach remained behind him,
intan do-bert commain dó:	when he gave him communion:
as-bert mos-n-icfed Pátraicc:	he said Patrick would soon come [to them]:
bríathar Tassaig nírbu gó.	Tassach's word was not false.

§28

T	F
Samaiges crich fri aidchi	Samaigeis crích fri aidchi
arna caite les occai	arna catea lés oca
co cenn blia*dne* bai soillse	co cend blia*dne* bái soilse
ba he sithlaithe fotai.	ba he sithlaithe fota.

2.28.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts to *rannaigecht bec*, $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with rhyme *occae: fotae*. This rhyme needs sone explanation since the medial consonants

[264] The *LH* editors (II, *xliv*) consider the introduction of the name Tassach without explanation to be 'curious and anomalous; these monosyllabic stanzas must have belonged to a different narrative in which reference had already been made to Tassach'. They further comment (*LH* II, 185) that Tassach or Assicus was one of Patrick's three artificers or silversmiths, the others being named Bite and Essu.

were originally pronounced |*g*| and |*d*| respectively. This rhyme will be discussed in Section 4. There is alliteration between *blíadae* and *baí.*

2.28.2. *Samaiges crich fri aidchi.* The verb *samaigid* is well attested, particularly in law tracts where it means 'to establish, fix, ordain'. The verb was originally deponent (*Th* II 505), but deponent endings began to give way to active endings at an early stage.[265] The form in F is taken to be the 3s *s*-preterite, although the spelling *-is* is preferable to *-eis*. The *Th* editors follow T which may be the 3s present special relative form, but it is clear that the context requires a preterite. The text of this line is taken from Muirchú: *Et contra noctem terminum pones*, 'And you will suspend nightfall'.[266]

2.28.3. *arna caite les occai.* The *LH* editors translate this clause: 'so that no candle may be wasted with him', probably through the influence of the gloss *cainlle*, genitive of *cainnel*. The noun *lés* ('light') is attested in *Fél*, Mar4, 22, and Jun 9. The T text offers past subjunctive passive *caite,* along with the 3s feminine suffixed pronoun *occae* referring to *aidchi*, rendering: 'that light might not be spent therein'. Muirchú[267] has obviously taken the incident from an Old Testament source, viz., 'so the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down the space of one day'. (Joshua 10:13).

2.28.4. *co cenn bliadne bai soillse/ ba he sithlaithe fotae*. There is a question as to whether *blíadnae* should undergo initial nasalisation as in *co cenn ṁblíadnae* (*Th* II 36, 29), but this feature is not consistent. Perhaps the *m* became lost phonologically between the *n* and *b*.The compound *síthlaithe* is glossed *laithe i sith*, 'the day of peace' in T, while F adds *i mMaig Soile boi so*, '....this was in Mag Soile'.

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[265] McCone (1997, 75) comments that the distinctive deponent inflection was beginning to be given up elsewhere even as early as Wb and Ml, which seem to retain deponent forms more or less intact in the third person conjunct, but to permit free competition between deponent and basic active in the statistically less frequent relative and absolute.

[266] Bieler 1979, 118-9.

[267] Muirchu's *Life* describes the incident as follows: 'For on the day of his death there was no night, and for twelve days night did not fall in the province in which his exequies were celebrated, and it did not enfold the earth with its dark wings, and night was not so pale, and Hesperus did not send the shadows which bring along the stars; and the people of the Ulaid say that to the end of the entire year in which he had deceased the nights were never so dark as they used to be, which beyond doubt happened in order to testify to he merits of so great a man' (Bieler 1979, 118-9).

2.28.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Samaiges críchfri aidchi,	He set a bounds to night,
arná caite lés occae;	that light might not be spent therein;
co cenn blíadae baí soillse;	for a year there was light;
ba hed síthlaithe fotae.	that was a long day of peace.

§29

T	F
In cath fechta i mbethron	In cath fecta i mbethrón
fri tuaith cannan la m*acc* nuin	*fri* tuaith canan la m*acc* nún
assoith in grían *fri* gabon	assuith in grían fri gabon
issed adfeit litt˘ dún	iss*ed* adfet litt˘ dúin

2.29.1. *Metrics*. The loose *rannaigecht mór* metre, $7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$, returns with the expansion of *litt˘* and rhyme *Núnː dún*. There is consonance between *Bethrón* and *Gabón*, since *EIM* notes permissible exceptions to the rules, one of which is the rhyming of a consonant from class χ with a consonant in class *l*.[268] The length-mark on *Gabón* is guaranteed by its rhyme with *slóg* in *SR* 5106. Alliteration occurs between *grían* and *Gabón*.

2.29.2. *In cath fechta i mbethrón/ fri tuaith cannan la macc nuin*. The variant spellings *fechta* and *fecta* in the mss clearly represent the 3s passive preterite of *fichid*. This verbal form (OIr *fechtae*) is found in Corm Y 975: *intan fechtu cath Muige Tuiredh,* 'when the battle of Moytura was fought'. The glossators may have been attempting an etymological derivation of *fechta* with the one-word gloss *factum,* 'a deed', or the participle 'done'. The F text retains the correct OIr genitive, *Núnː* cf. *ar nibu thacair mad hé in firchumsanad fuerad iessu macc núnː* (Wb 33 b13), 'for it were not fitting if it were the true rest that Joshua, son of Nun, had afforded'.

2.29.3. *assoith in grian fri gabon*. The verbal form *assoith* (*assuith* F) does not appear to be attested elsewhere, but DIL provides some useful pointers. There are two 3s perfect forms of *ad-suidi* in the Glosses: *at-ro-soid* glossing *suspenderit* (Ml 39a16) and *ad-ro-soid* glossing *superpossuit* (Ml 97d16). The *Th* editors comment that the meaning assigned to *assoith* ('rested') is conjectural

[268] Murphy 1961, 33.

only,[269] though F's glossator has no doubts with *ro-suidigestar.* The verb *ad-suidi* means literally 'detains, makes to sit', and as such would fit the context. From the attested perfect one might expect a 3s preterite *ad-soid.* An archaising scribe might write *ad-soith.* Thurneysen comments in GOI §822B that 'the fact that *ad-* and *ess-* fall together before infixed pronouns has sometimes led to *ad-* being replaced by *as-* in pretonic position.' On this basis a 3s preterite *as-soith* is not unreasonable. A trace of this particular form may have survived into Modern Irish. Dineen lists the verb *as-suidhim*, cf. *ag assuidhe na gréine*, 'at the setting of the sun'. There is little to choose between *assoith* in T and *assuith* in F, but T is closer to the attested perfect form. The stanza follows Muirchú in its reference to the Biblical event when the sun stood still on Gabaon, (Joshua 10:12-13), but the hymn fails to mention Isaiah's prayer in 2 Kings 20:11, a version of which Muirchú carries.[270]

2.29.4. *issed adfét littrid dún.* The *Th* editors expand the contraction *litt˘* to *littrid*, 'man of letters', best translated as 'the writer'. *LH* II, on the other hand, expands it to read *littri*, 'letters', because Atkinson in *LH* II *xlvi* took *ad-fét* to be a plural form. The gloss in both mss, *stair libuir Iesu*, makes it clear the authority is the Book of Joshua.[271]. In the biblical episode the Lord helped Joshua, son of Nun, deliver the people of Gabaon from the besieging Amorrhites, and maintained daylight till the fleeing enemy was completely vanquished.

2.29.5. *Th* Text and Translation

In cath fechtae i mBethrón	(During) the battle which was fought on Bethron
fri túaith Cannán la macc Nún,	against the people of Canaan by the son of Nun,
as-soith in grían fri Gabón;	the sun rested on Gibeon;
iss ed ad-fét littrid dún.	this is what [the] writer tells us.

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[269] *Th* II 319, note *hh.*

[270] Bieler 1979, 118-9: 'If, however, any person should be inclined to deny that night was suspended and that in the whole province no night was witnessed during the short time while Patrick was being mourned, let him hear and note carefully how Ezechias in his illness, as a sign of recovery, was shown the sun going back over ten lines on the sundial of Achaz so that the day was nearly doubled, and how the sun stood still against Gabaon and the moon against the valley of Achilon.'

[271] Joshua 10:13: 'And the sun and the moon stood still, till the people revenged themselves of their enemies. Is it not written in the book of the just? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down the space of one day'. (Douay-Rheims version).

§30

T	F
Huair assoith la hésu	Húair assuith la hiessu
in grian fri bás inna clóen	in grian fri bás inna clóen
ciasu threbrech ba huisse	ciasu threbrech ba huisse
soillsi fri éitsecht na nóeb.	soillse fri hetsect na nóeb.

2.30.1. *Metrics*. The $7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$ metre continues with a loose *rannaigecht mór*, with perfect rhyme *clóen: nóeb*. There is clearly a syllable missing in line *a*, which the *Th* editors restore by emending the first word to OIr *húaire*. There is no other ornamentation.

2.30.2. *Huair assoith la hésu/ in grian fri bás inna clóen*. The verbal form *as-soith/ as-suith* encountered in the previous stanza turns up again. There are variant spellings for the name Joshua in early Irish. The form in F, *iessu*, is found in Wb §§33a19, *iessu ⁊ caleph* and 33b13, *iessu macc nún*. The form in T, *ésu*, appears several times in *SR*, usually with spelling *Éssu, Essu* or *Héssu, Hessu*.[272] The MIr note in *Fél* p.198 offers the spelling *Iesu*. *Th* follows T with *Ésu*.

2.30.3. *ciasu threbrech ba huisse*. The meaning of the adjective *trebrech* is uncertain. There is a verb *trebrigidir*, which might be derived from it, a variant of which appears in Sg 7a4: *tribrigedar cech consain i ndegaid araile cen gutai ṅetarru*, 'to continue each consonant (directly) after another without a vowel between them', and in Ml 88d10: *amal no-trebrigim*, glossing *continuo*. On this basis, the meaning can be taken tentatively as 'continuous', as *Th* does.[273] The *Th* translation of line *c* is given below, but a possible alternative is 'that it be continuous were fitting'.

2.30.4. *soillse fri éitsecht na nóeb*. It is interesting to contrast the two descriptions of death, *bás inna clóen,* 'death of the wicked', with *eistecht na nóeb*, 'death of the saints'. The first is the verbal noun of *baïd*, a general term for death, while *eistecht* is a euphemism, meaning 'departure'. OIr *estecht*, the verbal noun of **as-tét*, changed by metathesis to *etsecht* in later texts. The form

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[272] Knott 1952, 110.

[273] Atkinson in *LH* II translates it as 'thrice as bright', possibly influenced by the etymological gloss in F: *ciabu trebairech cia nobetis tri chutrumma na soillse tall intiso* 'though it were trebairech, though there had been three times that light therein'.

estecht is well attested in *Fél* where it appears seven times, while *etsecht* occurs only in *Fél*'s MIr notes (see *Fél* 128).

2.30.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Húaire assoith la hIéssu	Since for Joshua the sun rested
in grían fri bás inna clóen,	at the death of the wicked,
ciasu threbrech ba huisse	meet were radiance, although it was continuous,
soillse fri éitsecht na nóeb.	were fitting for the death of the saints.

§31

T	F
Clerich herenn dollotar	Clérich hérend dollotar
dairi pat*raicc* as cech sét	dairi pat*raicc* as cech ṡét
son in cetail fosrolaich	son in cetuil fosrolaic
contuil cach uádib for sét.	*con*tuil cách uádib f*or* sét.

2.31.1. *Metrics*. The loose *rannaigecht bec* metre $7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$ continues with rhyme by mere repetition of *sét*, both with the same meaning, although *sét* in F's line *b* shows initial lenition.

2.31.2. *Clerich herenn dollotar/ dairi patraicc as cech sét*. The verbal noun *aire* is employed in the sense of a 'wake', and appears with the contracted preposition *do*.[274] It should be noted that the *Th* editors follow F with marked lenition of the *s* of *sét* in line *b*, although the *punctum delens* over *s* and *f* was not seen until Sg and later mss (GOI §231). On the other hand, both T and F fail to mark initial lenition of genitive forms *cetail/ cetuil*.

2.31.3. *son in cetail fosrolaich*. The verbal form *fos-rolaich* (which appears as *fos-rolaic* in §19) is the 3s perfect of *fo-álgi*, 'prostrates', glossed in T: *rosfailgestar inna ligu,* 'prostrated them on the ground'. The OIr form would be *fos-rálaig,* cf. *fo-ralaig*, 'it had prostrated' (Ml 43d5), and 'he had overthrown' (Ml 123b9). GOI §130(b) comments that the palatal guttural spirant is generally represented by *-g*, though *-ch* also occurs (e.g nom. pl. *(h)iressig*, more common than *(h)iressich*). Further, in classical Old Irish one would expect the particle *ro* to lose the *o* before the vowel *-á* here (GOI §852A). Atkinson queries the text of the stanza, remarking that this is the first mention of the singing that had prostrated the clerics. He suspects that §31 and §32 have been reversed. In

[274] Murphy (1961, 40) remarks on the omission even in Old Irish of the *o* of the preposition *do* before vowels.

Muirchu's Life we are told: 'angels kept the vigil of his blessed body with prayers and the singing of psalms, and all those who came for the vigil slept on that night',[275] but here the angels are not introduced until §32.

2.31.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Clérich Hérenn do-llotar	The clerics of Ireland came
d'airi Pátraicc as cech ṡét;,	to wake Patrick from every road;
son in chétail fos-rálaich;	the sound of the chanting had prostrated them;
con-tuil cách úadib for sét.	each of them slept upon the road.

§32

T	F
Anim pat*raicc* fria chorp	Anim pat*raicc* fria chorp
is iar sethaib roscarad	is iar sæthaib roscarad
aingil dé i cétaidche	aiṅgeil dé i cétaidche
aridfetis cen anad.	aridfetis cen anad.

2.32.1. *Metrics*. The loose *rannaigecht* metre $7^{1}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$ continues with perfect rhyme *ros-carad: anad*, and alliteration between *sáethaib* and *-scarad.* Assuming initial lenition of *-fetis,* alliteration would arise with *anad.*

2.32.2. *Anim patraicc fria chorp/ is iar sethaib roscarad.* The syntax here is a poetic one and can be read semantically as follows: *is iar sáethaib ro-scarad anim Pátraicc fria chorp.* The augmented preterite *ro-scarad* is read as a pluperfect passive, rather than a late narrative preterite.

2.32.3. *aingil dé i cétaidchi/ aridfetis cen anad.* The compound *cétaidche* is normalised to the OIr dative *cétaidchi*. The *Th* editors translate *arid-fetis cen anad* as: 'were waiting upon it without ceasing', taking *arid-fetis* as a form of *ar-fet*. They were perhaps influenced by the gloss: *roerfetsetar l roetsetar cum eo*, 'they watched or listened with him'. The verb *ar-fet* regularly means 'precedes, takes precedence of'. DIL offers another possible meaning, 'tends, looks after', but goes on to suggest *arid-fetis* may be from the verb *ar-peiti,* 'plays for, entertains'. The latter meaning would also make contextual sense, literally 'on the first night God's angels were wont to sing over it ceaselessly'. However, the form *ar-id fetis* (<*-phetis*) would require the leniting neuter

[275] Bieler 1997, 119.

infixed pronoun *-id-*, but 'it' relates to the masculine *o*-stem *corp* which would produce nasalisation. Further, the presence of the class C infixed pronoun *-id-* is a problem since the context does not support a relative reading. One would have expected *ara-fetis* (< *ar-fet*), featuring a nasalising 3s class A masculine infixed pronoun. Such a reading, if original, would be against the evidence of the mss. It might be better to read the class C pronoun as an inappropriate usage, which is a feature of later texts. This subject is addressed in Section 4. The stanza is based on Muirchú's Life, which relates: *In prima nocte exequiarum eius angueli uigilas almi corporis fecerunt in uigiliarum et psalmorum moribus, omnibus quicumque ad uigilias in illa prima nocte ueniebant dormientibus,* 'During the first night of his exequies angels kept the vigil of his blessed body with prayers and the singing of psalms, and all those who came for the vigil slept on that night.'[276]

2.32.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Anim Pátraicc fria chorp,	Patrick's soul from his body,
is íar sáethaib ro-scarad;	'tis after pains it had been separated;
aingil Dé i cétaidchi	God's angels on the first night
ar-id-fetis cen anad.	were waiting upon it without ceasing.

§33

T	F
Intan conhualai patraic	IN tan conhualai pat*raic*
adella in pat*raicc* naile	adella in pat*raicc* naile
is malle connubcabsat	is malle *con*nucaibset
dochum nísu meicc maire.	dochu*m* nísu m*aic*c maire

2.33.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts to loose *rannaigecht bec,* $7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme *n-aile: Maire*. There is elision between *ad-ella* and *in* of line *c*. In line *d meicc* alliterates with *Maire*.

2.33.2. *Intan conhualai patraicc*. The verbal form *con-húalai* is attested as a 3s preterite in the OIr poem, The Rule of Ailbe of Emly[277] and Stokes alludes to this example in his Supplement (*Th* II 505), where he offers the meaning

[276] Bieler 1979, 119-20.

[277] O'Neill (1907, §31): *co Caiscc Choimded con-úalai*, 'until Easter of the Lord who ascended'.

'ascended, arose?'[278] The same verbal form occurs in in the hymn *Ní car Brigit* §7, where the *Th* editors translate it simply as 'went', though Carney (1983, 192), in his comment on *Ní car Brigit,* takes the form in the F ms, *con-úala,* to mean 'ascends'. Binchy in his influential paper on Patrick's biographers makes reference to this particular stanza. In rejecting suggestions that the stanza must have been a later interpolation, Binchy alludes to the verb *con-húalai,* concluding: '... for the era is now far behind us when a form like *con-(h)ualai*, which is actually cited in Thurneysen's Grammar p. 428, (*recte* 420) as the only attested finite form of this rare compound could be taken as a "late interpolation". On the contrary, its appearance here constitutes one of the main linguistic arguments in favour of an early date for this poem'.[279] In the same article, (p.124 and note 326) Binchy assigns the date of composition of *Génair Pátraicc* on linguistic grounds to the middle of the eighth century. He goes on to translate the stanza as: 'When Patrick went aloft, he fared [first] to the other Patrick; together they ascended to Jesus the Son of Mary'.

2.33.3. *ad-ella in patraicc naile.* The use of the 3s present indicative *ad-ella* is unusual. Perhaps we should read it as an historic present, used for dramatic effect in narration. The T and F mss gloss *ad-ella* as a past tense: *táraill*, 'he visited'. The person visited, *in Pátraicc aile*, has given rise to much controversy as to the identity of that other Patrick. The glossators describe him as *senphátraic* 'old Patrick'. He has been identified with Palladius and with another continental saint also called Patrick. He is commemorated in *Fél* Aug 24: *sen-Phátric cing catha/ cóemaite ar srotha*, 'Patrick Senior, a champion of battle, the dear fosterer of our sage'.[280] This particlar stanza of the hymn does not come from the writings of Muirchú or Tírechán.

2.33.4. *is malle connucabsat.* The mss clearly show *is malle* but Strachan in *Th* II (422) corrects it to *immalle*, which he translates as 'together'. The verb *con-*

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[278] The 3s perfect *con-rúalai* is better attested, occuring in *Fél* July 12, Nov 21 and Ep 25. In the first two *Fél* readings Stokes translates the word as 'has departed', and the third as 'has gone to heaven.'

[279] Binchy (1962, 125).

[280] Binchy (1962, 124-5) argues that the tradition of two Patricks was well established by the middle of the eighth century, and it was this belief that led eventually to the entry in *Fél* Aug 24. He considers Palladius to be the principal candidate. The *Th* editors in note *q* make reference to Old Patrick in *Lebor Brecc* 228-9, viz. *Padraic mac Calpraind, P Rúisdela, P. aist*ire *.iii.*

ocaib, 'lifts up, raises, exalts' is transitive, but with a reflexive infixed pronoun it can mean 'rises, gets up, is lifted up', cf. *cot-n-occaib in t-usci*, 'the water rises' (*LU* 5519). In this stanza the canonical Old Irish form would be *cota-ucabsat*, but DIL comments that the infixed pronoun is 'sometimes not expressed in later examples'. This verbal form is discussed in 4.4.11, since its presence here may have dating implications. The historic present indicative of this verb also appears in §27 of the hymn *Ní car Brigit* (*Th* II 340.5) without a reflex pronoun: *friu con-uccaib ind oub*, translated 'the river rose against them'. The *Th* editors preserve *con-n-ucabsat* as a nasalising relative clause, possibly taking *malle* as an adjective used in periphrasis with the copula (as in the construction described in GOI §383). Since *immalle* is an adverb a relative clause would not be appropriate, except in later texts.

2.33.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Intan con-húalai Pátraic,	When Patrick departed,
ad-ella in Pátraicc n-aile;	he went to the other Patrick;
immalle con-n-ucabsat	together they rose
dochum n-Ísu, maicc Maire.	to Jesus, Mary's Son.

§34

T	F
Patraic cen airde núabar	Patraic cen airde núabair
ba mór do maith romenair	ba mór do maith roménair
beith i ngéillius meicc maire	bith i ṅgéillius m*aic*c maire
ba sén gaire i ngenair.	ba sen gaire i ṅgénair

2.34.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts to *rannaigecht bec,* $7^27^27^27^2$, with perfect rhyme *ro-ménair: ngénair*. There is considerable alliteration, involving *airde* and *n-úabar*; *mór, maith* and *-ménair*; *meicc* and *Maire,* as well as *gaire* and *ngénair.* There is *aicill*-rhyme also between *Maire* and *gaire*, the quantity of the vowel in *Maire* being guaranteed by metre in *Fél* Ep 381: *Con-icid mo chobair/ ol is mór for ṅgaire / slánaigid mo chride/ ar écnairc Maicc Maire*. There is also consonance between *úabair* and *-ménair*The hymn formally ends with a single word *dúnad,* in the shape of *génair*.

2.34.2. *patraic cen airde núabar*. The noun *úabar* is usually translated as 'pride', glossing *inanis* ('foolish, empty') in Wb 27a9, and the *Th* editors

translate it as 'vainglory'. The F text preserves the genitive *úabair* following *airde*. Both texts retain nasalisation of *-úabair* after the accusative *airde* ('sign').

2.34.3. *ba mór do maith romenair/ buith i ngéillius maicc Maire*. Line *b* is not easy to translate. The *Th* editors offer: 'much good he meditated', and *LH* II has: 'much good he thought it'. The clause may anticipate the next line: *beith i ngéillius meicc Maire*, 'to be in the service of Mary's Son'. The sense appears to be: 'he had considered (it) a great good to be in the service of Mary's Son'. Alternatively, we could take lines *c* and *d* together, producing 'ít was a mark of the piety with which he was born, to be in the service of Mary's Son'.The noun *géillius* is poorly attested, the form *géilsine* being more common, but the latter often carries a negative meaning. The verbal noun shown in the mss *beith/bith* can take several forms. In Wb the nominative single appears as *both* twice, *buith* sixteen times, *buid* nine times and *bith* once. The DIL editors consider *bith* to be the usual MIr form, along with the less common *beith*.

2.34.4. *ba sén gaire i ngenair*. The word *gaire* is a later form of *goire*, an *iā*-stem noun meaning 'piety'. In the legal sense *goire* means the duty of care, particularly the care of aged parents.[281] The spelling *gaire* appears twice in *Fél*, i.e. in Ep 382 and 402, but Prologue 225 has the earlier *goire*. There is a metrical benefit in retaining *gaire* since it makes *aicill*-rhyme with *Maire*.The *LH* editors read the line as: 'It was a sign of dutifulness to which he was born', while *Th* II offers 'twas a pious hap wherein he was born'. The noun *sén* can mean 'sign, charm' or 'blessing', and the last-mentioned is probably most appropriate here.

2.34.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Pátraicc cen airde n-úabair;	Patrick (was) without sign of vainglory;
ba mór do maith ro-ménair.	much good he meditated.
buith i ngéillius maicc Maire	To be in the service of Mary's Son,
ba sén gaire i ngénair.	'twas a pious hap wherein he was born.

[281] *Th* II 241, 15. In the Notes to the Book of Armagh Dubthach says of his pupil Fíacc: *is már a goire*.

Section 3: Metrical Analysis

3.1. The poem is constructed in 34 quatrains of mixed *rannaigecht* format, with lines of seven syllables, as shown in Table A. The majority of the quatrains are in *rannaigecht becc* with disyllabic cadence in lines *b* and *d*. There are two stanzas rhyming in trisyllabic feet, and five rhyming in monosyllables.

Table A

§	Metre	Rhyme	Ornamentation
1	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*scélaib: déraib*	
2	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*fissi : Odissi*	alliteration
3	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*nís-tomled: fognad*	
4	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*tonna : bronna*	alliteration
5	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*retha : Letha*	alliteration
6	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*ad-rími: líni*	alliteration
7	$7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$	*fithissi: afrithissi*	alliteration
8	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*fo-rochlad: Fochlad*	alliteration
9	$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*lethu : bethu*	*a: c* rhyme
10	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*nuae : tuae*	alliteration
11	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*ceiltis : as-beirtis*	alliteration, consonance
12	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*cloíne : doíne*	*aicill*
13	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*nos-canad : anad*	alliteration
14	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*linnib: ndinnib*	alliteration, *a: c* rhyme
15	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*liae: gniae*	alliteration, consonance
16	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*immi: timmi*	alliteration
17	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*llethu : bethu*	
18	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*llethu : bethu*	
19	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*císel : n-ísel*	
20	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*déne : Féne*	alliteration
21	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*síde : firi*	*a: c* rhyme
22	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*Emain : Temair*	alliteration
23	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*Machai : laithi*	*aicill*
24	$7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$	*-rálastar : -gládastar*	
25	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*buidi : guidi*	consonance
26	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*chách: bráth*	
27	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*dó : gó*	
28	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*occae : fotae*	
29	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*Núin : dún*	consonance
30	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*clóen : nóeb*	
31	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*sét : sét*	
32	$7^{1}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*ro-scarad : anad*	alliteration
33	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*n-aile : Maire*	alliteration
34	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*ro-ménair : ngénair*	*aicill*, consonance, alliteration

3.2. Main Rhyming System

The main rhyming system between the ends of lines *b* and *d* is remarkably consistent throughout, the most serious departures from metrical standards occurring in §3 and §23 where the rhymes *-toimled: fognad* and *Mach(a)i: la(i)thi* appear defective, and represent consonance instead. Nonetheless, perfect rhyme can be assured in §3, if an innovatory *-tomlad* is read. This possibility is discussed in the Linguistic Analysis (Section 4). No such solution is available for §23, but in compensation the poet may be offering *aicill* between *llobrai* and *ad-cobra(i)*. There are a few rhyming peculiarities which detract from the professional quality of the poem. One finds the same rhyming pair, *lethu: bethu*, turning up no less than three times in §§9, 17 and 18.[282] In §31 the rhyme *sét: sét* is well below the literary standard found in the rest of the hymn. Indeed, its monosyllabic cadence seems out of kilter with the core metrical system.

3.3. Other Metrical Ornamentation

There is no fixed pattern of ornamentation outside main *b: d* rhyme. Additional *a: c* rhyme is found in §9 with *nóeb: clóen* and §14 with *síne: ríge*. *Aicill*-rhyme is found in §12 with *feba: treba*, in §23 with *llobrai: ad-cobra(i)* and in §33 with *Maire: gaire*. Consonance appears in §11 with *Lóegaire: fáitsine*, in §25 with *Bethrón: Gabón* and in §15 with *Bairche: n-aidchi*, though the latter would have to be a ninth-century composition. Alliteration occurs in fifteen of the thirty-four quatrains and twenty-one times in total. In addition there are a few stylistic features, such as *iccaid luscu la truscu* in §17, and the alliterative *macc Ébir, maicc Érimón* in §19. With a repetition of *génair* the hymn ends in a single-word *dúnad* known as a *saigid*. Concerning elision, of the fifteen potential candidates only six actually elide.[283]

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[282] The *deibide* rhyme *lethu: bithbethu* also occurs in §22 of the hymn *Sén Dé*.

[283] Murphy (1961, 39) comments that elision is not frequent in Old Irish poetry. The rule is that an unstressed vowel at the beginning of a word may (or may not) be elided when another vowel precedes it.

Section 4: Linguistic Analysis

4.1. Unstressed Final Vowels

4.1.1. As in the hymn *Sén Dé*, Stokes and Strachan contend that an inferior limit for the dating of the hymn may be found in the treatment of final vowels: *-a* and *-ae* are still kept apart, also *-e* and *-i*.[284]

§	T	F	*Th* Restored Text	Classical OIr
5	retha: letha	retha: letha	*retha: Letha*	*retha: Lethae*
10	nua: tua	nua: tua	*nuae: tuae*	*nuae: tuae*
12	mbeba: eua	mbebai: eua	*bebae: feba*	*bebae: feba*
12	eba: treba	eba: treba	*feba :treba*	*feba :treba*
15	lia: fogniad	lia: fognia	*liae: gniae*	*liae: gniae*
28	occai: fotai	oca: fota	*occae: fotae*	*occae: fotae*
2	fissi: odissi	fisse: odissi	*fissi: Odissi*	*fissi: Odissi*
6	adrimi: líni	adrimi: líni	*ad-rími: líni*	*ad-rími: líni*
12	clóeni: doine	clóeni: dóine	*clóine: dóine*	*cloíne: doíne*
14	sini: ríge	sine: ríge	*síne: ríge*	*síne: ríge*
16	imbi: timmi	imme: timme	*immi: timmi*	*immi: timmi*
20	déni: fene	dene: fene	*déne: Féne*	*déne: Féne*
21	sidi: firi	idla: firi	*síde: fire*	*síde: fire*
23	mache: laithe	mache: lathe	*Machi: lathi*	*Machai: laithi*
23	llobra: adcobra	llobra: adcobra	*llobrai: ad-cobra*	*llobrai: ad-cobrai*
25	buide: guide	buide: guide	*buidi: guidi*	*buidi: guidi*
33	naile: maire	naile: maire	*naile: Maire*	*n-aile: Maire*
34	maire: gaire	maire: gaire	*Maire: gaire*	*Maire: gaire*
9,17,18	lethu: bethu	lethu: bethu	*lethu: bethu*	*lethu: bethu*

4.1.2. Considering OIr final *-ae*, we find the following features in rhyming positions. The noun *retha* in §5 is the genitive singular of masculine *u*-stem *rith*, but its rhyming partner *Letha*, either as an *iā*- or *ī*-stem noun, takes an OIr genitive form **Lethae*, (the context being *i ndeisciurt Letha*). Consequently the

[284] *Th* II, xxxvii.

rhyme *retha: Letha* would not have been acceptable until the ninth century. In §10 the normalised adjectives *nuae* and *tuae* are in the nominative singular, and this rhyme would have worked in 750 AD. A similar consideration applies to *liae* and *gniae* in §15. Equally, the mss rhymes, *nua: tua* and *lia: gnia* could well have been composed in the ninth century. In §28 we have the normalised lines *samaiges críchfri aidchi/ arná caite lés occae,* ('He set bounds to night, that light might not be spent therein'), where the 3s feminine suffixed pronoun *occae* refers to the feminine *adaig*.[285] The fixing of *occae* cannot however guarantee the OIr neuter nominative singular form of its rhyming partner, the adjective *fotae*, since by the ninth century the vowel endings would be sounded as a schwa, i.e. *oc(c)a: fota*, as in F. Considering the possible *a: c* rhyme in §12, it is quite clear that *feba*, the accusative plural of the *ā*-stem noun *feb*, would not provide good rhyme with the OIr 3s preterite conjunct form *-bebae* at least until the ninth century. However, *a: c* rhyme is not a regular feature of this poem, and one cannot therefore draw definite conclusions about whether or not rhyme was intended. In any case the same stanza provides good *aicill*-rhyme between the OIr feminine accusatives *feba* and *treba*.

4.1.3. Next, consideration will be given to final *-e* and *-i* in rhyming positions. The majority of the above rhymes are unexceptional. In §2, *fissi*, (the OIr verbal of necessity of *ro-fitir*), rhymes with the genitive singular *Odissi,* and the 3s present indicative *ad-rími* (§6) makes good rhyme with the nominative plural *líni* of *iā*-stem *líne*. In §12 the *ā*-stem genitive singular *cloíne* makes perfect rhyme with the irregular genitive plural *doíne*. Although *a: c* rhyme is only an optional ornamentation, *síne: ríge* in §14 is perfect, featuring the *iā*-stem genitive singular of *sín* and the *io*-stem accusative singular of *ríge*. In §20 the F text coincidentally preserves the OIr vowel endings for *iā*-stem nominative singular *déne* and genitive plural *Féne*. In §§21 and 25 OIr genitive singulars *síde* and *fire* make good rhyme, as do the *iā*-stem nouns, accusative *buidi* and nominative plural *guidi*. A metrical problem arises with §23 however. First, OIr dative singular *Mach(a)i* would not make good rhyme with genitive singular *laithi* due to the quality difference in the medial consonants, but this does not

[285] Uhlich (2006, 17 n.4) comments that *occae* originally contained [g]. Both later [k] and *-e* (for original feminine *occai*) are due to the analogical influence of *cuicce/cucae* [-k-], 'to her', from *co* + acc. (cf. GOI §451f). It is not possible to put a date on the emergence of *occae* as the influence of *cuicce/cucae* could have taken place at any time in the OIr period.

appear to have any dating implications. However in compensation, the dative singular *llobrai* would make *aicill*-rhyme with 3s present indicative *ad-cobra(i)*, assuming *ad-cobrai* as a 3s preterite such as *celebrai* at *Trip*198.4 and *ro-legai* 208.10. In any case, *aicill*-rhyme is an optional feature in this poem, and it would be unwise to draw firm dating conclusions from it. In §34 the rhyme between the accusative singular adjective *aile* (*ad-ella in Patraicc n-aile*) and the genitive singular of *iā*-stem *Maire* is perfect, the quantity of the stressed vowel in the latter being guaranteed by rhyme in *Fél*. The rhyme *Maire: gaire* is of the *aicill*-type, but the *iā*-stem genitive singular *gaire* ('piety') looks late. The usual OIr form is *goire* (from *o*, *ā*-stem adjective *gor*, 'pious'), attested in Wb, *Fél*, *Críth Gablach* and Book of Armagh. The form *gaire* appears twice in *Fél*, i.e. in Ep 382 and 402 where it happens to rhyme with *Maire*, but Pro 225 has the earlier dative *goiri*, though not in a rhyming position. It is clear both forms were around in 800, but since *aicill* is not a mandatory feature, it would not be wise to use *gaire* as a dating criterion.

4.1.4. A significant linguistic marker is to be found in §16, with the rhyme *immi: timmi* (imbi: timmi T, imme: timme F). The *iā*-stem noun *tim(m)e* ('heat') does not have an *-mb-* in its etymology (Vendr Lex T-65), and so could never have provided good rhyme with the OIr 3s masculine suffixed preposition *imbi*. Consequently, rhyme with the dative singular *timmi* establishes an original *immi*. GOI §152(c) comments that the assimilation of *mb* to *mm* is similar to that of *nd* to *nn*. For the latter, Wb preserves *-nd-* in final position and before vowels, but the spelling *-nn-* becomes common in Ml (GOI §151b). This effectively anchors the rhyme *immi: timmi* no earlier than the late eighth century.[286]

4.1.5. The situation is inconclusive for the rhyme *linnib: ndinnib* (linnib: ninnib T, linnib: *n*di*n*nib) in §14. The *u*-stem neuter dative plural *dinnib* is derived apparently from original *dind* (Vendr Lex D-90), while there is some doubt concerning the etymology of *linn* (or *lind*). Pokorny (IEW 675) derives *linnib* from an original *lind*.[287] In this case it is impossible to determine whether the original rhyme was *linnib: ndinnib* or *lindib: ndindib*, and no dating conclusion can be reached here.

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[286] *Th* II xxxvii.

[287] Murphy in *Early Irish Lyrics* (1998, 285-6) discusses the two forms of *linn* (fem. *ī*-stem, and masc. *u*-stem), and cites the rhyme *linnib: ndinnib* as attestation for the original *i*-stem of *dind*.

4.2 Pronouns

4.2.1. There are only four independent pronouns, all of them employed as normal in cleft sentences fronted by the copula: *iss ed ad-fét* (§§1, 29), *is ed túargaib* (§12), *ba hé arid-ralastar* (§24) and *ba hed síthlaithe* (§28). There are no pronouns suffixed to verbs, but this is hardly surprising with only one simple verbal form *canad* in §13 as a possible candidate. A large number of infixed pronouns are found involving all three classes, and including a petrified 3s neuter pronoun used as a relative marker:

§	Pronoun	*Th* edition	Classical OIr
Class A			
5, 20, 24	3s masc	*da-fáith* (dofaid, dofaith TF)	*da-fáid*
7	3s fem	*dos-n-icfed*	*dos-n-icfed*
10	3p	*dos-n-icfed*	*dos-n-icfed*
13	3p	*nos-canad* (*nascanad* T)	*nos-canad*
15	3s fem	*nís-gaibed*	*nís-gaibed*
17	3p	*dos-fiusced* (*dosfiuscad* T, *dos-fuisced* F)	*dos-fiusced*
18	rel marker	*dos-fuc*	*do-n-uc*
22	1s	*ni-m díl* (*nimdil* T)	*ni-m díl*
27	1p	*mos-n-icfed*	*mos-n-icfed*
31	1p	*fos-rolaich*	*fos-rolaich*
Class B			
7	3s neut	*at-chíth* (*atchiti* T, *itchíthe* F)	*at-chíth*
24	3s masc	*at-gládastar* (*atgalastar* F)	*at-gládastar*
Class C			
5	3s masc	*con-id-farcaib* (*conidfarggaib* T)	*con-id-farcab*
7	3s masc	*dod-fetis*	*da-fetis*
24	3s neut	*ar-id-ralastar*	*ar-id-ralastar*
32	3s neut	*ar-id-fetis*	*ara -fetis*

4.2.2. Generally, infixed pronouns are employed in accordance with OIr grammatical rules, but there are problems in two instances. In §7 the sentence *dochum n-Érenn dod-fetis /aingil dé hi fithissi*, ('to Ireland God's angels used to lead him back') features an adverbial antecedent, and thus would not constitute a relative construction in classical Old Irish. The appropriate OIr form would be *da-fetis*. However, in later Glosses relative forms are more freely used (GOI §506), and Ml has several examples of an adverb or adverbial phrase used in

perphrasis with the copula taking a relative construction (cf. *is amne as coir*, 'it is thus that it is fitting', Ml 114a9). If original, the class C pronoun would suggest a dating not earlier than mid-ninth century. The OIr form could be restored, however, without impairment to the metre. A different problem arises in §32 with the employment of the class C infixed pronoun in the lines *aingil Dé i cétaidchi/ ar-id-fetis cen anad*, ('God's angels on the first night waited upon it without ceasing'). As mentioned in the relevant Textual Note the context does not support a relative construction, and the class C pronoun is thus inappropriate. With a 3s masculine class A pronoun referring to Patrick's body (*anim Pátraicc fria chorp ...ro-scarad*), one would expect *ara-fetis*, where the verbal stem is nasalised. The additional petrified *-d-* may represent a Middle Irish confusion of infixed pronouns. This reading would favour the verb *ad-fet* rather than the lenited *ar-peiti* suggested by DIL. The simplest solution would be to accept the class C pronoun as it stands, and regard its inapproriate use in this stanza as a feature of later texts. In §18 the phrase *in cách do-s-fuc do bethu*, ('everyone whom he has brought to life') the infixed *-s-*serves no purpose and appears a hypercorrect MIr response to the demise of the infixed pronoun. The *-f-* is itself a MIr hiatus-filler, but with an object antecedent we might have expected *do-n-uc*.

4.3. Prepositional Pronouns

§	Pronoun	*Th* edition	Classical OIr
9	3p	*lethu*	*leo/ leu*
16	3s masc	*immi* (*imbi* T, *imme* F)	*imbi*
18	3s masc	*immi*	*imbi*
25	2s	*duit*	*duit/ dait*
26	2s	*immut*	*immut*
28	3s fem	*occae* (*occai* T, *oca* F)	*occae*
29	1p	*dún* (*dúin* T)	*dún*
31	3p	*úadib*	*úaidib*

4.3.1. As discussed in Textual Note §9, the prepositional pronoun *lethu*, which Thurneysen regards as archaic (GOI §845), is regarded by McCone as a feature of later language that probably slipped into the Book of Armagh from the spoken register. [288] The more usual OIr form is *leu* or *leo*, but the medial *-th-* was employed as a hiatus-filler and became a feature of later language. Its

[288] McCone 1985, 89.

rhyme with OIr dental stem dative *bethu*, however, places it firmly in the OIr period. The form *immi* (§§ 16, 18), as guaranteed by rhyme, was discussed above in 4.1.5.

4.4. Verbal Forms

4.4.1 Present Stems

§		*Th* edition	3s indic
4	3s	*maraith* (*marait* T, *maraid* F)	*maraid*
4	3s	*ní bronna*	*bronnaid*
15	3s	*canaid*	*canaid*
16	3s	*foaid*	*foaid*
17	3s	*íccaid*	*íccaid*
1	3s	*ad-fét* (*atfét* T)	*ad-fét*
29	3s	*ad-fét* (*adfeit* T)	*ad-fét*
6	3p	*ad-fiadat*	*ad-fét*
6	3s	*ad-rími*	*ad-rími*
23	3s	*ad-cobra*	*ad-cobrae*
33	3s	*ad-ella*	*ad-ella*
33	2s impv	*atlaigthe*	*ad-tluichethar*
Imperfect			
3	3s	*nís-toimled*	*do-meil*
3	3s	*dia fognad*	*fo-gní*
7	3s	*at-chíth* (*atchiti* T, *itchíthe* F)	*ad-cí*
13, 17	3s	*pridchad*	*pridchaid*
13	3s	*baitsed*	*baitsid*
13	3s	*ar-niged*	*ar-neget*
14	3s	*ní congebed*	*con-gaib*
15	3s	*nís-gaibed*	*gaibid*
17	3s	*do-gníth*	*do-gní*
17	3s	*dos-fiusced*	*do-fiuschi*
7	3p	*dod-fetis*	*do-feid*
10	3p	*tairchantais*	*do-airchain*
11	3p	*ní ceiltis*	*ceilid*
11	3p	*as-beirtis*	*as-beir*
21	3p	*ad-ortais*	*ad-or*
32	3p	*arid-fetis*	*ar-fet*

4.4.2. In §4 the *Th* edition opts for the early form *maraith*, based on the editors' reading of the mss. In fact only T has *maraith* (possibly a scribal archaicisation) beside F's *maraid*. In the same stanza the conjunct form *-bronna* rhymes with

the *ā*-stem accusative plural *tonna*, though *Th* II (310, note *i*) comments that the verb is unknown in the intransitive sense 'it wears not away'. One 2s imperative, *atlaigthe* (*ad-tluichethar*) appears in §24 in the line *do Críst atlaigthe buidi.*

4.4.3. One of the features in this hymn is the use of the historic present to describe events in the past. The verbs *canaid, foaid, íccaid* (§§15, 16, 17) describe repeated events in past time, and should really be read as 3s imperfects *canad, foad, íccad*, albeit without the customary *no*-particle. Thurneysen comments in GOI §538 that for simple verbs (other than the copula), the imperfect tense is preceded by the particle *no* if there is no other conjunct particle in place, and that *no* is omitted only in poetry. The latter feature seems to be the case universally in this hymn. Both texts show unadorned imperfects *pridchad* (§§13, 17) and *baitsed* (§13). Bergin points out that in the earlier language forms without *no* do not begin sentences.[289] He agrees with Stokes and Strachan that such imperfects should perhaps be read as presents, and accordingly suggests emendation to *pridchid*, *baitsid*, as well as *ar-neget*. However, as discussed in the relevant Textual Notes, the present tense simply does not make sense here, and the mss texts may have preserved the original. In fact there is not a simple verb in the imperfect tense to be found in this poem that is preceded by *no* except for *nos-canad* in §13, and there the *no*-particle is used to infix a pronoun. As Patricia Kelly points out, Bergin's comment on forms without *no* at the beginning of sentences is contradicted as early as the *Poems of Blathmac*. Patricia Kelly's collection of simple verbs without *no* in the imperfect, past subjunctive and secondary future tenses comes from a variety of texts comprising *Blathmac*, the archaic Leinster poems, *Amra Coluim Chille*, the OIr Glosses, *Críth Gáblach* and texts from the Book of Leinster. [290] The three examples adduced by Kelly of the absence of *no* from the beginning of sentences are actually in the secondary future, but the principle is the same. As noted in Textual Note §14, *ní congebed* is a MIr form, and a future edition might consider an emendation to *nícon gaibed.*

4.4.4. The verb *ad-ella* ('visits') in §33 may also be a 3s preterite but is more likely a historic present (see Ped ii, 509). In §3 the mss show 3s imperfect *nís-toimled* (*-tomled* F) but its rhyme with *-fognad* might suggest the original may have been *-tomlad*. There is a similar form in the 3s past subjunctive *do-romlad*

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[289] Bergin 1938, 204, note 2.

[290] Patricia Kelly 1999, 157-161.

in Ml 36a29, which may have favoured analogical depalatalisation. *Th* retains the mss form, settling for *-toimled: fognad* consonance instead of rhyme, as in the *Machai: laithi* rhyme in §23. A similar consideration applies to the passive preterite *fo-rochlad* in §8 where the OIr *fo-roichled* is made to rhyme with *Fochlad.* This verbal form is discussed in 4.4.16 below.

4.4.5 Subjunctive Stems (past subjunctives unless otherwise stated)

§		*Th* edition	3s indic
18	3p pres	*co tíssat* (*tisat* F)	*do-icc*
4	3s	*téssed* (contessed T)	*téit*
9	3s	*tíssed* (*co tíssad* T, *co tissed* F)	*do-icc*
9	3s	*ara n-imthised*	*imm-ticc*
9	3s	*ara tintarrad*	*do-intai*
28	pss sing	*arná-caite* (*-catea* F)	*caithid*

4.4.6. There are 3 types of construction for the formation of 'purpose' clauses in Old Irish. There is the conventional relative clause as the complement of verbs of saying, thinking and possibility. The other two types entail the use of conjunct particles *ara* (or *arna*) and *co* as complementizers. In §18 the context supports a conventional subjunctive construction, *ro-cés ..... co tíssat*, 'he suffered .... so that (they) may come'. However, in §4 and §9 the absence of a complementizer is unusual, i.e. *as-bert Uictor ..... téssed*, 'Victor said that he should go' (§4) and *gádatar tíssed in nóeb*, 'they prayed that the saint would come' (§9). In prose texts one would have expected the conjunct particle *ara* to precede the verbs, and in the second part of §9 this is precisely the formula used in *ara n-imthised lethu*, 'that he would walk with them', and *ara tintarrad*, 'that he might turn'. Both mss in §9 actually have *co*, but retention of this would generate one syllable too many, and so the decision to omit the conjunction is editorial. In §4 F lacks a conjunction though, as mentioned in Textual Note §4, the scribe in T detaches *con* from the name *Milcon* presumably to provide a complementizer, glossing the resulting *mil* as *milid*, 'soldier'. McQuillan cites the *Th* text as evidence for the use of paratactic complements in earlier texts,[291] but also quotes Rúairi Ó hUiginn's view that the reason for the omission of *ara* or *co* is almost certainly metrical. In §28 there is a fine OIr past subjunctive

[291] McQuillan 2002, 61.

passive, *arná-caite*, 'that it might not be spent', showing delenition of **caiththe*. Although all but one of the verbal forms above are past subjunctives, GOI §520.2b notes that this form can be employed as a secondary future where there is no time limitation.

4.4.7 Future Stems

§		*Th* edition	3s indic
25	3s	*mos-regae* (*-rega* T, *-raga* F)	*téit*
26	3p	*regait* (*regat* T)	*téit*
25	3s	*mos-regae* (*-rega* T, *-raga* F)	*téit*
26	3p	*regait* (*regat* T)	*téit*
10	3s	*méraid*	*maraid*
26	3s	*bid*	*is*
10	3s	*bid* (*bed* T)	*is*
	Conditional		
7, 10	3s	*dos-n-icfed*	*do-icc*
27	3s	*mos-n-icfed* (*monicfed* T)	*iccid*

4.4.8. There are two particular issues here. In §10 *Th* II follows both mss with 3s future *méraid* and F with 3s future *bid*, but the context is conditional, viz. *Túatha tarchantais .....méraid co dé a hiartaige/ bed fás tír Temrach túae*, 'The peoples of Ireland used to prophesy .....that his prosperity would remain till Doomsday, that silent Tara's land would be desolate' (*Th* II translation). We should read the conditional *mérad* and *bed* here, as the translation implies. Of interest also is *mos-n-icfed* in §27. *Th* II (321 note *k*) suggests we read *mos-ricfed* against the evidence of the mss. In fact *mos-n-icfed* may be based on the original simple verb *iccid* (unattested elsewhere) from which the various compounds of *-icc* are derived. If *iccid* is a *hapax legomenon* it could indicate an early dating for original stratum of the poem, before the later interpolations.

4.4.9 Preterite Stems

(1) *s*-preterite

§			3s indic
6	3s	*aínis*	*aínid*
6	3s	*légais*	*légaid*
14, 18, 20	3s	*pridchais*	*pridchaid*
16	3s	*ní léicc*	*léicid*

21	3p	*creitset* (*craitset* F)	*creitid*
27	3s	*anaiss*	*anaid*
28	3s	*samaiges* (*samaigeis* F)	*samaigidir*
18	3s perf	*dos-fuc*	*do-beir*
29, 30	3s	*as-soith* (*assuith* F)	*ad-suidi*
24	3s	*at-gládastar* (*atgalastar* F)	*ad-gládathar*
33	3p	*con-n-ucabsat* (*connubcabsat* T)	*con-ocaib*
18	3s perf	*ro-cés*	*césaid*
5	3s perf	*conid-farcaib* (*-farggaib* T)	*fo-ácaib*
12	3s perf	*túargaib*	*do-fócaib*
19, 31	3s perf	*fos-rolaic(h)*	*fo-álgi*

4.4.10. The *s*-preterites *aínis, légais, pridchais, anaiss, samaiges, creitset, -cés* and *-léicc* are standard forms of simple verbs, and do not merit special comment. *At-gládastar* in §24, likewise, represents the standard 3s preterite ending. One interesting form is *as-soith* in §§29, 30, which does not appear to be attested elsewhere. As discussed in Textual Note §29 it imay be the 3s preterite form of *ad-suidi.* From the attested perfect *ad-ro-soid* in Ml 97d16, one might expect a 3s preterite *ad-soid* or the variant *ad-soith*, with *ad-* being replaced later by *as-*.[292] .

4.4.11. The verbal form *con-n-ucabsat* in §33 is problematical. The verb *con-ócaib*, ('lifts, raises'), is originally transitive, but it can be used reflexively with an infixed pronoun to express the meaning 'arises'. DIL comments that in later examples the reflexive pronoun is sometimes not expressed. With a reflexive infixed pronoun one would expect *co-ta-ucabsat*, 'they rose', or *co-ta-n-ucabsat* if the line is read as a nasalising relative clause. The same verb appears in the hymn *Ní car Brigit* as a historic present and in an intransitive sense: *friu con-uccaib ind oub*, 'the river rose against them' (§27). Both types, with and without an infixed pronoun, are to be found in Ml: cf. *con-ucbad in nél*, 'the cloud which used to arise' (83a 4), beside *as-beir-som frisna torus ar-nda-cumcabat*, 'he says to the doors to rise' (46a 12). The transitive form is also to be found in later texts, e.g. *la sodain cot-n-occaib in t-uisci*, 'with that, the water rises' (*LU* 5519). On this basis, there is no evidence to date the intransitive use of the verb before the mid-ninth century.

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[292] GOI §822B) comments that 'the fact that *ad-* and *ess-* fall together before infixed pronouns has sometimes led to *ad* being replaced by *as* in pretonic position'.

(2) Reduplicated *s*-preterite

12	3s	*co mbebae* (*mbeba* T, *mbebai* F)	*báid*
14	3s	*consénai* (*consena* TF)	*con-sní*
20	3s	*con-da-tánic* (*codathanic* T)	*do-icc*
1,34	3s	*génair*	*gainethar*
34	3s perf	*ro-ménair*	*do-moinethar*

4.4.12. It was noted in 4.1.2 above that potential *a: c* rhyme between the conjunct form *-mbebae* (*mbeba* T, *mbebai* F) and accusative plural *feba* in §12 could only take place if the the verbal ending had been reduced to a schwa, as would be expected from the ninth century onward. Thurneysen in GOI §681 points out that with *con-sénai* (§14) the 3s preterite of *con-sní* has been modelled on the 3s perfect of *do-gní* (*do-rigéni*). The s-preterite marker of *con-sní* is retained in the 3p form, *con-sníset*. A similar arrangement is to be found in another *-slí* compound, *ad-roilli*, ('earns') with preterites 3s, *ad-roilli*, and 3p *ad-roilliset*. Similarly, *ad-cosnai* (**ad-com-sní-*) forms its 3p preterite *-ascansat* (see *Ní car Brigit* §§16, 27). The strong deponent verb *gainithir* forms its 3s preterite by reduplication, i.e *génair* (<*gegn-*), where the radical vowel had already been elided in the pre-Celtic period. The 3s absolute and conjunct forms are the same, the former found in §1 and the latter in § 34. The 3s preterite conjunct *-ménair* of *do-moinethar* is actually modelled on *génair* and here functions as its rhyming partner.

(3) *t*-preterite

4, 25, 27	3s	*as-bert*	*as-beir*
27	3s	*do-bert*	*do-beir*

4.4.13. The above *t*-preterite forms are perfectly regular.

(4) Suffixless preterite

§			3s indic
4	3s	*for-ruim* (*forruib* TF)	*for-ben*
5	3s	*da-fáith* (dofaid TF)	*do-fed*
20, 24	3s	*da-fáith* (dofaith TF)	*do-fed*
9	3p	*gádatar*	*guidid*
18	3p	*lotar*	*téit*
31	3p	*do-llotar*	*do-téit*
26	2s perf	*do-róega*	*do-goa*

4.4.14. The *Th* editors, assuming a scribal assimilation of lenited *m* and *b*, normalise the verb *for-ruib* (§4) in the mss to *fo-rruim,* which they read as the 3s preterite of *fo ruimi*, 'sets, places'. In his Supplement, [293] Stokes later considered that *for-ruib* might be right after all, as the 3s perfect of *for-ben*. This was based on Thurneysen's suggestion in *KZ* 31, 35 that it is the preterite [read perfect] of *for-ben*, 'strike' or 'cut'. For example, in *LU* 5677 we read: *bentai ... ɣ ní forbai ima chnes*, 'strikes him, but did not wound his skin'. The verbal form *da-fáith* occurs three times in the text, based on the mss readings *dofaid* and *dofaith*. The mss have *dofaid* in §5, but the hypercorrect spelling *dofaith* (GOI §130.2) appears later in the mss at §§20 and 24. It should be noted that, despite appearances, the form *do-fáith* is actually later than *do-fáid* (GOI §692), as evidenced by the Middle Welsh *go-di-wawd (-d = -ð)*, 'he overtook'. In §26 the suffixless 2s perfect (leg. *do-roíga*) of the verb *do-goa* ('chooses') is found. GOI §702 makes the point that only perfect forms with *ro(í)* are found in early mss.

(5). Copula and Substantive Verb preterite stems

§			3s indic
5 (n. 1)	3s	*ba*	*is*
8	3s perf	*ropo* (robo T)	*is*
27	3s perf	*nírbu*	*is*
3, 23	3s	*bói* (*bai* TF)	*at-tá*
21,24,28	3s	*bái* (*bai* T)	*at-tá*
3	3p	*bátar*	*at-tá*

Note 1: also in §§12, 16, 24, 28, 30, 34.

4.4.15. The forms here are regular, and require no further comment. The two augmented forms *ropo* and *nírbu* are translated as preterites but could be understood as pluperfects in the context.

(6). Preterite Passive Stems

§			3s indic
1	3s	*do-breth*	*do-beir*
2	3s	*i tubrad*	*do-beir*
8	3s	*ro-clos*	*ro-cluinethar*
29	3s	*fechtae* (fechta T, fecta F)	*fichid*
11	3s perf	*ro-firad*	*firaid*
32	3s perf	*ro-scarad*	*scaraid*

[293] See *Th* II p.505.

8	3s perf	*fo-rochlad*	*fo-ciallathar*
21	3s perf	*do-réracht* (*doreract* F)	*do-érig*

4.4.16. The two preterite passive singulars of *do-beir*, *do-breth* and its prototonic form *-tubrad*, are perfectly regular. The earlier passive *ro-cloth* (from *ro-cluinethar*) was replaced by *ro-clos* (§8) under the influence of *ad-cess*, though both forms can be found side by side in early texts. The verbal form *fo-rochlad* in §8 is rare. The nearest attested form is the 3s perfect passive *fon-rochled* (Wb 19c13), translated by Kavanagh as 'we have been pre-destined.' [294] The regular root has palatal *-chl-* but, since in this stanza it rhymes with the placename *Fochlad*, two possibilities must be examined. First, the regular *-rocleth* may have been altered by the poet to produce rhyme with *fochlad*. A similar situation arises in *Ní car Brigit* §35, where the *Th* editors suggest *-rrocleth* be read for *-rrocloth* in the T ms (*Th* II 344 note *i*). The metrical problem involving the *-toimled: -fognad* rhyme in §3 is discussed in 4.4.4 above. The second approach is to consider whether a non-palatal version of *-rochlad* is feasible. GOI §632 comments that in Ml the 3s past *s*-subjunctive ending *-ed* is sometimes replaced by *-ad* through spread from the *a*-subjunctive, e.g *co chota[b]-bosad-si*, (from *con-boing*), 'that he should crush you' (Ml 18a7). Perhaps the *-ad* endings spread analogically to the imperfect indicative.

4.5. Use of the augmented preterite

a. s-preterite

18	aug 3s	*ro-cés*	*césaid*
5	aug 3s	*conid-farcaib* (*-farggaib* T)	*fo-ácaib*
18	3s perf	*dos-fuc*	*do-beir*
12	3s perf	*túargaib*	*do-fócaib*
19, 31	3s perf	*fos-rolaic(h)*	*fo-álgi*
34	3s perf	*ro-ménair*	*do-moinethar*
8	3s perf	*ropo* (robo T)	*is*
27	3s perf	*nírbu*	*is*
11	3s perf	*ro-firad*	*firaid*
32	3s perf	*ro-scarad*	*scaraid*
8	3s perf	*fo-rochlad*	*fo-ciallathar*
221	3s perf	*do-réracht* (*doreract* F)	*do-érig*
26	2s perf	*do-róega*	*do-goa*

[294] Kavanagh 2001 under *fo-ciallathar*.

4.5.1. Of the 14 augmented preterites in the poem, only four are not formally assigned as grammatical perfects or pluperfects in translation. The first occurs in §5: *da-fáid .... conid-farcaib la German*, translated by *Th* II 'he led him ... so that he left him with German', but a possible pluperfect reading is 'he led him ... and had left him with German'. The second is in §18: *ro-cés mór sáeth i llethu*, 'he suffered many hardships far and wide', but again a pluperfect reading is also possible. In §19 *fos-rolaic* could easily be translated as a pluperfect, as could *ro-ménai*r in §34. Consequently, none of these verbal augmentations can be confidently read as evidence for narrative preterites, which are a feature of later texts.

4.6 Hiatus.

The presence or absence of hiatus in early metrical pieces is of limited use as a dating criterion. The composer of later texts has the freedom to employ both hiatus and contracted forms as the metre dictates, whereas the earlier poet could not predict the contraction of the hiatus forms of his era. Having said this, hiatus, as guaranteed by metrics, is strictly preserved in this hymn in the following stanzas: §1 *deac*, §2 *haue*, §4 *gníaid*, §10 *núae: túae*, §§10, 15 *liae: gniae*, §11 *druid* and §21 *-deacht*. In *Blathmac* the word *dëac* is disyllabic in lines 136 and 380, while *déc* (line 107) looks monosyllabic but could be disyllabic if elision is allowed in the phrase *diambu ab*. There are two instances of *deac* in *Fél* (Jul 15, Sep 22), both disyllabic, and *SR* features forms with and without hiatus. The noun *hue* (§2) is disyllabic in 'A Poem on the Virgin Mary', dated by Carney to 700,[295] but also in all appearances in *Fél,* dated to 800. The adjective *núa* appears once in *Fél* Jan 5, where it is disyllabic, as is *déacht* in Ep 353. In §27 the hiatus in *dia* (*dī* or *do* plus possessive pronoun) in the line *anaiss Tassach dia és*, ('Tassach remained behind him'), is significant. Thurneysen (GOI §114) comments that this form of *dia* appears to be nearly always monosyllabic in verse.[296], and there is in fact one monosyllabic *dia* in §3: *bátar ili Cothraige/ cetharthrebe dia fognad,* ('many were there whom Cothraige of the four households used to serve'). It would be possible to avoid hiatus in *dia* here by adding an emphasising pronoun to *éis*, i.e. *éis-se*.

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[295] *Blathmac* III, 110.

[296] For example, all forms of *dia* (preposition + possessive pronoun) in *Fél* are monosyllabic.

4.7 Form of Definite Article.

4.7.1. There are two forms of the shortened definite article, *na tri cóicait* in §13 and *éitsecht na noeb* in §3. Carney, in his study of Early Irish verse texts, found that 'the graph of *inna* falls 0, beside *inna flatha* in §11, *inna Tríndóite fire* in §21 and *bás inna cloen* in §30 slowly and regularly from 100% in the seventh century to zero from about 900 onwards, a clear example of the linguistic progression that we may expect to find in our text.'[297] However, this provides only a rough indicator of dating. It is clear that the poet here was able to select the form that best suited the metre, as for example in §30 where both *inna* and *na* are employed.

[297] Carney 1983, 199.

Section 5: Conclusion

5.1.Sources of Hymn

The hymn *Génair Pátraicc* comprises a metrical life of St Patrick, set out in 34 quatrains composed in *rannaigecht* format with regular lines of seven syllables. The majority of the stanzas exhibit disyllabic rhyming, but there are five with monosyllabic and two with trisyllabic rhyme. The disyllabic stanzas can be regarded as *rannaigecht bec* but, as seen in Section 3, the cadence in lines *a* and *c* can vary from 1 to 3 syllables. The subject matter of the hymn is very similar to Muirchú's Life, but there are a few stanzas which are closer to Tírechán. The *Th* II editors comment that 'Zimmer and Atkinson find extensive interpolation in the hymn. But, as so sharpsighted an observer as Thurneysen has remarked, the language of the verses supposed to be interpolated differs in no way from that of the verses admitted to be genuine'.[298]

5.2. Summary of Linguistic Evidence

An analysis of the language of this poem reveals the following features:

(1) Generally, when rhyming words are restored in accordance with classical OIr grammatical rules, the final unstressed vowels *-a*, *-ae* and *-ai* are kept apart, as are *-e* and *-i*.

(2) The following rhymes would not have been acceptable before the ninth century: *immi: timmi* in §16 and *retha: Letha* in §5.

(3) Although *a: c* rhyme is not mandatory in this poem, the rhyme *bebae: feba* in §12 would not be feasible unless the final vowels had fallen together as a schwa. The potential *aicill* rhyme, *llobrai: ad-cobra* in §27, would also be assigned to the ninth century unless an early 3s preterite *ad-cobrai* is allowed.

(4) In §7 the employment of the verbal form *do-d-fetis* with its class C infixed pronoun in a construction featuring an adverbial antecedent is a feature of the late confusion of relative clauses in the ninth century. Further, in §32 the verbal form *ar-id-fetis* in a non-relative construction shows an aberrant class C infixed pronoun where a class A would be appropriate, indicating a departure from classical OIr usage.

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[298] *Th* II xxxvii.

(5) The verb *con-occaib*, 'lifts' (§33), is unlikely to have been employed in the intransitive sense (without a reflexive pronoun) earlier than the ninth century.

(6) The verbal form *ní congebed* in §14 is Middle Irish, and should be emended to *nícon gaibed.*

(7) The later form *gaire* (OIr *goire*) guaranteed by *aicill*-rhyme with *Maire*, suggests a dating no earlier than 800AD.

(8) The absence of narrative preterites does not in itself constitute proof of an early dating, but nonetheless rules out one indicator of later texts.

(9) The almost equal distribution of the definite article *inna* and its shortened form *na* is also of limited value in dating, as both forms occur in the eighth and ninth century poems. As a general indicator Carney counts 14 examples of *na* against 5 *inna* in Blathmac, 16 of *na* against 5 *inna* in *Fél* (Prologue and Epilogue only), and approximately 300 of *na* against 3 *inna* in SR.[299]

(10) The exclusive use of hiatus forms (§§1, 2, 4, 10, 11, 21, 27) in the poem gives the impression of an early date, but this is not a reliable indicator of dating as some hiatus forms are to be found in later metrical texts such as *SR*. However, taken together with other factors, this feature cannot be ignored.

5.2. Internal Evidence

The internal evidence regarding the desolation of Tara and Emain Macha is too remote to be of any value in determining the date of composition. There has been much debate concerning the placename Nemthur and the various names attributed to Patrick and his angel, and these factors are dealt with briefly in the Textual Notes, but in this study primacy is given to linguistic evidence alone.

5.3. Dating of Hymn

5.3.1. It can be concluded from a study of the language that the majority of stanzas in Fiacc's Hymn was probably composed in the eighth century, not too far from the period of the main Wb Glosses. However, there are a number of stanzas, which betray their ninth century origins, and it is likely that these are

[299] Carney 1983, 199.

interpolations. §5, which features the late rhyme *retha*: *Letha* (OIr *Lethae*), is one of the stanzas based on Tírechán and may be later than those stanzas based on Muirchú. §16 presents the ninth-century rhyme *immi*: *timmi* (OIr *imbi*: *timmi*). This stanza is similar in content to §14, and may have been a misplaced metrical gloss. §§7 and 32 show late confusion in their employment of class C infixed pronouns. It should be noted that §7 is one of the two stanzas employing trisyllabic rhyme. §32 exhibits a ninth-century characteristic in its treatment of intransitive *con-ocaib*.

5.3.2. It is the extent of this interpolation which undoubtedly led to the wide range of dating for the poem. As noted in the Introduction, Binchy and Carney placed it in the eighth century, as did Bernard and Atkinson, based probably on the language of the OIr stratum. Thurneysen, as well as Stokes and Strachan, clearly included the interpolated stanzas in their analysis of the language, thereby arriving at a ninth century date.

Chapter 5 – Niníne's Prayer (*Ad-muinemmar*)

Section 1: General Considerations

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. Niníne's Prayer is a curious piece. Appearing only in the Trinity and Franciscan manuscripts, it is described in its short preface as a prayer (*ortha*) rather than a hymn. Its status in the hierarchy of hymns in T is marked by the absence of the usual large interlaced initial, sometimes terminating in the head of a fantastic beast. Niníne's Prayer opens modestly with a coloured initial no larger than that of normal stanza headings.[300] Perhaps its function as a prayer rather than a hymn accounts for the lack of ornamentation. The word *ortha* is derived from the Latin *oratio*, and the DIL editors define it as a 'prayer, especially a formal or memorised one, whether recited or sung'. This prayer is an example of the genre known as *rosc* comprising a number of lines of highly alliterative text without rhyme. Bernard and Atkinson consider it 'to have merit and short as it is, to be equal in poetic feeling to most of the other Irish pieces in the *Liber Hymnorum*'.[301] Likewise, Kenney believes it 'shows considerable poetic grace and feeling'.[302] The poem takes the form of a prayer calling on St Patrick for protection against diabolical forces. In it Patrick is extolled as Ireland's chief apostle, a baptiser of heathens, a warrior against druids, and the purifier of Ireland's plains.

1.1.2. The MIr preface to the hymn is sparse and minimal, simply announcing that 'Niníne the poet made this prayer, or Fíacc of Sléibte'. Very little is known of this Niníne, apart from a mention in the Annals of Tigernach for AD 621. The alternative author is the legendary Bishop Fiacc, to whom the hymn *Génair Pátraicc* is attributed, and who is said to have been a contemporary of Patrick. The language of Niníne's Prayer would not support such an early date.

1.1.3. The prayer was first edited and translated by Stokes in 1872.[303] Windisch re-edited the piece, without translation, in 1880.[304] Stokes then included a version in the

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[300] Scriptorium 2, (Bieler 1948, 179): 'The shape of the initial is a rounded *A*, unlike the half-uncial 𝒜 used to begin stanzas in other hymns.'

[301] *LH* II, 187.

[302] Kenney 1929, 274.

[303] *Goidelica*, London 1872.

Tripartite Life in 1887,[305] while Bernard and Atkinson produced an edition in the *Irish Liber Hymnorum* in 1887.[306] Finally, Stokes and Strachan provided a full critical edition in 1903.[307] There have been several commentaries on this piece, particularly from Murphy, Breatnach and Campanile.[308]

1.2. Methodology

The methodology employed here is somewhat different from that applied to poems set out in regular stanzaic format. Before examining the text it is necessary to determine how the poem should be divided into seperate lines and strophes. This determination is carried out in the Metrical Analysis of Section 2. In Section 3 the manuscript readings will be presented on the basis of the metrical divisions, and the text analysed for language and meaning. The textual notes will critically review the language of the *Th* edition, without changing the text or translation, except in a few cases where *Th* offers no translation or where more recent scholarship has demonstrated an improved reading. In Section 4 the language of the hymn is analysed. Finally, in the concluding Section 5 the linguistic evidence will presented and an assessment made of the likely date of composition.

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[304] Windisch 1880, *Irische Texte* I 23-4, 322.

[305] Stokes *Trip* II, 426-7.

[306] *LH* I, 105-6; II *xlix*, 36.

[307] *Th* II, *xxxviii*, 322.

[308] Murphy 1961, 4; Breatnach 1981, 58-60; Campanile 1970, 14-16.

Section 2: Metrical Analysis

2.1. General Structure

2.1.1. In the mss Niníne's Prayer appears as seven lines laid out in non-stanzaic form under one strophe heading. There are different ways in which this prayer can be presented, but the mss texts are of no help in establishing the distribution of lines. Since there are no rhymes to guide us, we will have to decide whether the primary structural feature is syllabic count or stress pattern. We will start with the pattern devised by the *LH* editors on the basis of the normalized text. They note that the lines seem to follow the formula of 7+5 syllables, then 7+5 ,10, 5+9, 8+2, 7+9, 10 and 2+8 syllables, as shown below:

1. *Ad-muinemmar nóeb Pátraicc/ prímapstal Hérenn*
2. *airdirc a ainm n-adamrae; /breó batses genti*
3. *cathaigestar fri druidea dúrchridi;*
4. *dedaig diumsachu/ la fortacht ar Fíadat findnime;*
5. *fo-nenaig Hérenn íathmaige /mórgein*
6. *guidmit [do] Patraic prímapstal/ don-esmart i mbráth a brithemnacht*
7. *do mídúthrachtaib demnae ndorchaide.*
8. *Dia lem/ la itge Patraic prímapstail.*

2.1.2. The *LH* editors point out a near-alphabetical sequence following the first line but as can be seen below, the letter E is misplaced and the sequence is abandoned after G:[309]

A*: airdirc a ainm n-adamrae*

B*: breó batses*

C*: cathaigestar*

D*: druidea dúrchridi/ dedaig diumsachu*

F*: fortacht Fíadat findnime*

E*: Hérenn*

G*: guidmi(t)*

2.1.3. In his edition based on the T text, Windisch [310] omits the word *prímapstal* in line 6 above, thereby providing a five-way distribution 7+5, 7+5; 10.5.9; 10.5.9; 10.10 as follows:

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[309] *LH* II, *xlix*.

[310] Windisch 1880, 23-4.

1. *Ad-muinemmair noeb Pátraicc/ prímabstal Hérennn*

2. *airdirc a ainm n-adamra, /breo batses genti*

3. *cathaigestar fri druide durchride/ dedaig diumaschu/ la fortacht ar Fíadat findnime*

4. *fo-nenaig Hérenn íathmaige mórgein/ guidmit do Patraic [primapstal]/ don-esmart i mbráth a brithemnacht*

5. *do mídúthrachtaib demna dorchaide/ Dia lem la itge Patraic primabstail.*

2.1.4. In *Early Irish Metrics*, Murphy opts for a stress-based structure in his layout of the lines. He notes that in such poems each line consists of two or three stressed feet, the final foot being usually of rhythm *, where \ represents a stressed syllable and * an unstressed one. The stressed syllables are shown below in bold. Note that Murphy in line 10 emends *guidmit* to *guidmi,* and follows the F text by omitting the preposition *do*,[311] though neither change affects the stress pattern. The resulting pattern is 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 2, 2, 3, 1, 3, 3, 3, 2, 3. (I follow Murphy here, although line 7 should probably have a stress on *findnime*). Here the final foot pattern in Murphy's version is **, *, **, *, **, **, *, **, *, **, **, **, \, **

1. *Ad-**muin**emmar **nóeb**Patraicc*

2. ***prím**apstal **Hér**enn;*

3. ***air**dirc a **ainm** n-**ad**amrae;*

4. ***breó bat**ses **gen**ti*

5. ***cath**aigestar fri **drui**dea **dúr**chridi*

6. ***de**daig **dium**sachu*

7. *la **for**tacht ar **Fíad**at findnime;*

8. *fo-**ne**naig **Hér**enn **íath**maige*

9. ***mór**gein*

10. ***Guid**mi **Pat**raic **prím**apstal*

11. *don-**es**mart i m**Bráth** a **brith**emnacht*

12. *do **mí**dúthrachtaib **dem**nae n**dorch**aide.*

13. ***Dia lem***

14. *la **it**ge **Pat**raic **prím**apstail.*

2.1.5. In his analysis of the poem, 'The Caldron of Poesy', Breatnach notes that, in regard to that poem, the lines of the unrhymed section had a stress pattern of 10/8/10/8/10/10, and he cites four other poems with a similar stress pattern, including

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[311] Murphy 1961, 4. Discussion of *guidmit* is given at Textual Note 3.3.4.

Niníne's Prayer.[312] In his treatment of the latter Breatnach emends *guidmit* to *guidme* and, following F, omits the preposition *do* in line 7. In the pattern below, the stressed syllables are in bold type. The resulting distribution reveals a regular stress pattern of 10, 8, 10, 8, comprising groups of lines with stress counts of 4+3+3, 3+5, 5+5 and 3+5 respectively. This structure has obvious attractions, and is the model on which the restored text is based.

	Stress Count	
§1 *Ad-**muin**emmar **noeb**Patraicc **prím**apstal **Hér**enn*	*4*	
***air**dirc a **ainm** n-**ad**amrae*	3	***10***
***breó bat**ses **gen**ti*	3	
§2 ***Cath**aigestar fri **druid**ea **dúr**chridi;*	*3*	
***de**daig **diums**achu la **fort**acht ar **Fíad**at **find**nime.*	*5*	**8**
*§3 Fo-**nen**aig **Hér**enn **íath**maige **mór**gein **guid**me*	*5*	***10***
***Pat**raic **prím**apstal donn**es**mart i **mbráth** a **brith**emnacht*	*5*	
§4 *Do mí**dúth**rachtaib **dem**nae **ndorch**aide*	*3*	
***Dia lem** la **it**ge **Pat**raic **prím**apstail.*	*5*	**8**

2.1.6. By a slight re-arrangement §3 can be made to echo the 4, 3, 3 pattern of §1. This involves moving *guidme* to the second line and *donnesmart i mbráth a brithemnacht* to a new line.

2.2. Alliteration.

2.2.1. In the restored text below, alliteration is marked with underlined initials. To arrive at the required stress count in the first line of §1 *nóebPátraicc* has to be read as a compound. The stress normally falls on the first syllable of a compound, but binding alliteration is possible with the second element of a compound. Linking alliteration between strophes is shown by marking the initials with regular type.[313] The question arises as to whether in the compound *nóebPátraicc*, the initial of *Pátraicc*, should undergo the regular lenition. GOI §231.5 comments that initial *p*, which occurs only

[312] Breatnach 1981, 58- 60.

[313] Ó Brien (1995, 38- 48) finds several examples of linking alliteration involving the second element of a compound in a tenth-century poem.

in loan-words, is sometimes lenited, sometimes not. One metrical example of the unlenited case occurs in the well-known poem beginning *Messe ⁊ Pangur Bán*, where the name *Pangur* does not appear to undergo the customary initial lenition after *ocus*.[314]

§1 *Ad-muinemmar nóebPátraicc prímapstal Hérenn*
airdirc a ainm n-adamrae
breó batses genti
§2 *Cathaigestar fri druídea dúrchridi;*
dedaig díumsachu la fortacht ar Fíadat findnime.
§3 *Fo-nenaig Hérenn íathmaige mórgein guidme*
Pátraic prímapstal donnesmar i mbráth a brithemnacht
§4 *Do mí-dúthrachtaib demnae ndorchaide*
Día lem la itge Pátraic prímapstail.

2.2.2. As can be seen, internal alliteration occurs in every line. Moreover, there are glimpses of linking alliteration between strophes, and binding alliteration between lines. Murphy in *EIM* comments that in this type of rhythmic metre alliteration can occur between words in each short line and the first word of the next. This binding alliteration differs from ordinary alliteration in that it may be with the initial sound of an unstressed syllable, and that *c* may alliterate with *g*, and *t* with *d*, almost identical with the rules of *fidrad freccomail*.[315] Thus in §1 *Hérenn* alliterates with *airdirc*. The end-word *genti* links with *cathaigestar* at the beginning of §2. In the same line we have *dúrchridi* binding with *dedaig*, and *findnime* linking with the unstressed *fo-* in §3. If *guidme* is on a separate line, as in other line arrangements, it could bind with the unstressed second element in *mórgein*. In §4 *ndorchaide* alliterates with *Día*.

[314] *Th* II 293.13, Poem II in Codex S. Pauli.

[315] Murphy 1961, 3.

Section 3: Textual Notes

§1

T	F
admuinemmair noebPatraicc	admunemmar noebpat*raicc*
primabstal herenn	p*ri*mapstal herend
airdirc a ainm nadamra	airdirc a ai*n*m nadamra
breo batses gente	breo báitses gentlide

3.1.1. *Metrics*. The 4+3+3 stress pattern has already been discussed in Section 2.

3.1.2. *Admuinemmar*. The deponent *ad-muinethar* is well attested in the 1p present indicative, appearing as *ad-munemar* in the hymn *Ní car Brigit*.[316] F preserves the OIr form better than T's palatal ending. The glossators have no doubt as to its meaning: *.i. tiagmait ina munigin*, 'we put our trust in him'. The verbal form can mean 'we commemorate' or 'we invoke'.

3.1.3. *airdirc a ainm nadamra*. Both mss preserve the OIr form of *airdirc* ('renowned') as attested in the OIr glosses.[317] Vendr Lex A-41 derives *airdirc* from the prefix *air-* and the root **derk-* (to see), thereby rendering 'visible, perceptible' or 'illustrious'. The neuter gender of *ainm* (later masculine) is also preserved, as indicated by the nasalisation of *adamrae*.

3.1.4. *breo batses gente*. The word *bréo* ('flame') is used in early literature as a metaphor for heroes and saints; it occurs in the phrase *breó órde óiblech*, 'a sparkling golden flame', describing the saint herself in the hymn *Brigit bé*. There is a question mark concerning the verbal form *batses* from *ba(i)tsid*, 'baptises'. Accepting the verb-ending in the mss, *batses* (T), *baitses* (F) is clearly the 3s present indicative special relative form of the verb *ba(i)tsid*. By the time of Wb the glide vowel had become standard, but its absence here may be an idiosyncratic feature of the T text, and cannot therefore be taken as a sign of an early form.[318] The *Th* editors translate the line as 'the

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[316] See Chapter 7, §50.

[317] *Is airdircc i cach thír*, 'it is well known in every country' (Wb1a3), *is irdirc for n-iress i cach lucc*, 'conspicuous is your faith in every place' (Wb24c15), *erdairc,* glossing *celebre* (Ml 25a13), as well as on seven occasions in *Fél*.

[318] The glide vowel is common in the Glosses and, though this verb does not appear in *Fél*, the associated noun for 'baptism' is rendered as *bathes* and accusative *bathis* in the entries for Jan 6 and 25, beside *baithes* on Apr 6.

flame that baptized heathen', possibly reading a historic present. The 3s preterite form is *baitsis*, but this reading would be against the evidence of both mss. In fact, a 3s present tense reading would be acceptable as an on-going process of conversion. The objects of the baptism are the *genti* (*gente* T) and *gentlidiu* (*gentlide* F). The first-named, *genti*, is an *i*-stem plural, based on the latin 'gentes', meaning 'gentiles' in the Jewish sense, and 'heathens' in the older literature. The second word is based on the Latin 'gentilis'and has virtually the same meaning as *genti*. However, *genti* is preferred, as it requires only trivial emendation of the T reading, and its disyllabic form suits the metre better.

3.1.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Ad-muinemmar nóebPátraicc	We invoke holy Patrick, Ireland's
prímapstal Hérenn;	chief apostle.
airdirc a ainm n-adamrae,	Glorious is his wondrous name,
breó batses genti.	a flame that baptized heathens.

§2

T	F
cathaigestar fri druide dúrchride	kathaigestar fri druide durchride
dedaig diumsachu la fortacht ar	dedaig diumsachu la *for*tacht ar
fiadat findnime	fíadat findnime.

3.2.1. *Metrics*. As discussed earlier, the ornamentation comprises linking alliteration between *genti* and *cathaigestar*, internal alliteration with *druidea dúrchridi, dedaig diumsachu* and */ortacht Fíadat findnime*, together with binding alliteration between *dúrchridi* and *dedaig*.

3.2.2. *cathaigestar fri druide dúrchride.* DIL lists this verb under *cathaigid* where the active verb is assumed to have a 3s preterite deponent special relative ending. This feature was most noticeable towards the end of the ninth century.[319] However, Carney provides evidence on the free interchangeability of deponent and active forms in the eighth-century *Poems of Blathmac*.[320] Nonetheless, it is more likely that the verb is an original deponent *cathaigidir* and the ending is a natural one. The deponent form is attested in Wb 24a3: *ro-cathichsiur dar chenn cosse*, 'I have fought for it hitherto'.

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[319] *Th* II *xxxix*.

[320] Carney 1983, 190-4.

The use of the letter *k* in F's *kathaigestar* is curious, and appears as *kothraige* in §3 of *Génair Patraicc*.The spelling *druide* must be restored to OIr accusative plural *druidea*. The expression *dúrchride* is a compound of the adjective *dúr* ('hard') and the *io*-stem noun *cride* ('heart'), giving the meaning 'hardness of heart'. Here it is employed attributively in the genitive case *dúrchridi* to give 'hard-hearted'.

3.2.3. *dedaig diumsachu*. The 3s reduplicated preterite of *dingid*, ('casts down'), preserved in both texts, was probably obscure by the eleventh century, and so T's glossator felt the need to clarify it with *.i. alaind rodingestar*, 'fair has he thrust down'. The adjective *díummusach* (also *diumsach*) is derived from *díummus*, with literal meaning 'overestimating' and thence 'arrogance'. Here the accusative plural of the substantive adjective is preserved.

3.2.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Cathaigestar fri druídea dúrchridi;	He warred against hard-hearted druids;
dedaig diumsachu la fortacht ar Fíadat findnime.	he thrust down the proud with the help of our Lord of fair heaven.

§3

T	F
fonenaig herenn iathmaige	fonenaig herend íathmaige
mórgein guidmit	mor gein guidmit
do patraic prímabstal donnesmart	pat*raic* primabstal donesmart
i mbráth a brithemnacht	i mbráth a brithemnact

3.3.1. *Metrics*. The strophe opens with linking alliteration between *findnime* of the previous strophe and *fo-*, and continues with internal alliteration *Hérenn íathmaige*; *Patraic prímapstal; mbrátha brithemnacht.* It is noted that *-nenaig* rhymes with *dedaig* of §2, a form of parallelism which is not defined in Irish metrics, but occurs also in the hymn *Brigit bé*. Alliteration occurs between the unstressed *maige* of the compound *íathmaige* and *mórgein*, and the unstressed *gein* with *guidmit* (emended to *guidme*). If, as discussed in Section 2, the lines are re-arranged to produce a 4,3,3 stress pattern the alliterative elements would change slightly.

3.3.2. *fonenaig herenn íathmaige.* The strophe opens with another 3s reduplicated preterite, *fo-nenaig* (from *fo-nig*, 'washes, purifies') which the glossator in T to explains as: *.i. rofunigesthar .i. dorigni a funech .i. a glanad*, 'i.e. he washed, i.e. he

has done its washing, i.e. its cleansing'. The syntax would be unusual in prose, but acceptable in verse, with the genitive *Hérenn* preceding the noun it qualifies, as described in GOI § 250.1. The neuter *u*-stem *íath* means 'land, country, territory, estate', and it occurs in many poetical names of Ireland. In a compound with *mag,* 'plain', *Th* translates it as 'meadow-land'.

3.3.3. *mórgein.* Both mss preserve *mórgein*, in the sense of 'mighty birth'. The genitive *mórgeine* is also found in *LU* 4722-3: *do imgabail in mórgeine/ immandig Mag Murthemne*, 'to avoid the mighty man who protects Murtheimne Plain'. Both T and F provide etymological glosses on *mórgein*: *.i. is mor in gein Patraic,* 'great is the birth, Patrick'(TF), ł *morgein .i. mor de genib* 'or *morgein* , i.e. (with) many mouths, (F), *filem oc a gude .i. gena fer nÉrenn ule*, 'we are praying to him, to wit, the mouths of all the men of Ireland' (TF).

3.3.4. *guidmit do patraicc primabstal.* The word *guidmit* can be read as a genuine OIr verbal form with a 3s suffixed pronoun, or a scribal version of *guidmi/e.* The OIr *guidmit* is attested in Wb 15d18: *ni ar nert in domuin guidmit*, 'it is not for the sake of the might of the world, do we pray (for it)'. The *Th* editors seem to read the suffixed pronoun as a proleptic 3s masculine object anticipating *Pátraicc*, but their translation, 'we pray to Patrick, the chief apostle' is suspect, since the preposition *do* would be redundant. Indeed the F text omits the preposition *do*, possibly for this very reason. Campanile takes a different approach. He follows T, but reads it as: 'we ask it of Patrick'.[321] The use of the preposition *do* (also *de*) in this application is attested in Wb 26b8, *guidmi-ni dúib*, 'we beseech of you'. Campanile goes on to assign the proleptic object of the prayer to the line *donnesmart i mbrátha brithemnacht,* which will be discussed below. All the above readings assume *guidmit* is Old Irish. However, Breatnach suggests that *guidmit* in Wb15d18 may be an early example of MIr petrified 3s neuter object pronoun.[322] It is highly plausible that a scribe in the MIr period would employ *guidmit* for *guidmi/e*. Murphy also follows F by omitting *do* in order to make Patrick the direct object and he emends *guidmit* to *guidmi*.[323] Breatnach takes a more radical approach, with an emendation to the relative *guidme*, to which he assigns *mórgein* as the antecedent,[324] i.e. 'the mightily born whom we beseech'. There is strong metrical support for Breatnach's re-assignment, as it would deliver the

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[321] Campanile 1970, 14-16.

[322] Breatnach 1977, 106. Further examples are collected in McCone 1985, 97 and 1997, 174.

[323] Murphy 1961, 4.

[324] Breatnach 1981, 58-60.

desirable 5+5 stress pattern for §3 as discussed in Section 2. This verbal form is discussed in 4.4.2.

3.3.5. *donnesmart i mbrath a brithemnacht.* As in the previous case there are various interpretations of the above clause. The *LH* editors follow the mss, reading *donn-esmart* in the relative sense as the 3s *com* perfect of *do es(s)uirg* [325] with a 1p infixed pronoun, 'who has saved us to Doom's day from judgement'.[326] The *Th* editors take the line as a standalone sentence, and the letter *a* as the possessive pronoun, thus: 'his judgement hath delivered us in Doom'.[327] As an alternative reading, the *Th* editors suggest tentatively that we read the 3s present subjunctive, *donn-esmar*, to render: 'We pray that his judgement may deliver us'.[328] Breatnach, also tentatively, agrees with this suggestion, but confesses that it is difficult to see how this form could be corrupted to *donn-esmart*. Campanile follows up the subjunctive reading, but he reads *i mbrátha brithemnacht* as a preposed genitive 'on the Judgement of Doom'. In support of this reading, he refers to *Patrick's Lorica* where a similar expression occurs: *niurt a thóiniuda fri brithemnas mbrátho*, 'through the strength of his descent for the Judgement of Doom'.[329] Thus he translates the line as: 'We ask of Patrick that he may deliver us at the Judgement of Doom'.[330] Campanile takes exception to the *Th* II reading that 'his judgement hath delivered us in Doom', saying that it would be absurd to imagine a Christian composer assuming that a saint, rather than God, could assume the final judgement on souls. Campanile may be mistaken here. The concept of Patrick delivering his judgement on Doomsday is a reference to the fourth request accorded to Patrick by the angel Victor in Muirchú's *Life*.[331] Notwithstanding the above reservations about the emendation to *donn-esmar*, the subjunctive would make better contextual sense than the perfect.

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[325] The derivation of the 3s *com*-perfect of *du-essuirc* (**to-ess-org-*) entails syncope of *-com-* to yield *do:es-(c)m-art*, followed by the loss of *-c-* to give *do:es-m-art* (McCone 1997, 127).

[326] *LH* II, 36.

[327] The *Th* reading appears to have been influenced by the glossators: *.i. arin brithemnas bratha*, 'i.e. against the judgement of Doom'.

[328] *Th* II, 322, and note *r*. See also the Supplement to *Th* II, page 505.

[329] *ibid.*, 355, 2.

[330] Campanile 1970, 15-6. This writer cites a similar construction: *gádatar tíssed in nóib*, 'they prayed that the saint would come', in the hymn *Génair Pátraicc: Th* II 313,1.

[331] The fourth petition is 'that all the Irish on the day of judgement shall be judged by you (as is said to the apostles): *And you shall sit and judge the twelve tribes of Israel*), so that you may judge those whose apostle you have been' (Bieler 1979, 117).

3.3.6. Overall the choice is to remain faithful to the manuscript readings, which might provide an acceptable context, or to adopt a version of Breatnach's reading with a plausible emended text which preserves a regular metrical structure. The latter reading is preferred, and here the *Th* text and translation is emended.

3.3.7. Text and Translation

Fo-nenaig Hérenn íathmaige mórgein guidme;	The mightily born whom we beseech purified the plains of Ireland;
Patraic prímapstal donnesmar i mbráth a brithemnacht.	may the chief apostle Patrick's judgement deliver us on Doomsday.

§4

T	F
do míduthrachtaib demna dorchaide	do midúthrachtaib demna dorchaide
dia lem la itge patraic primabstail	dia lem la hitge pat*raic* pr*i*mapstail

3.4.1. *Metrics*. As indicated in the metrical analysis, the prayer finishes with two lines, each bearing ten accentual stresses. Internal alliteration occurs with *-dúthrachtaib demnae ndorchaide* and *Patraicc prímapstail*, and binding alliteration between *ndorchaide* and *Día*.

3.4.2. *do míduthrachtaib demna dorchaide*. The first part of the sentence was examined in §3.3.5. The noun *dúthracht* is the verbal noun of *do-futhraccair*, and with the prefix *mí-* is generally interpreted as 'ill-will' or 'malevolence'. Here the dative plural is employed, probably to convey the sense of several ill-wills directed from a host of devils, but the singular noun, 'malevolence', expresses the same idea in English. The same verb, *do-futhraccair*, appears in Patrick's Lorica, but as *mí-dúthrastar*, the 3s future (or present subjunctive) form, with meaning 'who may wish me ill'.[332] Neither the T nor the F texts show the initial nasalisation of *dorchaide* following the genitive plural *demnae* (*demna* in mss).

3.4.3. *dia lem la itge patraicc primapstail*. The *LH* editors translate: 'God be with me, with the prayer of Patrick, chief apostle', while the *Th* editors have a similar translation but read 'God be with us'. The word *lem* is clear in both mss. Campanile sympathises with the latter translation from a contextual viewpoint. The invocations have all been in the first person plural, viz. *ad-muinemmar, ar Fíadat, guidme*

[332] *Th* II, 356, 46.

(guidmit), do-nn-esmar(t). He suggests a scribal misreading in the original exemplar producing *lem* from *lenn*.[333] Because of the re-arranged layout of lines, Breatnach's translation has been adopted here.[334]

3.4.4. Text and Translation

Do mídúthrachtaib demnae ndorchaide	From the malevolence of dark devils
Día lem la itge Pátraicc prímapstail	may God, together with the prayer of Patrick, the chief apostle, be with me (to save me).

[333] Campanile 1970, 17-8.

[334] Breatnach 1981, 60.

Section 4: Linguistic Analysis

4.1. Final Unstressed Vowels

4.1.1. Since this poem is almost entirely free of rhyme it is not possible to assess the likely date of composition from a study of the final unstressed vowels in rhyming position. In the Middle Irish period the *io-* and *iā-* stems lost all distinctions of number and case, except in the dative plural, through the falling together of *-e* with *-i* and *-ae* with *-ai*. As a result, there is a strong tendency for these features to be reflected in the transcription of OIr poems in MIr mss unless the individual scribe has been able to produce a faithful copy of the original work. In the *Liber Hymnorum* generally there are at least two levels of transcription, one from the original hymn-book(s) to the lost exemplar, and the other from the exemplar to T and F. It will be instructive to examine how the three mss deal with the unaccented final vowels of nouns and adjectives, albeit without the assistance of the metrical parameter.

Line		*Th* text
2	nom sg, *io-iā, n*	*n-adamrae* (adamra TF)
7	gen pl, *i, m*	*demnae* (demna TF)
4	gen sg, s, *n*	*findnime*
6	acc pl, s, *n*	*iathmaige* (iathmaige T)
7	gen pl, s, *n*	*dorchaide*
8	acc sg, *io, m*	*itge* (hitge F)
2	acc pl, *i, m*	*genti* (gente T, gentlide T)
3	gen sg, *io, m*	*dúrchridi* (dúrchride TF)
3	acc pl, *d, m*	*druidea* (druide TF)
4	acc pl, *o, m*	*diumsachu*

4.1.2. Here, the mss employ the ending *-e* for both OIr *-e* and *-i*, and *-a* for OIr *-ae*.

4.2. Nouns and Adjectives

4.2.1. Nouns

§	Case	*Th* edition	3s nom
	***o*-stems**		
4	nom sg	*Dia*	*Dia*
1	acc sg	*prímapstal* (prímabstal T)	*prímapstal*
4	gen sg	*prímapstail* (prímabstail T)	*prímapstail*
4	acc pl	*diumsachu*	*díumsach*
4	gen pl	*demnae* (demna TF)	*demon*

	***io*-stems**		
4	acc sg	*itge* (hitge F)	*itge*
1	gen sg	*dúrchridi* (durchride TF)	*dúrchride*
	***ā*-stems**		
4	nom sg	*brithemnacht*	*brithemnacht*
2	acc sg	*fortacht*	*fortacht*
4	dat pl	*dúthrachtaib*	*dúthracht*
	***i*-stem**		
4	acc pl	*genti* (gente T, gentlide F)	*genti*
	***u*-stem**		
4	dat sg	*bráth*	*bráth*
	Dental stems		
1	nom sg	*ainm*	*ainm*
1	nom sg	*breó* (breo TF)	*breó*
1, 4	gen sg	*Hérenn* (herend F)	*Hérenn*
3	gen sg	*Fíadat*	*Fíada*
2	acc pl	*druidea* (druide TF)	*druid*
	***n*- stem**		
3	nom sg	*mórgein* (mor gein F)	*mórgein*
	***s*- stems**		
3	acc pl	*íathmaige*	*íathmag*
2	gen sg	*findnime*	*findnem*
	Indeclinable		
1, 3	acc sg	*Pátraicc*	*Pátraicc*
4	gen sg	*Pátraicc*	*Pátraicc*

4.2.2. Adjectives (all *o*-*ā* -stems)

1	nom sg	*n-adamrae* (nadamra TF)	*n-adamrae*
1	nom sg	*airdirc*	*airdirc*
1	acc sg	*nōeb*	*noíb*
4	gen pl	*ndorchaide* (dorchaide TF)	*dorchaide*

4.2.3. There are no signs of lateness in the nouns and adjectives above, apart from the reduction to a schwa sound of the final vowels in *demnae*, *adamrae*, *druidea* and *dúrchridi*, *genti*; all of these features are to be expected in MIr copies of OIr texts. Of particular interest is the historic nasalisation of *adamrae* following the neuter nominative singular *ainm* in §1.

4.3. Pronouns

4.3.1. There are no independent pronouns in this short poem, but there is one preposition suffixed to a verb, *guidmit,* in §3. As discussed in the Textual Note, there is a case for emending it to 1p *guidmi* or the special relative form *guidme*. In addition, the 1p class A infixed pronoun is found in *do-nn-esmart* (§3). There is only one prepositional pronoun, *lem,* 'with me', possibly a misreading of original *lenn*.

4.4. Verbal Forms

4.4.1. Present stems

§		*Th* edition	3s indic
1	1p	*ad-muinemmar*	*ad-muinethar*
1	3s rel	*batses*	*batsid*
4	1p	*guidmit*	*guidid*

4.4.2. Although *Th* translates *batses* in §1 as a past tense, possibly reading the special relative form as an historic present, the line *breó batses genti,* as noted in the Textual Note, could be read as a continuous present. The word *guidmit* can be read as a genuine OIr verbal form with a 3s suffixed pronoun, or a MIr version of *guidmi/e* entered by the scribe of the exemplar. OIr *guidmit* is attested in Wb 15d18: *ni ar nert in domuin guidmit*, 'it is not for the sake of the might of the world, do we ask it'; but this translation is suspect. McCone regards *guidmit* in Wb as an early instance of MIr petrification of the neuter suffixed pronoun.[335] This petrification is manifested in *guidmit*, 'we implore' (*SR* 3597) and *bértait*, 'they will carry off' (*LL* 13805). As discussed in 3.3.4, the context requires the 1p present *guidmi* or relative *guidme* without a pronoun, and the latter is restored. The *guidmit* may be scribal rather than an original early petrification.

4.4.3. Preterite stems

§		*Th* edition	3s indic
2	3s	*cathaigestar* (kathaigestar F)	*cathaigidir*
2	3s	*dedaig*	*dingid*
3	3s	*fo-nenaig*	*fo-nig*
3	3s	*do-nn-esmart*	*do-essuirg*

[335] McCone 1997, 174.

4.4.4. The verb *cathaigidir*, hitherto unattested as a 3s indicative, is a deponent (though DIL lists it as an active verb *cathaigid*) and here takes its regular 3s deponent preterite form, *cathaigestar*. The two reduplicated 3s preterites *dedaig* (glossed *ro-dingestar* T) and *fo-nenaig* (glossed *ro-funigestar* T) are noted. The verb *dingid* is one of a small group that loses the nasal in stems other than the present stem, hence the 3s preterite *de-daig*. There is a problem, however, with 3s perfect *do-nn-esmart*. The verb *do-essuirg* (**de-ess-org-*) has a perfective form **du-es(c) m-org-*. The perfect *do-nn-esmart* is translated in *Th* II as 'has delivered us', but a footnote (*Th* II 322, note *y*) suggests tentatively that the 3s subjunctive form *do-nn-esmar* be read instead. Certainly the subjunctive *do-nn-esmarr* makes better sense with 'he may deliver us', but, if original, it is difficult to see how the final *-t* might have entered the mss. The verbal form *do-nn-esmart* is glossed *donn-es-aircfe .i. do-gena ar tesargain* (*tesarccain* F), 'will deliver us, i.e. will work our deliverance'. The *Th* II Supplement (p.505) cites Sarauw, 38 KZ 192 who 'would correct *donnesmart* to *donnesmair*, and translate '*möge uns sein Richertum am jüngsten Tagge erretten*'. The Supplement continues: 'But both lemma and gloss may be right, and in the former we may have a *t*-future like *comart* (ex **com-org-to*) in the passage *léicfe-sa cloich dait-su asin tailm co commart do suil it cind*, 'I will launch a stone at thee out of the sling so that thine eye will break in thy head' (LU 74a 45).

4.5.

Hiatus. It is not possible to identify hiatus in this text since the metrical system is based on stress rather than fixed syllable count.

Section 5: Conclusion

5.1. General

Kenney comments that 'it is not impossible that Nindíne was the author: the language forms are not of earlier date than about AD 700, but the text might have been modified from an older version'.[336] But, as Binchy commented in respect of the hymn *Atom-riug indiu*, 'no moderniser has ever covered his traces'.[337] The *Th* editors are more circumspect about dating, saying that the language 'shews no sign of lateness except what may be fairly imputed to the transcribers.'[338] Murphy, in *Early Irish Metrics*, agrees that Niníne may have composed it in its original form, and suggests that the language cannot be later than the ninth century.[339]

5.2. Summary of Linguistic Evidence

There are two major difficulties encountered in any assessment of the date of composition of this poem. First, the lack of rhyme and syllabic regularity severely hinders any critical examination of dating criteria, such as final unstressed vowels, hiatus, verbal stems and nominal inflections. Second, the shortness of the poem (46 words) provides meagre pickings for a linguistic analysis. What can be said, however, is that there are no signs of lateness in the language. In particular, the following features are noted:

(1) Neuter gender preserved in the nominative phrase *ainm n-adamrae*

(2) The rare deponent verb *cathaigidir* later attested as *cathaigid*.

(3) The reduplicated preterite forms *dedaig* (*dingid*) and *fo-nenaig* (*fo-nig*).

(4) The OIr form *brithemnacht* preserved in the mss, rather than later *brethemnacht*.

5.3. Dating of Hymn

On this basis one can say that the language seems to be closer to Wb than Ml, and tentatively, a late eighth century date of composition is proposed.

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[336] Kenney 1929, 274.

[337] Binchy 1966, 235.

[338] *Th* II, *xxxviii*.

[339] Murphy 1961, 4.

Chapter 6 - Ultán's Hymn (*Brigit bé*)

Section 1: General Considerations

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. The Irish hymn *Brigit bé*, otherwise known as Ultán's Hymn, has been described by Kenney as possibly 'the oldest of the extant hymns in the Irish language. On linguistic grounds it can be assigned to the seventh century'.[340] The *LH*, as well as the *Th* editors, regard it as a work of high poetic art.[341] It is a paean of praise to St Brigit, beseeching her protection against demons, plagues and weaknesses of the flesh. In it Brigit is described as 'one of the columns of the kingdom with Patrick the pre-eminent'. The description of Brigit as 'my saint of Leinster-men' hints at a political dimension. She is also the 'golden, sparkling flame', and the 'dazzling resplendent sun', echoes possibly of the cult of the pre-Christian Brigit. Most strikingly, she is called 'the mother of Jesus'.[342]

1.1.2. The hymn *Brigit bé* is a short piece of six quatrains in Irish followed by a concluding coda in Latin. The metre is in regular *rinnard bec* (or *lethrannaigecht mór*) format with five syllables per line, adorned by a considerable amount of metrical ornamentation. The hymn is found in both the Trinity and Franciscan manuscripts, and appears in two other manuscripts: (L) *The Book of Lismore*, a fifteenth century ms at Chatsworth since 1930, and (X) the Laud Misc. 615, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, a vellum codex containing 150 religious poems, the majority of which either refer to Colum Cille or are presented as his compositions.

1.1.3. The important editions of the hymn are:

Date	Editor	Publication	Translation
1880	Windisch	*Irische Texte* 1 (F)	German
1872	Stokes	*Lismore Lives* (R)	English
1898	Bernard & Atkinson	*Irish Liber Hymnorum*	English
1903	Stokes & Strachan	*Thes. Palaeohibernicus*	English

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[340] Kenney 1929, 268. Kenney, however, does not elaborate on these linguistic grounds. Likewise, the *Th* II editors (*xxxviii*) state 'there is nothing in the language to shew that the poem cannot go back to the seventh century A.D.'

[341] *LH* I *xxxiii*, and *Th* II *xxxviii*.

[342] Carney (1983, 193) points out that a similar notion appears in an early poem, where Brigit is a second Mary, mother of the great Lord, viz., *ala Maire mar Choimded mathair*.

Section 2: Textual Notes

§1

T	F
Brigit be bithmaith	Brigit bé bithmaith
breó orda óiblech	bruth órda óiblech
donfe don bithlaith	donfe don bithlaith
in grian tind taidlech.	in grían tind taidlech.

2.1.1. *Metrics*. The metre in all the stanzas of this poem is *rinnard bec* ($5^2 5^2 5^2 5^2$). The main rhyming pair is restored by *Th* as *óiblech: tóidlech*. Although the diphthongs *aí, áe, oí, óe* are interchangeable in OIr texts (GOI §66), *oíblech: toídlech* is normalised in this thesis. Additionally, perfect *a: c* rhyme arises with *bithmaith: bithflaith* (where the second element in the mss represents an initially-lenited *flaith*). There is plentiful alliteration with *Brigit bé bithmaith, órde oíblech* and *tind toídlech.*

2.1.2. *Brigit be bithmaith.* All mss reflect the choice of *bé* or *be* for 'woman' rather than the more usual *ben*. There is no clear semantic difference between these forms, and Ahlqvist shows that the forms *bé* (neuter later feminine) and *ben* belong together.[343] Both forms appear in the literature, but it is noteworthy that *bé* is the form used in *Ancient Laws* to designate various classes of women, e.g. *bé carna, bé cétmuinterasa, bé cuitgernsa,* etc.,[344] while *ben* is used often for a wife or a woman as distinct from a virgin.

2.1.3. *breó orda óiblech.* The mss show a lexical split with *bréo* in T and X opposed by *bruth* in F and L. The word *bréo* is monosyllabic, as attested in *Fél* Apr 15: *prímdae bréo nád athbi*, 'an excellent flame that is unebbing'. The alternative reading, *bruth,* can have several meanings, generally relating to intense heat, fervour etc., cf. *ánbreo co ṁbruth athre*, 'a splendid flame with the Father's fervour' (*Fél* 21

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[343] Ahlqvist (1980, 156-63) comments that the absence of a plural and dual paradigm of *bé,* as well as their semantic and formal similarity, indicate that the two forms must have arisen out of a split in a paradigm. Ahlqvist expresses the view that *bé* emerged as a nominative singular in order to fill an empty slot after the split had taken place. Ahlqvist incidentally disagrees with the DIL note that *bé* originally had neuter gender and later adopted a feminine form, cf. *bé nAnand* (CormY 104). He believes that this nasalisation was not a neuter marker, but an analogical spread from an early vocative case. After Ahlqvist, see also Jasanoff, Ériu 40 (89) 135-41.

[344] ZCP 8, 113.

Oct). The other meaning, 'mass, lump', hardly fits the context. The translation 'a sparkling golden flame' is more appropriate than the alternative 'a sparkling golden heat'. The word *bréo* is an epithet frequently applied to saints and heroes. It will be recalled that in Niníne's Prayer (Chapter 5) Patrick is described as: *bréo batses genti*, 'a flame that baptised heathen' (*Th* II, 322, 2).

2.1.4. *donfe don bithlaith / in grian tind taidlech.* Against the evidence of all the mss, the *Th* editors emend *grían* to the early form *grén*.[345] It will be recalled that the verbal form *don-fé* appeared in the opening line of the hymn *Sén Dé*. There are differing interpretations of this line. Brigit has been closely associated with sun and fire, particularly the perpetual fire at Kildare noted by Giraldus Cambrensis.[346] Atkinson may have had such imagery in mind for his translation: 'may she bear us to the eternal kingdom, (she) the sun, fiery, radiant!'[347] The *Th* editors, on the other hand, equate the sun with the eternal kingdom rather than with Brigit, thereby avoiding any nuances of her earlier goddess status.

2.1.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Brigit bé bithmaith,	Brigit, ever excellent woman,
bréo órde oíblech;	golden sparkling flame;
don-fé don bithflaith	lead us to the eternal kingdom,
in grían tind toídlech.	the dazzling resplendent sun.

§2

T	F
Ronsoera brigit	Ronsóera brigit
sech drungu demna	sech druṅgu demna
roroena reunn	roroena remond
catha cach thedma	cátha cach tedma

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[345] McCone (2000, 35) points out that the old mid-high *é* underwent breaking to a diphthong *ía* before a non-palatal consonant around the end of the seventh century (cf. genitive singular *fēdot* in the *Cambrai Homily* for the later *fiadat*).

[346] McCone (1997, 162-5) gives an account of the various Brigits and their connection with fire.

[347] *LH* II, 39, compared with *Th* II 325. The glossators clearly associate Brigit with fire in the etymological gloss on her name: *Brigit .i. breosaigit .i. fir Herenn ł breoaigit .i. immeclaigit ł Brigit ł brig:t:: ara haitte i fertaib ⁊ mirbulib*, 'Brigit i.e. they flame-seek, i.e. the men of Ireland or … i.e they fear as one fears fire, i.e. Brigit, or power … exhibited in wonders and miracles'.

2.2.1. *Metrics*. There is perfect rhyme *demne: thedme*, with T and F maintaining rhyme with the later spellings *demna: tedma*. Alliteration occurs between *drungu* and *demna*, *-roína* and *reunn* and there is parallelism with *-soíra: roína*.

2.2.2. *Ronsoera brigit/ sech drungu demna*. The four mss show variant spellings *ronsoera, ronsóera, ronsaóra* and *ronsœra*, and, as before, it is normalised to *ron-soíra* here. The OIr o-stem noun *drong* (cf. Latin drungus, 'throng') is well-attested in early Irish literature, and here the accusative plural *drungu* following *sech* is associated with 'devils', OIr irregular genitive plural *demne*, probably modelled on Latin *daemonia* (GOI §280. 2).

2.2.3. *roroena reunn/ catha cach thedma*. The mss display variant forms of the 1p suffixed pronoun: *reunn* (T) *remond* (F), *remhainn* (L), and *remaind* (X). The earlier form seems to be *reunn*, and it is safe to follow T here.[348] In constructions with the verb *roínid*, the preposition *re* governs the victor and *for* the vanquished. All the texts show *catha*, which has to be restored to OIr accusative plural *cathu*. The usual construction to render 'battle against' is *cath fri...*[349] Here *Th* translates the genitive singular *cach thedme* as the enemy, viz. 'the battles of every plague'. Although *teidm* usually renders 'plague, disease',[350] it can be used in a wider sense for grief or disaster. The glossator in F equates it with vice: *tedma .i. cacha dualcha*, 'i.e. of every vice'. Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha translates the phrase figuratively as 'the temptations of every attack'.[351]

2.2.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ron-soíra Brigit	May Brigit deliver us
sech drungu demne;	past throngs of devils;
ro-roína reunn	may she break before us
cathu cach thedme.	the battles ofevery plague.

[348] GOI §436 lists *re, ri* as as one of the less frequently attested conjugated prepositions. The 1p form *riun* is later attested.

[349] *Oc cath fri diabul* (Wb 23d8), *cath fri demon détlae* (*Fél* Prol 242).

[350] *Fél*: *is íccid cech thedmae* (Ep 200) and *ar accais cech thedmae* (Ep 518).

[351] Ní Dhonnchadha 2000, 62-3.

§3

T	F
Dorodba innunn	Dorodba innund
ar colla císu	ar colla cisu
in chroeb co mblathaib	in chroeb co mblathaib
in mathair ísu	i*n* mathair ísu

2.3.1. *Metrics*. This stanza shows perfect rhyme *císu: Ísu*, with *aicill*-rhyme between *mbláth(a)ib* and *máth(a)ir* as well as alliteration, *colla císu.* There may also be interlinear alliteration between *indiunn* and the unstressed *ar*, and between *císu* and *chroíb*, but this is not a consistent feature of the poem. [352]

2.3.2. *Dorodba innunn/ ar colla císu.* The verbal form *dorodba* (*dorodhbha* L, *dorodbha* X) is unusual. The *Th* editors emend it to *dirodba*, and suggest tentatively in note *kk* that it be derived from *di-ro-bádea*. Stokes had a later change of mind, suggesting in the Supplement [353] that *dorodba* is probably from **di-ro-dibe,* the 3s *ro*-subjunctive of **do-dibnim*. This verbal form is discussed in the Linguistic Analysis (Section 4), where it is suggested that *do-robda,* the 3s present subjunctive of the verb *do-bádi* 'destroys', be read. In line *b* all the mss show the *i*-stem genitive singular *colla*, with the later assimilation of *-ln-* to *-ll-*. The *-ln-* arising from syncope is retained in Wb and Sg, but the transition to *-ll-* begins in Ml (GOI §153). *Th* restores the early genitive singular *colno* here, in consistency with the other early forms. The construction is a preposed genitive qualifying the accusative plural *císu* (preserved in all mss except L with *cissao*). The noun *cís* means a 'tax or tribute exacted', but the phrase is best translated as 'penalties of the flesh'.

2.3.3. *in chroeb co mblathaib/ in mathair ísu.* This opening phrase is preserved in the T, F and L mss, while X eschews the figurative language and opts for a more prosaic *in naob co rathaib,* 'the saint with virtues'.[354] The *Th* editors restore the earlier spelling *cróib* (normalized *croíb*). The *Th* editors comment that here Brigit is specifically identified with the Virgin Mary.[355] There is a similar identification in

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[352] Meyer in his *Primer of Irish Metrics*, p.11, argues that alliteration can run into the next line.

[353] *Th* II 325 note *kk*, and *Th* II 505.

[354] Perhaps the scribe of the X text was influenced by T's glossator who equated flowers with virtues: *blathaib .i. co sualchaib*, while plague is equated with vice.

[355] *Th* II 325, note *ss*. Brigit is *Muire na nGœidhel* in Lismore Lives 1260: 'Once upon a time a certain faithful woman invited Brigit to go with her into Moy Liffey; for a gathering of the synod of Leinster

Broccán's Hymn (*Ní car Brigit*) in Chapter 7: §1 *ind nóeb ar écnairc a mmaicc* ('the saint for the sake of her Son') and §2 *Brigit mathair mo rurech* ('Brigit, mother of my Lord').

2.3.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Do-robda indiunn	May she destroy within us
ar colno císu,	the penalties of our flesh;
in chroíb co mbláthib,	the branch with flowers,
in máthir Ísu.	the mother of Jesus.

§4

T	F
INd iróg inmain	INd íróg inmain
conorddain adbail	co norddon adbil
biam soer cech inbaid	biam soer cech ninbaith
lam noeb do laignib	lam nóeb do laignib

2.4.1. *Metrics.* There is a problem with the rhyme between *adbil* (*adbail* T, *adhbhuil* L, *adhbhail* X) and *Laignib*. The adjective *adbal* has a non-palatal medial consonantal group against a corresponding palatal group in *Laignib*, and thus would not make perfect rhyme, at best consonance only. A similar situation arises in §14 of the eighth-century *Echtrae Chonnlai*, where the rhyme *saigid: adaig* is imperfect.[356] Given the high poetic art manifested throughout the hymn, it is unlikely that the composer would have settled for imperfect rhyme here. Windisch suggests that *Laignib* be read here.[357] In such a case the rhyme would be perfect. The likelihood of the form *Laignib* is discussed below. The initially lenited *fíróg* alliterates with *inmain*, as does *n-orddon* with *adbil*, but internal rhyme between *soír* and *noíb* is not certain. If *noíb* here assumes feminine gender its palatal *-b* will not permit rhyme with *soír*, and this is

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was held there. It was manifested to Bishop Ibhair, who was in the assembly, that Mary the Virgin was coming into the assembly. The woman goes on the morrow, Brigit being alone with her, unto the assembly. Then said Bishop Ibhair: 'This is the Mary whom I beheld'; and the whole host blessed Saint Brigit. Wherefore Brigit is henceforth (called) 'the Mary of the Gael'.

[356] In his analysis of the piece, McCone (2000, 191) proposes two alternatives which he describes appropriately as 'unpalatable'. Either an imperfect rhyme was intended, or a nonce *aidig* with palatal *d* was deliberately created to provide rhyme.

[357] Windisch 1880, 25 note 8b.

discussed below. There is also *fidrad freccomail* between the last word of §3 (*Ísu*) and the first word of this stanza, the unstressed *ind.*

2.4.2. *Ind iróg inmain/ conorddain adbail.* The mss forms *iróg* (T), *íróg* (F) and (*fhirógh* LX), represent the phonetic version of lenited *fíróg*, which is restored. The marginal gloss on this word in the T ms is *casta et uirgo corpore et spiritu fuit*, 'she was pure and virgin in body and spirit'. The mss all show variants, *co norddain* (T), *co norddon* (F), *go nordan* (L) and *co nordan* (X) of the OIr dative form in *co n-ordun*, cf. *co n-ordun anbich* 'with abundant sovranty' (*Fél* Mar 30), but also *for t'ordan*, 'on thy sovranty' (*Fél* Prol 276). GOI §278 gives examples where *o*-stem nouns resist *u*-quality in the dative, and the same conditions apply to a qualifying adjective (GOI §351). Accordingly, *Th* restores *co n-ordonn adbil.*

2.4.3. *biam soer cech inbaid.* Beside T and F's *biam soer,* X offers *biam soar*, and L *bum sær.* Atkinson translates *biam soer cech inbaid* as 'may we be free at all times', reading *biam* as the1p imperative of the substantive verb.[358] *Th*, on the other hand, adopts the OIr 1s future copula *be* (though the incorrect form *bé* is printed), cf. *be soír mo brethre*, 'I shall be free as regards my word' (Wb 4c18). This would be a major emendation against the evidence of the mss, and it is necessary to examine the credentials of *biam* more thoroughly. It is likely that the form *biam* was influenced by the MIr form *issam*, 'I am'. The combination of *be* and *issam* might then develop as *biam*, under further influence from the substantive stem *bia-*. The need for such a change is underlined by the confusion between 1s and 2s forms of the copula future.[359] Further evidence that L follows F is given in §4, where both F and L display an unhistoric nasalisation with *cech n-inbaith* (F) and *gach n-inb˘* (L), beside *cech inbaid* (T) and *gach inbuidh* (X). The following nasalisation originated after the neuter gender or the accusative, but spread in later language to other grammatical contexts.[360] The phrase *cech inbaid* must be taken as an independent dative. It is surprising that the editors retain *cech* in place of the *cach* employed in §2. The spelling *cach* is found

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[358] This interpretation must be regarded as dubious for a number of reasons; first, the substantive verb is employed in a copular situation, and second, the 1p imperative of the substantive is attested *baán* in Wb 5d22. Nonetheless, the former objection may be countered with one example in Ml 46a7: *biid ersoilcthi archiunn forrig dothét cona popul adoiri*, 'be ye opened before your King who comes with his people from captivity' (GOI §774.2). Here the 2p imperative of the substantive verb is employed with the adjective *ersoilcthe*, in a situation where one would expect the copula.

[359] In *Stories from the Táin* (Strachan 1944, 5) the use of a 1s suffixed pronoun, albeit correct, in *ro-bad-am béo*, ('I should be alive') delivers a possible pattern for later additions of such pronouns.

[360] Breatnach (1994, 277) has collected MIr examples of unhistoric nasalisation following *cech.*

in Wb and Sg, against *cech* in Ml (GOI §490b). *Fél* has twenty-seven occurrences of *cech* against a single *cach*. In T and F the OIr hymns employ *cech* a total of 13 times.

2.4.4. *lam noeb do laignib*. The substantive form of the *oā*-stem adjective *noíb* can sometimes take masculine or feminine gender in its meaning 'saint'. Here accusative singular *noeb* refers to Brigit, and one might expect ā-stem inflection, cf. *ar-id-rálastar ind noíb*, 'the saint had arranged it' (*Th* II 346.2). With palatal final consonant it would not rhyme with *soír*. However, internal rhyme is surely intended here, and perhaps *noib* assumes *o*-stem gender in the sense 'holy one'. As noted above, the dative plural *Lagnaib* has been proposed for rhyme with *adb(a)il*. In the traditional etymology the *Laigin* are named from the spears (*láigne*).[361] DIL lists the *ā f* nominative singular *lágan* as a variant to *láigen*, which might preface a dative plural *Lagnaib*, though no attestation of the latter has been found. O'Rahilly relates *láigen, lágan* to the root *plāg-*, seen in Latin *plango*, 'beat', Gk *πληγή* (= *plāgā*), 'a blow'.[362] The traditional etymology is not, of course, a reliable guide to the derivation of *Laigin*, but perhaps the composer of this poem knew of an early variant *Lagan*, which has since fallen out of favour.

2.4.5 *Th* Text and Translation

Ind fíróg inmain	The true virgin, dear,
co n-orddon adbil;	with vast dignity.
be soír cach inbaid,	I will be safe always
lam noíb di Laignib.	with my saint of Leinster.

§5

T	F
lethcholba flatha	lethcholba flatha
la patraic prímda	la pat*raic* prímda
in tlacht uas ligaib	in tlacht huas lígaib
ind rigan ríga	ind rígan rígda

2.5.1. *Metrics*. The rhyme *prímda: rígda* (OIr *prímde: rígde*) is perfect. Alliteration occurs with *patraic prímde* and *rígin rígde* and there is *aicill* between *lígaib* and *rígan* (OIr *líg(a)ib: rígin*). Once again *fidrad freccomail* is found between *Laignib* of §4

[361] *O na lágnib-sin ille ro-gairit Lagin Laigne,* 'From these lances thenceforth were the men of Leinster called the Spearmen' (Metr Dind ii, 50-1).

[362] O'Rahilly 1942, 153.

and *lethcholbe* of this stanza. Note that the *Th* editors seem to read *prímdu* in F, but I see *prímda* clearly.

2.5.2. *lethcholba flatha/ la patraic prímda.* Translations vary here. *LH* and *Th* have variations of: 'One of the columns of the kingdom with Patrick the pre-eminent'. McCone, on the other hand, prefers the more conceptual reading: 'One of the two pillars of sovereignty along with pre-eminent Patrick'[363] These lines seem to be an echo of a section of *Liber Angeli.*[364] This passage was designed to stake Armagh's claim to the Brigidine *paruchia* outside Leinster in return for a guarantee of Brigit's rights in the province of Leinster. The agreement between the two churches is usually dated to the seventh century.[365] McCone contends that this quotation from *Liber Angeli* was a later addition, a rider tacked on at the end of the seventh century after Armagh and Kildare reached an agreement that modified the claims of both.[366] If McCone is right, this stanza would provide a *terminus a quo* for the date of composition.[367]

2.5.3. *in tlacht uas ligaib.* This line has caused some translational difficulties. *LH* and *Th* take *tlacht* to mean garment or vestment, cf. *i tlachtaib at glainiu*, 'in robes that are brightest' (*Fél* Prol 245). The *Th* editors left this phrase only partially translated, and Atkinson offers a somewhat cryptic translation: 'the vestment beyond (even) splendid'. The word *lígaib* is the dative plural of *lí*, and also means 'beauty, splendour or colour'. DIL suggests that *lí* may have originally ended in *-g*. GOI §58 compares *lí* with Welsh *lliw*, and takes it to be cognate with Latin *liūor*. Pokorny notes that the literal meaning is 'the garb over the colours (beauty)'.[368] For a solution, Pokorny turns to the gloss in F, *is etach do-roisce cach n-etach socraid hi,* 'she is a garment

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[363] McCone 1982, 107.

[364] Bieler 1979, 190: 'Between holy Patrick and Brigit, the pillars of the Irish, there was so much friendship of love that they had one heart and mind. Christ accomplished many miracles through him and her. So the holy man said to the Christian virgin: "O my Brigit, your *paruchia* will be reckoned to your rule in your province, but in the eastern and western part it will be in my control".

[365] Charles-Edwards 2000, 438-9.

[366] McCone 1982, 134.

[367] The gloss on *lethcholbe* is *.i. Brigit* TF, *amal bíte da cholba i ndomun* sic *Brigit oc*us *Patraic i nHerenn*, 'as there are wont to be two pillars in the world, so Patrick and Brigit in Ireland' Tmg; *ereghda .i. ar mar bad colba ic roind taige sic roroi[n]n Brigit 7 Patraic flathius Herend inter se conid hi as cen[d] do mnaib Erend, Patraic immorro as chend d'eraib*, 'famous, i.e. for, as it were, a pillar dividing a house, so Brigit and Patrick have divided Ireland between them, so that she is head to the women of Ireland; Patrick, however, is head to the men' (Fmg).

[368] Pokorny 1913, 337-338.

surpassing every beautiful garment', where *tlacht* is a metaphor for Brigit herself. The noun *tlacht* can also mean 'ornament, finish, beauty', and *ós* can be used in the sense of 'beyond', cf. *Agappa... adreth búaid úas búadaib*, 'Agapa who attained the reward above rewards'(*Fél* Aug 30). On this basis 'the splendour beyond splendours' is offered in default of a *Th* translation of the line.

2.5.4. *ind rigan ríga.* Thurneysen points out in GOI §294 that later confusion of *ā*- and *ī*-stems led to the *ā*-stem nominative singular *rígan.* In *Fél* Prol 125 and Sep 20 the nominative is rendered as *rígain*, and the the internal *-g-* is clearly non-palatal. The *Th* editors restore the earlier form *rígin* from *rigan* (T), *rígan* (F), and *righan* (L, X). The spelling *ríga* in T is a MIr version of *rígd(a)e*, cf. Mod Ir *ríoga.*

2.5.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Lethcholbe flatho	One of the columns of the kingdom
la Pátricc prímde;	with Patrick the pre-eminent;
in tlacht ós lígib,	[the splendour beyond splendours],
ind rígin rígde.	the royal queen.

§6

T	F
Robbet iar sinit	Robbet iar sinit
ar cuirp hiccilicc	ar cuirp i cilic
dia rath ronbroena	dia rath ronbroena
ronsoera brigit	ronsóera brigit.

2.6.1. *Metrics.* The stanza shows perfect rhyme *cilic(c): Brigit* with *sinit* a third partner. There is *aicill*-rhyme between *-broena* and *-soera* (OIr *-broína: -soíra*) and *cuirp* and *cilicc* alliterate. The linking alliteration reappears between *rígde* of §5 and *robet* of this stanza. Finally, there is a *dúnad* with *Brigit*, indicating formal closure of the poem.

2.6.2. *Robet iar sinit / ar cuirp hiccilicc.* The *Th* editors, in consistency with their treatment of *grén* in §1 of this hymn, restore the earlier form of the preposition, *ér.*[369] The noun *sinet* ('old age') represents a rare formation derived from the adjective *sen*

[369] Thurneysen in GOI §840 discusses the original form of the preposition *iar*, commenting that in pretonic position one would expect shortened forms. He cites as a possibility *er cúl* on an inscription on a pillarstone at Kilnasaggart, co. Armagh, written before AD 716 (*Th* II 289, 18), where the meaning is 'on behalf of', cf. *raith iar cul*, 'a surety on behalf of the first surety', (Laws v. 380.18).

(GOI § 259.6). The more usual form is the *t*-stem *sentu*. The noun *cilic* is derived from the Latin *cilicium*, meaning 'sackcloth', as worn in mourning or ascetic practice.[370] The *Th* II translation, 'May our bodies after old age be in sackcloth', seems to presage a long life of penance. Perhaps the hymn intended to convey a wish for the ascetic life only after old age comes, in which case the translation should be 'May our bodies be in sackcloth (only) after old age'.

2.6.3. *dia rath ronbroena*. It will be recalled that this verb appears in the hymn *Sén Dé*: *in spirut nóeb ron-bróena*, 'may the Holy Spirit rain on us' (§27). Atkinson translates the line somewhat preciously as '(but) from her grace may she bedew us', and Stokes/Strachan as: 'from her grace may Brigit rain on us'. The meaning 'bounty' is possibly more appropriate than 'grace'.

2.6.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ro-bet ér sinit	May our bodies after old age
ar cuirp hi cilicc!	be in sackcloth!
dia rath ron-broína	From her grace may Brigit rain on us,
ronsoíra Brigit!	save us!

2.7. Latin Coda

T	F
Brigte p*er* laudem	Brigtae per laudem
χρ*istu*m p*re*camur	χρ*istu*m precamur
ut nos celeste	u*t* nos celeste
regnum h*ab*ere mereamur.	regnum mereamur.
Am*en*	Am*en*

2.7.1 *Metrics.* This quatrain is a Latin addition to the OIr hymn, and should not be regarded as a formal continuation in the metrical sense. Nevertheless, the first three lines exhibit the *rinnard bec* meter, although the fourth line of the T text has nine syllables. As regards the other mss, L does not include a Latin addition, while X repeats the coda of the hymn *Ní car Brigit:*

sancta brigita u*ir*go sacratissima/ i*n* χρ*ist*o do*mí*no fuit fidelissima *etc*

'Saint Brigit, the most holy virgin, / was most faithful in Christ the Lord'.

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[370] Atkinson seemingly regarded sackcloth as a form of shroud after death, and his translation is: 'May they lie, after old age, our bodies, in sackcloth' (*LH* II 39). F's glossator tells us that: quia cilicium nomen uestis est quae fit *do finnaib gabur ł chamaill*, 'because sackcloth is the name of a vestment which is made, and it is made from the hair of a goat or a camel'.

It would be more profitable to follow F, which satisfies both metre and context. Note that in Latin verse *mereamur* can be read as trisyllabic, allowing the stanza to merge seamlessly with the Irish metrical system. There is also linking alliteration between the final word *Brigit* of §6 and Latin *Brigtae*.

2.7.2. Text and Translation

Brigtae per laudem	We beseech Christ
Christum precamur	through praise of Brigit
ut nos celeste	that we may deserve
regnum mereamur.	the heavenly kingdom.
Amen	Amen

Section 3: Metrical Analysis

3.1. Rhyming structure

3.1.1. The rhyming structure of the hymn is shown in Table A. As noted earlier in the Textual Notes (Section 2), the poem is laid out in six stanzas of regular *rinnard bec* format, followed by a Latin coda which also follows the same $5^2 5^2 5^2 5^2$ metre, at least in the F ms. The main *b: d* rhyme is perfect throughout, except for §4 where the rhyme *adb(a)il: Laignib* can only be described as consonance. However, as discussed in the relevant Textual Note, the original may have featured a variant form *Lagnaib*, which would make perfect rhyme. In any case, even with *Laignib*, this stanza offers adequate compensation in the form of *a: b: c* rhyme and internal rhyme.

3.1.2. The poem ends with the *dúnad* in §6 where the final *Brigit* echoes the opening word. This *dúnad* seems to place the Latin coda outside the frame of the original poem, but it could be just a technical feature, as it would be difficult to find a suitable closure in Latin.

Table A: Ultán's Hymn Rhyming Scheme

§	Metre	Rhyme	Ornamentation
1	$5^2 5^2 5^2 5^2$	*oíblech: toídlech*	*a: c* rhyme, alliteration
2	$5^2 5^2 5^2 5^2$	*demne: thedme*	parallelism, alliteration
3	$5^2 5^2 5^2 5^2$	*císu: Ísu*	*aicill,* alliteration
4	$5^2 5^2 5^2 5^2$	*adbil: Laignib*	*a:b c* rhyme, internal rhyme, alliteration
5	$5^2 5^2 5^2 5^2$	*prímde: rígde*	*aicill,* alliteration
6	$5^2 5^2 5^2 5^2$	*cilicc: Brigit*	*a:b:d* rhyme, alliteration
Coda	$5^3 5^3 5^3 5^3$	*precamur: mereamur*	

3.2. Other metrical Ornamentation

3.2.1. The poem shows rich metrical ornamentation with every stanza featuring alliteration as well as a choice of additional rhyme, *aicill* or parallelism. Further, as seen in Table B, linking alliteration (*fidrad freccomail*) appears from §2 onwards, and includes the Latin coda. The rules for *fidrad freccomail* are very free and permit alliteration of *p* with *b*, *c* with *g* and *t* with *d*, as well as between stressed and unstressed elements.[371] The continuity of this form of alliteration shows that, statistically, it cannot be coincidental.

[371] Murphy 1961, 38-9.

Table B: Linking Alliteration

1	*Brigit bé bithmaith* *breó órde oíblech,* *don-fé don bithflaith* *in grén tind toídlech*	4	***Ind** fíróg inmain* *co n-orddon adbil* *be soír cech inbaid* *lam noíb di **Laignib***
2	*Ron-soíra Brigit* *sech drungu demne* *ro roína reunn* *cathu cach **thedme***	5	***Lethcholbe** flatho* *la Pátricc prímde* *in tlacht ós lígib* *ind rígin **rígde***
3	***Do**-rodba indiunn* *ar colno císu* *in chroíb co mbláthib* *in mathir **Ísu***	6	***Ro** bet ér sinit* *ar cuirp hi cilicc* *dia rath ron-broína* *ron-soíra **Brigit***

Coda

***Brigtae** per laudem*
Christum precamur
ut nos celeste
regnum mereamur. Amen

3.2.2. The intention of the poet seems to be to link most stressed (and some unstressed) syllables through some form of metrical ornamentation. For example in §1 *Brigit bé* and *bithmaith* alliterate with each other and with *breó* in the next line; *órde* and *oíblech* alliterate, and the latter rhymes with *toídlech*. Further, *bé* and *bithmaith* rhyme with *-fé* and *bithflaith*.[372] Also *tind* alliterates with *toídlech*, and only *grían* is an orphan. As seen, a similar pattern repeats itself throughout the hymn. In the Latin stanza *precamur* rhymes with *mereamur* by anaptyxis.

[372] This type of rhyming is not an established pattern in OIr metrics.

Section 4: Linguistic Analysis

4.1. Unstressed final Syllables

4.1.1. Stokes and Strachan comment that 'there is nothing in the language to shew that the poem cannot go back to the seventh century A.D. The text has been restored below on the assumption that the poem is of so early date'.[373] Considering first the nouns and adjectives ending in vowel, we find the following in rhyming positions, which also includes *a: c* rhyme and *aicill*:

§	T	F	*Th* Restored Text
2	demna: thedma	demna: tedma	*demne: thedme*
3	císu: ísu	císu: ísu	*císu: Ísu*
5	prímda: ríga	prímda: rígda	*prímde: rígde*

4.1.2. The evidence here is inconclusive. The *n*-stem genitive singular *tedm(a)e* in §1 is attested in *Fél* Ep 200 and 518, where in each case it rhymes with the genitive plural *demnae*. However, such a rhyme would have degenerated to *demna: thedma* sometime during the ninth century.[374] A similar consideration would apply to the *io-īa* adjectives *prímd(a)e* and *rígd(a)e* in §5. In either case there is no ms support for restoring the classical OIr *-e* endings. The rhyme *císu: Ísu* is supported in the mss, but the *-u* ending for the *o*-stem accusative plural survived down to the early MIr period (cf. *la firu*, *SR* 3490). All that can be said here is that there are no obvious late forms.

4.2. Unstressed Final Syllables ending in a Consonant

§	T	F	*Th* Restored Text
1	bithmaith: bithlaith	bithmaith: bithlaith	*bithmaith: bithflaith*
1	oiblech: taidlech	óiblech: taidlech	*oíblech*: *toídlech*
3	mblathaib: mathair	mblathaib: mathair	*mbláthaib: máthir*
4	inmain: inbaid	inmain: ninbaith	*inmain: n-inbaid*
4	adbail: laignib	adbil: laignib	*adbil: Laignib*
5	ligaib: rigan	lígaib: rígan	*lígib: rígin*
6	sinit: ccilicc	sinit: cilic	*sinit*: *cilicc*
6	ccilicc: brigit	cilic: brigit	*cilicc: Brigit*

[373] *Th* II *xxxviii*.

4.2.1. The vowel in a closed unstressed syllable was sounded as an indeterminate schwa from the ninth century onwards, and this led to a wide variation in spellings. As seen above, the T and F mss preserve classical OIr forms, indicating that these were original forms. In contrast, for words in non-rhyming positions, the following are noted:

§		*Th* Restored Text
1	nom sg	*órde* (*orda* T, *órda* F)
1	nom sg	*grén* (*grían* T, *grian* F)
2	acc pl	*cathu* (*catha* TF)
2	acc pl	*tedme* (*tedma* TF)
3	gen sg	*colno* (*colla* TF)
5	gen sg	*flatho* (*flatha* TF)
5	nom sg	*lethcolbe* (*lethcolba* TF)

4.2.2. In addition, *Th* normalises two prepositions to seventh-century forms: *ós* (*uas* T, *huas* F) in §5 and *ér* (*iar* TF) in §6. The *Th* editors comment that the non-diphthongisation of *ē* in *ér snáa súthaib* ('after the offsprings') in the Cambridge Glosses on the Psalms points to a high antiquity. However, the editors caution that in the ms it is impossible to say how far the glosses may have been altered in the course of transmission.[375]

4.3 Pronouns

4.3.1. There are no independent pronouns, nor any pronouns suffixed to verbs, but there are four 1p infixed pronouns, all in class A:

§	*Th* Restored Text	Pronoun
1	*don-fé* (*donfe* T)	1p
2, 6	*ron-sóira* (*ronsóera* TF)	1p
6	*ron-bróina* (*ronbroena* T F)	1p

4.3.2. Prepositional Pronouns

§	*Th* Restored Text	Pronoun
2	*reunn* (*remond* F)	1p
16	*indiunn* (*innun* T, *innund* F)	1p

[375] See *Th* I *xiv* and 5.33.

4.4. Verbal Forms

4.4.1. Present Stems. In this hymn there are six verbal forms in the 3s present subjunctive, and one 1p. The stems are:

§		3s pres indic
1	*don-fé*	*do-fed*
2, 6	*ron-soíra* (ronsoera T, ronsóera F)	*soíraid*
2	*ro-roína* (roroen*a* TF)	*roínid*
3	*dirodba* (dorodba TF)	*do-bádi*
6	*ron-broína* (ronbroena TF)	*broínaid*
6	*ro-bet*	*at-tá*

4.4.2. These verbal forms are optative subjunctives, all with *ro*-augmentation, except for *don-fé*. As noted in 2.3.2, the *Th* editors emend the *do-rodba* of the mss to *dirodba*, but in his Supplement Stokes reverted to the mss form *do-rodba*, taking it to be from **di-ro-dibe,* the 3s *ro*-subjunctive of **do-dibnim*. McCone in *EIV* suggests that *do-rodba* is a ghost, and that its peculiar form is due to a MIr metathesis of *do-robda,* the 3s present subjunctive of the verb *do-bádi* 'destroys'.[376] There is no other attestation of the 3s present subjunctive form, but a similar metathesis seems to have occurred with the passive preterite *do-rodbad*, cf. *ó bebais lia theglach / a ordan dorodbad,* 'since he departed with his household his sovranty has been destroyed'(*Fél* Prol 96). On this basis, *do-robda* is probably correct, assuming the exemplar from which the mss are derived was responsible for the metathesis of the verbal form.
4.4.2. Future Stems. Only one future stem is found, the 1s copula *be* (*biam* TF) in §4. How the *biam* of the T and F mss came to be normalised to the 1s future *be* is explained in 2.4.3. The unusual form *biam* seems to have been a development of MIr *issam* under the influence of the substantive stem *bia-*.

4.5. Hiatus. There are no instances of hiatus in the poem.

4.6. Definite Article. There are few instances of the definite article, just the leniting feminine nominative singulars *ind fíróg* in §4, *ind rígin* in §5, together with *in grén* in §1 and *in máthir* in §3.

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[376] McCone 1997, 160.

4.7. Treatment of lenited *f* and *s* in the mss.

4.7.1. Thurneysen in GOI §231.7 comments that, as a rule, lenition of *f* and *s* is not indicated in the earlier Glosses. But occasionally lenited *f* is omitted altogether, when the two words are written as one, e.g. *innalaith*, 'into his kingdom' (Wb31a3), and in compounds. In Sg and later mss a *punctum delens* is frequently placed over lenited *s* and *f*. In the OIr poems of the *Liber Hymnorum* three methods of marking lenition of *f* and *s* are to be found in the mss: (a) a phonetic spelling entailing omission of lenited *f* generally and *s* followed by a consonant, (b) retention of *f* and *s* without any lenition marker, and (c) insertion of a *punctum delens*. It is a trivial matter, of course, for a MIr scribe to insert a *punctum delens*, but the dichotomy between the omission of *f* or *s* and their retention (with or without a lenition marker) could provide a rough dating criterion. If both T and F present a phonetic spelling, the the likelihood is that they have faithfully copied the tenth-century exemplar.

4.7.2. In Ultán's Hymn there are two examples of lenited *f*, *bithflaith* (bithlaith TF) in §1, and *ind fíróg* (íróg TF) in §4. In each case the mss offer a phonetic spelling. The same phenomenon occurs four times in Fíacc's Hymn: *sídflaith* (sithlaith TF) in §10, *fáitsine* (atsine T, aitsine F) in §11, *feba* (eua TF) in §12, *frithadart* (ridadart T, rithadar*t* F) in §16. But in §14 for *the* lenited *feiss*, F has *fess* while T has *feiss*. A phonetic spelling occurs in §1 of Colmán's Hymn: *a foessam* (oessam TF), and an unmarked *a fiado* (TF) for *a Fiada* in §§20, 21, but the latter occurs in two of the later supplementary stanzas. In Broccan's Hymn F employs the *punctum delens* in *óenfer* in §9, *fertaib* in §§12 and 34, while T used the unmarked *f* in §§9 and 34. Patrick's Lorica §6 has *sáibfáthe* in T, but this poem is not recorded in F, and was possibly not in the exemplar. It may therefore represent a different scribal tradition. It will be noted that the tendency is for phonetic spelling in the earlier poems, suggesting that *Brigit bé* should be included among the earlier Irish poems in the *Liber Hymnorum*.

4.7.3. The situation with lenited *s* followed by a consonant is less clear, but the mss show phonetic *luaig* for *sluaig* in §31 of Broccán's Hymn, and *nádud* for *snádud* in one of the late stanzas of Sanctán's Hymn. There are no examples in earlier hymns, but, unlike the case for lenited *f*, it cannot be an indicator of early text.

Section 5: Conclusion

5.1. General

The hymn *Brigit bé* is undoubtedly one of the treasures of early Irish verse with its elegant expression and technical artistry. This short poem combines regular metre and rich ornamentation, together with the linguistic ability to integrate the Latin coda seamlessly into the Irish metrical system.

5.2. Summary of Linguistic Evidence

As far a dating is concerned the evidence from language is inconclusive. The shortness of the poem, with only six stanzas in Irish, does not provide a sufficient base for a rigorous linguistic analysis. With this caveat the main features of language are:

(1) The treatment of final unstressed vowels in rhyming position does not reveal any signs of lateness, but equally the language could just as easily be of the ninth-century.

(2) Rhyming words ending in a consonant also meet OIr norms, but again there are no forms which could be regarded as early.

(3) However, the treatment of lenited *f* and *s* in the mss suggests that this poem can be placed no later than the late eighth century.

(4) The use of consonance instead of full *b: d* rhyme (*adbil: Laignib*) in §4 is reminiscent of early Irish verse, but this feature is not unknown in later OIr poems such as Broccán's and Sanctán's Hymns.

5.3. Internal Evidence

There are few clues on dating available from internal evidence. However, if we take the description of Brigit and Patrick as joint columns of the kingdom as a reference to a passage in *Liber Angeli* (Book of Armagh), which is thought to have been composed in the late seventh century, then that or the early eighth century could be taken as a *terminus a quo*.[377] This evidence is, however, speculative and cannot be regarded as reliable.

5.4. Dating of Hymn

The evidence from language finds no late forms, but equally no archaic ones, and it is not possible to assign a date earlier than the first half of the eighth century

[377] See McCone 1982, 107-8, who believes that the agreement between Armagh and Kildare may have to be dated to the eighth rather than the seventh century.

Chapter 7 - Broccán's Hymn (*Ní Car Brigit*)

Section 1: General Considerations

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. The hymn *Ní car Brigit*, otherwise known as Broccán's Hymn, takes the form of a metrical life of Brigit. It is by far the longest of the OIr hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum* comprising a total of fifty-three quatrains arranged mainly in *rannaigecht* format, but with a few stanzas in *deibide* metre. The hymn appears in both T (folios 17-19) and F (pp 39-42). As with most of the other works in the *Liber Hymnorum*, each of the two mss presents an independent recension of the original text. Although many of the glosses and scholia are practically identical, the F ms is unique in having lengthy marginal commentaries amplifying the somewhat cryptic references to Brigit in the hymn. In this respect the hymn may have served as a coded reference for the ears of early congregations familiar with the Brigit of oral tradition, analogous to the way in which High Cross figures provided visual references to Biblical stories.

1.1.2. The date of composition of the hymn has been the subject of much scholarly debate. Bernard and Atkinson, consigning the hymn to the ninth century, are scathing about its poetic quality. In their view it has the appearance of a compilation thrown together in 'an epoch of metrical, poetical and intellectual poverty', following the first Viking attacks.[378] Stokes and Strachan believe that the language points to a composition date somewhat later in the ninth century than that of *Sén Dé, Génair Pátraicc, Admuinemmar* and *Brigit bé*. At the same time they concede that the hymn contains many interesting OIr forms. Strangely, the editors go on to make the apparently contradictory statement that in all probability the narrative of the seventh-century Cogitosus is based upon the hymn.[379] However, they do make the point that the construction of the hymn lends itself to interpolation, and this might account for the mixture of old and new linguistic forms therein. Kenney, citing linguistic evidence, believes it to be 'probably the latest of the older Irish hymns'.[380] Carney has

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[378] *LH* II *vi*.

[379] *Th* II *xxxviii –xxxix*.

[380] Kenney 1929, 360.

no hesitation in dating it to the middle or second half of the seventh century.[381] Binchy, on the other hand, comments in passing that the hymn is dated to the late ninth century.[382] McCone believes the hymn cannot have been composed any earlier than the eighth century since it is dependent upon *Vita II*.[383]

2. Editions of the Hymn

Date	Editor	Publication	Translation
1647	Colgan	*Trias Thaumaturga*	Latin
1872	Stokes	*Goidelica*	English
1868	MacCarthy	*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*	Latin
1880	Windisch	*Irische Texte* I	German
1898	Bernard and Atkinson	*Irish Liber Hymnorum*	English
1903	Stokes and Strachan	*Thes Palaeohibernus II*	English

Carey has published a new translation based on the *Th* II critical text, with some marginal commentary from the F text.[384]

3. Methodology

3.1. To attempt a more precise dating for this hymn, the same methodology as employed in previous chapters will be applied. In Section 2 the manuscript readings will be presented on a stanza-by-stanza basis, and the text analysed for metre, language and meaning. The textual notes will critically review the language of the *Th* edition, without changing the text or translation, except in a few cases where *Th* offers no translation or where more recent scholarship has demonstrated an improved reading. In Section 3 the main features of the metrical system will be reviewed, and in Section 4 the language of the hymn analysed. Finally, in the concluding Section 5 the linguistic evidence will presented and an assessment made of the likely date of composition.

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[381] Carney (1983, 190 and 194) comments: 'the poem, however, would seem to be one of the oldest extant of those written in syllabic verse. The features that have been pointed out in this poem are consistent with an early origin….. It must suffice to say that there is nothing to compare with this poem in Classical Old Irish, much less in the Middle Irish period'.

[382] Binchy 1979/80, 46.

[383] McCone 1984, 45-6.

[384] Carey 2000, 162-79 and 278.

Section 2: Textual Notes

§1

T	F
Ni car brigit buadach bith	Ní cair brig*it* buadach bith
siasair suide eoin i*n* ailt	síasair suide eoi*n* i nailt
*con*tuil cotlud cimmeda	*con*tuil cotlud cimmeda
i*n*d nóib ar écnairc a mmaicc.	i*n*d noeb ar écnairc a *m*maicc

2.1.1. *Metrics.* The metre in this stanza is a loose form of *rannaigecht dialtach* (or *rannaigecht mór*), i.e. $7^{1}7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}$ with rhyme, *ailt: mmaicc.* Such rhyming is allowed, as noted by Murphy in *EIM* with the similar *tailc: glaicc.*[385] There is also considerable alliteration: *Brigit búadach bith, síasair suide, eoin -ailt,* and *cotlud cimmeda.*

2.1.2. *Ni car brigit buadach bith/ siasair suide eoin in ailt.* The choice between the 3s preterite conjuncts *-car* and *-cair* is discussed in the Linguistic Analysis at Section 4. It is an interesting point of style that the hymn begins with two *figurae etymologicae* in the first quatrain, viz., *síasair suide,* literally, 'she sat a sitting', followed in line *c* by *con-tuil cotlad*, 'she slept a sleeping'.[386] Thurneysen in GOI §499 and §505 comments that such a construction constitutes a nasalising relative clause, and accordingly we might expect the following genitive *éoin* to be nasalised. However McCone has shown that this rule needs to be qualified in Old Irish.[387] The 3s preterite *síasair* (*saidid*, 'sits') is an example of a verb with basic active inflection forming a deponent preterite.

2.1.3. *contuil cotlud cimmeda/ ind nóeb ar écnairc a mmaicc.* The syntax here presents an unusual verb-object-subject arrangement, which may be a poetic device designed to strengthen three-way alliteration of line *c*. The structure of lines *b* and *c* is so similar as to make it likely that they were intended to operate as a matched pair. On this basis, the final line is taken as a stand-alone expression of Brigit's piety. The precise meaning of the phrase *ar écnairc* is not clear. The word *écndairc* means 'absence', as attested in Sg138a2: *écndairc cian ut ille*, glossing *in absenti.* As a

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[385] Murphy (1961, 33) citing his *Early Irish Lyrics* (1956) No. 17.8. The rhyme *tailc: glaicc* is found in the 10th century poem *Is mebul dom imrádud,* 'Shame to my Thoughts'.

[386] The former phrase echoes a line from the eighth century text *Echtrae Chonnlai*, where the line *Nall suide saides Connle* is translated as 'grandly does Connlae sit' (McCone, 2000, 169). The imagery seems appropriate here with Brigit poised between two worlds, one earthly and the other heavenly.

[387] McCone 1980, 23.

phrase *ar écnairc* meant 'for the absence of', later used for the expression 'instead of'. As a further semantic development, the phrase assumed the sense 'on behalf of' or 'for the sake of', e.g. *ar éicndirc ma fris-aiccid crist* (Wb 25d24), 'for the sake of, if ye expect , Christ'.[388] In this case the original sense of 'absence' may be more appropriate in the sense of 'longing for her Son'. The form *cimmeda* (OIr *cimbeda*), genitive singular of masculine *i*-stem *cimbid*, 'prisoner', shows the assimilation of *-mb- to -mm-* which first becomes common in Ml (GOI §152c), but the mss form is retained.

2.1.4. *Brigit as Mary of the Gael.* A theme that is developed throughout the hymn is that of Brigit as mother of Christ. Carey notes that the great reverence felt for Brigit by the Irish led to her being frequently likened to the Virgin Mary.[389] The hymn *Brigit bé bithmaith* (Chapter 6) describes her as 'the branch with flowers, the mother of Jesus'. However, in §6 below Mary is affirmed as the actual mother of Jesus.

2.1.5.*Th* Text and Translation

Ní car Brigit búadach bith	Victorious Brigit loved not the world;
síasair suide éoin i n-ailt	she sat the seat of a bird on a cliff;
con-tuil cotlud cimmeda	the saint slept a captive's sleep,
ind nóeb ar écnairc a mmaicc	for the sake of her Son.

§2

T	F
Ní mor necnaig etaide	Ní mor nécnaige étaide
t*r*ínóít co nhuasail hiris	trinoit *co n*uasal hiris
brigit mathair mo rurech	brigit mathair mo ruirech
nime flatha ferr cinis	nime flatha ferr cinis

2.2.1. *Metrics.* The metre here is an uneven form of *rannaigecht,* $7^3 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with rhyme *hiris: cinis.* There is one syllable too many in F's line *a*, without possibility of elision. Alliteration occurs between *-écnaig* and *étade; úasal* and *hiris; flatha* and *ferr.*

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[388] This phrase turns up again in §18 of this hymn as *Brigtæ ar écnairc a rríg,* 'Brigit for the sake of her king'. It seems to have developed as a paradigmatic prayer formula, appearing once in the *Fél* Prol 266 (*ar écnairc na slógsa*, 'because of the intercession of these hosts'), and no less than nine times in the Epilogue as 'for the sake of'. It also came to mean an intercessionary prayer for the absent or the dead (see DIL *écndairc* 2).

[389] Carey 2000, 163, n.4. See also footnote 342, which cites Carney's comments on the source of this notion.

2.2.2. *Ní mor necnaig etaide*. This line is a form of tmesis, where the verbal form is negative 3s preterite *ní étade* (from *ad-cota*, 'obtains'), split by the object *mór n-écnaig*. The alliteration normally associated with tmesis is duly delivered by *n-écnaig étade*. The noun *écnaig* is the genitive singular of *écndach*, of which more will be seen in the next stanza, but here it is taken as 'criticism', cf. *écndach cáich* (Wb 30c6), 'slandering everyone'. The problem with the verbal form *étaide* of the mss is the palatalisation of the final consonant. The regular forms of the 3s preterite indicate a neutral *-d-*, viz. deuterotonic *ad-cotad* (Ml 60c6), *ad-cotedae* (*Th* II 240.23), and prototonic *huare nád n-étada* (Sg 50a3), although *ní etade* (Ml 111b20) is ambiguous. The form *etaide* is found as a preterite passive in the Middle Irish *PH* 8041. The *Th* editors restore *-étade*, but offer a translation as if it were a passive preterite ('was found'). The OIr passive preterite is *-étad* (later *-étas*), but that form would cause a metrical problem.

2.2.3. *trínóit con huasail hiris*. *Th* II translates the first two lines as: 'Not much blame was found (in her) with the noble faith of the Trinity'. Strachan offers an alternative translation: 'not much blasphemy did the Trinity get with her of lofty faith'.[390] Strachan takes *uasalhiris* as a *bahuvrīhi* adjective, with *con* read as an abbreviation of *ocond*. This suggestion simply would not work metrically, as the four-syllable word *úasalhiris* would not normally rhyme with *cinis*.[391] The T text preserves the dative feminine *úasail* following the preposition *co-n*, and placing the adjective before the noun is a well-attested poetic device, as seen in §3 of Sanctán's Hymn: *húasal trínóit don-fosca*, translated by *Th:* 'may the holy Trinity awake us'. In this stanza *Th* translates *trínóit* as a genitive singular, to give 'with the noble faith of the Trinity'. The word *trín(d)óit* is a borrowing from the Latin *trinitas*, *-tate*, through the medium of Britannic, and GOI §925 states it is inflected as a feminine *ī*-stem. Examples of this *ī*-stem genitive occur in Ml: *óintaid inna tríndoti* (2d2), and *din trindoti* (15b4), where the genitive ending *-e* seems to have fallen together with *-i*.[392] Alternatively, reading *trín(d)óit* as nominative, the line could be translated: 'The Trinity did not get much

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[390] *Th* II 327, note *v*.

[391] Strachan may have had in mind the anomalous rhyming encountered elsewhere in the hymn, such as *rí: sanctBrigti* in §12.

[392] GOI §302 notes that some loan-words in this group remain unchanged throughout the singular, even in the genitive. Stokes cites two masculine loan-words, both in the genitive sense, *posit* (Sg 39a1) and *superlait* (Sg 40b15) as examples of this form. Another form occurs in the opening strophe of Patrick's Lorica: *togairm trindoite*, 'invocation of the Trinity' (E-text, see Chap 9).

criticism with (her) noble faith.' The spelling *Trinóit* in the mss indicates assimilation *-nd-* to *-nn-* (GOI §151c), thence to *-n-*.

2.2.4. *brigit mathair mo rurech/ nime flatha ferr cinis*. The syntax here is unusual, with the nominative first and the 3s preterite *cinis* (*cinid*, 'is born') last. The sentence is read semantically as *cinis ferr flatha nime Brigit máthair mo rurech*. Here *ferr* has to be taken as the substantive form of the adjective, and translated as a superlative. As noted in GOI §366.3, the superlative form was eventually superseded by the comparative in Middle Irish, but even by the time of *Fél* this usage of comparative forms was growing.[393]

2.2.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Ní mór n-écnaig étade	Not much blame was to be found (in her)
Tríndóit con húasail hiris:	with the noble faith of the Trinity:
Brigit mathair mo rurech,	Brigit, mother of my Lord,
nime flatha ferr cinis.	of Heaven's kingdom best was she born.

§3

T	F
Nirbu ecnairc nirbu elc	Nirbu ecnairc nirbu elc
ni bu cair banchath brigach	ni pu char banchath brígach
nibu naithir bémnech brecc	nibu nathir béimnech brecc
ni rir m*acc* de ar díbad.	ni rir m*acc* de ar dibad.

2.3.1. *Metrics*. The metre here changes to *rannaigecht chummaisc*, $7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$, with rhyme, *brígach: díbad.* Murphy in *EIM* comments that a consonant from class χ (i.e. voiceless spirants such as *-ch*) rhymes with a consonant from class *l* (i.e.voiced spirants such as *-d*), sometimes in stressed syllables (*brūach: lūad* in SR7944), and even more frequently in unstressed syllables.[394] Additional *a*: *c* rhyme exists between *elc* and *brecc*, and alliteration occurs in each line: *ecnairc, elc; banchath, brígach; bémnech brecc* and *Dé díbad.*

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[393] *Fél* p. *xxx*.

[394] Murphy 1961, 33. Unfortunately the only example of the latter cited by Murphy is the *brígach: díbad* rhyme found in this stanza. However, the following examples of such rhyme are to be found in Early Irish Lyrics (*EIL*): *fuined: fuirech* (14 §6), *cainech: foraided* (36 §8), *cainnlech: sainred* (40 §5), *subach: cubaid* (40 §11), *ar-rálad: bárach* (40 §12).and *tétad: mbétach* (40 §16), where the notations refer to the *EIL* poem number and stanza.

2.3.2. *Nírbu ecnairc nirbu elc.* Interestingly, the negative form of the copula with *ro* is employed in both mss, while the unaugmented *ní bo* and *ní pu* are used in the next three stanzas. Thurneysen comments in §813 in respect of the copula that in the later Glosses there is a tendency to use the form with *ro* in place of that without *ro*. The *Th* editors read *écnairc* in both mss as meaning 'absent', albeit with a question mark, but this does not make contextual sense. The word is glossed in T: *nibu écnaigthid .i. ni denad écnach neich,* 'she was not a slanderer, that is, she used not to slander anyone'. Carey proposes reading in its place *écndach,* which he translates as 'slanderous'.[395] If *écnairc* is indeed a transcription error, it could be attributed to influence from *écnairc* in the opening stanza. The problem with the above reading is that *écndach* is not an adjective but a noun. One solution is to accept the adjective *écnairc* of the mss, as *Th* does somewhat tenuously, and try to conjure contextual sense out of the concept of Brigit being neither absent nor evil, i.e. 'She was not absent (from us), she was not mischievous'. The adjective *elc* ('evil, mischievous') is a rare form of *olc*,[396] and the only rationale for *elc* in place of *olc* seems to be rhyme with *brecc.* It is probably best to read the line in the sense of Brigit being unlike other women with natures as expressed, for instance, in *Tecosca Cormaic.*[397] As a *litotes* the line could be translated positively as 'she has been everpresent, she has been good'.

2.3.3. *ni bu cair banchath brigach.* The rare compound *banchath* appears to be concerned with women's fight or battle.[398] Strachan in *Th* II 327, note *w*, takes *banchath* to be a *bahuvrīhi* adjective meaning 'fond of women's war'. Alternatively, there is also the possibility of reading *bánchath* as 'bloodless battle' (*Fél* Jun 8). The adjective *brígach* ('fierce, mighty, vehement') may be associated with *banchath*, or it

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[395] Carey 2000, 164 and 162.

[396] The adjective *elc* re-appears from this source in O'Cl: *nír bhó elc* .i. *nir bho olc* and is further attested in the plural in *The Instructions of Cormac* (Meyer 1909. §16.103), viz., *elca míla mná,* 'women are capricious beasts'.

[397] Carey (2000,162) points out that the tenor of the first four quatrains seems to damn Brigit with faint praise, saying merely that she was not heretical, avaricious, quarrelsome, dangerous or stingy. He goes on to comment that the hymn's author was simply demolishing a misogynistic image of women found elsewhere in early Irish literature. For example, the wisdom text, *The Instructions of Cormac* (Meyer 1909, 28-35) calls women greedy (*santach*), stingy (*céssachtach*), and mischievous (*elc*), and compares them to snakes (*nathraig*).

[398] Atkinson (*LH* II, *xi*) cites the word, *banrád* in Wb 29a5, meaning 'women's talk' or 'tattle', and glossing Latin *uerbosae*. Elsewhere, the word *banchath* appears in *LU* 5945: *Conid banchath Rochada insin*, where it is translated as 'Rochad's woman-fight'.

may be a standalone epithet for Brigit. However, the main problem lies in the meaning of *ni bu cair* (*ni pu char,* F). The *Th* editors translate the phrase as 'not dear to her', but there is no attestation of an adjective *car* or *cair* with this meaning. Strachan in the same note offers an alternative reading, 'she was not frail', based on the adjective *car*, found in Wb 18a2a *prima manus*, glossing 'imfirmor', and translated in *Th* I as 'brittle'. The line is glossed in T: *ni rocharastar cath (na mban) mbronach*, 'she did not love the battle of the sorrowful women'. There are various interpretations of this line by Atkinsion,[399] *Th* II[400] and Carey.[401] Dr Uhlich of TCD who suggests an alternative approach. If the original version of line *b* was *ni*con *chair* or *ni*con *char* ('she did not love'), the negative particle, in its contracted form, might have come under the influence of *nirbu* in line *a* and *nibu* in line *c*. I have emended the *Th* text with the particle *nicon* which accords with the associated gloss.

2.3.4. *nibu nathir bémnech brecc/ ni rir macc de ar díbad.* The spelling *nathir*, 'snake', is common in OIr and MIr but the quality of the medial constant varies. The palatal version occurs in Old and early Middle Irish, cf. *naithir* in Tur (*Th* I 493.24), against *nathair* in PH 7674. The adjective *bémnech* is derived from *béim*, the verbal noun of *benaid*, 'strikes', and as it qualifies *nathir*, the most likely meaning is 'stinging'. The word *díbad* (verbal noun of *do-ba*, 'dies, is extinguished, lapses') has a range of extended meanings. Initially meaning 'destruction', it underwent a semantic shift to 'dying without male issue', thence 'extinction'. It then developed further to mean 'inheritance, property of a deceased person', and from that, 'general assets, wealth'. Here the latter meaning is clearly intended, as indicated by T's fragmentary gloss: *.i. ar indbas .... daide*, 'for the wealth .....'

2.3.5. Confusion of Tenses. Of particular interest is the tense of the verbal forms in this stanza. In line *a* there is the augmented past tense, in *b, c* and *d* the unaugmented preterite, when one might have expected the continuous past of the imperfect.

2.3.6. *Th* Text and Translation

Nírbu écnairc nírbu elc	She was not absent, she was not evil;
nícon chair banchath brígach	not dear (to her) was vehement women's fights;
nibu nathir bémnech brecc	she was not a stinging speckled snake:
ní rir macc Dé ar díbad	she sold not God's Son for wealth.

[399] *LH* II, 40: 'she was not a mighty quarrelsome champion (?)'.

[400] Stokes: 'not dear (to her) was vehement women's war'; Strachan: 'she was not frail, fond of women's war, vehement'.

[401] Carey 2000, 164: 'she was not a lover of vehement women's quarrels'.

§4

T	F
Ni pu *for* seotu santach	Ni bu for seutu santach
érnais cen neim cen mathim	erneis cen neim cen mathim
nírbu chalad cessachtach	nirbo chalad cessachtach
ni cair in domuin cathim	ni cair *in* domun cathim

2.4.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts to another loose form of *rannaigecht,* $7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme, *mathim: cathim.* There is alliteration with *seotu santach,* and *chalad cessachtach.* Atkinson suggests the poet is attempting further *a: c* rhyme between *santach* and *cessachtach*,[402] but such rhyme would violate regular metrical standards, unless the poet allowed either stress on the second syllable of *cessachtach* or *deibide* rhyme between lines *a* and *c*.

2.4.2. *Ní pu for seotu santach.* The syntax is a poetic one, possibly for metrical reasons as noted above.To express the object of desire associated with the adjective *santach*, 'greedy, covetous', either a preposition or an objective genitive can be employed. Here the preposition *for* is used, although *fri* is the choice of the glossators: *.i. nirbo santach fri seutu.* DIL notes the use in literature of prepositions *for* and *imm*: *nirbat santach forsinbith* (*LBr* 261a 8), and *nirbat santa[ch] immun mbith* (*YBL* 407a17).

2.4.3. *érnais cen neim cen mathim.* The 3s preterite forms *érnais*, 'dispensed, paid, bestowed' is of particular interest, as it does not appear to be attested elsewhere in the literature. The *Th* editors cite this verbal form as an indicator of the lateness of this hymn.[403] This verb will be discussed in the Linguistic Analysis in Section 4. The noun *neim*, 'poison', is employed figuratively here as 'gall', and this is supported by the gloss: *cen imdergad*, 'without putting to the blush'. The verbal noun *maithem* (from *maithid*, 'remits, pardons, withholds') is employed here in the sense of 'abatement, stint', cf. *Corona ocus Victor cona cléir cen mathim,* 'Corona and Victor, with their unabated train' (*Fél* May 14).

2.4.4. *nírbu chalad cessachtach/ ni cair in domuin cathim.* The augmented form of the copula is odd here, standing in the company of three preterite verbs, but it is possible

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[402] Concerning the internal *-n:-ch* rhyme. Murphy (1961, 33) remarks that a consonant from class χ can rhyme with one from class l.

[403] *Th* II *xxxix*.

to read the pluperfect tense here, 'she had not been hard'. The adjectives *calad*, 'hard', and *ces(s)achtach*, 'penurious', are well attested in early literature. Both mss show the palatalised verbal form *-cair*, and the *Th* editors follow suit. The syntax of line *d* is unusual. If T is followed with its preposed genitive *domuin*, the literal sense is: 'she loved not the enjoying of the world'. The F text, on the other hand, offers the accusative *domun*, and one would expect the infinitive construction: *ni cair in domun do chathim,* 'she loved not to enjoy the world'. The word *domun* is often used in religious literature to denote earthly life as distinct from heavenly. The extra preposition *do* would generate one syllable too many, and cause initial lenition of *caithim.*

2.4.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Ní pu for séotu santach;	She was not greedy for treasures;
érnais cen neim cen mathim:	she gave without gall, without abatement:
nírbu chalad cessachtach;	she was not hard penurious;
ní cair in domuin cathim.	she loved not to enjoy the world.

§5

T	F
Nirbu fri oigthiu acher	Ni bo fri oígthiu acher
cainbai fri lobru truagu	cain bói fri lobru trúagu
f*or* maig arutacht cathir	for maig arautacht cathir
dollaid ronsnade sluagu	dollaid ronsnade slúagu

2.5.1. *Metrics*. The metre here changes again to *rannaigecht bec*, $7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme, *trúagu: slúagu*. Alliteration occurs with *óigthea acher*, and *-snade slúagu*.

2.5.2. *Nirbu fri oigthiu acher/ cainbai fri lobru truagu*. Both mss display an unusual form of the accusative plural, *oígthiu.* As a dental stem noun *óigi* would be expected to have an accusative plural *oígetha* (or more normally *oígeda*), and this is the form found in Wb 28d28 (*ma arroéit oigetha*). However, *oígetha* would generate a syllable too many, and the *Th* editors accordingly syncopate it to the form *oígthea*, which does not appear to be attested elsewhere. There are nouns in this group, such as *traig, teng(a)e*, and *cin* which do undergo syncope in the accusative plural, viz., *traigthea, tengtha*, and *ci(n)ta*. It is not unreasonable to assume a spread to nouns such as *óigi.*

The *-iu* ending in the mss appears to be a MIr spelling. Carney points out in the *Poems of Blathmac* that the grammatically correct ending *-e* is sometimes represented in the mss as *-iu*.[404] In Patrick's Lorica (line 55, T) the ms form *arachuiliu* is restored to the 3s present subjunctive *ara-chuilea*. These examples allow for the restoration *oígthea*. The adjective *a(i)cher* is best translated by 'sharp' rather than 'angry' or 'fierce', as suggested by the gloss in T: *fergach l feochur*, 'angry and fierce'.[405] The negative copula offers a choice between the past tense in F and the later *nírbu* in T. Since the preterite is employed more consistently for narrative in the poem, the form in F is followed in *Th*II. Concerning the verb *caín-boí*, GOI §384 notes that certain adjectives, when used adverbially, are prefixed to the verb like prepositions, e.g. *caín-rognatha*, 'well have they been done' (Ml 39a24).

2.5.3. *for maig arutacht cathir*. Strachan [406] wondered if *arutacht/ arautacht* was used here improperly for the passive preterite of *con-utaing, conutacht*, 'was built'. The relevant gloss is: *ro-chumtaig*, 'built'. The verb *ar-utaing* has the meaning 'builds up, restores, refreshes'. The active preterite form, *ardoutacht* (leg. *ar-da-utacht*), arises in §37, where the meaning is 'who refreshed her'. The passive perfect of *con-utaing* is attested in Ml 48d27: *inna cathrach con-rotacht la Duaid*, 'in the city that had been built by David'. Since the 3s active and passive t-preterites fall together in *-acht* for verbs such as *agid, aingid, do-formaig*, it is reasonable to suppose a similar arrangement for *ar-utaing* and *con-utaing*. There is a distinct semantic difference between *arutacht* ('built up') and *conutacht* ('built'), and the latter sense is appropriate here.

2.5.4. *dollaid ronsnade sluagu.* A number of difficulties arise in this line. First, *dollaid* seems to be unattested, but the *Th* editors interpret it as *do flaith*.[407] There are no attested forms of *flaid* as distinct from *flaith*, but GOI §130.2 comments that there is confusion between voiceless and voiced spirants in final position. The unstressed dental spirants are more frequently represented by *-d* than by *-th*, but there are attestations of both in fully stressed syllables, cf. the hypercorrect *búaith* (Wb 11a7) beside *búaid*. Thurneysen further notes that the rules are often crossed in

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[404] Carney (1964, *xxxvi*) lists *treidisiu* for *tréde-se`* (line 18); *ligiu* for *lige* and *eirgiu* for *éirge* (line 558) together with *Mariu* for *Maire* (line 569).

[405] This adjective is probably best known from the verse in the St Gall Priscian beginning: *is acher in gáith innocht,* 'bitter is the wind tonight' (*Th* II 290, 4).

[406] ibid. 328, note *i.*

[407] cf. *Ron-snádat ... do flaith Dé*, 'May they protect us ... to God's kingdom' (*Fél* Mar 6).

monosyllables (as in *búaith*). The form of the 3s present optative subjunctive is more usually *ro-snáda* here and in *Fél*, and *-snáide* points to an innovatory palatal *-d-*, a feature which is discussed in Section 4. The problem here is the seemingly superflous 1p infixed pronoun. *Th* II in note l wonders if the meaning of the line is 'may it protect us, hosts', but that reading would require the dative of apposition *slúagaib* (GOI §251.2). *Th* retains the infixed pronoun, but translates the line as though it were absent. The verb *snáidid* carries the sense in law of giving safe conduct. A similar sentiment occurs in §46 of this hymn: *ron-snadat a nnoebitge i flaith nime*, 'may her holy prayers protect us into the Kingdom of Heaven'.

2.5.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Ni bo fri óigthea acher;	She was not harsh to guests;
cáin-bói fri lobru trúagu;	gentle was she to the wretched sick;
for maig ar-autacht cathir;	on a plain she built a convent;
dollaid ron-snada slúagu.	may it protect hosts into the Kingdom!

§6

T	F
Nirbu airgech airslébe	Nibu argech eirlébe
genais for medon maige	genais *for* medón maige
amra arad do thuathaib	amra árad do thuathaib
do ascna*m* flatha m*aic*c maire	dascna*m* flatha m*aic*c maire

2.6.1. *Metrics*. The metre here reverts to an uneven form of *rannaigecht*, $7^3 7^2 7^2 7^2$, assuming elision in *do ascnam* of T, with perfect rhyme, *maige: Maire*. The word *dascnam* in F is a permissible form of *do ascnam*.[408] There is alliteration in every line, viz. *airgech airslébe, medón maige, amra árad* and *maicc maire*. It will be noted that this quatrain ends the remarkable sequence of six stanzas all beginning with the negative *ní* or *nírbu*. This feature is hardly accidental.

2.6.2. *Nírbu airgech airslébe*. The noun *á(i)rgech* is derived from *áirge*, which can mean 'a byre, a place for milking cows', or the 'herd' itself. Consequently, *áirgech* can be interpreted here as 'milkmaid' or 'herdswoman'. The mss show variant genitive forms of *airsliab*, described in DIL as a 'district in front of, or facing the mountains', or 'foothills, high land'. Since the context requires a past rather than perfect tense here it would be safer to follow F's *níbu*.

[408] Murphy (1961, 40) notes 'the omission, even in Old Irish, of the preposition *do* before vowels'.

2.6.3. *genais for medon maige.* The verb *gníid* is used to gloss the Latin verb *agere* (Ml 14a18), with the meaning 'doing, making, performing, etc.,' and the 3s preterite *génais* is translated in *Th* II as 'wrought', the archaic past tense of the verb 'to work'. The glossator in T is succinct: *.i. gniis* bonum, 'i.e. she did good'. One might have expected the imperfect *no gníth* here rather than the preterite, but the composer does not use the *no*-particle for this tense elsewhere in this hymn.

2.6.4. *amra arad do thuathaib/ do ascnam flatha maicc maire.* In Irish religious literature the word *árad* ('ladder') is occasionally employed figuratively as a kind of stairway to Heaven. There is an allusion in *Fél* 258.27 to *ic Elaid ind Araid ir-Reilic Eogain,* 'at the Monument of the Ladder in Relic Eogain', which refers to 'the golden ladder by which the angels took Boetius to heaven on the 1st of May before his death.'[409] The adjective *amrae*, 'wondrous' is glossed as *in chathir ł Brigit,* 'the convent or Brigit'.In line *d* the infinitive *do ascnam* (verbal noun of *ad-cosnai*, 'makes for, strives for, seeks'), is rendered by 'to attain'. It will be noticed that, having earlier lauded Brigit figuratively as the mother of Christ, the composer now acknowledges with the phrase *flatha maicc Maire* that Mary is the real mother.

2.6.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Ní bu áirgech airslébe;	She was not a milkmaid of the mountain-side;
génais for medón maige;	she wrought in the midst of a plain;
amrae árad do thúathaib	wondrous was the ladder to peoples
d'ascnam flatha maicc Maire.	to attain the Kingdom of Mary's Son.

§7

T	F
Amra samud sanctbrigte	Amra sámud sanctbrigte
amra plea conhualai	amra plea con húala
ba hoen im cr*íst* congaba	ba hoen im cr*íst* congaba
dal as chomtig fri dama	dál as comtig fri dáma

2.7.1 *Metrics*. There are serious metrical difficulties here. If we assume that the stress in *sanctBrigte* falls on the second syllable, and take the metre as *rannaigecht bec*, i.e.

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[409] Rawl.B.505, fo. 155 (Plummer), cited in *Fél* 259, note 5. Another late example is *gach árad rig nemh*, 'every ladder that reaches heaven' (Ériu 4, 236 §9).

$7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, the rhyme, *húala: dáma*, is no better than consonance.[410] Another possibility is to take *sanctBrigte* in its normal trisyllabic form and regard the metre as *deibide* in a $7^3 7^2 7^2 7^2$ *rannaigecht* setting. The problems associated with this type of metre will be discussed in the Metrical Analysis in Section 3. It will be noticed that the first two lines are morphologically similar, and the poet may be attempting rhythm here in place of rhyme.

2.7.2. *amra samud sanctbrigte*. In the religious sense the noun *sámud* usually means a congregation associated with a particular saint, and, accordingly, *Th* and Carey [411] translate it as Brigit's congregation or company. It can also mean a 'meeting together' in a general sense, and Carney proposes the translation: 'Wonderful the meeting that holy Brigit has'.[412]

2.7.3. *amra plea conhualai*. The word *plea* is unusual. The *Th* editors leave it as a placename, undoubtedly encouraged by the glossator who relates it to Placentia in Italy, where Brigit had a community or, alternatively, to Plea, a convent which Brigit had on the sea of Wight. Carney points out that '*plea*, like a number of words in the poem, - and this is an argument in favour of its antiquity - is a *hapax legomenon*. I suggest that it means 'land', and is a British borrowing of Lat. *plaga*'. Vendryes (RC 42,403) also regards *plea* as a borrowing from Low Latin *plagia, plaia*, 'open space or place'. There is a similar word *plāe* defined in CormY 1073 as: *ainm inaid rēid, a platea .i. ōn faitche,* 'the name of a level place, a *platea*, i.e. a green meadow'. In the marginal gloss on *plea* in F the commentator recounts the story of the difficulties Brigit experienced in sending men to Rome 'to learn the office of Peter and Paul'.[413] The T gloss on *conhualai* seems to support the Plea thesis with *ro-ealai, .i. as a hord ro-cáinbúi co brig*, 'departed, that is, from her Rule, which was fair with might'. It

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[410] The canonical OIr verb is *con-húalae*, which would only consonate with *dáma* if its final vowel had been reduced to a schwa sound, a feature occurring during the ninth century.

[411] Carey 1998, 165.

[412] Carney 1983, 192.

[413] According to *LH* II 191, this incident probably led to the famous quatrain attributed to Sedulius Scottus found in a manuscript of Paul's epistles (*Th* II 296):

Téicht do Róim/ mór saido becc torbai/In Rí chondaigi i foss/ mani mbera latt, ní fogbai

'To go to Rome: great the trouble, small the gain./The King whom you seek here you will not find, unless you bring him with you'.

will be recalled that the 3s preterite form *con-húalai*, 'ascended'. appears in §33 of the hymn *Génair Pátraicc*.[414]

2.7.4. *ba hóen im críst co ngaba/ dal as chomtig fri dama.*. The *Th* editors offer only a partial translation of line *c*, without assigning meaning to *congaba* (edited as *co ngaba*). The gloss on line *c* is: *ba im Críst a oenur robói a ggabud ł co ro-gabastar .i. co n-erbailt,* 'it was about Christ alone was her … , i.e. till she died'.[415] The relative clause *as chomtig fri dama* is glossed: *as gnathach fri hegeda*, 'which is customary towards guests', to which the T ms has added *ł ba menic a dal si fri truaga*, 'or her meeting with the wretched was frequent'. Carney believes that the editors failed to understand this stanza because they had no idea of what the poet was attempting to say. He takes the 3s subjunctive *con-gaba* (from *con-gaib*) to mean 'settle, or 'take up one's abode', and translates the lines as: 'it would be alone that she may settle down with Christ, a meeting that is usual in companies.' Carney makes the point that 'Brigit, after her death, is received in private audience by Christ, and not in the general audience, which, apparently, is as usual in heaven as at the Vatican'.[416] Since the *Th* translation is only partial I have adapted Carney's translation here.

2.7.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Amra sámud sanctBrigte	Wondrous was St Brigid's congregation,
amra plea con-húala;	wondrous the land to which she ascended;
ba hóen im Chríst co-ngaba	It would be alone she would hold with Christ
dál as chomtig fri dáma.	a meeting that is customary with companies.

§8

T	F
Fo uair congab m*acc* caille	Fó huair m*acc* caille
caille os chinn sanctbrigte	calle uas chind sanctbrigte
ba menn inna himthechtaib	ba mend inna himthechtaib
for nim rochloss a hitge.	f*or* nim roclos a itge.

[414] Used also as an euphemism for death: *Intan conhúalai Patraic*, 'when Patrick ascended', (*Génair Pátraicc* §33) and *noebdecheng con-rúalae co Crist*, 'a holy pair has departed to Christ' (*Fél* Nov 21).

[415] The *Th* editors comment in note *l*: the meanings of the line of the Hymn and of *gabud* in the gloss are not clear.'

[416] Carney, 1983, 93.

2.8.1. *Metrics*. As in the previous stanza there is *deibide* rhyme *sanctBrigte: hitge* in a *rannaigecht* setting, $7^3 7^2 7^3 7^2$, and again no other ornamentation is to be found. The word *congab* is omitted in F, and must be restored to preserve metre and context.

2.8.2. *Fo uair congab macc caille*. The context clearly suits F's *fó huair* ('in a lucky hour') better than *fo uair* in T, whose scribe often omits the length mark. The glossators agree: *maith in sen* (T) and *maith sen* (F), 'it is a good omen'. The 3s preterite *con-gab*, means here 'he held'.[417]

2.8.3. *caille ós chinn sanctBrigte*. The noun *caille* is an early Latin borrowing (*pallium*) meaning 'veil', cf. *gabais caille la Patricc Lassar*, 'Lassar took the veil from Patrick'.[418] The mac Caille who held the veil above Brigit is described in the gloss as the man who acted as guide on her journey northward to meet Mel.[419] The composer is clearly using a play on the word *caille* here for stylistic purposes.

2.8.4. *ba menn inna himthechtaib/ for nim rocloss a hitge*. Following the expression *ba menn*, 'it was manifest that', one might expect a nasalising relative clause (GOI §503g), which would favour the *ro-clos* of F. Even a non-relative construction, permitted in accordance with GOI §505, would also favour F. The older form is *ro-cloth*, but this was replaced generally by *ro-clos(s)*, under the infuence of *ad-cess*, the passive preterite of *ad-cí*.[420] However, both forms can appear together, as in *The Irish Gospel of Thomas*, which the editor dates to about 700 AD.[421] Consequently, the confused form of the passive preterite cannot be taken as a reliable criterion for dating.

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[417] *Con-gaib* can also mean 'establish', cf. *congab iarsuidiu in domnuch féicc* (*Th* II 242. 1).

[418] *Th* II 238.16.

[419] Mac Caille is described as a disciple in *Vita* I §20 and it was Bishop Mel who held the veil over Brigit's head, thereby curing her eye. This stanza seems to be derived from *Vita* II §2 where mac Caille is the bishop and there is no mention of Mel. The marginal gloss in F gives a fulsome account of the story, conflating the mac Caille and Mel traditions and including the legend of fire arising from Brigit's head, after which Bishop Mel consecrated her as a bishop.

[420] McCone 1997, 61.

[421] See §5: *a guthán ro-cloth* beside §6: *ro-clos guthán cain inmain*. The plural form *ro-closa* also appears in §7 of the same poem (Carney 1964, 90). In Wb 23c11 we read: *ished sís rochlos et adchess*, 'this below is what was heard and seen', and a poem in the Milan codex has *tórm rochlos*, 'sound has been heard'.[421] But there is a plural form in *Fél* Aug 24: *ata scél roclotha*. The form *-cloth* appears in *LU* 1464, 5445 and 6595 but, according to the DIL editors, this is a MIr formation.

2.8.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Fó húair con-gab macc Caille	In a lucky hour mac Caille
caille ós chinn sanctBrigte;	held the veil over Brigit's head;
ba menn inna himthechtaib	it was clear in [all] her goings
for nim ro-closs a hitge.	that her prayer had been heard in Heaven.

§9

T	F
Día nodguidiu fri cech tress	Día nodguidiu fri cech tres
nach mod rosasad mo beoil	nach mod rosasat mo beoil
domnu murib mó turim	domnu murib moo turim
triar óenfer amru sceoil	triar óenfer amru sceoil

2.9.1. *Metrics.* The metre reverts to a loose form of *rannaigecht mór,* $7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$, with perfect rhyme, *béoil: scéoil.* There is alliteration between *murib* and *móo*, *óenfer* and *amru*. The personal numeral *triar*, meaning three persons, is disyllabic here.[422] In later literature *triar/triur* became monosyllabic.

2.9.2. *Día nodguidiu fri cech tress/ nach mod rosasad mo beoil.* The verbal form *no-d-guidiu* is problematic. If *Día* is a *nominativus pendens* we would expect the class A infixed pronoun *na-n-guidiu*, 'God, I beseech him'. Alternatively, if the verb is meant to be relative, the OIr form would be *no-guidiu* (or *no-n-guidiu*), 'God, whom I beseech'. The *Th* editors (331, note *n*) suggest that the form shown in the mss might indeed be a MIr relative marker.[423] This use of 3s neuter infixed pronoun appeared as early as the Wb glosses, but only as a hiatus-filler.[424] It must be concluded that, while the form *no-d-guidiu* may point to a late composition (or a lapse into the vernacular), a scribal 'modernisation' of an authentic OIr form cannot be ruled out.[425] On that basis

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[422] Disyllabic examples are: *for triur don phrímlongas*, 'the three of you from renowned exile' (Carney 1964, 10), *cona thriur merblén,* 'with his three weaklings' (*Fél* Jan 24), *in tríir imrádan*, 'of the trio whom we commemorate' (*Fél* Oct 11), and *Drusus cona thriur*, 'Drusus with his triad' (*Fél* Dec 14).

[423] Breatnach (1994, 288) describes the reduction of infixed third singular neuter pronoun *-(i)d* to the function of a mere relative marker in MIr relative clauses, cf. *ind écaini dod-rónsat fir Hērend* (*LU* 4098), *nod-faídmis*, 'whom we should send' (*LU* 597), *nod-ragam* 'that we shall go' (*LL* 1614), *dod-rónsat* 'that they had made' (*LU* 8002).

[424] McCone (1997, 175) cites *fod-era* 'which causes' (Wb 3c33). and *du-d-esta* 'which is wanting' (Wb 1a9, 23d17, 26d8). This feature is also treated in GOI §425.

[425] The glosses are a case in point: *.i. notguidim* (T), *.i. nodgudim* (F).

the marker *-d-* should be dropped in any future edition. The *-iu* ending of the1s present indicative is earlier than the *-(a)im*, as evidenced by the language of *Félire*, although McCone[426] points out that the *-(a)im* ending occurs in the earlier Wb glosses alongside *-iu*. In line *b* since the subject is clearly the nominative plural *béoil* the 3p present subjunctive *ro-sasat* of F (from *ro-saig*, 'reaches') is required, rather than T's 3s past subjunctive *ro-sasad*. The T text probably reflects a MIr phonetic spelling of the 3p present subjunctive form of *ro-saig*.

2.9.3. *domnu murib mó turim/ triar óenfer amru sceoil.* Two comparative forms of the adjectives *domain* ('deep') and *mór* ('great') are found in line *c* with *domnu* and *móo*. The noun *turim* is the dative singular of *turem*, verbal noun of *do-rími* ('counts, recounts'), and is glossed in Latin: *.i. quam potest homo eum narrare*, 'i.e. than man can tell it'. Beside this, there is an example of the comparative form replacing the superlative in the cheville *amru scéoil,* with literal meaning, 'most wonderful of a story.' This feature was already beginning as early as the time of *Félire*, cf. *breó as amru,* 'most marvellous flame!'(*Fél* Aug 20). The expression *triar óenfer*, 'three persons, one' clearly refers to the Trinity.

2.9.4. A question naturally arises as to the purpose of this stanza. It does not relate to anything which comes before or after, it has no direct connection with Brigit, and almost uniquely it is delivered in the first person. There are only four other allusions in the hymn to the narrator:, *lam chrábdig* ,'with my pious one' in §15, *is dom sous matchous,* 'it is of my knowledge if I relate' in §19, *ní rurímiu ní áirmiu,* 'I cannot reckon, I count not' in §21 and *ateoch,* 'I entreat' in §48. Atkinson suggests the stanza may be associated with the events of §16.[427]

2.9.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Día no-guidiu fri cech tress,	God, I beseech Him for every struggle,
nach mod ro-sasat mo béoil:	in every way that my lips can reach:
domnu murib, móo turim,	deeper than seas, greater than count,
triar óenfer amru scéoil.	three Persons, one Person, wonder of a story.

[426] McCone (1997, 68) contrasts the high poetic genre of *Fél* with the less conservative prose of Wb.

[427] *LH* II *liii.* In §16 God is said to have helped Brigit to provide for three visiting bishops by the miraculous thrice milking of her cow.

§10

T	F
Fuacru don cath coemgen cloth	Foachrú don cath coemgen cloth
snechta tria ṡín luades gæth	snecta tria ṡí*n* luades gæth
i ṅglinn da loch cesta croch	i ṅglind dá loch césta croch
conidnarlaid síth iar saith	*con*idnarlaid síth iar sǽth

2.10.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts to the *rannaigecht mór* of §1, $7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$ with rhyme *gáeth: sáeth.* There is also rhyme in lines *a* and *c* between *cloth* and *croch.* Alliteration occurs in three lines: *chath Cóemgen cloth; césta croch;* and *síth sáeth.*

2.10.2. *Fuacru don cath coemgen cloth.* The problem here is one of translating the terms *fuacru* in T and *foachrú* in F. The *Th* editors read *fua chrú* as 'under his hut'. The noun *cró* is a term of several applications :'enclosed space, hut, prison, animal pen, socket, hoof, inherited property, etc.'[428] but here, as indicated in T's marginal gloss, it clearly refers to a hermit's cell or hut.[429] The *LH* editors, interpreting *cath* as 'battle', opt for 'a challenge to the battle', which does not make contextual sense. The word *cath* has a different meaning in *Amra Choluim Chille* where *boi cath* is translated 'he was pious' (RC 20 364.74). Vendr Lex C-48 describes *cath* as rare and archaic, and suggests it may be either a borrowing from Latin calus, 'wise', or an archaic variant of the *i*-stem adjective *cáid* ('pure, holy'). The latter word appears ten times in *Fél.* and seem to be two words *caid .i. uasal* and *caid* (leg. *cáid*) 'holy'; *caid* may be cognate with Greek *καθαρός*, while *cád* may be a loan from the Hebrew *qādōsh.*[430] The word is glossed: *.i. dont ṡruith* 'to the sage'.[431]

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[428] Greene 1983, 1-9.

[429] *No thercanad Brigit do Chóemgen chaith airdirc conid-luaithfed gáeth tre ṡnechta ⁊ tré sín fon chró i ṅGlinn Da Locha ar ised innister co rabái Coemgend co cenn .uii. bliadan inna sessam cen cotlad, ⁊ cró a chubat féin imbi i n-arda,(n)o comad athrec* tantum *,(n)o feib robai Coemgen (f)on chró cen chotlud, sic (n)i rabai sanctBrigit (s)uanach*, 'Brigit used to prophesy to Coemgen, sage, illustrious, that, a wind through snow and storm would drive him under his hut in Glendalough. For this is related that Coemgen was standing to the end of seven years without sleep and the hut his own length in height about him on high, or he may have been [repenting] so much. Or, as Coemgen was under his hut without sleep, so Saint Brigit was not given to sleep' (Tmg).

[430] See also CormY 291: *.i. cadeis isin ebrai, sanctum isin latin .i. naob,* unde dicitur *cáid cech rét mad fri canóin[e] comúaim*, 'i.e. *qādōsh* in Hebrew, *sanctum* in Latin, that is, holy, from which one may say *cáid* if he be attached to sacred text'.

[431] A marginal gloss in F expands the meaning: *don chad .i. dont ṡruith* 7 a cades dictus est cadus *⁊ cad uaidside .uii bliadna roboi Coemgen inna sessam i [n]Glind Da Locha* acht *clar foi namá, ⁊ se cen*

2.10.3. *snechta tria sín lúades gæth* As noted in GOI §250.1 the preposed genitive is a familiar feature of verse, cf. *Márta for slúaig saithiu*, 'on the swarm of the hosts of March' (*Fél* Mar 31). The noun *snecht(a)e* with *-io* stem flexion would be expected to have an OIr genitive singular *snecht(a)i*. The DIL editors note that the preposition *tria* is fairly common in all periods outside the OIr glosses. Breatnach in *Stair na Gaeilge* has collected several examples, mainly in *SR*.[432] However, the OIr *tre* could easily be restored, if required, without impairment to the metre. This preposition lenites the following noun *sín* ('storm'), but it is impossible to say whether the *punctum delens* is original or a scribal insertion.

2.10.4. *i nglinn da loch cesta croch.* The correct OIr form of the placename, *Glenn dá Locha* (dative *glinn*), would lead to an extra syllable. The *Th* editors tentatively suggest emending *loch* to *lind,* but refrain from adopting this approach.[433] In fact the placename appears in *Fél* Prol 196 as *Glenn dálach dá locha,* 'multitudinous Glendalough', and literally in *Fél* Jun 3 as *i nGlinn dá lind lethan*, 'in the Glen of two broad loughs'. Thurneysen in GOI §309 suggests that the dual genitive *loch* arises from the later confusion of *u*- and *o*-stem declensions, resulting in original *u*-stems forming their genitive single with palatal final and their genitive plural dual without any ending. However, if a monosyllabic *o*-stem dual genitive had been established by 800AD it is unlikely that the unusual term *Glenn Dá Lind* would have been used by the composer of *Fél.* It should be noted, however, that the full name *Glenn dá Locha* appears in the poem's glosses and these have been dated to the late tenth century. This suggests that both long and short forms of the placename were in currency right into the MIr period, and the use of either cannot therefore provide a dating criterion. With the passive preterite of *césaid*, the expression *césta croch*, 'a cross was suffered', refers to a cross-vigil, described by Carey as 'a form of austerity frequently mentioned in Irish sources: it involved standing for extended periods with the arms extended straight out from the body on either side'.[434]

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chotlud frisin re sin ut ferunt *inna crosfigill co ndernsat na héoin a nnitu inna glacaib* unt ferunt, 'to the sage and cadus is said to come from cades, and cad from it. Seven years was Coemgen standing in Glendalough, with only a board under him, and he without sleep during that time, as they say, in his cross-vigil, so that the birds made their nests in their hands'.

[432] Breatnach 1994, 330: SR 1908, 2522, 5197, 5347, 5343 etc.

[433] *Th* II, 332 note *b*.

[434] Carey 2000, 167, n. 11.

2.10.5. *conidnarlaid síth iar saith.* DIL (A, 401.23) suggests that the verbal form *-árlaid* may be the 3s perfect prototonic of a compound of *téit*. There is the example of one such compound in *in-otat*, 'enters into, comes upon', whose augmented preterite has a deuterotonic form *in-rūalaid* (<**in(de)-ro-uss-tég-*), with 3s prototonic *r-ind-úa-laid*. Assuming an original compound verb *ad-tét* (equivalent to *do-tét*, 'comes'), one might expect a 3s perfect prototonic *-árlaid*. Two examples of a derived simple verb are to be found in LU: *ní fitir cía arlaíd úad*, literally, 'he does not know where he went from him' (9127), and *bes na n-árlaid duni beo*, literally 'perhaps it did not come to a living person' (3865). The gloss in T has *co ro-airlestar*, translated in *Th* as 'took counsel for', but could be interpreted as 'till (it) resolved'. The *Th* editors translate the line: 'till peace came to him after hardship'. This stanza, with its incongruous introduction of Cóemgen, has nothing to do with Brigit, and is most unlikely to have been part of the original hymn.

2.10.6. *Th* Text and Translation

foa chrú don chath Cóemgen cloth	Under his hut (was) the sage, famous Coemgen
snechta tria ṡín lúades gáeth.	whom the wind drove through a snowstorm.
I ṅGlinn dá loch césta croch,	In Glendalough a cross was suffered,
conid-árlaid síth íar sáeth.	until peace came to him after hardship.

§11

T	F
Ni bu sanctbrigit suanach	Ni bu ṡanctbrigit ṡuanach
ni bu huarach im ṡeirc dé.	ni bu uarach im ṡeirc dé.
sech ni chiuir ni cossena	sech ni chiuir ni hosena
ind nóeb dibad bethath che.	ind nóeb díbad bethad cé.

2.11.1. *Metrics.* The *rannaigecht* metre, $7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}$, shows perfect rhyme *Dé: cé*. Alliteration would occur between *ṡanctbrigit* and *ṡuanach*, but not if the stress falls on the second syllable of *ṡanctbrigit* as suggested as a possibility in earlier stanzas.[435] In addition there is *aicill*-rhyme between *ṡúanach* and *(h)úarach*.

2.11.2. *Ní bu sanctbrigit suanach/ ní bu huarach im ṡeirc dé.* The syntax of the first line is unusual, with the subject preceding the predicate, but the intention may have been to facilitate *aicill* rhyme. Concerning the lenition in F of *sanctbrigit* and

[435] See discussion in Section 3 of this chapter.

suanach, the situation is not entirely clear. Thurneysen in GOI §233.1(c) comments that in the earlier Glosses certain monosyllabic conjunct forms of the copula (such as *-bu*) lenite the following word, but it does not seem to be a fixed rule. Furthermore, in the later Glosses lenition is also found, though not consistently, after any verb, whether the following word be object, subject or attributive. On the other hand, lenition of *seirc* in line *b* following *im* is correct, but the question is whether the marking of lenited *s* is part of the original composition. Strachan in *Th* II 332 note *t* advances two variant meanings for the adjective *úarach.* The first, probably derived from the adjective *úar* (see DIL 1 *úar*), means 'cold, chilly', cf. *is he sin in primpeccthaig/ artrebat hIffern huarach,* 'that is the great sinners/ who inhabit cold Hell' (*SR* 8350), and *hirach, uarach, airbirech*, 'wrathful, cold, abusive' (*SR* 942), epithets for the devil. The second meaning comes from the glossators: *ni bu iar n-úaraib no bíd ⁊ tan æle nad bid serc Dé occi* sed semper habebat,[436] 'it was not at times she had, and at another time she had not, the love of God but there always was' (T Fmg), while F has a separate interlinear gloss *ni hi n-uaraib sercc De aice acht dogres*, 'her love for God was not at times but always'. The glossators derive the meaning of *úarach* from *úar* (time) in the sense of intermittency, and this apparently influenced the *Th* editors in their translation: 'she was not intermittent about the love of God'.

2.11.3. *sech ni chiuir ni cossena.* The verbal form *ni chiúir* is a mixture of old and new. The conjunct form is the OIr reduplicated 3s preterite of *crenaid*, and later versions of the preterite employ the generalized present stem *cren-*, (as in the associated gloss, *niro-chren*), but the lenition after *ní* is a MIr feature. The second verbal form in the line, *-cosséna(i)*, is the 3s preterite prototonic of *con-sní*, 'strives for'. The 3s preterite, *con-séna(i), -cosséna(i)*, from **se(s)nai*, is modelled on the *do-gní* paradigm, where the augmented 3s preterite has an alternate forms *do-rigéni, -de(i)rgéni.*[437] Beside that, the 3p preterite, *con-sníset*, presents a more conventional form. The ending *-a* in both mss reflects the later falling together of unstressed final vowels *-a* and *-ai*.

2.11.4. *ind nóeb dibad bethath che*. There is a comparatively rare usage of the feminine substantive *ind nóeb*, though a similar form occurs in §§1 and 38. The word *díbad* was discussed earlier in Colman's Hymn, 2.23.2, and in this case the sense is

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[436] T has *bí* for *bu*, and omits *⁊ tan æle nad bid,* and F has *acce serc Dœ* for *serc Dé occi.*

[437] See GOI §681.

'wealth'. Concerning *cé bethad*, *Th* II refers to the phrase *fo brón bethad cé*, 'under the sorrow of this life' (LL 192b).[438] T's *bethath che* exhibits an early genitive ending; it looks earlier than F's *bethad cé,* but it could be a deliberate archaism, or perhaps the influence of the voiceless consonant in *cé*.

2.11.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Ní bu ṡanctbrigit ṡúanach;	St Brigit was not drowsy;
ní bu úarach im ṡeirc dé:	she was not intermittent about the love of God:
sech ni ciúir ni cossena	the holy woman neither bought, nor sought
ind nóeb díbad bethad cé.	the profit of the present life.

§12

T	F
A ndorigenai in rí	A ndorigenai i*n* rí
do ḟertaib ar sanchtbrigti	do ḟertaib ar ṡanctbrigti
ma dorontai ar dune	ar ni dernta ar duni
cairm i cuala cluas nach bi	carm i cuala cluas nach bí

2.12.1. *Metrics*. It should be noted at the outset that the first element *sanct* is attached to *Brigti* in both mss, indicating that *sanctBrigti* is to be read as a true compound. The metrical scheme changes to *deibide*, $7^{1}7^{2};7^{2}7^{1}$ with *rinn-ardrinn* rhyme, *rí*: *sanctBrigti*,[439] and *ardrinn-rinn* rhyme, *duni*: *bí*. The second couplet is potentially more problematic. First, the rhyme inverts the standard *rinn-ardrinn* formula. However, there is evidence of such *ardrinn-rinn* rhyme in archaic verse.[440] Meyer, who collected these examples, pointed out that such rhyming was common in Welsh poetry, and was probably acceptable in early Irish poetry before the stricter rules of metrical composition prevailed.[441] The second question entails the rhyming of *duni* (or *dune*, assuming a final schwa) with *bí*. However, a similar *deibide* rhyme (but in *rinn-ardrinn* format) is found in *EIM*: *Is hé Feidlimid in rí/ diarbo opar óenlathi*

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[438] *Th* II 332 note *l*.

[439] See discussion in Section 3 of this chapter.

[440] *Imram Braim* (Meyer 1895) is an eighth century prose text studded with several verses in *deibide* rhyme: *eterchéin: réin* (§4), *adamri: cadli* (§11) and *imchían: rían* (§55). CormY 878 shows *deibide* rhyme *chumachtaig: bachlaig*, and the rhyme *cuileda: treba* is found in the Annals of Tigernach for the year 617.

[441] Meyer 1914.

(Bruchst.15).[442] Carney, on the other hand, proposes a *deibide* rhyme between *sanctBrigti* and *bí* in a *rannaigecht* setting, stating his belief that the rhyming scheme of this stanza, as well as similar rhyming schemes throughout this poem, is an archaic phenomenon.[443] The only other ornamentation is alliteration, *-rigénai rí, ca(i)rm cúala clúas* (and in F's line *c*, *dernta duni*).

2.12.2. *do fertaib ar sanchtbrigti.* The spelling of *sanchtbrigti* in T is unique, and may result from a scribal error as *sanct-* appears elsewhere in T. Alternatively, it may be based on Latin orthography inversion which permits *-ct*, where Irish has *-cht*. In deciding whether these initial lenition markers should be restored, we must consider the date of the language. The use of the later form *cairm* (treated in 2 12.4 below) suggests the stanza may be a late interpolation, but not as late as Sg.

2.12.3. *ma do-rontai ar dune*. There is a semantic difference between the use of the conditional conjunction *ma*, 'if' and the causal one *ar*, 'for'in the T and F texts. The phrase *ma do-róntae*, employing the augmented past subjunctive singular passive of *do-gní*, means 'if it has been done', while *ar ni dernta*, with the plural perfect passive, gives 'for they have not been done'. GOI § 902 states that the use of the conjunction *ma* with the past subjunctive is reserved for unfulfilled or doubtful cases.[444] As for the spelling *duni*, versions without glide vowel are found in Ml 33c12, 35c33, 49b8 as well as *Fís Adamnáin* §10.

2.12.4. *cairm i cúala clúas nach bí.* This line provides the principal clause of the stanza. The interrogative *cairm* is a shortened form of *cía airm* ('what place'), but there is no other attestation of the non-palatal *carm* seen in F. The uncontracted form is attested in the early Glosses: *ni fiastar som cia airm indid immaircide do*, 'he will not know at what place it is fitting for him' (Wb12d18), with *cairm* appearing only in later texts such as *SR* 7941, and *Bethu Phátraic* 2675, but these may not be statistically significant. The line means 'where has the ear of any living person heard (it)?'

2.12.5. It will be noted that *Th* does not restore the verbal forms to their classical OIr forms *do-róntae* and *-cúalae*, but retains their later ninth-century forms where many final unstressed vowels were heard as a schwa sound.

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[442] Murphy 1961, 65, §114.

[443] Carney 1983, 192.

[444] The *Th* editors (332, note *u*) comment that T's version has the sense of 'supposing it to have been done for anyone'. The F text translation would be 'for they have not been done for anyone.'

2.12.6. *Th* Text and Translation

A ndo-rigénai in rí	What the King has wrought
do fertaib ar sanctBrigti,	of miracles for Saint Brigit,
ma do-róntai ar dune	if it has been wrought for any (other) one
cairm i cúala clúas nach bí ?	where has the ear of anyone alive person heard [it]?

§13

T	F
Cetna thogairt dia foided	Cetna thogairt dia fóided
la cétim hi fenamain	la céteim hi fenamain
nisgaib do rath a hóeged	nisgeib do rath a hóeged
nisdígaib a llenamain	nisdígaib a llenamain

2.13.1. *Metrics*. The metre changes to a *fordúan* $7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$ with *b: d* rhyme *fenamain: llenamain* and *a: c* rhyme *foided: hoiged*. Unusually, there is no other form of ornamentation.

2.13.2. *Cetna thogairt dia foided/ la cétim hi fenamain*. The clause *dia foided* comprises the nasalising temporal conjunction *dia*, 'when', and the preterite passive singular of the verb *foidid* ('sends'). The subject is of the verb is *togairt* ('dairying', or 'dairy-herd') but here 'dairy produce' may serve as a more general translation.[445] The word *fenamain* is a general term for 'wicker-work' or 'wattles', as in a fence or a dwelling, but here may refer to a basket or hamper of wicker-work. However, *fenamain* is glossed in T as *fén do-uc a bantigerna chuci dond arge ar chend imbi*, 'a waggon which her mistress brought to her to the herding-place for butter'. So transport for 'first butter' might also be feasible, but *Th* settles for 'hamper', while *LH* II, 41 favours 'cart'.

2.13.3. *nisgaib do rath a hoiged/ nisdígaib a llenamain*. According to DIL the verb *gaibid* with the preposition *de* means 'holds back', and given the later confusion between *de* and *do* here, when used with the verbal noun *rath* it signifies a barrier to the bestowal of hospitality. The fourth line provides a neat rhythmic counterpoint to the third. Here the verb *do-gaib* means to 'lessen'. The 3s infixed pronouns are proleptic, anticipating *Brigit* in the first case and the *ā*-stem noun *lenama(i)n* in the second. This stanza shows a mixture of tenses, with the preterite passive *foided* beside

[445] *Th* II note *v* cites *na togorta,* glossing *na hairge* (*LBr* 63a).

two present indicatives *nís-gaib* and *nís-dígaib,* but the latter pair could be read as historic presents or, more likely, MIr forms of OIr preterites *nís-gab* and *nís-dígab.* The gloss on *a rath* is: *do biathad bocht*, 'from feeding the poor' (T), and that on *a llenamain* is: *in lenamain tucsat oegid fuirri,* 'the attachment which the guests shewed to her'. The literal meaning of line *d* is 'it did not lessen their devotion', though *Th* translates it the passive voice. The meaning of this stanza is clarified in a lengthy marginal gloss in F.[446]

2.13.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Cétnae thogairt dia foíded	When the first dairying was sent
la cétim hi fenamain,	with the first butter in a hamper,
nís-gaib do rath a hoíged;	it kept her not from bounty to her guests;
nís-dígaib a llenamain.	their attachment was not diminished..

§14

T	F
A llucht saille iarsuidiu	A lluct salle iarsuidiu
fescor ba hard in coscur	fescur ba hard a coscur
sech ba sathech in cu de	sech ba sáthech in cu de
ni bu bronach int oscur.	ní bu bronach int oscur

2.14.1. *Metrics*. The loose *rannaigecht* form, $7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$ appears, with rhyme *coscur: oscur.* There is potential alliteration in line *c* between *sech* and *sáthech*, but the conjunction *sech* does not always carry a stress.[447]

2.14.2. *A llucht saille iarsuidiu/ fescor ba hard in coscur*. The noun *lucht* has a variety of meanings listed in DIL, but here it means a portion (of food).[448] The noun *fescor* is taken as an *o*-stem accusative, with meaning 'at evening'. The nominative *coscur*, as the verbal noun of *con-scara* ('destroys'), is used often in the sense of a battle victory.

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[446] The marginal gloss in F recounts the background to this incident, which seems to be based on *Vita I* §17. In this version the young Brigit, having earlier dispensed most of the milk to the poor, has now to provide a large basket of butter for the druid and his wife. She succeeds miraculously with the help of God. A similar miracle is recorded in *Vita II* §1 by Cogitosus, but he does not mention the druid.

[447] GOI §883 notes that the conjunction *sech* has the same meaning and construction as *noch.*

[448] Examples of this usage are: *in lucht tánaise dorala don teinid* in CormY §1018, and in *Tec Corm* §31.27: *milsem lochta airigid*, 'the sweetest part of a meal is the honorific portion' (Meyer 1909, 48-9).

However, it also means 'triumph', cf. *it fáilti iar coscur* (*Fél* Prol 64), 'they are joyous after triumph'.

2.14.3. *sech ba sathech in cu de/ ní bu brónach int oscur.* The adjective *sá(i)thech,* derived from the noun *sáith*, 'sufficiency', means 'satisfied'. The nominative *int oscur* lends itself to two different interpretations. As it stands, *oscar* can mean 'fool', cf. *don baíth nó don oscar* 'to the uninstructed or unlearned one' (Wb 12d16, where it glosses *idiotae*). DIL suggests the probable meaning in the Wb gloss is 'the outsider'. If written *in toscur*, however, the phrase means 'the company', considered by DIL as later than *oscar*.[449] *Th* adopts the latter meaning, retaining the form *int oscur* but translating it as 'the company'. Nonetheless, there is a valid reason for reading 'guest' here, as the word is glossed as *int óegi*, although the rest of the gloss is too fragmentary to reach a decision. Perhaps the stanza's content is little more than a coded reference to an incident which must have been well known at the time, but we must turn to *Vita* II §3 and *Vita* I §14 to make any sense of the story.[450] On balance, the version involving a single guest is probably better.

2.14.4. *Th* Text and Translation

A llucht saille íar suidiu	Her charge of bacon after this [remained]
fescor - ba h-ard in coscur;	at evening – high was the triumph;
sech ba sáthech in cú de,	although the hound was satisfied therefrom,
ní bu brónach int oscur.	the company was not sorrowful.

§15

T	F
Lathe buana dí madbocht	Lathi búana di madbocht
ni fr*i*th locht ann lam chraibdig	ni fríth locht and la*m* crábdig
ba tair coidchi inna gort	ba t*ar* caidchi na gort
fon bith ferais anmich	fon mbith ferais anbig

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[449] According to Ped ii 615, *oscar* is a derivative of *scar-*, *scuir-*, 'part, depart', the original meaning being 'not belonging to the household', opposed to *tascur*, 'company'.

[450] Connolly and Picard, 1989, 14; Connolly 1987, 16. *Vita* II relates that Brigit was cooking bacon for guests but instead gave it to a begging dog. When the bacon was taken from the cauldron, it was found to be miraculously intact. In *Vita* I there is only one guest and he saw Brigit feeding the dog. When the bacon was later found intact, the guest and Brigit's father felt unworthy to eat the food and asked that it be given to the poor. A version similar to *Vita* I and involving just one guest is related in *Lismore Lives*, p. 319.

2.15.1. *Metrics*. This quatrain poses some metrical problems, particularly the last line, which has only 6 syllables. Stokes suggests adding the adjective *cé* after *bith* to make up the shortfall, and this emendation would also make sense semantically.[451] Line *c* of the F ms is also a syllable short, but this can be easily rectified by following T's *inna* for *na*. In *madbocht* the first element *mad-* constitutes an adverbial preverb, where the adjective is prefixed to the verb like a preposition (GOI §384). Consequently the stress falls on *-bocht*. A similar formation, *caín-boí*, appears in §5. In the restored text, the metre becomes *rannaigecht chummaisc*, $7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$, with usual rhyme, *chrábdig: ánbig*.[452] Additional rhyme occurs in lines *a* and *c*, *-bocht: gort*,[453] and there is *aicill* between *-bocht* and *locht*. The only alliteration occurs in line *a* between *búana* and *-bocht*.

2.15.2. *Lathe buana dí madbocht/ ní frith locht ann lam chraibdig*. The word *búain* is a verbal noun of *boingid*, with several meanings ('cutting, breaking', etc.) and is interpreted as 'reaping' here, while *bocht* is the preterite passive of the same verb. T's gloss on *mad-bocht* is *i. maith ro-boinged*, 'well was it reaped'.

The literal translation is: 'a day of reaping for her was well reaped'.

2.15.3. *ba tair coidchi inna gort*. The form *coidchi* (*co* + accusative of *adaig*) in F is described in Vendr Lex C-10 as 'plus ancien' relative to *caidchi*. Again, the adjective *tar* in F, being an isolated variant of *tur* ('dry'), may be earlier than the palatalised *tair* of T. The word *ta(i)r* is attested only here, but *tur*, and its abstract noun *turad* ('dryness') are more common. The relevant glosses are: *ba terad*, 'it was dry weather' (T), and *ba toerad chaidche*, 'it was dry till evening' (Fmg). One might have expected the dative form *gurt* here (See Section 4).

2.15.4. *fon bith ferais anmich*. DIL describes the adjective *ánbech* as meaning 'wet, rainy, humid', though in *Fél* Mar 24 and 30 it seems to have undergone a semantic shift to mean 'abundance'. Here the adjective is employed as an *ā*-stem substantive, being the object of the 3s preterite *ferais*. The glosses on *anbig* are: *snigi án*, 'splendid raining' (T), and *flechud mor*, 'great rain' (Fmg). The *anbig* of F is preferred to T's

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[451] *Th* II, 506. It will be recalled that *cé* appeared earlier in §11, viz., *díbad bethad cé*.

[452] The form *crabdig* appears in *Fél* Mar 30, where it rhymes with *anbich*. A related rhyming scheme occurs in *Fél* 24 Mar where the nominative *crábdech* rhymes with *áinbech*.

[453] See Murphy 1961, 33 which reports the rhyme *drúcht: út*.

later *anmich*, both accusative single variants of *anmech/ anbech*.[454] The tale of the dry harvesting occurs in *Vita* I §98, and *Vita* II §4.

2.15.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Lathe búana dí madbocht;	On her day of reaping good reaping was there;
ní fríth locht and lam chrábdig;	no fault was found there with my pious one;
ba tar caidchi inna gort,	till evening there was dry weather in her field,
fon mbith cé ferais ánbig.	throughout this world the rain poured.

§16

T	F
Epscoip dodaascansat	Epscoip dodaascensat
nirbo diuir in gabud dí	nírbu diur in gabud di
mainbad fororaid in rí	manbad forarair in rí
blegon inna mbo fa thri.	blegon inna mbo fa thri.

2.16.1. *Metrics*. This *rannaigecht* quatrain with $7^{3}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$ metre has perfect *b: d* rhyme, *dí: thrí* and additional rhyme with *rí* of line *c*. There is considerable alliteration entailing: *epscoip, -ascansat; -roraid, rí,* and *blegon, mbó*.

2.16.2. *Epscoip dodaascansat/ nirbo diuir in gabud dí*. The verbal form *do-da-ascansat* is the 3p preterite of *do-ascnai* (<**to-ad-com-sni-*), 'approaches', with the OIr 3s feminine class C infixed pronoun, confirming relative construction. F's variant *-ascensat* is unlikely to be a transcription error, as the same spelling turns up in §27. The usage of *nírbo* as a narrative preterite points to a ninth-century basis, unless it is scribal (GOI §813). The adjective *diúir* has the meaning 'trifling, petty, mean', and *nírbo diúir* is glossed *.i. nibu bec ł nibu dereoil*, 'it was not small, or it was not mean'. Vendryes (Lex, D-104) comments that its origin is unknown. Here, the expression 'not trifling was the danger to her' is a *litotes*, not uncommon in early texts.

2.16.3. *mainbad - fo-roraid in rí*. The forms *mainbad* and *manbad* are variants of *ma-ni-bad*, 'if it were not for' (GOI §249.6). The disyllabic form appears in Wb 4a20, *mainbad éicinn*, 'unless for necessity', while Ml favours *manibad* in 111b28, 134b3, 111b28, and 136c2, as does Sg in 17b8. The syncopated form *manbad* turns up in *SR*,

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[454] The form *anmech* is quoted in a MIr gloss in the Notes to *Fél* 31 Jan, relating to the same story: *is lé topacht in lathe mbuana dia mbu anmech fon tír archena*: 'it is by her that there was a reaping on the harvest-day when a rainstorm was throughout the rest of the country' (*LL* 353d).

alongside *manibed,* cf. *manbad omain Dé* (6393) and *manibed Móisi ... óenfer díb nā faicbed beo* (4129). The disyllabic form *mainbad* or *manbad* is required here for metrical purposes. Of the two, the T text has the more authentic version, despite the late attestation, since it preserves the palatal *n*. The two mss forms of the 3s perfect of *fo-reith,* 'helps'are *fo-roraid* in T opposing *fo-rarair* in F. The former is attested in Ml 51a23, glossing the Latin perfect subjunctive *fuerit*. I have found no attestation of *fo-rarair* which may be a scribal error. The clause *fo-roraid in rí* seems unrelated to what comes before and after, and the context suggests it be read as a cheville. The T text glosses it as *mani fortachtaiged*, 'had he not helped', (past subjunctive of *fortachtaigid*) while F with *mani fured* has the same form and meaning using the verb *fo-reith*. Again the employment of the augmented form as a pluperfect is consistent with *nírbo*.

2.16.4. *blegon inna mbo fa thri.* The word *blegon* is a MIr form of the verbal noun *mlegon* (from *mligid* 'to milk'). In AU 733 an *mbl-* form occurs in the line *do-omlacht fo tri ōl n-ais caich mbleguin*, 'an *ól*-measure of milk was taken thrice at each milking'.[455] There is an editorial question here as to whether *mlegon* should be restored. Alliteration with *-bó* suggests *blegon* may be original, but this on its own is not a compelling reason. However, in conjunction with the use of the augmented forms *nírbo* and *fo-roraid* as preterites, *blegon* can be safely consigned to the ninth century. It is difficult to understand the context of this stanza without background, which the MIr commentator duly provides.[456] Similar accounts are related in *Vita* I §99 and *Vita* II §5, though the latter does not mention the number of visiting bishops.

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[455] Ó Máille (1910, 95-7) regards *-mbl* as a transitional spelling. Earlier spellings are seen in *mlicht* (*Th* II, 293) and *mlass* (*Imram Brain* §62), but *blén* (for *mlén*) in the ninth-century Munich Glossary (*Th* II, 43), all of which led Ó Máille to define a transitional period between 729 and 834.

[456] *Epscuip .i. .uii. n-epscoip tancatar co Brigit a Huib Briuin Chualand o Thelaig na n-epscop sainrud co Cill dara; corro-iarfaig Brigit dia coic .i. do Blathnait, in raba biad acci. Illa dixit: 'non'. ⁊ roboi imloscud la Brigit ani hisen .i. gen biad occi illis; conn-erbairt int aingel fri Blathnait co tucad na bu co Loch Lemnachta fri Cill dara atuaith dia mblegon, cia ro-bligte fodi reme. Tuctha diu na bai ⁊ ro-bligtea co ndeochaid in loim darna lestraib, ⁊ no linfates cid lestru Lagen ule do-bertais chuccu;* et unde stagnum accepit.

Carey (2000, 169) translates: 'That is, seven bishops came from Uí Briúin Chualann, more specifically, from Tulach na nEscop (Bishop's Hill), to visit Brigit in Kildare. Brigit asked Blathnat her cook if she had any food. 'No,' she said. Brigit felt great shame at not having any food for them; but the angel told Blathmat to bring the cows north of Kildare to Loch Lemnechta ('Lake of Milk'), to be milked, even though they had been milked twice before. The cows were brought there and were milked till the milk

2.16.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Epscoip do-da-ascansat;	Bishops who visited her;
nírbo díuir in gábud dí,	not trifling was the danger to her,
mainbad - fo-roraid in Rí -	but for - the King helped -
blegon inna mbó fo thrí.	the milking of the cows thrice.

§17

T	F
Argairt lathe ánbige	Argairt lathe anbige
coercha for medón réde	cáircha *for* medon réde
scarais iarum a forbrat	scarais iar*um* a f*or*brat
i taig for deslem g*r*éne	i taig for desleind gréne

2.17.1. *Metrics*. The metre here reverts to a loose *rannaigecht bec*, $7^3 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with perfect rhyme, *réde: gréne*. There is no other ornamentation in this stanza.

2.17.2. *Argairt lathe ánbige/ coercha for medón réde*. The 3s *t*-preterite form *ar-gairt* in T is unusual. The OIr form of *ar-gair* is *ar-gart*, and *ar-gairt* may be a MIr 3s preterite, in the same way in which OIr *at-rubart* became *at-rubairt* in MIr (cf. ModIr. *dúirt*). The *Th* editors believe *argairt* may be an error of transcription.[457] The first gloss on *ar-gairt* is *ro-ingair* 'she herded', based on the more usual verb 'to herd', *in-gair*. The accusative singular, *ánbig*, of substantive *ánbech* was encountered in §15, and here the genitive singular *ánbige* is employed to qualify *lathe* to render 'on a day of rain'. The OIr accusative plural of *cáera* is listed as *caírcha* in GOI §319.2.[458] The word *réid* is an *i*-stem adjective meaning 'level, smooth, easy', but here it is employed as a substantive to mean a 'level' or 'plain'. The glossators identify the location as being: *i mMaig Life*, 'in the plain of the Liffey'. These lines serve to introduce Brigit's mantle, wet from the rain, which she later placed on a sunbeam to dry.

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overflowed the pails; and they would fill the pails of all of Leinster brought to them - whence the lake took its name'.

[457] *Th* II *xxxix*, note 2.

[458] In Old Irish the diphthong *aí* is interchangeable with *oí* before a palatal consonant, and *áe* with *óe* before a neutral consonant. There is constant fluctuation between *a* and *o* as the first letter of the diphthong (GOI §66). The dative plural *cairchaib* is shown in Ml 100b, 15 and 18, while *Tec Corm* §11.8 has nominative plural *caerchach*.

2.17.3. *scarais íarum a forbrat / i taig for desleinn gréne*. The *o*-stem noun *forbrat* has the general meaning of 'an outer covering or wrap'. It is glossed by F: *a cocholl ł secip etach uachtarach archena*, 'her cloak, or any other upper garment whatsoever'. Concerning the unusual word *deslem/ desleind* (taken to be 'sunbeam'), the *Th* editors admit that they have no other example of the word.[459] The phrase *for deislenn* is glossed by T: *for desred .i. forsna gó grene ro-bátar (in)a laim deis*, 'on her right hand, i.e. on the sunbeams that were in her right hand'. The story is related in both *Vitae* where Brigit hung her coat upon a sunbeam. In *Vita* II she mistook the sunbeam for a slanting tree, and in *Vita* I for a rope. In a lengthy marginal gloss the scholiast takes the opportunity to introduce St Brendan into the story, no doubt to underpin Brigit's greater power and piety.[460]

2.17.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ar-gart lathe ánbige	On a day of rain she herded
caírcha for medón réde;	sheep in the middle of a plain;
scarais íarum a forbrat	she afterwards spread her mantle
i taig for desleinn gréne.	in a house on a sunbeam.

§18

T	F
IN macc amnas rodasgaid	m*acc* amnas rodascaid
brigta ar écnairc a rríg,	brigtæ ar écnairc a rríg,
dobert secht multu úadi	dobert secht multu húade
a tret nisdígaib a llín.	a trét nisdígaib a llín.

2.18.1. *Metrics*. The loose *rannaigecht mór* metre, $7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$, returns with perfect rhyme, *rríg: llín.* There is no other ornamentation.

2.18.2. *In macc amnas rodasgaid /Brigta ar écnairc a rríg*. The expression *in macc amnas*, 'the fierce lad', is glossed *in meirlech tanic co Brigit*, 'the robber who came to

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[459] *Th* II 336, note *a*.

[460] *Ic licc Brennaind lo iarsin isin tess fo-ceird Brigit a cocholl fliuch forsna goo grene ⁊* stetit *forru. At-rubairt Brennaind fria gilla a chochull do chur forru, co torchair dib fa di. fo-ceird Brennaind fei in tres fect co feirg, ⁊ tarrasair forru* tunc.'At Brendan's Stone on the day after, in the heat Brigit cast her wet cloak on the sunbeams; and it remained upon them. Brendan told his servant to put his cloak upon them, and it fell from them twice. The third time Brendan himself cast it with anger, and then it remained upon them' (Extract from F gloss, *Th* II, 335-6, with *Th* translation).

Brigit'. Line *a* is taken to be a relative construction, with *in macc amnas* as antecedent, but the OIr class C infixed 3s feminine pronoun would require *ro-da-gáid,* ('who had beseeched her') anticipating *Brigit*. This is most likely a MIr tendency to confuse the 3s classes and gender forms of the infixed pronoun.[461] The spelling in F looks aberrant, and possibly arises from the late confusion of *-sg-* and *-sc-*. It is likely that *ro-da-gáid* was the original form.[462] The verb itself is the well-preserved OIr 3s augmented preterite form of *guidid*, 'prays, beseeches', and is glossed *ro-gudestar* in T, *ro-gadestar* .i. *ro-gudestar* in F. The forms *Brigta/ Brigtæ* are odd, and *Th* (II 336 note *c*) suggests the accusative *Brigti* instead. The phrase *ar écndairc* is a common formula in prayer, and is employed in the sense 'for the sake of'.

2.18.3. *dobert secht multu úadu/ a tret nisdígaib a llín.* The *Th* editors regard the infixed pronoun in *nís-dígaib* as another case of gender confusion since *lín* is not feminine. The use of the historic present tense *-dígaib* is incongruous alongside the pluperfect *ro-da-gáid* and the preterite *do-bert*, and perhaps *ní-dígab* was intended. This storyline comes from §7 of *Vita* II, with a slightly different version presented in F's gloss.[463]

2.18.4. *Th* Text and Translation

In macc amnas ro-da-gáid	The fierce lad, who had besought
Brigti ar écnairc a rRíg,	Brigit for her King's sake,
do-bert secht multu úade;	carried off seven wethers from her;
a trét nís-dígab a llín.	the number of her flock was not diminished.

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[461] McCone (1997, 171) provides examples, *co-nas-tuc* 'until he brought him' (*LL* 31233) and *arna-chas-torsed* 'so that it should not reach him' (*LL* 31427). Breatnach (1994, 266) has also collected several examples in *Stair na Gaeilge*.

[462] See also *Th* II, *xxxix*, which refers to seemingly anomalous infixed pronouns in this hymn and confusion in gender.

[463] *Ic Raith Derthaige i nHu(i)b Failge do-ronad in firt sa .i. tanic meirlech co Brigit fo .uii. co mbered molt cech uare uadi do chairchaib mná Dubthaig, coro-aithferad for Brigit: co n-erbairt Brigit: 'fegait-se fo caircha dus in marat ule; ro-fegsat iarum .i. Dubthach 7 a ben, 7 fuaratar eat ule i comlane cen esbaid neich*, 'At Rath Derthaige in Offaly this miracle was wrought, to wit, a robber came seven times to Brigit, and he used to carry off from her every time a wether of the sheep of Dubthach's wife. Reproach was cast on Brigit. Brigit said: 'Look at your sheep to see if they all remain.' Then they, to wit, Dubthach and his wife looked, and they found them all complete without any missing' (Fmg).

§19

T	F
IS dam sous matchous	IS dom sous matchous
a ndorigenai do maith.	a ndorigénai do maith.
amra dí in fothrugud	amra di in fothrugud
senta impe ba derglaid.	senta impe ba derglaid.

2.19.1. *Metrics*. In this stanza *sous* and *-chous* are disyllabic. The word *sous* is said to be derived from *so+-fess,*[464] and the hiatus in *soüs* and *-choüs* are guaranteed by verses in *Fél* Mar 13 and Prol 182 respectively. The usual metrical problem appears involving *rannaigecht* rhyme between monosyllabic *maith* and disyllabic *derglaid.* Here it might be better to read the metre as *rinn-ardrinn deibide* in a *rannaigecht* setting. As noted in §4 rhyme is permissible between consonants in classes χ and *l*. The *LH* editors (II *li*) seem to regard *derglaid* as metrically monosyllabic.

2.19.2. *Is dom sous matchous/ a ndorigenai do maith.* In this stanza *sous* is translated as 'knowledge', and the phrase *is dom sous*, is translated 'it is of my knowledge'. The glossators take an artistic view of the phrase with *is dom dán*, 'it is of my art', and *is dom filidecht*, 'it is of my poetic skill'. According to the *Th* editors the verbal form *matchous* should be read as *ma at-choüs*, the augmented 1s present subjunctive of *ad-fet*, ('relates'), glossed *mad dia n-innisiur*, 'if I relate'. The conditional conjunction *má* takes the present subjunctive when the condition is in the future or indefinite as to time (GOI §902). The perfective form of this verb is discussed in Section 4. In this stanza the 3s neuter infixed pronoun in *at-chous* is proleptic, anticipating the following clause, *a ndo-rigéna do maith,* literally, 'what she has done for the good', (i.e. 'all the good she has done'). The *Th* translation 'if I relate' does not fully represent the subjunctive force, and I have inserted 'may'.

2.19.3. *sentae impe, ba derglaid.* The verbal form *senta* in both mss is problematic. The *Th* editors read *senta* as *sénaid-i,* with the OIr suffixed pronoun, assuming the final unstressed syllable degenerated into a schwa at the time of transcription.[465] One difficulty is the use of the historic present tense. The glossators support a preterite reading: *bennachais .i. ro-sénastar*, 'she blessed'. An alternative approach is to read

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[464] This derivation is discussed in Breatnach (1981, 79).

[465] Carney (1983, 197) remarks that by the time of *SR*, final vowels *-ae* and *-ai* are maintained for metrical purposes, but historically confused with each other and with *-a*.

sénta as a past participle passive, viz. **sénth(a)e* > *séntae* > *sénta*. The *-ae* ending was starting to fall together with *-a* by the time of *Fél* (except in rhyming position). This reading with an implicit copula would yield 'it was blessed around her' or, relatively, 'which was blessed around her'. The incident is related in the marginal gloss in F.[466] The miracle is recorded in *Vita* I §102 and *Vita* II §8, but there the ale is produced for some lepers.

2.19.4. Th Text and Translation

Is dom sous m'at-chous	It is of my knowledge if I [may] relate
a ndo-rigénai do maith;	all the good that she has done;
amra dí in fothrucud;	a marvel of hers was the bath
sénta impe, ba derglaid.	she blesses it around her; it became red ale.

§20

T	F
Senais in caillig comail	Senais in caillig comaill
ba slan cen neim cen galar	ba slan cen neim cen galar
ba mó amru arailiu	ba mo amro arailiu
din chloich dorigne saland	don chloich dorigne saland

2.20.1. *Metrics*. The metre here reverts to *rannaigecht bec*, $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with rhyme *galar: saland*. On the face of it, the final consonants of *galar* and *saland* (or *salann*), are in different classes (*r* a weakly-pronounced liquid, *nn/nd* a strongly-pronounced liquid), and should not make perfect rhyme. Carney, however, points out two early examples of a similar rhyming feature, one of which occurs in an annalistic quatrain, probably composed in the year 663: *Carn Conaill / mór sluag file 'na comair.*[467]. Carney goes on: 'Here the scribe, faced with what he thought was a bad rhyme *Conaill: comair*, made a desperate attempt to correct it by emending the second word

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[466] *I Cilldara doronad in firt sa .i. dune trúag die rodlect rí Lagen lind, 7 ni rabai adbar a demna co tánic co Brig*it. *Is and roboi B*rigit *i fothrucud ara cind, co roattaig in duine trúag sin hise co rocobrad e, co ro-sén Brig*it *iarsen in fothrucud irrabai co ndernai lind de 7 co tardad don dune iarsen 7 co tarait side dond rig,* 'It was in Kildare that this miracle was wrought, to wit, there was a poor man on whom the king of Leinster had a claim for ale, and he had not wherewith to make it up, so he came to Brigit. Brigit was in (her) bath when he came; the poor man besought her to help him. Then Brigit blessed the bath wherein she was, and made ale thereof. Afterwards it was given to the man, and he gave it to the king'.

[467] Carney 1983, 192-3, citing Radner, *Frag Annals*, p.14.

to a non-existent *comairr*'. Carney's second example is to be found in the poem *To-fed andes i ndáil fiadat*.[468] In §12 the rhyme is *do-gair: Conaill*. This example provides some attestation for perfect rhyme in this stanza, and suggests a date of composition prior to Mac Néill's Law. There is little ornamentation in this stanza, apart from alliteration in lines *a* and *c*: *caillig* and *comail*, *amru* and *-ailiu*.

2.20.2. *Senais in caillig comail/ ba slan cen neim cen galar*. The adjective *comail(l)* in line *a* is problematic. The accusative singular *comail* (*comaill* F) is glossed *.i. comaillig*, 'dropsical'. Further, the noun *galar* is glossed: *.i. caillech i rrabái comaille do-deochaid co Brigit ⁊ ros-ic*, 'a nun in whom there was dropsy came to Brigit and she healed her' (T). Carney (*ibid.*) disagrees with the *Th* II approach which translates the noun *comaill*, (a later form of *comalne*, 'dropsy') as 'dropsical'. He accepts that it is not easy to interpret *comail* or to define its relationship to *comalne* (from *comlann*). His solution is to drop the article *in* and emend *comail* to the adjectival form *comaillig*. Concerning the content, Carney points out that in *Vita* II §9 the lady is not a nun, but has taken a vow of chastity, and comments: 'It is to be noticed that there is no necessary reference to pregnancy in the poem, and that the statement of the matter is adjusted accordingly by the phrase *cen nem cen galar* corresponding to Cogitosus' *sine partu sine dolore* [without childbirth, without sorrow]. The weakness of the story as told in the poem suggests that the matter has been more carefully reported from the common source by the biographer'. The Cogitosus account is shown below,[469] and the other early life, *Vita* I, includes the event but states simply that the subject is *'quaedem mulier'*, a certain woman.' F's gloss on *galar* develops the dropsy theme: *caillech ro-boi i Cluain Moiscna ⁊ comaille inti, co tarla Brigit dochum na cille, co tanic iarsen do co Brigit ⁊ corbo glan iarum*, 'a nun who was in Cluain Moiscna and a dropsy on her. Brigit chanced to come to the church. She came to Brigit and was clean afterward.'

2.20.3. *ba mó amru arailiu/ din chloich dorigne saland*. The glossator in F takes *amru* as a nominative (OIr *amrae*) with: *.i. ba mo de int amru firt aile do denam*, 'the marvel was the greater from the working of another miracle' (F). The gloss may have

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[468] ed. Kelly, *Ériu* 26 1975, 66-98.

[469] Connolly and Picard (1989, 16). Cogitosus writes: 'With a strength of faith most powerful and ineffable, she blessed a woman who, after a vow of virginity, had lapsed through weakness into youthful concupiscence, as a result of which her womb had begun to swell with pregnancy. In consequence, what had been conceived in the womb disappeared and she restored her to health and to penitence without childbirth and pain'.

influenced the *Th* editors who translate line *c*: ''twas a marvel greater than any other', but *arailiu* is not adjectival, and cannot be used as a dative case in this construction to form a comparitive. If *amru* ('marvel') is taken as the dative singular of the *io*-stem substantive following the comparitive *mó,* the line *ba mó arailiu amru* (with its poetic syntax) would read: 'it was greater than another marvel'. The use of the alternate 3s perfect forms *do-rigne* and *do-rigéni* to suit the appropriate metrical requirement should also be noted. Here *salann* might be restored, *saland* being a MIr hypercorrect spelling. The cryptic reference to salt and stone in the stanza has nothing to do with the dropsical nun, but relates to another miracle entirely recorded in F's marginal gloss.[470]

2.20.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Sénais caillig comaillig;	She blessed the dropsical nun;
ba slán cen neim cen galar.	she was whole, without poison, without illness.
Ba mó amru arailiu	It was greater than [any] other marvel.
din chloich do-rigni saland.	from the stone she has made salt.

§21

T	F
Ni ruirmiu ni airmiu	Ni rurimo ni armo
a ndorigenai ind nóebduil	a ndorigenai i*n*d noebduil
bennachais in clarainech	bennachais in clarainech
comdar f*o*rreil a dí suil	comtar f*o*rreil a dí ṡúil

2.21.1. *Metrics*. Line *b* has eight syllables, but elision must be allowed between *do-rigénai* and *ind*. More seriously, we have the reappearance of *deibide* rhyming in a *rannaigecht* setting between *nóebdúil* and *súil*. The plural *forréili* in line *d* has to be

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[470] *.i. i Cuirriuch Liphi do-ronad in firt so .i. fer tanic sech Brigit ⁊saland for a muin, co n-erbairt Brigit ris: 'cid fil fort?' 'clocha,' olse. 'Bid ed,' ol Brigit ro-comallad amlaid.* S(te)tit ille quidem. *Tanic dano iterum sech Brigit,* et ella dixit ei*: 'cid fil fort muin?' 'Saland' olse. 'Bid ed,' ol Brigit ⁊ ro-firaid amlaid.* 'in the Curragh of Liffey this miracle was wrought, to wit, a man came past Brigit, with salt on his back. Brigit said to him: 'What is upon you?' 'Stones,'said he. 'It will be so,' said Brigit. It was fulfilled even so. He stopped indeed. He came again past Brigit, and she said to him:'What is on thy back?' 'Salt,' said he. It will be so,' said Brigit. And it was verified even so' (Fmg). A simplified version of this miracle is recounted in *Vita* I §104 and *Vita* II §10, where Brigit simply produces salt miraculously from a stone.

restored for grammatical reasons, but we can assume further elision between *forréili* and *a*. There is no other ornamentation in this quatrain.

2.21.2. *ni ruirmiu ni airmiu*. The verb *rímid*, 'reckons', can form its negative perfective present in two ways, depending on the stress pattern. With a stressed *ru* T's *ní-ruirmiu* can be formed, but would be deficient metrically. A better reading would be *níru-rímiu* with unstressed *-ru* attached to *ní* (cf. GOI §39), similar to the *rurimo* of F. The second verbal form *-áirmiu* is the 1s present indicative prototonic of *ad-rími*, 'counts'. The *-(i)u* ending for the 1s present indicative is common in *Fél*, beside the ending *-im* in the slightly earlier Wb glosses. McCone (1997, 68) attributes this apparent contradiction to the 'somewhat archaising high poetic genre' of *Fél* compared to the less conservative medium of standard prose in Wb. It is not clear whether or not this hymn is subject to the same high poetic genre.

2.21.3. *bennachais in clarainech/ comdar forreil a dí suil*. The term *clárainech* means literally 'plank-faced', his face apparently being perfectly flat. DIL describes the condition as 'born without nose or eyes visible'. The word *forréil* is derived from the *i*-stem adjective *réil(l)*, 'clear, manifest' (cf. ModIr *léir*), and in line *d* with the intensifier *for* it takes the meaning 'clearly visible'. As it qualifies the dual *dí súil* the plural *forréili* is required. *Vita* I records this miracle describing the afflicted person as *tabulatam faciem habens*. *Vita* II §11 merely states that she opened the eyes of a person born blind. The marginal gloss in F describes a somewhat different incident.[471]

2.21.4. *Th* Text and Translation

niru-rímiu, ni áirmiu	I cannot reckon, I count not
a ndo-rigénai ind nóebdúil;	what the holy creature hath done;
bendachais in clárainech,	she blessed the flat-faced man,
comtar forréili a dí súi.l	so that his [two] eyes became visible.

[471] *I Cluain Chorcaige i nUib Failge do-ronad in firt sa .i. clam tucad co Brigit, co n-erbairt fris in tom luachra ro-bói inna arad do thabairt asind inud irraba, co tuc ass dano, co tanic topur usci assind inud sin corro-broen fo agid corbo (sl)an,* 'In Cluain Corcaige in Offaly this miracle was wrought, to wit, a leper was brought to Brigit. She told him to to take out the clump of rushes that was beside him from the place where it was. So he took it out, and a well of water came from that place. He sprinkled it over his face and was whole' (Fmg).

§22

T	F
Ingen amlabar dobert	INgen amlabar dobert
brigta ba hóen a amra:	brigtæ ba hóen amra
ni luid allaim assa llaim	ni luid aláim asa láim
comtar *for*reil a comlabra.	comtar reil a cco*m*labra.

2.22.1. *Metrics*. There is another metrical difficulty here concerning the *b: d* rhyme *amra: comlabra* (OIr *amrae: comlabrae*) and.we have to assume a *deibide* rhyme in a *rannaigecht* setting. The F text has one syllable short in line *b*, but the possessive pronoun *a* must have been unwittingly omitted. The final line of the T text has eight syllables, but F may have preserved the original, using the adjective *réil* in place of the *forréil* of the previous stanza. The latter form is probably a scribal error, influenced by the proximity of *forreil* in §21. There is alliteration between *ingen* and *amlabar*, *hóen* and *amrae*, *luid, llám* and *lláim.*

2.22.2. *Ingen amlabar dobert/ brigta ba hóen a amra.* The verb *do-bert* does not make sense in the context, and the *Th* editors suggest the passive *do-breth* be read, and translate it as such.[472] This is a radical emendation against the evidence of the mss, but it is supported in the F gloss: *ingen amlabar tucad co Brigit*, 'a dumb girl was brought to Brigit'. On this basis I have replaced *do-bert* with *do-breth* in the *Th* restored text. The spellings *Brigta* and *Brigtæ* in the mss are Middle Irish. Perhaps the genitive *Brigte* is original, as implied in the *Th* translation: 'Brigit's miracle was unique'. Alternatively, one could read the independent dative *Brigti*, 'to Brigit', as the gloss states explicitly. It will be recalled that the same forms *Brigta* and *Brigtæ* occurred in §18, where the accusative *Brigti* was required.

2.22.3. *ni luid a llaim ass a llaim/ comtar forreil a comlabra.* The T and F case-endings are confusing, but it is clear the first *llaim* is that of Brigit, and nominative singular *lám* is required, while the second is that of the girl and the dative *láim* of the mss is appropriate. [473] Both mss mistakenly repeat the 3p form *comtar* of the previous stanza, instead of the singular *combo* which *Th* restores. The word for 'speech' is the

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[472] *Th* II 338, note *i.* An incorrect expansion of the contracted form cannot be blamed as *dobert* is written in clear in both mss.

[473] This incident is described in both *Vitae*. *Vita* I §123 merely mentions that the girl was a *filia muta*, but *Vita* II §12 tells the story of Brigit holding the girl's hand and refusing to let go until the girl had recovered her speech.

iā-stem noun *labrae*, and here it is compounded with *com-* to render 'dialogue, act of conversing'. The story is recounted in the marginal gloss of F: *i Cluain I... do-rigned in firt sa: ingen anlabar tucad co Brigit co-rra-gaib Brigit laim na hingine inna laim, ⁊ ni ro-leic se lam na hingine assa laim corbo follus a herlabra*, 'in Cluain I .... this miracle was wrought. A dumb girl was brought to Brigit. Brigit took the girl's hand in her own, and she let not the girl's hand go out of hers till her speech was plain'.

2.22.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ingen amlabar [*do-breth*].	A dumb girl was brought.
Brigti ba hóen a amra:	Brigit's miracle was unique:
ní luid a llám assa lláim	her hand did not go from [the girl's] hand
combo réil a comlabra.	until her speech was clear.

§23

T	F
Amra tinne senastar	Amra tinne sénastar
ba nert dé rodglinnestar	ba nert dé rodoglinnestar
robói mí lán lasin coin	robói mí lán lán lan scoin
in cú nocon millestar	in cú nicon millestar

2.23.1. *Metrics*. The trisyllabic rhyming in the $7^{3}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$ metre returns here, with perfect rhyming *-glinnestar: millestar*. Note that F has one syllable too many in line *b* and some dittography in *c*. The *rodoglinnestar* of F is Middle Irish.[474] There is a small cross over the final *lan* in F, presumably to indicate deletion is required.

2.23.2. *Amra tinne senastar/ ba nert dé rodglinnestar*. The *Th* editors cite the appearance of the 3s deponent endings of active verbs, *sénastar* (*sénaid*, 'blesses'), *ro-d-glinnestar* (*glinnid*, 'secures'), as well as *millestar* (*millid*, 'mars') in line *d* as signs of lateness, but this has been challenged by Carney who showed such forms appear also in the *Poems of Blathmac*.[475] As a subject relative clause, one might have expected *rod-n-glinnestar*, where the 3s masculine infixed pronoun relates to the *io*-stem *tinne*, 'flitch', but the nasalising *-n-* may have been dropped to avoid appearing between two consonants. In this line the augmented preterite could be read as a pluperfect rather than a narrative preterite.

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[474] cf. McCone 1997, 170, and *Stair na Gaeilge*, III (Breatnach 1994, 266).

[475] See Carney (1983, 138 note 534) who also lists some active endings of deponent verbs.

2.23.3. *robói mí lán lasin coin; in cú nocon millestar*. The F text with the negative particle *nícon* in line *d* provides a better reading. Neither ms provides an object for *millestar* and the word 'it' is supplied. The whole stanza requires context to confirm the accuracy of translation, and this is provided by the gloss on *amra* in Fmg.[476]

2.23.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Amra tinne sénastar;	Marvellous the flitch that she blessed;
ba nert Dé ro-glinnestar;	'twas God's might that (had) secured it;
roboí mí lán lasin coin;	It was a full month with the hound;
in cú nícon millestar.	the hound marred [it] not.

§24

T	F
Ba mo amru arailiu	Ba mo amru arailiu
mír dotlucestar dind lucht	mír dotluchestar don luct
ní coill dath a mmafo*r*ta	ní coill dath a mafarta
brothach focres inna hucht	brothach focres i*n*na huct

2.24.1. *Metrics*. Once again there is an irregular metre, $7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}$, but the rhyme *lucht: hucht* is perfect. Alliteration occurs between *amru* and *(ar)ailiu*.

2.24.2. *Ba mo amru arailiu /mír dotlucestar dind lucht*. It seems incredible that a poet would repeat the first line from §20, particularly in view of its self-contradictory message, i.e. 'it was a greater than any other marvel'. The verbal form *do-tluchethar*, 'asks', usually of an expressed desire or request, forms its 3s preterite form in *do-tluchestar*. As mentioned in §14, the word *lucht* can mean 'contents'. Another interpretation is 'people'.[477] The *Th* editors adopt the former meaning with 'the cauldron's charge', and the *LH* editors the latter with 'kitchen-folk.[478] The glossators

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[476] *.i. tinne saille tucad dísi i n-edbairt, i Cill Finnend i Fine Gall do-rónad so, co narbo cumin lia muintir si a breith leo do Cill dara, co rabai andsin co cend mís ⁊ cú ica comet, sech ni ro-leic do anmanna æle corpud ⁊ ni ro ... amal no cat(h)eth a haith cetna,* 'i.e. a flitch of bacon which was given to her as an offering. In Cell Finnend in Fingal this was wrought. Her people did not remember to bring it with them to Kildare. And it was there till the end of a month, and a dog guarding it. Not only did not not allow any other animal to defile it (but it did not touch it itself) just the same (?) as if it had eaten its fill'.

[477] cf. *nítat apstil huili luct inna œcolsa* (Wb 12b18), 'the church-folk are not all apostles', and *ni luct corint nammá* (Wb 14b6) 'it is not only to the folk of Corinth'.

[478] *LH* II 43.

of T and F are clear as to the meaning of *lucht*: *.i. ro-bói isin chore* 'i.e. which was in the cauldron'. In *Vita* I §106 and *Vita* II §14 Brigit asks the cook for a piece of the meat in the pot to give to a beggar. The usual prepositions employed with the verb *do-tluchethar* to express a request from a person are *co, o, ar, for* and *fri.* Here the preposition *dind* meaning 'of' or 'from' suggests something inanimate, and so 'contents' is the more likely option.

2.24.3. *ní coill dath a mmaforta/ brothach focres inna hucht.* The noun *mafort* is attested only here, and appears to come from the medieval Latin *mavors*, meaning a coif or a veil. *LH* and *Th* translate it as 'scapular'. It is glossed as *copchaille .i. bréit bis dar cend....* 'coif, that is, a strip of cloth which is over a head ..' In the *Vitae* it is Brigit's upturned mantle that is undamaged from the hot meat thrown inadvertently into her lap.[479] The passive preterite *fo-cress*, 'was thrown' is discussed in Section 4. The adjective *brothach* (*.i. te,* 'hot') is derived from *bruth* which has a range of meanings, 'heat, boiling, brewing, etc' and figuratively as 'anger, excitement, valour etc.'. The syntax of line *d* lends itself to different interpretations, but the most likely is a relative clause with the substantive form of *brothach* ('hot') as antecedent and *fo-cress* as verb. This reading is slightly different from that of *Th*, which translates the last line '(though) boiling, it was thrown into her bosom'.

2.24.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ba mó amru arailiu;	It was greater than [any] other marvel;
mír do-tluchestar dind lucht	a bit she asked from the (cauldron's) contents.
ní coill dath a mmaforta	it spoiled not the colour of her scapular,
brothach fo-cress inna hucht.	a hot [piece] which was thrown into her bosom.

§25

T	F
IN clam rogaid ailgais dí	IN clam gade ailges dí
ba maith conidrualaid dó	ba maith *con*idrualaid dó
senais forglu inna loeg	senais forclu na lóeg

[479] The marginal gloss in F, although illegible in parts, treats the story quite succinctly: *dune trúag ro-cunnig mír for Brigit do(n) b(iad) roboi isin chore, ⁊ nirbo bruthe in biad and etir, co ro-chuinnig sé for (a) lucht .... (t)ria feirc erchor don mir frisin dune, co tarla i n-ucht Brigte, ⁊ ni ro-choill a etach sen*, 'A poor fellow asked of Brigit a bit of the food that was in the cauldron; and the food in it was not at all cooked; so he asked of her folk {for a portion. One of them} in anger cast a bit at the man, and it fell into Brigit's bosom, and it spoiled not her dress'.

carais forgglu inna mbo carais forclu na mbo

2.25.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts to *rannaigecht mór*, $7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$,with rhyme *dó: mbó*. Line *c* in F is one syllable short, and the long article, *inna*, is adopted from T. There is no other metrical ornamentation in this stanza although, stylistically, the poet achieves in lines *c* and *d* an interesting parallelism, reminiscent of the early accented verse.
2.25.2. *In clam rogade ailgis dí*. The treatment of the verb *guidid* is quite revealing here. The T text shows the narrative augmented preterite *ro-gáid* while F preserves the classical OIr 3s special relative preterite, *gáde*. The latter form is attested only here, and unlikely therefore to have been commonplace in the MIr period, hence T's 'modernisation'. The appearance of this rare form is a pointer towards an early date for this stanza at least. According to DIL, the length mark on the *-a-* of the *ā*-stem noun *ailges* occurs only in later literature, and not in early examples. The word in its legal sense means a 'demand, request', usually made by a poet, but here it a general request (described in DIL as 'importunate').
2.25.3. *ba maith conidrualaid dó*. There are difficulties concerning the meaning of the verbal form *conid-rúalaid*. *Th* leaves it untranslated, and *LH* (II 43) interprets it as 'that befell him'. However, Stokes' Supplement (*Th* II, 506) notes that Strachan in Ériu 1, 203*n* reads the stem doubtfully as *-rúalae*, and translates it as 'that she ordered it'. It will be recalled that the verb *con-rúalae* appears in §7 of this hymn, and in §33 of the hymn *Génair Pátraicc*, where in both cases the 3s preterite form *con-húala(i)* was translated: 'ascended'. This translation would hardly fit the context of this stanza, and in any case emendation to *conid-rúalae* would be against the evidence of the mss. The relevant glosses are: *co ro-ernestar* (*co ro-ernastar* F) 'so that she gave', but these look like guesses. There is, however, one verb, *in-otat* ('enters into, happens upon'), which has 3s perfect forms *in-rúalaid* and *ad-rúalaid*. The form *conid-rúalaid* points to an unattested verb *con-otat* (**com-oss-tég-*?) with possible meaning 'goes together, arranges'. On that basis we may regard *con-id-rúalaid* as a *hapax legomenon*, and translate the line as ''twas well that she had arranged it for him'. The sense of the whole stanza would be obscure without the MIr commentary and a knowledge of the two *Vitae*.[480]

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[480] The marginal gloss in F reads: *combad clam Patraic tanic co B(rigit) (do chuinchid) bo, ⁊ ni ragaib* acht *in bo ba ferr i n-inis Brigte do (⁊) in loeg b(a fer)r .. ⁊ combad (e a?) loeg fen co ro-bennach Brigit in loeg rob ferr isin buale co ro-char in bo é ⁊ ... don chlam iarsin*, 'it may have been Patrick's leper who came to Brigit to ask for a cow, and he took none but the best cow in Brigit's milking yard, and

2.25.4. *Th* Text and Translation

In clam gáde ailgis dí,	The leper who begged a boon of her,
-ba maith con-id-rúalaid dó;	-'twas well that she had arranged it for him;
sénais forglu inna lóeg;	the choice of the calves she blessed;
carais forglu inna mbó.	the choice of the cows loved [it].

§26

T	F
Reraig iarum a carpat	Reraig iarum a charpat
fotuaith do bri cobthaig coil	fothuaid do bríg cobthaig coil
in loeg lia clam i carput	a llóeg lia clam i carput
in bó i ndiaid ind loig	in bó indiad a lloég

2.26.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts to the loose form of *rannaigecht,* $7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$, with rhyme *Cóil: lóig*. For metrical reasons the word *diaid* must be disyllabic; according to DIL it still was in the ninth century, but monosyllabic in the latter half of the tenth. Alliteration occurs between *Cobthaig* and *Cóil*, *clam* and *carput*.

2.26.2. *Reraig iarum a carpat/ fothuaith do bri cobthaig coil*. The verb *reraig* is the reduplicated 3s preterite of *rigid*, which has a number of meanings, principally 'stretches, directs, rules, binds'. Here the second of these meanings is the appropriate one, since the object of the verb is a chariot. In later texts the augmented form generally replaced the narrative preterite but, according to DIL, it seems this 3s preterite continued long in use in poetic style.[481] The glossator of T identifies *Brí Cobthaig Cóil* as a place in Brega.[482] F's glossator is more specific: *bo rí Breg Cobtach Coel, Natfraich dano is é ropo imthusid in charpait* tunc, 'Breg Coel was king of Brega; as to Natfraich, moreover, he was then the driver of the chariot'.

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the best calf, ... So Brigit blessed the best calf in the byre, and the cow loved it; and {she gave it} to the leper after that'. The incident is recounted in *Vita* I §51 and *Vita* II §15. In the latter version the leper is described as an unpleasant one who demanded the best cow and calf. The F glossator suggests the leper may have been the one associated with Saint Patrick; *Th* II 506 cites *Trip* 556 and the note to *Fél* Sep 9.

[481] See DIL, R 68, 11-12.

[482] Only the short form of the dative singular of the guttural stem *brí* is listed in GOI §319.3, although we might expect *brig* as well. This form appears in *Ériu* 12, 160 §26 *a mBrig Leith* '*in Brí Léith*'.

2.26.3. *in loeg lia clam i carput/ in bó i ndiaid ind loig*. There is a stylish rhythm to the final lines of the stanza, but the meaning is obscure without reference to the context. This stanza is a continuation of the story started in §25. Having presented the leper with the cow and calf, Brigit provides her own chariot to convey them home. The marginal gloss in F is too fragmentary to provide a reliable translation, and we have to rely on the *Vitae*.[483]

2.26.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Reraig íarum a carpat	She then directed her chariot
fo thúaith do Brí Chobthaig Cóil;	northwards to Brí Cobthaig Cóil,
in lóeg lia clam i carput;	the calf with her leper in a chariot:
in bó i ndiaid ind lóig.	the cow after the calf.

§27

T	F
In daim dodaascansat	IN daim dodaascensat
fó leó rodascload nech	fo leo rodoscload nech
friu conuccaib ind oub	friu conucaib ind ob
matain tancatar a tech	matan tancatar a tech

2.27.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts once more to the loose *rannaigecht*, $7^3 7^1 7^1 7^1$, with rhyme *nech: tech.* There is alliteration between *-uccaib* and *oub*, *tancatar* and *tech*. In lines *b* and *c friu* and *-cload* are disyllabic.

4.27.2. *In daim dodaascansat*. Here *daim* means 'oxen', but the singular article *in* is employed, possibly because the noun begins with a *d*. The verbal form *do-da-ascansat* appeared in §16, where it was identified as the 3p preterite of *do-ascnai* and translated 'who came to her'. The verb *do-ascnai* can also mean 'strives toward' or 'approaches'. *LH* offers a somewhat contrived translation: 'The oxen (when thieves) visited them'. *Th* interprets it, albeit with a question mark, as 'which parted from her', but there is nothing in the verb to justify that interpretation. T's glossator makes it clear that the oxen were stolen. On balance, the preferred interpretation is: 'The oxen who came (back) to her', a solution which will become obvious when the story of the

[483] *Vita* II §15 does not mention the place of origin of the leper, except to say that he lived a long distance away. *Vita* I §51 gives more information, saying the leper's house was two day's distant . Despite the long journey, Brigit's charioteer was back in Cell Dara almost in a moment of time. This fresh miracle, which the hymn's composer fails to include, suggests his lack of familiarity with *Vita* I.

stolen oxen and their miraculous return is reviewed in the gloss on *daim*.[484] This is an abridged version of the story in *Vita* I §45. The same tale, with some variations, is treated also in *Vita* II §16. The relative construction is a little unnatural here. In later texts the class C infixed pronoun can sometimes replace the class A. Perhaps the line should be simply, 'the oxen came back to her'.

2.27.3. *fó leó rodascload nech.* The verbal form *ro-das-cload* has caused problems in translation. It is glossed *ros-cloised*. Strachan in note *h* suggests that *ro-das-cload* could be translated as 'should have heard them', obviously reading *ro-nda-cload* as the 3s past subjunctive of *ro-cluinethar*. Atkinson (*LH* II, 43) offers a similar translation, 'that anyone should hear them'. Stokes, however, translates the line as: 'it seemed good to them that someone turned them back'. This reading takes *ro-das-cload* as the augmented past subjunctive of the verb *cloïd*, 'turns back'. The presence of the class C infixed pronoun suggests a relative construction, but in this case the classical OIr form in would be *ro-nda-cload*. The intrusive *-s* of the infixed pronoun is Middle Irish, and it should be dropped in any future edition.

2.27.4. *friu con-uccaib ind oub; matain táncatar a tech.* It will be recalled that the verb *con-ocaib* appeared in Fíacc's Hymn §33 in the 3p preterite form *con-n-ucabsat*. The verb *con-ócaib*, ('lifts, raises'), is originally transitive, but it can be used reflexively with an infixed pronoun to express the meaning 'rises'. Here, as in the example from Fíacc's Hymn, the absence of an infixed pronoun consigns the date of this verbal form to mid-ninth century or later. The 3s preterite form *con-ocaib* is Middle Irish (OIr *con-ocab*), but could be read here as a historical present. Note the use of the independent dative *matain* (GOI §251.3), and the contracted deuterotonic *táncatar*.

2.27.5. Th Text and Translation

In daim do-da-ascansat;	The oxen came (back) to her;
fó léo ro-das-cload nech	it seemed good to them that someone should

[484] *.i. cara tánic co Brigit carad ... Mór a Cuirriuch Liphe, duthracht lais di coro-n-asta Brigit occai inn aidche sein, co tallad a hesrech (leg. sesrech) dia es ⁊ co rucad co habaind Liphe, ⁊ co n-eracht friu ind aband co tartsatar na meirligh a n-étaige for adarca na ndam oc tec[ht] dóib tairse. Tecait in daim uadib for culu dia tig ⁊ tiagait dano do Cill dara co Brigit ⁊ etaige na merlech leo co Brigit,* 'a friend came to Brigit ... Mór in the Curragh of the Liffey, and he desired of her that Brigit should be pledged (to stay) the night with him. In her absence her team was stolen and was brought to the river Liffey. The river rose against them, and the robbers put their clothes on the horns of the oxen as they crossed it. The oxen went back to their home, and they came to Kildare to Brigit, and the robbers' clothes with them' (Fmg).

	turn them back-
friu con-uccaib ind oub;	the river rose against them;
matain táncatar a tech.	in the morning they came home.

§28

T	F
Scarais a hech cenn abréit	Scarais a hech cend abrét
intan dorertatar fo fán.	intan dorethetar fon fán.
ni bu leithísel in mám	ni bu lethisel i*n* mám
m*acc* dé roreraig in ríglaim.	m*acc* de f*or*oraid rigláim

2.28.1. *Metrics*. The *Th* editors seem to have misread the verb in line *d* of the T ms as *reraig,* but I clearly saw *roreraig*. There are difficulties here with the metre as it stands. First, line *b* in both mss, and line *d* in T each have eight syllables. Second, *ríglaim* will not rhyme with *fán,* on two grounds. Not only is the compound *rígláim* clearly disyllabic, but the second element has a palatal ending. Stokes suggests that lines *c* and *d* could be transposed, without loss of meaning, thereby ensuring perfect rhyme between *fán* and *mám*.[485] One would have to assume that, if true, it such a transposition would have occurred in the exemplar. In the same note in *Th* II Strachan suggests instead a slight emendation of the line in F to read: *maicc Dé fo-roraid ríglám*, 'the royal hand of God's Son helped'. This would permit *b: d* rhyme *fán: ríglám*, similar to the anomalous rhyming already encountered in this hymn. However, the emendation to *maicc* is against the evidence of both mss, which show *m*$^{\text{-}}$*c* without *i*. Alternatively, one could assume a *deibide* rhyme *mám: ríglám*, but this approach would be weakened by the absence of a corresponding rhyme between *abréit* and *fán*. The extra syllable in line *c* can be resolved by Stokes' suggestion of a syncopated version of the 3p perfect, *dorérttar* (but better is *do-ráttar* mentioned below). With these emendations the metre becomes a loose form of *rannaigecht*, $7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}$, with *b: d deibide* rhyme *fán: ríglám* together with additional rhyme with *mám*.

2.28.2. *Scarais a hech cenn abréit / intan dorertatar fo fán.* DIL comments that the noun *bréit* (earlier form *brét*?) has both masculine and feminine gender, and means 'strap, band, piece of cloth'. In this particular context *cenn a bréit* seems to refer to

[485] *Th* II 341 note *b*.

'the top of its harness'. This reading is supported by the glossators.[486] *Th* II only partially translates the line, i.e. 'her horse severed …', but one would expect the preposition *fri* to follow. A possible solution is: 'Her horse separated [its] head out of [the] harness'. The verbal form *dorertatar* (*dorethetar* F) is problematic metrically. It is glossed *ro-reithsetar* (*ro-reitsetar* F), 'they ran'. As it is clearly a compound of *reithid*, one solution might be to opt for the 3p preterite without augmentation, *ráthatar*, but this would be too drastic an emendation of the text. A syncopated 3p perfect form *do-rérttar* may have evolved, as suggested by Stokes, or perhaps better the less contrived preterite *do-ráttar*, although no attestation for either has been found. This verbal form is discussed in 4.4.13 (Section 4). For line *a*, I have inserted 'Her horse separated [its] head out of [the] harness'.

2.28.3. *ni bu leithísel in mám/ macc dé roreraig ríglaim.* The marginal gloss in F is too fragmentary for a coherent translation, but these lines seem to refer to an incident recorded in the *Vitae*.[487] Assuming the augmentation *ro-* in *ro-reraig* in T is a scribal error, there is a choice between the 3s preterite *reraig* ('stretched') in T and perfect *fo-ro-raid* ('helped') in F.[488] The verb *reraig* would be appropriate with *macc Dé* as the subject and *rígláim* its object, i.e. 'God's Son stretched forth a royal hand'. T's gloss identifies *ríglám*, *.i. lám ríg Laigen*, 'the king of Leinster's hand'. However, since the nominative *ríglám* is needed for rhyme, *fo-roraid* might provide a better reading, albeit with an emended *maicc*.

2.28.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Scarais a h-ech cenn a bréit	Her horse separated [its] head out of [the] harness
in tan do-ráttar fo fán.	when they ran down a slope.
Ní bu leithísel in mám	The yoke was not down on one side.
Macc Dé fo-roraid ríglám.	God's Son stretched forth [the] royal hand.

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[486] *.i. fobreit bís fo bragait ind eich* 'i.e. the *fobréit*, understrap, which is under the horse's neck'. Strachan considers the reading and interpretation of *cenn a bréit* as doubtful. In *Th* II 341 note *a* he says *a bréit* is explained by *forbréit,* apparently something running under the neck of the horse to keep the yoke in its place. He suggests *cennforbréit* should be read as a compound word giving: 'her horse parted the *cennforbréit'*.

[487] In *Vita* I §50, one of the two horses disengaged from the yoke, walked unharnessed behind Brigit's chariot, and eventually of its own accord replaced its neck under the yoke. In *Vita* II §17, one horse broke loose and escaped, but God kept the yoke suspended without letting it fall, and the chariot was unaffected.

[488] T's gloss on *reraig* is *ro-foirestar*, 'helped', while F's *fo-rorad* is glossed: *ro-fúrsetar l ro-fortac*[t]*setar*, 'they helped or assisted'.

§29

T	F
Tathich torc allaid a trét	Tathig torc allaid a trét
fo thuaith dosephain a nos	fo thuaid dosefain a nos
senais brigit fria bachaill	sénais brig*it* lia bachaill
lia mucca gabais foss	lia mucca gabais fos

2.29.1. *Metrics*. The metre is $7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$, with perfect rhyme, *n-os(s): fos(s).* There is alliteration between *tathich* and *torc*, *Brigit* and *bachaill*. The word *fria* (*lia* F) in line *c* is monosyllabic, but *lia* in line *d* is disyllabic. Meyer in his Primer of Irish Metrics lists a number of words which were monosyllabic in later language, but disyllabic in OIr and early MIr. These include *friä* ('toward his') and *liä* ('with her').[489] A poet from a later period could choose either to suit the metre.

2.29.2. *Tathig torc allaid a trét/ fo thuaith dosephain a nos*. The verb *do-aithigi* in its transitive sense means 'frequents, haunts', and the 3s preterite with contracted deuterotonic is *tathig* in F. The DIL editors tentatively suggest *taithigid* is the original form, though Vendr Lex D-118 regards the simple verb as a later form. This verb is discussed in 4.4.9 (Section 4). The verb *do-sephain* (< *-sesw*, where lenited *-sw-* becomes *-f-*) is the 3s reduplicated preterite of *do-seinn*, 'drives'. The relevant MIr gloss is *ro-thoibnestar*. Of particular interest is the early neuter gender of the noun *oss* in line *b*, and the *Th* editors in 341, note *n* comment that they have no other instance of this gender .The noun *os(s)* is a general term for a bovine animal of any kind, but here is glossed *in mucc allaid*, 'the wild pig'.

2.29.3. *lia mucca gabais foss.* The word *foss* appears in §2 of the hymn *Sén Dé*: *eter foss nó utmailli*,'whether in rest or in motion'. It also has a figurative meaning as a 'halting place' or 'home'. The context of this stanza is presented in a marginal gloss in the F ms.[490]

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[489] Meyer 1909, 11-12. Meyer may well be using this stanza as reference for disyllabic *lia.*

[490] *.i. torc allaid robói i n-alaile caillid fri Cill dara atúaid, conna léced mucca aile cucai, ⁊ ro-sén Brigit cona bachaill in caille ic Ros na Ferta i Cill dara fri cloctech atuaith corbo chunnamain friu iarsein. robo e robo tosech doib dogrés*, 'a wild boar which was in a certain wood north of Kildare, and it used not to allow other pigs to approach it. Brigit with her staff blessed the wood at Ross na Ferta ('wood of the miracle') in Kildare, north of the bell-tower, so that after that it was at peace with them; it was their leader always' (Fmg). In both *Vita* I §107 and *Vita* I I§18 the wild boar was frightened and ran headlong into Brigit's herd of swine. She blessed it and it stayed there, tamed.

2.29.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Tathich torc allaid a trét:	A wild boar haunted her herd:
fo thúaith do-sephain a n-oss;	northward the beast drove it:
sénais Brígit lia bachaill;	Brigit blessed [him] with her crozier;
lia mucca gabais foss.	with her swine he took up his abode.

§30

T	F
Mugart mucc meth di dobreth	Mugart mucc meth di dobreth
dar mag fea ba amra	dar mag fea ba a*m*ra
tafnetar coin alta dí	taifnetar coin alta dí
combái i nuachtur gabra	comboi i nuactur gabra

2.30.1. *Metrics*. The metre here is another loose form of *rannaigecht,* i.e. $7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme, *amra: gabra.* The placename *Úachtur Gabra* guarantees rhyme with *amra* rather than the earlier *amrae*, unless *Gabra* is from the *i*-stem genitive plural *gabrae*. There is alliteration in line *a* only, between *mugart mucc* and *meth.*
2.30.2. *Mugart mucc meth dí do-breth/ dar mag fea ba amra. LH* and *Th* take *Mugart* as the proper name of a pig, influenced no doubt by the glossators: *mugart .i. mucc ard ł mucc meth*, 'i.e. a high pig, or a fat pig'. The bare bones of the story are recounted in F's fragmentary marginal gloss.[491] The gift of 'fat pigs' is recorded in *Vita* I §126 and *Vita* II §19, without mention of a name *Mugart*. The idea of a proper name fails to convince Carney, who suggests plausibly that *mugart* (i.e. < *mucc-gart*) 'a gift of pigs'.[492] DIL glosses *mugart* as a 'hog'. As an alternative, DIL offers

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[491] *.i. muc meth do-bered ri Fotharta Tire, tir sen i ndesciurt Ua Censelaig, cecha bliadna do Brigit i n-edbairt. Tict o rig Ua Censelaig dia chuinchid .... he do Brigit. Asbert immorro ri Fotharta nach-is tibred do ⁊ nach-is tibred do Brigit dar a saragud som acht nos-lecfed Dia ... di dar Mag Fea co Uachtar Gabra .i. co hait i mboi Brigit*, 'a fat pig used to be given by the king of Fotharta Tire, a land in the south of the Huí Censelaig, every year to Brigit as an offering. Messengers came from the king of Uí Censelaig to ask it .... However, the king of Fotharta said that he would not give it to him, nor would he give it to Brigit in his despite; but he would let it go forth, and wherever God should send it ..... over Mag Fea to Uachtar Gabra, to the place where Brigit was'.

[492] Carney (1983, 193) cites *Vita* II which refers to a gift (*munus*) of fat pigs: cum aliquis inter caeteros offerentes ei munera ... offeret sues pingues. Carney suggests that *mugart* refers to *munus*, the second element being *gart*, 'hospitality, generosity', etc. Alternatively, he suggests *gart* be read as a form of *gort*, 'field', the compound *mugart* being the equivalent of *trét*, a herd of swine.

Carney's first suggestion, reading *mugart mucc meth* as an endowment or maintenance of fat pigs.

2.30.3. *tafnetar coin alta dí/ combái i nuachtar gabra.* In contrast with the 3s preterite *do-sephainn* of the previous stanza, is noteworthy that the prototonic form of the 3p preterite, *tafnetar* (*taifnetar* F) of *do-seinn* appears here. Carney, in the same reference as above, reads this line as a form of Bergin's Law, an interpretation confirmed by Binchy.[493] In an article on Bergin's Law Binchy deals with this particular passage, but refutes any suggestion that this stylistic feature betokens an early date of composition. In fact he dates the hymn to the late ninth century. Line *c* lacks an object and accordingly 'them' should be silently inserted in any future edition, while in line *d* the subject *mugart* takes the 3s preterite *boí*, and 'they' is likewise inserted. The place-name Mag Fea in line *b* occurs in *Vita* II only, but it makes no mention of Úachtar Gabra, which appears in *Vita* I. The latter place-name is identified by the glossators as *telach mór sein fil i nMaig Lagen*, 'a great hill in the plain of Leinster'. This placename is discussed in 4.1.1 in Section 4. Here the *Th* translation is used.

2.30.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Mugart mucc meth dí do-breth;	*Mugart* a fat pig was given to her;
dar Mag Fea -ba amra-	over Mag Fea - 'twas a marvel -
tafnetar coin alta dí,	wolves hunted [it] for her,
co mboí i n-Úachtur Gabra.	until it was in Uachtar Gabra.

§31

T	F
Asrir in sinnach nallaid	Asrir in sinnach nallaid
doráith a aithig in truaig	doráith a athig in truaig
dochum feda conselai	dochu*m* fedai conselai
ce dosefnatar int luaig	ce dosepnatar i*n*tlúaig

2.31.1. *Metrics.* Once again there is an irregular metre, $7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$, but the rhyme is perfect: *trúaig: (s)lúaig.* There is no other ornamentation.

2.31.2. *Asrir in sinnach nallaid/ doráith a aithig in truaig.* The verb *as-ren* in its legal context usually describes payment of compensation or a fine. In this particular case a

[493] Binchy 1979-80, 46.

wild fox is paid by Brigit as surety (*ráth*) on behalf of her client (*aithech*). In *Vita* I the client is described as *rusticus*, and here as *in truaig*, 'the wretched one'. The use of the possessive pronoun in *a aithig* implies that in the hymn version he was probably a monastic client (*manach*) of hers. The 3s preterite *as-rír* is glossed *ro-eirnestar* (*ro-ernestar* F). The story behind this bald statement is fleshed out a little in the fragmentary gloss of F.[494] Both *Vita* I §125 and *Vita* II §20 describe the incident in considerable detail.

2.31.3. *dochum feda conselai/ ce dosefnatar int luaig*. The verbal form *con-selae* is the OIr 3s preterite of *con-slá*, 'goes away' (GOI § 420), and is glossed *ro-elai ł rosír*, 'escaped or searched'. The expression *int luaig* in the mss is a phonetic rendering of *int ṡlúaig*, the *punctum delens* being restored here on historical grounds. The prototonic form of the 3p preterite of *do seinn* appeared in the previous stanza, and here the deuterotonic *do-sefnatar* is employed, glossed by T's *ro-tóipniset* (based on a later simple verb) and F's *ro-taifnetar*.

2.31.4. *Th* Text and Translation

As-rir in sinnach n-allaid	She gave the wild fox
do ráith a aithig, in trúaig;	for her vassal, the wretched one;
dochum feda con-sela,	it went to the wood,
cé do-sefnatar int ṡlúaig.	though the hosts [of hounds] chased [it].

§32

T	F
Ba menn inna himthechtaib	Ba menn inna himthechtaib
ba óenmathair m*aic*c ríg máir	ba hóenmathair m*aic*c ríg m*air*
senais inn en luamnech	sénais inn en luamnach

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[494] *Asrir* .i. *... (romarb) sinnach na banrigna ic Mastin i nOib Muredaig, co truiallaid a marbad ind Is and do-rala Brigit ic Mastin intan sen,* co n-*erbairt Brigit iter mac ... robad ferr ... marbad nogebtha ar scath* [leg. ara scáth] *acht co ndernad in clesamacht donid in sinnach aile. Senais ia*rum *Bri*git *in caille, ⁊ benais boscrand co tanic sinnach na clesamacht cetna esti, ⁊ do-rat Brigit ... dar cend in truaig. O roleced ass t*ra *in fer dochuaid isin caill in sinnach ⁊ ni choemastea ní dó cia nobetis coin Lagen ule inna diaid,* '(a man killed) a fox belonging to the queen at Maistiu in Húi Muredaig, and it was sought to put him to death for it. Brigit chanced to be at Maistiu at that time. Brigit said ..... would be taken in its place provided it could do the tricks which the other fox used to do. Then Brigit blessed the wood, and struck a clapper, and a fox with the same tricks came out of it, and Brigit gave it for the wretch. So, when the man was let off, the fox went into the wood; and nothing could have been done to it though all the hounds of Leinster had been after it' (F).

conidnimbert inna laim. conidnimmert inna laim.

2.32.1. *Metrics*. There is a metrical problem in line *c*, which has one syllable short. To rectify the situation the emphasizing particle *-si* has been inserted to make up the shortfall, as discussed below. The restored metre is irregular, $7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$, but the rhyme is perfect: *máir: láim*.

2.32.2. *Ba menn inna himthechtaib/ ba óenmáthair maicc ríg máir*. Line *a* was met earlier in §8 where it was translated as: 'it was clear in [all] her goings'. DIL comments that the adjective *menn* is of dubious meaning, but goes along with the gloss in both stanzas: *ba follus*, 'it was clear'. This seems to be the meaning in Wb 9c34: *bid menn and doib*, 'it will be clear to them then'. The use of *óen-* in compounds with nouns often implies the sense 'only'. On that basis the belief in early Ireland that Brigit was the mother of Christ seems to be advanced considerably here by the suggestion that she was the sole mother. The associated bilingual gloss in T retreats a little from this viewpoint with: *ba hoen de matribus Christi Brigit*, 'Brigit was one of the mothers of Christ.'[495] However, the prefix *óen-* in a compound also carries the meaning 'without equal, peerless', and perhaps the epithet refers to Brigit as a person, rather than making a statement on her motherhood. The adjective *már* is common in early texts, and is the usual form in Sg, although *mór* is preferred in Wb.

2.32.3. *senais inn en luamnech/ conidnimbert inna laim.* The *Th* editors suggest *sénais sí* to make up the syllable count, but the use of independent stressed pronouns such as *sí* is restricted in Old Irish to predicates of the copula, interrogatives etc. Here it might be better to suffix the emphasising pronoun, *-si*. The mss seem to offer a choice of *lúa(i)mnech or lúamnach,* 'fluttering'. As a development from *lúamain*, one might expect the palatal *lúaimnech* through syncope, though *Th* offers *lúamnach*. The verbal form *conid-n-imbert* (from *imm-beir*) can be interpreted as 'so that she carried it around', rather than the *Th* translation. To understand the laconic statements in the hymn we need to turn to the marginal gloss in F.[496] The incident of the bird in the hand

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[495] It will be recalled that in the hymn *Brigit bé* §3 she is described as: *in chroíb co mbláthib, in máthir Ísu*, 'the branch with flowers, the mother of Jesus'.

[496] *Rond argait tuc alaile dune i n-edbairt do Brigit; co tarait si dona hingenaib becaib batar immalle fria, ar ba holc leo-som cen ni do tabair[t] doib. co tanic alaile clam cuci-si do chuindcid neich furre, co tarait si in rond do cen fis dona hingenaib, ⁊ ro-chisetar intan fetetar. Co n-erbairt si friu: 'cia lóg conatchide do tabairt dúib dar cend?' 'Robo maith lind,' ar seat, int én bec ut do bith ocund, ar is alaind hé. Bennachais Brigit in n-en, corbo cennais as cech laim di alailiu. Conid Tír ind eoin o sen*

is recounted in *Vita* I §124 and *Vita* II §21, but in their versions the birds were were flying ducks, and Brigit merely fondled them with her hand. Clearly, the story in the gloss comes from a different tradition.

2.32.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ba menn inna himthechtaib	It was clear in [all] her doings that she alone
ba óenmáthair Maicc Ríg mái;	was the unique mother of the Great King's Son:
sénais-si in n-én lúaimnech,	she blessed the fluttering bird,
conid-n-imbert inna láim.	and brought it into her hand.

§33

T	F
Nónbur díbercach senais	Nonbur dibercach sénais
dercsait a minna a llind chró	amcsat a *m*inda a llind chro
in fer f*or*dacorsatar	in fer fordagoirsetar
góeta ni frith collann dó	goita ni fr*i*th coland do

2.33.1. *Metrics*. An irregular metre, $7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}$, returns with perfect rhyme *chró: dó.* There is no other ornamentation. There appears to be one syllable too many in line *b*, but this can be rectified by allowing elision between *minda* and *a*.

2.33.2. *Nónbur díbercach senais*. The adjective *díbercach* means 'given to plunder', its substantive being usually rendered as 'robber' or 'bandit'. F's glossator identifies the nine bandits: *d' Uib Loscain doib*, ut ferunt, 'they were of the Ui Loscain, as they say'. The marginal gloss in F explains that nine brothers from Leinster sought revenge against a man who had killed their father.[497] The first sentence of the gloss is

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immach nomen regionis *i forcoemnacair in firt sa,* 'A silver chain a certain man gave as an offering to Brigit, and she bestowed it on the little girls with her, for they were displeased that nothing should be given to them. A certain leper came to her to beg something of her, and she gave him the chain unknown to the girls, who wept when they knew. She said to them: 'What equivalent would you seek for it?' 'We should be pleased,' said they, 'to have yonder bird, for it is beautiful.' Brigit blessed the bird, and it became tame from hand to hand. And so the name of the place in which that miracle took place is 'The Land of the Bird' from that time forth'.

[497] *Nónbur derbrathar do Laignib diarb áil dul do a....l i lLeith Cuind, ar is e* [*a n-athair*] *ro-marb he co tancatar co Brigit de sénad a n-airm. Is and dos-ralai sede* tunc *ic Ros na ferta i Cill dara. Ro-bennach dano Brigit doib a n-armu. Do-chotar fa thuaith tra iar sénad a n-arm co tarla doib in fer ro-marb a n-athair. Co ro-marbsat he, andar leo-som, ⁊ ni tucsat immorro banne fola, comtar budig som de sen terna immorro in fer* per gratiam *Brigte*, 'Nine brothers of Leinster, who wished to go … in

confusing. Carey (1988, 175) proposes a conjectural emendation based on context. He takes the phrase *ar is eat romarb he*, 'for it is they who had killed him' to be a corrupt abridgement of: *ar is é a n-athair romarb-side,* 'for it is their father he had killed.' There are subtle differences in the accounts recorded in the hymn and *Vita* I §64-5 and *Vita* II §22. The hymn states there are nine men, and that Brigit blessed them. *Vita* II also mentions the number nine, but omits the blessing. *Vita* I is vague about the number, just *quidam uiri otiosi*, 'certain shiftless men', but tells of Brigit's blessing.

2.33.3. *dercsait a minna a llind chró*. The noun *mind* is defined in DIL as a distinguishing badge or emblem. *Th* renders *minda* as 'arms', probably influenced by the the F glossator's *a ggau*, 'their spears'. The F text preserves both earlier forms *minda* and *lind*, before assimilation to *-nn-* began in the Ml Glosses (GOI §151c). A more likely interpretation of *mind* is 'circlet'.[498] The sense one gets from T's *dercsait* (3s preterite of *dergaid*) is a reddening of the circlets of the bandits. Sharpe points out that this is an allusion to an apparently pagan practice, attested in various saints' lives. He comments that outlaws swore to perform specific acts of violence, and wore some kind of ritual headgear until their oaths were discharged. The word *díberg* has the meaning of ritualised brigandage in Old Irish, involving a *uotum mali* ('vow of evil') and the wearing on their heads of *signa diabolica*. The *signa diabolica* were apparently worn to indicate that they were bound by their vow and the *signa* might not be removed until it was fulfilled. After Brigit blesses their circlets, the man they believe they have killed, miraculously emerges unscathed. The idea that they should seek the saint's blessing is unparalleled. It is noted that F has the verbal form *amcsat* rather than *dercsait* but this may be a scribal error.

2.33.4. *in fer fordacorsatar/ góeta ni frith collann dó*. The verbal form *for-corsatar* (glossed *.i. for-ro-chuirsetar* T) is the 3p preterite of *for-cuirethar*, which has several meanings, from 'casts upon' to 'overpowers' and 'lays hand upon'. *Th* takes *-da-* to be a 3p class C infixed pronoun denoting a relative construction, with *fer* as antecedent, to give: 'the man on whom they threw them', where the objects refer to *a minna* which *Th* translates 'their arms'. However, with *minna* translated as 'circlets', the *Th* interpretation would be unfeasible. A better reading may be to treat *for-da-corsatar* reflexively, as suggested in DIL, with meaning: 'the man on whom they

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Conn's Half, for [it was their father he had killed]. They came to Brigit that she might bless their arms. At that time she chanced to be at Ross na Ferta in Kildare. Brigit then blessed their arms. So they went northwards after their arms had been blessed. The man fell in their way who had slain their father. They thought that they had slain him, yet they had not brought a drop of blood from him. They were thankful therefore. Howbeit, the man escaped through Brigit's grace (Fmg).

[498] Sharpe 1979, 82-5.

threw themselves'. The classical OIr preterite passive is *goít(a)e* which renders 'was killed'. This statement is immediately contradicted by *ní frith coll and dó*, 'no hurt was found to him therein'. As noted in F's marginal gloss, the bandits thought they had slain the man, but Brigit's grace had in fact saved him. T's gloss has an alternative ending: *úar ní for firduine ro-laset a ṅgona acht is for corth(e) cloche*, 'for they had inflicted their wounds not on a real man but a stone pillar'. The verb *gonaid* can mean 'wounds' or 'kills', and the T gloss opts for the former: .i. *gona ł ro-gonad*, 'wounds or was wounded'. In *Vita* I the bandits had several enemies whom they killed and beheaded, thereby fulfilling their solemn vow, but there was no sign of the bloodshed the next day. *Vita* II recounts a similar story, but the single victim is apparently only an apparition. Because of the various corrections to the *Th* translation, an emended version is offered here.

2.33.5. *Th* Text and Translation (modified)

Nónbur díbercach sénais;	She blessed nine bandits;
dergsait a minda a llind chró.	they reddened their circlets from a pool of blood.
In fer for-da-corsatar;	The man on whom they threw themselves was killed;
goíta ní fríth coll and dó.	(in reality) no injury was found to him therein.

§34

T	F
A ndorigne do fertaib	A ndorigne do ḟertaib
ní fail dorurme co cert	ní fail doruirme co cert.
amra rogab prainn lugdach	amra rogab p*ra*ind lugdach
trenḟer ni dígaib a nert	trenḟer na digaib a nert.

2.34.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts once more to the loose form of *rannaigecht* seen in §26, i.e. $7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$ with rhyme *cert: nert.* There is no other metrical ornamentation.

2.34.2. *A ndo-rigni do ḟertaib*. This particular clause seems to be a favourite of the poet since it (or versions of it) occurs several times in the hymn: *A ndo-rigénai in rí* (§12), *a ndo-rigénai ind nóebdúil* (§21), *a ndo-rigni do fertaib* (§41). The choice between perfect stems *-rigni* and *-rigénai* seems to be dictated by metrical needs. The classical OIr 3s perfect *do-rigni* could be restored in a future edition. The *punctum delens* on *fertaib* is probably original, since the language elsewhere in the stanza is late.

2.34.3. *ní fail do-ruirme co cert*. This construction, involving the negative of the substantive verb followed by the present subjunctive, is a classical one in Old Irish,

and has been treated recently by McQuillan.[499] He points out that many examples carry an augmented subjunctive which conveys a sense of frustrated ability or potentiality: *dia n-œrbalam-ní ní bia nech ru-n-íccae-siu a dáe* (Ml 107d4), 'if we should die there will be no-one whom you can save, O God'. In this stanza the 3s present *ro*-subjunctive *do-ruirme* (OIr *do-ruirmea*) with *ní fail* provides the literal translation: 'there is not (he) who can enumerate …' This verb is glossed *doné a thurim*, 'who could make its enumeration'. The adverbial form *co cert* ('rightly') is rare in OIr, cf. *co-mmaith* (Wb 7b15), *co coïr* (Ml 69d12, 77a7), and Thurneysen comments in GOI §381 that it later becomes the usual adverbial formation.[500] The form *fail* with neutral *f* is also late (GOI §780), and although *fil* could be substituted, the mss probably reflect the original verb. See the discussion in 4.4.2.

2.34.4. *amra rogab prainn lugdach/ trénfer ní dígaib a nert*. The OIr genitive of the name *Lugaid* is *Luigdech* and *Lugdach* is a later form (DIL). The feminine noun *prainn* (probably *ā*-stem) is a later form of OIr *proind*, 'meal', a borrowing from latin *prandium*, probably with Britannic influence. Although *Lugdach* and *prainn* could be scribal forms, the presence of other ninth century forms in this stanza point to a late ninth-century origin. The augmented preterite *ro-gab* describes a completed act in the past, and *ní dígaib* is a MIr form. The literal meaning of these lines would certainly puzzle anyone not familiar with the background. The elements of the story are expressed in the marginal gloss in F.[501] Similar stories are recounted in *Vita* I §108 and *Vita* II §23.

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[499] As McQuillan (2002, 203-4) puts it: 'the issue here is the denial of any antecedent that would satisfy the descriptive terms of the relative clause other than is expressly specified'. A typical example is: *ní fil ní dom ṡétaib nad té tar cenn na hingine* (*TBF* 247), 'there is none of my treasures that I would not give to save the girl'.

[500] Breatnach in *Stair na Gaeilge* III 9.1 has collected a number of these forms, most attested in *SR*. McCone (1985, 20) lists early examples as lapses into the spoken register.

[501] *Tri trenfir ro-bátar i[c] claide clued dune Alinne .i. in tres primdun rig Lagen. It e a n-anmand Mureth ⁊ Fine ⁊ Lugaid. Proind cét do-meled cech fer dib. Ro-herbart tra Lugaid i n-erchomair na cell dia biathad, ⁊ in días ele i n-erchomair na tuath. Ro-chunnig tra Lugaid do Brigit coro digbad a haith [leg. ṡáith] ⁊ na ro-gabad a nert. Co nderna Brigit s(e)n dó, ⁊ co ro-bennach a gin co narbo mó a haith inna cech dune arcena. Co ndeochaid iarsen co tuargaib in cloch fo-remeid cet fer díb in laa reme asin clud for mullach Ailindi and*, 'Three strong men were digging the ditch of Dun Alinne, one of the three chief forts of the King of Leinster. Their names are Mureth and Fiac and Lugaid. Each of them used to eat the dinner of a hundred. Now Lugaid had been entrusted to the church to feed, and the two others to the laity. So Lugaid asked Brigit to diminish his appetite without taking away his strength. Brigit did that for him, and she blessed his mouth so that his appetite was not greater than that of any other man.

2.34.5. *Th* Text and Translation

A ndo-rigni do fertaib	What she has wrought of miracles
ní fail do-ruirme co cert.	no one can rightly recount.
Amra: ro-gab prainn Lugdach;	A marvel: she took away Lugaid's dinner;
tréfer ní dígaib a nert.	it diminished not the champion's strength.

§35

T	F
Omna natuargaib in sluag	Omna natuargaib in sluaig
in fecht naile dígrais cloth	in fecht naile díg*ra*is cloth
dob*er*t dí a mm*a*cc la brigte	asbert a m*a*cc la brigtæ
co airm i rrocloth a both	co airm i rochlaid a both

2.35.1. *Metrics*. The metre is a loose form of *rannaigecht*, $7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$, with perfect rhyme *cloth: both.* Elision occurs in T's line *c* between *dí* and *a*. There is no other ornamentation.

2.35.2. *Omna natuargaib in sluag/ in fecht naile dígrais cloth.* Here the particle *ná* is a simpler form of *nád*, and *túargaib* the 3s present prototonic (from *do- fócaib*), where the perfective particle *ro* expresses potentiality ('can raise').[502] This verb can be taken as an historic present or as a 3s perfect, with a MIr ending *-aib* for OIr *-ab*, but the context is decisively against the latter. The *io*-stem noun *omna(e)* is taken here as the object of the verb *do-bert* in line *c*. The expression *in fecht n-aile* is a fossil, the nasalisation of *aile* arising from it being in the temporal accusative. Also the phrase *dígrais cloth* is a cheville, translated in *Th* II as 'excellent the fame', in *LH* II as 'excellent famous', and in F's gloss *clothach in gnim*, 'famous the deed'. The deed in question relates to a fallen tree and is recounted in F's marginal gloss.[503]

Then he went and raised a stone, which a hundred of them had been unable to do the day before, out of the ditch on to the top of Alenn there' (Fmg).

[502] cf. *tuargaib epscop dano a glún ria ríg*, 'a bishop, however, can raise his knee before a king' (*Críth Gablach* 605, Binchy 1979). The contracted form *túargaib* occurs in §12 of *Génair Pátraicc*, and is there translated as 'has raised'.

[503] *Omna do-rochair i Fidgable forsin conair sen co ngebed ... doenib 7 for-emtadar Ui Failge a turcbáil. Co tarla Brigit fect in conair sen, co ro-atchiset Ui Failge hi imma turcbail assinn inud irrabe. Co tuarcaib si hi iarsen trea nert meic De, co n-isfail na hinud (?) cetna osen ille*, 'a tree fell on the road in Fidgable and the men of Offaly were unable to raise it. Once Brigit happened to be on that

2.35.3. *dobert dí a mmacc la Brigti.* In the phrase *a mmacc la Brigti* we have the most striking assertion of the belief in early Ireland that Christ was Brigit's son. The theme arises from time to time throughout this hymn and *Brigit bé*. As mentioned in the commentary on §3 *Brigit bé*, Carney refers to an early poem which may be the source of this belief,[504] but notes that Cogitosus has neither time nor space for this notion. Thus, in *Vita* II the tree is moved not by Brigit's son but by her faith *ad locum quem uoluit S. Brigita*, 'to the place where St Brigit wished it'. Interestingly, the MIr glossator does not repeat the 'mother of Christ' assertion, stating that the deed was done *trea nert meic De,* 'through the strength of the Son of God'. A truncated version of the tale appears in *Vita* I §122. The use of *as-bert* in F instead of *do-bert* does not make sense, and must be regarded as a scribal error, particularly since *asbert* is glossed in F: *do-ucc, .i. Crist*, 'brought, to wit, Christ'.

2.35.4. *co airm i rrocleth a both.* Because of uncertainty about *rrocloth* (*rochlaid* F) the *Th* editors offer only a partial translation of this line, but Stokes suggests that we should read *rrochleth.*[505] In the Supplement (506, 13) Stokes further suggests *rócloth* from **ro-fo-cíallath.* This verb is discussed in 4.5.1 The attested form of the preterite passive of *fo-cíallathar* is *fo-rocleth* (**ro-fo-cleth*) (Wb 19c3), with meaning 'was pre-destined', and the line *co airm i rrocleth a both* is rendered 'where it was meant to be'. It is easy to see how the proximity of *cloth* in line *b* and *both* in line *d* could have led *rrocleth* to be corrupted to *rrocloth.* Carey, nonetheless, remains faithful to the mss and reads *i rrocloth* from *ro-cluinethar*, i.e. 'where it has been heard', but this reading is at variance with the *Vitae*, where *Vita* I has the tree moved to 'where she wished' and *Vita* II to 'its appointed place'. As a form of *buith*, 'being', the verbal noun *both* is found only in older glosses.[506]

2.35.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Omnae ná túargaib in slúag	A tree which the host could not lift
in fecht n-aili - dígrais cloth -	at another time, -excellent the fame -
do-bert dí a mmacc la Brigti	Brigit's Son brought [it] from her
co airm i rrochleth a both.	to the place where it was meant to be.

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road. The men of Offaly begged her to raise it from the place in which it was. Then she raised it through the strength of the Son of God, and it is in its same place from that time forth (Fmg).

[504] See Carney 1983, 193.

[505] *Th* II 344, note *i.*

[506] cf. *both dún i focith*, (Wb 21a 13), 'that we were to be in suffering' and *both doib cen biad*, (Wb 26b 21) 'for them to be without food'.

§36

T	F
In sét argait nad chlethi	IN set arggait nad clethi
ar ul fri fraicc ind niad.	ar ulc fri fraic i*nd* niad.
focress i mmuir fut roit	focreis i*m*muir fuit roit
co frith i mmedon iach.	co frith i *m*medon iach.

2.36.1. *Metrics*. There are three hiatus words in this stanza, *niad, roit* and *iach*, and these facilitate the *rannaigecht mór* format $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with rhyme, *niad: iach*.[507] There is no other metrical ornamentation.

2.36.2. *In sét argait nad chlethi*. The use of the verbal of necessity *chlethi* (from *celid*, 'hides') is interesting here. Literally, it means 'a precious thing of silver that is not to be concealed'. The glossators provide a legalistic reading: *ní díchelta* (T), 'it is not to be concealed', and *narbo coir .i. do cleith l do dícelt* (F), 'which it was not proper, namely, to hide or to conceal'. The story appears in the marginal gloss in F and in *Vita* II §25.[508] Clearly the expression *nád chlethi* has a more nuanced meaning than that described above, and has the appearance of a *litotes*, i.e. a deliberate designed to understatement emphasise the positive.[509]

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[507] Murphy (1961, 33) lists the rhyme, *brúach: lúad* in *SR* 7942-4.

[508] *In set .i. delg argait do-rat ri Lagen i lloig a dana dia ilid corruc side leis dia tig coha tig co tarat i llaim na cumaile dia tasked. Co(ruc) ben ind iled uadi é. ⁊ ..... isin farcce ar ulc frisin cumai)l .... A ben impe .... co ro-cunnig in file in delg cosin cumail .... Co ndeochaid in file do marbad na cumaile arnach frith ocai in delg. Is ann do-rala Brigit intan sen i tig ind iled ⁊ ba tróg léa sarugud ancillæ. Co nderna Brigit ernigte fri Dia co ro-faillsigte di in delg. Co tánic aingel De cuci iarsen ⁊ co n-erbairt fria na lina do chor isin usce .i. isin farce ⁊ no-gebtha bratan inntib ⁊ in delg inna medon.* Et sic factum est et liberata est ancilla de necessitate illá, 'The jewel, i.e. a silver brooch which the king of Leinster bestowed on his poet as the reward of his art. He took it home to his house with him, and gave it unto the hand of his bondmaid to take care of. The poet's wife took it from her and {cast} it into the sea for evil to the bondmaid ..... The poet asked the brooch of the bondmaid ..... the poet came to kill the bondmaid because the brooch was not found with her. The Brigit came to the poet's house, and she was grieved at the maltreatment of the bondmaid. So she prayed to God that the brooch might be manifested to her. The an angel of God came to her and told her to cast the nets into the water, that is into the sea and a salmon was caught in them with the brooch in its inside. And so it was done and the bondmaid was freed from that constraint' (Fmg).

[509] In Sanctán's Hymn §6 we find the litotes *nád cétla celar*, with literal meaning 'whose chants one does not hide', and translatable as 'whom chants proclaim'.

2.36.3. *ar ulc fri fraicc ind niad.* The noun *fracc* is described in DIL as an archaic and poetic word for a woman, and is expressed here in the accusative following *fri*. The woman is described as a *cumal*, 'handmaid' in the associated glosses, and she belonged to a *nía*, a term used of a professional person attending upon a king or chief. The glossator in T takes *nía* to be the proper name of a certain poet (*Nia proprium nomen alicuius poetæ*), while for F he is simply the hero (*in trenfer*). *Th* interprets *nía* as 'champion'. The phrase *ar ulc fri* is rendered 'in order to spite', cf. *ar ulc friu* (Ml 72b22), 'for evil against them', and *ar ulc fri dóini* (*Fél* Ep 422), 'for evil to men'.

2.36.4. *focress i mmuir fut roit/ co frith i mmedón iach.* Here the object is thrown *fut roit* 'the length of a cast', where *fut* is an independent dative of the neuter *o*-stem noun *fot* (according to GOI §80 probably cognate with latin *uastus*), and the disyllabic *roït* is the genitive of *o*-stem masculine *rout* 'cast', possibly from *ro-fot.* The glossators are in agreement with *fut erchora*, 'the length of a cast' (T) and *fot .i. erchoir* (F). The OIr passive preterite *fo-cress* of *fo-ceird*, 'throws', was clearly recognised by the glossators with MIr *ro-laad*, 'was thrown'. With the use of the passive voice, the poem avoids identifying the person who threw the brooch into the sea. F's marginal gloss tells us it was the poet's wife acting out of spite toward the bondwoman. In a more racy version by Cogitosus in *Vita* II §25 a deceitful nobleman was burning with lust for a certain woman and, to trick her into intercourse, he gave her his special silver brooch for safe-keeping. Then he took it back unknown to her and threw it into the sea. In *Vita* I §109 the servant actually steals a silver lunula from her mistress. She is forced to throw it in a river during pursuit. In all these accounts the silver object was found inside a salmon (*medón iach*) through the grace of Brigit. The genitive single *iach* of the *ch*-stem masculine noun *éo, éu*, 'salmon' (glossed *bratan*)is also disyllabic. A similar motif is found in *Táin Bó Froích.*

2.36.5. *Th* Text and Translation

In sét argait nád chlethi,	The precious thing of silver which is not to be concealed,
ar ulc fri fraicc ind níad	for evil to the champion's woman,
fo-cress i mmuir fut roit;	was flung into the sea the length of a cast;
co frīth i mmedon íach.	it was found in a salmon's belly.

§37

T	F
Amra dí in bantrebtach	Amra dí in bantrebthach
ardoutacht i mmaig coil	ardoutacht i *m*maig coil
loiscis in garmain nue	loiscis in garmain núi
for ten ic fune ind loig.	for tein ic fuin ind lóeg.

2.37.1. *Metrics*. The metre $7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$ is similar to that in §32, with perfect rhyme, *Cóil: lóig*, identical to the rhyme found in §26. As it stands, F's line *d* is one syllable short but, clearly, dative singular *funi* is intended for *fuin*.There is no other ornamentation. The hiatus in *núi* (*nue* T) is noted.

2.37.2. *Amra dí in bantrebtach / ardoutacht i mmaig coil*. The 3s preterite *ar-do-utacht* is from *ar-utaing*, 'refreshes'[510], and is glossed by the derived simple verb *ro-ertaig* (< *airdaigid*). The context requires a 3s feminine class C infixed pronoun, *ar-da-utacht*, though *Th* retains the *ar-do-utacht* of the mss.[511] The home of the woman who offered hospitality is in Mag Cóil, which the gloss identifies as being in present-day Fingal (*Fine Gall*). *Vita* II locates the woman in the correct territory, but does not name Mag Cóil. *Vita* I omits all mention of place. In this hymn (and the gloss) the woman is a widow (*bantrebthach*), but a *uirgo religiosa* in *Vita* I and a *femina fidelis* in *Vita* II. Clearly, the hymn did not depend on either source for its material.

2.37.3. *loiscis in garmain nue/ for ten ic funi ind loig*. Both mss show the 3s preterite *loiscis*, from *loiscid,* 'burns', though on the evidence of the special relative form *loscas* in the St Gall Incantations (*Th* II 249,6), the earlier form would be *loscais*. DIL lists several meanings for the *ā*-stem noun *garman*: 'weaver's beam, club, cross-beam of the gallows, mouse-trap', but the first is the most appropriate for the context. Here one might expect nasalisation of accusative *garmain* but this is not always marked.[512] The *ā*-stem verbal noun *fuine* from *fo-noí*, 'cooks', is followed by the genitive *loíg*. F's marginal gloss summarises the story.[513] Cogitosus in §26 explains that she threw

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[510] The same verb occurs in §5 of this hymn in the line: *for maig ar-utacht cathair* where its meaning there was 'built'.

[511] The *Th* II editors (*xxxix* note 1) suggest this may be an error of transcription.

[512] Cf. Quin, Studia Celtica 14/15 (1979/80), 255-9.

[513] *.i. fecht do-rala Brigit do dun ríg Breg imMaig Cóel i Fine Gall* hódie, *co ro-diult in banrígan fria (7 co ta)rat alaile bentrebthach (leg. bantrebthach) robói i toeb in dune immaig failti dí 7 co ro-marb .... dí 7 co ro-sloisc a garmain nui fóe 7 ro-batar óg[s]lana arnabarach eter loeg 7 garmain tria rath*

her beam on the fire as she had no other wooden fuel needed to cook the calf. A shortened version of the tale appears in §110 of *Vitae* I. The story continues in the next stanza.

2.37.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Amra dí: in bantrebtach	A marvel of hers: the widow,
ar-da-utacht i mMaig Cóil,	who refreshed her in Mag Coil,
loiscis in garmain núi	burned her new weaver's beam .
for tein oc funi ind lóig.	on the fire in cooking the calf.

§38

T	F
Ba mo amra arailiu	Ba mo amra arailiu
aridralastar ind nóeb	aridralastar ind nóeb
matan ba óg in garmain	matan ba hog in garman
lia mathair dith ind lóig	lia mathair díth ind loeg

2.38.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts to a loose *rannaigecht*, $7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$, with rhyme, *nóeb: lóeg*, and alliteration between *amra* and *(ar)ailiu*.

2.38.2. *Ba mo amra arailiu/ aridralastar ind nóeb*. The exaggerated expression *ba mó amru arailiu* ('it was greater than [any] other marvel') has already been used in §§20 and 24 of this hymn; here both mss have *amra*, but as discussed earlier in §20 the *Th* translation is not feasible, and *amru* should be restored. The verbal form *ar-id-ralastar* has caused translation problems with the *Th* editors tentatively offering 'devised ', and the glossators *ro-imoilgestar* 'she effected'. In fact the same verbal form (from *ar-áili*, 'induces, causes, brings about') occurs in the hymn *Génair Pátraicc*: *ba hé ar-id-rálastar* (§24), 'it was he that had arranged it'. *Th* reads a relative construction here, based on the class C infixed pronoun, and with *amra* as

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Brigte. O ro-chuala immorro in rí anisen .i. Brigit do thiactain ..... id dia acallaim, co tarla do in bantrebtach ut. Amal at-condairc in rí hi ros-c(arasta)r tria rath Brigte ⁊ ros-fuc do mnaí ⁊ is uade ata bunad ... Cerbaill ut ferunt, 'once Brigit chanced to come to the fort of the king of Breg in Mag Coil in Fingal today, and the Queen refused her (entertainment). A certain widow who dwelt beside the fort outside gave her a welcome and killed {her calf} for her and burned her new weaver's beam under it. And on the morrow through the grace of Brigit they were whole, both calf and beam. When, however, the king had heard that, to wit, that Brigit had come, {he went} to converse with her, and the widow chanced to meet him. When the king saw her, he fell in love with her through the grace of Brigit, and took her to wife, and from her is the origin of ..... Cerbaill, as they say (Fmg).

antecedent, i.e. 'a marvel ..... that the saint devised'. But such a reading would not require an infixed pronoun. Instead it would be better to take line *b* as a stand-alone statement, 'the saint had arranged it', with the class C infixed pronoun replacing what would be a class B in classical Old Irish. It will be recalled that a similar example arose in §27 with *do-da-ascansat*. In this stanza the 3s augmented preterite renders the pluperfect rather than the narrative preterite.

2.38.3. *matan ba óg in garman/ lia mathair dith ind lóig*. The independent dative *matain* would be required here to express the adverbial sense ('in the morning'), as in §27, where *matain tancatar a tech*, is translated 'in the morning they came home' In §27 T had the correct independent dative, against F's *matan*. Both mss show the verbal form *dith*, which the *Th* editors consider to be an early form of the 3s preterite of *dinid (denid)*. The reduplicated preterite, according to GOI §691a, is **did* but, as often occurs in stressed syllables, one finds the form *dith*. Here it is glossed *ro-dinestar* (*ro-dinistar* F). The subject of *dith* is the unusual formation *ind lóeg* which pairs the feminine article with a masculine noun. Perhaps the poet was trying to echo *ind nóeb* of line *b* for stylistic reasons, where the latter noun is the same for both genders.

2.38.4. Th Text and Translation

Ba mó amra arailiu	It was greater than [any] other marvel
- ar-id-rálastar ind nóeb;	- the saint had devised it;
matan ba óg in garman,	in the morning the weaver's beam was whole,
lia máthair dith ind lóeg.	the calf sucked at its mother.

§39

T	F
IN sét arggait nath combaig	IN dan arggat nad chommaig
in cerd robo amru dí	in cherd robo a*m*ru dí
rosm̀bi brigit fria boiss	rosbi brig*it* fria bois
iarum co mmebaid hi trí.	iar*um* co mmebaid hi trí.

2.39.1. *Metrics*. The metre is a loose form of *rannaigecht*, i.e. $7^{2}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$ with rhyme *dí: trí*, and alliteration between *-mbí, Brigit* and *boiss*. Here *fria* in line *c* must be disyllabic.

2.39.2. *In sét arggait nath combaig/ in cerd robo amru dí.* There is a lexical choice between *sét* ('treasure') in T and *dán* ('gift') in F. T has the correct genitive case (*arggait*), but F marks the proper initial lenition of the feminine nominative *cerd*. The context would support either *sét* or *dán* but the former is preferred. The T gloss has *in main ł set arcait*, 'the jewel or the precious thing of silver', while F has only *ł set arcait*. The 3s preterite *c(h)ombaig* (*con-boing*, 'breaks') with the negative particle *nád* (*nath* T) forms a relative clause with the antecedent *sét* felt as an object, and here adopts initial lenition as a relative marker (though nasalisation is also an option). The clause *nád chombaig* is glossed *na ro-bris*, 'did not break'. The use of the augmented form of the copula *robo* in a preterite sense points to a ninth-century dating (GOI §813). The line *robo amru dí* seems to mean 'it was most wonderful of her', reading *amru* as a superlative. T glosses the line *.i. robo mór in fiurt do Brigit*, 'the miracle of Brigit's was great'. *Th*, however, reads *amra*, giving ''twas a marvel of hers'.

2.39.3. *rosṁbi brigit fria boiss.* Both mss employ the augmented preterite, *ro-bí*, (from *benaid*, 'strikes') but with a 3s feminine (or 3p plural) class A infixed pronoun. The problem here is that the noun *sét* (as well as *dán* in F) is masculine, and so in Old Irish *ra-mbí* would be expected. However, in the course of the ninth century *ra-* was replaced by *ro-* (GOI §415), and the *-s-* of the mss may perhaps be regarded as a MIr hypercorrection. In fact by the MIr period there was a tendency to confuse masculine and feminine infixed pronouns, e.g. *ra-s-uc*, 'took him' (LL2123), *co-nas-tuc*, 'until he brought him' (31242), *no-s-geib*,'seizes him' (31561). Either way it is easy to understand a MIr scribe inserting *ros-mbí* or *ros-bí* to represent a masculine noun. In a future edition perhaps *ra-bí* would be restored. Here the *ā*-stem *boss* is 'palm of hand'.

2.39.4. *iarum co mmebaid hi trí.* The OIr 3s preterite is *memaid* in both the absolute and conjunct forms, but the *-b-* in *mebaid* represents a late dissimilation from the initial *m-*. Since this form is almost certainly a scribal modernisation, *co mmemaid* could be restored. The story is recounted in F's marginal gloss on *dán*.[514] *Vita* II §27 records this miracle, but it differs significantly in detail from the version here. First, Cogitosus describes the object as a silver chalice, which Brigit gave to three lepers.

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[514] *.i. triar derbrathar dia forcaib a (n-athair) tinne ar(gait) ⁊ for-emdatar cerda Herren achert(ra) in trí doib, co ro-(bris) Brigit cona baiss. (I Cil)l dara dono do-ronad in fert sa,* 'i.e. three brothers to whom their father left a bar of silver, and the artisans of Ireland could not divide it exactly into three for them. Brigit broke it with her fist.'

She divided it equally into three by dashing it against a stone.The *Vita* I text does not mention the incident.

2.39.5. Th Text and Translation

In sét arggait nád chombaig	The silver treasure which the smith did not break
in cherd - robo amru dí -	- 'twas a marvel of hers-
ros-mbí Brigit fria boiss	Brigit struck it against her palm
íarum co mmebaid hi trí.	so that it then broke in three.

§40

T	F
Focress i mmeid lasin ceird	Focreis i mmeid lasin ceird
fofrith amra iar suidiu	fofríth amra iar suidiu
ni furecht cid óen screpul	ni fuirecht cid óen screpul
ba mo tríun arailiu	ba mo tríun araile

2.40.1. *Metrics*. Since *óenscrepul* forms a compound the metre here is $7^{1}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$, with rhyme, *suidiu: (ar)ailiu*, imperfect because of the mismatch of the stressed vowels. The dative singular *araile* in F is a late spelling, and T is followed. To meet metrical requirements the noun *tríun* must have preserved its original hiatus. There is no other ornamentation.

2.40.2. *Focress i mmeid lasin ceird/ fofrith amra iar suidiu*. The *ā*-stem noun *med* is employed here in its sense as the 'scales' on which the silversmith weighed the pieces. As in §36 the passive preterite *fo-cress* is glossed by the augmented narrative preterite passive form *ro-láad*, 'was cast'. The spelling *focreis* in F is defective, possibly a transcription error as it is often difficult to distinguish *-is* from *-ss*. It is noteworthy that the stanza employs three OIr passive preterites.

2.40.3. *ni furecht cid oen screpul /ba mo tríun arailiu*. There is a subtle semantic difference between the passive preterite forms *fo-fríth* (from *fo-gaib*) and *-furecht* (from *fo-ricc*). The verb *fo-gaib* has the sense of 'getting' or 'discovering', cf. *fofríth Ere ria ndilind* (*Lebor Gabála* i 16), while *fo-ricc* means 'coming upon someone or something', cf. *fo-rricfe faelte and* (*Immram Brain*, i 53). Moreover, the latter is glossed in F with *-airnecht* which is the passive preterite of *ar-icc*, meaning to 'come upon'. The silver measure, *óenscrepul*, (here an independent dative) is taken from the

latin *scrupulus*, there being 24 scruples in an ounce.[515] The literal reading is 'it was not found that, even by one scuple, [any] would be greater than another third'.

2.40.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Fo-cress i mmeid lasin ceird	It was cast into the balance by the artisan
- fo-fríth amra íar suidiu;	- a wonder was discovered thereafter;
ní fuirecht cid óenscrepul	it was not found that one third was greater
ba mó tríun arailiu.	than another by a single scruple.

§41

T	F
A ndorigne do fertaib	A ndorigne do ḟertaib
ni fail dune dodadecha.	ni fail dune dodecha.
sénais díllait do chondlaid	senais díllait do chonlaid
in tan dobreth do letha.	in tan dobreth do letha.

2.41.1. *Metrics*. The metre here reverts to the *rannaigecht bec* form found in §§5, 7 and 17, $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with rhyme *-decha: Letha*. In canonical Old Irish the dative *Lethai* would be expected, and the rhyme here thus betokens a ninth century composition. There is alliteration between *dune* and *-decha*. Line *b* of T has one syllable too many, and it is necessary to restore the 3s neuter class C pronoun in *do-d-decha.*

2.41.2. *A ndorigne do ḟertaib/ ní fail dune do-d-decha.* The opening line has all the appearance of a much-repeated formula, used earlier in §34. The latter also employed a relative construction involving *ní fail* followed by a subjunctive. As in §34, the augmented verbal form could be restored to OIr *do-rigni*. The relative clause often expresses potentiality, and here *do-decha*, the 3s perfective present subjunctive of *do-téit* is the verb employed. The T text shows the 3p class C infixed pronoun *-da-*, but a better solution may be *do-d-decca*, where the 3s neuter infixed pronoun refers back to the nasalising particle *a*, 'what'. The literal meaning is 'there is no-one who can come to it, or ('attain it')'. This might be interpreted as 'there is none who can tell it', a reading supported by the gloss in T, *innises*, 'who should tell'. According to DIL (D 381, 65) the verb *do-téit* is 'rarely transitive, occasionally with cogn. or instrum. accus'. The early form *ḟil* could be restored but, as in §34, it is likely that *fail* has been

[515] Kelly 1988, 114.

preserved from the original text. By the same token the lenition marking on *fertaib* is considered original.

2.41.3. *sénais díllait do chondláed /in tan dobreth do letha.* The feminine noun *díllat* is a general term for a 'garment'. The Conláed referred to here is identified in F's marginal gloss on *sénais* as Brigit's chief artisan.[516] Letha was a name used in early Irish for the European continent as a whole, or for certain specific parts of it; here it designates 'Latium' or Italy. The *Th* editors have the blessed garment being brought from Letha, but the context in F's gloss requires that it is brought to Letha (*.i. do Roim*, 'to Rome'). The preterite passive *do-breth* is glossed *no-theged*, 'was going' (T), and *no-teged, .i.* a se-met ipso *ruccad*, 'was carried by himself' (Fmg).

2.41.4. *Th* Text and Translation

A ndo-rigni do fertaib,	What she has wrought of miracles,
ní fail dune do-d-decha.	none can tell it.
Sénais díllait do Chondlaid	She blessed a garment for Conláed
in tan do-breth do Letha.	when it was brought to Letha.

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[516] *Senais d. d. Conlaed cerd Brigte ro-trial fodí dul do Roim .... ..d beos Brigit he. Coro triall in tres fecht 7 co-roboe so .... ar do-rat Brigit a chocoll dialaliu clam .i. tan boi si icomet na certcha ⁊setsem ic beim in cliuc iarna for-coṅ[g]ra do Brigit fair,* quia non fuit *int astere i fos. Co ro- (chundig Con)læd etach co Brigit co rucad imme do Roim ⁊ ni rabai occe-se immmorro etach do-bérad dó. Co ro-iarfaig-se do Ronchiund .i. subdeochain no bid ecomet a h-etaig se dogres dus inna rabái étach acci. 'Biaid', ar sise 'acht co-nderna-su ernaigte co Dia.' Frith iarum iarsen etach i criol ro-boi ic Ronchiund i carpat da roth ro-batar fon carbat. l ni hainm duni eter roncend acht is etach as chosmail crocund cind roin, ised frith and ⁊ do-ratad int etach iarsen do Conled. Luid immorro Conlaed iarsen for set do dul do Róim. As-bert Brigit fris: 'sech ni ricfa ni torais'. O-firad samlaid ar atdótar coin alltai he ic Scetaib,* 'Brigit's smith who tried twice to go to Rome .... He tried a third time .... For Brigit had given her cowl to a certain leper, to wit, when she was guarding the workshop and he was striking the bell after Brigit had ordered him to do so, as the bellringer was not at hand. Conlaed asked a garment of Brigit. ... and, howbeit, she had no garment to give him. She asked of Ronchenn, a subdeacon who always took care of her dress, if she had not a garment 'There will be,' said he, 'if you only pray to God.' Thereafter a garment was found in the basket of Ronchenn in a chariot of two wheels, which were under the chariot. Or Ronchenn is not the name of a man at all, but it is a garment like to the skin of a seal's head, 'tis that was found there. And that garment was then given to Conlaed. Conlaed, however, then set out to go to Rome. Brigit said to him: 'You will not get there and you will not come back.' So it was fulfilled, for wolves devoured him at .'

According to a note on the *Fél* May 3 entry: 'He was a bishop of Kildare, and wolves devoured him in Sceich Condlaid beside Liamain in Mag Laigen'.

§42

T	F
In tan hí ba gabud dí	IN tan hí ba gabud dí
a mmacc rempe nisderbrad	a mm*acc* re*m*pe nisderbrath
dobert díllat i criol	dobert dillat i criol
roncinn hi carput da rath	ronchind i carpat do rath

2.42.1. *Metrics*. The metrical system here is irregular. The $7^{1}7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}$ metre can be attained only if the noun *criol* is disyllabic, and this is confirmed by a heptasyllabic metrical line in *Longes mac n-Uislenn*.[517] The main feature is the anomalous rhyme, where disyllabic *-derbrath* is required to rhyme with *rath*. Even *rath* is a scribal invention for *roth*, obviously created to show optical rhyme with *-derbrath*. In fact, *roth* would provide *deibide* rhyme with the final unstressed syllable of *-derbrath*, i.e. *-derbroth*.

2.42.2. *In tan hí ba gábud dí/ a mmacc rempe nisderbrad.* The temporal conjunction *in tan* with the deictic particle *hí* means 'the very time', or 'whenever'. The 3s feminine suffixed preposition *rempe* is a late version of the OIr *remi*.[518] Its precise meaning in this context is unclear, literally 'before her', 'in front of her', perhaps figuratively as 'in her presence'. The verbal form *-derbrath* is the augmented 3s imperfect of the verb *do-opir* (**dí-uss-ber-)* which means to 'defraud, deprive', and glosses *fraudare* in Wb 9c23, 9d20 and *privare* in Ml 54d18, 68c8, 112a4, and Sg 28b21. *Th* II translates *nís-derbrath* (with a question mark) as 'could not defraud her', *LH* II as 'failed her not', while the associated glosses are: *nís-diubrad* (TF), and *nis-terbroth* (F). The augmented imperfect adds an element of potentiality to the action portrayed, i.e. 'could fail'. The *-th* ending in F (beside T's *-d*) might have been introduced by the scribe to achieve optical rhyme with *rath*. As a rule, the original *-th* ending became voiced to *-d* after an unstressed syllable, but remained unchanged after a stressed syllable, cf. *do-gníth*. Once again Christ is introduced as Brigit's son, with *a mmacc* glossed: *Crist icoa himthús*, 'Christ leading her'.

2.42.3. *dobert díllat i criol /roncinn hi carput da roth.* The accusative form *díllat* is surprising beside the *díllait* of the previous stanza.[519] F's marginal gloss in the

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[517] Hull 1949, 43: *fot chrïol bronn bēcestair* 'in the receptacle of your womb there cried out'.

[518] Breatnach (1994, 330) has collected the following MIr forms of the 3s feminine preposition, all from the Book of Leinster: *rempi* (35108), *rempe* (1212574, 38389).

[519] Cf. *Gabaid-som a díllait n-óenaig imbi*, "he puts his festive vestment around him' (LU 6115).

previous stanza identifies Rónchenn as a subdeacon, but T's gloss here is etymological: *i criol di croccund róin ro-bói int étach*, 'the dress was in a basket of sealskin'. A MIr note in *Fél* p.129 states that Rónchenn was Conláed's first name. The garment was given to Conláed, and he set out on his journey to Rome. Brigit warned him that he would not reach there and it turned out he was eaten by wolves.[520] As noted above the original of the scribal *rath* is probably *roth* ('wheel'), but the former is retained here.

2.42.4. *Th* Text and Translation

In tan hí ba gábud dí;	At that time it was a peril to her;
a mmacc rempe nís-derbrath.	her Son before her could not defraud her.
Do-bert díllait i criol	He put a garment in Ronchenn's basket
Rónchinn hi carput da rath.	in a chariot of two wheels.

§43

T	F
A nol meda dí dobreth	A nol meda di dobreth
ni bu ances cach thucai	ni bo ances cech tucai
[cofrith] i toeb tegdaise	cofrith i toeb tegdaise
ni conairnecht and chucai	ni conairnect and chucai

2.43.1. *Metrics*. The metre is another loose form of *rannaigecht*, i.e. $7^{1}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme, *thucai: chucai.* Alliteration occurs between *tóeb* and *tegdaise*.

2.43.2. *A nol meda dí dobreth/ ni bu ances cech thucai*. The phrase *a nol meda* can be translated in different ways. The *Th* and *LH* editors read *a n-ol meda*, where *ol* is a measure of liquid capacity, thus 'the vat of mead', probably related to *ól,* the verbal noun of *ibid*, 'drinks'. This interpretation is supported by the F gloss *in dabach*, 'the vat'. Against the evidence of the mss, Carey prefers *a n-oll meda*, where *oll* is a substantive of the adjective *oll* meaning 'magnitude', giving 'the quantity of mead'.[521] The noun *ances*, 'difficulty', is often associated with *galar*, cf. in *Bethu Phátric* 172: *ro ícc cech ngalar ⁊ cech n-ainces*.[522] The 3s copula conjunct *-bo, -bu* can be read as a

[520] Versions of the story appear in *Vita* I §111 and *Vita* II §28, neither of which mention Letha, Rome, Rónchenn or wolves. Conláed is identified as a bishop in the *Vitae*, rather than an artisan (although he is both). From this it is clear that the hymn is derived from a different tradition.

[521] Carey 1988, 177.

[522] Mulchrone 1939, 8, 'He healed every disease and every ailment'.

preterite or a present subjunctive (GOI §813), and the context supports the latter. The clause *cech thucai*, 'whoever brings it', is discussed in 4.4.5. It is likely that the original clause involved the 3s present subjunctive, i.e. *cech thucca* (OIr *cecha-thucca*), but the verbal ending may have been scribally altered to provide optical rhyme with *chuccai*. Here we must assume an historic present. This particular story is not included in the *Vitae*, and the cryptic character of the stanza can only be understood by reference to F's marginal gloss on *n-ol*, which has obvious resonances with the wedding feast of Cana.[523]

2.43.3. *cofrith i toeb tegdaise/ niconairnecht and chucai*. The words *co fríth* are illegible in T, and we have to rely on the F text. This is supported from T's gloss: ... *iar n-ól a n-arbai inti do Brigit cona muintir*, '....after what was in it had been drunk by Brigit and her household'. The passive preterite of *ar-icc* is *ar-icht* with prototonic form *-airecht*, which later becomes *-airnecht* by analogy with the active *-airnic* (**air-ánic*).[524] It would be possible to restore *-airecht* without detriment to metre, but in view of other late forms the mss spelling may be original. The conjugated pronoun *chucai* is a later form of the OIr 3s masculine/neuter form *cuccai*. It appears as early as the Ml glosses, cf. *contoat chucai son* (46c1), 'who turn to Him', but the lenited form became popular in later literature. If original, the employment of the forms, *-airnecht* and *chuccai*, would provide a useful dating criterion, consigning the stanza to a period no earlier than the middle of the ninth century.

2.43.4. *Th* Text and Translation

A n-ol meda dí do-breth	The vat of mead that was given to her
- ní bu ances cech thucai-	- 'twas no hurt whoever may give it -

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[523] *.i. lind ro-dlecht rí Lagen do rig Ua Culduib, co ro-dlect side do fir dia muintir. Co tánic side do Brigit dia hatach co ro-cobrad hé, ar ni rabai occa ni doberad, ar do-rat som do Brigit in lind ann, uair na ragaib rí Ua Culduib uad he.* Et proinde uenit ad Brigitam necessitatem habuit. *Co tucad iarsen usce isna dabchaib roboi i farrad tigi Brigte, ⁊, ro-bennach Brigit in usque sen corbo mid iarsen, ⁊ co-rruc in truág hé leis iarsen. ⁊ ní rabái mid ba ferr andaas, ⁊ ni rabai* plus *ł* minus *acht amal ro-dlecht* de misero, 'i.e. ale to which the king of Leinster was entitled from the king of Ui Cuilduib, and he was entitled to it from one of his own folk. The latter came to Brigit to beseech her to help him, for he had nothing to give, as he had given the ale to Brigit, since the king of Ui Culduib had not taken it from him. He had a need and accordingly came to Brigit. Afterwards there was put in the vats water that was by Brigit's house, and Brigit blessed that water, and it then became mead. Thereupon the poor wretch took it with him. There was no mead better than it. And there was no more nor less but as it was due from the wretch' (Fmg).

[524] See GOI §711.

co fríth i tóeb tegdaise	till it was found by her house,
nícon airnecht and chucai.	it had not been found there till then.

§44

T	F
Asrir do raith a hathig	Asrir do raith a hathig
in tan roránicc a leass	in tan ronanic a leass
sech ni furecht *for*craid ann	sech ni furect *for*craid and
ni contesbad banne ass	ni contesbad banna as

2.44.1. *Metrics*. The metre is a loose form of *rannaigecht*, i.e. $7^{2}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$, with imperfect rhyme, *leass: ass*. The OIr form is *les(s)*, and the inclusion of the glide-vowel *a* cannot produce rhyme with *ass*, but it may have been scribally altered for optical rhyme. There is alliteration between *furecht* and *forcraid*.

2.44.2. *As-rir do raith a hathig / in tan roránicc a leass*. The verb *as-ren*, 'pays away', is usually applied to payment of compensation as a result of some surety (*ráth*) undertaken. It will be recalled that in §31 Brigit donated a fox to the king as compensation for one killed by her client. Here another *aithech* has supplied mead to Brigit instead of the king, and consequently has failed to satisfy the latter. The expression *ro-icc a les* is well-known in early literature, and means 'he attains to the benefit of' or simply 'he needs'. The F text's *ro-n-ánicc* preserves the nasalisation following *in tan*, but T's *roránic* looks like a scribal error.

2.44.3. *sech ni furecht forcraid ann / ni contesbad banne ass*. Here the conjunction *sech* is employed in the 'neither, nor' sense (GOI §882). The passive preterite *-furecht* is common to the verbs *fo-ricc* ('comes across') and *fo-rig* ('holds back'), but the former meaning is obviously better here with the noun *forcraid*, 'excess'. The verbal form *ní contesbad* is puzzling. *Th* emends it to the 3s preterite *ní contesba*, but *nícon tesba* ('was not wanting') is more likely, from *do-esta*, (* *to-ess* + substantive).

2.44.4.*Th* Text and Translation

As-rir do ráith a hathig	She gave it for her vassal
in tan ro-n-ánic a leass:	when he had need of it:
sech ní furecht forcraid and	no superabundance was found therein,
nícon tesba banne ass.	[and] not a drop was wanting therefrom.

§45

T	F
Fordonitge brigte bet	Fordonitge brigte bet
si fri gábud condonfair	sith fri gábud condonfoir
robbet inna lobran leith	robbet inna lobran leith
ria ndul i ngnuis in spirta{nóeb}	ria ndul i ŋgnuis spirta nóeb

2.45.1. *Metrics*. The metre reverts to *rannaigecht mór*, $7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$, but there is a problem with rhyme. Neither *con-don-fair* in T nor *con-don-foir* in F will rhyme with the *o*-stem genitive singular *noíb*. The *Th* editors adapt the F text to provide putative rhyme between *-fóir* and *noíb*, but such rhyme would be no better than consonance. Instead Carney proposes emending the genitives *Spirta Noíb* to *Spirta Glain* to secure perfect rhyme with *con-don-fair*. [525] These verbs are analysed and discussed in 4.4.7 (Section 4). The definite article in line *d* of T has to be dropped (as it is in F) for metrical reasons. The only ornamentation is alliteration between *Brigte* and *bet, lobrán* and *leith.*

2.45.2. *Fordonitge brigte bet*. This line presents an elegant example of a literary syntax in imitation of archaic poetry. Technically, it is a form of tmesis, *for-don- itgi Brigte -bet*, a consciously alliterative feature, where the subject *itgi Brigte* splits the 3p present subjunctive *for-don-bet*. Such tmesis does not necessarily, however, point to an early date. This is glossed in both mss *ro-bet fornd a hitge*, 'may her prayers be upon us', while F adds *ro-ortachtaiget dun a itge si*, 'may her prayers help us'.

2.45.3. *si fri gábud condonfair*. There are two major difficulties associated with this line. The first problem revolves round the verbal forms *con-don-fair/ condon-foir*. The *Th* editors read *-don-* as a class C infixed pronoun, and translate the line as 'that she may help us against danger'. Carney disagrees with Thurneysen and *Th*, stating that the stem *-fóir* is, if anything, Middle Irish, and he favours the *don-fair* of T, which he describes as 'a by-product of classical OIr *don-foir*', and which in fact appears in the next stanza. Carney (1983, 193-4) cites an example occuring in the poem *fo réir Choluimb céin ad-fías* (Kelly, *Ériu* 24, 1973, 23, §24), where *don-fair* rhymes correctly with *ain*, but the editor has emended it to *don-fóir*, against the

[525] Carney (1983, 193-4) proposes that *Spirut Nóeb* in line *d* be replaced by *Spirta Glain*, a form borrowed from British (Welsh, *Yr Ysbryd Glan*). This was apparently the term used in early religious literature, cf. *tria ruin Spirto Glain* in *The Irish Gospel of Thomas* (Carney 1964). Carney comments that this change in appellation is similar to the recent change from the Holy Ghost to the Holy Spirit.

evidence of the rhyme[526] We can summarize the position as follows. The 3s present subjunctive root *-foir* can also be written as *-fair* (GOI §81). Taking *-fair: glain* as the original rhyme, *glain* might have been changed by a scribe to *Noíb*, and then in F *-fair* changed to *-foir* for optical rhyme. Carney goes on to read *con*, not as a conjunct particle, but as the genitive plural of *cú* ('wolves'). His translation is: 'may she protect us against the danger of wolves'. However, the verbal form *con-don-fair* would be perfectly acceptable in Old Irish, with meaning 'so that she may succour us'. This verbal form is glossed *ron-fore* in T, and *Brigit, .i. done ar foridin*, 'Brigit, i.e. may she help us' in F. Second, the employment of the independent pronoun *sí* in T without the copula is unusual in Old Irish. We could assume a suppressed copula, but it might be more productive to adopt the F reading, *síth*, 'peace', which looks like the *lectio difficilior*. A straightforward translation would be: 'so that [her] peace may help us against danger'.

2.45.4. *robbet inna lobran leith/ ria ndul i ngnúis spirta nóeb*. The last word in T is virtually illegible due to darkening of the ms, and we have to rely on F for *nóeb*. *Th* (II 348, note *y*) reads line *c* as *ro-bbet i leith a lobrán*, 'may they (i.e. her prayers) be on the side of her weaklings'. The gloss in T has a different interpretation: *ro-bet na lobrain ⁊ na truaig innar leith ic ernaigthi erund*, 'may the weak and the wretched be on our side, praying for us'. Concerning the preposition *ría*, the earlier form *re* rather than *ría* predominates in the Glosses. In *Fél* both forms are employed, with *re* in Jan 1, Mar 12 and Pro 340; *ría* in Pro 248, and *ria* in Ep 64. Clearly both forms were available around 800, with no particular metrical impact. As discussed above, the adjective *Noíb*, as proposed by Carney, could be emended to *Glain* for rhyme with *-fair*. The restored text has been emended slightly to eliminate the grammatically incorrect *-fóir* and to introduce *Glain* for *nóeb*, but the *Th* translation is unchanged.

2.45.5. Modified *Th* Text and Translation

For-don- itgi Brigte -bet,	On us be Brigit's prayers;
sí fri gábud co-ndon-fair	may she help us against danger;
ro-bbet inna lobrán leith	may [her prayers] be on the side of her weak ones
ria ndul i ngnúis Spirta Glain.	before going into the Holy Spirit's presence!

[526] Carney 1983, 193-4.

§46

T	F
Donfair co claidib tened	Donfair co claideb thened
don cath fri íalla ciara	don chath fri iala ciara
ronsnadat a nnoebitge	ronsnadat a noebitge
i flaith nime sech piana	i flaith nime sech phiana

2.46.1. *Metrics*. The metre here reverts to a loose form of *rannaigecht*, $7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$, with perfect rhyme, *cíara: píana.* There is no other form of ornamentation in the stanza.
2.46.2 *Don-fair co claidiub tened/ don chath fri íalla cíara.* The verbal form *do-fair* is the 3s present subjunctive of *do-reith*, a verb which has a similar meaning to *fo-reith* discussed in the last stanza, and which is glossed in T *done ar toridin*, 'may she help us'. The late dative spellings in the mss have to be restored to OIr *claidiub*, glossed *cum gratia Dei*, 'with the grace of God'. The accusative plural *íalla* can mean 'flocks, flights of birds', or 'troops'. With the epithet *cíara* ('dark') it would be better to translate *íalla cíara* as 'dark swarms'. This is supported by the relevant gloss in both mss: *elta duba* demoniorum, 'black swarms of devils'.
2.46.3. *ronsnadat a nnoebitge/ i flaith nime sech piana.* In early Law the verb *snáidid* means to 'protect' or 'escort'.[527] Such protection would be appropriate in the context of a suppliant seeking conduct to heaven. The associated gloss is *donet ar sóerad*, 'may they deliver us'. The 3p present subjunctive *ron-snádat* requires a plural subject (*a nnóebitgi*). The pains (*píana*) referred to are clearly related to Hell; the same word comes up again in §48 (*robbet etrom ocus phéin*). The F text shows lenition after the preposition *sech* (lenition is only probable, according to GOI §853), but in any case it is not always marked in Old Irish on initial *p*.[528]
2.46.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Don-fair co claidiub thened	May she help us with a fiery sword
don chath fri íalla cíara!	for the battle against dark flocks!
ron-snádat a nnóebitgi	may her holy prayers protect us
i flaith nime sech píana.	into Heaven's Kingdom past pains.

[527] The verbal noun *snádud* is employed to describe the protection accorded by a noble to a freeman to enable him, for example, to get across the border into another *túath* (*Críth Gablach* p.106, ed. Binchy 1970).

[528] cf. GOI §853: *sech thenlach* (Bürgschaft p.28 §76c) beside *sech positi* (Sg 45a8).

§47

T	F
Ria ndul la haingliu don cath	Ria ndul la haiṅgliu don chath
recam in neclais *for* rith	reca*m i*n neclais f*or* rith.
taithmet fíadat ferr cech nath	tathmet fíadat ferr cech nath
ni car brigit buadach bith.	ni car brig*it* bri*git*

2.47.1. *Metrics*. The metre returns to the *rannaigecht mór* format of §§1,10, 25 and 45, $7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$, with rhyme *rith: bith* (T only, F's line *d* left unfinished). There is additional rhyme between *chath* and *nath* in lines *a* and *c*. Alliteration occurs between *Fíadat* and *ferr*, and between *Brigit, búadach* and *bith*. The T text preserves a strong *dúnad* in line *d* , indicating the original ending of the hymn by repeating the whole opening line of the poem. F's line *d* has an obvious scribal error. T's scribe adds *Ni car brigit* outside the metrical system for good measure. The six quatrains which follow, may or may not be, the work of the same author.

2.47.2. *Ria ndul la haingliu don cath /recam in neclais for rith.* It will be noted that the phrase *ría ndul* occurs in the last line of §45. Here we must follow F with its initial lenition on *chath*. The verb *recam* is the 1p imperative of *ro-icc*, with literal meaning 'let us reach', while the term *for rith* usually means 'quickly, immediately', cf. *creitted do Patraic for rith* (*LU* 9486). The *LH* editors translate the line as 'let us reach the church with a run', while *Th* II has 'let us come to the church speedily', and Carey, ignoring the 1p imperative voice, offers: 'may our flight bring us to the Church.'[529]

2.47.3. *taithmet fíadat ferr cech nath.* In line *d* a silent copula must be read as the line does not contain a verb. The phrase *cech nath* must be in the dative singular following the comparative adjective *ferr*. The glosses offer *ferr cech filidecht* (T), and *cech dána* (F) while T has a fragmentary marginal gloss: *filidecht (dogni)ther do Dia*, 'poetry that is made for God'. Here the original composer completes his work with a self-effacing call to action asserting that direct prayer in church is more effective than metrical form.

2.47.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ria ndul la haingliu don chath	Before going with the angels to the battle
recam in n-eclais for rith.	let us come to the Church speedily.

[529] Carey 2000, 178.

taithmet Fíadat ferr cech nath	Commemoration of God is better than any poem.
Ní car Brigit búadach bith.	Victorious Brigit loved not the world.

§48

T	F
Ateoch érlam sanctbrigte	Atteoch erlam sanctbrigte
co sanctaib cille dara	co sanctaib chille dara
robbet etrom oc*us* pein	robbet etrom oc*us* phein
manim ni dig immada.	manim ni dig imoda.

2.48.1. *Metrics*. Once again the poet adopts a loose form of *rannaigecht*, $7^3 7^2 7^1 7^2$, with rhyme *dara: immada* (T), where the stress on *immada* falls on the second syllable. The spelling *imoda* in F would not rhyme with *dara*, and may be a MIr form, though the regular MIr form is *immudu* or later *immuda*. The metre assumes *sanctBrigte* carries the stress on the first syllable.

2.48.2. *Ateoch érlam sanctbrigte/ co sanctaib cille dara*. The verb *at-teoch* is the 1s present indicative of *ad-teich*, which means literally 'flees to', but is more often employed figuratively as 'entreats, invokes'. Here it is glossed *at-chím*, 'I see'. The noun *érlam* can mean 'patron saint, patron or founder of a monastery, patronage', and with *sanctBrigte* in the genitive the latter meaning is appropriate. The mss offer an etymological gloss: *érellam, .i. ad-bulellam fri denam ferta 7 mirbaile,* 'very ready, i.e. vastly ready at working miracles and marvels'.

2.48.3. *robbet etrom ocus phéin/ m'anim ní dig immada*. F marks initial lenition of *phein* after the conjunction *ocus*, while T does not, but this does not have any dating implications, as initial *p* sometimes shows lenition in Wb, sometimes not (GOI §231.4). Furthermore, a famous ninth-century poem opens with the line *Messe ocus Pangur Bán*, where *Pangur* resists lenition after *ocus*.[530] The adverb *immada* is derived from the phrase *in madae*, 'vainly.' Wb 16d4 has: *i techt mudu elimoy*, 'for the loss of the alms', where the editor comments: 'leg. *immudu*?'.[531] In Wb 19b10 the word is written *in made*, 'in vain' The choice here is effectively between dative *mudu* and accusative *madae*. The *ch*-stem noun *daur* ('oak') has genitive singular *darach* but the original is *i*-stem *dair* with genitive *daro*, later *dara*. DIL comments that in

[530] *Th* II 293, 13.

[531] GOI §379 states that the general method of forming an adverb is to employ the dative singular of the adjective with the article. Thurneysen translates *techt mudu* as 'going astray' (GOI §379).

AU the genitive *daro* (in *Cell Daro*) continues to 918, after which *dara* and *darach.* Here the rhyme *dara: immada* (rather than *immadae*) suggests that the stanza may have been composed in the early MIr period. The verbal form *ní dig* is the augmented 3s present subjunctive of *téit,* and *dig* interchanges with the more usual *dich*, *decha* or *dech.*

2.48.4. *Th* Text and Translation

At-teoch érlam sanctBrigte	I entreat the patronage of St Brigit
co sanctaib Cille dara;	with the saints of Kildare;
ro-bbet etrom ocus péin!	may they be between me and pain!
m'anim ní dig immada!	may not my soul be lost!

§49

T	F
In chaillech reided currech	IN chaillech imreded currech
rop sciath fri fœbra fégi	rop scíath ro foebra fége
ni fuar a sset acht maire	ni fuair a set acht maire
admunemar mo brígi	admunemmar mo brige

2.49.1. *Metrics*. This metre returns to the *rannaigecht bec* form of earlier stanzas, [532] $7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$. The rhyme *fégi: Brígi* (or *fége: Bríge*, F) is imperfect, due to the variation in stressed vowels. Carney comments as follows '*féigi: Brígi* is an incomplete rhyme of a type only found in early material'.[533] However, the evidence from language so far is that this hymn cannot be regarded as early, and we must assume consonance . F's line *a* has a syllable too many and, accordingly, the T text is followed. There is alliteration between *foébra* and *fégi.*

2.49.2. *In chaillech reided currech/ rop sciath fri fœbra fégi.* The verb *réidid*, 'rides, drives', is not found in the OIr Glosses, but is abundant in the heroic sagas. Here the 3s imperfect *réided* of the verb is translated by *Th* as 'used to range', and by *LH* as 'used to ride'. The relevant glosses are: *ro-riadaig .i. ro-imthig* (T), *ro-riadaged .i. ro-intect* (F), 'she drove, i.e. she proceeded'. The heroic theme continues with a prayer to Brigit to be a 'buckler against sharp edges,'. As *fáebar* is an *o*-stem

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[532] §§ 5, 7, 17, 20, and 41.

[533] Carney 1983, 194. In an earlier paper (1964, 155) Carney cites *céle: n-ilmíle* in the seventh century *Imram Brain*, (Meyer 1895, 15; §26); *chenn: crann* in *The Irish Gospel of Thomas*, (Carney 1964, 98, §25), and *fire: féne* in Celtica 5, 188.

masculine we would expect the accusative plural *fáebru* (or *fóebru*) following the preposition *fri*, though DIL cites accusative plural *fáebra* in *LU* 9617, *i mbiat fáebra fri fáebra*, 'where there will be blades against blades'. *LH* (I, 126) follows the F text but reads *fégi*, taking it as a genitive singular spelling and *ro* possibly as a late version of *fri*, thereby rendering 'against blades of sharpness'. The more likely reading of *fégi* is the OIr accusative plural of the *i*-stem adjective *féig*, 'sharp'.

2.49.3. *ni fuar a sset acht maire/ admunemar mo brígi.* The mss offer a choice between the 1s preterite *ní fuar* of T and the 3s *ní fuair* of F. The *Th* editors favour the former, with: 'I have found not her like, save Mary'. T's glossator naturally supports the T text with *ni fuarus*, but F does not offer a gloss. However, the F reading is equally feasible with 'she did not find her like save Mary'.The diminutive form *Brígi* is designed for optical rhyme with *fégi*. In the same article Carney (1983, 194) points out that *Bríg* can be used as a familiar form of Brigit, but does not provide examples.[534] *Bríg* is, of course, also an *ā*-stem noun with a range of meanings, 'power, strength, authority, vigour, virtue', qualities traditionally associated with Brigit. The poet is clearly indulging in some word-play here.[535]

2.49.4. *Th* Text and Translation

In chaillech réided Currech	The nun that used to range the Curragh -
rop scíath fri foébra fégi!	may she be a buckler against sharp edges!
ní fúar a ssét, acht Mairi,	I have not found her like, save Mary:
ad-munemmar mo Brígi.	we appeal to my Brigit.

§50

T	F
Admunemar mo brígi	Admunemmar mo brige
rop imdegail diar cure	rop imdegail diar cuire
conacna frim a hérlam	conac*na* frim a nerlam
asrollem ternam huile	asroillem ternam uile

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[534] *Fél* Jan 31 has a line *benait co mBríg romóir*, 'they strike with mighty Bríg', but it is not clear that Bríg here refers specifically to Brigit.

[535] Compare *co mbruth bríge* 'with vigorous ardour' (*Fél* Jun 2) with *Brigit bé bithmaith/ bruth órda oiblech*, 'Brigit ever-good woman, a sparkling golden ardour' (F variant of §1 of the hymn *Brigit bé*).

[535] Carney 1983, 197. The regular *io*-stem dative singular ends in *–iu*, but there is the example of a dative singular *duini* in Wb 4b3.

2.50.1. *Metrics*. The *rannaigecht bec* form, $7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$, continues with rhyme *cuire: huile.* The classical OIr forms would be the dative single *cuiriu* (also *cuiri*) and the nominative plural *huili*. It should be noted that the *-iu* ending was still distinguished from *-i* and *-e* up to the early Middle Irish period, as evidenced in SR.[536] On that basis, we may take it that this stanza is likely to have been composed outside the Old Irish period. Alternatively, if we assume a rare OIr dative singular *cuiri*, the stanza might be of ninth century vintage, where final unstressed vowels had fallen together in a schwa. In either case the mss spellings are retained. There is *aicill* between *hérlam* and *térnam.* It will be noted that line *a* is an echo of line *d* of the previous stanza.

2.50.2. *Admunemar mo brígi/ rop imdegail diar cuire*. The verbal noun *imdegail* (originally *imdegal*) of *imm-dích* was originally used in the sense of parrying in a fight or game, and is employed usually in cases of physical protection. The hymn *Sén Dé* has *rop scíath dún diar n-imdegail* (§10), and Patrick's Lorica *lám Dé domm imdegail* (line 39) Here the object of protection is *ar cuire*, which pertains to a troop or host.

2.50.3. *conacna frim a hérlam/ asrollem ternam huile*. The verb *con-gní* is augmented by the perfective particle *ad-* instead of *ro-*, and the 3s present subjunctive takes the form *con-acna*. The use of the preposition *fri* in this context is well attested in the OIr Glosses, cf. *ar congéna dia frib* (Wb 22d9), 'for God will work together with you'. The verb *ad-roilli* can take the form *as-roilli* due to the fact that *ad-* and *as-* fall together before infixed pronouns (GOI §822B). This is most apparent in Ml where both forms co-exist. The word *térnam* can be read as a verb or a verbal noun. In the latter case it is derived from the verb *do-érni* and is interpreted as 'escape, deliverance'. As a verb, it can be read as the imperative, or more likely, the 1p present subjunctive of the contracted deuterotonic of the same verb, 'may we escape'. *Th* favours the latter reading with 'may we all deserve, may we all escape.' The latter is supported by the glosses*: ro-érnam*, 'may we escape', but *LH* takes the verbal noun option. For the schwa spelling *huile* the nominative plural *huili* is read.

2.50.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Ad-munemmar mo Brígi	We appeal to my Brigit;
rop imdegail diar cuire	may she be a protection to our host,
con-acna frim a hérlam	may her patronage help me!
as-roillem térnam huile	may we all deserve, may we all escape!

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§51

T	F
Molad crist clothach labrad	Molad cr*íst* clothach labrad
adrad m*aic*c dé dán búada.	adrad m*aic*c de dan buada.
ro flatha dé cen sena	rop flatha de cen sena
cach rodgab cách rochuala.	cách rogab cách rochuala.

2.51.1 *Metrics*. This is another *rannaigecht bec* form, i.e. $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with perfect rhyme *búada : -chúala*. Alliteration occurs between *Críst* and *clothach*, *Dé* and *dán*. There is also *aicill*-rhyme between *labrad* and *adrad*.

2.51.2. *Molad crist clothach labrad/ adrad maicc dé dán búada.* The poet devises a neat literary form of parallelism, utilising the verbal nouns *molad* and *adrad*. The case-endings and syntax do not support Carey's interpretation: 'the praise of Christ's illustrious speech', which would require *molad crist clothaig labratha*. The noun *búada* is problematic here. The *i*-stem *búaid* ('victory, triumph') would be expected to have a genitive singular *búado/ búada*, but also has an anomalous genitive singular, *búade* in Wb 24a17 and in *Fél* Jun 2 , Nov 2, beside *búada* in in Prol 183 and Ep 349. DIL suggests that perhaps *búaid* was originally a feminine *ā*-stem. McCone considers it unlikely that a feminine *ā*-stem noun would be replaced by an unproductive neuter *i*-stem. Further, only a Proto-Celtic neuter *i*-stem could produce Gaulish *boudi*, OIr *búaid* and British *bud*.[537] Thurneysen comments in respect of Wb 24a17 and *Fél* that 'it is doubtful if *búade* is occasionally genitive singular, not genitive plural, of *búaid*, neuter, 'victory' (GOI §301).

2.51.3. *ro flatha dé cen sena/ cach rodgab cách rochúala.* Here *Th* follows the F text with the 3s present subjunctive *rop*. The syntax is interesting, opening with a predicative genitive: 'may (he) be of the Kingdom of God', cf. *ammi dée* (Wb 6b20), 'we are of God'. The word *séna* is the verbal noun of *sénaid*, 'denies, disowns, rejects'. The T text has the class C infixed neuter pronoun in *rod-gab* signifying relative construction, but a non-relative OIr class A in *ro-chúala*. However, as noted in GOI §505, a non-relative form is permitted in the second of two parallel relative clauses. Alternatively, the *-d-* could have been dropped by a later scribe. The evidence from the rhyme *ro-chúala: búada* indicates a date of composition no earlier than the

[537] McCone 1997b, 305-9.

ninth century, since by then the OIr 3s preterite *ro-cúal(a)e* had fallen together with *ro-chúala*.

2.51.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Molad Críst, clothach labrad!	Praise of Christ, - famous utterance!
adrad Maicc, Dé dán búada!	adoration of God's Son, - victorious art!
rop flatha Dé cen séna	may everyone who has sung it, who has heard it,
cách rod-gab cách, ro-chúala.	be of God's Kingdom without denial,

§52

T	F
Cach rochuala cach rogab	Cach rochuala cach rogab
robé bennacht brigte fair	robbe b*en*nacht brig*te* fair
bennacht brigte ocus dé	b*en*nact brig*te* oc*us* de
fordonrabat immalle	fordonrabat immalle

2.52.1. *Metrics*. There are difficulties with the rhyming scheme preserved in the mss. It is clearly not in *rannaigecht* format with *b:d* rhyming, but there is rhyme between *Dé* and *immalle* in lines *c* and *d*. The adverb *immalle* (*immallei* in Wb) is derived from *imm* plus the nasalising particle *a*, plus the preposition *le*. The stress actually falls on the third syllable of *immallé*, making its cadence monosyllabic.[538] Thus the stanza provides a monosyllabic rhyme *Dé*: *immalle* in a *deibide* setting. There has been recent discussion on where the quantity of the final vowel in *immalle*.[539] Breatnach argues for a reading *immallé*, and in support has collected a number of metrical examples including this stanza.[540] For the first couplet 3s perfect *ro-gab* would not rhyme with *fair*, because of the quality of the final consonants. Rich alliteration occurs between *cách*, *-chúala* and *cách* in line *a*, *ro-bé*, *bennacht* and *Brigte* in line *b*, *bennacht* and *Brigte* again in line *c*. The metre is $7^{1}7^{1};7^{1}7^{1}$, a form of *deibide nguilbnech ndialtach*.

2.52.2. *cach rochuala cach rogab/ robe bennacht brigte fair* The poet employs an effective stylistic device by repeating the last line of the previous quatrain but inverting the order. The non-relative class A in *ro-chuala* is repeated, but a non-

[538] Breatnach 2003.

[539] Thurneysen in GOI §44b states that 'certain words which generally occur in unstressed position are not lengthened even when they take the stress', and he cites *immalle* among other examples.

[540] For the form *immallé* see Breatnach 2003, 136.

relative *ro-gab* is permitted. It would be possible to have perfect rhyme *-gaib: fair* in the first couplet if the original composition featured a late OIr palatal *ro-gaib*. McCone points out that 'the basic divide between palatal present *gaib-* and non-palatal *gab-* elsewhere (even 3sg conj. *s*-pret.*-gab*) was beginning to be eroded in Old Irish, e.g. 3sg.aug. pret. *du-rurgaib* (Ml 63a15, gl. *emersit*), and two-way confusion sets in in Middle Irish, e.g. 3sg. pres. abs *gabaid*, 'takes' (SR 4789, 5869) alongside older *gaibid* (e.g. SR4874), pret. conj. 3sg. *-gaib* (e.g. SR 2016) alongside *-gab* (e.g. 1299)...'[541]. If indeed the poet had chosen *-gaib* for rhyming purposes, a MIr scribe might have altered it to *-gab* here and in the previous stanza. This factor would suggest a date of composition in the early MIr period.

2.52.3. *bennacht brigte ocus dé / fordonrabat immalle*. The verbal form *for-don-rabat* is the 3p augmented present subjunctive of *for-tá* with the class B 1p infixed pronoun, meaning 'may they be upon us'. It can be compared with a tmesis line in §45: *for - don-itgi Brigit -bet*, 'may Brigit's prayers be on us'. The OIr form is *ro-bat*, but there is confusion between *ro-* and *ra-* from the ninth century.

2.52.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Cách ro-chúala, cách ro-gab	Everyone who has sung it, who has heard it,
robbé bennacht Brigte fair!	may Brigit's blessing be upon him!
bennacht Brigte ocus Dé	the blessing of Brigit and of God
for-don-rabat immallé!	be on us together!

§53

T	F
Fail dí chaillig i rriched	Fail dí challig i rrichid
nochosnagur dom díchill	noschosnagur dom dichil
maire *ocus* sanctbrigit	maire oc*us* sanctbrigit
fo*r*a fóessam dún díb linaib	fo*r*a foesam dún díb linaib

2.53.1. *Metrics*. There are metrical difficulties with this stanza. Line *d* contains eight syllables, and to restore metrical balance it might be possible to drop the possessive pronoun *a* leaving simply *for*.[542] The resulting metre would be $7^2 7^2 7^3 7^2$, assuming

[541] McCone 1997, 212.

[542] A similar formula occurs in the hymn *Sén Dé*: viz. *for fóisam ríg na ndúle* (§27). The usual construction involves a preposition (*de, fo* and especially *for*), and the noun *fóesam* followed by the genitive; in this case *dín línaib* would replace the genitive.

sanctBrigit carries the stress on the first syllable. However, it is difficult to determine the rhyming scheme here. For *rannaigecht* rhyming, there would be an obvious problem with the palatal middle consonant in *díchill*, against the non-palatal equivalent in *línaib* and with the different classes of *-ll* and *-b*. A better rhyme in *deibide* metre might be found between *rríchid* and *díchill*. This is still technically imperfect, but there is an example of the rhyme *dichill: richith* in lines from the Book of Dimma.[543] Another problem is the neutral quality of the *-th* ending. There is also a major difficulty with the proposed imperfect rhyme in the other *deibide* couplet *sanctBrigit: línaib*, which does not even consonate.

2.53.2. *Fail dí chaillig i rriched.* The use of the dependent form *fail* with neutral *f* in a main clause instead of *at-tá* occurs in Middle Irish, cf. *fail ann rīg* (*SR* 937), and possibly *fil gním n-amra* (*LL* 34182). Thurneysen comments in GOI §780 that the impersonal form is occasionally used with meaning 'there is, there are' in archaic texts and poetry; it is akin to the French *voilà* (originally 'see there').[544] It would be possible to restore OIr *fil*, but since these supplementary stanzas show signs of lateness, the form *fail* is probably original. The *o*-stem noun *riched*, 'heaven' appears regularly in religious poetry, usually without the definite article. *Th* follows the F ms with *i rrichid*, presumably for metrical reasons, but in any case the unstressed syllable would have fallen with that of OIr dative *riched* in the ninth century.

2.53.3. *nochosnagur dom díchill.* The negative particle *nocho* is a MIr form derived from the earlier *noco n-* and *níco* and eventually from OIr *nícon*. The spelling in F, *noschosnagur*, is defective with its unhistoric first *-s*. The question is what the original form may have been. The *Th* editors emend the verb to what is an earlier form *níco-sn-águr*, (from *ad-agathar*, with class A 3p infixed pronoun) which they translate as 'who I do not fear will neglect me'. A similar expression, with a proleptic infixed pronoun, is attested in Ml 57d3: *nico-s-fuar-so inna furgrad sin*, 'I have not found those remains'. The verb *ad-ágathar* is often found in literature with a verbal noun, cf. *ataighin eona uile dom arccuin* (*Im Brain* ii 292, §13), 'I used to fear that all the birds would slay me'. The word *díchell* is the verbal noun of *do-ciallathar*,

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[543] *Th* II (257, 11-12) mistakenly cites the Book of Durrow for this passage: *Ernn dom hillung mo saethir/ a Iohain alt cen dichill/ mo brithmnect cen acrad / ocus atrab ind richith,* 'Grant unto me as a reward of my labour, O John … without neglect, my judgement without torment and a dwelling in the heavenly kingdom'.

[544] McCone 1997, 8.

'neglects', and here has *ā*-stem flexion with dative singular *díchill*. *Th* reads line *b* as a relative clause, with *dí chaillig* as antecedent.

2.53.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Fail dí chaillig i rríchid	There are two nuns in Heaven
nícos-n-águr dom díchill,	who I do not fear will neglect me,
Maire ocus sanctBrigit:	Mary and Saint Brigit:
fora fóessam dún díb línaib!	may we be under the protection of them both!

2.53.5. Latin Coda (T only)

s*anct*e brigte uirgo sacratissima

In χρ*ist*o d*omi*no fuit fidelissima

Am*en*

2.53.6. Restored Text and Translation

Sanctae Brigtae uirgo sacratissima	Saint Brigit, the most hallowed virgin,
In Christo Domino fuit fidelissima	Was the most faithful one in Christ the Lord.

Section 3: Metrical Analysis

3.1. Rhyming Scheme.

3.1.1. A detailed stanza-by-stanza metrical analysis was conducted in Section 2. In this section the main highlights and problem areas are addressed. As can be seen in Table A the metrical system of this hymn is so irregular as to almost defy explanation. The poem is arranged in quatrains with heptasyllabic lines, closed with a *dúnad* at the end of §47. Thereafter, six additional verses are added, together with a Latin coda. Variations and difficulties involving metre and cadence are common, and one is left with the distinct impression that more than one poet has been at work in the hymn. Of the total of 53 stanzas, fifty are in *rannaigecht* format, with monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic cadence; another three (§§ 7, 12, 52) are in an irregular form of *deibide* metre.[545]

3.1.2. The most serious departure from early Irish metrics lies in the rhyming scheme in a number of stanzas. The first major problem occurs where *sanctBrigte* is required to rhyme with *hitge* in §8:

Fó húair congab Macc Caille/ caille ós chind sanctBrigte
ba menn inna himthechtaib/ for nim rocloss a hitge.

The question arises as to where the stress is meant to fall in the word *sanctBrigte.* According to *EIM*, 'true compounds, such as *mórmhac,* bear a single strong stress on the first syllable, as though they were simple words'.[546]

3.1.3. Can *sanctBrigte* be regarded as a true compound, or did the composer intend the stress to fall on the second syllable? It should be noted that both mss combine *sanct* and *Brigte* as one word rather than separating them as independent stressed elements. It could be argued that *sanct-*, as an uninflected Latin borrowing, may not carry the stress in combinations with proper names. The word *sanct-* does not appear as a prefix in any of the other OIr hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum*, although it

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[545] Unfortunately, only a few of the *rannaigecht* metres can be positively identified among those listed in *EIM*. There are three stanzas in *rannaigecht mór* ($7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$), seven in *rannaigecht bec* ($7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$), four in $7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$ *rannaigecht chummaisc*, twenty-one with undefined monosyllabic rhyme, thirteen disyllabic, and two trisyllabic. It is probable that the regular *rannaigecht* stanzas have arisen more by accident than design, and it might be better to regard them metrically as 25 couplets, each of 14 syllables. Two of the three *deibide* stanzas appear regular, one *deibide nguilbnech recomarcach* ($7^{2}7^{2}$; $7^{2}7^{2}$), one *deibide do-cheil a chubaid* ($7^{1}7^{1}$; $7^{1}7^{2}$), and one with irregular metre ($7^{1}7^{2}$;$7^{2}7^{1}$).

[546] Murphy 1961, 41.

functions as a stand-alone noun in Sanctán's Hymn.[547] However, a similar problem recurs here with rhyme in §21:

Ni rurímiu ni áirmiu/ a ndo-rigénai ind nóebdúil

bennachais in clárainech / comtar forréili a dí súil.

This rhyming abnormality is not just confined to *rannaigecht* metre. In *deibide* stanza §12 *sanctBrigti* is required to make *ardrinn-rinn* rhyme with *bí*:

A ndo-rigénai in rí/ do fertaib ar sanctBrigti

ma do-róntai ar dune/ cairm i cúala cluas nach bí.

Here both mss again show the word as being compounded, (although the *Th* editors choose to separate the elements as opposed to §7). It is tempting to plead a special case for saints' names. After all, in modern Irish (and in English) the word for saint (*naomh*) is not strongly stressed when used in combination with a name.

3.1.4. Notwithstanding the above, the same mismatch arises in other passages which are more secular in nature. In these cases the anomalous rhymes occur in compounds where the first-element stress is guaranteed elsewhere by metrics. One can only conclude that the poet or poets may have invoked poetic license to make a conscious distinction between formal stress and poetic accentuation in the rhyming structure of this hymn (in particular §42). More likely, they may have devised a new form of *rinn-ardrinn deibide* in the *b: d* position.The complete list of stanzas with *deibide* rhyme in a *rannaigecht* setting are:

§8: *sanctBrigte: hitge*

§12: *sanctBrigti*: *bí*

§19: *maith: derglaid* [548]

§21: *nóebdúil: súil*

§22: *amra: comlabra*

§28: *fán: ríglám*

§42: *nís-derbrath: rath*

§4: *santach: cessachtach* (*a: c* rhyme)

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[547] See Sanctán's Hymn (Chap 8). §11 of the F text begins *Epscop Sanctán sancta sruthib* (leg. *sanct a sruthib*). Turning to *Fél*, there are two references to names beginning *sanct*: the proper noun *sanctlethan* (12 June), and *sanct Martain* (11 Nov) written as two words. However, neither of these is in a rhyming position.

[548] Here the stress on *derg-* seems to be supported in the compound *dergthuirind* which appears in an OIr *deibide* couplet: *In gran meilis in muilind/ ní corcra acht is derg-thuirind*, 'the grain which the mill grindeth, 'tis not oats, but it is red wheat' (*Fél* p.134).

3.1.5. Inconsistencies also arise with the other two *deibide* stanzas:

§7: *Amra sámud sanctBrigte/ amra Plea con húalae*

ba hóen im Chríst co ngaba/ dál as chomtig fri dáma,

where there is neither rhyme nor consonance between *-Brigte* and *húalae*, but the poet may have opted instead for a consonance between *húala* and *dáma*,[549] compensating with rhythmic similarity between lines *a* and *b*. The other is:

§52: *Cách ro-chúala cách ro-gab/ robé bennacht Brigte fair*

bennacht Brigte ocus Dé/ for-don-rabat immalle.

Here we might conjure an irregular *deibide* between MIr *-gaib* and *fair* beside good *deibide* in *Dé: immallé /immalle*. This stanza is a supplementary one following the *dúnad* in §47.

3.1.6. In addition there are two stanzas where the rhyme is more akin to consonance: §7 *-húalae: dáma*, and §44 *less: ass*. The wide variations in metre and rhyme naturally lead to suspicion of interpolation in the hymn. The last six stanzas following the *dúnad* are clearly supplementary, and a linguistic analysis shows they are late interpolations. However, even in the first 47 stanzas there is evidence of interpolation. The early editors Bernard and Atkinson looked askance at the mixing of *rannaigecht* and *deibide* metres, the employment of highly irregular rhyming and the variation in rhyming cadences. In fact the mixing of *rannaigecht* and *deibide* stanzas is well attested in early literature. The ninth-century poem *Aithbe dam cen bés moro* presents an eclectic arrangement of both metres.[550] A similar system is in play in the verses of the early MIr text *Fingal Rónáin*.[551]

3.2 Metrical Ornamentation

Apart from *b: d* rhyme, the main features of metrical ornamentation in *rannaigecht* verse are consonance, internal rhyme, *aicill*-rhyme and alliteration, as well as additional *a: c* rhyme. Table A shows the distribution of such ornamentation.

3.3 Elision.

Elision is sparse in this hymn, occurring in only four of the 212 lines: (§21) *ndorigénai ind*, (§21) *forréili a*, (§33) *minna a* and (§35) *dí a*. According to *EIM*,

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[549] This is the solution adopted by the *Th* editors. Carney (1983, 184) argues that such rhyme was fully acceptable in early Irish literature, viz §49 in this hymn with rhyme *fégi: Brígi*.

[550] Carney 1967, 28-41; Greene and O'Connor 1990, 48-55; Murphy *PRIA* lv, 83-109.

[551] Greene 1955, 8-11.

elision is not frequent in Old Irish.[552] In contrast with the examples above, there are five different lines where potential elision is eschewed: (§12) *do-róntai ar* (*dernta ar* F), (§19) *dí in*, (§§20, 24) *ba mó amru arailiu*, (§25) *forglu inna* twice and (§40) *amra iar*.

[552] Murphy (1961, 39-40) formulates the rule that an unstressed vowel may (or may not be) elided when another vowel precedes it.

Table A: Broccán's Hymn Rhyming Scheme

§	Metre	Rhyme	Ornamentation
1	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}$	*n-ailt: mmaicc*	alliteration
2	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*hiris: cinis*	alliteration
3	$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*brígach: díbad*	alliteration, consonance
4	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*mathim: cathim*	alliteration
5	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*trúagu: slúagu*	alliteration, consonance
6	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*maige: Maire*	alliteration
7	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*húala: dáma*	
8	$7^{2}7^{3}7^{3}7^{2}$	*sanctBrigte: hitge*	aicill
9	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*beóil: sceóil*	
10	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$	*gáeth: sáeth*	alliteration, a:c rhyme
11	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}$	*dé: cé*	alliteration, aicill
12	$7^{1}7^{3}7^{2}7^{1}$	*sanctBrigti: bí*	alliteration
13	$7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$	*fenamain: llenamain*	consonance
14	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*coscur: oscur*	
15	$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*chrábdig: ánbig*	aicill, consonance
16	$7^{3}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$	*dí: thrí*	consonance
17	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*réde: gréne*	
18	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*rríg: llín*	
19	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}7^{2}$	*maith: derglaid*	
20	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*galar: saland*	alliteration
21	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}$	*nóebdúil: súil*	
22	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}$	*amra: comlabra*	alliteration
23	$7^{3}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$	*-glinnestar: millestar*	consonance
24	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}$	*lucht: hucht*	
25	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$	*dó: mbó*	
26	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*Cóil: lóig*	alliteration
27	$7^{3}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$	*nech: tech*	
28	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}$	*fán: rígláim*	alliteration
29	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*n-oss: foss*	
30	$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*amra: Gabra*	alliteration
31	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*trúaig: lúaig*	
32	$7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*máir: láim*	
33	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}$	*chró: dó*	
34	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}$	*cert: nert*	
35	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*cloth: both*	
36	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*níad: íach*	
37	$7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*Cóil: lóig*	
38	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}$	*nóeb: lóeg*	
39	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$	*dí: trí*	alliteration
40	$7^{1}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*suidiu: arailiu*	alliteration
41	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*-decha: Letha*	alliteration
42	$7^{1}7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}$	*-derbrath: rath*	
43	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*thucai: chucai*	alliteration
44	$7^{2}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$	*leass: ass*	alliteration
45	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$	*-fóir: nóib*	alliteration
46	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*cíara: píana*	
47	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$	*rith: brith*	alliteration, a:c rhyme
48	$7^{3}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$	*dara: immada*	
49	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*fégi: Brígi*	alliteration
50	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*cuire: huile*	
51	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*búada: -chúala*	aicill
52	$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$	*Dé: immalle*	
53	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$	*rrichid: díchill*	

Section 4: Linguistic Analysis

4.1. Final Unstressed Vowels in Rhyming Positions

§	T	F	*Th* II edition	Classical OIr
7	conhúalai: dama	conhúala: dama	*con-húala: dáma*	*con-húalae: dáma*
22	amra: comlabra	amra: ccomlabra	*amra: comlabra*	*amrae: comlabrae*
30	amra: gabra	amra: gabra	*amra: Gabra*	*amrae: Gabra?*
41	dodadecha: letha	dodadecha: letha	*do-da-decha: Letha*	*do-da-decha: Lethai*
46	ciara: piana	ciara: phiana	*cíara: píana*	*cíara: píana*
51	búada: rochuala	buada: rochuala	*búada: -chúala*	*búada: -chúalae*
43	thucai: chucai	thucai: chucai	*thucai: chucai*	*thucai: chucai*
8	sanctbrigte: hitge	sanctbrigte: itge	*sanctBrigte: itge*	*sanctBrigte: itge*
8b	caille: caille	caille: caille	*caille: Caille*	*caille: Caille*
17	réde: gréne	réde: gréne	*réde: gréne*	*réde: gréne*
6	maige: maire	maige: maire	*maige: Maire*	*maige: Maire*
5	truagu: sluagu	trúagu: slúagu	*trúagu: slúagu*	*trúagu: slúagu*
40	suidiu: arailiu	suidiu: araile	*suidiu: arailiu*	*suidiu: arailiu*
	Post *dúnad*			
48	dara: immada	dara: imoda	*dara: immada*	*dara: immadae*
49	fégi: brígi	fége: brigi	*fégi: brígi*	*fégi: brígi*
50	cure: huile	cuire: huile	*cuire: huile*	*cuiriu: huili*

4.1.1. Consider first the rhyming words ending in *-a*, *-ae* and *-ai*. In §7 the OIr *ā*-stem accusative plural *dáma* (*fri dáma*) rhymes with the 3s present indicative *con-húala* (which must be taken as a historic present). In §22 there is rhyme between two feminine *ā*-stem nominatives, *amra* and *comlabra*, which could easily be restored to OIr *amrae* and *comlabrae* provided evidence is found elsewhere to justify such a move. In §30 the same *amra* rhymes with the second part of the placename Úachtar Gabra. There is doubt concerning the precise meaning of *gabra* here. As genitive singular of *i*-stem noun *gabor* ('horse') one might expect *gabro/ gabra*, but a genitive plural would yield *gabrae*, which in turn would guarantee *amrae*. The evidence is inconclusive here. However, in §41 the 3s present subjunctive *do-da-decha* (< *do-téit*) establishes rhyme with *Letha*. The OIr dative of *Lethae* (assuming an *iā*-stem) would be *Lethai*, and indicates that this particular rhyme can be no earlier than the ninth century. With *cíara* and *píana* in §46 the rhyme is between another two OIr *ā*-stem accusative plurals, and does not provide any specific dating evidence. However, the rhyme *dara: immada* in §48 has the appearance of lateness, the former being the genitive singular of the *i*-stem *dair* and the latter an adverbial phrase derived from

classical OIr *i mmadae* or *immudu*. The classical OIr 3s perfect of *ro-cluinethar* is *ro-cúalae*, but rhyme with the *i*-stem genitive singular *búada* in §51 would not have been possible until the ninth century. It should be borne in mind however that this stanza and §48 may be later additions as they appear after the formal *dúnad* in §47. The 3s present indicative of *do-uccai* has a prototonic form *thucai* which makes good rhyme with the conjugated preposition *chucai* in §43. The lenited *chucai* is a later form of the OIr 3s masculine/neuter form *cuccai*. It appears as early as the Ml glosses, cf. *contoat chucai son* (46c1), 'who turn to Him', but the lenited form became popular in later literature.

4.1.2. Of the rhyming pairs ending in *-e* and *-i*, the masculine *io*-stem nominative singular *itge* makes *deibide* rhyme in §8 with the *ī*-stem genitive *sanctBrigite*. In §17 good OIr rhyme is found between the genitive singulars, *ā*-stem *gréne* and *i*-stem *réde*. A similar rhyme occurs between genitives *iā*-stem *Maire* and *s*-stem *maige* in §6. There is a problem with the rhyme *fégi: brígi* in §49, one of the supplementary stanzas following the *dúnad*, and this is more properly described as consonance rhyming. Here *fégi* is the accusative plural of the *i*-stem adjective *féig* and *Brígi* the accusative of *ā*-stem *Bríg*, a familiar form of *Brigit*. Finally, the *o*-stem accusative plurals *trúagu* and *slúagu* in §5 make perfect rhyme, but the anaphoric pronoun *suidiu* makes only consonance rhyme with pronomial *arailiu* in §40.

4.2. Nouns and Adjectives

4.2.1. Considering first the nouns and adjectives established by rhyme, it is clear that the mss, by and large, faithfully preserve OIr grammatical rules. The exceptions are:

(1) §15: *o*-stem dative singular *gort* (rhyming with *locht*) is not well attested, but one might expect OIr *gurt*. Thurneysen points out that the dative *u*-quality is generally resisted after a stressed vowel, except when the syllable ends in *-r* plus a consonant, cf. dative *neurt* from *nert* (GOI §171). DIL lists a number of examples of dative *gurt*, all of them attested in later texts. This rhyme, however, is between lines *a* and *c*, a feature not mandatory in the poem.

(2) §44: *u* stem nominative singular *leass* (OIr *less*) has been distorted to provide optical (but not phonetic) rhyme with 3s neuter conjugated pronoun *ass*.

(3) §42: *o* stem *rath* (OIr *roth*) has been distorted to provide optical rhyme with the augmented 3s imperfect verbal form *ní derbrath*, although the *roth* would have rhymed with *derbrath* (*derbroth*) in the ninth century.

(4) §48: adverb *immada* (*imoda* F), rather than OIr *in madae* (later *i mudu*), rhymes with *i*-stem genitive singular *dara* (< *dair*). This rhyme would not have been possible before the ninth century.
(5) §50: *io*-stem dative singular *cuire* (OIr *cuiriu*) rhymes with *uile*, (which itself should be nominative plural *uili* for concordance with the 1p verbal form *as-roillem*).[553] The rhyme *cuire: huile* would not have been acceptable in the OIr period as the *-iu* ending was distinguished from *-i* and *-e* up to early MIr, as evidenced in *SR*.
(6) §29: The nominative singular *a n-oss* ('the beast') indicates that the *o*-stem masculine noun *os(s)* was originally of neuter gender. Thurneysen points out that the neuter gender was largely superseded by the masculine and feminine in the ninth century and disappears almost completely in the tenth (GOI §245).
(7) §10: The later confusion of *u*- and *o*-stem nouns leading to use of the placename *Glenn da Loch* instead of OIr *Glenn da Locha*.

4.3. Pronouns

4.3.1. There is only one independent pronoun (*sí*) in the poem, occurring in §45 with the line *sí fri gábud co-n-don-fóir*, 'that she might help us against danger', but F has *sith* ('peace') for *sí*, and this may be a better reading. In §19 *Th* II reads *sénta impe* as *sénaid-í impe*, 'she blesses it about her', though a passive preterite singular **sénthae* > *sénta* is also possible. A large number of infixed pronouns are also used involving classes A, B and C:

§	Pronoun	*Th* edition	Classical OIr
Class A			
13	3s fem	*ní-s-gaib* (nisgeib F)	*ní-s-gaib*
13	3s fem	*ní-s-dígaib*	*ní-s-dígaib*
18	3s fem	*ní-s-dígaib*	*ní-ndígaib*
39	3s fem	*ro-s-mbí* (rosbi F)	*ra -mbí*
42	3s fem	*ní-s-derbrath* (nísderbrad T)	*ní-s-derbrath*
5	1p	*ro-n-snáde*	*ro-snáde?*
46	1p	*do-n-fair*	*do-n-fair*
46	1p	*ro-n-snádat*	*ro-n-snádat*
	Post *dúnad*		
53	3p	*níco-s-n-águr*	*níco-s-n-águr*

[553] Noted by Stokes and Strachan in *Th* II *xxxix*.

Class B			
19	3s neut	*at-chous*	*at-chous*
45	1p	*for-don-bet*	*for-don-bet*
	Post *dúnad*		
52	1p	*for-don-rabat*	*for-don-robat*
Class C			
9	3s neut	*no-d-guidiu*	*no-guidiu*
11	3s masc	*conid-n-árlaid* (conidarlaid TF)	*conid-n-árlaid*
32	3s masc	*conid-n-imbert* (conidnimmert F)	*conid-n-imbert*
23	3s neut	*ro-d-glinnestar*	*ro-d-glinnestar*
25	3s neut	*conid-rúalaid*	*conid-rúalaid*
37	3s neut	*ar-do-utacht* (ar-do-utacht TF)	*ar-da-utacht*
38	3s neut	*ar-id-rálastar*	*ar-id-rálastar*
41	3s neut	*do-d-decha* (dodadecha T, dodecha F)	*do-d-decha*
18	3s fem	*ro-da-s-gáid*	*ro-da-gáid*
27	3s fem	*do-da-ascansat*	*do-da-ascansat*
45	1p	*co ndon-fóir* (condonfair T)	See 4.4.6
27	3p	*ro-da-s-cload* (rodoscload F)	*ro-da-cload*
33	3p	*for-da-corsatar* (fordagoirsetar F)	*for-da-corsatar*
	Post *dúnad*		
51	3s neut	*ro-d-gab* (rogab F)	*ro-d-gab*
51, 52	3s fem	*ro-chúala*	*ro-chúalae*

4.3.2. Generally, infixed pronouns are employed in accordance with OIr grammatical rules, but there is evidence of later confusion in gender and MIr hypercorrection. Considering first the class A pronouns, there is gender confusion in §18 where the 3s feminine infixed pronoun in *ní-s-dígaib* is anaphoric, but relates to the *u*-stem noun *lín* (neuter later masculine). Similarly, in §39 the 3s feminine pronoun in *ro-s-mbí* relates to the masculine noun *sét* (or *dán* F). In §5 (*dollaid ro-n-snáde slúagu*), the *Th* editors comment that the infixed *-n-* in *ro-n-snáde* may be otiose but it could be taken to mean 'may it protect us, hosts'. However, one would expect here the dative of apposition *slúagib* (GOI §251.2). In §53 the negative particle *níco-* in the verbal form, *níco-s-n-águr*, 'I do not fear them', would not be found in Wb, but appears in Ml, *cf.* Ml 57d3: *nícos-fúar-sa*, 'I have not found them'. (See also GOI §420). For class B, the 1p infixed pronoun in §45 (where the actual line is *for-don-itge Brigte bet*) is found in a tmesis construction based on the verbal form *for-don-bet*.

4.3.3. The majority of infixed pronouns are of the class C type. However, the infixed 3s pronoun in *no-d-guidiu* (§9) may be a petrified neuter used as a relative marker, as

discussed in the relevant Textual Note. In §18 the verbal form *ro-da-s-gáid*, 'who had beseeched her', with its 3s feminine singular class C infixed pronoun, presents an otiose *-s-*, which is a feature of later Irish texts.[554] A similar intrusive *-s-* is found in §27 with *ro-da-s-cload*, 'that (he) should have turned them back'. Also in §27 the class C pronoun in *do-da-ascansat* signifies a relative construction which the context does not support, and it may represent a later practice where class C pronouns occasionally replaced class A. The same consideration applies to *ar-id-rálastar* in §38, which in Old Irish would require a class B pronoun in a non-relative construction. These examples are all late forms, possibly scribal alterations, and OIr forms could in some cases be restored without impairing metrical features. In §37 the verbal form *ar-do-utacht* in the mss lacks the feminine infixed pronoun required by the context, and *Th* (II 345 note *h*) suggests *ar-da-utacht* be read. This may have been a simple transcription error, however.

4.3.4. Prepositional Pronouns. These are all OIr forms: 3s feminine *dí* (§§16, 19, 25, 30, 37, 39, 42 and 43), *impe* (§20) and *rempe* (§42); 3s masculine *dó* (§§25, 33), 3s neuter *ass* (§45), 3p *leo* (§27). The lenited pronoun *chucai* is a later form of the OIr 3s masculine/neuter form *cuccai*. As observed in Textual Note §45 it appears as early as the Ml glosses, cf. *con-toat chucai son* (46c1), 'who turn to Him', but the lenited form became popular in later literature. In this poem *chucai* could be scribal, but is probably original since it appears in a stanza with other late forms.

4.4. Verbal Forms

4.4.1. Present Stems

§			3s indic
21	1s	*ru-rímiu* (rurimo F)	*rímid*
21	1s	*ní áirmiu* (armo F)	*ad-rími*
7	3s	*con-húala* (*conhúalai* T)	*con-húala(e)*
10	3s rel	*lúades*	*lúaidid*
12	3s cons	*bí*	*at-tá*
19	3s	*sénta* [leg. *sénaid-i*]	*sénaid*
34, 41	3s	*ní fail*	*at-tá*
35	3s perf pres	*ná túargaib*	*do-fócaib*
47	1p imper	*recam*	*ro-icc*

[554] McCone (1997, 175) points out that in MIr texts non-neuter third persons may be used occasionally without real meaning, perhaps by hypercorrect response to the demise of infixed pronouns in contemporary speech, e.g *do-s-fuit*, 'she falls'.

Post *dúnad*

49	3s impf	*réided* (imreded F)	*réidid*
48	1s	*atteoch*	*ad-teich*
48	1s	*nícos-n-águr*	*ad-ágathar*
49,50	1p	*ad-munemar*	*ad-munedar*
53	1s	*fail*	*at-tá*
50	1p impv	*térnam*	*do-érni*

4.4.2. In §7 the 3s present indicative form *con-húala* (OIr *con-húalae, <*com-uss-lu-*) 'ascends', is established by consonance rhyme with *dáma*, though the context requires the preterite *con-húalai* as in T and as attested in §33 of the hymn *Génair Pátraicc*).[555] Whether the verbal form be read as an historic present or as a preterite it could only have been composed in a period when final unstressed *-ae* or *-ai* in rhyming position had fallen together with *-a*. The dependent form of the substantive verb, *fail* with neutral *f*, does not appear in Wb or *Fél*, but there are 3 examples in Ml, 11 in Sg and one in the Carlruhe Beda Glosses (*Th* II 12, 38). This suggests that the *ní fail* of §§34 and 41 may be dated to no earlier than the mid-ninth century. If the form was purely scribal we would expect other instances in the poem, but there are none to be found here nor in any of the OIr hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum*. A similar consideration applies to the impersonal form *fail* in §53. In §35 *ná* represents the relative negative particle *nád* and *túargaib* is the perfective present of *do-fócaib*, rendering 'which he cannot lift'. This may represent an historic present as the context of the stanza is set in the past.

4.4.3 Subjunctive Stems (present subjunctives except where otherwise stated).

§			3s indic
5	3s	*ro-n-snáde*	*snáidid*
46	3p	*ro-n-snádat*	*snáidid*
7	3s	*co ngaba*	*gaibid*
9	3p	*ro-sasat* (rosasad T)	*saigid*
12	3p past pss	*do-róntai* (*ni dernta* F)	*do-gní*
17	3s	*mainbad* (manbad F)	*is*
19	1s	*at-chous*	*ad-fet*
34	3s	*do-ruirme*	*do-rími*
41	3s past	*do-d-decha* (*dodadecha* T)	*do-téit*
42	3s past	*ní-s-derbrath*	*do-opir*
43	3s	*cech thucai*	*do-beir*
44	3s perf	*ro-n-ánicc* (roránic T)	*ro-icc*

[555] The 3s perfect of *con-úala* is attested as *con-rúalae* in *Fél* Nov 21 and Ep 25.

45	3p	*for-don-bet*	*for-tá*
45,48	3p	*ro-bbet*	*at-tá*
45	3s	*con-don-fóir* (condonfair T)	**do-foiret*
46	3s	*do-n-fair*	*do-foir*
45	3p	*for-don-bet*	*for-tá*
Post *dúnad*			
50	1p	*as-roillem*	*ad-roilli*
52	3p	*for-don-rabat*	*for-tá*
48	3s	*ní dig*	*téit*
50	3s	*con-acna*	*con-gní*

4.4.4. The classical OIr 3s present subjunctives of *snáidid* and *do-rími* are *snáidea* and *do-ruirmea* but the forms *-snáde* (§5) and *do-ruirme* (§34) are not established by rhyme, and could be scribal. In §46 one might have expected a 3p subjunctive *ro-snáidet* rather than the non-palatal *ro-snádat*, but the predominant subjunctive form in *Fél* is also *ro-snádat*. The *ro-snádat* forms in *Fél* are not established by rhyme, but the 3s present subjunctive *ro-snáda* rhymes with accusative plural *dála* (*Fél* Sep 20), providing further attestation of the original verb *snádaid*. The development of a final non-palatal consonant in the stem of weak *i*-stem verbs was discussed in Chapter 3, para 4.4.5. Although *Th* II adopts the form *co ngaba* in §7 without translation, a better solution might be to read the 3s present subjunctive *con-gaba* (*con-gaib*, 'takes up abode, settles') as proposed by Carney,[556] and discussed in the relevant Textual Note. The forms *mainbad* and *manbad* in §17 are variants of *ma-ni-bad*, 'if it were not for' (GOI §249.6), involving the dependent 3s present subjunctive form of the copula. The verbal form in §19 is *mat-chous*, comprising the conditional pronoun *má*, 'if', the 1s perfective subjunctive of *ad-fét*, 'relates', together with the leniting 3s neuter infixed pronoun, giving the meaning 'if I may relate it'. The perfective form of *ad-fet* takes *com-* rather than *ro-* for augmentation, and when *com* comes into contact with *f*, the resultant *-mf-* disappears, giving the 1s present subjunctive *ad-co-us*.

4.4.5. In §43 the clause *cech thucai* is strange. GOI §461 defines *cecha-*, *cacha-* as a conjunct particle before verbs, which is always accusative and requires the subjunctive in the present tense, e.g. *cecha-taibre* 'whatsoever thou mayest give'. However, DIL (C 4. 32) offers examples, including the one under discussion here, where *cecha-* is felt as nominative. An example is *cecham-theirb*, 'whoever may vex

[556] Carney, 1983, 192.

me' which appears in an OIr poem[557] and which, suitably modified, may provide a suitable model for *cech thucai*. The classical OIr form would be *cecha-thucca* (3s present subjunctive, with leniting 3s neuter infixed pronoun), 'whoever may bring it'. It is envisaged that the infixed pronoun *-a-* would have been first absorbed into the *cecha-* and the ending then shortened to *cech*, cf. *Aue lat-su! cech bé de*, 'Hail to you! whatever may come' from *Blathmac*.[558] *Th* translates *cech thucai* 'whoever gave it', but that would require *cech thuicc*, and an historic present must be read. As to the construction itself, all the examples feature the subjunctive mood, and *cech-thuca* may have been the original form. This would have rhymed with *chucai* from the ninth-century onward when such unstressed final vowels were sounded as a schwa, but *-tuca* may have been scribally altered to *-tucai* for optical rhyme. Perhaps the translation should be 'whoever may have brought it'.

4.4.6. The OIr construction, involving a negative substantive verb followed by the present subjunctive, is seen in §34 (*ní fail do-ruirme co cert*) and §41 (*ní fail dune do-d-decha*). This construction has been treated recently by McQuillan.[559] He points out that many examples carry an augmented subjunctive which conveys a sense of frustrated ability or potentiality. In this stanza the 3s present augmented subjunctives *do-ruirme* and *do-d-decha* provide the literal meanings: 'there is not (he) who can enumerate …' and 'there is not a person who can tell it'.

4.4.7. There is a linguistic problem with the verbal form *con-don-fóir* in §45, which is required to rhyme with the *o*-stem genitive singular *noíb*. The stem *-fóir* arises from **to-fo-reth*, 'succours'. In this context a long *-ó-* would come from the compound **to-fo-* when syncopated, cf. the verbal noun *tóirithin*. It could also arise from a MIr contraction of **toïr* > *tóir* 'help'. However, for rhyme with *noíb* it must contain the diphthong *-oí-*. Thurneysen in GOI §626 suggests that that *foí* may have spread from the future tense, where it is easier to explain. In dealing with the reduplicated future GOI §660 states that stressed *fo-* (and *to-*) before the reduplication syllable becomes *foí-* (and *toí-*). However, this is challenged by Dr Uhlich of TCD who points out that the stem *-reth-* is one of the 6 verbs which do not undergo reduplication (GOI §662).

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[557] Murphy 1998, 34.24. See also Binchy's comment cited in the *EIL* Glossary (p. 352).

[558] Carney 1964, 108 §3.

[559] As McQuillan (2002, 203-4) puts it: 'the issue here is the denial of any antecedent that would satisfy the descriptive terms of the relative clause other than is expressly specified'. A typical example is: *ní fil ní dom ṡétaib nad té tar cenn na hingine* (*TBF* 247), 'there is none of my treasures that I would not give to save the girl'.

Therefore without the diphthong *-oí*, *-fóir* and *noíb* would make consonance rather than full rhyme. Instead, it may be a better solution to follow the T ms with the stem *-fair*, which is a variant form of *-foir* (GOI §81).[560] In this respect, the verbal form *con-don-foir/ con-don-fair* can be translated as a subjunctive 'so that she may help us'. It will be noted that the 3s present subjunctive *don-fair* appears in the following stanza of this poem. As discussed in the Textual Note, Carney proposes emending the genitives *Spirta Noíb* to *Spirta Glain* (an early Irish term for the Holy Ghost) to secure perfect rhyme with *con-don-fair*.

4.4.8. As noted in Textual Note §45, the line *for-don- itgi Brigte -bet* is a a form of tmesis where the subject *itgi Brigte* splits the 3p present subjunctive *for-don-bet*. Such tmesis is an interesting literary device in imitation of early verse, but it does not necessarily point to an early date of composition.

4.4.9. The *Th* II editors (*xxxix*) list the verb *con-acna* in §50 as one of the interesting OIr forms. This verbal form is the 3s present subjunctive from the augmented stem **cum-ad-gní-* (*con-gní*, 'helps'). Its presence in §50 is surprising, as this stanza is a post-*dúnad* addition which features a late dative form *cuire* (OIr *cuiriu*) established by rhyme. Another 'interesting' form is *sénta* in §19, already discussed above.

4.4.10 Preterite Stems

a. *s*-preterite

1	3s	*ní car* (ní cair F)	*caraid*
47	3s	*ní car* (*dúnad*)	*caraid*
3	3s	*ní cair*	*caraid*
25	3s	*carais*	*caraid*
2	3s	*cinis*	*cinid*
4	3s	*érnais* (erneis F)	*ernaid*
13	3s	*ní-s-gaib* (nisgeib F)	*gaibid*
29	3s	*gabais*	*gaibid*
13, 18, 34	3s	*nís-dígaib*	*do-gaib*
27	3s	*nís-dígaib*	*do-gaib*
8	3s	*con-gab*	*con-gaib*
27	3s	*con-uccaib* (conucab T)	*con-ucaib*

[560] Murphy (1956, 265, 24.12, and 180, n.3) lists the verb *do-foir* in his *EIL* Glossary, and relates it to the form *dom-róirsed,* 'who could aid me' (*EIL* 10.12), which he describes as the 3s past subjunctive of *do-foir*, 'helps', with a *ro* of possibility inserted (*EIL* 180, n.3). However, Binchy in his review of *EIL* in Celtica 4 (1958) 296 comments that *do-foir* is the present subjunctive of the verb **do-foiret*. Further, the verb *to-fo-reth* forms a 3s present subjunctive prototonic *-tóir*, which in turn gave rise to the MIr verbs *do-fóir* and *fóirim*.

15	3s	*ferais*	*feraid*
17, 28	3s	*scarais*	*scaraid*
21	3s	*bennachais*	*bennachaid*
20	3s	*sénais*	*sénaid* (note 1)
23	3s	*sénastar*	*sénaid*
23	3s	*nícon millestar*	*millid*
27	3s	*nís-dígaib*	*do-gaib*
8	3s	*con-gab*	*con-gaib*
27	3s	*con-uccaib* (conucab T)	*con-ucaib*
15	3s	*ferais*	*feraid*
17, 28	3s	*scarais*	*scaraid*
21	3s	*bennachais*	*bennachaid*
20	3s	*sénais*	*sénaid* (note 1)
23	3s	*sénastar*	*sénaid*
23	3s	*nícon millestar*	*millid*
23	3s perf	*rod-glinnestar*	*glinnid*
24	3s	*ní coill*	*coillid*
37	3s	*loiscis*	*loiscid*
29	3s	*tathich* (tathig F)	*do-aithigi, taithigid ?*
12	3s perf	*i cúala*	*ro-cluinethar*
24	3s	*do-tluchestar*	*do-tluchethar*
33	3s	*for-da-corsatar* (-goirsetar F)	*do-cuirethar*
38	3s	*ar-id-ralastar*	*ar-áili*
12	3p	*dergsait* (amcsat F)	*dergaid*
Post *dúnad*			
51,52	3s perf	*ro-chúala*	*ro-cluinethar*

Note 1. The same verbal forms appear in §§ 25, 29, 32, 33 and 41.

4.4.11. In §1 the mss offer a choice between *-car* and *-cair*, the 3s preterite conjuncts. The weak verb *carid* is usually treated as having a non-palatal *-r*, but there are hints of a palatal *r* in the present indicative forms in the Wb glosses. For example, *cairim* (23c12) occurs beside *carim* (5c7) and *carid* (25d5, 27d11), although the latter pair could have either a palatal or neutral *-r*. The later glosses and *Fél* show no signs of palatal *-r* in any tense of *carid*. GOI §554 compares *car(a)im* and *ga(i)rim* which differ in the quality of the *-r-*. This distinction disappears in the subjunctive, and hence an indicative form *cairim* occasionally appears. It should be noted that in §4 both mss have *ni cair*. The T text repeats *ni car* in the *dúnad* at §47, but the F text is defective and omits the verb completely.

4.4.12. The verbal forms *érnais/ erneis* in §4 are interesting, as neither appear to be attested elsewhere in the literature. There are two separate verbs, *ernaid*, with 3s preterite *rír*, cf. *ro-ír dún*, 'which he has granted to us' (Wb 17b13), and *érnid*, which, according to DIL, is formed from the prototonic stem of the verb *as-ren*. The verbs *ernaid* and *érnid* have the semantically similar meaning 'dispensed, paid, bestowed'. The 3*s*-preterite *érnais* in T can only be derived from the weak verb *érn(a)id*, and there is some justification for non-palatal *-n-* from the future passive *ernfuidir* (*Ériu* 2, 196.14). The F reading, *erneis*, may represent a scribal attempt to convey the palatal form of the preterite *érnis*, cf. *ollam ērnes na ceste*, 'an ollave who explains the questions' (CormY 998). The *Th* editors cite the *érnais* form as an indicator of the lateness of this hymn.[561]

4.4.13. The verbal forms *ní-s-gaib* (§13) and *nís-dígaib* (§13, 18, 34) are translated as preterites, and are really MIr forms. They should be changed to the *-gab* form, rather than treated as historical presents. Also of note are the 3s deponent endings *sénastar, rod-glinnestar* and *-millestar* (§23) of active verbs *sénaid, glinnid* and *millid. Th* II (*xxxix*) includes these verbal forms in the list of linguistic features which point to a later date than the early ninth century.[562] On the other hand, the early active verb *ar-áili* takes the deponent ending in the preterite and perfect, hence *ar-id-rálastar* in §38 (also found in Fiacc's Hymn §24). The 3s preterite *tathich* in §29 could be a contracted deuterotonic (*do-aithig*) from the verb *do-aithigi*, 'haunts', but DIL notes that apart from a few late examples it is treated as a simple verb *taithigid*, possibly the original form. Vendr Lex D-118 lists the verb as *do-aithig* and the simple verb *taithigid* as a later form. Dillon derives the verb from **to-aith-saig-* in the Glossary in TBFr.[563]Apart from these forms, the *s*-preterite stems generally meet OIr norms.

b. Reduplicated *s*-preterite

§			3s indic
2	3s	*ní étade* (étaide F)	*ad-cota*
6	3s	*génais*	*gníid*

[561] *Th* II *xxxix*.

[562] Carney (1983, 182 n.5) disagrees, stating that: 'of the points which Stokes and Strachan took of indications of "lateness" (that is, of those not excluded by the foregoing comments) only one is certainly not scribal, the use of the deponent terms *sénastar, -glinnestar* and *-millestar*. But on the fairly free interchangeability of deponent form, see *Blathmac* 534 n.'

[563] *Táin Bó Fraich*, ed. Mary Byrne and Myles Dillon, 1933, Dublin.

12, 21	3s perf	*do-rigénai*	*do-gní*
20, 34, 41	3s perf	*do-rigne*	*do-gní*
16, 27	3p	*do-da-ascansat* (dodaascensat F)	*ad-cosnai*
11	3s	*ní cosséna* (hosena F)	*con-sní*
31	3s	*con-selai*	*con-slá*
Post *dúnad*			
50	1p	*as- roillem*	*ad-roilli*

4.4.14. The verb *ad-cota, -éta*, 'gets', is one of the hybrid variety of verbs characterised by the root (or a long vowel surrogate) and the *s*-suffix together with personal endings, and its 3s preterite is *ad-cotad(a)e, ní étad(a)e*, the latter seen in §2. Similarly, *gníid* forms the 3s preterite *génais* <**ge(g)nis*, 'she wrought', in §6. It will be noted that the 3s perfect forms *do-rigni* and *do-rigéni* co-exist in the hymn, the poetr's choice being dictated by metrical requirements. The 1p preterite *as-roillem* in §50 arises from *ad-roilli* (*-ro-śli*); the fact that *ad-* and *-ess* fall together before infixed pronouns has sometimes led to *ad* being replaced by *as* in pretonic position, and both forms are found together.

c. *t*-preterite

17	3s	*ar-gairt*	*ar-gair*
18, 35, 42	3s	*do-bert*	*do-beir*
32	3s	*conid-n-imbert*	*imm-beir*
5	3s	*ar-utacht* (arautacht F)	*ar-utaing*
37	3s	*ar-do-utacht*	*ar-utaing*

4.4.15. Earlier it was suggested that *ní-s-gaib* (§13) and *nís-dígaib* (§13, 18, 34) could be MIr forms. Here the verbal form *ar-gairt* in §17 offers no such ambiguity, and is clearly a MIr form as, for example, in the way the OIr *ad-rubart* becomes *ad-rubairt* in MIr texts. *Th* II (*xxxix*, n.2), however, believes it to be an error of transcription. In any case *ar-gart* should be restored. The verb *ar-utaing* can mean 'builds up' as in §5 or 'refreshes' as in §37, with 3s preterite stem *-utacht*.

d. Suffixless preterite

§			3s indic
1	3s	*síasair*	*saidid*
3	3s	*ní rir*	*renaid*
32, 44	3s	*as-rir*	*as-ren*
11	3s	*ní ciúir* (ni chiuir TF)	*crenaid*

10	3s perf	*conid-n-arlaid*	*con-otat ?*
22	3s	*ní luid*	*téit*
26	3s	*reraig*	*rigid*
30	3p	*tafnetar*	*do-seinn*
31	3p	*do-sefnatar* (dosepnatar F)	*do-seinn*
38	3s	*dith*	*denaid*
39	3s	*ro-s-mbí* (rosbi F)	*benaid*
39	3s	*co mmebaid*	*maidid*
39	3s	*nád chombaig* (chommaig F)	*con-boing*
16	3s perf	*fo-roraid* (forarair F)	*fo-reith*
28	3p	*do-rertatar* (dorethetar F)	*do-reith*
18	3s perf	*ro-da-s-gáid*	*guidid*
25	3s rel	*gáde* (rogaid T)	*guidid*
27	3p	*tancatar*	*do-icc*
28	3s	*reraig* (*roreraig* T, fororaid F)	*rigid*
29	3s	*do-sephain*	*do-seinn*
44	3s	*ro-n-ánicc*	*ro-icc*
44	3s	*nícon tesba* (contesbad TF)	*do-esta*
	Post *dúnad*		
49	1s	*ní fúar* (fuair F)	*fo-gaib*

4.4.16. The form *síasair*, 3s preterite suppletive of *saidid* 'sits', with its deponent ending is unique. According to GOI §690, the preterite form looks like a mixture of a reduplicated preterite **seṡod-*, **sëad-* and an old s-aorist **sed-s, *sess*. The verbal form in §10, *conid-árlaid*, is not well attested. DIL describes *-árlaid* tentatively as a 3s perfect prototonic of a compound of *téit* (cf. *in-otat*). This verbal form is discussed in Section 2.10.5. Apart from the example in this poem, *conid-n-árlaid síth*, 'till peace came to him', there are only two attestations listed in DIL, both from *LU*: *bes n-árlaid duni beo*, 'perhaps it did not strike a live person' (3865) and *ní fitir cia arlaid úad*, 'he did not know where he disappeared to' (9127). As described in the Textual Note §30, it is noteworthy that the 3p preterite prototonic form *tafnetar* (*taifnetar* F) of *do-seinn,* rather than the deuterotonic, appears in the line *tafnetar coin alta dí.* Carney reads this line as a form of Bergin's Law,[564] an interpretation confirmed by Binchy.[565] In §39 the 3s preterite conjunct *-mebaid* is a denasalized MIr form for OIr *-memaid*, which should be restored. The verb *con-boing*, 'breaks', undergoes

[564] Carney 1983, 193.

[565] Binchy (1979-80, 46) in an article on Bergin's Law deals with this particular passage, but refutes any suggestion that this stylistic feature betokens an early date of composition. In fact he dates the hymn to the late ninth century.

reduplication in the deuterotonic *con-bobaig*, but the reduplicated syllable is lost in the dependent form *nád chombaig* as in §39.

4.4.17. The 3p preterite in §28 *do-rertatar* poses a metrical problem since the line *in tan do-rertatar fo fán* has one syllable too many. The verb is glossed *ro-reithsetar* (*ro-reitsetar* F), 'they ran'. As it is clearly a compound of *reithid*, one solution might be to opt for the 3p preterite without augmentation, *ráthatar*, but this would be too drastic an emendation of the text. In the enclitic 3p forms of *ind-reith*, for example, we find *in-ro-rthetar* (Ml 104b8) beside regular *in-ro-rthatar* (Ml 35a21).[566] Consequently we would expect *do-rorthatar* for the 3p perfect, and *do-ráthatar* for the preterite. In MIr texts there is evidence of further syncope (and lengthening of the final vowel), cf. *at-rachtár* (*SR* 4461) for OIr *at-rachthatar*, 'they arose', beside *at-rachtatar* (*SR* 5881).[567] A syncopated 3p perfect form *do-rérttar* may have evolved, as suggested by Stokes, or perhaps better the less contrived preterite *do-ráttar*, although no attestation for either has been found. A potential metrical difficulty occurs in line *d* of the same stanza, where the mss offer *roreraig* (T) and *fororaid* (F). F preserves heptasyllabic count by using of the indefinite *rígláim*, beside T's *in rígláim*, but *Th* compensates with an unaugmented *reraig*. It is possible that the *Th* editors misread the T ms, as did the *LH* editors, since the perfect tense would suit the context better. The *Th* II editors find it the 3s imperfect *nícon tesbad* in §44 in both mss to be out of place (348 note *f*), and they emend the text to the preterite *-tesba*.

4.4.18. Beside the later forms discussed above, *Th* alludes to interesting OIr forms in the poem,[568] which include the 3s preterite special relative form *gáde* (< *guidid*) in §25, and the 3s preterite *díth* in §38, from the verb *denid* (*dinid*), 'sucks'.

4.4.19. The Copula

ba (§§7, 14, 15, 20, 24, 25, 30, 32, 38, 40).

ní bu (§§3, 11, 43), *ní pu* (§4), *ní bo* (§43),

nírbo (§16), *nírbu* (§3),

comtar (§21), *combo* (§22)

4.4.20. Substantive verb

§23 *robói;* §30 *combói* (combái F)

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[566] GOI §692. The only such compound with *do-* is *do-rrúairthetar* (Sg 5a13). Stokes suggests that *do-rérttar* be read in the stanza (*Th* II 341, note *b*).

[567] McCone 1997, 178.

[568] *Th* II *xxxix*.

4.5 Passive Preterite Stems (all singular)

8	3s	*ro-closs* (rochloss T, roclos F)	*ro-cluinethar*
35	3s	*i rrocloth* (i rochlaid F)	*fo-ciallathar*
11	3s	*do-róntai* (ni dernta F)	*do-gní*
13	3s	*día fóided*	*fóidid*
30,41,43	3s	*do-breth*	*do-beir*
15, 33	3s	*ní fríth*	*fo-gaib*
36, 43	3s	*co fríth*	*fo-gaib*
33	3s	*góita* (góeta T, goita F)	*gonaid*
24,36,40	3s	*fo-cress*	*fo-ceird*
40, 44	3s	*ní fu(i)recht*	*fo-ricc*
43	3s	*nícon airnecht*	*ar-icc*

4.5.1. The form *ro-clos(s)* in §8 generally replaced the older form *ro-cloth*, under the infuence of *ad-cess*, the passive preterite of *ad-cí*.[569] However, both forms can appear together, as in *The Irish Gospel of Thomas*, which the editor dates to about 700 AD.[570] Consequently, the mss form of the passive preterite cannot be taken as a reliable criterion for dating. There are difficulties with the passive preterite *-rocloth* (**ro-fo-cloth-*) in §35, and *Th* II offers only a partial translation. It seems to be derived from *fo-ciallathar*, which has the meaning 'cares for, pre-destines', cf. *fo-n-rochled do airitiu hirisse*, 'we have been cared for, to save the faith' (Wb 19c13), though Kavanagh re-translates the first part as 'we have been pre-destined'.[571] This would suggest a translation of the line *co airm i rrocleth a both*, 'where it was meant to be', which would suit the context perfectly. It will be recalled, however, that Fíacc's Hymn §8 has the line *tíchtu Pátraicc fo-rochlad*, 'the coming of Patrick had been destined', where *fo-rochlad* rhymes with the place-name *Fochlad*.[572] Since the OIr form attested in Wb is *fo-rocleth* one option is to emend *-rochlad* to *-rochled* and settle for consonance rhyming with *Fochlad*. In this case it is easy to see how the proximity of *cloth* in line *b* and *both* in line *d* could have led *rrocleth* to be corrupted to *rrocloth*. Alternatively, one could retain *fo-rochlad* as a hitherto unattested variant,

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[569] McCone 1997, 61.

[570] See §5: *a guthán ro-cloth* beside §6: *ro-clos guthán cain inmain*. The plural form *ro-closa* also appears in §7 of the same poem (Carney 1964, 90). In Wb 23c11 we read: *ished sís rochlos et adchess*, 'this below is what was heard and seen', and a poem in the Milan codex has *tórm rochlos*, 'sound has been heard'.[570] But there is a plural form in *Fél* Aug 24: *ata scél roclotha*. The form *-cloth* appears in *LU* 1464, 5445 and 6595 but, according to the DIL editors, this is a MIr formation.

[571] See Kavanagh 2001, 441 under *fo-ciallathar*.

[572] See Chapter 4, para. 4.4.16, where the rhyme *fo-rochlad: Fochlad* is discussed.

and this could account for the mss form *i rrocloth*. Strong verbs having the sound groups *-el* and *-er* in their roots reverse the order in forming the passive preterite. Consequently *do-beir* forms its passive preterite *do-breth*, while *fo-ceird* forms *fo-cress*. The verb *fo-gaib* takes a suppletive form *fo-fríth* as it does in the preterite active with *fo-fúair*.

4.5.2. The OIr passive preterite of *ar-icc* is *ar-icht* with prototonic form *-airecht*, and this later becomes *-airnecht* by analogy with the active form *-airnic* (**air-ánic*).[573] It would be possible to restore *-airecht* without detriment to metre, but in view of other late forms such as *chucai* (see above) the mss spelling is probably original. The employment of the forms, *-airnecht* and *chuccai*, would provide a useful dating criterion, consigning the stanza to a period no earlier than the middle of the ninth century.

4.6. Hiatus Forms

4.6.1.The hymn contains a number of hiatus forms confirmed by metre: §9 *triar*, §19 *sous* and *-chous*, §26 *diaid* (*díad* F), §27 *-cload*, §30 *Fea*, §36 *niad*, *roit* and *iach*, §37 *nui* (*nue* T), §40 *triun* and §42 *criol*. Generally, those forms involving a preposition with possessive pronoun, such as *lia*, *dia* and *fria*, are treated as monosyllables, e.g. §27 *lia*, §29 *lia (fria* T), and §50 *diar*. However the metre guarantees hiatus in *lia mucca* (also in §27) and *lia máthair* (§38).[574]

4.6.2. On the evidence of Carney,[575] one might tentatively suggest an eighth century date for the stanzas in which hiatus occurs. However, the presence of hiatus cannot guarantee antiquity because, while the poet may have retained the earlier forms, the later contracted forms could not have been anticipated by him. Consequently, we can only draw dating conclusions from innovations such as contractions. A similar consideration must apply to the definite article. In this hymn the word *inna* occurs four times as genitive plural in §16: *blegon inna mbó* (TF), §25: *forglu inna lóeg* and

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[573] See GOI §711.

[574] These can be compared with similar hiatus forms, *dia rath* in *Brigit bé* (§6) and *fria chorp* in *Génair Pátraicc* (§32). In the hymn *Sén Dé* we find only monosyllabic forms, *diar cobair* (§§5 and 8), *diar trógi* (§16), *diar fortacht* (§17), *diar fortacht* and *liar n-athair* (§23). Similarly, a personal check shows all such forms in *Fél* are monosyllabic.

[575] Carney (1983, 183) in his study of hiatus forms in early Irish verse, concludes that hiatus forms were abundant in seventh century texts, but that by the time of *SR* contracted forms had become dominant.

forglu inna mbó, §45: *robbet inna lobrán leith* (TF). There are no instances of the abridged *na* which can be confirmed by metrics.

Section 5: Conclusion

5.1. Sources for the Hymn

The hymn *Ní car Brigit* is the longest of the Irish poems in the *Liber Hymnorum* with its 53 stanzas. As noted in Section 3, the poem formally closes with a *dúnad* at §47, followed by 6 supplementary stanzas which appear to have been added afterwards. The subject matter of the poem closely follows the Life of Brigit by Cogitosus (*Vita* II), but also contains material exclusive to *Vita* 1, and to unknown sources.

5.2. Summary of Linguistic Evidence

5.2.1. An analysis of the language of this poem reveals the following features:

(1) The rhymes, *con-húala: dáma* (§7), *-decha: Letha* (§41) and possibly *amra: Gabra* (§30) demonstrate the falling together of the unstressed OIr *-ae* with the later *-a* endings, indicating that these rhymes cannot be earlier than the ninth century.

(2) Further, in the supplementary stanzas added after the *dúnad* at the end of §47 the rhymes *dara: immada* (§48), and *búada: -chúala* (§51) would not have been acceptable before the ninth century. On the other hand, the rhyme *cuire: huile* (OIr *cuiriu: huil*i) in §50 is Middle Irish, composed in a period when the *io*-stem dative singular ending *-iu* had fallen together with the nominative *-e*, possibly in the tenth century, but later than *SR* which preserves this distinction.

(3) Both mss preserve the OIr neuter gender with *a n-oss* ('the beast') in §29. Although the neuter became increasingly rare in later Old Irish, its presence here is not inconsistent with a ninth century date.

(4) There is evidence of some gender confusion with infixed pronouns, the 3s feminine class A *-s-* representing masculine nouns in §§18 and 39. In addition, an intrusive *-s-* is found alongside the OIr class C pronoun in *ro-da-s-gáid* (§18) and *ro-da-s-cload* (§27), and the 3s neuter pronoun used as a relative marker in *no-d-guidiu* (§9). These late features may be scribal, but significantly such forms are rare in the other OIr poems in the *Liber Hymnorum*.

(5) The poem also features a number of other late forms, which could be scribal, and which could be restored to classical OIr norms without detriment to metre, but their scarcity in other poems in this collection suggest they may be part of the original poem. These late forms are the noun *blegon* (OIr *mlegon*) in §17, the lenited preposition *chucai* (§43), accusative *prainn* and genitive *Lugdach* for OIr

proind and *Luigdech* (§34), the dependent form *fail* of the substantive verb (§§34, 41) and impersonal *fail* in §53. To these may be added the passive preterite *-airnecht* (OIr *-airecht*) in §43, the 3s preterite *érnais* in §4, formed from the prototonic stem of the verb *as-ren*, and the use of the negative particle *níco-* before an infixed pronoun (§53). All of these forms, if original, point to a date of composition no earlier than the mid-ninth century.

5.2.2. Against this evidence the mss preserve a number of interesting OIr verbal forms which do not sit easily with the late forms listed above. These forms include the 3s preterite special relative form *gáde* (< *guidid*) in §25 and the 3s preterite *díth* in §38, from the verb *denid* (*dinid*), 'sucks'. Also in §25 is the verbal form *conid-rúalaid*, which *Th* leaves untranslated. It is proposed that the form is the 3s perfect of a hitherto unattested verb *con-otat* derived from **com-oss-tég-*, with meaning 'goes together, arranges'. The verbal noun *both* in §38 is a rare form of the substantive verb, usually attested as *buith*. In Wb *both* appears twice, *buith* sixteen times, *buid* nine times and *bith* once. In §38 the *i*-stem adjective *cath*, 'wise' is described as rare and archaic in Vendr Lex C-48.

5.3. Dating of Hymn

The language of the hymn is decisively ninth century up to the *dúnad* in §47, despite the presence of a few early forms, possibly preserved from another OIr source. There are a number of linguistic features which appear also in the Ml and Sg glosses, which indicate a dating in the middle to late ninth century. Of the supplementary stanzas, §50 has one definite MIr form established by rhyme, while the others cannot be earlier than the late ninth century.

Chapter 8: Sanctán's Hymn (*Ateoch ríg*)

Section 1: General Considerations

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. The hymn *Ateoch ríg* (hereafter normalised to *At-teoch ríg*) is one of the prayers belonging consciously to the genre known as the *lorica*. The composer actually employs the word *lúrech* in §9 to describe the hymn. *At-teoch ríg* is constructed in a mixture of metres. The hymn is laid out in thirteen stanzas, divided into two parts, the first section ending in a *dúnad* after §10. The first part is composed in a regular *rannaigecht bec* ($7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$) metre while, of the remaining three stanzas, two employ *sétnad mór* metre and the last reverts to *rannaigecht bec*. The fact that, unlike the remainder of the hymn, none of the final three stanzas is glossed, suggests that these supplementary stanzas are of later origin.[576]

1.1.2. The hymn appears only in the Trinity and Franciscan manuscripts. Stokes edited and translated the T text in *Goidilica* (Calcutta 1866) and *Goidelica* (London 1872). Windisch published his edition, without translation in *Irische Texte* 1.[577] In 1898 Bernard and Atkinson edited and translated the hymn in the *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, including the preface, glosses and scholia, along with supporting textual notes. Stokes and Strachan provided a critical edition of the hymn in 1903.[578] The preface from the F manuscript was reproduced by Nigra [579] and an English translation of this F preface is found in TCD ms E.3.28.

1.2. Middle Irish Preface

According to the preface, the author of the hymn is a Bishop Sanctán, who is commemorated in the calendars but of whom little else is known. He is described in the preface as a Briton, who did not have the Irish language until God gave it to him. He reputedly wrote the hymn on his way from Clonard to Inis Matóc for the purpose of delivering his brother, Matóc, from his enemies. The writer of the preface comments that the date of composition is doubtful.

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[576] It will be recalled that the final two supplementary stanzas of the hymn *Sén Dé*, which were attributed to the tenth-century abbot Mugrón are not accompanied by glosses either.

[577] Windisch 1880, 49-52; 324.

[578] *Th* II xxxix and 350-3.

[579] Nigra, *Il manoscritto irlandese di S. Gallo*, p.2.1.

1.3. Methodology

To attempt a more precise dating for this hymn, the same methodology as employed in previous chapters will be applied. In Section 2 the Textual Notes will analyse the text for metre, language and meaning. Again the textual notes will critically review the language of the *Th* edition, without changing the text or translation, except in a few cases where *Th* offers no translation or where a minor emendment provides an improved reading. The metrical system will be analysed in Section 3, and likewise the language of the hymn in Section 4. Finally, in the concluding Section 5 the linguistic evidence will presented and an assessment made of the likely date of composition.

Section 2: Textual Notes

§1

T	F
Ateoch ríg namra naiṅgel	Ateoch ríg namra naiṅgel
uair is*ed* ainm as tressam	uar is*ed* ainm as treso*m*
dia dam fr*i*m lorg dia tuathum	dia dam fri*m* lorg dia tuathu*m*
dia dom thúus dia dessam	dia do*m* thus dia deso*m*

2.1.1. *Metrics*. The metre here is $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, i.e. *rannaigecht bec* (or *rannaigecht fhota recomarcach*) with perfect rhyme, *tressom: dessom*. Additionally, alliteration is plentiful with: *n-amra n-aiṅgel; uair ed ainm; Día dam,* and *Día dessom*. It is necessary to read *tuus* in line *d* as a hiatus word.

2.1.2. *Atteoch ríg namra n-aiṅgel/ uair is ed ainm as tressam.* The 1s present indicative *at-teoch* (from *ad-teich*) literally means 'I flee to', but has adopted the more abstract sense of 'I invoke, beseech'. As might be expected in a prayer, this verb appears in various forms no less than five times in this hymn.[580] The mss choice is between *uair* and *uar*. The forms found in the Wb glosses are the genitive *hóre*, and to a lesser extent *húaire* ('hour'), with the spelling *huare* occuring often in the later Glosses. GOI §497 comments that the conjunction was originally temporal in meaning. The form *(h)uair* is common in *SR*, while *(h)úar* is much less common, occurring in *SR* 848 and in later MIr texts. Although this conjunction often introduces a nasalising relative clause, it does not do so in this case. Ó hUiginn notes that such clauses containing the copula tend to exhibit parataxis, and attributes this feature to influence from the semantically-related conjunction *a(i)r*.[581] On this basis the spelling in T is a more likely option. Concerning the choice of *tressam* or *tresom*, GOI §370 states that the normal superlative suffix is *-am* after consonants, which would favour T.

2.1.3. *dia dam frim lorg dia tuathum/ dia dom thúus dia dessam.* It is interesting to compare these adverbial phrases with the more prosaic expressions in Patrick's

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[580] The 1s present indicative form *at-teoch* appears in the hymn *Ní car Brigit* §48: *At-teoch érlam sanctBrigte* and in *Fél* Ep 304: *á Íssu co firbail ata-teoch-sa íarum*, 'Ó Jesus, with true goodness I entreat thee afterwards'. It also turns up in the *Lorica of Laidcenn*, glossing *adiuro* ('I solemnly swear') The 1s perfect *ad-róethach* occurs in §10 of this hymn, similar to the *ad-róithach* in *Fél* Ep 301.

[581] Ó hUiginn 1986, 68-9.

Lorica: *im degaid* ('behind me') and *reum* ('before me'). The forms in this hymn also have military connotations, the word *lorg* being often used as the 'rearguard' of an army, and *tuus* as the 'vanguard'. The conjugated prepositions *dessam/ desom* ('on my right'), and *túathum/ túathom* ('on my left') are described by Thurneysen as 'poetic' (GOI §434). Any combination of these words would make perfect rhyme with *tressam/ tressom*. The equivalent spelling in Patrick's Lorica is *dessum* (*desum*), a spelling consistent with other 1s personal prepositions. The *Th* editors plump for *tressom/ dessom* but the alternatives *tressam/ dessam* or *tressum/ dessum* would be equally valid. The non-final unstressed vowel other than *-u-* had already become a schwa at the beginning of Classical OIr, but next to a labial like *-m*, the vowel could be rounded and spelled *o / u* The word *dam* is a stressed 1s conjugated prepositition, 'to me', while *dom* represents the unstressed preposition with possessive pronoun, *do mo*, 'to my'.

2.1.4. *Th* Text and Translation

At-teoch ríg n-amra n-aiṅgel,	I beseech the wondrous King of angels,
úair is ed ainm as tressom;	for that is the name that is mightiest;
Día dam frim lorg, Día túathum,	God (be) behind me, God on my left,
Día dom thúus, Día dessom!	God before me, God on my right!

§2

T	F
Dia dom chobair nóeb togairm	Dia dom chobair noeb togairm
ar cech guasacht nodguasim	ar cech ṅguasacht nodguas*im*
drochet bethad bid íssum	drochet bethad bith iss*um*
bennacht dé athar úasum	b*en*nact de athar uasum

2.2.1. *Metrics*. The metre is again $7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2$, with both mss showing rhyme *-guasim: úasum* which appears imperfect.[582] The quality of the medial *-s-* in *-guasim* is discussed in 2.2.2. Further, the final unstressed syllables contain different vowels and there is a mismatch between the palatal and non-palatal final *-m*. The latter feature rules out even consonance for the putative rhyming pair. It must be acknowledged that the composer of this hymn may not be adhering to the strict rules of verse as

[582] Murphy (1961, 30) comments that for rhyme in Irish 'every consonant (when the consonants are single and not in groups) must normally be balanced by a consonant belonging to the same phonetic class and having the same quality'.

delineated in *Early Irish Metrics*. The word *íssum* consonates with *úasum* and there is alliteration involving *gúasacht -gúasam, bethad bíd* and *athar úasum.*

2.2.2. *Dia dom chobair nóeb togairm/ ar cech guasacht nodguasim.* The *n*-stem *togairm*, verbal noun of *do-gair*, 'invokes', is attested in Wb and appears also in §1 of the well-known hymn *Atom-riug indiu,* (See Chapter 9). *Togairm* is glossed *is noeb togair[m] De*, 'the invocation of God is holy' (F). The verbal form is from *gúasid,* derived from the attested *ā*-stem noun *gúas*, 'danger'. The relevant T gloss is: *i mbiim hi ṅguasacht*, 'in which I am in danger'. It is not clear whether the derived verb is *guas(a)id* or *gua(i)sid*, as both forms are possible from GOI §525. This verb is not well attested, but occurs as the 3s future relative *gúaisfeas* in *TBDD,* [583] and as 3s preterite *níra gúais* in *LL* 35204 (though DIL suggests *-glúais* should be read in the latter). In determining the quality of the medial *-s-* the question is whether one should place reliance on MIr texts or trust the poet who made *gúasim* rhyme with *úasum*. In any case it is the quality of the final *-m* which causes the more intractable metrical difficulty. The line is a *figura etymologica*, a particular literary style in early literature. The 3s neuter class C pronoun in *nod-gúasim* is problematic, and must be read as relative marker.[584] *Th* retains the infixed *-d-*, though we might expect the OIr form *no gúas(a)im* to have featured in the original composition.

2.2.3. *drochet bethad bid íssum/ bennacht dé athar úasam.* The phrase *drochet bethad* can be read as a *nominativus pendens* here, allowing the literal translation 'The bridge of life, let it be beneath me'. Presumably the bridge is a metaphor for the course of life, in the sense of a spiritual support structure over turbulent or troubled waters. This prayer is balanced with the blessing from above of God the Father.

2.2.4. *Th* text and Translation

Día dom chobair,- nóeb togairm-	May God help me - holy the invocation-
ar cech ṅgúasacht nod-gúasim!	against every danger that I risk!
drochet bethad bíd íssum,	let there be a bridge of life beneath me,
bennacht Dé athar úasum.	the blessing of God the Father above me.

[583] Knott 1975, 21, with accompanying note.

[584] McCone (1997, 175) points out that in Middle Irish this particular pronoun has been reduced to the status of a mere relative marker. McCone traces this incipient status back to the early Glosses, where the infixed pronoun *d* was employed as a hiatus-filler, cf. *do-d-esta* 'which is lacking' (Wb 1a9, 23d17, 26d8).

§3

T	F
Huasal trinoit donfoscai	Huasal trínóit donfoscai
do nach airchenn bás baile	danach airchend bás baile
án spirut nóeb nert nime	in spirut nóeb næb nime
dia athair mórmac maire	dia athar mór mac maire

2.3.1. *Metrics.* This stanza shows perfect rhyme, *baile: Maire*. The quality of the first *a* in the name *Maire* is guaranteed by rhyme in *Fél*, where the name *Maire* rhymes with *baile* (Prol 146), *gaile* (Prol 54, Jan 11), *glaine* (Jan 6), and *gaire* (Ep 382). The genitive *nime* consonates with *Maire* and *baile*, while alliteration occurs between *bás* and *baile, nóeb, nert* and *nime, mórmac* and *Maire.*

2.3.2. *Huasal trinoit donfoscai.* The verb *do-foscai* is listed in DIL as meaning 'nourishes, supports or preserves'. DIL (s.v. *do-foscai*) suggests that in respect of this particular stanza the verb in question may actually be *do-fiuschi*, 'awakens'. *Th* and *LH* follow this line, emending the verbal ending to *don-fosca,* which they take as the 3s present subjunctive of *do-fiuschi.* The only attested example of this form occurs as a prototonic in Wb 4a6: *condid-diusgea in spirut nóib*, 'until the Holy Spirit awake it'. This form would suggest a deuterotonic *do-fiuschea* or *do-fiuscha*, a form somewhat removed from *do-fosca*. However, there is a 2s present subjunctive: *coro dusce Coin Chulaind damsa*, 'until you call up Cú Chulainn for me' (*LU* 9225), and this might justify a 3s subjunctive *do-fusca.* The *Th* and *LH* editors are supported in their reading by the glossators.[585] The tenor of this hymn seems to be in the optative subjunctive mood, and this would rule out *do-foscai* (< * *to-saig-sech-*), whose 3s subjunctive root would contain *-sáss-*, without the *-c-*. Nonetheless, as discussed in 4.4.4, the context would support a 3s indicative reading of this verb (as in the mss), viz. *húasal trínóit don-foscai*, 'the Holy Trinity nourishes us'. In future editions this approach may be preferable to reading a poorly-attested subjunctive of *do-fiuschi.*

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[585] The T gloss is *ron-thodiusca a bbas peccaid ł i mmbrath* quia ad similitudinem Dei facti sumus, ' i.e. may he arouse us from death of sin or in judgement because we are made in the likeness of God'. The F gloss is *don-foscaig .i. do-gena ar nduscud i mbrát[h], ł don-fofoscaig .i. do-rigne sin conid foiscte .i. conid-arcommathe dó* quia ad similitudinem Dei facti sumus, 'he will arouse us in judgement, or *don-fofoscaig*, i.e. he hath done that so that it is figurative (?), i.e. so that we are equally good with him because we are made in the likeness of God' (F).

2.3.3. *donach airchenn bás baile.* Here the *Th* editors offer only a partial translation, 'to whom .... death is not certain'. Atkinson pursues a similar line, suggesting a translation 'to whom a good death (?) is not (yet) certain'. He appears to read *baile* as the genitive of *bal* (later *bail*), meaning 'piety'. The *Th* editors, however, take *baile* as 'frenzy' in the relevant gloss, albeit with a question mark.[586] The noun *baile* (later *buile*) is given in DIL as 'vision, frenzy, madness, which may have arisen out of supernatural revelations'. This meaning is attested in a quatrain from the *Codex Boernerianus*, which incidentally employs similar phraseology to this stanza: *Mór druiss, mór báis, mór baile, / mór col céille, mór mire, / ol is airchenn dul d'écoib / beith fo étoil Maic Maire,* 'Since going to death is certain, it is much lust, much folly, much loss of sense, much madness, to be under the displeasure of Mary's Son'.[587] The word *baile* is taken to refer to the agitation of everyday life, and this is implicitly compared with the eternal bliss of the afterlife. Grammatically, line *b* is a prepositional relative clause without an antecedent. The word *nách* is taken as the negative 3s present copula. The phrase *bás baile* represents an asyndeton, and its use with a singular verb is justified, giving a possible translation for a future edition: 'The holy Trinity, for whom death and agitation are not certain, nourishes us'.

2.3.4. *án spirut nóeb nert nime.* The mss texts diverge with the adjective *án* (T) opposing the definite article *in* (F). Either version would satisfy metre and context. The reading in T is preferred since it looks the *lectio difficilior,* and because *án* suits the poetic language of the hymn better than the definite article. The phrase *nert nime* looks like an echo from strophe 4 of Patrick's Lorica.

2.3.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Húasal trínóit don-fosca	May the holy Trinity awake us
donách airchenn bás baile;	to whom death and agitation is not certain;
án spirut nóeb nert nime,	glorious the Holy Spirit, the strength of heaven,
Día athair mórmac Maire!	God the Father, Mary's mighty Son!

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[586] The relevant glosses on *baile* are fragmentary: *is do a óenur donach airchend bás na baile ar mád sinne immorro is a(irchenn) b(ás) ocus baile in spirut noeb acsi diceret: in spirut nime muinter nime ... dia asa drech ... ercend bas baile* 'i.e. it is to Him alone that death or frenzy (?) is not certain; for as to us, however, death and frenzy (?) are certain' (T). *(donach) air˘ bas baile in spirut noeb* acsi diceret: *in spirut nime muinter nime ... dia assa drech ... ercend bas baile.* 'Yet the Holy Spirit used to say: the spirit of heaven ... the people of heaven ...' (F)L

[587] The lines above represent a version of that shown in *Th* II 296, 7, but corrected by Stokes in the Supplement (*Th* II 504), The corrections are based on a second copy in Add 30512, f. 32b, edited by Meyer in 3 Archiv 215.

§4

T	F
Mórrí fitir ar fine	Morrí fitir ar mbine
fiadu huas dommun díllocht	fiado uas domon dilloct
domm anmain ar cech guallocht	domm anmain ár cech goilliuct
nimtharle demna díbocht	nimtharle demna díboct

2.4.1. *Metrics.* The metre here is *rannaigecht bec* with perfect rhyme, *díllocht: díbocht*. Murphy, in *EIM* 34, notes that when consonants of the *ll* class follow a long vowel they may rhyme with consonants of the *v* class, such as *-b-*. Alliteration occurs between *domun* and *díllocht, demnae* and *díbocht* and between *fitir* and *fine* (T), though the latter is doubtful as *fitir* may be lenited (see below). In line *c, gúallocht* would consonate with *díllocht* and *díbocht* in line *d* of the mss.

2.4.2. *Mórrí fitir ar fine.* The lexical variance in the mss has caused translational difficulties with this line. The *Th* editors originally read *fitir* as the conjunct form of *ro-fitir*, and translated the phrase tentatively as: 'who knows our crimes' The version in F, *ar mbine,* is also translatable as 'our crimes, our wrongdoings', though if *bine* is a masculine *io*-stem, we would expect *ar mbiniu*.[588] The F gloss supports this interpretation with *ar mbeta .i. ar pectha,* 'i.e. our evil deeds, i.e. our sins'. The T text has *fine*, which is usually translated as 'kin' but is glossed *.i. ar pectha,* 'i.e. our sins'.[589] Taking *fine* to be an *iā*-stem feminine the accusative plural would be *fini*, and this reading, rather than *bine*, is preferred on the basis of its alliteration with *fitir*. Strachan, however, suggests in a footnote that the phrase be read as: 'the tutor of our tribe'.[590] DIL gives *fithir (fithidir)* as 'a teacher, one who instructed scholars in the poetic art'. Despite the attractiveness of Strachan's proposed reading, it would not be justifiable to ignore the clear evidence, particularly in F, for reading 'wrongdoing'. Alternatively, one could also read the line as 'The great King who knows our tribe'. The prototonic form *fitir* may be an instance, albeit rare, of the dependent form being

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[588] DIL s.v. *bine*: '(io?)' and comments that it is both masculine and feminine.

[589] See *Th* II 351 and *xxxix*. The reading of *fine* as 'crime' is based on the Stowe Gloss. 361: *fine, feccad* (emended by Stokes to *peccad*). In his Supplement (*Th* II 506) Stokes elaborates with the note " *fine*, 'sins', cogn. with Lat. *vieo, vitium* 41 KZ 385".

[590] ibid. 351 note *r*.

used to introduce a relative clause, cf. *di neuch thórnther* (Sg 59b18).[591] However, the lines that follow present a context supporting the original *Th* II reading.

2.4.3. *fiadu huas dommun díllocht/ domm anmain ar cech guallocht.* The word *díllocht* intuitively seems to fall into the pattern of compounds beginning with the preposition *dí-*, e.g. *dí-thrub*, *díthrab*, 'desert'. Sure enough, a variant, *dillacht*, is attested twice in *Fél*: *frim dúbairt la dillacht*, 'at my earnest prayer with sinlessness' (Ep 71), and *luid cetorchae dillacht*, 'forty sinless ones went' (Nov 19). It is glossed in T as *díllochtaigthe*, *.i. cen locht ata Día,* 'faultless, i.e. God is without fault'. The *Th* editors do not offer a translation of *gúallocht* (*goilliuct* F), but the gloss in T suggests another compound, *ar cach locht góa*, 'i.e. against every fault of lying'. One possibility would be to read it as *gú-fallacht,* 'deceitful neglect', where *fallacht* may be a late corrupted form of *follach*, but this would not work metrically as an extra syllable is generated. As a possible compound of *gú-* and *locht* a tentative 'false offence' is offered. This unusual noun, along with *díbocht* below is discussed in Section 4, para. 4.2.2.

2.4.4. *nimtharlea demna díbocht.* This line presents another difficulty and is discussed in 4.2.2. The word *díbocht* is again left untranslated by the *Th* editors (and DIL), but seems to be of the same pattern as *díllocht* in line *b*. The glossator in T reads *díbocht* etymologically, *cen dia occi acht* ...'i.e. without God with him but ...' This gloss may have influenced Atkinson [592] who reads *díbocht* as 'godlessness'. The glossator in F also reads *díbocht* etymologically, this time as *boct o Dia .i. cen Día occum ł nemboct .i. cen bocta ó s adbri int [s]æguil* i.e. 'poor in respect of God, i.e. without God with me, or not poor, i.e. without poverty in respect of the world's wealth'. A second problem involves the use of the singular verbal form *ním-thárlea* [593] with the plural *demna*, 'devils'. If the form were *demon*, a possible translation might be 'let not the Devil, who is far from broken, come to me'. The gloss on *ním-tharle* certainly indicates a plural verb, *.i. ni romtaidlet,* 'may they not come to me', (presumably *demna*, 'devils'), but it may be rash to emend it to 3p *nímtharlet* against the evidence of the mss. One solution may be to read *demna* as OIr genitive plural *demnae*, qualifying *díbocht*, giving a tentative: 'let not the [*díbocht*] of devils come to me'. We

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[591] See GOI §493.6.

[592] *LH* II 47.

[593] The verbal form *ním-táirle* is the 3s present subjunctive of *do-aidlea* 'comes to, visits', with a 1s infixed pronoun, cf. *is tacir deit ní táirle lat* (Wb 30d20), 'it is advisable for you that he should not come along with you'. The present subjunctive form is **to-ad-ro-ell-*.

might have expected nasalisation of the word following *demna* but the mss are not always consistent in this respect. Dr J Uhlich of TCD suggests plausibly that *díbocht* might have been created by the author or by a later scribe to provide optical rhyme with *díllocht*, and the original may have been *díbad*.[594] This word can mean 'destruction, extinction, quenching', allowing a possible translation: 'may destruction by devils not come to me'.

2.4.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Mórrí fitir ar fíni	The great King who knows our crimes (?),
fíadu húas domun díllocht	the sinless Lord above the world,
domm anmain ar cech gúallocht	(be) to my soul against every [false offence ?];
ním-tharle demna díbocht.	may not the Devils' [destruction] come to me.

§5

T	F
Dia lim cech seth doriṅgba	Dia dím cech sæth doriṅgba
cr*ist* frisinnle mo chesta	cr*ist* frisinle mo chesta
abstail immum cotrisat	apstail immu*m* cotrisat
domairse trinóit testa	do*m*mairle tri*n*óit testa

2.5.1. *Metrics*. The *rannaigecht bec* metre continues with perfect rhyme, *chesta: testa*. Alliteration is seen with *Día dím, apstail immum*, and *trinóit testa*. *Th* II seems to read *dommairse* in line *d* of the F ms, but I see *dommairle* clearly.

2.5.2. *Dia lim cech seth doriṅgba*. The verbal form *do-r-ingba* is 3s present augmented subjunctive of *do-ingaib* ('wards off'). With *lim* in the T text, God is asked to 'ward off every trouble that I have', while F with *dím* asks God to 'ward off from me every trouble'. The *Th* edition opts for the alliterative *Día dím*. The *sáeth*, ('trouble') in question is, according to the glossator in T, *cech toirsi ł galar* 'i.e. every grief or disease'.

2.5.3. *crist frisinnle mo chesta*. The main problem is the precise meaning of *cesta* here. It could be the accusative plural of *ceist*, a borrowing from the Latin *quaestio*, translatable as 'question, problem, inquiry', as in the OIr poem *Pangur Bán*.[595] It has

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[594] The rhyme *díllocht*: *díbad* would be less than perfect, though the hymn *Ní car Brigit* employs a similar rhyme *brígach: díbad* in §3.

[595] *Th* II 293, 25: *hi tucu cheist ndoraid ndil*, 'where I understand a dear, difficult question'.

to be read, however, in the context of the verb *fris-indlea*, a verb with several meanings, with the underlying sense of 'meets, answers to, serves (a purpose), deals with (a piece of work)'. The most appropriate interpretation for this context comes from a law tract: *dun aigni fris-indli breth,* 'to the advocate who prepares judgement'.[596] Accordingly, the *LH* and *Th* editors read *cesta* as 'pleadings', and are supported by the first part of the gloss in F: *dóene Crist frithindel mo chest,* 'may Christ make preparations of my pleadings'. The second part of this gloss offers an alternative reading: *tí Crist i n-agid in doilgiusa*, 'may Christ come against the suffering'. Here the glossator takes *césta* (OIr *céstu*) to be the accusative plural of the *u*-stem noun *césad,* 'suffering'. However, there is a difference in quantity in the stressed vowels of *césta* and *testa*, which would negate rhyme. Consequently, it is better to read the noun as plural of *i*-stem *ceist*, assuming that OIr *chesti* had fallen together with *chesta* by then.

2.5.4. *abstail immum cotrisat.* The 1p present subjunctive of *con-ricc* appears in the hymn *Sén Dé* as a late form *cot-ríssam*, 'may we meet'.[597] Here we have the 3p form *cot-rísat*, ('may they come together'), but what is the function of the infixed pronoun? The petrified neuter pronoun in forms such as *cot-rísat* is common in later saga-texts, e.g. *co-t-regat*, 'they meet' (*LU* 6863, *con-ricc*), and its appearance in the mss may represent a scribal 'modernisation' of OIr *con-rísat*. It is also possible, however, that it may be a lapse into the spoken register on the part of the composer, and *Th* retains *cot-rísat*.

2.5.5. *dommairse trinóit testa.* This final line has been subject to differing interpretations. First, F's *domairle* may be a scribal error occasioned by the proximity of *nímtharle* in the previous stanza and *nímthairle* in §7. The verbal form in T, *do-m(m)-air-se*, is clear enough, being the 3s present subjunctive of *do-airicc* ('comes, finds') with an infixed 1s pronoun and an emphasising pronoun.[598] The ambiguity lies in the variant meanings of *testa*. *Th* and *LH* read *testa* as the genitive singular of the noun *teist*, a borrowing from the Latin *testis*, and derive the translation 'may the Trinity of witness come to me'. This interpretation does not make a great deal of sense, but it is in keeping with the law theme of line *b*, which entreats 'Christ to

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[596] Laws v 92.2 Comm.

[597] See Chapter 3, §21: *hi flaith nime cot-ríssam*, 'may we meet in the Kingdom of Heaven'.

[598] Thurneysen in GOI §627 comments that *do-mm-air* is common in poetry.

prepare my pleadings'.[599] Alternatively, the word *testa* can also be read as the contracted deuterotonic *do-esta,* employed as a 3s present indicative in a relative clause. This reading would produce: 'may the Trinity, which is lacking, come to me'. None of these interpretations are particularly convincing, but on balance the legal metaphor seems to be best. The *teist* is not merely a witness, but a trustworthy witness who can clear himself by oath (*fír testa*).[600] DIL quotes Thurneysen's explanation (*Cóic Con. Fug.* 68, §19) that singular *teist* can be interpreted as collective witnesses, and on that basis *testa* (OIr *testae*) is translated as a genitive plural.

2.5.6. *Th* Text and Translation

Dia dím cech sáeth do-r-ingba!	May God ward off from me every hardship!
Crístfrisinnle mo chesta!	May Christ prepare my pleadings!
apstail immum cot-rísat!	May the Apostles come together round me!
do-mm-air-se trínóit testa!	May the Trinity of witness[es] come to me!

§6

T	F
Dommair trocaire tolam	Dommair trocaire tala*m*
o cr*ist* nad cétla celar	ar cr*íst* nad cetla celar
nimthairle éc na amor	nimthasle éc na hamor
nimthair mortlaid na galar	ni*m*thair mortlaid na galar

2.6.1. *Metrics*. Here the rhyme, *celar: galar* is of the consonance type. Alliteration occurs between *trócaire* and *tolam*, *Chríst, cétla* and *celar*, *éc* and *amor*, while both *tolam* and *amor* consonate with the rhyming pair *celar: galar.*

2.6.2. *Dommair trocaire tolam.* The word *tolam* in T is unusual, and *Th* leaves it untranslated.[601] This adjective is discussed in 4.2.3. DIL relates it to the adjective

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[599] The Atkinson and Stokes/Strachan readings may have been influenced by the glosses: *domair Trínóit co tí in trinoit testamail dom tharrachtain*, 'may the testifying Trinity come to overtake me'. The glossator in F offers another interpretation, no doubt reading *tecma* for *testa: ł dom thorithin riasiu tecma bet ł pudar*, 'or to help me before crime or hurt befall'. The glossator in T also offers the possibility of *tresta*, 'threefold', in place of *testa*. In support of this notion, Atkinson refers to 1 John 5:7, i.e. *tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo*, 'three who give evidence in heaven' (*LH* II, 207), i.e. the Trinity.

[600] Kelly 1988, 205.

[601] *Th* II 352, note *l* refers to *LU* 70 b8, where the word is found in an etymological explanation , *is tolam in sétsé ém.*

solam (*so+lám*), and suggests the meaning 'ready, speedy'. The apprpopriate translation of the line seems to be: 'may prompt mercy come to me'.[602]

2.6.3. *o crist nad cétla celar.* This is an interesting example of *tmesis*, with the splitting of the negative particle *nád* and 3s passive conjunct *celar*. In ecclesiastical and biblical contexts *cétal* is usually taken as a 'chant, psalm', and is well attested in the Glosses and in *Fél*. Here the problem is the use of the nominative plural *cétla* with a verb in the singular. *Th* translates the clause as 'who is not concealed in song'. This reading is supported by the glossators,[603] but it would require the independent dative *cétlaib* against the evidence of the mss. *LH* misreads the relative construction and offers: 'let not (my) songs be hidden', but here again there is lack of concord in number. Perhaps *cétla* should be emended to the verbal noun *cétal* and the relative clause read as genitival.[604] This approach would produce the translation: 'from Christ, whose chanting is not hidden'. The F variant has *ar Críst*, 'because of Christ'. A better solution would be to read an impersonal passive as, for example, in the clause *cengar sési*, 'where one approaches musical art'.[605] This would permit the translation 'whose songs one does not hide'. In fact the expression is a *litotes*, i.e. a figure of speech that makes a statement by asserting the opposite. Such expressions are common in early literature.[606] On this basis the line from T can be understood positively as: 'from Christ, whom chants proclaim'. It will be recalled that a similar *litotes* appeared in the hymn *Ní car Brigit* §36 with the expression: *in sét argait nád chlethi*, translatable 'the silver jewel, which is not to be hidden', i.e. which ought to be displayed.

2.6.4. *nimthairle éc na amor*. The noun *amor* appears in *Vendr Lex* under *amar* as 'chagrin, suffering'. Vendryes comments that this word corresponds with Welsh *afar*, meaning 'sadness or lament', frequently used in poetry. The same word, *amar, amor*, refers to a sung poem or music; *amhar .i. ceol* (O'Cl); *amrán,* 'song, a kind of poem'. *Amor* therefore carries the sense of a sad elegy, or a wailing or keening, as a

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[602] The T gloss provides an etymological gloss on *tolam*: *.i. toi ellam .i. tí í toi 7 i nellmai*, 'silence already, i.e. may it come in silence and in readiness'.

[603] *Nad celar í cétlaib ł nacatcetla celtar .i. ni dichliter a chétla*, 'who is not concealed in songs or *nacatcetla celtar*, i.e. His songs are not hidden'.

[604] See GOI §507 and Breatnach 1980, 2.

[605] Breatnach 1981, 89-90.

[606] For example, the cheville *lúad nád cél*, 'I shall declare it plainly', literally, 'a report which I will not hide' (*Th* II 290, 7).

counterpoint to the *cétla* of the previous line. Atkinson reads it as 'death-wail' and the *Th* editors as 'wailing'.[607] The variant verbal form in F is *ním-thasle* which the F gloss seems to relate to the later verb *taisligid*, 'moistens', perhaps here in the sense of crying.[608] Even the T gloss on *ním-tháirle* is almost identical to one portion of the F gloss: *ní tharda lí tassi form*, where *taise* can mean 'moistness' as well as 'corpse'. Perhaps the 3s present subjunctive *ním-thasle* is the original version, with translation 'may neither death nor wailing moisten me' (i.e. make me weep?).

2.6.5. *nimthair mortlaid na galar*. The noun *mortlaid* is derived from the Latin *mortalitas*, and can be translated as 'plague, epidemic'.[609] Atkinson translates the line as '(let not) sudden death in disease befall me!' The 3s subjunctive form *ním-thair* stands in opposition to its precise opposite *do-mm-air* in line *a*.

2.6.6. *Th* Text and Translation

Do-mm-air trócaire tolam!	May [prompt] mercy come to me
Ó Chríst nád cétla celar!	from Christ, who is not concealed in song!
ním-tháirle éc ná amor,	may neither death nor wailing overtake me,
ním-thair mortlaid ná galar.	may not plague nor sickness come to me.

§7

T	F
Nimthairle erchor amnas	Nimthairle erchor amnas
sech m*acc* dé medras bodras	sech m*acc* dé medras bodras
ainsiunn cr*ist* ar cech nernbas	ainsium cr*ist* ar cech nernbas
ar thein ar threthan torbas	ar thein ar thredan torbas

2.7.1. *Metrics*. The *rannaigecht bec* metre continues with rhyme, *bodras: torbas*. Alliteration occurs between *erchor* and *amnas*, *thein, threthan* (*thredan* F), and *torbas*. In addition, *amnas* consonates with *bodras/ torbas*, and possibly *ernbas,* depending on the length mark on final *-a-*.

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[607] T's gloss on *amor* is *.i. isse amor eca .i. uch ach*, 'this is the wail of death *uch ach*'.

[608] The F gloss points in this direction with: *eca amar nimthaislige .i. ní tarda lí tassi form l nimtuisle .i. ní tarda tusliud form l nimtuisle eca amar .i. amran .i. ach ⁊ ucc ar is e sen amar ec(a)* 'the wail of death, *nimthaislige*, i.e. may it not put the colour of a corpse on me, or *nimthuisle,* i.e. may it not cause me to fall; *eca amar* i.e. *ach* and *ucc*, for that is the cry of death'.

[609] T's gloss on *mortlaid* is *.i.* quando plurimi pereunt uno morbo *.i. lúathécai .i. anaichnide*, 'i.e. when many perish in a single illness, i.e. swift deaths, i.e. unnatural'.

2.7.2. *Nimthairle erchor amnas.* The meaning of this line is far from clear. The adjective *amnas* appears in the hymn *Ní car Brigit* in the phrase *in macc amnas*, 'the fierce lad'.[610] Vendryes A-68) lists a series of meanings: 'violent, insolent, impudent, clever, subtle', and also cites the noun *amnaise*, 'severity', as being derived from it. The noun *erchor* is the verbal noun of *ar-cuirethar*, a verb with a range of meanings, 'extending, representing, turning away', to 'throwing' and 'over-throwing'. *Th* translates *erchor amnas* in this context as 'a hard cast', while Atkinson has 'a malignant thrust'.[611] However, it may be fitting to look for a more figurative concept for *erchor* here. The lorica poem *Ad-muiniur secht n-ingena trethan* has the line *dom-í urchar n-amsire*, 'may an extension of time be granted me'.[612] An appropriate rendering for this line of the hymn might be, literally, 'let not a harsh extension come to me', i.e.: 'let me not undergo a harsh extension (of life)'. The verbal form *ním-tháirle* (from *do-aidlea*, 'visits') is glossed: *l nimthuisle .i. ni tharda tuisliud form*, 'or *nimthuisle*, may it not put falling on me' (T). This passage is part of F's gloss on *ním-tháirle* in §6.

2.7.3. *sech macc dé medras bodras.* DIL (1 *sech* 124.69) suggests that here *sech* be read in the sense 'without the consent of'. The verbs *medras* and *bodras* are special relative forms following the antecedent *erchor*. *Medraid* is derived from the noun *medar*, which is associated with 'merriment, speech, conversation', but can also mean 'excites, intoxicates' or 'is exhilarated'. The verb *bodraid* is similarly derived from the adjective *bodar*, 'deaf', and means 'deafens, confuses, troubles'.[613] Together, the verbal forms constitute an asyndeton, and consequently, the line can be read: 'which maddens, which perturbs, without the consent of the Son of God'.

2.7.4. *ainsiunn crist ar cech nernbas.* There are variant readings in line *c* with *ainsiunn* in T versus *ainsium* in F, and either form would make contextual sense. However, all of the previous invocations in the hymn are in the first person singular, (with the possible exception in §1) and on this basis *ainsium*, ('may he protect me'), is

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[610] Chapter 7 §18.

[611] Atkinson may have been influenced by the glosses on *amnas .i.* temptatio diabulica, 'diabolical temptation' (F) and .i. *aminnas .i. drochinnas,* 'an evil kind' (T).

[612] Carey (2000, 137). *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* has a similar line: *ní haurchor saegail damsa in breath ron-uccus*, 'it is not an extension of life to me, the judgement I have given' (Knott 1936, line 215-6).

[613] Both mss offer etymological glosses: *medar fis .i. medras in fis* (T); *bodarfis .i. buadres in fis* (F).

probably original.[614] The confusion may be attributable to a scribal error in T, probably due to the similarity of *nn* to *m*.[615] The noun *ernbas* (derived from *iärn* + *bás*) means literally 'death by iron', i.e. by sword or spear.[616] Later this meaning was extended to any deed of slaughter or violence.

2.7.5. *ar thein ar threthan torbas.* The noun *trethan* (*tredan* in F) is usually associated with a stormy sea, and is well attested in the literature.[617] Strachan asks if *torbas* is a Latin word (*turbas*) on which *trethan* depends as genitive.[618] There is little evidence to support this question, and one would need to emend it to *trethain*, against the evidence of the mss (unless he intends an unlikely genitive plural). The special relative form *torbas* arises from *torbaid*, 'hinders, injures'. This verb may indeed be associated with the Latin *turbare,* either as a loanword or as a cognate. Plummer cites the Latin *turbatio* as a source.[619] The glosses are fragmentary, but appear to be etymological, *.i. toirnes bas... bas ł tores bas*, where *toirnes* means 'which thunders'. *Th* translates *ar threthan torbas*, 'against tumultuous sea', but in the context 'destructive sea' might be more apt.[620] There is also the suggestion here of the threefold death from iron, fire and water.

2.7.6. *Th* Text and Translation

Ním-tháirle erchor amnas,	Let not a hard cast which maddens, which perturbs
sech Macc Dé, medras, bodras!	come to me, apart from God's Son!
Ainsium Críst ar cech n-ernbás,	May Christ protect me against every violent death,
ar thein, ar threthan torbas.	against fire, against the tumult of the sea!

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[614] A similar confusion between the mss arises in the hymn *Sén Dé* (§§14 and 19) where T's *snaidsiunn* is opposed by F's *snaidsium*.

[615] Both glosses support the 1p reading with *.i. ro-ain sind* (T), and *ain siund .i. ro-ainge sind* (F).

[616] The long *a* in *bás* may have shortened in an unstressed position, as suggested by its consonance. Note that *ernbas* appears without a length-mark on *-a-* in almost all the examples cited in DIL. In MIr texts such as *SR* the form becomes *ernmas*.

[617] T's margin offers an etymological gloss *.i. ar tréthond ar threthan .i. ar tréthond* quia ferunt periti *conid hi in tress tond ba* naues, 'because the wise say that it is the third wave that sinks ships'.

[618] *Th* II 352, note *n*.

[619] Bruchst. § 28; O'Brien, *Ériu* 11 (1932), 91; Plummer *Ériu* 9 (1921-3), 32.

[620] A marginal gloss in T has: *ar thréthond* quia ferunt periti *conid hi in tress tond bades* naues, 'because the wise say that it is the third wave which sinks boats'.

§8

T	F
Ar cech néiclind bas eslinn	Ar cech neclind bas eslind
dom chorp *co n*ainbthib huathaib	do*m* churp *co n*ainbthib uathaib
dommair fiado cech thratha	do*m*máir fiado cech t*r*atha
ar gæth ar usc*ib* luathaib	aru' ar usc*ib* luathaib

2.8.1. *Metrics.* The *rannaigecht bec* metre continues with perfect rhyme, *húathaib: lúathaib*. Alliteration occurs with *n-éiclind* and *éslinn*, *n-ainbthib* and *húathaib*.
2.8.2. *Ar cech n-éiclind bas eslinn. Th* translates the noun *éclind* as 'peril', followed by a question mark, but cites: *is géis dúib in far nUltaib techt dar éclind in far carptaib* (*LL* 65b). Atkinson, possibly influenced by the glosses,[621] reads *éclind* as a compound of *éc* and *lind*, thereby generating 'death-drink'. The accusative *éclind* is nasalised, following the accusative *cech* after the preposition *ar* in its meaning 'against'. The predicated adjective *éislinn* is well attested and means 'unsafe, insecure, dangerous'.
2.8.3. *dom chorp co nainbthib huathaib.* The word *ainbthib* is dative plural of *ainbthen* (earlier *ainbthine*) which itself is derived from *anboth/ anfud* (DIL).
The principal meaning is 'tempest', but it can also mean 'rage, fury, turbulence'. Vendryes derives the meaning 'absence of calm' from the negative prefix *an* applied to *féth*.[622] The *Th* editors translate the dative plural *húathaib* here as an adjective qualifying *ainbthib*. Normally, *úath* is a noun (with adjective *úathach*) and its use as an adjective is irregular; the poet may be as innovative here as he is with other nouns.

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[621] The glosses are etymological: *.i. ar cach lind éca ł ar cach ní na ba glind*, 'against every pool of death, or against everything that was not secure (?) T; *.i. ar cech lind éca .i. immoilges bas ł ar cech nemglinni .i. cech ni napa glinne*, against every pool of death, i.e. which causes death or or against every *nemglinni*, i.e. all that is not secure' F.

[622] *Vendr Lex* A-74 cites *Ped II 68* which distinguishes two words of different origin. One is formed from the negative prefix *an-*, and the other from the intensive prefix *an-*. All depends on the root following the prefix. In the first case with *féth*, 'calm, flat', *an+ féth* will signify 'absence of calm', (RC 34, 119, cf. *anfad mara* ACL III 147.11). In the second case with *féth*, 'wind', *an + féth* will signify 'tempest'. A-74 comments that the first hypothesis is much better and will suffice to explain the word. The compound was recast in the form *an-féth* (Anecd II 51) from which the adjective *anféta* is derived (*ibid.* and *Death-tales* 8.10).

Strictly we should read *co n-ainbthib húathaib* as an asyndeton: 'with tempests (and) horrors', as supported by T's gloss.[623]

2.8.4. *ar gæth ar uscib lúathaib.* The word *gáeth* appears in the T text, but is omitted in F, where there is an incomplete letter after *aru*. *Th* translates *gaíth* as 'wind', and although 'wind' sounds weak after *co n-ainbthib húathaib* in line *b*, it is supported by the glosses.[624] Atkinson suggests that the alternative meaning, 'sea, stream, estuary', is probably intended here. He comments that, since the text refers to perils of waters, it is perhaps used in the sense of a shallow stream into which the tide flows and which is fordable at low water.[625]

2.8.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Ar cech n-éiclind bas éslind	Against every peril that is dangerous
dom chorp, co n-ainbthib, húathaib	to my body, with tempests, horrors;
dommair fiado cech thrátha	may the Lord at every time come to me
ar gaíth, ar uscib lúathaib.	against wind, against swift waters.

§9

T	F
Luathfe molthu m*aic*c maire	Luaidfe molthu m*aic*c maire
bages arbaga finna	baiges arbage fi*n*na
friscera dia dulech	friscera dia dulech
lurech arbaig mo thenga	lurech arbaig mo thiṅga

2.9.1. *Metrics*. The rhyme *finna: thenga* in T is imperfect. The scribe in F compensates by altering *thenga* to an implausible *thiṅga*. Alliteration occurs in *molthu Maicc Maire, ba(i)ges bága,* and *Dia dúlech*. There is also *aicill*-rhyme between *dúlech* and *lúrech.* Here *Día* must be read as the later disyllabic form in order to satisfy the syllabic count. This disyllabic *Día* is addressed in Section 4.

2.9.2. *Luathfe molthu maicc maire*. The canonical OIr form of the 1s future of *lúaidid* is *lúaidfea,* but by the ninth century the first and second singular forms would have fallen together as *lúaidfe.* In particular contexts, this verb can mean 'to sing', but *Th* opts for 'I will utter'. The variant form, *luathfe* in T, may be the future of *lúathaid*

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[623] *.i. fil co nanbthib ⁊ co nuathaib*, 'which is with storms and horrors' T.

[624] The glosses, however, support 'wind' with *ar erchoit gaithe*, 'against the hurt of the wind'.

[625] *LH* II, 208. See also DIL s.v. *gáeth* 3.

'quickens'. The relevant glosses are *imluadfet* (T), 'they will set in motion' and *luaidfet* (F) 'they will praise'. The T text might mean: 'I will expedite the praises of Mary's Son', but F is a more likely reading with 'I will utter (or sing) the praises of Mary's Son'. The accusative plural *molthu* is rare, being usually *moltu*, but here it may be just an etymological spelling.

2.9.3. *bages arbaga finna*. Line *b* in both texts constitutes a *figura etymologica*. The noun *bág* is well attested in the sense of 'boasting, declaring, fighting'.The alternative forms of the verb are *bágaid* and *báigid*.[626] The *Th* editors, (following O'Dav. 233 with *baghas ar mbagtha finda*), interpret the line: 'who fights our white fights'. Atkinson takes *ar* as a preposition, and translates the line as: 'who fights for good deeds'. The verb *báges* is glossed: *roerbaig*, 'who has boasted' (T), *moides*, 'who boasts' (F). The adjective *find* often has the figurative meaning, 'bright, blessed' in religious poetry.[627] Here a more resonant reading would be 'who fights our good fights'.

2.9.4. *friscera dia dulech/ lúrech arbaig mo thenga.* The verb *fris-gair*, 'answers' takes the *é*-future 3s *fris-céra*.[628] The adjective *dúilech* can have several meanings. When related to God it carries the sense of creativity, and is often an epithet for God the Creator, cf. *cain glanmann Dé dúilig*, 'fair pure manna of elemental God' (*Fél* Dec 19). The mss preserve the early spellings *dúlech* (and *lúrech*) without glide vowels. The concept of *lúirech,* based on the Latin *lorica*, 'breastplate' is discussed in Chapter 2. Of the three OIr hymns in this collection belonging to the *lorica* genre, this is the only one that includes the word *lúrech* in its own description. The hymn *Génair Pátraicc* also mentions the word *lúrech* but in reference to Patrick's Lorica. There is a problem with *arbaig*. *Th* reads *arbaig* as the 3s present indicative of *ar-báigi*, 'boasts, fights', introducing a relative clause with *lúrech* as antecedent, rendering 'a corslet of

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[626] The form in *Fél* Ep 360 is the latter: *na ní ara ṁbáigiu*, 'everything for which I contend'. It also occurs in *Fél* Ep 27: *ní gó cé ro báige*, ' it is no lie if you engage'. The early Glosses also have *báigid*. In *Fél* Nov 30, however, the non-palatal form is found: *Andreas as dánu/ fri croich, céim as úagu/ dobeir barr, no bágu, Nouimbir for slúagu*, 'Andreas, who is boldest, against a cross – step most perfect – puts a top, I declare, on November's hosts'. Perhaps the non-palatal version in *Fél* was chosen to provide additional rhyme with *dánu*.

[627] Typical examples in this genre are: *is find a mbethu*, 'blessed is their life' (Wb 2c2), and in *Fél*: *búaid find Ualentini*, 'the white triumph of Valentinus' (Dec 16); *la paiss find Faustíni*, 'at the white passion of Faustinus' (Oct 8); *hi Fiadat find fini*, 'in the vine of the white Lord' (Apr 6).

[628] In later language *fris-gair* was treated as a simple verb *frecraid*, 3s fut. *-frecér-sa* (PH 1496, 1803). The later form is also seen in the gloss on *fris-céra .i. freceraid.*

whom my tongue boasteth'. However, one would expect the relative *ara-báigi*, (or *ara-mbáigi*). Alternatively, if we assume a prototonic form introducing a relative clause, as in GOI §493.6, *arbáigi* would be expected, cf *acht in rí mac Nessa/ arbáge ar Mac Maire*, 'except the king, mac Nessa, who fights for the Son of Mary' (*LU* 9464). If anything, *arbaig* is a preterite form, which does not fit the context. The glosses support a relative reading: *erbagess, .i. asa ndena baig*, 'which boasts, i.e. in which it boasts' (T), with an equivalent reading in F. Atkinson, on the other hand, reads *lúrech ar baig* as ' a breastplate for battle', which he equates with *mo thenga.* A possibly better reading is to take *ar báig* as preposition *ar* plus *ā*-stem dative, 'against contention'. This would permit the translation for a future edition: 'the creative God will respond; my tongue [will be] a breastplate against contention'.

2.9.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Lúaidfe molthu Maicc Maire	I will utter the praises of Mary's Son,
báges ar mbága finna	who fights our white fights;
friscéra Dia dúlech	the creative God will answer,
lúrech arbáig mo thenga	a corslet of which my tongue boasteth.

§10

T	F
Oc digde dé de nimib	IC digde dé de nimib
mo chorp rop sigith sethrach	mo chorp rop sigith sæthrach
arnadris iffern uathach	arnaris iffernd uathach
ateoch in ríg adroetach	ateoch i*n* ríg adroethach

2.10.1. *Metrics*. The mss endwords *sethrach* and *-roetach* (*sæthrach* and *-roethach* F) will not rhyme, but the *Th* editors restore *sóethrach: -róethach* which makes perfect rhyme. There is considerable ornamentation with *digde* alliterating with *Dé*, *sigith* with *sáethrach,* and *ríg* with *-róethach.* There is also *aicill*-rhyme between *nimib* and *sigith,* and consonance between *úathach* and *sáethrach: -róethach.* The *dúnad* (*ateoch in ríg adroetach*) formally indicates the closure of the original hymn.

2.10.2. *Oc digde dé de nimib/ mo chorp rop sigith sethrach.* The plural form of *nem* in the phrase *de nimib* may well be in imitation of the Latin *coeli* ('heavens'), cf. *inna nime*, glossing *cœli* (Ml 45b15). The preposition *ic* in F is a Middle Irish proclitic spelling and *oc* is restored together with the OIr dative *dígdi*. There is a problem in the

interpretation of line *b*, which *Th* translates, admittedly with a query, as 'may my body be lastingly (?) laborious', a translation similar to the one found in *LH* II 48. The adverb 'lastingly' does not seem appropriate. The word *sigith* is not otherwise attested in early literature, and it is glossed in F *.i. rob buan*, 'may it be lasting'. DIL comments that it may be the same word as *sidid* ('swift').[629] There is no obvious connection with the meaning 'lasting', and perhaps the interpretation of the gloss *búan* is misleading. The adjective *búan* can also mean 'good' (from Latin *bonum*), cf. *genithir būan ō ambūan .i. maith ō ulc* (CormY 104). This, conjecturally, would permit the reading 'virtuous' for the rare word *sigith.* Despite CormY 104, the derivation of *búan* from Latin *bonus* is phonologically impossible. Associated with *sigith* is the adjective *sáethrach*, usually taken as 'laborious'. The word 'laborious' has a negative connotation, but *sáethrach* can also be interpreted positively as 'hard-working', cf. *do-ronsat na hingena éladna inganta co ségdu saethrach.*[630] This interpretation would provide a more comprehensible translation: 'may my body be long-lived (and) diligent'.

2.10.3. *arnadris iffern uathach/ ateoch in ríg adroetach* . The verbal form in T, *arná-d-rís*, is puzzling. If *-d-*is intended as a proleptic infixed 3s masculine pronoun anticipating *iffern*, one would expect *arnách-rís*. Here the *-d-*may represent a meaningless Middle Irish petrification of the infixed 3s neuter pronoun. Semantically, there is no need for an infixed pronoun here, and F's *arna-ris* is a better reading, featuring the negative 1s subjunctive prototonic of *ro-icc*, 'that I may may not go to', the object being *iffernn n-úathach,* 'awful hell'. As mentioned above, the final line echoes the opener, with the addition of the verbal form *ad-róethach,* which is the 3s perfect of *ad-teich.*[631] As in §1 the OIr form *at-teoch* is restored. *Ad- róethach* is discussed in 4.4.10.

2.10.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Oc dígdi Dé de nimib	In entreating God from the heavens
mo chorp rop sigith sóethrach!	may my body be lastingly laborious
arná-d-rís iffern n-úathach!	that I may not go to the awful hell!
At-teoch in ríg adróethach	I beseech the King whom I have besought.

[629] A version of *sidid* can possibly be seen in *Fél* Apr 4: *doreith duit for sidit*, 'he runs to you in speed'.

[630] *PH* 898: 'they exhibited wondrous arts with their labour and skill'.

[631] cf. *ad-róithach in rígraid*, 'I have entreated the kingfolk' (*Fél* Ep 301).

§11

T	F
Epscop sanctán s*ancta* sruith	Epscop sanctán s*ancta* sruthib
milid aingel cloth gelglan	milid aṅgel cloth glan gel
rosoera mo chorp for talmain	ro{s}oera mo chorp f*or* talma*in*
ronóeba manmain for nem	ronóeba manma*in* f*or* inem.

2.11.1. *Metrics.* Here the texts diverge in metre. T has an irregular $7^{1}7^{2}8^{2}7^{1}$ format, while F adopts a *sétnad mór* metrical system, $8^{2}7^{1}8^{2}7^{1}$. Perfect rhyme occurs between *gel* and *nem* in F.[632] The *gelglan* of T may be a transcription error. *Sanctán* alliterates with *sancta* and *sruith* (*sruthib* F) and *glan* with *gel*. It is likely that the composer intended *aicill*-rhyme between *talmain* and *anmain*, but there is a colour difference in medial consonants ($|\mu|$ in *talmain* versus $|m|$ in *anmain*). There is also internal rhyme between *ro-sóera* and *ro-nóeba* at the head of lines *c* and *d*.

2.11.2. *Epscop sanctán sancta sruith.* The word *sc¯a* in the mss is expanded to the Latin feminine adjective *sancta*. The *Th* editors suggest that we read *Sanctán* for *sancta*,[633] although their own translation sticks to the mss texts with: 'Bishop Sanctán, holy sage'. The word *sruith* can be adjectival, 'old, venerable, esteemed', or substantival, 'elder, ancestor, sage'. If we accept the editors' suggestion, the reading in T could be: 'Bishop Sanctán, venerable Sanctán'. The reading in F at first sight looks defective, with an inexplicable dative plural *sruthib*. It may be possible to redress the problems by splitting *sancta* into *sanct*, the OIr word for saint and the preposition *a* taking the dative plural *sruthib*. This reading would provide a translation: 'Bishop Sanctán, a saint from among sages'. Because F is clearly the *lectio difficilior*, this interpretation is tentatively accepted. It should be noted that there are no glosses associated with the three supplementary stanzas. This might indicate that the text is of a later date, closer in time to the period in which the exemplar was compiled.

2.11.3. *milid aingel cloth gelglan.* Both texts present difficulties here. First, the form *mílid* raises some questions. The OIr nominative is the dental stem masculine *míl*, an early loanword from Latin *miles*, but in Middle Irish the form *mílid* came to be used as the nominative singular. Since this quatrain is a later addition to the hymn, it was

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[632] Despite the *Th* reading of *glangel* in F (II 353), I see a clear separation between *glan* and *gel*.

[633] *Th* II 353, note *l*.

probably composed in the late OIr or early MIr period. The *Th* editors read *milid aingel* as 'soldier of angels', but another possibility is to take *aingel* (*aṅgel* in F) as 'very bright' (CormY 72) and translate the phrase as 'a brilliant soldier'. As mentioned above, F's *glan gel* is the better reading for metrical reasons. The noun *cloth* can function as an adjective,[634] although it could also be read as a genitive plural. Taking *cloth* in its adjectival mode, and *glan gel* as 'pure, white', perhaps in the sense of bloodless,[635] a possible translation emerges: 'a soldier, brilliant, famous, pure, white'.

2.11.4. *rosoera mo chorp for talmain/ ronóeba manmain for nem.* The eight-syllable structure of line *c* seems incapable of reduction to seven syllables, and thereby provides support for the *sétnad mór* metre. It will be noticed that line *d* would also contain eight syllables, were it not for the elision in *m'anmain*. The two verbs are 3s optative subjunctives, although in the F text the letter *s* in the verb *rosoera* is illegible. The nouns *talmain* and *nem* are in the accusative, indicating that the preposition *for* should probably be read in the sense of motion, i.e. 'may he deliver my body upon earth, sanctify my soul into heaven'.

2.11.5. *Th* Text and Translation

Epscop Sanctán sanct a [sruthib],	Bishop Sanctán, [a saint among sages],
mílid aingel, cloth glan gel	soldier of angels, pure-bright fame;
ro-sóera mo chorp for talmain,	may he save my body on earth,
ro-nóeba m'anmain for nem!	(may he) hallow my soul in heaven!

§12

T	F
Rombith oroit let a maire	Rombith oróit lett a maire
rop trócar rí nime dún	rop trócar rí nime dun
ar guin ar guasacht ar gabud	ar guin ar gúasacht ar gabud
a ch*ríst* for do nádud dún	a ch*ríst* for do nadud dún

2.12.1. *Metrics.* Here the metre continues with a *sétnad mór* form, $8^{2}7^{1}8^{2}7^{1}$, with perfect but facile rhyme, *dún: dún*. There is alliteration between *guin gúasacht gábud*, and *aicill*-rhyme *gábud: nádud* (leg. *snádud*).

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[634] See also §10 of the hymn *Ní car Brigit*, Chapter7).

[635] cf. *gel-maidm* 'bloodless victory' (FM iv, 752.8).

2.12.2. *Rombíth oroit let a maire /rop trócar rí nime dún.* As the 3s imperative of the substantive verb with *ro* infixing the dative 1s pronoun, *ro-mm-bíth* means 'let me have'. The OIr noun *oróit*, a borrowing from the Latin *oratio*, is described in DIL as 'probably a ritual prayer rather than an extempore one'. The conjugated preposition *let* (OIr *latt*) is a late form found, for example, in *SR* 1593.

2.12.3. *ar guin ar guasacht, ar gabud/ a chríst for do nádud dún.* Both *gúasacht* and *gábud* mean 'danger'. The former appeared earlier in §2 with that translation, and *gábud* occurred in the hymn *Sén Dé* §8: *rop díar cobair fri gábud*, 'may he help us against danger'. On the other hand, *gábud* also has the sense of 'stress', as in *a n-éc do gábud na gorta*, 'their death from stress of hunger' (*LB* 155a38). In line *d Th* restores *nádud* to *snádud*, 'protection'. It is impossible to tell what the original form might have been. The marked lenition on *s* and *f* is found in later OIr Glosses, e.g. *do slund nach folaid*, 'to express any substance' (Sg 73b7).

2.12.4. *Th* Text and Translation

Rombíth oróit let, a Maire;	Let me have a prayer with thee, O Mary;
rop trócar rí nime dún	let heaven's King be merciful to us
ar guin, ar gúasacht, ar gábud;	against wounding, danger, peril;
a Chríst for do snádud dún!	O Christ, let us be under thy protection!

§13

T	F
Ateoch in ríg sóer suthain	Ateoch in ri soer suthain
óengeinne de diar fethim	oengeinne dé diar fethim
rommain ar gaibthib géraib	rommain ar gaibthib géraib
m*acc* rogenair i mbethil.	m*acc* rogenair i mbethil.

2.13.1. *Metrics.* Here the metre reverts to the *rannaigecht bec* form, $7^27^27^27^2$, with perfect rhyme, *fethim: mBethil*. There is alliteration between *sóer* and *suthain, gáibthib* and *géraib,* as well as *aicill* between *géraib* and *-génair.* The *LH* editors suggest that this stanza may be part of the original hymn, which ends at the first *dúnad.* No evidence was offered, but the editors may have been influenced by its employment of the same *rannaigecht bec* format as the original hymn, and its similarity in language.

2.13.2. *Ateoch in ríg sóer suthain/ óengeinne de diar fethim.* The spelling *rí* in F for the accusative case probably reflects the Middle Irish sound since for the scribe the final *-g* was no longer pronounced. The adjective *suthain*, 'everlasting', arising from the combination of *so-* and *tan*, is well attested in the Glosses and religious literature. In line *b* the compounded word *óengeinne* derived from *óen* and *geinddae*, is translated as 'one offspring' in *Th*, while Atkinson has 'only Son of God' for *óengeinne Dé*. However, as the first element of a compound, *óen-* is often used in the sense of 'without equal, peerless', and this could be the case here, i.e. 'the peerless offspring of God'.

2.13.3. *rommain ar gaibthib géraib/ macc rogenair i mBethil.* The verbal form *ro-mm-ain* is the 3s augmented present subjunctive of *aingid*, with the class A 1s infixed pronoun. The placename *Bethel* is common in religious literature, cf. Ml 137a1 and *Fél* Sep 30, Dec 28, Ep 268. Stokes comments (*Fél*, p. 375) that the Irish seem to have confused Bethel and Bethlehem. The augmented preterite *ro-génair* could be significant for dating. On the face of it, the context seems to support a preterite tense, 'the son who was born in Bethlehem', but a pluperfect is also possible.

2.13.4. *Th* Text and Translation

At-teoch in ríg sóer suthain	I beseech the noble everlasting King,
óengeinne Dé diar fethim	God's one offspring, to watch us.
ro-mm-ain ar gáibthib géraib	May the Son who was born in Bethlehem
macc ro-génair i mBethil.	protect me against keen perils.

Section 3: Metrical Analysis

3.1 Rhyming Structure

3.1.1. The metrical structure of the hymn is summarised in Table A. The original hymn probably ended with the *dúnad* in §10. The remaining three stanzas appear to be supplementary additions. §§10 and 11 seem to be in *sétnad mór* metre ($8^{2}7^{1}8^{2}7^{1}$), while §12 resumes the regular *rannaigecht bec*. There are metrical problems with three stanzas. In §2 the final consonants in *-gúasim: úasum* differ in quality, and thus the rhyme does not even qualify as consonance. In §§5 and 9 the stressed vowels are different but the words consonate occurs, (annotated as *b:d* consonance), and the poet compensates with *a:b:c:d* consonance (§5) or *aicill* (§9).

Table A: Sanctán's Hymn Rhyming Scheme

§	Metre	Rhyme	Ornamentation
1	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*tressom: dessom*	alliteration, consonance
2	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*-gúasim: úasum*	imperfect rhyme, alliteration, consonance
3	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*baile: Maire*	alliteration, consonance
4	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*díllocht: díbocht*	alliteration, consonance
5	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*chesta: testa*	alliteration
6	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*celar: galar*	*b:d* consonance, alliteration, consonance
7	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*bodras: torbas*	alliteration, consonance
8	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*húathaib: lúathaib*	alliteration
9	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*finda: thenga*	*b:d* consonance, alliteration, *aicill*
10	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*sáethrach: -róethach*	alliteration, *aicill*
	Post dúnad		
11	$8^{2}7^{1}8^{2}7^{1}$	*gel: nem*	alliteration, internal rhyme, imperfect *aicill*
12	$8^{2}7^{1}8^{2}7^{1}$	*dún: dún*	alliteration, *aicill*
13	$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$	*fethim: mBethil*	alliteration, *aicill*

3.1.2. The *dúnad* in §10 is unusual in that it does not fit any of the patterns listed in *EIM*. The closure *at-teoch in ríg ad-róethach* does not quite repeat the opening *At-teoch ríg*. However, Murphy comments that occasionally the repetition is not absolutely perfect.[636]

[636] Murphy 1961, 44.

3.2. Other Metrical Ornamentation

3.2.1. As noted in Table A there is considerable metrical ornamentation in the poem with alliteration in every stanza, consonance mainly in the earlier part and *aicill*, more prominent in the later stanzas. Bernard and Atkinson draw attention to a special but undefined form of rhyming ornamentation involving the final syllables of lines. These syllables are shown underlined in Table B. The pattern is not continuous, and may be simply the result of consonance, but it does lend limited support to the *LH* suggestion that §12 may be part of the original poem. However, it might lead to a re-consideration of the length-mark in *ernbás* (§7). There is also evidence of *fidrad freccomail* (linking alliteration) between stanzas, and this is shown in bold type. This feature is not consistent in the poem, but statistically its frequency must be more than coincidental. The rules for *fidrad freccomail* are very free and permit alliteration of *p* with *b*, *c* with *g* and *t* with *d*, as well as between stressed and unstressed elements.[637]

Table B

§1 *At-teoch ríg n-amra n-aingel*
uair ised ainm as tressum
Día dom frim lorg Día túathum
Día dom thúus Día ***dessum***.

§2 ***Día*** *dom chobair nóeb togairm*
ar cech ngúasacht nod-gúasim
drochet bethad bíd íssum
bennacht Dé athar ***úasum***.

§3 ***Húasal*** *trínóit don-fosca*
do nách airchenn bás baile
án spirut nóeb nert nime
Día athair mórmac ***Maire***.

§4 ***Mórrí*** *fitir ar fine*
fiadu húas dommun díllocht
domm anmain ar cech gúallocht
ním-tharle demna ***díbocht***.

§5 ***Día*** *dím cech sáeth do-ringba*
Crist fris-innle mo chesta;
apstail immum cot-risat

§6 ***Domm****-air trócaire tolam*
Ó Chríst nád cétla celar
Ním-thairle éc ná amor
ním-thair mortlaid ná galar

§7 *Ním-thairle erchor amnas*
Macc Dé medras bodras
ainsium Críst ar cech n-ernbás
ar thein ar threthan torbas

§8 *Ar cech n-éclind bas eslind*
dom chorp co n-ainbith
domm-air fiado cech thrátha
ar gáith ar uscib ***lúathaib***.

§9 ***Lúaidfe*** *molthu Maicc Maire*
báges ar mbága finda
fris-céra Día dúlech
lúrech arbaig mo thenga.

§10 *Oc digde Dé de nimib*
mo chorp rop sigith sóethrach
arna-d-rís iffern úathach

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[637] ibid. 38-9.

domm-air-se trínóit ***testa***. *at-teoch in ríg ad-róethach.*

Post dúnad

§11 *Epscop Sanctán sancta sruthib*
mílid aingel cloth glan gel
ro-sóera mo chorp for talmain
ro-nóeba m'anmain for nem.

§12 *Rom-bith oróit let, a aire*
rop trócar rí nime dún
ar guin, ar gúasacht ar gábud
a Chríst for do snádud dún.

§13 *At-teoch in ríg sóer suthain*
óengeinne Dé diar fethim;
romm-ain ar gáibthib géraib
Macc ro-génair i mBethil.

Section 4: Linguistic Analysis

4.1. Final Unstressed Vowels

§	T	F	*Th* Edition	Classical Old Irish
3	*baile: maire*	*baile: maire*	*baile: Maire*	*baile: Maire*
5	*chesta: testa*	*chesta: testa*	*chesta: testa*	*chesti: testa*
9	*finna: thenga*	*finna: thiinga*	*finda: thenga*	*finda: thengae*

4.1.1. The nominative singular *baile*, 'frenzy', makes perfect rhyme with genitive *Maire* in §3 but the rhyme does not provide any specific dating information, since these case endings were common throughout the OIr period. In §5 the feminine *i*-stem noun *ceist*, a borrowing from Latin *quaestio*, forms the OIr accusative plural *cesti*, cf. *do-beir cesti do chách,* 'he puts questions to everyone' (Wb29b5). DIL comments that later this form became *cesta, ceiste*.[638] Here *cesta* rhymes with *testa*, the genitive singular of feminine *teist*, another Latin borrowing from *testis*, 'witness.' Such a rhyme would not have been acceptable in the OIr period, involving as it does a difference in the quality of the final consonant as well as final vowel. Although the rhyme *finda: thenga* in §9 is only of the consonance type due to the mismatch of vowels in the first syllable, the unstressed final syllables in accusative plural *finda* and nominative singular *thenga* (OIr *thengae*) anchors the rhyme no earlier than the ninth century. Carney points out that in *Fél* final *-a* and *-ai*, *-a* and *-ae* are kept apart in rhyme, but tend to be confused in non-rhyming positions. This separation is maintained up to and including the time of *SR*.[639]

4.2. Nouns and Adjectives

4.2.1. The main linguistic feature of this hymn is the number of unattested nouns and adjectives. The preface states that God gave the Irish language quickly to the Briton Sanctán.[640] The MIr scholiast who wrote this may be ruefully reflecting the fact that Sanctán, if he indeed wrote the hymn, was something of a wordsmith. The words *díbocht, gúallocht, tolam* and *sigith* do not appear elsewhere in the literature, and the meanings derived are purely conjectural. Two of these words occur in §4. The first appears in the line *ní-m-thá(i)rle demna díbocht*. Its rhyming partner is *díllocht* which

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[638] For example, the nominative plural appears in the *line robdar imdae a cesta,* 'their problems were many' Ériu 4, 126 (*'The settling of the Manor of Tara'*, ed. Best).

[639] Carney 1983, 196-7.

[640] Scoticam uero lingam usque ad hanc horam non habuit, sed Deus ei tam cito eam donauit (*Th* II 350), 'He did not in truth have the Irish language up to this time, but God gave it to him very quickly'.

is attested elsewhere as *dílacht* or *díllacht*,[641] and is derived by DIL from *dí* + *locht*. T glosses *díbocht*: *.i. cen dia occi acht* ..., 'without God with him but ...', and F as *.i. boct o Dia .i. cen Dia occum ł nemboct .i. cen bocta ó ṡadbri int* [ṡ]*æguil*, 'poor in respect of God, i.e. without God with me, or not poor, i.e. without poverty in respect of the world's wealth'. The problem here is that no compounds have been attested where *dí-* represents *Día*. The *Th* editors do not offer a translation of *díbocht*, but the gloss in T may have influenced Atkinson[642] who translates it as 'godlessness'. As mentioned in the Textual Note, Dr J Uhlich suggests that *díbad* might have been original, but this was distorted to *díbocht* for optical rhyme with *díllocht*.

4.2.2. The word *gúallocht* (*goilliuct* F) is another mystery, and is left untranslated in *Th* II. The spelling cannot be confirmed by rhyme, but its consonance with *díllocht* and *díbocht* gives some assurance. Atkinson translates it as 'black-sin' (*LH* II 47). Only T offers a gloss: *gúallocht, .i. ar cach locht góa*, 'i.e. against every fault of lying', which suggests another compound. The element *gú-* is the compositional form of *gáu, gó*, and is found in several expressions, *gúbreth*, 'false judgement', *gúforcell*, 'false testimony', *gúscél*, 'false story', etc. On that basis *gúlocht* or *gúllocht* rather than *gúallocht* might be expected, but no compounds of this form have been identified.

4.2.3. Another word left untranslated by *Th* is *tolam* (*talam* F) in §6, but DIL relates it to the adjective *solam* (*so+lám*), and suggests the meaning 'ready, speedy'. Atkinson, however, follows F with *talam*, which he reads as an independent dative, and translates the line *domm-air trócaire talam* as: 'may mercy come to me (on) earth'.[643] However, the use of an independent dative in the locative sense is rare (GOI §251.3). DIL relates the dative form *talmaidiu*, 'suddenly' to *talam* (as in F), cf. *fortachtan dé tainic talmaidiu doib*, 'of the help of God that came suddenly to them' (Ml 35d1). The appropriate translation seems to be: 'may prompt mercy come to me'.[644] The fourth word *sigith* (: *nimib*) which appears in the line *mo chorp rop sigith sóethrach* (§10) is not otherwise attested in early literature, and it is glossed in F *rob buan*, 'may it be lasting'. The derived noun *sigide* glosses Latin *pertinacia* ('pertinacity') in the

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[641] See *Fél*: *frim dúbairt la dillacht*, 'at my earnest prayer with sinlessness' (Ep 71), and *luid cetorchae dillacht*, 'forty sinless ones went' (Nov 19).

[642] *LH* II 47.

[643] *LH* II 207.

[644] The T gloss provides an etymological gloss on *tolam*: *.i. toi ellam .i. tí i toi 7 i nellmai*, 'silence already, i.e. may it come in silence and in readiness'.

Augustine (Carlsruhe) Glosses (*Th* II 9, 26). DIL comments that it may be the same word as *sidid* ('swift'),[645] but 'long-lasting' suits the context better.

4.2.4. Another interesting noun is *sanct*, discussed in 2.11.2, and appearing as the Latin feminine *sancta* in the mss. It is usually found in compounds such as *sanctBrigite,* and rarely found as a stand-alone noun, but appears in CormY 1169: *sanct, ab eo quo test sanctus.* Reading final *-a* as a preposition governing *sruthib* has metrical credibility in that it delivers *sétnad mór* metre, with meaning 'a saint among sages'. The epithet *nóeb* is usually reserved for native saints, while Sanctán.was a Briton. Finally, in §11 Sanctán is described as *mílid aingel cloth glangel.* The OIr nominative is the dental stem masculine *míl,* an early loanword from Latin *miles*, but in Middle Irish the form *mílid* came to be used as the nominative singular. Since this quatrain is a later addition to the hymn, it was probably composed in the late OIr or early MIr period.

4.3. Pronouns

4.3.1. There are no independent pronouns but the hymn presents one suffixed pronoun *ainsium* in §7, one class B and 9 class A infixed pronouns. All the class A pronouns are standard OIr forms, but the pre-verb in *cot-rísat* is a petrified neuter class B pronoun, common in later saga-texts, and its appearance in the mss may represent a scribal 'modernisation' of OIr *con-rísat*.[646] On the other hand, the petrified 3s neuter class C pronoun in §2 acts as a MIr relative marker, while that in §10 (*arná-d-rís*) seems like a meaningless hyper-correction. This conjunct particle usually takes the form *arnach-* with an infixed pronoun. The infixed *-d-* in either case could be removed without detriment to metre.

Class A

§	Pronoun	*Th* edition	Classical OIr
3	1p	*don-fosca* (donfoscai TF)	*don-fiuscha*
4, 7	1p	*ním-tharle, ním-thairle*	*ním-tháirlea*
6	1s	*ním-thairle* (nimthasle F)	*ním-tháirlea*
5	1s	*domm-air-se*	*domm-air-se*
6, 8	1s	*domm-air*	*domm-air*
6	1s	*ním-thair*	*ním-thair*

[645] A version of *sidid* can possibly be seen in *Fél* Apr 4: *doreith duit for sidit*, 'he runs to you in speed'.

[646] See McCone *EIV*, 173.

Post *dúnad*			
12	1s	*rom-bith*	*rom-bíth*
13	1s	*romm-ain*	*romm-ain*
Class B			
5	3p	*cot-rísat*	*con-rísat*
Class C			
2	rel marker	*nod-gúasim*	*no-gúasim*
10	hyper	*arná-d-rís*	*arná -rís*

4.3.2. Prepositional Pronouns

The above forms conform to standard OIr grammar, with the exception of *let* in §12, which is a MIr form. Breatnach in *Stair na Gaeilge* has collected examples of *let(t)* from *LL* 39197 and 34739.[647]

§		*Th* edition	Classical OIr
1	1s	*dam*	*dam, dom*
1	1s	*túathum*	*túathum*
1	1s	*dessom* (dessam T)	*dessom*
2	1s	*íssum*	*íssum*
2	1s	*úasum*	*úasum*
5	1s	*immum*	*immum*
	Post *dúnad*		
12	2s	*let* (lett F)	*lat(t)*
13	1p	*dún* (twice)	*dún*

4.4. Verbal Forms

4.4.1. Present Stems (all present indicative except where otherwise stated)

§		*Th* edition	3s pres indic
1, 10, 13	1s	*ateoch*	*ad-teich*
1	3s rel	*as*	*is*
1	3s	*ised*	*is*
3	3s	*do nách* (danach F)	*is*
7	1s rel	*no-d-gúasim*	*gúasid*
4	3s	*fitir*	*ro-fitir*
6	3s pss	*nád .. celar*	*ceilid*
7	3s rel	*bodras*	*bodraid*
7	3s rel	*medras*	*medraid*
7	3s rel	*torbas*	*torbaid*

[647] See Breatnach 1994, 329, 13.19.

8	3s rel	*báges* (báiges F)	*báigid, bágaid*
12	3s impv	*rom-bíth*	*at-tá*

4.4.2. One might have expected 1s present *ad-teoch* or the later assimilated form *at-teoch* in §1, but *Th* follows the *ateoch* of the mss here. In §4 the form *fitir* may be a prototonic introducing a relative clause, *mórrí fitir ar fine*, though Thurneysen in GOI §493.6 comments that such use is rare. The 3s present passive *celar* appears in a tmesis construction: *ó Chríst nád cétla celar*, 'from Christ who is not concealed in song' (*Th* translation). As mentioned in the relevant Textual Note there is a lack of concord between the neuter plural *cétla* and the singular verb *celar*, and it may be necessary to read *celar* as an impersonal verb, giving 'whose chants one does not hide'. The 3s special relative forms *bodras, medras, torbas* and *báges* appear in §7 and §8, but these forms have no dating implications. The alternative forms of the last-mentioned verb are *bágaid* and *báigid*, and *Th* follows the mss here.[648]

4.4.3. Subjunctive Stems (all pres. subj. except where otherwise stated)

§		*Th* edition	3s pres indic
3	3s	*don-fosca* (donfoscai TF)	*do-fiuschi, do-fusci*
5	3s	*do-ringba*	*do-ingaib*
5	3s	*fris-innle*	*fris-indlea*
5	3s	*domm-air-se* (dommairle F)	*do-airicc*
6, 8	3s	*domm-air*	*do-airicc*
5	3p	*cot-rísat*	*con-ricc*
4, 6, 7	3s	*ním-thairle* (nimthasle F)	*do-aidlea*
7	3s	*ainsium*	*aingid*
8	3s rel	*bas*	*is*
10	1s	*arná-d-ris* (arnaris F)	*ro-icc*
10, 12	3s	*rop*	*is*
	Post *dúnad*		
11	3s	*ro-nóeba*	*nóebaid*
11	3s	*ro-sóerba*	*sóeraid*
13	3s	*romm-ain*	*aingid*

4.4.4. The 3s present subjunctive of *do-fiuschi* (**dí-uss-sech-*), 'wakens', in §3 may be compared to the OIr form *conid-diusgea* in Wb 4c6. In respect of the form *do-fosca*, DIL steers readers to *do-foscai* (**to-uss-saig-*), 'supports, nourishes', but this verb

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[648] The early Glosses have *báigid*. This form occurs also in *Fél* Ep 27 (2s *báige*) and Ep 360 (1s -*báigiu*) but the non-palatal form (1s -*bágu*) is found in *Fél* Nov 30. Perhaps the non-palatal version in *Fél* was chosen to provide *a: c* rhyme with *dánu*.

contains *-sāss-* in its subjunctive. However, the context would support a 3s indicative reading of this verb (as in the mss), viz. *húasal trínóit don-foscai*, 'the Holy Trinity nourishes us'. In future editions this approach may be preferable to reading a poorly-attested subjunctive of *do-fiuschi*. The verb *do-ingaib* (**dí-in-gaib-*), 'wards off', in §5 forms an augmented 3s present subjunctive *do-r-ingba*. The verb *fris-indlea* (**fris-in(de)-ell-)* has a 3s present subjunctive *fris-innle* (OIr *fris-indlea*), here with meaning 'may he prepare'. Similarly, in §§4, 6, 7 the verb *do-aidlea*, 'visits', has a 3s augmented subjunctive form *do-áirle*, *-táirle* (from **to-ad-ro-ell-*), and here is prefixed with the negative *ní-* and the 1s infixed pronoun, to render 'may (it) not come to me'. Again one might have expected OIr *ní-m-tháirlea* but, as in the previous example, the final *-ea* had fallen together with *-e* by the ninth century.

4.4.5. The verb *do-air-icc* (§5, 6, 8) forms its 3s subjunctive in *do-air*, 'may (it) come to'. GOI §627 comments that *tair*, *do-mm-air* is common in poetry. The 1p present subjunctive of *con-ricc* appears in the hymn *Sén Dé* as a late form *cot-ríssam*, 'may we meet'. In §5 here the 3p verbal form is *cot-rísat*, (OIr *con-rísat*), 'may they come together', but as noted above, the infixed pronoun is a late petrified form. Another petrified form appears in §10 (*arná-d-rís*) where the hyper-correct *-d-* does not affect the meaning of the verbal form, 'that I may not go to'.

4.4.6. Future Stems.

§		*Th* edition	3s pres indic
9	1s	*lúaidfe* (luathfe T)	*lúaidid*
9	3s	*fris-céra*	*fris-gair*

4.4.7. There are only two future stems, the first being 1s *lúaidfe* (OIr *lúaidfea*) in §9, with meaning 'I will utter'. In the same stanza the verb *fris-gair*, 'answers', forms an *é*-future *fris-céra*, (cf. the future stem *-géra* of *gairid*).[649]

4.4.8. Preterite Stems

§		*Th* edition	3s pres indic
9	3s pret	*arbaig*	*ar-báigi*
14	3s perf	*ad-róethach* (adroetach T)	*ad-teich*
	Post *dúnad*		
13	3s perf	*ro-génair*	*gainithir*

[649] In later language *fris-gair* was treated as a simple verb *frecraid*, 3s fut. *-frecér-sa* (PH 1496, 1803). The later form is also seen in the gloss on *fris-céra .i. freceraid.*

4.4.9. The verbal form *arbaig* in §9 is problematical, as discussed in 2.9.4.. If taken as *a* 3s present relative, one would expect *ara-báigi* or *ara-mbáigi*. Despite the *Th* reading, it might be better to read *lúrech ar baig* as 'a breastplate against contention', but this reading would be for a new edition.

4.4.10. The simple verb *techid*, 'flees', forms a preterite stem *tách-*, and this stem is reflected in the preterite of *ad-teich*. However, the perfect adopts the *róe-* form (by analogical spread from forms like *-roíchan-* which lose the reduplicator) to produce 1s *ad-róethach* 'I have besought'. In §13 the stem *-génair* arises from a surrogate reduplication **gegn-* of *gainithir*. Here, the verb in the line *macc ro-génair i mBethil* is translated as a narrative preterite, 'the Son who was born in Bethlehem', but it could possibly be taken as a pluperfect, 'who had been born', though less likely.

4.5. Hiatus.

There are few examples of hiatus in the hymn. The word *thuus* in §1 is disyllabic. It later became monosyllabic as attested metrically in *LU* 4710. The word *Día* ('god') appears as a monosyllable in three stanzas (§§2, 3 and 5), but is disyllabic in §9 when the metre demands it, as it is in later literature.[650] However, one cannot assume a late date for a disyllabic *Dia*. There is a disyllabic *Dia* in the eighth-century *Immram Brain* §48, in the heptasyllabic line: *sech bíd Día, bíd duine*, 'besides being God, He will be man', to which Meyer refers in his introduction.[651] Another disyllabic *Día* is to be found in *Fél* Ep 153: *fri Día is dúbart*, 'unto God is a vehement prayer', beside seven monosyllabic examples of *Día*.

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[650] *Día* is disyllabic in *SR* 1905, 2033, 2685, and monosyllabic in 649, 1917, 1950. There is one disyllabic form of *Día* in.

[651] Meyer 1985, xv and 23. The date of *Immram Brain* has been assigned to the eighth century in McCone 2000, 47.

Section 5: Conclusion

5.1.General

Sanctán's Hymn is a protection prayer, after the manner of a *lorica*. The first stanza echoes a section of Patrick's Lorica, and it generally follows many of the features of the the Mac Eoin pattern. The poem comprises 10 stanzas in *rannaigecht bec*, followed by a *dúnad*, then three additional stanzas, two in *sétnad mór* format and the last in *rannaigecht bec*.

5.2. Summary of Linguistic Analysis

The main features of the language are:

(1) The rhyme *chesta: testa* in §5 is late, the form *cesta* (OIr *cesti*) being MIr or, at best, late OIr.

(2) The consonance rhyme *finda: thenga* in §9 cannot be earlier than the ninth century.

(3) The nominative singular *milid* in §11 for OIr *mil* is a MIr form, and metrical reasons would rule it out as being just a scribal intervention.

(4) If *ro-génair* in §13 is read as a narrative preterite, it would suggest a dating no earlier than the ninth century, but the verbal form could be a classical OIr pluperfect.

(5) The disyllabic form *Día* in §9, beside the four monosyllabic forms of the same noun, might suggest a late OIr date, but this cannot be used on its own as a firm dating criterion because of the sporadic appearance of the disyllabic form in *Fél* and *Immram Brain*. Nonetheless, it provides some collateral evidence in support of the other late features already noted.

(6) The presence of a *dúnad* (*in ríg ad-róethrach*) at the end of §10, together with a change of metre from *rannaigecht bec* ($7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}$) to *sétnad mór* ($8^{1}7^{2}8^{1}7^{2}$) in §11 and §12, indicates that these stanzas are later additions.

(7) The absence of glosses on the final three stanzas may indicate lateness.

5.3. Dating of the Hymn

The language of the hymn is quite late in the OIr period compared to the other poems in the collection. The original poem up to §10 can be assigned to the late ninth century, while the final three stanzas manifest Middle Irish forms, one established by rhyme.

Chapter 9 - Patrick's Lorica (*Atom-riug indíu*)

Section 1: General Considerations

1.1 Introduction

The most famous hymn in the *Liber Hymnorum* is *Atom-riug indíu*, otherwise known as Patrick's Lorica, or Patrick's Hymn, Patrick's Breastplate or the Deer's Cry (*Fáeth Fíada*).[652] It has been described by Kenney[653] as being among the most interesting relics of early Irish Christianity, presenting 'in a remarkable way the attitude of mind of a primitive Christian believer, probably monk, to whom paganism and the superstitions sprung from it were a real terror'. The hymn is written in *retoric* – periodical, rhythmical and alliterative prose – and, in Kenney's view, in imitation of early and perhaps pagan compositions. As noted in Chapter 2, this hymn was used as a paradigm for the *lorica* form by Gougaud in his monumental study.[654]

1.2. Sources of Hymn

1.2.1. The earliest extant source of the hymn *Atom-riug indíu* is found in the Trinity College Dublin manuscript (T) of the *Liber Hymnorum*, but it is not included in the F manuscript. There are also copies in two further mss, the fourteenth-century Rawlinson B512 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (coded R) and in the fifteenth-century Egerton 93 of the British Library, London (coded E). There appear to be two versions of the original hymn, with T derived from one recension and both R and E from the other. The main lexical differences between the recensions (apart from the expected orthographic and linguistic variations) can be seen from Table 9.1 below.

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[652] Although *Th* employs the title 'Patrick's Hymn', the title used in this thesis will be 'Patrick's Lorica' or *Atom-riug indiu* in order to avoid confusion with Sechnall's Hymn (*LH* I, 3-13) which is also called 'Patrick's Hymn'.

[653] Kenney 1929, 271.

[654] Gougaud 1911, 1912.

Table 9.1 – Lexical Differences between Texts

Line	T	R	E
25	snechtai	ésci	esca
30	tairisem	tairismigi	tairismigi
31	cobsaidecht	cobsaidi	cobsaidhe
35	domm imthús	dom thúr	domm imtus
36	reimcise	imcaisin	imcaisin
41	dítin	imditen	imditin
43	ar intledaib	ar indledaib	ar inntlechtaib
45	ar irnechtaib	ar foirmdechaib	ar formdech…
49	thra	indiu	indium
50	tinchetla	tairchetlaib	tairchetla
55	anman	corp 7 anmain	corp 7 anmuin
57	ar neim	ar cech neim	ar cech neim
59	conomthair	conimraib	conimroib
64	immimrorda	rodomscrútadar	romdosgruda
65	oen	duine	duine

1.2.2. When we eliminate minor scribal variations, clear lexical differences can be seen between the T ms on one hand and that of R and E on the other. There are also whole lines omitted, particularly in the R and E texts, but all the variant readings will be addressed later in this chapter. Furthermore there is some variation in syntax, as evident from lines 66 and 67, which again point to separate recensions. Lines 66-7 read:

T: *Crist in cech rusc nomdercædar/ Crist in cech cluais rodomcloathar*

R: *Crist i ruscc cech duine rodomdecadar/ Crist i clúais cech duine rodomcluinedar*

E: *Crist i rusg cach duine nodomdechadar/ Crist i cluais cach duine ::::cluinithar*

1.2.3. The principal editions of the hymn are as follows:

Date	Editor	Publication	Translation
1839	Petrie[655]	*Antiquities of Tara Hill*	
1880	Windisch [656]	*Irische Texte* 1	German
1887	Stokes [657]	*The Tripartite Life of Patrick*	English (R text)

[655] Petrie 1839, 2-232 with translation by O'Donovan.

[656] Windisch 1880, 52-8.

[657] Stokes 1887, 48-53 (*Trip* 1).

1898	Bernard & Atkinson	*Irish Liber Hymnorum*	English
1903	Stokes and Strachan	*Thes. Palaeohibernicus II*	English

1.2.4. Metrical translations have been undertaken by JC Mangan, JJ Murphy and Mrs CF Alexander.[658] Sigerson (1925, 151-3) provides a translation in which the irregular rhythms of the original hymn are imitated.[659] Other translations have been made by Todd, Mac Néill, Bieler, Greene and O'Connor,[660] all based on the aforementioned editions. More recently, Carey [661] has provided an eclectic translation based on the *Th* II edition. There have also been several commentaries on the hymn, of which those of Bury, Gougaud and Binchy are particularly relevant.[662]

1.3. Middle Irish Preface

1.3.1. The preface states baldly that Patrick made this hymn, and that it was made in the time of Loegaire, son of Niall. The preface goes on to say that the hymn was composed to protect Patrick and his monks from deadly enemies who were lying in wait for them. Patrick was on his way to Tara to sow the faith, and when he sang this hymn he and his party were turned into wild deer, and they slipped unknown past Loegaire's ambush. The preface describes the hymn as a 'corslet of faith for the protection of the body and soul against devils and men and vices. When anyone shall repeat it every day with diligent intentness on God, devils shall not dare to face him, it shall be a protection to him against every poison and envy, it shall be a defence to him against sudden death, it shall be a corslet to his soul after his death'.[663]

1.4 Methodology

The methodology employed in Chapter 5 for the accentual Ninine's Prayer will be adopted here. Before analysing the text, it will be necessary to review how the text should be laid out in lines and strophes. This subject is treated in Section 2 (Metrical Analysis). In Section 3 the three texts (T, R, E) are reviewed for language and meaning. In Section 4 the language is analysed, and a conclusion based on the findings therein is presented in Section 5.

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[658] Wright 1899, 109*ff.*

[659] Sigerson *'Bards of the Gael and Gall'*, Dublin, 1925.

[660] Todd 1869, 426-9; Mac Néill 1934, 66-8; Bieler 1953, 67-9; Greene and O'Connor 1990, 27-32.

[661] Carey 2000, 132*ff.*

[662] Bury 1905, 246; Gougaud 1915, 227; Binchy 1966, 232-237.

[663] Translation in *Th* II, 354.

Section 2: Metrical Analysis

2.1. Rhythmic Pattern

2.1.1. In the *Liber Hymnorum* it is normally possible to distinguish the divisions of a poem by the illuminated capitals in the mss, but there is some confusion towards the end of this hymn where the capitals are smaller in size. Consequently, the division of each strophe into lines has to be determined from the context. Generally, the hymn is usually divided into eight strophes of rhythmical prose, with the total number of lines varying from 72 to 80, depending on the individual reading of editors. The OIr hymn is followed by a short doxology in Latin. There is no formal *dúnad* in the hymn, but the T ms simply repeats the first strophe. In this analysis the syllable count in each line is ignored, and only the number of stresses and line cadence are marked. The annotation employed is *a: b*, where *a* represents the stress count and *b* the line cadence. In the *Th* reading of the hymn the the following rhythmic pattern emerges:

§

1 - 2:1, 4:2, 2:3, 2:3, 2:1 (or 2:1, 2:1, 2:3, 2:3, 2:3, 2:1)

2 - 2:1, 4:2, 3:3, 3:3, 4:2

3 - 2:1, 3:3, 2:2, 2:3, 3:3, 2:4 2:2, 2:2 2:3, 2:3 3:2

4 - 2:1, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2

5 - 2:1, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3, 3:2, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 3:1, 2:2, 2:3

6 - 5:2, 6:2, 2:3, 2:3, 2:4, 2:3, 4:2, 5:2

7 – 3:1, 2:2, 2:1, 3:3, 6:2, 6:2, 4:2, 6:2, 4:3, 4:3, 4:3, 4:3

8 - 2:1, 4:3, 2:3, 2:3, 2:1

Note that *LH* expands §6 to a 12-line strophe, comprising lines 49 to 59, absorbing 4 lines from §7.

2.1.2. Internal alliteration is much more sparse than that usually found in *retoric*, but it occurs at least once in every strophe. Instead of formal rhyme there is an incantationary repetition of phrases such as *Atom-riug indiu*, with stressed and unstressed opening words in each line. There are, however, recurring morphologically-similar elements which do not meet the formal requirements for rhyme or consonance, but still seem to serve some metrical ornamentation. Instances of these elements at line-endings are: *tréodatad: óendatad* (line 3), *gentliuchtae: heretecdae: -idlachtae* (lines 51-3), *-scrútadar: -labrathar: dercœdar: -chloathar* (lines 64-7) and internally *dubrechtu: saíbrechtae* (lines 52-3).

Section 3: Textual Notes

§1

Line	T	R	E
1.	Atomriug indíu		Attoriug indiu
2.	niurt trén togairm trinoit		n˘t triun togairm trinoite
3	cretim treodataid		cretium treodata
4	fóisin óendatad		fóisitiu aontatadh
5	i*n* dulemain dail.		in dúleman dáil

3.1.1. *Metrics*. The stress pattern of this line arrangement (as shown in *Th* and *LH*) is 2:1, 4:2, 2:2, 2:3, 2:3, 2:1, (T) and 2:1, 4:3, 2:2, 2:3, 2:3, 2:1 (E), where *a: b* represents stress and cadence. This strophe is absent in R. Other line arrangements are feasible. Windisch [664] reads a two-line strophe 6:2, 6:1, as does Stokes [665] in *Trip* I but with rhythm 6:3, 6:1, reading *trinoite* from the E text instead of T's *trinoid.* There is some linguistic justification for reading *tríndóite* as discussed below. Further, line 2 could be split in two, *niurt trén* and with a stress pattern 2: 1 and a new line 2a *togairm tríndóite* with a stress pattern 2.3. This arrangement would generate a balanced pattern 2:1, 2:1, 2:3, 2:3, 2:3, 2:1, the very approach taken by Greene and O'Connor[666] and Henry[667]. There is alliteration with *togairm*, *tríndóite* and *dúlemain dáil*.

3.1.2. *Atomriug indiu*. The T ms opens the hymn with *atom-riug* against the defective *attoruig* in E. Binchy[668] comments that in all versions before 1888 *atom-riug* was translated as 'I bind myself' from a reflexive form of *ad-rig*. Ascoli[669] pointed out that the form could equally belong to a different root, *ess-reg-* regularly used reflexively, with meaning 'I raise myself, I arise'. Subsequent translators, including Atkinson (*LH* II) and Stokes/Strachan (*Th* II) switched their allegiance from *ad-rig* to *at-reig*.[670] Binchy, however, defends the original translation in the

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[664] Windisch 1880, 53.

[665] Stokes 1887, 48.

[666] Greene and O'Connor 1990, 27*ff*.

[667] Henry 1976, 136.

[668] Binchy 1966, 232-4..

[669] Ascoli 1888, cxcv: *ad-reg*, suscitare, extollere: *atomriug*, me extollo, assurgo.

[670] Stokes (1887, 49) in his edition of the hymn translates the line: 'I bind myself'.

following manner. In each case *atom-riug* in T is followed by the dative forms *niurt, togairm, cretim, foísitin. Th* takes these forms as instrumental, rendering 'through a mighty strength', etc. Binchy points out that 'with a mighty strength' would make better sense. One cannot say that the Ascoli translation is wrong linguistically, but it cannot make sense in the context in which the hymn is alleged to have been composed. The translation 'I arise today' suggests that Patrick was rising from sleep. In the context, he was facing a deadly peril and thus in need of defence. Although the attribution to Patrick is linguistically impossible, the poem is certainly a *lorica* for defence against physical and spiritual dangers. Consequently, the context calls for the girding with a breastplate comprising the various elements listed. Binchy's own suggested translation is: 'Today I buckle on a mighty strength, invocation of the Trinity, belief in the threeness, confession of the unity, (on my way) to meet the Creator.' In this thesis the verbal form *atom-riug* is translated 'I gird myself (with)', rather than 'I arise (in)', as in *Th.*

3.1.3. *niurt tren.* The T ms employs the independent dative *niurt* in nine places in the hymn, beside the contracted *n˘t* in E (which is expanded as *nertt* in §4). Lines 1-7 are missing in R but the R text preserves an OIr independent dative *neurt* later in the hymn.[671] Interestingly, the E ms preserves the inflected dative (*triun*) against the uninflected *trén* in T.[672] The inflected form is the earlier one, although *Th* follows T with *trén.*

3.1.4. *togairm trinoit.* There is some uncertainty concerning the flexion of the Latin loan-word *Trindóit.* The phrase *togairm Trindóit* would suggest the latter is a genitive singular, and this is how *Th* translates it. DIL describes *Tríndóit* as a feminine *ī*-stem noun, and list a number of genitive singulars: *óintad inna Tríndoti* (Ml 2d2), *imcaissiu na Trinóite* (SR 8371), *in oentaid na noemTrínote* (*Trip* 488.7). However, Thurneysen points out in GOI §925 that some of the Latin loan-words remain unchanged in flexion throughout the singular, and this might justify treating *Tríndóit* as a genitive. In note *v* of *Th* II, 354 the editors refer to a line in §2 of Broccán's Hymn: *ní mór nécnaig étade / Trínóit con úasal hiris.* Stokes reads *Trínóit* in this line as a genitive, 'not much blame was to be found (in her) with the noble faith of the Trinity'. Strachan, on the other hand, suggests a nominative reading: 'not

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[671] According to GOI §76, the earlier form is *neurt*, with *niurt* appearing in later mss. The form *neurt* appears in Wb 16c4 and the later Sg 1a6, but is also found in Middle Irish.

[672] The inflected dat. fem. *triuin* appears in the Laud 610 (L) ms of *Fél* Oct 18, but the Dec 11 entry *co slog thrén* offers the uninflected version (though without rhyme).

much blasphemy did the Trinity get with her of lofty faith'. However, the *trinoite* of the E text seems the better reading here, since it offers an attractive trisyllabic cadence which matches the the stress pattern of lines 3 and 4.

3.1.5. *cretim treodatad.* Here T's *cretim* is the independent dative of *cretem*, the verbal noun of *cre(i)tid*, 'believes'.This noun governs the objective genitive to express 'belief in', and *treodatad* is the genitive of the *t*-stem *treodatu*, 'threeness'. *Tréodatad* is taken to be trisyllabic like its alternative form *trédatu.*

3.1.6. *fóisin oendatad.* The feminine *n*-stem nouns ending in *-tiu* can have dative singular inflexion *foiste*, or like the nominative *fóísitiu* (as in E), or the accusative *fóísitin* (see GOI §328). The form in T, *foísin*, looks defective, possibly a scribal error for *foísitin*. This and other *n*-stem feminines in the poem are discussed in 4.2.4. As the verbal noun of *fo-sissedar*, glossing confessio, *foísitiu* is also used in the legal sense as 'acknowledgement'. Carey [673] in his translation may have had this aspect in mind with his use of the term 'affirmation of the oneness'.

3.1.7. *in dulemain dail.* In the last line of §8, which is a repetition of this strophe, T's scribe simply wrote the initials *i d*, obviously to indicate the same formula. This whole strophe is omitted in R, but E shows *in duleman dail* for this line. Furthermore, both R and E omit §8, thereby limiting the choice. *Dúilem*, 'Creator', is an *n*-stem noun, and the early editors seemed to read *dāil* tentatively as an unattested genitive of *dúil*, 'creation'. Thus, Atkinson in *LH* II following T, translates (with a question mark) 'meeting the Creator of creation'.[674] The *Th* editors opt for the genitive reading, *duleman* in E, and translate the line 'of the Creator of creation', and Stokes in *Trip* I adopts the dative *dulemain* of T in default of the absent R text, to translate 'in the Creator of creation'. It was E Knott [675] who pointed out the errors in translating this line. First, she rejects the assumption that *dāil* is the genitive of a hitherto unattested word meaning 'creation' or 'universe'. She suggests that the line be read as *i n-dúleman dáil = i ndáil dúleman* (OIr genitive *dúlemon*), translatable as 'with' or 'towards the Creator'. This inversion is a well-attested poetic device, described in GOI §250. If we accept that the original form was *dúlemon/ dúleman* it is easy to understand how the MIr scribe in T might emend the noun to the dative *dulemain* after the preposition *i*.[676] DIL interprets the form *i ndáil* as meaning

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[673] Carey 2000, 130.

[674] *LH* II, 49.

[675] Knott 1952, 239.

[676] Carney provides a number of examples in *Éigse* 19 (1983) 201-2.

'towards', followed by the nasalised genitive. The feminine *ā*-stem noun *dál* carries the sense of a 'meeting' or 'encounter', and this is reflected in the Carey edition where he restores the genitive *dúlemon* to render 'in the Creator's presence'.[677] Greene and O'Connor[678] also restore *dúilemon* to produce 'on my way to meet the Creator'. Henry[679] disagrees with the Knott reading, and those of the more recent editors, on the grounds that this line simply does not fit the context, since the narrator is not on his way to meet the Creator, but is in fact asking for protection against such a fate. He suggests we read *dail* as a form of *dil*, 'beloved'. The word appears in *Amrae Choluim Cille* where *dail* rhymes with *fail*.[680] Henry does not offer a translation based on his proposal, but presumably he intends a genitive reading qualifying *tréodatad* and *óendatad*, i.e. 'of the beloved Creator'. This reading has the advantage of reflecting the tradition of the oldest ms. Here in default of the *Th* edition, Knott's reading is followed for this line.

3.1.8. Modified *Th* Text and Translation

1.	*Atom-riug indíu*	Today I gird myself
2.	*niurt tréun,*	with a mighty strength,
2a	*togairm tríndóite,*	with invocation of the Trinity,
3.	*cretim tréodatad,*	with belief in the Threeness,
4.	*foísitin óendatad*	with confession of the Oneness
5.	*in dúleman dail.*	in the Creator's presence.

§2

Line	T	R	E
6.	Atomriug indiu		Attoriug indiu
7.	niurt gene cr*ist* cona bathius	is	n˘t geine Crist cona bathis
8.	niurt crochta cona adnocul	neurt a croctha *con*a adnac*ul.*	niurt a crochdha cona adhnacul
9.	niurt neseirgi co fresgabail	neurt a eiseirgi *con*a freasgab*ail*	n˘t a eiserghi cona fresgabail
10	niurt tóniud do brethemnas bratha	neurt a thoi*n*iuda f*ri* brìthemn*us* mbratha	neurt a toiniudha fri br*ì*themnus mbratha

[677] Carey 2000, 131.

[678] Greene and O'Connor 1990, 30.

[679] Henry 1976, 136 n4.

[680] RC 20, 146.

3.2.1. *Metrics*. The particular arrangement of lines here is dictated by content as well as rhythm. Each line is metrically and semantically balanced, producing the stress pattern, 2:1, 4:2, 3:3, 3:3, 4:2. There is general concensus about this line arrangement. The only alliterative element is *brithemnus (m)bratha.*

3.2.2. *niurt gene crist cona bathius*. The *n*-stem neuter noun *gein*, 'birth', has genitive singular *ge(i)ne*, cf. *gene* (Wb 28c12). There are various forms of the dative singular of *baithis*, a loanword from Latin *baptisma,* cf.: *baithius* (Wb 12c39), *bathais* (Blathmac 170), and *Th* follows T. Surprisingly, the *Th* editors ignore the noun *gene* in their translation: 'through the strength of Christ with his baptism'.

3.2.3. *niurt chrochta cona adnocul.* The OIr word for crucifixion is *crochad*, with genitive *crochtho*, later *crochtha*. *Th* restores the earlier form *crochtho* along with the possessive pronoun *a* found in R and E. *Adnacul*, the verbal noun of *ad-anaig*, is a neuter *o*-stem noun meaning 'burial'. Atkinson found an etymological gloss on T's *adnocol* on the last of the vellum fragments bound up with T: *i. ead + nae + cul, ed* meaning 'law', *nae* 'man', and *cul* 'observance', i.e 'observance of the law of man'.[681]

3.2.4. *niurt nesseirgi co fresgabail.* The nasalisation of *n-éis(s)eirge* in T is surely a scribal error, since there is no personal pronoun involved, and it follows a definite dative form. The R and E mss preserve the OIr genitive *-i* ending, more by accident than design. (A reverse situation occurs in §3, where R incorrectly nasalises the same genitive *eseirgi*). *Th* restores the 3s possessive pronoun *a* seen in R/E but not included in T. All mss have *fresgabail* though the canonical OIr form is *fresngabáil* ('ascension'), verbal noun of *fris-ócaib*.[682] The Ml glosses preserve the *-n-* (Ml 42c30, 56b1), but *Fél* 29 Aug has accusative singular *fresgabail.*

3.2.5. *niurt tóniud fri brethemnus brátha.* The T ms employs the nominative *tóniud* ('descent') where the context strongly suggests a genitive. The *Th* editors follow the R and E mss with the *-a* ending, but the OIr genitive with possessive pronoun, *a thoíniudo*, would be consistent with the *Th* editors's normalisation of *crochtho* and *mbrátho*. The earlier form *brithemnas* is retained from R/E,[683] along with the R and E text's grammatically-correct nasalisation following the accusative governed by the preposition *fri.*

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[681] *LH* II, 211. This gloss is not included in *Th* II.

[682] GOI §839 comments that *frith-ess* seems to have become *fres-*, cf. acc. *frisngabáil* (Ml 42c30), cp. *as-in-gaib* ('exceeds').

[683] cf. *Críth Gablach* 164.

3.2.6. *Th* Text and Translation

6.	*Atom-riug indiu*	Today I gird myself
7.	*niurt gene Críst cona bathius,*	with the strength of Christ's birth with His baptism,
8.	*niurt a chrochtho cona adnacul,*	with the strength of His crucifixion with His burial,
9.	*niurt a essérgi cona fresgabáil,*	with the strength of His resurrection with His ascension,
10.	*niurt a thoíniuda fri brithemnus mbrátho.*	with the strength of His descent for the Judgement of Doom.

§3

	T	R	E
11	Atomriug indiu	Attoriug	Attoriug
12	niurt grád hiruphin	neurt g*r*aid hiruphín.	n˜t g*r*aid hiruphin
13	i nurlataid aingel	i *n*erlattaid aingiul.	i nerlatud aingel
14	i frestal na narchai*n*giul.	i frestal na narchaingil	
15	hi frescisin eseirge ar cenn fochraice	i frescisiu nesergi ar cend focraici.	hi f*r*eiscisin eisergi ar cend fochricce
16	i nernaigthib huasalathrach	i *n*ernaigthi uasalathr*ach*.	i nernaigtibh uasalatrach
17	i tairchetlaib fatha	i taircetlaib fáthi.	i taircedlaibh faithe
18	hi praiceptaib apstal	i preceptaib apstal.	hi preceptaibh apstal
19	i nhiresaib fuismedach	i nirisib fáismedach.	i nirisib fuismedach
20	i nendgai nóemingen	i *n*endccai nóeb ingen.	i nendccai nóebingen
21	i ngnímaib fer fírean	i ngnímaib fer fírio*in*.	i ngnimuib fer fireoin

3.3.1. *Metrics*. Strophe 3 poses a metrical problem with the quadrisyllabic cadence of the compound *úasalathrach* in the sixth line of the strophe (line 16 of the hymn). The stress pattern is 2:1, 3:3, 2:2, 2:3, 3:3, 2:4. 2:2, 2:2. 2:3, 2:3. 3:2. It would be tempting from the metrical aspect to read the compound as two separate words, but this would not work grammatically without too harsh an emendation (i.e. genitive plural *úasal n-athar*). Nor is it practicable to emend the line integrity, as each line is metrically and semantically balanced. Alliteration occurs with *erlattaid aingel*, *ernaigthib húasalathrach* and *fer fírión*.

3.3.2. *niurt grád Hiruphin.* It is clear that the context requires the genitive *gráid*, preserved in R and E. The *Th* editors translate *grád* as 'love'. However, as a neuter *u*-stem noun we would expect a genitive single *grádo* or *gráda* although, with the later confusion of *u*- and *o*-stems, genitive singular *gráid*, 'of love' is possible. What

seems to be intended is the *o*-stem neuter *grád*, a borrowing from Latin *gradus*, cf. *a ngrád as isliu oldate aingil* (Wb 4b25), 'the rank that is lower than angels'. Atkinson follows T's *grád*, which he takes to be a genitive plural, and accordingly translates it as 'grades'. One might then expect nasalisation of the following noun *Hiruphin*, although GOI §236.3 comments that nasalisation is sometimes omitted before *h*-. It would probably be more prudent to follow R/E with the *o*-stem genitive *gráid* to render 'of the order of the Cherubim'.

3.3.3. *i n-aurlatid aingel*. The dative of the masculine lenited dental stem *aurlatu* (*airletu*, *erlatu*, 'obedience') is attested as *aurlatu /aurlatid*. The three mss offer different forms of the word, and *Th* follows the R text with *erlattaid* (cf. *erlataid* in Ml 65d9). T's *urlataid* possibly reflects a defective form of *aurlatid* (cf. dative singular *aurlatu* in Wb 3b14, 6c27, 14a31). GOI §322 notes that, for such nouns with nominative singular in *-tu*, the dative singular is usually *-tu* in Wb and *-t(a)id* in Ml.

3.3.4. *i frestal na narchaingiul*. This line is omitted in T, and R's text is offered in default. *Th* normalises this line to *i frestul na n-archaingel*, where the latter noun is a borrowing from Latin *archangelus*. The *o*-stem neuter *frestal*, 'service', may be the original verbal noun of *fris-indlea*, cf. preterite passive, *fris-indled la haingliu*, 'was attended by angels' (*Fél* May 23). Earlier forms are *[f]resndal* (Burgschaft p.17 §53, and *fresdel* (Wb 24c11, *a prima manu*).

3.3.5. *hi frescisin eseirgi ar chenn fochraicce*. The R text again presents the uninflected *n*-stem dative *hi frescisiu* (verbal noun of *fris-acci*) but, surprisingly, E agrees with T in showing the standard *n*-stem dative *hi frescisin* ('hope'). Here the R text shows an unhistoric nasalisation *n-esergi*. There is broad agreement between T and E texts against R in the treatment of the phrase *ar cenn fochraice* (T). The E text preserves an OIr genitive form with *ar cend fochricce* attested in the Wb glosses, *díth fochricce* (10b1) and *i n-úrt airiten fochricce* (13b27). Initial lenition of the word *cenn* after the preposition *ar* is required. Metrically, the phrase *ar chenn* 'for the sake of' in its prepositional sense is taken to be unstressed. The word *fochr(a)icc*, 'reward', is the verbal noun of *fo-cren*, a verb which carries the sense of 'compensating for something'.[684] DIL suggests *fochraicc* may be a feminine *ī*-stem noun. Here *fochraicce* can be read as a genitive singular or plural.

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[684] See GOI §737 for Thurneysen's discussion of special formations of verbal nouns.

3.3.6. *i n-ernaigthib húasalathrach.* Once again the T and E texts show similar dative plurals *ernaigthib* and *ernaigthibh* respectively, while R shows *ernaigthi* which could conceivably be read as a dative singular. The *iā*-stem feminine *airnigde* is the verbal noun of *ar-neget*, 'prays', and has the form *irnigde* in Wb and *ernaigde* in Ml. None of the mss follow the canonical OIr *r*-stem genitive plural *úasalaithre* in line 16, all showing the form *úasalathrach*, 'of patriarchs'. As described in GOI §320, nouns with nominative singular in *-r* and *-l* were prone to adopt the spreading lenited guttural inflection. This compound is attested as a nominative plural *úasalathraig* in *Fél* Ep 13 and 243, and as dative plural *húasalathrachaib* in Wb 30d1.

3.3.7. *i tairchetlaib fatha/ hi praiceptaib apstal.* All mss show the dative plural ending of neuter *o*-stem *taircetal*, 'prediction', verbal noun of *do-airchain*. The OIr genitive plural of the *i*-stem noun *fáithe*, 'prophet', is attested as *faithœ* (Wb 21b13), *fáithe* (*Fél* Nov 29, Ep 241) and *fáthe* (*Th* II, 253.1). The real difference is between the neutral and palatal *-th-*, as seen in the spellings *fatha* (T), *fáthi* (R) and *faithe* (E). The *ā*-stem *precept* is derived from Latin *praeceptum*, 'preaching'.

3.3.8. *i nhiresaib fuismedach.* The *ā*-stem feminine *ires(s)* is not well attested in the plural, although the MIr *Passions and Homilies* [685] offers the dative plural *iressaib.* On the basis of the *ā*-stem pattern, T's *n-hiresaib* with neutral *s* is a better reading than *n-irisib* (R, E). The *Th* II note *cc* on p.355 might leave the impression that the T text reads *fóismedach.* However, the ms clearly shows *fuismedach* and both Atkinson and Windisch concur with the latter reading, which also occurs in E. The form in R is *fáismedach*, but it is the version *fóismedach*, 'confessor (of the faith)', which *Th* restores. The word is derived from *n*-stem *fáisitiu*, (cf *ind foisitiu*, Wb 4d32) 'confession', a verbal nouns of *fo-sissedar*, with literal meaning 'standing under'.

3.3.9. *i nendgai nóemingen/ i ngnímaib fer fírean.* The R and E texts here preserve the OIr forms in the first line somewhat better than T, i.e *i n-enccai na nóebingen,* i.e 'in innocence of holy virgins'. In line 21 the mss show minor variations in the spellings *fírean* (T), *fíreoin* (R) and *fírioin* (E). This feature simply reflects the different spellings in the OIr Glosses, viz. *fírian* (Wb 4d21), *fírion* (8d24), *fírián* (Ml 89b15), *fíríen* (88a4) *fírían* (103c8). The *Th* editors restore the adjective *fírien*, 'righteous'.

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[685] Atkinson 1887, 312.

3.3.10. *Th* Text and Translation

11 *Atom-riug indiu*	Today I gird myself
12 *niurt gráid Hiruphin*	with the strength of the order of the cherubim
13 *i n-erlattaid aingel*	in obedience of angels
14 *i frestul na n-archaingel*	in the service of the archangels
15 *hi frescisin esséirgi ar chenn fochraicce*	in hope of resurrection to meet with reward
16 *i n-ernaigthib húasalathrach*	in prayers of Patriarchs
17 *i tairchetlaib fáthe*	in predictions of Prophets
18 *hi praiceptaib apstal*	in preachings of Apostles
19 *i nhiresaib foísmedach*	in faiths of Confessors
20 *i n-enccai nóebingen*	in innocence of holy Virgins
21 *i ngnímaib fer fírien*	in deeds of righteous men.

§4

	T	R	E
22	Atomriug indiu	Attoriug	Attoriug indiu
23	niurt nime	neurt nime.	nertt nime
24	soilse gréne	soillsi grene	soillsi gréne
25	etrochta snechtai	etrochta ésci	etrochta esca
26	áne thened		
27	déne lóchet		
28	luathe gáethe	luathi gaithi.	luaithi gaithi
29	fudomna mara	fudomna mara.	fudomna mara
30	tairisem talmain	tairismigi talman.	tairismigi talman
31	cobsaidecht ailech	cobsaidi alech	cobsaidhe ailech

3.4.1. *Metrics*. This strophe possesses a regular staccato rhythm with stress pattern 2:1, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, and this line arrangement is adopted by all the editors. There is alliteration with *neurt nime* and *étrochtae ésci*.

3.4.2. *niurt nime/ soilse gréne*. The noun *niurt* has dative flexion (expressing the instrumental sense), but the opening nouns in the remaining lines of this strophe could be read either as nominatives or datives. If we are to read all of these *iā*-stem nouns as nominatives, an *-e* ending is required, and T duly obliges in respect of the nouns with final palatal consonant. However, these final unstressed vowels are not a reliable indicator of case, as they simply represent variant spellings of the indistinct schwa sound. Faced with the three conflicting texts, we cannot say with certainty

whether the opening nouns in lines represent the original nominative or dative case. The undisputed dative *niurt* in line 23 might incline us towards the dative. However, when we come to examine §5 (lines 32-42) we find a semantically similar series of lines, again opening with a dative *niurt* in line 32. In that strophe the opening nouns in the lines that follow are clearly nominative, as indicated by the historic nasalisation following neuter nouns. On that basis we are able to favour marginally the nominative reading here in §4. The *LH* and *Th* editors also plump for the nominative option in §4,[686] as does Windisch.[687] Stokes in *Trip* I [688] (which is based on R) opts for the dative, as do the more recent editors Henry,[689] Greene & O'Connor[690] and Carey.[691]

3.4.3. *etrochta snechtai/ áne thened/ déne lochet/ luathe gáethe/ fodumna mara.* The mss diverge here, with the T text offering *étrochta snechtai*, which Atkinson in *LH* II translates as 'whiteness of snow'. The R and E recension, however, may be a better reading, since 'brightness of moon' is more in keeping with the elemental forces of nature invoked in this stanza, and has been accepted as such in all editions. Another, admittedly less weighty, reason for reading R/E is the alliteration with *etrochtae*.The *iā*-stem noun *etrochtae*, 'brightness, splendour' is derived from the adjective *etrocht*. As noted in GOI §834, the adjective is based on the negation *ess*, 'out of', *drocht*, 'dark', where *t* = *dd*; it later became *étrocht*, probably with secondary lengthening. The genitive *ésci* is from the neuter *io*-stem *ésc(a)e*, 'moon'. Only T has lines 26 and 27, with the respective genitives *thened* (masc. *d*-stem of *tene*, 'fire') and the poetic *lóchet* (neuter *t*-stem of *lóchet*, 'flash, lightning'). The latter word is glossed *.i. lassrach*, which is a collective term of *lasar*, 'flames'. In line 28, the OIr *ā*-stem *gaíth*, 'wind' has genitive singular, *gaíthe*. The OIr genitive of the neuter *i*-stem noun *muir* is *moro*, later *mora*. All the mss in line 29 show the later form *mara*, but the *Th* editors restore *maro*. Despite the evidence of all mss it would be more consistent to restore *moro*, as in Ml 81a4, since other linguistic features point to an eighth-century composition.

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[686] *LH* I, 134; *Th* II, 356.

[687] Windisch 1880, 55.

[688] Stokes1887, 48,50.

[689] Henry 1976, 136.

[690] Greene and O'Connor 1990, 28.

[691] Carey 2000, 131-2.

3.4.4. *tairismige thalman/ cobsaide ailech.* It will be noted that the T text has *tairisem*, the verbal noun of *do-airissedar*, against *tarismigi* (leg. *tarismige*) of the later mss. The former is well attested in the sense of 'permanence' in the OIr Glosses, while the latter is derived from the similarly-attested adjective *tairismech.* There is little to choose semantically or metrically between the two forms, but *tairismige* is the choice of *Th*, followed by the initially-lenited *n*-stem genitive *t[h]alman.* while *tairisem talmain* is that of *LH.* In line 31 the mss again diverge with *cobsaidecht* in T against variants of *cobsaide* in R and E. The adjective *cobsaid*, (<*com* + *fossad*, 'firm') forms the derived *ā*-stem nouns *cobsaide* and *cobsaidecht.* All the mss preserve the *ch*-stem genitive singular *ailech* from *i*-stem noun *ail*, 'rock', which also has an *i*-stem genitive, *alo.* The *i*-stem genitive of *ail* appears as a place-name in the Book of Armagh: Patricius uero uenit de fonte *Alo find* (*Th* II 275.24). Thurneysen comments that nouns with nominative singular in *-r* and *-l* are especially prone to adopt guttural inflection because of its clearly defined endings (GOI §320).

3.4.5. *Th* Text and Translation

22	*Atomriug indíu*	Today I gird myself
23	*neurt nime*	with the strength of heaven;
24	*soilse gréne*	light of the sun,
25	*étrochtae ésci*	brightness of the moon,
26	*áne thened*	brilliance of fire,
27	*déne lóchet*	speed of lightning,
28	*lúathe gaíthe*	swiftness of wind,
29	*fudomnae moro*	depth of the sea,
30	*tairismige thalman*	stability of earth,
31	*cobsaide ailech*	firmness of rock.

§5

	T	R	E
32	Atomriug indiu	Attoriug indiu	Attoriug indiu
33	niurt dé dom luamaracht	neurt dé do*m* lúa*m*airecht.	n˘t ṅde dom luamuirecht
34	cumachta dé dom chumgabail	c*um*achta ṅdé do*m* *con*gbáil.	cumachta ṅde dom cho*n*gmail
35	cíall dé domm imthús.	cíall ṅde dom thúr.	cíall nde dom imtús
36	rosc dé dom réimcise.	rosc ṅdé do*m* imcaisi*n*.	roscc nde dom imcaisin
37	clúas dé dom éstecht.	clúas ṅde dom éiste*cht*.	clúas de dom eistecht
38	bríathar dé dom erlabrai.	bría*thar* ṅdé do*m* erlabrai.	bríathar nde dom erlabra

39	lám dé domm imdegail.	lám ṅdé dom imdegail.	lám de dom imdegail
40	INtech dé dom remthechtas.	intech ṅdé do*m* reimthechtu*s*.	INdech dé dom remthechtus
41	sciath dé dom dítin.	sciath dé do*m* imdíten.	sgíath ndé dom imditin
42	sochraite dé domm anacul	sochraiti dé do*m* anacul.	sochraite dé domm anacul
43	ar intledaib demna	ar indledaib demna.	ar inntlechtaib demna
44	ar aslaigthib dualche	ar aslagib duala*ch*.	ar aslagaibh dualach
45	ar irnechtaib aicnid	ar foirmdechaib acnid.	ar *for*mdech……
46	ar cech ṅduine midústhrastar dam	ar ce*ch* ndui*n*e midúthracair da*m*.	ar cech ṅduine miduthracur dam
47	i céin ⁊ i nocus	i céin a nocc*us*.	i céin ⁊ i nocus
48	i nuathed ⁊ hi sochaide	i *n*uatha*d* ⁊ i socha*id*i.	i nuathad ⁊ i sochaide

3.5.1. *Metrics*. This strophe shows a regular stress and cadence pattern. Following the usual *Atom-riug indíu* introduction, there are ten lines comprising a formulaic presentation of two plus one stresses separated by the word *dom(m)*. (2:1, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3, 3:2, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3), then four lines led by the preposition *ar*, (i.e. 2:2, 2:2, 2:2, 3:1) and a two-line tail (2:2, 2:3). The strophe also exhibits alliteration between *dé* and *ditin* (31), lenited *forimthecht* and *aicnid* (45). It is possible that the composer also intended full alliteration in line 46: *duine mi-dúthrastar dam*.[692]

3.5.2. *niurt dé dom luamairecht*. In line 33 the noun *lúamairecht*, derived from *luam*, 'helmsman', has a primary meaning of 'piloting' or 'steering', but is also used in the wider sense of 'guiding' or 'directing'. *Th* follows R with the OIr spelling, *lúamairecht*. As in previous strophes, the dative *niurt* is taken to represent the instrumental sense ('with the strength …') following *atom-riug*.

3.5.3. *cumachta dé dom chumgabail*. The later R and E texts preserve the historic nasalisation following the neuter nominative *cumachtae*. T has the OIr dative *cumgabail*, verbal noun of *con-ocaib*, meaning 'raising' or 'exalting'. The other two mss, however, show the verbal noun of *con-gaib*, meaning 'upholding' or 'supporting'. The *Th* editors follow T, but translate the line as 'God's might to uphold me'. With the same reading, *cumgabail*, Greene and O'Connor (28) opt for 'support', and Carey (132-3) 'exalt'. The *LH* editors[693] offer no translation of the line, but this must be due to a typographical error as the original line in Irish is

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[692] It is not clear if *mí*-takes the stress in such compounds. Thurneysen in §384 comments that certain adjectives, when used adverbally, are prefixed to the verb like prepositions, but the verb is apparently never attached to them in enclisis. He states further that, the prefix *mí-* is capable of bearing the stress like a preposition.

[693] *LH* II, 50.

printed. The noun *cumachtae* and the other leading nouns in this and the previous strophe can be read as hanging nominatives anticipating *inna huili nert so* ('all those powers') in line 49.

3.5.4. *ciall dé domm imthús*. The texts diverge with the phrase *domm imthús* ('to guide me') in T, supported by *dom imtus* in E, but opposed by *dom thúr* in R. The word *túr* is the verbal noun of *túirid*, to 'seek' or 'search', and perhaps the sense implied in R is an invocation 'to look out for me'. However, since the R and E texts are derived from the same recension, it is likely that the original may have been *imthús* and *túr* a scribal misreading of *-tús*. Here the trisyllabic *imthuus* may have been the original as it would deliver the trisyllabic cadence found in the surrounding lines.[694]

3.5.5. *rosc dé dom reimcise*. Once again only the later mss preserve the nasalisation following neuter nominative *roscc*. There is a lexical divergence between *dom reimcise* (verbal noun of **rem-ad ci-*) in T, versus *dom imcaisin* (verbal noun of *imm-acci-*) in R and E. T's version represents the short dative of the *n*-stem *remcisiu,* 'looking before' cf. *remcisiu dœ*, 'providence of God' (Ml 50d1). The other two mss offer the long dative of *imcaisiu,* 'looking around', cf. *dia n-imcaisin*, 'to gaze upon them' (Ml 81d3). There is little to choose between the two versions, though *reimcise* is preferred as it can carry the senses of foresight and providence as well as physical sight. Greene and O'Connor restore a standard *n*-stem dative *remcisin*, while Carey plumps for the uninflected dative *remcisiu,* and the *Th* and *LH* editors simply follow T with the optional dative singular *reimcise*. Only Stokes in *Trip I* (based on the R text) follows *imcaisin.* The *Th* editors insert an incorrect length-mark and glide vowel in *rēimcise*, (OIr *remc(a)ise*) and this is corrected in *Th* II's restored text below. These dative forms are discussed in 4.2.4.

3.5.6. *clúas dé dom éstecht*. The R and E texts incorrectly nasalise the genitive *Dé* following non-neuter nominative *clúas*, 'ear'. This error is understandable since the neuter gender and its effects had long since disappeared from the language at the time of transcription. Its inclusion here is surely a hypercorrection, and this recurs in lines 38-40 with *bríathar ṅdé, lám ndé* and possibly *intech ndé* (mostly R but *bríathar nde* in E). All the mss spellings, *éstecht* (T), *éistecht* (R) and *eistecht* (E) are derived from *étsecht,* the verbal noun of *in-túaisi, -éitsi* which at some stage underwent metathesis. The metathesis appears in MIr texts, but the 12C *Passions*

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[694] cf. Ml 47a14 and *Bethu Phátraic* 2255 (Mulchrone 1939). See also GOI §113.

and Homilies preserves the original form. All of the editors restore *étsecht,* except Atkinson and Windisch who follow T.

3.5.7. *bríathar dé dom erlabrai.* In line 38 the grammatically correct OIr dative spelling of *iā*-stem feminine *erlabrae* (verbal noun of *ar-labrathar*) is preserved in the T and R texts, while E's *erlabra* simply represents the confusion in unstressed final vowels. Most scholars translate the phrase *dom erlabrai* 'to speak for me' but Carey [695] has 'to speak to me'. However the latter translation would surely require the preposition *fri.*

3.5.8. *lám dé domm imdegail / intech dé dom remthechtas.* As the verbal noun of *imm-dích*, the word *imdegail* suggests a combative form of protection. According to DIL it is probably derived from the act of parrying in a fight or game.[696] As mentioned above, there is doubt as to whether nasalisation should follow *o*-stem masculine *intech* ('path') which, according to DIL, may have been neuter originally. The R text may thus preserve an original nasalisation, but R's unhistoric nasalisation of *Dé* after feminine nouns *clúas*, *bríathar* and *lám* tends to devalue its fidelity. The *o*-stem *remthechtas* is used as a verbal noun of *remi-tét*, 'goes before'.

3.5.9. *sciath dé dom dítin / sochraite dé domm anacul.* In line 41 a difference arises between *dom dítin* in T (from *dítiu*, verbal noun of *do-eim*), and *dom imditen/ imditin* in R and E respectively (from *imdítiu*, verbal noun of *imm-dím*). Both nouns mean 'protection' or 'covering', *dítiu* being well attested in early texts (including Wb and *Fél* Mar17), and *imdítiu* in later texts. Despite this, most editors (apart from *LH* which generally follows T) follow E with *imdítin*, perhaps to preserve the trisyllabic ending for metrical purposes. The genitive case *imdíten* in the R text may be attributed to the MIr confusion of case-endings. The *iā*-stem *sochraite* is used generally of a friendly force or ally, being derived possibly from *so+carae*. However, the *o*-stem *anacul* (verbal noun of *aingid*) represents a different kind of protection from that suggested by the forceful *imdegal* and the surrounding *imdítiu*, more a form of shielding, and is best translated by 'save'.

3.5.10. *ar intledaib demna.* From line 43 the phraseology and rhythm in this strophe change considerably. In this line the T ms preserves the OIr dative plural of *ā*-stem *intled* 'snare', or 'ambush', while R has a similar *indledaib* but E a decidedly

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[695] Carey 2000, 133.

[696] This word appears in *Sén Dé* (*rop sciath dún diar n-imdegail* §10) and later in line 56 of this hymn (*Críst domm imdegail indiu*).

different *inntlechtaib*. The noun *intlecht* is described in DIL as a late MIr or Mod.Ir version of *intliucht* (< Latin *intellectus*). This would fit the context if read as 'against the devices of the devil', but it more likely a scribal modernisation. The reading in T and R is followed here, together with the OIr genitive plural *demnae*.

3.5.11. *ar aslagib dúalche*. The R ms preserves the OIr dative plural of *aslach*, the neuter *o*-stem verbal noun of *ad-slig* ('tempts'). No other attestation of the dative plural has been found to date, but the irregular accusative plural in *Fél* Ep198, *fri aslaige demnae*, suggests the dative form *asla(i)gib*.[697] Having shown a canonical OIr form in the dative plural, the R/E texts produce what the DIL editors describe as a late genitive plural, *dualach*. The form shown by T is attested in Wb 21b11 and Ml 58a20, following the *i*-, rather than the later *ā*-stem pattern.

3.5.12. *ar irnechtaib aicnid*. Further divergence occurs in line 45. T's *irnechtaib* represents the initially lenited *firnechtaib* following the preposition *ar*. R's *foirmdechaib* is the dative plural of the adjective *foirmtech* and, even assuming a substantive form, the meaning of the line, 'the envies of nature', is obscure. *Th*, following T, translates it tentatively as 'the inclinations of nature', while *LH* II has 'solicitations'. Greene and O'Connor[698] emend the noun to *airrechtaib*, from which they derive 'the assaults of nature', presumably through the verbal noun of *ar-reith*. The latter emendation is somewhat forced, and Carey's solution to emend it to *forimthechtaib* looks nearer the mark with 'against the tendencies? of nature.'[699] The word *forimthecht* is the verbal noun of *for-imthet*, 'to go about', and it is attested in law texts, *forimtecht mignima* (Laws i, 238.12), 'moving to evil deeds'. The related verbal noun *imthecht* carries the sense of 'doings, exploits', particularly in the plural, and with Carey's emendation, a better translation might be 'against the diversions of nature'

3.5.13. *ar cech ṅduine midúthrastar dam*. The nasalisation in the phrase *ar cech nduine* in all mss is repeated in most editions except Carey.[700] This is a feature of late texts. It seems to have originated with neuter and accusative forms but spread to other grammatical contexts. Examples from other texts are *ar cech ṅgúasacht, ar cech n-erbás, ar cech n-eicland* all from Sanctán's Hymn, §§2, 7 and 8. The same form is found in *Fél* Oct 29, Ep 546 and 538. Variations also occur in the verbal form:

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[697] GOI §280.3: 'Some neuters in *-ch* can form their plurals like *s*-stems'.

[698] Greene, O'Connor 1990, 29.

[699] Carey 2000, 133, note 12.

[700] ibid. 132.

midústhrastar (T), *midúthracair* (R) and *miduthracur* (E). All three texts feature the verb *do-futhraccair,* (**dí-fo-tracc-*) 'wishes', with the prefix *mí-* ('ill-'), but they vary in tense. T's *-dúthrastar* is the 3s future prototonic (or, indeed, the 3s present subjunctive), and that of the other two texts can be either the 3s present indicative or preterite.[701] The 1s present indicative is attested in Wb 14b6: *acht da-duthraccar donaib huilib nóibaib*, 'but I wish it to all the saints'. *Th* opts for the 3s future reading in T: 'against every one who shall wish me ill', while Stokes in his translation of the R text has: 'against every one who wishes ill to me'.[702]

3.5.14. *Th* Text and Translation

32	*Atom-riug indíu*	Today I gird myself
33	*neurt Dé dom lúamairecht*	with God's strength to pilot me;
34	*cumachtae ṅDé dom chumgabáil*	God's might to uphold me,
35	*cíall Dé domm imthuus*	God's wisdom to guide me,
36	*roscc ṅDé dom remcise*	God's eye to look before me,
37	*clúas Dé dom étsecht*	God's ear to hear me,
38	*bríathar Dé dom erlabrai*	God's word to speak for me,
39	*lám Dé domm imdegail*	God's hand to guard me,
40	*intech Dé dom remthechtas*	God's way to lie before me,
41	*scíath Dé dom imdítin*	God's shield to protect me,
42	*sochraite Dé domm anacul*	God's host to secure me,
43	*ar intledaib demnae*	against snares of devils,
44	*ar aslagib dúalche*	against temptations of vices,
45	*ar forimthechtaib aicnid*	against [diversions] of nature,
46	*ar cech ṅduine*	from everyone who shall
	mí-dúthrastar dam	wish me ill,
47	*i céin ⁊ i n-ocus*	afar and anear,
48	*i n-úathud ⁊ hi sochaidi*	alone and in a multitude.

[701] According to DIL, sv. *do-futhraccair*, the present stem was originally *-thracc-*, the preterite *-tharc-*. In later language only *-thrac(c)-* appears.

[702] Stokes 1887, 51.

§6

	T	R	E
49	Tocuirius etrum thra na	tochuiriur etrum indiu	tocuiriur etrum indiu
	huli nert so	inna hule neurtasa	ina uili n˘tu
49a	fri cech nert namnas	fri cech neurt namnus	fri cech n˘t namnus
	nétrócar fristí dom	nétrócar fristái dom	netrocair fristaí dom
	churp ocus domm anmain	churp ⁊ dom anmain.	churp ocus dom anmain
50	fri tinchetla saibf áthe	fri taircetlaib saebfáthe.	fri taircetla sæbfáidhthe
51	fri dubrechtu gentliuchta		
52	fri sáibrechtu heretecdae	fri sæbrechtaib	fri sæbbrichtaib
53	fri himcellacht nidlachta		
54	fri brichta ban ⁊ goband ⁊ druad	ban ⁊ goband ⁊ drúad.	ban ⁊ gobann ⁊ druag
55	fri cech fiss arachuiliu	fri cech fis aracuiliu	fri cech fiss aracuiliu
	anman duini	corp ⁊ anmain dam.	corp ⁊ anmuin duine

3.6.1. *Metrics*. I have renumbered the second line above as 49a to synchronize the remaining text with the numbering system in *Th* II. The stress pattern of the above arrangement is: 5:2, 6:2, 2:3, 2:3, 2:4, 2:3, 4:2, 5:2. The awkward line here is 52 with the four-syllable cadence of the genitive plural *heretecdae*.[703] We have to rely on T alone for this word as the line is omitted in R and E. *Heretecdae* is clearly a Latin loan-word but, unfortunately, there is no textual evidence to support a syncope version of this word which would reduce the cadence. Since *heretecdae* is also adjectival it may be modelled on loan-words like *ægeptacdae*, 'Aegyptiacus' (GOI §926). However, there is collateral evidence elsewhere for early syncope. In the Lambeth Commentary,[704] Carney comments on the word *testmin* in line 324 with the words: 'this is the only instance where the word is written in full. The usual form is *testimin* (< Latin *testimonium*); if not a scribal error, *testmin* could be an older form with syncope'. Perhaps a similar syncope occurred to produce an early *hertecdae*. There is alliteration in this strophe with *-amnas, -étrócar; himchellacht, -idlachtae; brichtu, ban* and *-chuilea, corp.*

3.6.2. *tocuirius etrum thra na huli nert so*. All the texts preserve the Early OIr preverb in *to-cuiriur* (1s present indicative of the verb *do-cuirethar*), with T's *tocuirius* probably a scribal error confusing final *-r* with *-s*, and R's *tochuiriur* displaying a MIr lenition of the stem. However, as to be discussed in Section 4, with

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[703] Windisch (1880, 56) comments : 'Der Unterschied der beiden Handschriften ist hier sehr gross. *Schreibt* man.V. 46 *hertecda* für *heretecda*, so haben V.44-47 je sieben Sillben'.

[704] Bieler and Carney 1972, 53.

this verb the prefix *to-* does not necessarily indicate an early date. It is interesting to note that R and E have the word *indiu*, against T's *thra*, which DIL describes as a late form of *trá*. All editions opt for *indiu*, except for the T-based *LH*, which translates *thra* as 'therefore' (*LH* II 51). The verb *do-cu(i)rethar* has a number of possible meanings, from 'invite' to 'summon, evoke'.[705] The *Th* editors opt for the latter meaning, as do most editions. The syntactic difficulty here is to accommodate *etrum* ('between me') which exists in splendid isolation without a second object. Greene and O'Connor seek to circumvent the problem by retaining *etrum* but reading 'between us'. There is, however, evidence in the Glosses of similar ellipsis of the second object, cf. *amirisse eter a cride* (Wb 15a29) 'unbelief between their hearts (and him)', and *cen rian ṅ etrom* (Sg 217b11), 'without the Rhine between me (and it)'.[706] On this basis the second object is implicit, allowing *Th* to insert in parenthesis, '(and these evils) '. The mss diverge on the object of the verb *to-cuiriur*, with *na huile nert-so* (T), R with a confusing *inna hule neurta-sa* (R), and *ina uili nertu* (E). One might expect the OIr neuter accusative plural *nerta-sa*, but *Th* follows T with the equally valid *inna nert-so*, 'all these powers', perhaps to provide the disyllabic cadence required for metrical purposes. The choice of the uninflected *nert* as accusative plural is discussed in the Section 4. The 'powers' referred to here are obviously those contained in the list of elemental and divine qualities described in §§4 and 5. The stand-alone litany of opening nouns in these strophes makes sense as a sequence of hanging nominatives corresponding to the phrase *inna huli nert-so*.

3.6.3. *fri cech nert namnas nétrocar fristí dom churp ocus domm anmain.* The mss are in broad agreement here apart from a few Middle Irishisms. In particular, the R text employs the dative flexion *neurt* after *fri* instead of the OIr accusative. Despite this, all mss preserve nasalisation of the adjectives *n-amnas n-étrócar* following the accusative (and neuter) *nert/ neurt*. The 3s present subjunctive of the verb *fris-taít*, 'opposes' is rendered *fristái* in R and E, but T's *fristí* can only come from an unattested **fris-ticc*. The *-aí* ending is attested *fres-tai* in Ml.

3.6.4. *fri tinchetla saibfáthe.* The form *tinchetla* in T is the accusative plural of the verbal noun *tinchetal* (from **to-in-can-*) meaning 'incantation'. No less well-attested is E's *tairchelta* based on the verbal noun *tairchetal*, from *do-airchain*, meaning

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[705] cf. *honderbeirt biuth do-chuirethar* (Ml 29b1), 'from the use that invites', although in Ml 16c6 and 18d6 the verb glosses Latin *excieo*, 'summon, evoke'.

[706] Campanile (1970, 18-21) suggests we read *cuccum* for *etrum*, to produce 'I summon to me …'.

'prophecy' and, according to the DIL editors, the plural can mean 'incantations'. The R ms has dative *taircetlaib* reflecting the later usage of *fri*. Stokes in *Trip* I interprets *tairchetla* as 'incantations', Greene and O'Connor as 'prophecies', both based on R. All others follow T's *tinchetla*. The lenition on *-f-* in *saíbfáthe* is marked in the *Th* restored text, although it is hardly original for the usual historic reasons. The adjective *saeb*, (*saíb*) 'false' is often used in compounds with nouns, here with the genitive plural *fáthe*, to render 'of false prophets'.

3.6.5. *fri dubrechtu gentliuchta / fri sáibrechtu heretecdae fri himchellacht n-ídlachtae*. Line 51 is omitted in R and E. The feminine *ā*-stem *gentliucht* is based on late Latin *gentilis* meaning 'foreign', and specifically 'Gentile'. In early Christian Ireland this term was adopted as 'heathenry, druidry' in opposition to Christianity. In line 52 T preserves the OIr accusative form with *fri saíbrechtu heretecda*, while the other mss display the dative plurals *sæbrechtaib* (R), *sæbbrichtaib* (E), and both omit the final word *heretecdae*.

3.6.6. *fri himcellacht nidlachta*. Again, the R and E mss omit line 53, and sole reliance is placed on T. The feminine *ā*-stem *imchellacht* (< *immcella*) means literally a 'going around', which DIL suggests might be for the purpose of ensnaring. Stokes translates the word with a question mark as 'craft', Atkinson as 'deceit', Carey as 'encirclement', Greene and O'Connor as 'encompassment'. The T text preserves the nasalization on *ídlacht* ('idolatry') following accusative *himchellacht*.

3.6.7. *fri brichta ban ⁊ goband ⁊ druad.* In line 54 both R and E omit *fri brichta* (OIr acc. pl. *brichtu*), but all mss are largely in accord on the rest of the line, apart from the late spelling *goband* in T and R, and *druag* in E. The notion of 'spells of women' is a familiar one in early Irish literature, cf. *Dim láim rígdai brechtaib ban mberar* from the eighth century *Echtrae Chonnlai*, which McCone translates as 'he is carried away from my kingly hand by women's spells'.[707] A similar formula has been found on a Gaulish inscription from Chamaltières, i.e. *brixtia anderon*, which could be translated 'by magic of women'.[708]

3.6.8. *fri cech fiss arachuiliu* [*corp ⁊*] *anman duini*. The words *corp ⁊* are omitted in T and are supplied by R and E. This line 55 presents some other interesting textual variances. First, while R and E have the correct accusatives *corp ⁊ anmain* (*anmuin*

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[707] McCone 2000, 154-6. In that text the young Connlae is lured away from his father's side by a woman from the Underworld.

[708] Meid 1992, 38-47.

E), T has only *anman,* itself an incorrect genitive form. Second, the R text offers *dam* in place of the genitive *duini* in T. Interestingly, the E text, which usually mirrors R, also has *duine.* The most likely reason for the discrepancy is a scribal misreading in R of *dam* for *duini*. There is a degree of concordance in the texts here, but the verbal ending is problematic. The preverb *ara-* marks the relative form of *ar-cuilli*, which is well attested in Law tracts, in the sense of prohibiting or inhibiting, cf. *ara-chuille coir n-athgabála* (Laws v 266.19), 'which the legality of distraint excludes'. Atkinson adopts the meaning used in the law-texts, and translates the line as 'against all knowledge that is forbidden the human soul'. Stokes (note *v*) offers no translation, but suggests a connection with *cuil*. DIL suggests an alternative meaning 'ruin' or 'corrupt', cf. *naro ercoillet do mifoltae tromthortha na tuath* (Ériu 8, 173.17), 'lest thy misdeeds ruin the heavy fruits of the people'. The semantic development of the mainly legal compound *ar-cuilli* into non-legal senses, from 'prohibits, forbids etc.' to 'injures'has been discussed by Greene.[709] The 1s *-iu* ending in the verb itself looks corrupt, despite it appearing in all three mss. Greene and O'Connor alter it to *ara-chuili* ('harms'), and Carey to *ara-chuille* ('corrupts'). Dr J Uhlich of Trinity College Dublin suggests that the *-iu* ending may be a MIr spelling for *-ea*. In the *Poems of Blathmac* Carney (1964, *xxxvi*) points out that the grammatically correct ending *-e* is sometimes represented in the mss as *-iu*, cf. *ligiu* for *lige* and *eirgiu* for *éirge* (line 558); *Mariu* for *Maire* (line 569). It should be recalled that a similar situation occurs in §5 of the hymn *Ní car Brigit*, where the mss offer *óigthiu* for OIr *óigthea*. The form *ara-chuillea* would certainly make sense in the context as a 3s present subjunctive.

3.6.9. *Th* Text and Translation

49	*To-cuiriur etrum indíu*	I summon today all those powers
	inna huli nert so	between me (and these evils),
49a	*fri cech nert n-amnas n-étrócar*	against every cruel merciless power
	fris-taí dom churp ocus domm anmain	that may oppose my body and my soul,
50	*fri tairchetla saíbfáthe*	against incantations of false prophets,
51	*fri dubrechtu gentliuchtae*	against black laws of heathenry,
52	*fri saíbrechtu heretecdae*	against false laws of heretics,
53	*fri himchellacht n-ídlachtae*	against [encirclement] of idolatry,
54	*fri brichtu ban ⁊ gobann ⁊*	against the spells of women and

[709] Greene 1979, 5-9.

	druad	smiths and druids,
55	*fri cech fiss ara-chuillea corp*	against every knowledge which may
	ɔ anmain duini	harm a man's body and soul.

§7

		T	R E
56	Crist domm imdegail indiu	Crist dom imdegail	Crist dom imdegail
57	ar neim ar loscud	ar ce*ch* nei*m*. ar losc*ud*	ar cech neim ar losgad
58	ar bádud ar guin	ar bádudh *ar* gui*n*.	ar bádud ar guin
59	*con*omthair ilar fochraice immimrorda	*con*imraib ilar fochraici. rodomscrútadar	conomroib ilar fochr*ai*ge ro*m*dosgrúda

3.7.1. *Metrics*. The palaeographic division is somewhat confusing here as the ornamental capitals heading strophes are not as large as in earlier examples. Consequently, editors have felt free to construct different strophic arrangements. *LH* attaches lines 56-59 to the previous strophe. Carey combines lines 56-59 with lines 60-67 to form a new 12-line strophe §7. There are specific advantages to such a line arrangement. First, the strophe would form a semantic unity, based on a series of invocations of Christ. Second, nine of the twelve lines would begin with the word *Críst*. Third, like all other strophes except §5, the first line would display monosyllabic cadence. The *Th* arrangement forms a new 4-line strophe §7 comprising lines 56-59, (as do Greene and O'Connor).The stress pattern of this strophe is: 3:1; 2:2; 2:1; 3:3. Other line arrangements are, of course, possible. Greene and O'Connor split lines 57 and 58 into four: *ar neim/ ar loscud/ ar bádud/ ar guin* to produce a regular 1:1, 1:2, 1:2, 1:1 pattern.

3.7.2. *Crist domm imdegail indiu.* The dative singular *imdegail*, 'protection' appears earlier in §5 of this hymn. The R and E texts both omit the word *indiu*.

3.7.3. *ar neim ar loscud/ ar bádud ar guin.* The only lexical difference is that R and E have *ar cech neim*, 'against every poison', but this addition does not affect the stress pattern (since *cech* is unstressed), nor change the meaning significantly. The three other dangers listed are the verbal nouns of *loiscid*, 'burns', *báidid*, 'drowns' and *gonaid*, 'wounds'.

3.7.4. *conomthair ilar fochraice.* The *Th* editors restore the class C infixed pronoun in the T text to read *co-ndom-thair*, 'so that there might come to me', where the verbal stem *-tair* is the prototonic form of the 3s present subjunctive of *do-air-icc*. The alternative verbal forms, *conim-raib* (R) and *conom-roib* (E), are special forms

of the substantive verb with the infixed pronoun expressing a dative relation as, for example, in *ní-m-thá*, 'I have not'. The 3s present subjunctive, *co-ndom-raib*, could be restored to yield 'so that I may have'. As might be expected, this is Stokes' reading in *Trip* I, which is based on the R text. All other editions follow T which seems to be the better attested reading. The noun *fochraice* can be read as genitive singular or plural, and *Th* opts for the singular.

3.7.5. *Th* Text and Translation

56	*Críst domm imdegail indíu*	Christ to protect me today
57	*ar neim ar loscud*	against poison, against burning
58	*ar bádud ar guin*	against drowning, against wounding
59	*con-dom-thair ilar fochraice*	so that there may come to me abundance of reward.

§8

	T	R	E
60	cr*ist* lim, cr*ist* rium, cr*ist* im degait	cr*ist* lim, cr*ist* remam, cr*ist* im*m* degaid.	crist lium, críst reu*m*, um degaid
61	cr*ist* innium, crist íssum, cr*ist* úasum	cr*ist* i*m*num. cr*ist* ísu*m*. cr*ist* úasu*m*.	cr*ist* indium, críst isu*m*, cr*ist* huasum
62	cr*ist* dessum, cr*ist* tuathum	cr*ist* dessu*m*. cr*ist* tuathu*m*.	cr*ist* desu*m*, cr*ist* tuatam
63	cr*ist* illius, cr*ist* isius, cr*ist* inerus	cr*ist* illi*us*. cr*ist* ipsi*us*. cr*ist* iner*us*.	cr*ist* illius, cr*ist* issius, cr*ist* inerus
64	cr*ist* i cridiu cech duine immimrorda	cr*ist* hi c*r*ide ce*ch* duine rodomscrútadar	cr*ist* i cridi cech duine ro*m*dosgrúda
65	cr*ist* i ngin cech oen rodomlabrathar	cr*ist* a*i*ngin cech dui*n*e rodo*m*labradar	cr*ist* i ngin cach duine nodo*m*lab*r*adar
66	cr*ist* in cech rusc nodomdercædar	cr*ist* i rus*c*c ce*ch* dui*n*e rod*om*decadar	cr*ist* i rusg ca*ch* duine nodo*m*dechadar
67	cr*ist* hi cech cluais rodomchloathar	cr*ist* i clúais ce*ch* dui*n*e rodo*m*clui*n*ed*a*r.	cr*ist* i cluais ce*ch* duine cluinithar

3.8.1. *Metrics*. The stress pattern in T of this strophe is: 6:2; 6:2; 4:2; 6:2; 4:2; 4:3; 4:3, 3:3, 3:3, while R/E texts offer a more regular 6:2; 6:2; 4:2; 6:2; 4:3; 4:3; 4:3, 4:3, 4:3. As will be discussed below, the *Th* editors follow T, except for line 64 where R's *rodom-scrútadar* is adopted in place of *immim-rorda*. The main lexical variation is the choice between the verbal forms in line 64, *immim-rorda* (T), *rodom-scrútadar* (R) and *romdosgrúda* (E). There is little to choose semantically or

metrically between the verbs, but *rodom-scrútadar* is a better reading because of its trisyllabic cadence, and its morphological similarity to *-labrathar, dercœdar* and *-chloathar* in the lines immediately following. This feature cannot be accidental. There is only one case of alliteration, *clúais, -chloathar (-chluinedar)* in line 67.

3.8.2. *Crist lim crist rium crist im degait.* The few textual differences are minor, mainly innovative spellings, but R has MIr *remam* beside *rium* in T, *reum* in E. The adverbial phrase *i n-degaid*, or *i n-digaid* (read *-dígaid,* the accusative singular of **dí-s aigid*), 'after', governs the genitive case (GOI §858).

3.8.3. *Críst i llius Críst i sius Críst i n-érus.* The only variant here is *ipsius* in R beside *issius* in E, but this is probably an error by R's scribe who has either misread the first *s* for *p*, or perhaps assumed the Latin *ipsius.* The conjunct and prototonic forms *-lius*, *-sius* and *-érus* are the 1s present subjunctives of *laigid*, *saidid* and *at-reig* respectively (GOI §624). The first two forms are unattested elsewhere, and some early editors encountered difficulties in translating them. Stokes originally took it to mean 'Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height', but later accepted Thurneysen's correct interpretation.[710] The *LH* editors considered the verbs to be verbal nouns and read: 'Christ in lying down, Christ in sitting, Christ in rising up'. Binchy comments on this line: 'such forms, though Thurneysen calls them later attested, are sufficient to guarantee that the hymn is no later than the eighth century'.[711] These verbal forms will be discussed in Section 4.

3.8.4. *crist i cridiu cech duine immimrorda.* The mss diverge somewhat, with only T preserving the OIr dative *cridiu* against *cride* (R) and *cridi* (E). The main lexical variation is the choice between the verbal forms, *immim-rorda* (T), *rodom-scrútadar* (R) and *rom-do-sgrúda* (E). The first is the 3s present subjunctive of *imm-rádi*, translated in *Th* 357, note *qq*: 'who may think of me'. The 3s present subjunctive (relative) is attested as *imme-rada* in Wb 23b24, and so, with optative augmentation and syncope, one would expect the stem *-rorda*. T employs a class A pronoun for an obvious relative construction, but this is permitted for non-third persons (GOI § 413.2). Both *LH*[712] and Carey opt for the *immim-rorda* of T, but *Th*, with Greene and

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[710] *Th* II 357, note *xx*; but in the Supplement (*Th* 506, 28) Stokes cites Thurneysen's translation in 31 KZ 97: '*Christus [soll sein] wo ich mich legen mag, Christus wo ich mich setzenen mag, Christus wo ich aufstehn mag'.*

[711] Binchy 1966, 234-7.

[712] *LH* II 51, 'who thinks of me'.

O'Connor,[713] follow R with *ro-dom-scrútadar*. The latter is an unusual deponent form, usually attested as *scrútaid*. It can mean 'scrutinize, examine, consider', and *Th* translates it as 'who thinks of me'. However, the use of *ro-* determines the optative subjunctive, 'who may think of me'. The verb in E, *romdosgruda*, looks like a corrupted form of a *ro*-subjunctive of *scrúdaid*. Such a form, *ro-dom-scrúta*, would make good grammatical sense, but there may have been metrical considerations in play to favour trisyllabic deponent line-endings.

3.8.5. *crist i ngin cech oen rodomlabrathar*. There is one lexical difference here between the mss, *cech oen* in T against *cech duine* (R), *cach duine* (E), although the overall sense of the line is hardly affected. There are also variances in the verbal forms: the OIr present subjunctive, *ro-dom-labrathar*, is preserved in T and, with minor changes, in R and E, the latter also employing *no-* for *ro-*. The R text has a corrupt spelling *a ṅgin*, against *i ngin* (T, E). Translations of the verbal form differ between 'who speaks of me' (*Th* II), against 'who may speak to me' (*LH* II), and 'who speaks to me' (Meyer, Carey, Greene/O'Connor). All these translations are valid, but the *LH* version alone reflects the subjunctive mood.

3.8.6. *crist i cech rusc nomdercædar*. Ther syntax varies here, with a choice between T above, *crist i ruscc cech duine rodomdecadar* (R), and *crist i rusg cach duine nodomdechadar* (E). T has the 3s present subjunctive but with the *no*-particle infixing the 1s class A pronoun, it may be derived from the later verb *dercaid* with a deponent ending. The R text, on the other hand, with the preverb *ro-* (E with *no-*), seems to be derived from *do-éccai*, 'looks at', and employs a class C infixed pronoun. Only Stokes in *Trip* follows the R text with 'Christ in the eye of every one who sees me', but all other editors prefer T's 'in every eye', with either 'sees me' or 'looks on me'. However, the R/E texts preserve the 4:3 stress pattern of the two previous lines, and accordingly R may be the better reading.

3.8.7. *crist hi cech cluais rodomchloathar*. Again the texts show a similar variance to that of the previous line, with *crist i clúais cech duine rodom-chluinedar* (R), and *crist i clúais cech duine ::::chluinithar* (E). The R text is quite attractive metrically in that it produces the same 4:3 stress pattern, as in lines 64, 65 and R's 66. However, the *Th* editors opt for the *rodom-chloathar* of T, 'who may hear me', which suits the context better than the indicative form *rodom-cluinedar* in R, 'who hears me'.

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[713] Greene and O'Connor 1990, 30-1, 'who scrutinises me'.

3.8.8. *Th* Text and Translation

60	*Críst lim, Críst reum, Críst im degaid*	Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me,
61	*Críst indium, Críst íssum, Críst úasum*	Christ in me, Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
62	*Críst dessum, Críst túathum*	Christ on my right, Christ on my left.
63	*Críst i llius, Críst i sius, Críst i n-érus*	Christ where I lie down, Christ where I sit, Christ where I arise,
64	*Crist i cridiu cech duini ro-dom-scrútadar*	Christ in the heart of every person who [may] think of me,
65	*Críst i ngin cech óin ro-dom-labrathar*	Christ in the mouth of everyone who [may] speak of me,
66	*Críst hi cech rusc no-dom-dercædar*	Christ in every eye that [may] see me,
67	*Críst hi cech clúais ro-dom-chloathar*	Christ in every ear that [may] hear me.

§8

	T	R	E
68	Atomriug indíu		
69.	neurt trén		
69a	togairm trinoit		
70	cretim treodataid		
71	fóisitin óentad		
72	in dúleman dáil		

Latin Coda

T	R
Domini est salus	Domini est salus.
domini est salus	Domini est salus.
χpristi est salus	salus χpristi
[salus] tua domine,	tua domine
sit semper nobiscum.	sit semper uobiscum Amen.

3.8.1. Translation

Salvation is of the Lord. Salvation is of the Lord. Salvation is of Christ;

May your [salvation], Lord, be always with us. (T) (with you, R) [714]

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[714] Carey points out that these words are adapted from Psalm 3: *Domini est salus, et super populum tuum benedictio tua*, and that a similar doxology appears at the end of the lorica *Nuall Fir Fhio:*

Section 4: Linguistic Analysis

4.1. Final Unstressed Vowels

4.1.1. Since this poem is almost entirely free of rhyme it is not possible to assess the likely date of composition from a study of the final unstressed vowels in rhyming position. In the Middle Irish period the *io-* and *iā-* stems lost all distinctions of number and case, except in the dative plural, through the falling together of *-e* with *-i* and *-ae* with *-ai*. As a result, there is a strong tendency for these features to be reflected in the transcription of OIr poems in MIr mss unless the individual scribe has been able to produce a faithful copy of the original work. In the *Liber Hymnorum* generally there are at least two levels of transcription, one from the original hymn-book(s) to the lost exemplar, and the other from the exemplar to T and F. This hymn, however, was not copied into F, and it is questionable if it appeared in the exemplar. The later R and E mss are derived from a different recension. It will be instructive to examine how the three mss deal with the unaccented final vowels of nouns and adjectives, albeit without the assistance of the metrical parameter.

4.1.2. Nouns and adjectives ending in OIr *-(a)e* and *-(a)i*.

Line		*Th* text
25	nom sg, *iā, f*	*etrochtae* (etrochta TRE)
29	nom sg, *iā, f*	*fudomnae* (fudomna TRE)
34	nom sg, *io, n*	*cumachtae* (cumachta TRE)
43	gen pl, *i, m*	*demnae* (demna TRE)
51	gen sg, *ā, f*	*gentliuchtae* (gentliuchta T, *om.* RE)
52	gen pl, *io, m*	*heretecdae* (eretecda T, *om.* RE)
53	gen pl, *io, m*	*n-idlachtae* (nidlachta T, *om.* RE)
20	dat sg, *iā, f*	*enccai* (endgai T, endccai RE)
38	dat sg, *iā, f*	*erlabrai* (erlabra E)

The above list shows that mss record a final *-a* where the context would require a classical OIr ending *-(a)e*. The ending *-a* is what would be expected from a composition written during or after the ninth century or, indeed, how a scribe in the early MIr period would spell the schwa sound to which the original *-ae* ending had

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Domini est salus. Domini est salus. Domini est salus; Christi est salus. Christi est salus. Christi est salus. super populum tuum benedictio tua, (2000, 135 n.14).

been reduced. On the other hand, the OIr ending *-ai* is still preserved in the mss, apart from *erlebra* in the 15th century E ms.

4.1.3. Nouns and adjectives ending in OIr *-e*

Line		*Th* text
24	nom sg, *iā, f*	*soilse* (soillsi RE)
26	nom sg, *iā, f*	*áne* (*om.* RE)
27	nom sg, *iā, f*	*déne* (*om.* RE)
28	nom sg, *iā, f*	*luathe* (luaithi RE)
28	nom sg, *iā, f*	*tairismige* (tairisem T, tairismigi RE)
31	nom sg, *iā, f*	*cobsaide* (cobsaidecht T, cobsaidi R, cobsaidhe E)
42	nom sg, *ā, f*	*sochraite* (sochraiti R)
28	gen sg, *iā, f*	*gaíthe* (gáethe T, gaithi RE)
17	gen pl, *i, m*	*fáthe* (fátha T, fathi R, faithe E)
50	gen pl, *i, m*	*saibfáthe* (saebfáthe R, sæbhfáidhthe E)
15	gen sg, *ī, f*	*fochraicce* (fochraice T, focraici R, fochricce E)
59	gen sg, *ī, f*	*fochraice* (focraici R, focraige E)
44	gen pl, *ī, f*	*dúalche* (dualach RE)
7	gen sg, *n, n*	*gene* (geine E)
36	dat sg, *s, n*	*réimcise* (imcaisin RE)

Considering first the feminine *iā*-stem nominative and genitive singulars, the OIr ending *-e* is preserved in T, but is represented by an *-i* ending in the later R and E mss (apart from *cobsaidhe* in E). The *-e* ending of OIr *i*-stem genitive plural *fáthe* is preserved by all mss in the compound *saibfáthe* (line 44), but this could be fortuitous, since ms spellings are confused in *fáthe* (line 17). The OIr genitive singular *ī*-stem endings are preserved in T and E, but spelled with *-i* in R. In line 44 R and E have the MIr *dúalach*, and in line 36 offer a different noun with a long dative singular. All mss preserve the *-e* ending in the *n*-stem genitive.

4.1.4. Nouns and adjectives ending in OIr *-i*.

Line		*Th* text
9	gen sg, *io, n*	*essérgi* (neiseirge T, eisergi R, eiserghi E)
15	gen sg, *io, n*	*essérgi* (eiseirge T, neisergi R, eisergi E)
25	gen sg, *io, n*	*ésci* (snechtai T, esca E)
55	gen sg, *io, n*	*duini* (dam R, duine E)
64	gen sg, *io, n*	*duini* (duine TRE)
48	dat sg, *iā, f*	*sochaidi* (sochaide TE, soch˘ R)
49	acc pl, *io-iā*	*huli* (huile T, hule R, uili E)

The OIr *io*-stem genitive has an ending in *-i*, but the mss present an inconsistent picture with endings sometimes in *-i* and other times in *-e*, even for the same word. The same applies to the *iā*-stem dative singular and the *io-iā*-stem accusative plural. The mss spellings simply reflect the sounds current at the time of transcription, and have no linguistic significance.

4.1.5. Nouns ending in OIr genitive singular *-o/a*

Line		*Th* text
10	gen sg, *u, m*	*brátho* (bratha TRE)
10	gen sg, *u, m*	*thóiniuda* (tóniud T, toiniudha E)
8	gen sg, *i, m*	*crochtho* (crochta T, croctha R, crochdha E)
29	gen sg, *i, n*	*maro* (mara TRE)

By the time of *Fél* (ca 800) the *i-* and *u*-stem genitive singular ending *-o* had been replaced by *-a*, a feature well established by rhyme. Here, as might be expected, all mss show the *-a* ending, though there is nothing to prevent emendation to original *-o* if so required .

4.1.6. Nouns ending in OIr *-iu, -a* and *-u*

64	dat sg, *io, n*	*cridiu* (cride R, cridi E)
50	acc pl, *o, n*	*tinchetla* (tairchetlaib R, tairchetla E)
51	acc pl, *u, m*	*dubrechtu* (*om.* RE)
52	acc pl, *u, m*	*sáibrechtu* (sæbrechtaib R, sæbbrichtaib E)
54	acc pl, *u, m*	*brichtu* (brichta T, *om.* RE)

T preserves the OIr *io*-stem dative singular *-iu*, while R and E have dropped the *u*-vocalism. The OIr masculine *o-* and *u*-stem accusative plurals (following *fri* here) are preserved in T with *dubrechtu* and *sáibrechtu*, but not in line 54 with a MIr *brichta*. The neuter accusative plural is preserved in T and E. R follows the MIr practice of employing the dative after *fri*.

4.2. Nouns and Adjectives

4.2.1. Apart from the MIr confusion in final unstressed vowels, there are also issues concerning the morphology of some nouns and adjectives ending in a consonant. Generally OIr forms are preserved, but the following points are noted:

(1) Line 49a. The dative singular *curp* of the masculine *o*-stem *corp*, 'body', is recorded in all three mss, and is followed by *Th* and *LH*. The equivalent form in the OIr Glosses is *corp*, and GOI §278 cites this noun as one that resists change to the *u*-quality dative singular. However, the only dative singular appearing in *Fél* is *curp* in

Ep52 and 363, though not in rhyming position, while *LU* 32908 has: *i curp na Tána*, 'in the body of the Táin'.

(2) In the same line the accusative plural of the neuter *o*-stem *nert*, 'power', appears as *nert-so* (T), *neurta-sa* (R) and *nertu* (E). One would have expected OIr *nerta-som*, but GOI §278 comments that in the *o*-stem accusative plural neuter 'the form without an ending is most frequent in combination with words which themselves indicate the number, such as the article, pronomials, and numerals'. Jackson believes the short form to be the more ancient one[715] but, even so, the accusative plural neuter, *inna nert*, appears in Sg 105a1.

(3) Line 45. The meaning of the dative plural *irnechtaib* in T is obscure. As described in Textual Note 5, *irnechtaib* could be emended to *airrechtaib* (from the verbal noun of *ar-reith*) to give 'from the assaults of nature'.[716] The alternative in R, *foirmdechaib*, seems to be derived from the adjective *formtech*, but 'the envies of nature' does not make sense. A small emendation to *forimthechtaib*, from the verbal noun of *for-imthet*, 'to go about' may be better.[717] With Carey's emendation the translation 'against the diversions of nature' is offered in default of the hesitant *Th* approach.

(4) Line 29. The genitive singular of *i*-stem neuter *muir* appears in all three mss as *mara*, and *Th* surprisingly emends this to *maro*. The OIr genitive is *moro* (Ml 81a4) or *mora* (Sg 94a3). The form *maro* appears in later texts, *LU* 5382 and *SR* 266, possibly influenced by Latin *mare*.

4.2.2. Dative singular of *n*-stems

Line	*Th* edition
4	*foísitin* (fóisin T, foisitiu E, *om.* R)
15	*frescisin* (frescisiu R)
36	*remcise* (reimcise T, imcaisin RE)
41	*imdítin* (ditin T, imdíten R, imditin E)

McCone (1978, 27) has collected various dative and accusative case-endings of feminine *n*-stem nouns found in the OIr Glosses.[718] For *toimtiu*, which should inflect like the verbal nouns above, McCone tabled dative case-endings as follows:

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[715] Jackson 1990, 81 § *ix*.

[716] Greene, O'Connor 1990, 29.

[717] Carey 2000, 133, note 12.

[718] McCone 1978, 27.

Ending	*-(a)e*	*-(i)u*	*-(a)in*
Wb	13	9	9
Ml	7	1	62
Sg	4	1	8

4.2.3. The choice of the dative forms in the mss is quite arbitrary with no discernible pattern. *Th* simply follows the T text, rather than normalising the case-ending. To the above list could be added the accusative singular *anmain* (anman T, anmain R, anmuin E) in line 49a.

4.3. Preservation of neuter gender

4.3.1. The neuter gender of the nouns listed below is established by the nasalisation of the following word *Dé*:

Line

34 *cumachtae ṅDé* (cumachta dé T, cumachta ṅdé RE)

36 *roscc ṅDé* (rosc dé T, roscc ṅdé R, rosc nde E)

Against this, there is unhistoric nasalisation in R and E as follows:

35 *cíall Dé* (ciall dé T, ciall ṅdé R, ciall nde E)

37 *clúas Dé* (cluas dé T, cluas ndé R, ciall de E)

38 *bríathar Dé* (briathar dé T, briathar ṅdé R, briathar nde E)

39 *lám Dé* (lám dé T, lám ndé R, briathar de E)

40 *intech Dé* (intech dé T, intech ndé R, intech de E)

41 *scíath Dé* (scíath dé T, scíath dé R, sgiath ndé E)

4.3.2. The nominative singulars *cíall, clúas, bríathar and lám* (feminine *ā*-stem) and *intech, scíath* (masculine *o*-stem) do not produce nasalisation, though a case could be made for *intech* which, according to DIL, may have been neuter earlier. The unhistoric nasalisation in the latter 5 lines (and its incorrect absence in T's lines 34 and 36) simply reflects MIr confusion in the mss, and the balance of probability is that the R and E scribes faithfully copied the original nasalisation in lines 34 and 36, but then applied it indiscriminately to other lines. In his analysis of MIr language

Jackson pointed out that the loss of neuter gender began faintly in OIr and was quite well advanced by the time of *SR*, but confusion arises where masculine or feminine nouns were quite often treated as neuter.[719]

4.4. Infixed Pronouns

Line	*Th* edition
As in note 1	*atom-riug* (atto-riug RE)
59	*co-ndom-thair* (*con*-om-thair T, *con*-om-raib R, *con*-om-roib E)
64	*ro-dom-scrútadar* (immim-rorda T, ro*m*-do-sgruda E)
65	*ro-dom-labrathar* (ro-dom-labrodar R, no-dom-labradar E)
66	*no-m-dercœdar* (ro-dom-decadar R, no-do*m*-dechadar E)
67	*ro-dom-cloathar* (ro-do*m*-cluinedar R, ::::cluinithar E)

Note 1: lines 1, 6, 11, 22, 32, 68 (all class B)

4.4.1. The verbal form preserved in T, *atom-riug* with its 1s infixed class B pronoun, appears 6 times. In 59 all the mss offer the MIr form *conom*, reflecting the phonetic assimilation of the class C *-nd-*. The other verbal forms show class C, except for T's 1s class A *immim-rorda* and *no-m-dercœdar*, which are acceptable in relative clauses.

4.5. Prepositional Pronouns

Line		*Th* edition	Classical OIr
47	1s	*dam*	*dam, dom*
49a	1s	*etrum*	*etrum*
60	1s	*lim* (lium E)	*lem(m), lim(m), lium(m)*
60	1s	*reum* (rium T, remam R)	*rium*
61	1s	*indium* (innium T, innumm R)	*indium(m)*
61	1s	*íssum* (ísum RE)	*íssum*
61	1s	*úasum* (úasam R, huasam E)	*úasum*
62	1s	*dessum* (desum E)	*dessum*
62	1s	*túathum* (tuatam E)	*túathum*

Apart from the expected assimilation of *indium* and R's MIr *remam* the conjugated prepositions generally meet OIr norms.

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[719] Jackson (1990, 79-80) argues that the neuter disappeared as a living gender in the 11th century (the last neuter noun nasalising its adjective in AU occurs in 998AD), but certain types of word or phrase survived later as a fossil.

4.6. Verbal Forms

4.6.1. Present Stems (all present indicative except where otherwise stated)

Line		*Th* edition	3s pres indic
1, 6	1s	*atom-riug* (*om.* R, attoriug E)	*ad-rig*
11, 32	1s	*atom-riug* (attoriug RE)	*ad-rig*
22	1s	*atom-riug* (attoriug R, attoriugh E)	*ad-rig*
68	1s	*atom-riug* (*om.* RE)	*ad-rig*
48	3s rel	*to-cuiriur* (tocuirius T)	*do-cuirethar*

4.6.2. As described in Textual Note §1, the verbal form *atom-riug* has been the subject of some debate, with early editors reading the 1s present of the reflexive verb *at-reig*, with meaning 'I arise'. Binchy advanced persuasive arguments in favour of the original reading *ad-rig*, leading to the translation 'I gird myself'.[720] Both readings are equally valid linguistically, and it is the context which is the determining factor, with most recent editors following Binchy's approach. The choice of one reading or the other, however, does not have any dating implications, other than the fact that both manifest a good OIr 1s present indicative form.

4.6.3. All the texts preserve the Early OIr preverb in *to-cuiriur,* the1s present indicative of *do-cuirethar*. *Do-cuirethar* comprises two verbs, the first with meaning 'puts, throws', which takes suppletive forms in certain tenses, and the second with meaning 'invites, summons', with all forms supplied by **to-cuir-*. The preverb *to-* is not an indicator of early dating, as this form appears in late texts, cf. *tochuirim* (CormY 77).

4.6.4. Subjunctive Stems (all pres. subj. except where otherwise stated)

Line		*Th* edition	3s pres indic
49	3s	*fris-taí* (fristí T, fristái RE)	*fris-tait*
55	1s	*ara-chuiliu* (aracuiliu RE)	*ar-cuilli*
59	3s	*co-ndom-thair* (*con*omthair T, *con*omraib R, *con*omroib E)	*do-airicc*
63	1s	*i llius*	*laigid*
63	1s	*i sius* (issius E, ipsius R)	*saidid*
63	1s	*i n-érus*	*at-reig*
64	3s rel	*ro-dom-scrútadar* (immimrorda T, ro*m*dosgruda E)	*scrútaid*
65	3s rel	*ro-dom-labrathar* (rodomlabrodar R, nodomlabradar E)	*labraithir*
66	1s rel	*no-m-dercœdar* (rodomdecadar R, nodo*m*dechadar E)	*do-éccai*
67	1s rel	*ro-dom-cloathar* (rodo*m*cluinedar R, ::::cluinithar E)	*ro-cluinethar*

[720] Binchy 1966, 232-4.

4.6.5. The 1s *-iu* ending in the verb *ara-cuilliu* looks corrupt, despite it appearing in all three mss. The preverb *ara-* marks the relative form of *ar-cuilli*, which is well attested in Law tracts, in the sense of prohibiting or inhibiting, cf. *ara-chuille coir n-athgabála* (Laws v 266.19), 'which the legality of distraint excludes'. Dr Uhlich's suggestion that the *-iu* ending may be a MIr spelling for *-ea* is borne out by examples from other texts. It should be recalled that a similar anomaly occurs in §5 of the hymn *Ní car Brigit*, where the mss offer *óigthiu* for OIr *óigthea*. Furthermore, in the *Poems of Blathmac* Carney[721] points out that the grammatically correct ending *-e* is sometimes represented in the mss as *-iu*, cf. *treidisiu* for *tréde-siu* (line 18); *ligiu* for *lige* and *eirgiu* for *éirge* (line 558); *Mariu* for *Maire* (line 569). The form *ara-chuillea* would certainly make sense in the context as a 3s present subjunctive.

4.6.6. The *Th* editors restore the class C infixed pronoun in the T text to read *con-dom-thair*, 'so that there might come to me'. The verb *do-air-icc* forms a 3s subjunctive *do-air-í*, *-airi*, but the shortened forms *do-mm-air*, *-tair* are common in poetry (GOI §627). The alternative verbal forms, *co-nim-raib* (R) and *conomroib* (E) are 3s present subjunctive forms of the substantive verb with the infixed pronoun expressing a dative relation as, for example, in *ní-m-thá*, 'I have not'. The 3s present subjunctive, *co-ndom-roib*, could be restored to yield 'so that I may have'.

4.6.7. The phrases *i llius*, *i sius*, *i n-érus* were not understood by early editors. The verbal forms are the 1s present subjunctive (or future) conjunct and prototonic forms of *laigid*, *saidid* and *at-reig* respectively (GOI §624).[722] The 1s endings exhibit *u*-quality as seen in *do-ro-thuusa*, (Ml 23c23), leg. *do-ro-thus-[s]a*, gl. decidam 'let me fall'. Binchy comments that 'such forms, though Thurneysen calls them later attested, are sufficient to guarantee that the hymn is no later than the eighth century'.[723] Later, with the obsolescence of the infixed pronoun, these strong verbs with s-subjunctive and t-preterite were later replaced with weak verbs *éirgid*, *laigid* and *suidid*.

4.6.8. The form *i n-érus*, 'where I may (will) rise' is particularly interesting. The verb *at-reig* is reflexive, with 1s present subjunctive/ future *a-tom-res*, *-érus*. One might have expected *i ndam-érus* with the 1s class C infixed pronoun in the relative construction There is one very early attestation of this verb in the Codex Taurinensis,

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[721] Carney 1964, *xxxvi*.

[722] These verbs do not undergo reduplication, and so the future stem falls together with that of the subjunctive (GOI §662).

[723] Binchy 1966, 234 -7.

a manuscript in which, according to *Th* I *xxvi*, the Irish of the glosses is very archaic, and may be compared with that of the *prima manus* in the Wb Glosses. F. iv.24 of the ms deals with the Second Epistle of Peter, and the revelant OIr gloss is the 1p present future which occurs in the phrase *i n-eresom-ni*, glossing *suscitatare uos* ('to rouse you').[724] *Th* I translates *i n-ersom-ni*, 'shall we arise', but in note *c* Strachan suggests instead 'in which we will raise'. In fact, the Latin text in 2 Peter 1:13 is *iustum autem arbitror, quandiu sum in hoc tabernaculo, suscitare uos in communicationem* [in marg.] *in commonitione*, 'but I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance'. It will be noted that the OIr gloss does not contain the expected 2p infixed pronoun. DIL (sv. *at-reig*) comments that perhaps the absence of the pronoun in *i n-ersom-ni* reflects archaic use. The question is whether one can also assign the reflexive *i n-érus* to the same early period. The infixed pronoun in the dependent form certainly occurs in the Wb and Ml Glosses.[725] In later texts, however, the infixed pronoun is sometimes dropped, e.g. *nocon érus*, 'I will not arise', (*AMCG* 170),[726] and *co n-érsat Ulaid assa cess*, 'till the Ulaid arise from their debility' (*TBC* 769), beside *conom-érracht innossa*, 'till I awoke just now' (*LU* 10761). From these examples it can be seen that the expression *i n-érus* can be very early or very late, though its association with OIr subjunctive conjuncts *-sius* and *-lius* suggests the former. It is helpful to examine the imperative forms of the verb *at-reig* as this is one of the six verbs where the 2s subjunctive form functions as the 2s imperative. The 2s imperative is attested *at-ráe* in Ml 126c3 and *at-raí* in *LU* 3533, both showing the reflexive pronoun, while it is absent in the 3s imperative *érged* in *LU* 8130. The evidence from the expression *i n-érus* alone, supported by the mss, indicates that this passage at least in the hymn dates from the early eighth century, between the time of the *prima manus* and the main Wb Glosses.

4.6.9. As noted in 3.8.4, the deponent ending of the verbal form *ro-dom-scrútadar* is unusual, as the 3s present indicative is usually attested as *scrútaid* (borrowed from the Latin deponent *scrutor*). The alternative verbal form in T, *immim-rorda*, is the 3s present subjunctive of *imm-rádi*, translated in *Th* 357, note *qq*: 'who may think of me'. *Immim-rorda* would fit the context, but not the metrical ornamentation, which

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[724] *Th* I 713.26.

[725] For example, *indit-moíde*, 'on which thou mayest pride thyself' (Wb 2b12), and *i ndam-erbaimm*, 'in which I trust myself' (Ml 29d5).

[726] Jackson 1990, 6.

features a series of morphologically similar line-endings, *-scrutadar*, *-labrathar*, *-dercædar*, *-chloathar*, all with trisyllabic cadence.

4.6.10. The OIr augmented present subjunctive, *ro-dom-labrathar*, is preserved in T and, with minor changes, in R and E, the latter employing *no-* for *ro-*. There are clear lexical differences in the verbal forms *no-m-dercædar* (T) and *ro-dom-decadar* (RE). The basic verb is *do-écci* (*de-in-ci-*), 'looks'. The verb *ad-cí* is one of a small number of active verbs which take the deponent inflection in the present subjunctive, e.g. 3s *ad-cethar*, *-accathar*, and consequently one would expect a similar inflection for *do-écci* (*de-in-ci-*).[727] The T ms offer *no-m-dercædar* in T, where *-dercædar* appears to be derived from *-de-r-in-ci*, with a preverbal augmentation. Against this R has a prevocalic augmentation with *ro-dom-decadar* (and a similar form in E). The choice of preverbal versus prevocalic augmentation does not have any dating implications as both forms appear in the same OIr Gloss.[728] T employs the *no-* particle to infix the 1s class A pronoun, rather than the class C in R and E. Either class is permissible when the infixed pronoun 1s or 2s (GOI §413.2). DIL comments that some of the perfective forms of *do-écci* may belong to the simple verb *dercaid*, but the latter is attested only in later texts, none with deponent inflection.

4.6.11. As a strong verb with a root ending in *-n-*, *ro-cluinethar* forms an *a-* subjunctive, which is realised as an *-o-* to form the 3s *ro-dom-chloathar*, 'who may hear me'. In opposition to this is the 3s present indicative *ro-dom-chluinedar* in R (and one similar in E), which stand out as the only non-subjunctive in this series of four verbal forms at line-endings.

4.6.12. Future Stems. There is only one future stem: *mí-dúthrastar* (midúthracair R, midúthracur E) in line 46. All three texts employ the verb *do-futhraccair*, (**dí-fo-tracc-*) 'wishes', with the prefix *mí-* ('ill-'), but they vary in tense. T's *-dúthrastar* is the 3s future prototonic (or, indeed, the 3s present subjunctive), and that of the other two texts can be either the 3s present indicative or preterite.[729] The 1s present indicative is attested in Wb 14b6: *acht da-duthraccar donaib huilib nóibaib*, 'but I wish it to all the saints'.

4.6.13. There are no conditional or preterite stems.

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[727] The 2s present subjunctive is attested in Ml 102b10 with *dia-nda-dercaither-su at-belat-som*, 'if Thou look upon them, they will die'.

[728] McCone (1997, 155).

[729] DIL,sv. *do-futhraccair*; the present stem was originally *-thracc-*, the preterite *-tharc-*. In later language only *-thrac(c)-* appears.

Section 5: Conclusion

5.1. General

As mentioned in the Introduction, Patrick's Lorica is probably the most famous of the hymns in this collection. The poem is composed in *retoiric*, a rhymeless, non-stanzaic form of verse, based on stress and cadence, rather than syllable count, and probably in imitation of pre-Christian incantations. The absence of rhyme and syllabic format makes linguistic analysis more complex, and the absence of the hymn from the F ms means reliance on two later manuscripts for variant readings.

5.2. Summary of Linguistic Evidence

5.2.1. The language of the hymn offers few clues to its possible date of composition, apart from an indication that the three MIr mss generally reflect Old Irish forms, once scribal spellings are normalised. The main features of the language are:

(1) The nasalisation of the adjectives following neuter nominatives *cumachtae* and *roscc* indicates that neuter gender has been preserved. The last neuter noun in AU nasalising its adjective occurs as late as 998AD.[730]

(2) Deponent inflection is preserved in *to-cuiriur*, *-labrathar*, *-cloathar*, *-dúthrastar*, and is applied to active verbs (*-scrútadar* and *-dercædar*). This feature was on the wane throughout the Old Irish period.

(3) All of the verbal forms display canonical OIr characteristics, and the 1s dependent subjunctive forms *-sius*, and *-lius* appear to be early. There is some evidence that the clause *i n-érus*, without a reflexive pronoun, is significant, and may point to an early eighth century dating.

5.3. External Evidence

5.3.1. External evidence is available from the hymn *Génair Patraicc* which provides comparitive dating. In §26 of that poem the angel Victor tells Patrick: *Ymmon do-roígae it bíu/ bid lúrech díten do chách*, 'A hymn which you have chosen in your lifetime/ shall be a protecting *lorica* to all'.[731] It is generally accepted by scholars that the aforementioned *lorica* is *Atom-riug indiu*. Consequently, assuming a mid-eighth century dating for *Génair Patraicc* as postulated in Chapter 4, *Atom-riug indiu* must have been in circulation in monastic circles prior to this.

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[730] AU 998 *slúagad n-aill.*

[731] See Chapter 4.

5.3.2. Stokes[732] suggests that the hymn may well have been known to the Milan glossator. The gloss *cluasa Dé diar n-eitsecht intan mbimmi isnaib fochaidib* (Ml 24a18) 'God's ears to hearken to us when we are in tribulations' seems to be an echo of line 37: *clúas Dé dom étsecht* and, if so, would anchor the date of composition of the hymn before the mid-ninth century.

5.4. Dating of Hymn

The linguistic evidence is sparse, but since there are no irrecoverable late forms, and one significant quite early form, it must be concluded that this poem was composed in the early eighth century.

[732] *Th* II, xl .

Chapter 10: Conclusion

1. Scope of Study

1.1. As stated in Chapter 1, the aim of this thesis was to conduct a detailed analysis of the language of the Old Irish hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum*, for the purpose of determining the most likely date of composition. It was not intended in this study to re-edit the hymns or to provide a new translation. The study duly reviewed the critical edition and translations by Stokes and Strachan in *Th* II, offering detailed Notes on the texts, conducting metrical and linguistic analyses of each hymn, and presenting linguistic evidence for the likely date of composition in each case.

1.2. The basic premise in the study was that language was paramount. Annals and historical records can be falsified or mis-interptreted, but the language cannot lie. However, the poems are preserved in later manuscripts, not always faithfully copied from the original. Language is not fixed, but is in a constant state of development, and the task of the analyst is to try and recover the original text for dating purposes. In this respect metrical data has proved an invaluable tool. The date of composition for each hymn has been presented at the end of the appropriate chapter, and the purpose of this Chapter is to review the Old Irish hymns collectively, in chronological order.

2. Summary of Findings

2.1. Patrick's Lorica (*Atom-riug indiu*) is regarded as being 'among the most interesting relics of early Irish Christianity'[733] and is described as 'a Christian Breastplate with druid ornamentation'.[734] The prayer is a rhythmic, rhymeless piece, and this factor has made a detailed linguistic analysis of the mss texts a complex operation. Nonetheless, it was concluded in Chapter 9 that the linguistic evidence showed that it was probably composed in the early eighth century, making it the oldest of the hymns analysed in this thesis. No reason has been advanced as to why this hymn did not appear in the F ms, but the almost complete absence of glossing suggests that it did not form part of the exemplar from which T and F were derived, and may have been taken from a different source.

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[733] Kenney 1929, 273.

[734] Greene & O'Connor 1967, 27.

2.2. Ultan's Hymn (*Brigit bé*) is highly regarded as a work of high poetic art, and the *Th* editors believe that 'there is nothing in the language to shew that the hymn cannot go back to the seventh century AD'.[735] This view is not borne out by a study of the language. The hymn is short, with only six stanzas in *rinnard* metre and, on the linguistic evidence available, the hymn cannot be placed any earlier than the first half of the eighth century.

2.3. Fíacc's Hymn (*Génair Pátraicc*) is a metrical Life of Patrick, very close to Muirchú's Life, but also including some material found in Tírechán's account. It is set out in 34 stanzas in mixed *rannaigecht* metre. The majority of the stanzas exhibit disyllabic rhyming, but there are five with monosyllabic and two with trisyllabic rhyme. There appears to be extensive interpolation in the poem. The linguistic evidence shows that the majority of the stanzas are from the middle of the eighth century while others, thought to be interpolations, display definite ninth-century forms.

2.4. Niníne's Prayer (*Ad-muinemmar*) is a short metrical piece in the form of a protection prayer addressed to St Patrick. It is in *retoric*, with regular rhythm and alliteration. The lack of rhyme and smallness of sample make analysis difficult, and the late eighth century date proposed is tentative.

2.5. Colmán's Hymn (*Sén Dé*) is a macaronic poem of 27½ quatrains, with a number of stanzas, lines, words and phrases in Latin, all seamlessly integrated into the Irish metrical system. The format is mainly *rannaigecht*, but there are three couplets in *deibide*. The subject-matter is a protection prayer after the manner of a *lorica*, probably taken from a Latin original. There are two *dúnada* in the poem, the first at §19, indicating that the other stanzas are later additions. The language of the original hymn seems to be from the beginning of the ninth century, and the supplementary stanzas from later in the same century.

2.6. Broccán's Hymn (*Ní car Brigit*) is a metrical Life of Brigit, similar to the Life of Cogitosus in content and order, but also containing material found only in *Vita* I. It is the longest hymn of the collection, comprising 53 stanzas, most in irregular *rannaigecht* metre, but with a number of stanzas uniquely exhibiting *deibide* rhyme in a *rannaigecht* setting. The first 47 stanzas are terminated with a *dunad*, the remaining six being supplementary additions. The language shows evidence of interpolation throughout. The linguistic evidence shows the hymn to be of the mid-ninth century,

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[735] *Th* II xxxviii.

with the additional stanzas, somewhat later, one probably Middle Irish, as established by rhyme.

2.7. Sanctán's Hymn (*At-teoch ríg*) is another protection prayer in the *lorica* style, set out in 13 stanzas, the first 10 in *rannaigecht bec* metre, formally terminating with a *dúnad.* Of the three additional stanzas, two are in *sétnad mór* and one in *rannaigecht bec*. The language of the original poem is late, possibly late ninth century, while the supplementary stanzas are from the early Middle Irish period.

3. Future Directions

3.1 The critical edition of the Old Irish hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum* by Stokes and Strachan has served its purpose well since its publication in 1903. The main limitation of that edition is that the manuscripts texts seem to have been normalised to the language of the lost exemplar from which the T and F texts have been independently derived. Consequently, since the exemplar is dated to the late tenth century, the *Th* edition retains a number of Middle Irish forms, which almost certainly did not occur in the original compositions. The one exception, of course, is Ultán's Hymn, where the *Th* editors comment that the text has been restored on the assumption that the poem is of a seventh century origin.[736] There is an outstanding requirement for a new edition now which restores each of the hymns to its original form.

3.2. Another requirement is a full linguistic analysis of the Middle Irish prefaces, glosses and scholia associated with the hymns. Such an analysis would be necessary to determine the date of the archetype, and whether or not the various notes and scholia emanate from the same period. Such information would ideally form part of the critical apparatus necessary for a new edition of the hymns.

3.3. As Breatnach has pointed out, a great amount of work still needs to be done on early Irish verse, particularly the structure of non-rhyming verse.[737] The difficulties experienced in confidently determining the structure of the latter are to be seen in the *roscad* verse of Niníne's Prayer and Patrick's Lorica. The peculiar versification in Broccán's Hymn, which features a number of stanzas with *deibide* rhyming in a *rannaigecht* setting, seems to be unique, but more research is required.

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[736] *Th* II *xxxviii.*

[737] Breatnach, 1996, 70.

Abbreviations

Ält Ir Dicht ii	über die älteste irische Dichtung, Kuno Meyer, 1913-4
AMCG	*Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* See Jackson 1990
Anecd.	*Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts,* (Bergin, Best, Meyer, O'Keefe, 1907-13)
AU	Annals of Ulster. (See Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1963)
A Tig.	Annals of Tigernach.
Bethu Phátraic	See Mulchrone 1939
Bruchst	Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands, Meyer, 1919
CormY	Cormac's Glossary from YBL, (See Meyer, 1913)
DIL	Dictionary of the Irish Language, Royal Irish Academy, 1990;
EIL	Early Irish Lytrics. (See Murphy 1956)
EIM	Early Irish Metrics. (See Murphy 1961)
EIV	The Early Irish Verb. (See McCone 1997)
Etym	Etymologiarum siue originum, Isidori Hisp. Epis. (Lindsay 1911)
F	The Liber Hymnorum, MS FLK A2 (see Th II xxxv)
Fél	Féilire Oengussa (see Stokes, 1905)
Hebr Quaes	St Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis (Hayward, 1995)
JRSAI	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
Laws, 1865-1901	Ancient Laws of Ireland, O'Donovan, O'Curry, etc.
LH I, II	The Irish Liber Hymnorum (see Bernard and Atkinson, 1898)
Lis Lives	Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore (Stokes, 1890)
OIr , MIr	Old Irish, Middle Irish
O'C	O'Curry's Law Transcripts, Royal Irish Academy
T	The Liber Hymnorum, TCD MS 1441 (see Th II xxxv)
TBDD	Togail Bruidne Da Derga (See Knott E, 1936, 1975)
Tec. Corm	Tecosca Cormaic. (See Meyer 1909)
Th I, II	Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, (see Stokes and Strachan, 1901)
TRIA	Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy
Trip I	The Tripartite life of Patrick, Part I (see Stokes, 1887)
Vendr Lex	See Vendryes

Other abbreviations as listed in the Dictionary of the Irish Language, Royal Irish Academy, 1990.

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