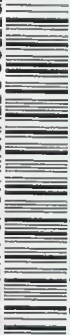


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MAC NEILL

Ogham

Tract 721

E.I. Population - groups

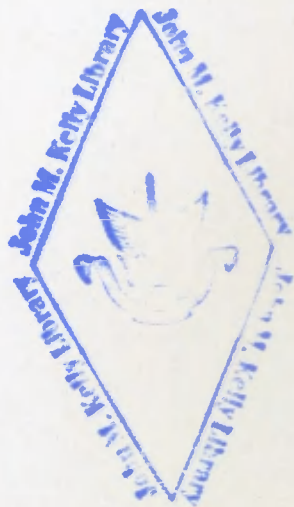
Clare Island Survey - Name

Silva Foeluti

Ancient Irish Law

Native-place St. Patrick.





XV.

NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION, HISTORY, GRAMMAR, AND  
IMPORT OF THE IRISH OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS.

BY JOHN MACNEILL.

Read APRIL 26; Ordered for Publication APRIL 28; Published JULY 24, 1909.

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NOTE.—Ogham words are printed in clarendon type, thus: **mucol**. The accompanying numbers are those in Macalister's collection. "J" with year refers to the annual volumes of the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. "Holder" denotes his *Alteltischer Sprachschatz* (where words cited are in dictionary order). "L. Arm." = Book of Armagh, Hogan's Glossary. "Onomasticon" Goedelicum, by Rev. E. Hogan, s.j., about to be published by the Royal Irish Academy. In many instances, I have not found it possible to insert references to Irish texts and MSS.

THE publication of Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister's *Studies in Irish Epigraphy* (vol. i, 1897, vol. ii, 1902, vol. iii, 1907), containing his own and previous readings of about five-sixths of the Ogham inscriptions known to exist in Ireland, has rendered it not only possible but imperative that systematic study should be brought to bear upon this material. A considerable number of Irish inscriptions not as yet dealt with by Macalister, but subjected to revision by the late Rev. Edmond Barry, M.R.I.A., and Sir John Rhys, will be found in the volumes of the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for the last twenty years. The records of Ogham inscriptions in Great Britain appear to be scattered in a number of publications, and the time at my disposal has not been sufficient to trace them up. The following paper is an initial effort to analyse and interpret the available facts.

I.—GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

Ogham inscriptions have been found only in Ireland, the Isle of Man, Scotland, Wales, and the south-west of England. More than five-sixths of

the known inscriptions have been found in Ireland. The total number of known inscriptions appears to be about 360.

Of the Irish inscriptions, numbering about 300, five-sixths have been found in the counties of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford.

Kerry has about 120, or one-third of the total. Of these more than 60 are congregated in the small and mountainous barony of Corcaguiny, the western extremity of Ireland, and more than 20 in the adjoining barony of North Dunkerron.

Cork county has about 80, of which more than 20 are found in the barony of East Muskerry.

Waterford county has about 40, and of these three-fourths are in the barony of Decies-without-Drum.

Thus more than one-third of the known Irish oghams have been found in four baronies.

A small number are found in Ossory and East Meath. Throughout the rest of Ireland, instances are only sporadic. None are known in the counties of Donegal, Down, Galway, Sligo, Longford, Westmeath, and Queen's County.

Scotland has 1 in the island of Gigha in the Southern Hebrides, and 15 in Pictland, the north-eastern region, including Orkney and Shetland; none in the West Highlands, the Northern Hebrides, Argyll, or the Lowlands.

The Isle of Man has 6.

Wales has about 26, of which 13 are in Pembrokeshire, 12 in the remainder of South Wales, only 1 in North Wales.

In Devon and Cornwall there are 5; in Hampshire 1, on the site of the Roman town of Calleva, now Silchester; in the rest of England none.<sup>1</sup>

None have been found on the Continent, but at Biere in Saxony there are stone tablets bearing unintelligible syllables traced in Ogham characters, possibly the work of some wandering Gael who knew just a little of the craft.

All the inscriptions that have been deciphered and interpreted belong to the same language—an early form of Irish—except a few in North-eastern Scotland, which are said to be in the Pictish language.

The distribution of the inscriptions clearly corresponds to the region of Gaelic, or, as it was then called, Scottic, influence in the period that followed the withdrawal of the Roman legions from Britain. The frequency of oghams in South Munster and Pembrokeshire, and their rare yet very wide

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<sup>1</sup> The British figures are those given by Rhys, J, 1902, p. 1.

distribution outside of these areas, manifestly indicate an arrested custom or cult. This was not the custom of Ogham writing, which may have been widespread among the pagan Irish, but the custom of Ogham inscriptions on stone monuments commemorative of the dead.

Two hypotheses may be regarded. Either the epigraphic cult was widespread in its early period, and died out rapidly except in the districts in which oghams are now numerous; or the cult originated in these districts and became general in them, but had not time to become general elsewhere before the causes came into operation which brought about its abandonment. The latter hypothesis is the more satisfactory. If we suppose a widespread custom at an early stage, we must expect to find the early linguistic forms characterizing the scattered inscriptions, and the late forms chiefly in the areas of frequency, i.e. of persistence. This is not the case. Both early and late forms are found promiscuously throughout the whole Irish region. I cannot speak for the British oghams, the records of which are scattered in a great variety of publications covering half a century.

## II.—NON-CHRISTIAN CHARACTER.

The arresting causes, it can hardly be doubted, were the spread of Christianity and the concomitant spread of Latin learning and the Latin alphabet. The use of Latin letters is not in itself sufficient to explain the discontinuance of Ogham epigraphy. The Ogham inscriptions were not replaced, at all events in Ireland, by literal inscriptions. The Ogham inscriptions seem to commemorate men of the world. The literal inscriptions of ancient Ireland commemorate chiefly ecclesiastics. There are few inscriptions in Roman or Irish-Roman characters in memory of kings, princes, nobles, warriors, or poets. Literal inscriptions did not take the place of the numerous oghams of Corcaguiny, Muskerry, and the Déisi. The ancient cult was abandoned, not altered.

The bulk of the Ogham inscriptions may perhaps be ascribed to the fifth and sixth centuries; and I think the cult must have chiefly flourished in the fifth century. The latest word-forms and inflexions are as old as the oldest in *MS.* Irish, and the words which, according to the Ogham orthography, are the direct equivalent of Old-Irish forms are comparatively few in number. The characteristic Christian nomenclature and vocabulary of ancient Ireland are absent from all but half a dozen at the most of the known inscriptions. The word *qrimítir*, O. I. *cruimther*, borrowed through Cymric from the Latin *presbyter*, occurs once. Rhys, by reading an ogham backwards, has found the Latin word *Sangti* (*Sancti*), but the final vowel, which should be *i*, is *u* in

Macalister's reading, and the accompanying names do not admit of identification. The name Colmán or Columbanus, which is undoubtedly Christian in origin, occurs twice; but both Columb and Colmán were very frequent names even before the time of St. Columba. The names Mariani and Sagittari, which occur, are Latin words, but it is by no means certain that they are not also Celtic words. These are the only traces of Christianity that I have been able to find in nearly 300 inscriptions. No known Ogham inscription contains anything expressive of Christian religious sentiment. It seems therefore probable that Ogham epigraphy, while it lasted, remained in pagan hands. Two only of the known oghams contain names belonging to the historical record. One of these is the Breastagh ogham (47), commemorating Eolaing (gen. **Iulenge**) son of Coirpre son of Amolngaid. As this ogham stands in Tirawley (Tír Amolngado), Eolaing was presumably grandson of the king from whom that territory was named, Amolngaid king of Connacht, who died between 440 and 450. His son Coirpre, according to the genealogies (BB 107β15), was ancestor of St. Tigernán.<sup>1</sup> In the pedigrees of saints (BB 217β<sup>2</sup>29) St. Tigernán is descended from another Coirpre, son of another Amolngaid, of the same generation as king Amolngaid, and related to him. If we add two generations, the death of Eolaing should have occurred early in the sixth century at latest. The late Ogham form **maq** occurs twice on this monument.

No. 44 commemorates "the name of Colmán Ailither."<sup>2</sup> In the saints' pedigrees in the Leabhar Breac, Colmán Oilither is son of Grilline son of Diarmait son of Fergus Cerrbeoil; and a note is added: "From him is named Ross Oilithir," i.e. Rosscarbery, Co. Cork. The death of Diarmait occurred either in 565 or 572 (he was king of Ireland). His grandson's death should have occurred within the first half of the seventh century. But I cannot find elsewhere Grilline named among the sons of Diarmait, who was a very famous ruler; nor is it clear why St. Colmán Ailither of Ross should have a monument in Corcaguiny. Possibly there was more than one "pilgrim Colmán." I find two saints called Colmán Imrama, where the epithet has a similar meaning to Ailither; but I do not know their dates. The forms in this ogham are also of the latest.

Though I should hesitate to place the date of any known ogham earlier than the fifth century, many inscriptions contain forms which may be quite a century older. There can be no doubt that the recorded forms of early MS. names reach back to the beginning of the seventh century, the time of

<sup>1</sup> Whose reliquary, Mias Tigernáin, long preserved in Tirawley, has become the property of a family named Knox.

<sup>2</sup> **Anm Colombagan** (or **Colombaagn**) **Aliltir**, with a deleting score drawn through the last l.

St. Adamnan's documents. It must have taken at least two centuries for names like \**Rītādvīcās*, \**Lūgūdvīcās* to change through -*vīcās*, -*vēca*, *Ritavec*, *Laguvec*, \**Rethvech*, \**Lugvech* (cf. *Menuch* = *Menvech* > \**Mīdvīcās*, Inchagoill literal inscription), into the *Rethach*, *Lugach*, of the early genealogies. The occurrence of the earlier beside the later Ogham forms proves that the earlier were preserved by tradition in the schools of Ogham writing. The successive transformations in every stage (except the stage of the long unaccented vowel) can be abundantly exemplified from the existing material.

It was not only that Christianity, with its Latin culture, had no use for the cumbrous Ogham alphabet, or merely shunned a cult which was of pagan origin, was preserved by pagan experts, and was probably accompanied by pagan observances. There is evidence of early Christian hostility to the native learning. An ancient grammarian<sup>1</sup> asks, "Why is Irish called a worldly language?" and again, "Why is he who reads Irish said to be unruly (*borb*) in the sight of God?" These are clearly traditional dicta of the Irish Christians. The tradition must be older than MS. Irish, of which the oldest specimens are devoutly Christian. It must be older than the seventh century, when Christian hymns were composed in Irish. It must therefore have reference to a pagan culture, and in particular to the reading of Irish in the Ogham characters. It is to be observed that not a scrap, so far as we know, of the traditional knowledge of Ogham forms, or of knowledge of the Ogham orthography, or of the early language of the Ogham period, was preserved by MS. writers. They knew the symbols of the Ogham alphabet, and beyond these apparently nothing. There is a definite and complete breach between the Ogham and the MS. tradition. The Ogham tradition, I contend, was pagan to the last, and the MS. tradition was Christian from the first.

Macalister notes that, where the eponyms of tuatha, introduced by the term **mucoi**, originally existed in Kerry Oghams, in one half of the instances these eponyms have been effaced, while the remainder of the inscription is left untouched. He rightly concludes that mere accident affords no satisfactory explanation of these facts. A drawing by Petrie, reproduced in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (1891, p. 620), represents No. 25 of Macalister's collection. The eponym and part of the introductory term **mucoi** have been removed from the stone; and it is quite evident from the drawing that they were removed by violent concussion, which detached two large sharply angular segments from the top of a pillar about 5 feet high. The difference between the fracturing and

<sup>1</sup>BB 315α3.

the natural weathering of the stone is evident. Macalister ascribes such occurrences to local tribal hostilities. It seems to me that local enmities would not have so carefully confined their expression to a demonstration against a remote ancestor. I suggest a different solution.

There is reason to believe that the eponymous ancestors of ancient Irish tuatha belonged to pagan mythology. Conmac, for instance, ancestor of the Conmaicne, was son of the god Manannán. Cian, ancestor of the Cianachta, was father of the god Lugh. It will not be doubted that ancestors of this kind, as long as paganism lasted, were objects of worship to those who claimed to be their descendants. I suggest that the violent defacement of eponyms was merely an Irish form of idol-breaking. In No. 32 (on which see also Macalister, vol. ii, p. 8) there is an apparent example of the contrary process, the engraving of an eponym by itself, which does not belong to the legend of the monument: [a]nme Dovinia, "the name of Duibne," eponymous ancestress of Corcu Duibne. Referring to certain remarks of Macalister upon this monument, I may observe that the occurrence of female names in genealogies of this kind is no more a proof of matriarchy or polyandry among the Irish than is the occurrence of names like Demetrius, Athenion, or Musaeus among the Greeks.

### III.—ORTHOGRAPHY.

The orthography of the Ogham inscriptions represents a definite and consistent system.

The Ogham alphabet is based on the Latin alphabet. The same vowels are used in both. Nevertheless, the Ogham alphabet is not a mere cipher of the Latin alphabet. It exhibits original and independent treatment. The consonants F, P, X, appear to have been rejected from the original code as unnecessary. Two new consonants, V and NG, were added. The entire order of the alphabet was changed. The vowels were segregated, and apparently subclassified. These are not features of a mere cipher alphabet.

It does not appear that the inventors of Ogham writing knew anything of Latin writing beyond the symbols. Unlike the early British inscriptions in Roman characters, the Ogham inscriptions do not show any importation of Latin inflexions, or of Latin words like *filius*, *hic iacet*, etc. Except a few obscure inscriptions in the Pictish region of Scotland, all the Ogham inscriptions, so far as they can be deciphered and interpreted, appear to contain only forms and terms belonging to the Gaelic branch of the Celtic language-group.

The Latin alphabet which was the basis of the Ogham alphabet was that of the early classical period. There are no ascertained Ogham equivalents

for the symbols imported into Latin usage to express Greek sounds, or for Greek letters not represented in the Latin alphabet proper.

The origin of the Ogham alphabet must be placed later than the Roman conquest of Gaul. Prior to that conquest, the Greek alphabet was in use among the western Celts of the continent.

The identity of most of the symbols used in Ogham writing was accurately preserved in Irish ms. tradition, and has been confirmed by modern study.

It is, however, well ascertained that the third letter of the alphabet was V at the period of the Ogham inscriptions, not F, as in later ms. tradition. The change in value arose from the change of initial V to F. This change did not take place in the body of a word.

The *Vita Columbae* of Adamnan, written probably about A.D. 700, regularly has F instead of V as initial letter. But Adamnan tells us that he drew from documents as well as from oral sources. In one instance he writes *Virgno* (*Virgne*?) instead of the contemporary form *Fergne*.

In ms. tradition the sixth symbol of the Ogham alphabet is H, and the fourteenth symbol is ST. It can be shown from the Ogham tract in the Book of Ballymote that ST is merely a late substitute for Z. No authenticated instance of either the sixth or the fourteenth symbol has been found in any ancient ogham. With the example of the change of traditional value in the case of V before us, it would be rash to assume that either H or Z had a place in the original code. The absence of the two symbols in recorded usage points rather to two obsolete consonants which may have made room for H and Z in the later tradition.

Three symbols are found which have given rise to much discussion. They are different in type from the normal Ogham symbols; and the difference suggests that they may have been relatively late additions to the original series. These are the saltire X, the broad arrow ↗, and the double chevron ><. For the present I omit consideration of the broad arrow, which I have not noted as occurring in any Irish inscription.

The symbol X is usually engraved athwart the aris. It cannot be regarded as an exceptional symbol. It occurs much more frequently than the well-established NG. In Macalister's collection there are four instances (73, 87, 110, 180) in which X almost necessarily represents a vowel. The identification of this vowel as E may be accepted.

In the remaining instances noted, twelve or more (excluding one doubtful case, 113), the thwartwise X is almost certainly a consonant. Rhys assigns to this symbol the value P. Macalister, however, has clearly shown that **Toicaxi** 88, beside **Toicaci** 89, and **Toicac** 91, demands the value C. Moreover,

the symbol occurs at least seven times in the particle **xoi**, **xi**, of unascertained meaning; and it is unlikely to the last degree that any particle with initial P existed in early Irish. Hence the thwartwise **X**, used as a consonant, may safely be regarded as a duplicate form of C.

Macalister has one example (83) of **X** engraved to the right of the aris. On the ground that the difference in position indicates a difference in value, he assigns here the value P, **Erpenn**. I cannot find anywhere the element *Erp-* in Irish nomenclature, but of *Erc-* the instances are innumerable; and therefore I do not hesitate to substitute C for P in this reading also.

Of the double chevron ><, Macalister has four instances, 38, 60, 180, 206. In No. 60, E is practically certain. In 38 and 180, E is hardly doubtful. The fourth instance remains unidentified, but E is nowise improbable. The safe course is to follow ascertained fact rather than uncertified theory. The value E for >< must hold the ground until displaced. In 180, Macalister reads K,<sup>1</sup> because, he supposes, "**Corre** is an impossible genitive." But **Corre** is the late Ogham equivalent of *ms. Cuirre*, genitive of *Corr*, a feminine noun used as a masculine name. *Aedan mac Cuirre*, BB 88<sup>2</sup>β12; *Fuinis mac Dofa maic Aengusa, da mac lais .i. Corr, is uad Sil Cuirre .i. Hui Aindsin maic Cuirre* 104β'46; *Cuirre*, gen., 104β'4, 8, 12; nom. *Corr*, gen. *Corrac*, 175β'27, 35.

Hence >< may perhaps be regarded as an effort to differentiate between the values E and C of the symbol X. Its instances appear to belong to late inscriptions.

The question arises, Why were duplicate symbols used for E and C? With regard to E, I can only suggest that there may have been an effort to distinguish the two sounds of this vowel (open and close?) which undoubtedly existed in the earliest *ms.* period, parting later on into *é* and *ia*. Perhaps **X** = C was borrowed from the Christian symbol  $\overset{P}{\times}$  = Christus. Indeed, **X**, ><, = E, in like manner may represent H in the semi-symbolic IHS = IHΣOYΣ.

Thus the use of an Ogham symbol for P in Ireland has not been established. The absence of P from early Gaelic phonesis is no modern discovery. The ancient grammar tract in the Book of Ballymote (326a13) says:—"There is (or, there was) no P in Irish," *ní bi P isin gaedilg*. (*Ní bi* in this book sometimes stands for *ní boi* = was not.)

Apart altogether from the age of the forms in use, the orthographical system of the Ogham inscriptions and the orthographical system of early manuscript Irish are as distinct and separate as if they belonged to two

<sup>1</sup> Macalister's K is a provisional symbol for some sound akin to C.

unrelated languages. In their characteristic features, each system stands entirely uninfluenced by the other. The two systems represent two quite independent attempts to express the sounds of the Irish language. This is an historical fact of the greatest importance for the study of early Irish literature and civilization. The following are the chief distinguishing features of the two orthographies:—

## OGHAM IRISH.

1. There are special symbols for the sounds V and NG.

2. The values of consonant symbols are not varied by their position.

3. A stop-consonant (mute) and the corresponding aspirate are represented by the same symbol.

4. Doubling of consonants is frequent, but has no phonetic significance.

5. The strong and weak values of the liquids L, N, R, are not distinguished.

6. There is no distinction of long and short vowels.

7. Palatalization of consonants is never expressed.

## MS. IRISH.

There are no special symbols for V and NG.

Consonant symbols vary in value according as they are initial or otherwise.

Aspirates and stop-consonants are distinguished in writing.

Doubled consonants are used only to express distinct phonetic values.

The strong values of the liquids are expressed by doubling the symbols.

A sign of quantity is placed over long vowels.

Palatalization is expressed regularly in the case of final consonants, otherwise casually.

The orthographical system of early MS. Irish is undoubtedly, so far as Ireland is concerned, of later origin than the system of the Ogham inscriptions. The origin of Ogham writing was not in historical memory. The invention of the art was ascribed to the eponymous god Ogme (Ogma), whose name is identical with that of Ogmios, described by Lucian in the second century as the god of eloquence among the continental Celts. The oldest Irish traditions (e.g. in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*) ascribe the use of Ogham writing to remote pagan times. There is no historical evidence that MS. writing was used by the Irish before they adopted Christianity. Unlike the Ogham system, the MS. system shows familiarity with the devices introduced into Latin writing for the expression of the Greek symbols,  $\theta$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ , *th*, *ph*, *ch*; also with *f*, *h*, *k*, *p*, *x*, *y*, *z*.

But the most striking and peculiar feature of the MS. system, not found in the Ogham system, is the regular variation in consonant values according as the symbols are initial or not initial. In the initial position the consonants normally preserve the same values as in Latin or in the Ogham system. When they pass from the initial position, these values are consistently changed :

1. To express the tenuis, the symbol is doubled, *macc, cepp, lott*.
2. To express the media, the tenuis is used, *óac, opair, fóta*; sometimes the doubled media, *abb* (= Latin *abbas*), *Coirbhre, ardd*.
3. To express the aspirate tenuis, *h* is added, *Ioseph, cath, ech*.
4. To express the aspirate media, the simple media is used, *dub, ug, fid*. (MS. usage here coincides with Ogham usage, which makes no distinction between stops and aspirates of any class.)

Whence did this apparently conventional treatment of the consonants originate? With regard to *ph, th, ch*, they were evidently borrowed from the Latin devices for the representation of Greek sounds. The other conventions are not of Latin origin. They can only have arisen in one way, like the vowel values in modern English, through changes in pronunciation.

These changes in pronunciation did not occur in Ireland. Original *e* in Ireland became *ch*, not *g*, in internal position. The Celtic adjective ending *ācos* becomes *-ach* in the earliest MSS. But in Welsh, this ending has become *-auy, -oy*—that is to say, the Brythonic consonant has undergone precisely the change which corresponds to the conventional value of the symbol in early Irish MSS. It is true that in early Welsh MSS. the change in pronunciation is not noted, and the symbol *e* is retained, just as in modern English we still write “ace” as Shakespeare wrote it, but we pronounce it “ēss”; Shakespeare pronounced it “ass.”

Christianity and Christian learning were introduced into Ireland mainly by Britons, and an intimate intercourse between the Christians of Ireland and Britain was kept up for several centuries. But the written language which the British missionaries introduced into Ireland was Latin, not Cymric. It cannot be maintained that the early Christian writers of Ireland used distinct values for their consonants according as they wrote in Latin, their staple literary language, or in Irish, which they gradually introduced into MS. usage. Hence the orthographical conventions of early Irish MSS. reflect the early Irish pronunciation of Latin. This pronunciation of Latin they adopted from their British teachers. Latin during the Roman rule became a second language to the Britons, and its pronunciation, being domesticated, followed the changes in pronunciation of the native language.

In fine, the consonant-system in early Irish MSS. was based on a modified British pronunciation of Latin.

This pronunciation never exerted the slightest influence on Ogham orthography. Thus there were two separate streams of literary culture in early Ireland, and as one of these was Christian, the other was pagan. Only the clearest and broadest social demarcation could have kept these two streams from intermingling to some appreciable extent. I hold, therefore, that the custom of Ogham epigraphy was a pagan custom while it lasted.

There is one name which occurs five times in Irish Ogham inscriptions, and twice in British Latin inscriptions, and, by good fortune, the consonant-framework of this name is such as to illustrate with minuteness the chief distinctive features between the Irish Ogham values and the British Latin values of the symbols, or rather the distinct devices employed by the Irish Oghamist and the British Latinist to express the same consonant sounds.

#### OGHAM.

- 16. **Maqi-Decceda maqi Glasiconas.**
- 36. **Maqqi-Decedda maqi Catuvi . . .**
- 51. **Maqi-Ddecceda maqi Marin.**
- 94. **Maqi-Deceda maqi . . .**
- 135. **Maqi-Decceddas avi Turanias.**

#### LATIN.

*Sarini fili Maccodecheti*

(Buckland Monachorum, Devon).

*Hic iacit Maccudec[c]eti*

(Penrhos Lligwy, Anglesea).

The name common to these seven inscriptions is found also in Irish genealogies in the modern form *Mac Deichead*.<sup>1</sup> This name means "son of Deiche," but clearly (see nos. 16, 36, 51) not in the ordinary or natural sense. Deiche was a mythological personage, from whom were named Loch Dechet, Sliab Dechet, Glenn Dechet. From him the tuath called Fir Maige Féne was also called Fir Dechet. The name is a consonant-stem, *Deiche* < \**Decens*, gen. *Dechet*, modern *Deichead*, ogham **Decedas** < \**Decentos*. An early Brythonic form or derivative may be represented in *Decantae*, *arz Decantorum*.

<sup>1</sup> Ui Maic Deichead, a sub-sept of Ui Luchtai, who were a main sept of the Ciarraighe (BB 159a). Mac Teched of the sept Ui Torna (cf. no. 135, above) is named a little further on.

Comparing the Ogham and Latin spellings of the name, it will be seen that :

1. In the oghams, the consonants are written single or double, apparently at random.

2. The tenuis **q** of **maqi** is represented by the double tenuis **cc** in the Latin spelling.

3. The aspirate **ch** is represented by **c** and **cc** in the oghams, by **ch** in the Buckland inscription. In the second Latin inscription, the letters here seem to be doubtful.

4. The media **d** in the final syllable of the Ogham form becomes **t** in the Latin spelling.

5. The aspirate **d** following **Maqi** is represented by **d**, **dd**, in the oghams. The treatment of this consonant in the Latin inscriptions is not altogether certain. Apparently the name-form **Maqa(s) Dechedas** was regarded as un-Latinlike, and was altered into the single word *Maccodechetas*, which presented the usual ending of an Irish *o*-stem, and was then declined as a Latin *o*-stem. Since *d* and *t* in the latinized form must stand for different values, *d* can only represent the aspirate, for *t* has been shown to represent the stopped media. The aspirate value would have become familiar in the genitive, dative, and vocative usage. Possibly, however, the Latinist may have treated the consonant as initial, as it is in the Irish name. In this position, *d* can denote either the stop or the aspirate.

The consonants of the British Latin spelling are precisely those of the Irish early ms. spelling, nom. *Macc Dechet*, gen. *Maicc Dechet*. The treatment of the consonants here and their treatment in the Oghams exhibit the main distinctive features of the two orthographical systems. The *a priori* argument as to the origin of the peculiar consonant-usage in early Irish MSS. is thus strongly corroborated.

I have regarded *Maccudee[c]eti* of the Anglesea inscription as a genitive, though the Latin construction demands a nominative. In fact, *hic iacet* is employed either as a noun or as an extra-syntactical phrase, the equivalent of **ann** or of **xoi** in the Ogham inscriptions. The same construction occurs in other inscriptions, e.g. at Llandysilio, Pembrokeshire, *Evolenggi fili Litogeni hic iacit*.

Doubling of consonants in Ogham spelling has no phonetic significance. It does not denote aspiration or the absence of aspiration. It has no connexion with vowel quantity or with vocalic influence. Many examples like **Decedas** could be adduced to prove that the same consonant without change of value may be expressed either by a single or a double symbol. In short, we have here to deal with a mere fashion in orthography.

Such a fashion cannot be assumed to be purely capricious. The labour involved in carving the Ogham symbol, let us say for N, which contains five scores, twice, where once would have served the purpose, renders such an assumption untenable. The fashion must have had a purpose in its origin. The most likely purpose was to make a parade of learning in the form of archaism. This motive is prominent in nearly every period of Irish ms. literature.

If, then, double consonants in Ogham writing exhibit the archaistic motive, which is abundantly evidenced in other features, it must follow that duplication had a practical purpose in a stage of Ogham writing anterior to the stage of extant epigraphy. Hence it might be expected that duplication would be found peculiar to certain classes of consonants. I have made careful statistics of the occurrences of duplication in Macalister's collection, which covers the entire region of prevalence of Ogham inscriptions in Ireland—a region included in the counties of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford. I find that every consonant symbol in use, except X and ><, is sometimes duplicated. I have already noted these as probably of late introduction.

But there is an enormous disproportion in the frequency of duplication as between one consonant and another. Taking the absolute frequency of each consonant written singly as 1000, the relative frequency of duplication for each is as follows :—

T 621, D 375, V 266, B 200, S and Ng 166, C 165, Q 129, L 123, G 115, N 91, R 76, M 39. Average frequency 165, which is not calculated on the figures just given, but on the absolute totals of single and double symbols.

In making the calculation, I did not include initial consonants. These are very rarely doubled, and their duplication cannot be regarded as customary. Hence to include the ratio of duplication in initial consonants would have vitiated the comparison. For the same reason, I have excluded final S of inflexional desinences.

The immense difference in ratio, from 39 to 621, cannot possibly be fortuitous. The original purpose of duplication must lie at the bottom of the difference.

Ng may be excluded. It occurs in all only 7 times, once double.

The question of mechanical difficulty in engraving may be considered. The most difficult symbols to engrave are those of the M-series, which are cut obliquely on both sides of the arris. Excluding Ng as too rare, and the fourth symbol, which does not occur at all, the remaining symbols, M, G, and R, are three of the four least often duplicated. But then, as between these

symbols, R, requiring five scores, has a ratio of duplication twice greater than M, requiring one score. In the other two series, T, requiring three scores, is far more frequently doubled than D, requiring two; V, with three scores, is much more often doubled than B, with only one.

In the B-series as a whole, the ratio of duplication is 108, in the H-series 242, in the M-series 86. These figures suggest that duplication was originally associated for some reason with the H-series.

Aspiration does not appear to have influenced the general custom. Although the aspirable consonants T and D head the list, C merely reaches the average, G is far below the average, and M is the least frequently duplicated of all.

Macalister has observed that duplication is much more frequent in Kerry, especially in Corcaguiny, than elsewhere. In Corcaguiny, the average index of frequency of duplication is 280. The indexes of the symbols are:—T 1750, D 1000, Q 679, B 500, C 310, G 177, S 125, V 118, R 97, N 83, L 77, M 0, Ng 0. Here it is to be noted that all the aspirable consonants except M precede the unaspirable consonants; secondly, that all the H-series are above the average, and no other consonant except B, which, however, occurs in all only six times, in duplicate twice. Corcaguiny was the chief centre of the Ogham epigraphic cult; and its usage is perhaps of more weight than that of other places.

On the whole, the evidence points to (1) either a phonetic origin of duplication or (2) an origin connected with the writing of the H-series. Whatever view may be taken, it seems clear that the practice was older than the extant oghams, and serves in them no practical purpose.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.—ACCIDENCE.

The accidence of Ogham Irish is almost wholly confined to the declension of nouns, and mainly to nouns in the genitive singular. There are a few examples of the nominative singular and of the genitive plural. A number of forms have been described by Macalister and others as dative singular. They always occur in the title name of the inscription. The dative in this position would seem more appropriate to dedications than to memorials of the dead, and the earliest MS. usage would, I think, require a preposition before the dative used in this way.

<sup>1</sup> I think that probably many early inscriptions on wooden staves were preserved in the professional schools of Ogham writing, especially in Corcaguiny. It would have attracted notice that, in these older inscriptions, certain consonants were often phonetically duplicated. Such spellings would have ceased to express their original values, but would have appealed to the Irish love of archaism; and on this motive, I suggest, they were employed in the extant inscriptions, the usage being extended, but not so frequently, to the other consonants.

The declensions are clearly and consistently observed in the genitive formation. The following I regard as beyond doubt:—

1. Genitive in *-i* from masculine *a*-stems. In late forms, *-i* disappears, and since palatalization is not expressed in Ogham orthography, the form appears to the eye to be uninflected. Largely on this appearance Rhys has grounded a theory of agglutinative syntax, due, he suggests, to the influence of a non-Aryan language. He is led to this view also by the occurrence of the older forms in *-i* side by side with forms without *-i*. Macalister adopts the agglutination theory. It appears, however, unnecessary and untenable. The apparent absence of inflexion is due to the limitations of the spelling, and may be paralleled in early ms. Irish by such forms as *fír*, *míl*, *síl*, *mís*, where the quality of the final consonant is not defined by the orthography. The mixture of earlier and later forms applies to all the declensions, and is of great frequency in Ogham usage.

2. Genitive in *-i* from masculine *iō*-stems, persisting throughout the Ogham period and in O. I.

3. Genitive in *-ias* from *ā*-stems.

4. Genitive in *-ias* from feminine *iā*-stems.

5. Genitive in *-ias* from (feminine ?) *i*-stems.

*-ias*, from whatsoever stem, becomes *-ia* and lastly *-e*, which is the ms. ending. Sometimes *-eas*, *-ea* are used, perhaps through inaccurate archaistic restoration from *-e*.

6. Genitive in *-as* from consonant-stems. The ending becomes later *-a*, and finally falls off, leaving desinence in the stem-consonant (broad) as in O. I.

7. Genitives in *-os* from *i*-stems.

8. Genitives in *-os* from *u*-stems.

*-os*, from whatsoever stem, becomes later *-o*, which persists into O. I., and then gradually changes to *-a*.

Besides these, there are some three examples of genitives in *-ais*, which I cannot equate in ms. Irish or elsewhere. I think they may arise from faulty inscription, or may be pseudo-archaisms. The names in which they occur have not been identified by ms. equivalents.

I have noted no other likely instance of confusion in forms. The usage, where it may be archaic, exhibits an accurate tradition.

The Ogham vowels are preserved or changed in the ms. orthography, and frequently in the later Ogham orthography, according to definite and constant laws. The regularity of these phenomena proves the accuracy and systematic character of Ogham orthography.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the changed

<sup>1</sup> E.g. finding *Dovatuici* equated with ms. nom. *Dubthach*, I concluded that an early ms. form *Dubthoch* ought to exist. I found this form twice instanced in Hogan's Glossary to the Book of Armagh.

vowel is found in conjunction with an early inflexional form. When this occurs, the older inflexional desinence may have been archaistically restored.

#### V.—SYNTAX.

The syntax is of the most limited and simplest kind, owing to the limited formulæ employed. The title-name may be either nominative or genitive, usually genitive, and may have a noun in apposition or an attributive adjective: all the words which follow are genitives. No verb, article, preposition, or conjunction has anywhere been identified. Only one particle is found, the obscure **xoi** or **xi**. In a number of late oghams, the title-name (genitive) is preceded by the noun **anm** = O. I. *ainm*, 'name.' The formulæ are: "[name of] A [son of B] [son of C]," or "[name of] A of the kindred (**mucoi**) of B," or "[name of] A, descendant (**avi**) of B," or some mixture of these. The syntactical order is that of MS. Irish. Macalister and Rhys sometimes think it necessary to assume an inversion of this order—in my opinion without sufficient grounds in any instance that I have noted.

#### VI.—EXAMPLES CLASSIFIED AND DISCUSSED.

In the following examples the pressure of time has prevented me from giving references for Ogham forms in a number of instances. In most, if not all, instances, the reference is given elsewhere in this paper, and probably all Ogham words quoted without reference will be found indexed by Macalister. In the case of MS. equivalents I have often found it impracticable to give useful references, the material drawn upon being largely transcripts of genealogies in my own possession. In comparing Ogham with MS. forms there has been a good deal of repetition in the different sections. I have thought it better to let this stand than to multiply cross-references.

#### A.—RELATIONS OF OGHAM AND MS. ORTHOGRAPHY AND WORD-FORMATION.

##### I.—CONSONANTS.

1. Initial **v** becomes MS. *f*. **Vorgos** 91 = *Forgo*. **Vlatiami** J, 1902, p. 81 = nom. *Flaithem*. Hence in the later accounts of the Ogham alphabet, the third letter is called *f*.

2. Initial *v* was still occasionally written in the seventh century, being perhaps transcribed from MSS. of the sixth. Adamnan has *Virgno* (*Virgne* ?), of which L. Arm. has gen. **Fergni**. *Quies Vinniani* AU 578.

3. Ogham **q** in all positions becomes MS. *c*, *ch*.
4. The other initial consonants are those of MS. Irish of all periods.
5. Of final consonants, **s** only is noted; it disappears before the latest Ogham forms appear, but may be written artificially, as in **Gosochtas** 223, and perhaps in the genitives in **-ais**.
6. Where plural genitives are noted as possible, final **n** is absent.
7. Between vowels, early Celtic *v* is still found in oghams, but disappears in MSS. **Luguvvecca** 112 = *Lugach*.<sup>1</sup> **Rittavvecas** 69 = *Rethach*. **Cattuvviri** 69, **Cattviri** 112 = *Cathar-us* L. Arm., *Caither* in genealogies (= gen. written *Cathfir* BB 218β<sup>37</sup>).
8. When Ogham intervocalic **v** persists in MS. forms, it is almost certainly an alternative writing for aspirate **b**. **Dovatuci** J, 1895, p. 27, 123 = nom. *Dubthoch*, L. Arm. later *Dubthach*. **Luguvve** 3 (nom.) = *Lugbe*. **Valuvi** 242 = *Fáilbi*. Cf. Gaulish *Latobios*, *Vindobios*, Ogham **Ditibeas**, **Dolatibi**, **Eracobi**. This **v** may belong to the later notation only.
9. **\*avias**, gen. **avi** = O. I. *ave*, gen. *avi*, Mid. I. *ua*, Mod. I. *ó* (*ua*), gen. *uí*, *i*.
10. **Iva-**, as an element in personal names (Gaulish *ivo-*, Irish *eo*, 'yew,' late Latin *ivus*, French *if*; see Holder s.v. *eburos*, Irish *ibar*, *iubhar*, which seems to have a different origin or history; cf. *Ivomagus*, *Icoris*), becomes *Evo-* in *Evolenggi*, *iu-*, *io-*, *eu-*, *eo-*; **Iulenge** 47 = **\*Ivalengias** = MS. *Eolainge* nom. *Eolaing*; **Ivageni**, J, 1908, p. 54 = *Iogen-anus*, Adamnan, *Eugen* AU, *Eogan*, *Eoghan*; **Ivacattos** = *Eochado* (*Ó hEochadha*, anglicized Haughey, Hoey, etc.).
11. **biva-** = *beo*, **bivi-** = *bí*: **Bivaídonas**, nom. **\*Bivaidus** = *Beoaid*, *Beoid*. **Bodíbeve** = Ogham **Bocib** . . . read **Boddib** [ivi?] in bilingual (Latin and Ogham) inscr. Llanwinio, Carmarthenshire = nom. *Buaidbeo*; **Biviti** 80, nom. **\*Bivitias** = *Bithe-us*, *Bitte-us*, *Bicthe-us*, L. Arm.; **Luguduc**<sup>2</sup> **maqi Maqi-Bi** 184, late Ogham for **\*Bivi** = *bí* gen. of *beó*.
12. Ogham **v** after *d* (aspirate) becomes MS. *b* (aspirate) in **Medvvi** J, 1898, p. 230, nom. *Medb* (masc.) L. Arm. So doubtless after *l*, *n*, *r*.
13. Ogham **q** becomes MS. *c* and *ch*. **qv** is once found, **Qvecca** 216. **q** is regularly subject to palatalization by *e* and *i*, hence probably had the sounds *kv* and *kw*, but the group **qr** appears to resist palatalization. **Luguqrirt** 27 = O. I. *Luccereth*, Mid. I. *Luccra(i)d*; **qrimitir** 56 = *cruimthir*; **Qritti** 27 = nom. *Cruth*, L. Arm. Cf. *Cruithni* = *Pretani*, *crann* = Welsh *pren*, *cruimh* = Welsh *pryf*, O. Welsh *prem*.

<sup>1</sup> *Lugach* gen. seventeen times BB 216-223. Cf. *MacLugach*, of the Fiana, *Der Lugach*, *Der Lugach*, a female name.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Lugudec*?

14. Other consonants are preserved in MS. Irish. There is frequent interchange in the use of *th* and *d* (aspirate), and of *ch* and *g* (aspirate); *d* and *g* tend to replace *th* and *ch* in unaccented syllables, especially with palatalization, but there seems to be no regularity. Loss of a separating vowel reduces homorganic consonants to a simple sound non-aspirate.

**Luguqrit** = *Luccreth*, where *cc* = *c*.

15. Although the Ogham consonants, **q** and early **v** excepted, are identical with those of later Irish, the identity only becomes apparent in modern Irish orthography (from fourteenth century down), and is concealed in the conventional orthography of Old and Middle Irish. Errors in equating names may arise, and have arisen, from not observing the graphic distinctions of the two systems.

16. No ascertained instance has been found in oghams (1) of the preservation of Celtic intervocalic *s*, (2) of the persistence of Celtic nasals before mutes.

17. Ogham **s** (not initial) arises from an earlier group: **cosa-** = *cosa*, **-gus** = *-gust*.

18. Celtic *nt*, *nc*, appear as **d**, **g**, as in modern Irish. This sound probably resulted immediately from the sinking of the nasal. For examples see § 20.

19. The tenuis is expressed in Ogham spelling by the tenuis, in early MS. spelling by the doubled tenuis.

**maqi** = *maice*, modern *míe*.

**mucui** = *moccu*. But Adamnan has usually *mocu*.

**Broci** = *bruice*, mod. *bruic*.

**Glasiconas** = \**Glascon*, nom. \**Glaisiucc*.

20. The media is expressed in Ogham spelling by the media, in early MS. spelling by the tenuis, sometimes, especially after *r*, by the doubled media.

**Decedas** (from \**decentos*) = *Dechet*.

**S[e]dani** 45, **Sedan[i]**, J, 1895, p. 133 (from \**Sentaní*) = *Setni*, Adamnan, L. Arm., and AU 560, *Setnai* AU 562, nom. *Sétne* L. Arm., modern *Séadna*.

**Corbbri**, with helping vowel **Coribiri** = *Coirpri* L. Arm., modern *Cairbre*.

**Tegann**, late Ogham for \***Tegagni** = *Tecán* L. Arm.

**Deglann** = *Déclán*, modern *Déaglán*, *Diaglán*.

**Liag** = *liac*, *liacc*, modern *liag*.

**Togittac** 29 late *o*-stem gen., rightly equated by Macalister with MS. *Toicthech*, Clonmacnois inscr. *Toictheg*; *toiceth*, later *tocad* = 'luck, fortune,' etc.

21. As there is no distinction in Ogham spelling between the mutes and the corresponding aspirates, so there is no distinction between the strong values of the liquids, represented in MS. spelling by *ll*, *nn*, *rr*, and the weak values, represented by *l*, *n*, *r*.

\**gennoſ* = *cenn*, modern *ceann*, appears to be represented by *qen-*, *cen-*, in *Qeniloci* 25, *Qeniloc[a]gni* 43 = *Cellaig*, *Cellacháin*, cf. *loch*, .i. *dub*, or *luach-té* 'white-hot.' *Cunacena* 90 = *Conchenn*. *Qenuvin[dagni]*, Cloonmorris, County Leitrim, = *Quenvendani*, Latin inscription at Parcau, Whitland, Carmarthen-shire = *Cennfindán*, *Cenindán*, *Cenondán*.

*Allato* 69, *Alatto* 106, *Alotto* 115, cf. *allaid* or *allud*.

*Grilagni maqi Seilagni* 166, names equated by Barry with *Grellán*, *Seclán*.

*Dalagni maqi Dali* 190 = of *Dallán* son of *Dall*.

*Valamni* 197 = *Fallamain*.

*Cir* 235 = *cirr*, nom. *cerr*.

*Catabar* 243 for \**Catubarri*, *Cathbarr*.

*Vedabari* 237 = \**Fiadbarr*, or for \**Vēdubarri* = \**Fidbarr*.

22. *Moinena* 78 = *Moinenn*, gen. This instance stands apart. In words of more than one syllable, when any liquid (*l*, *n*, *r*) is followed by a short syllable ending in *l* or *n*, the latter consonants acquire their strong value, and are written *ll*, *nn*. Thus *Conall*, *Domnall*, *Cuirell*, as against *Tuathal*, *Bresal*, *Gnáthal*; the genitives *Érenn*, *Árann*, *Manann*, *Raithlenn*, as against *Alban*, *Mumen*, *toimten*, etc. In like manner, when no written vowel intervenes, *cornn*, *dornn*, *carnn*, *fernn*, etc. The strong value is also heard in words like *carnán*, *fearnóg*, *béarla*, *mánla*, where custom does not express it in writing. (The strong values are produced in modern pronunciation by spreading the portion of the tongue which makes contact, so that the area of contact is increased.) In the Book of Armagh, the distinction in spelling is not consistently noted: *Ailil*, twice, and *Aillello*, eight times, *Airnen*, *Arddae*, *Huimmon*, *Ath Eirnn*, *Cairel* and *Cairellus*, *Cairan* and *carn*, *Calrigi* and *Callrigi*, *Conall* five times, gen. *Conail*, *Conil*, *Coolen-orum* and *Cuelen-orum* (= *Crích Chualann*), *Crimthann* and *Crimthan*, *Cuilinn*, *Cuillenn*, *Daal*, gen. *Daill*, *Domnach Pirnn*, *campus Domnon* (= *Domnann*), *fercenn*, *fernn*, *Foirtechernn*, *Foirtechernnus*, and *Foirtechernus*, *Imbliuch Hornon*, *Latharnn*, *Lathron*, *Latrain*, *Lethlann*, *Mac Cuill* and *Mace Cuil*, *Mac Cuil*, *Macuil*, *Monduirn*, nom. *Nial* and *Neel*, gen. *Neil*, *Nehill*, and thirteen times *Néill*, *Ronal*, *sescen*, gen. *sescinn*, dat. *sescunn*, *Sininn*, gen. *Sinone*. Some of the ms. sources of this book may belong to a time when the orthographic expression of the different values of the liquids was still indefinite, or when the secondary strengthening was not yet developed.

23. The fact that *r* is not strengthened in the like position may be due to the difference in formation of strong *r*, which is simply a strongly trilled form of the consonant, as I have noted it in the Aran (Galway) pronunciation of *carraig*, *fairrge*, etc., or initial *r* not preceded by an aspirating word.

## II.—VOWELS.

1. In the initial syllable, a long vowel is represented by the same vowel in early MS. Irish. A short vowel regularly remains unchanged in MS. Irish, or is regularly changed, according to the class of vowel which, in the early Ogham formation, follows the succeeding consonant.

2. In the other syllables, *all* vowels that survive in MS. Irish follow the rules of permanence or change which govern *short* vowels in the initial syllable.

3. In late Ogham forms, the regular vowel changes are sometimes noted, sometimes not. Even in early forms, the changes are not unfrequently noted in unstressed syllables. Hence it would appear that the changes were in process of taking place during the Ogham period, but the possibility of archaistic restorations based on traditional study makes the evidence somewhat doubtful.

4. Two values must be assumed for  $\bar{e}$  and two for  $\bar{o}$ , viz.,  $\bar{e}$  which remains  $\bar{e}$  throughout all later periods, and  $\bar{e}$  which becomes *ia* in late Old Irish;  $\bar{o}$  which remains  $\bar{o}$  throughout all later periods, and  $\bar{o}$  which becomes *ua* in late Old Irish. As a rule,  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  which arise from compensatory lengthening are permanent,  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  which do not so arise become *ia* and *ua*.

5. *ia* =  $\bar{e}$  and *ua* =  $\bar{o}$  are not noted in Adamnan, but have begun to appear in L. Arm., where, however, they are less frequent than  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$ . There is no instance of them in the Ogham inscriptions. **Maqi-Iari** = (*Ui*) *Maic Iair*, not *Éir*, therefore **Iar** has two syllables = \**Iv̄eros*, eponym of the Iverni = Iar mac Dedad in genealogy of the Érainn, Clanda Dedad.<sup>1</sup>

6. Instances of  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$ :

**Cedattoq** 95 (Macalister has **Cedattoqa**, but quotes Graves and Barry for readings without the final a) late Ogham for \***Cedattoqi** = *Cetadach* nom. AU 849. Cf. *Feradach*, *Dínadach*, *Muiredach*, *ada*, Meyer, "Contributions." Here **d** = Celtic *nt*, whether **ced-** = 'first' or 'hundred.'

**S[e]dani** 45, **Sedan[i]** J, 1895, p. 133, = *Sētni*, Adamnan, L. Arm., nom. *Sētne*, later *Sētna*, modern *Séadna* = \**Sentanios*.

**Veqoanai** 199 = *Fiachna*.

**Vecrec** 117, **Vecreq** 189, = *Fiachrach*.

**Qerai** 78, 79 = *Ciara* eponym of *Ciarraige*.

**Drogno** 58 = *Dróna* (*Ui D.* = 'Idrone' barony).

**Gossuettias** 41 = *Guasachta*.

<sup>1</sup> The two forms *Iar*, *Ér-*, point to existence side by side of *Iv̄er-* and *Iār-*. Cf. *Ἰουερπία* and *Ἰεπρος ποταμός* in Ptolemy. As in reduplicated verb-forms, *i* of *Iār-* would disappear. In modern Irish, such pronunciations as *Suivne* and *Suīne* (*Suibhne*) have coexisted for three or four centuries. In the Aran dialect (Galway) both pronunciations are commonly heard in *cúimhne*, etc.

7. Short vowels in the initial syllable and all vowels in other syllables that survive in MS. Irish are regularly changed or unchanged according to the quality of the next following vowel in the early Ogham form. The changes are sometimes already noted in Ogham spelling; but late Oghams occasionally preserve the older vowel.

Before **a** or **o**, **u** becomes *o*.

„ „ **i** becomes *e*.

Before **u**, **a** becomes *au*, later *u* (not always).

„ **o** becomes *u*.

„ **e** becomes *i*.

Before **i** or **e**, **o** becomes *u*.

„ **e** becomes *i* (not always).

8. Before **a** or **o**, **u** becomes *o*.

**mucoi** = *moccu*.

**cunas** = *con*: **Cuna** 57, **Voenacunas** 21, **Gamicunas** 42 = *Gaimchon*, **Cliucunas** 167, **Netacunas** 206, **Cunamaqqi** 19 = *Conmaic* in *Conmaicne*, *Ó Conmhacáin*, **Cunacena** 90 = *Conchenn*, **Cunamagli** 125 = *Conmdil*, nom. *Conmál* not *Conmael*, **Cunaggusos** 139, 182 = *Conyosso*, **Cunanetas** 225 = *Connath*, *Connad*, nom. *Conda* = \**Conne*.

**Ulcagni** 151 = *Olcán*.

**Turanias** 135 = *Torna* (*Ui Torna*, a primary sept of the Ciarraige, *Mainistir Ó dTórna* = Abbeydorney, Kerry).

**Trenalugos** 191, MS. *Logo*, *Loga* gen. of *Lug*, *Findloga*, *Aidloga*, etc.

**Vergoso** 192, late Ogham for **Viragusos**. In MSS. -*gusos* is represented sometimes by -*gosso*, sometimes by -*gusso*, later -*ghusa*.

\***Curcas** = *Corc*, gen. *Cuire* = **Curci** J, 1902, p. 28.

\***Dovatucas** = *Dubthoch* L. Arm., gen. **Dovatuci** J, 1895, p. 27, 123.

**Cattubuttas** J, 1908, p. 203 = *Cathboth*, L. Arm.

[9.] Before **a** or **o**, **i** becomes *e*.

**Ivacattos** 50 = *Eochado*.

**Dovvinias** 13 = *Duibne*, and so with all endings in -*ias*. **Lugguve** 3, nom. for earlier \***Lugubias**.

**Rittavvecas** 69, **Rittavvecc** 100 = *Rethach*.

**Giragni** 138 = *Gerán*.

**Grilagni** 166 = *Grellán*. *Fel.* *in Galláin R. 128.26*

**Scilagni** 166 = *Scellán* or *Scelán*.

\***viras** = *fer*. The genitive occurs in **Viri Qorb** 243 = *Fir Chorbb*, **Cattuvviri** 69, **Cattviri** 112. The change has already taken place in **Vergoso** 192.

-**rigas** = **Vecec** 117, **Veceq** 189, *Fechureg*, *Adamnan*, *Fechrech* ib., later *Fiachrach*.

-vicas (*Ordo-vices*, *Lemo-vices*, Irish *fích*) = **Rittavveccas** 69, **Rittavvecc** 100, **Denaveca** 220, but **Catuvviq** . . . 36, **Ercavicca** 62, **Calunovica** 214.

10. The diphthongs **ai**, **oi**, in this position become *áe*, *óe*.<sup>1</sup> Hence in the Ogham period, it is probable that the values were *āī*, *ōī*. This is also the customary notation in O. I., and the modern duplicates *caorthann*, *cárthann*, *forbhfaoilteach*, *fáilte* bear the same evidence. So we have the non-diphthongal spellings **Neta Vroqi** 239, **Collabota** 212,<sup>2</sup> beside **Vraicci** (**Vroicci** ?), J, 1898, p. 230, and **Netta Vrocie[i]**, J, 1903, p. 76, **Coillabbotas** 79 (= *Nat Fróich*, *Coelboth*). I hesitate to believe that the simple *o* here stands for the diphthongal sound *oi*. Much less is it credible that **Niott Vrecc** 93 is a mere variant of 239, as Macalister thinks. It is more reasonable to regard *ō* as a dialect variant of *ōī*.

**Coimagni** 22, 140 = *Cóemán*, mod. *Caomhán*.

**Mailagni** 17, 155 = *Máclán*, mod. *Maolán*.

\***Maila** nom. (gen. **Maile Inbiri** 38, **Mail' Aguro** 163,) = *Máel*, mod. *maol*.

\***vroicas**, nom. = *fróech* mod. *fraoch*.

*coila* = *cóel*, mod. *caol*.

**Laidann** (?) 2, perhaps **Baidann** (the first letter was read by touch, being out of sight) for \***Baidagni** = *Baetán*, mod. *Baodán*.

11. Before *u*, *a* becomes *au*, later *u*.

**Mail' Aguro** 163 = *Máel Augro*, *Máel Ugra*.

**magu** 213, nom. or dat. of \***magus** = *maug*, *mug*.

**Calunovica** 214, cf. *Culann*, *Cú Chulainn*.<sup>3</sup>

But this change is usual only when a liquid or an aspirate media intervenes. Thus **catu-** = *cath*, and so in the compounds *Donnchad*, etc.

12. Before *u*, *o* becomes *u*.

**Vuroddran** 72, **Vuruddrann** (Macalister i, p. 15), = \***vor-udra-gni** *Furudran* AU.

13. Before *u*, *e* becomes *i*.

**niotta** 71, **niott** 93 = \**ně(p)ūtus*, Latin *nēpōtis* = *nioth* L. Arm.

**Meddugeni** 176 = nom. *Midgen* or *Midgna*.

**Veducuri** 175 = *Fidchuire* (Ciarraige and other genealogies).

14. The consonant *v* exercises the vocalic influence of *u*: **avi** = *auí*, **Dovatuci** = *Dubthaig*, **Dovalesci** = *Duibléisc*.

15. Before *i* or *e*, *o* becomes *u*.

**Dovvinias** 13, **Dovinia** 31, 32 = *Duibne*.

<sup>1</sup> But *ái*, *ói* are also found.

<sup>2</sup> But nom. *Colladub* (= \**Collud*) BB 124a21.

<sup>3</sup> **Caluni** seems a likely reading for the doubtful **Cavunoge**,  $C \frac{v}{al} \frac{i}{u} sb \frac{a}{o} i$ ,  $Cag \frac{i}{e} \frac{sb}{a} \frac{n}{n} ade$ , J, 1902, p. 243, 1906, p. 177.

**Broci** 55 = *Bruice*, mod. *bruic*.

\***Vorgis**, gen. **Vorgos** 91 = *Fuirg*, gen. *Forgo*.

**Corrbi** 19, 57, 79 = *Cuirbb*.

But **Corrbri** 47, **Coribiri** 183 = *Coirpri*, mod. *Cairbre*. We must suppose the influence of *i* not to have attacked the vowel of **Corb-** here until the period of vocalic changes had passed.

16. Before *i* or *e*, *e* becomes *i*.

**velitas** 70 = *filéd* (*velūt*-, nom. *filī*).

The change is already noted in **Vortigurn** 236, **Vorrtigurn** 148, from \***tegern-**, = *Fortchernn* L. Arm., and in [C]**annitigirn** ? 95 = *Caintigern* ?

But *e* remains unchanged in **Decceddas** 135, etc., = *Dechet*, and in **Ercias** 135 etc. = *Erce*. The change is perhaps chiefly operative before liquids and aspirate mediae.

### III.—JUNCTION-VOWELS.

1. These usually disappear in MS. Irish.

2. Omitting doubtful instances, junction-vowels in compound names occur in the following numbers in Macalister's collection (i, ii, iii): **a** 57, **u** 22, **i** 13, **o** 9, **e** 2.

3. **a** appears as normal junction-vowel (1) for *a*-stems, (2) for feminine *a*-stems, (3) for consonant-stems.

(1) *o*-stems. Adjectives—**Voenacunas** (*fóen*), **Coimagni** (*cóem*), **Mailagni** (*máel*), **Coillabbotas** (*cóel*), **Giragni** (*gerr*), **Ulcagni** (*ole*), **Dovalesci** (nom. *Duiblesc*), **Dalagni** (*dall*), **Denaveca** (*dén*, *díen*), **Anavlamattias** (*anbal*), **Ttrenalugos** (*trén*). Masc. or neuter substantives—**Corbagni** (*corbb*), **Viragni** (*fer*), **Moddagni** (*muad*), **Artagni** (*Art*), **Talagni** (*tál*).

(2) *a*-stems: **Ercavicca**, **Ercagni** (cf. **Maqi Ercias**), **Rittavvecas** (cf. **Maqi Riteas**), **Cosaloti** (*coss* = *cora*).

(3) consonant-stems: the only instances noted are compounds of **cuna-** and **neta-**. In both cases an *o*-stem is possible. Many Irish names in *Con-* may contain the adjectival *cuno-*, 'high' rather than *cun-*, 'hound.' **Cunacena**, **-magli**, **-gusos** twice, **-netas**. **Netacari**, **-cagi** or **-cagni**, **-cunas**.

4. **u** is the junction-vowel for *u*-stems: **Luguqrit** twice, **-vve**, **-tti**, **-vveca**, **-ni** thrice, **-due**, **-deccas**, **-deca**, **Cattubuttas**, **Catuviq** . . . , **-vvirr**, **Meddugeni**, **Veducuri**, **Litubiri** (cf. gen. **Litos**).

5. In **Cunuri**, **Conunett**, **u** may be a late representation of a neutral vowel, or may show forward influence. In **Valuvi**, there may be a *u*-stem, cf. **Suvallos** 15, or a neutral vowel influenced by **v**. The somewhat worn inscription at Cloonmorris, Co. Leitrim, appears to read **Qenuvin** . . . (for

\***Qennavindagni** ? = *Quenvendani*, Hübner, Inscr. Britt., = *Chenindàn* L. Arm.) with similar influence of **v**.

6. **i** is the junction-vowel for *i*-stems, but may possibly extend to other stems as in Gaulish names (Holder, ii, 2, l. 6). The instances of all kinds noted are—**Assiconā**, **Battigni**, **Cassitas**, **Cunigni**, **Ditibeas**, **Dolatibi** ? **Drutiquili**, **Gamicunas** (= *Gaimchon*, cf. *gaimred*), **Glasiconas**, **Lodimani**, **Muibiti**, **Nisigni**, **Qeniloc**, **Qeniloc**[a ?]**igni**,<sup>1</sup> **Vlatiami**.

7. **o** as junction-vowel seems usually due to influence of **v** or **b** (aspirate), **Calunovica**, **Casoni**, **Denoal**, **Eracobi**, **Ivodacca**, **Lagobbe** ? **Veqoanai**, **Meddo** ? **geni**, **Vendogni**.

8. **e** occurs in **Erxenn**, . . . **eneggni**, perhaps from *io*-stems, giving \*-**iagni**, **-egni**. These are the only instances noted corresponding to the very frequent MS. ending *-én*.

#### IV.—COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING.

1. The Ogham inscriptions prove clearly the important fact that at least two distinct epochs of compensatory lengthening occurred before the MS. period.

2. The change of *nt* into **d**, and of *ne* into **g**, has already taken place before the period of the Ogham inscriptions.

3. The disappearance of **g** before a liquid, with concomitant lengthening of the preceding vowel, took place within the Ogham period. Early Ogham **-agni** becomes late Ogham **-an**, **-ann**.<sup>2</sup>

4. I have been unable to find any instance of **d** + liquid in oghams, but the lengthening in *cathair* from *cathedra*, and the resultant vowel *ā* from *ad-* in composition before liquids, seem to show that the change belongs to the same period as the loss of **g** before a liquid. In the two instances of **Dalo**, J, 1895, p. 133, the critical syllable has been supplied by Barry.

5. When **g** disappears before a liquid, the preceding vowel, whether accented or not, is long in MS. Irish.

Instances of **-agni** = *-án* are abundant.

**Cunamagli** = nom. *Connmál*.

**Netta Sagru** = *Nazar-us*, *Nazar-ius*, L. Arm. (*z* = *ts*), gen. *Natsair*, *Nastair*, *Nazair* in many genealogies. I have not found the nom. except in the latinized form. If the reading of the ogham is certain, the MS.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. *Cennlocain* BB 122a25, nom. *Cenlacan* 123841, doubtless = *Cellachán*, **Qeniloc** = *Cellaig*, nom. *Cellach*.

<sup>2</sup> The frequency of **-ann** = **-agni** = *-án* seems to indicate that the doubled consonant has here phonetic value. If so, it can only be a tentative late device.

equivalent should be *Natsár* in all cases, for the element *Nat*, *Nath* (= **Netas**) becomes an indeclinable proclitic in most names. **Sagru** appears to be gen. pl., but the stem is uncertain. The word may be identified with the adjectival prefix *sár-*, the root of *sáruud*, the sense being 'exceeding, excelling,' which still belongs both to the prefix and the verb. *Sár-fhear*, 'a man of surpassing merit, power, etc.' *Sháruigh sin orm*, 'that (undertaking) got the better of me, I failed to accomplish it.' *Bhíodar a' sáruighadh ar a chéile*, 'they were outdoing each other' (in vilification, etc.). **Netta Sagru**, 'champion of the mighty ones.' Cf. *Dis Cassibus* = 'les dieux supérieurs,' acc. to D'Arbois de Jubainville.

6. **Drogno** = *Dróna*.

7. **Nisigni, Battigni, Gattigni, Cunigni**.

Corresponding to **Battigni** there are *Baithene*, *Adamnan*, and *Baithín*. For **Gattigni**, I have only noted *Gaithín*, *Gaoithín*. I think that *-ín*, as rare in early MS. names as it is frequent later, must have come from *-ignas*, the palatal syllable *ig-* determining the quality of *n* after loss of the termination, even in the nominative, for *-ín* is palatal in all its cases. So Mid. I. *-án* is frequently found in genitive without palatalization.

8. *-egni*, only once noted . . . **eneggni** may be the origin of *-én*. Does it represent *-ia-gni* formed on *io*-stems? How account for **Erxenn**?

9. Of the consonant-groups treated of by Strachan ("Compensatory Lengthening in Irish") which give rise to compensatory lengthening, *gl*, *gn*, *gr* survive into the Ogham period. The disappearance of *g* from these groups cannot have happened long before the MS. period. No other group of the kind has been traced as surviving in Ogham Irish.

10. In **celi**, the consonant is already absorbed. Strachan quotes Stokes as separating *céle*, 'servus,' from *céle*, 'comrade.' The former Stokes compares with Latin *cacula*, 'soldier's servant'; *céle*, 'comrade,' and Welsh *cilyd*, 'comrade,' might come, says Strachan, from a form *\*cegliós*. I am inclined to think that the two senses of *céle* here treated are merely secondary, and that the primary meaning is 'vassal,' if we may use a medieval term to express the relation of an Irish rent-paying subject to his chief. To the chief (*flaith*) he was 'servus' (serf, not slave); to his fellow-tenants he was 'comrade.' It has, I think, been suggested that *céle* may contain (in reduplication?) the root of Latin *cliens*.

11. **tál**, which is found in Ogham **Maqi Tal[i]** and **Talagni**, is one of the instances discussed by Strachan. **Talagni** is against the derivation from *\*to-aglo-*.

12. Strachan (p. 25), finding *acn*, *acr*, *acl* result in *én*, *ér*, *él*, but *agn*, *agr*, *agl*, in *ān*, *ār*, *āl*, suggests that *c* persisted longer than *g*; and that the changed

vowel belonged to the later phenomenon. The Ogham evidence is quite decisive against this view; not that, except possibly *céli*, any very likely case of *ē* from *a* before *c* + liquid has been noted, but that *gn*, *gr*, *gl* clearly survived to the very verge of MS. Irish.

#### V.—PALATALIZATION.

1. Palatalization seems fairly regular in consonants which do not fall into groups in MS. Irish. But **mucoi Sogini** 198, *mocu Sogin*, Adamnan, is represented by the race-name *Sogain*, nom. pl., in genealogies. **Ivageni** becomes *Iogen*- in Adamnan, gen. *Eogin*, with nom. *Eogan*, L. Arm., *Eugen*, AU, *Eogan* in Mid. I. Possibly a close examination would reveal resistance to palatal influence in other consonants.

2. Consonant groups, whether existent in Ogham, or formed in MS. Irish by syncope, appear for the most part, as shown by Mid. I. spelling, to resist palatalization.

**Luguvecca** 112 (through transitional \**Lugvech*, cf. *Menueh* = *Menvech*, Inchagoill literal inscr.) = *Lugach* gen. **Luguni** 115 = *Lugna*. **Cunanetas** 225 = *Connad*, *Connath*. **Rittavvecas** 69 = *Rethach*. **Vecree** 117, **Veqreq** 189 = *Fiachrach*. **Turanias** 135 = *Torna*. **Iulenge** 47 (\**Iul-*) = *Eulainge*.

3. But palatalization takes place in **Dovvinias** 13, etc., = *Duibne*, **Dovalesci** 129 = nom. *Duiblesc*, **Valuvi** 242 = *Fáilbi*, **Corrbri** 47, **Coribri** 183 = *Coirpri*. The helping vowel expressed in *Coribiri* (from *corb-*) shows the palatal influence already penetrating this group. (Macalister finds a helping vowel in **Eracias**, which he considers a variant of **Ercias** 32. This, if correct, would indicate how the group *rc* repelled palatal influence, the first consonant retaining its quality, and afterwards controlling the second. But the helping vowel is doubtful. The base **Erac-** is found: **Eracobi maqi Eragetai** 165. The group *rc* requires no helping vowel, at least in modern pronunciation.)

4. The frequent retention of final -i in association with late forms—e.g. **Maqi Liag maqi Erca** 23—may indicate a late use of -i as a mere palatal glide or sign of palatalization of the consonant. I think this must be its use in the Inchagoill literal inscription, *Lie Luguaedon macci Menueh*. A whispered vowel is distinctly audible after a final palatalized consonant, and becomes quite syllabic when the whole word is whispered.

#### B.—DECLENSIONS.

1. Ogham inscriptions consist chiefly of nouns in the genitive case. The declensions to which these nouns belong are, on the whole, clearly and consistently defined. An orderly metamorphosis from the earliest to the latest and to the MS. forms is traceable. That the older forms are often traditional

rather than contemporary, is indicated by concomitant late forms and by the inequalities in the internal vocalization of words.

*o*-stems.

2. *o*-stems have genitive in *-i*, which disappears in late forms. Since Ogham orthography ignores palatal and other glides, and thus does not note palatalization of consonants, late forms which have lost final *-i* appear as if uninflected. This appearance has led Rhys, whom Macalister follows, to think that inflection is absent, whereas it is only the orthographical notation which is defective. Even the ms. device for expressing palatalization is not always adequate in Old and Middle Irish. Thus the genitive *mís* and the dative *mís* are spelled alike. For the ms. form *áinm*, with the palatal glide expressed, the oghams have *anm*. There is one earlier instance of [a]nme in no. 32, as read by Macalister in vol. ii, p. 8. Necessarily, after the final *e* disappeared, the preceding consonants must already have acquired their palatalized sounds, so that *anm* is the Ogham spelling of *áinm*. This being established, the assumption of non-inflected *o*-stems falls to the ground. The occurrence of forms with *-i* and forms without *-i* in the same inscription offers no difficulty when it is seen that other stems also appear side by side in various stages of genitive inflexion. We may perhaps assume three stages of *-i*—an early long *-i*, a transitional short *-i*, and a late form in which *-i* has disappeared, leaving its trace in palatalization which is not expressed. The transitional form seems to be indicated in the spelling *mucoe* J, 1895, p. 351, where short *i* loses its definite quality through the influence of the preceding *o*.

3. Genitives in *-i* from *o*-stems are too numerous to cite. The obsolescent *-i* of *o*-stems must be distinguished from the persistent *-i* of *io*-stems, which is preserved in the latest Oghams as in early ms. Irish.

4. In the following instances, the words marked with (\*) are *o*-stems from which final *-i* has disappeared. Numerous examples of *maq*, *mac*, = *maq*, and *muco* = *mucoi*, are here omitted.

- 27. *Luguqritt\* maqi Qritti.*
- 32. *Erc\* maqi Maqi-Ercias.*
- 44. *Anm Colombagan\* alitir\*.*
- 56. *Qrimitir\* Ronann\* maq\* Comogann\*.*
- 69. *Cattuvvirr\* maqi Rittavvecas mucoi Allato.*
- 72. *Anm Vuroddrann\* maqi Doligen.*
- 73. *Anm Tegann\* mac\* Deglann\*.*
- 82. *Corbagn\* maqi mucoi C . . . . .*
- 91. *Maqi-tal\* maqi Vorgos maqi mucoi Toicac\*.*

111. Anm Crunan\* maq\* Luqin\*.  
 112. Cattvuirr\* maqi Luguveca.  
 144. Conann\* maqi S . . . . .  
 148. . . . . lla maqi Vorrtingurn\*.  
 169. Branann\* maqi Oqoli.  
 178. Carttacc\* mmaqi Moccaggi.  
 218. Bir\* maqi mucoi Rottais.  
 235. Cir\* maqi muc . . . . .

Ms. equivalents: 27 Luguqritt = nom. *Lucereth*. 32 Erc = *Erc*, gen. *Eirc*, *Irc*. Maqi-Ercias = *Macc Erce Ercae Erca*. 44 Colombagan = nom. *Colmán*, alitir = nom. *alither*, 'pilgrim.' 56 Qrimitir = nom. *crumther*, 'presbyter, priest.' Ronann nom. *Ronán*. Comogann = *Comgán*. 69 Cattuvuirr. 112 Cattvuirr = *Cathurus*, L. Arm. *Cuither*, often *Caicher*, in many genealogies. Hence probably *Cathair*, with short ultimate, later *Cathaoir*, with long ultimate, by attraction to the common nouns similarly written. Rittavvecas = *Rethach* (gen.) in Ciarraige genealogy, whence *Uí Rethach* now *Íbh Reathach* = Iveragh barony in Kerry. Allato = *Alta* (late ms. gen. for \**Alto*) in Ciarraighe and Altraige genealogies. 72 Vuroddrann = *Furudrán*. Doligenn should probably read Coligenn = *Colgen*, later *Colgan*, gen. of *Colcu*, *Colgu*. 73 Tegann = *Tecan*, L. Arm. Deglann = *Déclán*, mod. *Diaglán*. 82 Corbagn = *Corbán*. 91 Maqi-Tal = *macc-Tail*. Vorgos = *Forgu*, gen. of *Fuiry* = \**Vorgis*. Toicac appears in 89 as *Toicaci*, in 88 as *Toicaxi*. 112 Luguveca(s) = gen. *Lugach*, in *MacLugach*, a hero of the Fiana. 144 Conann = *Conán*. 148 Vorrtingurn = *Fortchern*. 178 Carttacc = *Carthach*, mod. *Cárthach*.<sup>1</sup>

5. Late genitives of *o*-stems cannot be distinguished in Ogham spelling from late genitives of consonant-stems. They can be identified only through their equivalents in ms. spelling or in earlier Ogham forms.

*io*-stems.

6. Genitives of *io*-stems always end in -i (= -ii) in Ogham spelling, and also in early ms. spelling. In later ms. usage the final vowel becomes neutral, and is often expressed by -c, or after most consonant-groups by -a. Genitives cannot be distinguished in form from early genitives of *o*-stems. Their distinction depends on the identification of the word or of its ending in other words.

avi = O. I. *avi*, later *ut*, *i*. O. I. nom. *ave*, later *ua*, *ó* = \**avias*.

Doveti 13, cf. *Cenél Dobtha*, nom. *Dobtha* = \**Dobetias*?

S[e]dani 45, Sedan[i avvi Der]camasoci, J, 1895, p. 133 = *Setni Adamnan*,

<sup>1</sup> Add: Maqi Cairatini avi Ineqaglas\*, J, 1898, p. 57 = "of Macc Cairthin aue Enechglais," i.e., of the sept Uí Enechglais (see Book of Rights, index).

L. Arm., *Setnai* AU 562, nom. *Sétna*, mod. *Séadna* = \**Sédanias*, from older Celtic \**Sentanios*.

**Corrbri** 47, **Coribiri** 183 (with helping vowel inserted, proving palatalization) = *Coirpri*, nom. *Coirpre*, later *Cairbre*.

**Conuri** 60 (cf. **Conunett** = **Cunanetas**, u either neutral or through forward influence of u in **Cun-** transformed into o) = **Conairi**, nom. **Conaire**.

**Luguni** 115, 153 = *Lugne-us* Adamn., later *Lugna*, *Lughna*.

**Cari** 136 = *Caire* BB 122a28.

**Veducuri** 175 (Barry) = *Fidchuirí*, nom. *Fidchuire*, *Ciarraige* and other pedigrees.

**Valuvi** 242 = *Fáilbi*, nom. *Fáilbe*, *Fáilbhe*.

**Melagi**, J, 1896, p. 28, nom. **Melagia**[s] 224, = *Melge*.

7. Genitives in -oi are **mucoi** passim = MS. *moccu* indeclinable, **Vedllioggoi** 54—\**vedili* = *fedl-* in *Fedilmith*, *Fedlimith*, and the feminine name *Fedelm* (superlative?) L. Arm.

8. Genitives in -ai: **Carricai** 6, **mucoi Qerai** 78 and **mocoi Qerai** 79 = *maccu* (for *moccu*) *Ciara* in Mid. I. MSS., containing the eponym of *Ciarraige* (nom. wrongly restored as *Ciar* in genealogies), *Cerrige* L. Arm., **Eraqetai** 165, **Mogai** 170, **Veqoanai** 199 = nom. *Fiachna*, **Senai** 222, **Qetai** J, 1895, p. 102.

9. Genitives in -ais occur in two inscriptions: **Gebbais maqi Tanais** 10, **Bir maqi mucoi Rottais** 218. I cannot refer these to any known declension. The twofold occurrence in 10 may indicate artificial treatment. None of the names can be identified, except that **Rottais** 218 being eponymic may be referred to Rothraige.

#### Genitives in -ias.

10. Genitives in -ias are chiefly found in feminine nouns, although such nouns may become the names of males, as in the case of the name-element *Máel* followed by a genitive, and in **Gossucttias**, **Anavlamattias**, which I take to be feminine abstract nouns used as male appellatives.

11. -ias becomes transitionally -ia, late Ogham and MS. -e. Sometimes -eas, -ea are found, possibly through imperfect archaistic restoration.

12. Genitives in -ias belong (1) to feminine *a*-stems, (2) to feminine *ia*-stems, (3) to feminine ? *i*-stems.

13. Feminine *a*-stems (Gaulish gen. -es, "*legionis secundes Italices*").

**Ercias** 32, 197, **Ercia** 31, **Erca** 23. The last ends an inscription, and may possibly have been **Erce**, otherwise -a represents the broadening of -e by a preceding group of consonants, which, as MS. usage shows, has resisted palatalization. The MS. genitive is *Erce* in Adamnan and *Erce*, *Ercae*, *Erca*, in AU. The MS. nom. is *Erc* = Ogham **Erca** in **Erca-vicea**. In Cormac's and O'Davoren's glossaries, *erc* is explained = *nem*, 'heaven,' but it is frequent as a

female name in legendary material. I have found no nom. *Eire*, *Ire*, corresponding to \**Ercis*, the nom. supplied by Rhys and Macalister, doubtless on the assumption that -ias must arise from -is. There is also a masculine nom. *Ere*, gen. *Eire*, *Ire*, just as there is a masculine *Medb*, *Sadb*, etc.

**Gossuctias** 41, **Gosocteas** 108, **Gosoctas** 223. **Gosoctas**, I think, represents a contemporary *Gosochta*, with the final *s* archaistically supplied, arising from *Gosochte* like *Erca* from *Erce*. L. Arm. has *Gosacht*, *Gosact-us*, *Gosach* [t]-us. The Martyrology of Tallaght has *Guasacht* as the name of the same person, bishop of Granard. It is the abstract noun *guasacht*, 'periculum,' which Windisch gives as masculine.

**Maile Inbiri** 38, **Mail' Aguro** 163, early ms. *Mácl*, gen. *Máile*, later *Mácl*, indeclinable as a pretonic name-element. I suppose elision, not loss of ending, in **Mail Aguro** = Mid. I. *Mael-Ugra*.

[i]nagen[e] 76 (-a- wrongly restored, since O. I. has *ingen*, not *engen*, nom. *inigena* = *filia* in bilingual Ogham and Latin inscription of Eglwys Cymmum, Caermarthenshire, *Avitoria filia Cunigni* = *inigena Cunigni Avittoriges*) = *ingen*, *inghean*, gen. -ine, 'daughter.'

**Riteas** 89, **Ritte** 78, **Rite** 183, nom. \**Rita*, whence **Rittavveccas**.

**Corr**>< 180 (**Corre**) = *cuirre* gen. of *corr*, 'heron, stork,' cf. *an Chorr Chosluath*, name of a hero of the Fiana.

**Maqi Recta** (Rhys) J, 1902, p. 16. Macalister (105) has **Maqi Retta**.

**Maqi Beggea**? (Rhys) J, 1902, p. 13. Macalister (152) has **Maqi Esi**.

14. Feminine *ia*-stems.

**Dovvinias** 13, **Dovinia** 31, 32 = MS. [*Corcu*] *Duibne*, nom. *Duibne* (their ancestress, dau. of *Conaire mac Moga Láma*) = \***Dobinia**.

**Ditibeas** 154, cf. masc. name-ending -bios in *Latobios*, *Macc Laithbi*, *Vindobios*, *Ailbe*, *Faillbe*, *Lugbe*, *Airtbe*, etc.

15. Feminine ? *i*-stems:

**Anavlamattias** 196 = *Anfolmithe* L. Arm., nom. *Anblomaid* BB 148a<sup>2</sup>15, written *Amlomaig* BB 123<sup>3</sup>49, *Anblomath* BB 150<sup>3</sup>43, *Anuolmedh* BB 79<sup>3</sup>5. (*anavla*- = *anbal*, and \**matis* = *maith*.) The name is that of a man.

**Iulenge** 47 = \***Iva-lengias** = *Eulainge* BB 144<sup>3</sup>5 nom. *Eolaing* = \***Iva-lengis**. Cf. *Dinlaing*, gen. *Dinlinge*, L. Arm. The name occurs with latinized gen. *Evolenggi* in a British inser.

16. Unascertained stems:

**Ainia** 25, **Ddumileas** 89, **Qecia** 200, **Qvecea** 216, **Odarrea** 237, **Mongedias** 238, **Seagracolinea** 240.

## Consonant-stems.

17. Consonant-stems form the genitive in *-as*, transitionally *-a*. In late forms the ending disappears, leaving broad consonant final as in MS. Irish. Late forms are thus liable to be confused with late *o*-stem genitives. See Macalister i, 15 on **Vuruddrann**, etc.; "regarded by Rhys as due to foreign influence ('Northern Picts,' pp. 307-318)."

18. Examples in *-as*, *-a*, are numerous. Only identified names are here cited.

Compounds of *-cunas*, MS. *con*, nom. *cú*, may perhaps not always be distinguished from names which in MSS. have the nom. ending *-iuc*, gen. *-con*, e.g. *Miliucc*, gen. *Milcon*. *Bruinniucc*, gen. *Bronnecon*. All such are here given together. **Glasiconas** 16, 17 (i indicates \**Glaissiucc*), **Voenacunas** 21, **Gamicunas** 42 = *Gaimchon*, **Assicona** 203, **Netacunas** 206, **Lobacona** 240, **Lobacca** 212.

Of *-rigas*, earlier Celtic *rigos*, nom. *rix*, MS. *rig* (with broad g), nom. *ri*, the only instances are **-torigas** 33, **Votecorigas** (with latinized equivalent *Voteporigis*) in bilingual inscription of Llanfallteg, and **Vecrec**, **Veqreq**, quoted below.

Of *-vicas*, earlier Celtic *-vicos*, nom. *-vix*, in *Ordovices*, *Lemovix*, some instances show shortening and change of quality in the unaccented vowel. **Gravicas** ? 8, **Caturviiq** . . . 36, **Ercavicca** 62, **Luguvvecca** 112, **Rittavvecas** 69, **Calunovica** 214, **Denaveca** 220.

The element which appears in the genitives *Nemaidon* (Adamnan), *Luguaedon* (Inchagoill stone), *Lugedon*, *Lugadon*, *Ginadon* AU, is exemplified by **Dovvaidonas** 127, **Bivaidona** 126, **Ercaidana** 174, **Lugaddon** J, 1907, p. 62.

**Moinena** 28 = *Moinenn*.

**Decedda** 36, **Ddecedda** 51, **Deceda** 94, **Decceddass** 135 = *Decht*.

**velitas** 70 = *filed*.

**Cattubuttas** J, 1908, p. 203 = *Cathboth*, L. Arm.

**Coillabotas** 79 = *Coelboth*.

**Cunanetas** 225 = *Connath*, *Condnath*, *Connad* in many pedigrees. The nom. is given as *Conda* (= \**Connie*) BB 145β'20.

**Segamonas** 208, 225, 231 = *Segamon*. Only found in the composite name **Neta(s) Segamonas**, MS. nom., *Nia Segamon*.<sup>1</sup> *Segomo*, dat. *Segomoni*, was the name or byname of a Celtic god, equated by the Romans with Mars (Holder, s. v. Segomo).

**Lugudeccas** 208, **Lugudeca** 186, 226 = *Lugdech*, *Lugdach*, nom. *Luguid*.

Instances of **neta(s)** and **niota(s)**, as name-elements are separately discussed.

<sup>1</sup> Note the vowel of the second syllable preserved, as in *brithemon*, etc.

19. Late forms ending in the stem-consonant.

Olacon = *Olchon*, nom. *Olchu*.

Vecrec 117, Veqreq 189 = \**Vēqarigas* = *Fechureg*, Adamnan (where *chu* probably stands for an aspirate *q* rather than a distinct syllable, cf. the Lowland Scotch symbol *quh* in *Farquhar* = *Fearchar*, etc.), *Fechreg*, *Fechrech*, *Fiechrach*, later *Fiachrach*. Mid. I. nom. *Fiachra*.

Rittavvecc 100 = Rittavvecas 69 = *Rethach*.

Conunett 60 = Cunanetas 225.

Colabot 78, 183, Collabota 212.<sup>1</sup>

Lugudue 184 (read Lugudec ? = Lugudeccas 208).

Liag in Maqi-Liag 23, Maq-Leog (Liag) 124, is possibly gen. pl. Ms. *liac*, *liacc*, modern *liag*, nom. *lie*, *lia*.

20. Unusual stem-endings are indicated in Tabirass 61, Tobira 198, Cobranoras 71, Noarra 116, Axeras 196, Cunavas 126, Egsamvva 205, Qenga 84. Some of these in -a may represent -ai, like *mucō* = *mucōi*, 76, 78.

Genitives in -os.

21. Genitives in -os change in transitional forms to -o, which persists in late Ogham and early ms. forms, but already in O. I. -o begins to change to -a, which remains in Middle and Modern Irish.

22. Genitives in -os arise (1) from *i*-stems, (2) from *u*-stems.

23. From *i*-stems:

Suvallos 15, cf. *sulbir*, *suthain*, etc.

Ducovaros 15, cf. *cobir*, *cobair*, 'help.' I imagine this name may belong to a class in which the possessive *du* was an element, and which were imitated in Christian nomenclature by names like *Du Luac*, L. Arm., later *Dalua*. The Christian names in *Mu*, *Mo*, have their models in the pre-Christian pedigrees, e.g. *Corcu mu Druad* = *Dál me<sup>2</sup> Druad*, *Messamain*, *Mo Chú* and *Me<sup>2</sup> Chú*, *Mechar* (= my horseman).

Ivacattos 50 = Mid. I. *Eochada*, nom. *Eochaid*.

Ammllongat[o] 47 = *Amolngado*, later *Amalgada*, mod. *Amhalghadha*, nom. *Amolngid*, *Amalngid*, L. Arm.

Allato 69, Alatto 106, Alotto 115 = *Alta* (gen.) in Ciarraige and Altraige genealogies BB 155, 159. Cf. *allaid*, 'wild,' *Con Alta* gen. of *Cú Allaid* AU. Or it may be gen. of \**allatus* = *allud*, 'fame,' etc. As eponym of the Altraige, the gen. is given as (*Brendanus mocu*) *Alti* by Adamnan, but this may be a latinization.

Dego 193 = *Dego*, L. Arm., nom. *Daig*.

<sup>1</sup> Nom. *Colladub* BB 124a21, copyist's error for *Collub*, as *Cathdub*, *Coeldub* occur for *Cathub*, *Coelub*.

<sup>2</sup> For *me* = *mu*, *mo* see note to § 26, *infra*.

**Vorgos** 91 = *Forgo*, *Forga*, nom. *Fuirg* L. Arm. = \***Vorgis**. Macalister (following Rhys) treats this gen. as standing for *Fergus* = **Viragusos** by agglutinative syntax.

**Labriatt[os]**, J, 1895, p. 133 = Mid. I. *Labrada*, nom. *Labraid*.

24. From *u*-stems:

**Brusceos** 35, **Brusco** 129, nom. *Brusc-us* L. Arm.

**Cunagusos** 139, 183 = *Congussa*, nom. *Congus*.

**Vergoso** 192 = **Viragusos** = *Fergusso*, *Fergosso* L. Arm., nom. *Fergus*.

**Litos** 214, cf. **Litubiri** 200, *Litugenos*, *Litugena*, *Litumarus*, *Litacir* Holder.

**Ttrenalugos** 191, **Tre[n]a[lu]ggo**, J, 1903, p. 76, = nom. *Trianlug*, *Lug*, gen. *Logo*, *Loga*.

In 53, 133, 212, Macalister reads **Loga**, **Luga**. In 53, 133, the inscription is injured; in 212 -a ends the line. Hence it may be possible to read -o in each instance. I have no other example of gen. in -os represented by -a in an ogham.

25. Instead of -o, appears -u in **Trenu** (**Treno** ?) 160 = MS. *Tréno*, *Tréna*; **Bigu** 212; **Trenagusu maqi Maqi Treni**, ogham in Cilgerran (Pembrokeshire) bilingual inscription = Latin *Trenegussi fili Macutreni hic iacit*.

26. Unidentified stems:

**Reddos** 26, cf. *Domnach Mór Maige Réto* L. Arm.

**Sagarettos** 29, **Uvanos** 50.

**Drogno** 58 = MS. *Dróna*.

**Galeotos** 86, **Voddonos** 100, **Biraco** 170.

**Mail' Aguro** 173 = MS. *Mael Ugra*.

**Medalo**<sup>1</sup> 220, **Bran[i]ttos**, **Navvallo**, J, 1895, p. 133.

**Cunacanos** J, 1898, p. 402.

#### C.—EXCEPTIONAL CASES AND FORMS.

##### 1. **Luguvve mocco Maqi Meq** . . . . . 3.

It is hardly doubtful that **Luguvve** here is nominative = O. I. *Lugbe*. The genitive throughout the O. I. period ends in -i. The early form of the nom. would be \***Lugubias**, cf. Gaulish *Latobios*, *Vindobios*.

##### 2. **Laidann (Baidann ?) maqi Macorbo** 2.

**Macorbo** is what Barry reads, and Macalister figures. Macalister expands the final symbol into i, though he cites the MS. parallels *Mac Corb*, *Mug Corb*. We may dismiss *Mug Corb* = *Magus* \**Corbon*, gen. *Mago(s) C.*, as a totally distinct name. *Mac Corb* occurs as eponym of the tuath *Dál Maic Corb*, one

<sup>1</sup> **muccoi Medalo**, cf. *Dál Mo Dala*, *Dál Mo Dula*, Onomasticon. *Dula* points to nom. \**Dalus*, gen. \**Dalos*, as in **Me Dalo**.

of the aithechtuatha. It appears to mean 'lad of chariots,' an equivalent of *Corbmac*, *Cormac*. **Macorbo** = **Maq(i)** \***Corbon** shows that in late oghams, as in MS. Irish, two consonants of like value coalesced to form one. It seems safe to regard **Corbo** as a late Ogham gen. pl.

3. **Suvallos maqqi Ducovaros** 15.

**Du** here may be the genitive of the pronoun *tu*, O. I. *du chobir*, 'thy succour,' gen. *du chobro*.

4. **Tria maqa Mailagni** }  
**Curcitti** } 17.

I take **Curcitti** = nom. *Cuirethe* L. Arm. to stand syntactically apart: 'Of the three sons of Máelán. Of Cuirethe.' The only alternative to taking **tria maqa** as plural genitives, would be to suppose a nom. **Tria**, which is certainly less probable. Here then the genitive plural ends in -a(n), not, as at § 2, in -o(n).

5. [a]name Macalister ii, p. 8, **anm**, occurring in a number of oghams, usually in association with late forms, is, of course, nominative = *ainm*, 'name.'

6. **Qrimitir Bronann maq Comogann** 56.

All the words, being *o*-stems and late, may be either nom. or gen., but in nom. **Qrimitir** = *presbyter* would be more likely.

7. **Cunacena** 90. The name forms the entire inscription. There can be little doubt that it is a nominative (*o*-stem). The gen. occurs at Trallong, Brecknockshire:

Ogham: **Cunacenniviilveto**, with Latin *Cunocenni filius Cunocenni hic iacit*.

8. **Gosocteas mosac max Ini**, 108.

Macalister says that, reading thus, **mosac** "is in false concord." However, there is no difficulty in regarding it, like **max** = **maqi**, as a late *o*-stem genitive. It is apparently an epithet.

9. **Lagobbe muco Tucacac** 109.

Only an attempted decipherment.

10. **Vicula maq Comgini** 123.<sup>1</sup>

The first and second words are probably nominatives. Macalister's translation, 'of Fiacal son of Coemgen,' cannot stand. **Vicula** = *Ficcol* or *Fichol*. **Vicula** = *Ficcol* or *Fichol*. *Feccol* occurs apparently as a genitive in L. Arm. fol. 3 ba, *pervenierunt ad Ferti Virorum Feec* (= *Ferta Fer Féic*), *quam, ut fabulae ferunt, fodorunt* [sic] *viri id est servi Feccol Ferchertni, qui fuerat unus e novim magis, prophetis Bregg* (Hogan, *Documenta de S. Patricio* ex L. Arm., p. 32), but the sense seems to demand *servi Féic*.

<sup>1</sup> This is a reading of the Gigha ogham, the only known ogham in western Scotland.

11. **Maq Leog** 124.**Maqi Liag maqi Erca** 23.

As Macalister suggests, it seems desirable to regard the vowel notches in 124 as misplaced, and to read **Maq Liag**, where **maq** may be either nom. or gen. Both oghams are of the latest, as the spellings **maq** and **Erca** show. **Erca** = \***Erce** = **Ercias**, **e** becoming **a** through the influence of the broad consonant group **rc**. However, 23 is worn, and may have contained **Erce** or **Erci**, perhaps only **Erc**. But that **Erca** = **Ercias** is not impossible even in the Ogham period seems proved by **Gosochtas** 223, *infra*. **Liag** may be gen. pl. **Maq Liag** would be an appropriate name for an ogham-writer = 'lad of pillar-stones.' It is to be noted that in 23 we have not **maqi Maqi-Erca**, so that the sense is probably, 'of Mac Liag (also called) Mac Erca.' Cf. **Mac Erca**, the customary designation of the high king Muirchertach, accounted for by the statement that **Erc** was his actual mother.

12. **Cronun mac Bait** 171.

The first and second words may be either nom. or gen.

13. **Dommo macu Veduceri** 175.

Barry reads **Veduceri** = *Fidchuirí*, which seems more likely. Apparently the first and second words are dat. sg. Barry cites *Domma* (nom.?) from LL.

14. **Vedacu [maqa] Tobira mucci Sogini** 198.

The illegibility of the second word, of which only the last vowel notch is seen, leaves the case of **Vedacu** doubtful. Like Macalister, we might regard the name as nominative = *Fiadchu*, 'staghound' or 'wildhound' = 'wolf.' Or it may be dative of \**Fédach* or \**Fédach*, \**Fiadach*.

15. **Vait[e]lia** 201.

The vowels following **v** are indicated by six equidistant notches, with the possible readings **ai**, **oe**, **uu**, **eo**, **ia**. Of these the most probable by far are **ai** and **oe** (cf. **Voenacunas**). Macalister's equation *Fiadal* is out of the question. The word as read may be nom. of *io*-stem, or gen. of a feminine *a*-stem, *ia*-stem, or *i*-stem = (1) *Faithle*, (2) *Faithel*, (3) *Faithle*, (4) *Faithil*, all unknown names to me.

16. **Dolatibi gais gob . . . . Lugudeccas maqi mocoí Neta Segamonas** 208.

There is here another possible instance of **do**, **du**, prefixed to a name. For **Latibi**, cf. *Filio Laithphi* L. Arm., = *Macc Laithbi*, and *Latobius* a byname of the Gaulish Mars.

17. **Manu magu Nogati mocoí Macorbo** 213.

The first and second words may be nom. or dat., more probably nom. **Manu** as nom. of *u*-stem = *Mann*.<sup>1</sup> **magu** = *mag*, *mug*, 'servant, slave.'

<sup>1</sup> BB 218β<sup>33</sup>.

The commemoration of a person in servitude seems unlikely, but is not inconsistent with the suggestion that the names in Ogham inscriptions may have been often those of druids and their disciples. **Macorbo** has already been discussed.

18. **Cunalegea maqi C . . . . .salar celi Ave Qvecea** 216.

Since **Ave** is clearly genitive, it can only be gen. sing. of a fem. \***avia** or gen. pl. of **avias**. The latter seems more likely, and I translate: 'of C. son of C. liegeman of (the sept) Aui Q.'

19. **Gosoctas mucoi Macorbo** 223. The last four vowels are "worn." This is the third instance of **Macorbo**.

20. **Melagia** 224.

Properly equated by Macalister with *Melge*, a name occurring in the list of legendary high kings, and in Tochmare Emire. It is a masc. *io*-stem nom., gen. **Melagi** J, 1895, p. 28.

21. **Vortigurn** 236.

May be nom. or gen. MS. *Fortchernu*.

22. **Catabar moco Viri Qorb** 243.

**Catabar** may be nom. or gen. = *Cathbarr*. It is safe to regard **Qorb** = **Corb** as late gen. pl. *Fer Corb* occurs in several genealogies.

23. **D[al]o maqa muco[i] maqi Eracias maqi Li**, Barry, J, 1895, p. 133.

**Maqa** can hardly be other than nom. sg. The name preceding it is uncertain.

24. **Tasigagni maqi moco Macora**, ib.

The declension of **Macora** is quite uncertain. It may be compared with **Macorbo** and with *insolas maccu-Chor* L. Arm.

25. **Xoi**, xi.

The word **xoi**, **xi**, is recorded in the following oghams:

**Maqi Iari xi maqqi muccoi Dovvinias** 13.

**Netta Laminacca xoi maqqi muccoi Dov[inias]** 20.

**Iaqini xoi maqi moco** . . . . . 49.

**Corbagni x[oi] maqi moco Toriani** 149.

**Broinienas xoi neta Ttrenalugos** 191.

**Corbbi xoi maqi Labriatt[os]** J, 1895, p. 133.

**Lobb[i] xoi maqqi moccoi Irei** ib., 1896, p. 127.

The 1st and 2nd instances are from Co. Kerry, the 3rd and 4th from Co. Cork, the 5th from Co. Waterford, the 6th and 7th from Co. Kilkenny. This distribution indicates a word in general use. Unfortunately no variant of the symbol **x** in this word occurs, but **poi** is altogether out of the question as a frequent early Irish vocable. In all instances the position is the same: **xoi** or **xi** follows immediately the title-name, which is genitive. The word

seems to be adverbial, and the most suitable sense, to my mind, is 'here' or 'thus.' If this be the meaning, it would help to explain the introduction of "hic iacit" into phrases with genitive construction in several British Latin inscriptions which contain names of the Ogham period nomenclature. I can suggest no etymological resemblance except to the particle *ce* in the frequent poetical locutions, *for bith che, in doman ce*, etc.

26. **Luguni locid maqi Alotto**, 115.

Macalister, with the impression that **locid** denotes something like 'tomb,' says that an inverted locution is here "manifest." It seems safer to look for a term in apposition to **Luguni**, as in **Lugutti velitas** 70, or for an adjectival epithet, as possibly in **Gosocteas mosac** 108. The early MS. equivalent of **locid** would be *lū (ō, na) ch (ce) i d (t)*, and if this be an *o*-stem genitive, it would become *e* in the nom. = \***locidas**. It appears to me that the equivalent occurs in *Lucet mael* (nom.) L. Arm. The variants for *Lucet* are *Loiet*, *Logith*, pointing to an early MS. *Lochet*, *Lochit*, in which *ō* has not yet become *ū*. Hence *Luchet* may be regarded as the normal O. I. spelling. This corresponds to an Ogham form \***locidas**, gen. \***locidi**, late **locid**, in which *c* = *ch*, and *d* = O. I. *t* = early Celtic *nt*. The words, "*Lucet mael qui et Ronal*," with which the name is introduced by Muirchu, indicate Ronal as the personal name, and *Lucet mael*, 'the tonsured L.,' as a secondary appellation. *Lucet Mael* was one of the two chief druids of Loiguire, king of Ireland.

D.—CUSTOMARY TERMS AND FORMULÆ.

1. The most frequent term is **maqi**, normally with the literal meaning 'son,' used in apposition to the proper name which precedes.

2. But in a considerable number of instances **maqi** forms part of a proper name, as in the MS. nomenclature, e.g. *Mac Bethad*, *Mac Riagla*, forenames, not patronymics. In Oghams this use is distinguishable in two ways: (1) **maqi** is the first word in the inscription; (2) **maqi** is preceded by **maqi** or **avi** or **mucoi**.

3. Names so formed do not indicate the actual filial relation. **Maqi Ttal(i) maqi Vorgos** (91) does not mean 'son of Tál son of Fuirg' in the sense that Tál is the father of the person commemorated. That person's name is **Maqi-Tal**, *Mac Táil* of the genealogies, *Macc Táil*, *Mactaleus* of L. Arm. This name is explained in LB 89: *ocus is aire is Macc Táil ar thál in tsacir do gabáil*—'It (he) is Macc Táil by reason of taking up or plying the (*tál*) adze of the craftsman.'

4. **Maqi Liag** may be explained on analogous lines, as meaning one devoted to the craft of great stones. The Ogham monuments bear witness that the stone-cutter's craft was not established in Ireland in their time.

Hence it is likely that *Mac Liag* denoted primarily a person devoted or affiliated to the craft of inscribing oghams on the rude undressed pillar-stones of the country.

5. A somewhat different shade of meaning may be traced in names in which **maqi**, *macc*, is followed by the name of a tree. **Maqi Cairatini** = *Macc Cairthin*, L. Arm., 'son of rowantree.' So *Macc I* and *Macc Ibair*, 'son of yew,' *Macc Cuill*, L. Arm., 'son of hazel,' *Macc Dregin*, ib., 'son of blackthorn,' *Macc Cuilinn*, 'son of holly,' *Macc Dara*, 'son of oak.' Even in the Norman period the Irish changed *Mac Piarais*, 'son of Piers (de Bermingham),' into *Mac Fébrais*, 'son of spindle-tree,' which is still the Irish equivalent of the surname Bermingham. Here again a traditional explanation is forthcoming. Keating, following older writers, says: *Coll fa dia do Mhac Cuill*—'*Coll*, hazel, was a god to Mac Cuill,' son of hazel. In fact, these names arose from tree-worship, of which traces are still extant throughout Ireland.

6. A third class of names is that in which **maqi**, *macc*, is followed by the name of a person, male or female. Here also worship or dedication seems to be indicated. The frequent **Maqi Ercias**, *Macc Erce* (*Ercac*, *Erca*), refers to a female *Erc*, a name which occurs in the BB list of legendary women. Possibly the meaning is 'son of heaven,' *erc* i. *nem*. Other names apparently of this class are **Maqi Decedas** = *Macc Derhet*, **Maqi Iari** (< *Ivëri*?) = *Macc Iair* (Iar son of Dedu, eponymous ancestor of the Érainn = Clanda Dedad), **Maqi Qettia(s)**, **Maqi Ainia(s)**, **Maqi Retta** (*Recta*, *Rhys*),<sup>1</sup> **Maqi Nalggeri**?, **Maqi Riteas**,<sup>2</sup> **Maqi Ddumileas**,<sup>3</sup> **Maqi Treni**, **Maqi Qorini**.

7. **Inigena** = MS. *ingen*, 'daughter' appears in the late gen. (i)nagen(e) 76, where **a** seems to arise from a mistaken archaism.\*

8. The general usage of **mucoi**, MS. *moccu*, has been shown by me in *Eriu*, vol. iii, p. 42. It is followed by the genitive of the name of the eponymous ancestor of the tuath to which the person commemorated belongs. By prefixing *dál* or *corcu* to this genitive, or by adding to the eponym the suffix *-rige*, *-ne*, or *-acht*, the name of the tuath is formed; but sometimes the plural of the eponym serves as a name for the tuath. In MS. Irish, *moccu* becomes indeclinable, and the data seem insufficient to establish the usage of aspiration in the initial of the following name.

9. The precise sense of **mucoi** has not been fixed. Macalister regards **mucoi** as denoting an individual, and translates it by 'tribesman' or

<sup>1</sup> *Mac Rechto* BB 85a9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Macrithe* BB 131a41, *ingen Maic Reithi* 224b359.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *maic Maic Domle* BB 122a13, *Finharr Indsi Doimle* 215b44.

<sup>4</sup> Macalister's reading of *ingene* 194 must be rejected, as the consonant **ng** cannot stand for **n + g**.

'descendant.' Rhys treats it as a collective noun, meaning 'kindred.' The latter meaning, understood as 'posterity, offspring,' appears to suit best the various uses of the term. In oghams, **mucoi** is most often preceded by **maqi**, once by **inagene** 76, but in a good proportion of instances no such word precedes. In Macalister's sense, **mucoi** not preceded by **maqi** must denote 'the descendant,' i.e. the chief descendant of the eponymous ancestor. Then **maqi mucoi** would imply that this **mucoi** was regarded as patriarch of the kindred, who were called his sons and daughters. There is an exact, perhaps too exact, parallel to this in the modern use of *Ua Néill*, *Ua Briain*, etc. When the surname alone designates an individual, that individual is the chief. But *mac Uí Néill*, *mac Uí Bhriain*, etc., may be used of any male member of the family. It seems as simple to understand "A **mucoi** B" to mean "A of the posterity of B," and "A **maqi mucoi** B" to mean "A son (i.e. member) of the posterity of B," the formulæ being equivalent in value. In MS. usage, *moccu* has not been found preceded by *macc* or *ingen*; and since it is found applied to ecclesiastics and to contemporary members of the same kindred,<sup>1</sup> it can have no meaning of 'chief.'<sup>2</sup>

10. *Moccu* is not confined to the usage after personal names. The following are some instances of general usage:—

*Fintenus gente mocu Moie Adamnan.*

*Mailodranus gente mocu Rín ib.*

*Lugbeus gente mocu Min' ib.* (twice).

*Cruth de genere Runtir* L. Arm., beside *Trenanus mocu Runtir Adamnan.*

*Venit Patricius ad insolas Maccu Chor* L. Arm.

*Sedens loco hi nDruim moccu Echach* L. Arm.

*Druim moccu Blai*, place-name, *Onomasticon.*

*Chlain moccu Nóis* = Clonmacnois.

*Inis moccu Chuinn* = Inchiquin island.

*macraid .i. maccu raith* LB 94.

*Cóica lín moccu Luigdech, coica lín moccu Nemongin.* 'Fifty was the number of moccu L., etc.' (Expulsion of Déssi, Ériu, iii, p. 138.) Followed by *coica laech do maccaib Oengusa*, 'fifty warriors of the sons of Oengus.'

These instances seem to prove that *moccu* (= *gens*, *genus*, *maerad*, *maccaib*) is a collective term, and that following a personal name it is to be understood as a partitive genitive.

<sup>1</sup> See instance of *moccu Céin*, Ériu, l.c.

<sup>2</sup> In Ériu l.c., not yet understanding the consonant-system in oghams, I supposed that Ogham **mucoi** must produce MS. *mochu* (better *mochu*), and hence suggested wrongly that *moccu* arose from a pretonic contraction of the locution **maq(as) mucoi**.

11. *avi* in oghams has usually been translated 'grandson.' I question if it ever has this meaning in them, and suggest that it means 'a remote descendant,' and is used as the recognized term for indicating the sept, *cenél*, *aieme*, a subdivision of the tuath. In the genealogies, the primary septs, i.e. the first and principal subdivisions of the tuath, not unfrequently have feminine eponyms, e.g. *Ui Brigte*, *Ui Erca*. In sub-septs, arising from division of primary septs, the ancestors appear to be always male.<sup>1</sup>

The relative frequency of feminine names after *avi* is notable. Hence I think that *avi* denotes remote descent, probably from a mythological ancestor.

12. The instances of *avi* noted in which the name following is ascertainable are as follows:—

- Cunamaqqi avi Corbbi** 19.  
**a Curciti avi Vodduv angac** ? 40.  
**Uvanos avi Ivacattos** 50.  
**Maqi-Nalggeri maqi Tabirrass avi Qettias** 61.  
**Isari avi Ggatteci** 110.  
**Colomagni avi Ducagni** 129.  
**Maqi-Decceddass avi Turanias** 135.  
**Artagni avi Ditibeas** ? 154.  
**Anavlamattias mucoi Maqi-Euri<sup>2</sup> avi Axeras** 196.  
**Cunalegea<sup>3</sup> maqi C . . . salar celi Ave Qvecea** 216.  
**Ebrasi maqi Elti avi Ogatas** ? 228.  
**Qrit . . . maqi Lobacona avi Seagracolinea** 240.  
**Cunalegi avi Cunacanos** J, 1898, p. 402.  
**Navvallo avvi Genittac[ci]** J, 1895, p. 133.  
**Sedan[i avvi Der]camasoci** ib.  
**Maqi Cairatini avi Ineqaglas** J, 1898, p. 57.

13. Barry has already identified **Avvi Genittac** with the Leinster sept *Ui Gentig*, and **Avvi [Der]camasoci** with the Leinster sept *Ui Dercmossaig*.<sup>4</sup> Both oghams belong to Leinster. **Avi Ineqaglas(i)** is found in an ogham of southern Meath, which was Leinster territory until the beginning of the sixth century. The name is that of the Leinster sept *Ui Enechglais*. **Avi Turanias**, in a Kerry ogham, contains the name of the Ciarraige sept *Ui Torna*. If I am right in regarding **Ave Qvecea** as gen. pl., it suggests another sept. The

<sup>1</sup> Feminine eponyms are no proof of matriarchy. They may be ascribed to a mixture of religious and genealogical notions. The Athenians are not regarded as having followed matriarchy, though their eponym is the name of a goddess.

<sup>2</sup> More likely **Maqi Iari** as in 13.

<sup>3</sup> Read **Cunalegi** as in the third following inser.?

<sup>4</sup> *Dearemosaich mac Cathair Mair* BB 131818.

somewhat exceptional formula in No. 196 may be translated 'of Anblomaith of the tuath of Macc Iair [and] of the sept [thereof] Aui Acher.' In early MS. usage *ave*, *ua*, is frequently used to denote the sept. S. Cormac Ua Liatháin the voyager was a contemporary of S. Columb Cille in the sixth century. He is surnamed, not from his grandfather, but from a remote ancestor, Eochu Liathán, eponymous ancestor of the Munster sept Uí Liatháin, who, if he ever lived, must have lived in the third or fourth century. Hence I am of opinion that when we find *avi* in oghams we should expect to find it followed, not by the name of a grandfather, but by the eponym of an ancient sept.<sup>1</sup>

14. *Celi* O. I. *céli*, nom. *céle* = \**cēlias*, has two clear instances: **Alatto celi Battigni** 106, and . . . **celi Ave Qvecea** 216. Macalister translates 'devotee' following such names as *Céle Dé*, *Céle Críst*, *Céle Petair*, in Christian nomenclature. But this is a secondary sense. *Céle* means a 'tenant, vassal, follower, or retainer under a chief, *flaith*.' *Céle* and *flaith* are correlative terms.

15. *Niotas* and *netas* I take to be two distinct words, *niotas* = nephew, and *netas* = champion. The nominatives and eventually all the cases fall together in MS. spelling. The two meanings, *macc sethur*, 'sister's son,' and *trénfer*, 'champion,' are given in Cormac's Glossary for *nia*, *niar*.

16. *Niotta*, *niott*, appears to present a late Ogham vocalization of \**nēūtas* < \**nēpūtos* = Latin *nēpōtis*. The MS. nom. should be \**nia* = \**neus* < \**neuts*. *Maccnio*, *Cathnio*, are found in AU 708, 769, and in them the nom. seems to be transferred from the stem *neut-* to the stem *nēl-*.

17. A similar exchange of stems is found in the gen. "*In regno Coirpri Nioth Fer*," "*filios Nioth Fruich*," L. Arm. O. I. *nioth* can hardly be derived from *nētas*. *Coirpre Nia Fer* cannot mean 'C. nephew of men,' and against *Nioth Fruich* stands the ogham **Netta Vroice(i) maqi muccoi Tre[n]a[lu] ggo** J, 1903, p. 76. Hence I think that the confusion of stems, which is complete in Mid. L., had already begun in O. I.

18. *niot-* occurs in:

**Dumeli maqi Glasiconas niotta Cobranoras** 71, **Niott Vrecc maqi Covatagni** 93.

In 71, the sense of 'nephew' (perhaps 'descendant in the female line') seems apt. It is not quite so clear in 93, but may denote some kind of religious affiliation.

Macalister's equation of **Niott Vrecc** with **Netta Vroicc** is not sustained by any known instance of vocalic interchange in the Ogham period. "The

<sup>1</sup> Rhys reads **Av[i] Vlatiami** as the commencement of an inscription, J, 1903, p. 81. I think **Anm** or **Anne** may have been the first word.

stone is partly concealed by earth," and possibly *ec* is either wrongly read or wrongly inscribed for *oi*.

19. *nētas* has the regular MS. equivalent in *Oisseneus moru Neth Corb* Adamnan. The eponym corresponds to *Dál Niad Corb* of the genealogies, the dynastic house of the kingdom of Leinster. Here *Néth*, *Niad*, retains its accent, and consequently its long vowel.

20. In *Cunanetas* = *Connath*, *Connad*, the accent is lost, and the atonic *netas* becomes *nath*, *nad*. As a separate element prefixed to a genitive, *netas* sometimes remains accented, e.g. *Nia Fer*, *Nia Náir*, *Nia Segamon*, *Nia Corb*, but more often becomes proclitic, taking the atonic form *nath*, *nad*, oftener with further weakening *nat* = *nt* (cf. the modern *Mleachlainn* = *Mael Sechnaill*, *Mō-riain* = *Mlriain* = *Mael Riain*, "Morony" = *Mael Ruanada*, beside *Maoilre* = *Mael Muire*).

21. Genealogies afford the following instances of *nath*, *nat*: *Nat Froich* (*Fruich*, *Fraich*) = **Netta Vroicci**, *Nat Suird*, *Nat Sár*, *Nastar*, *Nasar*, *Nazar* (in L. Arm. *Nazarus* and *Nazarius*) = **Netta Sagru**, *Nathi* = *Nath Í*? (i gen. of *có*, 'yew'), *Nad Brech*, *Naithleach* gen.?, *Nat Saiglenn*, *Nat Buidb*, *Nat Shuaig* (*Shuaga*, *Shuagda*). *Nad Shuaig* i. *nia sl(uuig)* BB 168β25 gives the traditional interpretation.

22. *Nat* (*nath*, *nad*) is indeclinable, so that *Nioth Fruich* L. Arm., may be an attempted archaism.<sup>1</sup> But the various forms of *Nat Sár* have the genitive *-áir* in pedigrees, where analogous inflexions are often wrongly introduced.

23. From the stem *nēt*, we should expect the nom. (\**nēts*) \**nēs*, giving O. I. \**né*; but I find only *nia*, *niae*, *-nio*. However, *Nesluagha* BB 222β33 can hardly be a mere slip of the copyist.<sup>2</sup>

24. The stem appears to occur in *Neton*, the name of the Aquitanian "Mars," and in "*Netoni deo*" of an inscr. at Trujillo (Holder), *Nede* = \**nētios*. In composition it occurs in the Ogham names **Netacunas**, **Netacari**, **Netacagi** (or **-cagni**).

<sup>1</sup> In other texts I only find *Nat* (*Nad*) *Fraich*, indeclinable.

<sup>2</sup> Since writing the above I have found nom. *Nae*, gen. *Nioth* and *Nad Buigh* (= *Nat Buidb*), in the *Dési* genealogy, BB 149β135, β11, 14, all three apparently referring to the same person. Here as in *Nioth Fer*, *Nioth Fruich* L. Arm., gen. *nioth* seems to have been transferred from nom. \**niu*.

## VI.

## AN IRISH HISTORICAL TRACT DATED A.D. 721.

BY JOHN MACNEILL, B.A.

Read APRIL 11. Ordered for Publication APRIL 13. Published JULY 15, 1910.

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## ABBREVIATIONS.

A = the Irish synchronistic tract headed "A" in Todd Lecture Series (Royal Irish Academy), vol. iii., p. 278.

B = the Irish synchronistic tract headed "B," *ib.* p. 286.

Z = the Irish synchronistic tract quoted in this paper from

BB = the Book of Ballymote (R.I.A. facsimile), and

Lecan = the Book of Lecan, ms. in Royal Irish Academy.

## 1. INTRODUCTORY.

THE Irish Synchronisms represent the earliest essays to construct the history of Ireland before St. Patrick. The origin of the Synchronisms has been well explained by the late Dr. Bartholomew MacCarthy in one of his Todd Lectures.<sup>1</sup> They were written in imitation of St. Jerome's Latin version of the Chronicon of Eusebius. Dr. MacCarthy brings forward evidence to show that one of the synchronistic tracts printed by him, the tract which he designates by "A," "may date from the end of the sixth century." In a later work, he writes of this tract that it "was composed towards the end of the sixth century."<sup>2</sup> The text dealt with in the present paper represents an original composed early in the eighth century. Two sections of it are quoted by Dr. MacCarthy. The remainder may have escaped his notice by reason of the peculiar form in which the document has been preserved.

I have called this document Z. It does not appear to exist anywhere as a whole. Separated portions of it are embodied in the versions of the *Lebor*

<sup>1</sup> R. I. A., Todd Lecture Series, vol. iii., pp. 244, 245.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of Ulster, MacCarthy's Introduction, vol. iv., p. cix.

*Gabála* and *Flaithríusa Hérenn* contained in the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan. These portions when brought together are seen to form a continuous and homogeneous text. So complete is the continuity that in one place in the Book of Ballymote the opening sentence of the excerpt has for its subject a pronoun having reference to a personal name of which the last previous mention is found four pages back.

Owing to the loss of several leaves in each MS., the text of Z is not complete either in BB or in Lecan; but fortunately all that is missing in one appears to be supplied in the other. Two of the sections, V. and VI., are contained in both MSS.

The present paper deals chiefly with the earlier portion of the text. In the sections quoted and translated, I have omitted long lists of oriental kings in which no reference to Ireland occurs. I have indicated such omissions in the customary way.

The later sections of the text embody an account of Irish matters which are within the period of contemporary records or border closely thereon. Of these sections, I have quoted only those parts which establish the date of compilation. The remaining parts demand separate study and fall outside of the scope of this paper. To edit the text in its entirety will be a necessary part of the work of producing a complete edition of the early versions of the "Book of Invasions"—a work of such importance to the study of Irish and British origins that one wonders why it has been hitherto neglected.

The original of Z was written in the year 721. So far as I am aware, no other document containing the general framework of Irish legendary history exists of earlier date than the eleventh century. Z is thus a text of the highest critical value as showing how the historical legend grew and developed in succeeding centuries. A large development will be seen to have taken place in the legend of the Sons of Míl, i.e. in the origin-legend of the Gaelic people. According to Gilla Coemáin, writing in the eleventh century, the Gaels conquered Ireland about 1545 B.C. According to Z, this conquest took place no earlier than 331 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Z, in fact, supplies a solvent by means of which we are enabled to eliminate a large element of medieval elaboration and invention, and to obtain a nearer and clearer view of the genuine outlines of Irish primitive tradition.

For some British archaeologists it appears to be almost a settled doctrine that the Gaelic Celts reached Great Britain and Ireland in the beginning of

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<sup>1</sup> See Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 186. The relations of A and Z to the Irish sources of Nennius may deserve investigation.

the Bronze Age, that is to say, perhaps a thousand years before any Celts are known to have reached the coasts of Gaul and Spain. This theory has long seemed to me to be chiefly sustained by the scaffolding that surrounds it. I do not know how far it may have been suggested by the claims to remote antiquity put forward on behalf of the Gaelic people in Ireland by their medieval historians. At all events, it is not irrelevant to point out that the writer of *Z*, the oldest known document which assigns a period to the Gaelic conquest of Ireland, is content to claim for that event a date no more remote than the time of Alexander the Great. To my mind, it has neither been proved nor shown probable that any Celtic people had settled in Britain or Ireland before the Celts were already far advanced in the use of iron. While I attach no precise importance to *Z*'s date for the Gaelic immigration—the method by which that date was determined will be shown in further analysis—I consider it reasonable to think that the migrations to Ireland came in natural sequence from the occupation of the Atlantic seaboard by the Celts, and may not have begun earlier than the fifth century B.C.

## 2. TEXTUAL EXTRACTS WITH TRANSLATION.

### I. (BB 21 β 28).

I cind .ccc. bl. iar ndilind ro gab  
Partholon *Erinn*, no dno amar aderam  
bos treabhsad a sil .l. bl. ar .u.c. conda-  
sealgadar *Concheind* go na terno neach  
di[a] claind ana beathaigh tricha bl.  
iarsin gan duine beo a n*Erinn*.

At the end of 300 years after the  
Flood, Partholon took possession of Ire-  
land, or else, as we shall further relate,  
his race dwelt [here] 550 years until  
the Dogheads slew them, so that not one  
of their posterity escaped alive. For  
thirty years thereafter, there was no  
one alive in Ireland.

[Then follows an account of certain prediluvian immigrants to Ireland—  
Capa, Laighne, and Sluasad, and again Cessair and her company.]

### II. (BB 23 α 29).<sup>1</sup>

*Ocus* nir gabh neach do chloind Adham  
re ndili *Erinn* acht sain. Ba fas tra  
Eriu fria re .ccc. bla. conas-torracht  
Partholon. no da bl. ar mile 7 is fir  
eissein. doig is .lx. bl. ba slan do

And no one of the race of Adam before  
the Flood took possession of Ireland but  
these. Now Ireland was vacant for the  
space of 300 years until Partholon  
reached it; or rather 1002 years, and

<sup>1</sup> I give this section in its order, but regard it as forming no part of the original tract. Its object is to amend the earlier reckoning. For Mac Carthy's translation and emendations, see Todd Lect. iii., p. 262.

Abraham in tan ro gabh Partholon Eriu 7 da bl. xl.<sup>a</sup> 7 ix. c. o Abraham co dilind suas .i. lx. aissi Abraham frisin .lx. sin conadh .c.<sup>a</sup> i. c. sin frisna .ix. c. conadh mile 7 da bl. fairsin conad follus assin conadh da blia. ar mile o dilind co tiachtain Partholon a nErinn. Ocht mbla. .l. 7 se .c. 7 da mili o tosach domain co tainig Partholon a nErinn. ui. c. bl. 7 da mili acht di bliadain da easbaigh o Adam co hAbraham.

that is true. For Abraham had completed 60 years when Partholon occupied Ireland, and there are 942 years from Abraham backwards to the Flood, i.e. the sixty of Abraham's age in addition to the former sixty, which makes [102?] besides the 900, making 1002 years, so that it is evident therefrom that from the Flood to the arrival of Partholon in Ireland is 1002 years. 2658 years from the beginning of the world till Partholon came to Ireland. 2600 years all but two from Adam to Abraham.

### III. (BB 26 a 7).

In n-aes thanaisdi dno o dilind co hAbraham is da bl. xl. 7 ix. c. bliadan a fad sidhein 7 i cind .lx. bl. iarsin ro gabh Partholon Erinn .l. ar .u.c. o thiachtain Partholon a nErinn co tam-leacht a muindtire. [Here follows a synchronic list of eastern rulers without reference to Ireland, down to 26 a 25.] in lx.<sup>o</sup> anno etaitis Abraham ro ghabh Partholon Erinn. [Synchronic list continued to 26 a 34] .l. ar .u.c. bl. do bhi sil Partholon a nErinn. . . . . [26 a 37] Reimheas .xvi. righ do righaib in domain do chaith sil Partholon a nErinn. . . . . [26 a 44] Pelocus adho<sup>1</sup> fo .u. nó tri bl. tricad 7 xii. bl. dib a comh-fhlaithius re sil Partholon .i. co tamhleacht muindteiri Partholon 7 a tri deg dibh 7 Eire fas ingean Phelocis .uiii. mbl. conadh da bl. xx. sin bheos 7 Eiri fas. Athosa 7 Saimiraimmis a dha hainm na hingene sin. Poilipoiris xxx. bl. 7 ix. mbl. dho a rigne in doma[i]n in tan tanig Neimeadh a nErinn na .ix. mbl. 7 in bl. ar .xx. isiat sin in tricha

The second age of the world then from the Flood to Abraham, 942 years is the length thereof, and 60 years thereafter Partholon took possession of Ireland. 550 from Partholon's arrival in Ireland to the death of his people by plague<sup>2</sup>. . . . In sexagesimo anno aetatis Abraham Partholon occupied Ireland. . . . For 550 years the race of Partholon was in Ireland. . . . It was the time of 16 kings of the kings of the world that Partholon's race spent in Ireland. . . . Belocus [reigned] five times five years, or thirty-three years and twelve years thereof in co-sovereignty with Partholon's race, i.e. till the destruction of Partholon's people by plague<sup>3</sup>; and during thirteen years thereof Ireland was empty. The daughter of Belocus [reigned] eight years, so that that is 22 (21) years so far in which Ireland was empty. Atossa and Semiramis are the two names of that daughter. Balepares [reigned] 30 years, and was 9 years in the kingship of the world when Nemed

<sup>1</sup> Read a. u. (mistaken for a. ii.).

<sup>2</sup> "The second age . . . plague" is evidently interpolated. See sec. i.

<sup>3</sup> "Till . . . plague" interpolated.

bl. ro bai Eiri ig fas.<sup>1</sup> O ro indsimar tra do Cheassair 7 do Parrtholon gu leir 7 dia comaimsearaibh o Adham co dilinn 7 o dilinn co hAbraham 7 o Abraham co Neimheadh go fhis comaimsearreachta gach righ do ghabh in domun frisin re sin. 7 is fearr duind indisin do Neimhead 7 dona rigaibh rena re.

came to Ireland. The 9 years and the 21 make the 30 years for which Ireland was empty. Since we have told now of Cessair and of Partholon thoroughly, and of their synchronizings from Adam to the Flood and from the Flood to Abraham, and from Abraham to Nemed, explaining the synchronism of every king who ruled the world during that time, it is better for us to tell of Nemed and of the kings in his time.

#### IV. (BB 27 β 20).

Da fhicheat bl. 7 se .c. o gein Abraham co tiachtain Neimidh in nErinn .i. in lx. ro chaith Abraham co tiachtain Parrtholon in nErinn 7 in .l. ar. u.c. aibh ro bai sil Parrtholon in Erinn 7 in .xxx. ro bai Eriu ig fas conad iadsin na da .xx. 7 na .ui. c. bl. o Abraham co Neimeadh. Da bl. immorro 7 .lx. 7 u.c. 7 mile o dilind co tiacht Neimeadh a nErinn. Tricha bl. 7 ii.c. tra o thainig Neimeadh a nErinn gu toghail tuir Conaing. Poilipoiris ro bai in airdrige in doma[i]n in tan tainig Neimidh asin Sceithia a nErinn xxx. bl. aireimheas 7 ix. bl. do ir-righe reimh Neimeadh<sup>2</sup> . . . . . (β 40) Secht mbliadna tra o thamleachta muindtiri Parrtholon gu toghail Trae<sup>3</sup> . . . . . (β 45) Et Tonus Concoler nó Conaeler .xx. bl. Ise sin tiuglaith Asardha. Sarrdanapallas a ainm gregdha do shuimh chuigile do chuaidh condhearrnaidh cailleach de conroloise fein i teinidh. cccc. 7 lxx. bl. o thainig Neimidh in nErinn co forbha flaithiusa Assardha 7 iiii. rig dheg fria sil Neimidh. Mili 7 cc. 7 ii. xx.

640 years from Abraham's birth to Nemed's arrival in Ireland, i.e. the 60 that Abraham lived until Partholon's coming to Ireland, and the 550 that Partholon's race lived in Ireland, and the 30 in which Ireland was empty—these make the 640 years from Abraham to Nemed. 1562 from the Flood to Nemed's arrival in Ireland.<sup>3</sup> 230 years from when Nemed came to Ireland till the destruction of Conaing's tower. Bulepares was in the sovereignty of the world when Nemed came from Scythia to Ireland. 30 years was his reign, and he was 9 years king before Nemed. . . . Seven years from the destruction of Partholon's people by plague to the destruction of Troy. . . . And Thonos Concolerus, 20 years. He is the last Assyrian sovereign. Sardanapalus was his Greek name. He took to spinning with a distaff, so that he became an old wife and burned himself in a fire. 470 years from when Nemed came to Ireland till the end of the Assyrian sovereignty, and 14 kings during [the time of]

<sup>1</sup> The incorrect insertion of *ig* before *fas* is interesting as an indication that the modern *a'fás* — *ag fás* dates back as far as the fourteenth century. The mistake is repeated in IV, 6, so cannot be fortuitous.

<sup>2</sup> Lists of Assyrian kings are here given.

<sup>3</sup> This section so far is given by Mac Carthy, p. 263.

fot flaithiusa na nAssarda 7 se<sup>1</sup> righ  
tricad ro bhadar frisin re sin ut dixit  
poeta.

Da xx.<sup>it</sup> da .c. gan chair<sup>·</sup>  
mili ni breg do bliadnaib<sup>·</sup>  
fad a flaithis bha brigh bhale<sup>·</sup>  
re re na n-ocht righ tricad  
Madh o. c. bliada[i]n Nin nair<sup>·</sup>  
ro ghabhsat riagail sógraid<sup>2</sup>  
mili gidh mo meadh<sup>3</sup> namma<sup>·</sup>  
da .c. 7 xl.

Iar flaithius Assarrdha ig Cichloiscibh  
ro bai .i. c. bl. doibh 7 ui. righanda dibh  
risin re sin Marsebia 7 Lapitha Ensiopa  
Iiorithia Antiobla Pentisilia dno. Innis-  
tear cheana isin stair Dariat Pentisilia  
do bheith illeith na Troianda ig catugh-  
adh fria Gregaibh go ndorcair la Pírr  
mc. Aichir Masse Tutaineis ro bhi in  
n-aimsir toghla Troi is a comainsir  
frisna hAssarrdaibh ro bhái. Pentisilia  
ag na Cichloisethibh ria no<sup>4</sup> ro thoghladh  
in Trai. Flaithius Meadh ba he in  
t-ardflaithius a ndiaidh na nAsradha .i.  
ocht righa ro bhadar dibh nae<sup>5</sup> mbliadhna  
.l. 7 cc. fad a flaithiusa ut dicitur.

Nae mbliadhna .l. da. cet<sup>·</sup>  
re riagladh<sup>6</sup> ni himirbreg  
fod flatha Meadh brigh co mblaidh<sup>·</sup>  
re re ocht righ do righaibh.

Nemed's race. 1240 [years was] the  
duration of the empire of the Assyrians,  
and 36 [or 38] kings there were during  
that time, ut dixit poeta:

Two score, two hundred, without fault,  
a thousand, it is no lie, of years  
the length of their sovereignty that  
was a solid strength  
in the time of the thirty-eight kings.  
If it be [reckoned] from the first year of  
noble Ninus  
that they held the rule of high degree,  
a thousand only, though it be the  
greatest number(?),  
two hundred and forty.

After the empire of the Assyrians,  
the Amazons had it i.e. 100 years for  
them and six queens of them during that  
time, Marsebia and Lapitha, Ensiopa,  
Iiorithia, Antiobla, Penthesilea. It is  
told, however, in the history of Dares  
that Penthesilea was on the side of the  
Trojans warring against the Greeks, till  
she was slain by Pyrrhus son of Achilles.  
If it was Tautamus that lived in the  
time of the Sack of Troy, he was con-  
temporary with the Assyrians. Pen-  
thesilea [reigned] among the Amazons  
before Troy was sacked. The sovereignty  
of the Medes was the supreme sove-  
reignty after the Assyrians,<sup>7</sup> i.e. eight  
kings there were of them. 259 [?]   
years was the duration of their realm, ut  
dicitur:

Two hundred and fifty-nine years,  
according to rules, it is no falsehood,  
the length of the reign of the Medes,  
a power with fame,  
during the time of eight kings.

<sup>1</sup> "no ocht" written over "se."

<sup>2</sup> Read rográid.

<sup>3</sup> Read méid, mét.

<sup>4</sup> Read resiu?

<sup>5</sup> "no .u." written over "nae."

<sup>6</sup> Read re (= fri) riagla?

<sup>7</sup> Meaning that the Amazon kingdom is not reckoned as a "world-kingdom."

Arbait in .c. righ dībh ocht. mbl. xx. do. Suffonus xxx. b. do. Is ina re ro bhair tiughfhlaith Asardha .i. Sardana-pallus 7 Madidus. xxx. bl. is na re rug Salmnasar cethbroid .x. treibi. Cardicias .xiii. bl. 7 Deachus .iiii. b. l. do. Isin-dala bl. xxx. a rīghe cath Leithead Lachtmaidhe i nDail Riada indorchair Starnd mac Neimidh re Conaind mac Faebair i cind .uiii. mbl. iarsin toghail tuir Conaind 7 dicur cloindi Neimidh a hErinn .c. bl. 7 xl. do fhlaithius Meadh tarthadar sil Neimidh ceithri .c. bl. 7 lxx. ro chaithsead do fhaithius Asardha 7 se dec nō xiii. rīgh ar Asardhaibh 7 se rīgna na Cichloisce 7 u. rīgh do rīghaibh na Meadh ro chaithesdair cona shil in Erinn isiad sin tra in xxx. 7 na dha .c. ro badar sil Neimhidh in Erinn. Deochus uero u. bl. no a .iiii. l. i rīghi 7 Eiriu fas. Fraortes .xx. .iiii. bliadna Cir atreas uiii ised a re ro bai Nabhgodon im mBhabiloīn 7 Astiagheis uiii. mbl. xx. go-ro-n-aithrigh Cir mac Dair mac a ingene fein. Is na re ro loise Nabhgodon fa dho Ierusalem. Ise sin thra fhlaithius Meadh .xu. b. 7 xxx. d. 7 Eri fas in fhlaithius dar eis Meadh ag na Gallag-daibh ro bai 7 nī hairimhtear amal ard-fhlaithius itir sen .i. Nabgodon. a xiii. 7 a mac .i. Ebelimordach. xuii. mb. 7 a ua Negusar .xl. 7 a iarmua Labasairdech .ix. missa 7 a indua Ballasdair xuiii. bl. Cuig rīgh sin do Ghalladagaibh 7 c. bl. 7 na .u. bl. deg 7 na ceithri xx. ro bhadar Meadha i rīghi 7 Eiri fas 7 na .u. bl. 7 in c. ro bhadar na Galladagtha isiad sin na .c. bl. ro bai Eri fas o thoghail tuir Connaind co loingis Fear mBholg.<sup>1</sup>

Arbaces, the first king of them, 28 years for him. Sosarmus, 30 years for him. In his time lived the last ruler of the Assyrians, i.e. Sardanapalus. Mamycus, 30 years. In his time Salmanassar carried off the first captivity of the Ten Tribes. Cardaces, 13 years, and Deioces, 54 years for him. In the 32nd year of his reign, the battle of Lethet Lachtmaige in Dal Riada, in which Starnn son of Nemed was slain by Conann (or Conaing) son of Faebair. Eight years later, the destruction of Conann's tower and the expulsion of Nemed's race from Ireland. 140 years of the empire of the Medes, the race of Nemed lasted. 470 years they spent of the Assyrian empire; and [the time of] sixteen or thirteen kings over the Assyrians, six queens of the Amazons, and five kings of the kings of the Medes, he [Nemed] and his race passed in Ireland. Those are the 230 years that Nemed's race was in Ireland. Deioces was 55 or 54 years reigning, Ireland being empty; Phraortis 24 years; Cyaxares 8 — it was [for] his time that Nabuchodonosor was in Babylon; and Astyages 28 years until his own daughter's son, Cyrus son of Darius, deposed him. It was in his time that Nabuchodonosor twice burned Jerusalem. That then is the empire of the Medes, 45 (?) years, Ireland being empty. After the Medes, the sovereignty was held by the Chaldeans, and that is not accounted at all as a supreme empire; i.e. Nabuchodonosor 13, and his son Evilmerodach 17 years, and his grandson Neriglissor 40 and his greatgrandson Laborosoarchod 9 months, and his great-great-grandson Balthassar 18 years. That makes five

<sup>1</sup> The numerals in this section must be wrongly transcribed in several places.

kings of the Chaldeans and 100 years; and the 95 years that the Medes reigned, Ireland being empty, and the 105 years that the Chaldeans reigned, make up the [two] hundred years that Ireland was empty from the destruction of Conann's tower to the voyage of the Fir Bolg.

# V. (BB 31 β 38.)

*Et* da .c. bl. do bhi Eri fas o thoghail thuir *Conaind* cu tangadar Fir Bholg. Comaimseardhacht righ in domain andso fria righaibh Fear mBholg .i. a ndeireadh fhlaitheusa na nGallagtha tra tangadar Fir Bolg a nErinn .i. a tiughlaithsidhe 7 is do tarfas dornn gan righidh ig scribeand 7 issed ro scribh mane techel 7 faires .i. umir 7 tomhus 7 foghail 7 is fair ro thoghail Cir mac Dair im mBaibiloin 7 ro marb Ballastair 7 ise Cir ro leg in mbroid do *Erusalem* iar mbeith doi .lxx. bl. a ndaire Flaithius Pers tra a ndiaidh na nGallagtha .i. da righ dec ro gabastair dhibh. trica 7 da .c. bliadan doibh .i. sil Elaimh meic Sheimh meic Nae Laimida ba sloindidh doibh gu Persus mac Ioib 7 Pers immorro osin amach. Cir mac Dair a ceidrigh siden tricha bliadan do gunorchair la Seitheagthaibh. gu tri .c. mile uime 7 isse sin rug m.l. mile<sup>1</sup> do broid *Ierusalem* a Babbiloin 7 u.<sup>1</sup> castair oir 7 mile<sup>1</sup> castar n-airgid a lin. Cambaseis mac Cir iarsin .uii. mbl. co ros marbsat a dhruithe fein 7 Eochaid mac Eire i righe nErinn in tan sin 7 isiad sin na uii. mbliadna xxx. ro badar Fir Bolg a nErinn .i. ocht mbliadna<sup>2</sup> fhlaitheusa. Cir meic Dair gosin seachtmadh bl.

And 200 years was Ireland empty from the destruction of Conann's tower till the Fir Bolg came. The following is the synchronizing of the kings of the world with the kings of the Fir Bolg. At the end of the sovereignty of the Chaldeans the Fir Bolg arrived in Ireland. He [Balthassar]<sup>3</sup> was their last prince, and to him was shown a hand without an arm writing, and what it wrote was *mane thekel phares*, i.e. number and measure and division; and over him Cyrus son of Darius captured Babylon, and he slew Balthassar. And it was Cyrus who let go the captives (*lit.* captivity) to Jerusalem when they had been 70 years in bondage. The Persian empire then after the Chaldeans, i.e. twelve kings of them reigned. Their time was 230 years, i.e. the race of Elam son of Shem son of Noah. Elamites was their description until Persus son of Jove, and Persi thenceforward. Cyrus son of Darius, their first king, reigned 30 years till he was slain by Scythians, with 300,000 of his followers. And it was he that brought the 50,000 of the captives of Jerusalem out of Babylon, and 5,000 vessels of gold, and many thousand vessels of silver, such was

<sup>1</sup> Read as in *Lecan*.

<sup>2</sup> Read 6 chét bliadain.

<sup>3</sup> The omission of the name shows that the compiler of the *Leabhar Gabhála* had a continuous text of Z which he broke up into sections. Balthassar is the last king named in the preceding section. Four pages of BB intervene. The *Lecan* scribe noted the omission and re-inserted the name.

flatusa Campesis meic Cir 7 ina ocht-madh bl. tangadar t.d.d. a nErinn 7 daradsat cath Moige Tureadh dFheraibh Bolg 7 ro marbad and Eochaid mac Eirc.

their number. Cambyses son of Cyrus thereafter, 7 years, until his own druids slew him, Eochaid son of Ere being king of Ireland at that time. And those are the 37 years that the Fir Bolg were in Ireland, i.e. from the first year of the reign of Cyrus son of Darius till the seventh year of the reign of Cambyses son of Cyrus. And in his eighth year the Tuatha Dé Danann arrived in Ireland and fought the battle of Mag Tured with the Fir Bolg, and in it Eochaid son of Ere was slain.

Lec. 23  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ . Comainsirad rig in domuin inso fri rigaib Fer mBoleg. a nderidh fatha na Call. u (?) tancatar Fir Boleg a nErinn. Ballastar a tiugflaith side is do doarfais in dorn cen rigidh icon sg[ri]bind 7 ised ro scrib mane tethel 7 phares i. numir 7 tomus 7 fod a lin is fair ro toglastar Cyir mc. Dair Babiloin 7 ro marbastar Ball. Ise Cyr ro leicestair in mbrait do Iarusalem iar mbeith doib .lxx. b. i ndoiri Flaithius Pers tra a ndiaidh na Medh xii ri dib hi flaithius xxx. bl. 7 cc. doib. Sil dano Elaim mc. Sem mc. Noi iat 7 Elamite dogairdis dib co Persius mc nIoib. Pers ohsoin amach. Ba se in cetri dib Cyr mc. Dair .xxx. bl. do. co torchair la Scitheedaib co tri cetaib mile uimi. Ise thuice in l. mile do brait Ierusalem o Baibiloin .i. u. m lestar n-oir 7 ilmile lestar n-argait. Campases mc. Cyr iar sin .uiii. bl. co ro marbsat a druidi fein 7 Eochaid mc. Eirec hirrigi .H. intan sin. Is iat sin na uii. mbl. xxx<sup>at</sup>. ro batar Fir Boleg inH. O.c. bl. fl. Cir mc. Dair cusin ui<sup>ad</sup>. bl. tancatar Tuath. D.D. inherinn 7 doratsat cath Muighi Tured do Feraib Boleg 7 ro marbsat Eochaid mace Eirec.

## VI. (BB 36 a 12.)

Comaimseardacht righ in domain re .t.d.d. and seo sis. Persa ro bhadar i righe in tan tangadar t.d.d. a nErinn isin bliadain deidenaigh flaithiusa Campaseis mc. Cir mc. Dair tangadar no na ochtmadh bliadain tangadar. [Here follows a list of the Persian kings, with the length of their reigns, without reference to Ireland.] (36 a 29) Et Dairius mor mc. Arsabi .ui. bl. ISe tiughlaith na Pers 7 ise thug tri catha do Alaxandir mc. Pilip 7 ro thuit sium la hAlaxandair isin chath fo dheoidh. ISe Alaxandair ro thaffaínd Forand

The following is the synchronizing of the kings of the world with the Tuatha Da Danann. The Persians were ruling when the T. D. D. came into Ireland; in the last year of the reign of Cambyses son of Cyrus son of Darius they came, or in his eighth year they came. . . . And Darius the Great, son of Arsames, 6 years. He is the last ruler of the Persians, and it was he who fought three battles with Alexander son of Philip, and he fell by Alexander in the final battle. It was Alexander that drove Pharaoh Nectanebis from the

Nechtinebhus a righi Egipte is do sidhen ro bo cliamain Milidh .i. Goladh a ainm. Tainig sein a hEgipt o ro haithrighadh Forand .i. Milidh 7 a bhean .i. Scota ingean Foraind 7 tainig co Heaspain 7 ro chosain Easpain ar eigin. ISe Forand Neachteinibus .in. u<sup>ad</sup>. righ .xl<sup>at</sup>. no .xxx. iar Forand Cingciris ro baidheadh imMuir Ruaidh. .iiii. b. deg 7 ix. c. fat a flaithiusa na Forand o Fhorand Cingciris co Forann Neachtenibus. Ro raindeadh tra flaithius Alaxandair a tri randaibh .xxx. dia eis 7 ro dhearrsenaigh ceathrar dib uile. Potolameus mc. Lairghi i nEighibht 7 imMaigidondaibh Pilip no a mc. a nAssia Bhig Antigon im mBabiloin Brutus Siliucus nicroin Potolameus a ndiaidh Alaxandair .xl. b. A ndeireadh fhlaithiusa Alaxandair tangadar mc. Mileadh a nErind .i. bl. iar marbad Dair do 7 i tosach a innsaighe 7 a righi tainig Milidh dochum nEaspaine .u. bl. dAlaxandair i righi in tan tangadar mc. Miled a nErinn 7 doradadh cath Tailtlean andorcradar t. d. d. cona rignaibh. Coig bliadna dErimhon i righi in tan adbath Alaxandair im mBaibiloin 7 isiat sin na dha .c. bl. ro badar .t. d. d. a nErinn. On bl. deighenaigh flaithiusa Campses mc. Cir co forbha fhlaithiusa Dair aenbliadain Campses Tairpeis .u. bla. xxx<sup>ad</sup>. Serseis xx. bliadan. Artarserses xl. bliadan. Xerxes. da mis. Sodogenos .viii. misa. Et Dairius xix. b. Asferus. xl. Artarserses Ochi. tricha. Arius Ochi .iiii. bl. Dairius mor .ui. bl. ISiad sin na da .c. b. acht tri bl. nan-easbaig ro badar t. d. d. a nErinn. Gaidhil a nErinn 7 Greic i n-airdrigi in doman.

kingship of Egypt—it was to him [Pharaoh] that Míl was son-in-law, whose [proper] name was Goladh. The latter came away from Egypt when Pharaoh was dethroned, i.e. Míl, and his wife, i.e. Scota daughter of Pharaoh, and came to Spain and conquered Spain by force. Pharaoh Nectanebis was the 45th or 35th king after Pharaoh Cingciris, who was drowned in the Red Sea; 914 years was the duration of the empire of the Pharaohs from Pharaoh Cingciris to Pharaoh Nectanebis. Alexander's empire was divided into 33 portions after him, and four men of [the rulers of] these excelled them all: Ptolemy son of Lagus in Egypt and in Macedonia, Philip or his son in Asia Minor, Antigonus in Babylon, Brutus Seleucus Nicanor (?). Ptolemy, in succession to Alexander, 40 years. At the close of Alexander's reign the sons of Míl came to Ireland; i.e. a year after he slew Darius, and in the beginning of his invasion and of his kingship, Míl came to Spain. Alexander had reigned 5 years when the sons of Míl came to Ireland, and the battle of Tailtiu was fought, in which fell the T.D.D. with their queens. Erimon had reigned 5 years when Alexander died in Babylon. And these are the 200 years the T.D.D. were in Ireland, from the last year of the reign of Cambyses son of Cyrus to the end of the reign of Darius:<sup>1</sup> Cambyses, 1 year: [Darius son of Hys]taspes, 35 years; Xerxes, 20 years; Artaxerxes, 40 years; Xerxes, 2 months; Sogdianus, 7 months; and Darius, 19 years; Assuerus, 40; Artaxerxes Ochus, 30; Darius Ochus, 4 years; Darius the Great, 6 years. Those are the 200

<sup>1</sup> "Their three kings and their three queens," Lecan.

years all but three that the T.D.D. were in Ireland. The Goidil in Ireland and the Greeks in the high-kingship of the world.

Lec. 26  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ . Comaimsiradh righ in domain fri Tuaith. D.D. annso sis. Perssa robatar in airdrighi in domain intan tancatar Tuatha D.D. inH. isin bl. dedenaigh flatha Campases mc. Cir mc. Dair tancatar. [List here as in BB.] Dairius Magnus mc. Arsabei .ui. bli. ise tiugf<sup>r</sup> na Pers ise thuice na tri catha do Alax<sup>r</sup>. mc. Philip 7 ro marb Alax<sup>r</sup>. esseomh isin cath deigdenach. Ise Alax<sup>r</sup>. ro thafaind Forann arrighi Egipte is do ro bo cliamain Galom .i. Milid a ainm 7 tanic side a hEgipt 7 a ben Scotta ingen Nectanibus co Hespain 7 ro chossain ar h<sup>m</sup>. Et ise Forann Nectenibus in xlu. ri iar Forunn Cineris ro baidhedh imMuir Ruaidh .xiiii. bl. 7 ix. .c. fott a flatha o Forunn Cineris co Forunn Nechtanibus. Rorannad fls. Alax<sup>r</sup>. i trib rannaib xxx<sup>at</sup>. dia eis ro derscaidh iiii ur dib uili .i. Potolomeus mc. Lairce in Egipt. Ardiachius Pilippus imMaicidhondaib. Antighonus i mBabiloin. Bruttus Siliuceus isin Aissia Bhic. Potolomeus indiaidh Alax. xl. bl. Indeiredh flatha Alax tancatar mc. Miled inh<sup>r</sup>. .i. da bl. iar marbad Dair do 7 hitossach a indsaighthi 7 a rige tanic Milid dochum nEspañe. Cuic bl. do Alax<sup>r</sup>. arrighi in tan tancatar mc. Miled inh<sup>r</sup>. 7 doradad cath Tailltin hi torcrtatar Tuath D. D. immo trib rigaib 7 immoa teora rignaib. Coic bl. do Herimon irrighi in tan adbath Alax<sup>r</sup>. i mBabiloin conid iat sin in .cc. b. robatar t. d. d. inh<sup>r</sup>. On bli. deidhenaigh fl. Campases mc. Cir co forba flatha Assar 7 Dair Aenbl<sup>r</sup>. Campases. Tarpess xxxui. bl. Serses. xx. b. Artarserses .xl. b. Xerxes .u. mis. Soghodianus .iiii. mis. Dairius .xix. b. Asferus .lx. b. Artarserses Occus .xxx. Airius .iiii. b. Dairius Magnus .ui. b. Isiat sin in .cc. bl. acht na .iii. bl. robatar. t. d. d. inh<sup>r</sup>. Gaidil in h<sup>r</sup>. 7 Greic in airdrighi in domain 7 ar na huilib gabalaib rogab Eirin o thossach co deridh. Finit.

#### VII. (BB 44 $\alpha$ 49.)

A cind x. mbliadan iar mbas Alax-andair mc. Pilip atbath Erimon. Ag toiseachaib Alaxandair ro bai in t-ard-flaithius andsein.<sup>1</sup>

"At the end of 10 years after the death of Alexander son of Philip, Erimon died. Alexander's generals held the supreme rule at that time."

#### VIII. (Lecan 27 $\beta$ .)

Cs. cade tairthud<sup>2</sup> fir mc. Mil<sup>r</sup>. n<sup>i</sup>. Cenel fil i sleib Armenia .i. Hiberi a sloindiud Boi ri amraocco .i. Milidh mc. Bile mc. Nema. Bui side hicosnum flaithiusa fria brathair athar fri Refelair mc. Nema 7 doluidh lucht .iiii. mbare for longas 7 .ii. lanomna dec cech baircee

Question, what is the true origin of the Sons of Mil? It is not difficult. A race there is in the mountain of Armenia, Hiberi they are named. They had a famous king, Míl son of Bile son of Nem. He was contesting the sovereignty with his father's brother, Refel-

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the synchronism falls within a lacuna of several missing pages of BB, and the continuation is taken from the Book of Lecan. It will be noted that there is no break in the sequence.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. K. Meyer supplies *twirthead* .i. *adbar*.

7 amus forcraidech cen mnai. Da thuissech amra ecco .i. Ucc 7 Occe Lotar for muir Chaisp amach for in oician imechtrach 7 dolotar timchull na hAissia sairdes co hinis Deprephane. iii. mis doib innti iii. mis aile for fairree co riachtatar co Egipt fo deoig Hi cind uii. mbl. 1.<sup>st</sup> ar ecc. ar mile iar c. gabail Er. do Pharthalon. Hi cind immorro xiiii. mbl. ar deccc iar mbadhudh Foraind a Muir. R. rosiacht[at]ar Egipt. Pharo Nectanabus ba ri Egipte in tan sin 7 ise sin in u. eadh ri. xl. iar Forand Cinceriss ro baidhedh im Muir Ruaid. [Here follows a list of the Pharaohs.]

air son of Nem, and he went into exile with the manning of four barks, and twelve married couples to each bark, and a soldier over and above without wife. Two famous chiefs they had, Ucc and Occe. They went upon the Caspian Sea, out on the outer ocean, and came round Asia southeastward to the island of Taprobana. They were three months there and three months more on the sea, till at length they reached Egypt, at the end of 1357 years after the first taking of Ireland by Partholon, at the end too of 914 years after Pharaoh's drowning in the Red Sea they reached Egypt. Pharaoh Nectanebis was then king of Egypt, and he is the 45th king after Pharaoh Cincris, who was drowned in the Red Sea. . . .

#### IX. (Lecan 27 β, 28 a.)

Nectanebis Pharaoh xuiii. b. ise ba ri Egipte ar cind Miled mc. Bile cona longais 7 fuair failte occa fri re .uiii. mbl. 7 dobeir a ingin .i. S[c]ota do. Et ba si sin aimsir laidh Alaxandair Mor mc. Pil. isind Aissia 7 ro thairbir in Egipt fo reir 7 ro indarb Pharo Nectanebus a hEgipt inn Ethiop 7 ro dichuir Artarserses ar tus. fecht aile in Egipt Cumdaithir iarum cai[t]hir rig in Egipt la hAlaxandair Alexandria a hainm. Et discailter flaithius dilis ind Egipt annsin. 7 gabait Greig fortamlus innte 7 is hic Grec[aib] Alaxandria ro bui flaithius o sin amach. Conid annsin tainic Miled a hEgipt dochum a cheneoil fein. Finit.

Nectanebis Pharaoh, 18 years. It is he that was king of Egypt on the arrival there of [*lit.* in front of] Míl son of Bile, with his fleet [or party of exiles]; and [Míl] was hospitably kept by him for eight years, and [Pharaoh] gives his daughter Scota to him. And that was the time when Alexander the Great, son of Philip, went into Asia, and brought Egypt to submission and banished Pharaoh Nectanebis from Egypt into Ethiopia, and he first dethroned Artaxerxes at another time in Egypt. Afterwards, a city of kings in Egypt is built by Alexander, Alexandria its name. And the native sovereignty of Egypt is then broken up, and the Greeks take headship there, and the Greeks of Alexandria held the sovereignty thenceforward. So it was then that Míl came from Egypt to his own kindred.<sup>1</sup> Finit.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Iberi of Spain are taken here to be akin to the Iberi of the Caucasus.

X. (Lecan 34 a 1.)

Comaimsirad rig Herind fri rigaib in domain moir annso. Herimon tra in oenbl. ro gab rigi 7 Alaxann dair airdrigi in domain 7 ro marb Dairius Mor mc. Arsabi. i cinn .u. mbl. iar sin bas Alax. 7 r[o] gabsat a thoisig in domun da eis xl. b. Deich mbl. iar mbas Alax. atbath Herimon. uiii. b. iar sin Muimne 7 Luigne 7 Laigne .x. b. iar sin do Hiriel mc. Herimoin. Isindara bli. dec flatha Eithireoil mc. Hireoil .f. mc. Herimoin atbath in toisech dedenach di muintir Alax. i. Ptolomeus mc. Large. Xuiii. b. tra ro bui Eithirel hi comfl. 7 Philadelphus. xxxuiii. b. 7 is chuice tucadh in septuaginta ro chettindtae in chanoir a hebra i ngreicc lxxx hebraide lin a scriptore.<sup>1</sup> Fichi b. ro bui Philadelphus hi comrige 7 Conmael mc. [sic] xxx. b. do Chonmael post hirrighi 7 euergites .xuii. b. i comflaithius friss Conmael post xiii. b. Philopator .xuii.<sup>2</sup> b. in coicedh ri do Greccaib hi comflaithius fri Conmael 7 a .u. hi comfl. fri Tigernmas Ise Philopator tra ro marbstar .lxx. mile do Iudaigib ind aimsir Tigernmais. Finit.

This is the synchronism of the kings of Ireland with the kings of the great world. In the same year Herimon<sup>3</sup> took the kingship and Alexander the high-kingship of the world, having slain Darius the Great, son of Arsames. At the end of five years thereafter, Alexander's death; and his generals took [the sovereignty of] the world after him for 40 years. Ten years after Alexander's death, Herimon died. Eight years after that, Muimne and Luigne and Laigne. Ten years after that [were spent in kingship] by Hiriel son of Herimon. In the twelfth year of the reign of Eithirel son of Hirel Fáith son of Herimon, died the last general of Alexander's people, Ptolemy son of Lagos. Eithirel was 18 years in co-sovereignty with Philadelphus [who reigned] 38 years, and to him were brought the seventy who first translated the Canonical Scriptures from Hebrew to Greek. Seventy(?) Hebrews(?) was the number of its writers. Twenty years was Philadelphus in co-kingship with Conmael son of . . . ; 30 years for Conmael afterwards in kingship, and Euergetes 17 years in co-sovereignty with him. Conmael afterwards, 13 years. Philopator, 13 years, the fifth king of the Greeks, in co-sovereignty with Tigernmas. It was Philopator who slew 70,000 of the Jews in the time of Tigernmas. Finit.

XI. (Lecan 41 a 17.)

Comaimseradh rig in domain 7 gabal nErenn ro scribus a tosach in libair ota flaith Nin mc. Peil ro gab rigi in domain

“The synchronism of the kings of the world and of the conquests of Ireland I have written in the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> Read lxx. hebra lin a scriptore.

<sup>2</sup> Read xiii.

<sup>3</sup> Here the passage containing the statement about the battle of Taltiu is contradicted.

ar tus cusin coicedh ri do Greccaib 7 o  
 Parrtholon mc. Sera dno ro gab Erind  
 ar tus iar ndilind cusin coiced blia. flatha  
 Tigernmuis mc. Follaig ro gab rigi  
 nErenn co cenn .c. blia. ut alii aiunt. Is  
 ferr dunn dno co sgribam comamserad  
 nacin for leith annso.

book, from the reign of Ninus son of  
 Belus who first took the kingship of the  
 world to the fifth king of the Greeks,  
 and from Partholon son of Seir also who  
 first took Ireland after the Flood to the  
 fifth year of the reign of Tigernmas son  
 of Follach who took the kingship of  
 Ireland till the end of [i.e. throughout]  
 100 years *ut alii aiunt*. It is better for  
 us now that we write the synchronism  
 on a separate sheet here."

The succession of the "Greek" rulers is then resumed at Philopator (see end of VIII) and continued to the time of Julius Caesar. From him the Roman "kings of the world" are continuously enumerated down to the reign of Leo III, who is declared to be contemporary with Fergal son of Mael Dúin, king of Ireland.

Then the writer returns to the synchronization of the Roman emperors with the kings of Ireland, but on a different plan from the preceding section. Instead of taking the dynasties reign by reign, he takes them by centuries, naming the emperors and the Irish kings in each century. The centuries are reckoned from the accession of Julius Caesar (i.e. from the battle of Pharsalia), 48 B.C., until the mission of St. Patrick is reached. From this event the reckoning by centuries begins anew. The periods are<sup>1</sup> :—

1.	To the 12th year of Claudius	A.D. 52
2.	„ 14th „ Antoninus Pius,	151
3.	„ 1st „ Claudius II,	268
4.	„ 18th „ Constantius II,	354
5.	„ last „ Theodosius I,	450

Theodosius I is confused with Theodosius II, who died in 450. Here a fresh start is made in the reckoning, leading—

6.	To the 1st year of Patrick in Ireland, A.D. 432	
7.	„ 5th „ Justinian,	531
8.	„ 20th „ Heraclius,	629

Last comes a period of 84 years, calculated to the date of writing of the original tract.

<sup>1</sup> The end of the third century is miscalculated. Perhaps the writer unwittingly substituted the first year of Claudius, 268, for the first of Valerian, 253. The other and smaller errors may be due to variations in chronography or to a misreading of the Roman numerals. The A.D. reckoning does not appear in the tract. A.D. dating appears not to have displaced the older methods in Ireland until the ninth century (Mac Carthy, Introduction to *Annals of Ulster*, vol. iv., p. xciv).

The closing passage is as follows (43 a):—

Ceithri bl. lxxx. on xx b. fl. Heracli  
co forba fl. Leomain 7 ix.<sup>1</sup> r. frisin re sin  
.i. Hercolonas Constantin fls. Heracli  
Constantius fls. Constantini Iustinianus  
Minor Leofus Tiberius Iustinianus Minor  
iterum Pillipicus Anastasius filius  
Teoth. Tercii<sup>2</sup> Leo Tertius. Ceithri bl.  
lxxx. on. x. bl. fl. Domnaill cosin tres bl.  
Fergail mc. Maili Duin 7 x. r. for Erinn  
frisin re sin .i. Domnall Conall Cellach  
Blathmac Diarmait Sechnusach Cenn  
Failad Loingsech Congal Fergal fodesin.  
Oenbl. ar xxx<sup>3</sup>. ar ccccc<sup>4</sup>. insin .o. c. bl.  
fl. Iuil co forbo fl. Leonis Tercii. Ceithri  
ri. lxxx. for Romanchaib frisin re sin.  
Noi .lx. immorro for Herind frisin re sin  
co fl. Fergail mc. Maili Duin ri Er. 7  
Murchada mc. Find<sup>4</sup> .r. Laigen 7 Cathail  
mc. Finnguine .r. Mumun.

84 years from the 20th year of the  
reign of Heraclius to the end of the  
reign of Leo, and 9 (11) kings during  
that time, viz. [Heraclius,]<sup>5</sup> Heraclionas,  
Constantinus filius Heraclii, Constans  
filius Constantini, [Constantinus filius  
Constantis,]<sup>6</sup> Justinianus Minor, Leontius,  
Tiberius, Justinianus Minor iterum,  
Philippicus, Anastasius, Theodosius  
Tertius, Leo Tertius. 84 years from  
the 10th year of the reign of Domnall  
to the 3rd<sup>6</sup> year of Fergal son of Mael  
Dúin, and 10 kings over Ireland in that  
time, viz. Domnall, Conall, Cellach,  
Blathmac, Diarmait, Sechnusach, Cenn  
Faelad, Loingsech, Congal, Fergal him-  
self. That is 631 (771?) years from the  
first year of the reign of Julius to the  
end of the reign of Leo III. 84 kings  
over the Romans during that time. 69  
over Ireland during that time till the  
reign of Fergal, son of Mael Dúin, king  
of Ireland, and of Murchad Maen (?) king  
of Leinster, and of Cathal, son of Finn-  
guine, king of Munster.

### 3. THE MIDDLE-IRISH REDACTOR OF Z.

Here follows immediately a very lengthy poem of Flann Mainistrech,  
headed "Do flathaib in domain moir annso," "This is of the Rulers of the  
Great World." The opening quatrain is—

Reidig damh a De do nimh • co hemigh a n-innissin  
uair nach co felgnim iar fuin • seancus degrin domhain.<sup>7</sup>

The poem is a metrical list of "the kings of the world," commencing like

<sup>1</sup> Read xi.  
as "dcxxxi."

<sup>2</sup> Some corruption or omission occurs here.

<sup>3</sup> Probably "dclxxi" misread

<sup>4</sup> Probably "main," the epithet in Flann's poem, misread as "mcin." The  
father of Murchad was Bran.

<sup>5</sup> Omitted, owing to similarity of the adjacent names.

<sup>6</sup> Probably "12th," xii, not iii.

<sup>7</sup> Flann here borrows the opening words of a poem by  
Dublithir Ua Huathgaile LL 141 β (BB 7 β):

Redig dam a De do nim • co hemid ni indeithbir  
éiniud mo chesta is gnim glan • corop espa ollaman,

Z with the foundation of the Assyrian dynasty, and ending like Z with Leo III. In fact, Flann's list is taken direct from the synchronism, even to the extent of naming the Irish rulers contemporary with Leo.

The concluding quatrains are as follows (Lecan 48 β):—

On chetbliadain Tuil ros gab· co cetriagail tres bliadan  
fiad gach sluagh co ndaithe a ndal· at cuadh flaithe na Roman.  
Co flaith fir ro gab Temraig<sup>2</sup>· do ruacht annalad amlaid  
is Murchadha maen<sup>2</sup> co mudh· is Cathail caim a Caissiul.  
Cach flaith failte os gairbri glain· fris raite airdri in domain  
o Nin co Leomain na clann<sup>3</sup>· ros rim int eolas<sup>4</sup> aenflann.  
Flann feidbind rom ben brig breath· fer leigind min Mainistrech.  
ro gle triana gnim a guth· re cach rig do reidiugud. R.  
Concobur clannmin na cneadh· Aed Gairbith Diarmait Durgen  
Donnchad da Niall cen snimh sneidh· righ na re sin co ro reidh. R.

"From the first year that Julius took it [i.e. the worldkingship], with [his] first rule, a stress of years (?), in the presence of every multitude with the keenness (?) of their assemblies, I have recounted the rulers of the Romans.

"To the reign of the man who took Tara, the chronicling has thus arrived, and of Murchad Maen (?) with dignity, and of Cathal the comely in Cashel.

"Each ruler of gladness over clear . . . who was called high-king of the world, from Ninus to Leo of the weapons, Flann alone, the wise man, hath numbered them.

"Flann, sweet of word, the strength of judgments hath sounded<sup>5</sup> him, the gentle lector of Monasterboice, his voice through his work hath made clear the explanation of each king's time.

"Conchobor, of gentle kin, of the wounds [in battle], Aed, Gairbith, Diarmait Durgen, Donnchad, two Nialls, without petty sadness, [are] clearly the kings of that time."<sup>6</sup>

Of the five concluding stanzas in Flann's poem, the second and third prove that Flann had a version of Z before him as he wrote. The language of Z is Middle-Irish, without any traces of transcription from an Old-Irish original. Flann became known traditionally as an author of synchronisms. He is one of the earliest writers of Middle-Irish. The spellings of unfamiliar names in his poem exhibit often the same errors as in Z. All these facts taken together point to Flann as the redactor of Z.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read Co flaith Fergaile i Temraig (?) "to the reign of Fergal in Tara." <sup>2</sup> Read Maín (?) and so probably for mc. Find above, since his father was Bran.

<sup>3</sup> Read lann (?).

<sup>4</sup> Read eolaid.

<sup>5</sup> I suppose benaim to be used as if the object were cloch "a bell."

<sup>6</sup> Conchobor Ua Mael-Sechnaill, king of Meath, 1033-1073; Aed Ua Conchobuir, k. of Connacht, 1033-1067; Gairbith Ua Cathusaig, k. of Brega, 1045?-1061; Diarmait (son of Maelnambó), k. of Leinster, 1042-1072; Donnchad (son of Brian), k. of Munster, 1014-1065; Niall (son of Eochaid), k. of Ulaid, 1012-1062; Niall Ua Néill, k. of Ailech, 1036-1061. Flann died in 1056. The poem may be dated about 1050.

<sup>7</sup> See note at the end of this paper.

## 4. THE DATE AND ORIGINAL OF Z.

Flann did not modernize Z from an Old-Irish original. Had he done so, he would have made no greater changes than would have been necessary to make the document intelligible to other Irishmen of learning in his time; and consequently many of the Old-Irish forms of the original would have been preserved. The tract therefore was originally written in Latin. Some of its Latin phrases are still preserved.

The date at which the original was compiled is very precisely indicated. The compiler believed himself to be writing in the ninety-fourth year from the accession of Domnall son of Aed, i.e. 721.

This date is confirmed by further criteria which the tract supplies. Its concluding portion names three kings reigning in Ireland. The king of Ireland was Fergal son of Mael Dúin, the king of Leinster was Murchad, and the king of Munster was Cathal son of Finngüne.<sup>1</sup>

Fergal reigned from 710 to 722. In the latter year he was defeated and slain in the battle of Almain by Murchad king of Leinster.

Murchad reigned from 712 to 727.

Cathal reigned from 712 to 742.

The contemporary Byzantine emperor is named. He is Leo the Isaurian, who reigned from 718 to 741.

The only years common to the four reigns are 718–722.

There remain two textual difficulties:—(1) The final year, the date of writing, or a date previous to writing, is twice indicated as the end (*forba*) of the reign of Leo. (2) It is once indicated as the third of Fergal. With regard to the first difficulty, it is to be pointed out that the last year of Leo, 741, was (*a*) 112 years—not 84 years—later than the twentieth of Heraclius; (*b*) nineteen years later than the death of Fergal; (*c*) fourteen years later than the death of Murchad; (*d*) that, if the end of Leo's reign were really in the writer's mind, he would probably have named the succeeding emperor, and would almost certainly have named contemporary kings of Ireland and of Leinster. Hence there can be no doubt that the Middle-Irish translator misread his Latin original. The year 721, the ninety-fourth from Domnall's accession, was the fourth of Leo, and may have been written *iv<sup>m</sup>*, and taken to indicate *mortem* or *ultimum*. It was the twelfth year of Fergal, and xii may have been read as iii. The Roman numerals are a continual source of misreadings in Irish MSS., and often

<sup>1</sup> Nowhere else in the tract are provincial kings named. This indicates that the kings of Munster and Leinster are named as contemporary with the writing of the tract. Flann imitates this method of dating in his poem, naming seven kings.

present great difficulties to the modern transcriber. The textual discrepancies, then, cannot be held to invalidate the common period of the four reigns, 718-722, as the utmost range of date for the composition of the synchronism.

Synchronism Z is thus shown to be an eleventh-century version of one of the oldest known documents of early Irish history and historical legend.

The particulars of the chronology and also of the reigns appear to have been tampered with in several places, doubtless with a view to bringing the account into closer accord with later teachings. But the achievement of such a design would have involved the reconstruction of almost the entire tract; and the meddler, having done some mischief, desisted without either undoing or completing it, and drew up B as a substitute for Z. (See concluding note.)

#### 5. THE CHRONOLOGICAL BASIS OF Z.

The framing of Z is as follows :—

IRISH EVENT.	CONTEMPORARY WORLD-PERIOD.
Coming of Partholon, . . .	300 years after Deluge.
End of Partholon's race, . . .	850 " " "
Coming of Nemed, . . .	880 " " "
End of Nemed's colony, . . .	1110 " " "
Coming of Fir Bolg, . . .	Beginning of Persian Empire.
Coming of Tuatha Dé Danann, . . .	Usurpation of the Magi.
Coming of the Gaedhil, . . .	Beginning of Alexander's Empire.

The last three pairs of contemporary events supply the clue to the method of the synchronist. He had before him the Eusebian world-history with its epochs. He had in his mind the traditional or legendary epochs of prehistoric Ireland. These latter had no chronology. No trace of a native Irish chronology has been anywhere discovered. The synchronist followed the simple plan of making the Irish periods coincide exactly with the world-periods.

It will appear that the Magian conspiracy, which raised the impostor Smerdis for a few months to the throne of Cambyses, is a rather minor event against which to date the invasion of Ireland by the Tuatha Dé Danann. In my opinion, the inclusion of this pair of events in the scheme was an afterthought, a refinement. That the Tuatha Dé Danann in genuine Irish tradition, aside from the theorizings of the schools, were no race of mortals, but a race immortal and divine, inhabiting the Celtic Otherworld and ruled over by Celtic gods; that their conquest of the Fir Bolg or Irish

aborigines is but a duplication of their traditional victory over the hostile god-race of the Fomori; all this has been long established quite conclusively by the great antiquary and historian who, within these last few weeks, has ceased to live among us, except in his achievements and in his inspiration, D'Arbois de Jubainville.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding that the Tuatha Dé Danann were not a race of men, their story was intimately blended with the story of the Irish Celts. A place had to be found for them. They could not come later than the Gaedhil, their worshippers. They could not come earlier than the aborigines, for then they would be separated from the Gaedhil, and would appear to have been worsted by an alien people. They could only come between. The synchronist had already planned that the Fir Bolg period should coincide with the Persian world-kingdom. He looked down through the Persian dynasty for an appropriate break at which the Tuatha Dé Danann could be introduced. The only such break was the temporary usurpation of Smerdis, and it sufficed.

The artificial character of this arrangement is emphasized by its effect on the scheme. It assigns 37 years to the Fir Bolg, and 197 to the Tuatha Dé Danann—figures worth noting, as we shall afterwards see. Eight reigns of the Fir Bolg are compressed into the 37 years. The 197 of the Tuatha Dé Danann contain only seven reigns.

This disposition points to a yet older version of Z than Flann's original. Of the five invasions, there are two which still do not coincide with definite world-periods. We should have expected to find that coincidence in the oldest version; and we shall see whether any traces of it have been preserved elsewhere. Omitting the Tuatha Dé Danann, there are four great legendary invasions or settlements of Ireland. In the world-history of the synchronists, there are also four great world-kingdoms in continuous succession down to the Roman Empire—the Assyrian, the Median, the Persian, and the Greek. The last two are accounted for in Z as we have it. There should have been a document, older than Z, in which the coming of Partholon coincided with the foundation of the Assyrian Empire, and the coming of Nemed with the foundation of the Empire of the Medes.

#### 6. Z COMPARED WITH OTHER SYNCHRONISTIC ACCOUNTS.

According to Synchronism B, Ninus, the founder, as was believed, of the Assyrian monarchy, began to reign 21 years before the birth of Abraham. Keating, relying on some Irish computation, not now in evidence, teaches that Partholon came to Ireland 22 years before the birth of Abraham. The

<sup>1</sup> For the silence of Nennius about the Tuatha D. D., see *Nennius Vindicatus*, pp. 221, 222.

difference is that which frequently arises from a confusion of  $n$  years with the  $n^{\text{th}}$  year. Dr. MacCarthy, indeed, in his translation, has corrected the 21 of B to 22, in accordance with the Eusebian chronicle. Keating connects his date for Partholon's arrival with the doctrine that the event took place 300 years after the Flood, and this is precisely the unamended teaching of Z. There must, then, have been an early synchronism, akin to Z, which laid down that Partholon came to Ireland in the first year of the Assyrian world-kingdom.

It only remains to show that Nemed's colony was regarded as contemporaneous with the Median dynasty. According to Z (IV), Nemed came to Ireland 1562 years after the Flood. According to B, the Assyrian monarchy began 300 years after the Flood, and lasted 1240 years. Thus the Median world-kingdom should have begun 1540 years after the Flood. This brings Nemed's arrival within 22 years of the beginning of the Median period. This difference will be accounted for if we suppose that originally the Assyrian sovereignty was taken to have lasted 1240 years, not from its foundation, but from the birth of Abraham, or what is the same thing, from the beginning of "the Third Age of the World"; for Ninus founded the Assyrian kingdom 21 or 22 years before this epoch.

We have thus sufficient indications of the existence of an ancient synchronism arranged on this basis.

1. Coming of Partholon = beginning of Assyrian world-kingdom.
2.   "      "      Nemed   =   "      "      Median       "
3.   "      "      Fir Bolg =   "      "      Persian       "
4.   "      "      Gaedhil =   "      "      Greek       "

The most striking feature of this scheme is the late period assigned to the Gaelic conquest of Ireland. On that point Z does not waver. With many reiterations, the Gaelic immigration is timed against the world-sovereignty of Alexander the Great. In this respect, too, Z does not stand alone.

#### 7. THE DOCTRINE OF A.

In the light of our analysis of Z, Dr. MacCarthy's synchronism A will repay inspection. Dr. MacCarthy regarded A as a very ancient document, as old as the sixth century. If this be so, and I see no reason to dispute it,<sup>1</sup> A, which is written in Middle-Irish, must also have had a Latin original. Indeed, like Z, but still more copiously, it preserves many phrases in the original Latin.

<sup>1</sup> MacCarthy's proper inference should be that A is founded in part on a very ancient document; and so also with regard to his finding that "the *Annals of Innisfallen* are the most ancient body of [Irish] chronicles we possess." Todd Lect. iii., p. 369.

In A's computation, Partholon came to Ireland 1002 years after the Flood, or in 1957 B.C. (this date, we have seen, was introduced as an emendation into Z). His people remained in Ireland 1000 years, until 957 B.C. Nemed came to Ireland in 925 B.C. We are not told how long his colony lasted, and there is no mention of the Fir Bolg or the Tuatha Dé Danann. In the Book of Invasions, Nemed is the ancestor of the Fir Bolg, the Irish aborigines. Possibly, then, the author of A identified the coming of Nemed with the coming of the Fir Bolg. Possibly, too, he saw no necessity for fixing the immortal race of the Tuatha Dé Danann in his chronological framework. At all events, he says nothing about an end of Nemed's colony or about any other invasion from their time until the time of the Gaedhil.

A next tells how the sons of Míl came to Ireland, 440 years after Exodus, i.e. in 1071 B.C., according to A's reckoning. This statement is an obvious interpolation, for it makes the Gaelic invasion not only earlier than the arrival of Nemed, 925 B.C., but even earlier than the end of Partholon's colony, 957 B.C.; and the text says that when Partholon's colony died out, Ireland was empty of inhabitants for 32 years.

Having mentioned "the taking of Ireland by the sons of Míl," the synchronism adds, "from the taking of Ireland to the sack of Troy, 328 years"; and, later on, "from the taking of Ireland to the time of Cimbaeth, 1202 years." When these dates are worked out, they show that, in each instance, "the taking of Ireland" has been substituted for "the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites." Hence it follows that the sons of Míl have no proper place in A and should be eliminated.

Next among Irish events is the foundation of the Ulidian kingdom of Emain Macha. This event took place in 307 B.C. Then comes the ancient original of the well-known statement in Tigernach: "The tales and histories of the men of Ireland are not known and are not authentic till the time of Cimbaeth son of Fintan." The men of Ireland are the Gaedhil. According to A, then, the history of the Gaedhil begins with the foundation of the Ulidian kingdom. That being so, we can understand how the legend of Míl could find no place in A except by an inept interpolation.

Then follows a detailed account of the Ulidian dynasty from its foundation to the death of Conchobor mac Nessa, A.D. 24. No other dynasty is mentioned during this time. Perhaps the author held that Emain was the capital of Ireland in those days, and that the Ulidian kings ruled the island. At all events, he was certainly a partisan and adherent of the Ulidian tradition, which consistently ignores the legend of Míl and of the Irish monarchy vested in his earlier descendants.

The duration of the Ulidian dynasty is from 307 B.C. to A.D. 24—331 years. This at once suggests the date of Alexander's world-kingdom, 331 B.C. We conjecture that a shifting of 24 years has been made, perhaps by a redactor who had the doctrine of Z before him and desired to give the priority to the sons of Míl. There was some shifting of dates, certainly, for the foundation of Emain is first placed in the 18th year of Ptolemy, 24 years after Alexander became king of the world, and again "33 years from the beginning of the sovereignty of the Greeks." When we turn to B, we find our conjecture amply confirmed; B says: "Alexander, first king of the Greeks, 5 years, and Cimbaeth, son of Fintan, in his time."

A says that Conchobar reigned 60 years; but the terminal dates assigned, from the 15th year of Octavius to the 10th of Tiberius, allow only 50 or 51 years. Here is the same difference as in the foregoing paragraph, 9 years, indicating an emendation interpolated and not strictly carried out. A poem on the Ulidian dynasty (LL 21β) gives 50 B.C. as the date of Conchobar's accession:

Cethri chēt bliadna brassa ad fét each súi senchassa;  
 fot a flatha na fer n̄gaeth ó Choncobur co Cimbáeth.  
 Cethri chēt coíca bliadna ad fét each súi saerchialla  
 cia nós fēgaid fri gnim gaeth cor gēnair Críst iar Cimbaeth.

"Four hundred lively years each master of antiquity tells,  
 the length of the wise men's rule from Conchobar [up] to Cimbaeth.  
 Four hundred and fifty years every master of liberal mind tells,  
 if ye look to a wise work, till Christ was born after Cimbaeth."

Thus there is good evidence of an early doctrine which made the Ulidian dynasty, from Cimbaeth to Conchobar, exactly fill up the 331 years from Alexander's conquest of the Persians to the commencement of the Christian era. Since A presents a much less developed legend than Z, I think it must be earlier in origin, and that in its original form it must have suggested the plan of equating world-periods with Irish periods, which Z preserves in a modified form. The original of A may therefore well have been drawn up in the sixth or early seventh century.

#### 8. Z THE FOUNDATION OF LATER CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEMES.

Irish historians did not long remain content with the view that the Gaelic occupation of Ireland was no more ancient than 331 B.C. The dates assigned grew gradually more and more remote. Dr. MacCarthy quotes a number of them (p. 246): 544, 1066 (?), 1071, 1229, 1569. The Four Masters will have it that the Gaedhil reached Ireland as early as 1700 B.C. As a rule, the later the historian, the earlier his date for this event.

Notwithstanding these discrepancies, the later accounts of prehistoric Ireland find the source of their chronology in Z.

The redactor of the *Leabhar Gabhála* in the Book of Leinster assigns a much earlier period to the Gaelic conquest than Z, but preserves the Fir Bolg period of 37 years and the Tuatha Dé Danann period of 197 years, as in Z.

Synchronism B puts the Gaelic conquest at 1229 B.C.—nine centuries earlier than in Z—but has a Fir Bolg period of 35 years and a Tuatha Dé Danann period of 197 years.

Gilla Coemáin's chronological poem (MacCarthy, "Todd Lectures," pages 151-157) requires as early a date as 1545 B.C.—twelve centuries before Alexander—for the Gaelic conquest, but has a Fir Bolg period of 37 years and a Tuatha Dé Danann period of 197 years.

Keating (Irish Texts Society, vol. iv., pp. 196, 225) assigns 36 years to the Fir Bolg and 197 to the Tuatha Dé Danann.

Evidently, then, the Cyrus-Cambyses-Alexander chronology of Z lies at the root of the school-made histories of prehistoric Ireland. The Z version of the legend of Míl and his sons is thus the oldest version now known. One broad conclusion follows with certainty, Gilla Coemáin's long list of 136 monarchs of Ireland before St. Patrick's time is for the most part the product of medieval invention. The earlier section of the Irish genealogies, constructed in harmony with that list, must also be in the same degree artificial. Probably the materials in each case were collected largely from traditional sources; but the structure bears the same relation to genuine Irish tradition as a modern edifice built out of the stones of Clonmacnois might bear to the ancient monastery.

#### NOTES.

I. *Partholon*.—This is not a Gaelic name. It appears again in Flaithiusa Hérenn (BB 43 a 13), where the pedigree of Cruithne, eponymous ancestor of the Cruithni or Picts, is "Cruithne mc. Uige mc. Luchta mc. Parrtholon"; in the Irish Nennius (BB 203 a 13) "Cruithne mc. Cinge mc. Luchtai m. Parrthalan." In the same tract (206 a 34) the name is also Parthai, genitive of Partha. Even if we suppose the scribe to have substituted the more familiar name Partholón for Partha as ancestor of the Picts, we could not well disconnect the two names. The ending -lón may represent -launos or -vellaunos; but if so the long vowel would indicate that the Irish borrowed the name from Cymric with a Cymric pronunciation. Such a borrowing would also account for the initial P. Can Parth- be a Pictish equivalent of the Cymric Pret-, Irish Cruth- = \*Qret-, Qrit- (Ogham Qritti, Lugu- qrit), whence Cruithni? It seems to recur as eponym of the

Part-ridge people who, though they inhabited an extreme western region in Ireland to the west of Loch Mask, retained the letter p in their speech and were, therefore, probably not of Gaelic origin. The neighbourhood of Tuam was inhabited by a Pictish race, the Sogain, until the ninth century; and some of the same race were subject to the rulers of Ui Maine long afterwards. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that the Partridge were Picts, that Partha, ancestor to the Picts, supplied their eponym, and that the story of Partholon is a legend of the Picts, symbolizing perhaps the antiquity of their race and its overthrow in Ireland. It will be observed that in Z (I.) the race of Partholon is destroyed, not by pestilence, but by a hostile race, the Conchinn or Hound-heads (perhaps High-heads, *i.e.* the tall folk, for con- = cuno- may give either meaning). The writer promises to tell more about this event. But in the tract as it now exists, the story of the pestilence is briefly substituted (II.). Here we have additional proof of late tampering.

IV. *Nemed.*—I have failed to discover any consistent reckoning among the various periods assigned to the beginning and end of Nemed's colony. At least two distinct accounts, based on different chronologies, are here combined in one; for it is twice stated that Nemed's arrival was 470 years before the end of the Assyrian Kingdom; it is twice stated that his colony lasted for 230 years; and it is twice implied that it overlapped the period of the Medes, who follow the Assyrians. The Irish quatrains quoted in this section show interpolation, since they cannot have belonged to the original of Z.

VIII. *Míl.*—We have here the oldest known version of the legend of Míl, and the vast difference between this and the later forms of the legend, which are typified in Keating's narrative, shows how the story of prehistoric Ireland developed in the early Christian period. There is little in the legend of Míl, early or late, that bears the semblance of Celtic tradition. In almost every detail it shows the work of the penman and the Latinist. The ancient Irish writers searched their Latin authors for names that would suggest an origin for the Irish.<sup>1</sup> The writer of this story hit upon the name Iberi, not the Iberi of western Europe, but the Iberi who dwelt south of the Caucasus, and with whom the Romans came in contact under Pompey and again under Trajan. The resemblance of this name to Hiberio and Hibernia was all that could be desired. Later writers substituted the Scythi for the Iberi because Scythi resembled Scotti.<sup>2</sup> They introduced Breogan from Irish tradition as

<sup>1</sup>The map of "Orbis terrarum secundum Eratosthenem et Strabonem" in Spruner's *Atlas Antiquus* (Gothae, MDCCCL.) shows clearly the material on which the story of the migrations of the Gaedhil was founded.

<sup>2</sup>This substitution already appears at the end of the eighth century in Nennius.

a new grandfather for Míl, and seizing on a passage in Orosius they connected Breogan with Brigantia, and gave "ostium Scenae" an undefined location in Irish topography. Mag Breogain was a plain in east Munster, inhabited by the Muscraige Breogain. Except the Iberi, nearly all the features of the legend in Z are retained but differently placed in the later versions. The present version may have been already invented before the seventh century, for S. Columbanus of Bobbio, in two of his letters, uses Hiberi as a name for the Irish.

Comparison of the spellings of names in the Hieronymo-Eusebian chronicle (H) with the spellings in Z, B, and Flann's poem, Lecan 43β (F):—

H	Z	B	F
Armamithres	Armiteres	Armimentes	Armamenteres
Mamylus	Maiminitus	Maimintus	Mamitidus
Manchaleus	Macholius	Masailius	Machalius
Ascatades	Ascaidias	Ascaitias	Ascathias
Atossa	Athosa	Ahosa	Athoss
Semiramis	Saimiraimmis	Asaimiraimis	Samiramis
Balepares	Poilipoiris	Poilipoiris	Poliparis <sup>1</sup>
Sosares	Sosaires	Sossairses	Suspares <sup>1</sup>
Lampares	Lampades	Lampaires	Lampades
Panyas	Proeminias	Piamineas	Pannanias
Sosarmus	Soparrdis	Suffardus	Sophardus
Mithreus	Metralis	Metaralnius	Metralius
Tautamus	Tutanes	Tutanes	Tutanes
Teutaens	Flethius	Flaithius	Fletius
Eupales	Calafares <sup>2</sup>	Lapales	Lampaleis
Laosthenes	Lanteis	Lauistentes	Lustines
Peritiades	Perifanis	Peridioidis	Parathathis
Ophrataeus	Offrailus	Ofratolus	Affratulus
Tuonus	Tonus	Tomus	Tonus
Arbaces	Arbait	Aarbatus	Arpait
Sosarmus	Suffonus	Sogafanes	Susfonius
Mamycus	Madidus	Maidius	Madius
Cardaces	Cardicias	Cairdisis	Ardeichias
Deioces	Deochus	Diones	Teochus
Cyaxares	Ciratreae	Cirasserses	Ciraxerses

<sup>1</sup> In each of these words the syllable *par* is represented by a *p* with the stem crossed (= *per*) and with a overwritten (= *ar* or *ra*), so that it is possible to read *perar*.

<sup>2</sup> Here *xxx.* = *triginta* precedes, and probably the final *-ta* read as *-ca* has been added to the misread *Lapales* = *Eupales*. For the misread *l* see also *Mithreus*, *Teutaens*, *Ophrataeus* in H.

These lists prove that the material of **H** passed through one and the same hand before it issued in **Z**, **B**, and **F**. Since **Z** is a Middle-Irish redaction of an eighth-century document, and since the conclusion of **F** is taken direct from **Z**, there can be no reasonable doubt that Flann of Monasterboice, reputed author of synchronisms and inscribed author of **F**, was also the Middle-Irish redactor (and part-corruptor) of **Z**. It is also highly probable that, having failed by interpolations, omissions, and alterations, to make **Z** conformable to the views of his school, Flann set to work afresh and produced **B**, using the Eusebian material which he found in **Z** as his warp, but weaving into it the Irish names and chronology accepted by his own school. The origin of some of the misspellings in **Z**, **B**, and **F** can be traced to misreadings of archaic Irish writing. In comparing these lists, due allowance must be made for the freedom or negligence of transcription after the time of Flann.

I have to thank Professor Kuno Meyer for a number of corrections and suggestions.

IV.

EARLY IRISH POPULATION-GROUPS: THEIR NOMENCLATURE,  
CLASSIFICATION, AND CHRONOLOGY.

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Read JANUARY 23, 1911. Published APRIL 28, 1911.

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I. PLURAL NAMES.

1. AMONG the continental Celts, each distinct population-group bore a plural name, e.g. Haedui. The singular form denoted an individual member of the community, e.g. Haedus. This system of nomenclature, very general in ancient Europe, might be expected to exist in the oldest Irish traditions. In Ptolemy's description of Ireland, the sixteen peoples named all bear names of this order.

2. Most of the names given by Ptolemy lack identification in the native Irish tradition. The absence of these from Irish writings may be accounted for in more than one way. Some of the names may have been inaccurately recorded by Ptolemy. Some may have been corrupted beyond recognition by his copyists. Some may have designated peoples whose identity became forgotten through conquest and dispersion, for there is ample evidence that the period between Ptolemy's time (c. A.D. 150) and the beginning of contemporary records in Ireland was marked by great commotion, involving widespread changes in distribution and relative status of the older elements of the population.

3. The Ogham inscriptions, as I have shown in an article on the word *Moccu* (Ogham *muccu*) in *Ériu*, vol. iii., part i., sometimes record names not only

of persons but of peoples. The people-names, however, chiefly belong not to the class discussed above, but to a subordinate class, as will be seen. It is therefore unnecessary here to consider the question of the earliest date of the extant Oghams. Between Ptolemy and the oldest probable manuscript records in Ireland there is a gap of at least three centuries. The names Scotti and Atecotti, known through Latin writings of the fourth century, are probably of a general application, not designative of special groups. Orosius gives one people-name not mentioned by Ptolemy, the Luceni, whom he places on the southern coast over against Spain; they have not been identified in Irish tradition. (Is Luceni a copyist's error for Iuerni?)

4. In Christian Ireland, from the fourth century onward, the plural formula for people-names exists only as a survival. The Ulidian tales, which are held to embody very ancient traditions, assign indeed a prominent part to peoples with plural names, the Ulaid, the Lagen, the Galeoin, the Érainn, but not a more prominent part than to the Connachta, whose name belongs to quite a different order. As the phrase *teora Connachta* shows, this name, though plural, is the plural not of a word denoting an individual, but of a collective noun. Already in the pre-Christian period such collective nouns have for the most part displaced the older formula, tending to obliterate it largely from traditional memory, since among the hundreds of collective names on record only a small proportion are known to originate from an earlier group bearing a plural name.

5. The obsolescence of the earlier order of names is further exemplified in the complete absence, so far as my observation goes, of any instance of the use of the singular to denote an individual. The only approach to such usage in my knowledge is the occurrence of a few names like Cormac Gaileng, Ailill Érainn, Mugdorn Dub, etc., for persons who in the genealogical lore stand as eponymous ancestors to the Gailing, the Érainn, the Mugdoirn, etc.

6. In the Christian period, the surviving plural names (except in genealogical writings) tend more and more to become dissociated from population-groups, and to attach themselves in ordinary usage to geographical areas, e.g. Laigin, usually meaning the country Leinster, or the people of Leinster, of whom the original Laigin were only one section.

7. The following names from Irish ms. sources appear to belong to what may be called the first order, i.e. to the Haedui-type<sup>1</sup>:—

8. \*Arai, dp. Araib. Mid. Ir. Ara Thíre, Ara Chliach.

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<sup>1</sup> The lists of people-names assembled in this paper are of course drawn mainly from Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, which may be consulted with regard to the territorial location and extent

9. \*Coraind, \*Corrind, dp. Corannaib, Correndaib, Windisch, Táin Bo Cuailngi, index. In the Boyne valley, corresponding to Ptolemy's Coriondi. Cp. Corcu Cuirnd, Cuirenrige.

10. Cruithni, gp. -ne, ap. -niu, but in composition Cruithen-tuath, Cruithen-chlár. MacFírbisigh, Book of Genealogies, R.I.A. copy, p. 54, quotes a poem on the aithechtuatha, with the couplet (eight and seven syllables):

Clann Chathraighe a ceriochaibh Cruithent  
or chin Cairbre Cinn Cait cruaidh.

The correct reading is probably Cruithen, t from the familiar Cruithentuath being added by MacF. or some earlier scribe. The early stem should have been \*Qretino-, \*Qreteno-, and perhaps the Greek form Prettano- may have been influenced by Brittani. Cruithni, Cruithne, may represent an early secondary formation in -io-, or may be merely a late development like Érnai, Mugdornai. Such a development could arise from ap. Cruithniu, dp. Cruithnib, which would be common to both forms, and even a np. \*Cruithin could easily become Cruithni in transcription.

11. Éli, gp. Éle.

12. Érainn, gp. Érann (not gs. as in Onom. Goed.), ap. Érna (= Érnú), dp. Érnaib, = Iērní, Iverní, "Hiberní." Probably a secondary formation from an older \*Ivēri, whence \*Ivēriu, Ériu, Iwerddon. In the Ulidian tales, the Érainn are frequently called Clanda Dedad, and in the genealogies they have, besides Ailill Erann, an eponymous ancestor Iar macc Dedad. The group of tales centring in Conaire Mór are the heroic legend of this race, and Conaire's father is called Eterscéal (also Eterscéle) moccu Iair. Macc Iair is a personal name, not an ordinary patronymic: hence the sept-name Uí Maicc Iair and the Ogham Maqi Iari. Windisch (T.B.C. index) cites Iarna as a duplicate form of Érna. We may suppose the double base *ér*, *iar*, to have arisen from a coexisting pair *īēr*-, *īvēr*-. Cp. Ierne, Ptolemy's Iernos potamos, Iernis polis, contemporary with Iuverna, Iuerna, Hibernia.

13. Féni, gp. Féne, as Meyer has shown (Fianaigecht, p. viii), may be an ancient people-name, not the name of a class as has been supposed.

14. \*Fothairt, gp. Fothart.

15. \*Galing, gp. Galeng.

16. Galiúin, Galeoin, gp. Galian, Galion.

17. Lagin, gp. Lagen.

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of the peoples and the inflexional and variant forms of the names. A small proportion of names are taken from material not found in Dr. Hogan's lexicon. While my lists cannot claim to be complete, it is hoped that they may form a basis for a more exhaustive collection and for the classification and study of the nomenclature.

18. Manaig or Monaig, dp. Manachaib, but derivative Manchaig. Cp. Manapii.

19. Maugdoirn, Mugdoirn, gp. -dorn, ap. -dornu. Cp. Ptolemy's Darini.

20. Sogain, gp. Sogan. Cp. Sograige (?), Corcu Sogain, Corcu Suigin (Sogain here being gs. of the eponym, as in moccu Sogin, Ogham mucoi Sogini).

21. Ulaid, gp. Uloth, ap. Ultu. The earlier np. must have been Uluti or Oluti, and one may surmise that Ptolemy's Ouolountioi, whose location well corresponds to that of the Ulaid around Emain, is a scribal corruption of Oulouti = Uluti, perhaps through the influence of the Latin *voluntas*.

22. Vellabori (Ptolemy), Velabri (Orosius) seems to have left a trace in the place-name Luachair Fellubair (LL 23 a 17). This name occurs in a poem which aims at accounting for the distribution of the peoples said to be descendants of Fergus Mac Roig. Wherever Rudraige, the Ulidian king of Ireland, won a battle, his grandson Fergus planted a colony of his own race.

Cech rói reraig corruadhathuib cen chridenas  
cotgab iar fír roslín Fergus dia fhinichas.

Of these colonies were Ciarraige Luachra (in North Kerry) and Ciarraige Cuirche (Kerrycurrihy barony, co. Cork), and the victories of Rudraige which led to them are thus recited :

Fich cath Curchu cath Luachra laechdu Fellubair  
secht catha i Cliu intochtmad friu i nGlendamain.

Ptolemy clearly indicates the Vellabori as inhabiting the south-western corner of Ireland, and Orosius speaks of the Velabri as looking towards Spain. In the verse cited, we should expect gp. Fellabor = \*Vellabron, but the word may be used eponymically in gs. like Dedad in Luachair Dedad, another name for the same district.

23. In the absence of examples of the singular, it seems likely that Aidni, Luaigni, Luigni, Uaithni belong to this order rather than to the collectives in -ne.

24. Dési is to be classed apart, being the plural of a common noun *déis* "ensemble de vassaux." *Aire désa*, lord of a vassal tenantry. See D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de Littérature Celtique*, vol. viii, p. 204. In the story of the migration of the Dési (ed. Meyer, *Ériu*, iii, p. 141), the narrator is at pains to explain (ll. 215-219) that the derogatory term *dési* is not applicable properly to Dál Fiachach, the dominant people of Dési Muman :

25. Coica toirgi laisna Déisi. A cuic fichet dib tarthatar raind, a cuic fichet aile nach tarthatar ocus is dona toirgib [sin] is ainm Déisi. Ar itt e fil fo deisis ocus dligud ocus bodagas dona flathaib .i. do Dál Fiachach Suigde ocus ni hainm doib-side Déisi. "The Déisi had fifty migrations' (i.e. consisted of fifty migratory peoples). Twenty-five got a share (of the conquered land), another twenty-five got no share, and to these migratory peoples the name Déisi belongs. For it is they who are under (*deisis*) vassal-tribute<sup>2</sup> and law and *bodagas* to the rulers, i.e. to Dál Fiachach Suigdi, and Déisi is not a name for the latter."

26. The story professes to give a list of the migratory peoples who assisted Dál Fiachach in the campaign. The list names forty-seven peoples, not fifty. The first three are mentioned twice in immediate succession, and so may have been counted as six by the compiler of the list, who doubtless aimed at collecting fifty names and ceased to extend his list when it seemed to reach that number. These migratory bodies are described by a term (*loinges*, l. 103), indicating that they were already landless. The account of the *aithechtuatha*, BB 255a, has two lists, of which the first, ending on the line 18, contains 46 names. Most of these correspond to the names in the Déisi story, and the list was doubtless extracted from a version of the story. These premisses fully sustain the interpretation of *deis* given by D'Arbois de Jubainville.

27. \*Airgéill is given by Hogan on the authority of the index to Stokes's Tripartite Life. The gp. is Airgiall, but the np. in Mid. Ir. texts, as noted by me, is only Airgialla. The name seems to be of comparatively late formation, and cannot be classed with the old order of plural people-names.

27a. Mac Fir Bhisigh (Geneal., p. 54) quotes a poem on the *aithechtuatha*, which include "Absdanaigh for iarthar Erenn, for Luachair Chairbrighe." Further it is stated that the Absdanaigh iarthair Erenn are of the Fir Bolg. See also Onom. Goed. Since Cairbrige is said to be an older name for Ciarraige Luachra (perhaps for the territory, from a people supposed to have anciently possessed it), the locality indicated is Luachair in western Munster.

28. As in Airgialla, so in several other plural names with O-stem, Middle Irish usage substitutes a strengthened nominative: Araid for \*Arai, gp. Arad, ap. Arada; Érna, Érnai for Erain; Fotharta, Gailenga, Mugdorna, Mugdornai. The added syllable is occasionally maintained in gp., e.g. septem genera Gailinga. Cp. what has been said above on Cruithni, \*Cruithin.

<sup>1</sup> *torche, toirge*. For the meaning cp. "Isead cheados fochand toirchi Chiarraidi . . . co Mumain," Lecan 253 b; "Cuis toirche Chorco hOichi o Loch nEchach," ib. 271 a.

<sup>2</sup> For *deisis* Rawl. B 502 has *chis* = rent.

## II. COLLECTIVE NAMES.

29. Already, before the earliest documentary period, a new formula has come into general use, that of collective singular names. Of such names there are five varieties :—

- (1) Dál followed by genitive eponym, e.g. Dál Cais.
- (2) Corcu followed by genitive eponym, e.g. Corcu Duibne.
- (3) Eponym compounded with -rige, e.g. Boonrige.
- (4) Eponym compounded with -ne, e.g. Cuirene.
- (5) Eponym compounded with -acht, e.g. Cianacht.

Lóigis (Mid. I. Laigis, modern I. Laoighis, English Leix), gs. Lóigse, may be a sixth variety.

30. Until the eighth century, this class of people-names, which I would call the second order, though long established, had not become stereotyped as in later usage. They were to some extent interchangeable. Korku Reti (Adamnan) = Dál Riatai. Corcu Sai (L. Arm.) = Sairige. Dál Musca = Muscraige. Dál nEogain, Dál Céin = Eoganacht, Cianacht. This interchangeable character shows that the different forms were felt to belong to one order or system of nomenclature, which is also proved by the applicability to all of the personal name-formula in moccu (Ogham mucui, maqi mucui), which becomes obsolete in the eighth century.

31. The eponym is occasionally feminine. From this and other indications, I have formed the opinion that the eponymous ancestor may be a divine or mythological personage. Many of the stories in which the genealogists relate the origin of these early groups bear a strong mythological character.

32. Dál is explained by Ven. Bede, in reference to the Dalreudini (i.e. Dál Réti, Dal Riata), as meaning *pars*, and this among various senses of the word seems best suited to its usage in people-names: Dál Réti, Réte's division or section of the Érainn. The eponym may be often, if not always, the name of a divine ancestor.

33. Corcu (later Corco, Corca) appears as an indeclinable noun.<sup>1</sup> A possible connexion with coirce is suggested to me by Professor Marstrander: cp. the use of Síl in later group-names, e.g. Síl Muiredaig.

The genealogists, ignoring the obvious fact that Corcu is a common generic term equivalent to Dál, supply an eponymous ancestor Corc for several of the peoples named in this form.

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<sup>1</sup> But a late dp. corcaib occurs in Book of Rights.

34. Dál is found before the following eponyms:—

Aengusa Musca	Connaig	Maic Cuirp	Mude
Airde	Conrach	Maic Néth	Mudine Indae
nAisci (Naisci ?)	Corb	Maigin	Mugaide
Araidí	Cormaic	Maighe	Mugaidithi
Auluim	Cualni	Maignen	Mugith
Oluim	Cuinn	Maignenn	Muigid
Uluim	Cuirb	Maithe	Muine
Baiseinn	Cuire	Maitti	Muindi
Bardeni	Cula <i>Cuirind Arct. iii 62, 5</i>	Mathar	Muisge
Bairdine	Dairine	Math <sup>3</sup> Lego	Muith
Beecon	Dallain <sup>2</sup>	Math <sup>3</sup> Lobha	Musca
Birnd	Damail	Mathra	Na Cethre nArad
Buachalla	Didil	Mathrach	Nat Corp
Buain	Ditil	Matrach	Niad Corb
Buinne	Druithne	Metrach	Niath Lega
Bundruini	Duach	Maugnae	[Niath Lobha]
Cabail	Duibne	Mechon	Nimde
Cabula	Duluim	Mochon	Nuidne
Cauala	Echach	Menda	Nuidine
Cairbri	Eogain	Meandach	Nuisce
Coirpri	Fiachach	Mendad	Nuiscidi
Cais	Fiatach	Mendato	nOich
Calathbuig	Foichidh	Mendet	Riatai
Cathula	Gabla	Mennaid	Riata
Cealtru	Gailline	Medruad	Riada
Ceata	Gella	Mendraide	Ruitne
Céin	Idnu	Messe Corb	Runtair
Céte	Imdae	Mas Corb	Runtir
Ceide	nIochair	Mes Corb	Sailni
Cethirnn	Luigne	Messin Corb	Seille
Codaid	Luigni	Mos Corp	Tidil
Conchubuir	Luiseni	Mocoirp	Tidilli
Condad <sup>1</sup>	Luissein	Mo Dala	Tri Conall
Condaid	Macon	Mo Dola	nUlad
Condaith	Meacon	Mo Dula	nUlainm
Confinn	Mecon	Moga	Uoig
Congaile	Maic Con	Moga Ruith	Urcon
Conluain	Mic Con	Muaigh	

<sup>1</sup> Connad = Ogham CUNANETAS.

<sup>2</sup> Dál nDallain (recte Dál Dálann = Corcu D.), Onom. Goed. s.v. Dál Condaith.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a scribal error for *Niath*.

35. Corcu is found before the following eponyms:—

Achland	Ce <sup>5</sup>	Druithne	Inmend
Achlann	Cede	Duib <sup>8</sup>	Inomain
Athchlann	Chéin	Duibe	Itha
Achrach	Cluain	Duibne	Laege
Acrach	Choemne <sup>6</sup>	Duibindi	Láige
Adain	Coilgenn	Duibne	Loegde
Adaim	Comne	Duichne	Laegde
Aengusa	Conclaigen	Duin <sup>9</sup>	Laigde
hAibligh <sup>1</sup>	Concluain	Duithne	Luigde
Ainge	Chroissine	Dula	Luachra
Airtbe	Croisin	Echlann	Luigdech
Airtbind	Cuilend	Echrach	Luigne
Airtgein	Cuirn	Ela	Ma
Aland <sup>2</sup>	Chuirnd	Ele <sup>3a</sup>	Maigh
Andsae	Culla	Ethrach	Maighe
Aola	Dain <sup>7</sup>	Echach	Maige Locha
Arad	Dálann	Ethach	Maigen
Athrach	Dallan	Eoluim	Maighe
Ethrach	De	Faimnia	Maradh
Auloim	Deala	Fásaigh	Mogha
Auniche <sup>2a</sup>	Dega	Feraí	Moda
Bairdni	Dene	Fiachach	Moncho
Baiscinn	Díne	Fiachrach	Mu Druad
Bibuir	Dimoena	Fir Tri <sup>9</sup>	Mdruad
Bili	Doine	Irtri	Mruad
Birn	Dome	Foche = Oche	Muichet
Bruidhi <sup>3</sup>	Din	Foduib <sup>10</sup>	Muichi
Caela <sup>4</sup>	Ditha	Fuindehe	Muinche
Chaelraigi	Ditthechtaí	Gaola	Muinchi
Caullain	Condithechtaí	Iche	Nechtae

<sup>1</sup> See *hUiblig*. <sup>2</sup> = *Dálann*? <sup>3</sup> Perhaps *Corbraige* (*Cor.* read as *Corcu*). <sup>4</sup> Perhaps *Corca Ela* read as *Cor. Caela*. <sup>5</sup> Perhaps *Corco Oche*. <sup>6</sup> Perhaps *Corco Emne* cp. *Eminrige*. <sup>7</sup> Perhaps *C. Adain*. <sup>8</sup> *Corcu Duib* = *Dubraige*, *Onom. Goed.* <sup>9</sup> *Aduin*? <sup>9</sup> Also written *Corcorthri*, *Coreothri*, etc. <sup>10</sup> Cp. *VODDUV* in Macalister, no. 40, *ACURCITI aVI VODDUV ANGAC* (= *\*Vodubi Angaci*, and with the last word cp. *Ui Angain*, *BB 156 b 28*, a sept of *Ciarraige*, *U Aingeda*, *maic Aingeda*, *156 a 27, 28*). The initial *A* may perhaps not properly belong to the inscription.

<sup>2a</sup> *Anniche*, *Fuindeche*, *Muichi*, *Muinche*, *Muinchi* all seem to be scribal variants of (*Corco*) *hUiniche* (do *Gallaib*), *Ériu* *ix*, p. 139.

<sup>3a</sup> Not in *Onom. Goed.* "*Ate andso na tuatha tuatha i n-eráic Fergusu Scandail .i. Corco Ele 7 Corco Thenead 7 Corcamruad Alta*," *Lecan* 450. For the allusion, cp. *Book of Rights*, p. 88 note, which shows that the three *tuatha* must have been in eastern Munster.

Ochland	Rinn	Sechlaind <sup>3</sup>	Thened
Oiche	Rinne	Selcind	Tethba
Oche	Roeda	Sochlend	Timine
Oirce	Roide	Sogain	Tine
Oirethe	Raeda	Suigin	Toilgenn
Oirchen	Raeidhe	Sodhain	Uais
Oircthen	Raide	Soileind	hUiblig
Olehind <sup>1</sup>	Raighe	Thede = Dál Céte	hUiniche
Reti	Roeada	Themne	Ulad
Riada	Ruaid	Temrach	Ulum <sup>4</sup>
Righe <sup>2</sup>	Ruisen	Tened	

36. *-rige* has dative singular *rigiu*. Though I have no instance establishing the gender as neuter, still the ending is to be identified with the neuter noun *rige* 'kingship.' Hence it would appear that groups of this order originally formed petty states each under its king. Historically, some of these groups are large enough to form several petty kingdoms, while others must have been mere village communities.

37. In these compounds *rigion* = *rige* becomes<sup>5</sup> *-rige*. If the eponym retains a second syllable ending in a vowel, *-rige* suffers syncope, e.g. *Nechtarge* (epon. in *moccu Nechtac*), *Osseirge*, later by metathesis or analogy, *Nechtraige* *Osraige*. The close correspondence between the territory of *Osraige* (diocese of Ossory, but anciently also extending much farther westward) and the place assigned by Ptolemy to the *Ousdiai* makes it likely that the names also are closely associated (*Osse-rige* = \**Osdia-rigion*? Should we not expect *Uisserge*?). When the eponymic element ends in *r* preceded by a consonant, only one *r* appears in writing: *Gabraige* = \**Gabrorigion* (eponym *Fer Dá Gabar*), *Bibraige* = *Corcu Bibuir*, *Odraige* also *Odorrige*. This arises from a usage in spelling, cp. *gobann*, *Goibniu*.

38. In Middle Irish, there is an increasing tendency to substitute *-raige* for *rige*, and the later MSS. show a strong preference for *-raide*. In the following list add *-rige*, *-raige*, where the hyphen appears:

Ai-?	Airb- <sup>6</sup>	Allt-	Arb- <i>ab</i>
Aib-	Alt-	Aman- <sup>7</sup> <i>an</i>	Art- <i>zcp 15</i>

<sup>1</sup> *Olehind*, *Selcind*, *Sochlend*, *Soileind*, *Toilgenn* appear to be variants of one name. <sup>2</sup> Perhaps = *Róede*. <sup>3</sup> Cp. *Echlann*, *Achlann*. <sup>4</sup> = *Auloim*, *Eolum*.

<sup>5</sup> Holder, *Altcelt. Sps.*, gives *Icorigium*, *vicani Segorigienses*, both from the Prussian Rhine Province, and *Carbantorig[i]on* from southern Scotland. With the last cp. *Corbetrige*.

<sup>6</sup> "Ar slicht Nothar meic meic Fir Airbeir do Ernaib ita Aibride," Lecan 453. Read Airbrige?

<sup>7</sup> *Amanrige*, *Emenrige*, will be found in *Onom. Goed.* under *tuath*, and the topographical references show that these are identical with *Amanchaire*, *Emenchairi*. In the latter we have probably one more form of collective people-name, formed with the word *corio-*, *cuire*. Cp. *banchuire*, *Coriondi*, Gaulish *Coriosolites*, *Petrucorii*.

Au- <i>o13</i>	Caen-	Coth- <i>o13</i>	Grac-
Baen-	Cae- <i>o13</i>	Crec- <i>o13</i>	Grag-
+ Belt- <i>o13</i>	Cai- <i>o13</i>	Creg-	Graic-
Bend-	Cailt- <i>o13</i>	Crech-	Gran-
Benn-	Cairb-	Crobert- <i>o13</i>	Gree-
Bent-	Cair- <i>o13</i>	Crot-	Greg-
Bendt-	+ Calb- <i>o13</i>	Cuart- <i>o13</i>	Gregi-
Bennt-	Cal-	Cuilen- <i>o13</i>	Gruth-
Bib-	Call-	Cuin-	Gub-
+ Biurraidh ? <i>o13</i>	Carb- <i>o13</i>	Cuir-	Gubt-
+ Bidb- <i>o13</i>	Cas-	Cuiren- <i>o13</i>	Inninn-
+ Bid- <i>o13</i>	Cath-	Culindt- <i>o13</i>	Ladh-
Blad- <i>o13</i>	Cat-	Cup- <i>o13</i>	Lagh-
Blath-	Catt-	Cu-	Lam-
Blae-	Cecht-	Cur-	Lath-
Blai- <i>o13</i>	Cel- <i>o13</i>	Curand-	Lat-
Blod-	Cell-	Cuth-	Latt-
Blodh-	Cerd-	Dart-	Luad
Boend- <i>o13</i>	Cer- <i>o13</i>	Dub-	Lubart-
Boand-	Ciar-	E- ?	Lubu[t]-
Boind-	+ Clom- <i>o13</i>	Eigin-	Luch-
Bocc- <i>o13</i>	Cloth- <i>o13</i>	Em-	Lud-
Bodb- <i>o13</i>	+ Cnam- <i>o13</i>	Emen-	Luid-
Bolg- <i>o13</i>	+ Co- <sup>1</sup> <i>o13</i>	Eoch-	Luff-
Bonand-	Coc-	Ere-	Lug-
Bond-	Coil-	Here-	Luig-
Bonn-	Coen-	Fed-	Lus-
Bon-	Coin-	Forb-	Man-
Boon-	Coirp-	Frad- <sup>2</sup> <i>o13</i>	Mann-
Borb- <i>o13</i>	Coith- <i>o13</i>	Gab- <sup>3</sup>	Mas-
+ Brecc- <i>o13</i>	Cond-	Gael-	Masc-
+ Bresc- <i>o13</i>	Con-	Gail-	Maugin-
+ Brocenn- <i>o13</i>	Corb-	Gaman-	Mughan-
Brod-	Corbet- <i>o13</i>	Garb-	Med-
Brug- <i>o13</i>	Core-	Geg-	Meg-
Bru-	Corp-	Glas-	Men-
Bruí-	Cort-	Gluinn-	Mend-
Cael-	Cose-	Grafimin-	Menn-

<sup>1</sup> "Aimirgen Ghuingeal a quo Coraidi (= Corco Raidi?) 7 Orbraidi 7 Corco Aithrach Ele, Lecan 456.

<sup>2</sup> Read Trad- ?

<sup>3</sup> Aengus Fear da Gabar mac Conairi Moir meic Etersceoil a quo Garbraidi, Lecan 450. Oengus Fer Gabra mac Conairi maic Meissi Buachalla diatat Gabrige, Ériu iii., p. 139.

Molt-	Odor-	Sai-	Sort-
Musc-	Od-	Saith-	Sorth-
Naind-	Orb-	Sciath-	Suob-
Necht-	Osse-	Scorb-	Tac- <sup>1</sup>
Nechta-	Ossa-	Scot-	Taec-
Nos-	Os-	Sed-	Tec-
Nois-	Pap-	Sem-	Teoc-
Noth-	Pab-	Semon-	Teoch-
Nud-	Part-	Snob-	Torc-
Nudh-	Rath-	Sob-	Trat-
Nuidh-	Rech-	Sub-	Trad-
Nut-	Ros-	Sogh-	Tread-
Nuth-	Roth-	Sord-	Treg-
	Roith-		U-

39. The suffix -ne, ds. -niu, points to a collective ending -inion. In Middle Irish, when the preceding consonant resists palatalisation, -ne becomes -na. In the following list, doubtless, many names are included which do not denote population-groups, since the suffix has a much wider application.

The instances which are known to be people-names are indicated by the mark †.

Mag Aibne	Brefne	Ath Coirthine	Cuairne
Aidne	Brebne	Coirtene	Cuerne
Ailbine	Brestine	Dún Coistinne	Mag Cualgerne
Loch Aillinne	Loch Bricerne	†Conaille	Áth Cuillne
Loch Aindinne	Bruachairne	Aes Conchinne	†Cuirene
Cluain Airdne	†Buaigni	Mag Conchinne	Ros Cuissine
Airene	Buichne	†Conchuburne	Tráig Culcinne
Cúl Aisne	Cabcenne	Coningne	Daimine
Mag Argarni	Cluain Caichne	†Conmaicne	Dáimne
Belach mBarnini	Cascene	Creidne	†Dáirine
Bechlarna	Cúl Caissine	†Cremthanna	Damhairne
Beltine	Mag Cargamni	Cremthinne	Es Danainne
†Blaitine	Cattene	Ard Crimne	†Delbna
Blaittine	Cerne	Crinna	Delmne
Blárna	Dún Cermna	Ard Cróinne	Delna
Bogaine	Mag Cétni	†Tuath Cruadhluinde	Deoninne

<sup>1</sup> Tacraige, etc., a subdivision of the Arai. The variants suggest an original Toecrige, Tóicc-, cp. MUCOI TOICACI. The people was one of the four sub-divisions of the Arai, and the eponym appears as Toeca in the following (Lecan 450):—*Ceithri meic Laidir in arad .i. Dula 7 Toeca 7 Nena 7 Arta.*

Dergne	†Gailine	Tír Marceeni	Scédni
Dún Detchine	Gailinne	Metine	Sceinni
Detnae	Gebtine	Muscraige Mitaine	Segene
Cúl Dreimne	Gobnine	Midbine	†Semaine
Drebne	Goistine	Cluain Moesnae	Semoni
Drebine	Gratine	†Tuath Mochtaine	Semuine
Dún Dreimne	Greftine	„ Mochthuinne	Semne
Mag Drithne	Gruitini	Dún Muairne	Cúl Siblinne
Duichni	Domnach Iarlainne	Ailech Muirinne	Cúl Sibrinne
Sliab Eblinne	Áth Inroine	Nemeni	Dún Sraibtine
Edne	Inber Labrainne	Glenn Nemthinne	„ Sraiftine
Eilne	Loch Labrainne	Ochaine	„ Sraiptine
Eilbine	†Lathairne	Oichene	Taelcoine
Cúl Emni	Latharna	†Ochmaine	Taiblène
Loch Érne	†Ligmuine	Oiene	Mag Taideni
Ernine	Locharna	Caill Oichni	Talcainne
Etarbainne	†Luaigni	Oinmine	Talindi
Fertene	†Luguirne <sup>1</sup>	Ollbine	Cluain Tibrinne
Findine	†Luigni	†Plaitine	†Tretherne
Benn Foibne	Mag Luidni	Raigne	Tuath Uindsinde
Ros Foichne	†Mairtine	Raimhne	Mag Uaidni
Foidne	Áth CliathMairgene	Saidni	†Uaithni
Fuaithniu	Áth Liac Margini	Saimni	
Ard Gabreni	Cuan Manainne	†Saithni	

## 40. Interchange of formulae :—

Dál Aengusa Musca = Dál Musca = Muscraige

Dál Aulim = Corcu Auloim

Dál Bardeni = Corcu Bairdni

Dál Baiscinn = Corcu Baiscinn

Dál Birnd<sup>2</sup> = Corcu Birn = Osraige

Dál Buain = Boonrige

Dál Céin = Coreu Chéin = Cianacht

Dál Céte, cp. Corcu Cede

Dál Conchubuir = Conchubuirne<sup>3</sup>

Dál Conluain = Coreu Conluain

Dál Cormaic = Coreu Cormaic Lagen

Dál Cuinn = Connachta

Dál Cuirb, cp. Corbraige

Dál Cuire, cp. Cuirene

<sup>1</sup> Luguirne, LL 134 b, last line, not in Onom. Goed.<sup>2</sup> “Genelach Dail Birn .i. Osairge,” Rawl. B 502, 128 b 25.<sup>3</sup> See note on *moccu Conchubuir* below.

Dál Druithne = Corcu Druithne  
 Dál Duibne, cp. Corcu Duibne  
 Dál Echach, cp. Corcu Echach  
 Dál Eogain = Eoganacht  
 Dál Fiachach = Corcu Fiachach  
 Dál Luigne = Corcu Luigne  
 Dál Maigen, cp. Corcu Maigen  
 Dál Maigne, cp. Corcu Maigne  
 Dál Maugnae, cp. Mauginrige  
 Dál Me Druad = Corcu Mu Druad, Coreumruad  
 Dál Mo Dula, cp. Corcu Dula  
 Dál Moga, cp. Corcu Moga  
 Dál Riatai = Korku Reti, Corcu Riada  
 Dál Ulad, cp. Corcu Ulad  
 Corcu Bibuir, cp. Bibraige  
 Corcu Cuirn, cp. Cuirenrige  
 Corcu Dálann = Dál Dálann  
 Corcu Duib = Dubrige  
 Corcu Loegde, also named Dáirine  
 Corcu Och(a)e, cp. Ochaine  
 Corcu Luachra = Orbraige Droma Imnocht  
 Corcu Nechtae, cp. Nechtarge, Nechtraige  
 Corcu Ruisen = Tuath Ruisen  
 Corcu Sai = Sairige  
 Corcu Themne = Temenrige  
 Saithrige, cp. Saithne  
 Semraige, Semonrige = Semaine, Semoni, Tuath Semon

41. Of collective names in -acht, I have only three certain instances, all very prominent in history, Cianacht, Connachta, Eoganacht. The plurals Cianachta, Eoganachta are also frequent, especially when more than one subdivision of these groups is in question. Of the singular Connacht I have no example; but the phrase *teora Connachta* shows that here, too, we have a collective noun. These instances may be added to *Bibracte* cited by Thurneysen (*Altir. Gram.* § 262) in support of his view that the abstract nouns in -acht were originally collectives. Other possible examples are *Ailech Esrachtae*, *Ard Cánachta*, *Cluain Cuallachta*, *Crích Cugennachte*.

42. In my paper on the *Moccu*-formula (*Ériu*, vol. III), I brought together a number of instances to show that this formula, which was used as a kind of surname until the eighth century, had relation to the people-name, the eponym in the latter being extracted, so to speak, and its genitive preceded by *moccu* being used to form the surname or gens-name of the individual. I

also showed that *moccu* in Old Irish was represented by *mucoi* or *magí mucoi* in the Ogham inscriptions, and that the corresponding people-name, where it could be identified, belonged to the class of collective names which I have ventured in this paper to designate as the second order. With a view to testing these deductions more fully, I have brought together all the examples of *mucoi* and *moccu* which since then I have been able to collect. The result has been to confirm the deductions of my paper in Ériu. I have found no conflicting instance. In many cases, the corresponding people-name has not yet been discovered; but since it appears fairly certain that the formula always testifies to the existence of an ancient population-group whose name must have embodied the eponym found after *mucoi* or *moccu*, I give here the whole list of examples.

43. If I am correct in referring *moccu Elich* to Éli, and *moccu Echach* (*Echdach*) to Dál Echach = Fothairt, these instances, together with *moccu Baird*, appear to indicate that the formula was also applicable in the case of people-names of the first order. The rarity of the instances is a matter of course, considering that but few names of the first order were preserved, and that of these few a number, like Érainn, Lagin, comprised subdivisions of the second order. It is even probable, as Corcu Sogin beside Sogin suggests, that the collective formula could be applied to the older names treated as eponyms.

44. Eponyms following MUCOI and its variants in Ogham inscriptions:—

1. ANAdo
69. ALLATO cp. Altraige<sup>2</sup>
76. BIDANI
- 1902 p. 5. BRECI cp. Breccraige
162. CALLITTI cp. Cailtrige
183. CORIBIRI cp. Dál Coirpri<sup>3</sup>
126. CUNAVA[LI] cp. Conaille<sup>4</sup>
229. CUNIA
246. DON<sub>III</sub>I
13. DOVVINIAS Corcu Duibne<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The numbers are those of Macalister's collection; the years and pages refer to the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> This identification is hardly doubtful. The inscription belongs to the barony of Trughanacmy, Co. Kerry. The Altraige were a subdivision of the Ciarraige, their eponymous ancestors being (gs.) Alta, a descendant of Ciara, also named Mug Taeth, eponymous ancestor of the Ciarraige, according to the genealogists. The Altraige inhabited part of the lands of Ciarraige Luachra and Corcu Duibne.

<sup>3</sup> Dál Coirpri, one of the four primary divisions (*cethri prímsloinnite*) of the Lagin. They seem to have been situated in East Munster, of which a large part had once, it was believed, belonged to Leinster. Of Dál Coirpri were the families of Ua Riain (Ryan) and Ua Duibidir (Dwyer), noted East Munster surnames. The inscription, however, belongs to East Muskerry barony, Co. Cork.

<sup>4</sup> Conaille (cp. *Conalneos fines*, L. Arm.) = \*Cunovalinion. The Conaille of Muirthemne may be regarded as neighbours of the Isle of Man, where the inscription is found.

<sup>5</sup> This and the three following inscriptions are from the barony of Corcaguiny = Corcu Duibne.

- 20. DOV.....
- 31. DOVINIA
- 32. DOVINIA
- 189. GLUNLEGGET
- 211. IVODACCA
- 214. LITOS
- 212. LUGA
- 247. LUGUNI cp. Dál Luigni<sup>1</sup>
- 1899 p. 427. LUGUNI Luigne<sup>2</sup>
- 1895 p. 359. MACORA
- 213. MACORBO cp. Dal Mocoirp.<sup>3</sup>
- 223. MaCoRBo
- 196. MAQI EURI<sup>4</sup>
- 3. MAQI MEQ[o . . .
- 220. MEDALO cp. Dál Mo Dala.
- 1898 p. 397. M<sup>OT</sup>TINI
- 208. NETA SEGAMONAS<sup>5</sup>
- 225. NETA SEGAMONAS
- 231. NETA [SEGAM]ONAS
- 237. ODARREA cp. Odrige, Odorrige.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is from Co. Waterford. Dál Luigni were among the Déisi allies (Ériu iii., p. 149).

<sup>2</sup> Inscription from neighbourhood of Kells. The Luigne of Meath inhabited this neighbourhood, not the barony of Lune, which takes its name from the Luaigni.

<sup>3</sup> "Dál Niacorp" (a daerthuath of Cashel, therefore distinct from Dál Niath Corb, of which was the Leinster dynasty) Onom. Goed. is probably for Dál Macorp = Maic Corbb.

<sup>4</sup> For *Iari*?

<sup>5</sup> The three inscriptions bearing this eponym are found within a small area, the district of Dungarvan and Ardmore on the south coast. The eponym may be translated "Segomo's champion." Apart from this name, so far as I am aware, no trace of Segomo has been discovered in Irish tradition. He was known, on the other hand, to the Gauls as a war-god, "Mars Segomo." We should look for a *tuath* bearing some such name as \*Dál Niath Segamon in the district mentioned, but no instance of such a name has been found. The name Segomo, however, and the locality are strongly suggestive of a late settlement of Gauls on the southern coast. The story of the Déisi settlement (Ériu iii., p. 139) names among the Déisi allies *Corcu h'Uiniche do Gallaib*, and Dál Maignenn, descendants of Maigniu Gall. We can only identify the descendants of Segomo's Champion with the Eoganachta, who claimed Nia Segamon as their ancestor. In Corcu Loegde, = Dáirine, we find another instance of a *tuath* owning two distinct eponyms. The occupation of Cashel by the Eoganachta cannot well be disconnected from the Déisi settlement. (1) The whole territory east of the Suir and within the later Munster belonged traditionally to the Osseirge (Osraige), who were akin to the Lagen. (2) Airmuma, "East Munster," is specifically the name of a territory *west* of the Suir, now the barony of Upper Ormond. Oenach Airmuman = Nenagh. (3) The baronies of Kilnemanagh Upper and Lower were held by Dál Coirpri, one of the *cethri prímsloinnthe Lagen*, "the four chief denominations of the Lagen." (4) Cashel, according to the legend (Keating, *Forus Feasa*, book i, sec. 3), was first "found" in the time of Core son of Luguid, and had not previously been a residence of the kings of Munster. Oengus, grandson of Core, was king of Munster in St. Patrick's time, and Core was said to have reigned in the time of Niall Noigiallach. The traditional occupation of Cashel then by the Eoganachta may be placed about A.D. 400. (5) As the seat of the Eoganacht dynasty, the place bore a name of Latin origin, *caissel* = *castellum*. For the tradition of its older names see Keating, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. *Coica do maccaib Odra di h'Ullaib diata Odrige* (Ériu iii., p. 138). These take part in the Déisi invasion, and the inscription is from the Déisi district.

79. QERAI Cerrige, later Ciarraige.<sup>1</sup>  
 160. QRITTI cp. Crothraige.  
 218. ROTTAIS cp. Rothraige, Roithrige.<sup>2</sup>  
 198. SOGINI cp. Sogain, Coreu Sogain, Coreu Suigin.  
 88. TOICAXI  
 89. TOICACI  
 91. TOICAC  
 149. TORIANI  
 1903 p. 76. TREnAluGGo  
 1896 p. 129. TRENAQITI  
 109. TUCACAC<sup>3</sup>  
 107. UDDAMI  
 242. VALUVI  
 139. VIRAGNI  
 243. VIRI QORB

45. As applied to contemporaries, the quasi-surnames in *moccu* become obsolete in the eighth century. The latest instance I have found is that of Lucreth *moccu* Ciara, the author of a poem commencing *Cú-cen-máthair maith in chland*, which is found with the Eoganacht genealogy in the Books of Ballymote and Lecan and in Rawlinson B 502. From internal evidence this poem appears to have been composed early in the eighth century. In the Book of Leinster and later documents *moccu* is misunderstood as an equivalent of *macc hwi, filius nepotis*, and commonly represented by *mc. h.*, *m. h.*, *macc ua*, etc. Abbreviations in the following list: MD (with date in calendar) = Martyrology of Donegal; LL, BB (with page of facsimile) = Book of Leinster, Book of Ballymote; Ad = Adamnan's Vita Columbae, Reeves, index; Onom = Hogan's Onomasticon Goedelicum; Arm = Hogan's Glossary to Book of Armagh; AU (with year of annal) = Annals of Ulster; SL = Stokes's Lives of the Saints from Book of Lismore, index.

46. Eponyms following *Moccu*:—

LL	368	Ultan m. h. Aignich	see Eignich below
„	„	Mo Boe m. h. Aldae <sup>4</sup>	
BB	212	Mo Bhi qui dicitur mc. h. Alla	
„	225	Brenaind mc. h. Alta <sup>5</sup>	Altraige

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is from Magunihy barony, adjoining Ciarraige Luachra.

<sup>2</sup> From a Déisi inscription. The Roithrige take part in the Déisi invasion.

<sup>3</sup> Macalister's suggested reading of the inscription, which is defaced. Perhaps it was originally TOICAC as in no. 91.

<sup>4</sup> See pedigree of Mo Baedan from Fiachra Allae, BB 218 g.

<sup>5</sup> See note on ALLATO above. *Alti* postulates a different stem. The pedigree of St. Brendan has "*macc Findloga maicc Olehon maicc Allai vel aliter macc Findloga m. Olehon m. Gossa m. Gabli m. Eeni m. Allae . . . do Chiarrraige Luachra do Altraige Cind Bera ocus do Chorcu Duibni*," LL 349 a; "*macc Findloga m. Elehon m. Aeltai do Chiarrraigi Luachra do Altraige Chaille*," LL 371 a.

Ad.		Brendenus mocu Alti	Altraige
LL	367 <sup>q. 31</sup>	Colman macc Cuansi	cp. Coreu Andsae
	368	Odran mc. h. Araide	Dál Araidi
BB	228	Odran mc. h. Araide	"
Ad		Comgellus mocu Aridi <sup>1</sup>	"
MD	Jun. 7	Mo Cholmocc mac ua Artá	Artraige
BB	225	Colum mc. h. Arte	"
LL	359	Nechtán m. h. in Baird <sup>2</sup>	Longo-Bardi
MD	Apl. 22	Neachtain mac ua Baird	"
	, Aug. 30	Usaille mac ua Baird <sup>2</sup>	"
Ériu	iv. p. 75	Sechnall macc ui Baird <sup>2</sup>	"
BB	226	Colman mc. h. Bairdine <sup>3</sup>	Dál Bardeni
LL	367	Colman m. h. Bairddeni	"
	, 356	Mo Cholmocc m. h. Beona	"
	, 373	Nem m. h. Birn	Dál (or Coreu) Birn <sup>4</sup>
MD	Jun. 14	Nem mac ua Birn	"
Onom,	p. 197	Cell macu Birn	"
LL	368	Setna Dromma m. h. Blai	Blairige
Onom		Druim mic ua Blae	"
Ad		Lugbeus mocu Blai	"
Arm		Miliucc maccu Booin	Boonrige, Dál Buain
BB	226	Caindech mc. h. Buachalla	Dál Buachalla
LL	367	Cainnech m. h. Buachalla	"
	, 368	Oidrine m. h. Buachalla	"
Onom,	p. 197	Cell maccu Buadain	
MD	Oct. 4	Fionocc maccu Cha	cp. Cairige, Caraige
LL	356	Ecca m. h. Chae	"
BB	227	Mo Laisi mc. h. Caidi	cp. Catrige
LL	368	Mo Lasse m. h. Cáte	"
	, ,	Mo Beoc m. h. Cati	"
BB	227	Mo Beoc mc. h. Chaiti	"
	, ,	Mo Laisi mc. h. Carraigi	"
LL	368	Mo Lasse m. h. Caisrige	
	, 367	Colman mc. h. Chais <sup>5</sup>	Dál Cais

<sup>1</sup> Pedigree from Fiachra Araide, epon. anc. of Dál A. LL 348 d.

<sup>2</sup> Nechtán or Nechtain, Ausaille = Auxilius, and Sechnall = Secundinus were three of the seven sons of "Lupait sister of Patrick" by Restitutus of the Longobardi, LL 355 a, 372 a. We have here in *moccu Baird* a curious extension of the formula to a foreign people. In LL 372 a, Lupais is called "máthair macc hú Baird." See Ancombe, *The Longobardic Origin of St. Sechnall*, Ériu iv., p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> "Colman maccu Barrdini, do Dal Barrdainne a chenél," Onom. Goed. p. 331.

<sup>4</sup> Dál Birn was a synonym for Osseirge, Osraige, who are called Síl mBirn, LL 339 a 1, from an ancestor Loegaire Birn Buadach.

<sup>5</sup> Colum Epscop of Tir Da Glas has a pedigree from Dál Cais, BB 221 f.

BB	226	Colman mc. h. Chais	Dál Caís
Ad		Mater virorum mocu Cein	Cianachta
"		Chonrii mocu Cein	"
"		avia To Cummi mocu Cein	"
LL	368	Mo Chummae m. h. Chein	"
BB	227	Mo Chuma mc. h. Chen	"
"	226	Comgall mc. h. Cein	"
LL	327	Comgall m. h. Chéin	"
"	"	Findlug m. h. Chéin	"
BB	227	Fintan mc. h. Chen <sup>1</sup>	"
"	228	Mo Gobboc m. h. Chein	"
LL	368	Mo Gobboc m. h. Chein	"
Ad		To Channu mocu Fir Cetea	Dál Céte
BB	173	Lucreth macu Ciara	Ciarraige
LL	357	Lucill m. h. Chiara	"
MD Jan. 31		Caindeach mac ui Chil	Celrige
BB	227	Fintan mc. h. Cind—	
LL	290	Dál mc. h. Chreega	Creccraige
"	367	Colman mc. h. Coirtged <sup>2</sup>	
BB	226	Colman mc. h. Coirtged <sup>3</sup>	
LL	355	Cilline m. h. Colla	cp. Coreu Culla
	362	Ultan m. h. Conchobui <sup>3</sup>	Dál Conchobuir
AU	656	Obitus Ultain moccu Choncobair	"
	662	Ultan moccu Chonchobair quievit	"
BB	228	Ultan mc. h. Conchubair	"
LL	368	Mo Lasse m. h. Chonna	cp. Dál Condad
Arm		Ad insolas Macu Chor	cp. Cuirrige
LL	367	Mo Chua mc. h. Choraig	
BB	227	Mo Chua mc. h. Choraig	
MD Mar. 16		Abban mac ua Corbmaic <sup>4</sup>	Dál Cormaic
BB	123	Aban maccua Cormaic	"
LL	357	Abbain m. h. Chormaic	"
"	364	Abban m. h. Chormaic	"
MD Dec. 27		Fiacha mac ua Chorbmaic	"
AU	663	Baetan moccu Cormaice	"
AU	690	Cronan moccu Chualne	Dál Cualni

<sup>1</sup> S. Fintan Find of Druimm Ing, Cianacht pedigree, BB 221 a, 232 b 48.

<sup>2</sup> See Forgeth, Fortgech, and cp. Coreu Oirethe, C. Oirethen.

<sup>3</sup> "Ar ba do D. C. dosom," Onom. Goed., p. 332. In the Book of Armagh he is called *episcopus Conchuburnensium*, *episcopo Conchuburnensi*, indicating the alternative form Conchuburne = Dal Conchubuir.

<sup>4</sup> Pedigree from Cormac, son of Cú Corb, and epon. anc. of Dál Cormaic, one of the *cethri prím-sloinnnte Iagen*. "Is dib Aban maccua Cormaic," BB 123 b 26. His pedigree, BB 222 e, f.

MD Feb. 7	Mellan mac ui Cuinn	Dál Cuinn <sup>1</sup>
Sep. 10	Seighin mac ui Chuinn	"
Oct. 9	Aedhan mac ui Chuind	"
LL 362	Aedan m. h. Cuind	"
BB 226	Colman m. h. Cuind	"
LL 367	Colman m. h. Cuind	"
BB 227	Mo Chua mc. h. Chuind	"
LL 367	Findlug m. h. Chuind	"
FM	Ultan mac hui Cunga	
AU 664	Ultan mac Caunga	
Onom	moccu Daiméne	cp. Daimine
Ad	Cainnechus mocu Dalon <sup>2</sup>	Corcu Dalann
BB 226	Caindech mc. h. Dalann	"
" 227	Mo Laisi mc. h. Dartada	cp. Dartraige
LL 368	Mo Lasse m. h. Dartada	"
MD May 21	Inis mac ua Dartadha	"
AU 653	Colman epscop mocu Delduib <sup>3</sup>	
LL 367	Colman m. h. Dulduil <sup>3</sup>	
Ad	Ercus <sup>4</sup> mocu Druidi	
LL 362	Neman m. h. Duib	Dubrige, Corcu Duib.
MD Sep. 13	Naomhán mac ua Duibh	"
" Apl. 8	Aedhan mac ua Dhuibhne	Corcu Duibne
LL 358	Aedan m. h. Duibni	"
MD Feb. 20	Colgu mac ua Duineachda	
AU 602	Quies Finntain filii nepotis Echdach <sup>5</sup>	cp. Dál Echach
Onom 539	Fintan maccu Echtach	"
" "	(Fintan) mocu Edagur	"
BB 228	Ultan mc. h. Eignich	cp. Eiginrige
MD Apl. 9	Aedhac <sup>h</sup> mac ua Elich	cp. Éli
LL 358	Aedach m. h. Elich	"
" 362	Finnio m. h. Fiatach <sup>6</sup>	Dál Fiatach
AU 578	Quies Vinniani episcopi mc. nepotis	"
	Fiatach	

<sup>1</sup> The numerous pedigrees of the saints of Dál Cuinn (= Uí Néill, Uí Briúin, Airgialla, etc.) include Espoc Aed, Aed Coel, Aedan, Aeidgen, Maedog, and at least four Colmáns. "*Seigine m. Fiachna m. Feradaig m. Nindeada m. Fergus m. Conaill m. Neill*," Lecan 93.

<sup>2</sup> "*Dal nDallain a quo Cuindeach*," Onom. Goed. s.v. Dál Condaith.

<sup>3</sup> See Telduib below.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently a native of the Hebrides.

<sup>5</sup> S. Fintan of Cluain Eidnech was of the Fothairt, whose epon. anc. in the genealogies is Eochu Find Fuath nAirt, so that Dál Echach may be a synonym of Fothairt.

*Fintan Cluana Eidneach uill · mac Garbain mc. Corerain cuirr*

*mc. Eachach mc. Breasail ain · mc. Den mc. Condlai comlain*

*mc. Airt Cirp mc. Cairpri Níad · mc. Cormaic mair co mormiad*

(l. 45) *mc. Aengusa moir miad ngart · mc. Eachach Finn Fuath le hArt.* BB 231 a.

<sup>6</sup> Pedigree from "*Fiata Find a quo Dál Fiatach*," LL 349 c.

BB	226	Findbarr mc. h. Fiatach	Dal Fiatach
LL	367	Findbarr mc. h. Fiatach	"
MD Jan. 11		Suibne maccu Ir Tri	Corcu Fir Tri
BB	226	Colman m. h. Forgtech <sup>1</sup>	
LL	367	Colman m. h. Fortgech <sup>1</sup>	
LL	364	Mo Cholmoc m. h. Gualae <i>no</i> h. Gáili <sup>2</sup>	Gailine
"	367	Mo Lua mc. h. Gaili	"
BB	227	Mo Lua mc. h. Gaili	"
"	"	Mo Chuma mc. h. Gaili	"
LL	368	Mo Chummae m. h. Gaili	"
"	"	Mo Shenóc m. h. Gairb	Garbraige <sup>4</sup>
MD Oct. 21		Siollán mac ua Ghairbh	"
LL	364	Mc. h. Gairb <i>abbaid</i> Maigi Bili. Sillan Magistir	"
Onom, p. 197		Cell maccu Geridáin	
LL	356	Mc. h. Greccae	Greccraige
"	367	Colman m. h. Guaili <sup>3</sup>	
BB	226	Colman mc. h. Guaili <sup>3</sup>	
Lecan	455	Eterscel Mor macu Iair <sup>5</sup>	Érainn
BB	227	Mo Laisi mc. h. lmdae	Dál Imde
LL	368	Mo Lasse m. h. Imda	"
AU	638	Do Laissi maccu Imde	"
BB	227	Mo Chua mc. h. Lapae	
LL	367	Mo Chua m. h. Loppae	
"	368	Mo Gobboe mc. h. Laime	cp. Lámraige
BB	227	Mo Gobboe m. h. Laime	"
AU	637	Cronan moccu Loegdae	Corcu Loegde
LL	367	Mo Chua m. h. Laigde	"
BB	227	Mo Chua mc. h. Laidgi	"
"	228	Mo Rioc mc. h. Laigdi	"
LL	368	Mo-Rioc m. h. Laigde	"
? Ad		Columbanus mocu Loigse <sup>6</sup>	Lóigis
MD May 16		Colman mac ua Laoighse	"
LL	360	Colman m. h. Laigsi	"
"	356	Oenu m. h. Laigsi <sup>6</sup>	"
"	367	Oenu m. h. Laigsi	"

<sup>1</sup> Coirtgech above.<sup>2</sup> "Dí Gáilinni dí Ultaib do," LL 364, last column. This Mo Cholmóc may be identified with Colmán moccu Guaili. Perhaps the scribal variants Gual-, Guail-, Gáil-, Gail- may be traced to an earlier spelling Góil- (óí diphthong.).<sup>3</sup> See foregoing note.<sup>4</sup> Cp. *Domnach maccu Garba*, Onom. Goed.<sup>5</sup> See § 12<sup>6</sup> Pedigrees of Oenu and Colmán from Iugaid Laigsech, epon. anc. of Lóigis, BB 219 c.

SL	275	Enna maccu Laigsi	Lóigis
LL	368	Mo Shinu mc. h. Lugair	Luguirne
BB	228	Mo Shinu mc. h. Lugair	"
"	224	Mo Caemo mc. h. Lugair	"
Arm		Dubthoch mc. h. Lugin	"
AU	789	Comotatio reliquiarum Mo Chuae moccu Luggedon	
Eriu iii, 138		Moccu Luigdech	cp. Corcu Luigdech
Arm		Muirchu maccu Machtheni	cp. Tuath Mochtaine <sup>1</sup>
MD Jun. 8		Murchu mac ua Maichtene	"
"	"	Meadhran mac ua Maichtene	"
BB	227	Loman mc. h. Maigni	cp. Dál Maigin, Maigni
LL	367	Lonan m. h. Maigen	"
"	"	Mo Chua m. h. Manche	"
BB	227	Mo Chua mc. h. Manchi	
"	226	Fintan mc. h. Milbae	
LL	367	Fintan m. h. Milbai	
Ad		Lugbeus mocu Min	cp. Menraige
"		Lugneus mocu Min	"
BB	228	Mo Shinu mc. h. Muind	"
LL	368	Mo Sinu mc. h. Mind	"
AU cxxxiii		Mosinu Maccumin	"
SL	335	Lugna maccu Moga Laim	
Ad		Laisranus mocu Moie	
BB	227	Mo Laisi mc. h. Naithre	
LL	368	Mo Lasse m. h. Naratha	
"	356	Mo Lassi m. h. Nehti	Nechtarge, Corcu Nechtæ
"	"	Mo Lasse m. h. Nehtai	"
BB	227	Mo Laisi mc. h. Neachta	"
MD Jan. 19		Mo Laissi maccua Nechte	"
Onom 540		Moccu Necthin	
Ériu iii. 138		Moccu Nemongin	
MD Jun. 9		Cruimther mac ua Nesse	
Ad		Oisseneus mocu Neth Corb	Dál Niath Cor
AU cxxxiii.		Mo Cuaroc maccu Neth Semon <sup>1</sup>	Semonrige, Semaine
"	584	Abb Cluana moccu Nois	cp. Noisrige
LL	368	Mo Lóce m. h. Noise	"
BB	228	Mo Locae mc. h. Noise	"

<sup>1</sup> "Tuath Mochtaine for Maig Macha," an aithechtuath in poem quoted by Mac Fir Bhisigh, *Genealogies*, R.I.A. copy, p. 55. "Mochthuinde" in *Onom. Goed.*, p. 652.

<sup>2</sup> "Semaine na nDesi diata Mo Chuaróc," *Onom. Goed.*, p. 594.

BB	223	Colman mc. h. Nuadchon	
AU	608	Quies Lugdach moccu Ocha <sup>1</sup>	Corcu Oche
AU	677	Daircill moccu Retai	Dál Riatai
Ad		Mailodranus mocu Rin <sup>2</sup>	cp. Corcu Rinn
"		Erneneus mocu Fir Roide	Corcu Roide
LL	365	Tua m. h. Roida	"
"	368	Tua m. h. Roda	"
"	"	Mo Gobboe mc. h. Ruain	
BB	228	Mo Gobboe mc. h. Ruain	
Ad.		Trenanus mocu Runtir	Dál Runtir
"		Colmanus mocu Sailni <sup>3</sup>	Dál Sailni
"		Nemaidon (gen.) mocu Sogin	Sogin, Corcu S.
AU	548	Finnio moccu Telduib <sup>4</sup>	
LL	367	Finnian m. h. Thelluib	
BB	226	Finna mc. h. Tellduib	
SL	335	Fidnian macu Tellaig	
MD	Feb. 8	Colman mac ui Thealduibh	
"	Dec. 12	Colman mac ui Thelduibh	
BB	226	Colman mc. h. Tuilduib	
Ad		Luguid mocu Themne	Temenrige
AU	663	Comgan macu Teimne	"
MD	Feb. 27	Commán macua Theimhne	"
"	Apl. 8	Luighthighern macua Trato <sup>5</sup>	Tratraige
LL	359	Luchthigern macu Tratho	"

47. The collective names do not always appear to contain a personal or ancestral eponym. In Corcu Fásaig, Corcu Luachra, Corcu Maige Locha, Corcu Temrach, Corcu Tethba, the determining word is a place-name, so that these names are referable to a usage in which *corcu* is still a common noun in general use.

48. The eponyms which are found with *moccu* prove that the eponyms supplied by the genealogists cannot always be accepted as representing an

<sup>1</sup> *Mo Lua Cluana Ferta m. Curtaigh m. Daigri m. Urchocho m. Fergusa Fogo. Mo Lua cr. mc. Daigri m. Ere m. Imchada m. Luime Fola m. Cliataire m. Focha m. Dubthaig Duinn.* (BB 218 c.)

"*Fergus Oiche qui et Fogai*" was epon. anc. of Corcu Oche, BB 169 b 44.

<sup>2</sup> Variant mocu Cwín, cp. Cuirenrige.

<sup>3</sup> "*Colman Elo .i. Mac Uí Sellí*," Onom. Goed. s.v. Dál Sailne. The eponym does not occur in his pedigree, BB 223 b, c, LL 352 f.

<sup>4</sup> See *Delduib* above. The obit here is that of S. Finnian of Cluain Iraird, whose pedigree is given thus:—" *Finden Cluana Iraird m. Findloga m. Findtain m. Concrúind m. Daircealla m. Seanaigh m. Diarmada m. Aedha m. Fergusa m. Oilella Duibh m. Cealtair m. Uideachair*," BB 218 d, e. Similarly LL 348, last column. Ailill Dub is given as Ailill Telduib by Abp. Healy, *Ireland's Ancient Schools*, p. 194 (second edition). *Teldub, Tuilub*, cp. "*Genelach Síil Eogain. Tudy m. Faclain . . . m. Faclchon Tulchotait .i. etan cruaid boi oca*," LL 317 a.

<sup>5</sup> *Luchthigern . . . isé fil i Tuam Kindlocha i Tratraige*, LL 373 b 5.

accurate tradition. Thus the genealogists tell us that the Ciarraige are the descendants of Ciar, son of Fergus MacRoig, but the Ogham form *Mucoi Qerai* (MS. *Moccu Ciara*) shows that the true eponym should have been *Ciara* in Middle Irish. The *Artraige* are said to descend from a male ancestor *Art*, while the *moccu* formula has genitive *Arta*, *Arte*. That *Core Duibfind*, as ancestor of *Corcu Duibne*, is a mere fiction of the genealogists would be sufficiently obvious if we had not the Ogham examples of *Mucoi Dorinias* and the MS. *moccu Duibne*. *Láma*, son of *Conchobor macc Nessa*, is the genealogical ancestor of the *Lámraige*, but the lists of saints have *Mo Gobbóc moccu Laime*. *Laigsech Cennmór* is the genealogical head of the *Lóigse*; *Adamnanus* has *mocu Loigse*. *Neachtain . . . a quo Neachtraide*, *Lecan* 453; *Nemangein mac Neachtain do Uaithnib diata Neachtraidi*, *ib.*; but *moccu Nechti*, *Nechtai*, *Nechte*, *Neachta*, and *Coreu Nechtae*. *Fergus Oiche qui et Fogai*, *BB* 169 b, *Fergus Fogo*, *BB* 218 c, *Focha*, *ib.* is ancestor of *Coreu Oche* and of *S. Mo Lua* = *Luguid moccu Ocha*, *AU* 608. If the genealogists have not lost the genuine tradition, they must have deliberately substituted masculine for feminine eponyms.

49. *Adamnanus*, in *mocu Fir Cetea*, *mocu Fir Roide*, introduces *fer* ("husband of") before a feminine eponym. Cp. *Conall mac Fhir Cheiti meic Deda meic Sin a quo Dal Ceiti la Mumain*, *Lecan* 455.

50. Names in *-rige* appear sometimes to have the name of an animal for eponym. It is curious if *Bibraige* (cp. *Corcu Bibuir*) contains the name of the beaver (cp. *Bibracte*), for *Dr. Scharff* tells me that so far no remains of the beaver are known to have been found in Ireland, though it is known to have existed in Britain. Other instances are *Boc-*, *Catt-*, *Con-*. *Dart-* (with *moccu Dartada*), *Gabr-*, *Gaman-*, *Luch-*, *Molt-*, *Tore-*. We cannot assert that the animal, even personified, was regarded as the ancestor, for the adoption of animal names (e.g. *Conall Cú*, *Ailill Molt*) was not rare. Moreover, as instances like *Ciarraige* show, the eponym may really have been a fuller form of the element which is retained in the people-name.

51. Some of the collective names appear to be based on the occupations of the people. Thus the *Semonrige*, *Tuath Semon*, or *Semmuine*, i.e. people of rivets, belonged to the coppermining district of the *Dési*, and the distinctive element in their name was not thought capable of forming an eponym; hence *moccu Neth Semon* = of the race of the Champion of the Rivets. In *Bérre*, *Béarra*, another mining district, were the *Cerdraige*. With this class of names we may perhaps connect *Tuatha Taiden* or *Fir Taiden*, people of mantles, and *Fir Bolg*, people of leathern bags. That *Fir Bolg*, commonly used as a name for the older subjugated race or races, was an extension of the genuine name of an historical people may be judged from the instances of *Bolghthuath*

and Bolgraige in Onom. Goed.<sup>1</sup> All these peoples with what seem to be occupation-names belonged to the *aithechtuatha*; and their vassal-rents may have been paid in the products of the industries indicated by their names. Cp. also Corbraige, Corbetrige, Sciathraige, Tuath Chathbarr.

### III. SEPT-NAMES.

52. A third order, arising out of the second or it may be out of the first, and no doubt later in time, consists of sept-names in which the genitive of the eponym is preceded by the word Aui, Ui, "grandsons, descendants," e.g. Ui Néill, Ui Fidgente. Indeed that this class of name belongs to a later fashion of nomenclature than the collective names appears from the fact that, while all the collective names originate in a purely traditional period, the origin of at least a proportion of the early names in Ui can be assigned to the beginning of the documentary period.

53. In the genealogies, but not in general usage, there is a partial revival of sept-names in Ui, probably in the eleventh century, perhaps due to professional familiarity with the early nomenclature. In popular usage the only such instance at present known to me is Íbh Laoghaire, which seems to be the surname Ua Laoghaire, dative plural, belonging to a family of the western Muscraige. It is now the name of a district in the west of co. Cork. Surnames in Ua commence to be used in the tenth century: AU 914—Ua Maelsechnaill, 918 Ua Cléirig, 946 Ua Canannáin. As titles, without the fore-name, Ua Ciarda 953, Ua Ruairc 953, 964, 998. Over 40 other such surnames are found in this century. The statement adopted by O'Curry (Ms. Mat., p. 214) that this usage was established by an ordinance of Brian Boróimhe, apart from the fact that regal decrees of the kind are unknown in Ireland before the Norman Invasion, is thus shown to be without foundation.

54. As in the case of the collective names, so in the case of sept-names in Ui, the eponym is sometimes feminine. Cp. Ui Bairrche, Ui Brigte, Ui Duibne (cp. Corcu D.), Ui Ercae, Ui Ferba (beside Ui Fírb), Ui Ochrae, Ui Taisce.

55. In my paper on *the Irish Ogham Inscriptions*, R.I.A. Proceedings, vol. xxvii., p. 368, I adopted Barry's view that the Ogham *avi* points to the sept-ancestor. Of sixteen instances there collected, five appear to be followed by feminine names; in two others the gender is doubtful. Hence apparently the proportion of feminine eponyms for septs named in the Ui-formula was much larger in early times than in the later MS. record.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. note by Mac Fir Bhisigh on a poem at p. 55, Book of Genealogies (R.I.A.): *Dú i ndubhairt an duain nach d' Feraib Bolg Gaileoin na Domhnannaigh 7c. fir sin tra iarna slonnadh ghnelheck. Gidhedh iarna slonnadh coitchenn, as ainm díles dona trí tuathaibh remraite Fir Bolg.*

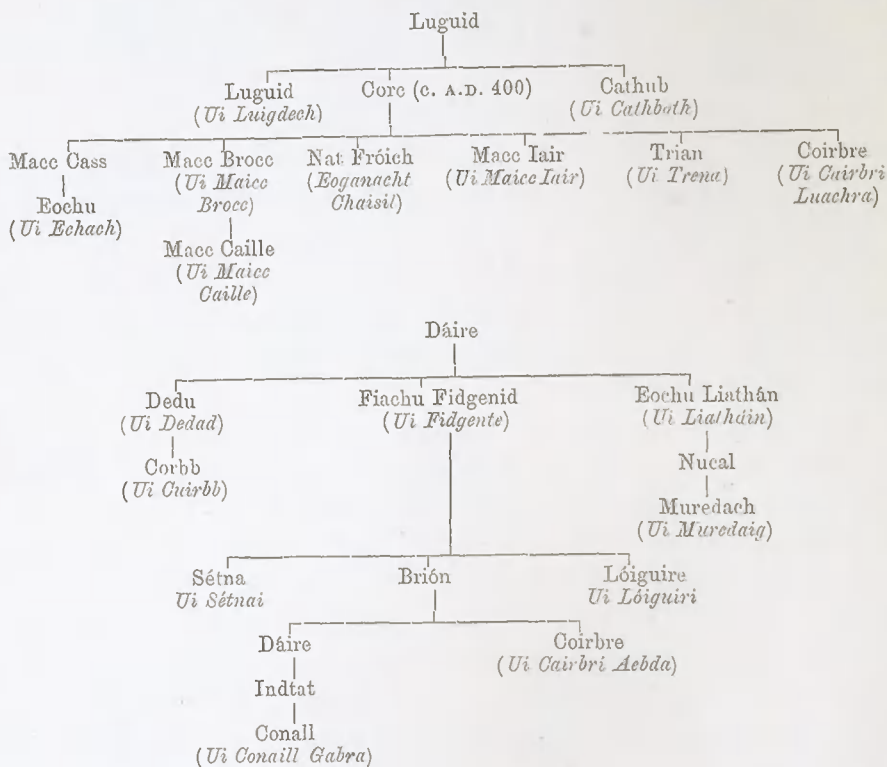
56. I know no instance of a sept-name derived from a female ancestor within the documentary period. Hence I think that the feminine sept-eponyms had a religious, not a genealogical, import. Cp. *Ui Brigte* and "*Brigit banfile ingen in Dagda*" (BB 34 b 30), *Ui Ercae* and the forenames *Macc Ercae* = *Maqi Ercias*, *Dar Erca*, *Ercavicas*.

57. In the same paper, p 369, I suggested that *Anavlamattias mucoi Magi Euri* [*Iuri*?] *avi Axeras* should be interpreted "Anblomaith of the tuath of Macc Iair and of the sept [thereof] Aui Acher." The sept-name has since then turned up: *Ac Ailill Fland Beacc comraices Hi Aicher 7 Mee Carrthaich i. rigda* [= *rig*] *Desmuman*, Lecan 454. "At Ailill Flann Becc [the pedigrees] of Hui Aicher 7 the MacCarthaighs, Kings of Desmond, unite." The genitive Aicher = Axeras seems to indicate an Irish *r*-stem outside of the nouns importing the family relation.

58. In *Dál Niad Corb*, to which most of the Christian kings of Leinster belonged, the eponyms of the principal septs appear in the genealogies as sons of Cathair Mór: Ros Fáilge (*Ui Fáilge*) Dáire Barrach (*Ui Bairrche*), Bresa Enechglas (*Ui Enechglais*), Cétach (*Ui Cétaig*), Fergus Luascán (*Ui Luascáin*) Crimthannán (*Ui Crimthannáin*), Eochaid Timine (*Ui Timine*), Fiachu Ba Aiccid (*Ui Baicceda*), Deremossach (*Ui Dercmossaig*), etc. The instance of *Ui Bairrche*, mentioned earlier, warns us that we do not stand here on any ground of solid strict historical tradition. Least of all need we expect to find even an approximately true chronology. In Gilla Coemain's reckoning Cathair Mór should have been king of Ireland from A.D. 123 to 149. But in the Synchronism of 721, his reign requires to be placed quite a century later. Even this date appears too early, judged by genealogies.

59. The pedigree of Crimthann, king of Leinster in St. Patrick's time (c. 450), is traced thus: 1, Cathair. 2, Fiacchu Baiccid. 3, Bresal Belach. 4, Labraid. 5, Enda Cennselach. 6, Crimthann. Allowing three generations to a century, the floruit of Cathair should thus be placed quite at the close of the third century. The Four Masters give 435 as the death-date of Bresal Bélach son of Fiacha Aicidh son of Cathair Mór. AU concurs. The most that can be said is that the majority of witnesses assign Fiachu, ancestor of *Ui Baicceda*, to the fourth century. In his line sept-names in *Ui* continue to be formed for several generations. From Labraid son of Bresal Bélach are named *Ui Labrada*; from Dúnlaing son of Énda Nia son of Bresal, *Ui Dúnlainge*; from Énda Cennselach son of Labraid, *Ui Cennselaig*. Hui Maele Tuile, from Mael Tuile son of Ronan s. o. Colmán s. o. Coirpre s. o. Ailill s. o. Dúnlaing, supply a late instance. Mael Tuile should have lived in the latter half of the sixth century. See LL 315 c.

60. The chief septs of the Eoganachta are traced to two sons of Ailill Flann Becc, Luguid and Dáire Cerba.



61. The Eoganacht of Cashel, the suzerain line, do not appear to have taken any sept-name in Ui. The pedigree of Oengus (killed in 489, AU) is given as follows: 1 Ailill Flann Becc, 2 Luguid, 3 Core, 4 Nat Fróich, 5 Oengus. According to the genealogical account, Ui-names among the Eoganachta arise from ancestors two generations older than Oengus, and continue to arise until an ancestor is reached two generations later than Oengus. The eponyms would appear to date from about the beginning of the fifth until the middle of the sixth century. Of course it is to be borne in mind that a sept-name in Ui is at least two generations later than its eponym, so that with the Eoganachta, septs continued to be named afresh under this formula until the end of the sixth century.

62. In Dál Cuinn, the starting-point of all the septs is Cairbre Lifechar. From Fiachu Sraiftine son of Cairbre descend the Ui Néill and the Connacht septs Ui Briúin, Ui Fiachrach, Ui Aillello, and Ui Fergusso. From Eochu Doimlén son of Cairbre descend the Airgialla and Ui Maine.

63. In the genealogies, Niall, Brian (Bríón), Fiachra, Ailill, and Fergus are sons of Eochu Mugmedóin. Their period is the close of the fourth

century and the beginning of the fifth. Lóguire son of Niall was king of Ireland at St. Patrick's coming in 432, and died in 462 (AU). Eogan son of Niall died in 465 (AU), Conall Cremthainne son of Niall in 480. Nathi son of Fiachra succeeded Niall and preceded Lóguire as king of Ireland.

64. The uncertainty of the genealogical tradition at this period is exemplified by the following counterstatements (Lecan 454):—

*Sunt qui dicunt Fiachrach* [read *Fiachra*] *Brian Maine tri meic Domnaill meic Fiachrach Sraiftini. Sunt qui dicunt tri meic Fiachrach Fir Da Giall meic Cairpri Lifeochair .i. na tri Cholla .i. Colla Uas 7 Colla Mend 7 Colla da Crích a n-anmand.*

65. The Ui Néill do not subdivide into further septs named in this formula. Under Ui Briún (BB 89) arise Hui Chanann from Cano son of Brión; Hui Du[i]b Dumach from Dub Dumach s. o. Annad s. o. Fothad, s. o. Conall s. o. Brión; Hui Baeithin from Baeithin s. o. Dui Galach s. o. Brión. Hui Cormaic from Cormac s. o. Fergus Cnoc s. o. Dui Galach. The eponyms in this line belong to the fifth and sixth centuries.

66. Under Ui Fiachrach (BB 107) arise Ui Amalgada (Amolngado) from Amolngid s. o. Fiachra; Ui Echach Muaide from Eachaid (recte Eochu) s. o. Nathí s. o. Fiachra; Ui Suanaig were a subsept of Ui Echach, but I have not found their pedigree. Excluding Suanach, the eponyms in this line belong to the fifth century. I have no account of subsepts named in the Ui-formula under Ui Ailello and Ui Fergusso.

67. Hence it appears, so far as has been investigated, that in the Connacht and Meath branches of Dál Cuinn, sept-names in Ui arise from eponyms referable generally to the fifth century.

68. Airgialla (BB 118): Ui Tuitre from Fiachra Tort s. o. Ere s. o. Colla Uais s. o. Eochu Doimlén. Hui Echach from Eochu s. o. Feidlimid s. o. Fiachra s. o. Colla Da Chrích. Hui Bresail from Bresal s. o. Feidlimid aforesaid. Hui Sinaig from Sinach, fifth in descent from Feidlimid. Hua Niallín from Niallán s. o. Fiace s. o. Feidlimid. Hui Cruind from Crond s. o. Feidlimid. Hui Méith from Muredach Méith s. o. Imchad s. o. Colla Da Chrích. Hui Fiachrach from Fiachra s. o. Ere s. o. Eochu s. o. Colla Uais. Hui Segain from Segán s. o. Tuathal s. o. Feidlimid. Hui Maice Cairthinn from Mace Cairthinn s. o. Eichen s. o. Fiachra Tort. Hui Maine from Maine Mór s. o. Eochu Fer Da Giall s. o. Domnall s. o. Imchad s. o. Colla Focrich (= Da Crích). Ui Cormaic Maenmaige from Cormac s. o. Bresal s. o. Maine. Hui Duach from Duach (Dui, Dau) s. o. Dallán s. o. Bresal s. o. Maine.

69. At 513 (AU) is recorded the death of Cairpre Daim Argit, king of the Airgialla, s. o. Eochu s. o. Crimthann s. o. Fiac s. o. Daig Duirn s. o. Reochaid

s. o. Colla Da Crích. Colla should have flourished about two centuries earlier, i.e. at the beginning of the fourth century, and this date accords with the time usually assigned for the conquest of Mid Ulster by the three Collas. The eponyms of Ui Sinaig and Ui Duach are two generations farther than Cairpre Daim Argit from the common ancestor, and should belong to the latter part of the sixth century.

70. The septs of Dál Cuinn, the Eoganachta, and Dál Niad Corb were predominant throughout nearly all Ireland from St. Patrick's time until the Norman Invasion. Hence one may suppose that their traditions were more minutely recorded in the early MS. period than the traditions of less prominent groups; also that, so far as chronological checks were available, they were more operative in the history of these dominant lines. But it is evident that, even in their case, no anterior limit can be placed to the use of the Ui-formula except to say that it appears to mark a later classification than the collective names.

71. The Ui-formula is succeeded by one in which cenél precedes the eponym. This is conspicuous and of early occurrence in the case of the Ui Néill.

72. Cenél Conaill, C. Cairpri, C. Loiguirí, C. nEogain, C. Fiachach, C. Máini, C. nÉndai, C. nOengusso take their names from sons of Niall, and their origin therefore from about the middle of the fifth century.

73. From sons of Eogan, C. Muredaig, C. mBindig, C. Fergusso, C. nOengusso, C. nDalláin, C. Cormaie, C. Feidlimthe, C. nAillello, C. nEichein, C. nIllainn, C. nEchach.

74. From sons of Muredach, C. Feradaig, C. Tigernaig, C. Moain. From Forggus s. o. Baetán s. o. Muirchertach s. o. Muredach, C. Forggusso. Muirchertach died about 530 (533 AU, 527 FM, 531 Chron. Scot.), Baetán in 571 (AU), and a son of "Fergus"<sup>1</sup> son of Baetán in 619 (AU). Hence we may regard the Cenél formula in the Ui Néill line as based on fifth, sixth, and seventh century eponyms.

75. In the Eoganacht line, the symmetrical numbers of 24 sons and 24 daughters are assigned to Oengus s. o. Nat Fróich, (BB 172 b). Eithne Uathach, the woman-chief of the Dési, was mother of three of the sons, and hence their posterity is called Cenél nEithne (*sic* l. 26). From Cennlán sixth in descent from Oengus, is C. Cennláin. Cenél Fíngéin from

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<sup>1</sup> Hennessy, except in one instance, reads the name Forggus, Forgus, Forcus, as Fergus. It is correctly printed Forggus in the poem at 562, but incorrectly as Ferggus in the translation, and is not found in MacCarthy's index. In Fergus = \*Virogustus, *g* is spirant; not so in Forggus = \*Vorgustus, earlier \*Vergustus.

Fíngen, of whose son Maenach, king of Munster, the death is recorded at 661 (AU). There, as in the genealogies (BB 175), Fíngen's pedigree represents him as fourth in descent from Oengus. Cenél Conaill (BB 176) from Conaill eighth in descent from Oengus; and Cenél Caellaide (ib.) from Caellaide s. o. Conaill. Cenél Cormaic (ib.), eponym fourth from Oengus. Cenel nDalláin (177), eponym third from Eochu Liathán. Cenél mBuiric (ib.), from a son of Eochu. Apparently the eponyms in this group range from the fourth to the eighth century.

76. The Cenél formula does not seem to have become customary in Dál Niad Corb. Two instances occur in the genealogy, BB 126 *a*, Cenél nAengusa and C. Croichni. Of C. nAengusa we learn only that they belonged to Hui Maenaig. At 127 *a* 36, it is stated that Cenél Cruaicni (= Cróichni) were of the Eoganacht.

77. *Cenél* in turn gives way to a number of terms, *cland*, *muintir*, *síl*, *slicht*, *teglach*, *tellach*, used contemporaneously.

78. In AU, the earliest contemporary instance of *Cland* is Cl. Chathail, 912. At the obit of Cathal, 734, "a quo Clann Cathail" is of course a late gloss. At 617, *muintir* (Blatini) and *síl* (Mescaín) are probably common nouns not fixed in the names. The next instances of *muintir* are M. Gerudain, 1159, M. Eolais, 1169. *Síl* Dluthaig 633; *Síl* Cathail, 815. *Tellach* Dunchadha, 1258; T. Echach, 1298 (both indexed under *Telach* = *Tulach*). Dúnochad's death, 822 AU. Eochu, his brother (BB 91, cols. 1, 2).

79. *Clann* and *muintear* are still used to form sept-names from surnames e.g. Clann Chon Ceanainn, Muintear Mheachair.

80. Although, then, there is considerable overlapping in date, there is a quite definite order of succession in the formulae, as exemplified in the following table:—

I. Plural names (origin prehistoric)	Lagin	(unknown)	(unknown)
II. Collective names (origin prehistoric)	Dál Niad Corb	Eoganacht	Dál Cuinn
III. Sept-names in Ui (partly of historical origin)	Ui Cennselaig	Ui Liatháin	Ui Néill
IV. Cenél-names (from fifth century mainly)	Cenél nAengusa	C. nDalláin	C. Conaill
V. Cland, Muintir, etc. (from sixth century)	Clann Maelighra	C. Chárthaigh	C. Cholmáin (Colmán †587)

## IV. THE TUATH.

81. We find the term *tuath* variously handled by modern translators. In the Annals of Ulster, Dr. Mac Carthy regularly gives "territories" as the English of *tuatha*. Others render *tuath* by "tribe," a conveniently vague word which covers everything from an ancient subnation like the Ulaid to a comparatively modern sept like Clann Aodha Buidhe. It is true that by a familiar figure of speech, *tuath* is often used of a territorial area, just as Norfolk, which once meant the North-folk, came to mean the district they occupied. By a different transference of idea, *tuath* came to signify the laity in contradistinction to *eclais* the ecclesiastical body or *cliar* the clergy, and still retains that meaning side by side with the meaning of "the country" in contradistinction to the town. In both cases, *tuath* represents the ancient native tradition and the native order existing under the Irish civil law *dligid tuaithe*, whereas the Church lived under its own law, and the towns inherited in a modified form the municipal law of Rome.

82. Anciently *tuath* < \**tōta*, *touta* (*teuta*) appears to have denoted a civil community, a people united under one government, a *civitas*. In Ireland and Britain such communities retained the early form of kingly rule in an almost patriarchal shape. The petty states of Gaul and Galatia, before their subjugation by Rome, appear to have been for the most part republics, each ruled by a senate. The Irish *tuath*, then, must at one time have been a petty kingdom, but at the beginning of the documentary period a new order has already widely spread. Powerful families, aristocratic septs, have entered on a career of conquest. The scope of their operations being practically limited to Ireland,—for the only known exceptions are the temporary Irish acquisitions in western Britain and permanent conquest of Scotland by the Dál Riada,—the consequence was the substitution of ascendant dynasties for the older petty states throughout the greater part of Ireland. Thus the dynastic septs of Dál Cuinn, comprising the Ui Néill, Ui Briúin, Ui Fiachrach, and Airgialla, have acquired permanent authority over nearly all the northern half of the island. In Munster, the Eoganacht septs, Ui Fidgente, Ui Liatháin, Ui Echach, etc., and in Leinster, the septs of Dál Niad Corb, especially the Ui Cennselaig, have achieved a like position. All these families have set up many new kingdoms or petty states. Beside these states, and in a position of inferiority marked by the payment of tribute and furnishing of armed forces to them, a considerable number of small peoples remained, enjoying internal freedom under the government of their own dynasties. This is the condition of things described in the Book of Rights, and it will be noted there that, except in the north-eastern province, where the old order was less disturbed,

nearly all the free, i.e., non-tributary, states are known by the names of septs or families, and nearly all the tributary states by collective names or the older plurals.

83. In Munster, the free states are Eoganacht Chaisil, Ui Liatháin, Raithliu = Ui Echach Muman, Eoganacht Locha Léin = Ui Coirpri Chruithnecháin, Ui Chonaill Gabra, Ui Coirpri Aebda, Eoganacht Glennamnach,<sup>1</sup> Dál Cais. The tributary states are Déisi Muman = Dál Fiachach, Muscraige, Dáirine or Corcu Loegde, Ciarraige, Corcu Baiscinn, Arai, Uaithni, Éli, Corcumruad, Corcu Duibne, Orbraige, the Sechtmad.

84. In Connacht the free states are: Ui Fiachrach, Ui Briúin, and their subdivisions. The tributary states are: Umall, Grecraige, Conmaicene, Ciarraige, Luigne, na Corca, Delbna, Ui Máine.

85. It is to the older groups especially that the term *tuath* is applied in early usage. Used with the name of a sept, e.g., Tuath Ua nAengusa, as the majority of the instances in Onomasticon Goedelicum clearly show, *tuath* denotes no longer a people, but a territory. In the list of vassal-communities *aithechtuatha* (BB 255 a Lecan 354), only two instances, Tuath Ua Cathbarr and Tuath Ua Carra, contain names of septs, and there are alternative readings which omit Ua, perhaps correctly, since Cathbarr seems to be genitive plural. In most of the rest, *tuath* is followed by a collective name, in some by a plural people-name.

86. In Gaul 44 *civitates* are named by Caesar. Subdivisions of these, or of certain of them, existed and are called by him *pagi*. He speaks of the *pagi* of the Helvetii, the Morini, and the Arverni. The Helvetii consisted of four *pagi*, of which Caesar names two, the *pagus Tigurinus* and the *pagus Verbigenus*. He also uses the plural *Tigurini* of the people of the *pagus*.

87. The fourfold subdivision of a Celtic people is also exemplified by the Galati of Asia Minor. Each of the three nations which formed the confederate republic of the Galati contained four subdivisions which the Greeks called τετραρχίαι, and each of these was separately administered under its own chief or tetrarch. Instances occur in Ireland. The Lagen comprise *cethrí primsloinnnte*, Dal Niad Corb, Dál Messe Corb, Dál Corbmaic, and Dál Coirbbri, the four eponymous ancestors being sons of Cú Corb.<sup>2</sup> The Arai comprise four divisions *na cethrí hAraid í. Traitraidi* (recte *Toeceraige*) 7 *Artraidi* 7 *Descert Cliach* 7 *Huí Fídban*, Lecan 451a.

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly printed gleann Amhnach by O'Donovan. The nom. is Glennamain.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly there was but one ancestor commemorated under all five names. The various divisions of the Erainn descend from three ancestors all named Coirbbre; those of the Airgialla from three ancestors all named Connla (Colla).

88. The poem *Caisil atcondarc ane*, H. 3. 17, p. 724, has this quatrain :—

Ceithre Partraighe im Bri Ois,  
ceithre Gailinga o eis Chais,  
ceithre Cianacht cairde cneis,  
ceithre Delbna dal chis Cais.

89. A smaller subdivision among the Gauls is known to us by the Latin name *vicus*. Caesar, who captured a written census among the spoils of the Helvetii, says that this people, numbering in all 368,000, comprised 400 *vici*, so that each vicus averaged 920 inhabitants. The phrase *vicani Segorigienses*, found in an inscription of the Prussian Rhine-Province, seems to point to a vicus named *Segorigion*. The Irish equivalent would be *Segr(a)ige*, which may be actually represented in the late Middle-Irish spelling *Sedraige*, one of the vassal-peoples named in the Book of Ballymote. Nevertheless, it is hardly likely that the Irish names in *-rige* and the other collective names of co-ordinate import originated as designations of a population so small as that of the Gaulish *vicus*. Rather it is fairly obvious that the continental *-rigion*, which must have once meant a people governed by a king, had degenerated in usage.

90. We may probably best regard the Irish group bearing a collective name as corresponding to the so-called *pagus* among the Gaulish peoples. There are sufficient indications that the collectively-named groups arose as subdivisions of nations bearing plural names. The instances of the Legin and the Arai have already been noticed.

91. The Cruithni in Ireland included Dál Araidi, Conaille, Lóigis, and Sogain. *Do Chruithnibh Erenn do Dhál Araidhe na seacht Laighsi Laighen 7 seacht Soghain Erenn 7 gach Connuille fil in Erin* (Mac F. Genealogies unpagéd, evidently a quotation from some early writer).

92. The Érainn included Muscraige, Corcu Baiscinn, C. Duibne, Dál Riatai, etc.

93. The Galeoin comprised three *tuatha*, Tuath Fidga, Tuath Ochmaine, and Tuath Aithechda.

94. The Mugdoin included Dubraige or Corcu Duib, Papraige, Ciarraige, Sortraige, Artrige, Corcu Inomain, Suobraige. "*Seacht maic Mu[g]doin Duib .i. Dubh a quo Dubhraidhi oc Imleach Corco Duib Papa a quo Papraighi la Creamthanna Ciaro a quo Ciarraidhe Sort a quo Sortraige la Crimthanna a quibus Espoc Ibair mac Luighne Lasar ainm a mathar duna Deisib Art mac Mugdhoirn a quo Artrighe la Ullto Inomon a quo Corco Inomhain la Laighniu de quibus Lochene in sui irero drocaidh Sues dubh a quo Suobraidhe la Mugdornu a quibus Espoc Ethern i nDomnach Mor Maic Laifthe sed cuius filius Mugdorn Dub d'Ulltaib ignoratus (ignoratur).*" BB 110 a 38.

95. The Papraige here mentioned and the Partraige are the only known instances of peoples in Ireland whose name has P for initial. Note that the Mugdoirn were of unknown race. The Partraige, too, were regarded as aborigines. "*Dona Partraigib annso. Partraige in Locha forsata Mag Thuireadh Cunga 7 Partraige Cheara 7 Partraige Clainde Fiachrach 7 Partraige Sleibhe .i. o Cruaith co Loch nOirbsen 7 Partraige Midhe forsambi Oilill 7 Meadhbh 7 do claind Genainn doib.*" H. 3.17, p. 724. A poem on the same page, already quoted, pretends that they were descended from Art son of Oengus, king of Cashel in the fifth century, but no son of the name is assigned to Oengus in the genealogies. "*Partraidi Cera, cid re Cloinn Diallyid (la Claind Fiachrach?), ni dib doib, acht is do Sen-Chondachtaib .i. do Chloind Genainn maic Deala maic Loith. Partraidi in Locha, ait ita Mag Tuiread 7 Cunga, do Cloind Sreing maic Senguind doib. Partraidi Slebi .i. o Cruaich co Loch nOirpsen, 7 do Cloind Conaill Airisin maic Briain doib. Genelach Partraidi annso. Radnall m. Aeda m. Mail Ruanada m. Conaill m. Echach m. Diarmada in Lacha m. Domnaill na Tri Tuath .i. na tri Partraidi m. Setna otait Hi Setna .i. taisich Partraidi m. Conaill Oirisin m. Briain m. Echach Muide-medoin.*" Lecan 458 a. This genealogy is not authentic. Brian (Brion), being a brother of Niall Noigiallach, must have lived about A.D. 400. Ragnall would accordingly have lived about A.D. 700; but since he bore a name adopted from the Norse, this date is out of the question. Accordingly it is natural to find that the Ui Briuin genealogies, though they mention Conall Oirisen, do not give the pedigree quoted above and do not include the Partraige or their chiefs among the Ui Briuin.

96. In the following passage the *tuath* is regarded as a chief subdivision of a people whose early name was remembered in the plural formula: "*Attiadso na tuatha asa fail an Gaileoin hi cuigiud Lagen Tuath-Gabair. Teora fodla forairb .i. Tuath Egdha ocus Tuath Ochmain ocus Tuath Aithechda.*" "These are the *tuatha* whereof the Gaileoin in the Fifth of Leinster North of Gabair consist, Tuath Fidga and Tuath Ochmain and Tuath Aithechda." (H. 3. 17, p. 740.)

97. For variants in the foregoing quotation see Duanaire Finn, Introduction, p. lvii. That Lagen Tuath-Gabair and Lagen Des-Gabair constituted two of the ancient "Five Fifths of Ireland" is clearly the ancient Ulidian tradition as told in Cath Ruis na Ríg, p. 22. The dividing locality was perhaps Gabair Lagen, which seems to be the valley between Sliab Mairge and the Wicklow Mountains, i.e. the southern part of Co. Kildare. Osraige, part of Lagen Des Gabair, anciently extended westward of the Suir. Airmuma, Ormond, i.e. East Munster, lay to the west of the Suir. Ancient Munster, bounded on the east by the Suir and on the north by the Shannon estuary, was much too small to have included two of the "Fifths," and the Dá

Chúigeadh Mumhan must belong to a comparatively late tradition. Hence no doubt the varying accounts of the twofold division of Munster. In one version the dividing line runs north and south, in another east and west. Neither version can be fitted into the story which makes Uisnech in the middle of Ireland the meeting-point of the five Fifths. A synonym for Cóiced Lagen Tuath-Gabair is Cóiced Coirpri Niath Fer. Coirpre is king of Tara and north Leinster in the Ulster cycle, his brother Find being king of south Leinster.

98. Keating (*Forus Feasa*, ed. Comyn, p. 214) says that *tuath* is equivalent to *tighearnas*, and the proverb "*is treise tuath ná tigherna*" shows that this interpretation is correct—at least as regards later usage. Keating also (*ib.*, p. 112) speaks of a *tuath* as smaller in extent than a *triocha céad*. The Glens of Antrim, i.e. the baronies of Upper Glenarm, Lower Glenarm, and Cary, are called *seacht dtuatha na nGlinne* in nearly modern documents. Each of these *tuatha* would occupy a square of about five or six miles. But I find no indication that the *tuath* in early usage at all corresponded to the population of such an area. It was in fact a division of people—not of land—and must have been very variable in extent.

99. That the whole population was regarded as made up of *tuatha* may be inferred from the words of "Fiacc's Hymn," "*tuatha adortaís side*," though again the same poem speaks of the Irish as one *tuath*, "*for tuaith Hérenn bai temel*." The former phrase may have reference to a particular worship in each *tuath*, and that each of them venerated special gods is evident from the oath-formula "*tongu na tongat mo thuath*," "*tongu do dia toinges mo thuath*." This formula also shows that the *tuath* was the chief population-group with which the individual felt himself to be associated. Further instances of the use of the term follow here.

100. *Corco Athrach ainm na tuaithi ara fuil Caisil ocus ise seo a fad. i. o Thibraid Foraind ac Mainistir Uachtair Lamand co Duma nDresa don taib bothuaid do Chnoc Grafand ocus do sil Aimirgin meic Miled Espaine di.* Lecan, p. 458. "Corcu Athrach is the name of the *tuath* on which Cashel is, and this is its extent, from Tipra Foraind at Holy Cross Abbey to Duma Dresa on the northern side of Cnoc Grafann, and it is of the race of Amergen son of Míl of Spain."

101. This is an important passage, confirming the tradition that Cashel was a comparatively late seat of the Eoganachta. Not only was the name of the *tuath* previously in possession remembered, but this *tuath* is spoken of as a contemporary people, whose ancestry has to be accounted for. Apparently the territory of this ancient people is still represented by the barony of Middlethird, of which the most northern point is at Holy Cross, and the most southern point near Cnoc Grafann about two miles north of Cahir. All this

territory anciently belonged to the Osseirge or Osraige, since their bounds also extended to Duma Dresa and to Grian = Pallasgreen, co. Limerick, and the story of the Dési settlement represents the Osseirge as having been driven eastward across the river Andobor ("Anner"). The plantation of the Dési may be regarded as a concomitant of the occupation of Cashel by the Eoganachta. The Dési were settled partly in the baronies of Slieve Ardagh and Iffa-and-Offa East, thus forming, as it were, a buffer-state between the Eoganacht of Cashel and the dispossessed Osseirge.

102. Three grades of *tuatha* can be distinguished in early documents: (1) *Soerthuatha*, not subject to tributes; (2) *Fortuatha*, retaining internal autonomy but tributary to an external overking; (3) *Aithechtuatha*, vassal communities paying rent to local chiefs of free race. Genealogically, the *fortuatha* were held to be outside of the kindred of the overking and his people, and therefore subject to them; the *aithechtuatha* were regarded as of unfree race, descended from the pre-Gaelic inhabitants.

103. The genealogical doctrine, however, must be taken as often expressing political status rather than racial origin. For this fact, which otherwise might be inferred from a study of the genealogies, we have the testimony of Gilla in Chomded Hua Cormaic, a twelfth-century poet (LL 144 a 24):—

*Failet se muid sain mebair · cummaiscit craeb ngenelaig  
totinsma daerchland ic dul · i-lloc saerchland re slonnud  
Torrechi mogad mod mebla · ocus dibad tigerna  
serg na saerchland étig uath · la forbairt na n-aithechthuath  
Miscribend do gné eolais · do lucht uile in aneolais  
nó lucht ind eolais ní ferr · gntit ar múin miscribend.*

Six ways there are of special note that confound the tree of genealogy:

intrusion of base stocks usurping the place of free stocks by name;  
migrations of serfs, a way of shame; and decay of lords;

withering of the free races, dreadful horror; with overgrowth of the  
vassal folks;

miswriting, in the guise of learning, by the unlearned of evil intent,  
or the learned themselves, no whit better, who falsify the record  
for lucre.

104. The three discrepant origins—two importing free descent—assigned to the Partraige exhibit one instance, from many that could be cited, of this process of "confounding the tree of genealogy." By "migrations of serfs" we may understand that, in time of conquest, unfree populations were enlisted among the invading forces and were rewarded with the possession of lands under

free tenure, thus themselves rising to free status. In the very ancient and as yet unprinted story of how Conaire Mór became king of Ireland (BB 139 b), a great army comes unexpectedly to Conaire, who leads them to Tara and is chosen king. Thereupon (140 a 1) *gab(h)air gabail lais dia slogaib* "he makes a settlement of lands for his forces." So Eithne, the woman leader of the Déisi, gathers a force of every landless people known to her in Ireland (*nach loinges roftir Eithne hUathach la Heirind*) for the war of conquest against Ossory, and twenty-five of these peoples obtain a land settlement (*a cuic fichet dib tarthatar raind*) in the conquered territory (Ériu iii., p. 138, 140). The right of migration was denied to vassal peoples by their lords, as is indicated in the story of the migration of the Sons of Úmór.

105. The following passage (Lecan, 450) indicates a people *adscripti glebae*: *Catraidi ata fogal fuirri (= fodal forru) .i. ata fogail ar aroile dib [is] in Sechtmad aroile dib isna Deisib aroile dib i Cnamros ni lecar asuidi[u] sin ac rig Caisil do gres ised bid.* "The Cattraige are subdivided, i.e. some of them are distributed in the Sechtmad, others of them in the Déisi, others of them in Cnamros. They are not allowed [to depart] thence. With the king of Cashel always they remain."

106. The Sechtmad, "the Seventh," was a tributary state of east Munster, possibly better known by some other name. Its precise location has not been determined by O'Donovan in his edition of the Book of Rights or by Dr. Hogan in *Onom. Goed.* In LL 382, col. 6, Arbura is said to be the ancestor of the Sechtmad, and as he is also ancestor of the chief sept of Dál Coirpri, whose chiefs in later times bore the surname Ua Duibidir, "O'Dwyer," we may fairly identify the Sechtmad with O'Dwyer's country, the two baronies of Kilmamanagh, especially since this territory is not otherwise accounted for in the Book of Rights. See Hogan's *State of Ireland, Anno 1598*, p. 208, footnote, where a quotation erroneously speaks of "O'Duire, descended from the O'Briens." Dál Coirpri was one of the "four chief stocks of the Lagen," and its location, like the traditions of the Déisi settlement, bears evidence of the early predominance of the Lagen and Osseirge in the part of Munster now called Co. Tipperary. Cnamros is perhaps identical here with Cnamchoill near Tipperary town. The Cattraige are included among the allies of the Déisi in the war against Ossory.

107. *Atait da chenel deg soc[h]enelac[h] la Gaedealo a se dib a Leith Cuind .i. Dal Cuind Dal Cein Dail nAraide qui et Cruithnig Dal Fiatach qui et Ulaid Dal Riata Dal Nat Corp qui et Laigin A se aile a Leith Moga .i. Dal n[E]logam Dal Fiachach Dal Fiatach Dal Ceide Dal mBardine Dal Cais, Ate sin saerthuatha Erend.* H. 3. 17, p. 790). "The Irish have twelve kindreds of noble race. Six of them in Conn's Half, viz. Dál Cuinn, Dál Céin,

Dál Araidi who are the Picts, Dál Fiatach who are the Ulaid, Dál Riatai, Dál Nat Corp who are the Lagen. Other six in Mug's Half, viz. Dál Eogain, Dál Fiachach, Dál Fiatach, Dál Céte, Dál Barddeni, Dál Cais. These are the free tuatha of Ireland."

108. The foregoing statement is of great antiquity. Apart from the spelling, which has changed in transcription, the few distinctive forms belong to the Old Irish period, and are consistent with even the oldest written usage. Compared with the tenth-century account of the free and tributary states in the Book of Rights, this is evidently much earlier.

109. Dál Céin = Cianachta. It may also possibly include Luigne, Gailing, and Saithne, all claiming descent from Tadg son of Cian. In the Book of Rights, these states are tributary to Dál Cuinn, i.e. to the Ui Neill and Ui Briuin, the superior states of Ailech, Meath, and Connacht. In this respect they are on a level with Umall, Grecraige, Conmaicne, Ciarraige Connacht, Delbna, Dési Breg, Cuirene. In the early annals, Cianachta Breg are evidently a very strong state, often hostile to the kings of Meath and Brega. Cp. AU 534, 776, 816, 849, 850.

110. The inclusion of Dál Nat Corp (Neth Corb, Niath Corb, Niad Corb) in Conn's Half reflects the traditional claim of Dál Cuinn to the Bórama tribute from Leinster. Dál Niad Corb was the ruling race over Leinster during most of the early documentary period. Leth Moga in the passage cited is synonymous with Munster alone.

111. Dál Eogain = Eoganachta. Dál Fiachach was the dynastic people of Dési Muman. I can find no Dál Fiatach in southern Ireland, and take it to be a mistake for Dál Fiachach Éle, also called Coreu Echach (i.e. Féchach) Éle. There is frequent confusion between the genitives *échach*, of Eochu, and [*f*]*échach*, of Fēchu, Fiachu, in genealogies, etc. The conventional writing of silent *f* is not customary before the ninth century. A twofold pedigree of Dál Fiachach Éle = Coreu Echach Éle (Lecan 457) illustrates this confusion:—

*Genelach Ele Descirt annso. Duineochaich mac Echach Ele cuius frater Cellach m. Dungaile m. Beicci*

*m. Cermada*

*m. Bleidine*

*m. Enna*

*m. Bresail Milairi*

*m. [Maie] Cairthinn*

*m. Conaill*

*m. Nendtaoir*

*m. Aililla*

*m. Echach*

*m. Feidlimid Rechtmair*

*Nó Conall*

*meic Airt*

*m. Fiacha[ch]*

*m. Neill Naigiallaich*

112. The most interesting names in the list of the free tuatha of Ireland are Dál Céte and Dál Barddeni. Neither is even mentioned in the Book of Rights. Of the location of Dál Barddeni, we only learn that it was at

Dún Cermna, the Old Head of Kinsale, and there is no indication that this people held any considerable power or territory during the documentary period. Of the habitat of Dál Céte, Dr. Hogan has only been able to find that it was somewhere in Munster, and I am unable to supplement his information. The latest evidence of the contemporary existence of Dál Céte is the name of To Channu mocu Fir Cetea mentioned by St. Adamnan. All this tends to show that the list of twelve free *tuatha* is of great antiquity, probably not later than the eighth century, possibly even earlier.

113. Traditional corroboration of the early celebrity of these two peoples is afforded by the fact that, in the genealogies of the Érainn (the race of Conaire Mór BB 139), which occupy 10½ pages of the Book of Ballymote, the first place is given to the Érainn of Dún Cermna, Dál Barddeni, and Dál Céte. The pedigrees give only three or four generations of the descendants of "Cather by whom Dún Cermna was made." The accompanying legend says:—

*En aicme dec do Dail Bairrdene i. Sil Aengusa meic Echach meic Bairrdene meic Rigbaird ditat Martene iarna ndilgiund do Leith Cuind ar ba lethrann da Dal Cede 7 do Dal Bairrdene co sin ar is .x. catha ro mebaig re nErnaib for Ulltu 7 .iiii. catha fri hUlltu for Ernu.* "Dál Bardeni (i.e. the race of Aengus son of Eochu s. o. Bairrdene s. o. Rígbard, from whom are the Martene) consisted of eleven septs after their extermination from (or by) Conn's Half, for until then it was an equal division (sc. of Ireland) between Dál Céte and Dál Barrddeni, for it is ten battles that the Érainn won over the Ulaid, and eight battles that the Ulaid won over the Érainn."

114. "*Dál Araidi qui et Cruithnig. Dál Fiatach qui et Ulaid.*" Cp. BB 170 b 15: "... na hAirgialla, *Dail nAraigi fri suide anair, ainm ele doib Cruithnich. Hulaith fri suide anair. Ind Ulaich seo tra asbertar Dal Fiatach indsin, do cloind Con Rai maic Daire maic Deadaid a Coiced Con Rai la Mumain, is as a mbunad in Dal Fiatach so qui et Ulaith hodie dicuntur. Is dib Aed Ronocus Fiachna.*" "The Airgialla; Dál Araidi to the east of these, another name for them is Cruithnich. The Ulaid to the east of these. These Ulaid, Dál Fiatach they are called, of the posterity of Cú Rúi son of Dáire son of Dedu from Cú Rúi's Fifth in Munster, thence is their origin, this Dál Fiatach qui et Ulaith hodie dicuntur. Of them are Aed Róin and Fiachna." R. 143a B

115. The foregoing passage is from a brief general description of the ruling races of northern Ireland, obviously written by a southern writer. It probably dates from a time not long subsequent to the reigns of Aed Roin and Fiachna his son, who were kings of the Ulaid, and whose pedigree is given under Dál Fiatach. Aed Róin fell in battle with the Ui Néill in 735. With him

was slain Conchad, king of Cuib, i.e. of Ui Echach Cobo, the most prominent sept of Dál Araidi. In *Fragments of Irish Annals*, an. 732, Conchad is called "king of the Cruithni." (AU 734, editor's note.) *Fiachnae mac Aedho Roen, rex Ulad, mortuus est*, AU 788.

116. The following "kings of the Cruithni" in AU are found in the pedigrees of Dál Araidi: Eochaid Iarlaithe †665, Cú Cuaran †707, Cathusach son of Ailill †748. The genealogist in BB (168 col. 1) makes this Cathusach father of Cú Cuaran who preceded him. The father of Cú Cuaran must have been Cathusach son of Mael Dúin and king of the Cruithni †681 (AU).

117. I do not find a genealogy of Dál Fiatach from Cú Rúi or from Dedu, but their descent is traced to Sen, father of Dedu, and thence by the same line as the Érainn, Cú Rúi's people, up to Oengus Tuirnech and the line of Éremon.

118. The passage above quoted from BB is followed by a comment of a contradictory character: *Ite fir-Ulaich immorro .i. Dál nAraide ola Mael Bresail mac Ailella hi Conall Cernach arisedar oeus im Iriel Glunmair i ngenelairh Dal Araide*. "The true Ulaid, however, are Dál Araidi, of whom comes Mael Bressail son of Ailill. In Conall Cernach they originate, and in Iriel Glúnmar, in the genealogy of Dál Araidi."

119. *Mael Bresail mac Ailello Cobo, rex Dal Araide, moritur*, AU 824. The text of the passage in BB was probably written between the death of Aed Róin, 735, and the death of Fiachna, 789, or not long after the latter event; the comment during or soon after the reign of Mael Bressail. *arisedar* = \**arasissetar*. The relative form *ara* of *air*, *ar* seems obsolescent in the Milan glosses (see Thurneysen, *Handbuch*, § 487, 4).

120. The Irish Cruithni of Dál Araidi are called Cruithni for the last time in AU at 773 (= 774). Half a century or so later, the claim is set up for them that they are not only Ulaid, descendants of Conall Cernach, but that they are "the true Ulaid," as if in protest against the belief that they are Picts. This claim was extended to all the leading branches of the Pictish race in Ireland (see § 91). Rather, I think, we can trace the claim as originating with another branch, the Conaille.

121. The chief section of the Conaille, forming the state of Conaille Muirthemne under their native kings, occupied a territory closely associated with the great hero of the Ulaid, "Cú Chulainn Muirthemne." It is not surprising that they sought to connect their own tradition with the epic tradition of the Ulaid. Accordingly we find in the genealogies, BB 152, under a section entitled in the margin, "*De peritia Conaille Murthemne*," two conflicting accounts of their descent. Their eponymous ancestor Conall Anglonnach is first described as a son of Dedu, and from the pedigree of their king Cinaed on

the next page it appears that this Dedu is the son of Sen, i.e. the same from whom the Érainn of Munster, Clanda Dedad, trace their descent. But in the first pedigree appended Conall Anglonnach becomes son of Fiace son of Russ son of Fachtna son of Senchad of the Ulidian hero-group. At the end of the pedigrees of their kings (153, col. 1), many of whose names can be identified in the annals, comes the statement: *Do chloind Conaill Cernaich araili dib .i. in rigraid*, "Of the posterity of Conall Cernach are some of them, i.e. the royal line," in contradiction of the pedigrees that precede. On p. 169 there is a further chapter headed, "*Genelach Conailli Murtheimni*," probably taken from another source. Here the eponymous ancestor is called Conall Casdamail, and he is made out to be seventh in descent from Conall Cernach. Thus, as Gilla in Chomded says, "the tree of genealogy is confounded." Conall Cernach supplied a tempting eponym to the Conaille, a Pictish race, and having been adopted by them was adopted by other Pictish kindreds, Dál Araidi, the Sogain, and the Lóigse of Leinster (BB 164 a 2).

122. Wherever the Ulaid are mentioned in vol. i. of the Annals of Ulster, they are the people of the Dál Fiatach dynasty, quite distinct from Dál Araidi and Conaille, often at war with one or the other. The Ulaid occupied the seaboard of Co. Down. The Picts of Dál Araidi occupied the interior of that county as well as a large part of Co. Antrim.

123. *Ag Conn tra fogailter (= fodailter) clanda Cuinn ocus it fortuatha Sil Cuind cach aen na berar genilaig [read genelach] co Conn eter naem ocus cleirech amail ata Lugaid [read Luigne] ocus Dealbna ocus Gailinde [read Gailing] ocus Cianachta. Ag Cathair didiu fogailter saere[h]landa Laigean ocus it fortuatha coicid Cathair can [read cach] aen na berar co Cathair amail atait secht Laissi [read Lóigsi] ocus secht Fotharta. Ag Ailill Olom fogailter saere[h]landa Mumhan: can [read cach] aen na berar genelach go Ailill, it fortuatha Sil Bachach Mumo amail atait Eirna [read Érainn] ocus Ciarraige. (H. 3. 17, p. 774.)*

"At Conn the [pedigrees of] Clanda Cuinn are divided, and all [in Leth Cuinn] whose pedigree is not traced to Conn, not excluding even saint and cleric, are *fortuatha* of the race of Conn, for example the Luigne, Delbna, Gailing, and Cianachta. At Cathair [Mór] are divided the free races of Leinster; all who are not traced to Cathair are *fortuatha* of Cathair's Fifth, as are the seven Loigsi and the seven Fothairt. At Ailill Olom are divided the free races of Munster; all whose pedigree is not traced to Ailill are *fortuatha* of the race of Eochu Mumo, as are the Érainn and the Ciarraige."

124. The same statement occurs more briefly in the Book of Lecan, p. 459:—

*Ag Cuind Cetchathach mac Feidlimid Rechtmair fodailter saerclanna Leithi*

*Cuind oeus it forthuatha<sup>1</sup> Sil Cuind acht sin nama. Ac Cathair Mor mac Feidlimid Fhir Ugrlais fodlas sacreclanda Laigin uili oeus it forthuatha Laigin acht sin nama beous. Ag Ailill Olum mac Moga Nuadad fodailter sacreclanda na Muman oeus it forthuatha<sup>1</sup> acht sin.*

125. In the lists of *aichechtuatha*,<sup>2</sup> by far the larger part of the names are collectives in Dál, etc. The remainder are in various forms, e.g., Tuath Raisen or Ruisen, Tuath Fer More, Tuath mac nUmoir. Two, T. Ua Cathbarr and T. Ua Carra, exhibit the later nomenclature of septs, but even these have variants omitting Ua.

126. Instances occur of the application of the term *tuath* to population-groups with plural names, not in a vague and general way like *tuath Hérenn* = the Irish, *tuath Dé* = God's people, the Israelites, but apparently as a customary and appropriated designation of local groups.

127. Bolgthuath: There are two groups so named. Bolgthuath Badbгна of Sliab Badbгна or Bodbгна ("Slieve Baune," co. Roscommon), and Bolgthuath Echtge of Sliab Echtge ("Sl. Aughty," co. Galway). Cp. Bolgraige, an *aithechtuath* in Tír Conaill. Mac Fir Bhisigh (Genealogies, p. 54) quotes among the branches of the Fir Bolg, besides "Bolgthuath Bagna for airtlier Connacht" and "Bolgraighe for criochaibh Conaill," "Fir Bolg for Mhagh Nia Benntraighe" and "Fir Bolg ar Mhagh Luirg." As all these names occur in what is evidently a consecutive list of the *aithechtuatha* of Connacht, the Magh Nia in question is the plain also called Mag Tuired Cunga, at Cong, co. Mayo. It is evident that Fir Bolg (= Bolgthuath, Bolgraige) was the name of a known historical population existing in various parts of Connacht and in north-western Ulster. Its location and its vassal status, importing early conquest, as well as the traditions of its existence in Ireland before the Góedil, show clearly that the Fir Bolg must not be equated with the historical Belgae. The name was extended in the Irish history-legend at an early period so as to denote the whole or main population of Ireland before the Góedil.<sup>3</sup>

128. Cruithentuath: This seems to be a general name for the Picts in Ireland and in Scotland. But it is also used as a special name for the Picts of Dál Araidi, "*Cú Chuaráin ri Ulad 7 Cruithentuaithe*," (Onom. Goed., p. 312; for Cú Cuaráin see § 116), and for Tuath Chruithnech, a Pictish vassal people "round Cruachain," the old capital of the Connachta. There was also a vassal people or rather a scattered population so named "in the country of the Ulaid and in Mag Cobo" and "between Sídán Slébe in Chairn and Loch Febal and between Bernas Tíre Aeda and the Bann" (Onom. Goed. 650), these four places

<sup>1</sup> Read *fortuatha*.

<sup>2</sup> Lecan 350, BB 255, 256, MacFir Bisigh, genealogies (R.I.A. copy) 54, etc.

<sup>3</sup> See my account of "An Irish Historical Tract dated A.D. 721," Proceedings R.I.A., vol. xxviii.

being merely the ancient extremities of the large territory of the Airgialla. Tuath Chruithnech is thus assigned to a region equal to modern Ulster except the counties of Donegal, Antrim, and Cavan.

129. Tuath Fer nDomnann or Tuath Domnann, a vassal people throughout Ui Fiachrach and Ui Amalgada in northern Connacht.

130. Tuath Fer More or Tuath Morec, a vassal people in Ui Conaill Gabra (in co. Limerick); "*i. fir mora batar immon Luachair nDedad thiar.*" (LL 269 a.)

131. Tuath Fer Ruisen or Tuath Ruisen (Resen, Raisen), in Cera (bar. Carra. co. Mayo) and from Ath Moga (Ballymoe = Bél Átha Moga, on the r. Suck) to the sea. Also Raissin separately, "cath Raissen in Connacht," Onom. Goed. s.v. raise (recte Raissin). Cp. also Sliab Raissen or Rusen = Slieve Rushen,<sup>1</sup> bar. Knockninny, co. Fermanagh. Cp. Corcu Ruisen.

132. Tuath Sen-Érann, a vassal people at Sliab Luachra in west Munster. "*Sen-Erna mor* (read *Sen-Érainn Móir*?) *na Muman ar slicht Heir meic Éibir Find meic Miled Espaine.*" (Lecan 349.)

133. These instances, with Corcu Ulad, Dál Ulad, Corcu Sogain or Suigin, Corcu Ele, mucoi Sogini, mocu Sogin, moccu Elich, seem to indicate that the various collective formulae might be applied to ancient peoples named in the plural formula, perhaps chiefly when these had not subdivided into groups bearing collective names.

134. Tuatha Fore ocus Iboth: "*Na tri Fothaid i. Fothad Aircteach Fothad Cairpteach Fothad Canand. Tri maic Fainche ingene Nair maic Irmora d'Aruib Cliach. Berid Fainche epmu ter (tri?) fermacu. D' Ibdachaib di Ulltaib a mbunad i. da mac Irel Glunmair Fore ocus Iboth. Dos-fagaib Rechtaig Rigderg i nAlbain oro (= coro) maigedar catha remhaib consealgadar cricha mara i nAlbain comdar fasa. Giallsat Fir Alban do Rechtaid Rigderg comba ri Erenn ocus Alban. Is de atait Tuatha Fore ocus Iboth allai do lodar iiii. l. fermacuib for longas tairis anall for gabail ro gabsat Cluchriu ocus ni fortad gabsat crich Maine ocus crich Fiachrach Aidhne gabsat Baigind a comarbus a seanmathar Uaithne ingean Eachach maic Luchta. Tir ele ota Sinaind siar ocus Dere fo thruaid conadh de anmannaib na mban dingarter a cenel ocus a ngenelaiche ar luidh indara nai go Caela Rigderg i. Eli conid de gairter Eli luid araile cu Fergus Foltlebur i. Uaithne conid de gairter Uaithne ocus robadar na ceatraimid do claind Uaithne i. Uaitnia ocus Druithnia ocus Cainnia ocus Decnia. Tri braithri i. Uaithnia ocus Druithnia ocus Cainnia. Sunt qui dicunt Macnia i. athair na mac i. na Fothad mac Cairbri maic Cormaic maic*"

<sup>1</sup> So named in Phillips' County Atlas. Dr. Hogan gives Rushel and Russel as the anglicized equivalents.

<sup>2</sup> cethri niaid.

*Mesi Suad maic Mesin Fuirc maic Mesin Fuircill maic Cairbri maic Iboth Alii dicunt tri Fot[h]aid .i. tri maic Feidlimthe maic Maic-Niat[h] [maic] Gnatharl maic Ere maic Cairbri Niath Fer maic Feidlimthe Foltcaim. Is de ata Lecht Glind Ere-fis de ata ro ced no orabi rig-domna bad mo Ere mac Feidlimthe .i. i loc ro bairte. Huc usque de Salterio Caisil.*

*Aliter claud C[h]onail C[h]ernaich .i. Eogan ocus Oilill ocus Fen Fer Tlachtga Caithnia ocus Druithnia [ocus] Uaithnia .i. Uaithni Thire ocus Uaithni Cliach quod fortasi uerius. (BB 164 b.)*

"The Three Fothads, i.e. Fothad the Silvern, Fothad the Chariot-rider, and Fothad Canann, three sons of Fainche daughter of Nár son of (Fer Mora?) of the Arai of Cliu. Fainche gives birth to three man-children at one birth. Of the Ibdag of the Ulaid was their origin, i.e. Fore and Iboth were two sons of Irial Glúnmár. Rechtaid Red-arm leaves them in Alba and they won battles and utterly wasted great territories. The Men of Alba submitted to Rechtaid Red-arm, so that he became king of Ériu and Alba. Hence are the Tuatha Fore and Iboth (on the other side?). They came with four times fifty manchildren on a voyage across from that side to settle on lands. They occupied Cluchri,<sup>1</sup> and they no longer dwell there. They occupied the country of (Ui) Maine and the country of (Ui) Fiachrach Aidne. They occupied (Corcu) Baiscinn in succession from their grandmother Uaithne daughter of Eochu son of Luchta. (They occupied) another territory westward from the Shannon and northward from (Loch) Derg. So that by the names of the women are distinguished their kindreds and their genealogies. For one of them went to Caela Red-arm, to wit Eli, and hence the Eli are named. Another went to Fergus Longhair, to wit Uaithne, and hence the Uaithni are named. And there were four champions (?) of the family of Uaithne, namely Uaithnia, Druithnia, Caínnia, and Deenia. Uaithnia, Druithnia, and Caínnia were three brothers. Sunt qui dicunt Macnia, father of the boys, i.e. of the Fothads, son of Cairbre s.o. Cormac s.o. Mes Suad s. o. Mes Fuirc s. o. Mes Fuircill s. o. Cairbre s. o. Iboth. Alii dicunt, the Three Fothads, three sons of Feidlimid s. o. Macnia s. o. Gnáthal s. o. Ere s. o. Cairbre Nia Fer and Fedelm Foltcoem.<sup>2</sup> Hence is [named] Lecht Glinn[e] Ere. Of him it was sung (?), 'there was no (?) prince of the royal line greater than Ere, Fedelm's son.' That is, where they were drowned (is the Grave of the Glen of Ere). Huc usque de Psalterio Caisil.

"Aliter the children of Conall Cernach, i. e. Eogan and Ailill and Fen Fer Tlachtga (or Fénfer 'Fian-man' of Tlachtga), (also named)

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise Cluithri, north of Long Cliach = Knocklong (co. Limerick) = Druim Dángaíre, Onom. Goed.

<sup>2</sup> Called Fedelm Noichruthach in Cath Ruis na Ríg, p. 54.

Cathnia, Druithnia and Uaithnia, i.e. (the ancestors of) Uaithni Thíre and Uaithni of Cliu, quod fortasse uerius (est)."

135. With Tuatha Forc cp. Insi Orc. Tuatha Iboth are doubtless the old traditional inhabitants of the Hebrides, Ebudae Insulae. Ibdaig = \*Ebudaci.<sup>1</sup> They are said here to be of the Ulaid. Iubdán (= \*Ebudagnos) in the "Death of Fergus," Silva Gadelica, is king of an oversea country of dwarfs.

136. Uaithnia, Druithnia, and Cainnia appear to be artificial eponyms of the Uaithni (hence the baronies of "Owney" in Tipperary and Limerick), Dál Druithne in Uí Máine ("west of the Shannon and north of Loch Derg"), and Caenraige (hence "Kenry" barony, co. Limerick). These Irish Ibdaig, like the Irish Picts, have Conall Cernach assigned to them as ancestor. Their traditional habitat (Kenry, Oowney, Aidni, Uí Maine, Coreu Bascinn) seems to correspond with the position of the Auteni or Auteini (= Uaithni?) in Ptolemy's account.

#### V. THE TRICHA CÉT = THIRTY HUNDREDS.

137. The term 'tricha cét' in late usage denotes a certain measure of territory. Keating (*Forus Feasa*, ed. Comyn, p. 112) gives the extent of the provinces of Ireland in this measure as follows: Meath proper (an Mhíde féin), 13; Breagha, 5; Cúigeadh Connacht, including Clare, 30; Cúigeadh Uladh, extending southward to the Boyne, (35 or) 36; Cúigeadh Laighean, 31; Cúigeadh Eochaidh (*sic*), i.e. eastern Munster, 35; Cúigeadh Con Raoi, i.e. western Munster, 35. Total 185.

138. Keating adds (p. 128) that Ulster at one time contained only 33, the other three having been ceded by Leinster in the time of the Pentarchy (aimsear na gCúigeadhach), i.e. in the Ulidian heroic period. There is evidently a cross-division somewhere; and the total of 185 must be excessive. The Ulster and Leinster fifths meet at the Boyne, so that these provinces must include the five tricha-céts of Brega. Mide, too, i.e. central Ireland exclusive of Brega, is traditionally a province of late origin, and there must be an overlap in its case also.

139. The whole account suggests an ancient (perhaps theoretical) division of Ireland into five provincial kingdoms, each fifth (cóiced, cúigeadh) containing thirty-five tricha-céts.

140. The thirtieth part of a tricha-cét, says Keating, is a baile or baile

<sup>1</sup> For *Uí Dachua*, *Uí Dachaiagh*, *Uí Daich*, in *Onom. Goed.*, read *Ibdachu* (?), *Ibdachaihbh*, *Ibdaich*. Cp. also *Inis Ibdan* (*Ibdone*, *Sibtona*, *Sipont*, *Ubdain*), on the Shannon estuary, *Onom. Goed.* "*Garbraidi do Fearaib Eboth a quo Garbraidi, cenn coibnesaib*," *Lecan* 451.

biataigh. Since *tricha cét* means "thirty hundreds," the *baile* must represent the hundred. This at once suggests the Germanic hundred and the Latin *centuria*, as divisions of the people. The original Roman *populus* contained thirty *curiae*. The principle of organization appears to have been at once genealogical and religious, each *curia* having its own rites presided over by a priest called *curio*. The thirty *curiones* formed a priestly college of the whole state. Traces of a similar unity of the genealogical and religious principles are also indicated in ancient Ireland (see § 56). The female eponyms in Ireland have their analogue too in the Roman *curiae*, some of which were said to have derived their names from the Sabine women who were the mothers of the Roman people.

141. The Roman centuries, forming the *comitia centuriata*, were a civil organization on a military basis. This, we shall see, was also the original character of the Irish *tricha cét*. It denoted not only the civil organization of the people, and the corresponding division of the territory, but also the armed levy of each state.

142. There are many ancient statements bearing on this point which still require to be collected. For the present, one passage in *Táin Bo Cuailngi* will serve as a *locus classicus*. It occurs at the episode in which Medb takes note of the smart discipline and warlike efficiency of one section of her allies, the Gaiians of Leinster. Their superiority to her own troops evokes in her mind only a jealous dismay, and she decides to order a treacherous massacre of the Gaiians. Her Ulster comrade, Fergus, resolutely opposes this design, and threatens to lead the allies against Medb if she persists in it. This argument prevails, and Medb contents herself with separating the Gaiians into small troops and distributing them throughout the army.

143. "'By the truth of my conscience,' said Fergus, 'no man shall do death to them but the man who will do death to me.'

"'Thou, Fergus, must not say that to me,' said Medb, 'for I am strong enough in numbers to slay and overwhelm thee with the thirty-hundred of the Gaiians around thee. For I have the seven Maines with their seven thirty-hundreds, and the Sons of Magu with their thirty hundred, and Ailill with his thirty-hundred, and I too have a like force. There we are, strong enough to slay and overwhelm thee with the thirty-hundred of the Gaiians around thee.'

"'It is not fitting to tell me so,' said Fergus. 'For I have here the seven petty kings of the Munstermen with their seven thirty-hundreds. There are here the thirty hundred of the best fighting men of Ulster. There are here the best of the fighting men of Ireland, the thirty-hundred of the Gaiians. I am their security, their guarantee, and their safeguard from the day they left

their own native territory, and by me they will stand on the day thou challengest.' ”

144. The allied forces under Medb thus consisted of nineteen separately organized bodies, each under a local king and each consisting of thirty hundred men. Thirty hundred, in fact, was the traditional complement of the army of a petty state.

145. The technical name of the whole levy of 3,000 men was *cath*. Where the Annals of Ulster (1222) have the entry: *ro thinolsat Gaill Brenn cethri catha fichet co Delgain, co táinic Aedh O Neill ocus Mac in Uga cethri catha na n-aghaidh*, the D text says: *numerati 24 completa bella, qui faciunt Hibernica numeratione 72 millia armatorum . . . 12 millibus armatorum, numeratione suprascripta*.

146. The Irish *cath* or *tricha cét* has its exact counterpart in the *legio*, originally the whole army or normal military levy of the Roman state. The Roman tradition was that under Romulus, i.e. in the earliest times, Rome had but one legion, and this legion numbered 3,000 men, i.e. 100 men from each of the thirty tribes.

147. The Romans divided their fighting population into two classes, *juniores* and *seniores*. It seems clear that they originally regarded the younger men as forming the normal fighting strength of the population, and the older men as forming a reserve which might be called out to meet an emergency. *Juventus* is an habitual term for the folk of age to serve in arms. Precisely the same usage is found in Irish. In the passage cited above from Táin Bó Cuailngi, the word which I have twice translated “fighting men” is *óic* = (juvenci) *juvenes*, *juniores*, *juventus*, and numerous examples of this usage could easily be collected.

148. As the Romans grew into a great military power, they did not abandon the ancient constitution of their army, but retained and developed it. Instead of expanding their army indefinitely with the growth of their state, they could only think of forming additional bodies on the model of their primitive army of 3,000, and this they continued to do even under the Caesars.

149. In the Spartan army, we can trace the same tradition. The army consisted of six *μόραι*, and the *μόρα* at one period numbered 500 men, giving a total of 3,000 men. Each of the three Dorian tribes of Sparta before Cleomenes contained ten *ώβαι*, making thirty *ώβαι* in all. In Athens, in the age of Theseus, each *φρατρία* contained thirty *γένη*.

150. “The phalanx soldiers in the army of Alexander amounted to 18,000 and were divided . . . into six divisions, each named after a Macedonian province from which it was to derive its recruits.”<sup>1</sup> Each province would thus

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Smaller Dict. of Antiquities*, p. 163.

correspond to the Irish *tricha cé*t and the army of each province to the Irish *cath* of 3,000 men.

151. The century remained the theoretical basis of the Irish military organization until the final overthrow of the Celtic system at the battle of Kinsale, Christmas Eve, 1601. In the proclamation issued in that year by O'Neill, it is ordered that "the constable of the hundred shall have eighty-four men on the strength, allowing an abatement of sixteen men, and this abatement shall be expended as follows: the constable of the hundred shall have the wage of ten men thereof, and the marshal of the territory shall have the pay of five men, and the lord's galloglach shall have the pay of one man."<sup>1</sup>

152. The facts here brought together appear to establish that the Irish *tricha cé*t, its thirtieth part the *baile*, and the Irish military organization embodied a tradition common to many peoples of ancient Europe, and going back to a time when these peoples formed one community or a group of neighbouring communities. I trust that this superficial examination may lead to a more thorough investigation at competent hands into the earliest traditional form of the civil and military organization among the various branches of the Indo-European race.

153. Keating says that, "according to the ancient record (*do réir an tseanchusa*), the *baile* contained 12 *seisreacha*, and the *seisreach* 120 acres." The word for "acre," *acra*, is not of Irish origin, and must have replaced some older term. Later on, Keating says that "the acre of Irish measure is twice or thrice greater than the acre of the present foreign measure." "The acre of the present foreign measure" probably means the Irish "Plantation acre," which is greater than the statute acre in the ratio 196:121. Ireland is said to contain 20,819,928 statute acres, equivalent to 12,853,114 Plantation acres. According to Keating's statement, the 185 *tricha-cé*ts should be equal to 7,992,000 acres of (the older) Irish measure. But since his total of 185 is too much by at least 5, probably by more than 5, his total of acres must also be reduced. Moreover, by the statement "twice or thrice greater" we are to suppose, not that Keating was unable or neglected to give a more exact ratio, but that in fact the Irish measure varied according to the nature of the land. The Irish tradition of land-measurement, still by no means obsolete, was based on the quantity of live stock that a given area could support.

<sup>1</sup> "D' fhiachaibh ar an chonsabal céid beith ceathrar is ceithre fichid ar a geosaibh agus d' fholmhughadh sé fir déag, agus is é ceal a dtéid an folmhughadh sin, cuid deichneabhair ag consabal an chéid de, agus cuid cúigir ag marasgal an tíre féin agus cuid fir ag gallóglach tighearna." The whole of this interesting document will be found in "An Léightheoir Gaedhealach" (Gaelic League publications), p. 85, printed from the facsimile in Gilbert's National MSS. of Ireland. The Roman *centuria* also in actual service suffered a customary abatement, and contained only sixty men.

Hence no doubt the extent of the tricha cét was variable according to the fertility and population of the district.

154. The rise of the great septs, about the commencement of the Christian period in Ireland, must have greatly changed the older political subdivision of the country, sometimes dividing and sometimes combining the more ancient petty states. In some instances the tricha cét appears to have survived as a petty state. In others, it is divided between two distinct political organisations. In others as many as ten tricha céts form the kingdom of a single sept. There may well have been instances in which the early territorial state was split into fragments, though there is a visible tendency down to the seventeenth century, when the baronies of the English regime were marked out, to adhere to remotely ancient territorial delimitations. The following passage (Lecan, 460), describing the territories possessed by Dúl Guinn, is instructive:—

155. *Cland Chuind andsofo Erind .i. Fir Breg ocus Fir Midi ocus Fir Thulach ocus Corco Rocada a n-ingnais a buil do deoradaib acu. Is iadso iadside .i. Luigne ocus Gailenga ocus na Saidne ocus Hui Acla Odha ocus na seacht nDealbna ocus leth-tricha cét Cuirene ocus leth-tricha chet Teallaig Modaran ocus tricha chet Fear mBile. Cland Chuind .i. fiche baili na Colaman ocus tricha chid<sup>1</sup> Fini Gall ocus Airgialla<sup>2</sup> imorro seacht tricha chet deo indti<sup>3</sup> ocus deich tricha Ceniuil Eogain ocus deich tricha Ceniuil Conaill ocus leith-tricha Ceniuil nEnda ocus leith-tricha Ceniuil nAengusa ocus leith-tricha Fer Tulach ocus deich trichaid cét Breifni ocus deich tricha Hua Maine acht tri tuatha nama .i. Sodain ocus Dal nDruithne ocus Muintir Mail Findain. Sil Muireadaig Muilleathain ocus Sil Briain meic Each[ach] Muigmedoin in cach du itait ocus in da Chairpri .i. Cairpri Mor Droma Cliab la cloind Fiachrach meic Echach Muigmedoin ocus Cairpri O Ciarda la Firu Midi. Sil Dathi o clad Chonachla co Codnaich Cloindi Puint. Muintir Murchada cona coibnesaib ocus Cland Coseraig. Fir Umaill cona ngablanaib.*

156. *Sil Fiachach Sui[g]di meic Feidlimid Rechtmair .i. Corcortri la Corand i Condachtaib dia mbai Diarmaid Hua Duibne ocus Hui Chuind cona fineadaib .i. uirrig Corcorthri cor dichuirsed cland Taidc meic Cein meic Aililla Ulaim a Mumin ocus is do Corcortri Hui Dobailean seus Hui Dwindchaichig ocus Hui Ailella dia roibi Mac Liag .i. in fili. Na Deisi imorro do cloind Fiachach Sui[g]di .i. deich tricha-cet intib cona fochenelaib i n-egmais Semaine .i. leith-tricha cet ita ar slicht Semaine meic Cechaing meic Celtair nó Semaine meic Cealte[h]air meic Uitheochair dia ndeachaid ar cend Cealtchair diaid marbtha*

<sup>1</sup> Read *ché*. The writing, which had become dim, has been inked in at this place by a later hand.

<sup>2</sup> Here ends a page. The leaves have been misplaced in binding, and the continuation is found at 349 a 1. The particulars of Clann Chuind in Onom. Goed. are to be amended accordingly.

<sup>3</sup> Read *intib*.

*Blai Brugad do Cealtchair tre et na dun ocus na Deisi Breg cen airem andsin. Fir Bili ocus Fir Asail is do cloind Fiacha[ch] Sui[g]di atat.*

157. *Fotharta dochodur co Laigniu do chloind Echach Find Fuath nAirt meic Feidlimid Rechtmar i. na nui. Fotharta in each baili itait.*

158. "The following are Conn's race throughout Ireland: Fir Breg and Fir Midi (the men of Brega and Meath), and Fir Thulach and Corcu Roide, apart from what they have of immigrants. The latter are these: Luigni and Gailing and the Saithni and Ui Aeda of Odba and the seven Delbnai and the half tricha két of Cuirene and the half tricha két of Tellach Modaran and the tricha két of Fir Bili.<sup>1</sup> The race of Conn, [to resume]: the twenty townlands (hundreds) of the Colamain, and the tricha két of Fine Gall, and the Airgialla moreover, containing seventeen tricha kets, and the ten tricha kets of Cenél nEogain, and the ten tricha kets of Cenél Conaill, and the half tricha két of Cenél nÉndai, and the half tricha két of Cenél nAengusa, and the half tricha két of Fir Tulach,<sup>2</sup> and the ten tricha kets of Breifne, and the ten tricha kets of Ui Maini, except three tuatha, namely Sogain and Dál Druithne and Muintir Mail Findáin. The race of Muiredach Muillethan and the race of Brian son of Eochu Muigmedóin wheresoever they are, and the Cairbres, namely Cairbre Mór of Druim Cliab belonging to the Ui Fiachrach maic Echach Muigmedóin and Cairbre Ua Ciarda belonging to the Men of Meath. The race of Dathi<sup>3</sup> from Clad Conachla to Codnach of Cland Point. Muintir Murchada with their kinsfolk, and Cland Choscraig. The Men of Umall with their branches.

159. "The race of Fiachu Suigde son of Feidlimid Rechtmar, namely: Corcu Fir Tri at Corann in Connacht, of whom was Diarmaid Ua Duibne, and the Ui Chuinn with their families, [formerly] petty kings of Corcu Fir Tri until the race of Tadhg son of Cian son of Ailill Aulom from Munster dispossessed [them]; and of Corcu Fir Tri are the Ui Dobailén and Ui Duinnchaichig and Ui Ailella, of whom was Mac Liag the poet. The Dési, moreover, are of the race of Fiachu Suigde; they, with their under-septs, contain ten tricha kets, not reckoning the Semaine, i.e., a half tricha két who are descended from Semuine son of Cechang son of Celtar or from Semaine son of Celtchar son of Uithechar<sup>3</sup> when the consequence of slaying Blai Brugaid through jealousy in his fort<sup>4</sup> went against Celtchar; and the Dési of Brega are not reckoned therein i.e. in the ten tricha kets). Fir Bili and Fir Asail are of the race of Fiachu Suigde.

<sup>1</sup> This tricha két appears to be the modern barony of Farbill in Westmeath (35,447 statute acres).

<sup>2</sup> Fartullagh barony in Westmeath contains 37,552 statute acres.

<sup>3</sup> A genealogical fiction, since their traditional eponym was Nia Semon, see under *moccu Neth Semon*.

160. "The Fothairt who went to Leinster are of the race of Eochu Find Fuath nAirt, i.e. the seven Fothairt in every place where they are."<sup>1</sup>

161. Compared with the account in Keating, the foregoing contemplates a much smaller extent of the tricha cé. Cenél Conaill, Cenél nEogain, and Airgialla comprise 37 tricha céts. These occupy much less than the modern Ulster, as they do not comprise the counties of Antrim, Down, and Cavan. The ancient Ulster of Keating's account, somewhat larger than the modern province, contains only thirty-six tricha céts.

162. We can assign a period to the Lecan statement. It is earlier than the Norman occupation of Meath at the close of the twelfth century, and later than the death of Mac Liag in 1016. It is likely that the tricha cé varied according to the population at different periods, and that Keating's account is referable to a time when the country was less populous than in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

163. Two modern baronies retain the name tricha, Trough (an Triúcha, Tricha Cé Cladaig), 37,377 statute acres, in co. Monaghan, and Trughanacmy (T. an Aicme), 195,282 statute acres, in Kerry.

164. Other instances from Onom. Goed. are:—

Tricha Baguine = baronies Boylagh and Banagh, co. Donegal.

„ Cairbri = bar. Carbury, co. Sligo.

Tricha cé Cera, apparently somewhat larger than bar. Carra, co. Mayo.

„ „ Cianachta = ancient kingdom of Cianacht Breg.

„ „ Cualnge, perhaps = kingdom of Conaille.

„ „ Énna mic Neill = tricha Énna = two bars. of Raphoe, co. Donegal.

„ „ Fer nArdá = bars. of Corcomroe and Burren, co. Clare = ancient kingdom of Coreu Mu Druad.

„ „ Mugdorn, perhaps = bar. Cremorne (Crích M.), co. Monaghan.

„ „ na nOilén = bar. Islands, co. Clare.

„ „ na Soillse = bar. Lecale, co. Down.

Tricha Eogain = two bars. Inishowen, co. Donegal.

„ Luigdech = bar. Kilmacrenan, co. Donegal.

„ Medónach = bar. Barryroe, or part thereof, co. Cork.

165. O'Donovan's Supplt. to O'Reilly's Dict. has: "*Rig*: 'rí rig,' *rex regulorum*, a chief whose authority was recognized by seven petty chieftains.

<sup>1</sup> This is a frequent phrase with reference to peoples scattered apart in various territories.

H. 3. 18, p. 14." *Rí ríy* here seems to be an etymological gloss on *ruiri* = *ro* + *rí*. For "chief" and "chieftains," read "king" and "kings."

166. The tradition that suzerainty over seven petty kings conferred a special grade is elsewhere exemplified. Cp. §143, above, where, besides the sons of Magu who were chiefs of the vassal Fir Donnann, the seven Máines of Connacht are subject to Medb, and in Munster also there are seven *nirrig*. The earlier and lesser Munster of the Érainn is here implied. In the defeat of the Irish Picts by Uí Néill at Móin Daire Lothair (an. 562 AU), when the Picts lost their territory west of the Bann, their king Aed Brecc is spoken of as leading seven other Pictish kings. In the Book of Rights, Ireland is divided into seven chief kingdoms, whose kings have no suzerain except the king of Ireland. This division seems to represent an ideal rather than an actuality, for as far as one can judge from other evidences, the kings of Osraige, Tuadmuma, Breifne, and Cenél Conaill, perhaps also the kings of Iarmuma (Eoganacht Locha Léin) and Brega, were quite as independent as the seven chief kings in the Book of Rights. In O'Maelconaire's Munster Annals (R. I. A. copy), the kings of Cashel are usually called kings of Cashel and Desmond, indicating that they were not suzerains of west and north Munster. From an early period in the ninth century the Airgialla seem to have admitted the suzerainty of Cenél nEogain: *Airgialla .i. daergialla .i. Cenél nEogain rocuirscad fo dairchis iad o cath Leithe Caim amach* (BB 249 b 15, H. 3. 18, page 580, and see AU 826). Hence perhaps the absence of any statement of tributes due to the king of Airgialla in the Book of Rights. Flann Mainistrech, in his poem quoted by me (R. I. A. Proceedings, xxvii, C. 6, p. 138), names seven chief kings in his time. Six of these accord with the Book of Rights. For the seventh he omits Airgialla and substitutes Brega. Cuán O Lothcháin, referring to the alleged contents of the "Psalter of Tara," says that it tells of "seven chief kings of Ireland," who are "the five kings of the Fifths, the king of Ireland and her high king (subking)" BB 351 b 3 (*orriy* is a marginal amendment of *airdri*). Perhaps the peculiar designation, in *Sechtmad*, 'the Seventh,' applied to one of the petty kingdoms of Munster, had its origin in this way (see § 106).

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## PLACE-NAMES AND FAMILY NAMES.

By JOHN MACNEILL.

Read JANUARY 27. Published APRIL 30, 1913.

THE list of place-names of Clare Island collected in this paper will, I trust, be found to have a scientific value from several distinct standpoints. The Ordnance Survey maps do not aim at recording fully the topographical names for divisions of land less than townlands; there is probably no principle on which they act in inserting or omitting the names of smaller divisions.<sup>1</sup> The townland names have acquired a sort of legal status, and thereby a definite degree of public recognition, and yet in many instances the division of the country into townlands has been a matter of arbitrary choice. Most of the townlands are, no doubt, divisions marked out and named by ancient tradition. In a large number, however, new names have been substituted in recent times for the old names, and even within living memory new townlands have been created at the will, apparently, of the landowners. For example, I have been unable to trace the name of the townland of Hazelbrook, in which I was once resident, at Portmarnock, Co. Dublin, in any record earlier than 1840. Until about that time, the land now so named was part of another townland. How satisfactory the topography by townlands is may be judged from the fact that some of them contain less than 40 acres and others more than 4,000. In Clare Island, the townland of Fawnglass contains 75 acres 2 roods and 14 perches, and the townland of Bunnamohaun contains 1182 acres 1 rood and 3 perches. The Ordnance Survey map, on the scale of six inches to the mile, names no subdivision of the latter townland, which is about two miles long and one mile broad and comprises more than one-fourth of the island. Bunnamohaun now contains no human habitation, and consists almost entirely of rough grazing and waste land. But the name shows that part of it was formerly inhabited, since it means "the low ground of the cabins." It is further evident that this name has been artificially extended in signification. "The low ground" must have been the western side of the island, or a portion

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<sup>1</sup> The six-inch maps of Clare Island contain just one name, not well transliterated, of a smaller division, "Booaunbeg," out of the many recorded in this paper; the much larger adjoining division, *Ruain Mhór*, is not named on the map (Mayo 84).

thereof; but at present the townland so named happens to include the whole ridge of Cnoc Mór, which is the highest part of the island.

The Irish place-names, as they appear on the Ordnance maps, are often so distorted that the semblance of the originals is wholly obscured. The effort to represent the sounds of the names to an eye accustomed to English spelling comes often very wide of its mark. The majority of the names on the Clare Island maps are a record chiefly of the failure of an impossible task. Many of them can convey no even proximate notion of the sound to a reader of English, and are more likely to misguide than to guide a reader of Irish. It was doubtless the difficulty of dealing with such material that caused the Ordnance Survey officer to get confused occasionally, not only as to the forms of names, but also as to the places to which the names belonged. I note that in atlases for general educational use, place-names in Scotland, which are commonly spoken with their Gaelic pronunciation, are printed in their Gaelic spelling; and if this method fails to indicate the pronunciation to everybody, it yet secures historical accuracy. The other method, used in our Ordnance maps, fails in both respects.<sup>1</sup>

The scantiness of prehistoric and early historic structures in Clare Island has been noted in Mr. Westropp's paper (Part 2). The place-names bring under notice two sites, each named *Sidheán*, of which one, in the townland of Glen, is probably an artificial tumulus, and the other, near the lighthouse, seems rather to be a natural hillock. In both cases certainty could only follow exploration. The economic history of the island gathers a few facts from topography, and even a few facts are of more scientific value than any number of fancies. The general history and ethnography of the island cannot afford to ignore the rather remarkable evidence contained in the list of surnames.

Professor Wilson, in his paper on "Agriculture and its History," Clare Island Survey, Part 5, has stated the problem, "How far were the older Clare islanders true Celts, and how far were they modified in blood and in economy and custom by the Norsemen?" A large proportion of the family names bring with them a sufficient historical record to solve this problem—at least to the extent of enabling us to state it afresh on a structural basis of ascertained facts. Of true Celts, as a distinct race, ancient history and modern ethnology are alike ignorant. There is no Celtic racial type; and the only precise meaning that can be attached or ever has been attached to the name Celts is that it denotes a people whose language is or was Celtic. We have evidence that Clare Island once contained a population

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<sup>1</sup> The more accurate preservation of the place-names of Wales, besides enabling some dull folk to think themselves humorous, has greatly facilitated the study of Welsh history and archaeology.

largely, if not mainly, representing racial elements older in western Europe than the Celts. We have also evidence, in Clare Island and the adjoining mainland districts, of almost incessant streams of immigration during many centuries, and these streams can be traced to many parts, not of Ireland alone, but of the continent of Europe, not in legend but in fully authenticated history. So far as I know, there is no evidence of any colony of Norsemen in or near the island during the period of the Norse migrations; but the surnames bear witness to the presence in some degree of a later-coming Hebridean element which is largely of Norse descent.

Some of the place-names will be seen to reflect bygone conditions of agriculture. *Tuar Mór*, the name of what remains of the most westerly village, means "the great bleachgreen." Another place is called *na Tuartha*, "the bleachgreens." The present generation in Clare Island has never seen a field of growing flax; much less has it had any experience of the spinning of linen thread or the weaving and bleaching of the linen fabric. Yet these things were familiar to every generation from the Great Famine back to a time much earlier than the first appearance of the Norsemen on the Irish coast. The "Parliamentary Gazetteer" of 1845, in the article on Westport, gives the following information on the authority of Mr. Inglis, who wrote in 1834 with reference to the linen industry:—

"The linen trade in this district, and most probably in other districts, is the source of all the extras which are obtained beyond the absolute necessities of life. The land is let in very small portions; 7 or 8 acres is about the usual size of a "take." Potatoes are raised for the family consumption; grain, to pay the rent; and the flax is destined for clothing and extras. The decline of the linen trade has produced great want of employment; and the condition of the agriculturists throughout these districts has very much deteriorated. . . . The linen trade was extensively carried on here; and eight years ago as many as 900 pieces were measured and sold on a market-day. Now the quantity scarcely averages 100 pieces. Taking the whole district, including Westport, Castlebar, Newportpratt,<sup>1</sup> and Ballinrobe, about 500 pieces are sold weekly; and about 30,000 persons are supposed to be more or less employed in the trade. No trade gives such universal employment as this; not fewer than 60 persons are employed, from first to last, in preparing a web of linen."

The word *gort*, "a cornfield," is of frequent occurrence among the place-names in the more cultivated parts of the island. The "Parliamentary Gazetteer" says of Clare Island: "Much grain is shipped for Westport; large quantities of sea-manure are landed; and about 340 men and boys

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<sup>1</sup> Newport, Co. Mayo.

divide their cares between farming and the fisheries." The working male population then was about equal to the entire population at present. From Westport, in 1835, the export of corn, meal, and flour amounted to 14,624½ tons. "Considerable shipments of corn were formerly made at Newport; but they do not now exceed 1,000 tons a year, most of the trade having been removed to Westport." Corn, like linen, has long ceased to be a staple article of commerce in the district of Clew Bay. The authority quoted makes no mention of the export of live stock from Clare Island at the period 1841-1845. In Mr. Kilgallon's account of the recent export trade, quoted in Professor Wilson's paper, p. 45, there is no grain or other tillage produce, only live stock and wool. Since 1845, the industrial civilization of the island, and indeed of the mainland for the most part, has been lapsing from the agricultural and manufacturing to the pastoral stage.

Among other kinds of grain, we need not doubt that wheat was grown in Clare Island, as elsewhere in Ireland, from prehistoric times. The Irish names for wheat, *crúithneacht* and *tuireann*, cannot be dated as borrowed words. The word *crúithneacht* seems to have originally meant "Pictish produce," from Cruithni, the Irish name of the Picts, who formed a large element in the prehistoric and early historic population. There was formerly a water-mill on the island. A small group of houses, where the northern road crosses the stream in the townland of Maum, is still called *an Muileann*, "the mill." The stream is *Abhainn an Mhuilinn*, "the river of the mill," and it flows from *Loch an Mhuilinn*, "Loughavullin," "the lake of the mill." *Muileann* appears to be a loanword from Latin, but is of great antiquity in Irish. A legend ascribes the invention of watermills to Cormac mac Airt, a pagan king of Ireland. In A.D. 651, two sons of Blathmac, king of Ireland, went marauding in Leinster. They were pursued, and forced to hide themselves in the wheel of a corn-mill. The mill was set in motion, and the two princes were crushed to death. Verses made on this event are thus translated by Kuno Meyer:—

O mill  
that hast ground corn of wheat,  
This was not a grinding of oats (?)  
Thou groundest on Cerball's grandsons.  
  
The grain the mill grindeth  
Is not oats, but it is red wheat :  
Of the branches of the great tree was  
The feed of Mael-odrán's mill.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hibernica Minora*, ed. by Kuno Meyer, p. 73. See also the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 650 (= 651). The word translated "oats" (?) in the first stanza is *serblind* = or, in the *Annals*, *serbaind*. It seems

The minute nomenclature of the coast-line is inherited from a time when the business of fishing gave more occupation to the islanders than it does at present. During the years 1890 to 1902, I was accustomed to spend a considerable part of my summer holidays in the middle island of the Aran group in Galway Bay, and had thus an excellent opportunity of closely observing the manner of life of the inhabitants, which must somewhat resemble the former life in Clare Island before recent economic changes had come into operation. That similar changes have not worked out in Aran is probably due to the unfitness of the islands for corn-growing on a commercial scale, and for pastoral existence. The extensive growing of corn for export in places like Clare Island must have operated on habits of life in the same direction as the economic division of labour under modern industrial conditions has affected the working population of manufacturing districts. In highly developing one form of industry it must have induced a degree of atrophy in other forms. The collapse of the staple industry, consequent on the repeal of the Corn Laws, found the rural community unable to restore the varied industrial activities of their former existence. Pasturage, a still simpler pursuit, took the place of corn-growing, but was less productive, and ultimately more than three-fourths of the population disappeared.

In Inishmaan, the middle island of Aran, these changes did not take place. The area of the island is less than two-thirds of the area of Clare Island, and most of the surface is bare rock. There is no peat, and the islanders have to buy their fuel from Connemara. In 1841 there were seventy-eight families in Inishmaan. When I was visiting it there were over seventy families. Except the school-teachers and their households, the whole population of working age were engaged in a great variety of occupations—fishing, the curing of fish, and the preparation of fishing-apparatus; even fishing-line, of excellent quality, was made from thread; there being no safe harbour for sailing-boats, the only boat used was the curach, manipulated with such skill and ease that the boat and the rowers seemed to be parts of one active and highly organized animal; rock-fishing was also practised; every suitable patch of ground was cultivated, chiefly for potatoes and rye, the chief use of rye being to supply straw for thatching, and the thatch of the houses was annually renewed. Nearly all the clothing worn by men and women was the product of their

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to mean "[material for] bitter ale." In fact, Meyer quotes a variant reading, which has not the negative, and might be rendered: "It was a grinding for bitter ale thou groundest on Cerball's descendants." In the second stanza, the ordinary word *corca*, now *coirce*, is used, meaning "oats." The mention of "red wheat" is interesting, as implying that the red and white varieties were both known. "The great tree" means the monarchical line of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

The two men were sons of Blathmac, king of Ireland († 665 or 668), son of Aed Sláne, king of Ireland († 604), son of Diarmait, king of Ireland († 565 or 572), son of Cerball.

own industry; their shoes were of untanned hide, and were so suitable for the rocky surface of the island that I was always glad to substitute a pair of them for my boots. The hides for making shoes were bought in Galway, and cost about £1 each. A patch of osiers belonged to each house, and the weaving of baskets was a household occupation. The preparation of kelp was another industry common to all; most householders possessed a few sheep, a cow, a mare, or a donkey, and some pigs; the pigs and the surplus offspring of the other live stock were exported.<sup>1</sup> The great range of activities required for all these occupations made the islanders alert and resourceful beyond any experience of mine in other places. During one of my visits a "slip" was a-building to make better provision for the launching and landing of the curachs. For this work the Congested Districts' Board supplied a foreman, cement, and tools. The dressing and laying of the stone were done by the islanders, whom I saw at work with mallet and cold chisel as if they had never known any occupation but that of stonecutters. The contrast in economic history between Inishmaan and Clare Island explains how the one island has been able to maintain a population hardly, if at all, less than it was when the population of Ireland was at its maximum; while the other island, nearly four times as populous in 1841, has at present almost exactly the same number of families as Inishmaan.

In Inishmaan, as in Clare Island, every outstanding feature of the coast-line bears a distinctive name; but the maintenance of the fishing industry keeps these names in constant use. I was fortunate enough in Clare Island to find a guide who was born before the Great Famine, Padraic Mhac Thuathail, born in Inishturk, but brought up from infancy in Clare Island; hale and active in mind and body, keenly observant, courteous, and eager to assist me. He is one of the best speakers of Irish that I have met, and a good speaker of English, too. In both languages he deliberately chooses the words and phrasing to suit his thought, as a poet or a good orator does, instead of using the ossified phraseology which is customary with most people. It is probable that many of the places named by him could no longer be named by many of the islanders. Indeed I was told by others that only he and one other man could be found to supply me with the correct place-names.

Professor Wilson has called attention to the situation of the Clare Island homesteads which, at first observation, seems to bespeak a degree of indifference to the fishing industry, since they are not placed so as to give the best access to the sea. The situation of the homesteads in Inishmaan is somewhat similar, though all the men and grown-up youths are engaged in

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<sup>1</sup> The cultivation and manufacture of flax, however, were only remembered by the oldest inhabitants.

fishing, and also in the seashore work of kelp-burning and gathering seaweed for manure. All the houses are far from the sea. The sites are, no doubt, dictated by a sound traditional instinct, in which several needs are expressed. In these exposed western islands every site is not suitable for a house. In fact, only the more sheltered sites are suitable. A spring of good water must be sufficiently near at hand. The house must be so placed that those who are at home can look after the cattle and sheep-grazing in the open. In mountain districts on the mainland this last consideration appears often to govern the choice of site, the houses being placed at or near the edge of the rough grazing, in apparent disregard of convenience in other respects.

At present the houses in Clare Island are dotted here and there singly or in pairs. Older maps show them grouped in small villages, and village sites are still easily traced. My guide, Padraic Mhac Thuathail, born in 1841, remembers many inhabited homesteads forming hamlets which are now deserted.

Among some of those who had visited Clare Island before me on the work of this Survey I found the impression that the Irish language was almost unknown to the islanders. Bearing in mind my experience of other places of which a similar repute prevailed among visitors, when I met any of the islanders about whose knowledge of Irish there might be a doubt, I spoke to them in Irish only, and I found that the middle-aged and elderly folk in every part of the island could converse in Irish. The younger adults and the children have at most a small stock of Irish words and phrases. English is now consequently the common language of intercourse, and many who can speak Irish well rarely do so.

The local dialect of Irish is not to be distinguished in any general respect from the dialect of Partry and Joyce's Country, the nearest districts in which I had previously made a stay. Its phonetic system is the best preserved of all the extant Irish dialects known to me, that is to say, is the most fully in conformity with the orthography of early modern Irish. The main departure, common to all the dialects of Connacht and Munster, is the weakening of *ǽ* and *ea* in an initial syllable followed by a long syllable, e.g., *brōdān* for *brǽdān* ("salmon"), *criogān* for *creagān* ("a piece of rocky pasture"). The diphthongation or lengthening of short vowels in certain positions, which characterizes the dialects of Munster, the Aran Islands, and Connemara (though with varying outcome in the various dialects), is not found in the dialect of southern Mayo, except in the one instance, common to all the modern dialects, of *ǽ* lengthened before long *r*, as in *barr*, *ard*. Both in Partry and in Clare Island I noted occasional phonetic tendencies suggestive of northern influence. The very characteristic rounded *ō*, normal in Connacht

and Munster, often became unrounded or open in unstressed syllables, e.g., in the ending *-óg* of nouns, *-óchaidh* of verbs; and the *ǣ* of unstressed *-ach*, normally a neutral vowel in Connacht and Munster, e.g., in *suarach*, was sometimes heard with its typical value as in stressed syllables. I would ascribe these northern traces to the transplantations of Ulster people to Connacht in the seventeenth century, in part, perhaps, to the influx of Hebridean *galloglachs* during the three preceding centuries.<sup>1</sup>

In the list of family names particulars of the recorded or traditional origin of a considerable proportion of the families now settled in Clare Island have been supplied. The notion exists that because the islands and coastlands of western Ireland are on the outer edge of the Old World, their inhabitants must in a specially high degree be representative of an aboriginal West European stock. The mere inspection of a map does not afford sufficient foundation for an assumption of this kind. Even if one is entitled to judge the matter *a priori*, there are other considerations that cannot properly be overlooked. The coastlands and the adjoining seas, since remote prehistoric times, have always been the freest highways for the redistribution of the human race. Mountainous, marshy, or heavily forested inland regions have always been the least accessible, and, with the exception of wholly barren deserts, the least tempting lands for newcomers. The predominantly maritime distribution of prehistoric megalithic structures in western Europe and north-western Africa indicates an extensive migration coastwise, and reaching to Ireland, at a period which at the latest was early in the Bronze Age; and must have preceded the Celtic immigrations traced from central Europe, a region, according to Borlase, almost or wholly devoid of structures of the kind. Since the Atlantic Ocean was the limit of early migratory movements in a western direction, we should rather expect its fringes to exhibit the maximum of accumulation, with a strong tendency in the conquering and dominant newcomers to wear down and wear out the older and weaker elements.

In the ancient folk-migrations displacement of one population by another is likely to have been of rare occurrence, and perhaps never took place except in cases when the invaded population could find another territory in which they might live in freedom. For conquering invaders, the most valued acquisition, ministering at once to their wealth and ease and self-esteem, must have been a subject population. The displacement of the language of the

<sup>1</sup> Surnames from the Hebrides and Argyle, belonging to families largely of Norse extraction, are frequent in western Connacht. The *galloglachs* ("gallowglasses") of Irish history were mainly Norse-Hebridean mercenaries. Rogers (MacRuaidhri), MacDonnell, and MacSweeney or Sweeny are *galloglach* surnames common in co. Mayo. MacAlpine and MacAuley are probably of like origin.

*March, 1923*

**C 14**

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

VOLUME XXXVI, SECTION C, No. 14

EOIN MACNEILL

SILVA FOCLUTI



DUBLIN  
HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO.  
LONDON: WILLIAMS & NORGATE  
1923

*Price One Shilling*

# PROCEEDINGS

## OF THE

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## XIV.

## SILVA FOCLUTI.

BY PROFESSOR EOIN MACNEILL, D.LITT.

[Read FEBRUARY 12. Published MARCH 23, 1923.]

DR. NEWPORT WHITE'S edition of "Libri Sancti Patricii" (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxv, section C, Nos. 7 and 11—"The Paris ms. of St. Patrick's Latin Writings") suggests a solution of the many difficulties that have arisen around the placing of "Silva Focluti" in St. Patrick's account of the vision in which he seemed to hear voices calling him back to Ireland. The pertinent phrases of the narrative are these (p. 242, cp. p. 549):—

Et iterum in Britanniis eram cum parentibus meis . . . . Et ibi scilicet uidi in uisu noctis etc. . . . et . . . putabam . . . audire uocem ipsorum qui erant iuxta siluam Focluti quae est prope mare occidentale, et . . . exclamauerunt . . . Rogamus te, sancte puer, ut uenias et adhuc ambulas inter nos.

According to Dr. White's list of variants, the reading *Focluti* is not found in the MSS. cited by him under the reference letters B, C, F, F4, P, and R, so that apparently it is the reading of the Book of Armagh alone. The readings of the other MSS. are: *wirgulti* B, *wirgulti uolutique* C, the same with *uolutique* marked for deletion F4, *wirgultique* F, *wirgulti uelutique* P, *wirgulti ueluti* R.

These variants at once force us to recognize that St. Patrick could not have written *Focluti*. In Irish words beginning with F, F did not replace the older V until the beginning of the seventh century. *Focluti*, therefore, has been substituted in the Book of Armagh (A) for the word originally written by St. Patrick.

I take it that *-que*, which is absent in A, B, and R, is no more than a duplication of the following word *quae*, for which *que* would be a normal spelling in early Irish MSS. It is possible to regard *wirgulti*, absent from A, either as an incorporated gloss or emendation or as part of the original text. The fact that *wirgulti* stands without *uoluti* or *ueluti* in two MSS. and is represented in a third by *Focluti* alone gives ground for supposing that the original here had a single word, which a redactor proposed to replace or explain by the, to him, more intelligible *wirgulti*, and that *wirgulti*, interlined

for this reason, afterwards passed into the text of a number of transcripts, in some as a substitute for the older reading, in others as an addition to it. It matters little, however, whether we suppose an older reading *iuxta siluam Uirgulti Uoluti* or *iuxta Siluam Uoluti*. In one case the words *Uirgulti Uoluti*, in the other the words *Siluam Uoluti*, would represent St. Patrick's way of writing a particular place-name. I propose to reject *ueluti*, because *Focluti* could hardly have arisen from it, and might well have arisen from *uoluti* through an intermediary reading *uocluti*—the Irish change from initial U (V) to F must have been familiar to every scribe of the seventh and eighth centuries. Though *ueluti* is sufficiently inept in the context, its substitution for an unintelligible *uoluti* is much more likely than the converse process.

We shall then, I think, agree with the Armagh version in regarding *Siluam Uoluti* as the partly latinized name of a particular place. It was doubtless knowledge of St. Patrick's later association with "Fochloth," near Killala, where he founded the church of Domnach Mór (Book of Armagh, 10b, 14b), that caused this scribe or some authority followed by him to adopt the name *Focluti*, and thus to set others, down to our time, wondering and seeking to explain how the name of a place on the west coast of Ireland could have arisen to St. Patrick's mind at a time when, according to all that is known or told of him, he had never been within a hundred miles of that place. Professor Bury, holding that St. Patrick's narrative above quoted evidently implies that the place named therein and the place of the captivity were in one neighbourhood, has boldly—his own word is "frankly"—rejected the traditions of Sliabh Mis and transferred the captivity to a western forest, which would have joined in one local association Killala and Croaghpatrick.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Newport White, in "St. Patrick, his Writings and Life," pp. 6-11, puts aside Bury's theory and proposes an alternative explanation, based on the view, which is certainly no longer tenable, that St. Patrick wrote *Focluti*.

All the mss. agree in making the word or the two words following *siluam* end in *-ti*. My thesis is that the original reading was *siluam Uluti*, possibly but less probably *siluam Uirgulti Uluti*—for, if *Uluti* be accepted, the likelihood that *uirgulti* came in by way of attempted emendation is obviously increased. I take *siluam Uluti* to denote the district later known as *an Choill Ultach*, "Killultagh," meaning the woody district of the Ulaidh. This name was formerly given to a district of much wider extent than it now denotes, which lay on the eastern side of Lough Neagh, in the southern part of the county of Antrim.

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<sup>1</sup> "Life of St. Patrick": for the various points at which the argument recurs, see the index, s.v. *Fochlad*.

\* *Ułuti* is in fact the early form of the name *Ułaidh*; we have the Old-Irish accusative plural *Ułtu* < \**Ułutūs*, and genitive plural *Ułoth n* < \**Ułuton*. But *Ułuti* is nominative plural. We might expect St. Patrick to have written a genitive *Ułutorum*, or even *Ułutum*, parallel with the *uox Hiberionacum* of the same passage; but the fact that all the variants end in *-ti* seems fairly decisive evidence that the word originally written had the same ending. My view is that St. Patrick, in latinizing an Irish name, might well have used a nominative plural where a better latinist would have used a genitive plural. I mention, but do not accept, the possibility that he might have used *Ułuti* as an adjective in concord with *uirgulti*. In the Latin inscriptions of western Britain, from Selkirkshire to Devonshire, there is abundant evidence that, in the period immediately following the Roman evacuation of Britain, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, the case-inflexions of Latin had quite broken down, and were no longer correctly used even by the more or less literate persons who devised the inscriptions. A collection of such inscriptions is found in the paper by the late Sir John Rhys in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xviii, where Rhys has bravely sought to explain, on various grounds, the frequent absence of concord.

It is quite possible that, besides the solecisms of idiom which remain, St. Patrick's writings abounded in errors of accident, which later scribes and redactors would be certain to correct. All the MSS. seem to have left uncorrected an original *ambulas*, for the subjunctive *ambules*, in the passage quoted. At all events, the actual readings make *Ułuti* more likely by far than *Ułutum* or *Ułutorum*, or an adjectival \**Ułutacam*, which would represent the later *Ułtach*.

The actual variants would then have arisen as follows:—The original *ułuti*, mistaken for a Latin word and a puzzle to the scribes, became *uoluti*, the Latin word which most closely resembled it. When later on the editing and emendation of St. Patrick's Latin was undertaken, *uirgulti* and *ueluti* were independently substituted, as yielding a somewhat better sense. Collation led to *uirgulti uoluti* and *uirgulti ueluti*. We can see collation at work in the *uirgulti uolutique* and subsequent deletion of *uolutique* of F4. The scribe of the Book of Armagh, or rather some earlier scribe in his line of tradition, recognized that a place-name might be expected, and *uoluti* became *Uocluti*, then *Focluti*. Adamnan, a century earlier, writes both *Uirgnous* and *Ferngnous*.

It is remarkable that two other instances of the change of \**Ułuti* to a form bearing the guise of a Latin word are on record. One of these is the well-known *Οὐολούντιοι* of Ptolemy. It is quite possible that Ptolemy

recorded the name in the nearest equivalent Greek spelling Οὐλοῦτοι; more likely, perhaps, that he made it Οὐλούτιοι, for a plural nominative in -ῆ, in Celtic as in Latin, might leave a Greek writer in doubt as to whether the stem had -io or only -o. It can hardly be doubted that the further scribal development of the name into Οὐολούντιοι represents attraction towards the Latin *voluntas*, *voluntarius*.

The parallel of the second instance is much closer. In the Book of Ballymote, 196, are preserved some fragments of a tract in Latin on Irish genealogical lore. They contain (col. 2, l. 24) the phrase *in tempore Uolotorum*, meaning "in the time of the Ulaidh," i.e. in the time of the heroes or of the kingdom of Emain. Here clearly the unfamiliar archaic Irish *Uluti* has been changed by scribes into the familiar Latin *voluti*.

To sum up the argument: St. Patrick could not have written *Focluti*; *Focluti* is a later redaction of the original word; among the extant variants, *Focluti* cannot have arisen from *uirgulti* or *ueluti*, but has obviously arisen from *voluti*, probably through *\*uocluti*; as in the BB instance, *voluti* is a Latin substitute for the Irish *\*uluti*; all the variants attest the ending -*tí*. In his use of the Irish name, St. Patrick, *more Brittanico*, like the Cymric language of all periods, dispensed with case-inflexion. *Silua Uluti* would represent such a name as *\*Caill Uloth* or *\*Fid Uloth* in seventh-century Irish. In the earliest Irish of the Ogham inscriptions, the genitive plural *Uloth* would appear as *Uluta*—cp. *TRIA MAQA MAILAGNI = tríum filiorum M.* The modern name Coill Ultach cannot be traced to any great antiquity, but is probably older than De Courcy's occupation, which brought the rule and record of the Ulaidh to an end.

This explanation of *silva Focluti* gets rid of all the difficulties that have been found in explaining St. Patrick's dream with reference to a wood or forest separated almost by the breadth of Ireland from the only part of Ireland in which, before this dream, tradition knew him to have been. The saint, in his narrative, has the vision vividly before his mind; and when he speaks of the *mare occidentale*, he means, if I mistake not, the sea to the west of Britain, not the sea to the west of Ireland.

The name of his master and owner in his captivity, according to an unquestioned tradition, was Miliucc moccu Booin (later maccu Buain). This name signifies that Miliucc belonged to the sept known later as Dál Buain. The lands of this sept were situate immediately to the east of Lough Neagh. Sliabh Mis, "Slemish" (not "Slemmish" to rhyme with "blemish," but with the long *ē*), the traditional scene of the captivity, Dál Buain, and Killultagh, all come within a range of twenty miles; and the *adhuc* of the voices requires no strained explanation. When the Confessio adds, *Deo gratias, quia post*

*annos plurimos praestitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem illorum*, it is quite likely that *illi* has reference to the people of that very district.

The lands of Dál Buain and Coill Ultach were partly co-extensive. Dál Buain, according to Hogan's Onomasticon, "included the parishes of Drumbeg, Drumbo, Hillsboro', Blaris, Lambeg, Derryaghy, Magheragall, Magheramesk, Aghalee, Aghagallon, Ballinderry, Glenavy," also Magh Comair = "Muckamore." This indicates an extent along the whole eastern side of Lough Neagh, and thence south-eastward across the Lagan river, comprising probably the greatest part of the baronies of Massareene, Upper and Lower, in County Antrim, and Upper Castlereagh, in County Down. Under Coill Ultach, Killultagh, Hogan has "County Antrim . . . recte in Co. Down; as in my 'Description of Ireland as it is in 1598,' p. 7:—Kilulto in County of Down, a very fast Countrie full of Wood and Boggs, bordereth on Lough Evaghe (L. Neagh) and Clanbrassell; the Captaine thereof is Bryan McArt O'Neill." Hogan forgot that the county of Down, as it was described in 1598, included much of the southern part of the present county of Antrim. "Killultagh House," about half-way between Glenavy and Lisburn, is in the very middle of Dál Buain.

Muirchu's Life, based in part on the Confession, has *Fochloth* where A has *Focluti*. If we could be sure that Muirchu wrote *Fochloth*, we should have to infer either that *Focluti* or perhaps *Uocluti* was the reading in the MS. of the Confession which he used, or that he himself was the first to substitute *Focluti* and *Fochloth* for the word in the original. It is, however, quite possible that Muirchu did not write *Fochloth*, and that the same redactor who substituted *Focluti* in the Confession substituted *Fochloth* in Muirchu's Life. In this connexion, it is worth noting that *Fochloth*, a form by itself not easy to explain, is identical in its ending with the genitive plural *Uloth* of Muirchu's time. If *Fochloth* is a compound of the word which in Old Irish is *caill* "a wood," its genitive in Old Irish should be *Fochleth*, not *Fochloth*. There is near Killala a hamlet now called in Irish *Fōchoill*. In this name the long vowel of the first syllable may be due to conscious etymology, *fō* being what may be called the grandiloquent form of the preposition *fo*, and *faoi* (*fuī*) the ordinary colloquial form in present-day Connacht usage. In St. Patrick's time, however, this name, if it existed, should have been written \**Uocallit-* or *Uocallet-*, or, after syncope, \**Uochlit-* or *Uochlet-*. All the variants of the Confession have *u* in the penultimate syllable, *-uti*, *-ulti*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We should probably read "Lough Neaghe, Evaghe (= Uibh Eachach, "Iveagh"), and Clanbrassell."

<sup>2</sup> Regarding Muirchu, and what has been written about his father Cogitosus by Dr. Newport White and others, it may be well to point out that *moccu Machtheni* does not

The following examples of the confusion of case-inflexions in Latin inscriptions of western Britain and of the immediately post-Roman period, the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, are taken from the paper by Sir John Rhys forming vol. xviii of "*Y Cymmrodor*." Rhys endeavours to construe most of these instances as correct Latin in concord. His explanations vary; the phenomenon, however, is the same from Selkirkshire to Devonshire, and, in my opinion, admits only of one explanation, namely, that the loss of case-inflexions in the vernacular Celtic speech of Britain led to a corresponding failure to observe the case-inflexions of Latin, which continued to be the traditional language of culture in the same regions. So far as I have observed, no such confusion is found in the Latin of early Irish writings or inscriptions. The Celtic of Ireland, unlike that of Britain, preserved its system of case-inflexion.

P. 5. Hic memoriae et belli insignisimi principes Nudi Dumnogeni hic iacent in tumulo duo filii Liberalis. (*Recte* Nudus[et] Dumnogenus. Nudus, treated as an O-stem, properly has the stem Nudont.)

P. 12. Culidori iacit et Oruuite mulier secundi. (*R.* Culidorus, Oruuita, secunda.)

P. 15. Brohomagli iam ic iacit et uxor eius Caune. (*R.* probably Cauna.)

P. 18. Nonnita Ereiliui Ricati tris fili Ereilinci.

P. 21. Barrivendi filius Vendubari hic iacit.

P. 34. Evali fili Denovi Cuniovende mater eius. (*R.* Cunioventa.)

P. 41. Cantiori hic iacit Venedotis cive fuit consobrino Magli magistrati (five wrong inflexions).

P. 49. Catacus hic iacit filius Tegernacus. (*R.* Tegernaci. Rhys proposes to regard the word as an adjective.)

P. 50. Evolenggi fili Litogeni hic iacit.

P. 51. [Co]nbelini posuit hanc crucem.

P. 55. . . . nicci filius . . . ic iacit securi in hoc tumulo.

P. 59. Latini ic iacit filius Ma[qui Ia]ri.

P. 61. Andagelli iacit fili Caveti.

P. 61. Hic iacit Cantusus pater Paulinus.

P. 65. Drustagni ic iacit Cunomori filius.

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mean "son of Machthene" but member of a sept claiming Machthene for its eponymous ancestor. The name of this sept should have been Dál Machtheni or Corcu Machtheni, but it is not on record. If Cogitosus is based on Machthene, it is not the personal name of Muirchu's father, but rather a latinization of the surname. It may correspond to "(U)ltan episcopus Conchoburnensis" = Ultán moccu Conchobuir of the sept Conchobuirne or Dál Conchobuir. Muirchu (floruit 693-695) is the latest instance known to me of the use of the surname-formula in *moccu*, which seems to have become obsolete about his time.

- P. 66. Talori Adventi Maquerigi filius.  
 P. 70. Advecti filius Guani hic iacit.  
     Quenatauci ic Dinui filius.  
     Rugniatio fili Vendoni.  
     Corbalengi iacit Ordous (= Ordouix).  
 P. 72. Vitaliani emereto.  
 P. 74. Dervaci filius Iusti ic iacit.  
 P. 76. Dobituci filius Evolengi.  
 P. 79. Boduoci hic iacit filius Catotigirni pronepus Eternali Vedomavi.  
 P. 82. Fili Cunalipi Cunaci ic iacit.  
 P. 84. Figulini fili Loculiti hic iacit.  
 P. 85. Tuncetace uxor Daari hic iacit.

[As at pp. 12, 15, 34, the genitive in *-e* (= *-ae*) replaces the nominative in *a*.]

- P. 88. Brocagni hic iacit Nadotti filius.  
     Iovenali fili Eterni hic iacit.  
     Meli medici fili Martini iacit.

P. 89. Cunogusi hic iacit. [Here again, as at p. 5, there is a change of declension. Cunogussus is of the U-declension.]

P. 90. Hic [in] tumulo iacit R . . . stece filia Paternini. [As at p. 85, R . . . stece is probably genitive.]

- P. 92. Senacus pr(e)sb(yster) hic iacit cum multitudinem fratrum.  
 P. 95. Turpilli ic iacit pueri Triluni Dunocati.  
 P. 96. Carausius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum.

The prevalence of the genitive case-ending in the title-name may be ascribed to the influence of the Ogham inscriptions. Professor Macalister has found remains of Oghams accompanying a number of the Latin inscriptions of western Britain, in addition to a few previously recorded. The examples cited above show, however, that the peculiar misuse of case-endings is by no means confined to title-names, and is not to be explained as an imitation of the Ogham formulae. Even if *hic iacet* be taken for an extra-syntactical element and eliminated from the syntax, it is still evident that those who used Latin in almost all parts of western maritime Britain were no longer possessed of a sense of case-inflexion.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE.—As this paper goes to press, Mr. R. I. Best has drawn attention to a brief notice by the late Professor Kuno Meyer (*Zur Keltischen Wortkunde*, viii, p. 619, Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. Sitzungsber. phil.-hist. Kl. 1918) on the name Ulaid, with reference to Ptolemy's Οὐλούντιοι and to U(o)loti in Muirchu (*Trip.* 286, 12), and in the passage above cited from *Book of Ballymote*, 196b 23.



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conquered by the language of the conquerors has sometimes created in a later age the illusion of a displacement of population. The Anglo-Saxon conquest of England is a case in point. Conversely, popular history ignores the Norse occupation of the Hebrides and the Norse dominion there for more than four centuries, and takes the modern Hebrideans for an extremely Celtic people, because in the long run the Gaelic language displaced the Norse language in that region.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, the population of southern Scotland is often supposed to be Anglo-Saxon, for no better reason than that an Anglian dialect has, in quite modern times, become exclusively the popular speech. Anglian colonization, as a matter of historical fact, did not extend beyond the eastern maritime region. Buchanan, writing in 1589, says that Gaelic was then "*magna ex parte*" the language of Galloway. It was also, *magna ex parte*, the language of the Scottish Lowland settlers in the north of Antrim as late as the first half of the eighteenth century.

Displacement, however, took place in other ways after conquest. The dominant class in a country is often the least prolific. It was otherwise with the Celts in Ireland. The rapid increase of the Gaelic nobility can be seen as clearly in the annals as in the genealogies, and stands in strong contrast to the very frequent extinction of the male line in the pedigrees and histories of the Norsemen and Franco-Norsemen.<sup>2</sup> Some have supposed that the Irish surnames in "O" and "Mac" are not ordinarily evidence of descent from the ancestors in whom they originated; that the subjects of an Irish chief were accustomed to assume his surname. I have never found any evidence of such a custom, even during the period when the privilege of the "five bloods" might have made it acceptable. Dubhaltach Mac Fir Bhisigh, the last of our hereditary genealogists, did not believe that the custom existed. He seems to have been challenged about it, perhaps by his friend Sir James Ware, and his answer is emphatic. He is discussing the question whether racial origin may be traced by means of physical characteristics, and he says of this criterion:—

"Though it may not be found true in all cases, there is nothing inconsistent with reason in it. And further, it is an argument against the people who say [ironically] that there is no family in this country which the genealogists do not trace up to the sons of Míl. And notwithstanding this,

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<sup>1</sup> The Hebrides remained closely attached in intercourse and politically subject to Norway until 1263; but the Norse conquest was not merely a political conquest like that of England or of parts of Ireland by the Normans. That there was a very complete Norse colonization with a prevalence of the Norse language is proved by the fact that a large proportion of place-names in the Hebrides, amounting in some of the islands, it is said, to two-thirds or three-fourths, are of Norse origin.

<sup>2</sup> See the Norse pedigrees supplied by Vigfusson, *Icelandic Sagas*, vols. i and ii, and compare the descent of the Norman dynasty in England, and of the lordship of Leinster and the earldom of Ulster after Strongbow and De Courcy.

even though it were so, it would be no wonder; for, if a man will look at the sons of Míl, and the great families that sprang from them in Ireland and in Scotland, and how few of them exist at this day, he will not wonder that people inferior to them, who had been a long time under them, should not exist; for *it is the custom of the nobles, when their own children and families multiply, to suppress, blight, and exterminate their farmers and followers. Examine Ireland and the whole world, and there is no end to the number of examples of this kind to be found*; so that it would be no wonder that the number of genealogies which are in Ireland at this day were carried up to Míl."<sup>1</sup>

We have no grounds for questioning this testimony, offered by an ardent adherent of "the race of Míl," the dominant Gaelic people of ancient Ireland, as to their custom of making room for their own kindred by squeezing out the plebeian folk. The examples to which he appeals for corroboration are sufficiently abundant.

The contempt of the dominant Gaelic people for the older conquered folk is frankly expressed in another passage, quoted by the same authority "from an old book."<sup>2</sup>

"Everyone who is black-haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh, and inhospitable person; every slave, every mean thief, every churl, everyone who loves not to listen to music and entertainment; the disturbers of every council and every assembly, and the promoters of discord among people; these are the descendants of the Fir Bolg, of the Gailiúin, of the Liogairne, and of the Fir Domhnann, in Ireland. But, however, the descendants of the Fir Bolg are the most numerous of all these."

The customary "suppression" of plebeians to make room for the patrician race must have been a gradual process, too petty to obtain notice in the chronicles. There are, however, examples of suppression in a more conspicuous degree. The story of the descendants of 'Umór,<sup>3</sup> who were of the Fir Bolg, tells that in the time of Cú Chulainn they were so oppressed with burdens by Cairbre Nia Fear, king of North Leinster, that they migrated in a body across the Shannon and settled on the western seaboard. The great conspiracy of the subject races throughout Ireland, a few generations later,

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry, "MS. Materials of Irish History," p. 225. The Irish text, given in O'Curry's Appendix, is from the introduction to the "Book of Genealogies," of which the original is now in the possession of the Rt. Hon. M. F. Cox, M.D., and O'Curry's transcript, the only one, is in the Royal Irish Academy library.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> "Book of Ballymote," 30a 28. The story is told in prose, and also in a poem by Mac Liag, who died in 1016.

was caused by the oppression they suffered from the Gaelic ascendancy. The tract on the plebeian communities<sup>1</sup> says:—"From these a bondage-rent of service accrued over the free race of Ireland. That is to say, the free races deprived them of the lands on which they served; and they decayed, and the free races encroached upon them and took their land from them, so that the servile rent thenceforth was attached to the free races, being fixed upon their lands.<sup>2</sup> For all the men of Ireland are free except the people we have enumerated." Among those enumerated is Túath Macc n-'Umór, *plebs filiorum 'Umóir*, already mentioned and hereinafter to be mentioned in connexion with Clare Island and the district of Clew Bay. If these accounts are legendary, they come nevertheless from writers who were familiar with the relations between patricians and plebeians in their own time. Like things happened at a less remote period than that of which these stories are told.

O'Donovan, in a note on Ui Maine, "Book of Rights," p. 106, cites a life of St. Greallan to the effect that "Duach (*recte* Dui) Galach, the third Christian king of Connacht, permitted them to dispossess Cian, the Firbolg king of the district, which was then called Mag Sein-cheineoil." The dispossessed people was named Tuath Sen-cheineoil ("the Tuath of the Ancient Kindred"), and is one of those named in the list of the plebeian peoples (BB 255 a 24).

Annals of Ulster, A.D. 551 (= 552). "Bellum Cuilne in quo ceciderunt Corcu Oche Muman ('of Munster') orationibus Itae Cluano ('of Saint Ita of Cluain Credail')." The Corcu Oche (Core[o] Oige) are named in the list of plebeian peoples, l. 15.

Ib. A.D. 751 (= 752). "The annihilation of the Brecrige by Cenél Coirpri in Telach Findin." The Brecrige are named in the list of plebeian peoples, l. 20. Cenél Coirpri was a sept of the Ui Néill. "The annihilation of the Caillrige of Lorg by the Ui Briúin." The Caillrige (Cailraige) are named in the list of plebeian peoples, l. 12. The Ui Briúin, akin to the Ui Néill, were the dominant sept in eastern Connacht.

Ib. A.D. 752 (= 753). "The killing of the Ui Ailella by the Greccraige." This was a revolt. The Greccraige were a plebeian people (Tuath Gregraihe, list, l. 26) partly settled under the Ui Ailella (BB 256 a 13), who were akin to the Ui Briúin, and occupied Tír Ailella (= Tirerrill barony, Sligo).

Ib. A.D. 776 (= 777). "Strages Calraigi la Hu Fiachrach" ("by the

<sup>1</sup> Ib. 255a: "Of the names of the rent-paying communities (*aithechthuatha*) and of their distribution throughout Ireland, according to the Book of Glendaloecha."

<sup>2</sup> The "Book of Rights" gives several instances of free peoples to whose lands a servile rent was attached: the Déisi of Munster, p. 51; the Luighne of Connacht, p. 105; the Delbna and the Ui Maini of Connacht, p. 107. To the list of tributes to the king of the Ulaidh (p. 168) is appended the statement: "These are his food-rents (*biatha*) from his free peoples (*saer-thuatha*), not mentioning his servile communities (*daer-thuatha*)."

Ui Fiachrach"). The Ui Fiachrach, akin to Ui Briúin and Ui Ailella, were the dominant sept in northern Connacht. The Calraige here named are probably the section from whom Glencalry in North Mayo is named.

Ib. A.D. 811 (= 812). "Slaughter of the Calraige of Lorg by the Ui Briúin. Slaughter of the Corco Roidhe of Meath by the Ui Maicc Uais." The Ui Maicc Uais were, like Ui Briúin, Ui Néill, Ui Fiachrach, and Ui Ailella, a sept of Dál Cuinn, dominant in Connacht, Meath, and most of Ulster.

Ib. A.D. 815 (= 816). "A battle is won over the Ui Fiachrach of Muirese by Diarmait [king of Connacht] son of Tomaltach, and Fobren in the country of the Graicraige [= Greccraige] is burned and plundered, *ubi plurimi occisi sunt ignobiles*."

This Diarmait died in 833, without having made sufficient provision for his posterity in the manner described by Dubhaltach. How his grandchildren repaired the omission is told by another genealogist (BB 102 a 30): "Uatu, son of Dathlaech, [son of Diarmait], with his sons and brethren [brothers and cousins], headed westward across the Suck; and the sons of Uatu slew in treachery at an ale-feast in one house [the chief men of] the Corco Roidhe of Fídh Manach all but a few." And "the sons of Uatu took possession of the lands of the Corco Roidhe" (100 a 20).<sup>1</sup> The year 900 may be taken as approximate date of this event. Corcu Roidhe was one of the plebeian peoples, Tuath Fhir Ruidi, l. 24.

That most of these acts of extermination are located in Connacht probably signifies that the plebeian communities there retained longest the power of resistance. Feebler elsewhere, they suffered perhaps less violent forms of "blighting" and "suppression," on too small a scale to be recorded in chronicles. It is sufficiently clear that there was a continued displacement of the inferior population by the dominant Gaelic element during many centuries.

The process was facilitated by the readiness of, at all events, the less opulent of the patricians to take to husbandry. "Five generations from king to spade," said an old proverb. That the transition might be even more rapid is indicated in the story in the "Fragmentary Annals" told of the grandson of a king of Ireland, himself afterwards king of Ireland, Fínnachta

<sup>1</sup> These lands, not defined in *Onomasticon Goedelicum* beyond that they were west of the Suck, were in the district of Tuam, for the text cited above says that the race of Diarmaid further encroached (102 a 35) on the lands of Cenél nDubáin (barony of Kilmaine, co. Mayo) and of Cland Choseraigh (barony of Clare, co. Galway), and on the lands of the Soghain as far as 'Ath Glúinchinn (l. 41), = Béal 'Atha Glúinchinn, "Ballyglunin," where the railway between Athenry and Tuam crosses the Abbert river. Fídh Manach = Coill Fheadha Manach, "Killamanagh," west of Tuam, near Shrúle.

(† 695), grandson of Aed Sláne († 604). "In respect of this world's goods, this same Fínnachta at the first was endowed but poorly: he possessing but wife and house, and, saving one ox and a cow, no stock at all."<sup>1</sup> The narrator is a re-furbisher of old chronicles for the benefit of those who prefer a well-told tale to a dry list of events. Whether his account of Fínnachta's early poverty and life as a husbandman be myth or fiction, he makes no wonder of it as a fortune that might fall to the lot of any king's grandson.

The seeker for an aboriginal race of men in Clare Island is likely to be disappointed. The island is the habitat of a population not less diverse in early distribution than the flora and fauna are at present. Nevertheless, as to the primitive inhabitants, there are some traditions worth noting. The tribe of the Sons of Umór has already been mentioned. The legend says that they were a branch of the Fir Bolg. They were driven out of Ireland into the surrounding islands by the Tuatha Dé Danann. In a later age they were driven back to the mainland of Ireland by the Picts. They then settled in Meath, but soon, as has been told, fled from oppression to lands west of the Shannon.

The tract which gives the territorial distribution of the rent-paying peoples (BB 255 b 36) is to all appearance an authentic document stating known facts. It has—

"Tuath Macc nUmoir in Dál Cais [= East Clare] and in Ui Fiachrach Aidhne [E. and S.E. of Galway Bay] . . . Tuath Chonchobuirni and (Tuath) Macc nUmoir in Ui Briuin [of Mag Seola, barony of Clare, Co. Galway] and around Loch Cime [Loch Hacket, on the Tuam side of Headford, Co. Galway] and in Cluain Fuiche [Cloonfush (?), W. of Tuam] . . . Tuath Macc nUmoir in Umall [the baronies of Burrish-Oole and Murrisk, Co. Mayo, including Clare Island]."

The poet Mac Lág gives the following places of abode of the Sons of Umor: Dún Oengusa in Aran, Loch Cime, Loch Cutra (near Gort, Co. Galway), [Magh] Aghair (between Ennis and Tulla, Co. Clare), Muirbech Míl (supposed to be the *muirbheach* or sandbanks at Kilmurvy and Portmurvy, Great Island of Aran) "Dál" with an *oenach* beside it (probably Tulach na Dála,<sup>2</sup> site of an ancient assembly-place and a modern fair, 4 miles N. of Tuam: *Onom. Goed.*), Rinn Bera (otherwise Cenn Bera, Kinvarra, on Galway Bay), Modlinn (a poetic name for Cuan Modh = Clew Bay), iath Aigli (the district of Aigle, at Cruach Phádraic, otherwise Cruachán Aigli, Mons Egli of L. Arm.), Laiglinn (unidentified), Dún Conchraide in Inis Meadhóin (now called Dún Conchubhair in the middle island, Aran, Galway), Tulach Lathraig

<sup>1</sup> "Silva Gadelica," p. 438.

<sup>2</sup> Hence Lally of Tollendall.

(Tillyra, Co. Galway), Rinn Tamain (Tawin, Co. Galway), Crích Aidne (= Kilmacduach diocese, Co. Galway), Boirenn (Burren barony, Co. Clare). (BB 30 b 10-20).

It is thus evident that the Race of Umor was anciently known as an unfree population, believed not to be Gaelic in origin, inhabiting, among other western tracts, the kingdom of Umhall, including Clare Island and the islands of Clew Bay.

Over them in Umhall ruled a patrician folk known as *Fir Umhaill*, the Men of Umhall, otherwise the *Ui Briúin* of Umhall. These were a sub-sept of the *Ui Briúin* of Connacht, descendants of *Bríón*, who lived about A.D. 400, being a brother of *Niall* of the Nine Hostages. They belonged to the kindred called *Dál Cuinn* or *Connachta*, meaning not the inhabitants in general of the province of Connacht, *Cóiced Connacht*, the Fifth of the *Connachta*, but the dominant *gens* who ruled the province, and from whom it was named.<sup>1</sup> The oldest known habitat of this folk is defined by the name *Machaire Connacht*, "the plain of the *Connachta*," otherwise known as *Mag Aoi*. In it was the seat of their ancient kings, *Cruachain Aoi* or *Ráith Cruachan* ("Ratheroghan," Co. Roscommon).

The *Connachta* or *Dál Cuinn* afford the most remarkable example of the expansion of the patrician race. This expansion, in their case, can be traced continuously from the fourth century until the fourteenth, when *Clann Aodha Buidhe*, the descendants of *Aodh Buidhe Ua Néill*, king of Tyrone, 1260-1283, established themselves over a large part of the feudal territory of the earldom of Ulster, east of the river Bann. For an ancient list of the possessions of *Dál Cuinn*, before the feudal invasion, see my paper on "Early Irish Population groups," § 158. At the end of the list are the Men of Umhall.

In the genealogies of the *Ui Briúin* (BB 89), the first pedigree given is that of *Domhnall Ruadh Ua Máille*, dynast of Umhall, "killed by *Clann Mebric* and other foreigners (feudal settlers)" on Christmas night, 1337. He is twelfth in descent from *Máille*, the dynast from whom the surname is derived, and whose date should be about 400 years earlier. From *Máille* up to *Conall Oirisen*, son of *Bríón*, there should be about sixteen generations. The pedigree has only seven, and therefore cannot be held authentic in detail to any point earlier than the eighth century. That the *Ui Briúin* were settled in Umhall in the eighth century is clear from the mention of "*nepotes Briuin Humil*" in the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 786. The family of *Ua Máille* was for many centuries at the head of this sept in Umhall. They were a sea-going stock.

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<sup>1</sup> The names *Ulaídh* and *Laighiu*, in like manner, have a general and a strict meaning. In the strict sense, as used by the genealogists, they denote only the dominant dynastic races of ancient Ulster and Leinster.

"No one has heard of a man of Máille's race that was not a mariner."<sup>1</sup> The shape of their territory extending around Clew Bay from point to point (the baronies of Burrish-Oole and Murrisk), broad at the seaward ends, but a mere strip of coast at the head of the bay, strongly suggests Clare Island as the headquarters of their maritime domain, and explains the name "Ua Máille's Island," used in the *Annals of Ulster* (A.D. 1415). About one-fourth of the population of the island are descendants of Máille in the male line.

The place-names of the seaside were for the most part noted down in the course of a cruise round the island, beginning with the harbour at the east end and going thence northward, and so round by the west and south and back to the harbour. In making reference to the Ordnance six-inch maps, from which the englished forms of the names, so far as they are given, are here cited, it will be convenient to follow the same direction.

The names on the map are here given in italics.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Cliaia*, *Clare Island*. So usually, not *Eileán Cliaia*.
2. *An Céib*, *Harbour*, lit. "the quay."
3. *An Tíais*, "the strand," from the Harbour northward, about a quarter mile in length, also named—
4. *Tíais bhíog*, "[Saint] Brigid's strand."
5. *Leac na Tíais* (pronounced *Tíais*), "flagstone of the strand," forms the west side of the Harbour.
6. *Leac na mbó*, "flagstone of the kine," a low rock surrounded by sand towards the north end of the strand.
7. *An Córrí Šaib*, "the rugged bend," a rocky point close to the Lace School, once a police barrack, noted "Constab. Bk." on the map.
8. *An Coileáir*,<sup>3</sup> "the quarry," on the rocky shore between *An Córrí Šaib* and *Ceann na Corra*.
9. *Ceann na Corra*, *Kinnacorra*, "headland of the bend," the most easterly point of the island. Here the divided swell of the Atlantic, sweeping round by north and south, meets again, and a great boulder-beach, V-shaped, raised by the waves, forms the limit of the land.
10. *An Tuirlinn Béal*, "the little boulder-beach," is the southern limb of the V.
11. *Tuirlinn na Stocán*, "boulder-beach of the pillar-rocks," is the northern limb of the V. It ends northward in large rocks.

<sup>1</sup> Topographical Poem. "The Ui Briúin in their seagoing ships" (*Book of Rights*, p. 106) must have special reference to the Men of Umhall.

<sup>2</sup> Departures from the normal Connacht pronunciation of the Irish names are specially noted when they occur.

<sup>3</sup> Another form of the word is *Coiréal*. Both are derived from the French *carrière*. Many Irish words, often said to be of English origin, show by their pronunciation that they came into Irish from the French of the early feudal colonists.

12. *Loacán Ceann na Corra*, "the lakelet of *Ceann na Corra*," is a natural dam formed behind the boulder-beach. Note that *Ceann* in this name remains uninflected. A somewhat similar lake in *Inir Meadóin* (Aran), dammed up by a sandy beach, is called *Loc Cinn Saimi*[*m*], where *Cinn* is genitive of *Ceann*; *Ceann Saimi* "headland of sand." The presence or absence of inflection in such instances depends on the extent to which the words forming the name are felt to be separately significant or to have coalesced into a single term.

13. *Carraig na bPortán*, *Carricknaportann*, "the rock of the crabs," a long reef running northwards from *Ceann na Corra*, and projecting from 200 to 300 yards into the sea to north of *Alnahaskilla*.

14. *Saiblán na hArdgaille*, the angle of land beyond which the reef projects, "the fork of the oxtier." *Ardgail* = "armpit," (*axilla*, *achselgrube*).<sup>1</sup> The reef is not inaptly compared to an arm held out from the body of the island. The name on the Ordnance map, *Alnahaskilla*, stands obviously for *Ail na hArdgaille*, "the cliff of the oxtier"; but my guide refused to recognize it, correcting it repeatedly to the form I have given above.

15. *Leac na Creathnaisge*, *Lacknacranney*, "flagstone of the *creathnach*," a low rock on the shore, west of *Carraig na bPortán*. *Creathnac* f., gen. *creathnaisge*, is a form of *dulse* (*dilisc*) found growing on the shells of live mussels and preferred for eating to the ordinary kind that grows on rock.

16. *Tón Tuathail*, "Tuathal's butt," the ground above *Leac na Creathnaisge*.

17. *An uaid[e] Bēas*, *Ooghbeg*, "the little cave."

18. *Áirveall*, *Ardal*, "high-cliff."

19. *Maoilán na n-éan*, "bare knoll of the birds," a rock in the sea. The name on the map is *Alnanean*, representing *Ail na n-éan*, "cliff of the birds," but was not recognized by my guide.

20. *Leic a' Sgannail Mór*, *Leckascannalmore*, apparently = "great stone of the scandal." *Sgannal* had doubtless some other meaning, for it is frequent in early Irish as a personal name, as is also its derivative *Scannlán*, whence the surnames *Ó Sgannail* "Scannell," and *Ó Scannláin* "Scanlan." A large rock on the foreshore. Beside it—

21. *Leic a' Sgannail Oeas*, "little *Leic-a-sgannail*." Note that in these names, *mór* and *beas* have not aspirated initials, though *leic* is feminine. They are further instances of a group of words forming a noun independent of accident.

22. *An Colbá*, "the bedside," the cliff and promontory west of *Leac a' Sgannail*. Several cliffs in *Inir Meadóin* are named *Colbá*, which is the

<sup>1</sup> The Old Irish word is *ochsal*, *oxal*,

ordinary name for the outer side or "stock" of a bed, and means a "bench" in earlier Irish. The point of the promontory is named—

23.  $\text{ḡob } \Delta' \text{ } \dot{\text{C}}\text{olbha}$ , "beak of the Colbha."

24.  $\text{Ṭanarōe niocláir}$ , "the shoals of Nicholas," a row of rocks covered at high water, west of  $\text{ḡob } \Delta' \text{ } \dot{\text{C}}\text{olbha}$ . The foreshore over against these is named—

25.  $\text{bun } \Delta' \text{ } \text{Ṣḡáirḡáin}$ , "the foot of the little waterfall." In the little bay west of  $\Delta\text{n Colbha}$ .

26.  $\text{porc líte}$ , *Portlea*. I have no explanation of  $\text{líte}$ .

27.  $\text{poll na n ḡáinnarō}$ , "pool or hole of the calves." At the north of the long beach of  $\text{porc líte}$ .  $\text{ḡáinnarō} = \text{ḡáinna}$ , gen. pl. of  $\text{ḡáinn}$ , "a grown calf." In most parts of Connacht, a short vowel ending, as in  $\text{ḡáinna}$ , is often closed with an added  $y$  (i). 7.37

28.  $\text{leac } \Delta' \text{ } \dot{\text{P}}\text{ríorúin}$ , *Leckaprisen*, "the flagstone of the prison."

29.  $\Delta\text{ill } \Delta\text{n } \dot{\text{F}}\text{áctaiḡ}$ , *Allamahy*, "the giant's cliff."

30.  $\text{leic } \Delta' \text{ } \dot{\text{B}}\text{áir}$ , "flagstone of the boat," close to  $\Delta\text{ill } \Delta\text{n } \dot{\text{F}}\text{áctaiḡ}$  on the north.

31.  $\Delta\text{n Calarō } \dot{\text{b}}\text{eas}$ , "the little haven," close to  $\text{Uac } \dot{\text{C}}\text{orriagáin}$  on the south.  $\text{Calarō}$  originally an adjective, "hard, firm." Then "firm land," as distinguished from soft marshy land on the bank of a stream or lake; hence the "callows" of the Shannon. Then "a landing-place," and so finally a small haven on the sea-coast.

32.  $\text{Uac (or Uáice) } \dot{\text{C}}\text{orriagáin}$ , *Ooghecorragauin*. I have no explanation of the second word, which may be a personal name.

33.  $\Delta\text{n leac mór}$ , "the great flagstone," north of  $\text{Uac } \dot{\text{C}}\text{orriagáin}$ .

34.  $\text{Uáice } \dot{\text{O}}\text{ámáin}$ , "the deep cove," takes the place of the Ordnance Survey name *Ooghanloughan* (apparently for  $\text{Uáice } \Delta\text{n } \text{loáin}$ , "the cove of the lakelet [rock-pool?]," not recognized by my guide).

35.  $\text{leac na } \text{Crieactnaiḡe}$ , the second place so named, north of  $\text{Uáice } \dot{\text{O}}\text{ámáin}$ .

36.  $\text{Uáic na mḡia}$  (i.e.  $\text{Uáic imic na mḡia}$ ), *Ooghmacnamara*, "Mac Namara's cave." The surname Mac Namara, originally Mac Con

<sup>1</sup> " $\text{Scáirḡáin}$ , a small cascade. An  $\text{eap}$  is formed by a river; a  $\text{rcáirḡáin}$  by a stream or  $\text{reáirḡáin}$ . When rivers decrease in summer, their  $\text{eap}$ s become  $\text{rcáirḡáin}$ . *Old Cormick, of Erris*": O'Donovan, Supplement to O'Reilly's Dictionary. "Killough (otherwise Port St. Arne) . . . in the county of Down. . . . There is a remarkable well here called *St. Seoráin's Well*, and highly esteemed for the extraordinary lightness of its water. It gushes out of a high rocky bank close upon the shore, and is observed never to diminish its quantity in the driest season": "Encyclopædia Britannica," fourth edition. The saint's name, still spoken of in the locality, seems to have grown out of the name of the well, probably  $\text{cobair } \Delta' \text{ } \text{rḡáirḡáin}$ .  $\text{Ṣḡáirḡáin}$ , equivalent to  $\text{rḡáirḡáin}$ , is the name of a stream falling from the cliff a little west of the outlet of Owenmore river, on the south side of Clare Island. The basis of these words is  $\text{rḡáir}$  = "squirt, gush, vomit," etc., verb  $\text{rḡáirḡáim}$ ."

Mara, is found on the island. According to my guide, the correct name of this cave is—

37. *Uaic na n'Oruoeadaí*, "cave of the starlings." But the gen. pl. *oruoeadaí* is a modern colloquial form. We should probably expect *Uaic na n'Oruo* if the name were an old-established one. We found the cave frequented, not by starlings, but by swallows and rock-pigeons.

38. *Carruag na Locán*, "rock of the pools," on north side of the last-named cave. Possibly, by some confusion, this name may have originated the *Ooghlanloughan* of the O.S. map.

39. *Leic uí Bréanaili*, "Ó Bréanail's flagstone." The surname probably represents Ó Bréanainn, as Loch "Ennell" represents the older name *Loch Aininn*.

40. *Stocán mháire fáda*, "the heron's sea-stack." The heron, *corru ríreacóg* in Clare Island and the Aran Islands, is called familiarly *mháire fáda*, "long Mary," in Clare Island; *Siobán fáda*, "long Joanna (Julia)," in Aran. This rock is marked on the O.S. map by the misplaced and very much mangled name, *Carriackarelick*.

41. *Dún Triaḡa*, "fort of the strand or ebb." The O.S. map has *Doontraneen*, presumably for *Dún Triáitín*; but my guide would not hear of this name as correct. He pronounced *triaḡa* (gen. of *triaḡ*) as *triáda* or *triá-ú*. In Omeath, Co. Louth, I heard the ancient pronunciation *triaḡa*, with spirant ḡ. In South Connacht and Munster, the pronunciation is *triá*, ḡ becoming regularly silent after á, ó, ú. The place is an island at high water, and the site of an ancient fort, described by Mr. Westropp, Clare Island Survey, paper No. 2.

42. *Dún Aille, Doonallia*, "cliff fort," an ancient fort<sup>1</sup> on a high, almost isolated, rock. Close to it on the north, three rocks in the sea are shown on the map. The most westerly of these, nearest the main island, is—

43. *Carruag na Roillead*, "the rock of the oyster-catchers." The position assigned on the map to "*Carriackarelick*" shows the looseness of the Survey work; and the form given to the name is well calculated to send the trustful searcher on a wild-goose chase for an ancient cemetery (*neilḡ*) in the vicinity of "Long Mary's sea-stack."

44. *An Uaice Ōub, Ooghduff*, "the black cave."

45. *ḡob Uac ḡainrō*, "beak of Uac ḡainrō," the point apparently indicated by "*Sraher*" on the map. Close to it, on the west—

46. *Uac ḡainrō* or *Uaice ḡainrō*, "cave of sand." I write *ḡainrō*, as heard, for *ḡainm̃*, gen. of *ḡaineam̃*, "sand."

47. *Srác̃ar, Sraher*, "pack-saddle," a rock in the sea at *Uac ḡainrō*.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Westropp's paper.

48. Colbā nā Seīcē, "bedside of the hide," the cliff-face due east of the lighthouse.

49. An Leiceóγ, the high rock on the northern point of the island. A derivative of leic, leac, and similar in meaning.

50. An fōrreann, "the crew," a long sunken rock shown, but not named, on the map, close to land a little east of the northern point of the island. The jagged peaks of this rock, rising a few feet above the sea, when seen from the sea at a distance, present a very strong resemblance to men in a curach fishing. Hence the name.

51. Leic nā Cōrriā, *Lecknacurra*, "the flagstone of the bend." One might infer that the northern point of the island was called an Cōrri, "the bend," or Cōrri with some defining adjective or genitive; but I did not find such a name in use.

Here our course turns southwestward. The next name on the six-inch map, after *Lecknacurra*, is *Chushacappul*. This should represent Cōrri ā' Čāpailē, "the horse's leg"; but my guide would not recognize the name. There is, however, a hollow in the high ground east of the lighthouse, known to him as Sāinn nā γCāpailē, "the pen of the horses."

52. Nā Ōāpācāī, or Cārrriāγ nā nŌāpācāī, a large rock in the sea about half a mile north of Leic nā Cōrriā, perhaps "the wild ones" (Ōāpāc, "bold, fierce, restless," O'Reilly). It is called in English "the Daisy Rock" or "Deasy's Rock," apparently mere sound-imitations of the Irish name. The O.S. map calls it *Calliagherom Rock*. This name properly belongs to—

53. An Čāilleac Čriom, "the stooping hag," the rocky promontory of Clare Island, jutting out from the lighthouse northwestward. The O.S. map is again in error in marking *Calliagherom* as the name of the cliff on the edge of which the lighthouse stands, south of the promontory of An Čāilleac Čriom. The map has thus two *Calliagheroms*, neither of them in the right place.

54. An Čārrriāγ fāōā, *Carrickfadda*, "the long rock."

The lighthouse was called by my guide an ceac eóluir, "the house of guidance" (so, péalc eóluir, "guiding star"). The Irish name is not to be taken as a fixed proper name; but it is an interesting alternative to the more usual ceac foluir, "house of light," used in closer imitation of the English term.

55. Ailē nā bō, "the cow's cliff," is the name of the cliff marked *Calliagherom* on the O.S. map, at the west side of the lighthouse.

56. Binn an iolias, *Benitra*, "the eagle's peak," rising over the sea to the height of 427 feet. iolias, in Connacht dialect = iolai, "eagle." fíolai is used in Munster and also in Tyrone.

The O.S. map has *Sheean* as the name of a rock in the sea. The name (S<sup>h</sup>í<sup>o</sup>eán) belongs properly to a hill some distance inland (291).

57. Δ<sup>n</sup> Μάμ Ρι<sup>δ</sup>β<sup>δ</sup>ς, *Maumreagh*. Ρι<sup>δ</sup>β<sup>δ</sup>ς "brown, brindled" (μ<sup>ι</sup>α<sup>β</sup> "a stripe"), is pronounced μ<sup>ι</sup>α<sup>δ</sup> in Munster; and this form, spelled *reagh* or *rea*, seems to have been habitually adopted in the English writing of place-names. The name on the O.S. map seems to designate a sea-rock. It is properly the name of the adjoining height on the island.

58. Δ<sup>n</sup> Αί<sup>λ</sup>λ Ρέ<sup>ρ</sup>ο, "the smooth cliff," at Δ<sup>n</sup> Μάμ Ρι<sup>δ</sup>β<sup>δ</sup>ς, probably takes its name from the absence of coves and promontories.

59. Τόν <sup>να</sup> Σιο<sup>ρ</sup>ρι<sup>α</sup>, "butt of the Σιο<sup>ρ</sup>ρι," at the southern end of Δ<sup>n</sup> Αί<sup>λ</sup>λ Ρέ<sup>ρ</sup>ο. The Siorr is the hill to the east (286).

60. Αί<sup>λ</sup>λ <sup>να</sup> μ<sup>β</sup>δ<sup>ι</sup>μη<sup>ε</sup>ς, *Alnamarnagh*, "cliff of the limpets."

61. Ξ<sup>λ</sup>αι<sup>ρ</sup>ει<sup>ε</sup>άν <sup>να</sup> η<sup>ξ</sup>ε<sup>α</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>α<sup>λ</sup>τα<sup>δ</sup>ς, "green island of the Geraldines," a large rock, unnamed on the O.S. map, in the sea opposite the southern end of Αί<sup>λ</sup>λ <sup>να</sup> μ<sup>β</sup>δ<sup>ι</sup>μη<sup>ε</sup>ς. The name, in the form *Glassillangaraltach*, has been transferred on the map to another rock, Ξ<sup>λ</sup>αι<sup>ρ</sup>ει<sup>ε</sup>άν Μό<sup>ρ</sup>ι, nearly two miles farther westward (76).

62. Ξ<sup>λ</sup>αι<sup>ρ</sup>ει<sup>ε</sup>άν β<sup>ε</sup>α<sup>ξ</sup>, "little green island," unnamed on the map, a rock in the sea, S.E. of Ξ<sup>λ</sup>αι<sup>ρ</sup>ει<sup>ε</sup>άν <sup>να</sup> η<sup>ξ</sup>ε<sup>α</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>α<sup>λ</sup>τα<sup>δ</sup>ς, and close to the western end of the boundary between Ballytoohy More and Ballytoohy Beg townlands.

63. Αί<sup>λ</sup>λ Τ<sup>α</sup>ι<sup>ρ</sup>β, "bull's cliff," south of Ξ<sup>λ</sup>αι<sup>ρ</sup>ει<sup>ε</sup>άν β<sup>ε</sup>α<sup>ξ</sup>.

64. Τόν Αί<sup>λ</sup>λ Τ<sup>α</sup>ι<sup>ρ</sup>β, "butt of bull's cliff," appears on the map as *Tonaltatarrive*, as though for Τόν Αί<sup>λ</sup>τ α' Τ<sup>α</sup>ι<sup>ρ</sup>β, "butt of the bull's ravine." Αί<sup>λ</sup>τ, "ravine," is very frequent in Ulster topography. It is fairly evident that someone familiar with Ulster Irish was engaged in reducing the place-names of Clare Island to the form in which they appear on the O.S. maps. In this name, Αί<sup>λ</sup>λ-Τ<sup>α</sup>ι<sup>ρ</sup>β becomes an uninflected group-word.

At this point, the western face of the island ceases to be a sheer lofty cliff and becomes a steep acclivity, rising to the height of 500 yards. On the coast-line of this slope, about a mile and a half in length, the O.S. map has only two names, one of which was not recognized by my guide. His list of names was taken down by me as we passed along in a sailing-boat. I am thus unable to locate with precision the places that the five following names should occupy on the map, which does not give them in any form. They were noted in the following order:—

65. Ὑ<sup>α</sup>μ<sup>ι</sup>ν Ό<sup>υ</sup>β, "black cove."

66. Αί<sup>λ</sup>λ α' Ḳ<sup>α</sup>ο<sup>ρ</sup>ι<sup>τ</sup>α<sup>ι</sup>ν, "cliff of the rowantree."

67. Τ<sup>α</sup>μ<sup>α</sup>ν <sup>να</sup> Ρόν, otherwise τ<sup>α</sup>μ<sup>ι</sup>ν<sup>α</sup>ι<sup>ξ</sup> <sup>να</sup> Ρόν: τ<sup>α</sup>μ<sup>α</sup>ν, "stump, block"; τ<sup>α</sup>μ<sup>ι</sup>ν<sup>α</sup>ς, "a fine field in which daisies, sorrel, and sweet grass grow." ("Old Cormick of Erris," quoted by O'Donovan, Supplt.); <sup>να</sup> μόν, "of the seals."

68. Στῆρα na nṽan, "ledge of the lambs."

69. λειc Δ' Ḳαοιḱḱḱḱḱḱ, "flagstone of the rowantree," probably the rock marked on O.S. map (Mayo 84), close to the foot of the cliff, about an inch to the left of the place where the boundary between Lecarrow and Bunnamohaun townlands ends at the cliff on the N.W., and on the edge of the Ordnance sheet.

70. Δn Δḱḱḱ ḱḱḱ, "the great cliff," the main slope from the summit of Δn Cnoc ḱḱḱ (1520 ft.) to the water-edge.

*Ooghduff*, on O. S. sheet 84, at the place where the shore-line begins to bend to S.-W., can only stand for Δn ṽḱḱḱ Ḳḱḱ, "the black cave." I did not get the name from my guide. See ṽḱḱḱḱḱ Ḳḱḱ, 65.

71. ḱḱḱ Δ' Ḳḱḱ, "hole or pool of the (. . . ?)." Among the meanings given by O'Reilly for ḱḱḱ, the following may be pertinent; "a snare, trap, spring, gin; fishing with nets." It is, however, to be noted that for ḱḱḱ, O'Reilly gives "a kind of fishing-net; . . . a snare; link of hair." We may suspect some confusion here between ḱḱḱ, with long u, and ḱḱḱ with short o, possibly through an alternative spelling, ḱḱḱ, for the latter word. In the sense of "a snare for fishing"—combining somewhat the meanings assigned by O'Reilly to both words—ḱḱḱ is the correct form. In Irish-English, "dulling for trout" is well known,—the fish as they lie still in a pool are snared with a noose of horsehair.

72. CΔḱḱḱḱḱ ḱḱḱ Δ' Ḳḱḱ, probably the sea-rock marked on the map beneath the name *Altatruffaun*.

73. Δḱḱ ḱḱḱḱḱḱḱ, "cliff of rivulet," the western part of the great cliff. *ḱḱḱḱḱḱḱ*, in Connacht dialect, = ḱḱḱḱḱḱḱ. After l, n, r, the aspirated ḱ (= h) often becomes τ (written then τḱ or τḱ). The O.S. version of the name *Altatruffaun*, as with *Tonaltatarrive*, above, is an error likely to have been made by one familiar with the topographical nomenclature of Ulster.

74. Δḱḱḱ ḱḱḱḱḱ, "cliff of (. . . ?)." The final syllable of ḱḱḱḱḱ may be phonetically represented by *hūw*, the *w* being very lightly sounded. *ūw* nearly represents the Connacht and Ulster pronunciation of the unstressed ending -ḱḱ in verbs and nouns. In Δḱḱḱ here, I am uncertain whether the final vowel is a mere helping vowel between final ḱ and initial ḱ, or represents the shortened form of the article—Δḱḱ Δ(n) ḱḱḱḱḱ, but a masculine genitive ḱḱḱḱḱ is most unlikely. I could not get an explanation of the name, and can only suggest that it stands for Δḱḱ ḱḱḱḱḱ, "half-black cliff," though in that case we should expect the article before Δḱḱ. One thing certain is that the O. S. from *Allahan* is quite wrong, being an evident attempt to solve the difficulty of the name by inventing a new one, Δḱḱ ḱḱḱḱ, "broad cliff." Here again it is evident that the Survey official knew

Irish enough to be able to twist an unfamiliar word into one more familiar to himself.

75. Δίλλ δ' Ἰμιαημῖν, *Allagreenramawn*, "cliff of the ( . . . ?)." No explanation of Ἰμιαημῖν (not -μῖν) was forthcoming. It may be the name of a fish or bird, or perhaps a frequentative form of the verbal noun Ἰμιαημῖν, "sunning, basking in the sun," as νῖεαῖν of νῖε, "washing," ρνιόμῖν of ρνιόμ, "spinning." The writing of *m* for *n̄* is further evidence of a certain degree of acquaintance with the writing of Irish on the part of the person who collected the names for the Ordnance Survey, since *n̄* has the sound of *w* or *v*, retaining, however, the nasal quality in accented syllables.

76. Δν Ἰλαρελεῖν μόνι, "the great green island," sea-rock at western end of Δίλλ δ' Ἰμιαημῖν. Wrongly named on O. S. map *Glassillanguraltagh*, for Ἰλαρελεῖν να νῖεαῖν, already located (60).

77. Δν Ἰλαρελεῖν βεαῖ, "the little green island," sea-rock south of Δν Ἰλαρελεῖν μόνι, and named *Glassillan* only on the map.

78. Τόν δ' Τάβδρι, "butt of the tower," the sea-front near the old Signal Tower. Τάβδρι is merely the English word in Irish guise.

79. Τόν Ὀάβδρ, "butt of tubs." Ὀάβδρ means also "a flax-dam" (O'Donovan, Supplt.). The O. S. version *Tonadowhy* may stand for Τόν να Ὀάβδρ (Ὀάβδρ), with genitive singular instead of genitive plural.

80. Δίλλ δ' Ὀμεῖν μόνι, "great cliff of the pin," overlooking the little bay south of the Signal Tower. Ὀμεῖν, dialect-form of βιοῖν, "pin."

81. Δίλλ δ' Ὀμεῖν βεαῖ, "little cliff of the pin," further south over the same bay.

82. να Ἰεσκόζαί, "the flagstones," promontory south of the same bay.

83. Βοο δ' Ἰμιαημῖν, *Budawanny*, a high pinnacle on a narrow promontory. Βοο = *membrum virile*; δ' Ἰμιαημῖν, "of the monk."

84. Καρριάις να μβροῖλ, *Carricknamrol*, "rock of the lamentations?" O'Reilly has βυρριῖλ "loud lamentation, a roar of grief," βυρριῖλδρ "obstreperous in grief." Καρριάις να μβυρριῖλ would pass easily into C. να βροῖλ in ordinary speech; as in Aran Is. *mrūxa* for *μυρῖα*, *brirtax* for *μυρῖα*.

85. Δν Προμῖλ, "the stooping cliff," over the inlet south of Βοο δ' Ἰμιαημῖν.

86. να Καίρλε Κορριάδρ, "the unsteady horses," rocks on the shore, on the north side of the south-western promontory of the island.

87. Σεαν δ' τῖεμροῖλε, *Kinatevdilla*, "head of the beetle," sometimes translated "Beetle Head" by the islanders. "Σεμροῖλε ρεμτῖλε (read ρεμτῖλε?), a beetle for beetling clothes" (O'Donovan, Supplt.).

88. An Seimroile, "the beetle," the outer rock-island of the promontory.

89. An Seimroile beas, "the little beetle," the inner rock-island of the promontory.

90. An Glairileán, "the green island," the peninsular extremity of the promontory.

91. Béal Séain a' Coipe, "the mouth (i.e. passage) of John of the cauldron," between the outer and inner Seimroile.

92. An béal beas, "the little passage," between an Seimroile beas and Glairileán.

We now turn eastward along the southern shore of the island.

93. An leic búir, *Lackwee*, "the yellow flagstone," a headland.

94. Uaic an mabair uirge, "the otter's cave," west of—

95. Cairnias a' Cior, "rock of the heart," headland east of an leic búir.

96. Uaic (or Uac) Óamain, "deep cove," east of Cairnias a' Cior.

97. An mólán Dub, "the black blunt rock," indicated on O. S. map by *Ooghmoyleanduff*. The latter name, not used by my guide, should represent Uaic an mólán Dub, "the cave of the mólán Dub."

98. leic a' Shíolla mhóir, *Lackagilmore*, "flagstone of the big man," promontory on west side of Uaic an báir. Shíolla, "servant, guide, gilly," becomes (like the English "fellow") more general in meaning when an adjective is added.

99. Uaic an báir, "the boat's cove," deep cove at the end of the townland boundary between Bunnamohaun and Strake.

100. Uaice na mabair, "cove of the dogs," on the east side of the promontory containing poll na mabair.

101. poll na mabair, "hole of the dogs," otherwise poll a' mabair, "hole of the dog," a cavern extending from the east side of Uaice na mabair eastward about halfway through the promontory, then upward till it opens on the flat top of the promontory. It is flooded below at high water. My guide explained the name by saying that dogs to be destroyed were thrown down the hole, but the O.S. version of the name, *Pollaraddy* = poll a' mabair, has only one dog in view.

101 A. *Ooghanny*, as placed on the O. S. map, seems to be the name of Uaice na mabair, but is perhaps misplaced. It was not given by my guide. Synonyms used by different persons are not impossible. See Uac Sháin, 46. x 4

102. Uac Látnac, marked *Ooghnaaharna* on O. S. map. I do not know what Látnac means. 100 A. *Ooghnaaharna* = Uaic na habna, is evidently a genuine name, "cove of the river," as one of the main streams of the island

discharges into this cove. The spelling *awna*, where the pronunciation would be better conveyed to an English reader by *owna*, further bespeaks a writer acquainted with Irish spelling.

103. *UΔ1C Δ' O1L1P5*, *Ooghadillis*, "cove of the dilisc." The omission of the final consonant in the O. S. name may be accidental; but on the Antrim coast the edible seaweed is known in English as *dullis* and *dulse*.

104. *UΔ1C NA nUΔN*, "cove of the lambs," west of ΔN OÚN.

105. ΔN OÚN, *Doon*, "the fort," a fortified promontory.

106. *UΔ1C ΔN OÚN*, "cove of the fort," east of ΔN OÚN.

106 A. *Ooghaniska*, *UΔ1C ΔN U1P5E*, "cove of the water," not on my list, is evidently a genuine name, as the cove so marked on the O.S. map receives a small stream from the land.

106 B. *Ooghnageeragh*, *UΔ1C NA 5CΔOPΔC*, "cove of the sheep," is not on my list.

107. ΔN *bPεΔCΔ1L*, "the mottled rock," is the name of a broad rocky patch between the south road and the sea, beneath the name *Craigmore* on O.S. map.

108. TÓN Δ' *bPεΔCΔ1L*, otherwise TÓN Δ' *bP1C1L*, *Tonabrickill*, "butt of the *bPεΔCΔ1L*." The second form, corresponding with the O. S. version, is certain to be the older. Indeed, *bPεΔCΔ1L* may be a popular etymological reconstruction of a name originally *bP1CεΔ1L*. *Δ1P1CεΔ1L* points to a final element *-ell* not *-all*.

109. *S5ΔP1O5*, "little waterfall," at east side of TÓN Δ' *bP1C1L*. See 25, *bun Δ' S5ΔP1OΔ1N*.

110. *UΔ1Cε bεΔ5*, "little cove," east of *S5ΔP1O5*.

111. *UΔ1C NA MΔPΔ* (contracted for *UΔ1C M1C NA MΔPΔ*), *Ooghnamara* "Mac Namara's cove." See 36.

112. *CΔP1Δ15 NA MΔPΔ* (for *CΔP1Δ15 M1C NA MΔPΔ*), "Macnamara's rock," a long reef stretching into the sea, south of *UΔ1C NA MΔPΔ*. *MΔC NA MΔPΔ* is the popular variant of the surname *MΔC CON MΔPΔ*, "son of CÚ-MΔPΔ."

*Ooghlanmagh*, printed on O. S. map under *Ooghnamara* in such a way as to leave doubtful the particular cove designated, is not on my list. It seems to represent *UΔ1C LΔC1NΔC*, placed by my guide much farther west, as shown above (102).

113. *UΔ1Cε Ned*, "Ned's cove," on west side of *CΔP1Δ15 NA MΔPΔ*.

114. *bun NA hΔbΔnn*, "foot of the river," where the *ΔbΔnn mÓP* discharges into the sea. This and the newer form *bun NA hΔ1bne* were both used by my guide.

115. *UΔ1C ΔN PΔ1L*, "cove of the fence," at *bun NA hΔbΔnn*. The O. S.

map has *Ooghvunamal* (=  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{bun}$  [or  $\mathfrak{bun}$ ]  $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{f}\Delta\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}$ ), which my guide would not recognize. The name seems genuine, but may have arisen from a mixture of  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{f}\Delta\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}$  and  $\mathfrak{bun}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{h}\Delta\mathfrak{b}\Delta\mathfrak{nn}$ . My guide also said  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{bun}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{h}\Delta\mathfrak{b}\Delta\mathfrak{nn}$ .

*Oomeennamuckmara* (=  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{muc}$   $\mathfrak{m}\Delta\mathfrak{I}\Delta$ , "little cave of the sea-pigs [i.e. porpoises]") is printed on the O. S. map right below *Ooghvunamal*; it is impossible to say what place is designated. The name was not recognized by my guide. Probably it represents  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{m}\Delta\mathfrak{I}\Delta$ , wrongly understood and wrongly located on the map.

116.  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{oll}$   $\Delta'$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{g}$ , *Pitacurry*, "the hole of the curach or canoe." My guide would not recognize the O. S. variant, which may be genuine and now obsolete.  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$  = *vulva*.

117.  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{r}$   $\mathfrak{o}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$ , "between two ports," the blunt foreland between  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{oll}$   $\Delta'$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{g}$  and  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{e}$ .

118.  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{e}$ , *Portnaprasky*, "Port of the pottage (or, of the wild mustard)." This and  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}$  were both used by my guide.  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{e}\Delta\mathfrak{C}$ , f., gen.  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}$  and (of late formation)  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}$ , is the generic name of a number of cruciferous plants and others popularly classed with them. Latin, *Brassica*.

119.  $\mathfrak{C}\Delta\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{g}$   $\Delta'$   $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}$ , "the friar's rock," a sea-rock opposite the mouth of  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{e}$ . There is a legend connected with the name.

120.  $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{g}$  ( $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{e}\Delta\mathfrak{g}$ ), *Kilbeg*, "the little church," an islet on the east side of  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}$ .

121.  $\mathfrak{bun}$   $\Delta'$   $\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{n}$ , "gravel bottom," the upper side of the T-shaped cove of  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{C}\Delta\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}$ .  $\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{n}$ , gen. of  $\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{n}$ , gravel, sand.

122.  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{C}\Delta\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}$ , *Oogheappul*, "horse's cove."

123.  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{n}$ ,<sup>1</sup> "port of stream," a small cove, receiving a tiny stream, east of  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{C}\Delta\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}$ .

124.  $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\Delta\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{n}$ , derivative of  $\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\Delta$ , gen.  $\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\Delta\mathfrak{g}$ , "a great stone, pillar stone, etc.," east of  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{C}\Delta\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}$ .

125.  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\Delta'$   $\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\Delta\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{n}$ , *Portaleighann*, "port of the great stone."

126.  $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{b}$   $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{b}$ , "the black beak," the rocky promontory east of  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\Delta'$   $\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\Delta\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{n}$ .

127.  $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}\Delta\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}$ , "the flagstones," by metathesis for  $\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}\Delta\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}$ , a colloquial plural of  $\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}\Delta\mathfrak{C}$ . West of  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\Delta'$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}$ .

128.  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\Delta'$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}$ , *Portacoolia*, "port of the stake or post," just west of the *Pier* near the *Abbey*. The name is placed too far west in the O.S. map.

129.  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}\Delta\mathfrak{o}$ , *Portnakilly*, "port of the church," rather perhaps

<sup>1</sup> The absence of the article may indicate here, as it often does in place-names, that a determining word or words have been dropped after the name.

"of the churchyard," since *cill*, anciently denoting a church, has the usual modern meaning of "burial-ground," the ancient churches being at best mere ruins, but the cemeteries around them being still preserved. The small harbour protected by the *Pier*. *Cilleasó*, with the ending pronounced *-ívo*, is a new and local formation of the genitive, on the analogy *coill*, gen. *coilleasó*, "a wood."

130. *Uaimín p̃easóir uí b̃radáin*, "Peadar Ó Bradáin's cove," *Peter Salmon's Cove*. The surname Ó Bradáin is found on the island, and "Salmon" is the accepted English equivalent: *b̃radáin*, "a salmon." On the east side of the cove—

131. *Carrraig a' Tuinn*, or rather *Carrraig a' tSúinn*, "rock of the beam." *Súinn*, "a beam or post" (not from *tonn* "a wave," which would have given *Carrraig na Tuinne*).

131 A. *Oomeengarve* = *Uaimín Sárú*, "rough cove," marked here on the O.S. map, is not on my list.

132. *na Doirneódaí*, the large sea-rock indicated but not named on the O.S. map below the name *Oomeengarve*, also the rock due east of it, named—

133. *Doirneódaí Éamúinn*, *Derraghymon*, "Edmond's Doirneódaí." Of this word, which is plural, I have no explanation. Other rocks at this place are—

134. *Carrraig Tomás Éamúinn*, "the rock of Thomas (son) of Edmond," and—

135. *Carrraig Séadín Aodá m̃óir*, "the rock of John (son) of big Aodh (Hugh)."

136. *An b̃eáirna s̃alad̃*, *Barnasallagh*, "foul gap." *b̃eáirna* is also pronounced *b̃eáirnasó*. Note that the O.S. map has *s* (restored) where the actual sound (written *ř*) is *h*.

137. *Port Carrú b̃eas*, *Porttarriff beg*, "little bull's-port."

138. *Port Carrú m̃óir*, *Porttarriff*, "great bull's-port."

139. *Carrraig na Searrraig̃e*: my guide understood the name to be connected with *rearr̃am*, "standing." In my opinion, *rearr̃ad̃*, gen. *rearr̃raig̃e*, is a normal Connacht variant of *reir̃ead̃*, gen. *reir̃raig̃e*, as *carr̃raig̃im* is of *coir̃read̃aim*, and the name may be explained as "rock of the plough or of the ploughland." *Carriknashasky*, the O.S. version, is not authentic, my guide informed me. If it were, it would stand for *Carr̃raig̃ na Searr̃raig̃e*, "rock of the dry cow," and perhaps the O.S. officer here again substituted a familiar for an unfamiliar word.

140. *Uaig̃ an Doim̃aig̃*, explained to mean "the dummy's cave," east of *Port Carrú*. If *doim̃aig̃* represents "dummy," this name must be of recent origin.

141.  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{C}\Delta\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{c}$   $\mathfrak{C}\Delta\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{e}$ , "little cove of the blind ewe." For this, the O.S. map has *Oomeenakinkeel*, as it were  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}$   $\Delta'$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{C}\Delta\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{l}$ , "little cove of the narrow head," but my guide rejected this name as quite incorrect. It seems to have arisen from confusion with—

142.  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{e}$   $\mathfrak{'n}$   $\mathfrak{C}\Delta\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{l}$ , "the cove of the narrow passage," which in O.S. spelling should have been given "*Ooghinkeel*," but appears on the map as *Ooghkeel*.

143.  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{t}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{c}$ , "the cove of Gort na Muclach."  $\mathfrak{G}$ . na  $\mathfrak{M}$ . is a stretch of land north of  $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{b}$   $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}$ . The name of the cove seems to be represented on the O.S. map by *Oomeengubamonemeen*,<sup>1</sup> altogether rejected by my guide, and unintelligible to me.

144.  $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{n}$ , *Gurraun*, east of  $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{b}$   $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}$ . O'Reilly gives the meanings "a grove or wood," and "mud."

145.  $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{b}$   $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}$ , *Gubanoomeen*, "beak of the cove," a promontory.

146.  $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{e}$   $\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{n}$ , *Ooghlahan*, "the wide cove."

147.  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{e}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}$ , *Ooghnamaddy*, "cove of the sticks," named perhaps from driftwood.

148.  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{e}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{o}$ , *Ooghnasellen* (a misreading for "*Ooghnasellew*"), "cove of the fat."  $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{l}$ ,  $\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{l}$ , "the fat of meat." The gen.  $\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{o}$ , for  $\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}$ , is modern and local. See above, 129, under  $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{t}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{o}$ .

149.  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{'O}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{e}$ , "cove of the bramble." The O.S. map substitutes *Ooghnadrishoge*, representing either  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{'O}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}$ , "cove of the bramble," or  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{'O}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{s}$ , "cove of the brambles";  $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{s}$  being a derivative and frequent synonym of  $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{r}$ . West of  $\mathfrak{'O}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{a}$  is—

150.  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}$   $\mathfrak{n}\Delta$   $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}$ , explained to mean "rock of the ways."

151.  $\mathfrak{'O}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{a}$ , *Doon Cloak*, "fort of cloaks (?)." An ancient promontory fort. See Mr. Westropp's paper.

152.  $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{r}$ , "the chair," rock near  $\mathfrak{'O}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{a}$ .

153.  $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{t}$   $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{c}$ , *Portruckagh*. I have no explanation of  $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{c}$ .  $\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{c}$  would mean "wrinkled, corrugated," but the two words were pronounced slowly for me as written.

154.  $\Delta\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}$   $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{r}$ , "the great rock," extending eastward from  $\mathfrak{'O}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{a}$ .

155.  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta'$   $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}$  (for  $\mathfrak{U}\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}$   $\mathfrak{n}$ .), *Ooghnapla*, "Annabella's cove."

<sup>1</sup> The notes from which the names on the O.S. maps were taken must have got into confusion in this and other instances. I think that the notes may have contained "*Gortnamucklagh*" as the name of the adjacent piece of land, and "*Oomeen G.*" as the name of the cove. But in the preparation of the map, denominations of land less than townlands were generally omitted. "*Gortnamucklagh*" being thus ignored, when "*Oomeen G.*" came to be written in full, "*G.*" would be supposed to refer to the nearest name beginning with that letter among the names retained, viz. *Gubanoomeen*. *Oomeengubanoomeen*, which suffered again in transcription, would mean "the cove of the beak of the cove," a most unlikely name.

156. *υΔĆ ĆΔιτρίονΔ, Ooghcatherina, "Catherine's cove."*

157. *υΔιĆ nΔ ĆΔιλλιζε Όυιβε, Ooghnacallyduff, "cove of the black hag (cormorant, shag)."*

158. *Δn υΔιĆ ιμόι, "the great cove."* The bare name *Oogh* on the O.S. map is obviously incorrect.

159. *Δn ĆnΔιζε, "the knob,"* a high bluff overlooking *Δn υΔιĆ ιμόι*.

160. *Δn υΔιĆε ΌΔμΔιν, also Δn υΔĆ ΌΔμΔιν, Ooghganamna (!), "the deep cove."*

161. *υΔιĆε 'n ĆυιιΔιζε, "cove of the curach (canoe),"* between the last-named and *Δn υΔιĆε ĆΔολ*.

162. *Δn υΔιĆε ĆΔολ, Ooghkeel, "the narrow cove."*

163. *υΔιĆε 'n ΌΔιρ, Ooghawaud, "the boat's cove."*

164. *ĆεΔnn nΔ hυΔιĆε, Kinnahooley, "headland of the cove."*

165. *υΔιĆε 'n Τιυι, Ooghantur, "cove of the tower (perhaps, of the bush)."*

166. *ĆΔιιιΔιζε Δ' ΌΔinne, "rock of the milk."*

The O.S. name is *Kinnarwoneen*, which is a corruption of—

167. *ĆεΔnn Δ' ΌΔβΔιν (ΌΔούιν), "headland of the bawn,"* i.e. the enclosure still called—

168. *Δn ΌΔβΔn, the "bawn" of the castle.* From it projects the pier, *Δn Ćέιβ*, at which our circuit of the coast began.

#### INLAND NAMES.

169. *ΌΔιτε Δn ĜλεΔnnΔ, Glen, "townland of the valley,"* named from the valley of the stream—

170. *ΔβΔinn Δ' ĜλεΔnnΔ, "river of the valley,"* rising on the east side of *Ćnoc nΔ ΌριΔn*, and flowing eastward till it enters the sea at the middle of the strand near the Harbour.

171. *ΌΔιι Δ' ĜλεΔnnΔ, "top of the valley,"* district about the head of the stream, the most northern part of the townland.

172. *Ćnoc nΔ ΌριΔn, Knocknaveen, "hill of the Fiana,"* the chief height (729 ft.) in the eastern half of the island.

173. *Ćρειζε nΔ ζColum, "crag of the pigeons,"* eastern spur of *Ćnoc nΔ ΌριΔn*, north of the Presbytery, near the point where the boundaries of *Glen, Lecarrow,* and *Fawnglass* townlands meet.

174. *Δn ΌεΔιζΔn, "the slope,"* on the north bank of the stream, north of the Presbytery. The final syllable is short.

175. *Δn ΌριζΔn* (derivative from *Όριζ* "track" or *ΌριζΔ* "shin"), the slope facing east on which the Presbytery stands. Two fields east of the Presbytery, there is a small tumulus called—

176. *ΌριέΔn, "fairy knoll";* the fence passes over it,

177. *An mÁmín*, "the little *mám*," hill on north side of *bÁrri Δ' Šleanna*.

178. *An Crioḡán bán*, "the white (grassy) crag-field," on north side of *ṙán Šlar* (241).

179. *Coill an Áta*, "wood of the ford," S.E. of *lorḡán*, north of the southern road, due north of Doon Cloak. The "wood" no longer exists.

180. *An Cuirriac Mói*, "the great moor," the lower part of the valley, adjoining the strand on the west.

181. *na Ruainte* (plural of a feminine noun *Ruan* or *Ruam*, meaning unknown to me), a long low ridge between the southern road and the cliffs on the south. The highest point of the ridge is marked 194 ft. on O.S. map. The slope north of this point is—

182. *Ṭaoḃ na Ruán*, "side of the Ruans."

183. *Cúl na Ruán*, "back of the Ruans," the N.E. slope facing towards the strand. West of *na Ruainte*—

184. *Šorṭ na muclac*, "cornland of the swine-ranges," above *Šob an uÁmín*. West of this—

185. *ṙál buáileac*, "fence of cowfolds," at the S.W. corner of Glen townland.

186. *An bóṭarí ó ṽear*, "the southern road." North of *Šorṭ na muclac* and *ṙál buáileac*, the road passes through—

187. *An Šualac*, a stretch of cultivated ground. I have no explanation of the name. (*Šual*, coal, fuel. *Šuala*, shoulder).

188. *Cuirriac na Šualaiḡe*, "moor of the Gualach," north of *Šorṭ na muclac*.

189. *ṙÁiric Šéamuir*, "James's field," west of *ṙál buáileac*, north of *Ṗorṭ Ṭairḃ*.

190. *bÁrri Δ' Šuirṭín*, "top of the little cornfield," south of *béacán*, (205), north of southern road.

191. *lorḡ Δ' ṭŠearriaiḡ*, "the colt's hollow," and——

192. *lorḡ na ḃṙéileacán*, "hollow of the butterflies," two hollows on the west side of *Cnoc na ḃṙian* and *béacán*.

193. *bóṭarí ḃáile Ṭuáio*, "road of Ballytoohy," thence to the Abbey.

194. *bóṭarí na leice*, "road of the flagstone," an old track running east and west through the hollow in Lecarrow townland between *Cnoc na ḃṙian* and *Cnoc Δ' mÁma*. On its south side are—

195. *An Čreig*, "the crag," N.W. of *bÁrri Δ' Šleanna* (171), and—

196. *Šḡailṙ leac Δ' Ṭoirín*, "cleft of the flat rocks of the little oak-wood," in the west of the valley.

197. *Caolṙac*, "narrow place," a hollow below the cliff on south side of *bóṭarí na leice*.

198. *léana na bpoll*, "marsh of the holes," a marshy place near *Casolrasc*.
199. *leac a' g'leanna*, "flat rock of the valley," near *bótar na leice*, which is no doubt named from it, in the valley north of *Cnoc na b'fian*.
200. *mám Spín*, "hill-breast of gravel," N.W. spur of *Cnoc na b'fian*.
201. *taob' a' Cnuic*, "side of the hill," the southern slope of *Cnoc na b'fian*, north of the *Gualach*. In its eastern side—
202. *An fál Sairb*, "the rough fence," west of which is—
203. *An fál uí*, "the fresh or grassy fence." This and the preceding name are now given to stretches of land.
204. *bairr a' Sgonnra*, "top of the dry-stone fence (sconce)," the high ground north of *taob' an Cnuic*, rising towards—
205. *béacán*, "the beacon (?)," the hilltop marked 692 ft., north of the dividing line between Glen and Kill townlands.
206. *báile na Cilleaó*,<sup>1</sup> *Kill*, "townland of the old church or churchyard." In its north-east corner—
207. *bairr a' báile*, "head of the townland." The hill north of this is—
208. *Cnoc an f'eoctain*, "hill of the storm." South of *bairr a' báile*, at the road, is—
209. *An páirc mói*, "the great park or grass-field." South of this, towards the sea, adjoining *poirt Tairb*, is—
210. *An páirc luascra*, "the park of rushes."
211. *Craig na Ceartacá*,<sup>2</sup> "crag of the (rag?)," a rocky knob between the southern road and *poirt Tairb*. There is another place (308) of the same name in Ballytoohy Beg townland.
212. *An meall mói*, *Malmore*, "the great lump," the south-western spur of *Cnoc na b'fian*. The south-western slope, above the Abbey, is named—
213. *An Cnoc bán*, "the grassy hill." The adjective *bán*, "white," applied to land, denotes the bright green colour of a grassy surface, in contradistinction to *talam' vearys*, "red, i.e. tilled, land," and to the darkness of bog or heath.<sup>3</sup> Hence *an bán*, "the grassy turf," *báinreac*, "a grassy flat."
214. *An maimirtir*, "the Abbey." Close to it—
215. *Tobar féile mair*, *Toberfelamurry*, "the well of Mary's festival," i.e. a holy well, associated with a "station" or pilgrimage on Ladyday.

<sup>1</sup> The genitive *cilleaó*, replacing *cille*, is an analogical formation after words like *coill*, gen. *coilleaó*. I use the traditional spelling for the ending, *-aó*, which in Connacht and Ulster is pronounced somewhat like *üw*.

<sup>2</sup> Like *cilleaó*, an analogical formation, from *ceirt* "rag," or perhaps replacing *ceartacá*, nominative *ceartacá*, "smithy."

<sup>3</sup> "*páirceanna bána i lár an f'harraig*," "green fields in the midst of the heather"; Connacht folksong, *An bóirín búrde*.

According to Πάτρις ἡς τὸ ὕδωρ, the name is Τὸ βασιλὶς Certe mune, "the well of Mary's spouse," i.e. of Saint Joseph.

216. Στάκα καὶ Cille, "the pillar-stone of the church," a monolith with incised cross, now built upright on the fence of the churchyard.

217. Ἀνὶ μῦνε Οὐβ, "the black brake or shrubbery," east of and adjoining the Abbey.

218. ἡ δὲ βρέανησις, "the fetid grounds," S.E. of the Abbey, adjoining Πορτὶ καὶ Cille.

219. Ἀνὶ Σαπφὸς Οὐβ, "the black garden," close to the Abbey on the west.

220. Σορτὶ καὶ Σουλανν, "cornland of the shoulder," S.W. of the Abbey and adjoining it.

221. Κυρία δὲ τῆς ἀγίας, "the priest's moor," adjoining Ὑδὸς Ἐσπασίλ, S.W. of the Abbey.

West of Cnoc καὶ βῆσαν and N.W. of ἀνὶ μεσλὶ μόγι, is a hollow containing three small lakes. Close to the most easterly lake is a spring or pool called—

222. Ἀνὶ πόλλὸν βῆσις, "the drowned or sunk pool, or the pool of drowning." The boggy ground about it is—

223. Λέαννα ἀνὶ πῦλλὸν βῆσις, "marsh of p. b." From this is named—

223A. Λοὺς Λέαννα ἀνὶ πῦλλὸν βῆσις, *Lough Leinapollbauty*, "lake of the marsh, etc.," but this name was not used by my guide. For the northern lake, his name was—

224. Ἀνὶ Λοὺς ὁ ὕδωρ, "the north lake." The O.S. name is *Creggan Lough*, which doubtless stands for Λοὺς δὲ Ἐρεσζάν, "lake of the rocky field."

225. Λοὺς μερριγεῶς, "rusty lake," on the south, is wrongly called *Lough Merrignagh* on the O.S. map. There is no "n" in the name, but one has gone astray from the O.S. version of the next name—

226. Ἀβάνν δὲ Δορίν, *Dorree[n] River*, "river of the little oakwood." It flows northward from the marshy hollow aforesaid, then eastward through Λοὺς δὲ μῦλινν to the sea at Πορτὶ Λίτε.

227. Ἀνὶ Λεϊττέστρομ, *Lecarrow* townland, "the half-quarterland."

228. Τὰς καὶ Τυλάις, "side of the mount," the rising ground west of the three lakes.

229. Ἀνὶ μάμ, "the breast of the hill," Cnoc δὲ ἡ μάμ, "hill of the Mám," the northern spur of Cnoc καὶ βῆσαν, west of Λοὺς δὲ μῦλινν.

230. Βάιλε ἀνὶ μάμ, *Mam*, townland.

231. Λεῦκοίλ, "half-wood, wooded hillside," on the east slope of Cnoc δὲ μάμ towards Λοὺς δὲ μῦλινν. Bushes in plenty are still there.

232. *poll a' bhianndair*, "hole of the brandy," a pool whose position corresponds to that of the second *r* of the townland name "Lecarrow," O.S. sheet 85. The O.S. name *Pollabrandy* is printed as belonging to the stream flowing from the pool. The name, it is said, originated in the use of the pool as a hiding-place for smuggled brandy.

233. *An muilleann*, "the mill," where the eastern road crosses the stream near Maum townland, near *Port Lige*. Site of a watermill.

234. *Abainn a' mhílinn*, "river of the mill," rises near *Aill Tairb* on the west side of the island, receives *Abainn a' Doirín*, flows through—

235. *Lóc a' mhílinn*, *Lough Avullin*, "lake of the mill," in Maum townland.

236. *An leasrò*, a bushy hillside in north of Maum townland.

237. *Cuppac a' Lóca*, "moor of the lake," north and north-west of *Lóc a' mhílinn*.

238. *Casliac*, "narrow place," south of *Lóc a' mhílinn*.

239. *An mílín*, "the little hill-breast," rising ground on N.W. of Fawnglass townland, S.E. of *Lóc a' mhílinn*.

240. *An léana bán*, "the white marsh," north of Fawnglass townland.

241. *Fán Glar*, "green slope," *Fawnglass* townland.

242. *An Cmuosán bán*, "the white (grassy) rocky field," in the north of *Fán Glar*. *Cmuosán* = *cneasán*.

243. *Béal na Coppia*, "mouth of the bend," a sharp eminence in *Fán Glar*; the road running westward through this townland turns S.W. and then north to pass *Béal na Coppia*.

244. *Ceap na nĠabair*, "the goats' division," *Capnagower* townland.

245. *Tobar Bríge*, "Brigid's well," or *Tobar Féile Bríge*, *Toberfelabride*, "well of Brigid's festival," a holy well near *Ceann na Coppia*. Devotional exercises are practised at it. The second name indicates Saint Brigid's feast, February 1, as a day of special resort to the place.

246. *An Stráca*, *Strake* townland, probably "the streak or stripe," being a very long and narrow division.

247. *An Ruain Bíg*, *Rooaunbeg*, "the little Ruain," north of *poll a' Cupac*. The O.S. spelling "Rooaun" supposes some such Irish form as *Ruadón*, and is misleading, *Ruain* being a monosyllable. The dative has replaced the nominative form in noun and adjective.

248. *Abainn na Ruaineac Bíg*, "river of the little Ruain," a small stream discharging at *poll a' Cupac*. So we have nom. sing. *Ruain*, gen. sing. *Ruaineac*, nom. pl. *Ruainte*, gen. pl. *Ruan*, rather heteroclite. *Ruaineac* and *Ruainte* seem to be late analogical formations.

249. *na Tuapṛṛái*, "the bleachgreens," western part of *an Ruain ḃiḡ*, east of *an Abainn mór*. Pl. of *tuapṛ*.

250. *An Abainn mór*, *Owenmore*, "the big river." "*ṽaluiḡeann ṽí í péin í mbun na hAbainn, í n-uaiḡe ḃun na hAbainn*:" "it hides itself (ends) in *bun na hAbainn*, in the Cove of *bun na hAbainn*" (112, 113).

251. *An ṽál íocṛaiṽ*, "the lower fence," land between the mouth of the *Abainn mór* and the *ḃreacall* on the west. From it is named *uaiḡ an ṽál* (115).

252. *An Ruain mór*, "the great *Ruain*," on the N.W. side of *An Abainn mór* at this place.

253. *An Ćreig mór*, *Craigmore*, "the great crag," north of the *ḃreacall*.

254. *Creig-ṽliabḃ*, "crag-mountain," the shoulder in the middle of the land, between *an Ćreig mór* and *an Cnoc mór* (the main summit).

255. *Tuorḡ Raiṛniḡe*, the enclosed fields on the south slope of *Creig-ṽliabḃ*. "*Tuorḡ*, grains, or the refuse of malt," O'Reilly. The topographical use of the word is not clear. *Raiṛniḡe*, "of fern or bracken."

256. *Abainn a' Dúna*, "*ṽaluiḡeann ṽí í péin í n-uaiḡ an Dúin*:" "the river of the fort: it hides itself in in *uaiḡ an Dúin*" (*Ooghaniska*, O.S.) Here two different genitives of *dún* were heard in one sentence.

257. *An Corinéal ḡapḃ*, "the rugged corner," west of the lower part of *Abainn a' Dúna*, near the sea.

258. *na polla ḡlapa*, "the green holes," the hollow along which the road passes westward from *Abainn a' Dúna*.

259. *An Leirḡin Riṛte*, "the smooth slope," a long slope north of the road at this place.<sup>1</sup>

260. *na Cuiogḡain ṽaṛa*, "the long crag-fields," between the *Leirḡin Riṛte* and *Creigṽliabḃ*.

261. *An Tuap mór*, *Toormore*, "the great bleachgreen."

262. *Abainn a' Tuap mór*, "river of the *Tuap mór*."

263. *Locán a' ṽúca*, *Loughanaphuca*, "the *Púca's* lakelet." "The *Púca* was seen there, and might be seen yet."

264. *Abainn a' ṽúca*, "the *Púca's* river," flowing through *Locán a' ṽúca*.

265. *ḃriḡḡaro a' ḃaile*, "neck of the townland, or of the inhabited land," the angle of land between *Locán a' ṽúca* and the cliffs of the south-western

<sup>1</sup> *Leirḡin*, dative of *leirḡean*. *Riṛte*, passive participle of *ṽiṛim*, "I run," was explained as meaning "smooth." Compare *ṽérō*, "smooth," *ṽiḡō*, "a riding, a raid," Gaulish *rheda*, "chariot." But *ṽiṛte* has another meaning—*ṛá an áit reo ṽiṛte aḡ a' nḡaoiṛ*, "this place is cursed by the wind, i.e. exposed to the wind": Arran, Galway.





294. Διτάν, a hill S.W. of lighthouse. Διτ, "joint," in Ulster topography, "a narrow glen or ravine."

295. Δν μελλί μόν, "the big knob," the lighthouse hill.

296. Δβαινν δ' Ούν, "river of the fort," the stream that reaches the sea at Ούν Δίλλε.

297. Κυρριάδ δ' Ούν, "moor of the fort," the land west of Ούν Δίλλε.

298. Ράιρε Ρυαρόρι, "Ruaidhrí's field," west of the northern road, almost due west of Ὑδὸς Ḳορριάδαςιν.

299. Κυρριάδ Ὑδὸς Ḳορριάδαςιν, "moor of Ὑ. Ḳ.," the land west of Ὑδὸς Ḳορριάδαςιν, and east of the road.

300. Δβαινν Ὑδὸς Ḳορριάδαςιν, "river of Ὑ. Ḳ.," the stream flowing into Ὑδὸς Ḳορριάδαςιν.

301. Νὰ Κλόδα Σγοίλτε, "the split rocks," in the hollow round which the road winds, due west of Ὑδὸς Ḳορριάδαςιν.

302. Κρειγ δ' Οίλιρε, "crag of the *dilisc*," a rocky knoll on west side of road, south of Νὰ Κλόδα Σγοίλτε. Perhaps a place for drying *dilisc*.

303. Δν Σεαν-τυαρι, "the old bleachgreen," knoll at S.W. side of Κυρριάδ Ὑδὸς Ḳορριάδαςιν.

304. Δν Σοριτ μόν, "the great cornfield." The road from the lighthouse southwards forks here, one branch leading S.E. to the Harbour, the other S.W. to the Abbey. Δν Σοριτ μόν is west of the road north of the fork.

305. Σρυφάν δ' Ξυριτ μόν, "stream of Δν Σοριτ μόν," flowing from Cnoc δ' Ιοκάιν to ποριτ Ιίτε. Also called Δβαινν ῖποριτ Ιίτε, "river of P. I."

306. Δν μαδ Αίλλα, "the echo (lit. the cliff boy)," hill north of Δν Σοριτ μόν.

307. Σοριτ Δν Έλσδαιν, "cornfield of the hill-front," west of Δν Σοριτ μόν and north of the by-road running east through βάιλε ἲτυαρό βεαζ.

308. Κρειγ Νὰ Σεριτὰρ, "crag of the rag (?)," north of the byroad. Σεριτὰρ may be a local variant of σεαριόαν, genitive of σεαριόα, "smithy."

309. Κυρριάδ ῖμάιρε Νί ῖμάιλλε, "moor of Máire Ní Mháille," east of Δν Σοριτ μόν. Further east is—

310. Κυρριάδ ῖποριτ Ιίτε, "moor of ποριτ Ιίτε."

311. Ιειρ δ' ἲβαιλε ἲτυαρό, "flat rock of the north townland," south of the place where the lighthouse road crosses the stream of Gort Mór.

312. Κριοζάν Ροιζλεάν, "rocky field of ( . . . ?)," north of Δν Σοριτ μόν, east of Cnoc δ' Ιοκάιν. O'Reilly has "ῖαρόλεαρό, darnel grass, *Lolium perenne*."

313. Νὰ Ταῖνναδάι, "the grassy fields," the land adjoining ποριτ Ιίτε.

ISLANDS AND DISTRICTS NEAR CLARE ISLAND.

314. Δαίλλ, Achill. Εἰλεάν Δαίλα, island of Achill.

315. Δαίλλ Ὀεας, Achillbeg.

316. Κορράν, Κορράν Δαίλα, the mainland peninsula east of Achill; κορράν, "a reaping-hook."<sup>1</sup> A promontory at Larne, Co. Antrim, is similarly named ("the Curran").

317. Ὑμᾶλλ, formerly called in English "the Owles," barony of Burrishoole (= Ὑμῆγειρ Ὑμᾶλλ, burgage of Ὑ.) known to Πατριαις Ἰνὰς Τυατᾶιλ as Ὑμᾶλλ ὕι μᾶιλλε "U. of Ó Máille." The territory formerly included the barony of Murrisk.

318. Μυρρεαρς, barony of Murrisk. The Irish name, gen. Μυρριγε, is in common use.

319. Παράριτε Cill Δ' Ἰδοβαίρ, "parish of *Kilgeever*," bar. Murrisk, includes Clare Island.

320. Κατᾶιρ Πάτρηαις (= Πατριαις), "Patrick's fortress," Caher Island.

321. Δν Βαίτε Ὀεας, Ballybeg island, "the little homestead."

322. Ἰνρ Ἰεαίλα, Inishdalla.<sup>2</sup>

323. Ἰνρ Τυρκ, Inishturk, "wild boar's island." In rapid pronunciation, the name sounds like Ἰνρ Τυρκ.

324. Ἰνρ Βό Φινν', Inishbofin, "white cow's island."<sup>3</sup> Properly Ἰνρ Βό Φιννε, but in Mayo a final short vowel is often dropped colloquially.

325. Ἰνρ Εαρς', Inishark, "Earc's island," for Ἰνρ Εαρκα. Old Irish *Erc*, gen. *Erce*, *Ercae*, *Erca*, a feminine name, probably of a goddess.

326. Ἰνὰ μᾶοῶλᾶν, "the round-topped rocks," Δν μᾶοῶλᾶν Ὀεας, Δν μᾶοῶλᾶν μόρ, between Clare Island and Caher Island.

327. Ἰνὰ Βολλᾶι, "the Bills," sea-rocks about eight miles N.W. of Clare Island.

FAMILY NAMES.

The surnames of Clare Island present the clearest evidence of mixed streams of immigration from various parts of Ireland, and ultimately from various parts of the Continent. The following list of surnames was given to me straight off by Πατριαις Ἰνὰς Τυατᾶιλ :—

"Ἰνὰ μᾶίλλᾶς, Cλᾶνν Τυατᾶιλ, μᾶς Cάβδ, μῠνντιρ Φῑοῖνν, Cλᾶνν Ἰνῖς Ἰνὰ μᾶμᾶ, Cλᾶνν Ἰνῖς Ἰμᾶοδᾶῖς, μᾶῖδᾶῖλλᾶς, μῠνντιρ Ὀυῖτε, βρεατᾶῖς, μῠνντιρ Ροοδᾶῖς, μῠνντιρ Ἰμῠρῠῠ, Cλᾶνν Ἰῖοβῠν,

<sup>1</sup> But κορρῖ in the nomenclature of Clare Island means a headland, and in this sense may be the basis of κορράν applied to a peninsula.

<sup>2</sup> There is a tendency to confusion between the palatal sounds of *d* and *g* in Mayo. Ἰνρ Ὀεαίλα may be the older form. See *Onomasticon Goedelioum* s.v. Inis Dele.

<sup>3</sup> "Insula vitulae albae," Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 4.

muinntirí, ḡallcóbadair, báireadaigh, Coinneánaigh, Sgotha, Clann mhic  
 a' ḡeimhíre, móriánaigh (aḡuir mórian oadóbta).<sup>1</sup> To which were added  
 later:—brianaigh, mórbóirí, mḡaḡ Réill, ó briosáin, báireadaigh.

To attempt to trace the genealogical origin of all these families would  
 here be too great a labour. I propose to deal briefly with instances in regard  
 to which the information lies to hand.

CLANN MÁILLIGH: bearers of the surname Ó MÁILLE. The ordinary English  
 version of this name is "O'Malley," but in Clare Island and not seldom on  
 the mainland, the usual version is "Melia" (rhyming with "dahlia").  
 "Mealy" is probably a variant. "Melia" exemplifies a very general custom  
 in the anglicization of Irish names, the substitution of ē for ā.<sup>2</sup> The MÁILLIGH  
 alone form about one fourth of the population of Clare Island. Their  
 origin and history are well attested.<sup>3</sup>

CLANN TUATAIL: the surname of this family is MAC TUATAIL. One  
 householder gave me his name as TAÖḡ MḡAC TUAḡAIL. My chief authority  
 for the local family names and place-names called himself PÁRTHAIC Ó  
 CUATAIL (as it sounded), but called the whole kindred CLANN TUATAIL.  
 (This variation of MAC to MḡAC, and thence to ÓC, is not rare in Connacht.  
 A young man once asked me to explain why his surname was Ó CUÍ in Irish  
 and Mac Hugh in the English version. Ó CUÍ = MḡAC DOÖA, and "Hugh"  
 is the accepted English equivalent of DOÖ. Another young man told me  
 that his surname was Ó CUAPCÁIN in Irish and Durkan in English. Ó  
 CUAPCÁIN = MḡAC ÓUAPCÁIN. So bunóc, "an infant," must, I think, be  
 explained as bunmḡac.) There are four households of CLANN TUATAIL in  
 Clare Island; and the local belief, I was informed, is that they are a  
 branch of the MÁILLIGH, taking their name and descent from one TUATAIL  
 Ó MÁILLE. The Annals of Ulster record the death of a TUATAIL Uḡ  
 MÁILLE in 1316. Under 1413, they record that another TUATAIL Uḡ MÁILLE  
 took service in Ulster as a leader of mercenaries. After a year in that  
 occupation, he set out for home with his followers, who filled seven ships. A  
 storm arose, and they were carried away to the Scottish coast. Certain of

<sup>1</sup> "And many of them," a play on the word *móran*, "many." The variety of formulae here used  
 is not arbitrary, but represents established usage. A similar variety is found in early usage as  
 exemplified in the Genealogies and Annals.

<sup>2</sup> Another W. Connacht surname, Ó M'LLIA, for which a literary form Ó MAOLÍOLA, of  
 questionable authenticity, is adopted, resembles "Melia," but has for its usual English equivalent  
 "Molloy." "Molloy," in this instance, is the borrowed English version, longer and more widely  
 in use, of the Meath surname Ó MAOLÍNUAÍÖ. The transference of English equivalents from one  
 Irish surname to another often causes great difficulty in the tracing of family origins.

<sup>3</sup> Máille (probably = *Máilne* = *Mál* < *Maglos* "prince" + *-inios*), from whom his descendants  
 took the surname Ó Máille, cannot be placed earlier than c. 850, since the custom of forming  
 surnames like Ua Máille is not found before the beginning of the tenth century. His probable date  
 was 900-950, twelve generations before Domhnall Ruadh Ua Máille, † 1337.

the Mac Suibhne name, hereditary chiefs of mercenaries, who accompanied Tuathal, were drowned "along with their people, both woman and man." Tuathal himself, his two sons, and their people, with difficulty got to land in Scotland. The incidents are instructive, in view of the movements of people, "both woman and man," by sea and land in the fifteenth century. Clann Tuathail are called in English "Toole." "*O datur ambiguus*"; and the western Clann Tuathail of Umhall are like to be mistaken for a branch of the eastern Clann Tuathail of Ui Máil (Imaal, co. Wicklow) through the now frequent change from Mac Tuathail to "Toole," which, under favourable circumstances, becomes "O'Toole."

MAC CÁBA, "Mac Cabe." There is only one family of the name in Clare Island—that of the hotel-keeper. He is, I understand, a native of southern Ulster. The Mac Cábas first appear in Irish history in the fourteenth century as leaders of *galloglachs*, i.e. mercenaries of Norse-Hebridean origin, under the Irish princes of Breffny and Oriel. They followed the profession of *condottieri* for two centuries or more, their chiefs being known by the titles of Constable of Oriel, Constable of Breffny, and Constable of the Two Breffnys, Fermanagh, and Oriel. The tradition of their Norse origin is still known in East Breffny (Co. Cavan). Distinctive Hebridean forenames, such as Alan (Aleinn), Somhairle (Sumarliði), were formerly frequent in their families.

MUINNTEIR FLOINN, surname Ó FLOINN, "Flynn." Their origin would be difficult to determine. There were at least three great families of the name, one in Ulster, one in Connacht (district of Boyle, co. Roscommon), and one in Munster. Three households in Clare Island.

CLANN MÍC NÁ MARIÁ, surname MAC NÁ MARIÁ; old and literary form, Mac Con Mara. A noted Thomond family. Two households in Clare Island. One of the sea-caves or coves is named from them.

CLANN MÍC SHIADAIĠ, surname MAC SHIADAIĠ (Mag Riadaigh? Mag Riada?), "Grady." Compare the Ulster (West Scottish?) name, Macready, Mecredy. By taking the form "Grady," this surname is likely to be confused with the Munster "O'Gradys," properly Ó Gráda. On the other hand, many of the latter family, especially in their ancient home, co. Clare, have englished their name as Brady, which in turn is the normal English version of the South Ulster surname Mac Brádaigh.<sup>1</sup> The arbitrary process of inventing English equivalents for Irish names, whether of persons or places, tends to bring the history and meaning of the names into a welter of

<sup>1</sup> A note to the Annals of Ulster (an. 434) derives this surname from "*bradach*, thievish"! It is from *brádach*, "spirited." In like manner, *bráddán beathadh*, "breath of life," has been misread and misrendered, *bráddán beathadh*, "salmon of life" (copied in Dinneen's Irish-English Dictionary).

confusion. The old song *Conndae Mhuigheo*, dating probably from the seventeenth century, mentions Aodh Ó Griadaigh, "a colonel in Cliara," Clare Island. There are seven households of the name in the island at present.

m'labhaill, surname Ó maol-fhábhail, colloquially Ó M'labhail, which takes in English the French-looking guise of "Lavelle." The family of Ó Maol Fhábhail in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were at the head of Cenél Fergusa, a subsept of Cenél Eoghain. They ruled in Inishowen (co. Donegal), where a promontory stronghold gave to their chief the title of king of Carraic Brachaidhe (from Mrachide, an ancestor's name)—"Carrickabraghy." Without direct evidence, I would suggest that they may have come to Umhall after the Cromwellian war, and settled there under the O'Donnells of Newport, who were transplanted thither from Tir Conaill.

muinntir Óuite, not native and probably not correctly named; in English "Duffy," the name of the lighthouse-keeper. "Duffy" usually represents Ó Dubhthaigh.

b'neachtac, "Walsh." One of the most widespread surnames in Ireland. Sometimes englished "Branagh." It means "British," i.e. "Welsh," and originated among the numerous Welshmen who formed the main fighting strength of the "Norman" invasion. ("Wallace" or "Wallis," found in various parts of Connacht, has the same signification. In Irish it is Bhailis or A Bhailis). One household in Clare Island.

muinntir Roodaig, surname Ó Roodaig, "Ruddy" or "Reddy." Three households.

muinntir múirú, surname Ó múirú, "Murray." The Irish name is given as heard. I suppose the historical form should be Ó Muireadhaigh. Ó Moireadha, from the ancient Mairid, is also possible.

Clann Ghiobúin, surname mac Ghiobúin, "Gibbons." "FitzGibbon" is another equivalent. Of "Anglo-Norman" origin, "Clann Ghiobúin of Umhall Ui Mháille" were settled west of Cruach Phádraic. Another branch has given its name to "Clongibbons" half-barony, co. Cork.<sup>1</sup> One household in Clare Island.

b'neachtac, surname b'neachtac, "Barrett." One of the chief families of the "Welshmen of Tirawley," settled in Connacht under the Norman De Burghs and FitzGerald. Two households in Clare Island.

Coinneánac, surname Ó Coinneán, "Cannon." ("Cannon" also does duty for another name of ancient celebrity, Ó Canannáin of Tir Conaill.) Two households in Clare Island.

<sup>1</sup> See "Onomasticon Goedelicum," s. vv. Clann Ghiobúin and Umhall.

Scorál, "Scuffle," also "Schofield." I am ignorant of the origin of this surname. One household.

CLANN MIC Δ' Śġmġrō, surname MAC Δ' Śġmġrō, "Winter." The English version is nearer the mark than usual. Mac an Gheimhridh (literary form) means "son of the winter." I have not traced the surname. It probably arises from a by-name, in which case it would represent a subdivision of some other name. The full surname was perhaps Mac MIC an Gheimhridh, "son (i.e. descendant) of the Wintry Lad (one noted for campaigning or sailing during winter)," just as the full form of Mag Uidhir "Maguire" was Mac Meig Uidhir, "son of the Sallow Lad." Three households.

MOġġANΔġ, surname Ó MOġġIN, "Moran." This surname seems to have absorbed another and distinct name, Ó Mughróin, the ending -óin being often displaced by the more familiar -áin. Ó Moghráin (Annals of Ulster, 1206) is perhaps a transitional stage. Four households.

BġANΔġ, surname BġOIN, "Burns." Broin is the genitive of Bran, and should be preceded by Ó or Mac, but, if my information is correct, stands alone as the surname. There may have been a local family with Bran for eponym. At any rate, I know of no link that could connect the noted Leinster family of Ó Broin, "O'Byrne," with the Connacht seaboard. Five householders in Clare Island.

MOġBOġġNEΔġ, surname. In English, "Gordon." One household. The key to this curious equation of names seems to be supplied by Mac Vurich in the Book of Clanranald (Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, ii., p. 184), who calls the leader of the Gordon contingent under Montrose "*Mórbhar* [= mórmhaor] *Górdon mac Marcos Huntli*," i.e., Lord Gordon, son of the Marquess of Huntly. Some descendant of this house may have come to Ireland as a Jacobite refugee. Mr. John MacNeill, the musical-instrument maker, of Capel Street, Dublin, told me that his family came to Ireland as refugees after Culloden.

MAŚ RÉILL, surname, "MacGreal." This name, as given in Irish, is the colloquial form of the surname Mac Neill in Connacht and Ulster dialect. Before vowels and liquids, Mac becomes Mag in Irish, but not in Scottish Gaelic, the *g* being attached to the following syllable. Thus Irish Mag Aodha "Magee" contains the same elements as Scottish Mac Aoidh "Mac Kee, Mac Kay." In northern Irish, *gn* becomes *gr*, so that Mag Neill (Ma gnéill) is pronounced Ma gréill in Antrim Irish as in Mayo Irish. Instances of this surname in Connacht are found in the Annals of Ulster, under the years 1346, 1361, 1377. In two of these, Mac Neill, denoting the chief of the name, is wrongly rendered "son of Niall" in the translation. It is evident from these instances that Mac Neill was hereditary chief of *galloglach*s or Hebridean swordsmen. Like the Mac Cábas and other *galloglach* chiefs, the Mac Neills

were Hebridean and probably at least half Norse in origin.<sup>1</sup> One household in Clare Island.

Ó *brodán*, surname, "Salmon." *Brodán* is the normal Connacht form of *bradán*, "a salmon." One of the coves in Clare Island is named from a member of the family. The old form of the surname appears to have been Ó Bardáin. The family belonged to the *Connhaicne Réin* (in part of Leitrim and Longford counties). The name occurs twice in the Annals of Ulster under date 1369; but the almost contemporary Book of Ballymote (161 b 3, 162 a 10) has the modern form *Clann Bradain*, *Clann Bradan*.

*búrcas*, surname Δ *búrca* (for *De Búrca* = *De Burgo*), "Burke." Of Norman origin. One household.

In sum, of 71 families in Clare Island, about 25 belong to the *Dál Cuinn* group, which dominated the northern half of Ireland from the fourth century to the thirteenth. The oldest known home of this group was in the north of Roscommon county. Five families, of which three were originally Welsh, are descendant from colonists of the "Norman" invasion. At least two families represent the Norse-Hebridean *galloglach* element, which flowed freely into Ireland after the detachment of the Hebrides from Norway in the thirteenth century. The Gordon family is probably of Scottish origin, and of much later immigration. Two families bear a Thomond surname. About one-half of the surnames are thus of ultimately remote regional origin. It is not unlikely that a large proportion of the remaining half, which have not been traced, are no less exogenous. This, however, is to be noted, that the tracing of families through their surnames and genealogical traditions and record is in the main concerned only with the male line of descent.

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<sup>1</sup> The Norse adopted the Irish name *Niall* (genitive *Néill*) in the form *Njal*. The populations of Barra and South Uist, the chief habitats of the Mac Neill family, are largely of Norse descent.

## XVI.

## ANCIENT IRISH LAW.

## THE LAW OF STATUS OR FRANCHISE.

BY EOIN MACNEILL, D.LITT.

See the Thuring  
20P 16. 197

[Read APRIL 9. Published DECEMBER 17, 1923.]

THE most distinctive feature of ancient Irish law is the law of status. To the minds of the Irish jurists this law was the most important part of their jurisprudence. The chief collection of the oldest written laws was the compilation called *Senchus Már*. It is cited by name in Cormac's Glossary, and the writing of the tracts comprised in it, if not their collection under a single title, can be dated in the seventh century. An introduction to the collection, written in Old Irish, has been preserved, and in this introduction there is a statement of the contents of *Senchus Már* (I, 40).<sup>1</sup> From this statement it will be seen that *Senchus Már*, when the introduction was written, began with a tract on the law of status. The rest of its contents are still found in the order stated in the introduction, but the tract on status no longer appears in the extant version, its place at the beginning of *Senchus Már* being now taken by the long and elaborate tract on *athgabál* (procedure by distraint), of which there is no mention in the old statement of contents, and which therefore did not probably form part of *Senchus Már* as originally compiled. There can be little doubt that the tract on status which formed the first section of *Senchus Már* was that which now bears the title of *Uraicecht Becc*.<sup>2</sup> The opening sections of this tract were obviously designed as a proem to a *corpus juris*, and the accompaniment of gloss and commentary shows that the tract, in the tradition of the law schools, possessed the authority of the oldest writings on Irish law. It will be seen that the law of status, as interpreted by the jurists, before the writing of this tract, at the time of writing, and afterwards, was

<sup>1</sup> Citation by the Roman numeral has reference to the published volumes of "Ancient Laws of Ireland." The translation given in these volumes will be cited as "the official translation."

<sup>2</sup> This, to be cited as UB, is the first tract in vol. v.

subject to great variation in detail. Between the statement of the grades of status in UB and the statements in later commentaries there is no practical correspondence. This, perhaps, may explain why the tract on status disappeared from the beginning of *Senchus Már*.

The distinctive attribute and the measure of free status was "honourprice," called *lóg enech*, rarely *eneclann*, in the oldest tracts, always *eneclann* in the later writings. Most of the provisions of the law are such, or are so dependent upon other provisions, that the element of honourprice entered into almost every operation of law. Only one way in which a person's honourprice could be determined was known to the jurists, namely, by assigning the person to a particular grade to which, in the doctrine of the law, a particular honourprice had already been assigned. Hence it is to be understood that, however artificial the classification in grades may appear, and whatever variations it may present in different documents, this classification was no mere matter of juristic theory, but was an actual and important factor in the everyday practical working of the laws.

One of the most obvious characteristics of ancient Irish law is that it is the law of a limited and privileged class. It is so in its form and operation and in the theory of the jurists, its accepted teachers and custodians. The writer of UB says that Irish jurisprudence is based upon the class called *nemeth*, and the various ancient tracts never weary of repeating that the doctrines and rules of law which they enunciate are derived from the usage of the Féni.

*Nemeth* is the Old-Irish form of the older Celtic adjective *nemetos*, meaning "holy" or "sacred." In the process of transcription, *nemeth* has taken the later form *nemed*. The dative plural *nemthib* and the derivatives *nemthius*, *nemthenchus*, *nemthigud*, preserve the older consonant, and the interesting collection of glosses on the word in O'Mulconry's Glossary, evidently collected in part from a version of UB or some closely similar law tract, shows that the glossators had the form *nemeth* before them. It will be seen from UB that the term *nemeth* comprises all persons of free status. The association of free status with "holiness" dates from heathen times. Indeed *nemeth* in the sense of "holy" rarely enters into the vocabulary of Irish Christian literature. We can hardly doubt that freemen were "holy" in the sense of being qualified to participate in public religious rites. Caesar tells how those who refused obedience to the judicial decisions of the Druids were excluded by them from the sacrifices, and how this exclusion involved the loss of *jus* and *honor*. So (V 174) the Irish jurists, who held their function in unbroken succession to the Druids, declare that "the noble who does not yield judgment or due to man is not entitled to judgment or due from man," and "is not entitled to honourprice."

As Meyer, in his introduction to "Fianaigecht" (Todd Lectures, ser. xvi), has shown, Féni was at one time a distinctive racial designation. So is Góidil in that section of Irish literature which discriminated between the traditional race-elements of the people of Ireland. The two names were understood to be synonymous :

LL 22  
LG 194

Féni ó Fénius as berta	bríg cen dochtai
Góidil ó Goidiul Glass garta	Scuitt ó Scottai.

"Féni from Fénius they were named, without strain of meaning; Góidil from Góidil Glass they were called, Scots from Scotta." My view is that Góidil was a byname, which came into use at a relatively late time, and that it was probably adopted from Cymric as Scotti was adopted from Gallo-Latin; further, that both names originally designated the Irish raiders who infested the coasts of Britain and Gaul, Scotti meaning "raiders," and Góidil "wild men," from old Cymric *gwid*, Welsh *grydd*, the Irish equivalent being *féd*, *fiad*, < \* *rédi*s "wild." Féni, like Góidil, denoted specifically the dominant Celtic race-element. For their doctrines and rules, the jurists claimed, not their own authority, but the authority of the Féni. Already in UB, the term *bélre Féne* "the speech of the Féni" denotes the archaic diction of Irish law, but in UB and throughout the later juristic writings, the Féni are no longer a race, they are a class, the class of landed freeholders. These are the typical and normal freemen who hold the franchise of Irish law. To their franchise are admitted, in virtue of calling, churchmen, men of secular learning, men of the arts and crafts that were recognized to be "liberal." The body of ancient law was called *Fénechus*, "the usage of the Féni."

There is evidence of an early legal classification of the Féni in three grades, *rí*, *aire fébe*, *bóaire*—king, noble of worth, noble of kine. This classification is found in certain provisions of the law of fosterage, stated in the Commentary, II 146, 148-150, 192. At II 146, the grades are named *rí*, *aire*, *aithech*—king, noble, client. *Aithech*, connected with *ath-fen*, "repays," *aithe*, "repayment," is synonymous with *céle* in this word's special meaning of a freeman who enters into a contract with a noble to receive capital (*rath*) and render food-provision and services in return. Though a *bóaire* might remain uncontracted in this way, it is abundantly evident that the *céli* or *aithíg* were all of the *bóaire* class, and that most of this class became *céli*. All the Féni who had sufficient property were of the class of *aire* or noble. In fact, the Féni were the nobility. At II 148-150, the same classification is given under the terms *rí*, *aire*, *grád Féne*—king, noble, grade of the Féni. At II 192, the "chattels of maintenance," given by a foster-father to a fosterson to secure maintenance in old age, are on a threefold

scale : one rate for the son of a king; another for the son of a ruling noble, from *aire forgill* ("noble of superior testimony") down to *aire etir dá airig* ("noble between two nobles," i.e. between the grade of ruling noble and the grade of *bóaire*); the third for a son of a non-ruling noble, from *bóaire* to *fer midboth*. At V 286, the ancient text divides the nobles into two classes, *aire febe* and *bóaire*, and the gloss at V 290 defines *airig febe* by *na gráid flatha*, "the grades of rule" (or "of rulers"). At V 382 seqq., the ancient text has three grades, *rí*, *aire febe*, *bóaire* and *óaire* together. At V 396, the ancient text has three grades : king and *aire forgill* together, every *aire* from *bóaire* to *aire forgill*, *bóaire* and *óaire* together. The gloss, V 398, has *Airechaib febe .i. na gráid flatha uile ; is aire febe gach aire o boaire gu rig*—"nobles of worth, i.e. all the grades of rulers; every noble from *bóaire* to king is a noble of worth." At V 398-400, the ancient text has three grades : *rí*, *aire febe*, *óaire* and *bóaire* together. At V 402, the ancient text has three grades : *aire forgill*, *aire febe* "from *aire etir dá airig* to *ard-airig*," *bóaire* and *óaire* together. At V 412, the ancient text has : king, *aire febe* = "every noble from king to *aire etir dá airig*," *bóaire* and *óaire* together. The same classification is repeated at V 414, 416 (twice), 418, each time in the ancient text. Certain discrepancies can be noted in it, such as the inclusion of *aire forgill* in one class with the king and elsewhere with the *aire febe*. These may be ascribed to variant attempts to adjust an earlier to a later classification.

With the establishment of Christianity, the men of native learning abandoned the designation of Druid, closely associated with heathen belief and practice, and became afterwards known as *filid*. In UB, the Druid, then probably a mere sorcerer, takes rank with craftsmen. The *filid* rank equal in status to the nobles. To this higher status, the clergy also were admitted. Crith Gablach<sup>1</sup> may well be historically correct in saying that the existence of seven orders in the clergy gave rise to a sevenfold classification of civil grades. In confirmation, we may note that the early law tracts have already adopted *grád* as a technical name for a grade of civil status. *Grád*, from Latin *gradus*, in ordinary usage, even to the present day, means "holy orders" or any grade of holy orders.

There is evidence that, in the first expansion of the civil grades from three to seven, the seven civil grades comprised all persons entitled to exercise franchise by voice in court or assembly. This is the classification which CG recognizes as existing in the tradition of the Féni—a *dligiud Fénichuis*, "by right of Féni-law." The seven grades were *fer midboth*, *bóaire*, *aire déso*, *aire arda*, *aire túise*, *aire forgill*, and king. The bishop and the master *fili* (*ollom*

<sup>1</sup> This tract (vol. v) is cited *infra* as CG.

*fled*) are equal in grade to the king, and remain so in later developments of classification. The *fer midboth* was *macc beoathar*, "son of a living father," who had certain rights to franchise, but was not wholly *sui juris*. The terminology bears testimony to gradual development. *Aire déso* means "noble of a *déis*." *Déis*, according to CG, implies the whole authority of a ruling noble. In a more limited sense, it means his collective body of subject persons. This is probably the older meaning, exemplified in the names of certain population groups, *Dési Breg*, *Dési Muman*, in *Déis Becc*, in *Déis Tuaiscirt*. *Déis*, i.e. *ferann*, "land," given in some glosses, shows the same transference of sense as is exemplified in *tuath*. The distinction between *bóaire* and *aire déso* or *aire febe* is this, that, while both were landowners, the status qualification of the *bóaire* consisted mainly in the possession of cattle, that of the *aire déso* or *aire febe* in the possession of authority over *céli* or *aithig*, contractual clients, who collectively formed his *déis*. *Aire déso* must have originated as a generic name for the whole class of ruling nobles. The names of the higher nobles were obviously adopted with a view to further differentiation, *aire ardd*, "high noble"; *aire twise*, "first noble"; *aire forgill*, "noble of superior testimony." We have actual evidence of the gradual establishment of a recent terminology. In UB, the *aire ardd* is of higher grade than the *aire twise*; in the other tracts, the positions are reversed.

By the time when the laws came to be written, about the middle of the seventh century, a further stage of classification had been reached. The ruling nobles were now divided into seven grades, exclusive of the *bóaire* class. This is the doctrine of UB, and it became the traditional doctrine of the law schools, for the glosses and commentaries use the terms *grád flatha*, "order of government," and *grád sechta*, "sevenfold order," applying both indifferently to the grades of ruling nobles collectively; to all others of free status they give the collective name *grád Féne*, "order of the Féni." In this terminology, the plural, *gráid*, *gráda*, *grádaib*, is sometimes used.<sup>1</sup>

To eke out the number seven, UB introduces a higher grade of king, *rí ruirech*, and, above *aire déso*, a grade of noble, *aire échta*, "noble of death-deeds." CG, though it recognizes three grades of king, does not admit them to the sevenfold classification. It makes up the seven grades by introducing, below the king, the *tánaise rí*, "second to a king," "whom the *tuath* expects to succeed the king." CG also admits, to make up the number seven, the grade

<sup>1</sup> See I 43 gloss—*grád flatha . . . grad Feine*; I 55 gloss—*gráid flatha*; I 61 commentary—*na secht ngráidh flatha*; I 62 comm.—*do grádaibh Feine . . . do gradharibh flatha*; I 96, gloss—*uasalnemid .i. gradh seachta*; I 112 gloss—*nemthib .i. grad flatha*; I 112 comm.—*na gráidh Féni . . . na gráidh flatha*; I 116 comm.—*grad Feine . . . gradh flatha*; and so passim.

of *aire échta*, but where it treats of this noble afterwards in detail, it assigns him no distinctive honourprice, and says expressly that "his retinue and sick-maintenance are due as those of an *aire déso*." Generally in the early law tracts, there is no distinct grade of *aire échta* and only one legal grade of king. This is the doctrine of *Cáin Iarraith*, vol. ii; of *Cáin Aicillni*, vol. ii; of *Cáin Lánamna*, vol. ii; of *Corus Béscna*, vol. iii; of *Bretha im Fuillema Gell*, vol. v. On the other hand, instead of *aire échta*, but below *aire déso*, the text of the last-named tract has the grade of *aire ctir dá airig*, apparently the equivalent of the *fer fothlai* of CG, a *bóaire* who has acquired clients, but not in sufficient number to give him the rank of *aire déso*, and who is thus "a noble between two nobles."

It is clear from these variations that, in the time of the ancient tracts, the classification of the ruling grades was in course of development and had not settled down into commonly accepted doctrine. The same is true of the non-ruling grades. UB makes out seven of these by including three grades of boys under age, a grade of *fer midboth* not wholly *sui juris*, a grade of *mruigfer* "landman," and two grades of *bóaire* or *óaire*—terms which in this tract appear to be synonymous. The three grades of young boys, *inol*, *flescach*, *garid*, are found in no other early text. CG has eight grades of *bóaire*. In these, the *mruigfer*, inferior in UB, is superior to the *bóaire*. The *fer fothlai* and the *aire coisring* of CG are found in no other early text.

The glosses and commentaries show consistent evidence of a still later expansion and adjustment of grades. In them, we find distinction of three grades of *fer midboth*, three of *óaire*, three of *bóaire*, one of *aire ctir dá airig*, *aire désa*, *aire ardd*, *aire taise*, three grades of *aire forgill*, and four grades of king—the king of one *tuath*, the king of a great *tuath* (a group of *tuatha*), the king of a fifth or "province," and the king of Ireland. Such a multiplication of grades was perhaps a natural result of the exposition of the law in writing and its development by a class of jurists who were fond of meticulous distinctions.

Honourprice was the valuation of the freeman's status, not a valuation for life or for a year, but a valuation of the power and effect of his status at any given time. When a freeman entered into a contract of *aicillne* to a ruling noble, becoming his *dórchéle*, or subject client, he received, in addition to an amount of capital (*rath*) which varied according to his grade, his honourprice in the form of *seóit turchluithi*, "recoverable chattels." In other words, he made a sale of his status to his lord (*flaith*), and transferred to him his franchise. The lord acquired the power of judgment (*rlar*) over him and acted on his behalf in court and assembly. The client could separate from the lord and recover his franchise upon terms prescribed by law. Wrong

done to a freeman incurred payment of the whole or part of his honourprice, in addition to material restitution (*aithgin*). Any mulct in excess of equivalent restitution is called *díre*, "off-payment." The corresponding verb is *dí-ren*, "pays off." Hence, in the tracts on status, *díre* is frequently used instead of *lóg enech* or *eneclann*. A man's honourprice was also the measure of the extent to which he could become surety, so that his liability as surety, in case of his default or inability to pay, should become chargeable on his legal kin. In litigation, the extent to which his oath or testimony was valid was in some way measured by his honourprice.

The principal early texts on the subject of status are *Uraicecht Becc* (V) and *Crith Gablach* (IV). The development of the subject in UB confirms the inference, drawn from the presence of gloss and commentary, that this text belongs to the series of the oldest written law tracts. These are characterized by an easily recognised style and manner of treatment which mark the transition from the mnemonic oral teaching of the older schools to the exposition of legal doctrine by jurists accustomed to the writing of prose. CG, on the other hand, shows a more developed prose style with long consecutive paragraphs which were not written to be memorized and are only slightly reminiscent of the mnemonic method of teaching. Meyer dates it in the eighth century. The genitive *aireg* (IV 320, 24), and its scribal disguise in *airig* (308, 26; 310, 4, 16), which later becomes *airech*, may indicate a date as early as the close of the seventh century—cp. Adamnan's *Fechureg*, which is represented in oghams by VECREC and VEQREQ.<sup>1</sup> No gloss or commentary accompanies CG.

I give in translation only tracts and detached articles which date from before the Norse invasions, omitting and using only for explanation the glosses and commentaries of later date, my aim being to exhibit the evidence of the early documents on the laws and institutions, the social and economic conditions, of a definite period. Many modern writers on the subject of ancient Irish law have failed to observe that the extant material covers about a millennium and contains abundant evidence of change, of growth and decay, in laws and institutions.

It is to be borne in mind that, while the same laws were held to be applicable over the whole of Ireland, each *tuath* ruled by a petty king constituted a separate jurisdiction. The civil rights which belonged to a citizen in his own *tuath* did not belong to him in any other. The freemen of

<sup>1</sup> From stem *aireg* is formed *airegde*; it seems to represent *are-sag*-, corresponding to the verb *ar-saig*—III 10 *ar said aittiu*, read *ar-saig aittin*, "it amounts to acknowledgment"; infin. *airigid* used in the sense of "honorific portion" given to the principal guest at a feast. *Aire* would thus primarily mean one who pushes forward, a leader.

each *tuath* formed a distinct body politic. In the early law tracts *tuath* means this body politic, and the rendering "territory" of the official translation is misleading. From the "Book of Rights" it would appear that the number of petty kingdoms in its time, the tenth century, was about ninety.

The official translations bristle with errors. Many of these errors amount to serious misinterpretation, and not a few are still more grave, tending to conceal or pervert fundamental features of the laws. I have endeavoured by study and comparison to arrive at a just interpretation of the ancient terminology. By bringing together tracts and detached articles which are connected in subject, I have sought to present a clearer view of the laws and of the social, economic, and political conditions which they illustrate, often with remarkable fulness and minuteness.

#### URAICECHT BECC.<sup>1</sup>

V 2.—1. Wherein is the Jurisprudence of the Language of the Féni found? Answer: In proof and right and nature.

V 6.—2. Proof is founded on rules and maxims and true testimonies. Right is founded on verbal contracts and acknowledgment. [The law of] nature is founded on remission and joint arrangement.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The title *Uraicecht Becc*, "Little Grammar," is not as old as the text, since it is not glossed. It is doubtless based on the passages of commentary (V 56-70) which deal with various grades of poets and the kinds of metrical composition held to be proper to them. This matter was, we may think, of more interest to the men of letters of a later age than the obsolete legal provisions of the text. It supplemented the similar matter found in the versions of *Auricecht na n'Eces*, "The Grammar of the Poets."

"Is found," *agar*, H *aragan*, gloss *airegar*, read *airecar*. "Jurisprudence," *breithemnas*. *Breth* means a judgment or judicial decision not only on a particular case but also on a general principle or provision of law. The plural *bretha* means "rules of law," as in the titles of various law tracts, *Bretha Nemed*, *Bretha Etged*, *Bechbretha*, etc. Hence *breithem*, "brehon," means rather a professional jurist than a judge. In the court (*airecht*) of the *tuath*, decisions were given by the voice of those, nobles, clergy, men of learning, master craftsmen, who had the right of speech—hence *gó airechta*, *gó tháraithe*, "a false decision by the *airecht*, by the *tuath*"; but the decision was usually proposed by the king, who presided, or by a *breithem* who acted as legal adviser to the court. "Proof": this is the technical meaning of *fír*—see text, V 468, 470, "Right": *dliged*, in the early usage means "a right," later "a law." "Nature," *aicned*: the Irish jurists seem to have derived from Roman jurisprudence, doubtless through the Church, the idea of a "law of nature," equated with "the law of nations" and with natural equity. From Biblical Latin they learned to equate *gentes* with the heathen nations, hence they say that the "law of nature," *recht aicnid*, obtained in Ireland before Christianity (III 30).

<sup>2</sup> "Testimonies," *testemnaib*: the gloss understands this term in its later meaning of "texts," which could not have been the meaning at a time when texts of Irish law were innovations. So the gloss explains that "proof," as regards jurisprudence (*breithemnas*, *breithemnacht*), is founded on principles of law and on texts, but that, as regards actual decisions (*re conairib fuigill*), the proof of the thing which he pleads is established by the man who comes to plead. Altogether, the explanation in the gloss amounts to the

V 8.—3. Proof and right together are founded on the *nemeth*.<sup>1</sup>

V 10.—4. Whatever decision is not founded on any of these is altogether void.

5. Whatever decision (or regulation) of, the Church exists is founded on proof and right of Scripture. The decision of a *filí*, however, is founded on rules of law. The decision of a ruler, however, is founded on them all, on rules of law and maxims and testimonies.<sup>2</sup>

V 14.—6. There are two [kinds of] *nemeth* that exist on earth, the free *nemeth* (*sóernemeth*) and the subject *nemeth* (*dóernemeth*). The free *nemeth* that are, are churchmen, rulers, *filí*, *Féni*; the subject *nemeth*, however, the folk of every art or craft besides. The reason why the folk of every art or craft are [called] subject *nemeth* is because they serve the free *nemeth*; but everyone also is free who purchases his franchise by his art. Hence there is [a saying], "the free in the seat of the unfree and the unfree in the seat of the free." Everyone [may become] free by his wealth; everyone [may become] unfree by his lips.

V 20.—7. "The free in the seat of the unfree," the man who sells his land, or his authority, or his body in service. "The unfree in the seat of the free," the man who buys land or rights or franchise by his art or by his husbandry or by his talent that God gives him. Hence there is [a saying], "a man is better than his birth."<sup>3</sup>

V 22.—8. The seven grades of the Church: lector, usher, exorcist, sub-deacon, deacon, priest, bishop.

statement in the text—proof in a suit is based on the existing law and on evidence, evidence comprising not only the testimony of witnesses but the tests held to be furnished by various kinds of ordeal, by oath, duel, fire, etc. "Rules," *roscadaib*: the precise meaning of this term has not been defined. Since it is distinct from *fásaige*, "maxims," it may mean the ordinary rules of law in mnemonic form, verse or prose. *Aititin*, "acknowledgment," on the part of persons having authority, gave validity to contracts made by those under their authority (III 10, etc.). "Joint arrangement," *cocorus*: "nature" here means equity.

<sup>1</sup> *Nemeth*, ordinarily meaning "sacred," is a generic term for every person having the franchise of the *Féni*.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of this text, *filí* was used in its wide sense of a man of Irish learning. The *filí* had all the functions of the earlier Druids except the care of religion. They were the custodians of law. "Prophecy had ruled in the law of nature, in the jurisprudence of the island of Ireland and in her *filí*" (III 30). "The rules of true nature which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the jurists (*brithemon*) and the just *filí* of the men of Ireland" (I 16). *Roscadaib*, "rules of law": these, acc. to the commentary, were in *filidecht*, which is to be understood in its later sense of "poetry." Cenn Faelad (III 550) composed a work known as *Dúil Roscad*.

<sup>3</sup> The only class in the community which was excluded from obtaining franchise was that of *dóerfuidir* (V 520) consisting of persons who had forfeited their lives (V 360), but who had been ransomed and accepted as tenants under a lord. For others, if they had

V 24.—9. The seven grades of government (government in regard of subject clientship): *aire déssó*, *aire échta*, *aire tuisse*, *aire ardd*, *aire forgill*, king, and overking.<sup>1</sup>

V 26.—10. The seven grades of *filid*, however: *fochluc*, *macc fuirmid*, *doss*, *cano*, *clí*, *ánruth*, *ollam*.

V 30, V 40, V 42.—11. Seven chattels of *dire* for an *aire déssó*, and protection for three days, four men's food-provision for him, and four cakes to each man with their condiment and their seasoning. If it be true *caindenn*, sixteen flakes to each cake, or four stalks of true *caindenn* to each cake; or honey, or fish, or curds; or a salted joint with every twenty cakes. In like measure even up to king.<sup>2</sup>

V 42.—12. Ten chattels, now, for an *aire échta*, and protection for five days, and thirty cakes.

V 44.—13. Fifteen chattels for an *aire tuisse*, and protection for ten days, and forty cakes for him.

14. Twenty chattels for an *aire ardd*, and protection for fifteen days, and sixty cakes.

V 46.—15. Thirty chattels for an *aire forgill*, and a hundred laymen with him, and a month's protection for him, and eighty cakes.

wealth enough to "buy franchise," free status was possible. In the term *dóernemeth*, *dóer* means "inferior" relatively, not "unfree" absolutely. In O'Mulconry's Glossary, much of the details s.v. *Nemed* seems to be derived from the glosses on this or some similar text: "Three superior *nemid* are enumerated here . . . the Church, *filid*, kings and rulers . . . Four other *nemid* are enumerated herein . . . whitesmiths and blacksmiths . . . wrights (*saoruib*) . . . musicians . . . cattle . . ."—the last because certain cattle, especially milch-cows, were privileged from distraint. A freeman became "unfree by his lips" when he contracted to become a *dóerchêle* under a lord, but this contract was revocable (II 312, seqq.). *Déis*, "authority," especially over clients, *céli*.

The text up to this point forms a brief introduction to Irish jurisprudence in general, passing by an easy transition, through the term *nemeth*, to an introduction to what the jurists deemed the most important and what was in fact the most characteristic part of Irish law, the law of status.

<sup>1</sup> "Overking": the text has *rí ruireach*, "king of overkings." We should expect *ruiri*, and the actual reading has probably arisen from some confusion of gloss with text.

<sup>2</sup> "Chattels," *séoit*: the standard *sét*, the chattel which is the normal unit of value in the laws, was a *samaisc*, a young cow before her first calf. This was reckoned at half the value of a milch-cow. In reckoning values of five chattels and upwards, every fifth chattel was of the value of a milch-cow. Seven chattels = three milch-cows. "Protection," *turthugud*, in C.G., *snádud*; a more general term is *foessom*, which also means adoption (of a child); the power to protect strangers is meant, any offence against the protected person becoming an offence against the protector. A better reading may be *turthuge*, cp. *tuige*, *imthuge*, *fortga*. "Four men" are this noble's lawful retinue on a visit of hospitality, and his lawful company on sick maintenance, i.e., when he is maintained at the expense of a person who has caused his wounding. *Caindenn*, a seasoning vegetable—garlic, onion, or leek. "Joint," *camhchnáim*, lit. "bent bone," perhaps a "ham."

V 50.—16. A king of one *tuath*, seven hundred laymen with him, half of seven *cumals* his *dlre*, and a month's protection for him.

17. An overking, three kings with him, and protection for three fortnights, and a hundred and sixty cakes for him.

V 52.—18. In like measure for the grades of the church, as to food-provision and protection and *dlre*, but penance is added for these along with *dlre*.<sup>1</sup>

V 54.—19. [In like measure for heirs of a church as are the grades of the churches to which they belong, though they themselves be not in holy orders, if their means be otherwise good].<sup>2</sup>

V 56.—20. Seven grades of *filid*: an *ollum* is equal in *dlre* to a king of one *tuath*, and has a month's protection, and three times eight men are his number.

V 58.—21. One minor chattel is the *dlre* of a *fochluc*, one day his protection, and food-provision of two men for him.<sup>3</sup>

V 60.—22. Three chattels for a *macc fuirmid*, and food-provision of three men, and three days' protection.

V 62.—23. Five chattels for a *doss*, and food-provision [of five men?] for him, and five days' protection.

V. 66.—24. Seven chattels for a *cano*, and food-provision of six men, and a week's protection.<sup>4</sup>

25. Ten chattels for a *cli*, and food-provision for eight men, and ten days' protection.

V 68.—26. Twenty chattels for an *ánruth*, and food-provision of twelve men, and fifteen days' protection.

V 70.—27. What is wanting from each man's means is wanting from his dignity. What is added to his good means is added to his good dignity.

<sup>1</sup> "Penance," *pendait*, here denotes a mulct payable for offences against ecclesiastics.

<sup>2</sup> It is questionable if this article belongs to the original text. The early law tracts contain no other reference to laymen holding the office of "heir" (*comorbbe*) to the headship of a church or monastery. The meaning is that the "heir" is equal in status to the principal ecclesiastic in his church. "Means," *foluid*: a frequent term for the means, material or other, by which a person sustains his functions or liabilities.

<sup>3</sup> "Minor chattel," *sét gabla*. There appear to have been three grades of chattel, the lowest being *sét gabla*, the middle or average, *sét accobuir*, and the highest, *clithar sét*. *Fochluc*: the genitive in the text is *fochlacain*, which may be a scribal error for \**fochlocon* —cp. *drissiuc*, gen. *driscon*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Though the honourprice of the *cano* is the same as that of the *aire désso*, his food-provision and protection are on higher scales.

28. Half the dignity of each man to his wife, or to his dutiful son, or to his administrator, or to his prior.<sup>1</sup>

V. 76.—29. A hospitaller is equal in grade to a ruling noble if he have besides the double of each grade's amount of land and husbandry. It is by reason of the ruler's kindred and house-custom that he excels.<sup>2</sup>

V 76.—30. He is no hospitaller who is not hundredful. He repels no condition (of person). He refuses no company. He reckons against none howso often he may come. This is the hospitaller who is equal in *dire* to the king of a tuath.<sup>3</sup>

V 78.—31. The superior hospitaller, this man has double wealth, he has an ever-stocked cauldron, he has three roads.<sup>4</sup>

V 78.—32. The classes of worth, now: *inol* and *flescach* and *garid* and *fer midboth*—it is he whose foot and hand are not restrained—and *mrwigfer* and second *bóaire* and first *óaire*.<sup>5</sup>

V 80.—33. The *dire* of an *inol*, a fleece of wool, or a ball of yarn, or a hen without secret.<sup>6</sup>

V 84.—34. A lamb of (the value of) a sack (of corn) for a *flescach*, and a

<sup>1</sup> *Ólú*, "dignity," is here said of a measure of free status. *Gormacc*, "dutiful son," a son who does his duty to his parents, especially the duty of maintenance, *gaire*, in their old age. *Rechtáire*, "administrator," acc. to the gloss, "of a king in the tuath." *Sechnabb*, "prior," lit. "second abbot."

<sup>2</sup> "Hospitaller," *bríugu*. He provided open hospitality, it is not clear within what limits. To be equal in grade to a ruling noble, it was necessary that he should have twice the qualifying wealth of the noble's grade. A freeman of the non-ruling class, in order to rise to the grade of a ruling noble, unless his father and grandfather had been ruling nobles, was required to have besides twice the number of clients (*céti*) proper to the grade of ruling noble. The qualifications in regard to clients, land, and husbandry, only mentioned generally in the present text, are specified for each grade in the commentary and in C.G., but with differences. "House-custom," *bés* (*taige*), was the food-provision to which a ruling noble (*flaith*) was entitled from his clients. "That he excels": *forccraid* *i.* *imarcraid*; the text probably contained the corresponding verb; the meaning may be "that he (the hospitaller) exceeds" the ruling noble in required qualifications.

<sup>3</sup> "Hundredful," *cétach*, acc. to the commentary means "having a hundred men after the manner of slaves"—note that they are not called slaves—"and a hundred of every (kind of) cattle."

<sup>4</sup> "Superior hospitaller," *bríugu leittech*. *Leittech* is glossed by *togaidi*, "chosen, choice."

<sup>5</sup> "Classes of worth," *fodla febe*. These collectively are equivalent to the *grad Féne*, "order of the Féni," of the glosses and commentaries passim. The list is peculiar to this text, being doubtless a particular essay to produce a sevenfold classification of the non-ruling grades. "Are not restrained," *nád comathar*: he is responsible for his own "liability of foot and hand," *cin coisse ocus láime*.

<sup>6</sup> "A hen without secret," *cerce cen rún*: the commentary, guessing, says that this means either a hen that is not hatching, or a hen that is not laying.

sheep for a *garid*, a yearling heifer for a *fer midboth*, and three cakes his food-provision.<sup>1</sup>

V 86.—35. Three chattels for a second *bóaire*, and from one canonical hour to the other his protection, and five cakes with milk for him, or butter.<sup>2</sup>

V 88.—36. Five chattels for a first *bóaire*, and two days his protection, and eight cakes for him with their condiment, and salt for their seasoning.<sup>3</sup>

V 90.—37. Subject *nemith*, now, wrights and blacksmiths and brasiers and whitesmiths and physicians and jurists and druids and the folk of every art and craft besides . . . The franchise of jurists and wrights increases till it reaches food-provision for twelve men and fifteen chattels for *dlre*.<sup>4</sup>

V 92.—38. If he be a jurist of the three rules—the rule of the Féni, and the rule of the *flid*, and the rule of the white speech of Beatus; if he be a chief master craftsman, he rises to twenty chattels for *dlre*, and has a month's protection.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Flescach* is still in use (*fleasgach*), meaning a stripling. The commentary (V 86) recognizes three grades of *flescach*, their ages being (up to) eight, ten, and twelve years. The gloss (V 85) equates the *garid* with the middle grade of these. The commentary recognizes also three grades of *fer midboth*, with age-limits of 14, 20, and 30 years. For a fuller account of the *fer midboth*, see C.G., which does not recognize the higher grade from 20 to 30. The *fer midboth* was a youth or young man under his father's authority: "this person has not power of his own foot or hand, his father has the power of them" (gloss, V 80, 7). *Inol*, *flescach*, *garid*, are thus names for children under 12. Their honourprice is fictitious (see commentary, V 87), and their function in the text is to raise the number of non-ruling grades of freemen to seven. The text omits to state in order the honourprice, protection, and refectations of the *mruigfer*—probably another token of tentative classification. In C.G. *mruigfer*, "landman," is the name of the highest class of non-ruling noble, next to the *fer fothlai*, who has clients but not in sufficient number to make him a *flaith*.

<sup>2</sup> "From one canonical hour to the other," *ón tráth co' laill*, meaning to the corresponding hour on the following day. From this usage, *tráth* sometimes means a day's space, 24 hours, distinct from *laidhe*, *lúa*, which means either the time of daylight or a full day measured from nightfall to nightfall. The fact that *tráth* was used, instead of a Latin loanword, to designate the ecclesiastical divisions of the day, indicates that it signified some similar division in pre-Christian usage, probably a third of the day. For the use of symbols which appear to indicate a threefold division of the day in the Coligny Calendar, see the paper on that calendar by Rhys, Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. iv, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Here *bóaire* replaces *óaire* of the list above, the terms ("noble of kine," "junior noble") being apparently synonymous for the writer of this text. In other texts, glosses, and commentaries, *óaire* denotes a grade inferior to *bóaire*.

<sup>4</sup> *Stáire*, "franchise, free status." The second clause seems to imply that a statement of the minimum measure of status for these classes preceded. We may observe that the text acknowledges the existence of druids, but the honours that formerly belonged to the druids have gone to the Churchmen and the *flid*.

<sup>5</sup> "The rule of the Féni," *breth Féne* = *Fénechus*, traditional Irish law. *Breth flid*, "the rule of the *flid*," the doctrinal law of the schools. "The rule of the white speech of Beatus": Scriptural law and Canon law. "The white speech of Beatus" is Latin. In the Latin schools, learners began with the Psalms, and the first word of the first

V 94.—39. Blacksmiths and brasiers and whitesmiths and physicians, though it be a chief master of them, are entitled only to food-provision for four men, eight chattels are their *díre*, and three days' protection.

V 96.—40. What gives *díre* to a person? Answer: merit and integrity and purity.<sup>1</sup>

41. There are three divisions of (the measure of) a person's honour, *eneclann* and *enechrúicce* and *enechgríss*.<sup>2</sup>

V 96.—42. The good arts are both free and subject, because they serve and are served. Their distrains are free and their judgments are free over their rightful customs and over their apprentices.<sup>3</sup>

V 98.—43. The jurist who is competent to give decision for the folk of arts and crafts in regard of justice, in the estimation and measurement of the work and the remuneration of every product, and who is competent to reconcile custom and award, has seven chattels for *díre*, and three days' protection and food-provision for four men.<sup>4</sup>

V 100.—44. The jurist of the language of the Féni and the lore of the *filid*, ten chattels are his *díre*, and five days' protection, and thirty cakes for him.<sup>5</sup>

Psalm is "Beatus." The first grade of pupil in a Latin school was *cóictach*, one who had learned the first 50 psalms (V 102, 18).

<sup>1</sup> By "merit" is to be understood the possession and worthy use of qualifying wealth, by "integrity" the potential and actual fulfilment of functions and duties, by "purity" being guiltless of misdeeds. See I 54 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Aínech*, *enech*, in the legal technical sense of "honour," is neuter plural, genitive *enech*, dative *inchaib*. The oldest form of the word found is in the ogham *Ineqaglasí* = *Enech-glais*. In the early law tracts *lóg enech* is much more frequent than *eneclann*, which replaces it in later writings. Acc. to the gloss, there were two divisions of *eneclann*, full honourprice and half honourprice; two of *enechrúicce*, half honourprice and a seventh of honourprice; two of *enechgríss*,  $\frac{1}{3}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of honourprice. The seventh part of honourprice is also called *airer*, II 204, III 538. These measures have reference to various degrees of injury.

<sup>3</sup> "Their distrains are free": acc. to the gloss this means that artists and craftsmen are exempt from distraint for a kinsman's liability. "Judgments," *riara*: "judgment," or the power of judgment over subject persons, is the usual meaning of *riar* in the early law tracts. The commentary here replaces *riar* by *breithemnus*, which in the text means "jurisprudence."

<sup>4</sup> This is a low grade of jurist, having less honourprice than that of the craftsmen for whom he adjudicated. "Product": read *haicde* for *hoic* of the text (*oigdi*, gloss), any article of skilled craftsmanship. *Fúigell*, a judicial decision, must have meant first a pledge to submit to adjudication, then submission to adjudication, lastly adjudication. *Fúighellestar Sen r. fo-gelset Sen*, I 78, 4, "they submitted the case to Sen." *Co fúigled Conchubur imbi*, I 250, "so they submit the case to C."

<sup>5</sup> "The language of the Féni," *bélre Féne*; we may judge from the presence of this phrase that already at the time of writing of this text the language of the laws was recognized to be archaic,

45. The jurist of the three languages is equal in *dire* to an *aire tuisce*.<sup>1</sup>

V 102.—46. The master of the Letter is equal in franchise to the king of one *tuath*. The second master of the Letter is equal in *dire* to an *aire ardd*. The junior master is equal in franchise to an *aire tuisce*. The man of a fourth of mastership is equal in franchise to an *aire déssó*. All this comprises food-provision and protection and *dire*. Students of Latin from that down are entitled to smaller franchises, for there is no Latin learning without franchise.<sup>2</sup>

V 102, V 104.—47. The accurate wright of oaken houses is equal in franchise to an *aire déssó*. The diligent wright of ships and barks and hide-covered boats and vessels, who is able to make all these, has the same amount of franchise. The millwright, the same amount. The master in yew-carving, the same amount. The franchise of an *aire déssó* to each of them.<sup>3</sup>

V 104.—48. The man who practises together two or three [of the aforesaid crafts is entitled to an honourprice of the value of eight milch-cows, and to food-provision for eight men.]<sup>4</sup>

V 104.—49. The man who practises together four (of the crafts aforesaid), fifteen chattels for his *dire*, and food-provision for twelve men, and ten days' protection for him.

<sup>1</sup> "Three languages": acc. to the gloss these are *Fénechus*—the ancient laws, *flidecht*—the lore of the *filid*, and *légend*—Latin learning.

<sup>2</sup> "Master of the Letter," *súí litre*, equated in the gloss with *fer léigind*, a later title ("man of Latin learning") for the headmaster of an ecclesiastical school. The "Letter" is the written law of Scripture. "Second master of the Letter," *tánaise suad litre*, equated in the gloss with *súí canóine*, "master of Canon law." "Junior master," *ócsúí*, equated in the gloss with *forsethlaid*, "teacher." "Man of a fourth of mastership," *fer cethramthan suithe*, equated in the gloss with the *staraige*, "historian," meaning probably the student who has learned the "historical" interpretation of Scripture. Below this, the gloss names, in the ascending scale, three grades of student, the *cóictach* (who had learned the first fifty psalms), the *foglaintid* ("learner"), and the *discipul* ("disciple"). For a different classification see C.G.

<sup>3</sup> "Of ships," *long*, acc. to the gloss, *na longa fada*, "naves longae," the Irish word being taken from the Latin. "Of barks," *báirec* (r. *bárce*?), equated in the gloss with *na serceinn*, "which are not rowed." "Hide-covered boats," *curach*: still used along the western seaboard, but covered with tarred canvas instead of hide. *Lestra*, "vessels": the gloss understands domestic vessels to be meant. It seems likely, however, that small boats are intended—cp. V 474, 8, *foimrim noe no lestair*, where the use of a *lestair* without the owner's leave incurs a penalty of five chattels, equated in the gloss with two milch-cows; cp. also the uses of the English word "vessel," and the modern Irish *seightheach*. "Millwright," *sóer mailend*, craftsman (i.e. builder) of mills. Ownership or part-ownership of a watermill was held to be part of the qualifications of every civil grade from *ócaire* upward: see C.G. and the commentary, V 88 seqq. For partnership in millraces, see *Coibnús Uisci*, IV 206 seqq. "Yew-carving," *íbróracht*: yew was the favourite wood for decorative woodwork.

<sup>4</sup> The lacuna in the text is supplied inferentially from the gloss.

V 106.—50. Chariot-wright and house-carpenter and cloth-figurer and relief-carver and shieldmaker, the franchise of a second *bóaire* for them. If he practise together two crafts of them, the franchise of a first *bóaire* for him.

51. Turners and fettermakers and leather-workers and [wool-] combers and fishermen, the franchise of a *fer midboth* for them.

52. The harp, that is the one craft of music that is entitled to franchise, so long as it accompanies nobility. The franchise of a first *bóaire* for him.<sup>1</sup>

V 108.—53. Every art, now, that we have said, that is entitled to franchise, the franchise that he has in the *tuath* does not fail for want of his art if he practise it elsewhere, be it in a *tuath* or in a church. Hence is (the saying), “the *nemith* do not diminish each other.”<sup>2</sup>

54. Whose art is one, his *dire* is one. Whose art is many, his *dire* is many. It increases franchise.<sup>3</sup>

55. The folk of vocal and instrumental music besides, jockeys and charioteers and steersmen and followers in feast and retinue (?), and mummers and jugglers and buffoons and clowns and the lesser crafts besides, it is in regard of the honour of those who keep them that *dire* is paid for them. Otherwise they have no franchise apart.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “So long as it accompanies nobility”: the actual text has *cen imteid la hordain*. The gloss, followed in the official translation, paraphrases this by *gen gurab imaille re huasal*, “though it be not along with a noble.” This would require, as a restoration of the scribally corrupt text, *cen immthé(it) la hordain*. I read *cén immthéit*, and understand the sense to be that a harper had free status so long as he held official rank. See the description of a king’s house, with the *airecht* in session, in C.G., where the harper occupies a place near the king at the table, while the other musicians are in a corner apart behind the king’s seat along with jugglers, over against the forfeited hostages.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is that to maintain the franchise acquired by reason of an art or craft, it is not necessary that the person so enfranchised should practise his art or craft in the *tuath* to which he belongs or for its immediate benefit. “If he practise it elsewhere,” *dia congba*, lit. “if he practise jointly”—*com* having its full sense. “The *nemith*,” etc.: for *ní mina dígbat* of the printed text, read *ní ’mma dígbat*, the *imm* of the original being represented, as usual, by the *em* of the etymological gloss.

<sup>3</sup> The maxim quoted at the end of the preceding article seems to refer properly to this article. It was probably introduced first as a marginal or interlinear accretion, and so became misplaced.

<sup>4</sup> The rendering of some of the terms in this article is conjectural. The gloss distinguishes between *des ciúil* and *des airfítid*, calling the former *crónánaig*, “singers of crónán,” the latter *fedánaig*, “players on a pipe or flute”; but *des ciúil ocus airfítid* may be only a comprehensive phrase = musicians. “Besides” means other than the harper. *Comail ocus dáime*. I read [*des*] *comáil ocus dáime*. *Creccoire*: acc. to the gloss, they make a green *creccad* on the eyes—some sort of disguise. All who follow this list of occupations are without franchise, but when they are engaged in the service of a freeman, injury done to them incurs liability to him. The original text probably ended here. The articles that follow have the appearance of random accretions.

V 112.—56. A master over kings is the King of Munster. Twice seven *cumals* are his *díre*. Two beeves and two bacon hogs for the six score of his company, and two hundred cakes. A year's protection for him. A noble master bishop, the same amount; a master of the great canon (?), the same amount; such as Immlíuch Ibair or Corcach Mór of Munster.<sup>1</sup>

57. Who is not of good means is not of good merit.

58. A master of *fili* and a master of wisdom and a master hospitaller, each of them is equal in franchise to the king of one *tuath*. They have thirty chattels (of honourprice) and a month's protection, and eighty cakes, for each of them.<sup>2</sup>

V 112.—59. A second master of the Letter and an *ánruth fíed* and a chief master of handicraft, are equal in franchise to an *aire ard*.

V 114.—60. A master of test, blacksmith, or whitesmith, or brasier, who is raised to franchise by the *tuath*, each of them is equal in franchise to an *aire déso*.<sup>3</sup>

#### CRITH GABLACH.

IV 298.—61. [Why is Crith Gablach so called? Answer—Because the man of a *tuath* (= the citizen) of his good means in the *tuath* purchases that he be reckoned in his proper grade in which he is in the *tuath*. Or because of the number of branches into which the grades of a *tuath* are subdivided.

Question—How many subdivisions of these? Seven.]<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "A master of the great canon (?)" : Atkinson's proposed emendation [*már-*] *chathrach* for *mor canach* fits in with the clause that follows. The translation then would be "master of (the school of) a great city (= episcopal see), such as," etc.

<sup>2</sup> "Master of wisdom," *ollam gáise*, acc. to the gloss, a master jurist.

<sup>3</sup> "Master of test," *ollam focail*: gloss, *in tí foclaiter conid ollam*, "he who is tested so that he becomes a master." For *focul*, "test," see II 242, 244, *trifocuil* i. *tri fromaid*. The etymological gloss *fo íacail*, II 242, points to *foccal*, with *cc=k*. This article shows that the franchise of a master craftsman was conferred on him by the *tuath*. The commentary, pp. 112, 114, speaks of the appointment, *uirned*, of the "second master of the Letter," and of the *ánruth*, or *fili* of the second degree, the person who appoints being the king of a *tuath*, the king of a *mórtuath*, the king of a Fifth, or the king of Ireland. It is clear, however, that appointment by the king of one *tuath* was of no special effect, giving no increase in status (see 114, 14 and 16, 10); which implies that appointment by a king took special effect only when the king was overking of a number of *tuatha*. There were seven persons or places in a *tuath* to which notices of a find of lost property were given (III 273): king, monastic chief (*airchinnech*), hospitaller, (the king's) *brithem*, the chief smith (*primgoba*), the mill of the *tuath*, the people of the homestead and village where the find was made. It is therefore to be inferred that in each *tuath* there was a chief of each craft who was appointed by the *tuath*, i. e. by public election, and who thus acquired status on a level with the lowest grade of ruling noble.

<sup>4</sup> It seems unlikely, though not impossible, that the author of this tract began by inventing a title for it and offering alternative explanations for it, and therefore these

62. Whence come the divisions of orders of a *tuath*? From a comparison with the orders of the Church, for every order that is in the Church, it is just that its like should be in the *tuath*, for the sake of declaration or denial on oath, or of evidence, or of judgment, from each to the other.<sup>1</sup>

63. Question: What are the orders of the *tuath*? *Fer midboth, bóaire, aire désa, aire ardd, aire túise, aire forgill*, and king—if it be by the right of Féni law; and if it be not that, the following seven orders are distinguished: *Aire désa, aire échta, aire ardd, aire túise, aire forgill, tánaise ríy*, and king.<sup>2</sup>

64. What are the subdivisions of *bóairig*? Two (grades of) *fer midboth*, and *bóaire*, and vassal who precedes vassals in husbandry, and *bóaire* of excellence, and *mruigfer*, and *fer fothlai*, and *aire coisring*.

65. What is the [measure of the] oath in litigation, and the bond, and the guarantee, and the evidence, and the honour-price, and the food-provision, and the sick-maintenance, and the protection, and the client-price, and the house-custom of each of them? Answer: As the Féni-law declares in verse:

That thou mayest know the orders of the Féni,  
by estimate of [their rights in] court they are reckoned.<sup>3</sup>

opening phrases are here printed in brackets. They may have been added in the time of the oldest glosses on law tracts, probably towards the end of the ninth century. *Gablach* means "branching," but *crith* can hardly be connected with *cren-*, "purchase," unless it was parallel in usage with *creicc*, the noun found as infinitive of *cren-*. The antiquity of *creicc* is attested by the compounds *fochraicc*, *taurchreicc*, found in the early texts. Meyer (*Contribb.*) says that this word *crith* is infinitive of *crenim*, but has no instance of it in that sense except the title of this tract and O'Davoren's gloss, ".i. íc," "that is, payment," which is probably based on the explanation in the tract. On the strength of this evidence, Meyer gives the meanings "contract, payment"; but a title meaning "branching contract" or "branching payment" seems wholly inappropriate here. A more suitable sense would be found if we could connect *crith* with the root *kri* and explain it to mean "a sorting, a classification." The second explanation in the text above, if it does not ignore *crith*, which is hardly possible, explains it either through *fodlaíter*, "are subdivided," or through *lín*, "number."

<sup>1</sup> What was of established custom appeared to be of necessity. In the Irish custom, as between the oath or evidence or judgment of two persons, that of the person of higher status prevailed.

<sup>2</sup> The writer ascribes the first classification to the tradition of the Féni. The second, which he adopts below, is a variation of the classification of ruling nobles in *Uraicecht Beo*, placing the boaire grades in a distinct lower class. An interpolation, which seems to refer to the next article, prefixes to the second list the question: "What if it be not the *bóaire* with his eight subdivisions?"

<sup>3</sup> *Immthoch*, "oath in litigation." The prefix *imm-* denotes that two parties are in question. *Naidm*, "bond": a person, called *macc nascaire*, was pledged as surety. *Ráith*, "guarantee": the guarantee of a third party when a secured contract, *cundrath*, was made. *Fiadnaise*, "evidence": in some way, not fully explained, a man's evidence was valid to the extent of his honour-price. *Biathad*, "food-provision," for a certain

IV 300.—66. Two (grades of) *midboth* men. (The first is) the *fer midboth* who makes declaratory oath in litigation involving fines. He makes oath (in case of fines) from a needle to a heifer in its first age. That is his honour-price for his defamation, for violation of his precinct, for his expulsion, for dishonouring him. That is the amount to which his bond and his guarantee and his evidence and his hostage extend. His food-provision is for himself alone, milk and curds or corn. He is not entitled to butter. He protects his equal in grade over his own *tuath*, and (the protégé) is fed by him till he goes over the border.

67. Why is this man called a *fer midboth*? Because they come out of boyhood (?) by right of fosterage, and he does not reach (the ownership of) a *fertach* (of land).<sup>1</sup>

68. Is a particular age determined for the *fer midboth* who swears to fines? The age of fourteen years is determined. The reason why he does not maintain statement or evidence is because he is only capable of evidence on every trivial matter before (the age of) seventeen years, (and) that he has not taken a possession (of the land of his kin) or an inheritance before that, unless a man of the Féní be joint husbandman with him. This is the person who swears to the fines of farm law.<sup>2</sup>

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number of retinue in guesting. *Othrus*, "sick-maintenance," for himself and one or more to attend him during his cure of wounds. The man who wounded him was liable. *Snádud*, "protection," the right of protecting strangers in the *tuath*; called *turthugud* in *Uraicecht Bec*. *Taurchreicc*, "client-price": when a freeman contracted to become a *dóerchêle*, or client without franchise under a lord, the lord paid him his honour-price, besides supplying him with stock. *Bés taige*, "house-custom": the food-tribute rendered by a client to his lord.

<sup>1</sup> *Both*, a booth, a cabin, a house of low degree. *Fer midboth* seems to mean "a between-house man," "a man of mid-cottages." From what follows, it is evident that the person so named was a minor, and from the foregoing, that he was under fosterage. Perhaps he was "between dwellings" in the sense of belonging both to his father's and to his foster-father's house. His right to a voice in legal matters may have arisen from a custom of showing special favour to foster-children.

<sup>2</sup> Proof by oath and proof by evidence were distinct processes. A man was not necessarily a witness of the facts about which he made oath. He declared his belief in a certain statement, and his declaration carried weight in proportion to his status. A person of superior status had (*for-toing*, "he overswears," *fortach*, "superior oath") the power of setting aside by his oath the oath of an inferior in status. This did not imply a right to swear falsely. On the contrary, "the lord who swears what he does not sustain" loses his rights over his clients (V 358, 7); and it may be inferred that no greater impunity belonged to persons of lower grade. Proof by oath may be regarded as a form of ordeal. It is mentioned (V 468, 470) along with three forms of ordeal which Saint Patrick is said to have confirmed. Proof by oath or ordeal is called *fír* (ib.).

Apparently the text implies that a minor between the ages of fourteen and seventeen could hold land in some kind of partnership, and exercise in some small degree the distinctive powers of franchise.

*Mruigrecht*, "farm-law," seems to be a name for the laws governing the relations of small agricultural communities which grew out of joint families. To this branch of law

69. The second *fer midboth*, who preserves statement, he is of better thrift. His statement is collected for him in three words till the third day. He preserves it without increase or diminution. He makes oath after some other man who takes precedence of him in swearing, and he swears (to the extent of) a heifer in the third stage or its value. This is his honour-price for his defamation, for violation of his precinct, for his expulsion, for dishonouring him. To this his bond, his guarantee, his evidence, his hostage, extend. Food-provision for himself alone, milk and curds or corn. He is not entitled to butter. He protects a man of his own grade over his *tuath*, having then a right to double food-provision.<sup>1</sup>

70. Sick-maintenance does not exist to-day, in this time, but only the payment of his worthy means to everyone according to his dignity, including physician's hire and linen and food-provision and the price of the disfigurement, injury, or defect; but there is a common due for every order of the orders of the *tuath* in the law of sick-maintenance.<sup>2</sup>

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belongs *Bretha Comaithchesa* (IV 68), the law of bee-keeping (IV 162), the law of partnership in watercourses (IV 206), and a very old, though unglossed, tract on common pasturage which has been printed as commentary (IV 100). "The fines of farm-law" were payable by one member to another of such communities in respect of trespasses, neglects, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Innsce*, statement, has reference to a statement made in court, probably on oath. The statement of a youth was tested, apparently, by being reduced to some sort of formulation "in three words" or sentences. Three days later, he was required to repeat it. If he could do so "without increase or diminution," he was classed as a *fer midboth* who preserves statement.

The stages or grades of value in cattle begin with the *dartaid*, a weaned heifer calf, valued at two screpalls of silver or three sacks of corn. The *dairt*, or yearling heifer, valued at three screpalls. The *colpthach*, a two-year-old heifer, valued at eight screpalls. The *samaisc*, or young cow that has not yet calved (*sam-sesc*, "dry in the summer," the normal season of calving being the spring, so that the *samaisc* yielded no milk in its third summer), valued at twelve screpalls. The milch-cow was held to be double the value of the *samaisc*. The *sét*, or "chattel," when the word is used as a measure of value, denotes the value of a *samaisc*. This was the normal unit, and the *dairt* was the usual fraction in reckoning.

"Defamation," *áir*: the word can hardly be limited to its later sense of a literary satire. *Díguin*, "violation of precinct," literally means absence of slaying or of wounding. Each landed householder had a "precinct" of land about his house, called his *maigen*. It varied in extent according to his status. A late tract on the subject (IV 226) appears to be a somewhat tentative essay based on older statements. Slaying, wounding, or quarrelling on the *maigen* was an offence against the owner's status. This ground is more fully named *maigen dígona*, and hence briefly *díguin*. Further, *díguin* came to imply "special immunity from trespass": *fér dígona* = grass preserved for hay or winter pasture. *Essáin*, "expulsion," probably from a guesthouse or place of common resort. *Sárugud*, "dishonouring," lit. "overpowering," chiefly with regard to the right to protect strangers, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This is one of the many passages that indicate changes in the law known to early writers. We are to infer that, in an earlier time, the person who inflicted a wound on his fellow-citizen was himself obliged by law to make direct provision for the care and cure

IV 302.—71. An oath is sworn by body and soul, and a hostage is given (lit. goes) on behalf of the man who sheds the blood, for fulfilment of the law (lit. in the law) of sick-maintenance to the value of (lit. in) a cow. (The wounder) conveys (the wounded man) over gory sod into a high sanctuary with protection that protects against sudden wave of throng. He gives additional pledge afterwards against a bed that a physician forbids, (and) to provide a physician until final cure, in fore-health, in after-health. It is fulfilment (of the due) of the carriers (lit. number) of the bed, to protect them as far as the station of the *tuath*.<sup>1</sup>

72. What are the proper provisions due from everyone for which a hostage is given to obey the physician's decision? Full attendance secured upon guarantors, unless one obtain his care from the offender—and by force it is exacted. It is along with full *díre* and honourprice that the claim is sued, even though suit be made through a tongueless person. (The wounded man) goes and his mother with him upon support. He is entitled to cream in place of new milk on the third, fifth, ninth, and tenth days, (and) on Sunday.<sup>2</sup>

73. Is a special age determined for the *fer midboth* who preserves statement? Yes, from fourteen years to twenty, to the fringe of beard. Even though he were to attain the condition of *bóaire* before he is beard-encircled, his oath only pays as the oath of a *fer midboth*. Even though he be without

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of the patient, but that, at the time of writing, instead of direct provision, payment of the expenses was required. For "sick-maintenance," instead of *othrus* (lit. "sickness" or "wounded condition") as above, the older term seems to have been *foloch*, with verb *fo-loing*. See Heptad 60, V 313, where the commentary says that the wounder may choose either to bring the wounded man and his attendants to his own house or to pay for their support, etc.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph seems to embody the mnemonic provisions of oral law. The assailant puts himself on the safe side of the law by immediately swearing to provide for the cure of the wounded, giving a hostage as security for initial expenses, and escorting the wounded to a special place of safety with sufficient guard to prevent a further attack by a crowd of his own party. The high sanctuary (*ardnemed*) and the station of the *tuath* (*forus tuaithe*) point to a public infirmary. Final cure (*déroc*) implies a legal period, varying according to the nature of the wound. This period included the time of recovery (*arsláine*, "fore-health"), and the time of full convalescence (*iarsláine*, "after-health"). If anything went wrong with the wound in the meantime, the pledge must be fulfilled. Upon this, see also III, 535.

<sup>2</sup> This differs from the commentary above mentioned, in indicating that the choice between payment and direct support belongs to the wounded person. "By force" (*ar écin*) does not mean by physical force, but is the contrary of *ar áis*, "by consent"—it means that direct support can be exacted by process of law against the will of the offender. If the latter refuses consent at first, the claim comprises honourprice and *díre*, i.e. *corpdíre*, "bodyprice," as well as maintenance (*othrus*, *foloch*). A very old poem, with glosses, on these three payments, is found at III. "A tongueless person" (*étnge*) means a person without franchise, and so normally incapable of suing. The time is divided into periods of ten days, probably an old Celtic division, the third part of a month.

taking an inheritance (of land), too, until old age, his oath still does not go beyond a *fer midboth*. His purchase as client is five chattels. A wether with its accompaniment is his house-custom. That is the custom of a single-kin a man who cultivates neither possession nor land for himself. The accompaniment of the wether: twelve cakes, butter, *nem beóil*, a bunch of leeks with heads, a drinking-vessel of milk three palms (high), cream and new milk and *draumce*, or buttermilk.

74. No one is entitled to invite to his house as long as he is a minor, until he is capable of husbandry apart and of taking property; a *fer midboth* (is not so entitled) as long as he is single-kin, unless he be bound to it by (his) lord, so as he sustain no custom beyond a wether with its accompaniment.

V 304.—75. If the means of his house increase so that he is of the means of a *bóaire*, or something higher, the ordering of his client-purchase increases for him accordingly. He likewise increases his render until his house-custom therein is according to his dignity, unless some other lord make a further contract with him. A half-share in a cornfield (is due) from him on the third day after notice. (He owes) to (his) lord a third of his *donn* and of his inebriety and of his sloth and of his payment.<sup>1</sup>

76. '*Ocaire*, his position as *aire* is higher. Why is he called *ócaire*, "young noble"? For the juniority of his noble grade. [Nay, but because he is younger (than *airig* in general) when he begins husbandry].

77. What is his property? He has sevenwise means: seven cows with their bull; seven pigs with a brood sow; seven sheep; a horse both for working and for riding. He has land of thrice seven *cumals*. That is a "cow's land" in the tradition of the Féni, it sustains seven cows for a year; that is (when it is let for grazing), seven cows are put into it, (and the grazier) leaves one of the seven cows at the year's end for the rent of the land.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To the rule that a minor could not entertain guests, there is the exception that he could entertain his lord, having bound himself thereto, provided that he is subject to no more than his proper house-custom. If he makes a contract of clientship with a second lord, he must give notice to his first lord and forfeit the produce of a piece of cornland. He owes his (first?) lord certain reliefs, when the lord incurs certain liabilities. '*Eraicc*, "payment," probably refers to liability for homicide or violence. *Lesca*, "sloth," may have reference to remissness in suit of court, hostings, etc. *Donn* appears to mean theft or similar wrong committed by one guest against another and involving the host in liability.

<sup>2</sup> This is one of the rare statements that help towards an understanding of the ancient Irish notion and manner of valuing land. According to this passage, 21 *cumals* of land had an annual letting value of one cow. This must be ordinary pasture land, not mountain grazing. The *cumal* of land measured six *forrachs* in breadth and twelve *forrachs* in length (V 276, y z). The *forrach* was twelve times the *fertach* of 12 feet: 144 feet. This gives an area of about 34½ English acres for the *tir cumailte* or *cumal* of land. It is, however, wholly incredible that twenty-one times this area, or about

78. He has a fourth (share of) a plough; an ox, a plough-share, a goad, a halter; so that he is competent to be a partner; a share in a kiln, in a mill, in a barn; a cooking pot.<sup>1</sup>

79. The size of his house: it is larger than a house of rentcharge. For the size of the latter is seventeen feet. It is of wickerwork to the lintel. From this to the roof-tree, a *dit* between every two weavings (?). Two doorways in it. A door for one of them, a hurdle for the other, and this (the hurdle)

721 acres, supported only about seven cows, a cow to 100 acres. When the writer says, "That is a cow's land," supporting seven cows and rented annually for one cow, he must mean a single *cumal*. The *cumal* as a measure of value was equal to three cows.

According to the text *Fodla Tíre* (properly *Di Thír Chumaile* IV 278 z), the purchase value of a *cumal* of the best arable land was 24 milch-cows, of medium arable land 20 milch-cows, of inferior arable land 16 milch-cows. Of grazing land, the purchase value, according to quality, is given at twelve or eight dry cows. This does not comprise woodland or mountain land (IV 278, 8, 9). These are basic values, augmented, as the text says, by the proximity of woodland, a silver-mine, a mill-site, a byroad, a main road, the sea, a stream, mountain grazing, river fishing, a cattle-pond, a road for cattle; each of these conveniences made an addition, varying from a heifer to a *cumal*, to the capital value.

The low value attached to land, in comparison with cattle, confirms the evidence of *Bretha Comaithchesa*, *Cuibnisi Uisci*, etc., that the seventh and eighth centuries were a time of very great agricultural development, when much of the fertile land began to be partitioned among holders and fenced off for the first time. Except men of learning, arts, or crafts, every freeman in C.G., including the higher nobility, from the rank of *fer midboth* upward, is owner or part-owner of a plough and a water-mill. There was plenty of good land awaiting division and enclosure. The values quoted above refer only to enclosed land. The definite measures of length and breadth, everywhere in evidence, point to systematic laying out and fencing. The method was of ancient Celtic tradition. The land was enclosed in rectangular strips, the length being twice the breadth. The long side of the area is called *taeb*, "side," the short side is called *airchem*, "fore-end." From the Celtic original of this term, *\*aregennos*, was derived the Gaulish *arepennis*, and thence the French *arpent*. According to Columella, *arepennis* was the name given by the Gauls to a *semijugerum* of 150 feet (in length and breadth). A later writer (see Holder, *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, s.v.) says that the *arepennis* measured CXX by CX[X] feet, and that two *arepennes* made a (Roman) *jugerum* (240 × 120 feet). The name itself, however, is a sufficient indication that the *arepennis*, like the *jugerum*, was based on a rectangular plan, in which the side was twice the length of the "fore-end." The Irish *fórrach* of 144 feet corresponds closely to the lateral 150 feet of the *arepennis*, which may have been made to conform later or locally to the Roman *jugerum*. According to another writer (Holder, s.v.) the *arepennis* contained 12 *perticae*. The Irish longitudinal *fórrach* contained 12 *fertaig*. *Fertach* is thus a loan word from the Latin *pertica* (> English *perch*). The first *fer midboth* in C.G. "does not reach [i.e. own as much as] a *fertach*."

<sup>1</sup> The *écaire* had thus only one-fourth of the extent of tilled land that one plough normally ploughed in the season. To each plough there were four oxen, but these were probably yoked two at a time. Already in the Bronze Age the Ligurians ploughed with two oxen (*Déchelette*, Manuel II, fig. 1). Small landholders tilled, ground their grain, and stored it, in partnership. *Commus*, genitive *coimmse*, in the text, must mean "partnership." It is the noun corresponding to the verb *con-midiur* in the sense of "to equal."

without (projecting) wattles, without protuberances (?). A bare fence of boards around it. An oaken plank between every two beds.<sup>1</sup>

IV 306.—80. An *ócaire's* house is larger. Its size is nineteen feet. Its outhouse is thirteen feet, so that his house-custom may be divided (?) in two. Eight cows are his loan-capital. That is ten chattels. It is the double of the loan-capital of the previous grade; for it is from land that these (?) grades do vassal-service; of land, too, the value of his ten chattels (is given) to this man to retain him as vassal. That land, too, is as means for him against it (i.e. against the service due from him).<sup>2</sup>

81. A *dartaid* of Shrovetide with its complement is his house-custom. A pig's belly (i.e. a belly of bacon) therewith is the bacon that he pays with the cow, or a bacon of one inch, fairly cut, and three sacks of malt and a half-sack of wheat. For as double of the loan-capital of the lower grades is the loan-capital of the higher grade, double of the render, too, is his house-custom.<sup>3</sup>

82. He protects his equal in grade, for no grade protects one of higher grade. He is entitled to food-provision for two persons, of milk and curds or corn. He is not entitled to butter. A noggin of twelve inches of *draumce* instead of new milk for each of the two, and a full-sized cake, or two cakes of woman's baking. He is two (i.e. another accompanies him) on sick-maintenance. Butter, in this case, on the third, fifth, ninth, and tenth day, and on Sunday.<sup>4</sup>

83. Three chattels are his honourprice, but they are chattels of kine. He is entitled to the *díre* of a hostage.

Wherefore are these chattels paid him? Answer—For his defamation, for his expulsion, for violation of his precinct, for his dishonouring, for the burning

<sup>1</sup> *Cís* in the early usage of the Laws denotes a charge for a particular purpose imposed on land, etc. *Inchís* probably meant an "introduced charge," i.e. a charge in support of some external object. A foot-note, IV 305, says that a *teg inchís* was a house for an aged man who gave up his land in return for maintenance. The size of a house is usually indicated as above by a single dimension, so that the house was either square or circular in plan. If *cleithe* meant roof-tree or ridge-pole, the house was square. *Dit itir each diiti* is translated (IV 305) "A dripping-board between every two weavings," which seems conjectural.

<sup>2</sup> The writer indicates that this is an exceptional case, in which land is given, instead of cattle, as the loan-capital by which vassal-service is purchased. *Taurchreicc* means both the purchasing of vassal-service (*aicillne*) and the capital given for that purpose. The verb is *\*to-aurchren*, said of the lord, "he purchases (a *dóerchéle*) by a loan of capital."

<sup>3</sup> A *dartaid* at Shrovetide would probably be a heifer about nine months old. "With the cow" must mean with this animal. *Bés taige*, "house-custom," is the annual food-payment made to the lord as a return on his capital. *Somáin*, "profit," is also used to denote the return on capital.

<sup>4</sup> *Draumce*, dative sing. *draumcu*, is translated "*draumche*-milk," IV 303, and "sour milk," IV 307; *ar lemlacht* is translated "upon new milk," but the change of *for*, "upon," to *ar* is much later than this text, and "sour milk upon new milk" is most unlikely.

of his house, for robbing it, for (taking) theft out of it, for (taking) theft into it, for forcing his wife, his daughter. But it is a rule of law in the tradition of the Féni, half of the *díre* (i.e. of the honourprice) of every grade of the *tuath* for his wife and his son and his daughter, unless it be a *dormuine* or a son who is a defaulter from his filial duty—for these a fourth. His honour-price is (the measure of value to which) he makes oath and which goes upon his bond and his guarantee and his hostage and his evidence. And the two chattels that are wanting for him, it is because the establishment of his house is not complete, and that he cannot become guarantee for them like every *bóaire*, owing to the smallness of his means.<sup>1</sup>

IV 308.—84. A “vassal excelling vassals in husbandry”: his cattle are in sums of ten: that is, he has ten cows, ten pigs, ten sheep; a fourth part in a plough, to wit, an ox and a ploughshare and a goad and a halter. He has a house of twenty feet, with an outhouse of fourteen feet. Four chattels are his *díre* for his defamation, for his expulsion, for violation of his precinct, for violation of his honour. He makes oath to that extent. He is bond, surety, hostage, suitor, witness to that extent. Ten cows are his capital from a lord. The choice of his yearling stock and a bacon of two fingers, fairly cut, and four sacks of malt, and a . . . measure of salt, is the custom of his house. Proper furniture, both irons and vessels.<sup>2</sup>

85. This is the “baptismal vassal,” if he be in his innocence, free from theft, from plunder, from slaying a man except on a day of battle, or someone who sues him for his head; being in rightful wedlock and faultless on fast days and Sundays and in Lents.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The last clause indicates that five chattels was held to be the normal minimum of honourprice for a freeman. Five chattels was the ordinary *díre* for offences against property, and a person who could not give security to that extent was below the normal free status. The *bóaire* was a sort of freeman cadet. What is said above of his son and daughter shows that the term *bóaire* (lit. “young noble”) is not indicative of youth. *Dormuine* was the name of one of several kinds of concubine.

<sup>2</sup> “A vassal excelling,” etc. The text here has *aithech ar a threba*; a *deich deichde*, etc. *Deichde* belongs to the following clause. Read *aithech ara-threba aithechaib*. *Aithech* means primarily a person from whom *aithe*, repayment, is due. The repayment in question is the return on capital advanced by a lord, and *aithech* means a person bound to make such repayment. *Ar treba*, lit. “fore-cultivates.” Cp. *ar bí*, “excels.”

“The choice of his yearling stock,” lit. “the choice of a generation.” As the classification is between that of the *bóaire*, who pays “a Shrovetide heifer” in house-custom, and the *bóaire febsa*, who pays a two-year-old steer, the “generation” must mean the calves born in the year before payment.

<sup>3</sup> “Baptismal vassal,” *aithech baitside*. The name, in the form *aithech baitse*, appears again in *Miadlechta*, IV 352, to denote one of the low grades without franchise and unfit for military service. Taking the two passages together, we may infer that the term was one of current usage rather than a legal technicality, and the notion was of a man who had “preserved his baptismal innocence,” which to one writer meant that he was a good peaceful agriculturist, to the other that he was not good in any other sense.

86. What deprives this man of the status of *bóaire*? It is that perhaps four or five men may be in joint heirship to a *bóaire*, so that each of them cannot easily be a *bóaire*.

He is entitled to the food-provision for two men of milk and curds or corn, butter on Sundays, a *serccol* of condiment with this, *duilesc*, onions, salt. He is entitled to have two persons on sick-maintenance, (and) to butter on alternate days.<sup>1</sup>

87. A "*bóaire* of excellence," why is he so called? Because his nobility and his honourprice are derived from kine. He has twice seven cumals of land; a house of twenty-seven feet, with an outhouse of fifteen feet; a share in a mill, so that he grinds for his family and his companies of guests; a kiln, a barn, a sheep-fold, a calf-fold, a pigsty. These are the seven roof-trees in respect of which every *bóaire* is paid *dire*. He has twelve cows, a half-share in a plough, a horse for working and a steed for riding. Twelve cows are his capital from a lord. A steer with its accompaniment is his house-custom as summer-provision and winter-provision. Five chattels for his *dire* as regards whatever is an offence to him for his honourprice.<sup>2</sup>

IV 310.—88. What makes five chattels the honourprice of the *bóaire*? Answer: His functions: a chattel for his bond, a chattel for his guarantee, a chattel for his evidence, a chattel for his hostage, a chattel for his composing (disputes) and for his judgment in farm-law. He makes oath (up to) five chattels, they (five chattels) go upon his bond and his guarantee and his hostage and his evidence. His food-provision is for three persons. He is entitled to have three persons on sick-maintenance; to butter on the second, third, fifth, ninth, and tenth day, (and) on Sunday. Fresh or salted onions for condiment. What is wanting to the qualifications of the *bóaire* is wanting to his *dire*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "A *serccol* of condiment." The official translation of *serccol tarsain* is "salted venison." A vessel or measure named *ol* is of frequent mention. *Sercc*- may represent *sergg*, "shrunk." *Duilesc* is still the name of a seaweed which is dried and eaten as a kind of condiment.

<sup>2</sup> "A horse for working and a steed for riding"—*cappall fognoma ocus ech immrimme*: the meaning may be "a saddle-horse for ordinary use and a racehorse for racing," since it is doubtful whether horses were generally used for work. *Dire* in the second passage means honourprice. In the first, it probably means *trebdire*, special amends due for injury done to a house.

<sup>3</sup> The statement that the *bóaire*'s five chattels of honourprice are based on his five legal functions, when compared with the other grades, is seen to be merely mnemonic.

"Salted onions," *cáinnenn saillte*. *Cáinnenn*, rendered sometimes by "onions," sometimes by "leeks," means some vegetable preserved by salting (cf. § 11 n). *Fir*- as in the modern *fíoruisge*, "fresh water."

*Mruigrecht*, "farm-law." See § 68 n.

89. A "landman" (*mruigfer*), why is he so called? From the number of his lands. Land of three times seven cumals he has. He is the *bóaire* of adjudication, the *bóaire* of *genus*, with all the apparatus of his house in their proper places: a cauldron with its spits and supports; a vat in which a boiling [of ale] may be stirred(?); a cauldron for ordinary use [and its] utensils, including irons and trays and mugs, with its . . .; a washing-trough and a bath, tubs, candlesticks, knives for cutting rushes, ropes, an adze, an auger, a saw, a pair of shears, a trestle(?), an axe; the tools for use in every season, every implement thereof unborrowed; a grindstone, mallets, a billhook, a hatchet, spears for killing cattle; a fire always alive, a candle on the candlestick without fail; full ownership of a plough with all its outfit.<sup>1</sup>

90. The following are the functions of the *bóaire* of adjudication [aforesaid]: There be two casks in his house always, a cask of milk and a cask of ale. A man of three snouts (he is): the snout of a rooting hog that smooths the wrinkles of the face in every season; the snout of a bacon pig on a hook; the snout of a plough that pierces (? the ground); so that he may be ready to receive king or bishop or doctor or judge from the road, and for the visits of every company; a man of three sacks (that he has) always in his house for each quarter of the year: a sack of malt, a sack of sea-ash against the cutting up of joints of his cattle, a sack of charcoal for irons. Seven houses he has, a kiln, a barn, a mill—his share therein so that he grinds in it for others, a dwelling of twenty-seven feet, an outhouse of seventeen feet, a pigsty, a calf-fold, a sheep-fold. Twenty cows, two bulls, six oxen, twenty pigs, twenty sheep, four hundred hogs, two brood sows, a saddle-horse, an enamelled bridle. Sixteen sacks (of seed) in the ground. He has a bronze cauldron in which a hog fits. He owns a park in which there are always sheep without (need to) change ground.

IV 312.—He and his wife have (each) four costumes. His wife is daughter of his equal in grade in lawful matrimony. He is good in oath, in bond, in guarantee, in evidence, in hostage, in loan, in loan at interest, free from theft, from plunder, from homicide. Two *cumals* are his capital from a lord. A cow with its accompaniment is his house-custom, both winter-food and summer-food. Three persons are his company in the *tuath*. He is entitled to butter with condiment always. He protects his equal in grade. He is entitled to salted meat on the third, fifth, ninth, and tenth days, and on Sunday. He makes oath in litigation (up to) six chattels, he is bond, surety,

<sup>1</sup> *Genus* may possibly mean "comfort" or "good cheer." The details in this instance indicate that the writer has in view a typical prosperous husbandman. *Fidchraim*, rendered "trestle" above, probably means a strong wooden frame to hold large timber for sawing, etc.

§ 16 witness, hostage, and suitor to that amount. This is his full honourprice, but there are five chattels for going over his enclosure without leave. There is no penalty for opening it from without. Five chattels for opening his house without leave, a cow for gazing into it, a *dairt* for (taking) a handful (of thatch) from it, a *dartaid* for two, a *colpthach* for an armful, a *samaisc* for a half-truss, a cow for a truss, and restitution of the thatch. Five chattels for passing through his house or through his fold, for breaking his door; a *dartaid* for (removing) a rod below, a *dairt* for a rod above, a *samaisc* for a wattle below, a *colpthach* for a wattle above, a *dairt* for a front doorpost of the house, a *dartaid* for a rear doorpost of the house. Half honourprice of each grade of a *tuath* for stealing what is not his out of his garth, a seventh for stealing (bringing stolen property) into it. A short cast (of a spear) on each side is the lawful measure of his garth. Half the *díre* of a steading for trespass (therein). Penalty is and is not incurred towards him for breakage on the floor of the house: no penalty for each precious thing, penalty for each thing that is not precious; no penalty for gold and silver and bronze, penalty for every trough and all furniture that is proper on the floor; a *dairt* for a rear post of the couch, a *dartaid* for [a front] post of the couch . . . of fir (?) and oak; with restitution of each of them, both precious and not precious; a *dairt* for every piece of woodwork as far as the wall.<sup>1</sup>

IV 314.—To break a couch is exempt and not exempt from penalty. What is lower in order is exempt, what is higher in order is not exempt. The *forán* (?) of his kitchen has the same measure (of penalties) as the parts of the couch that are subject to *díre*. There is new straw (?) for the strewing of it.<sup>2</sup> What is subject to *díre* in regard of a bed: If it be a wisp (taken) from a pillow, its *díre* is a good cushion. If it be a wisp from any part below this, its *díre* is a good skin rug. If it be a wisp from the feet, its *díre* is paid in good shoes. If it be a wisp from the wall, new rushes for the

<sup>1</sup> "Penalty . . . for breakage." Breakage in the house, incurring penalties, must be by outsiders. If these were not present by the owner's leave, their acts would have a different complexion. The writer, then, has guests in view—a festive party, in effect, and damage resulting from indeliberate acts. This explains why liability is incurred for breaking things that are in their proper place on the floor, and not for breaking valuables which ought not to be on the floor, the responsibility in the latter case resting on the owner.

<sup>2</sup> "Of fir and oak." There must be a lacuna preceding the corresponding passage in the text.

*Airíde* may mean something like an alcove. The lower parts, being ordinarily in the way of breakage, are exempt; the upper parts, being less in the way, would not be broken except by needless and excessive violence, and their breakage thus incurred liability. *Díre* = penalty above restitution. We may conjecture that the *forán* of the kitchen was a resting-place for the menials of the guesting party. To supply fresh litter is part of the penalty for the damage.

strewing of it. If it be throwing upside down, a chattel therefor, and restitution.<sup>1</sup> (There is) exempt and unexempt in the case of a bed. It is exempt to sit and lie down in it, and even if breakage be done it—in this case, up to a height level with the head; whatever is higher than the head is not exempt. The *díre* of the two posts is one chattel. If it be in the winter quarter, a half is added.<sup>2</sup>

91. Grinding without leave in the mill of a "landman," five chattels and forfeiture of the meal that is ground without permission, and honourprice if his guests have to fast. If there be damage, honourprice of each man whose property it is, and restitution with (forfeiture of) the forepledge of grinding.<sup>3</sup> If it be a kiln that is damaged, (in using it) without leave, a cow with a *dairt* is the *díre* for it, and restitution. Injury to anything in it is exempt, except corn that is threshed on the floor and its own sets of implements.<sup>4</sup>

92. The *díre* of his barn, five chattels, and restitution (of damage done to the building) with whatever is damaged in it. The *díre* of his pigsty, five chattels in swine, and restitution. The *díre* of his hatchet, a *colpthach*; half thereof for his billhook, before the time of fencing; in that time it is a *colpthach*.

IV 316.—93. *Fer fothlai*, "a man of withdrawal," why is he so called? This man takes precedence of (the other) *bóairig*, because he withdraws somewhat from the position of *bóaire* in order to lend capital to clients. The surplus of his cattle, of his cows, his swine, his sheep, that his own land cannot bear and that he cannot sell for land, that he himself does not need, he gives in capital to acquire clients. What are the returns from this man's chattels? Returns of seed from them: the value of each cow's manure in seed of corn for food; for a vassal is not entitled to malt till he be a lord.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The feet" may mean what is called in English the foot of the bed. "The wall" may mean the upstanding portion forming a back to the bed; it was probably padded with rushes after the manner of thatching.

<sup>2</sup> Here again, it is taken as a matter of course that the guests, having feasted, may damage anything that rightly comes in their way. If they go out of their way to damage things which are in a reasonably safe position, liability is incurred. The bed, having only two posts, must have been attached at one side to the wall. In winter, the damage caused greater discomfort and was harder to make good.

<sup>3</sup> *Tairgell* or *tairgillne*, "forepledge" (see *Bretha Comaithchesa*). When husbandry was carried on by neighbours in common, even to the extent of having fences between two holdings, they gave this kind of pledges to each other in advance as security against damage which one might suffer from the act or neglect of the other.

<sup>4</sup> The principle of proper place again operates here. Except its own implements and the corn, other articles are out of place in the kiln.

<sup>5</sup> This grade is between the vassal (*ailhech*) and the lord (*flaith*) of Irish law. He has begun to acquire clients by lending his surplus capital, he himself remaining client to another.

94. Question—When does a vassal become a lord from the grade of *bóaire*? . . . . . When he has double (of the qualifications) of an *aire déssó*, then he is the *aire déssó* who is called a "*bóaire* excelling *bóairig*"—he acquires distinction over them if he obtains by advancing capital the [number of] clients of any *aire déssó*, differing from him, however, (in having) double of (the qualifications of) an *aire déssó*. Eight chattels is the price of his honour.<sup>1</sup>

. . . . . When, then, he doubles the wealth of a *bóaire*, then he is an *aire déssó*; for, though he increase honour-price to that extent, it does not change the name of (his) grade for him. He makes oath (up to) eight chattels, he is bond, surety, hostage, suitor, and witness, to that extent. Four *cumals* are his capital from a lord. A cow with its accompaniment is his house-custom every second year, a two-year-old steer in the alternate year. Twenty-seven feet is his house, seventeen his outhouse. Four is the number of his guest-company. Butter with condiment for him always. He is entitled to four persons on sick-maintenance, lighting for four, salt meat on the third, fifth, ninth, and tenth days, and on Sunday. It is of this grade that the law of the Féni proclaims: "True lords are entitled to excess over the obedience that they reckon. A lord who is not valid obtains half the equivalent of the wealth that he amasses. Unless ten chattels give him status, five chattels sue covenants till there be perfect fulness of equivalents, for a half perishes from inevitable default (?)."<sup>2</sup>

95. *Aire coisring*, "a noble of constraint," why is he so called? Because he constrains *tuath* and king and synod on behalf of his kindred, to whom he does not owe fulfilment over simple contracts, but they accept him for chief and he makes speech for them. This is the "noble of a kin." He gives a pledge for his kin to king and synod and craftsmen, to compel them to obedience.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Immediately following the question is the phrase, *Indul is frith faithe*, for which O'Curry's translation is, "Upon going into a true green," explained in a foot-note as referring to a precinct of four fields surrounding the house, but the words do not bear this rendering, and, as they stand, are to me unintelligible. The scribe may have substituted for some phrase obscure to him the known phrase *frith faitheche*, meaning "lost property found on private land" (see V. 320, 328).

<sup>2</sup> The clause omitted, *Ni ar mruagfer riam*, is translated by O'Curry, "It is not among 'brughaidh'-men he is counted"—an untenable rendering. The text appears defective. "Lighting for four," *fursunduth cethrair*; there is no corresponding provision for the other grades. O'Curry's rendering is, "Food for four is required." The quotation, one of many not found in any published ancient tract, is not clear in meaning to me.

<sup>3</sup> I do not pretend to understand the technical force of the foregoing passage, beyond that the noble in question is the legal head and spokesman of a joint family. The "constraint" which is the basis of his designation is probably that which is expressed in the last sentence.

96. What is the amount of the pledge he gives? A pledge (to the value of) five chattels of whatever he has, of silver or bronze or yew.<sup>1</sup>

IV 318.—97. What is the fulfilment of his pledge? A cow for every night that (the pledge) is outstanding (?) on behalf of those on whose behalf it is given, up to the tenth night, is the (*fuillem*) price of engagement of the pledge, and (there is) in addition the compensation (for loss) of its function, and his honourprice according to his dignity, if it be his proper pledge that he has given; and if he give excess of pledge, his honourprice and his pledge sound with its price of engagement are to be repaid in like manner.<sup>2</sup>

98. Question—When is his pledge forfeited? At the end of a month. What is its fulfilment accordingly? A cow for every night that it is outstanding and that it has been neglected (i.e. that the condition for which it is security has been left unfulfilled) on behalf of a person who has neither given a pledge (on his own behalf) nor submitted to adjudication in its regard, as we have said. Five chattels, then, up to the tenth night, three times, in that case—this is the fulfilment of his pledge. This, then, is the engagement-price of his chattels, if he give them in a protecting cover.<sup>3</sup>

99. Nine chattels are his honourprice; he is bond, surety, witness, suitor, hostage to that extent. Five *cumals* are his capital from a lord. A cow with its accompaniment and a two-year-old steer with its garnishings in winter, along with summer-food, is the custom of his house. A house of thirty feet with an outhouse of nineteen feet. Five persons are his guest-company. He is entitled to butter, a *serceol* of condiment, salt meat on the third, fifth, ninth, and tenth day, and on Sunday.

100. The honourprice of every grade of these is complete, unless their means fail, that is, provided they fall not in the seven respects in which the honour of everyone falls. What are these? Answer—His defamation, to bring an accusation against him without (giving) a pledge for his honour, false witness, (to give) a false character, evasion of bond, default of suretyship, to forfeit his hostage in a matter for which the hostage has been given, defilement of his honour.

<sup>1</sup> See "*Bretha im Fuillema Gell*." In this form of security, a person incurring some liability was secured by getting someone of higher rank to deposit a pledge on his behalf. The pledge was usually an article of special value. Besides recovering the pledge, the debtor had to make a payment called *fuillem* for the benefit of it. If the pledge became forfeit by default, heavy liability was incurred.

<sup>2</sup> "*Bretha im Fuillema Gell*" states the kinds of pledge proper to be given by persons of various grades of status.

<sup>3</sup> "Five chattels" = the value of three cows. In the next sentence, "chattels" is to be taken in the ordinary sense, with reference to the articles, of whatever kind or value, that are given in pledge.

*Slán*, "fulfilment," here seems to mean the total liability incurred by the debtor or defendant towards the person who gives a pledge on his behalf.

V 320.—101. Question—What washes away from one's honour these seven things? Answer—Any filth that stains a person's honour, there be three that wash it away, soap and water and towel. This, first, is the soap, confession of the misdeed before men and promise not to return thereto again. The water, next, payment for whatever perishes through his misdeeds. The towel, penance for the misdeed, by the judgment of books.

102. These are the classes of *bóairig*. Each grade that is nobler precedes another.

103. After this begin the grades of lords. The basis of rule, that is, rule from (lordship of) a *déis* to a king.

104. How many are the subdivisions of these? Seven. What are they? *Aire déso*, *aire échta*, *aire ardd*, *aire túise*, *aire forgill*, second to king, and king.

What gives them status? Their *déis*, their rights, each of them, both small and great.

105. Question—What is the *déis* of a lord? The good right of protecting arts. There are four kinds of *déis* for lords: the ancient protection of the *tuath* is his function in the *tuath*, including the function of commander or second commander, whichever function of them it be; his clients of vassalage, his free clients, his old retainers; the punishment of every defective vassalage; the retention of cottiership and *fuidir*-ship that he brings on his land, for wealth is greater than worthies. If there be service from them to lords until the ninth nine (year), they are cottiers or *fuidirs*. They are old retainers thereafter.<sup>1</sup>

106. The *aire déso*, why is he so called? Because it is in regard of his *déis* that his *díre* (honour-price) is paid. Not so the *bóaire*, it is for his cattle that *díre* is paid to him.<sup>2</sup>

IV 322.—107. What is the property of an *aire déso*? He has ten clients, five clients of vassalage and five free clients. His five clients of vassalage, he is entitled to a definite food-provision from each of them. A cow with its accompaniment, and a two-year-old steer, and three yearling heifers, every winter, as well as his summer-food, he is entitled to from his five clients of

<sup>1</sup> *Déis* here means the rule of a lord in the widest sense. Usually it means the body of persons subject to his rule. It is not easy to make out what particular four kinds of *déis* are intended. They are probably (1) military authority in the *tuath*, (2) *dórchéli*, here called *céli giullnai*, "clients of vassalage," (3) *sórchéli*, "free clients," (4) unfree tenants, including *senchlethi*, "old retainers," who were bound to the land, and *bothaig*, "cottiers," and *fuidre*, who were not so bound. After three generations of service, however, or eighty-one years, the *bothach* and the *fuidir* became *senchlethi*.

<sup>2</sup> In other words, the status of an *aire déso* or any noble of higher grade is based on the number of his clients; the status of a *bóaire* or any noble of lower grade is based on his wealth in kine.

vassalage. Ten married couples are his due (the company that he may lawfully bring with him) on visitation (of his clients) from New Year's Day to Shrovetide; he being son of a noble and grandson of a noble, and having his house in proper state, as to furniture and entertainment and rectitude. A house of twenty-seven feet, with a proper outhouse. Eight beds with their furnishing in it, drinking vessels, cauldrons, with the full supply of a noble's house of work-vessels, including a vat. He protects the rights of his clients in regard of liabilities, justice, statute-law, and treaty-law. (He has) a bed for his foster-son, his foster-brother, for man, for wife, for son, for daughter. He is well grounded in the law of the family and of the *tuath* and of lordship and of the church and of government and of treaties.<sup>1</sup>

Six *cumals* are his capital from a lord.<sup>2</sup> Two cows with their accompaniment are his house-custom in winter, with his summer-food (besides). A suitable saddle-horse with a silver bridle. He has four horses with green bridles and a precious brooch of an ounce. A lawful wife, his equal in birth, suitable to him, with equal outfit. Ten chattels are his honourprice. He makes oath, is bond, surety, hostage, suitor, witness, to that amount. Seven persons are his retinue in the *tuath*. He is entitled to butter always, with salted condiment. This is the *muclaithe* lord. He is entitled to six persons on sick-maintenance. Protection for six persons. He is entitled to butter and salt meat on the second, third, fifth, ninth, and tenth day, and on Sunday.

108. What gives ten chattels as the *díre* (= honourprice) of this man? Five chattels in regard of his own house in the first place, and five in regard of the five houses that are in vassalage to him, provided that he do not waste or diminish his nobility in regard of its means, small and great, lest he be cast out of his rule.

IV 324.—109. The *aire échta*, why is he so called? Because he is a leader of five who is left to do feats of arms in [a neighbouring territory under] treaty-law for the space of a month, to avenge an offence against the honour of the *tuath*, one of whose men has been lately slain. If they do not (avenge this) within a month, they come upon treaty-law, so that their beds do not follow him from without. If they kill men within treaty-law, the same five, the *aire échta* must pay on their behalf, provided that land or bronze of a

<sup>1</sup> This is a most important passage, showing that when it was written, though expert knowledge of the law belonged to the jurists, the ordinary knowledge and practice of it belonged also to freemen. It also states the main divisions of the law.

<sup>2</sup> From this it appears that a lord who had clients could himself be client to a superior lord. His "retinue in the *tuath*" is probably the number of persons who accompanied him to the assembly, as distinguished from his company when he visited his clients.

cauldron be not paid for it, but vessels to the value of a cow. He brings them out then to be . . . . . till the expiration of treaty-law, (taking them) on the number of his protection and (that) of his friends. His retinue and his sick-maintenance are due as (those) of an *aire déssó*.<sup>1</sup>

§ 26 110. The *aire ardd*, "high noble," why is he so called? Because he is higher than the *aire déssó*, and it is he who precedes him. He has twenty clients, ten clients of vassalage and ten free clients. His ten clients of vassalage, two cows with their accompaniment he is entitled to from them, and three two-year-old steers, and five yearling heifers, every winter, with their summer-food. He represents (?) his clients in contract and treaty-law. Each grade that is lower than he, they (can) be in clientship to him. Fifteen chattels are his honourprice; he makes oath, is bond, surety, hostage, suitor, and witness to that amount.

111. What gives fifteen chattels of honourprice for this man? Five chattels for him first, for the wealth of his own house; one chattel for each house from which he is entitled to a definite food-provision. Seven persons are his retinue in his *tuath*, five men in private. Protection of seven. He is entitled to salt meat and butter on the second, third, fifth [ninth and] tenth day, and on Sunday. Seven *cumals* are his capital from a lord. Three cows with their accompaniment are his house-custom. Twenty married couples are his proper company on visitation from New Year's Day till Shrovetide.

§ 27 IV 326.—112. The *aire tíise*, "leading noble," why is he so called? Because he is leader of his kindred and precedes an *aire ardd*. He has twenty-seven clients, fifteen clients of vassalage and twelve free clients. His clients of vassalage, he is entitled to four cows with their accompaniment from them, and five two-year-old steers, and six yearlings, every winter, with their summer food. Eight *cumals* are his capital from a king. Four cows with their accompaniment are his house-custom. Eight persons are his retinue in the *tuath*, six in private. He is entitled to butter with condiment at all times. Eight persons on sick-maintenance, protection over eight. He is entitled to butter with condiment (during sick-maintenance), and ale or milk as his substitute for sick-maintenance on the second, third, fifth [ninth], and tenth day, and on Sunday.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is evident that the person above described differs from an *aire déssó* only in function, not in status. No distinctive qualifications for status are ascribed to him. Apparently he was a sort of sheriff entrusted with the duty of punishing homicide committed on a member of his *tuath* by a person or persons in a neighbouring *tuath* under treaty-law (*cairdde*), but the exact nature of his operations is not easily understood, notwithstanding the simple diction in which they are stated.

<sup>2</sup> It may be observed that the number of animals in the return for capital in this case, as in the case of the *aire déssó* and *aire ardd*, is the same as the number of vassal clients, though the animals are of different ages and values. If an *aire tíise* becomes a vassal

Twenty chattels are his honourprice; he makes oath, is bond, surety, hostage, suitor, and witness to that extent. He is able to pay, if he be sued, without surety or borrowing. He has thirty married couples on visitation from New Year's day to Shrovetide, for the number on visitation is according to the number of (those who pay) food-tribute.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty-nine feet (is the measurement of) his house, nineteen his out-house. Eight beds in his house, with their full furnishing for the house of an *aire tuisce*, including six couches (*brothracha*), these having their proper furnishing, both cushions and rugs. Proper sets of furniture in the house, woodwork (?) of every size, and irons for every use and bronze vessels, including a cauldron which holds a beef and a bacon hog. He has clients for his company, holding free capital from a king.

Twelve horse-bridles, one of gold, the others of silver. He has not to beg (?) for pet animals, deer-hound, fighting-men, lap-dogs for his wife. He has the implements for every work, with a plough and its full lawful equipment. Two work-horses on the road. A wife in the legitimate right of marriage, his equal in kindred. So that he is full help in the *tuath* for pleadings (?), affirmations, pledge, and hostage in treaty-law across the border on behalf of his kindred and in the house of (his) lord (the king). He sustains right by warrant of his father and his grandfather. He can levy his full claim by his (own) power. He makes oath over a grade that is lower than he, and their affirmations support him (? are subordinate to him).<sup>2</sup>

IV 328.—113. The *aire forgill*, "noble of superior affirmation," why is he so called? Because it is he who makes affirmation above the grades that we have stated, on any occasion in which they happen to be opposed in statement, for his worth is nobler than the others. This man has forty clients, twenty clients of vassalage, and twenty free clients. His twenty of vassalage, he is entitled from them to five cows with their accompaniment, and six two-year-old steers and nine yearlings every winter, with their summer-food. Fifteen chattels are his honourprice; he makes oath, is

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client, his lord must be a king. Here is additional proof that the intermediate grade of *aire forgill* is of later origin than the grade of *aire tuisce*.

<sup>1</sup> There are two married couples as against each vassal client. So too, in the case of the *aire ardd* and the *aire déso*. Apparently these nobles were entitled to quarter themselves between New Year's Day and Lent on their vassal clients, and to exercise the same privilege for a definite number of their friends.

<sup>2</sup> This last sentence is probably an early gloss on the next following words, *aire forgill*. *Fosernmat a nóillig*: *nóillig*, "oaths," is nominative plural, and an infixed pronoun, 3rd sing. masc., is concealed in *fo-*. The noun corresponding to *fosernmat* is *fossair*, a thing *substratum*; it is the term for (1) the furniture of a house, 320 z, and (2) the minor provision that accompanied a steer, etc., in food-render (*Cáin Aicillbri*, *passim*).

bond, surety, hostage, suitor, and witness to that extent. He pays them without security or borrowing, if one sues. Nine *cumals* are his capital from a great lord. Five cows with their accompaniment are his house-custom. Nine persons are his retinue in his *tuath*, seven in private. Butter with condiment, and salt meat, and ale or milk are his substitute for sick-maintenance on the second, third, fifth, ninth and tenth day, and on Sunday. Thirty feet (is the measure of) his house, twenty feet his outhouse. The furniture of his house, his great cattle, his horse-bridles, his apparatus (of husbandry) for every season, his wife's degree (are all) in propriety of right.

114. The "second of a king," why is he so called? Because the whole *tuath* looks forward to him for the kingship without dispute. He has five retainers (*senchlethe*) over and above (the number of clients proper to) an *aire forgill*. Ten persons are his retinue in the *tuath*, eight in private, ten on sick-maintenance, with the same right (of food-provision, relatively, as the aforementioned grades); with amplitude of great cattle, with full number of horses, with apparatus for every season, with a worthy wife. Ten *cumals* are his capital from a lord, six cows his house-custom. Thirty chattels are his honourprice; he makes oath, is bond, surety, hostage, suitor, witness to that extent. He pays them (i.e. is able to pay to that extent) without security or borrowing, if one sue.<sup>1</sup>

IV 330.—115. The king, *rí*, why is he so called? Because he exerts (*riges*) the power of correction over the members of his *tuath*. Question—How many classes of kings are there? Three classes. What are they? A king of peaks, a king of troops, a king of the stock of every head.

116. A king of peaks, first, why is he so called? This is a king of a *tuath*, who has the seven grades of the Féni with their subclasses in clientship, for these are the peaks of rule that we have stated. Seven *cumals* are his honourprice, a *cumal* for every chief grade that is under his power. He makes oath, is bond, surety, hostage, suitor, witness to that extent. He pays this (amount) without security, without borrowing, if one sue. Twelve men are his retinue in the *tuath*, nine in private. Ten persons on sick-maintenance, upon his due provision of food. Twelve *cumals* are his capital from a lord, six cows his house-custom.

IV 330.—117. A king of troops, why is he so called? Because he is a vice-king of two troops or of three troops. Seven hundred in each troop. This is the king of three *tuatha* or of four *tuatha*. Eight *cumals* are his

<sup>1</sup> The want of definite statement as to qualifications in wealth, etc., may be due to this grade not being of tradition. It is found in no other list of grades.

honourprice, for he takes a number of hostages, two or three or four, as (the the tradition of the Féni) says in verse:

The king of the mead-round, of drinking, of governance,  
Whom drinking confoundeth not in his law,  
Is entitled to a *cumal* over seven  
For the *dire* of his function.

Twenty-four men are his retinue in his *tuath*, twelve men in private. Fifteen *cumals* are his capital from a lord, eight cows his house-custom. A king of troops has no sick-maintenance. Eight *cumals* take the place of his sick-maintenance. Eight *cumals* are his honourprice; he makes oath, is bond, surety, hostage, suitor, witness, to that extent. He pays this amount without security or borrowing, if one sue.<sup>1</sup>

118. A king of the stock of every head, now, why is he so called? Because it is under the power of his correction that every head is whom its lord does not constrain; for every head that is stronger takes precedence of that which is less strong. This is the king of overkings. There are twice seven *cumals* in his honourprice, because kings and *tuatha* are under his power and correction. He makes oath (up to) twice seven *cumals*; he is bond, surety, hostage, suitor, witness to that extent. Thirty are his retinue in his *tuath*, seven hundred elsewhere for correction among others. A king of overkings, a king-poet, and a hospitaller are without sick-maintenance among the grades of a *tuath*.

Half the sick-maintenance of (a man of) each grade is due to his lawful son, to his wife . . . for what is a fourth in regard of every unlawful person is a half in regard of every lawful person. A woman-guard, her sick-maintenance (is measured) by the honour (i.e. grade) of son or husband. Administrators, envoys, are maintained at half the sick-maintenance of their lords. They act so that by the goodness of their action they are maintained according to the provision made for them by their lord.<sup>2</sup>

IV 332.—Every craft that makes manufactured articles of ruler or church is maintained on half-maintenance according to the dignity of each one whose manufactured articles he makes. The maintenance of each grade in the church is according to the corresponding grade in the *tuath*. Every mother along with her son on sick-maintenance, if she be alive.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Aurri*, "vice-king," either because he leads the troops of his subject kings on their behalf or on behalf of a superior king. In later usage, *urri(gh)*, "urriagh" of Anglo-Irish, means a sub-king.

<sup>2</sup> The last clause seems to mean that the right of these persons to maintenance is based not on their own wealth or rank, but on the function they discharge as deputies for their lord and on the provision which he makes for them.

<sup>3</sup> The digression, in which the statement of the rights of a particular grade to sick-maintenance leads to a more general statement on the subject of sick-maintenance, is of a kind typical in the early law-tracts. Like the form of question and answer in which this tract is cast, such digressions are reminiscent of the school.

119. Question—Which is higher in dignity, king or *tuath*? The king is higher. What dignifies him (above the *tuath*)? Because it is the *tuath* that raises the king to honour, not the king that raises the *tuath*.

What are the sustaining means of a king toward the *tuath* that raises him to honour? Making oath on their behalf to (another) king at the bounds of the border; he makes denial on oath for (lit. from) them; he makes superior oath over them (to the extent of) seven *cumals*; he goes into joint adjudication, into joint evidence, with (another) king on behalf of his *tuath*. It is their right that he be a faithful judge to them. It is their right (that he give) pledge on their behalf. It is their right (that he give) sick-maintenance as he is maintained. It is their right that he do not pledge them to hold an assembly (in which) he does not assemble the whole *tuath* but only the co-nobles.<sup>1</sup>

120. There are three requisitions that are proper for a king (to levy) on his *tuatha*, an assembly, and a convention for enforcing authority, and a hosting to the border. The joint holding (?) of an assembly, however, belongs to the *tuath*. What a king pledges for an assembly is his (to decide), provided that the pledge he gives be a proper one.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Sustaining means," *foluid*: this word, a plural masculine, signifies the means, assets, functions, etc., by which a person discharges his duties or liabilities.

This is an interesting passage, in which the king appears less as ruler than as agent of the *tuath*. The king is higher than the *tuath*, but only because he is raised by the *tuath* above themselves. He transacts their legal business with other *tuatha*, for each *tuath* formed a separate and complete jurisdiction. The kings thus provided the nexus by which these distinct states were bound into a single nation and by which the national law, common in theory, was made common in fact. The king's function as judge is said to be a service to the *tuath* to which they are entitled from him. The last sentence is rendered by O'Curry: "They are entitled that he does not pledge them for a fair, that he assemble not the whole territory, but the neighbours (or co-occupants)." The *tuath*, however, means the body of freemen under a king. *Comaithe* is taken by O'Curry to be a miswriting of *comaitig*, and this word, which means "co-vassals," that is, clients who practised agriculture to some extent in common, came afterwards to mean "neighbours," from which it has also developed the sense "strangers," and hence an adjectival form, which may be written *cofuioch* and *cúihuch*, "wild," etc. But O'Curry's rendering would require *tuinmella* not *tuinmell*, "assemblies." I do not understand what is meant by "pledging an assembly on the *tuath*," unless it be that the king is not to give a pledge to cause his *tuath* to attend an assembly outside of their own territory. I take the *commaithe*, "co-nobles," to mean the *soerchéli* of the kings, called in the annals his *socii*. These were as a rule the principal nobles of the *tuath*, who by law were obliged to become free clients to the king if he so required. They were thus bound to attend his court, and no doubt to accompany him when he attended an external assembly. I understand the text to mean that the other freemen of the *tuath* were not so bound.

<sup>2</sup> The second and third of the foregoing sentences appear to have reference to a joint assembly of several *tuatha*. Such an assembly would be convened by a superior king. To ensure attendance, the superior king would begin by requiring a pledge, something specially precious, from each of the subordinate kings.

121. Question—How many things is it proper for a king to bind by pledge on his *tuatha*? Three. What are they? Pledge for hostings, pledge for government, pledge for treaty, for all these are benefits to a *tuath*.

122. Question—How many hostings are proper for a king to bind by pledge on his *tuatha*? Three. What are they? A hosting within the border inwardly to keep guard on (or against) an (external) hosting across it; a hosting to the bounds of the border to watch over proof and right, that he may have battle or treaty; a hosting over the border against a *tuath* that evades him.<sup>1</sup>

IV 334.—123. There are, then, four kinds of government to which a king binds his *tuatha* by pledge. What are they? The government of the common Irish law (*Fénechais*) in the first place. It is the *tuatha* that adopt it, it is the king who compacts it. The three other kinds of government, it is the king who enforces them: government after their defeat in battle, that he may unite his *tuatha* thereafter so that they may not destroy each other; and government after a pestilence; and a king's government [over other kings], such as the government of the king of Cashel in Munster. For there are three governments [of a king] to which it is proper for a king to bind his *tuatha* by pledge: government for the expulsion of a stranger-kindred [i.e. against the Saxons], and government for the raising of produce (?), and a law of religion that kindles, such as the Law of Adamnán.<sup>2</sup>

124. These are the sustaining means of a true ruler over his *tuatha*, and he cannot violate them by falsity or violence or overmight. Let him be sound, distinguishing [fairly], and upright, between weak and strong.

125. There are also three other things that they require of a king: let him be a man of all sides, full of right; let him be a man inquiring after knowledge; let him be steady and patient.

126. There are four stoopings (?) that give the *díre* (i.e. honour-price) of a vassal to a king. What are they? His stoopings over the three hafts of a vassal, the haft of a mallet, the haft of an axe, the haft of a spade, for while he is upon them, he is a vassal; his stooping (to be) alone, for it is not proper for a king to go alone. That is the day when a woman by herself can prevail in oath fathering her son on a king, the day when there is none to attest for him but (himself) alone.

<sup>1</sup> "Evades him," i.e. refuses to come to terms with the king about a claim or matter in dispute.

<sup>2</sup> Government belonged to the king specially, when the people were disorganized by defeat or pestilence, and in the case of a superior king over subordinate kings. "A stranger-kindred," *echturchenél*. I think usurping intruders on the kingship are intended, but if the gloss "against Saxons" is ancient, it is a reminiscence of the invasion by the Angles in 685.

127. There is a month when a king does not go accompanied but by three (lit. does not go but four). What are the four? King and judge and two in servitorship. What month does he go in this wise? The month of sowing.

128. To be wounded in the back, too, in fleeing from combat gives him a vassal's *díre*, unless it be that he has gone through them (his enemies) [and so receives a wound in the back], for it is in such a case that *díre* for a king's back is paid as for his front.

129. There is, too, a weekly order in the duty of a king, to wit: Sunday for drinking ale, for he is no rightful ruler who does not provide ale for every Sunday; Monday for judgment, for the adjustment of *tuatha*; Tuesday for playing chess; Wednesday for watching deer-hounds at the chase; Thursday for the society of his wife; Friday for horseracing; Saturday for judging cases.<sup>1</sup>

IV 336.—130. There are three fastings which do not aggrrieve (?) a king: (first), if a king be at a cauldron that has leaked; fasting when there has been default (in providing) a joint of his supply (?), but so that evil men are not sent to slay him; fasting when there has been refusal (of hospitality), for (in that case) he is entitled to more than (he loses by) the offence, since he is entitled to his honourprice.

131. Question—Who is proper and right to make a king's food? A man of action of three captures. What are these? A man who makes a capture in single combat by piercing the (other) man through his shield; a man who takes a man alive, capturing him in combat; a man who kills a stag with one stroke, finishing him; a man who takes a prisoner without aid (?); a man who captures a champion in front of an army so that he falls from one thrust.<sup>2</sup>

132. There are, too, three exactions for which they do not sue a king: exaction from an (external) *tuath* that avoids him when he invades it: exaction when there is an external king with him in his own *tuath*, if he reach not his man; exaction of dry cattle in waste land that have come in over the border. He makes restitution to everyone to whom the cattle belong in the two last exactions, but he does not make restitution in the first, unless it be an unrightful invasion.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the king on Monday sits as judge in matters of state, on Saturday in ordinary litigation. Where the plural, *tuatha*, appears, the writer has a superior king in view. The programme is, no doubt, artificial, and serves to set forth a statement of a king's ordinary occupations—hospitality, presiding in his court, outdoor sports, and domestic life.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly an original three has been expanded to five by a later writer.

<sup>3</sup> Here, as in many other passages, invasion of a neighbouring territory is regarded as a lawful form of levying a claim. In the first instance, the claim being evaded, the

133. What is the due of a king who is always in residence at the head of his *tuath*? Seven score feet of perfect feet are the measure of his stockade on every side. Seven feet are the thickness of its earthwork, and twelve feet its depth. It is then that he is a king, when ramparts of vassalage surround him. What is the rampart of vassalage? Twelve feet are the breadth of its opening and its depth and its measure towards the stockade. Thirty feet are its measure outwardly.<sup>1</sup>

There are clergy for making the prayers of his house. A waggon of charcoal, a waggon of rushes, for every man if he have recited (the said prayers).

The ruler of a staff is not entitled to have his stockade made, but only his house. His house (measures) thirty-seven feet. There are seventeen beds in a royal house.<sup>2</sup>

IV 338.—134. How is a king's house arranged?

The king's guards on the south. Question—What guards are proper for a king to have? A man whom he has freed from the dungeon, from the gallows, from captivity, a man whom he has freed from service, from servile cottiership, from servile tenancy. He does not keep a man whom he has saved from single combat, lest he betray him, lest he slay him, in malice or for favour.

135. What number of guards is proper for a king to have? Four, namely, a frontman and a henchman and two sidesmen, these are their names. It is these that are proper to be in the south side of a king's house, to accompany him from house into field, from field into house.

A man of pledge for vassals next to these inward. What is this man's dignity? A man who has land of seven *cumals*, who presides over his (the

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whole *tuath* is held liable. The second instance is somewhat similar: the claim is made by an external king and supported by the king of the *tuath*; if the defendant cannot be reached, the levy is made on the *tuath* at large, since the due cannot rightly be withheld; but the local king (whether he can make the defendant pay or not) is bound to repay what he exacts from others. In the third instance, milch-cattle are excluded, because their milk repays the trespass; and the case is confined to waste land, because the law has distinct provisions for trespass on good land.

<sup>1</sup> The "rampart of vassalage," *drécht giallnai*, seems to denote an outer earthwork of which the external slope measures 30 feet, the internal 12 feet, the flat top 12 feet, diametrically, the width of the opening between its top and that of the inner earthwork or stockade being also 12 feet.

<sup>2</sup> The "ruler of a staff," *flaith bachail*, means a king who has abdicated and gone on pilgrimage, carrying afterwards a pilgrim's staff as the emblem of his turning to a religious life. Since he ceased to be a man of war, his house is unfortified. Ritchie (IV cc-cvii), in the course of a laboured discourse intended to discredit the way of life of "a Celtic prince of the period," says that the measurement given above for the house of a pilgrim ex-king applies to "the house of the head king." The text gives no measurements for the house of a reigning king of any grade.

What follows is a description of a king's house when his court is sitting in it.

king's) chattels, including (those of) lord and base man and of the law of the Féni.<sup>1</sup>

Next to him inward, envoys. Next to these, guest-companies. Poets next to these, harpers next. Flute-players, horn-players, jugglers, in the south-east.

On the other side, in the north, a man at arms, a man of action, to guard the door, each of them having his spear in front of him always against confusion of the banquet-house [by attack from without]. Next to these inward, the free clients of the lord (i.e. of the king). These are the folk who are company to a king. Hostages next to these. The judge (the king's assessor) next to these. His (the king's) wife next to him. The king next. Forfeited hostages in fetters in the north-east.<sup>2</sup>

§ 47 136. The king of a *tuath* ( has a retinue) of twelve men (when he goes to the court of a superior king) to (protect) the interests of the *tuath*; whom the *tuath* itself sustains as regards their expenses (?). Twelve men, too, are the retinue of a bishop for the interests of church and *tuath* in which he himself goes (on visitation). For a *tuath* cannot bear the retinues of king and bishop if they be always battenning on it. The retinue of a master also is twelve men.<sup>3</sup>

§ 48 137. Which is higher in dignity, a king or a bishop? A bishop is higher, since a king rises to salute him because of religion. A bishop, too, raises his knee to salute a king.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the last phrase is not clear. *Andóin*, "a lowly person," is rendered "*andoin-church*" by O'Curry, who confuses the word with *andóit*. For *córus Féne*, "law of the Féni," we should perhaps read *córus fine*, "law of the joint family."

<sup>2</sup> The entrance is in the western end. The company is ranged in two rows face to face on the southern and northern sides. The king sits in the eastern end, no doubt facing the door. His wife sits on his right. Next to her, his judge. The unforfeited hostages have a place of honour on the king's right. The other occupants of the right or north side are the king's free clients, who are the nobles of the *tuath* and the principal members of the *airecht* or court. On the opposite side are harpers, poets, guests, and envoys. The inward corner on the king's right is occupied by forfeited hostages who are fettered; the corner on his left by musicians and jugglers. Near the entrance are the king's bodyguard on the left, the guards of his house on the right.

<sup>3</sup> The "master" (*sáil*) is the head of a Latin school. His later title is *fer léigind*.

<sup>4</sup> The gesture of "raising the knee" is perhaps what is called genuflexion, the knee being raised not absolutely but relatively as regards the body.

The meeting of a king's *airecht* in his house had a twofold character, social as well as judicial. It is likely that the court, after the manner described already, sat on two sides of a long table, and that business was followed by festivity. The poem quoted below represents the king presiding over the ale-feast, but goes on immediately to describe the kind of adjudication expected of him. The business of the court was mainly concerned with matters of land-law, such as are treated of in *Bretha Comaithchesa* (IV) and in *Din Techtugud* (IV). The translation is uncertain in some places.

[At the end of *Crith Gablach* there is added, apparently as an afterthought, a poem which is probably somewhat earlier in date than the prose, since it is quoted from *Fénechus*, i.e. from the law as it was held to have come down in ancient tradition. The poem is introduced by the words *Dligthir brithem la rí rodbo brithem cadesin, amal arincan Fénechus*. "A (professional) judge should be with a king (in court), even though he himself be a judge, as Fénechus teaches"—meaning, not that a king might be a judge, for the judicial office belonged to every king, but that a king, even if he were himself an expert jurist, ought to have a professional assessor in his court. The poem is in archaic metre, without rhyme or exact measure of syllables, in short verses, each of which, as a rule, contains two fully stressed words, the last stressed word of each verse making alliteration with the first stressed word of the following verse. The type is found in lines 6-9: *mess tìre | tomus forrag | forberta díre | dlithle mesraid*. From this type, however, there are numerous departures. O'Curry's transcript, from which the text in IV is printed, ended with verse 30. The remaining seventy-three verses are taken here from the copy printed by Meyer in "*Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*," XII, 365. This copy would have escaped my notice had not R. I. Best reminded me of it. The abrupt ending may indicate that even here the poem is incomplete.

The date of composition is earlier than *Crith Gablach*, and cannot be placed later than towards the end of the seventh century. As my references show, the poem is in the main a kind of metrical list of the contents of *Bretha Comaithchesa*, of which in several places (ll. 28-30, 75, 85-87, 91-95) it reproduces the actual wording. It adds, however, a number of titles, as we may regard them, of a kindred kind not referable to the extant text of BC, but possibly related to another version of that text, since some of them (e.g. ll. 70-74) are in close verbal relation to passages of Old Irish now embodied in the Commentary to BC. The orthography exhibits the mixture of earlier, later, and spurious spellings usually found in late transcripts of pieces of very early Irish. A few of the oldest spellings have been allowed to remain. In l. 7, *forrag*, read *\*forreg*; cp. *aíreg*, in the text of CG, IV, 320, l. 24; already in *Adamnán* is found *Fiechrech* beside the earlier *Fechureg*. In l. 71 *ān, tān*, infinitives of *ag-*, *to-ag-*; Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram.*, §§ 634, 652, has only *din, táin*; Meyer, *Contribb.*, only *din*, but fragments cited in the commentary aforesaid, IV, 98 and 146, confirm *ān*.<sup>1</sup> In l. 99, *fogeltath*.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. IV 156 x: *Ata annad uclaidh dligeas each comaitheach dia raille*, "there is one stay which every co-tenant is entitled to from the other": read *Atlaú ān nád uclaid*, etc., "there is a driving which is not (subject to) suit, to which each joint husbandman is entitled from the other." The right discussed is to drive cattle across a neighbour's land.

I have not essayed the difficult task of restoring the oldest spellings throughout, but have left unchanged some forms that are found in late Old Irish, e.g. *comaithig*, *fiachaib*, *airech*. Where a restored spelling seemed to require justification, I have given the MS. reading in a foot-note. Corrections of minor significance will be recognized from comparison with Meyer's text.

The general sense of the poem is that a king, in his judicial capacity, ought to be familiar with the details of the law of joint husbandry (*comaith-chrus*). The old name for the body of law on this subject is *mrugrecht* (lines 10, 88) — see IV, 124, where the scope of this body of law is described.\*

The poem confirms my view that the law-tracts with accompaniment of gloss and commentary received in the law schools as "canonical," so to speak, may be ascribed to the seventh century.†

#### IV 340.—138.

um. ZCP.  
16.202  
a/  
má be rí rofesser  
recht flatho/fo thóith  
iar miad/mescaid a (?)  
x slóg/sabaid  
5 cuirmmthige/cuirmmescaie/  
mess tire  
tomus forrag  
forberta díri  
dithle mesraid  
10 mórmúin mrugrechta  
mrógad coicrích  
cor cuáilne  
córus rinde  
rann etir comorbbe  
15 comaithig do garmmaimm  
Gaill chomlaind  
caithigti istoda  
anacra do ?  
rāith commairge

If thou be a king, know  
the rule of prince towards people.  
According to dignity, he will make merry  
their throng of magnates  
with the intoxication of a festive house.  
(Know) appraisement of land,  
measurement of *forrachs*,  
increments of *díre*,  
wastings of forest-fruit,  
the great wealth of farm-law,  
marking of common bounds,  
planting of stakes,  
regulation of points,  
sharing among joint heirs,  
naming joint husbandmen,  
Gauls of combat,  
defenders of treasure (?),  
when they sue from (?) a king  
surety of protection.

1 *Mad bé rí* MS. 2 *flatha fothoth* MS. 3 *mbiad* MS. The usual expression in the Law for "according to status or dignity" is *fo miad*, I 40, 13, etc. The meaning is that, at the king's feast, the guests were seated according to precedence, as described at the conclusion of *Crith Gablach*, where the house in which the *airecht* sat is also called *cuirmmtheg*. 4 I take *sabaid* (*sabaide*?) to be an adj. formed from *sab*. 5 *cuirmmthigi cuir mesca* MS. 6 This is the subject of the tract *Fodla Tire*, IV 276. For measurement by *forrachs* see ib. y, z, and III 335. 11-12 = IV 30. 13 = IV 112. 14-15 = IV 68. 17 *caithigti*, nom. pl. of *\*caithighthi*? *istoda* r. *antsado*? 18 R. a *n-aggrat ó rí*?

\* For *ar nach ara*, "that he may not plough it," read there *ar nach áir* (< *ad-reg*-), "that he may not trespass on it by *árach* (tethering cattle)"; and for *ar nach áitreaba*, "that he may not inhabit it," read *ar nach attraba*, "that he may not trespass on it by *attrab* (housing cattle)." The list of trespasses indicated is *orgun mrogo*, "destruction of boundary"; *béimm fedo*, "cutting of wood"; *aurbe*, "breaching of fences"; *árach*, *attrab*, *caithche aile*, "damage (to cattle) by (dangerous) stakes"; *tarsce*, *ruriuth*. See poem, ll. 27, 31, 72, 81, 83.

20 [A] *chórus co fesser* *C*/  
*sétaib selb[aib]*  
*slán cech comaithechius*  
*curthar gellaib*  
*gelltar smachtaib*

25 *míach molauga*  
*lóg díri*  
*díre n-aurboi*  
*ó dartaid co dairt*  
*dochumm colpdaige*  
 30 *co cóic séotu cingit*  
*Cia annsom fídbéimne*

*fiachib báeth*

*prugid caille*

*coll eidnech*

35 *esnill bes díthéanam*  
*díre fídnemith náir*  
*ní bie fídnemeth*  
*fiachaib secht n-airech*  
*ar it téora búí*

40 *ina bunbéimne* *hís*  
*bíit alaili*  
*secht/sétaib losgae*  
*laumur ar dochonnaib*  
*dílse caille*

45 *cairi fulocht benair*  
*bos chnao fuisce*  
*frisna láim hi sáith suí* = *suí*

[Its] regulation that thou mayest know,  
 with chattels, with lands,  
 every community of husbandry is secure  
 that is settled with pledges  
 that are pledged for fines  
 of sacks, greater, less,  
 the payment of *díre*;  
 the *díre* of breaching (fences),  
 from *dartaid* to *dairt*,  
 as far as to a *colpthach*,  
 up to five chattels they mount.  
 Which is hardest (among cases) of wood-

cutting

in liabilities of the unwise?

The farmer of the forest,

the ivy-clad hazel;

a risk that shall be hard to escape,

the *díre* of the noble sacred grove;

the sacred grove shall not have

the dues of the seven nobles,

for it is three cows

that are (allowed) for its stem-cutting.

There are others

of seven chattels, herbs.

There is conceded (?) for unfree persons  
 the irrecoverable things of the forest,

a cauldron's cooking that is cut,

the handful of nuts carried away

<sup>23</sup> = IV 78. The particular kind of pledge referred to is named *tairgillne*, *tuirgille*, with a corresponding verb *to-airgella*, IV 128, 9. The technical names of varieties of *gell*, "pledge," are usually formed with *-gillne*, *-gille*, instead of *gell*, e.g. *lángillne*, *lethgillne*, *ingillne*, *coingillne*. *Tairgillne* was the kind of pledge given in advance by one joint husbandman (*comaithech*) to another as security against prospective damage by trespass of cattle, etc. <sup>25</sup> For *molauga* read *mau laugu*. The fines stated at IV 78 are of three sacks, one sack and half a sack (of corn). <sup>27-30</sup> = IV 152, *aurbe . . . dartaid . . . dairt . . . cóic séot*. The successive stages, supplying measures of value in the Laws, of the growth of a cow are *lóg* (1 to 6 months?), *dartaid* (6 to 12 months?), *dairt* (12 to 18 months?), *colpthach* (18 to 24 months?), *samaisc* (bearing the first calf), *bó* (after calving). The *sét* or standard "chattel" of the Laws was the *samaisc*. "Five chattels" equal in value three milch-cows. <sup>22</sup> *comaithecs* ms. The prefixing of *com-* causes a secondary syncope in this word < *aithechus* (Meyer, Contribb.) < *aithech* < *aithe* < \**ate-vion*. Cp. *aithechaib*, *aithechde*. So acc. pl. *comaithechiu*. <sup>34</sup> What follows on the subject of trees is in relation to IV 146 seqq. <sup>35</sup> *esnill*, later *eslín*, < *ess* and *indell*, I 242, 8, a *heslín* co *innill*, "from an insecure place to a place of security." Cp. *comindell tuaithe*, II 12, a description of the proper place of custody (*forus*) for chattels seized in *athgabál*—glossed: "That it be not the border, i.e. that it be *indell* within the *tuath*, the middle of the *tuath*, that there be not thieves or purchasers." <sup>36</sup> *fíneimid* ms. <sup>38</sup> The *díre* for cutting the stem of any one of the "seven nobles," oak, hazel, etc., was one cow, IV 146. The sacred grove was an exception, V 474. <sup>40</sup> *ara teora bú ina bun béim his* ms. <sup>43</sup> *dochundaib* ms., meaning persons not *sui juris*. I am not sure what to make of *laumur*, but propose to read *laumair*, lit. "it is dared." <sup>45-46</sup> Among the things that can be freely appropriated are *fulacht cecha caille* and *cnuas cech fído*, V 482. *Fuisce* < *fo-scúich* (*foscugud*, by analogy with *cumscugud*, etc.). Perhaps we should read *fuiscthe*. *Tairsce* < *to-air-scúich*.

- slán <sup>em</sup>de  
 dithgus dithlai  
 50 díre ndaro  
 díre a gabal már  
 mess ocus béobethu  
 a bunbéimm béimm bairr  
 in óinchumba chulinn  
 55 colluth cuill  
 combach n-ablae  
 annsom de n-ardnemith  
 dírib secht n-airech
- asabbi bo  
 60 bunbeimm bithe  
 baegul fernna  
 fube sailech  
 sluind airriu aithgin  
 anóg sciath  
 65 sceo draigen/dringi<sup>d</sup>  
 co fedo forbúll <sup>a</sup>  
 forbul ratho  
 ráithiud áine  
 acht a ndílse do flaithib
- 70 fothla tothla  
<sup>arad(?)</sup> <sup>glos.</sup> án tán airesiu  
árach attrab  
 follscudh foilliuchta  
 iadad aurlimm  
 75 én cerec corr  
ma bet pettai  
 oiss eisrechta  
 [caithche] con/caithche bech  
 biit i trenaib tíre  
 80 to n-acemoing tairgillne  
 taurrána tairsce  
 taulberna tar róut  
 ruriuth tar ílseiba  
 samail tráchta

The *díre* of the oak,  
 the *díre* of its great boughs,  
 fruit and living life,  
 its stem-cutting, cutting of top,  
 the one hewing of the holly,  
 destruction of the hazel,  
 smashing of the apple-tree;  
 most difficult of the cases of *díre*  
 of the seven nobles of the high sacred  
 grove  
 for which a cow is (due),  
 the stem-cutting of the birch,  
 the danger of the alder,  
 the assailing of the willow,  
 declare for them restitution;  
 to incomplete restitution (?) the hawthorn  
 and the blackthorn rise,  
 with the . . . of the wood  
 . . . of fern,  
 bogmyrtle, furze (?), rushes,  
 but they become the property of lords.  
*Fothla, tothla*,  
 driving in, driving out, looking on,  
 tying, housing,  
 burning, leaving tracks,  
 closing, overleaping,  
 Hawk, hen, heron,  
 if they be pets,  
 tame fawns,  
 damage of hounds, damage of bees,  
 they are in thirds of land  
 to which anticipatory pledge applies.  
 Drivings across (?), trespassing,  
 front-breaching across a road,  
 rushing over many holdings,  
 likewise strands.

<sup>51</sup> gabail ms. <sup>52</sup> béobethu, "living life," meaning sustenance for animals, IV 88 z. <sup>53</sup> a bun beín beín mbarr ms. See IV 148, 23, etc. <sup>54</sup> in aencumma culinn ms. Read perhaps inann cumbe culinn, "alike is the hewing of holly." <sup>56</sup> n-abla ms. <sup>57</sup> A poetical inversion for annsom de dírib secht n-airech n-ardnemith. <sup>59</sup> Read assa mbí bó. See V 146. <sup>60</sup> bunbéimne ms. <sup>61</sup> boegal ms. <sup>62</sup> fuba ms. <sup>65</sup> draigin dringid ms. <sup>68</sup> Read rait aiténd? See V 148, 1. <sup>70-74</sup> The list of "man-trespases" at IV 98, 17 and IV 146, 16 has aradh: araig (read drag), aitrebadh: aitreb (r. attrab), follscudh: follscuth, fothla, tothla, an, aircsiu: aircsiu. IV 156, Cuic seoit a n-ain ocus a tain. Fothla and tothla are exemplified at IV 106 and V 466, 6. 'Arach, árag (< ad-reg-) means tying one's cattle on a neighbour's land; attrab, housing them there—these were aggravated trespases. Foilliuchta may mean making tracks or paths (fo slicht) through fenced land. Iadad is likely to mean shutting cattle in on a neighbour's land into which they have trespassed. Aurlimm = aurlimm, IV index. <sup>75-77</sup> See IV 114, 10, regarding the trespases of all these pets: én = senén. Mad beth ms. <sup>78</sup> = IV 120, 122. <sup>79</sup> = IV 114, 116, 1. <sup>80</sup> tairgille ms. See note to line 23. <sup>81</sup> taurrán na ms (< tar-aur-án?) For tairsce see IV index. <sup>82</sup> = IV 136, 19. <sup>83-84</sup> = IV 138, 2.

- 85 tomus airchinn  
cethrib<sup>41</sup> forrgib  
co n-aurchur flescaich  
foresiu mruigrechta  
mrogað coerích
- 90 tarsee tigradus  
smachta iar cintaib  
cóicthi cóir chomathech  
cid ag conranna fri ét  
cid airlimm óenoirce
- 95 conranna fri trét  
cis tána dichiallatar  
tonásegar tigrathus  
cis taurrána foichlide  
forsná sói fogeltath
- 100 cis formenn éndairce  
dosliat dílsi  
cis ndíthle di threbaib  
ná tuillet díre.

Measurement of the fore-end  
in four *forrachs*  
and a stripling's cast.  
Overlooking in farm-law,  
marking of common bounds,  
last responsibility for trespasses,  
fines after offences [husbandmen.  
on the fifth day in the right of joint  
What calf shares equally with the herd?  
what overleaping by one pigling  
shares equally with the drove?  
what drivings are done privily  
for which last responsibility is not sued?  
what are the deliberate drivings across  
on which cost of grazing does not return?  
what are the ridings (?) in absence  
that incur expropriation?  
what are the takings from dwellings  
that do not incur *díre*?

<sup>85-87</sup> = *aircinne, cethrai, flescaith*, MS. IV 138: *Caide a n-airchenn? Teora forrge ocus aurchor flescaig* (sic. leg.). Acc. to *Fodla Tíre*, IV 276 yz, there were six *forrachs* in the "fore-end" (*airchenn*) of a *tír cumaile* and twelve *forrachs* in its length. <sup>88</sup> I take *foresiu* to be like in meaning to *aircsiu*. Cp. V 464: *Fer tailci a chethra i n-athbóthar a chéili nó ar-da-aicci ann* (sic. leg.), where, for *ar do aice*, "who looks on at them (in the act of trespass)," Atkinson has "where there is tillage near." *Aicill araicci Temuir*, "A. which overlooks 'T.," is the often mistranslated first line of a poem by Cinaed Ua hArtacáin. <sup>90</sup> See Heptads, V 136, 137. *Tigrathus, tigradus* <*tig-, tiug-*, and *ráith*, seems to mean the liability which falls on the last person who had charge of animals, etc., which afterwards committed damage or suffered damage. <sup>91-92</sup> = *Smachta . . . cóicthi iar fogail*, IV 86 z; *smacht dia cóicthe iar fogail*, IV 94, 7. <sup>93</sup> = *ag conranna cinaid fri hed*, IV 108, 13. <sup>94</sup> = *orce conranda cindta fri tret*, IV 108, 8. <sup>95</sup> *foichliche* MS. See IV 156, 17. <sup>96</sup> *fogeltad*, cost of feeding cattle, etc., in custody. See IV 104 y, etc. <sup>100</sup> There is nothing in the *Comaithches* tract that appears to correspond to the last two questions. At V 486 there is a list of indoor effects that could be taken or used "without suit or payment" (*cen acre cen éraicc*, 490, 17). *Formenn*, nom. pl. of *forimm*, here perhaps an equivalent of *foimrimm*, which means "using" or "working" an animal, boat, etc.—V 474, 8; 476, 7. *Éndairce*, adverbially, "in the owner's absence," seems practically equivalent to *dichmare*, V 474, = *cen athcomare*, "without leave," ib. gloss; *foimrim noe . . . no leasdair i. cen athcomare*, V 476, 4.

## [MIADLECHTA].

At IV 344 begins a tract for which the editors have supplied the title, "Sequel to *Crith Gablach*." It is, however, quite independent of *Crith Gablach* in all respects, and its original title was probably *Miadlechta* (*miad* + *lechte*), found in lines 1 and 7 of the printed text and meaning "classes of dignity." It may be of the eighth century. Instead of the serious technical treatment of *Crith Gablach*, it uses a rather rhetorical and fanciful style, with numerous quotations from poetry. In its classification of grades it differs from all the other published tracts.

It deals only with the free grades, omitting the unfree agricultural tenants, *fuidir*, *bothach*, and *senchlethe*, also the slave, *mug*, and the slave woman, *cumal*.

It divides the free population into four orders: civil, Latin-learned, Irish-learned, and ecclesiastical.

The civil order contains ten ruling grades: three of king, four of *aire*, three of gentlemen. The honourprice of all these is reckoned in *cumals*. Then follow seven grades corresponding roughly to the *bóaire* order of other tracts, whose honourprice is reckoned in kine. Then nine grades of men without property, who have no honourprice. Then seven grades of wisdom (*ecna*), i.e. of Latin learning. Then seven grades of *filid*, men of Irish learning. Lastly, there are the grades of churchmen, not enumerated, probably because a knowledge of them was taken for granted.

We need hardly doubt that, in the original form of this tract, the classification was in groups of seven grades throughout. The list of ten ruling grades has at its end three grades, *idna*, *ansruth*, and *dae*, which are not found in other texts. The list of nine grades that have no honourprice has at its end two grades, the robber and the beggar, which are not likely to have had legal rank as freemen. Of interpolation of the original we have some proof. The text begins by stating that there are twenty-six grades of freemen, but this number is made out by including the grade of *aire forgaill*, not found in the text except as a synonym, probably here also interpolated, for *aire ardd*.

The three grades of king are: *triath*, "sovereign," explained in verse to mean the king of Ireland; *rí ríq*, "king of kings," to whom seven kings are subordinate; and *rí tuaithe*, "king of a tuath."

Of the king of the second grade, it is said that he is entitled to a *cumal* from each subordinate king who fails to attend his house of ale-feasting or his (regular) assembly (*oenach*) or his (occasional) convention (*dáil*).

The grades of ruling nobles are *aire ardd*, *aire taise*, *aire désa*, *aire fine*, *idna*, *ansruth*, *dae*. The absence of *aire forgaill* and *aire échta* may be noted.

The seven grades whose honourprice was payable in kine are: *ógflaithem*, *lethflaithem*, *flaithem*, *bóaire*, *tánaise bóaire*, *uaitne*, *seirthid*. *Flaithem* may be explained to mean "lordlike" (< *vlati-samos*); *óg-* means "perfect," *leth*, "half." The three grades of *flaithem*, instead of landed vassals such as are under a *flaith*, have tenants bound to the land, in number respectively three, two, and one. The likeness to lords is therefore very slight. The *seirthid* or "henchman" is a landless freeman who becomes a soldier or a guard.

The description of the unpropertied grades does not much increase our knowledge of the social structure. There is nothing in it to show that these are really grades differing from each other in status, and we may rather understand the list to state nine ways in which a freeborn man may become

bereft of franchise : by selling his property, by having no property but cattle which he puts to graze on the land of others, by being deranged in mind, etc.

Of some importance is the list of rights and privileges that are characteristic of freemen : retinue, right to food-provision, right against expulsion or exclusion (from places to which freemen resort in common), to compensation for wounding, for violation of precinct, for violence done to a guest, right to protect strangers, to give security in various ways, to give evidence, to make declaration upon oath. But these potential rights did not become actual, unless the freeman had property qualifications. "There are seven things by which a man is measured : physique, kindred, land, husbandry, profession, wealth, integrity."

The statement of the seven grades of Latin learning is obviously artificial, since one of the grades has the poetical title of *sruth di aill*, "a stream from a cliff." The names of all the grades are purely Irish words, showing that, at the time of the tract, the boundary between Latin and Irish learning had been effaced. The first grade is *rosui*, "great doctor," also called *sui litre*, "doctor of the Letter," i.e. of Scripture. To this grade, too, is given the title of *ollam*, borrowed from the terminology of Irish learning. He is a master of "the four divisions of knowledge," which are not named. The second grade is *ánruth*, a title borrowed also from the native learning. The *ánruth* is skilled not only in Latin learning, *légend*, but in Irish poetry and Irish synchronic history, this last indeed a product of the Latin schools. The third grade is *sui*, "doctor." He teaches only one of the four divisions of learning, and a quotation from Cenn Faélad seems to indicate that the fourth division, in addition to the three which the *ánruth* professes, was the "Canon," i.e. the Canon Law? or Scripture. The fourth grade is, "the stream from a cliff." The description of this grade is very poetical, but indicates a tutor who assists the backward pupils. The fifth grade is *fursaintid*, "illuminator," analogous perhaps to the demonstrator of science of our time. The sixth grade is *freisneidid*, "interrogator." The seventh is *felmac*, a pupil who has learned to read the Psalms in Latin.

The seven grades of Irish learning are the same as in other lists, except that the highest grade is called *éces* instead of *ollam*. The title *ollam*, however, is found later in the text applied to this grade. Beneath the seven professional grades is that of *bard*, who "has no law of learning but his own invention."

The tract ends with a rambling discourse about the honourprice of bishops, priests, and laymen who retire into religious life. As it seems to be a literary rather than a juristic composition, I do not give a rendering.

## MAIGNE.

The tract headed Maighne, "Precincts" (IV 226) is a somewhat late compilation on the subject of the right of protection. It embodies many quotations from older writings. It derives its present title from the fact that it begins with an account of the *maigen* or private precinct allowed by law to certain classes of privileged persons. These are the various grades of nobles from *bóaire* up to the king of Ireland, of ecclesiastical persons from the "exile of God" up to "the heir of Patrick," and of *flid*. Any person who happened to be within the precinct came under the owner's protection, and violence done to such a person was accounted a wrong against the owner, for which the owner could take legal remedy. The precinct of a *bóaire* was symbolically fixed at a circle around his house, the radius of which circle was the cast of his spear. The radius was doubled for the next higher grade, and so on for each grade in succession, so that the precinct of the king of (a number of) *tuatha* had a radius of sixty-four spear-casts. But this area could not extend beyond the owner's private land (*faithche*).

Protection in this sense is called *comairce* and *ditiu* in the tract. The older terms are *turthuge* (U.B.) and *snádud* (C.G.).

Certain regulations are stated :

A person under protection could not take others under his own protection.

"There is no protection without offer of law." If a suit lay against the protected person, and he refused to answer it, he could not be lawfully protected against the lawful proceedings of the plaintiff.

A multitude could not come under protection. The maximum number is stated at twenty-seven persons.

When a person whose life was forfeit came under the protection of a church, he could save his life by payment. If, however, he did not "offer law," the church incurred a liability for protecting him or for allowing him to escape. But, according to another doctrine, churches and ruling nobles could give protection "without asking questions," whereas the Féni grades had not this right.

A tutor who accepted a fee was under liability for offences committed by the pupil. It is to be understood that the pupil is resident under the authority of the tutor.

Subjoined here are two "heptads," one stating exceptions to the right of protection (*snádud*, *ditiu*), the other dealing with the right to "sick-maintenance" (*folach*, *folach n-othrusa*, often simply *othrus*).

V 290.—There are seven resistances in the usage of the Féni, the rights of which are most difficult to shield—there is no right for lord or for church

or for nobles of worth, nor for defence of sanctuary (?), to protect them: protection against a standing surety; protection of a son who flees his father; protection against a daughter who flees her mother; protection of a slave who flees his lord; protection of a church-tenant who flees his church; protection of a man who flees his government of God or man; protection of a woman who flees her rule of matrimony—that which God has joined in the beginning, let not man put asunder.

V 312.—There are seven cases of support that are most hardly supported in a *tuath*; support of a king; support of a hospitaller; support of a smith; support of a wright; support of a wise man; support of an embroideress—for some one is necessary to perform the function of each of them in his absence, and that the earning of each of them may not fail in his house.<sup>1</sup>

### DIRE.

I 54.—There are four magnates of a *tuath* who degrade themselves into petty folk: a king who gives false judgment, a bishop who stumbles, a *fili* who fails in his duty, an incompetent noble. Who fulfil not their duties, to them no *díre* is due.<sup>2</sup>

V 168.—There are seven mansions in the usage of the *Féni* that are not entitled to *díre* or honourprice: the mansion from which every plight is refused; the mansion of the man who eats theft and plunder; the mansion of the man who betrays honour; the mansion of the man who bears defamation that defames him; the man's mansion out of which son expels father; the mansion in which kin-murder is done; the mansion that remains empty—it is in this case (that the maxim applies) “the *díre* of every empty to a *nemed*,” but that “the *díre* of every empty” may not exceed one chattel and (i.e. besides) restitution of that which has been damaged in it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only six cases are stated. The seventh may have been the *ollam* or chief man of lore in the *tuath*. *Folach*, “support,” is understood in the commentary to mean sick-maintenance. The notion apparently is that the person so supported was to be treated away from home. The treatment was at the expense of the person held to be the agent of the harm suffered, and the commentary says that in these cases this person could choose whether the treatment should be in a place provided by him or in the sufferer's home. In the latter alternative, the measurement of expense would be “most difficult.”

<sup>2</sup> *Fili diupartach*, “a *fili* who fails in his duty,” i.e. who, in something that he is bound to do, causes *diupart*, privation of due, to another person. *Aire essindraic*, an incompetent noble”: *indraic* appears to convey the idea of material and moral integrity, competence in all respects for fulfilment of duties and functions. The last clause is wrongly punctuated and wrongly translated in the official edition. The glossator, no doubt rightly, interprets *díre* in the particular sense of “honourprice,” *eneclann*.

<sup>3</sup> “Mansion”: “fort” does not give the meaning of *dún*, a circular earthwork surmounted by a stockade, surrounding the residence of king or noble. Such earthworks are still extant in great numbers. “Defamation that defames him”: for *air* no

V 172.—There are seven kings in the usage of the Féni who are not entitled to *dire* or honourprice: the king who refuses every plight, not having his lawful (full) company of guests, for it is not refusal by anyone, if he have his lawful company, even though he refuse; the king who eats theft and pillage; the king who betrays honour; the king who bears defamation that defames him; the king (against whom) battle is won; the king whom a hound attacks as he goes alone without his lawful servitors; the king who does kin-murder.<sup>1</sup>

V 174.—There are seven nobles in the usage of the Féni who are not entitled to *dire* or honourprice: the noble who refuses every plight; the noble who eats theft and pillage; the noble who betrays honour; the noble who bears defamation that defames him; the noble who vows his perpetual pilgrim-staff, who speedily turns again to his will; the noble who protects an evader of government so that it becomes evasion behind his back; the noble who does not yield judgment or due to man—such a one is not entitled to judgment or due from man.

V 176.—There are seven women in the usage of the Féni who are not entitled to *dire* or honourprice: the woman who steals; the woman who reviles (*lit.* carves) every plight; the woman who betrays without recantation, whose kin jointly pays for her false tale; the harlot of a thicket; the woman who slays; the woman who refuses every plight. These are the women who are not entitled to honourprice.

V 368<sup>2</sup>.—There are seven (cases) in which his honourprice falls from everyone: defamation in accusing him without paying him (for it); false testimony by him against anyone; giving a false character; neglect of bond; going beyond a hostage; evading his surety; betraying his honour.

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*aire* I read *air nod n-aire*. The last clause, following “the mansion that remains empty,” is not glossed and is probably not part of the original text, though its diction is of the same period. The text, if I mistake not, has in view the case of a residence permanently abandoned—this is the sense of *bís*. The maxim has rather in view the case of a residence temporarily unoccupied, in which trespass and damage incur restitution and a small amount of *dire*, not the full *dire* of an occupied residence.

<sup>1</sup> “Who betrays honour,” i.e. who fails to protect anyone who has lawful recourse to his protection.

In this paper I have endeavoured to contribute some items to our knowledge of the books read in medieval Ireland, and as well to cast a little light on the more obscure question of the possible connection between Irish and Eastern literature. The search for apocrypha, and through them for traces of Eastern influence, in Irish MSS. suggests a not unprofitable by-path in Celtic studies; but it is one which must be trodden by the student who is better situated geographically, and better equipped linguistically, than the present writer.

## VI.

## THE NATIVE PLACE OF ST. PATRICK.

BY PROFESSOR EOIN MACNEILL, D.LITT.

[Read FEBRUARY 15. Published MARCH 29, 1926.]

THE authorities for determining, if it can be determined, the native place of St. Patrick are his own Confession and Epistle, the poem called "Fiacc's Hymn," and the life of the saint by Muirchu.

The poem adds nothing to the evidence of the other sources, except a version of the name of the place: "Patrick was born in Nemthur, so he tells in [his] narrative"—*Génair Patraic i nNemthur, issed adfét hi scélaib*. Here *Nemthur* is dative, corresponding to a nominative *Nemthor*. *Scélaib*, plural of *scél*, is often used to denote an extended narrative. Hence it appears that the author of the poem, in naming *Nemthur*, professed to give a name known to him for the native place of St. Patrick, which is differently named in the Confession. Muirchu deals with the matter in similar fashion. He quotes, in a peculiar variant, the name of the place as he knew it from the Confession, and then gives another name as that by which this place was commonly known to others in his time. Muirchu's version of the contemporary name is *Uentre*, but the scribe of Muirchu's text seems first to have written *Uenitre* or *Uemtre*, which was corrected to *Uentre*. It must be remembered that all these documents have reached us through transcripts only. Consequently we cannot know for certain, in a matter of this kind, how a particular name appeared in this or that original, and we must make allowance both for scribal departures from the originals and for the likelihood that a scribe in copying one document may have had reference to another, textually or through his memory, and may have tried to bring the variant names more or less into a common semblance.

In the Confession the place near to which Patrick's father dwelt and Patrick himself was taken captive is named

(qui fuit) *uico Banaquem Taberniae*.

One manuscript has *Bannaquem*, another has *Taburniae*. The Confession further indicates that this place was in *Britanniis*: "*iterum post paucos annos in Britanniis eram cum parentibus meis*." Now the plural

*Britanniae* means Roman Britain, and this term rules out Brittany and any other region outside of Roman Britain.<sup>1</sup>

Muirchu avowedly quotes Patrick's words ("ut ipse ait") from the Confessio, and enlarges on them: "*Patricius, qui et Sochet uocabatur, Brito natione, in Britannis natus, Cualfarni diaconi (sic) ortus, filio, ut ipse ait, Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit uico Ban nauem thabur indecha ut procul a mari nostro, quem uicum constanter indubitanterque comperimus esse uentre matre etiam conceptus Concesso nomine.*"

Muirchu's prologue and the table of contents which precedes his life of St. Patrick are found misplaced in the Book of Armagh. The first five chapters of the life and the opening words of the sixth chapter, missing from the Book of Armagh, are supplied from a Brussels manuscript; they include the passage quoted above. The Brussels manuscript, according to Hogan (*Documenta de S. Patricio*, p. 11), is written, as to the part containing this life, in a hand of the eleventh century, being apparently a transcript made in the Irish monastery of Würzburg. Ferdomnach, the scribe of the Book of Armagh, was not far removed in time from Muirchu, and must have had access to material of every kind pertinent to the matter of his transcript. The scribe of the Brussels manuscript dwelt far away from Ireland, and was separated by centuries from his original. He, or an earlier transcriber whom he copies, was ignorant as to the details of the matter in his hands, and stupid or careless in the handling of it. He begins Muirchu's text, under the heading "*Prologus de vita Sancti Patricii*," by inserting a prologue partly belonging to a life of St. Basil, partly based on quotations from Tirechan. In this prologue he has

*abuduldandum* for *apud Ultanum*,  
*Concubrensum* for *Conchoburnensem*,  
*Imigonus* and *Mavonius* for *Magonus*,  
*Sucsetus* for *Succetus*,  
*Miluch* for *Miliuc*,  
*Alforni* for *Calpurni*,  
*Contice* for *Cothrige* (*Colthirche*?).

To anyone conversant with the literature and tradition of St. Patrick's life, all these words should have been quite familiar. To this scribe they were altogether strange. We cannot suppose him to have been intelligent or careful in his transcription of the passage quoted above, which immediately follows his prologue. In the phrase *haud procul a mari nostro*, from *haud* he adds *ha*, in the spelling *cha*, to the preceding word, and

<sup>1</sup>The plural *Britanniae*, *Brittaniae*, according to the instances collected by Holder (*AltCelt. Sprachschatz*, p. 576 seqq.), appears to come into use in this sense towards the end of the third century. St. Patrick, in whose time the migration of Britons to *Aremorica* began, was not likely to have named that region *Britannia* or *Britanniae*.

makes *ud* into a separate word *ut*; doubtless misled by his exemplar—*chaut* for *haud* is also found in the Book of Armagh (195 b, col. 2, line 4 from foot). For *Concessa nomine*, “Concessa by name,” he has *concesso nomine*, which doubtless appeared to his mind to convey sufficient meaning. Hence, when we come to consider the one word in this passage which is of the greatest importance to our inquiry, the synonym which Muirchu supplied for St. Patrick’s birthplace as named in the Confession, we are left to apprehend that this word has suffered the same sort of treatment as the words *haud* and *Concessa*, and that the scribe has written *uentre* because *conceptus* follows. The word in his original should have had sufficient resemblance to *uentre* to appear to justify this change. I suggest that the original had *Uentam*.

*Venta Silurum*, which became a Roman military station, is now Caerwent (= *castra Uentae*), in Monmouthshire. The name *Venta*, in Welsh *Gwent*, became extended in usage so as to signify in early Welsh the region between the rivers Usk and Wye, bordering on the Severn Sea. The northward projections of this region, “the two sleeves of *Gwent*,” were *Ewyas*, bordering on *Brycheiniog*, “*Brecknock*,” and *Erging*, in the direction of *Hereford*.<sup>2</sup>

In seeking to form a true view of the historical evidence of a bygone time, the student of history must always endeavour to detach his mind, not only from modern conditions, but also from the conditions of the intervening time which may have become familiar to him through books; he must endeavour, as well as he can, to project his mind into the time of his witnesses; and, if their testimony has relation to an earlier time, he must try also to place himself in that earlier time in order to form a true judgment, so far as it may be possible, of the value and bearing of their word.

About a century after Muirchu wrote, and about the time when *Torbach* and *Ferdomnach* were putting together in the Book of Armagh the materials of St. Patrick’s history, a great change came over the relations between Ireland and the neighbouring lands. Fleets of fierce heathen Norsemen took possession, as we may say, of all these north-western seas. It was only when “the wind was wild and tossed the sea’s white locks” that an Irish scribe could write: “To-night I fear not the passage of the sea by the furious warriors from *Lothland*.” In the preceding age, during half a millennium, the Irish were the chief sea-going people of western Europe. As early as A.D. 290 the Britons under Roman rule were already “accustomed” to invasion from Ireland. As the Roman power in Britain declined, permanent Irish colonies were formed in the western parts of Britain, from *Argyllshire* to the *Devonian peninsula*. The Irish fleet in which, during the reign of the great sea-king, *Niall of the Nine Hostages*,

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<sup>2</sup> Wade Evans, “Welsh Medieval Law,” p. xxxiv.

Patrick was carried captive to Ireland was large enough to carry away at the same time a host of captives so numerous as to be described in Patrick's own words, *tot millia hominum*. Sagas of the ocean, *inrama*, formed a prominent and distinctive part of early Irish literature. We still have "Mael Dúin's Voyage," the "Voyage of Ua Corra's Sons," and, most famous of all, the "Navigation of St. Brendan," which stirred the imagination of other peoples, and most likely hastened the discovery of the New World. These are legends, but they answer to historical facts. They contain imaginary wonders, but the containing framework is itself hardly more wonderful than the actual seafaring enterprises of St. Colman Ua Liatháin, of whom Adamnán tells, St. Colman being of the same sea-going sept that Nennius knew of, "the sons of Liethan," rulers in southern Wales, and whose stronghold, Dinn Map Lethan, south of the Severn Sea, is named in Cormac's Glossary. I may draw attention here also to an event of ancient contemporary record which seems to have escaped due notice in our time. Under date of A.D. 567 (rightly 568), the Annals of Ulster record "the expedition into Iardoman by Colmán Bee, son of Diarmait, and Conall, son of Comgall." Colmán was at this time king of Mide, his father, famous in history and legend, having been king of Ireland. Conall was king of Dál Riada, that is, both of the Irish Dál Riada and of the Irish in south-western Scotland. Five years earlier the same Conall had granted the island of I, "Iona," to St. Columba. The meaning of the expedition by the two kings has been obscured and diminished by an old commentator, cited in a regnal list in the Book of Leinster and followed by the Four Masters, professing to tell that the expedition of the two kings was "to Soil and Ile," the islands of Seil and Islay. The editor of the Annals of Ulster rightly wonders how a king "whose territory lay very near the centre of Ireland" came "to engage in maritime warfare" in islands off Argyllshire. He conjectures that Conall's objective was "against the rival house of Gabrán." There was no "rival house of Gabrán" at that time, Gabrán being Conall's uncle, brother of his father Comgall. There is no evidence to indicate that Conall was not effective ruler of the whole realm of Dál Riada, including the two islands above-named, and there is not the slightest likelihood that a king from central Ireland would be associated with Conall in an undertaking so localised. In fine, Iardoman means "the western world," a term not likely to have designated two islands off the Scottish coast; and this expedition, headed by a king from Mid-Ireland and a king of Dál Riada, is fairly certain to have been a voyage of discovery, like the voyages undertaken by their contemporaries, St. Brendan and St. Colman.

In Muirchu's time dynasties of Irish origin ruled in South Wales. The kings of Dyfed, "Demetia," the Pembroke promontory, were of Irish descent. The kings of Brycheiniog, "Brecknock," an inland region adjoining Gwent, were also of Irish descent. The nomenclature of numerous

inscriptions, mainly of the fifth and sixth centuries, some in Latin, some in Irish Ogham, a few in both, testifies to the prominence of the Irish element in the countries of the Welsh seaboard, and to some extent south of the Severn Sea.

I dwell on these particulars to show that Irish people, especially people of the eastern Irish seaboard, must have been familiar with the main topography of the British seaboard lying over against them. Muirchu appears to have lived near the town of Wicklow. An ancient church there, Cell Murchon, bore his name.<sup>3</sup> Hence, when for the name of St. Patrick's birthplace, quoted from the Confession, Muirchu gives an equivalent, stating at the same time that this identification comes to him by a constant and undoubting tradition, we must infer, first, that no place was known in Muirchu's time and country by the name he found in the Confession; and, secondly, that the name which he substitutes was known in his time, and was sufficient to indicate for himself and his Irish contemporaries the place in question. To the name which he quotes from the Confession Muirchu adds "*haud procul a mari nostro*," meaning "not far inland from the Irish Sea." This piece of information may also have come to him by tradition. On the other hand, it may be no more than an inference. It proves, however, that the place which Muirchu himself names was "not far from our sea."

Let us now consider the name found in St. Patrick's Confession, taking the text and variants printed by Dr. Newport White in his "*Libri Sancti Patricii*." In most of the MSS. the phrase is "*qui fuit uico Banauem Taberniae*." The Book of Armagh has Bannauem. The Paris MS., which "is on the whole the most satisfactory," has "*Taburniae*." Muirchu copied this phrase from a text of the Confession, or reproduced it from his memory of the text; and the Brussels MS., which alone preserves this part of Muirchu's history, gives the phrase thus: *qui fuit uico Bannauem thaburindecha*. We have seen that the last two letters, *ha*, have been detached by the scribe from the word which followed, *haud* or *haut*, and do not belong to the phrase in which the place is named. It seems also fairly certain that the preceding letter *c* does not belong to that phrase. If we suppose a ligatured *æ* to have been miscopied as *de*, we have a version of Muirchu's phrase differing from the Paris MS. only in having *th* for *t* and *in* for *ni*. Probus, whose life of St. Patrick closely follows Muirchu's

<sup>3</sup> He may not have been a native of that part. His surname, *mocu Machtheni*, indicates that he belonged to a sept which should have been named *Dál Machtheni* or *Corcu Machtheni*. I have not found this sept-name anywhere. The nearest approach to it that I have found is in the name *Tuath Mochtaine* (with the variant *Mochthuinde*) in the lists of *aithechthuatha* (see Hogan, *Onomasticon Goed.*, s.v.). It is significant that this *tuath* or *populus* was located "in Mag Macha," the plain of Armagh. If Muirchu belonged by birth or origin to that region, it is easier to understand why he undertook to write a life of St. Patrick, and why his life contains so much of north-eastern tradition and topography.

at this part, has *Bannaue Tiburniae regionis*. There is thus good support for *-bur-* of the Paris MS. against *-ber-* of other MSS. of the Confession. The familiar Latin word *taberna* would incline scribes to write *Taberniae* for *Taburniae* (or *Taburinae*), especially if, as is likely, their exemplars had a conventional suspension for the two letters following *b*. We may note that the Brussels MS. and Probus support *bann-* of the Book of Armagh against *ban-* of other MSS.

In the endeavour to find verisimilitude in the phrase of the Confession it has been almost a commonplace of modern investigators to reconstruct from *-vem ta-* the word *Venta*. This reconstruction finds support (1) in *Ventre* of the Brussels MS., (2) in *Nemthur* of "Fiacc's Hymn," (3) in the inexplicability of a place-name *Bannaue*, (4) in the fact that *Venta* is the known name of more than one place of ancient Britain. Besides *Venta Silurum*, *Caerwent*, there was *Venta Icenorum* in the east of Britain, and *Venta Belgarum* in the south. All such reconstructions proceed on the assumption that the phrase is corrupt in all the extant MSS. of the Confession and in the Brussels MS. of Muirchu's Life. It does not necessarily follow that these are derived from a common source, in which the phrase was found in this corrupt form. We must allow for the likelihood of collation; that is to say, assuming the phrase in all its extant variants to be corrupt, we may regard the likelihood that this or that MS. which contains it has been copied from an earlier MS. in which the phrase was given exactly or approximately as St. Patrick wrote it, but was amended in transcription to accord with the version in some other MS. considered to be of better authority, or with a version already familiar and accepted. I take the common ground that the phrase as it exists in its variant spellings is corrupt and requires reconstruction, and that in its original form it contained the word *Venta*.

The author of "Fiacc's Hymn" professes to quote the name from St. Patrick: "Patrick was born in *Nemthur*, so he tells in (his) narrative." His MS. of the Confession seems therefore to have agreed with the extant MSS. as regards *-em* of *Bannaue*. We cannot say so certainly that it agreed with Muirchu as regards the following *th-*, for the suspension representing *-tur*, frequent in MSS. of Latin, might be extended either as *-tur* or as *-thur*. *Nemthur* would be suggested by the Irish word *nemeth*, "sacred, a sacred person or place." What does appear certain is that the author of the poem understood a division into two distinct words between *banna* and *uem* or whatever letters represented these in the MS. on which he relied or in the wording of the phrase as he had it in mind.

There is, in my opinion, good ground for holding that the author of "Fiacc's Hymn," certainly not St. Fiacc who lived in St. Patrick's time, was none other than St. Fiacc's successor, Bishop Aed, at whose "dictation" Muirchu's Life was written. The argument in support of this view requires a thesis to itself and cannot be given here. Aed and

Muirchu were in close communication with each other on the subject of St. Patrick's life. On the assumption that Aed was the author of the metrical life called "Fiace's Hymn," we may take it that his *Nemthur* and Muirchu's *Uentre* (as the Brussels ms. has it) are intended to name the same place. Aed, indeed, is likely to have been one of those from whom Muirchu had learned, "*constanter indubitanterque*," the name given in his Life. If we equate this name with the *-uem ta-* of the MSS., we infer that Muirchu, like the author of the metrical life, separates *banna* from what follows it, regarding it as a distinct word or part of one. It is quite possible that in the poem, which has come to us through many transcriptions, the first letter of *Nemthur* was originally *U*.

So much being premised, I shall give now the reconstruction which I propose for the phrase in the Confession:

*qui fuit uico Gobanni Ventae [Burrinae? Sabrinae?].*

Alternatively, we might read *Gobannio* in apposition to *uico*. The meaning would be: "who was of the town of Gobannium, in the Burrium-district(?) of Gwent." I do not propose this reading as a critical emendation. The view that I put forward is that the original phrase, as written by St. Patrick, contained the place-names Gobannium, Venta, and perhaps Burrium in some such relation as the reconstructed phrase indicates, the precise locality being signified in the terms *uico Gobanni*, the district or region in the words which followed. It would be vain to attempt an exact critical restoration of any obscure locution in the writings of St. Patrick. He himself fully admits his inability to write good Latin, apologising that he has not had the double advantage that others (of his calling and station) have had, who, as is most fitting,<sup>4</sup> have been educated in sacred literature, and have not lost the Latin speech of their childhood, but have rather constantly acquired a more refined use of it, whereas he, as his style, he says, betrays, was forced in his youth to adopt a strange language in place of Latin. His style, indeed, suggests that, like many a candidate for examination in our time, his conscious weakness in Latin composition caused him to fill out his sentences with phrases taken from other writings, and not always apt to express the intended sense. We can hardly doubt that his writings, as they came from his hand, contained many solecisms and grammatical errors which were corrected in early transcripts. His orthography may have been as faulty as his grammar and idiom. In view of these considerations, the futility of any attempt to restore the original literal form and grammatical relation in a phrase so obscure, obscure evidently to Irish writers of the seventh century, is sufficiently apparent. The most that one may usefully attempt is to identify the place-names in the phrase, and their relation to each other.

<sup>4</sup>I read *optimo iure* for *optime iure* of the MSS.

The proposal to identify the first place named in the phrase with Gobannium is not originally mine. Dr. Sylvester Malone, in his "Birth-place of St. Patrick" (Dublin, 1900), proposed for this phrase the reading "qui fuit uico bona Venta Burrii," and thus identified the place with the Roman town of Burrium, now called Usk or Usktown, on the river Usk in Monmouthshire. In a letter signed "McN." to the "Tablet" of July 26, 1902, my brother, Charles MacNeill, pointed out that the emendation "bona Venta" failed for want of support. In fact, *bona* is not found by Dr. Newport White in any of the MSS. of the Confession, nor is it found in the Brussels MS., which alone contains this phrase after Muirchu's version. There might be some likelihood in the substitution of the familiar *bona* in transcription for the unfamiliar *bana*, better attested as *banna*, but the converse substitution is plainly most improbable. Whatever *Venta* may have meant—and its meaning is not known—if St. Patrick was a native of Burrium, he would have known *Venta* either as the name of the neighbouring town a few miles distant, now Caerwent, or still more probably he would have known this town by the name *Castra Ventae*, and he would have known *Venta*, in the sense in which it became *Gwent* in Welsh, as the name of the region which included this town and also the towns of Burrium and Gobannium. In either case, he was not likely to write of "the good *venta* of Burrium," as the designation of the town near to which he was born and in which his father held the office of decurion. My brother rightly rejected Dr. Malone's emendation as unsupported and untenable, but accepted the view that the name of Burrium was contained in the *-berniæ* (*-burniæ*, *-burinde*) of the MSS. Burrium suggested to him that the place more specifically named in the first part of the phrase was Gobannium, and he proposed to read *qui fuit in Cobannaue iu[x]ta Berniæ*, giving this, with a minimum alteration of the letters, rather as a probable scribal version than as a critical restoration of the original.

Dr. Malone replied in the "Tablet" of August 9, 1902, in a rather tart humour, and with some inaccuracy of detail. He pointed out correctly, however, that the word *uico* was clearly attested by Muirchu in commenting, "*quem uicum*," etc. I may add that this sort of locative ablative was not foreign to St. Patrick's Latin usage; e.g., *Hiberione, a Deo constitutus, episcopum me esse fateor*. He seems to stress the fact that his father was a townsman; and so too in the Epistle, where he insists on the social standing of his family, evidently in defence of his dignity against those who pretended contempt for him: "*Ingenuus fui secundum carnem; decurione patre nascor; uendidi enim nobilitatem meam—non erubescō neque me pœnitet—pro utilitate aliorum.*" I therefore propose to retain the reading *uico*, and I regard the omission of the following letters *go-* as the result of a parablepsis in an early transcript which would have been the common source of all extant versions of the

phrase.<sup>5</sup> Such an omission was all the more likely since, as is known to students of early Irish and early Welsh, post-vocalic *c* in the sixth and following centuries, for the literate of Ireland and Wales, had normally the sound of *g*: where *uico Gobannii* was written, *uigo Govanni* was read. I suppose that the original ms. of the Confession, and especially the first page of it, had become somewhat defaced before the transcript was made, which became the common source of the extant mss. and of the copy known to Muirchu, and that the final vowel or vowels of *Gobannii* or *Gobanni* became *a* in the transcript. I suppose also that the syllable *uen*, probably written with a suspension, was miscopied *uem*: as I have already said, it is almost common ground for modern investigators to recognise *uenta* in the phrase. The separation of the first syllable from *Gobannii* and of the last syllable from *uenta* (*uenta*), under the influence of the likely-sounding *tabern*-, made it seem necessary to combine the meaningless *uen* or *uem* with the preceding word, and so, as I suppose, the imaginary place-name *Bannaueu* emerged, invested with fixity by its very strangeness.

For the purpose of the argument, I have assumed that either the whole region of Gwent was named in St. Patrick's time *Venta Burrina* to distinguish it from other places named *Venta*, or that the part of Gwent which contained the towns of Burrium and Gobannium was named *Venta Burrina* to distinguish it from the other parts of Gwent; Burrium in either case being regarded as the chief town of the region intended.

Bury's last word on the subject is of interest. In the concluding paragraph of the preface to his "Life of Saint Patrick," he writes: "Since the book was in type, I have received some communications from my friend, Professor Rhys"—the late Sir John Rhys—"which suggest a hope that the mysterious Bannauenta, St. Patrick's home, may perhaps be identified at last. I had conjectured that it should be sought near the Severn or the Bristol Channel. The existence of three places named Banwen (which may represent Bannauenta) in Glamorganshire opens a prospect that the solution may possibly lie there." We may think that Bury would have expressed more assurance if one or other of the places named Banwen was known or likely to have been a Roman town with decurions. We note, however, that, like others, he finds *uenta* in the phrase, and that, on general grounds, he thinks the place should have been near the Severn Sea.

The raid in which Patrick was taken captive was carried out on a grand scale, probably under the command of the high-king Niall; for Patrick tells that he was carried off to Ireland with thousands of other captives,

<sup>5</sup> A similar error in transcription is found in the sept-name Corco Ela, properly Corco Coela, Book of Lecan, 449 b. There is a synonym Coelrige, and the eponymous ancestor is Conall Coel. For Corco Oche, some mss. have Corco Che. See Onomasticon Goedelicum s.vv.

"*cum tot millia hominum.*" "*Et Dominus dispersit nos in gentibus multis, etiam in ultimum terrae*"—they were sold as slaves, and scattered among many tribes, even to the farthest parts of the land. The object of the raid was to secure a large booty in slaves and other things of value. His father's household was despoiled of its man-servants and maid-servants. We may be quite certain that a raid of this kind was directed to places that were comparatively populous and opulent, and that the raiders, when they pushed inland, followed the line of a Roman road, by which they could swoop swiftly on such places and retire swiftly and easily with the booty to their ships; for as yet the formidable legions had not been finally withdrawn from Britain. From Bath, Aquae Solis, an important Roman town, a Roman road led to the Severn estuary, and was connected by an established ferry (*traiectus*) with the great road which ran from the military station of Venta Silurum northwards to another important military centre, Viriconium, and thence to Deva, now Chester, also a military station of great strategic importance. Not far from Venta, this road reached the Usk at Isca Silurum. Here a western branch traversed the southern seaboard of Wales as far as Maridunum. The main road, turning northward at Isca, passed through Burrium and Gobannium, Abergavenny, both on the river Usk. The relation of these roads to the Roman military dispositions is sufficiently reflected in the place-names. Venta is now Caerwent, Castra Ventae. Isca is Caerleon, Castra Legionum. Maridunum is Caermarthen, Castra Mariduni. Viriconium is Wroxeter, Viriconi Castra. Deva is Chester, Castra.

With regard to the name Burrium, it is to be observed that, so far as I have been able to trace, this form of the name for the Roman station between Isca Silurum (Caerleon on Usk) and Gobannium (Abergavenny) rests on a single authority, the *Itinerarium Antonini*. Richard of Cirencester, following a version of the same authority, gives the name, in the ablative case, in one place as Bultro, in another as Ballio.<sup>6</sup> Ptolemy's name for the same place appears to be Boullaion. The common measure, so to speak, of these variants is Bullium, Bullion. Giles, in his notes to Richard of Cirencester, says that no Roman remains have been found at the town of Usk. Hence there is not much value in the probability of Venta Burrina as the name of a part of Gwent in St. Patrick's time, and the restoration or explanation of the last portion of his phrase, *burniae* or *berniae*, remains problematical. Bury says (*Life of St. Patrick*, p. 323): "We have more than one Venta in Britain. *berniae*, however, remains unexplained. It must represent the name of a district (or perhaps river), added to distinguish Bannaventa from other places of the same name." If so, one is tempted to suggest Venta Sabrinae, meaning "(the region of) Gwent bordering on the Severn."

<sup>6</sup> Ed. by Giles, "*Six Old English Chronicles*" (Bohn's Library), pp. 495, 496.

The southern Venta, now Winchester, was sufficiently near to give occasion for the additional term.

For the Irish incursions into Roman Britain, the same two phases may be supposed that are found later in the Norse incursions into Ireland: a time of raiding for booty and captives, followed by a time of colonisation. Wherever an Irish colony can be traced, earlier raids may be assumed, for success in raiding was the natural preliminary to migration; the raiders discovered the weakness of the local defence, and acquired knowledge of suitable landing-places and of roads leading inland. The two phases, however, were not of necessity synchronous along the whole line of British seaboard upon which Irish colonisation can be traced. In their earlier incursions, the Irish are associated with the Picts, that is to say, they assail the northern parts of Roman Britain, where Roman military power was less to be feared than farther south. The oldest Irish settlements in Britain were probably made in Argyllshire and the neighbouring islands, where no Roman military station is known to have existed.

In his edition of "O'Mulconry's Glossary" (Archiv. f. Celt. Philol. i, 233), Stokes equates Irish *Féni* with Welsh *Gwynedd*, the name of the northwestern part of Wales, both names being developed from an earlier Celtic \**vēnio*-. The name *Gwynedd* thus appears to have originated in the invasion and occupation of that region by the *Féni* from Ireland. The oldest known record of the name is in the Penmachno inscription, Carnarvonshire, dated about A.D. 600: *Cantiori hic iacit Venedotis ciue fuit [c]onsobrino Magli magistrati*—a typical example of the broken Latin of post-Roman British inscriptions. Nennius has *Wenedotiae*, *Guenedotae*, *Guendotae* (genitive singular), from older sources, beside his contemporary *Guined*. The older forms suggest an origin in \**Vēni(o)tōta* or *-tōtas*.<sup>6a</sup> In "Fiacc's Hymn," *túatha Féne* means the Irish in general.

Farther south the Pembroke foreland, Demetia, Dyfed, is likely to have been occupied by an Irish colony in the course of the fourth century. According to Irish tradition, the rulers of this colony were of the dynastic line of the *Dési*, expelled from Meath by Cormac in the latter part of the third century. The migration to Wales need not have immediately followed the expulsion from Meath. The story which comes to us, written in the eighth century, tells that the *Dési* made a prolonged sojourn in Leinster before the main branch of them settled in south-eastern Munster. This settlement, under Oingus, king of Cashel, should have taken place about the middle of the fifth century.

It is worthy of note that the territory of Brycheiniog, Brecknock,

<sup>6a</sup> For the shortened form of the stem in composition, compare, from \**uēniā* > *fine*, the compounds *finjal* and *finniu*, gen. *finied* > \**uenitūt*- or \**uenitāt*. The equation *Vēnio* = *Guined*, *Gwynedd*, suggests to me that *Guidel*, *Gwyddel* may have originated as a transformation of the Welsh equivalent of *Féni* under the influence of *guid*, *gwydd*, "wild."

further inland than Gwent, which it borders on the north-west, was ruled in the fifth century and later by a dynasty of migrants from Ireland. The founder of this dynasty, from whom the territory is named, is called in Welsh Brachan, in Irish Braccán, which is a variant form of Broccán. The Welsh genealogists<sup>7</sup> give two accounts of Brachan's ancestry. According to one account, Brachan was son of Anlac or Aulach, king of Ireland, son of Coronac or Gornuc. According to the other, Brachan was son of Cormuc, son of Eurbre Gwydel o Iwerdon, "Eurbre the Irishman from Ireland." I cannot equate Aulach or Anlac with any recorded name of a king of Ireland. It may easily have happened that a king of some minor dynasty in Ireland would pass, in Welsh tradition, for a king of all Ireland. These pedigrees, however, have passed through a number of transcripts by Welsh scribes who were not familiar with Irish names. In Coronac, Gornuc, Cormuc we recognise without difficulty the Irish name Cormac; in Eurbre the Irish name Coirbre. Brachan had a son Clytguin, *qui inuasit totam terram Sudgwalliae*—this translates the Welsh of another MS., *oresgynnaud Deheubarth*; Deheubarth comprised the southern regions of Wales, in contradistinction to North Wales, which consisted of the kingdoms of Gwynedd and Powis.

The date of Brachan can be fixed only approximately by reference to his descendants through his numerous sons and daughters. His daughter Gwladys was mother of St. Cadoc. His daughter Meleri was mother or grandmother of St. David. His grand-daughter Sanant was wife of Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd. These names would indicate that Brachan flourished in the time of St. Patrick's episcopate, about the middle of the fifth century.

According to the genealogical tradition, Brachan was either grandson or great-grandson of "Eurbre Gwydel from Ireland." The words seem to imply that the first of his line in Wales was his grandfather or great-grandfather. The floruit of this ancestor from Ireland should have been within the half-century 350-400. Gwyddel, Goidel, came to be used in Welsh and Irish as a generic term for Irishman. Its use in this sense seems to be comparatively late. It is never found in the ancient Irish law tracts, in which the free people of Ireland are always called Féni or Fir Érenn. I have argued that Gwyddel, like Scottus, another name for Irishman, originated outside of Ireland during the period of the Irish raids into Roman Britain and Gaul, and that both words were first applied to the raiders; Scottus meaning "raider," Gwyddel "wild man" or "barbarian." In this sense Gwyddel would be a specially appropriate epithet for a man who was first of his line to invade Wales.

We may with probability, I think, go a step farther, and connect Brachan's ancestry with the sept Uí Liatháin, who, according to Nennius,

<sup>7</sup> See Anscombe, "Indexes to Old-Welsh Genealogies." Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie, i, 523 seqq.

took possession of Dyfed and Gower and Kidweli. Dyfed corresponds to Pembrokeshire and part of Caermarthenshire; Kidweli is farther east on the Caermarthenshire seaboard; Gower is the peninsula of Glamorganshire west of Swansea. Thus this Irish colony may be regarded as holding the seaboard from Swansea Bay round to Cardigan. The sept of Uí Liatháin was a branch of the Eoghanacht kin, whose chiefs were the kings of Munster. The territory of Uí Liatháin stretched inland from the coast-line between Cork Harbour and Youghal Harbour. Adjoining them on the east were the territories of the Déisi.

The settlement of the Déisi in this region marks the extension of the Eoghanacht power and of the kingdom of Munster over a large territory, formerly part of Leinster, comprising the present county of Tipperary and probably the eastern half of Waterford County. The Déisi, forced earlier to migrate from Meath to Leinster, allied themselves with the Eoghanachta in this conquest, and were rewarded with a large part of the conquered territory. It is interesting to note that something almost exactly similar happened in the Irish invasion of South Wales. The invasion was headed, Nennius says, by the sons of Liathán, who were princes of the Eoghanacht kin; but a large part of the conquered territory, forming the kingdom of Dyfed, came into possession of the Déisi line. We thus see the same alliance operative at the same period between the Eoghanachta and the Déisi in Ireland and in Wales. In Ireland the movement of expansion was headed and conducted by the Eóghanacht dynasty. The Déisi took a subordinate part, and their kings in later times remained subject to the Eoghanacht kings of Cashel. So too in Wales, as Nennius indicates, the conquerors-in-chief must have been of the Eoghanacht kin, and the Déisi must have acquired Dyfed as their supporters. We may infer that the sons of Liathán originally settled as rulers-in-chief of these colonies, probably to the east of Dyfed, in Kidwelly or Gower; and when Nennius adds that they held this region until they were expelled by Cunedda and his sons, we must take his words to refer to the sons of Liathán only, for Dyfed remained until the time of Nennius himself under the rule of the Déisi line.

Irish tradition affords clear and independent corroboration of Welsh tradition regarding the oversea enterprise of the Eoghanacht princes in this period. In Cormac's Glossary—Cormac himself being a king of Munster, of the Eoghanacht line—we read of "Dinn Map Letan in the lands of the Cornish Britons." Cormac gives the name in Old Welsh (or Cornish). The corresponding Irish name would be Dún Mac Liatháin, "fortress of the sons of Liathán." This line therefore effected settlements on the British coast, both north and south of the Severn Sea. Cormac tells of another fortress in Britain, without defining its location, constructed by Crimthann Mór, "king of Ireland and Albion as far as the Sea of Icht," the Irish name for the sea between Britain and Gaul. Crimthann Mór,

son of Fidach, was head of the Eoghanacht kin and king of Munster. His name appears in the lists of kings of Ireland, preceding the reign of Niall of the Nine Hostages; and, though these lists for the pre-Christian period cannot claim to be strictly historical, it is quite within the bounds of likelihood that a king of Munster, at a time when the Munster kings were extending their dominion over the adjoining parts of Connacht and Leinster, could have laid claim successfully to the hegemony of Ireland, and exacted hostages from the dynasty of Tara and Cruachain. Fourteen years are assigned to Crimthann as king of Ireland, twenty-six to Niall, twenty-three to Nath Í, who succeeded Niall. In 432, the fifth year of the reign of Loeguire, son of Niall, and successor of Nath Í, St. Patrick's mission in Ireland began. This reckoning places the reign of Crimthann as high-king and the last years of his life between the years 366 and 380. It will be noted that the three kings before Loeguire are all associated in Irish tradition with oversea enterprises; and there is no reason to question that the time assigned to them (366-429) corresponds in the main to the time of the Irish migratory settlements in western Britain.

The Irish genealogies show that Fidach, father of Crimthann Mór, was brother to Eochu Liathán, from whom the sons of Liathán, the sept Uí Liatháin, derive their descent and name. After Crimthann there is no further trace of Eoghanacht enterprise beyond the sea, and the leadership of Irish maritime warfare passes to the kings of Tara. Obviously the settlements of the sons of Liathán north and south of the Severn Sea are much more likely to have been effected under a king of Ireland of their own kin than under the rival power of the Tara dynasty. The first Eoghanacht chiefs who settled in South Wales may well have been the actual sons of Eochu Liathán, cousins germane of Crimthann Mór.

In connection with the pedigree of Brachán, founder of the dynasty of Brycheiniog, it may be noted that Eochu Liathán had a son named Coirbre and a son named Macc Brocc. Coirbre, son of Liathán, corresponds well in time with "Eurbre, the Gwyddel from Ireland," with whom the line of Brachan in Britain begins. Brocc means "badger," Macc Brocc "lad of badgers." Whatever may have been the underlying notion, the badger element is prominent in the nomenclature of the Eoghanacht kin at this period. Ded, brother of Eochu Liathán and Fidach, had a son Braccán. Among the names of early descendants of Fiachu Fíngenid, another brother of Eochu Liathán, are found Broccán and Coirbre and Cormac. The name Cormac in this kin is also instanced in the case of St. Cormac Ua Liatháin, already mentioned, who continued in the sixth century the seafaring tradition of his sept.

The *brocc*-element in personal names is prominent in inscriptions, both Ogham and Roman, of south-western Ireland and western Britain, dating from the fifth and sixth centuries. In Macalister's *Irish Epigraphy* (i, p. 16)

we have the Ogham MAQI BROCI.<sup>8</sup> *Filius Brocagni* is found in an inscription near Llangeler, on the northern border of Caermarthenshire, probably within the bounds of the old kingdom of Dyfed. *Brocagiani*, apparently a Latinised form of *Broccagni*, is found in an inscription at Trigg Minor, in Cornwall. *Broccagnos*, genitive *Broccagni*, is an older form of the name, which becomes *Broccán*, *Braccán* in Irish, and *Brachan*, *Brychan* in Welsh.

Brachan or Brychan of Brycheiniog is thus likely to have been of the kin of the sons of Liathán, who were expelled from Gower and Kidweli by the sons of Cunedda. If Brachan's daughter Meleri was the wife of Ceretic, son of Cunedda, the relations between these two families cannot have been hostile throughout. Ceretic's realm was no doubt Cardigan, Ceredigion, which takes its name from him, as Brecknock, Brycheiniog, does from Brychan. Displaced from the seaboard of South Wales, Brychan may have been allowed to acquire a territory further inland. The fact that this territory is named from him is a fair indication that he was the first of his line to hold rule there.

The date of the migration of the sons of Cunedda to Wales may be placed about the middle of the fifth century. According to Nennius and the Welsh genealogists, Cunedda and his sons migrated from a northern region called Manau Guotodin and settled in Wales, expelling thence the Irish settlers. Cunedda left one son Typiaun behind in rule over his former territory. Guotodin is recognised as a form of the name which was earlier \*Uotadini, and appears in Ptolemy as Ōtalinoi. Their territory was on the eastern side of southern Scotland. Manau I would identify with the place or district called in Irish [Manu, genitive] Manonn. In 582 or 583 Aedan, king of Dál Riada, fought the battle of Manu, probably against the Britons of that region, identified by Reeves as "the debatable ground on the confines of the Scots, Picts, Britons, and Saxons, now represented in part by the parish of Slamannan (*Sliabh Manann*, 'Moor of Manann'), on the south-east of Stirlingshire, where it and the counties of Dumbarton, Lanark, and Linlithgow meet."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> "This stone is now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford." I suggest fresh inspection of it, to see whether the last symbol may not be read C (four long scores), like the symbol preceding it, instead of I (five short notches). If it can be so read, the name is identical with *Macc Brocc* quoted above, Brocc (< \*Broccōn) being genitive plural. As cited by Macalister, *Broci* is genitive singular, and the corresponding Old Irish name would be *Macc Brúicc*, of which I have no other instance.

<sup>9</sup> See footnote, *Annals of Ulster*, 581, 582. The editor adds: "O'Donovan was surely wrong in thinking Manann the Isle of Man." The *Annales Cambriae* also make this identification, recording the event (year 140) in the words, *Bellum contra Euboniam*. Under 581, the *Annals of Ulster* make Aedan victor; under 582, a duplicate entry represents him defeated. Reeves makes a double error in his mention of the Saxons. He means the Angles, but these had just begun to occupy Northumbria in the time of Aedan, and are not likely to have reached the borders of Stirlingshire until a later time.

Clackmannan, farther north, beyond the Forth, seems to contain the name of the same region. In the middle of the region is Srath Caruin, the vale of Carron. Here, in 642, another king of Dál Riada, the ambitious Domnall Brece, in the endeavour to extend the power of the Scots eastward, was defeated and killed in battle with Hoan, king of the Britons—sufficient indication that a British dynasty then still ruled in the east of Stirlingshire.<sup>10</sup> Here, just north of the Roman wall and south of Pictland, was the most likely place for a native dynasty of the northern Britons.

In the Irish Annals, the Welsh Genealogies, the *Annales Cambriae*, and, so far as I am aware, in other known evidence, after the collapse of the Roman power in Britain, there is one, and only one, British kingdom and dynasty north of Hadrian's Wall. In modern English books the northern Britons are commonly called "the Britons of Strathclyde." This term may have sufficient accuracy in regard to the latest stage of the North British kingdom, before its final extinction, say, within the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. At any earlier time in the post-Roman period the British kingdom extended far wider than Strathclyde, the valley of Clyde. The principal seat of its kings was Ail Chluaidhe, the rocky citadel of Dumbarton; and the Irish, just as they said "king of Cashel," meaning king of Munster, and "king of Ailech," meaning king of western Ulster, used the title, "king of Ail Chluaidhe," to designate the king of the Northern Britons. The Welsh genealogies give the pedigrees of this dynasty under the distinctive name *Gwyr y Gogledd*, "the Men of the North," which means "the Britons of the North," exactly as the Irish genealogies give the pedigrees of the kings of Dál Riada and their kin under the title of *Fir Alban*, "the Men of Albion," meaning "the Irish of Albion," not the Picts or Britons or Angles or Saxons.

A migration of Britons to Wales by sea from a region which bordered on the estuary of the Forth, and had its access to the sea and its command of ships on the eastern side of Scotland, would seem wholly improbable, especially at a time when the eastern sea was infested by fleets of Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and other Germanic folks. If, however, we can recognise that the royal house which headed the migration held rule also on the estuary of the Clyde, probably even on the Firth of Solway, the invasion of Wales by northern Britons under Cunedda and his sons presents no problem. A large number of brief inscriptions in defective Latin, identical in their formulae, ascribed for the most part to the fifth and sixth centuries, are found in Devonshire and Cornwall, in most parts of Wales, but also in Scotland, in Wigtonshire, Selkirkshire, and as far north as the vicinity

<sup>10</sup> The strategic importance of this region is well marked in history. Besides the battles above-named, in the same region were fought the battles of Bannockburn, Falkirk, Kilsyth, and Sheriffmuir. In it is the fortress of Stirling, long the seat of the kings of Scotland.

of Edinburgh.<sup>11</sup> These inscriptions prove a common Latin culture, in a common condition of decadence, throughout the area in which they are found. The area is that of Roman Britain, which had not as yet been occupied by the Saxons and Angles, and which, after the departure of the Romans, came under the rule of native British princes.<sup>12</sup> The continuity of intercourse and the continued sense of a common nationality between the Britons of Wales and those of the North is proved by the designation, "Men of the North," which the Welsh gave to the Northern Britons, and by the fact that Welsh genealogists kept a record of the pedigrees of "numerous chiefs of the Northern Cymri who lived in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries."<sup>13</sup>

Speaking of the subjects of Coroticus—identified by Muirchu, and named in Irish as "Coirthech,<sup>14</sup> king of Ail [Cluade]," that is, king of the Northern Britons—St. Patrick in his Epistle calls them his fellow-citizens. This has been thought to indicate that he himself was a Briton of the North. Bury, however, rightly points out that by *cives* Patrick means Roman citizens. The words of the Epistle put this meaning beyond doubt: *non dico civibus meis neque civibus sanctorum Romanorum*. The sense of the passage is that the Roman citizenship, which he and they considered honourable, and which he associated with Christianity, had been disgraced by the men of Coroticus when they allied themselves, *ritu hostili*, with [pagan] Scots and apostate Picts in shedding the blood of innocent Christians and selling Christian prisoners into slavery. The fact that they were ruled by a British *tyrannus* was not thought to have separated them from citizenship of Rome.

Zimmer has identified Coroticus of St. Patrick's Epistle, Coirthech of Muirchu's Life, with Ceretic Guletic of the Welsh genealogists, ancestor of known later kings of the Northern Britons.<sup>15</sup> Bury thinks "hardly necessary to mention" the identification, proposed by Rees in his *Welsh Saints*, of Coroticus with "Caredig, of Cardigan, son of the Welsh chief Cynedda." I think it, however, not only possible, but highly probable, that "Caredig of Cardigan," whose name in Old Welsh was Ceretic, was

<sup>11</sup> For a collection of these inscriptions from various sources, with an attempt to discover metrical structure in them, by Sir J. Rhys, see *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xviii. Instead of recognising the defective Latin concord common to many of them, Rhys endeavours, by supposing ellipses, etc., to treat their Latin as grammatical throughout.

<sup>12</sup> The ordinary name of the period for such rulers who did not represent the authority of the Roman Empire, even though they may not have been in revolt against it, was *tyranni* — in modern phrase they were not thought to be "constitutional." Thus St. Patrick: "*per tyrannidem Corotici*"; Gildas: "*reges habet Brittania, sed tyrannos*."

<sup>13</sup> Anselme, in *Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie*, i, 521.

<sup>14</sup> Muirchu's Coirthech should represent a fifth-century name \*Coreticos, but it may be a scribal error for Corthech, representing Coroticos. Possibly there was a transitional Coretic between Coroticos and Old Welsh Ceretic.

<sup>15</sup> For a summary of Zimmer's argument see Bury's *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 314.

the same person as Ceretic Guletie, progenitor of the later Northern British kings.<sup>16</sup> The alternative is that there were two men of this name, both contemporary with St. Patrick, both princes of the Northern Britons, both engaged in maritime enterprise on the Irish Sea. The sole difficulty in the way of identifying Coroticus of St. Patrick's Epistle, Ceretic ancestor of the kings of the Northern Britons, and Ceretic, ancestor of the Cardigan line, as one and the same person is that the Welsh genealogists supply the northern Ceretic and the Ceretic of Cardigan with distinct pedigrees. In the case of Ceretic of Cardigan, they are unable to trace his descent farther back than his father Cunedda.<sup>17</sup> This is a rare instance of genealogical candour. The breakdown of Roman government led to the uprise of a number of British dynasts in the various regions of Roman Britain that were not as yet occupied by the Germanic invaders. I do not think that any student of early British history will hold that the Welsh genealogists are likely to have been in possession of historical evidence or of authentic traditions for the ancestry of these upstart dynasties during the earlier Roman period. The pedigrees, so far as they fall within that earlier period, must be considered fictitious. The Welsh genealogists were, indeed, less enterprising than the Irish genealogists, whose work, I think, formed the model for theirs. They did not profess to draw up a complete genealogical scheme in which the ancestry of every noble family of their people was traced back name by name to Adam. But they invented. The Irish origin of the kings of Dyfed is not now questioned. Their pedigrees were preserved both in Ireland and in Wales. Allowing for difference of language and for scribal difficulties, the Irish and the Welsh pedigree are in substantial agreement for the post-Roman period. The origin of the line, however, is traced in the Irish pedigree to the chiefs of the Déisi; in the Welsh pedigree to the British hero, Maxen Gwledig, who seems to be

<sup>16</sup> Guletie, in modern Welsh *gwledig*, is a title given in Welsh tradition to a number of British rulers of the early post-Roman period. Its meaning is briefly discussed by Bury, *loc. cit.*, more fully by Wade Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law*, p. xxx. The word represents an older \**vlaticos*, which Evans connects with Welsh *gwlad* in the sense of "territory." *Gwlad*, however, in Irish *flaith*, represents earlier \**vlatis*, which meant "government." The word changed its meaning in Irish, which, however, keeps the older meaning also in early usage, to "ruler" (cf. *podesta*), in Welsh to "country governed, territory" (cf. kingdom). "There can be little doubt," says Wade Evans, "that *gwledig* is a Welsh rendering for a Roman title." On the contrary, there is nothing less likely than the use of a Celtic word to replace a title of Roman authority among the Britons of that time. I regard *guletie*, *gwledig*, as the Welsh equivalent of *tyrannus*, meaning a native ruler who did not derive his authority from the Empire, though he may not have professedly rejected the Imperial authority. To describe Cunedda as a "Welsh chief" is unusual laxity on Bury's part.

<sup>17</sup> One pedigree, however (see *Archiv für Celt. Lex.*, i, 198), traces thus the ancestry of Cunedda: Cunedda, Ætern, Patern, Tacit, Cein, Guorcein, Doli, Guordoli, Dumn, Gu[o]rdu[mn], Amguoloyt, Aerguerit, Oumu[n?], Dubun, Brithguein, Eugene, Aballac, Amalech, Beli: a collection of artificial pairs of names such as may also be found in the fictitious early strata of the Irish genealogies.

a legendary reflex of the usurping emperor Maximus. The pedigree of the Northern British dynasty may well be authentic as far back as Ceretic Guletic, identified by Zimmer with Coroticus of St. Patrick's Epistle. Beyond that point no family history of the line is likely to have been preserved.<sup>18</sup>

I think we may suppose that the Welsh genealogists, finding record of Ceretic, eponymous ancestor of the Cardigan line, and also of Ceretic, ancestor of the North British line, assumed these to be distinct persons, and invented distinct pedigrees for them. Something similar is found in the Dál Riada genealogy.<sup>19</sup> In it three names of the sons of Ere are duplicated: there are two named Loarn, two named Mac Misi, and two named Fergus. Further, it appears that there are two named Aengus; but the tract says that Mac Misi was a byname of Fergus, so that Aengus may be substituted for Fergus in the first enumeration. A probable reason may be assigned for this duplication of names. It was not unusual in early Irish usage to designate a kindred or its territory simply by the personal name of the common ancestor; exactly as, in the Old Testament, Israel, Judah, Benjamin, etc., mean the tribes descended from these ancestors or the territories of the tribes. So in Irish the Northern and Southern Ui Néill are called *in dá Niall*, "the two Nialls"; for *Conall ocus for Eogan* means "on the lands of Cenél Conaill and of Cenél nEogain"; *Lóiguire Mide* and *Lóiguire Breg* mean two septs, descendants of the same Lóiguire, son of Niall; *Cairbre Mór* means one of several septs, descendants of Coirbre, son of Niall; *Ardgal* means the sept and territory of the descendants of Ardgall, grandson of Niall. In Scotland, Loarn, "Lorne," is still the name of the territory of the sept of Loarn, son of Ere; and Comhghall, "Cowall," is the name of the territory of the descendants of Comgell, son of Domungart, son of Fergus, son of Ere. The Dál Riada line ruled both Dál Riada in Ireland and the Irish in Scotland. Its septs may have had branches in both countries. Just as in the instance of Cairbre Mór, one branch would be named Loarn Mór, another Loarn Bec, "great and little Loarn," and in fact the pairs of names in the genealogy have each these distinctive epithets, *mór* and *bec*. In the absence of written records, the naming of septs in this fashion would easily give rise to the notion that the septs sprang from distinct ancestors so named, Loarn Mór and Loarn Bec, etc.

<sup>18</sup> The ancestry of Ceretic Guletic is given thus (Archiv f. C. L., i, 196): Ceretic, Cynloyp, Cinhil, Cluim, Cursalé, Fer, Confer. It reaches no farther. There is a conflicting pedigree of the North British line (*ib.*, i, 544). Both pedigrees have in common Dyfnwal Hen, his son Tutwal, and Riderch Hen, son of Tutwal = Rodereus filius Tothail of the *Vita Columbae*, "*qui in Petra Cloitha regnavit*" in the latter part of the sixth century. But in the second pedigree Dyfnwal Hen becomes grandson, not of Ceretic, but of Maxen Wledig! Further, he becomes father of Aedan, father of Gauran—an evident confusion with Domungart, father of Gabrán, father of Aedán, of the line of Dál Riada.

<sup>19</sup> Book of Ballymote, 148. From internal evidence I consider this genealogy to have been drawn up about A.D. 670.

There is no improbability in the assumption that two distinct ruling lines, one in southern Scotland, the other in Wales, took their descent from Coroticus, king of the Northern Britons. A parallel is found in the "Sons of Liathán," holding territories in South Wales and in Munster. If the home of Cunedda was in the east of Stirlingshire or on the eastern side of southern Scotland, we can reconstruct the history of his migration somewhat as follows:

Cunedda assumes kingship, becomes *tyrannus*, early in the fifth century, after the withdrawal of the Romans. His rule is accepted by the Northern Britons, pressed as they were on all sides, by the Picts on the north, the Scots on the west and south, the Angles (still sea-pirates) on the east. He leaves one son in possession of his domestic territory (so the genealogical tradition tells). His rise to power becomes known to the Britons of Wales, who have been raided, plundered, and, as we learn from St. Patrick, suffered the carrying of their children and servants into slavery by the thousand at the hands of the Irish. The Irish too have wrested large territories from them. Cunedda and his sons invade Wales, and, being joined by the Britons there, succeed in putting a stop to incursions from Ireland and in displacing the Irish from the rule of most of the land they had occupied in Wales. Coroticus becomes king of the Northern Britons, perhaps in his father's lifetime, Cunedda having migrated to Wales, or perhaps after his father's death. Of the posterity of Coroticus, one branch retains the kingship of the Northern Britons, another settles in Cardigan, Cereticion. Is this more or less likely than the alternative assumption that there were two princes named Coroticus, living in or about the same time, both ruling British princes of the North, both making war across the Irish Sea? If the name were one of some frequency, there would be more room for doubt, but so far as I have been able to find, no instance of the name has been traced except those which I have discussed.

Far from indicating that St. Patrick's native place was in or near the realm of Coroticus, the evidence of his Epistle is, if anything, to the contrary. It speaks of his father, a decurion, and of the raid in which he was taken captive and his father's house was despoiled of its man-servants and maid-servants, but not the slightest suggestion is conveyed that the home of his childhood and the scene of this great event in his life was in or near the land ruled by Coroticus. There was little in south-western Scotland in those days to attract the fleet of an Irish pirate king in search of booty and thousands of captives. Bury's opinion that the home of St. Patrick should be looked for in the neighbourhood of the Severn estuary is fortified by the evidence of Irish activity in that region. The natural sequence of events, I have pointed out, is raiding first, occupation later. Brecknock in the fifth century became the territory of an Irish invader. Gobannium, Abergavenny, was almost on the border

of that territory. The words in which St. Patrick named his father's town had become unintelligible, the original—if it existed—perhaps illegible, in Muirchu's time, the latter part of the seventh century. No attempt to restore the original words can have any hope of certainty. For Gobannium I claim that it is tenable in emendation, and that it is the only known place-name which corresponds with all the evidence and circumstances.

While I was writing this paper, Sir William Ridgeway sent me his on "Niall of the Nine Hostages in connection with the treasures of Traprain Law and Ballinrees, and the destruction of Wroxeter, Chester, Caerleon, and Caerwent."<sup>20</sup> Before I read his paper, I had already formed the view and put it in writing that the Roman road which connected these four Roman towns was the most likely scene of the great raid in which St. Patrick, "together with so many thousands of men," as he tells, was captured and brought into slavery in Ireland. Tested by their latest dates, Sir William shows, "the coins found at Chester, Wroxeter, Caerleon, and Caerwent all point to a catastrophe having overtaken these towns in or about 395—the very year in which 'the Scot' mobilized all Ireland in combination with the Picts, the Saxons, and the Franks against the Empire"; and he infers "a very high probability, especially in view of the Irish evidence of Niall's continuous activities, that it was he who destroyed these towns in that year."

If we were to take 395 as the year of St. Patrick's capture, he being then, as he tells us, in his sixteenth year, the year of his birth would have been 380, and the year of his escape from captivity 401. These dates for St. Patrick's life appear to me too early. The "*desertum*" in which he and his companions wandered for a month after their landing on the Continent can only be explained by a devastation of southern Gaul and the anxiety of the merchants to avoid places where they might fall into the hands of the barbarian invaders. It was on the last night of the year 406 that the Vandals, Suevi, Alans, and Burgundians burst into Gaul, and no year earlier than 407 seems to answer St. Patrick's description of his journey. This date would make 401 the year of his capture, and 386 the year of his birth.

The breakdown of Roman rule in the western parts of Britain was gradual. Ridgeway says that "the latest coins found in Wales are those of Gratian (367–383)," and infers that Niall had then or not long later "not only raided that country but . . . mastered it." I have already shown that, on the southern Welsh seaboard and on the opposite side of the Severn Sea, the Irish who were most prominent in early raids and settlements were those of Munster under the Eoghanacht princes and their Déisi allies. The evidence of latest dates in finds of coins, strictly

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<sup>20</sup> From the *Journal of Roman Studies*, xiv, 123.

interpreted, means only that these were the latest coins to reach the places of the finds. After their date, especially in the much disturbed state of the outlying parts of the Empire, there might well be an interval of some years between the arrival of the latest dated coins and the raiding and destruction of the places in which they have been found. In this connexion, a tabulated statement of the final dates of Imperial coinage in various parts of Britain would probably bring more light—due allowance being made for casual specimens which might have come in the course of trading or raiding after Roman government had been withdrawn. Moreover, Claudian by no means implies that the “mobilisation of all Ireland” in 395 achieved any great measure of success. He certainly points to no such achievement as the destruction of all the principal Roman stations between the Severn ferry and the estuary of the Dee. I should like to see it thoroughly examined whether this destruction may not have befallen as late as 401. The great activity of the Irish, Picts, and Saxons in the intervening years may possibly explain why no Imperial coins of later date than 395 should have reached the towns along the Deva-Venta road. It is not likely that these towns were destroyed in a single expedition, unless indeed the raiders formed two fleets and armies, one landing at the Chester end, the other at the southern end of the Roman road. I may point out that St. Patrick does not at all suggest that the raid in which he was captured was a singular event. Indeed, the matter-of-course way in which he relates his capture seems rather to imply that it befell in a course of events of the kind, not infrequent in his time. Whatever may be said as to the exact date, the evidence brought forward by Ridgeway as to the destruction of Caerleon and Caerwent in 395 or soon after increases the probability that St. Patrick’s native place was on or near the Roman road that passed through these towns.

Sir William Ridgeway’s paper imputes to me as “a philological guess” the etymology of Atecotti as a compound of *cottos* ‘old’ ‘ancient’ and an intensive *ate*. “Such guesses,” he says, “have no historical value.” To say that Atecotti is a compound of *ate* and *cotti* is surely not a guess. In any case, the etymology is not mine. Reference to the name Atecotti in Holder’s *Alteeltische Sprachschatz*, which Sir William quotes on his next page, will show that the etymology adopted by me comes on the high authority of Whitley Stokes. Sir William favours the old-fashioned identification of Atecotti with the Irish term *aithechthuatha*. He says that “the Romans had little regard for the niceties of phonetics when taking over foreign names and words.” Yet Latin writers were as a rule fairly accurate in their written forms of Celtic and Germanic names. The Irish word *aithech*, the first component of *aithechthuatha*, is itself formed by adding the Celtic adjectival ending *-ācos* to the noun which in Old Irish is *aithe* and means ‘repayment.’ An *aithech* was a person who was bound as vassal or client to a lord or patron, *flaith*. The lord

advanced capital, usually cattle, by way of loan to the client. The client repaid the lord both in kind and in various services. The word *aithe* is the noun or infinitive of the verb *ad-fen* 'repays.' In both, the prefix *ate* is combined with the root *vi*, meaning 'to ply' or 'plait.' The same word *aithe* means also 'revenge.' The underlying sense in both its parts is the same as in the English word 're-turn' in phrases like "a poor return for the kindness." In the time of the Atecotti, the Celtic form of the word *aithechthuatha*, if it were in use, would have been *ateviācotōtās*.<sup>21</sup> With all the latitude that Sir William would allow to Latin writers, I doubt if he will insist that, when I refuse to see a word like this reproduced in Atecotti, "the objection is futile." In fact, it has proved fertile. When I went to consult Holder on the point, I found *tuatha* quite accurately latinised in the following inscription from Hexham (C.I.L., vii, 481): *Q. Calpurnius Concessinus, praef(ectus) eq(uitum), caesa Corionototarum manu*. I do not know whether the date of this inscription can be closely or roughly determined. As the place is within Roman Britain and far away from the nearest land frontier, the band of Corionototas whose destruction is recorded must have been raiders from the sea, probably from the Solway side. The event may well have happened at some distance from Hexham, but the successful prefect of cavalry is likely to have been stationed there. The Corionototas may have been the same folk as the Coriondi, located by Ptolemy about the middle of the eastern seaboard of Ireland, adjoining the Irish Sea. In a later Irish form, their name would become Cuirenntuatha. In this form, I have not found it, but a tribe named Corannaib, Correndaib (dative), is mentioned in Táin Bó Cuailngi as inhabiting the Boyne valley, and there is record of an obscure gens named Cuirenrige, a name which corresponds to Corionototas as Bolgraige to Bolghthuatha; also of a folk named Fir Cuirn, apparently in Westmeath (see Onomasticon Goedelicum s. vv.). The Corionototas of the Hexham inscription were almost certainly raiders from Ireland.

St. Patrick's father was Calpurnius, his mother, according to Muirchu and others, was Concessa. Is it possible that the prefect of cavalry at Hexham, Q. Calpurnius Concessinus, was of the same kin?

<sup>21</sup> I have to thank Professor Bergin for pointing out that what I have said above regarding Atecotti and Aithechthuatha has already the authority of Thurneysen in *Zschr. f. Celt. Phil.*, xi, 71.





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1867-1945.

[PAPERS READ FOR THE  
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY].  
ALX-6599 (AB)



