





H 35/2



COIMISIÚN LÁIMHSCRÍBHINNÍ NA hÉIREANN  
(IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION)

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# BOOK OF FENAGH

SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME

EDITED BY

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## INTRODUCTION

Abbreviations used in these pages: OB the "Old Book," now lost, on which the extant compilation is based; LF *Lebor Fídnacha*, the extant "Book of Fenagh"; KH, the edition of LF by Kelly and Hennessy, or, in some contexts, the editors of that publication; A, B, C, D, the four manuscripts, as described below. For purposes of reference the printed pages of KH are followed. Prose passages are referred to by page and line (6 : 3 means "line 3 on page 6"); verse passages by page and quatrain (thus 46 : A means the quatrain on p. 46 beginning "ix. *fichit*"; 46 : B that beginning "*Eriu oll*"; 47 : A that beginning "*Fíndian*"; 47 : G that beginning "*Da chet*"; and so on.

### I. THE EDITION (KH).

LF, which is contained in a manuscript now classmarked 23 P 26 in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, is a compilation, outwardly in the form of a biography of Cáillín, the founder of the monastery of Fídnacha\* (Fenagh, Co. Leitrim); but essentially a list of the dues claimed by that monastery from various persons or communities, with a statement of the services upon which those claims were based.

The book itself tells us all that is known of its history. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there was in existence a certain "Old Book," the contents of which were entirely in verse.† This had come, in the ordinary course of transmission, into the hands of Tadhg ó Rodaige (or Rodacháin), hereditary (lay-)abbot of Fídnacha. Either because the book had become hard to read by reason of its antiquity, or because the poems themselves were obscure, or for both reasons combined, Tadhg found it beyond his powers to decipher it satisfactorily, and he therefore called in the aid of Muirges mac Páidín uí Maeil-Chonaire, at the time the most eminent available member of a prominent family of scholars, desiring him to make a fair copy of it. As an afterthought (the evidence for this is given below), he added the request that Muirges should draw up the new book "in prose and verse"—in other words, should provide every individual poem with a prose paraphrase, such as would make it more comprehensible. This task was accomplished in the year 1516; and the autograph, with some mutilations, is still extant in the manuscript above mentioned.

The text was edited and translated by William Maunsell Hennessy (1828–1889), a scholar in attainments worthy to stand along with the elder pioneers O'Curry and O'Donovan—their inferior in the actual amount of work to his

\* In Irish literature generally, this place-name oscillates between *Fídnacha* and *Fídnach*. The former, however, is used throughout the text before us.

† Attempts have been made to assign a date to the "Old Book" on the basis of the dates of personages named in the poems drawn from it. But this makes the unproved assumption that the Old Book was compiled all at once: it may just as well have been a volume in which different pieces were jotted at different times.

credit, but on the whole their superior in accuracy and general scholarship ; and Denis Henry Kelly, an enthusiastic member of the Royal Irish Academy in the middle years of the nineteenth century, whose varied interests and accomplishments are attested by his contributions to the publications of that body.

This edition, here for brevity called KH, has some obvious faults, perhaps inevitable in 1875, when it was published. These shortcomings cannot be corrected in a work of mechanical reproduction ; but in spite of them it is a tolerable representation of a text not likely to be re-edited *de novo* at any time in the near future. It has long been out of print, and unobtainable except at a high price ; and as it has some linguistic and historical interest, the Irish Manuscripts Commission considered it desirable to make it available for students. My own connexion with the publication is based upon the accident that I happen to possess the copy which was lent to the Commission for the purpose of reproduction.

No scholar, however, can remain satisfied with a merely "tolerable" representation of a text, of which the autograph is available. He rightly demands a copy, exact *verbatim et literatim* : and to enable him to supply this demand, I have drawn up a catalogue, as exhaustive as I can make it, of the deviations of the printed text from the manuscript original, not excluding even the most insignificant (see Appendix I). This formidable list of detriments may seem to imply a grave censure upon the editorial methods of KH : but in fact their only fault was over-confidence in the accuracy of John O'Donovan's transcript, which, for reasons explained in their introduction (p.v.) formed the basis of their work\* ; and a consequential perfunctoriness in the collation which they claim to have made with the original MS. Fully 90 per cent. of the mistakes enumerated below are due to the text having reached its editors through this intermediary. O'Donovan's youth—he was only eighteen in 1828—may be pleaded in extenuation for this apparent carelessness in copying a manuscript which, as a whole, is clearly written. Prof. Mac Neill suggests to me very reasonably that he had transcribed the book for his own use, with no thought of publication.

In copying the book O'Donovan reproduced the numerous *marginalia* scattered over its pages. This transcript, indeed, is now essential for their decipherment, because someone has anointed them liberally with a pernicious reagent, and many of them are now more or less illegible in consequence. But naturally they are all reproduced *in O'Donovan's handwriting*. Until I examined his transcript I was at a loss to understand why KH, in their notes, attributed to Tadhg ó Rodaige a number of *adversaria* in which a moderately intelligent child could have seen several different varieties of script, indicating as many different individual scribblers. The difficulty vanished as soon as I saw their uniformity of presentation in O'Donovan's copy.

\* A note at the end of this transcript tells us that it was completed 8 July, 1828. It is in the R.I.A. Library, classmarked 23 P 8 (not 23 p. 8" as misprinted; *loc. cit.*); published catalogue, no. 480.



KH made use of another manuscript (B) in the British Museum, with the help of which they supplied certain defects in the text, due to mutilations of the autograph. I have collated this manuscript also with the printed text: it is more fully described below, and the divergences, so far as it seems necessary to record them, will be found in Appendix II.

Two later copies of the text, C and D, have become available since 1875. The first of these is among the hagiographical collections of Micheál ó Cléirig now in the *Bibliothèque Royale* at Brussels; the other, though recorded obscurely in the catalogue of the Stowe collection, was first brought to the notice of the Commission by Dr. K. Mulchrone, who came across it in the course of her work of cataloguing the Royal Irish Academy Manuscripts\*. On my own behalf and that of the Commission I gratefully acknowledge her kindness in putting her notes at my disposal and for other help. Miss E. Knott and Rev. J. Ryan, S.J., have also given valuable assistance. But I have chiefly to thank Prof. E. MacNeill, who read with me my transcript and translation of the additional matter printed below; and Dr. R. I. Best, who collated my list of *marginalia* with the original. I cannot sufficiently thank these scholars for their generous patience and their criticisms. I have procured a set of excellent photographs of the Brussels MS. from the authorities of the library mentioned†; and these two MSS., between them, have made further important contributions toward filling the lacunae of the autograph, and to the general criticism of the text. Appendices III-XII contain the results of a study of these later versions.

## II. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The text thus rests on four MSS., A, B, C, D, disregarding O'Donovan's transcript of A. As A is the autograph, it is authoritative so far as it goes, and the other MSS, so far as they are derivative, have only an accidental value.‡ But eight folios of A are lost, and for the matter on these we have to depend upon the later copies.

A was in private hands in the time of KH, and passed into the possession of the Royal Irish Academy by purchase in the year 1901: it is numbered 479 in the published catalogue of the Academy's Irish MSS. It consisted originally of 49 vellum folios, measuring with tolerable uniformity 12 × 9 inches. The handwriting is certainly that of Muirges ó Maeil-Chonaire,

\* This copy was recorded earlier by Rev. J. (now Monsignor) Hynes, in a very thorough paper on St. Caillin, published *Journal Roy. Soc. of Ant. of Ireland*, 1931, p. 31. See especially p. 43. Reference may also be made to an earlier paper by Rev. Denis Murphy, *Proceedings Royal Irish Academy*, Ser. III, vol. i. p. 441 (1886).

† These photographs I have handed over to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, which thus now contains all the material necessary (with the exception of B) for the study of the document.

‡ Thus, besides filling *lacunae*, they enable us here and there to discriminate between original and glossarial or otherwise intrusive matter. But, as will presently appear, their relation to the parent manuscript is not so simple as might at first be supposed.

though it is a little neater and more careful than his usual style of script : evidently he was taking special pains to please his patron. On the first five pages the lines of writing run across the whole written surface : but the list of the kings which follows is set out conveniently in double columns, and this distribution of the matter is followed throughout the rest of the manuscript.

The distribution of the folios into gatherings is of some importance for the history of the text, and we may set this forth in tabular form as under:—

I	folios	1	2	3	4	5	—	6	7	8	9	10	(quinion)	
II	„	[11]	12	13	14	15	16	—	17	18	19	20	21	[22] (sestion)
III	„				23	24	[25]	—	[26]	27	28			(ternion)
IV	„		[29]	30	31	32	[33]	—	[34]	35	36	37	[37a]	(quinion)
V	„			38	39	40	41	—	42	43	44	45		(quaternion)
VI	„						46	—	47					(diploma)
VII	„						48							(folio)

(The dash denotes the place where the stitching is visible : thus 5–6 form the innermost diploma of the first gathering, 3–8 form the middle, 1 – 10 the outermost diploma ; in the second gathering, 14 – 19 are conjunctives ; and similarly for all the rest.) In the present state of the book the following diplomas are missing : 11–22 in gathering II ; 25–26 in gathering III ; 29–37a and 33–34 in gathering IV. The missing leaves are denoted in the above table with square brackets.

The first of these leaves to disappear was 37a, the former existence of which had not been previously suspected ; the proof that the MS. must have possessed it is given below. We number it thus, because to reckon it by normal numeration (as 38) would disturb the numbering of the folios already established in the printed edition. In the MS., as originally prepared, neither folios nor pages were numbered ; but after 37a disappeared a foliation was added, which acknowledged all the other now lost leaves. Before this foliation, the outermost diploma of Gathering II must have become folded the wrong way, so that 11 was numbered 22, and 22 was numbered 11 ; the proof of this will be found on pp. 13, 14. For the existence of fo. 37a, see p. 30.

After this foliation, Gatherings III and IV changed places ; and then folio 22, in its new situation, became detached and lost. After this had taken place a second foliation was added, distributed on the leaves rather irregularly : the details may be here set forth :—

Gathering I	folios	1—10 :	numeration undisturbed.
„ II	„	11—22 :	[22, masquerading as 11]* was now lost, and so

\* The numbers in square brackets in this table represent the original and correct foliation, those not so included are the new foliation.

In the rest of the book, from folio 38 onward, the old foliation remains unchanged, as these leaves were always in the same position relative to the rest of the volume. There was no folio 37 in the new foliation. There is yet a third foliation in the lower right hand corner, made while the transposed Gatherings were still wrongly placed, and after *all* the lost leaves had disappeared : it is now almost totally effaced, and (especially in the later folios) has been partially restored in pencil. There is also a quite modern *pagination*, also in pencil, in the middle of the bottom of each page.

			[12] was numbered 11. The new foliation does not appear again till [20, 21] which are re-numbered 19 (very faint), 20. In the other leaves the new foliation seems to have been intentionally effaced, though here and there it has been replaced in pencil. [11 masquerading as 22] was still in existence.
Gathering III	..	23—28 :	[23]: the old numeration has been effaced, and 31 substituted (because of the transposition of Gatherings III and IV). On [24], re-numbered 32, both numbers remain. [25, 26] are lost; [27, 28], original numbers only.
..	IV	.. 29—37 :	[29] lost; [30—32] renumbered (to accord with the transposition) 23—25, both numbers remaining; on [32] the one written over the other. [33—34] lost; [35—37] renumbered 28—30, shewing that the now missing diploma [33—34] was still extant at the time of the renumbering.

**B.** The Manuscript which, following KH, we call B, was used by the original editors; but their description of it is in some respects inaccurate. It is in the library of the British Museum, and forms one member of a group of documents of miscellaneous character, bound together in a single volume Vesp. E II (not VI as misprinted in KH p.v—but correct on p. 77). None of the other contents of the volume, thus factitiously associated with B, has any Irish interest.

KH describe B as “a fragment of an ancient transcript” of the Book of Fenagh. This gives a misleading idea of the nature of the document. It is not a fragment; there never was any more than the twelve folios of which it now consists. It is a single gathering of six diplomas, each folio measuring  $9 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$  ins. Postponing for the moment a fuller statement of its probable relation to A, we may describe it as a series of selections from the text of A, strung together continuously, but not in the order followed in A. Its completeness is shewn by the old foliation (1—12) in the middle of the top margin of the *recto* pages. A later foliation, which we may here ignore, acknowledges the present position of the gathering in a larger volume, and numbers the leaves from 109 to 120. The following are the contents of the MS, in the order in which they occur, not in the printed order.

I	Fo. 1a1—1a27	=	10 : 16 ( <i>Dobert imorro</i> )—14 : 2 ( <i>for Erinn</i> )
II	Fo. 1a28—2a6	=	76 : 21 ( <i>In Cu sin</i> )—86 : 4 ( <i>neiri na Herenn</i> )
III	Fo. 2a7—4b23	=	110 : 27 ( <i>Doriacht</i> )—122 : 21 ( <i>righbaile caith etc.</i> )
IV	Fo. 4b24—7b9	=	136 : 19 ( <i>Mad ail a fis</i> )—154 : 21 ( <i>de don aingeal</i> )
V	Fo. 7b10—10a18	=	230 : 27 ( <i>Patraicc mac</i> )—248 : 24 ( <i>crin rosben</i> )
VI	Fo. 10a19—end of page	=	Genealogy of Caillin. 4 : 14
VII	Fo. 10b1—10b23	=	132 : 22 ( <i>Is hi mo cháin-si</i> )—136 : 18 ( <i>ni beg sin do sgribadh etc.</i> )
VIII	Fo. 10b24—11b end	=	154 : 21 ( <i>Caillin cecimit hoc</i> )—162 : 24 ( <i>dimbuaid catha</i> )
IX	Fo. 12a1—end	=	162 : 27 ( <i>Ro mol</i> )—166 : 1 ( <i>Conall Gulbain</i> )

Thus of the 206 pages of Irish text in the printed pages of KH, only about 36 pages are represented in B. For part of each of the two sections numbered

III and V in the above table, of which the corresponding folios were lost from A, B was the only authority known to the original editors.

The following descriptive account of the document is written on a covering leaf prefixed to fol. 1 :—

“ This booke was written by Calyen w<sup>ch</sup> was in tymes past bisshopp and legat for Irelande, he sheweth manie prophesies, both past & to com, and howe he lyved and whate duties Conell Gulbon from whome ODonoll desendeth, & Hugh Duff from whome ORoirk desendeth, and their posteritie, and of divers others, and whate they shoulde paye vnto him & his successors, called Abbott or Corb w<sup>ch</sup> should have the Custodie and Keepinge of y<sup>e</sup> Caagh or Cachboagh. There is written yf they pay not y<sup>e</sup> duties, as in this booke is layde downe to the Abbott or Corb they shall not enjoy from y<sup>e</sup> bridg forde to Sligo. And also should losse the Caagh or Cachboagh : w<sup>ch</sup> yf they lost should be to there ouerthrowes in all Battles or feights whersoever for y<sup>e</sup> interpretinge of the name Cachboagh is Victory in Battles. There is also som prophesies of ouerthrowes to be given to y<sup>e</sup> Irish nation, & speciallie to Hugh Anneagh w<sup>ch</sup> other bookes doe specefie to be of y<sup>e</sup> O Neels, in w<sup>ch</sup> Battle Hugh shalbe slaine, to y<sup>e</sup> greate losse of Irishmen, and the Lo. deputie is name shalbe then William Gorme. w<sup>ch</sup> worde [gorme]\* may be interpreted in English Blew, or Russett. Also he doth admonish the sept of Conell Gulbon, w<sup>ch</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> [p. 2] ODonells to looke well to the Caagh that it should not come to the hands of Englishmen : w<sup>ch</sup> yf yt did it should be to the overthrow and confusion of the sept of Conell Golbon and to the great honor of y<sup>e</sup> English etc.”

This passage has been printed before (*Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum* ii 465) : the above copy embodies a few trifling corrections. That Cállin was “legat for Irelande” was ascertained from 232 : 4 (in the fifth of the extracts enumerated above) : the dues, etc. of Conall Gulban come from 136 : 19 ff. (=Extract IV) : those of “Hugh Duff” (Aed Dub) from 110 : 27 ff. (=Extract III) : but the details about the Cathach come from 194 : 2 ff., a passage not found in B : the context of the line *ó Ath Droichit go Sligeach* (80 : 10) is misrepresented : and a later scribble on the verso of fo. 12 is treated as if it were an intrinsic part of the text.

Lower down there has been written later, in a very similar hand—possibly the same, but using different ink and a finer-pointed pen : “There is some principall matter raesed and blotted w<sup>ch</sup> can not be redd, but as I diserne it should report some things to be don at a place called Dromdyrge.” I cannot identify the passage here referred to. No such place-name appears in the whole book, and we must suppose that some misreading is responsible. The errors noted in the longer passage here quoted show that the annotators were dependent upon hearsay evidence as to the contents of the book, rather than upon their own researches : and a third note interpolated between these two entries, in a different hand—generically similar, but specifically very inferior, and using a poor ink which has faded—tells us “Ther is after wrytten strang Rymes w<sup>ch</sup> can not be well Englished,” letting us understand that the owners of the MS., at the times when these notes were written, were English rather than Irish speakers, and found a difficulty in making out the sense of the document.

In another hand this heading has been added at the beginning of the MS. :

\* This word has been omitted and inserted in correction.

“Calyeni Prophetiae in lingua Hibernica Liber quondam Familia Odonelli.”

The B. M. Catalogue further says that MS. B was written “by a scribe whose name does not appear, probably at Fenagh, Co. Leitrim, in 1535.” It is true, the scribe’s name is nowhere given; but that is not necessary for his identification. Having now worked carefully over two extensive MSS. in the handwriting of Muirges ó Maeil-Chonaire,\* I have no hesitation in pronouncing B to be also his handiwork. It is more closely similar to the *Lebor Gabála* manuscript than to Fenagh A, in which he is endeavouring to write with particular neatness: but he has certain mannerisms of script which are quite unmistakable, and the grumble scribbled at the bottom of fo. 6b—*asum triamuín gan seire odie* “I am weary without food to-day” is quite in his style. The spelling “odie” also appears in A (138: 19, 264: footnote (4)). Both MSS. shew a practice of heading the pages with pious ejaculations.

The evidence on which the MS. has been dated to 1535 is derived from another note, at the bottom of fo. 7b: *is adbal in scel sin Mail Sechlainn O Birrn do marbad a tan si*: “That is a dreadful story, that Mael-Sechlainn O’Birrn should be slain at this time.” This slaying took place in 1535 (*Annals of Four Masters* and *Loch Cé*—the latter gives a eulogy of the victim which accords with the distress expressed in the note); but the entry does not really date the MS. It is not in the hand of Muirges; it comes from some annotator, contemporary with the tragedy, and recording his regrets in a book already in existence.

The best explanation that I can offer of the relation between A and B is, that the latter is a commonplace book into which Muirges jotted certain passages which were afterwards to be worked into the finished compilation. It would be hazardous to infer that the matter in B is *all* supplementary to that contained in OB: but this is not impossible. It follows that the text of B is of little critical value alongside of A, except for those passages in A which are now lost, and which B supplies. For these passages a complete collation with the printed text is given below (Appendix II); but for the rest of B, a list of the more important deviations only has been thought sufficient.

The Manuscript C occupies folios 303 R – 354 V of O’Clery’s hagiographical collection, numbered 2324–40 in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels (“O’Clery I” in Plummer’s *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica* p. 176). According to the colophon, this transcript would appear to have been made in the Franciscan Convent on the river Drowes, out of the book written by “Muirges mac Paidin í Máeil-Conaire”†—i.e., Manuscript A: but we must not hastily accept this interpretation. In any case, Manuscript C was written between 12 December,

\* *Lebor Gabála* (R.I.A. D iv 3) and the *Book of Fenagh* itself.

† I cconvent na mbratar ag Drobhaois do sgríobhadh an bhetha so Cháillín an céid fecht ar shíocht an leabhair do scríob Muirges mac Paidín í Máeil-Conaire as sein-leabhar Caillín fein do chomharba Caillín hí fFíodnách .i. Tadhó Rodachain. Adeirit na sscríobhneóiríadhe gurab na dántaibh do bí an betha-so uile no gur chuir an Muirghes remhraite (hí) in dréchtaihb 7 scelaibh ar impídhe an Taidhg sin adubramar. An 21 do December, 1629 Meisi Mích. bocht brathair.

the date when the preceding item in the book (a life of Mo-Chóemóg) was finished, and 21 December, 1629, the date of the Cáillín colophon. There is an earlier colophon following 208 : 12, and dated on the previous day, 20 Dec. 1629, expressing the writer's weariness. This gives some idea of O'Clery's rate of work, for sixteen pages of his MS. remained to be written when he inserted the earlier note.\* The first 16 pages of O'Clery's MS. extend from the beginning of the printed text to 56 : 14, so that the copying of this amount was apparently a day's work. He certainly did not begin copying "Cáillín" immediately after finishing "Mo-Chóemóg."

Manuscript D is not dated, but it must be closely contemporary with C, and the two can be taken together. In KH, preface p.x, we find the words "As to what portions of the Old Book of St. Caillin, if any, there may be in the inaccessible library of Lord Ashburnham, we can only refer to Dr. O'Conor's Catalogue of the Stowe Library."† This is only one of numerous complaints, in early and middle nineteenth century publications, of the refusal of Lord Ashburnham, the then owner of the Stowe MSS., to allow access to them. While we deprecate this apparent churlishness, we must not forget that scholars in those days had no conscience about smearing almost every MS. that they laid their hands upon with a gallic-acid reagent, which might for the moment restore faded writing to clearness, but which, on drying, sealed it away again under an opaque and indelible brown stain : if his lordship had become aware of the dreadful mess which had thus been made of the *Book of Lismore* by one of these gentlemen, to whom the Duke of Devonshire had entrusted it for transcription, he would have been amply justified in protecting his own treasures from such tender mercies. Our generation is more fortunate, for the Stowe MSS. are now open to all, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy : they have been preserved for us, unscathed by the injudicious eagerness of our predecessors : and in one of these, class-marked C IV 3, Miss Mulchrone had her attention called to the copy of LF here called D, and noticed for the first time the special importance with which its preservation of matter lost from A endows it. This book is a paper miscellany of 296 folios, measuring  $12\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  inches, undated, but written at some time in the seventeenth century by David Duignan. Most of the volume is occupied by a fragmentary copy of O'Clery's redaction of *Lebor Gabála*, and a life of Colum Cille : the transcript of LF is at the end of the book, beginning on fo. 241 *recto*.

Comparison of C and D with A reveals the fact that while, on the whole, they represent the text of A sufficiently well for us to take as authoritative their evidence regarding matter now lost from the autograph, there is a surprising number of places in which they agree with one another and are at variance with their archetype. All the important cases of the kind (ignoring

\* It is to be remembered that in O'Clery's exemplar, owing to the transposition of gatherings III and IV, the place where this colophon is found came later in the book than it did at first, or does now : and the last ten folios of A were not represented at all.

† There is a description of D, with an attempted vindication of the historicity of the text in the Stowe Catalogue, vol. 1, pp. 116-118.

mere orthographical deviations) are noted in the collation contained in Appendix I.\* One or two illustrations, striking, though selected more or less at random, may be given here. CD insert many of the regnal years of the kings enumerated on pp. 22ff., though there is no sign of these in A. After Finnscothaigh (24 : 6) CD both interpolate a passage to the effect that six men of his family held the kingship in an unbroken succession for 210 years. Both MSS. omit the quatrain 100 : A, though it is at the head of a column in A and therefore is conspicuous ; D has become aware of the omission and has written in the missing stanza later. The third line of quatrain 168 : D is left blank in both C and D (again written in later in D) though it is quite clear in A. In 70 : 9 neither C nor D reproduce the childish spelling *Ualgarggg*, though one or other of them might have been expected to do so. At 304 : 24 both MSS. misrepresent *a mc Ni* (= *a mhic Niatach*) by *omcni* (= *Conmaicni*) † In none of these cases (except possibly the last) does the writing of A give reason to believe that two independent copyists could have made the same mistakes : I have in fact scrutinized *all* the passages in which C and D agree against A with a special regard to this question. The only admissible explanation of the facts lies in postulating an intermediate MS., now lost, which we may call Z, and which contained the Cáillín "life" *only*, omitting the supplementary matter at the end of LF. C and D were both copied, not from the archetype A, but from Z. The scribe of D later obtained access to A, and with the aid of A made certain corrections in his own work. Thus 100 : A, referred to above, as well as 162 : E, must for some reason have been absent from Z, and therefore make no appearance in D and C ; D however was afterwards able to copy in both quatrains from A, but C had no such privilege.

From the colophon of C, printed above, we infer that Z also was written at the Drowes convent, and probably was preserved there : "this life of Cáillín" we read "was written for the first time at the Drowes, out of the book which Muirges wrote." Further "the writers" (note the plural) "say that Muirges wrote in prose" and so forth. Who were these writers? Surely the scribes of A and of Z. Both C and D speak of a book written *ar sliocht* of the book of Muirges as lying in the ancestry of their own work : it is reasonable to suppose that this expression was in the colophon in which Z gave an account of itself. O'Clery finished the Mo-Chóemóg "Life" at Donegal on 12 December. He then came to the Drowes convent, in the border between Donegal and Leitrim, and there copied a number of other documents of the same kind, among them the Cáillín life, taken from Z. A was presumably at Fídnacha, at the other end of the county.

We have said above that Gatherings III and IV of A became transposed in the course of its history, though as now bound they have been restored

\* Differences in spelling between C and D are not noted ; and divergences from A which are not shared by both MSS. are also passed over.

† In A, *Ni* comes at the end of a line, *at* continuing the name *Niatach* is at the beginning of the next, and was apparently passed over as unintelligible.

to their proper order. The double pagination, already described, proves this : and corroborative evidence is afforded by a corresponding transposition of the matter of those gatherings which we find in both C and D, and which must therefore have been also in Z. It follows that this displacement must have taken place before Z was copied. By that time also folios 22 and 37a had disappeared, and, so far as we can foresee, the matter which they contained is lost beyond hope. The rest of the now lost eight folios were, however, still extant, and with the aid of C and D we are in a position to publish for the first time the contents of folios 25, 26, 33, 34. KH had already recorded 11 (partly) and 29 out of B.

We must note further that D, unlike C, was not copied directly from Z. This we learn from the colophon on folio 292 R of that MS., occupying the same place in the text as the colophon in A (KH pp. 310, 312.) This is as follows :—

*Do sgríobh misi an Bheatha-sa Naomh Chaillín do reir mar do fuair me t o bhall go ball as sein-leabhar páipéir do do (sic) scríobhadh do Bhrian Bhallach mac Tighernáin mic Briaín Bhallaigh hÍ Rúairc, ⁊ as é mhesuim gurab é is bunadhús do leabhar Bhriaín Bhallaigh féin an leabhar ata ar slíocht in leabhair do scríobhadh as in tseinleabhar do scríobh Muirghes mac Páidín hÍ Máoil-Conaire as senleabhar Caillín féin do Thadhg mac Briaín Bhuidhe hÍ Rodachán, comarba Caillín i bFíodhnach in tan sin. Agus fós adeir in in (sic) scríbhneóir (sic) gurab in a dúantaibh do bhí in Bheatha so uile, no gur iompó in Muirghes rémhárú-sí hÍ i náréchtaibh ⁊ a scéltáibh ar impíde in chomarba, .i. an Tadhg adubhramar. Agus misi Dabhdhe mhac Matha ghlais mic Duilph mic Páidín mic Mhaoil-eachlaimn mic Dubhthaigh Óig mic Dubhthaigh Móir; ⁊ do bhí in dubh-chas damh in bheatha-sa Ndoibh-Chaillín do sgríobhadh do thaoibh mo mháthar do bheith d'eolasachaibh, ⁊ go hair-ighthe do mhuintir na Síthe Bige .i. Umhna ingen Toirrdhealbhaigh Meirgigh mic Domnaill mic Cathail mhic Rudhraighe mic Ír mic Cathail Ruaidh mic Taidhg mic Iomhair mic Raghnaill mic Cathail Móir mic Muiredhaigh mic Feirghail mic Iomhair mic Raghnaill o raiter Meic Raghnaill, et reliqua. Agus áilim ar gach aon dd leighfe in Beatha so Naomh-Chaillín a bheannacht do thabhairt ar mhanmain ⁊ doberim-sí mar in ceadna dhóibh-síomh. Per me David Duiginan.*

The above statement implies the following pedigree—

O B “ the old book of Caillín himself ”

A “ the old book which Muirges wrote.”

the book written “ ar slíocht ” of the book of Muirges : this we call Z.

the book written for Brian Ballach, based on Z, but evidently a different volume.

D, the book of David Duiginan.

C apparently is thus a step nearer to the archetype than D. This would *a priori* favour the authority of C as against D, in places where the two MSS. differ : but the balance is rectified by O'Clery's unfortunate penchant for tampering with the MSS. which he copies. He always lets the pride of superior knowledge get the better of him. He interpolates and otherwise modifies the list of kings. On 176 : 6 he will not allow his authority to say *fairsingiugad* ; he changes this admittedly awkward word to *metucchad*. On 170 : 19 he wilfully changes *a choem daltan* to *a naomh daltain*. These are only samples :



they could be matched to any extent, were it worth while to search through the text. On the other hand D is both conscientious and accurate—a little inclined, perhaps, to trim down genealogical and other redundancies, and in one place (where he confesses in a marginal note that he is half asleep, having got up early) he has committed several blunders. But on the whole his work stands testing at least as well as O'Clery's.\*

D is written in a uniform and legible, though not beautiful, hand throughout, except in one place, where from *iarthar Eorpai* (10 : 9) to *bret do roine* (12 : 3) the text is written in a different and much neater hand which does not appear elsewhere. Brian Ballach's manuscript may have been mutilated here, causing Duiginan to leave a blank, filled up afterwards by some one who had access to another copy : but the simplest explanation is to the effect that Duiginan was called away from his work for a short space of time, leaving a deputy to carry on until he should return.

In addition to these complete copies of the text, several MSS. contain poems extracted from it. I have examined one of these (Egerton 186). Its contents are enumerated in the B.M. Catalogue, ii 468 (to which the poem *Magh Réin ga hábar*, p. 258, should be added). It is a good piece of journeyman work, adding nothing to our knowledge of the text : we need only note that it represents a stage of the history of A later than that testified to by CD : folio 11, with the last six quatrains of the poem *Eriu oll* (now recovered and printed below, Appendix III, from CD) had already disappeared ; but gatherings III, IV were still transposed, as is shown by one of the extracts, which crosses the junction between them. It may be just worth noticing that this MS. attempts to complete the imperfect strophe 200 : 7-9 by adding the words *litir ní scribheann* as a fourth line.

We are now in a position to sum up in a chronological sequence the vicissitudes of the manuscript A.

- (1). Written, A.D. 1516.
- (2). Folio 37a lost.
- (3). Folios 11 and 22 transposed by reversing the fold of the diploma—an accident especially liable to happen to the outermost diploma of a gathering.
- (4). First foliation added.
- (5). Folio 22, numbered 11 in the first foliation, lost.
- (6). Transposition of gatherings III and IV.
- (7). Second foliation.
- (8). Folio 11, which had been numbered 22, restored to its rightful place.
- (9). Z copied from A.
- (10). Folio 11 and the other lost folios disappear, piecemeal.
- (11). Remains of the gatherings re-sorted to their proper order, perhaps by O'Donovan. O'Donovan's transcript made in 1828.

We may add a word or two to explain the theory of the transposition of folios 11 and 22. No other explanation will fit the facts.

\* His most curious fault is a tendency to transpose quatrains. He does this with 66 : C and D ; 82 : F and 84 : A ; 52 : A—D he arranges in the order BADC ; 94 : F and 96 : A he prefixes to 90 : A. He cannot be acquitted of making unauthorized interpolations : thus in 232 : 20, after *fo trí*, he adds *in ainm an Athar 7 an Mhíic 7 in Spíral N.*

In the first foliation, Gathering I was numbered 1-10, Gathering II 11-22, and the following Gathering began with 23, and the numeration proceeded to the end (ignoring 37a which was already lost).

In the second foliation, there was no folio between the old 10 and the old 12. The second gathering was accordingly numbered 11-21, and the following gathering began with 22.

We should therefore expect to find in Z and its derivatives a lacuna between folios 10 and 11 (new foliation), and connecting matter between 20 and 22 (do.). What we find is the exact opposite: connecting matter filling the space between 10 and 11, and a chasm between 20 and 22. A leaf must therefore have stood between 20 and 22 to receive the pagination (which need not necessarily have been *written* on it, as the actual marking of the numbers is very irregular); and then have been restored to its proper place after 11, thus filling the first gap and creating the second. This latter shift happened after the second foliation and before the copying of Z. If the original transposition had not taken place, Z or its derivatives would have lost the matter on fo. 11 (original foliation) and preserved the matter on its conjunctive fo. 22. Both folios are now gone; but the inference is so clear that it hardly needs the verification which they could have vouchsafed to us.

### III. THE HISTORY AND NATURE OF THE TEXT.

The history of the text begins with the now lost OB, a small volume of poems (if so we may term them) composed or transcribed, it may be, by different hands and at different times, but for the greater part concerned with a single theme—the glorification of the house of Fídnacha and of its founder.

It is impossible to take these poems more seriously than any other scholastic exercises, or at best, than the patriotic school and college songs sung by students on anniversary or other festal occasions. The suggestion has been made that the book is essentially the *leabhar sochair*—the book of emoluments—of Fenagh\*: but in view of the extravagance of the claims to material tribute, and the preposterous chronology presupposed throughout, to say nothing of the nature of the various alleged events and circumstances upon which the claims in question were based, it is not easy to believe that the document had any such formal and practical purpose. From first to last we seem to move in a sort of megalomaniac dreamland.

Tadg ó Rodaige, into whose hands the book here called OB had come, in the ordinary course of descent, by the year 1516, does not appear to have been possessed of very high scholastic attainments. From a gloss to the colophon on p. 310 (see note (4) on that page) we learn that he was a married man. This old book, when he obtained possession of it, was imperfect. One at least of the poems which it contained was acephalous (see p. 372) and the vellum was disintegrated (see p. 392). He may not have been able to read the whole book, but it is quite likely that he could decipher enough to conjure up day-dreams.

\* See Kenny, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I. p. 401.

that something to the solid advantage of himself or of his abbey might be established, if the numerous rights and privileges, alleged in the poems to exist, could be looked into and followed up. His wits were, however, superior to Muirges's estimate of them. The first passage on p. 372 indicates that even a plausible excuse for shirking any part of the work entrusted to his agent made no impression on him; hence, perhaps, the acidity of some of Muirges's *marginalia*. In spite of the frequent attribution of *marginalia* to him, in the notes of KH, there is no evidence that any of them came from his pen.

Muirges ó Maeil-Chonaire, who was commissioned for the task, is not an attractive personality. When we say that he took pains to write neatly, we have said the best that we can for him. He appears to have had a poor private opinion of his patron. Tongue in cheek, he flatters him effusively. His reference to the good Abbot's literary recreations "composed in *segda* and *oglachus*" (p. 310) is a veiled sneer: for these were the most elementary metres, to the finished poet what rudimentary five-finger exercises would be to the finished pianist. His outrageous action in the matter of the *Life of St. Berach*, described below, shews that he regarded his employer as a well-meaning simpleton. He had a habit of jotting, in the margins of his manuscripts, notes of his reactions to the petty annoyances of life (as when the boys spill his ink\*): and his contemptuous note on p. 330, which means, in effect, "I'm tired of this stuff, written by a cleric," is a revealing picture of his own personality, and of his estimate of the task imposed on him.

OB was a collection of poems, and nothing else. The evidence to this effect is sufficient for conviction, and is collected together in the preface to KH (pp. v. vi). We may presume that the first poem in OB would also have been the first poem in LF—the interminable *Ériu oll oilen aingel* (p. 46 ff.) or the elements of which it is composed: and we may presume further that this poem, by virtue of its initial position, was provided with an ornamental initial letter H—the first word being spelt, as so frequently, *Hériu*. Muirges was neither an artist nor a designer, but when he chose to take trouble he was a fair copyist, and he reproduced ornamental capitals when he came across them in his exemplars. He has done this in his MS. of *Lebor Gabála* (R.I.A., D iv 3), and we fortunately possess a closely cognate MS. of the same text (D v l in the same library) which shews us the direction in which to look for the sources of his artistic inspiration.† And in like manner he set himself to copy, with unusual care, the H with which OB began.

Hardly had he finished this preliminary task when an order came down from his patron to provide the poems of OB with explanatory prose prefaces. This led to a complete change in the scheme of the projected book. Whether on his own initiative or after consultation with Tadhg ó Rodaige, we cannot say,

\*This note is in the *upper* margin, not the lower margin, of fo. 38V, as stated in the foot-note on p. 307. The accident took place after *in ian* on fo. 39 R. (310:8). The following word has its *i*'s and *g* joined by a stroke of uncompromising and unusual straightness, obviously made when the writer was in a bad temper.

†For examples see my edition of *Lebor Gabála* (I.T.S.) Vol. i. p. xxiv.

and it matters little : in any case, it was now determined to produce a document in the conventional style of the homiletic hagiographical biographies at the time so popular, to judge from the large number of this kind of composition still extant. OB was now to be made the basis of a formal "Life of St. Cáillin,"\* introducing the poems at the appropriate stages of the narrative.

But the worthy Muirges had no intention of taking any unnecessary trouble in the matter. A little plagiarism would easily escape the attention of his patron ! Accessible to him, if not actually in his possession, there happened to be a *Life of St. Berach*, bearing the name of, and presumably copied by, his kinsman, Brian<sup>1</sup> óg ó Mael-Chonaire. This book was afterwards trenchantly described by Micheál ó Cléirig, who copied it in 1629, as "a bad antiquated parchment book." We can still read this text in O'Clery's transcript<sup>2</sup>: and there cannot be slightest doubt that Muirges ó Mael-Chonaire coolly "conveyed" its homiletic opening, in order to provide a preface for his own work—changing nothing but the name of the Saint.<sup>3</sup>

This introduction begins with the text *Ego sitiēti*, etc. Over the now superseded ornamental H, on which he had expended so much useless labour, he sprawled an ugly Roman E—perhaps we may trace a touch of pique in the contrast between the two letters ; and the fact that the palimpsest exists is a proof that the prose preface was an afterthought.

In the accompanying illustration, the first figure is an attempt to restore the design of this letter ; but I cannot claim it as more than an approximation, so completely is it obscured by dirt, wear, and the reagent with which the whole of the first page was washed over. Two consecutive "crossings under" will be noticed in the loop at the back. I spent a considerable time trying to avoid this solecism while keeping intact such of the details of the interlacements as I was able to establish, and found it impossible. But errors of this kind are to be looked for when an unpractised hand experiments with a phase of art already exhausted and obsolete. (Of the second and third figures in the illustration, an M and a D, something will be said below. The M and the C, figs. 4 and 5, are fair samples of Muirges's own ideas of how to make an initial letter.) On three pages (14b, 23a and 37b) Muirges or another has attempted to improve the capital letters with blobs of colour—red on 14b

\* In A this name appears usually as *Caillin* or *Cáillin* : rarely as *Caillin*. The last is the most frequent form in the later MSS.

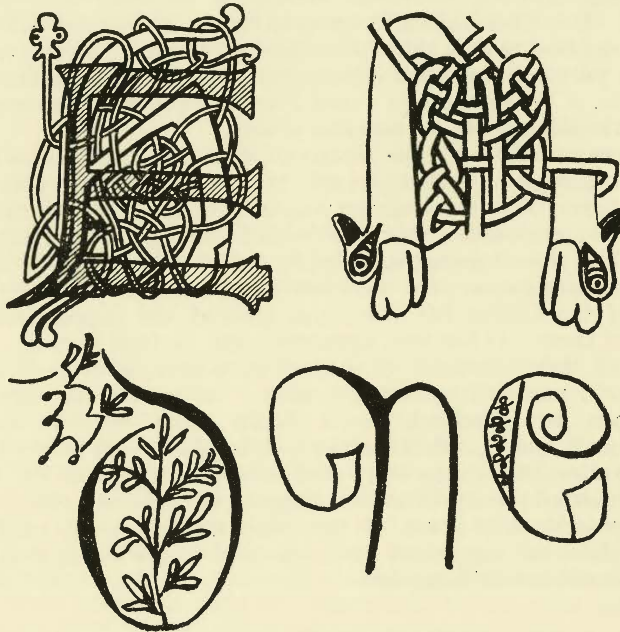
(1) Not Bán (in the genitive Báin), as printed by Plummer, *Lives of Irish Saints* i 43 (the error is corrected, *idem* ii 43).

(2) Printed by Plummer, *Lives of Irish Saints* i 22 ff.

(3) The reader can easily verify this by comparing the beginnings of the two documents. In the relevant part of Plummer's edition of *Berach*, which I have checked with photographs, the following corrections must be made : p. 23 line 17 for *ataebi* read *atoebi* ; line 18 for *alpha* γ *ó Ego initium* read *alpha* γ *omego* (*sic*) *initium* ; (the *m* of *omego* is blotted, but it is certain) ; line 19 for *as* [f] *orbha* read *a[s]* *orbha* ; line 21 for *ascaidh* read *asccaidh* ; line 3 from bottom, for *co* read *go*. "Alpha et omega" proved a stumbling block to Muirges himself, who had his limitations. His exemplar must have had "Alpha et ω" ; this he reproduced as "Alpha et .ui." !

(rather faded) and 37b, brown on 23a : and a D on 38a (that at the beginning of 304 : 19) is filled with an opaque blob of blue.

A not very intelligent person into whose hands the MS. fell did not recognise this letter as an E ; and seeing the text beginning "go," he interposed a "e" between the capital letter and the rest of the word. This accordingly reads "Eego," or would do so if the intrusion were not obvious owing to a difference in the ink. When Muirges, after having completed his prose preface, at last came to the poem, to which it was thus prefixed, he left a blank for the initial and never filled it in. It has been scribbled in roughly by the same meddler,



INITIAL LETTERS FROM MANUSCRIPT A.

fortunately with no attempt at ornamentation. I suspect this person of having been the second Tadhg ó Rodaige, whose scrawls, dated from about 1680 onward, pervade the entire book.

When Muirges was reaching the conclusion of his task, and the time came for a final summing-up of Cáillín's character—*de rigueur* at the end of compositions of this kind—he again had recourse to the life of Berach, and here again appropriated, word for word, the final panegyric upon that saint. It reads a trifle incongruously, after what would be a crass record of greed, if we could find it in our hearts to believe a single word of it. We have said, and repeat,

that it is impossible to take these poems seriously, or the prose text founded upon them. If we permitted ourselves to do so, what sort of psychology would we be attributing to people who thought to honour a holy man by picturing him consistently as a blackmailing vampire, who scared his victims into meeting his sordidly material demands by threatening defaulters with the horrors of Hell! Such productions cannot be anything but goliardic *jeux d'esprit*. We are confirmed in this conclusion when we find the saint claiming ownership, by gift, of other people's treasures, such as St. Patrick's Bell, St. Colum Cille's Gospels (the Book of Kells??) and his *Cathach*;\* as well as performing exploits, elsewhere attributed to other and better-known ecclesiastics. It is for its sidelights on social history and on the underlying degree of civilization presupposed, that LF is chiefly valuable. Even contemporaries found some parts of the book difficult to swallow, as is indicated by the marginal note, p. 170 footnote (2): and Plummer quotes an annotator's adverse opinion on the document—*ní taitnenn sí linn*.†

The OB poems fall into two groups: Cáillín-Fidnacha poems; and a miscellaneous anthology of historical verse, for the greater part with little or no local association. The former group was brought together into the amorphous *Life of Cáillín*, enclosed within the Berach framework and ending with a colophon. The second group was simply copied as it stood, as an appendix, with no connecting prose. On the evidence of C and D we infer that Z was a transcript of the Cáillín life *only*, and ignored the supplementary poems. C has none of them: D has two, apparently not derived from Z.

In addition, there is reason to suspect that Muirges swelled out the book by adding to it matter from other sources. At least three such extraneous intrusions can be identified, as is shown more fully in the following section—items E and G, which certainly existed *as prose* before being copied into A (E is also jotted into B); and item Q, a poem which Muirges has confessedly inserted merely because it happens to mention Cáillín incidentally. It is quite possible that some of the other matter, not so easily identified, is imported also; the suggestion made above as to the use of B as a commonplace book should not be forgotten.

#### IV. THE CONTENTS OF THE TEXT.

The text can be conveniently divided unto sections as follows:—

- A. 2: 1—4: 13. INTRODUCTION BORROWED FROM LIFE OF BERACH. (2: 1) *Vitae*: correctly *vitae* in Berach, and independently corrected to the same in D. (2: 8) *dara perso*: Ber. has *an tres persa*, meaning, of course, "one of

\* That this was a *manuscript* (not necessarily the MS. now preserved under that name in Dublin) is shown sufficiently by the sense of the relevant passages, pp. 166-168. The "cathach" mentioned on p. 194 is however something different—evidently some sort of fetish.

† *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica*, p. 183.

the Three Persons." An early corrector of A has understood it to mean "the Third Person," and has tried, ineffectively, to change *tres* to *dara*, and then has written *dara* in the interspace above. C adopts the correction. (2 : 14) C has *ro t[h]og Iosa ina apstalacht an cethrumadh fer ro scriobh*, thus filling the gap rubbed out in A. This gap is left blank in O'Donovan's transcript, and is consequentially ignored in KH. (2 : 15) *hucht inti slainicedai*, first two words now illegible owing to reagent. C has *uisce an tslainicedha*. (2 : 20) A has *alpha et ui*; this mistake is very conspicuously corrected by *omega* written over the *ui*. C has the same erroneous reading, but D, as before, tacitly corrects it. As C's source Z could hardly have missed this correction, or failed to accept it, we must assume that it is of later date than the writing of Z. For other variant readings see Appendix I.\*

B. 4 : 14—6 : 6. GENEALOGY OF CÁILLIN, AND DATE OF CÁILLIN'S FEAST. This genealogy is found in B (extract no VI) and is therefore most likely to be an importation by Muirges into the text—suggested, no doubt, by the genealogy in the corresponding place of the Berach life. For the variants in B, see Appendix II. In D a critical reader has written in the margin beside this genealogy the sensible words : *33 glun genealaigh sunn o Fhergus mac Róigh go Caillin ⁊ cuiridh sin timcheall míle bliadhán eatorra. Ní fil dath firinne ar sin.*

C. 6 : 7—46 : 19. PROSE MATTER PRELIMINARY TO THE POEM *Ériu oll oilén aingel*. It may be more than a mere coincidence that Berach's baptismal name was Finntan (Plummer, *op. cit.* i p. 26), a name which now becomes prominent in the text as that of the tutor of Cáillin. The coincidence may possibly have suggested the Berach life as suitable for the illegitimate use that was made of it. But Muirges, who was perhaps fresh from making his copy of *Lebor Gabála*—it is quite clear from his expansion of the historical part of the poem that he was familiar with that document—identified the tutor with the antediluvian who came with Cessair to Ireland before the Flood. To do the poem justice, it gives no countenance to any such extravagance.

The matters dealt with in this poem are many and various, and may be conveniently summarized as follows :—

- I. The early invasions and kings of Ireland (46 : B—58 : C)
- II. An *ex post facto* prophecy of the alleged then future kings of Ireland (58 : D—60 : C)
- III. An imaginary prolongation of this list into actual futurity (60 : D—62 : D).
- IV. A prophecy of (a) the Vikings and (b) the English invasion (62 : E—66 : D)
- V. A prophecy of the ultimate impotence of the English and their ultimate expulsion by Ualgarg ó Ruairc (66 : E—70 : A)
- VI. A prophecy of the dethronement of Ualgarg and of his successors (70 : B—72 : A)
- VII. A prophecy of the restoration of the English power under William *gorm* de Lacy and of its ultimate defeat (72 : B—76 : E)

\* Variant readings of the later MSS. are recorded here only if in one way or another they throw light on the autograph text in A. Mistakes like *possidebitur* (C's reading for *posse-debit* [sic] in 4 : 4) have no importance for us, and to catalogue them would be endless.

- VIII. A prophecy of the coming of a certain Cu, who will be a benefactor to churches : an enumeration of the dues which Fidnacha will expect as the result of his benefactions ; a forecast of his death and of his successors (76 : F—86 : A)
- IX. A blessing upon Domnall of Finnros, conditional upon his paying the tribute claimed as due to Cáillin in recompense for the resuscitation of Conall Gulban (86 : B—98 : A)
- X. A prophecy of the troubles to come upon Ireland at the end of the world (98 : B—104 : A)
- XI. An autobiography of Cáillin (104 : B—108 : F). Quatrains 98 : EF probably belong here : they are clearly intrusive in their present position.
- XII. An enumeration of the relics brought by Cáillin from Rome, and arrangements for their enshrinement and for the enshrinement of his own relics (108 : G—end of poem).

It is reasonable to regard this incoherent sequence of 206\* quatrains as composite, having been loosely strung together (possibly by Muirges himself) out of a number of separate pieces. The enumeration of the kings (I—III) : the disordered and probably much interpolated eulogies of Ualgarg (IV—VII) : the eulogy of Cu (VIII), which is actually a separate piece in Manuscript B (No. II in the list of the contents of that MS.), and which, as "Cu" is introduced abruptly without any explanation or identification, must be acephalous; into this is interpolated a series of quatrains (78 : F—82 : E) which has an independent existence later in the book (132 : E—136 : D) : the Conall story (IX) which is repeated *ad nauseam* throughout the book : and the other three sections, each by itself—all these appear to be among the individual elements from which the "poem" is made up. The last of these (XII) is represented by the prose abstract in B (no. I of the catalogue of its contents) again indicating an originally separate existence. There are occasional traces of *conachlann* between successive quatrains, but these are at best perfunctory, and nowhere make the foregoing analysis impossible.

The analysis is confirmed by the prose preface, in which the order of presentation is re-arranged in blocks of material, corresponding to the separate poems indicated above. Following the enumeration of the analytical table which the reader has just now perused, we find that Muirges begins with I, but the mention of Finntan, identified by him with the antediluvian of that name, switches him off to Cáillin's tutor of the same name, and he now gives us the material of XI—padded out with a list of the kings who reigned in Ireland during Cáillin's long-drawn-out progress through the ecclesiastical orders (pp. 6—10). He then gives the abstract of XII, already jotted in B (pp. 10—14) ; and then returns to I—III. After this, human nature asserts itself, and he notes (46 : 18) that it would be irksome to continue the discussion of the subjects of the poem, adding a promise (incompletely fulfilled) to return to them later. We are thus left unenlightened as to what really happened between William Gorm and Ualgarg, and as to the personality of the mysterious Cu.

The poem was irksome to others as well as to Muirges. There is no difficulty

\* There are 200 quatrains in KH, but six have been lost from A with the lost folio 11. They are here restored from CD : see Appendix III.



in tracing stages of progressive carelessness in O'Clery's handwriting, produced by progressive boredom, followed by a sudden access of neatness—obviously beginning a new spell of work. I think I can trace six such alternations; and the flourish of joy with which the last word was written is quite unmistakable. After the hundred and thirtieth quatrain Duiginan writes in D: *Do thuirisigh in duain so me. Per me, David Duiginan.* To this is added, in the handwriting of Charles O'Conor (as identified by Miss Mulchrone) *Go demhin is mor an tadhbhar tuirsi léaghadh na duaine bundú-naighe sin, ⁊ dar ndóich is giorra shaoghail pian a scribtha.* O'Conor adds, beside the quatrains following, containing a promise of blessings to the descendants of Conall Gulban, a note which displays an unusual sense of historical criticism: *As tusa gan chontabairt in fáidh bréige, acht ní thú Cáillín.*

46:20—110:26. The poem *Ériu oll oílen aingeal*, analysed above. Folio 11 of A is missing: it contained the last six quatrains of this poem (see Appendix III), and the matter from 110:27 to *hindlighthech* 114:26. The metre is *debide* of a sort, but it is of the loosest kind, with not much greater display of metrical artifice than "Twinkle, twinkle, little star." In some parts of it there is more regular alliteration than in others—a further indication of its composite origin.

D. 110:27—122:20. THE STORY OF FERGNA AND AED DUB. Prose prefaces to the poems *Dún mBaile rigbaile a cáigh* and *Is hi mo cháinsi dom tigh.* The restored part at the beginning of this section is extract III in B; as the printed text depends on that MS., down to the word *egcoir*, 114:25, inclusive, a full collation is here given. Comparison with CD verifies the accuracy of B, as they agree with it except for a few trifling orthographical variations. The poems relate the history of Dún mBaile, the older name of the site of Cáillín's monastery, from the time of the ancient king Conaing Becceclach down to Fergna, the king at the time of Cáillín's arrival. Fergna refuses to hear the message of Cáillín, and sends his son Aed Dub to drive him out: a manifest adaptation of the similar obstinacy displayed by Loeguire to the message of Patrick. Aed Dub is however converted. Fergna sends his druids against the saint, who turns them into stone. Fergna is swallowed up in the earth, and Aed Dub reigns in his stead; but being swarthy, and therefore not fit for a kingship which many lines of evidence shew to have been reserved for blondes, he is endowed with the prepossessing outward form of Riocc of Inis Bó Finne. (This silly story has not even the merit of originality: it is "lifted" out of the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*\*). Aed Dub now becomes Aed Finn, and Cáillín imposes a tribute upon him and his descendants. This tribute, if duly paid, ensures material cis-mortal blessings of various kinds specified; if neglected, ensures trans-mortal perdition. This is the alternative habitually placed before those upon whom

\* Ed. Stokes i 152.

Cáillín confers any benefit. The story is told in the first of the two poems named above: the tribute is set forth in the second, which, as already noticed, is also incorporated in *Ériu oll*.

124: 1—132: 16. The poem *Dun mBaili rí-g-baile a caigh*.

132: 17—136: 18. The poem *Is hí mo cháinsi dom thig*, with a short prose note at each end. A prefixed sentence declares that this poem is extracted from *Ériu oll* to make it more easily remembered. But as it contains one quatrain (134: E) not found in *Ériu oll*, we must infer rather that the contrary was the case—that it was a separate composition which was incorporated in that *pasticcio*: for it would be more likely that a quatrain should be accidentally dropped in such a process than that a new one should be interpolated. The fact that it appears in B, in a position independent of the context with which it is here associated (Extract VII) points in the same direction. Both poems are *deibide scáilte*, much more skilfully composed than the loosely-constructed elements in *Ériu oll*.

E. 136: 19—142: 23. THE STORY OF THE RESUSCITATION OF CONALL GULBAN: Prose Preface to the Poems *Eta sunn lecht, Cotlad sind imdai-siu, Gebaird crith*. Conall Gulban was slain, and naturally went straight to perdition. Cáillín called him back to life, baptized him, and sent him to heaven, with the promise that the great Colum Cille should be numbered among his descendants. He thereby established a claim to large tributes from the descendants of Conall—under the same conditions as before.

This story already existed *in prose* before Muirges dealt with it: though the evidence that OB was exclusively in verse suggests that it was an independent document. It is headed with an elaborate initial letter (fig. 2 of the series on p. 17); this must have been copied from an exemplar of which the top edge had been cut away, or obscured by dirt or otherwise. Muirges copied what he could of it—not accurately, for the asymmetry of the relation between the interlacement and the upright bars of the M cannot be right: but he did not venture to complete the part which he was unable to trace. A later hand, using a bad pen and weak faded ink, has made a feeble attempt (ignored in the reproduction here given) to supply the omission.

The whole passage, along with the first of the appended poems and its colophon, forms extract IV in B. Here there is no attempt to copy the initial letter, which accords with the presumed character of B as a preliminary commonplace book. In dealing with a document which was apparently hard to decipher, it would be prudent to make just such a draft transcript, to minimize the risk of falling into errors which would necessitate ugly corrections in the fair copy.

The document must have begun with these words: *Mad ail a fis . . . Conaill mic Neill .i. dona secht macaib oiregdae, gurab do derbad na cloinde sin adubrad in rann-sa*. A glossator had inserted the words (1) *batar aige*, (2) *ocus dia sil co brath* and (3) *ocus dia n-anmannuib* between the lines. Muirges took no (1) into the text after *na cloinde sin* in B, but in A he changed his mind and

inserted it after *oiregdae*: he suffixed no. (2) to *batar aige* in B, but left it as an interlineation in A—in the derivative MSS. it has been inserted, with omission of *co brath*, after *oiregdae*: and he ignored no (3) altogether in B, but in A inserted it in the obviously wrong place after *adubrad in rann-sa\**—in which the derivative MSS. concur. In the first quatrain following, the explanatory word *Bogaine* was interlined above *Aengus*. The interlineation is copied in A: but both B and the derivative MSS. have taken it into the text, to the detriment of the metre. These facts prove the statement made above: that the document must already have had an independent existence *in prose*; and that it had already begun to be pestered by glossators in the usual way, before it came under the notice of Muirges.

142: 24—154: 14. *Eta sunn lecht Conaill chruaid.*

154: 22—158: 12. *Coilad sind imdai-siu.*

158: 22—162: 24. *Gebaid crith in talam thend.* The three poems upon this subject. A fourth poem is incorporated in *Ériu oll* 88: D-98: A, which, though it follows the same lines as these, is not identical with them. The first poem is in *rannaigeacht dialtach*. The second is in a form of *eochnaid* metre apparently popular in Fidnacha, the scheme of which is  $7^3+5^1+7^3+5^1$ , the seven-syllable lines being multiplied twice, three, or four times with an arbitrariness which may possibly indicate textual corruption, and certainly cannot be reduced to any rule (thus, the scheme of the present poem, with regard to the number of seven-syllable stanzas, is 3, 2: 2, 2: 2, 4: 3, 2: 2, 2: 2, 2: 2, 2)†. The matter relating to the Conmaicne, referred to in the colophon to this section, appears below, in the next section but one. The third poem seems to be a composite of two pieces, the first five quatrains being in the same loose debide metre which we find in *Ériu oll*, the remainder in *rannaigeacht recomarcach*.

F. 162: 27—166: 17. THE BLESSING OF COLUM CILLE. Preface to the poem *D'és in chatha ticim-si*. Here Cáillín appears as the confessor of Colum Cille, a function normally attributed to Molaise. Colum, having incurred the guilt of bloodshed by battle, comes to Cáillín to be shriven, and in return therefor he presents him with his gospels, the *cathach*, a third of his monastic revenues, and a number of other privileges. He also confirms the tribute laid upon his own kindred, the descendants of Conall Gulban. Those who obey Cáillín will be sure of Heaven: for those who do not the prospect is less attractive. The prose text as far as *Conaill Gulbain* (166: 1), but not the appended poem, is contained in B (Extract IX.).

166: 18—174: 16. The poem *D'és in chatha*. It is in the form of a colloquy between Colum Cille and Cáillín, and is chiefly concerned with the very

\* Not after *na cloinde sin*, as in the printed page.

† This poem is correctly set out on the printed page, with due regard to the strophic divisions; but the same cannot be said of the other poems in this metre (pp. 194, 198, 406) which are wrongly printed in a continuous form.

substantial privileges secured to Cáillín in return for the service rendered to Colum Cille. "The doorpost of every drinking-house," which presumably means a percentage of the profits of those establishments, and the luxury of a bedside draught promised to the monks, are, like many other similar allusions scattered through the compilation, interesting sidelights on social history: these are, indeed, the chief value of the book. Metre very irregular, mostly *rannaigecht recomarcach*. CD ignore the dialogue form of the poem; and for some reason C leaves a blank in the place of the two lines 168: 15, 20. The first of these is entered in the lower margin of the page.

G. 174: 17—180: 21. THE EPISODE OF THE CONMAICNE. Prose preface to the poem *Fingal do triall Conmaicni*. This story explains how Cáillín came to interrupt his studies in Rome and to journey to Ireland. He arrived for the purpose of averting an internecine strife which threatened to break out between the Conmaicne, the descendants of Conmac and their kinsfolk of the progeny of Fergus mac Roig and Medb of Connacht, by reason of the insufficiency of their territories. Cáillín arrived and began a missionary career, pursuing the drastic but expeditious and no doubt effective method of sending unbelievers to death, destruction and Hell. As for the Conmaicne, to which kindred he himself belonged, he undertook to procure sufficient land to satisfy their needs. This he did by visiting various landowners and obtaining grants for them, presumably by similar persuasive expedients.\* He then re-granted the land to the Conmaicne, for a consideration. This is more fully described in the following section. The compulsory use of Fídnacha by the Conmaicne as a burial-place is an interesting touch: it appears later (p. 204) that burial in the rival establishment of Cloone would involve damnation. And as Cáillín (not, as might have been expected, the Almighty) is to be the Judge of the Conmaicne on the Last Day (p. 190) it would be most indiscreet to run any risks in this matter! On p. 174 Cáillín even presumes to tell Colum Cille "I bestow on thy people that they shall be on my right hand in Heaven!" No part of this section appears in B. The cursing of the fishless lake is probably a parody of the Gospel story of the barren fig-tree.

That this Section, like Section E, is an importation from an extraneous source, is indicated by similar arguments. In the first place, the opening paragraph is written very neatly, in capital letters—such as are frequently used for the beginning of a document. In the second place, this document also was to have been provided with an ornamental initial letter—thereby hangs another tale. In the third place, here again we have clear evidence of a pre-existent prose, interpolated by glossators who have broken into and dislocated the sense. It requires very little insight to see that the story began thus: *O ro fas 7 ro forbair macni Meadba 7 Fhearghusu fo Erind, ba cumung leo*, etc. A primary

\* As the accompanying poem says of one of these grants "It would have been given him for peace' sake, if it had been the Land of Promise itself!"

gloss on "Erind" became incorporated: .i. *cland Conmaic 7 Cheir 7 Chuiric*. A secondary gloss on "Chuiric" followed: *robadar dono siol Conmuic mic Feargusa in tsaindred i Condachtuib*. Then came a tertiary gloss on "Condachtuib": .i. *Conmaicni Duin Moir*. These three strata of glosses indicate at least as many transcripts before the text reached Muirges. The initial letter for which the blank was left was certainly O. The place was still blank when Z was copied, and accordingly CD both begin *Ro fas*, etc. But, later, someone imagined that the missing word was *Do*; so he inserted into the blank the incongruous-looking *D* (no. 3 in the figure p. 17) with a little *o* beside it. In the lower margin of the same column there appears the note (which KH have misunderstood and, as usual, have wrongly attributed to Tadhg ó Rodaige): *cia aderod co fil litir isin aimsir si doroisici di sin thos*—"who would say that in these times of ours there is a letter better than the above?" At first I took this for an expression of the (unjustifiable) complacency of the artist. But Dr. Best assured me, and I completely accept his assurance, that the handwriting is that of Muirges himself, in which case we must regard it as one of his characteristic sarcasms. The letter cannot be his own work, for he would not have made the mistake of writing *Do* for *O*. This gives us a new fact of great importance for the history of the text. Muirges must have dropped his work for a space—almost certainly after writing the colophon on pp. 310-312. Then Z was copied, which explains why the derivative MSS. do not contain the poems which follow the colophon. After that the spurious initial was inserted. Then Muirges returned, to copy the remaining poems. We are thus enabled to assign to Z a date within the lifetime of Muirges (*obit* 1543).

182: 1—190: 8. The poem *Fingal do triall*. This poem follows the lines laid down in the prose introduction. The killing of Nissi, brother of Cáillin, by Cellachan, is only allusively suggested in the poem, not narrated as in the prose; and more emphasis is laid on the ubiquitous Fergna story at the end of the poem than in the corresponding place where it appears in the prose. The metre is *cró cummaisc etir casbairdne 7 lethrannaigecht*.

H. 190: 9—194: 7. A SPECIFICATION OF THE TRIBUTE DUE FROM THE CONMAICNE for the service described in the preceding section: a preface to the poem *Cáillin cáidh cumachtach, Epscop*. This inventory speaks for itself, and as a document of social history is one of the most interesting sections in the book.

194: 8—200: 2. The poem *Cáillin cáidh cumachtach, Epscop*. This is a verse statement of the tribute, of which the prose preface is a paraphrase. It is another example of the *eochnad* metre, rather more regular than the previous example. The latter is briefly mentioned in a colophon to the poem before us (200: 3—6), after which comes the first complete lacuna in the text, caused by the loss of fo. 22—the last leaf of gathering II in A.

As we have seen, gatherings III and IV of A had become transposed when Z was copied. Gathering III (fol. 23-28) extends from *aingel indisius*

(200 : 7) to *i roe chatha* (236 : 13) ; gathering IV (fol. 29–37a) from *is d'onoir* (236 : 14) to the end of the now lost leaf following *gunna meandaib tig thairiss* (302 : 8). In consequence of this transposition, CD here, regardless of sense, read continuously : *Ro labhair ar Conallchaib* (sic) *ar tus 7 ar Conmaicnibh iarom, is d'onoir*, etc. ; and two similarly meaningless joins occur later on.

In CD, the three lines with which folio 23 begins, evidently the end of a poem which occupied the lost folio 22, are tacked on to *gunna meandaib tig thairiss*, as though the scribes had taken them for the first three lines of an imperfect quatrain. They have therefore left a blank *after* them : the blank should really precede them, as it does on the printed page 200. This mistake is more likely to have been made once than twice, and we must therefore blame the unknown scribe of Z as the *fons et origo* of this particular evil.

The gap held a poem, with its prose preface, on much the same lines as *Collad sin imdai-siu*. The single sentence of the prose preface which remains, and the reference to an angel in the surviving fragment indicate this. There is a slight hint at the contents of this poem in the matter in Appendix VIII, for it is certainly "the poem on the last leaf of the preceding quire," which is there referred to : and it may possibly have been in *eachrad* metre, though if so, the three lines surviving must be very corrupt. I have considered, and rejected, the possibility that the long composition on the last folio (p. 406 ff), which seems out of place in its present position in the book, might have been this missing poem ; every indication is against it. The missing poem ends with the catchwords *G. Gebaid*. This doubtless means (1) that the first word was *Gebaid*, and (2) that the poem was of some length and that more than one of the strophes ended with this word—a fact emphasised, as usual, by writing .G. after them. At the end, the scribe wrote this .G., and then, to reinforce the termination of the poem, he wrote *Gebaid* in full. That is all that it will ever be possible to say about the contents of fo. 22, unless some altogether unexpected source of information should come to light.

J. 200 : 10—208 : 12. RECAPITULATION OF COLUM'S BLESSING OF CAILLIN, incorporating the poem *Mo chean Cáillín cáid* and introducing the poem *Celiubroim do Dún mBaile*. In this prose and the associated poems the pains and penalties to be paid by the Conmaicne for failure in their obligations to Fidnacha are even more drastically emphasized, and the blessings bestowed by Colum are yet more emphatically expressed. This section calls for no special notice.

200 : 15—204 : 4. The Poem *Mo chean Cáillín cáid*. Metre *dechnad mbecc*.

208 : 13—214 : 22. The Poem *Celiubroim do Dún mBaile*, in *debid* metre. There is nothing to be said about these poems more than is said in the account of the prose preface. It may however be noticed that the following

additional quatrain appears at the end of the second of these poems in CD.

Mancán Caillín Cairellán	Bright ni ob na trátho
is ann do chaithdis roibeaccan	ar innsi Dúin na Trátha.*

It is written as a graffito in the lower margin of fo. 31 *recto* in A.

K. 214 : 23—216 : 14 and Appendix IV. CAILLIN'S VISION AND ADAMNÁN'S INTERPRETATION: Preface to the poem *A Adamnán beir in mbreith*. In this section there is a long lacuna in A, owing to the loss of folios 25, 26. B gives no help here: but fortunately these folios were still in existence when Z was copied, and with the aid of C and D it is now possible to restore them. Cáillín has a terrifying night vision and calls on Adamnán to interpret it. Adamnán foretells a coming apostacy of the Conmaicne from their allegiance to Fídnacha, and their return under the pressure of the consequential evils which they bring on themselves: and he utters a fulsome eulogy of Cáillín and of his monastery.

Appendix V. The poem *A Adhamhnán beir an mbreith*. This follows the matter in Appendix IV immediately in CD, and repeats the tale of the vision at length, as well as the final eulogy. Some verses are appended in *eachrad* metre, evidently a fragment of another composition (not improbably that on p. 406 ff. in which Adamnán figures conspicuously). At line 37 a change of metre from *debide* (rhyming *aabb*) to *rannaigeacht* (rhyming *abab*), indicates that the eulogy is a different composition from the explanation of the vision—as, indeed, the internal evidence of the sense suggests. The combination must however have been effected before the prose preface was prepared. It is clear that some of the lines are metrically corrupt—a remark which indeed applies to much of the verse material in the book. (The writer of the amusing note printed in p. 68 footnote (?) might have repeated it frequently: if, indeed, it does contain an adverse criticism on the poet's metre which, as Miss Knott has suggested to me, is open to question†). I have made no attempt at emendations, here or elsewhere, but it may just be suggested that the two members of line 40 have been transposed; by revising the transposition we bring *lasantuim* into rhyme with *imghuin*.

L. Appendix VI. THE SAINTS ENTITLED TO TRIBUTE FROM THE CONMAICNE. Preface to *Cáillín cáidh cumhachtach dar chinnsiotar*. This follows immediately on Appendix V, and calls for no special comment.

Appendix VII. The poem to which Appendix VI is the preface. It is in *eachrad* metre, and, like others of its kind, it begins with the stock line *Cáillín*

\*So written in C. D has trátha, ttrátha at the ends of the lines. The graffito in A is on fo. 31, but the poem itself is on fo. 24. It reads *Mancan Caillín Cairelan | Briadhid go niobh na tratho || is and do caithdis robegan | air innsi Dun na trath.*

† The first five words of this note are by Muirges himself—not by Tadg, as suggested by KH, if only because Tadg would not have addressed the saint so impolitely. The cynical continuation (from *nach mór an ndáire*) is due to an Anonymous, who (to our loss) appears nowhere else in the book.

- cáid cumachtach*. After the seventh strophe a quatrain in *debid* is interpolated, similar to but not identical with 80 : C. This was no doubt glossarial in OB, being a quotation from some other poem corroborative of the statement to which it is appended. The first line of this intrusive quatrain is corrupt, being a syllable short.
- M. Appendix VIII A. MUTUAL FAVOURS OF CAILLIN AND CRUIMTHER FRAOCH. This brief episode, in which Cáillin displays unusual generosity (though not without his wonted *arrière pensée*) looks back to the lost poem which occupied the missing folio 22. There is no evidence, however, of any relaxation of the *tabu* which he had imposed upon burial in Cloone, the establishment presided over by Fraoch.
- N. Appendix VIII B. CAILLIN AND THE UI NEILL. Cáillin confers privileges of political superiority on the Uí Néill, under the usual conditions of their being up-to-date with their tribute. Prose preface to the poem *Berid bennacht, érgid úaim*. The last few lines of this section are extant in A at the beginning of fo. 27 (216 : 15 ff.)
- 217 : 21—230 : 26. The poem *Berid bennacht*, to which the foregoing is the preface. A diffuse composition, the varying metres of which suggest that it is a *pasticcio* of two or more pieces combined. As before, the combination must have been made before the prose preface was written ; but it should be noticed that the prose preface ignores the detailed prophecy of the succession of kings which occupies so much of the verse.
- O. 230 : 27—236 : 16. A HISTORY OF THE BELL CALLED CLOG NA RIG ; prose preface to the poem *Beir a Cháillin clog na rig*.\* This whole section appears in B (extract V) and forms the last contribution which B makes to the criticism of the text. Patrick, who has refused to give his bell to any other, presents it to Cáillin. The latter uses it for baptismal purposes. We gather that the gift was bestowed because Cáillin helped Patrick to “ expel ” the idol called Crom Cruaich, though this service is unaccountably ignored by all the lives of Patrick which report the incident. Again and again we ask, what is the meaning of this tale of a man who is tutored by an antediluvian, who goes to Rome in his hundredth year, spends two hundred years there, and later is associated with Patrick (5th century) Colum Cille (6th century) and Adamnán (7th century)—though his mother, as we learn from a marginal note (p. 10 footnote <sup>(3)</sup>) was a granddaughter of a contemporary of the first of these ! How such a story came to be told at all is the essential problem which clothes in interest a document late in date, and in some respects, it must be granted, tedious and unpleasant. But to discuss this problem would call for an independent treatise ; here we content ourselves with indicating it, and make no attempt to follow it out. As usual, the possession

\* For an illustrated account of the bell still preserved at Fenagh and identified with Cáillin's *Clog na Rig*, see Rev. J. Hynes *loc. cit.* p. 51 ff.



of Clog na Ríg is a valuable source of emolument to Cáillín, and entitles him to tap sources of revenue which he had not otherwise touched—reinforced by the usual alternatives.

This section is badly corrupted in CD, owing to the transposition of the gatherings of A. Gathering III ends with *i roe chatha* (236 : 13); and in these MSS. the beginning of Gathering V follows immediately—the line *Conerset na cromanaig* (302 : 9) and the five lines following being written as prose, and masquerading as the end of the paragraph to which they are appended. The remainder of the poem on p. 302 then follows, set out in ordinary strophic form. The matter from *Is d'onoir* (236 : 14), the beginning of the lost folio 29 of A onwards, is tacked on, without break, as we have seen already, to *Conmaicnib iarum* (200 : 6). It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the copyists worked mechanically: only a mere automaton could fail to infer from these inconsistencies that something must be wrong!

236 : 17—248 : 24 The poem *Beir a Cháillín*, repeating the matter of the prose preface. It begins in *rannaigeacht* and after a few quatrains turns to *debide*.

P. 248 : 25—258 : 20. DINDSHENCHUS OF MAG REIN. Prose preface to the poem *Mag Réin, ga hadbar d'ia bhfuil*. A mythological tale in the *genre* of *Dindsenchus* (not however to be found in that compilation), giving the early history of the site of Fidnacha, with the prophecy of Cathub (Cathbad) the druid, regarding the coming of Cáillín. The tale is said to be related by the antediluvian Finntan to Patrick.

258 : 3—274 : 11. The poem, *Mag Réin ga hadbar d'ia bhfuil*, telling the story of which the prefixed prose is a paraphrase. Metre, *debide*.

Q. 274 : 12—Appendix IX. A POEM FROM ARMAGH. This section definitely settles the question as to whether Muirges was content with paraphrasing OB, or borrowed matter from other sources. He admits himself that he has written it in, on account of its reference to Cáillín. The printed verses which follow the prose preface in KH belong to an entirely different composition. It is now possible to read the Armagh poem for the first time: it was lost from A with folios 33–34, and never was written into B: but C and D possess it. There are no more than the three lines of introduction which appear on the printed page 274 : 12–14; the poem then begins immediately.\* Its inclusion in the compilation is hardly justifiable, for among its incoherent, obscurely allusive, and obviously corrupt contents it contains little more than one or two bare references to Cáillín.

\* D inserts the words *Lean amach me* after the words *onoir do Chaillín indti*. They are not found in C, and do not appear to be part of the text. Most likely they were a surreptitious scribble—an injunction, "Follow me out!"—to a student occupying a neighbouring desk. Why he should do so was no doubt explained when the two forgathered outside the *scriptorium*.

R. Appendix X. A prophetic poem attributed to Cáillín. This has no prose introduction. It refers to a certain Cucullán who is to have dominion in the region of Loch Erne. Is this the mysterious "Cú" of the poem incorporated in §VIII of the poem *Ériu oll*? And are these verses another of the same group of poems?

S. Appendix XI. A PROPHECY BY FER CERTNE to queen Medb of Cruachu, foretelling the coming of Cáillín. Prose preface to the poem *A Feir Cheirtne fóirghles fíora*.

Appendix XII—284 : 20. The poem introduced by the above preface.

T. 284 : 21—292 : 2. LAST WORDS OF CÁILLÍN : prose preface to the poem *A Mhancháin romaiccill féin*. Cáillín on his death-bed dictates to Manchán an extravagant list of the tributes due from all the saints of Ireland to himself and to his church, and gives directions for his burial and for the proper reverence due to his relics.

292 : 3—308 : 2. The poem to which the preceding prose is a preface—metre *rannaigeacht recomarcach* with much contamination of other metrical formulae, and numerous irregularities besides.

The prose preface summarises the verse very closely, though with two errors. Cáillín says of his one surviving tooth

*En fiacail im chind gan cli comas tuitenn ri baili*

which Muirges turns into *Ni uil imorro acht aen fiacal im chinn, ⁊ atá ag tuitim anois*. Again, Caillin says of his dues from Brigit,

*Screball oir as a cill cain sa innlacad dom chathruig*

which Muirges changes to *dom chleirchib*. An annotator of A has noticed this, and written *no dom chleirchib* above *chathruig* in the poem: this alteration has been accepted as the exclusive reading by the derivative MSS. Muirges is exasperatingly perfunctory in his summary of the central portion of the poem, which he dismisses with the words *Ro thairngir Cáillín mor do nethib oili* (288 : 12). This hides from us the contents of the lost folio 37a, which must have contained 33 quatrains out of the middle of the composition, as comparison with the adjacent folios indicates. The fact of the loss is proved (1) by the loss of the conjunctive folio and (2) by the apparent six-line stanza, coming just at the break. That this is not impossible is shewn by the precedent of 298 : G; but an examination of the MS. shews that 302 : B is a complete quatrain, followed by two lines of another quatrain finished upon the next folio. Had these been meant to run together, the fifth line of the strophe would have followed the fourth upon the same line of writing; as it is, the blank at the end of the fourth verse-line is filled with a simple scroll-ornament. As the catchword at the end of the poem shews, the matter on each side of the chasm belongs to the same composition.

U. 308 : 3—310 : 16. CONCLUSION BORROWED FROM THE LIFE OF BERACH.  
This concludes the work, as recognised by CD.

V. 310 : 17—312 : 6. The colophon, giving the names of the persons concerned in the compilation, as described in the opening of the present preface. C and D substitute their own colophons.

After the colophon, A gives a quantity of miscellaneous matter, the greater part of which presumably came out of OB—the mutilated *Oed in cét fer cráides mé* certainly did—but which, as they have little or no connexion with Cáillín or with Fenagh, Muirges has been contented with transcribing, and has not paraphrased.

These are

1. Conall cuingid cloinni Neill (61 quatrains) p. 312
2. Enna dálda Cairpri crúaid (47 „ ) p. 330
3. A eolcha Conaill ceolúig (32 „ ) p. 344
4. Atá sunn senchus nach súaill (18 „ ) p. 354
5. A liubair tá ar do lár (18 „ ) p. 358
6. In cest for chloind na Colla (23 „ ) p. 364
7. Oed in cét fer cráides mé\* (28 „ ) p. 372
8. Cairbre, Eogan, Enna eim (12 „ ) p. 394
9. Estdid re Conall calma (23 „ ) p. 398
10. Cáillín cáid cumachtach p. 406—a long composition in *eochnad* metre, differing by the extensive multiplication of seven-syllable lines from the others of the same type. The other nine poems are all in the rather loose *debide* which pervades the book.

Between poems 7 and 8 some genealogical matter is interpolated (p. 380 ff.), certainly in the handwriting of Muirges. This contains *inter alia* the pedigree of Tadhg ó Rodaige, and, in the original form of the MS., it traced his ancestry back to Cumscrach, the step at which it impinges on the ancestry of Cáillín himself. A later, and very untidy hand, has carried the pedigree back, filling whatever blank spaces were left on the page, † through 31 generations—merely duplicating (inaccurately) the pedigree of Cáillín, given on p. 4. None of these poems is given in C. D has No. 10, immediately following its own colophon (printed above, p. 12). Then comes No. 7, with an entirely different preface, as under :—

*Ata in sgríbhneóir do sgríobh in cairt-si reamhoinn as in leabhar do sgríobh Muirghes mac Páidín í Maoilchoinire aga dhearbhadh co raibhe dúan is in tsein-leabhar Cáillín í bFidhnach ⁊ gen co raibhe in dúan-sin uile inléghtha o*

\* With a brief added preface to account for its incompleteness.

† O'Donovan, and following him KH, have overlooked or ignored this.

*dhorchacht in tseinleabhair nar bhail do chomarba do chuir in leabar da sgríobhadh gan an mhéid do badh inléghtha don dúan do sgríobhadh gion go raibe a tosach re faghail ann rena a mhéid do luídh sal air. Ag so síos in mhead do frith glan di.*

This note is not due to Duiginan himself—he copied it: for his eye travelled from *tsein-leabhair*, the 26<sup>th</sup> word, to the same word a short distance below, so that he wrote the following words, *nar bhail do chomarba* prematurely: and then expuncting these on discovering his error, he went back to *Cáillín i bFidnách*, and proceeded to the end. The note must therefore have come from Brian Ballach's book: it cannot have been in Z, for it would in that case have appeared in C. Brian Ballach's scribe, having copied the *Cáillín* life from Z, obtained access to A after Muirges had gone, to copy some of the miscellaneous poems at the end of OB. He copied (1) the loose leaf containing poem no. 10 in the foregoing list, because it referred to *Cáillín*, and (2) the acephalous poem, no. 7, on account of the prefixed note to the effect that it was in OB. But he passed over the other miscellaneous poems, which have no obvious connexion with either *Cáillín* or his monastery.

He must have written the preface to poem no. 7 from memory, for there is not a word in A about the beginning of the poem being lost by dirt: the plain sense of Muirges's words is, that the loss was due to a lacuna in OB. After poem no. 7, D inserts the matter between 14:3 and 24:24, which by some accident was omitted in the proper place. Some barely legible matter, irrelevant to the book, follows, and with this D ends.

O'Donovan, and following him KH, have noticed that in poem no. 10, the letter *b* is written in the margin opposite 408:8, *a* opposite 408:27, *c* opposite 410:3. This indicates a transposition, the lines from *a* to *c* preceding *b*. D. adopts this arrangement, but introduces dislocation by inserting 408:20-25 after 410:9. After 406:23 he interpolates *do choimhlinadh in báin*, presumably a gloss from Brian Ballach's MS.

The quatrain *dliged Cáillín*, which follows *Cáillín caid* in A, and completes the volume, has not been reproduced in D. This quatrain, KH says (p. 415 footnote <sup>(5)</sup>), is written in "a curious zigzag fashion." The description is borrowed from an English catalogue of the contents of the book prefixed by O'Donovan to his transcript. They have not noticed that it is not really zigzag, but is an adaptation of the form of the ogham cipher known as *Cenn debtha*, which is duly described in the Book of Ballymote's treatise on Ogham cryptography.

There are many other matters in the footnotes and translation of KH calling for animadversion, but I am working under strict limitations of space, and must forbear.

## APPENDIX I.

A COLLATION OF THE PRINTED TEXT WITH  
MANUSCRIPT A.

[Heavy-faced figures refer to the *pages*, plain figures to the *lines*, in the printed text. An asterisk denotes a feature in the text which is not reproduced in CD, and therefore is presumably a modification made later than those transcripts.]

2 2 sandtuigeas. 3 indascuid. 4 possedebit. 5 nethisi. 8 mac de bi : \* the MS. had *tres* for *dara*, as in the parallel passage in the "Life of Berach," and a clumsy attempt was made to change this to *dara* ; when that failed, *dara* was written clearly in an interlineation above the resultant confusion. CD both have *tres*, in the latter MS changed *sec. man.* to *dara*. 10 mathiussai. 11 firenaib. 12 morgrad. 13\* imorro mac Etce- was traced by O'Donovan but owing to the reagent is now illegible : CD both have *Zebedei* for *Etcebedei*. [Eo]i abstal is written in large coarse letters in the right-hand margin, partly encroaching upon the blank space thus produced. 14 following thog Isa, the words *san apstulacht in cetrumadh*, (as in the *Berach* life) have been scraped away ; with slight orthographical variations they are in CD, and should be inserted here : ro suidigestair : topar . . . hucht int also scraped away and illegible<sup>1</sup> 16\* las . . . dered scraped away and illegible : domain. 17 Ego sitienti begins a new paragraph in the text : for the comma after the preceding *hisund* substitute a full stop : de . . . gratis written in initials thus d. [f. omitted] a.u.g. : sanntuighius. 18 firinde : innascuid : usci bi : comfaim : 20 alpha et ui (evidently a misunderstanding of the Greek letter ω in the document from which this homiletic introduction was copied) \*corrected by writing †et below and omega above. C has alpha et\*ui ; D has independently corrected this to alpha et omega. 4 1 comfuages : comdluthas. 2 dabo . . . gratis as before written in initials only, except the de ; f here included. 3 inascuid : usci bi. 4 possedebit.

<sup>1</sup>C has *uisce an tslainicedai*, as have also the MSS. of the *Berach* life. We must here see a confusion between *Ucht an tSlainigtheora* and *Uisce Slainigthe*, induced by an ambiguous contraction.

6 damsá. 7 Isu: fir ecna. 8 noeib: fertaib. 9 diaisneisi; *an apparently meaningless stroke over the first s, which has induced the reading difaisneide in CD.* 10 foraimh- *written thus, as a suspension, not mt.* 11 \*lannerdai ocus in *now scraped off.* 12 tathnimach: logmhar: \*torthach. . . . clauib *now scraped off; read clannuib, as in CD.* COLUMN I: 15 MacNiatach. 17 Ffraoich. 18 Cumsraig. 19, 22, 27. *In each of these lines a c is inserted sec. man. between M (=mic). and Echna, thus changing the name to Cechta; the change in 22 is not accepted in CD and therefore is presumably later than the other two. The version in B has Cechta in all three places.* 24 Maghruid. COL. II; 15 Berre. 16 Beidhbi. 17 Mic Doilbri (*sic*) *inserted prima man.* 19 Oirbsen mair. 21 Ségda. 22 Aitri (*for Airt*). 26 Doilbri. **6** COL. I: 1 Cétguine chalusaich. 4 Moghad taeth. (*\*in marg. above, no mic Moga taeth mic Fergusa*). 6 sainred (*omit brackets*). 7, 8 Bochra. 10 Roim. 11 foglaim: hecna: gein. 12 fuasailcti ainbfs: d'feruib. 14 Caillin: Patricc. Calp-. 15 sílad (*omit brackets*). 17 Nell: Patricc: om. [in]. 18 .x. om. *both C and D for no apparent reason (ins. sec. man. D)* Patricc: Cáillin. 19 ghenadh (*not -dar*): fogluim. 20 Cáillin: imchian (*omit brackets*): gradaib. 21 gab. **8** I Laegaire: fogab. 2 rig. 3 h. Cuinn. 5 Lifechair: fichet. 6 Gabra: fria reside: rogab. 7 suibdeochain. 8 bliadain. 9 Airgthech. 10 fein. 11 no a tri xxxat: Cholla. 12 rogab Cáillin: grada. 14 Muridach: \*ri Ulad *interlined above by corrector; not in C; interlined also in D.* 16 Munbhedan (*for Muidmedon*). 17 Eocha Munbethan: uii *is in A, but both C and D have uiii.* galar: Temraig. 18 nemi. **10** robai: *timtinecht in the MS. is written timtinecht; a trifling matter like this need not be referred to again, but we may say once for all that the distinction between lenition-markings with h and with a dot is quite arbitrary in both MS. and printed page, and that the two often diverge from one another in this respect:* saccart. 3 .xxui. (*not .xx.ui.*) 4 guin: Cendsealaig: insaigid. 5 sidein: Chailin. 7 Laegairi: Nell: rogab: gradha. 7 ann (*delete brackets*): gab: laim: 10 ealadhan. 11 escuin: a chomarbai. 14 illégoidecht. 16 co Roim *is so written that its meaning is not immediately obvious. C and D have both passed it over in consequence.* foglaimm: ar. 17 relci: tuidecht. 18 chomairche: chathrach. 19 moige. 20 rémraiti. **12** 2 coiméd. 3 brét: lamaib. 4 noidin. 5 fulairsim; furail- *in both C and D.* 6 íadhad: fagaib: .i. Caillin

*interlined above; incorporated in CD; comairli.* 7 betha. 8 bliadain. 9 scrin: dorigne. 10 Caillin. 11 conad; scrin. 12 timcheall. 14 fagaib: cong bail. 16 scrin. 18 irisig. 20 rígh: gacha flathai (gach flaith CD): rogab. 21 thainig, *the t expuncted: page ends at co ha (imsir).* 14 2 ri: *faitsine son (instead of for Erinn).* 3 gabail. 4 rogab: aingeal. 5 .l. mben: riachtatar, *the last four letters interlined by a corrector: incorporated in CD; 6 lé.* 7 Bethad. 8 Sliab: Ladrann. 9 marb. 11 dílind: chotlad. 12 aitrib, *the a apparently expuncted.* 13 gabail: Partholoin: "secunda" (*if this be the meaning*) *is represented by two S's crossed after the manner of a swastika. It is omitted in C; D supplies annso.* 14 Caillin. 15 Gregaib. 16 1 sechtmain (*omit brackets*): 1 Heriu. 3 Nemid. 6 bliadain deg ar. 7 chaithetar: Herind. 8 Fómorchuib. 9 Nemid. 11 dingbail: dib: fichit. 13 airig. 14 diblinaib: dib. 15 feraib. 17 tra (*not trau*): Heriu: bliadan. 18 Cháillin: 19 mic: Greicc. 20 *page ends at ratsat: insert 3a in marg.: húire: moige.* 18 1 scothaib. 2 itrian [*sic*] *not .i.; probably meant for a ttrian, and so read in CD*]; Šlangi. 3 dainib allin. 5 Rudraige: triun: sluaig: Domnann. 6 Domnann: dib: Domnann. 8 Sengann. 9 coicced: Medba (*b inserted by corrector*). 10 choicced: allinside. 11 rigi: Šlange. 12 Cáillin. 14 Laigne. 15 triallsatar: Tuaig. 16 doibso: airme. 17 gabalaibsi: lon leó. 18 glasfeoir: 10 *inserted by corrector: airmius: Cáillin.* 19 fodaig: beadh 20 1 lin. 3 ar: ar mili. 4 rige Šlange 5 Cáillin: rig: nanmannaib (*aib interlined prima manu*): gab. 7 \*do rigaib Fer mBolg *in margin in different ink: not in CD.* 18 lam: muige. 20 Nuada Argatlam. 22 Dagda. 25 mbliadna. Footnote (<sup>1</sup>): *the number is .ui. and could not possibly be mistaken for .iii.* 22 1 airim Cáillin. 2 bliaduín: *column ends after marb.* 5 Luigne: Laigne: i triar (*for a triur*). 6 delete .i.: Ér. *Lines 6, 7, should be transposed; this is indicated in MS. by writing b—a respectively in front of them in left margin.* 8 Ethrel. 9 ced ri Erend a Mumain *interlined, incorporated in text C.* 12 .i. Etgothach (*sic*) *interlined, also in C.* 13 ri *changed to riga prima manu.* 15 *The marginal note printed p. 23 footnote (<sup>1</sup>) is incorporated in the text of C (D here mutilated).* 19 .i. Mumo *interlined.* 24 1 Rothechtaid. 6 Finscothaigh. 10 Fiac (*for Fiach(a)*). 13 Rothechtuig. 14 Rothechtaig. 15 Helim ollfinachta; *new column (3b 2) begins here.* 19 Bres rige (*for Bresrige*). 26 6 Sirlam. 10 Lugdach

Cail do Chorco. 11 Muiredaig. 12 Uarches. 18 Eochá. (*The following phrases, incorporated in the printed text, are later interlineations*: 8 .i. fiadmuine [*incorporated in CD*]. \*.i. bec iacra. 9 u. bliadna i comflaithius. 14 \*.i. bec a ecla.) **28** 1 Ladrach. 2 Lugaid. 3 ruad. 4 Mide. 7 Luigdech. 8 Lugdech (*delete following hyphen*). 13 Laegairi. 15 Mc Corp. 18 Moga Cuirp. 19 Condlaed caem. 20 caisfiachlach. 26 Adamair foltchain. 28 Rudraige (*Interlineations are 3 mic Argatmair. 4 .i. a Findabair Muigi Inis (delete the brackets from a)*). Footnote (<sup>1</sup>), for Muigins read Muigi iis. footnote (<sup>2</sup>) *delete* "A reads ποτ which is corrupt" The reading is ποτ. **30** 2 Fiachach in CD, om. A. 3 gabsat: rigi: sáir. 5 sáir. 6 sluaig (*delete brackets*): náib. 7 céoladhart. 10 róí. 11 foraib: Ciarraige. 12 Conmacne: cosnam: fo. 13 atber. **32** 1 Níad. 3 Findatmair. 5 Congal. 9 bráthair: "e d'" written "7" *Words after oirem not in CD, but certainly not interpolated in A.* 7 Eochaid. 10 Íair. Érnuib. 11 bliadain not in A; aimsir CD: bí. 12 thesorcain: dáeno. 14 Curai: Dári. 15 Nuada. *delete colon after Laignib.* 16 ut alii aiunt *inserted in a different hand, but in text CD.* 18 Lugaid. *A new line begins with Is he in Lugaid sin<sup>1</sup>.* 19 siair: fedlig: 7 dana; *following do should not have a capital letter.* 20 mathair. **34** 1 Conchobar abratruad bliadain *written in a different hand in the part of the line after Lugaid riabnderg (above), and before the paragraph beginning Is he in Lugaid.* 2 *Delete* Crimthand mac Luigdech. 3 Feruib. 8 Techtmar. 10 Rechtmar. 14 Art mac Cuind. 15 Lugaid. 16 Fergas dubdetach. 18 Eochaid. **36** 4 Muinbethan (*for Muid-medhon*). 5 Crimthann. 6 .m. *for muidmedoin; Mac Echach m. is obscurely contracted in A and omitted in CD.* 8 fria a lindsaye. 10 on [*not ón*]. 12 comairle: tabairt. 13 acht ni an oin inad ocus. na rigsi (*sic*) *is an interpolation, but incorporated in CD.* 16 Muiredach. 17 Maelgarb: c. n. *inserted before the names Tuathal and Diarmait; These initials do not appear anywhere in CD, and are probably*

<sup>1</sup> The list originally read at this point as follows—

Lugaid riabnderg.  
Conchobar abrat ruad.  
Crimthand mac Luigdech.

The last two names were then carefully erased, and the sentence *Is he in Lugaid . . . mac Luigdech* written in their place. Conchobar abrat ruad was then written into the space after Lugaid riabnderg, and Ba ri Erenn in Crimthand sin written as padding below. This took place before CD, which follow the present text, but the indications presented by the MS. are certain.



*insertions*; Cairpre mic Nell *interlined prima manu*. **38** 2. rig: Díarmait: rig ar. 3 sécht. 4 rig anuas. 6 fichtib. 9 gab. 10 a haithle. 11 foillsiugad. 14 aisnedfed *written aīs*; *to be expanded aisneis as in CD*: oniú co bráth. 17 aurdháta. 18 fria re, *an additional a inserted below line*; *adopted in C, not in D*. 19 tar a és. 20 rét. 21 aisnéid: rigaib. 24 Muircertuig. 25 no tri bliadna *interlined* **40** 5 Uaridnach. 8 Subne. 9 .i. Cael mac Mailicoba *interlined prima manu*. 16 Mailiduin. c.n. *is opposite the name of Subne Mend*: *and from c.o. opposite Domnall mac Aedai onward, these letters are transferred to the other side of the column*. **42** 1 Aodh. 4 the marginal c. chol (*sic*) *is in a different ink from the other similar notes*. 6 Conchobar. 10 Móilsechnaill. 8 Mailmithid. Flannaga[i]n. 10 Domnall: Muircertaig mic. **44** 2 Ri con fresabra *interlined in later hand*. 3 Muirchertach *spelt Mouir- and the o expuncted*. 4 Conchobair. 5 ni *inserted by corrector*: tainicc: fetattar. 6 Conchobair: 7 rigasa. 8 faistine. 9 Caillin *inserted by corrector*. 12 Cáillin. 13 brat: faitsine. 14 ar sécht fichtib rig o Slange: aisned. *The corrections on this page are earlier than CD, and are incorporated in the texts of those MSS.* **46** 1 Šlange. 2 delete .i. 5 ró. 6 rig ro gab. 7 imó. 8 onora: chadais. 9 chongbail; 7 dia chongbail 7 dia eclais *om CD*. 10 muige: táisech. 11 grada: ardfiled. 13 muige. 14 nethi. 15 gabaltus. 17 no gebad. 19 *column ends after inad eli: in duan*. **48** 5 “ccoiggad” *written .l. in MS*. 7 huile: in lucht sin bat marb do thaimh CD. 9 seang. 10 ndilend. 11 arés: tar és CD; *likewise in 20*. 13 bron. 20 sróill. 21 go tainicc. 22 ogus *written 7: fochair*. 23 úa. 24 himarbreg *with no go written above breg; himargo without alternative CD*. 25 Nemed. **50** 2 agairb. 4 muir CD. 5 gur ro innsettar rathá CD. 8 nGálion. 11 *column 6a 2 begins here*. 15 gabala. 16 Slange rigi. 18 Laigne. 23 anos. 25 ar doman. **52** 1 Arés. 10 ar tus. 11 estid: rím. 14 do gab. 19 Breas. 20 Ollathar, *delete brackets*. **54** 1 chle. 2 Laighne. 4 Ér: Férgna: Ferón. 6, 10 ogus *written 7*. 8 Eochaid. 9 Sobarche. 10 Faebarglas. 17 *above Ollam, .i. Fotla interlined, also in CD*; 23 Nuada 7 Bres. 23 *above Blatha .i. Find interlined also in CD*. 26 Uarcheas. **56** 4 Argetmar. 7 Úgaine. 9 Melghi M̄ Corp 11 Amadair. 13 Nía. 15 Breasal: Caingnech (*delete brackets*). 16 Claringnech: Fedlech. 18 \*.i. Eochaid *interlined, also in C (not D)*; Eterscel. 21 cind cait. **58** 4 Laogaire. 10

feruib. 11 ar. 12 imsnim. 15 *transfer tres to beginning of following line.* 18 ar. 20 uchtgeal. **60** 4 Congall. 8 -sechnuill. 13 Toirrdelbach: Muirchertach. 15 -lebar. *The marginalia (footnotes 3, 7) are not reproduced in CD.* **62** after 4 *no gap in MS: the marginal catch-letter is AE not E.* 5 daibsi. 7 tend *inserted by corrector in different hand and ink: reproduced CD.* 9 go brath na mbenn. 10 innisim. 11 coica: 7 for is: clú. 12 lín: Heriú. 14 breg. 15 aml- (*probably amlaid, not amail*). 17 chomet. 18 nem. 20 úasal. **64** 7 -chluinfe. 8 ndénum: dí fágbála. 9 bfágbail. 11 ó Ruairc: cáime. 15 gabáil: lá. 16 dígail. 18 féid. 21 rig. 22 caoimh CD. **66** 1 chroide. 5 thair. 6 Brethnech- *with no f written above the th.* 8 ina (*miswritten ma*) a smacht, *the second a inserted below line.* 15 nethech. 22 fágbait. 23 lib. 25 aingel. 26 Brefnig: Tigernan. 28 a righ. **68** 1 diglas. 2 derbrathar. 4 dá: trath. 5 slebi. 9 gabáil. 12 h in bidh *inserted by corrector.* 13 í. 14 etalach. 16 oirrdeirc: tindlaictech. 18 marcsluaghach. 20 remenn. **70** 2 innisin. 3 ic *with no iarn interlined above; the alternative adopted CD.* gabail. 4 athrige. 6 imthús. 7 saraighfes. 8 chomallfa. 9 arsin. 10 rige. 11 -righthar. 14 rige. 15 nathrig. 17 gebaid: arsin. 20 cuiged. 21 Brefne. 25 ti int. 26 gabail. **72** 6 bfeall. 8 chell. 10 muirbfes. 12 Erend. 18 Gaideloib. **74** 4 uair *inserted by corrector.* fettfa: hsuilib, *the h at first written as b and then corrected.* 6 d in bliadnuib *inserted by corrector.* 7 marbad. 10 Ruáirc. 11 gebas. 13 gabus. 14 aderimbrib. 16 rigraide. 19 athrigann. 21 righi. 22 scél (*prolongation mark very faint*) **76** 2 eslis 6 féil (*prolongation mark almost invisible*). 9-12 *This quatrain om. CD (inserted later in marg. of D).* 9 ré: Con: sain. 14 gairm. 16 habann. 21 chell. 22 innesat: duit *with no b written above the t:* ferann. **78** 3 truag. 10 scrin. mh'ecalsi. 11 thraiscthi. 14 7 for is. 15 grinn. 16 fen. 18 innesaid. 20 thairngireas. 22 úasal. 24 Aedha. 25 cairchig. 26 airdrig. **80** 1 each. 4 mbabad. 7 bhantáisig. 9 bíataig. 10 Droichitt Sligcech. 16 \*.i. Fidn. *interlined above cathraig (sic)* 20 do gebat. 22 cháidh. **82** 5 cathmilid. 10 desi. 15 chorp. 18 duirthoigh. **84** 2 cuairt. 10 scrin. 18 Eriú. 19 gabanraid. 21, 22 *end of quatrain after bid he omitted and interlined in small handwriting:* cadhuis for -ais. **86** 9 genid. 10 rí. 12 Oirghiall. 13 gébaid. 22 na. **88** 5 hán. 15 céid. 16 chloind Nell. 17 hé: Rén. **90** 3 innúr.

18 bfiadnaisi. 20 conicce. 21 bennaighes. 23 annsin da ugusa fein (*delete brackets*); annsin fuccusa fein CD *here, but not in 27*. 27 annsin (*delete brackets*). **92** 3 comairli. 8 fagbus: condruine. 11 tenn. 12 mo chaomhceall CD. 24 gribda. 26 screpall. 27 dam *inserted by corrector*: geal. 28 chuairt. **94** 1 ési. 3 Caillin *with no Conall interlined above*. 6 Cháinse. 7 tharngires fé. 9 congenfed: clú. 10 Eriú. 12 gnim. 13 bfer. 14 churp. 18 mirbuile. 26 chuarta. **96** 2 imsnim. 4 iarruimsi. 7 thú. 15 dobersa. .i. do *interlined above*; *should be deleted from text*. 16 t of tuaiscert *inserted by corrector*. 24 Coruinn. **98** 3 dén. 6 dfagbail (b *written above g*). 8 rig: feruib. 10 dfagbail. 13 caid. 22 sai gach aine, CD. 25 Crist. 26 bfilim. 27 oniu. \**Marginal note* Ecce episcopos, *not original, but added in a late bad hand*. **100** *First quatrain om.* CD (*in D inserted in correction*). 1 doraig: 3 bid (*delete brackets*). 7 coir. 14 domuin. 16 tháirna. 17 sin *inserted by corrector*. 20 beg: timthrecht. 22 ac *changed to as by corrector*: dal for plag CD. 24 sailéhdait. 25 droichrigh. \**Ecce sacerdotes, marginal note in same bad hand as on p. 98*. **102** 4 iat (*for lat*): f *with no gach written above*. \**Marginal notes interpolated in the same bad hand as before*: atat gach conair CD. 5 netheach. 9, 10 tenn: Erenn. **104** 3 oniu *changed to o aniu*. 4 millfius: a Eriu *interlined prima manu*. 10 Roim. 12 dearg. 14 d'foglaim. 20 anligh. 27 ua. **106** 2 Chairpre. 4 Fiachaidh 8 -medhoin. 9 dorinned. 11 Loegaire. 12 épps. 14 Patricc ghlebind. 18 Patricc. 19 escuin. 20 caom-chell. 24 indsi. 26 legoit ar Gaidelaib. **108** 1 mbliadhainsi 2 duainiseá 3 aingel. 5 *interlined above, no morfaid (sic, not as in note (3)). correction accepted* CD. 11 tsámud. 15 Cáillin. 18 firfár. 29 scrin. 32 comet. **110** 1, 2 Martain and Luirint *transposed* CD. 6 úa: *the following n appears to be an insertion*. 8 the p of chorp *inserted by corrector*. 12 Manchan. 15 grind, no gil *interlined above*. 16 ar és; tar és CD (*so in 18*) 21 anniú. 26 ma **116** 3 leódh. 5 notuillfead. 10 dfobairt. 11 Náto. 13 clochaib: ittraittea: soad: draithi. 15 mirbaili. 17 druithe. 18 línad. 19 *delete o before ancretem*. 20 \*.i. seachanta *interlined in late hand*. 21 chomha, *lenition marks in a different ink*: aunsin. 22 in soad, the o *inserted by corrector*. 23 dó. **118** 2 rinded. 5 úa (*for fa*): Aodh. 6 fr: Dia: Cháilin. 7 róine Cáillin. 8 tarchomlad. 10 o Chaillin (*delete prolongation-mark*). 11 dfollam-: flaithib. 12

dodealba: (*the l inserted by corrector*). 13 dAedh. 16 troisecc: Cáillín. 17 raibe. 18 na dealugad in C but om. A. 19 amail: hinann. 21 Aed. 22 bae. **120** 1 ond. 3 cairthi. 4 edhpair. 5 chomharba: medagad. 7 cioscháin CD. 8 Cháillín. 9 co togad: conggbail. 11 rigi. 13 .i. Aed *interlined above; also in C but incorporated in D*. 14 delete note (\*) *which gives a wrong reading*. 15 lar (*no prolongation-mark*): só. 16 Cháillín. 19 choiss 7 (7 *dittographed*) laim: Aedha. 22 mnái; ona táisechab. **122** 1 Sligcech. 2 screpall: cáirchigh: bó. 3 tóisigh. 6 nech: cháin. 7 ic. 8 Cháillín. 9 ar: céin. 10 foss. 12 es. 14 dinnsenchus. 15 Fáin Choba. 16 Chailín. soirtuaid. 17 Fergna: Aed. 18, 19 Cháillín (*bis*): bráth: chomarba: suí. 20 *delete edon, and following line* 21. **124** 1 baile a caigh; baile cáich CD. 3 croda. 7 caisiul. 10 Troiannaib. 12 rig (*the g inserted by corrector*). 13 aderther. 15 reidhiughad. 18 righ: gial. 19 rún. 21 mBaile: chathraig. 25 Mic Muir, with .i. Muireduig *interlined above*. **126** 1 Fíach (*om. -ta*). 2 Cairpri. 5 re ind. 6 chlaechlo. 7 sódh. 9 úr (*prolongation-mark very faint*). 12 Fergna Foltchain. 13 cain. 14 bethaid. 20 mhárcsluag. 22 chaemdun. 24 Cáillín. 25 sluaig. 26 dún. 27 réid. 28 féllad (*prolongation mark faint*). 28 macaib. 29 nem. **128** 4 naim. 5 Fergna. 6 ferrda. 7 co bláith. 15 slóg. 17 tréan. 18 Fergna. 19 moide. 20 chorp. 21 cóim. 22 sa noimh *inserted by corrector*. 24 Fergnai in rasura: dol. **130** 8 flaithib. 12 eteach. 13 naoim. 25 chaom: chell *interlined above prima manu*. 27 gach mudh CD. **132** 1 thú: Chailín. 4 mbailí. 7 n-ogh. 10 demin. 12 bhalí. 16 Aeda: caom. 17 dlighes: sil. 18 fen: remainn. 22 is hi so mo chain-si CD: tigh. 23 finn. **134** 2 laim. 3 seirrech. 4 laim. 5 dlighim. 7 -tóisigh: feil. 9 óin. 10 go Sligech. 11 gabala. 12 táisech. 16 cathraig *interlined above, apparently by a corrector*. 20 com[lan] *bracketed letters not in MS*. 22 chaid. 23 geba. 24 ifern. 26 chaid. 27 cinedh. **136** 6 desi. 10 fognam. 12 áit. 14 -thoig. 17 ata ní *interlined prima manu*. 19 fúair. 20 chlannuib (*delete brackets*): macaib. *In lines 21, 22 ocus da sil co brath is an interlined addition: ocus dia n-anmannuib (delete brackets) is also glossarial, but has been taken into the text, not, however, where it is printed, but after the word rannsa.*<sup>1</sup> 23 Boguine (*interlined after Aengus in A, incorporated in text*

<sup>1</sup> Similarly in CD, which in the earlier part of the sentence agree upon *oirighda 7 dia siol batar aicce* (omit "co brath") *gur bho do dherbadh, etc.*

CD. **138** 3 Fíndéin: Conaill. 5 Temra: chlannaib (*delete brackets*). 6 fasacht: ro ba cloch CD. 7 cosnam. 8 comlann. 10 íc. 13 braithrib: leth *inserted by corrector*. 15 cuiged. 17 doriacht imorro Conall. 19 odie *looks like an insertion in different ink (om. C, oniu D)*. 21 *first h in toichthi expuncted*. 22 ro maidhset *interlined prima manu*. **140** 1 ládh. 3 ocus leth bliadhuin *interlined*. 7 ní. 8 Herend. 9 troiscc: thodusgad. 10 todiusgad: pén dó. 13 bendaig: Cáillin: naim. 15 iarsuidhiu: ordaig: Cháillin. 16 sámud. 17 i fiadnaisi naom. 18 cendáighe. 20 screball: cáirchig. 21 Cháillin. 22 \*chomal[lad], *bracketed letters added in marg. by corrector*. **142** 5 iad: Cáillin: comallad. 6 buaid. 7 buad n-denma (*delete -sa*). 10 l *in clerech inserted by corrector: toice for toicti CD*. 14 Cáillin. 15 úadh: Colam. 17 desi. 18 bás. 19 onoir: móir. 20 Chailin. 22 bas. 24 Caillin cc. CD. 25 ata for eta CD. 26 rucc. **144** 1 ro for do CD. 2 ro chreach (*for mór-*) CD. 4 lonn: chlái. 7 chathrem. 9 Cuailgne. 10 dú. 12 ar. 14 péin. 15 aniú. 20 Conaind (*for Conall*) chind: Conaing CD. 21 Fídnachai (*the d underdotted and no g written in margin*): Nét. 22 la. 23 tainig: trén. 26 go ttaoth *for mar thoeth CD*. **146** 10 lecht; slecht CD. 12 miad (*for mian*). 13 buada. 15 ruiriu. 16 uili. 17 bennaigim. 21 Ainmiri. 23 úaithib: ffr. 25 úatha. 26 ni ba. 27 sil. **148** 2 cuing (*for cuiged*). 3 fodéin. 6 réir. 9 réil. 10 féin. 12 hé. 14 biathus. 16 fellann. 17 *a badly written "4" has been misread by KH as q (=cuig)*. 24 réir: nóim. **150** 2 fes. 3 chad (*for chill*). 14 rois *interlined above prima manu*. 16 \*.i. na diaid *interlined above na deig*. 18 *erasure of three letters before nach dis*. **152** 6 Gul *for Gaeidul: 7 for is*. 7 rachtait (*ragtait C raghaid D*). 11 breic. 16 bágim: trén. 20 thir. **154** 4 thuaid: és. 7 caid. 8 faicbeass: 7 (*for is*). 9 ferr. 10 lúain. 11 mhé. 12 ar *inserted by corrector after bennechat: lá in rasura*. 14 tasi. 15 aisned: Cáillin: athbeogadh Chonall (*lenition-point roughly inserted*). 16 moir. 18 Éri. 20 fesin: fiarfaiged. 21-25 imdaidsiu: óir: uirdnighe: mionlocha CD. 27 gréin: -rennaib. **156** 1 dáe (*no t written above d*). 5 foillsighib 1 CD. 6 clar. 10 -beaiges. 16 hsenorda. 17 chaid. 19 indiss. 20 -ébar-. 23 dibsium. 24 fir. 25 tress. 26 sé minci dligimsi. **158** 2 doibsium. 5 ffine (*om.-da*) CD. 11 bid. 14 coléicc. 15 féin. 17 día. 19 ráthaib: Cháillin. 20 Cáillin. 22 gebaid. 28 fachled. **160** 2 tig: réir. 5 rosbeaighes CD. 7 hóir. 10 móim láim. 11 és. 12 adhbaile: haisnés.

14 huili. 17 charichig. 18 bliadna. 24 iarrathuib. 26 maith (*delete* (i) 27 tugasa, and *delete* <sup>(a)</sup> following this word. 28 irrathuibh. **162** 5 tucait. 8 búada. 10, 12, 20, 7 for is. 10 n-érgna. 12 delba and denma *transposed* CD. 16 gribdai (*delete second g*). 21 dimbúaid. 23 gáidelaib. 24 máraen (*sic*). 25 aili dana (*for elle dna*): eladhuin 26 bemius: thriallam. *A space in MS. after this line.* 27 fagaib. 28 cendfoda: primfaid nimi. **164** 1 bráth 3 tainig. 4 Cáillin: ar. 6 chula. 8 chúili. 12 mirbalaib. 13 Cáillin: Fidnacha. 14 thargabálaib: *the preceding a inserted by corrector.* 16 sindser. 22 ferann. gach *changed to gacha by corrector*: cilli. 23 *delete cille after Cholam.* **166** 2 *delete first cach*<sup>1</sup>: cách: *about 15 letters erased after circaill.*<sup>2</sup> 3 Cháillin: ins. Colaim *after leabhar, CD.* 5 mui[ntir], *bracketed letters inserted by corrector*: Cháillin: go. 6 faguib. 7 tuath. 10 hsámad. *Here CD have Conidh do na hadbharaibh sin do roine Colaim Cille an duain-si.* 13 geall. 14 rér: Cháillin. 16 i Fidnacha. 17 c.c. [*i.e., ColaimCille*] cecinit. 18 dés. 19 Cháillin. 20 comairci. **168** 4 t'osuidh. 5 mu. 15 a bém (*for aberim*): tšoscela. 16 úasail: glébind. 17 Cháillin 18 craide *with no cridhi sec. man. in margin.* 24 *this line roughly written by a late hand in rasura.* 25 scribusa. 26 cetna. *The marginal names of speakers are not in CD.* **170** 5 cend. 6 croda[ta] *bracketed letters inserted by corrector.* 7 táisig. 12 bantaisighi. 14 ceann. 15 *mark beginning of 18b 1 before do síl (sic)* 18 tuath. 19 Cā fē *in margin: expansion Caillin fecit uncertain.* 22 muntir. **172** 8 chairde. 9 *delete third* Faitsine beus. 10 letabechus *with no s written above the l.* 11 amsir. 17 thú: rérechas. 20 dó. **174** 1 fáicfet. 4 co dered. 9 Cáillin. 10 Réin. 11 riachdais. 13 Fédhlimid: bennacht. *Transfer the marginal Caillin from line 9 to line 13 to conform with MS., though the printed version is logically correct.* 15 fagbuimb. 16 nimh. 19 sáindred. 21 finguil: firgránda. 22 bráith-: eattorra fodéin *for inter se CD.* 23 caingin. **176** 1 *delete [n] (a C, i D): o Dia inserted by corrector.* 2 comairliugud: raid. 3 úathaib: Roím: d'farrad. 4 dó ro ír. *Dia transferred from line 5 to after ír CD.* 5 \*a *before fingail inserted by corrector.* 7 Cáillin (bis): fodéoidh. 10 Cál-

<sup>1</sup> This has arisen out of "cā" written in the margin, but really prefixed to the first line of quatrain 168: B in the adjacent column (indicating that it is spoken by Caillin). The same mistake is made by CD.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing however is lost: CD have no gap and no additional matter.

13 haithle: Cail-. 14 róine: arrachta. 15 ruirigh. 16 oidhig. 17 alaili: phéin. 18 Chonmaicnib: ír. 23 chathrach: ar: congbáil. 25 forcaemnacair. 26 imarro: Cáillin. 27 a after raibe *dittographed*: chombraithri. **178** 1 Cáillin: *column division* fin/gal. 3 fón: ni. 5 forna: atathai: co lég: d'iarrad. 6 feraind. 7 colég. 8 ó Dun. 9 forri. 10 cined: ré: Cháillin. 11 cáirchig. 12. Cháillin: Cáillin. 13 mílraid. 14 grés: búada. 15 Cathaláin: amluid. 17 bhaili. 18 Beoaed *written as one word*. **180** 3 Cáillin. ar rob hi a n-uidi om. CD (*interlined prima manu* D). 5 .i. mac Niatach *interlined (also in C: incorporated D)*. 9 Cáillin. 11 Tulaig (*delete brackets*). 12 \*.i. Ni[si] *interlined*. 15 conad. 19 Chail-. **182** 11 d'iarrad. 12 dáib. 14 dom chill CD. 17 és (tar és, CD). 19 úasal. 21, 26 *read* Cathalain. 22 Cruachuin chaim: (*The variant reading is chláin, not clainn as in note (1)*). 24 Cháillin. 29 áidhi. 30 Cruachuin. **184** 8 righ. 9 úa Chathaláin. 10 ré. 11 gé. 12 féin. 13 téit. 19 leith. 24 tén, a *meaningless U-shaped mark written sec. man. above the n*. **186** 1 asén. 3 lár. 6 Cáillin. 8 mag, *with mor [no muad sec. man.] written above*. 16 chuigce. 20 réil. **188** 3 í. 4 *one letter erased after Rein*. 8 bi. 9 freith-. 10 díbroig. 13 senga: senathair (*both in one word*). 15 rosfoluig: náomh. 26 fan. **190** 3 geb-. 4 úa d'Fergna fíal. *The two quatrains on this page crowded in a small script at the foot of the column: they were probably omitted at first, by accident, in transcription*. 13 a cined, the a inserted by corrector. 15 .i. gach sechdmad (*sic*) bliadan *interlined above* Uingi d'or: screpall o gach aen duine *interlined above* Tricha bo gacha. *So also in C*. aen duine *interlined*. 17 Cháillin. 19 iodhlacadh (*for indlacad*) CD. 22 faguib. 24 etorra (*for inter se*) CD. **192** 3 Caillin: tedm. 4 gairitt. 5 cein. Cáillin. 7 Conmacnib. 8 ferr. 10 dec: 7 for da CD. 11 brét: Crist. 15 náim. 16 om. do CD: fúarus. 17 inodh. 19 cáit: bfuigbetis. **194** 1 fotraicti. 3 Cáillin: do bris [*omit brackets and catha A: but this word is in CD*]. 4 chomallad. 6 aircetal. 10 áin. 11 so *ins. by corrector*. 13 cisaibh. 17 rachus. 19 chommaidmig. 20 chontabairt. 21 chaid. 25 Cáillin. **196** 1 builli. 4 tógbáil. 9 primit, a stroke inserted *sec. man. above*. -it. 10 an a erased after cuibrend: áin. 16 contabairt. 26 beatt. **198** *Here and elsewhere the name Caillin is abbreviated Cail- (with one l)* 10 etach: glé. go ccumachtaibh CD (*reading in text interlined as an alternative in C*). 16 timthirecht. **200** 2 Chaillin ch. 4 fiarfaidid.

6 Chonall. 9 géin. 10 -fagbala. 18 bhunaidh. 19 n-ór. 20 morlán  
 23 righ. **202** many lenition-dots inserted on this page in later hand with  
 ink now much faded. 2 déin 3 om U, CD: D substitutes do. 4 ndingne.  
 6 cúl: arccúl CD. 7 a ndáil CD. 8 rún. 9 cháid. 14 budén. 16 péin.  
 22 rit *badly written, apparently a correction.* 28 bábáil. 30 bét.  
**204** 1 ferrdi. 2 lia: lía aide CD. 3 adersa sin trá CD. 4 mbráth. 5 fais-  
 néidh. 7 f6-bratar: ar a cheli: thegaisc. 10 airesin: Chaillin. 11 rátha.  
 12 fein. 13 Caillin *inserted by corrector*: aga raibe fis. 18 impobadh.  
 21 a frithisi. 22 a in geall *inserted by corrector.* 25 úasal. 26 lem  
 (*delete -sa*). **206** 2 baile. 4 adnaicthisi. 5 uili: pecadh. 8 pecad-  
 9 culuib. 12 faillet: clerech. 13 gach[a], gach[a] dan[a] *bracketed*  
*letters inserted by corrector.* 14 Caillin *inserted by corrector* .i. screpall  
 . . . bliadain *in margin.* 15 gabuinn: rochuir. 17 mag huili  
 18 archangel: rab: chelebrad. 20 int. 22 gellad *delete brackets*  
 23 tocht. **208** 1\* gloss to espa *in late hand interlined, and also in margin*:  
 .i. diomhaoineas. 9 techt. 10 om. [s]: 13 úasal. 15 senóir. 16 om.  
 na CD. 17 caid. 18 gráid. 19 lium. 20 *in abonn the nn inserted*  
*by corrector.* 17 ff. inmuin *written in full the first four times*  
*and spelt as printed; thereafter only in abbreviation.* **210** 3 cuiri (for  
 crai). 4 marscluagach. 8 mór. 12 fóirfedh. 13 aingel. 14 fa he  
 Caill. CD. 18 Conmacnib. 20 fialmor. 21 cáin. 26 Fergna:  
 Fidnacha. 28 Nét: narbhuis, *\*glossed in the same hand as above,*  
*interlined and also in margin.* .i. uasal maith. **212** 4 caime. 12 chis.  
 14 anain fine. 16 hemech. 18 urmor úasal 24 tanac. 28 hemig.  
 30 clérig. **214** 2 tar for ar CD. 6 mhuintir. 9 cialda. 10 *delete* [s].  
 12 bennuigim. 16 baili. 18 cheleabrad. 20 aitti. 22 *quatrain inserted*  
*here* CD (see p. 27). 23 Adomnan: m. Ronain m. Tinde CD. 27 thairn-  
 gir. **216** 6 tháirsi. 16 Nell. 18 chomairlig: om. ocus a ch. CD.  
 19 i cenn catha CD. **218** 6 ruathur. 8 gleothi. 9 fathaib cháigig.  
 12 clófer. 17 ndian. 18 Oirgiall. 19 Domnoll. 22 Ulltaib. **220**  
 7 ilúaig *glossed* .i. ilocc. 8 cuiri cruad. 9 re; no l *written above* r.  
 12 Ultuib. 22 mo riar. **222** 2 co calma CD. 11 sechdmadh: báidh:  
 12 cain. 16 coimeltar. 19 bágim. 20 bágim. 21 cnedh. 22 é. 23  
 léith. **224** 6 maidhim. 8 é. 11 óg. 12 tárrad mor ri. 14 slúagaibh.  
 16 chlannuib. 18 airsen. 28 ticc donmal. **226** 11 máil. 12 Canannan.  
 16 sloindféar. 17 créd. 18 fáilid. 20 lés. 21 áigh. 22 m'és. 24  
 Canannann. 26 ri. **228** 1 Moeldoraíd: baighim. 11 7 for is. 15



fáilid. 16 fáilid; reb. 19 só 25 óg: riar. 26 óg. 28 cliab. **230**  
 3 chland. 4, 5, 16, 18 7 for is. 4 Canann: *delete ain.* 8 Cairnech.  
 11 charnn. 13 leithi CD. 14 t in chuairt *inserted by corrector.* 18  
 delb. 20 sámud. 21 om bid, CD: moide, \*an a written under the o.  
 22 cadas. **232** 1 fuaslaicti: ratsen. 2 naemh. 3 bennaigh.  
 chathair *with no ruig written above:* chathruig CD. 4 ardlegóitecht:  
 conraibe (co raibhe CD): ardlegóit. 5 onoir: adbal: Patraicc.  
 6 airdigal *with no d written above g:* huili. 7 Cháillin. 10 he: la.  
 12 om. sin. 14 chlannaib. 17 chlannaib. 20 tri 7 saerfaid. 24  
 Caillin. **234** 1 Cremthuinne: narrig. 2 baisted: Gulpain. 5 ngalach  
*delete brackets.* 6 bausted. 10 sindser. 13ocus re a comarba *written*  
*by original scribe in margin.* After Mailechluind *insert clog na rig.*  
 18 áit: chóir: bid. 21 righ. **236** 1 cleir. 2 cluig: ri, g *inserted by*  
*corrector below line:* airget. 3 onoir. 6 Aeda ruaidh *inserted by correc-*  
*tor:* in text CD. 8 muigh. 10 clog. 12 fair. **248** 5 cluig chaid  
 7 [rui]rig *delete bracketed letters:* gus a ricc CD. 11 chol. 15 melladh.  
 16 do or: imlán. 17, *reading follows B;* ar set ni *rendered illegible*  
*by a blot A;* a set et psalmnech, CD. 20 hé: rírib. 22 dail. 23  
 gráidhin. 25 Nī (for Ni). 26 dindsenchus: Patraic. 27 ni: Réin.  
**250** 1 chís: adbal. 3 sroin. 4 Lug (*delete aid*): fuasguil: sin.  
 5 *column ends atfi|adat.* 7 teichfiu *with no m written above last syllable.*  
 9 righa. 10 fertuib: adluicthib. 14 ar: caithedh sein. 15 mor-  
 gradach. 18 báided. **252** 6 chuiccuin. 8 cemennai. 10 caingen.  
 11 cíoso. 14 Rein si *inserted by corrector.* 15 chloinde. 16 dec. 17 R.  
*inserted by corrector:* \* fa lec na rig *interlined above Gede, in next line.*  
 18 Becceclach. 20 úaigh. **254** 4 rónad: adbal. 5 om. mor CD. 6 chlannuib.  
 7 aniu. 11 doralas-a (for da rabasa) CD. 13 séin: faid: fire. 15  
 Chathfad. 16 frecrúiss (*prolongation mark very faint*). 20 náidhed.  
 21 áir (*sic*). 23 archena. 24 uili: áeidhedchaire. **256** 7 nem.  
 8 clannaib: om Irocus CD: adluicther *inserted by original scribe.*  
 12 sámadh. 13 éis. 14 aeidhi. 14 *delete [fada].* 17 drúad Patraicc  
 18. om in after Elta CD. 20 aon: re (for fri): nime. 23 aon: ben[naig]  
*bracketed letters inserted by corrector.* 24 i. osa cind *interlined (also in*  
*C, incorporated in D):* in tinad ar hadluiced (*sic*). 26 Chaillin. **258**  
 1 sgéla 2 duasna sa sis (*sic*): nethibsi. Conidh do na neithibh sin ro  
 raidhedh an duan so sis C: Conadh dhó sin ro raidheadh an dhuan-sa  
 sios, ar na neithibh sin anúas D. 3 bfuil. 5 ní. *in bladh the lenition*

mark added later. This has been done extensively on pp. 252, 258. 6 faguibh, lenition-mark a later insertion. 7 budein. 8 adbar. 9 ar tús. 10 imthúss. 11 gabáil. 12 read mor bfer ar a tuc crédimh; bfer inserted *prima manu*. 16 tucad. 19 dóib. 22 hanforlonn. 24 mercill: Sdairnn. 25 madhma (for teichmi) CD. 26 rig. 28 laechruíd. 29 linn. **260** 4 laéchaib. 5 lug (delete [aid]). 6 coir. 7 ceill. 10 rém. 13 bi: cóice. 15 báided. 17 na nduan CD. 18 slúag. 19 snám. 21 grinn. 22 Chobthaig. 23 íarad. 24 báided. 25 réin: scéoil. 27 Cobthaig: láin. 29 cúan. 32 senóir, (cid im senoir CD). **262** 3 cain. 4 rig: slúagaib. 11 cained. 13 Dún. 15 cem. 16 loighe. 19 airmi: Lug (delete ad). 25 moir, **264** 3 adba (delete r). 5 Réin. 10 Réin. 11 Bececlach. 12 úaigh. 16 fós. 19 dodamatar. 23 rúaid. 24 con chland tuilled. 27 lennan. **266** 4 fuair. 7 om. ced CD: allin. 8 claind. 13 pest. 16 uathad delete brackets (bathadh CD). 22 delete [rim]. 24 beguil: clog. 26 ri. 27 Crist caidh. 28 nimslan inserted by corrector (nimlan CD). **268** 4 Chathbad 5 sa inserted by corrector. 9 rígaib: raidim. 11 duin. 19 náided. 20 taeb. 21 riarfár. 25 bráth. 28 Chafflin. **270** 1 buaid clainne. 2 Arda Macha. 6 cách. 9 inann: siol for slicht CD: naem. 12 da. 17 luigi. 19 búadaib. 20 aóidhe. 23 chluig. 26 slúraig. 28 ri, a g added under line. 29 fír. 31 tárraid. **272** 1 Cafad. 3 ar ccredem CD. 7 do cred. 11 ruib. 12 fír. 13 fagbuimsi: mbuad. 17 in. 21 lon buan. 24 dés. 26 Rig. 28 Muige. **274** 1 dé. 4 náim. 6 atfétsad: maigé: 7 fétuim. 12 airchetal. 14 craig is not a complete word. 15 turmi. 16 in naid the d inserted by corrector. 22 runaib with no rimuib written above; (rimibh CD). **276** 2 dan dela. 4 foinnim. 10 ágha domain. 17 baig. 21 tainig. 25 Thairr-. **278** 2 in ní ticfa CD. 7 Cairbri (delete u). 12 forlonn. **280** 2 cretra written cretra A; catrae C chathra D: crobderg. 4 morderg with no for written above. 15 fine. 26 Chonuill. **282** 3 traethfa[id] bracketed letters inserted by corrector. 10 smúainim. 11 fórfear. 13 tráothfar. 23 dícerthar. **284** 4 ann. 9 bíá. 20 sitscela (delete preceding i). 22 dochom. 23 sessum in rasura. 25 Mochaemocc: Man[chan] bracketed letters inserted by corrector: farrad, 27 fíis. **286** 1 chathairsium with no ruig written above air: Reine. 3 fiacal. 4 Manchan. 5 dét. 7 tárrusa. 11 d'ór. 13 Šamtuinn. 14 tabéchaíd. 15 Chiaran: Fínnen. 19 airgit: Dál[ann]. **288** 1\* .i. s.o. (= screpall óir) interlined. 2\* no Sinchell in margin. 5 Adomnan delete brackets.

10 naem *inserted by corrector*. 12 Cáillín. 14 sílad. 16 tria : nemchadus. 19 negrib (eidhredhaibh CD). 20 Gáidel. 21 choimdid. **290** 1 sgarfas for digelus CD. 2 ann. 5 cluinnid. 6 íar. 8 dursan. 10 i Fídnacha. 15 Herenn. 17 aroen. 18 ní *inserted by corrector*. **292** 2 foillsigud. 4 na cced CD. 10 fethal. 13 firi (for siri). 21 om. tri CD (om. also cett C). 27 Cáillín. **294** 2 ar. 3 anocht ; no gan locht *written above*, gan locht *only* CD. 12 árraid. 17 gach tan CD. 20 Dubthaig. 21 oir. 22 dom chathruig, *with* no dom cleirchib *written in marg.*; the latter *reading only* CD. **296** 2 om sen CD. 4 raithe. 6 tsésin. 8 cuitt, the tt *inserted in rasura* : cet. 9 ua. 11 congili 21 domblaisi *corrected sec. man. in marg.* 22 tsíneall. 26 chruaid. **298** 20 domuin. 23 ré. 24 no ri *written above* do. **300** 2 seal (*this line has an appearance of having been inserted at the bottom of the column in a different handwriting*). 12 sliab cocheli. 13 cade. 14 Challín. 15 duin. 18 úasail. 20 7 for is : comluinn. 23 laim. 27 d'faghbail d'fir. **302** 3 síl : ndam. 8 substitute full stop for semicolon. 10 cabair. 14 7 for is : is for im. 19 Gáidil. 20 i termann : da. 26 mar sairgidsin. 27 fabuim, he g *inserted below line* : fagbala. **304** 2 més : tar CD. 3 Mochaem. 9 aigeal (*sic*). 14 bid umamsa sin luighe CD. 18 ndénimh. 19 Naoimh. 28 Cháillín. 29 thasi. 30 chrabaid. **306** 1 sámad *delete brackets*. 7 's *inserted by corrector*. 17 itchi. 18 muintir. **308** 2 Manchan. 4 ásait. 5 cóemsaind : Caillín. 6 tegusceadh. 7 úasalaith. 11 Pol. 13 thaidlech. 14 tria nert. 21 congbáil. 22 chomaicsig. 24 etsecta. 26 laithi. 27 \*.i. 500 bliadan *interlined in illiterate hand* : ernaiighthib. **310** 1 thimnai. 2 cenn. 3 dochom. 4 Mochoemog : moir (om. moir CD) : chnam. 4 ratadh : Fídnacha, *delete brackets*. 6 égaib. 9 nimh : oentaídh : Isai. 10 natairmdechatar. 11 ocus. *delete brackets*. 16 Roduighae (ae *in rasura*). 19 buadhu : abuil (f *inserted by corrector*). 22 ar Muirges o Maelconaire *is a gloss*. 24 senliubar. *Make the following corrections in the glosses recorded in the notes on pp. 310-311.* (\*) Onoru inghen h. Maoilmhuaidh. (º) illo 7 in oidchi (*gloss to tech n-aoideadh*) .i. ar tuatuibh 7 bochtaib etc. (*gloss to coitcenn*). (º) do triun no do truagh. (1º) cumscaightes. **312** 2 from domain onward the remainder of the colophon is at the bottom of the second column. below the quatrain beginning Cuidig Conall in the following poem : linni. 3 budh choir. Colophon *written in minuscules, not capitals, from mac Paidin onward* : in lebarsan do. 4 -chonairi : in. 5 dó : comorica. 13

brised, *delete brackets*. 14 comlonn. 19 dernad. 25 dith. 26 folmugad  
 30 feigh. **314** 5 Chairpre. 13 cuidig (*one word*). **316** 2 no Fanglais  
 (*not Fer-*) *written above*. 7 Laoguirí. 8 Cremthuinne. 10 7 for is:  
 Gulbain. 12 fagsat. 13 Dés. **318** 1 Fiachraid. 3 lúaidhedh. 4  
 frith- *the t inserted below line*: 7 chlann chnedach. 18 -atar. 20  
 -breitheaman. 23 Fiachaid annsin. 27 rogebainn. 28 Fiachruig.  
**320** 2 imlan. 3 nocon fuigbe. 4 Brethrechtai *in one word*. *Several  
 lenition marks inserted here sec. man.* 10 fecht. 16 a sloig. 17 áraig.  
 21 coillín. 23 *in uili first i ins. by corrector*. 30 7 for is. **322** 3 somalta  
 (*sic*), *the l inserted above line*. 27 Chonuill. 28 fiach. 30 Loigaire.  
**324** 1 fear. 3 fothúaid. 4 rúaid. 9 rangatar. 14 tíagad. 22 búí.  
 23 Fiachaid. 24 ro. 25 7 for is: Enna inmain. 30 sluaigid. **326**.  
 3 cloind. 14 crann. 17 Dobair. 20 Enuig, *not Ennuig, in gloss  
 footnote* (<sup>10</sup>). **328** 4 dean. 5 grení. 8 7 for is. 9 Luimnig. 19 mar ta.  
 20 och, *the t inserted below line*. **330** 9 chet. 21 Férguis: gen. **332**  
 5, 6 *The glosses are incorrectly distributed in footnote* (<sup>2</sup>): no da sil  
 belongs to o sin alle, and no dar dail to da sil gur gab. 7 dail. 9 thir.  
 12 na. 14 báidh. 15 lén. **334** 1 medhaib. 4 mín (*sic*) *inserted by  
 corrector*. 6 sloinnfet. 13 Fedlimid. 14 Brenainn: Loarn. 18 i.  
 C, *interlined*. 19 fág. 20 bithmaith *interlined*. 25 fag. 27 sílad.  
**336** 1 fail. 3 bhos. 4 sluaigh. 6 rígaib. 12 sil. 13 cath. 14 macaib.  
 15 fóithi. 19 *change of column at fled(aib)*. 22 himarbreg *in one word*.  
**338** 9 meic, no sil *written above*. 13 Masan. 14 Chomarba. 16 Carnig.  
 17 oib (*for doib*). 20 Cairnig. 22 Ardmoir. 23 gabsat, *with no d  
 written above b: cis*. 26 genluig. **340** *Blanks are left where the asterisks  
 are printed on this page: evidently the exemplar was illegible*. 13 thiri.  
 14 Tipraidí. **342** 1 ran. 2; 3, 4 Forannan (*bis*). 4 Cabdenaig. 7 mela.  
 9 tór. 14 Dáil. 19 O Bernus. oníail: andar *changed sec. man. to air*.  
 21 41b 2 begins here. 22 armcháir. 28 chloinne. **344** 5 cinel (*written  
 gn*) 6 mor. 11 ded j b-. 12 eghairechdd. 13 chinel. 14 heinechnar.  
 17 cheolug. 20 bráitruib. 24 Dálaig. 26 facc: baidh. **346** 1 ác:  
 gal. 8 reid. 19 Chindf. 21 Maelduin: Airnelach, *delete brackets*.  
 22 Snedghal. 26 raighnib. Maelgaethe, *second a inserted by corrector*.  
**348** 2 Muircertaig. 3 *erasure of one letter after dian*. 7 Muircertaig.  
 9 rannaibh. 11 Dálaigh. 18 beth. 20 celgh. 22 hog. 23 miacaib.  
 24 Bradaghan. 27 annsin. 29 chró. **350** 3 c of cendach *in rasura*.  
 25 tsena. 16 sil. 21 chrad. 22 coingen: Adomnan. 26 cádaigh.

**352** 12 caid. 23 Cathbarr. 24 Cuind. **354** 4 righ. 8 ordail. 14 ardport. 19 7 for is. **356** 2 idlachad. 4 úathaib. 5 toigh. 6 sluaig. 12 righ huathaib. 17 righ. 21 thoigh [*delete -aidecht*]. 27 bhar séd. **358** 4 dleghar: Essa. 7 tegat. 8 gan feall *in rasura*. 10 treibi. 13 siun. 16 cathgnim. 20 chomed. 22 coimúaige. 25 ndeólaid. 28 rígaib. **360** 8 cloidim. 13 tuarastal. 14 bas. 19 dlig (*delete ed*). **362** 9 c of co *inserted by corrector*. 10 Chonaill. 16 *The note appended to this line is in the blank end of it, not in the margin as stated in footnote (a)*. 20 búaid. 21 raidhti. 24 sáráin. 25 huili. 28 inad. **364** 1 ní: sluaigh. 2 armchruaid, *the ch inserted by corrector*. 10 Cairbri. 13 Airgiall. 14 righ. 18 deoin rig *apparently in rasura*. 22 cloidim: oir. **366** 1 cumthaigh. 2 áili. 3 danélat. 5 *place of "acht sin" blank in MS*. 6 oirníde. 18 tuarastol. 21 chairnn. 22 7 for is. **368** 2 raibh. 4 oile. 11 cuirn. **370** 5 cuirn. 15 *delete b before Fermaigi*. 17 se for coic. 21 cloidim. **372** 3 sein. 6 fuil. 8 re re. 12 fo doeri. 18 do for dO. 24 rá. **374** 2 7 for ocus: airlechd, *the l inserted by corrector*. 4 maigr. 11 luinne lém. 12 gréin. 14 búanfir. 18 rea, *the a inserted below the line*. 20 Aedh: cath. 23 *erasure after uar*. **376** 5 gáir. 6 faoicfér tinmhthi. 8 imlib. 10 na nai ngradh, *interlineation inserted by corrector*. 11 uanne. 14 atcither. 18 tratsa. 23 curp. 26 Gáidel. **378** 10 Chruachai. 19 Gall-. 21 bidb-. 26 ferthar. **380** 3 cac. 7 clethmar. 8 echrad. 14 Fer Tlachta *in two words*. 22 dlechet: fiac don tair. **382** 6 Ercdail: Cecht 7 Medhruaid: Cech. 8 Béirri: *omit bracketed words*. 13 mic Conmhaic *inserted by corrector in margin*. 13 Fíndfir. 16 Coscraig. 20 mic naidech *inserted as variant in marg*. 22 Ainbli. **384** 3 Aignighe. 4 Brughad. 7 *column ends at Clotha(chtaig)*. 8 Rúadrach. 9 Gaindredan. Šelbaig. 10 Cairthe. 13 Nédhi. 16 1 *in Faelchu inserted by corrector*: Maeltola. 17 Fidlín. 19 Fingin. 21 coig: Fibrainn: Fingin. 22 Clann Croman. 23 Émin: Gillgan. 26 Finnacan. 27 Muinte. **386** 2 nOdrain. 6 Siriten: Širiten. 9 Mail- *before duilige inserted by corrector*. 11 Faall. 17 Nedi. 21 ité. 22 Taebachain. 23 Lughan: Uanan. 24 Finnoicci: Tellinne. 25 Ainnsín. 27 Dinnacain. 28 Gellustan. **388** 1 Riagl. *the a inserted by corrector*. 3 Neidi: Cu aille. 4 Faelcon. 5 Ceirín. 12 o (*for ó*) bfuilet. 13 *Column ends o|bhfuilet (sic)*: Tanaide. 14 Maelfinden. 15 Dimusaig. 17 bfuilid: Caemhain: Koman. 18 bfuilid: fuilid. 19 o fuilid meg.

25 Dubh. **390** 1 bfuil-. 3 Maelhsuthain. 4 Báibin. 7 *Column ends at Ro (dachae): an i roughly inserted after the first a: aonmhath.* 8 chlan-nugadh. 9 Duinchinne. 10 Mhuilt: fuilid. 13 Ailbe a quo *should run on after Tormadh sin: no new paragraph.* 14 Rodaichae, the i *inserted by corrector: adbhuine: Fídhnacha.* 14 *Opposite Adhomnan the following genealogy is inserted in the margin: m. Donnchadha m. Baoithín m. Blaithmic m. Feilim m. Criomhthuinn m. Scannláin m. Aodha Finn m. Feargna.* 15 *ocus leptha ins. by corrector.* 16 *Insert the following, added in margin: Et comhairle 7 cogair righ dibh 7 cadhaiss 7 oirechtais 7 buaidh noilithre for gach a beadh in inad Caillin tre bithu betha (delete the statement in p. 390 footnote (\*) that the copyist (sic) "left no mark to indicate where [this passage] should be inserted." Its place is duly indicated after taisig dib, 390: 16).* 18 Roidaichae, second i *inserted by corrector.* 20 Fasaig, the i *inserted by corrector.* 21 oirchind. 22 Fídhnacha. 23 Alaxandair: Maoileoin. 24 Gillichaṛr̄. 25 Gilli Mhiure: *matter on lower part of this page has been roughly re-inked.* **392** 1 .i. comarba Fídnacha Muigi Rein *interlined.* 4 Tadhg (*dot of lenition perhaps a later insertion*). 5 nua chórugadh dó. 6 raibhe. 7 raibi: tria. 10 forchongra: fos *inserted by corrector.* 11 cothaighthi. 12 Eirend. 13 oidchi. COL. I. m. Ele m. Gilla na naem *dittographed by a would-be corrector and then expuncted (read Gilla for Gillā).* Col. II. .i. in clerech *inserted by corrector: Rodaichae (i inserted by corrector): Naradhaich.* **394** *Genealogy in original hand ends with third step on this page. m. Cumsgraich 7c. The remainder is all added marginally in a later hand, repeating the last two lines; beginning m. Finnfir m. Cumsraich m. Ceachd. Make the following corrections: Foirnerta. Echt. Luighdhioch. Conmhaic. O. máir. Eitheanóin. Oghamáin. Doirbhre. Ceudghuine-chalasaigh. Measamain. Mogha doid. Fearghusa. First line of following poem. Cairbri.* **396** 3 tsí-used *written thus.* 5 tricha *when spelt thus is represented by XXX in MS.* 6 moir. 11 chain. 14 Eolchaide. 16 sílius: slebtib. **398** 4 tarrchain *with no b written above second r.* 11 Chairbre. 12 Connachtaibh. 13 búidi. 17 innsaigthech. **400** 1 feill. 2 a *inserted by corrector.* 8 dés. 10 atbert. 11 a small hole *apparently burnt in the vellum. The word injured appears to be [at]at.* 13 cuinni: 16 thruicha. 20 tabraimní dho. 23 raga. 31 méra. **402** 10 habair, *the air lost by the hole in the vellum above mentioned.* 22 ga for ag a . . .

24 lo: ranaic. 26 fial. 28 anaighidh. **404** 5 amach, a b written above the m: gell, an a written above the e. This is meant to indicate transposition—Erged mar do gell amach: the editor has misunderstood it, footnote (<sup>2</sup>). 8 Conuill. 9 fell. 10 ngabáil. 12 Chalgich: ngebenn. 13 tuit. 16 tainig. 19 ar comairchi. 24 Cairbre. 25 Ocus. 26 gár. **406** 1 Insert column 48a 1 beginning with Caillin: cumhachtach. 3 fer-taib. 5 tainicc. 7 šuidestair. 10 šuidestair. 11 bfuair. 15 Chon-achtaig. 17 Chonaill. 19 lebaidh. 20 Muigh. 21 šindsirecht. 22 tathbeoagh (delete ad). 23 Chonaill. 24 tancatar: Chonuill. 26 ffr. 28 cuairt. **408** 1 šir. Opposite line 8 is written b, opposite line 27 is written a and opposite line 3 on p. 410 is written c. This is meant to indicate a transposition: the passage b—a is to follow the passage a—c. 12 šoisgála. 15 comrumaig. 20 sénais. 32 ar: ardmoiri. **410** 3 caemfertach. 6 Āiachra. 14 do. 16 án. 19 cul. 21 scrin: chumdaigthi. 22 Āiachrach. **412** 8 deghfertach. 9 bidh. 12 Āiachrach. 13 Chonaill: choscaruig. 15 reir. 16 tnuth. 18 adamra. 21 the two a's inserted by corrector. 22 chumachtaig. **414** 3 chos-chruigh. 4 reir. 13 lebr[aib]. 15 chumachtaig. 17 moirechtaib.

## APPENDIX II.

## VARIANT READINGS IN B.

(Complete collations are given only in the passages for which the printed text depends on B, and has been taken from that MS. The extracts are numbered as on p. 7, but are here given in the order in which they appear on the printed pages.)

## Extract VI 4: 14-27

*The genealogy of Caillin.* In col. I: 2 Mac Niatach, 6 Cechta, 8 Earcdail, 9 Cechta, 11 Magruaidh, 12 Nearta, 13 Forneartha, 14 Ceachta: In col II 2 Berra, 3 Beidbe, 4 Doilbri, 5 Luigech, 6 *om. mhair*, 7 Ethedoin 8 Segdha, 9 Aitri, 11 Ogamuin, 13 Doilbri 7c, *with which the genealogy ends.*

## Extract I 10: 16-14: 2

**10**: 19 Fidnach moighi Réin; 20 remraiti. **12** 2 is eadh ba coimedh 7 ba comruir; 3 lamuib; 6 ro fagaib Caillin (*om. .i.*); 10 fosluic; 11 con ind aon scrin; 12 mbreit; 13 naom Chaillin (*om. mhic N.*); 15 *om. ocus*; 19 theachtuir; 20 gach flaith (*not gacha flathai, as in A.*)

## Extract II 76: F-86: A

**78**: A bid imda thiar thair gach rud. 78: B manig derna. 78: C deis a traisge. 78: D meisi . . . feil mar dligim. 78: F fledaid. **80**: A gach taisidh. 80: B dom oghreir, 80: C Droichitt co Sligech. 80: D treabar: a cuairt dom cathraidh, *glossed .i. Fidnacha*. 80: E gid cuí; gebait ifernn. 80: F gid cúin *with no c written above*; ni gebuid Goill. 82: B time 82: C me dorad; dethbeir ar deilbh na deissi. 82: D cuairtt mor sa 82: E comblaid; gan gaitt. 82: F tend; cuairt; caom cill. **84**: A dálda in Con. 84: B sil Aodh. 84: C deaghaidh; comblaid; Lughuidh. 84: D faicfidit 84: E breathach: an Eirind.

## Extract III 110: 27-122: 21

**110**: 28 do *inserted by corrector*; (do *ins. CD after mbith*); i rRoim (*no prolongation mark*). **112**: 1 foghluimm; Finntan. 2 aingeal; dó. 3 Brenfne (n *expuncted*): dún. 4 intinnrait; ait; Fidnacha;



aniú; óir; tharngaire. 5 chilli. 6 tharngháir; -drái. 7 feidhlig; irrighe. 8 Maigh. 9 dún. 10 rí. 12 Réin; imorro<sup>1</sup> 14 uadha. 16 righ; dált sen. 17 uadha: hainmnighedh. 18 tigtis: righa Erend. 21 ninadh. 22 Congail. 23 Calpuirn; Fergus; Muiredaigh; máil. 24 Eoghain; maighmedon. **114**: 2 faemsam; Chaillín. 5 *om* sir 6 o bais (*two words*) comadhaibh CD. 8 *in* for chongair *the g inserted above line*; Aodh. 10 cathmilid. 11 sluaghuibh; chlerech, *the l inserted by corrector*; connairc. 12 Chaillin; chlerchib. 13 Aedh: fochetoir, *the e inserted by corrector*. lasoduin. 15 edbuir dono. 17 Chaillin (*sic*). 19 connairc. 20 fergaighed; mor go hathlamh lasodhain CD 25 egoir; A *here resumes*. naomhuibh (*for* naom chlerchib); decuir. **116**: 1 naomh: Níatach. 2 craibdighe; chomaimsire; hoighe. 3 hindricco; lasamuin; loscadh. 4 ingrinted; an brath; *om. a*; bidhbadhaibh. 5 -dighail; -tuillfadh; leomhon; londcrechtach. 6, 7 fuilangthi; tragadh; ocus a mirbuilib ocus a salmchetlaib; sirmoladh in Choimhdedh. 8 Aodh dubh. 9 -siugadh; ro a aithin. 10 indsaighid; cosg; apairtt. 11 natho; daonda. 12 ceat luimsa 7 len Día nime (*delete masa chet*). 13 a clochuib; chetóir; soadh. 14 dealbhaib; breithir; Chaillin i fiadhnuse na slogh. 15 tresan; 7 tresin mor mirbuile. 16 connaicc; neithe sin. 17 sochraide; creidemh; Caillin; druithi; 18 linad. 19 ancreidemh; feisin; fagaib; sloga; *second gan ditto-graphed*. 20 airugadh; *om. gloss*. 22 soad ár aignadh. 23 creidhemh; corp dó. **118**: 1 an aingeal; follus. 2 mirbaile; roinead. 3 Dé. 4 forcongair; tinol. 5 tabairt do fódaighin is dó. 6 ír; *om. hi*; airmidin. 7 Caillín an ni. 8 tarcomlad; sloigh; radadh in righe. 9 aingeal; atchímsi. 10 cléachlodh. 11 riguib. 12 tugthar. 13 Aodh; connaigess. 14 Innsi; thogh. 16 throisc. 17 neirge; sloguibh. 18 deilbe. 19 a cind; raibhi; Aoda. 20 amail; Eoghan; delb. 21 Aodh; Eoghan; í delb. **120**: 1 Aodh; ond; uadha; Aodha. 2 treas righraide. 3 Aodh; cairthe; -dorus. 4 *om. na*; edhpair. 5 comharba; mhedugad. 6 eclaisi. 7 ordaigh; ciscanachas. 8 comarba. 10 toghaimsi; Aodh. 11 bui Aodh. 13 rugadhsom *om. i.* Aed; iar *inserted by corrector*<sup>2</sup>; bás. 14 adhlaicc; righ; leicc; aingeal; intsaindradh; reilghi. 18 Aoda. 19 cenn; taissech;

<sup>1</sup> Written *im*; the *a* in the printed text is a misprint.

<sup>2</sup> The scribe wrote first "*iar na bas*," forgetting *iarom*: he then changed *iar* to *iarom* by putting the *m* curve above *iar*, and wrote in *iar* above *na*.

Aoda. 20 comarba. 21 righna; etach. 22 thoisigh; taisreachaib. **122** 1: biataigh; gach cind baile; co. 3 taisigh. 4 cuairtt; seathar. 5 Aodha. 6 nech dibh. 7 gebha; gacha tres; dleagar; ícc. 8 cána; Aodha. 9 gébhath; áis; ar eccin: In cein ícfuit *begins with capital letters as though a new sentence*. 11 Chaillín; naom-Erenn. 12 eis. 13 iartaige. 14 dinnsenchus; Salach. 15 Chobha. 16 do Chaillin; fognídis; draithe. 17 doní; Aodh. 20 Flainn. 21 mBaile.

Extract VII. 132: E-136: D

**132**: E cháin-si; tigh; síl; screapall; cairchaigh; airdrig. **134**: A taoisigh; cois; laim; searrach. B on (*for don*); righain; hedach; -taisigh; ógréir. C droichuid; taisigh. D treabar. E cháin; gan eall; Aodha; ferand; a minchi; gacha treas; *om. co*; comhlan. F caidh; duthchus (*om. n-*); gebaid. G cáidh; cinedh; geba; H glasraighe; Aodh; milidh; dealb; Rioc; baistadh. **136**: A -milidh; Aodh. B Rioic; Aodh. C cuairt. D baistadh; doirtoigh; *For the note 136: 17, 18, B substitutes Ni beg son do sgribad de sin oir ata moran ar clannuib Fergna inar ndiaig túas.*

Extract IV. 136: 19-154: 21

**136**: 19 má dail a fis; qairt; 20 diligheas; clannuibh (*delete brackets*); Nell (*for variants in the ordo uerborum see ante, p. 22*) 23 Aengus Boghuine. 24 dluighdis. 26 Gulban. **138**: 1 síl; 2 *om. second* ocus. 3 Chanandain. 4 Conaill. 5 clannuib (*om. brackets*). 7 caega cath; brisadh. 8 comlann; ecráidi. 9 chostaitfed. 10 ícc. 11 bui. 12 Níall ise Náighiall.; a Chonall. 13 roinn. 14 aonur; daig is he (*om. fein*); chossuin. 16 naon; ndechaidar Masraidhe. 17 ttarattsatt 18 et 7 (*for ocuss; the et expuncted*). 19 *om. co*; oidie. 20 ar airighthi doibh-sium sin manadh dheonaighadh. 22 *om. a bas*; Massraighe. **140**: 1 ocus a lecht *dittographed*. 3 leith; Chonaill. 4 cus in ninadh sin; caemh feraind. 7 Caillin. 8 Conaill a a thuaidh 9 troiscc; Chonaill; toduiscaidh. 10 pén; doriachd. 11 an eclais. S<sup>1</sup> romaradh (*no o written above the a*); Chaillin. 12 baisdedh. 13 bendaigh; naim Er. 14 hongadh. 15 chlaind; *the l inserted*. 16 samhad. 17 i fiadnuse: *om. i.*; righ. 18 Conall (*om. -ach*); bantaisidh. 20 screaball. 23 nDálad; cinel Conaill. **142**: 2 chomallatt. 3 naemuib. 4 nemhe.

<sup>1</sup>The capital S written thus separately, not as printed.

5 iatt; faguib Chaill. ; ar a comhalladh. 6 buaidh; rompo; nirlaþla. 10 cleirechta. 11 conaigh; cinél. 12 *Connaill*; ar gach. 13 nonbuir ar gach naon duine aga negraitti. 14 Chaillin do Connall. 15 nairega uadha; Eire; clú; Colum. 16 don comade. 17 desi sin. 19 conairmitin. 20 indoirtoigh Caill. ; ro daingnidh. 21 Conaill. 22 bass. 23 tiucafaithdiss. 24 Colam Cille .cc. hoc cairmen. **144**: I ro cuir an eg. **144**: A leomon lonn; búí chinadh; clái. 144: B tuathuib techt; gaisgeadh amuil Coin. 144: C, co tuca. 144: D reimeass; le chloind. 144: E Conaill (*with no Conaind written above*) chind. 144: F Temhraidh: uaiti sloig. **146**: A tuill; ocus beith gan; imat. 146: B ossa. 146: C athuaid; condingnadh: fo ma mian gémad, a d *written above and between the an*. 146: D ruiriu. 146: E señta. *A square gap is left at the left hand end of these two quatrains in the MS. like the gaps left to be filled with an initial letter. There is a similar gap in the verso of the leaf at the right hand end of the lines of writing, so that in this case the purpose is to avoid a roughness or similar defect in the vellum.* 146: G uatha fa dó; Eire ní ba brég an breath; gebhuid; a leath. **148**: A gebuid. 148: B thall mana. 148: C deichealt; ro (line 148: 10) *dittographed*; cennaighi; thuaidh. 148: D biathas righ; tucatt brissfad gach; noch a tiuca; thir. 148: E cuicer (*for cuig*); Enda (*for Setna*); cuicer. 148: F Ainmire; ndhamh; Aodh; Mael; naem. 148: G nonbur do síl; bedid. **150**: A<sup>1</sup> ro fes; da éis; thall mo chad no co tí. 150: B gairitt. C feochuir; risin sluagh. 150: D ruaidh; rois *dittographed*; meábais reimhe; na diaidh. 150: E duind diarmaigh. 150: F (p. **152**) nuchum slechtar a rath. **152**: A cath cona benn; ach bid; gul (*in all MSS.*) *for* Gaeidul. 152: B rachaitt sirtha; thuaidh; noconeirgi; nad cro. 152: C breicc; teit; traethfar. 152: D co bá tren; i cclod; 152: E Donn diaida; is biaid. 152: F fá deoigh; (p. **154**) chraideann ceall a mbía cros. 154: A thuaidh; achtma coir corcra in chúain is mac in ruaidh as in glinn. 154: B chaidh; geinfess thall co tí. 154: C Chonaill; thagh; bennecht a síl. *In the lines of prose following, aiséid; Caillin fein (om. tra); athbeogagad; Chonaill; claind; om. ro scribamar; ní dia dlighed; cloinn Chonaill; don aingeal (with which words this extract stops. The text is however continued without break in Extract VIII).*

<sup>1</sup> In beginning this line the scribe took a new pen, which he used for three quatrains but then returned to the old one.

## Extract VIII. 154: 21-162: 24

**154**: 21 aingalus. 22 imdaidsiu. 23 uiruidhi. 25 don Ch. caidh 26, 27 dun for don; minnrenduib. **156**: 1 táe; dusgadhsa. 2 uirdnidhe. 5 faillsighthe. 6 ceatlaib. 7 síl. 9 réir. 14 fós a phein. 15 geallsatar. 16 sinsir hsen. 17 chaid. Chairedaidh. 19 damh firinde. 22 screapall. 25 treas. 26 minci dlighimsi. **158**: 2 bid with no u written above; dígal. 3 deimen; 4 fás; teallaighi. 11 n-uirdnedsum. 12 righ. 13 fiarfaige. 14 imagallaim. 15 fen inninad. 16 foillsigh; inadh. 17 chlaind; thogdiusgadh. 18 mbuaduibh; comhall; chana; -dhuibh. 19 ratad. 20 comhall; tairnghiri. 22 gebaid; thend. 24 bid; om. do; bráth. 25 faicleat; 27 righ. 29 -beoaignes. **160**: A ceall; bui. 160: B co tanacsa. 160: C geall (in line 160: 10); aisneis. 160: D bui; uili (om. h-); geallsatar; ruire. 160: E chairchig; gacha tres bliadan; an rig; orrasan; reir a riagla. 160: F mhorglan; chana; is iat tuc (delete ad) rim a rathaib. 160: G maith (delete [i]); tucasa; a rathaibh. **162**: B tucaít; fuicfi; buadha. 162: C rompo; buaidh ninnsce is buaidh; dealba. 162: D buaid fir gasgaig gribdha. 162: E rogha. 162: F maraon. *This line ends the extract: the two following lines of prose are not in B (they are also omitted in C).*

## Extract IX. (162: 27-166: 1)

**162**: 27 faguib. 28 Feidlime; cenfada; -faid. **164**: 1 chlannuib; di. 2 comarba. 3 -caemnacair; Colum. 4 mbrisd catha do ar. 5 cath; om. poeta. 6 Dreimni; drean. 7 cualatar. 8 cuile. 9 Cuili Rathuin. 10 tanig; catha. 11 forglidhe. 12 om. in; tine; go ngris ngoirthaighe. 13 Cháillin; Fidnacha; dilgadh. 14 annuin fuaslugudh ó. 15 himairgidé; himcubaid 16 -legoit. 17 Colam. 18 innis. 21 Er. 7 Alb. 23 Colam; ordaigh; faguib.

## Extract V. (230: 27-248: 24)

**232**: 1 do ratside onóir 7 airmidin adhbail do naem Chaillin. 4 con (for co) raibhi. 6 do batar; idhgal. 13 baisatar ass. 14 do clannuib Eoghain; duthaidh in cloc. 15 ass. 17 thes 7 thuaidh: maithe (om. a). **234**: 2, 3 Gulp. (bis). 12 om. gan. 13 ocus—comarba om. and ins. above line: it is also inserted in A. 14 clog na rig ins. after Mailechluind. *It is in place in A but omitted in the printed text; ins.*

in l asin *after* olc doib. **236** : 6 A Sith Aodha Esa Ruaidh. 14 tindluicc. 15 sinnsirecht. 16 so. 236 : A dir fethal. 236 : B cuindigh mo clog : g e : f o tr i. **238** : B tairnig a flaithus. 238 : D Muircertaigh min ; faguibh ; uaithib. 238 : F righ ; atcluinf e ; comhluind. **240** : A galar ; cogadh is creach : cheir (*sic*). 240 : B sesgur ; seasan. 240 : C sia. 240 : D doibh ; mal. 240 : E. agus ; righ. 240 : G icaid, *the d dotted by a corrector* ; an cloc. 240 : H. Domhnall : an cloc. **242** : A saerclann : Nell : rom l en ; clag ; baistead. 242 : B Creamhthuinni. 242 : C do baistead ; Gulban ; athuid. 242 : D dleguitt ; eirghi ; a sinir. 242 : E baised ; ngalach ; righradh. 242 : F cleacht ; breg in d al. **244** : A Caisil ; creidem. 244 : B Eachach ; baistadh. 244 : D baisedeadh a sean. 244 : E Aodha. 244 : F teachta ; Conuill. **246** : A an Oilech : Eoguin ; maisi ; traisgi. 246 : B an Emain. 246 : C Airgill. 246 : F Hadhar. 246 : G icc ; aird. **248** : lasan miadh ; clac feartach nach geib. 248 : B chaid : aigh : gach rig gus rig (*om. rui-, as in A*). 248 : C screap- ; fethal ; tigh ; chleir ; fotrudud. 248 : D creadhal. 248 : E oile ; tigh ; dearg. 248 : F Erend ; graidhin ; rosben.

There are in addition, in the foregoing extract, numerous words with marks of prolongation in B, which are omitted in the printed page. It is hardly necessary to catalogue these. The same applies to some minor deviations of spelling, in the part extant in A.

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In the following pages, containing the additional matter preserved in C,D., it has not been thought necessary to record all the orthographical variants which these MSS. display. A few additions to the list, noted in a final collation, are recorded overleaf.

### ADDITIONAL CRITICAL NOTES

(References by page and line).

**59.** 4 san D, 5 termann C, 8 uile D, 12 ttorrian D, 13 is D : **60.** 10 thráighfius D -maicne C (*bis*) n-iompait D 18 -mhnán D (*ter*), 22 *om.* a Chaillín C : **62.** 10 gar 23 *om.* in C : **64.** 38 thesda C, 48 ab D : **66.** 54 Patt- na cConmhneach D, 55 is tú diongna D, 56 7 tú an C. cétna C, 63 Fiodhnacha C : **68.** 8 *om.* do D : **70.** 11 cCoimhdhedh D, 13, 19 Conn- C, 14 chródha D, 17 re C, 21 go C : **72.** 47 ghloin C, 48 daoine-sium C. **74.** 5 etir ló C, 6 dhabach C, 9 cuarta dlighim-si duit C, 14 doibh C, 15 cuiccedh C, 17 *om. second* ag D, 21 chena D, mbértáoi D, 26 caigh D, leis D : **76.** 8 Pattraig D : **78.** 27 mbeimenn C : **80.** 46 Feradhach D, 65 cairge C : **82.** 66 creid D, laochdha D, 67 creadrán D, 68 a ccill tiobrat D, taidlenn D, 72 gan cheill gan chrábadh D, 74 aghbuig D, 76 Tiobrat D : **84.** 13 eile D, 16 fir Ardbhó D, 18 righthar D, 18, 19 Cucallann : **86.** 30 oidhigh roba D, 31 teccaitt C, 34 oeinfeacht D, 40 dhaibh D, 41 bherait D, 43 dhoibh D 45 imfaith D : **90.** 15 Iosebh D.

## APPENDIX III (after 100 : 26)

Six concluding quatrains of the poem *Éire oll oilen aingeal*, to follow 110 : F. Lost with fo. 10 of A, but preserved by CD.

O <sup>1</sup> dobhéra leat andeas	mo <sup>2</sup> thaisi-si <sup>3</sup> go díleas,
cuir sa scrín-si <sup>4</sup> i at can <sup>5</sup> cor,	<sup>6</sup> hi fil taisi na <sup>7</sup> n-apstol.
An scrín sin o sin amach	<sup>8</sup> a cc termonn laoch is <sup>9</sup> cléirech,
<sup>10</sup> go deireadh <sup>11</sup> an beatha binn,	bidh ard-neimheadh ós <sup>12</sup> Eirinn.
<sup>13</sup> Dobherim dom breithir <sup>14</sup> fein,	<sup>15</sup> dar an Rígh do <sup>16</sup> dealbh in <sup>17</sup> ngreín
innis leat a <sup>18</sup> Mhancáin grind,	<sup>19</sup> go madh fír huile: <sup>20</sup> a canain.
Adeir anois m'aingeal án	caingen truagh <sup>21</sup> rim, a <sup>22</sup> Mhancain,
<sup>23</sup> cech la ticfa co brath oníú	measa sa <sup>24</sup> measu Heriu.
O sruth <sup>25</sup> Iordanán anair	do sireas <sup>26</sup> fein gach conair;
<sup>27</sup> ionmain leam gach cathair grinn,	o muir Toirrian <sup>28</sup> go Herinn.
As <sup>29</sup> misi Caillin na cceall	as í tír as <sup>30</sup> toghtha leam,
tír na <sup>31</sup> noemh 'sna rioghradh ngeal	<sup>32</sup> Eire oll oilén <sup>33</sup> aingeal.

<sup>1</sup>dobera D. <sup>2</sup>The scribe of D first wrote *moisi* and then inserted *tai* above the line. <sup>3</sup>co D(*ter*). <sup>4</sup>iatt C. <sup>5</sup>chair D. <sup>6</sup>mar a fil D. <sup>7</sup>n-ap<sup>s</sup> CD. <sup>8</sup>ic D. <sup>9</sup>cléireach D. <sup>10</sup>in bheatha D. <sup>11</sup>Erinn D. <sup>12</sup>dobeirim D. <sup>13</sup>fén D. <sup>14</sup>sdar D. <sup>15</sup>dealb D. <sup>16</sup>gréin

D. <sup>17</sup>-cháin binn D. <sup>18</sup>comadh fíor D. <sup>19</sup>an abraim with *no acanaim* written above C: i ccanim D. <sup>20</sup>leam D. <sup>21</sup>leam D. <sup>22</sup>mhacáin. D. <sup>23</sup>gach lá tiucfa oniu co brath D. <sup>24</sup>mheasa D. <sup>25</sup>Iordanén anoir D. <sup>26</sup>fén D. <sup>27</sup>inmain D. <sup>28</sup>meisi C. <sup>29</sup>tocha C. <sup>30</sup>naobh C. <sup>31</sup>Ére D. <sup>32</sup>-gel. D.

When thou shalt bear with thee faithfully my relics from the South,  
put them into this shrine without wile, where are relics of the Apostles.  
That shrine thenceforward, protected by warriors and clerks,  
till the end of the tuneful world shall be a chief holy thing over Ireland.  
I pronounce by mine own word, by the King who fashioned the sun;  
keep on telling, thou pleasant Manchan, that true is all that I relate.  
My noble angel saith now a matter, a grief I think it, Manchan;  
every day from now to the Judgement Ireland shall go from bad to  
worse.

Beginning at the river of Jordan in the east, I have sought me out  
every way:

dear I hold every pleasant city from the Toirrian Sea to Ireland:  
I am Caillin of the churches; this is the land of my choice—  
the land of the saints and of the white company of kings, Ireland, great  
island of angels.

## APPENDIX IV. (after 216:14)

[as í so breith na físi sin]. Is íat <sup>2</sup>na <sup>3</sup>faolchoin tárfás duit, lucht <sup>4</sup>sáraithe <sup>5</sup>éascaoine do chille, .i. <sup>6</sup>Fidhnach. Is íat na piasta ro <sup>7</sup>mhíll <sup>8</sup>an magh tárfás duit, .i. <sup>9</sup>mic rígh <sup>10</sup>γ a muinteara thráothfas do chill-si <sup>11</sup>γ do bhaile. Is íat coinne tárfás duit <sup>12</sup>ar lasadh <sup>13</sup>iomat ima ccuairt, .i. <sup>14</sup>cléirigh eile thicfas sunna it <sup>15</sup>dhíagh, <sup>16</sup>γ <sup>17</sup>béad do <sup>18</sup>mhanaigh-si ag foghnamh <sup>19</sup>dhóibh. <sup>20</sup>Is íat <sup>21</sup>na leomain tárfás duit, na túatha bhés <sup>22</sup>ag milleadh do bhaile, .i. Fidhnach. Bidh aithreach <sup>23</sup>dhóibh-siomh sin, dáigh coigéna tusa as a cceannaibh na túatha <sup>24</sup>bhes <sup>25</sup>ac milleadh <sup>26</sup>Fidhnacha. Is é múchadh na <sup>27</sup>coinne <sup>28</sup>tusa a <sup>29</sup>Chaillín, <sup>30</sup>threigfios do mhanaigh .i. Conmaicni, co <sup>31</sup>n-im-pátt co <sup>32</sup>Fidnach arís. <sup>33</sup>Is i an <sup>34</sup>mhuir <sup>35</sup>do <sup>36</sup>traghadh duit fós .i. <sup>37</sup>Conmaicni, do <sup>38</sup>theacht chugat as gach aird fo deoigh ar do trégadh <sup>39</sup>dóibh co hainffeasach: daigh biaidh Ifrionn aca in gach <sup>40</sup>eaglais eile <sup>41</sup>γ <sup>42</sup>doghébhait neamh gan <sup>43</sup>contabhairt agatsa <sup>44</sup>í fFidhnach. Anfait imorro do mhancha <sup>45</sup>γ do <sup>46</sup>muintir <sup>47</sup>féin <sup>48</sup>agat ó soin amach, .i. Conmaicne Muighe Réin, <sup>49</sup>γ ni <sup>50</sup>thoghfaítt <sup>51</sup>in <sup>52</sup>éin eaglais ele arís acht <sup>53</sup>ina Róimh dhílis féin, <sup>54</sup>.i. Fidnach. Is <sup>55</sup>í sin breath na haislinge, a <sup>56</sup>árd-légáit a Chaillín, bhar Adhamnán. Ro gabh iaromh <sup>57</sup>Adhamhnán ag adhmoladh <sup>58</sup>Chaillín <sup>59</sup>γ <sup>60</sup>ag tabairt a thestmolta os áird: <sup>61</sup>γ <sup>62</sup>atbert na <sup>63</sup>tiubhraitís Gaoidhil uile <sup>64</sup>leath na trian a <sup>65</sup>thuarasgbhála. <sup>66</sup>Mairg do Chonmaicnibh <sup>67</sup>rod seachnas a do chill, a <sup>68</sup>Chaillín, bhar Adhamnán: oir is tú ceann cosnamha na Conmaicneach, <sup>69</sup>γ a sonn dioghla <sup>70</sup>ingabal imfulaing. As tú a <sup>71</sup>bPátraic <sup>72</sup>γ a mbreitheamh brátha. Ni <sup>73</sup>bhia éimh rath na righe forra <sup>74</sup>co n-iompát chugat-sa. <sup>75</sup>Is tú <sup>76</sup>is <sup>77</sup>caoile <sup>78</sup>γ is cráibhdighe do <sup>79</sup>naómhaibh domain; thú <sup>80</sup>as oighe 's as ionnra, thú <sup>81</sup>an teine <sup>82</sup>lasamail ó gradh Dé, <sup>83</sup>is tú an muir gan mor-<sup>84</sup>thrághadh tre <sup>85</sup>bhithe. <sup>86</sup>Is tú <sup>87</sup>in Caillín <sup>88</sup>craibdeach cumhachtach, is tú <sup>89</sup>aird-légáit na nGaoidil, is tú ceann na seacht Conmaicneach. Neamh da gach Conmaicneach bhías fa úir <sup>90</sup>Fidnacha <sup>91</sup>in secula seculorum, Amen.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>1</sup>iad (bis) C. <sup>2</sup>om. C. <sup>3</sup>-cona C. <sup>4</sup>-te C. <sup>5</sup>-cni D. <sup>6</sup>thecht chuccat C. <sup>7</sup>dhóibh <sup>8</sup>-aine C. <sup>9</sup>Fid- D. <sup>10</sup>mill C. <sup>11</sup>in D. <sup>12</sup>om C. <sup>13</sup>ecclais elé C. <sup>14</sup>baitt C. <sup>15</sup>bairt <sup>16</sup>mic inserted by a corrector D. <sup>17</sup>um-att C. <sup>18</sup>accatsa C. <sup>19</sup>hi fFiod. C. <sup>20</sup>ntir C. <sup>21</sup>cléirich ele C. <sup>22</sup>díagh C. <sup>23</sup>beitt C. <sup>24</sup>fén D. <sup>25</sup>accat o sin C. <sup>26</sup>thoghbhéobhait <sup>27</sup>mhancha-sa C. <sup>28</sup>dóibh C. <sup>29</sup>as C. <sup>30</sup>om. D. <sup>31</sup>an D. <sup>32</sup>en ecclais C. <sup>33</sup>a R. diles C. <sup>34</sup>acc C. <sup>35</sup>siumh C. <sup>36</sup>bes D. <sup>37</sup>acc C. <sup>38</sup>om. i. D; Fiodh- C. <sup>39</sup>hi C. <sup>40</sup>-légoitt C. <sup>41</sup>Fiodh- C. <sup>42</sup>coindle C. <sup>43</sup>thusa D. <sup>44</sup>Ada- D. <sup>45</sup>Cail- C. <sup>46</sup>acc C. <sup>47</sup>itb. D. <sup>48</sup>Caillín D. <sup>49</sup>-feas C. <sup>50</sup>-páit D. <sup>51</sup>Fiodnacha <sup>52</sup>-bratís D. <sup>53</sup>leth C. <sup>54</sup>-scobh- C. <sup>55</sup>Maircc <sup>56</sup>as C. <sup>57</sup>muir D. <sup>58</sup>dhó C. <sup>59</sup>tragadh D. C. <sup>60</sup>rod seachenasa and om. a do chill C.



[this is the interpretation of that vision]. The wolves which appeared unto thee, they are those who shall ravish and curse thy church of Fidnacha. The monsters which appeared unto thee, ravaging the plain, they are the sons and followers of kings who shall harry thy church and thy homestead. The candles which appeared unto thee, lighted round about thee, they are other clerks who shall come hither after thee, and thy monks shall be rendering them service. The lions which appeared unto thee, they are the people who shall be spoiling Fidnacha, thy homestead. They shall rue it, for thou shalt chew from their heads\* the people who shall be spoiling Fidnacha. The quenching of the candles—it is thou, Caillin, whom thy monks shall desert, the Conmaicne, till they return to Fidnacha again. Further, the sea which ebbed for thee is the Conmaicni coming to thee, out of every quarter at the last, after ignorantly deserting thee: for they shall obtain Hell in every other church, but in Fidnacha with thee they shall get Heaven with full assurance. Moreover thy monks and thine own company, the Conmaicne of Magh Rein, shall remain with thee thenceforward, and never again shall they gather in any other church but in their own sanctuary, Fidnacha. That is the interpretation of the vision, Chief Legate Caillin, said Adamnan. Thereafter Adamnan began to eulogize Caillin, and to publish abroad an account of him; and he said that all the Gaidil could not tell a half, nor yet a third, of what there was to tell of him.

Woe to the Conmaicne who have deserted thee out of thy cell, Caillin! said Adamnan. For it is thou who art head of protection for the Conmaicnes, and their prop of vengeance and their support of patience. Thou art their Patrick, thou their judge of Judgement. Till they return to thee, theirs shall be no grace nor kingship. It is thou who art the most gracious and the most pious of the saints of the earth: thou art the purest and the most upright, thou art the fire kindled of the love of God, thou art the sea which ebbereth not for ever. Thou art the pious, powerful Caillin, thou art the chief legate of the Gaedil, the head of the seven Conmaicnes. Heaven is for every man of the Conmaicnes who shall be beneath the clay of Fidnacha *in saecula saeculorum*. Amen.

ro treic sónasa a do. chill D. <sup>60</sup>Caill- D. <sup>70</sup>lasamain C. <sup>71</sup>as C. (*bis*). <sup>72</sup>-acch- C. <sup>61</sup>angabhal C. <sup>62</sup>bPátraic D. <sup>63</sup>bia C. <sup>73</sup>bithe C. <sup>74</sup>om. in C. <sup>75</sup>-teach C. <sup>76</sup>-aitt C. <sup>64</sup>go n-iompodh cuccatsa C. <sup>65</sup>as C. (*bis*). <sup>77</sup>Fidh- C. <sup>78-78</sup> om. C. <sup>66</sup>cáile C. <sup>67</sup>-marb D. <sup>68</sup>is D. <sup>69</sup>in tene D.

\* *i.e.* devouring the bodies and leaving the severed heads. Compare IV Reg. ix. 35 of which this passage conceivably contains a reminiscence.

## APPENDIX V. (follows Appendix IV.)

## Fís Caillin indso

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>A Adhamnáin beir an mbreith,<br/>beir anois, is deimhin tra,<br/>Atchonnarc Fidhnacha fír<br/>atchonnarc fáolchoin na ffeadh<br/>5 Atchonnarc tonnghar mara<br/>atchonnarc coinneal, dearbh leam<br/>Atchonnarc bíasta borba<br/>ro mhillsiotar uile an magh :<br/>Atchonnarc leomain, dar leam</p> <p>10 garbh an gléo ro fearsat tra<br/>Atchonnarc-sa me bodhéin,<br/>cognamh na leomhan, dar leam<br/>Atchonnarc in coindel, dar leam<br/>is maith ro traigheas an mhuir<br/>15 Beir anois damhsa a bhreth sin<br/>co ttuiginn gan ainble trá<br/>Berat-sa dhuit a mbreath fír<br/>bidh fír dhamh, a Chaillín cháidh<br/>Is íat na fáolchona tárfás duit<br/>20 lucht easgcáoine, is deimin trá<br/>Is íat na píasta co fír<br/>inneoch traothfas do bhaile<br/>Is i in choinneal, is derb leam<br/>cléirigh ticfa sonn dot th'éis</p> | <p>duit noch a n-éigean a cleith,<br/>damhsa breith na fise-seá.<br/>imo bíastaibh—mór in gníomh !<br/>do thocht fúithe-si gach seal.<br/>do thocht thairrsi—ní tana !<br/>is í ar lasadh im thimcheall.<br/>trén do mhilldís mo lorccsa,<br/>im chodladh ro tárfás damh.<br/>do bheith gum mhilleadh co<br/>teann ;</p> <p>riomsa is la Fidhnacha.<br/>éseic do-dheacra mo cheil,<br/>daigh conach milltís mo cheall.<br/>mhúchas dom anáil co teann,<br/>mar do ordaigh Rí an ríthead.<br/>a Adhamnáin cháidh, imthigh,<br/>mar atá aidhbhle t'fesa.<br/>mar do ordaigh Rí na rígh.<br/>gidh thusa féin in priomh-fáidh,<br/>a Chaillín, is adhbhar uilc,<br/>cotleim icon fedhasa (<i>sic</i>).<br/>mic rígh 7 lucht na rígh,<br/>tárla ar do thrén-aire.<br/>tárfas duit-si, ba gníomh teann,<br/>beitit do mhanaigh mo a méis.</p> |
|---|---|

1 Adhamh- D : néiccean C. 2 as deimhin C :  
thrá D : dhamhsa D : breth C : físi D :  
sa C. 3 mó C : gnímh C. 4 atconnarc  
*here and in following verses* C : tocht C.  
5 tonnghur D. 6 coindel C : thimchell C.  
7 locca D. 8 millseatar C : in magh D.  
9 dearbh leam D : dom mhill- D. go teand C  
(*the e of teand dittographed and the first  
repetition expuncted*) D. 11 bhadh dhéin eséic  
D : céil C. 12 om. na C, an D. 13 an

choinneal D : múchas C : teand C : dar  
leam, *with correction* no co teann *written  
above* D. 14 as C : traighig D : in D : rígh  
in righthidh D : 15 Beirsi *and om.* anois C :  
mbreatha D : Adhamh- D : cáidh C. 16 tuic-  
inn C : trá C : aidhbhle C : thfesa D. 17 duit  
C : breth C : rígh na rígh D. 18 cáidh  
C : daigh thusa féin D : primfáidh C. 19 as  
C : om. na C : faolchona tadbhas C : Cáillín  
as adbar C. 20 easccaine C : as C : feadhasa

## The Vision of Caillin here below.

Adamnan, give the interpretation—no need for thee to conceal it—  
give now to me, for it is certain, the interpretation of this vision.  
I saw Fidnacha truly with monsters all around it—an awful thing !  
I saw wolves of the woods coming about it at every turn.

I saw the waves of the sea coming over it—no small matter !

I saw a candle, I am certain, and it was burning all around me.

I saw rough monsters who were powerfully destroying my followers ;  
they destroyed the plain, all of it—in my sleep this appeared to me.

I saw lions, I am certain, who were powerfully destroying me,  
rough was the battle which they waged against me and Fidnacha.

I saw myself—it perplexed my understanding (?)

the gnashing of the lions, it seemed to me, because they were not  
destroying my church. [breath :

I saw the candle, it seemed to me : I quenched it stoutly with my  
well did I exhaust the sea, as the King of the kingdom ordained.

Give me now the interpretation thereof, thou pure Adamnan, proceed ;  
that I may understand without stint what is the immensity of thy  
knowledge.

I shall give thee its true interpretation as the King of kings ordained :  
it shall be true for me, thou pure Caillin, although it is thyself who art  
chief prophet.\*

These are the wolves that appeared unto thee, Caillin—'tis a cause of  
evil ! [wood (?)

the cursing people, it is certain, who shall contend with thee at this

These are the monsters truly—sons of kings and followers of kings  
who shall desert thy homestead, it hath attracted thy close attention.

This is the candle, I am certain, which appeared to thee—it was an  
overwhelming matter ! [their board.

clerks who shall come hither after thee ; thy monks shall be around

D. 21 iatt C : fior D : na riogh D. 23 tend C. 24 tcléirigh, the t expuncted D.  
As (bis) C : coindel C : derbh D : gnimh sun do teis C : beittit C : mo meis C

\* Or " primate " : see note (2) p. 216.

- 25 In ní ele tárfas duit  
 thusa choigenas na fir  
 Traothfad tusa na túatha  
 coigéna iad asa ccinn  
 Is é múchadh na coinnle
- 30 is cruaidh traighfís tusa thrá  
 Is í in mhuir do traghadh fós  
 ticfat chughaibh na n-aicmibh  
 Ro gebat nemh it chill cháidh  
 na dheaghaidh sin bid fir thra,
- 35 Is í sin th'aisling, a fhir  
 ticfat uile a breith fire  
 A úasail, a ard-legáit  
 nocha tiubrait Gaoidil  
 Tú is cáoile 's as craibhdhighe
- 40 tu is oighe s'as ionraca  
 As tú in teine lasamhuin
- as tusa an sonn sárdharach  
 Is tú an muir nach mór-traigenn  
 nocha nfuil do chomb-mhaith-si
- 45 Tu an sgoth sciach co lánscothach  
 as tu an brath tar bidhbhuibh  
 As tú Caillín cumhachtach  
 as tú caomh-abb Fídnacha,
- a Chaillín co ccáoimhe cuirp,  
 a úasail, a aird-eagnaigh.  
 dot mhiorbhuilibh conhlúatha,  
 gen tiset rit, is derb linn.  
 dochonnarcais go ndéimhne,  
 do mhanaigh go Fíodhnacha.  
 ortsa fa deoigh, bias anós  
 co calma i Conmhaicnibh.  
 Conmaicne bidh feirde i mbáidh ;  
 Conmaicne nit seachéna.  
 a Chaillín cháidh chumhachtaigh  
 traothfadh lucht na roi-righe.  
 ag sin a breath chóir chneasta  
 leth na trían do thesta.  
 neoch ro ghenair for talmain ;  
 neoch ro ordaigh Dia anmain.  
 as tu an breitheamh tar do  
 bhidhbhaibh,  
 ris nach ffuilngtar imghuin.  
 cogadh rit nocha lán mhín,  
 allos crabaigh, a Cháillín.  
 is tú in creach dúr deiritt,  
 is tú in psailm-cheatlad minic.  
 as tú an meirge d'ór bhuidhe,  
 as tú traothas gach duine.

26 eccl. C. 27 traothfa: D: miorbuilibh go  
 luatha C. 28 coicéna iad C: ccind C: céin  
 tísat C: tiseti, *the* i expuncted D: as derbh  
 C. 29 coindle C: ndeimne D. 30 as C:  
 traighfeas C: go Fídnacha C: 31 as C: an  
 C: thraghadh D: deoigh D. 32 cugaibh  
 C: na Conmaicnibh C. 33 ghebhath D: caidh  
 C: feirdi ambáigh C. 34 deagaidh C: nitt D.

sechona C. 35 as C. 36 ro-righe C. 37 acc  
 C: choir cneasta C. 38 nocha tiubhrat C.  
 39 thú *and so in subsequent verses* D:  
 chaoile D: genair C. 40 as C. 41 bhiodhbh-  
 D. 42 fulaingter iomguin C. 43 -traigend  
 D: coccadh C. 45 sciach C: an creach C:  
 deirrit C. 46 bhiodhbadhaibh C: psalm- C.  
 47 meirce C. 48 Fíodh- C.

The next thing that appeared unto thee, Caillin with beauty of body,  
 thyself who shalt chew the men, thou noble one, thou lofty sage.  
 Thou shalt subdue the peoples with thy miracles of such swiftness :  
 thou shalt chew them off from their heads unless they come to thee,  
 we are certain.

This is the quenching of the candle which thou didst see with clearness  
 harshly shalt thou reduce thy monks till [they come] to Fidnacha.  
 This, farther, is the sea which was exhausted upon thee at last,  
 which shall be their custom [territories.

they shall come to thee in their companies valorously in the Conmaicne-  
 They shall obtain Heaven in thy pure church, shall the Conmaicne,  
 it shall be the better for it in affection,

after that it shall be true surely that the Conmaicne will not shun thee.  
 This is thy vision, O Man, Caillin pure and powerful :  
 all its true interpretation shall come to pass : they shall lessen the  
 people of the great kingdom.

Noble one, lofty legate, there is its interpretation just and fitting :  
 The Gaedil shall not recount half or a third of thy renown.

Thou art the stateliest and most pious man ever born on the earth :  
 thou art the purest and most perfect to whom God ordained a soul.  
 Thou art the fervent fire, thou art the judge over thine enemies :  
 thou art the great oaken prop about which no fighting is tolerated.  
 Thou art the sea that never ebbeth, war against thee is no fine thing :  
 there is not thine equal for goodness in the matter of piety, Caillin.  
 Thou art the full-blossoming flowering whitethorn, thou art the hard  
 mysterious doom : [chanter.

thou art the judgement over enemies, thou art the frequent psalm-  
 Thou, Caillin the powerful : thou, the banner of yellow gold : [man.  
 thou art the fair abbot of Fidnacha : it is thou who subduest every

- As tú is cenn ar Chonmaicnibh 's as tusa a soinn dioghla,  
 50 nó co n-iompat chugatsa ni bhia rath ar a righe.  
 As tú an ghabhal thógbhála acht co ndernat do ríaradh,  
 muna ndearnat do ríaradh doghébhait síat a bpíanaidh.  
 Tu ceann chloinne Caireadha, dleaghaitt coisteacht do thráth-sa  
 tú Patraic na cConmaicneach is tú a mbreitheamh brátha.  
 55 As tú in craibhdech cumhachtaigh is tú a ndiongna daith-dédla,  
 tú légait na nGaoidil-sa : is tú an Caillin cetna.  
 Beannacht ar do bhélaibh-si binn do chaingne iar scaradh,  
 úasal lem do dhála-sa, manocht ar n-ord, ar n-anadh.

A Chaillin cháid chumachtaigh

- 60 A chinn na secht cConmaicne,  
 tú saoras cách ar phéin,  
 Neamh d'anmain gach aon-duine  
 Adhlaicther i fFidhnacha,  
 do Chonmhaicne Réin.

- 65 A choinneal an fursanta  
 A Chaillin, a chaomh-chruthaigh  
 tu choiseonus in clar  
 Meisi is dot mhuintir-si  
 Me Adhamnán án.

- 70 Beannacht ort, a Adhamnain  
 mór dho maith do ráidiusu;  
 doscelaibh sgiam sgár,  
 Ni hí bás do taisi  
 Is e t'ainm Adhamnán.

49 as C. 50 -patt chuccat C : bia C : riogha nGaoidheal C : 7 tú an C. 58 dhalas C.  
 C. 51 gabal tocchabla C. 52 dhearnat C : 59 cáidh cum- : C. 60 chind C. 61 om. tú  
 doghebhsiatt C. 53 cand cloinne C : dleaghat C. saorus D. 62 en-nduine D. 65 chandel  
 coisteacht C : trath-sa C. 54 Pátraic C : C : fursainte C. 66 om. a chaomh D.  
 Conmaicneach C : 7 as tú C. 55 as tu an 67 chosnus an clar C. 68 as dod C. 70 this  
 diongna daith-dédla C. 56 légaitt na strophe om. C.

Thou art head over the Conmaicne : thou art their rampart of vengeance:  
till they return unto thee there shall be no grace upon their kingdom.  
Thou art their prop of support so long as they are submissive to thee :  
if they be not submissive to thee they shall find themselves in pains.  
Thou art the head of the children of Caired, it is right to hearken to  
thine Hours ;

thou, the Patrick of the Conmaicne ; thou, their Judgement-judge [bold  
Thou art the pious and powerful : thou art their fortress active and  
thou, legate of the Gaedil : thou, that same Caillin. [separation :  
A blessing upon thy lips : 'tis music to commune with thee after  
noble do I hold thine assemblies : the monkhood of our orders, of our  
sojournings (?)

Caillin, pure and powerful,  
Head of the seven Conmaicnes,  
thou who savest everyone from pain,  
Heaven to the soul of every man  
who is buried in Fidnacha  
of the Conmaicne Rein.

Candle of illumination  
Caillin of beautiful form  
thou who shalt protect the plain,  
I also am of thy people,  
I, noble Adamnan.

A blessing on thee, Adamnan !  
Much of good hast thou spoken:  
Of the narration of a portion of beauty (?)  
it shall not be thy relics,  
it shall be thy name, Adamnan ! \*

\* The last three lines are unintelligible, and probably corrupt.

**APPENDIX VI.** (follows Appendix V.)

Ceathrar d'ard-naomhaibh úaisle oireaghdha da ndleaghait<sup>1</sup>Conmaicne a <sup>2</sup>ccís .i. Mochaomhóg ⁊ Íarlaithe, ⁊ Cruimther Fráoch ⁊ Caillín. Do <sup>3</sup>cinneadar Conmaicne accios gach laoi do Chaillín, ar a sinnsirecht ⁊ ar a sóchar <sup>4</sup>dhóibh seach gach naomh, ⁊ ar <sup>5</sup>theinne a athaigh, <sup>6</sup>⁊ ar threise a impidhe ar <sup>7</sup>an cCoimdhe i l-ló <sup>8</sup>in Bratha. Ar ní raibhe eadh n-áon uaire gan <sup>9</sup>bheith ag <sup>10</sup>admoladh Dé: gidheadh chena, ní <sup>11</sup>chanadh Caillin a trátha <sup>12</sup>no go ccluineadh muinte Nimhe ag a cceileabradh. Moghénar do<sup>13</sup>Conmaicnuibh bhías fo a sgéith i-ló Bhratha! <sup>14</sup>Ro airmhimar éimh ní do chios Caillín ar Chonmaicnibh remhe so: <sup>14</sup> as don chíos sin eimh, cét arc gacha muice, ⁊ cet laogh gacha bó ⁊ cet searrach gacha lára ⁊rl. <sup>15</sup>Is d'onoir ⁊ <sup>16</sup>d'aghmoladh <sup>17</sup>Naomh-Caillín ro ráideadh annso<sup>18</sup> síos:

<sup>1</sup>Conmaicnigh i ccís D. <sup>2</sup>cís C. <sup>3</sup>cinnettar    ataigh C. <sup>6</sup>om. ⁊ D. <sup>7</sup>in C. <sup>8</sup>om. in C.  
Conmaicne a cís C. <sup>4</sup>dóibh C. <sup>5</sup>theinde a    <sup>9</sup>bheth D. <sup>10</sup>moladh (om. ad-) C. <sup>11</sup>can



There are four of the noble and excellent chief saints to whom the Conmaicne are under lawful tribute ; to wit Mo-Cháomhóg, Íarlath, presbyter Fráoch, and Cáillín. The Conmaicne resolved to pay their tribute daily to Cáillín, by reason of his seniority, of his favour to themselves above every other saint, of the earnestness of his prayer, and of the fervour of his petition to the Lord in the Day of Judgement : for there was not the space of an hour in which he was not praising God : howbeit, Caillin was not wont to sing his *Hours* till he should hear the people of Heaven celebrating them. Well for the Conmaicne that shall be under his protection in the Day of Judgement ! But we have already enumerated something of the tribute of Caillin before this. Of that tribute, there are a hundred piglings of every sow, a hundred calves of every cow, a hundred foals of every mare, etc. To honour and extol Saint Caillin the following was said :

C, <sup>12</sup>om. no C. <sup>13</sup>Conmaicnuibh C. <sup>14-14</sup>om. C. <sup>15</sup>as C. <sup>16</sup>d'adh C. <sup>17</sup>naoimh-D. <sup>18</sup>fós C.

## APPENDIX VII. (follows Appendix VI).

- 5 Caillin caidh cumhachtach,  
dár chinsettar Conmaicne  
a císá gach láe ;  
ar sinnser, ar saór-naomh-ne,  
gus na ruithnibh ro-ghlanaibh,  
as tend i tigh Dé.
- 10 Is aire dobheirim-ne  
ar císá do Cháilline,  
do séan-naomh ar sluaigh ;  
ar imtheinne a impidhe  
ar in cCoimhde cCumhachtach,  
i l-lo bhrátha búain.
- 15 A ndligheann ó Chonmhaicnibh  
o chloinn cródha curata  
is rathmar a rímh,  
dá ttughthar dó a dhleachtanus  
ri huaislibh na ccinedhach  
is mor dhligheas díbh.
- 20 A chana o Chonmaicnibh,  
ar imat a adhamhra—  
cáomh Cháillin co ccéill ;  
oll-sgreapall gach áon-duine,  
d'ionnllacadh co h-en ionadh,  
go magh ró-ghlan Réin.
- 25 Teist chrábaidh ar Cháilline,  
for charait Chríost chumachtaigh,  
ro ba rathmar réim :

2 chinnsiotar D. 5 ruitnibh C. 6 is ceann 15 ttuccthar dó C. 18 as. 21 go ccéill. 25 for  
i tigh D. 7 doberaimne C. 10 imtheinde C. Chail. D. 26 cumach- C.  
13 a ndligend C. 14 churata D. 15 as C.

Caillin pure and powerful,  
 to whom the Conmaicne resolved  
     [to pay] their tribute daily ;  
 our elder, our own innocent saint,  
 with the pure brilliances,  
     who is firm in the house of God.

This is why we bring  
 our tributes to Caillin,  
     to the ancient saint of our host ;  
 for the fervour of his prayer  
 to the Almighty Lord,  
     in the Day of eternal Judgement.

His due from the Conmaicne,  
 from his children, heroic and valorous,  
     fortunate is their number ;  
 if his tribute is paid to him  
 by the nobles of the peoples,  
     he is worthy of much from them.

His tributes from the Conmaicne,  
 for the greatness of his wonders—  
     fair Caillin with wisdom ;  
 a great *screpall* from every one,  
 to be paid in one place,  
     at the very pure plain of Ren.

A witness of piety for Caillin,  
 for the friend of powerful Christ,  
     who was fortunate in his course,

30 Nach rabha eadh aon-uaire,  
ar cummaire caomh-chrabaidh,  
gan adhmholadh Dé.

35 Mo-Chaomhóg án, Iarlaithe,  
Cruimther Fraoch, is Cáilline,  
ceathrar úas gach cloinn :  
dleghait cisa Conmaicne,  
feibh na huaisle fúaratar  
eitir mhagh is coill.

40 Bó gach biataigh aon-baile,  
o síol Onchon fir-uasail,  
no thidhnaicdís dó :  
go Magh Réin do Chailline,  
gach sechtmhain aon saor-bliadna  
re taobh neith is mó !

Bó gach gabhala thall                      o Conmaicne na ccéd-cclann,  
Céd arc muice thiar is toir                ced laogh bó, searrach socair.

45 Díth no maidhm no miocosgar  
ó Chailline ar Conmaicnib  
chriche ro-ghlain Réin ;  
for tosgadh a dhaoine-siom  
fa chís cóir ni cuinnéhdais  
50 o síol Onchon féil.

29 cumhóire cáomhchrabaidh D. 30 adhmol.  
C. 31 Mo-Caomhocc C. 36 caill C. 37 biatach  
D. 38 -uasail D. 39 thiodhnaictis C. 41 aon-  
bliadna CD, -dan D. *with* no saor-bl. *written*

*above in* C. 42 as C. 43 Conmaicnae D.  
ccett C. 46 ar *fór* ó D: fortosgadh D. 49  
cuinneghdais C.

that he was not one hour's space,  
such was the greatness of his fair piety,  
without praising God.

Noble Mochaomhog, Iarlaith,  
Presbyter Fraoch and Caillin,  
four men over every progeny ;  
to them is due tribute of the Conmaicne  
as the noble ones devised it,  
for both plain and wood.

A cow from every farmer of any steading,  
Of the seed of truly noble Onchu,  
they used to pay to him :  
to Mag Rein, to Caillin,  
every week of a free year  
along with greater things.

A cow from every holding yonder	from the Conmaicne of hundreds
	of progeny,
A hundred piglings of a sow, west	a hundred calves of a cow, a
and east	sturdy foal.

Defect or breach or maltreatment [of the meat]  
from Caillin over the Conmaicne  
of the very pure territory of Ren,  
upon the victual (?) of his people  
under the just tribute they would not be withheld  
by the seed of generous Onchu (??)\*

\*Prof. MacNeill suggests to me that this extremely obscure and doubtless corrupt strophe has a reference to food-tributes, and the stringent regulations as to their goodness, full weight, etc., which are set forth in the Law tracts.

## APPENDIX VIII. (follows Appendix VII.)

## A.

Feacht n-aon <sup>1</sup>atchi Caillín <sup>2</sup>leabaidh <sup>3</sup>Cruimthir Fraoch gan édach <sup>4</sup>uirre. A <sup>5</sup>Chruimther, ar Caillín, ber leat mo bhreacán-sa, día bheith <sup>6</sup>fót thaobhaib. Im <sup>7</sup>buidheach-sa <sup>8</sup>dhiot, a ard-légáit, a Caillín, ar Cruimther Fraoch: bét-sa imorro <sup>9</sup>ag timthirecht <sup>10</sup>altoire frit láimh-<sup>11</sup>si eistir lá <sup>12</sup>oidhche: <sup>13</sup>dana <sup>14</sup>ordaighim dhuit, a Cháillín, ar <sup>15</sup>Cruimther Fráoch, dabhach deagh-dheise do <sup>16</sup>lind cona <sup>17</sup>furthainn do <sup>18</sup>bhíadh ó <sup>19</sup>gach fir im ionadh <sup>20</sup>go bráth. <sup>21</sup>Mo eachsa <sup>22</sup>γ mh'erradh aird-easpoic dhuitsi tar a <sup>23</sup>chionn sin, ar Caillín: <sup>24</sup>γ dana trian gacha cúartha dhlighim-si dhuit, ar Cáillín, <sup>25</sup>γ trian úaitsi aga tabairt lama abdaine-si <sup>26</sup>γ lam <sup>27</sup>mhuintir-si dot <sup>28</sup>mhancaibh fein. Ata <sup>29</sup>éimh a <sup>30</sup>dheismireacht <sup>31</sup>in sgeoil-si is na rannaibh do <sup>32</sup>sgriobhamar <sup>33</sup>roime, isin duilleóg <sup>34</sup>dheighenaigh don leabhair <sup>35</sup>roimhe so.

## B.

<sup>1</sup>Is fisigh dana co <sup>2</sup>bfuil cíos <sup>3</sup>γ cúairt ag Caillín ar <sup>4</sup>chlannaibh Eogain meic Néill; <sup>5</sup>óir do <sup>6</sup>thairngir dhoibh <sup>7</sup>comadh leó tuaiscert Erenn, <sup>8</sup>γ chuiccedh Uladh <sup>9</sup>in tsainredh. Ocus <sup>10</sup>isbert gomadh <sup>11</sup>éd <sup>12</sup>γ <sup>13</sup>comadh <sup>14</sup>dimmbuaid mór le Temhraigh na Righ <sup>15</sup>γ le <sup>16</sup>Caisil <sup>17</sup>γ le Cruachan, síol Néill ag forrán <sup>18</sup>γ <sup>19</sup>ag ionnsuidhe forra a <sup>20</sup>Hultaibh. Ro <sup>21</sup>thairngir Caillín imorro <sup>22</sup>co mbiadh nert <sup>23</sup>chlainne Néill ar <sup>24</sup>chách, in ccéin do ícfattaís a cháin. Ro <sup>25</sup>thairngir dana do <sup>26</sup>chlan-naibh Néill uile, in tan do <sup>27</sup>dhiúltfattís comharba Caillín, nó a <sup>28</sup>chlog, no a mhionna, cena, <sup>29</sup>co mbiadh neart Danar forra, <sup>30</sup>γ go mbeartai a ngéill <sup>31</sup>γ a mbraighde co Cruachain <sup>32</sup>γ <sup>33</sup>co Caisiol. <sup>34</sup>Isbert fós co <sup>35</sup>meathfadh gach sonus ele ar chlannaibh Néill fós, <sup>36</sup>γ go <sup>37</sup>meadh tene <sup>38</sup>derg dia <sup>39</sup>ndibhadh <sup>40</sup>γ dia <sup>41</sup>ndilghenn Caillín naomh, muna <sup>42</sup>oicttais a chios. Ro <sup>43</sup>fágaibh dhóibh a neart ar a naimhdibh <sup>44</sup>γ gan neart chuigh forra, <sup>45</sup>gén no mhairfed leo re híc chiosa <sup>46</sup>Caillín <sup>47</sup>γ a comarba. [Each <sup>48</sup>γ earrach . . . (follow on 216: 15)].

<sup>1</sup>atchi D. <sup>2</sup>leaba C. <sup>3</sup>thear D. <sup>4</sup>om. C. <sup>5</sup>muintter (om. -si) C. <sup>6</sup>cuibh féin D. <sup>7</sup>uirre C. <sup>8</sup>thir C. <sup>9</sup>fod taobaibh C. <sup>10</sup>emh C. <sup>11</sup>deis- C. <sup>12</sup>an sccioil C. <sup>13</sup>bam- <sup>14</sup>buideacheach D. <sup>15</sup>dít C. <sup>16</sup>acc timtirect C. D. <sup>17</sup>reime C. <sup>18</sup>deigenaigh C. <sup>19</sup>remhe C. <sup>20</sup>altora D. <sup>21</sup>om. si C. <sup>22</sup>aidhche C. <sup>23</sup>gheam <sup>24</sup>as fisidh C. <sup>25</sup>ffuil cís C. <sup>26</sup>clan- C. <sup>27</sup>ór D. <sup>28</sup>ter CD. <sup>29</sup>lionad D. <sup>30</sup>tain C. <sup>31</sup>bhiudh C. D. <sup>32</sup>thairngair D. <sup>33</sup>gomadh C. <sup>34</sup>an C. <sup>35</sup>gac fior D. <sup>36</sup>co D. <sup>37</sup>mh'éch C. <sup>38</sup>chend <sup>39</sup>asbert C. <sup>40</sup>étt D. <sup>41</sup>combadh D gom- C.

## A.

Once on a time Caillin saw the bed of Cruimther Fraoch without a covering upon it. Presbyter, said Caillin, take thee my plaid, that it may be under thy sides. I am thankful to thee, Chief Legate Caillin, said Cruimther Fraoch: moreover I shall be serving an altar beside thee day and night: and for thee, Caillin I ordain further, said Cruimther Fraoch, a vat of two persons' provision of ale with its sufficiency of food, from every man in my place for ever. My horse and my archiepiscopal robes are thine in return for that, said Caillin, and a third of every tribute due to me shall be thine, said Caillin; and the third which is given from thee to my abbacy and my followers shall be for thine own monks. The paraphrase of this story is in the verses which we wrote above, upon the last page of the preceding quire.

## B.

It is well known that tax and tribute is due to Caillin from the progeny of Eogan mac Neill. For he prophesied to them that they should possess the north of Ireland, the Ulster Fifth in particular. And he said that Tara of the Kings and Cashel and Cruachu should have great envy and spite, for that the seed of Niall would make inroad and intrusion upon them from Ulaid. Caillin promised moreover that the progeny of Niall should have power over all, so long as they should pay his tribute. Moreover he promised to all the progeny of Niall, when they should refuse the tribute to the successor of Caillin, or his bell, or his relics, that the strength of barbarians would play on them, and should carry off hostages and prisoners from them to Cruachu and to Cashel. He said further that every other good fortune would dwindle yet further away from the progeny of Niall, and that he, Saint Caillin, would be a red fire to ruin and to destroy them, unless they should pay his tribute. He left to them their strength over their enemies, and no strength to them\* [the enemies] over them [the people of Niall] so long as they should remain with him, to pay the tax of Caillin and of his successor.

<sup>41</sup>-báigh D. <sup>42</sup>Caisiol C. <sup>43</sup>acc ionnsaighidh C. D -fadh C. <sup>56</sup>go meadh tene D gomadh  
<sup>44</sup>-oibh C. <sup>45</sup>tairngair D thairngir C. tene C. <sup>57</sup>dhercc C. <sup>58</sup>ndiobach D. <sup>59</sup>-gend  
<sup>46</sup> go C. <sup>47</sup>cloinne C. <sup>48</sup>cach an ccéin C. C. <sup>60</sup>icodais a cis C. <sup>61</sup>faccaibh doibh C.  
<sup>49</sup>-gair D. <sup>50</sup>cland- C. <sup>51</sup>-fattáis C. <sup>52</sup>chlocc <sup>62.62</sup>an cein no ífaittis cis C.  
C. <sup>53</sup>go C. (*bis*). <sup>54</sup>asbert C. <sup>55</sup>-feadh

\* Emending the unintelligible *chuigh* of the MSS. to *dóibh*.

## APPENDIX IX. (follows 274 : 14)

Hériu do bheannaigh Pátraig	is do imthigh go láidir,
ar slúagaibh diabhail na ndream	ro choisric cruach na ccemeann.
Mór anocht ceist Pátraicc	Día dhá chabair go láidir,
ar a bheith gan fich gan feall	acht sé ag beannachad Érenn.
5 Triar is naoimhe i mBanba bind	o ré thosaigh an Tailghinn,
airmhit litre 7 leabhair	gan meisge, gan móir-mheabhail.
Coluim caoimh-echtach Cille	go ffele, go ffrinne,
Bright cenn ceirt in chrábhaidh	is Patraicc in mor-sámhlaidh.
Triar is úaisle ro chaith bíadh	sa n-adhlacadh fa én lía,
10 Patraicc is Coluim Cille,	Brighitt co métt ffrinne,
Adlaicther Bright Bhanbha	gum' Caomhoigh óigh ilarda
mo chádhus mac mhoir Muire	in onóir a ffrinne.
Measrachad Gaoidheal na ngleann	go righ-naoimh, érlamh Eirenn,
neamh o Phattraig bhinn bhádach	da slúagh sotla sodhánach.
15 Subhach gach sái ri Patraicc	slúagh Gaoidil leis go láidir,
ereach daith cádhús a cheall	is áineas ar gach aifreann,
Déna an t-aifreann, a chlérigh	a Mháodóig óig indfeithmhigh,
re linn cádhúsa do clocc	bidh áineasach gach easpoc.
Éireochait cléirigh na ccell	dingfidher diabal i nIfreann,
20 bíaidh sluaigh na nGaoidil nglonn-	mon saóirfer go sárlonnach.
ach	
Do bheitha, a Thigernaídh tréin,	a naoimh righ nimhe naoimh réidh
is leat féin feasta do cheall,	leat a ttuath, leat a fferand.
An ferann so-damhat smacht	ar a ndrochair mor-narracht,
is la Patraicc cíos a cheall	o neoch iarrus a fearann.

1 A Hériu D : co D. 2 choiseirg D.	Gaoidil D : ngleand C : rig C : naemh
3 Phátraig D : co D. 4 om. a C : fich C.	C : Erenn C. 14 Pat. C : binn baghach : C
5 náibhi D : bhinn D : tosaigh C : in D.	dha D : slúagh C : sotlach D. 15 sói D : co
6 airmhit C : meisce D : mor-mheabhail	D. 16 dait, cadas, ceall C : Aifrenn C.
D : moir-meabail C. 7 Colam caemh	17 cléirigh C. 18 easpucc. C. 19 -aitt C ;
cumhachtach C ( <i>the cumh- interlined above</i> ):	cceall C : dingfeadhtar D. 20 co D :
co D : fele C. 8 cert D : Patraic C. 9 Tair	sar-loinnech C. 21 Thicc- C : naeimh-righ,
C : do D. 10 Colaim C : Bright co méd : D	naemh-reidh C. 22 as C : fén D : ceall C
ffrinne C. 11 adlaicther D : Brigitt Banba	attuath, a ferann C. 23 dhamat D : ttorchair
C : caomhoig C : iolardha D. 13 Measrachadh	C : nairracht D. 24 as C : Pátraic D : cis
	a cell C : cosas a ferand C.



Ireland which Patrick blessed and which he traversed with strength,  
 against the hosts of the Devil of the multitudes, he consecrated the  
 Hill of the Steps.\*

Great to-night is Patrick's trouble—God give him help with power!  
 For that he is without land or abode, and only blessing Ireland.

Those three that are holiest in tuneful Banba, from the time when  
 the Tailgenn began,

letters and books reckon them without confusion or great shame.

Colum Cille of fair exploits with generosity and truth, [ensample.

Brigid, the head of the rightfulness of piety, and Patrick the great

The three noblest who ate food, they are buried under one stone,

Patrick and Colum Cille, Brigid with store of truthfulness.

Brigid of Banba is buried with Mo-Chóemhóg virgin, manifold,

My veneration is the Son of great Mary, in honour of his truth.

Judgement of the Gaedil of the Valleys belongs to the royal saint, to  
 the patron of Ireland. [prosperous host.

From Patrick the tuneful and loving comes heaven to his proud and

Pleasant is every sage with Patrick, his is the host of the Gaedil mightily,

A light burden†(?) is the veneration of his churches, and a pleasure  
 upon every mass.

Perform the mass, thou cleric, Madóg pure, attentive; [pleasure.

at the time of the veneration of thy bells every bishop shall have

The clerics of the cells shall arise, the devil shall be crushed down  
 into Hell, [vehemently.

the hosts of the deedful Gaedil shall be around the noble man very

Thou shouldst be O mighty Lord, their holy King of Heaven holy

and gentle (?) [territory.

And thine own thy church henceforth, thine their people, thine their

This land on which the great idol‡ fell, they yield authority;

Patrick owns the rent of his churches from anyone who seeks for  
 its land.

\* Possibly a name for Cruachan Aigli (Croagh-Patrick).

† reading *ere dáithe*.

‡ Crom Cruaich.

- 25 Fearann ar a ttáinic Lugh }  
 Druim Suidhich a ainm gan bron, }  
 Druim Airbhealach i gan feall }  
 Airbhealach tainic alle }  
 dichennais Lugaid re linn }  
 30 Ge do mharbusa dom smacht }  
 neamh úait, a Phatraig na cceall, }  
 Da mberinn-si féin fa búaidh }  
 do berainn gach crích rem linn, }  
 M'ainim ar ineach Pháttraig }  
 35 dom naomhadh ar dhíabal-ndream }  
 Ifrionn nocha neaccail dam }  
 bét ma chomairce Patraicc, }  
 Beannaighis Erenn cháimh cháidh }  
 ar slúaghaibh díabhail na ndream }  
 40 Mac Calpuirn é gach re seal }  
 is Patraicc a ainm eile }  
 Fearta Patraicc is a ceall }  
 is cádhusach tricc an fer }  
 Clanna Mileadh, mor a smacht }  
 45 roinnset Erinn, iath gan feall, }

26 suidhigh C : Pattraicc gan bron C.  
 27 feall C : laga C. 28 air ar belach tarnicc  
 ille C : adhbail Espaine C : dicean- D : Lucchaid  
 C : in tulach C. 30 marb- C : Airmedhach C.  
 31 nemh D : Patraig C : Phattrraig D : in  
 trath D : ticfus an Tailgenn C. 32 féin  
 D : bhuaidh D : Phattrraig D : mhor-  
 D. 33 bherainn D : curach (for crich)  
 D : anim D. 34 mh'anim D : einfech

Patraic C : as i C : choraidheacht C : Ifrenn  
 D. 36 neccal damh ódodéntar C 37 Páttraicc  
 C : Pháttraig D : connailbhe D. 38 -ghis  
 C : caoimh caidh C : tardeccn- C.  
 40 Gaid- C. 41 ele C : trocaire C. 42 Patt-  
 raig D : teccar C : timcell C. 43 as C : tig  
 D : co D. 44 Pattraic D : thoigheacht  
 D. 45 roindset Her. iat C : a fiach man  
 fferann D.

The land upon which came Lug, a man without sense or piety,  
 Druim Suidhech is its name without sorrow, where Patrick shall be  
 without renewed sorrow ;

Druim Airbealach it is, without deceit, from the time of Lug of the  
 strokes.

Airbealach came hither, the beautiful prince of Spain,  
 Lug beheaded him at the time, upon the mound without alighting.  
 Though I have slain by my authority Airbealach with whiteness  
 of hands,

I desire heaven from thee, Patrick of the churches, what time the  
 Tailginn shall come.

Were I myself to obtain the strength of Patrick of the mighty hosts,  
 I should give every territory of my time, to seek heaven for my soul.  
 My soul on the protection of Patrick—that is the strong wrestling !  
 to consecrate me against the devil-host and to save me from Hell.  
 Hell shall not be fearful to me when my consecration shall be  
 accomplished ;

I shall be under Patrick's protection, under his very strong affection.  
 He blessed Ireland the fair and holy, did the chief sage stern and  
 affluent,

against the armies of the devil of the hosts, from the time when the  
 Tailgenn arrived.

The Son of Calpurn is he to whom the pleasant ones of the Gaedil  
 make prostrations on every alternate occasion.

And Patrick is his other name, in the time of his mercy.

The graves of Patrick and his church, about it no one comes (?)  
 reverend and eager is the man to the great powerful Children of Mil.  
 The Children of Mil, great their authority, came a space before Patrick :  
 they divided Ireland, a land without treachery, until there arose a  
 fighting about the territory.

- Fergna Fearadach nar ffann  
 Caillin cosnambach cródha  
 Is fíal oghdha gach fer  
 dar bhaist Caillin co mbladh  
 50 Tre dheagh-ola do bhaist Caillin  
 gach fer do síol Aodha Finn  
 Tuath Conmhaicne na céta  
 la Caillín a maincheas maith  
 Carattradh Caillín gan chrádh  
 55 neamh co chádhusach na chill,  
 Do fagaibh Bearchán tre bháidh  
 Neamh is cadhus na ceallaibh  
 Cruimthear Fraoch an chadhais  
 crúaidh,  
 Colum Cille o chellaibh feart  
 60 Seacht maic nAedha on chill  
 cháidh,  
 I Ros Inbir niam laisi  
 Ceall ferta o fertaibh Patraicc  
 treathais Pátraicc gan renna  
 Clog na Rígh ag Caillín crúaidh,  
 65 dar fag na chairthe crechtaigh  
 cruaidh
- Patraicc cenn-na crích ccainteann  
 ro bhaist Aodh Finn fíal oghdha.  
 do síol Áodha Finn feramhail,  
 da láimh láin-mhin le deagh-olaidh  
 caemh, cor chuir in deagh-  
 fachain,  
 feramail, in degh-ait aoibhinn.\*  
 trath tig laithe a láin-écca,  
 etir ogán is árdflaith.  
 re síol lán-bladach luachán  
 na Roimh árusaigh alainn.  
 do síol Aodha Finn fial-náir,  
 is fárus ga filedaibh.  
 Patraicc beires gach lán-búaid,  
 thall do bhennaigh sa túaiscirt.  
 is Beo-Aedh beo brigh-náir,  
 gan iorghail, gan domhaisi.  
 Cend Cruaiche londmar láidir,  
 olc faccaibh a airdheana.  
 do Ceann Crúaiche ba dimbúaidh,  
 ar an maigh eachtaigh armruaidh.

\* This quatrain is very corrupt in both MSS. In C it appears as  
 Tre deagh-ola do bhaist Caillin  
 gach fer do síol Aodha fer conta

In D it is given thus -  
 Tre dheag-ola do bhaist Caillin  
 gach fer do síol Aodha Ferchonta finn.

The first line must stand: *tredheag* being scanned as one syllable, corresponding with the *caomh* of the second line. *Caomh* must be an adjective qualifying *Caillin*, *corcur* (written in both MSS. *corc*) being for *cor chuir*. *Cuirim in deagh-fhachain* is apparently an adaptation to metrical purposes of *cuirim i fhachain*, "I blame," and means—so far as it has any meaning, "I put into, or use for, a good cause." In the second couplet, *finn* and *aoibhinn*, though omitted by O'Clery, must be the rhyme words. *Ferchonta*, whatever it may mean, is intrusive; the line is perfect without it—*Gach fer do síl Aedha Finn. Feramhail* follows naturally; but the line is hypermetric by one syllable, and we must cut out the *ribh* from *aitribh*. These intrusive words doubtless form the beginning and end of an interlined gloss, which stretched across the greater part of the second line of the couplet in Z, and of which the middle part had become effaced: to the copyist it appeared thus:

Gach fer do síl Aedha finn

Fer conta [.....] ribh  
 feramail in degh-ait aibhinn.

Fergna, Feradach who was not weak, Patrick head of the land fair  
and firm,

Caillin the victorious and valorous baptised Aed Finn generous and  
virginal.

Generous and virginal is every man of the seed of manly Aed Finn,  
whom famous Caillin baptised with his full-fine hand with good oil.  
By means of good oil Caillin the fair baptised, so that he puts in a  
good state

every man of the seed of Aed Finn the manly, in the good and pleasant  
place.

The people of the Conmaicne in their hundreds, when the day of their  
full death came,

Under Caillin was their good monastic district, whether youth or lofty  
prince.

The friendship of Caillin without vexation for the full famous seed of  
lakelets (??)

Heaven reverently in his church, in their homelike beautiful sanctuary.  
Berchan left with affection to the seed of Aed Finn generous and noble,  
Heaven and reverence in his churches, and scholarship to their poets.  
Cruimther Fraoch of the stern reverence, Patrick who carries off every  
full victory,

Colum Cille from the churches of graves gave blessing yonder in the  
north.

The seven sons of Aed from the holy church, and Beo-Aed lively,  
bright and noble,

In Ros Inber, a flash of brilliancy, without battle, without ugliness.  
The church of one of the miracles of Patrick, Cenn Cruaiche, valiant  
and strong.

Patrick left him without divisions, evil did he leave his characters.  
The Bell of the Kings to Caillin the hard, to Cenn Cruaiche it was a  
misfortune

By which he left the wounding hard stones on the plain of deeds of red  
weapons.

46 cetna crioch cCúalann D. 47 Aodha D : árasaigh aluinn C. 56 fácaibh Berchán  
Finn Feramhail C. 49 om. co mbladh C. C : báidh C : síl D. 58 bheirus D : bhuaidh  
51 siol C : om. finn and aoibhinn D. 59 Colaim D : cellaib C : bhend- D. 60  
C : on for in C. 54 caratradh D : síl C : nEadha D : Béd Aodha D. 61 irgail 62 cenn  
lánbhadach dúachaib D. 55 cadhusach D : loinnmhear D. 63 trethais Pattrraig  
D : gach renna C. 64 ardhena C.

- Credrán so dar creitt Pátraicc : na láimh co láochda láidir,  
biaidh neamh is cadhus gan crádh da gach láimh bhias fan Credrán.  
Dachuma is Patraicc gan feall ó Chill Tiprat na taidlend,  
berait arís Erinn aird do macaibh mallacht, 's da niom-  
mairg
- 70 Mairec nach ttic fa smacht tar éis Laoghaire láidir,  
Patraicc  
targaibh dhó maitheas gan meing 7 flaitheas na ferainn.  
Laoguire mac Néill gan ón fer gan céill is gan crábadh,  
ó Phatraicc co n-iomat ceall obais neamh on naomh n-álainn.  
Iarraim-si neamh ar Phatraicc o m'athair, fionnóg agbuig,  
75 i ccéttáin cadasaig cain ga bfuil cadhas an cadaig.  
Foglaidh Chille Tipratt trein nocha dlighenn a deighréir,  
a chorp do bheith ma chonaibh cóir gach olc na anfoladh.  
Deich mbliadna fichet co fír bud ais Bright gan migniomh ;  
legoitech Erenn uile, cend Banba co mbanchuire.  
80 Cet bl adan is cach ma breth Caillech cadasach cadaich  
tar eis Patraicc puirt na bpenn do bi ag bennachad Erenn.  
Mé Ciaran an crotha glain Erlam cadhusach cadhach ;  
agam adhlaicter an drem Ard-maithe uaisle Erenn.

69 sdamairce C. 70 ticc C : Pattraig D.  
71 tarcaib C : feronn C. 72 Laoghaire  
C. 74 dom mháthair D. 78 Brighitt D.

79 légaideacht D. 80 Caillin D. 83 om.an :  
crotha C.

The "tin music" (=bell) to which Patrick submitted, in his hand  
valorous and strong,  
heaven and reverence shall be his without vexation to every hand  
which shall be under the bell.

Dachuma and Patrick without deceit from Kiltubrid which he visits  
not,  
they shall give again lofty Ireland to the sons of curses and to their  
battling.

Woe (to him) that comes not under the authority of Patrick after  
strong Loeguire

He promised to him goodness without guile, and pryncedom in his  
land.

Loeguire mac Neill without blame, a man without sense or religion  
from Patrick with many churches, refused Heaven from the beauteous  
saint.

I ask Heaven of Patrick, from my father, the "knotted crow\*"  
on the fair reverential Wednesday, on which is reverence for the revered  
one.

The ravaging of strong Kiltubrid, not lawful is its good submission ;  
his body being among dogs right is every evil of ill-will.

Thirty years truly was of the age of Brigit without misdeed ;  
the legateship of all Ireland, the head of Banba with a woman's  
company.

A hundred years (everyone is about its judgement ?) was the reverend  
reverential nun

after Patrick of the port of pens (?) who was blessing Ireland.

I am Ciaran of the pure form, the reverent and reverential patron,  
in my presence is buried the multitude, the lofty nobles of Ireland.

\* The Rev. Dr. T. Corcoran, S.J., who remembered his Horace better than I did, has directed me to the *annosa cornix* of Carm. III. xvii 13 as the inspiration of this unexpected appellation.

## APPENDIX X. (follows Appendix IX.)

Caillín cecinit hoc carmen.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>Tiucfat treóin chloinne Colla<br/>acht ge bét gan nert aniugh<br/>Sil Doimh Airgit d'eirghe ar tús<br/>betit fir on Érne co tend<br/>5 Gebtait síl cCerbhaill gan cheas<br/>triar ocus Donnchad derg dil<br/>Gebtait clann Eiccigh alla<br/>mor rí gan talamh nach tim<br/>Seisear do síl Ferghail uill<br/>10 don ro-chloinn nach canann gáí<br/>Seisear don Feodachán fos<br/>ni fairbrigi, delm con dath,<br/>Seisear oile, gairge nglonn<br/>can airecht o sin amach<br/>15 Riarait uili órdan oll<br/>tairisit treimsi co tó<br/>Cumsanach cian tricha a tri<br/>o rightar rí na rith rain<br/>Cucallán ni coiglenn cách<br/>20 in coimseach cinnteach na sreath,<br/>An fer sin do chlannaibh Néill<br/>nocha go son hi l-lo na ccreach<br/>Muintir Feodacháin, bidh ffr,<br/><br/>fer in alluidh, garbh a ghail<br/>25 Tarla mh'aire fos co ffr<br/>ni ba tarbha sloigh san lurg</p> | <p>attét cóir a ccomhronna ;<br/>biaidh mór recht ga riarughadh.<br/>Cairpre is Conall righ(dh)a arús<br/>ar n-eirghe nemhi a n-oighlenn.<br/>cethrar dibh is mórtha a meas,<br/>nach dlomthar o Airghiallaibh.<br/>righe coitchenn nach cranda,<br/>ar Féaraibh Manach máidim.<br/>ghébbhus righe gan dogruing<br/>ma Lochloinn Locha Héni.<br/>ma Aongus, bidh ard anós,<br/>in airdrighe Fer Manach.<br/>do síl Stepan imadh onn,<br/>co ttairecht fein co Fidhnach.<br/>ar comhtromadh cend is coll,<br/>co tí remsi fir Ard-bó.<br/>sithcháin sein-Locha Erni<br/>no co righthar Cucallán.<br/>an creachaire coitcend-gnath,<br/>loingseach millteach malartach.<br/>olc d'Feraibh Manach a réim,<br/>bidh olc dosomh Fir Manach.<br/>muintir Stepháin, garbh an<br/>gnimh,<br/>taeth do crannaibh concláidigh.<br/>mar dioghailter forra an gníomh;<br/>lá in madhma móir ag Midhbulg.</p> |
|--|--|

Heading : *om.* cecinit *and* carmen C.  
1 ticfat C : cloinne C : attét C. comhronna  
C. 3 Argaitt C : Cairbre D. 4  
beittit C : teand D : neimhe D :  
aighlend C. 5 cCerbhaill C : ces C : cetrar  
C : as C : a *om.* D. 6 derce C : dlomthar  
D : a *for* o D. 7 gebhtait C : coitcend C.  
8 rígh D. 9 seisear C : síol C : Fherguil

C : gebhus rige C : doghaing C. 10 mo  
Lochlainn C : Erni C. 11 do muintir  
Feodachán D : don Peotacan C. 12 ni  
hairbhrighi D : deilm D. 13 gairgi C : síol  
C : Steafáin D : imadhond C. 14 gan  
D : ttairecht C. 15 riaraitt C : -throm-  
D : ceann D. 17 sithcháin D : sithcain C :  
Lácha C : Herni D. 19 coicclend C : choig-  
lenn D coitchenn D. 20 an C : cinntech C :



The strong ones of the progeny of Colla shall come, I shall relate the  
 fitness of their co-division; [controlling them.  
 But though they be without strength to-day, great right shall be  
 The seed of Damh Argait arise at first, Coirpre and Conall, royal their  
 history (?) [ness of their warriors.  
 There shall be men from the Erne stoutly after the rising of the bright-  
 The seed of Cerbhall shall receive, without grief, four of them, enlarged  
 is their reparation, [by the Airghialla.  
 three along with Donnchad, red and faithful, that are not rejected  
 The progeny of Eigneach yonder shall receive a general kingdom that  
 is not shrivelled (?): [do I celebrate.  
 A great king without land that is not feeble, over the Fir Manach  
 Six men of the seed of great Fergal who shall take a kingdom without  
 affliction [Löch Erne.  
 of the great progeny who recite not falsehood around Lochlann of  
 Six men of the [people of] Feodachán further, including Aengus,  
 lofty shall be his fashion, [Manach.  
 Not wrinkled (?)—a colourful renown—in the kingship of the Fir  
 Other six men of roughness of deeds of the seed of Stephen of many  
 stones, [Fidnach.  
 without an assembly from that out till they come themselves to  
 All submit—a great dignity—to the levelling of heads and of woods (?)  
 they abide a space with silence till the time of the man of Ard Bo.  
 Repose for a space of thirty three [years], the peace of old Loch Erne,  
 from when the king of the very noble course rules, till Cucallán rules.  
 Cucallán spares not any, the common general plunderer,  
 the fitting one, appointed for the course, a destructive fickle bandit.  
 That man of the progeny of Niall—evil for the Fir Manach his course—  
 never till this, in the day of plunderings shall the Fir Manach be evil  
 to him (?) [rough the deed.  
 The people of Feodachan, it shall be true, the people of Stephen,  
 men of ravaging, rough their valour, shall fall by excavating spears.  
 I have yet observed truly how the deed is avenged on them;  
 A host shall not be profitable to them on the track, on the day of the  
 great rout at Midbolg.

C : malairteach D. clan- C. 22 i l-lo D : taoth D : rendaibh C : concláidigh D : con  
 dosomh C. 23 Feotachan C : Feodachan claittigh C. 25 orra in gníomh D.  
 D : Steafáin D : in gnimh C. 24 inallaidh

- Dighélaít Fir Manach sin  
 biaid a mbarca lan da fuil  
 Beítit guil i tTulaigh Ócc  
 30 biaidh rí Oiligh ann co ffr  
 Tegait Clanna Conaill cruaidh  
 sluaghadh bágha trena o toigh  
 Ar ngabháil bhroitti 7 bhúair  
 bertait orra taireacht beacht  
 35 Don taoibh thes do Chnucha choir  
 suaill nach comhtuitim annsoin  
 Marbhthar ár Oirgiall san gleo  
 ni mó bús deolaigh don droing  
 Iomdha easbadha Clanda Neill  
 40 ni ghebait neart nair a bhus,  
 Braighde Airghiall re nert slúaign  
 ni ba spéis tubhtha ga taigh  
 Madhma ele imdha ar núair  
 Aimsir crin nár fill i fad  
 45 Is mé an cleireach on cill caidh  
 dénam adhradh Righ na recht
- ar loinges Hui Neill nertmair,  
 lá húr-trachta Lisgabhail.  
 on tres sin i ttáoth mór n-ócc,  
 ar na oidhidh rubha lán-righ.  
 ocus clanna Eoghain arm-ruaidh;  
 do breith thána o Airgiallaibh.  
 do chlannaibh Néill isin uair,  
 na cóicc airecht in aonfecht.  
 ann do bérthar an tres trom :  
 d'Uibh Neill 7 d'Airghiallaibh.  
 ma tri toisechaib nach teo  
 ár Eoghain ocus Conaill.  
 ar comacht an catha tréin,  
 ferr daibh gan techt an turus.  
 ni berait clann Neill bhothuaidh  
 deis chatha Cnucha cetaigh.  
 cidh imcuimnigh ni biu doibh  
 terc Dinn Righ an tráth ticfat.  
 forgell fire fós imfaidh  
 labhra dontí tráth ticfat.

27 digeltait C: loingset D: bhur trachta D.  
 30 beittit C. 31 clanna cruaidh Conaill D.  
 32 Oirghiallaibh D. 33 bhraite D: broitti  
 C: buair C: clandaibh C: thaireacht D.  
 35 taobh C: Cnucha C: bértar C. 36 suaill  
 C: comhtuitim D: annsin D. 37 marbhthar  
 D: Airghiall D: beo glossed no to D: teo D.

38 druing D. 39 Clanna D: comach C: ar  
 chomhachta an chatha D. 40 ghebaitt  
 C: ibhus D: in for an D. 41 le neart  
 C: sluagh D. 42 catha C: cettaigh C.  
 44 aoinfer *changed to* amser D: Dhinn  
 D. 45 clereach D: forgell D: fós *ins.*  
*by corrector C.*

The Fir Manach shall avenge that upon the expedition of powerful  
Ua Néill,  
their ships shall be full of his blood on the day of the new faring of  
Lisgabhail.

There shall be lamentations in Tulach Og from that battle in which  
many warriors shall fall.

The king of Ailech shall be there truly, after his cutting slaughter of  
perfect kings.

The progeny of hard Conall shall come, and the progeny of red-armed  
Eogan ;

a hosting of strong battle from their home to carry off a foray from  
Airghialla.

After their taking of booty and of cattle, they, the progeny of Niall  
in the time,

an ordered expedition plays upon them, of the five lordships all at  
once.

On the southern side of just Cnucha there is the strong battle ranged :  
Almost is there a common slaughter there of Ui Neill and Airgialla.

A slaughter of the Airgialla is slain in the fight, including three chief-  
tains that were not vigorous,

The slaughter of Eoghan and Conall shall not be any more free to the  
company.

The progeny of Niall have many losses in the enjoyment of the strong  
battle,

they shall not obtain noble strength here : 'twere better for them not  
to go on the expedition.

The captives of Airgialla with strength of an army, the progeny of  
Niall take them not to the north :

there was no desire of capturing at their house after the battle of  
Cruachu of hundreds.

There are many other routes thereafter though fit to remember I shall  
not take up time with them,

a withered time that returns not in length, stunted is Dinn Righ when  
they shall come.

I am the cleric from the pure church, a witness of truth further fit to  
be a prophet :

I shall make adoration to the King of rights, I shall speak to Him  
when He shall come,

**APPENDIX XI.** (follows Appendix X.)

As <sup>1</sup>cianmar ria <sup>2</sup>creideamh ro <sup>3</sup>bhatar <sup>4</sup>saithe 7 senchaidhe ag tuar  
7 <sup>5</sup>ag <sup>6</sup>tairngire <sup>7</sup>Naomh-Chaillin mic Níatach; amhail <sup>8</sup>doroine  
Cathbadh <sup>9</sup>caom-dhraoi. Ro <sup>10</sup>fiafraig <sup>11</sup>Medb Cruachain <sup>12</sup>annsin do  
Féir <sup>13</sup>Ceirtne <sup>14</sup>fili, .i. fáidh-<sup>15</sup>sidhein 7 fer móir-<sup>16</sup>eoluis: <sup>17</sup>Cionnus  
is cinnte leat, a Féir Cheirtne, or si, <sup>18</sup>do bhes mo chlanmhaicne dar  
meisi, .i. síl Cuirc 7 Ceir 7 Conmaic? Ro <sup>19</sup>freagair Féir Ceirtne dhi:  
Aga <sup>20</sup>érnadh: 7 ro <sup>21</sup>thairngir Caillin <sup>22</sup>naomhtha annsidhein, amail  
gach ni ele. Ar is do <sup>23</sup>maicne Medba dho. <sup>24</sup>Medb fein ro <sup>25</sup>fiafraigh  
do Féir Ceirtne mar so siosana:—

<sup>1</sup>-mhar D. <sup>2</sup>ccreitemh C. <sup>3</sup>bhattar C. <sup>9</sup>om. C. <sup>10</sup>fiarfaigh C. <sup>11</sup>Meadhbh D.  
<sup>4</sup>saoithe D. <sup>5</sup>acc C. <sup>6</sup>tairngaire D, tarn- <sup>12</sup>om. C. <sup>13</sup>Cheirtne D. <sup>14</sup>file D. <sup>15</sup>sidhe C.  
gaire C. <sup>7</sup>naoimh D, naemh C. <sup>8</sup>dorinne D. <sup>16</sup>-eolais C. <sup>17</sup>cinnus as cinnte lat C. <sup>18</sup>ins.

**APPENDIX XII.** (follows Appendix XI.)

A Féir Cheirtne foirgleas fira	rímha damh toirchell tria
Conmac; Ciar, is Corc cuimne	ruimne damh cinnus bia.
A inghen Eachach Feidhligh	ro dheimhnigh damh físs forais,
tuirtheacht an trír condelccnus	rugais d'Fergus on longais.
5 Ar techt Talgend bus treisi	ni bá ceisi ar a námhaid,
creidimsi an te da n-adrat	cech olc adhbhal ros dingab.
Ceithre saithe cai in crabaidh,	naoimh condluite De duiligh,
Cáillin, Cruimt(h)er Fraoch	Mochaemhocc techtad, tuiridh.
	fertach,
Iarlaithe úasal iodan	ordan inad na ffethal,
10 ceithre ard-naoimh na Conmaic	da ffoghnat cách go lethan.

1 Fer Ceirtne C: foircleas C: foirghleas Tailgheann bhus D: a niomatt C. 6 creittimsi  
fiora D: ríomha D: Above ruimne, .i. C: adhbhal rosdiongaibh D. 7 ssáithe chai an  
inis (written Iinis) D. 3 do D: fios D: forais C. C: condlaithe changed to -dluithe D:  
4 condelccnus C: ruccaiss C. 5 ttecht don dhe dhuiligh D. 8 Mocaémhócc C: teachtadh  
D. 9 inadh D: fethal C. 10 foghnat C.

It is a long time before the Faith, that the sages and historians were making presages and prophecies of Saint Caillin son of Niata, as did Cathbad the fair druid. Medb of Cruachu then enquired of Fer Ceirtne the poet, who was a prophet and a man of great knowledge : What is thy certainty, Fer Ceirtne, said she : how shall they fare, my descendants after me, the seed of Corc and Ciar and Conmac ? Fer Ceirtne answered her : They shall be paying [dues]. And then he prophesied of holy Caillin, as of everything else : for he (Caillin) was of the descendants of Medb. Medb herself enquired of Fer Certne as follows :

cionnus D: bias C. <sup>19</sup>freccair C. <sup>20</sup>éirnedh C. D: <sup>24</sup>Meadbh fen D : om fein C. <sup>25</sup>fiarfaigh  
<sup>21</sup>gair C. <sup>22</sup>naemh C. <sup>23</sup>maicne Mheadhbha dhó d'Fer Cetne (om. mar so siosana) C.

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Thou Fer Ceirtne who testifieth to truth, narrate through it to me a testimony

Conmac, Ciar, and Corc of memory, set before me how they shall be.  
 Daughter of Eochu Feidhlech, knowledge of science is assured to me :  
 the adventures of the three with distinctness which thou didst bear to  
 Fergus after exile.

After the coming of the Tailgenn who shall be strongest, there shall  
 be no spears for their enemies (?)

I believe the God whom they worship, (and) every great evil which  
 has crushed them.

Four sages of the road of piety, saints with the earnestness of God of  
 the elements,

Caillin, Cruimther Fraoch of miracles, Mochaemhog the righteous,  
 the pillar.

Iarlaith noble, undefiled, dignitary of the places of the reliquaries,  
 the four chief saints of the Conmaicne to whom everyone pays service  
 far and wide.

<p>Do Chonmaicnibh Rein rathmair ní ba hionann a cerdi Cuigear dibh, ní dál dubha fir-abb berthar sin baile</p> <p>15 Ioseph re seinm co mbinne, is é an cuicedh mar chanaim, Ticfat cuicc ordan enigh do shiol Cumhsraigh ná Bruighne Domhnall . . . . [continues 274 : 17]</p>	<p>ticfait saithe cen sena, ce diultat gen tigerna. i Fidhnacha cen cisa, cerd óir ar ri Moel-Isa. Cathal an file fiadhnach, Fer-in-Allaind ní bréccach. móras neimhidh nach cranda, dleghar dim tuirmi a teanna.</p>
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11 ticfuit D : gan D. 12 dhiultait 13 cúiccar D : canaim C. 17 cuig D : re cranna D.  
C : dhíbh D : gen císá D. 16 in cuigedh 18 Cosgraigh D : om: dim, ins lióm above D.

To the Conmaicne of prosperous Ren sages will come without denial,  
 not equal shall be their arts though they refuse the smile of a lord (?)  
 Five of them, it is not an assembly of sorrow, in Fidnacha without  
 tributes

a true abbot who is borne into the homestead, goldsmith for king  
 Mael-Isa (?)

Joseph for making a tuneful sound, Cathal, the attested poet,  
 he is one of the five, as I sing, to wit, Fer-in-Allaind who is not false.  
 There shall come five dignitaries of honour who exalt a sanctuary  
 that is not decrepit,

of the seed of Cumscrach of the Palace, it is right for me to enumerate  
 their strong ones . . . .

## APPENDIX XIII.

## MARGINALIA.

In the three MSS., A, B, D, there is a number of marginal notes and jottings, which cannot be passed over in silence, as they are part of the history of the document. Some of these are printed in KH, with varying accuracy: others are dismissed with contempt as "not worth printing." (It is difficult to suppress the suspicion that the estimated literary value of these fragments varied with the legibility of the script and their intrinsic intelligibility!) The student however rightly demands a *corpus*, not an anthology, and I have endeavoured to provide him at least with an approximation to an exhaustive list. I must admit that I have been baffled by some of these obscure odds and ends; I have had to content myself with drawing up a catalogue of them, leaving it to others to make them a subject of special study.

I have endeavoured to differentiate the handwritings, though these cannot be fitted with names to any great extent: and I have here to express my deep acknowledgments to Dr. Best, who corrected, with some most valuable criticisms, the draft scheme of differentiation which I had drawn up. Three scribes which I had separated out, naming them Anonymous V, VIII and XI on the basis of minute distinctions in the shape of the letters (while noting that they wrote a hand closely similar to that of Muirges mac Páidín) are, as Dr. Best assures me, identical with him. Muirges contributes several notes (in addition to the pious ejaculations which he is in the habit of writing on the tops of his pages), and these I had already identified as his. None of them are signed; but one, beginning *Amail rogab Caillin* on 10R (p. 104 footnote 4) is conclusively his, for it displays a peculiar mannerism of his script, in joining, with a horizontal line, a series of consecutive *a*'s and *t*'s (in the word *taitmigther*). With the help of this, most of the other notes by him can be identified, and to them are to be added the three anonymous hands mentioned above. While I accept Dr. Best's identification, I have retained my differentiation of these scripts with the addition "(=M)", to indicate that a contrast, induced perhaps by some external circumstance (a fluctuation in health, a poor pen, or what not) can be seen, though they are the work of one hand.



A certain Doighre makes a momentary appearance in a signature on 47V, but I cannot find any trace of him anywhere else. The only other scribbler who can be named is a second Tadhg Ó Rodaige (Tadhg II) who between the years 1688 and 1702 makes (and dates) certain observations in a sprawling, unformed hand. He does not appear to have been a direct descendant of the first Tadhg, under whose patronage the book was written, and whose hand, contrary to the opinion of KH, cannot be certainly traced in any of these notes. For the rest, I have had to be content with marking them "Anonymous," differentiating them by means of numbers. It would be impossible without photographic facsimiles to indicate the bases upon which these differentiations have been founded: the reader who is not prepared to accept them must be referred to the original MS. These annotations give us quite a valuable series of 16th and 17th century handwritings.

In the following table, the first column refers to the page of the MS. (by folio and side, R=*recto*, V=*verso*), as well as the page and footnote of KH where the annotation is mentioned (72.6=page 72 footnote 6). The second column gives the position of the note on the page "in text," or else T, L, R, B=top, left, right, bottom margin: references following (as 2: 8) denote the printed equivalent of the line against which the note is written. In the third column is an indication of the writer. In the fourth is a transcript of the note: where this has been printed already I have contented myself with indicating misprints or other errors.

It will be observed that most of the notes are concentrated on the first gathering. This suggests that the first gathering—detachable, as the book was for so long unbound—was the part most in demand: we may presume that this was because it held an easily assimilated abstract of the popular *Book of Invasions*.

On the bottom margins of some of the pages, especially in the latter portion of the book, there is a number of random flourishes which mean nothing, even though some of them look like letters.

Page	Position	Writer	Text
1.R	R 2 : 13	Tadg II (?)	Eoin abstal ( <i>wrongly copied "Eclais," in pencil by O'Donovan</i> )
„	in text 2 : 8, 2 : 20	Anon. I	<i>Corrections of "dara" and "omega," in a neat round hand.</i>
1.V	T	Muirges	Ih̄c <sub>m</sub> <sup>a</sup> ( <i>in opposite corners. These and similar invocations run through the book</i> ).
„	T	Muirges	No mic moga Taeth mic Fergus
„	R. 6 : 5	Anon. I	idus.
„ (10.8)	B	Anon. II	Deighe inghen Trena mic Dubthaig meic ua Lughair primfile righ Erenn .i. Laoghaire mic Neill, is i in Deighe hi sin mathair Chaillin, is e in Dubthach dorighne coimerghi re Patraicc tar saruighadh an righ Laoghaire remraite. ( <i>A geometrical scribble below this, in different ink</i> ).
2. R	T	Muirges	Ih̄c <sub>m</sub> <sup>a</sup> ( <i>in opposite corners</i> ).
„ (13.10)	B	Anon. III	Ocht .xx. srubhán fa naí, fes Chaillin fáth gan ghai : triar fa gach srubhán dibh sin, do lucht chanta celeabraide. ( <i>this note has been re-inked, and the following note, wrongly appended to it in KH, is added in a different hand</i> ).

Page	Position	Writer	Text
2.R. (13.10)	B	Tadhg II	.i. Mile ceithre cét dhá fichet srubhán et ceithre míle trí cet, et fiche fer do gnath muinnter d'eglais ag Caillin maille gach naoidheadh oile dha ttigh-eadh ós a chionn sin ⁊ le searbhfoghantaigh 7c. Mise Tadhg Ó Rodaigh mac Gearoid óig mic Taidhg meic Geroid mic Taidhg mic Taidg mic Villiam, 7c. Anno Domini 1688. ( <i>The first line, as far as fichet, is written in palimpsest over an older note in the same hand, presumably to correct it. It looks like (secht cead?) fithce srubhan ⁊ da míle .c. co trí fithcheadh do duine.</i> )
„	in text 12 : 6	doubtful	( <i>inserted gloss</i> ) .i. Caillin.
2.V			( <i>Inside the initial B of 14 : 14 a geometrical scribble probably by the same hand as that on 1 V.</i> )
„ (17.6)	B	Anon. IV	Nocha mianachad etc. as in KH ( <i>correct da to dha, read fiadhach-, delete accent of ina, dobhreith to dobr-, doghni to dogni.</i> )
3.R	T	Muirges	Ih̄c ( <i>left corner</i> ).
3.R	L 18 : 12	Anon. V (=M)	5 no 1 iar ndílsí athgabalo. ( <i>apparently an objection to the figure two thousand</i> ).
„	L 20 : 7	Anon. V (=M)	Do rigaib Fer mBolg. ( <i>Apparently a later insertion, not reproduced in derivative MSS.</i> )

Page	Position	Writer	Text
3.R (22.1)	B	Anon. IV	Onoir oide, maith in modh, a oigreir, a oirfiteadh, gidbe dalta diamba bés, atetha fein a coibés.
„	B	Anon. I (?)	Secht raona as a roicter nemh, lupoir legionn tegaeidhthe : fogail maeine, monar ngle, almsa, aeine, urnaighthe. <i>(The two quatrains above written each in a single line across the page. They are in different hand- writings and have no rela- tion to one another. O'Donovan's transcript has here suffered injury which accounts for the gaps and errors in KH : the original is fairly clear).</i>
3. V (23.5)	L 22 : 15	Anon. V (=M)	Ni fagbuim int Eber-si isin gabaltus.
„	Text	Anon. V (=M)	<i>(Sundry glosses).</i>
„ (27.7)	B	Anon. IV	Aighidh Ísa sa críoch síar, soir cen císá cul an Uain ; clé bodés, leth re grein, é na reidh, a dés budh tuaigh. <i>(in one line. "In cle" as printed KH, is needed for the metre, but is not in the MS.).</i>
„ „	B	Anon. IV	Dena maith for deg-duine dobeir dot réir Maith for droch-duine mad sua,

Page	Position	Writer	Text
			do bud foruail beith gan ceill. <i>(first line obviously a corruption of a couplet with beir and reir as rhyming syllables. In one line, in the same handwriting as the preceding, but unconnected with it.</i>
4.R	T	Muirges	Ih̄c (left corner).
„ (32 : 7)	B	Anon. IV	Mairg cuinges ni ar a charuid, etc., as in KH (dedhe for dede).
„ „	„	Anon IV	Is saoiht lem, etc. as in KH (dul for dhul in fourth line). These two quatrains written in the same hand in one line each across the page. No connexion between them.
4.R		doubtful	<i>The marginal initials .c.n. etc., on this and the following pages. Compare the similar initials in the regnal list in BB, 33 a 3 ff.</i>
4. V (38.1. 42.4)	B	Anon. IV	A Guairé anim raidhe an codlad go nimle séis duit a thaonur gan neoch nuir-clanna mic Duach bro ni laibera conglaister noca tarthar ni na bel ni an fab—in cein marás cen combe acht sanas re a mer. <i>(In two lines, divided at the vertical stroke. This conveys no meaning to</i>

Page	Position	Writer	Text
			<i>me, and apparently was equally obscure to KH, who describe it as "a specimen of pedantry not worth reproducing.")</i>
5.R	T	Muirges	Ih̄c—maria.
"	R 42 : 2	Anon. II	Céd righ chloinne Colmain
"	R 42 : 4	Anon. II	c. cól. ( <i>not the same hand as the other similar notes.</i> )
"	B	Anon. IV	A mend agam imraidim, etc. <i>Two obscure quatrains written in two long lines, much injured; I can decipher only a few unintelligible fragments. It is in the same hand and seems to be of the same type as the note in 4 V B.</i>
5.V	T	Muirges	Emanuel.
5.V (47.9)	B	Anon. IV	Heoite coicles, glice scrutas, seice scrabas, aoite tibes, fath ceilg bregas, iris icas : Rig na sluagh di rigne an bith Buidnech buan Togbad an lobran a len tar n-ais an trendad truagh ( <i>KH brush this rigmarole aside as "two unimportant stanzas"</i> )
6.R	T	Muirges	Ih̄c.
"	B	Anon. IV (but writing slightly larger than usual)	O ibhim mo daoth-no rirfinn mo brathair, no raidfinn mo breitir no cainfinn mo mathair,

Page	Position	Writer	Text
			Amail nach cin do credal a beoil do neoch iar tredan is amlaid sin ni cuile briatra sega do duine.
6.V	T	Muirges	Ihc <sup>a</sup> <sub>m</sub> ( <i>The Ihc repeated in an illiterate scribble</i> )
„ (59.6)	B	Anon. IV	An ti benas a duthaigh do duine ar talmain tnuthaigh benfuind na diguil Dé a duthaig ar magh nimhe.  Is e dergadh is cora, isim ro bui lan aimna seis a cochlan for geim én geimen for beg do craobha.
7.R (60.3)	L 60 : 7	Anon. V (=M)	Ni uil ( <i>glossed ni fil in a hand which does not appear again</i> ) in fer sin in atgabail na rig acht o Chaillin nama.
„ (60.7)	L 60 : 15	Anon. V (=M)	Do na rigaib na fetatar cach cen motha toimdiu na suad nama.
„ (64.1)	R 64 : 1	Tadg II	An chuis dia ttainic dibeirt etc. <i>as in</i> p. 64 note 1. ( <i>read Dearbhorgaill, Midhe bean Thigernain.</i> ) <i>Dated</i> Aug. 8, 1693.
„ (67.5)	B	Anon. IV	Fer gan mnaí no ben gen fer, acht muna derna for nem, is colann cen cend cen clainn, 7 is cenn gan coluin.

Page	Position	Writer	Text
			Cia gabusana salma Muna bo menmuin condail, Nochat cotasa nis samlaid Acht a mbeit drisi do lomdha <i>("poetical memoranda of no literary value"—KH).</i>
7.V (68.7)	L 68 : C	Muirges	Is cam-rann sin, a Chaillin.
" "	"	Anon. VI	Nach mor an naire, etc.— <i>a different handwriting and different ink from preceding words. As in printed text, but read bheth for a beith, é for e, and gi . . . árach for gidh . . . arach.</i>
7.V (70.1)	in text after 70 : 4	Anon. V (=M)	Ni maith etc. <i>as in printed text. Read ler for leir.</i>
" (72.6)	B	Anon. IV	Serc mbidba <i>as in printed text.</i>
" "	B	Anon. IV	Cucuiimni etc. <i>This spelling, not Cuicimni: otherwise as in printed text. Like all the numerous quatrains jotted by the industrious but fatuous dilettante Anonymous IV, these two verses have no mutual connexion other than their juxtaposition.</i>
" (72.5)	R 72 : 11-18	Tadg II	Villiaam Gorm cé bé he nescio.
8.R	T	Muirges	Ih̄c <sup>a</sup> <sub>m</sub>



Page	Position	Writer	Text
8.R	R 76 : 21	Tadg II	1014 (A calculation of the 227 date of Ualgarg's — reign from the par- 1241 ticulars supplied in 74 : B.)
„ (79.5)	R 78 : 23	Tadg II	Cáin síl Aodha Finn.
„ (72.6)	B	Anon. IV	An do Coincuimni. As in printed text, but read im for is ni and dé for de.
„	B	Anon. IV	Cebe dían gnath ferg ni fó biad amail cech ledb gan lé ni ba deg duin díl de ebruide e munbuidi (As usual, no connexion with the preceding quatrain. Both are written in long lines across the page.)
8.V	T	Muirges	Emanuel
„ (82.5)	L 82 : 1	Muirges	Amail do rinde Caillin Aed Find don Aed Dub mac Fergna.
„	text, 84 : 21-22	Muirges	The words in tard port . . . in Erind omitted and squeezed in between the lines.
„	R 86 : 5	Muirges	Do rigaib Connach (sic) i fechtsa ro thircain Caillin.
„	B	Anon. IV	Cia sire an domain dongb- etir tuinn 7 talmain ni fuiġbi olc síor sobr— Cen nibus ac frit menmuin A ine umla ind rucus

Page	Position	Writer	Text
			tredeus acus troscadh Is ferr biadh do tinnlucadh agus tenga do toit- <i>(This is as obscure to me as most of the aphorisms of Anonymous IV, and it is not made easier by the reagent).</i>
9.R (89.11)	L 88 : 23	Muirges	Oided Conaill Gulbain.
„	L 90 : 15	Tadg II	Conall Gulban.
„ (91.6)	R 90 : 23	Muirges	Na fagbala ro fagaib Caillin do chinel Conaill mic Neill.
„ (93.7)	R 92 : 18	doubtful	Dun mbaili nomen Fid- nacha cetus.
„	B	Anon. IV	Ni Temuir cech tilach Ni Sinand cech uisce. Ni cech egnaid forbas (?) ni Donnchadh cech duine.
„ (94.1)	B	Anon. IV	Aongus ar Carbri Musc mbind, Eochaid Carbri Riato o r-rinn. Garge sa foirinn go naoibh, Oilill ar Cairbri mBascaoin.
9.V	T	Muirges	no Conall <i>written above</i> Caillin (94 : 3).
„	R 98 : 29	Tadg II	Ecce Episcopos.
„ (99.5)	B	Anon. IV	Tar Uib Neill, etc., as <i>printed text: read uib for</i> <i>uibh, taob for taoibh,</i> <i>Hechtga for Hechta, Crim-</i> <i>tannain for -than-.</i>

Page	Position	Writer	Text
9.V ,,	B	Anon. IV.	Mer don tí gabus aduain diambé benas no bro aderim cid binn a fogur is loinn ec fri bodur dó.
10.R	L	Tadg II	Ecce sacerdotes (100 : F) Ecce Reges (102 : A) Ecce Rusticorum proles &c. (102 : B)
,, (104.1)	R 104 : A	Tadg II	Posadh na nuasal etc., <i>as in printed text.</i>
,, (104.4)	R 104 : G	Muirges	Amail rogab, etc. ( <i>read rogab, taithmighther</i> ).
10.R (106.4)	B	Anon. IV	Procept do borb, etc. <i>as printed text.</i>
,, ,,	B	Anon. IV	M'egnachsa etc., <i>as in printed text.</i>
10.V	B	Anon. VII *	An te toimsés gan a trogh Leabhadh an mairbh i talmuin a Dé do dealb an grein glan, Nach dearb leis fein beith amlái.
12.R	R	Tadg II	Na draoithe i cclochuib (116 : 13) bas Fergna (116 : 22).
12.V	T	Muirges	Emanuél
,,	R	Tadg II	In righi do radadh d'Aodh Dhubh (118 : 7) Aodh Dub na Aodh Fiond (118 : 17).

\* Dr. Best assures me that Anon. VII and Anon. IV are identical. The apparent difference between them is due to their using different inks. With this entry, therefore we bid farewell to Anon. IV and his conundrums.

Page	Position	Writer	Text
12 V (120.6)	L 120 : 10	Tadg II	Togha etc. ( <i>for sliocht read sliocht</i> ).
13.R	T	Muirges	Ih̄s.
„	L 120 : 18	Tadg II	Cáin Chaillin for chath Aodha Finn go brath 7c.
14.R (133.9)	R 132 : E	Tadg II	Cáin etc. <i>as printed text. Read finn, an Bhreifne.</i>
14.V	T	Muirges	Emanuel. Ma.
15.R (140.1)	L 140 : 3	Tadg II	Fáth na cána for Chinél, etc.
„ (141.3)	R 140 : 17	Tadg II	An cháin for cinel Conuill Gulban 7c.
15.V (142.6)	L 142 : 12	Anon. VIII =M)	.i. chlaen no comad delidín ( <i>an asterisk shews that this is meant to be a gloss upon n-egraitte 142 : 13</i> ).
„ „	L below preceding note	Anon. VIII (=M)	.g. is ferr an inad an duir thuas iar n-urd Oghma mic Elathain. ( <i>At first“ is ferr g” was written and then the g was scratched out and re-written in its present place. There is nothing in the neighbourhood of this note to which it could possibly refer : it must be a scribbled answer to some orthographical question put to the writer by a neighbour in the scriptorium. It has no connexion with the preceding gloss, from which it is separated by the width of a blank line</i> ).

Page	Position	Writer	Text
15.V (143.9)	R 142 : 24	uncertain	tomti son.
„	R 144 : 21	Anon. V (=M)	no g ( <i>refers to an under-dotted d in the word Fidnachai</i> )
17.R	L 156 : 15	Muirges	ā.d̄x (=angelus dixit)
„	L 156 : 22	Muirges	.K. fēc (=Caillin fecit)
17.V (162.2)	L 162 : B-E	Tadg II	buadha chineoil etc. ( <i>Read -uill, et, n-iocaid, for the text as printed.</i> )
„ (162.3)	L 162 : F-26	Anon. IX	dochim nár etc. ( <i>Read nár, óir, thainic, et, bréag for the text as printed. A hand contemporary with, but less uneducated than, that of Tadg II.</i> )
18.R (167.6)	R 166 : 9-12	Tadg II	buadha Choluim, etc. ( <i>Read Choluim Chille, chomharbuibh Fiodhna-cha for the text as printed.</i> )
„ (170.2)	B	Anon. X	As mór an tadhbar, etc. ( <i>Read mór, an tadhbar, daoineibh, sior, radha, brécc, leabhar, Cáillín sgríobadh for the text as printed. The handwriting looks like Anon. IV, but certainly not to be identified with it.</i> )
18.R	In text	Tadg II	The line 168 : 24, roughly written in an erasure.
18.R (170.4)	In text	Anon. XI (=M)	I l-Lem in ois, etc., <i>filling a blank at the end of line 168 : 14.</i>

Page	Position	Writer	Text
18.V (172.5)	L and bottom	Tadg II (?)	Seón óg, etc. ( <i>Read mhac, mhic, Eoghain mhic, ghall-following da, Ruisélbhár scratched out</i> ), mhatair, ( <i>an e fúair fós, é, Fiadhnach, ttús, ccogadh, socrugadh, tíre, tangudar, 7, olc (after which do ins. sec. man.)</i> )
„ (175.11)	B	Anon. XI (=M)	Cia aderod etc.
19.R	T	Muirges	Emanuel.
„ (177.5)	R 176 : 16, 17	Anon. XI (=M)	Ro adhbéighed Conall a bas iar mbidh quinto anno co fuilled im bas.
19.V (178.1)	L 178 : 23	Muirges	Acht nama etc., <i>as printed.</i>
„ (178.12)	R	Tadg II	Mag Nisi le Caillín e.
20.R	T	Anon. XII	Mac í Eid-gan faobhar cele na saorbhan seangbhan. Molfa me Cormac cnís-gheal mar dam licfes an leabhrán. Sin duit Uilliam.
20.R (181.8)	L 180 : 15	Anon. V (=M)	7 nir gab., etc., <i>as printed.</i>
20.V (188.4)	L 188 : D	Muirges	Is i in cet (f)uirmi tuas fil isin tsonpla, .i. ic faicsin na naom.
21.R (192.3)	B	Tadg II	1210 <sup>sts</sup> . ( <i>Read <sup>sts</sup>, Columb Cill for text as printed.</i> )

Page	Position	Writer	Text
„ (193.5)	R 192 : 23	Tadg II	Cios Conmaicnoch Chaillin.
„ (195.4)	In text	Muirges	I dtempul etc. <i>In the blank after 194 : 22. mbaili first written and the b scratched out.</i>
23.R	R 204 : 9-10	Tadg II	Mar fuair Caillin ferann o chloinn Feargna do Chonmhaicnibh.
23.V	T	Muirges	Eman.
„	L 204 : 26	doubtful	“ sam.”
„	R 206 : 7	Tadg II (?)	O Chaillin ( <i>explaining a contraction in the line</i> ). Below it “ Rody ” in 17th century script hand.
„	R 206 : 14	Muirges	.i. screpall gach tres bliadain. ( <i>Printed in text, but really a marginal gloss</i> ).
24.R	T	Muirges	Ihc <sup>a</sup> <sub>m</sub>
„ (208.1)	L 208.1	Tadg II	Easpa .i. diomhaoineas.
„	L	Tadg II	Lege hoc modo rem difficilem hanc, hoc est : fecht n-aoin dia raibhi ag ceileabhradh do Chaillin iar ndilgan [.i. iar maitheamhanus] a chionnta .i. a phecad .i. post confessionem. Tha. Roddy. Quia Columba pius venit ad S. Kilianus et ei confessus est peccata sua, ut patet hic et alibi in libro etc. T. R. Maii 19°. 1702.

Page	Position	Writer	Text
			<i>(Notice the Irish influence in the post-fixed demonstrative Pronoun hanc. Modo is written m̄, which with the following rem has misled KH into reading morem. The whole is an attempt on the part of Tadhg II to elucidate 208 : 11-12.</i>
24.R (210.2)	R 210 : D	Muirges	Ed adrimed etc. <i>(Read uaib, congalain, gideth, sin sis, tectad, adilig, la dreim for the printed text.</i>
"	R	Tadhg II	Ferann do Chomhaicnibh o chloinn Fearngha fuair Caillin doibh. <i>Immediately below preceding note.</i>
"	R	Tadhg II	Narbhus .i. uasal-mhaith <i>Immediately below preceding note but written at a (perhaps considerably) later time.</i>
27.R	L	?	<i>Meaningless scribbles.</i>
28.V	T	Muirges	A Muire.
30.R	T	Muirges	Emanuel.
30.V (252.3)	L 252 : 6-7	Muirges	Ised armit etc.
31.R	B	Anon. XIII	Mancan Caillin Cairelan Bidhid do niobh na tratho Is and do caithdis robegan air indsi Dun na tTrath. <i>(Compare note on the poem Ceiliubroim, ante p 26. )</i>



Page	Position	Writer	Text
31.V	T	Muirges	Ih̄c. x̄ps. <sup>a</sup> <sub>m</sub>
32.R	T	Muirges	Saluatur
„ (264.4)	L 264 : F	Muirges	No con chloich etc. ( <i>Read chloich for cloich</i> ).
32.V	T	Muirges	Ihc <sup>a</sup> <sub>m</sub>
„	L 270 : 8	Tadg II	Ecce
36.R	R 288 : 2	Muirges	no Sinchell
36.V (291.7)	R 290 : 26	Tadg II	Per metrum ( <i>read thus</i> ) et furorem etc.
„ (292.2)	R 292 : A	Muirges	Ni mait ( <i>read thus</i> ) etc.
37.R	T	Muirges	Ih̄c Maria
„	L 292 : 28	Anon. VIII (=M)	no go ro riagla.
„	R 296 : 22	Muirges	no Sincheall ( <i>alternative to Sineall in text</i> ).
„	R	uncertain	Molaisi written beside preceding note : neatly printed by a writer who does not appear again.
37.V	T	Muirges	Emanuel
38.R	T	Muirges	Ih̄c. x̄ps. <sup>a</sup> <sub>m</sub>
„	L 302 : G	Tadg II	Ecce gairi saoghail
„	R 306 : 19	Tadg II	In inadh ( <i>expansion of a difficult contraction in text</i> )

Page	Position	Writer	Text
38.V (307.4)	T	Muirges	In̄c. x̄ps. <sup>a</sup> <sub>m</sub> . Above, is feochair lenn a buachalla dortad mo duib daib, conid aire sin ro began dam dub oili fri cl-uib daoithin do berbad. (See p. 15).
„	L 306 : 26	Tadg II	Rechtus.
„	L 308 : 10	Tadg II	Leastur .i. soithioch
„	R 308 : 27	Tadg II	.i. 500 bliadan <i>interlined and muddled</i> ; 500 written <i>more clearly in margin</i> .
„ (310.3)	B	Tadg II	In úir and æ ( <i>interlined above</i> .i. anéaimh) argnoidh .i. an duine naomtha no foghluma .i. Mochaomhóg. Sic lege at intellige rem intellectu et lectu difficilem superius. Tha. Roddy Maii 31° 1702
39.R	T	Muirges	x̄ps <sup>a</sup> <sub>m</sub>
„	Colophon	Anon. XI (=M)	<i>The numerous glosses to the Colophon. Outer margin cut away, perhaps to remove an objectionable graffito.</i>
40.V (330.8)	B	Muirges	Ro tuirsig etc. ( <i>read scrib</i> )
41.R	T	?	x̄ps. <i>Late bad scribble, not in the hand of Muirges.</i>
41.R	B	?	<i>A capital "R." One of the flourishes mentioned in the introductory note.</i>
41.V (346.3)	B	Anon. XIV.	Ar bhéusaibh ar míbheusaibh no tillter neach od

Page	Position	Writer	Text
			tighsi sni teidm acht an frénach amhain go teaguis nimhe. <i>A bad scribble —too bad even for Tadg II.</i>
42.R	B	Anon. XIV	gid od libsi Februari 23 an bligan di an ti 1685. <i>In the same hand as the last and apparently a continuation of it.</i>
43.R (362.2)	R 362 : B	Muirges	Nir becno dun etc.
44.R (372.1)	T	Muirges	Isi in duan na fil a tus ar fagbail 7 ni lugaid combid dognath amlaid. ( <i>Above the poem Oed in cet-fer, 372 : 7ff.</i> )
44.V (380.3)	bottom col. II.	Muirges	bo b-es buar o ríḡ .bo na truaḡ bid ag éḡim. bo in dillechta bo in deoraid, bo in tsin meta na cherig. bo in fir faichli nach sadhail, bo in fir crabaid bo in chleir̄.
45.R	T	Muirges	ḡ
45.R	L 382 : 12	doubtful	Conmhaic
46.R	T	Muirges	Ihc ḡ
„	R near bottom		Rodys
46.V	B	Tadg II	<i>Of the additional matter of genealogy indicated in the collation, ante p. 50, that to line 14 (m. Donnchadha, etc.) is written by Anon. XIII, taking pains to write</i>

Page	Position	Writer	Text
			<i>neatly. That to line 16 (7 comhaile, etc.) is by Muirges. The other additions are by Tadhg II, as well as the note, p. 394 footnote 1. Read there Tadhg, Rodaighe, Taidhg, Taidg mic Taidhg (sic).</i>
47.R	T	Muirges	Ihc
47.V	T	Muirges	Emanuel. <sup>a</sup> .
”	B	“ Doighre ”	<i>A note, running upwards from the middle of the lower edge of the page, Mise Doighre.</i>
48.R	T	Muirges	Ihc.
48.V	B	?	<i>An all but totally illegible note in four lines, extending across the bottom of the page. The handwriting cannot be identified.</i>

## MARGINALIA IN B.

(I cannot make very much of these notes, which are almost, sometimes quite, impossible to read. The following are mere tentative essays).

- 1 R : B gauced ( ? ) duaine gan amras. *Note in two lines.*  
 1 V : B Mallachta Aodha Find dob ail le Brian o Ruairc do cur dath athca . . .  
 3 V : 6 lines from bottom. ci ar ata da line so. *In a space which for some reason—possibly with the hope of later filling in some interpolative matter—the writer has passed over. See p. 118 footnote (6).*  
 5 R : T Iñc̄ ; [i.e. Iesus]. *The same on 6 V and 7 V. On 10 V ihc (without ;). Compare the ejaculations on the tops of many pages in A.*  
 6 V : B asum triamuin gan seire odie. *See p. 151 footnote (14)*  
 7 V : B Is adbal in scel-sin etc. *See p. 233 footnote (6) correcting Mailsecl- to Mailsechl-, O Birnn to Obirrn, and a tan si to a tansin.*  
 11 R : B *Four lines in one handwriting and 2½ lines in another—both bad, and so plastered with gallic acid that decipherment is quite hopeless.*  
 12 V *This page is occupied with a scribble, only partially legible: the following is a mere approximation—Tiucfaid iarom soghain Uilliam Gorm, .i. fer inaid an righ 7 buailfid cath Cranna Cainnce an a dtorchar ar an Gaodheangach, nesbuid mor do Erind techt beos . . .*

Uair ata Caillin da aithne do Clainnmaicnech Conuill Gulbain da dtaighsibh .i. abeth a cathach do cumhdach 7 d'indhidin o lamaib 7 o fornert Gall oir e buadhach dubh o fegh . . . 7 bubail briogha 7 buadha 7 a targa 7 beadh flathuis doibsen a beith uagh a talamuin ghall (?) fa deru aimsire. Gach aon buadha go ti an buagh geinfis uada sa bhúaidh gach aon . . . cid mo ruire doib uile fuicfid gach buaidh.

## MARGINALIA IN D.

(In addition to those noted in the foregoing pages :—

- 176 : 17 Sguirim i sin tráthnona fúair 7 mo lamh tinn.  
 162 : 12 a Senchuidh damh 7 me tuirseach. Per me David Duiginanum.  
 202 : 8 Ataim ag tuitim in chodladh o mhéad mo mhocheirghe.  
 218 : 9 Fágbuim sin mar sin nó co neiste me in taifrionn.  
 254 : 4 Sguirim co néiste mé in taifreand.  
 262 : 20 Sguirim co bfillim ón ghaol dhamh.  
 266 : 24 A Senchuidh dhamh 7 me tuirsech isin ló fluich.



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