

EARLY IRISH HISTORY AND MYTHOLOGY

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PREFACE

THIS book is concerned mainly with the early history of Ireland. Events and persons of early Christian Ireland are occasionally discussed ; but for the most part it confines itself to the history of Ireland previous to the official introduction of Christianity in A.D. 431. The main source from which this history has been reconstructed is native Irish tradition, which has been supplemented to some extent by the testimony of classical authors and by linguistic evidence.

The Irish accounts were, of course, not recorded in writing until Christian times. Much the greater part of what they profess to tell us of the history of pre-Christian Ireland will not stand the test of criticism, and is quite useless for our purpose ; but, after criticism has done its legitimate utmost, there remains a modest residuum from which important historical deductions can be drawn. The only strictly contemporary evidence is that provided by Greek and Latin writers, whose stock of information concerning Ireland is, it must be confessed, deplorably meagre, if we except the valuable account of Ireland which has been preserved in Ptolemy's Geography. In these circumstances a dated and detailed history of pre-Christian Ireland is obviously not to be expected. But it is possible to discover with an approximation to certainty the succession and provenance of four well-defined groups of invaders in pre-Christian times. Likewise we can form a rough idea of the dates of most of these invasions, and we can follow tolerably well the various stages of the conquest of the country by the last of its Celtic invaders, the Goidels, to whom we owe the precious heritage of the Irish language.

In early times, as in later, there were close contacts between Ireland and Britain, and no discussion of the history of pre-Christian Ireland could afford to ignore the history of the neighbouring island. There were Irish raids on Roman Britain, and Irish settlements in Wales and Cornwall. In pre-Roman times Belgae and Dumnonii occupied considerable parts of both countries. Earlier still the Priteni, the British remnants of whom came to be known to the Romans as Picti, were dominant in Britain and Ireland. A discussion of these Priteni or Picts did not fall within

the original plan of the book ; but in the Appendices (I, II and X) I have largely atoned for my initial neglect of them, and have sought to win some light from the smoke in which ' the Pictish question ' has been enshrouded in modern times.

I have, of set purpose, refrained from attempting to reconcile the results I have reached with any of the conflicting theories put forward from time to time by archaeologists. One reason for this is that I have been mindful of the Irish saying *Dall cách i gceird ar-oile*, which, freely interpreted, means that one generally makes a fool of oneself when one intrudes into a subject which is not one's own. And there were other, and no less cogent, reasons for letting archaeology alone, as I have explained in Appendix IX. Whatever merits this book may be found to possess, one of them, I venture to think, will be the fact that the conclusions at which I have arrived are in no way dependent upon archaeological speculations.

In the Additional Notes a few of the views expressed in the body of the book are modified or withdrawn. But for the most part—and this accounts for their unusual length—these Additional Notes are intended to make the book as self-contained as was reasonably possible. At the outset of my work I had hoped to supplement it at a later date by writing a couple of other books on kindred themes ; but I later realized that there is no prospect of my obtaining the necessary leisure to undertake these.

About one-fifth of the whole book is devoted to ' mythology ', by which is meant the religious beliefs of pre-Christian Ireland. This was a difficult subject to introduce, just because it has hitherto been so little explored ; and on more than one occasion I have had, to my regret, to ask the reader to take my statements more or less on trust, for the reason that the full proofs of them would not only have led me far away from my immediate subject but would have swollen the book to an inordinate size.

For a critical examination of early Irish traditions a thorough knowledge of pagan beliefs and myths is indispensable. Experience has shown that without such knowledge it is very difficult to avoid the common error of mistaking myth for legendary history. With such knowledge it is possible to unravel the origins of the Ulidian and other early Irish sagas, and to reconstruct the primitive tales which have been pillaged in the making of the Welsh *Mabinogion*. It is unfortunate that this highly important subject of ' Celtic religion ' has received far less attention from scholars than any other branch of Celtic studies. In no country has it been so neglected as in Ireland, where hardly anything worthy of serious notice has been written on the subject. This neglect is the more

surprising because it is no exaggeration to say that the Irish evidence outweighs in value all the surviving evidence from other countries.

At one time my intention was to make the 'mythological' part of the book much more extensive than it is, and accordingly I drafted half-a-dozen additional chapters treating of various aspects of pagan belief. But on second thoughts I refrained from incorporating these chapters, because, while they would have added appreciably to the bulk of the book, they would still have only touched the fringe of the subject. Any satisfactory study of the beliefs of our heathen ancestors would require a whole volume to itself.

Irish personal and place names are normally given in their Middle-Irish spelling, though in one or two cases the Old-Irish form has been preferred. Modern-Irish spellings are employed only in citations from late writers, such as Keating. A few well-known place-names generally appear in their English forms, e.g. 'Tara', 'Cashel'. Occasional small inconsistencies in the spelling of Irish words (as when I write *eó* and *éo*, *druim* and *druimm*) were hard to avoid, and are scarcely worth mentioning.

The present book was due to appear two years ago, and my friends have, naturally, been wondering at the delay in its publication. In justice to myself I must set down the reasons for this delay. When, towards the end of 1940, I accepted a Senior Professorship in the School of Celtic Studies in the Dublin Institute, I did so on the understanding that no obstacles would be placed in the way of my own research-work. In an institution of more than University rank, which was professedly founded to promote research, I expected to be allowed as much leisure, for the purpose of carrying out my own investigations and preparing the results for press, as the average University professor enjoys even when he feels no urge to do any original work at all. But when, a year later, the work of the School got under way, I discovered, too late, that an undue proportion of my time—approximately one thousand hours per annum—had to be devoted to reading and revising the work of others and to administrative work. Reluctant to abandon my own researches, which I was conceited enough to regard as not wholly without value, I began, as best I could, to prepare the present book, a few chapters of which already existed in preliminary drafts; and towards the end of July, 1942, I was able to send a considerable part of it to press. But the strain was a severe one, and it was only by continuously sacrificing week-ends, holidays, and hours of recreation that it was possible for me to advance the work. A breakdown in health in 1944 contributed to the delay, and seriously impaired my capacity for sustained

labour. While accepting full responsibility for the imperfections of my work, I feel bound to place on record the trying conditions under which it has been produced.

Of those scholars whose names I have had occasion to mention most frequently in the following pages, few were alive when the printing of this book was begun. Of this small band three have, to the loss of Irish studies, passed away when the book was on the eve of publication, namely, John Fraser, Eoin Mac Neill, and A. G. van Hamel. The fact that I have frequently found myself unable to accept their views only accentuates my desire to pay a sincere tribute to their memory and their work.

T. F. O'R.

January, 1946.

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EARLY IRISH HISTORY AND MYTHOLOGY

I.—ON PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF IRELAND

I

THAT section of Ptolemy's Geography which treats of Ireland is by far the oldest documentary account of Ireland that we possess.

Ptolemy's account of Ireland, like his Geography generally, is presumably based on the lost work of Marinus of Tyre, who lived early in the second century A.D. But the Ireland described by Ptolemy is certainly not the Ireland of *ca.* 100 A.D., as is commonly thought. In a paper written some years ago I touched on this question briefly, and drew the conclusion that Ptolemy's information concerning Ireland was derived ultimately from 'the work of some geographer or traveller who lived a good 200 years before Ptolemy's time.'¹ This conclusion erred in being an understatement, as we shall see in the course of the following discussion.

I begin by giving a complete list of the Irish names recorded by Ptolemy.² I take as starting-point the north-east of Ireland, and proceed thence, clock-hand-wise, to the south, west, and north.

¹ The Goidels and their Predecessors (Proc. Brit. Acad. xxi), p. 21.

² In general I follow Müller's text (Paris, 1883), occasionally adding variant readings in parentheses. I omit the Greek accents as being without authority; the mss. often differ *inter se* in their use. I have profited by Goddard H. Orpen's paper, 'Ptolemy's Map of Ireland', Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1894, 115-128. A more recent article, 'L' Irlande de Ptolemée', by André Berthelot, RC l. 238-247, I have not found of any use for my present purpose. Some of Berthelot's identifications are quite impossible, e.g. *Darini* = 'Derry', *Nagnatae* = 'Connachta'.

(A) Rivers.¹ East : Λογια. Οὐνδερϊος. Βουουνδα. Ὀβοκα. Μοδονου (Μοδονου).

South : Βιργου (Βαργου). Δαβρωνα.

West : Ἱερνου. Δουρ. Σηνου. Αὖσοβα. Λιβνιου. Ῥαουιου.

North : Οὐδουα. Ἀργιτα.

(B) Tribes. East : Ῥοβογδιοι. Δαρνιοι (Δαρνιοι). Οὐολουντιοι (Οὐσολουντιοι). Ἐβλανοι (Ἐβδανοι, Βλανοι, Βλανιοι). Καυκοι. Μαναπιοι. Κοριωνδοι. Βριγαντες.

South : Βριγαντες. Ἱουερνοι (Ἱουερνιοι, Οὐτερνοι). Οὐελλαβοροι (Οὐελ(λ)εβοροι, Οὐτελλαβοροι). To these are to be added the Οὐσδαι (Οὐσοδαι, Οὐδδαι), whom Ptolemy places to the north of the Iverni.

West : Οὐελλαβοροι. Γαγγανοι. Αὐτειοι. Ναγναται.² Ἐρδωιοι (Ἐρπεδιτανιοι). Οὐεννικνιοι (Ἐννικνιοι).

North : Οὐεννικνιοι. Ῥοβογδιοι.

(C) Towns: Ἱσαμνιον (among the Voluntii?). Ἐβλανα (among the Eblani). Λαβηρος (among the Cauçi or the Eblani). Δουνον (among the Manapii?). Μαναπια (among the Manapii). Ἱουερνις (or Ἱερνις³; among the Iverni). Μακολικον (among the Usdiae?). Ῥηγια ἐτέρα (among the Auteini). Ῥαιβα (or Ῥεβα; in the Midlands). Ναγναται (among the Nagnatae). Ῥηγια (in the North-Midlands).

(D) Islands⁴. Ῥικινα. Ἀδρου (Ἐδρου, Ὀδρου) ἔρημος. Λιμνου ἔρημος⁵.

Of most of the above names there is no trace in our native records. I subjoin notes on a number of them, including all those that can be identified.

¹ These river-names are in the genitive, governed by ἐκβολαί; but names ending in -a are, for whatever reason, left undeclined by Ptolemy.

² The form *Μαγναται*, adopted by Müller, has very little authority.

³ By Stephanus of Byzantium called Ἱουέρνη.

⁴ Ptolemy names nine islands in all, but only two or three of these can be regarded as properly belonging to Ireland.

⁵ It is unnecessary to take into account the names of the promontories. They are five in number. Two of them are derived from tribal names (Ῥοβογδιον ἄκρον, N.-E.; Οὐεννικνιον ἄκρον, N.); the other three are purely Greek (ἱερὸν ἄκρον, S.-E.; νότιον ἄκρον, S.-W.; βόρειον ἄκρον, N.-W.).

RIVER-NAMES.—Of the fifteen river-names recorded by Ptolemy seven are *-ā* or *-iā* stems, and six are *-o* or *-io* stems. In Irish literature and speech river-names are, almost without exception, feminine; and this is also the Welsh usage. Ptolemy's names apparently come down from an early period, when a river-name might be of either gender.

Logia. Its situation corresponds to that of the River Lagan, the English name of which is borrowed from the name of the valley through which it flows (Ir. *an Lagán*). The Irish name of the Lagan is not known for certain; but Belfast Lough, into which the Lagan flows, is well known in Irish as *Loch Loíg* (*Loch Laoigh*), 'Stagnum Vituli', where *Loíg* is gen. of O. Ir. *loég* (Mod. Ir. *laogh*), 'a calf', to which corresponds W. *llo* with same meaning. The Irish word goes back to **loigos*, the Welsh to **logios*; see the discussion in Ériu, xiii, 154 f. *Logia* would be the feminine of the British form **logios*, and would mean 'female calf' or the like. Compare *Loégda* or *Loígde*, the old name of the River Bandon (Herma-thena xxiii, 219), from **loigo-dēvā*, literally 'calf-goddess.'

Buvinda is the River Boyne, O. Ir. *Boänd* (in Adamnan, *Boend*), gen. *Boindeo* (L. Ardm. 16 a 2, 16 b 1), *Bóinde*, dat. *Boind*. These show fluctuation between the *ā* and *i* declensions. The original form may have been **Bou-vindā*, 'cow-white (goddess)'.¹

Oboka, the first river south of the Boyne, seems to be the Liffey (Ir. *Ruirthech*, *abann Lifi*).

Modonnos probably represents the river (miscalled *Ovoca* in English) which enters the sea at Arklow,² and which was formerly known as *Dea*, 'goddess'. The form of the name reminds one of *Modarn* (E. Mod. Ir. *Modharn*), fem., the name of the River Mourne and its continuation the River Foyle, to which corresponds the masc. mythical name seen in *Ess Ruaid meic Moduirn*, otherwise *Ess Moduirn*, Assaroe, near Ballyshannon (cf. Ac. Sen. 1560, 6810; Lr. na gCeart, 34). In

¹ **Bou-vindā* is a co-ordinate (or *dvandva*) compound. The goddess, in addition to being white or bright (**vindā*), was often regarded as possessing bovine shape.

² See Orpen in Proc. R. I. A., xxxii C, 52, where he argues that 'Ptolemy has omitted to mark the mouth of the Slaney'.

case *Modarn* goes back to *Modornā*, *-nos*,¹ we might suppose Ptolemy's *Μοδονου* to be a corruption of *Μοδορνου*.

Birgos would correspond geographically to the Barrow (Ir. *Bearbha*, < **Berviā*); but the two names must be unconnected unless we assume an extraordinary corruption in Ptolemy's text.²

Dabrōna. Its position indicates the Lee, the old name of which was *Sabrann*, so that the Δ of Ptolemy's text is a misreading of Σ. Further *-ωνα* is probably to be read as *-ονα*, for *-onā* is a common ending of Celtic river (and goddess) names, e.g. *Abonā*, **Agronā*, *Dēvonā*, *Mātronā*. With *Sabronā* compare *Sabrinā* (W. *Hafren*), the Severn, which differs only in the vowel of the suffix.

Iernos is doubtless for **Ivernos*, as *Iernē*, 'Ireland', is for **Ivernē*. The River Roughty, flowing into the Kenmare River, is probably intended. The old name of this in Irish was *Labrann* (*Hermathena* xxiii, 212 ff.), < **Labaronā* or **Labronā*.

Dur is probably corrupt. If we suppose that the *r* (*P*) is a misreading of *b* (*B*), and that the genitival inflexion was dropped by some early transcriber, the name may have been a form of Ir. *Dub* (common as a river-name), Gaul. *Dubis*.³ But its identification is uncertain; perhaps the Laune or the Maine.

Sēnos. As the Shannon is evidently intended, we should read *Senos*,⁴ or (fem.) *Senā*, 'the ancient (goddess)'. Compare Orosius's *Scenae fluminis ostium*, which probably means 'the mouth of the Shannon' (read *Senae* for *Scenae*). The Old Irish name *Sinann* would go back to *Senunā*, which occurs,

¹ Equally well, of course, *Modarn* might go back to **Mudornā*, *-nos*, or the like, and be cognate with *Muad*, the River Moy (IE. root *meu-d-*).

² Pokorny, ZCP xiv, 334, compares Ir. *bearg*, 'stream' (known only from *bearg .i. srulh*, Ériu xiii, 66.1), which may be related to *biv*, 'water' (Meyer, Contr. 218).

³ Or possibly Δουρ (for which one ms. reads Δουρου) may stand for Δουβρου, gen. of Δουβρον, = Celt. *dubron*, 'water, stream'.

⁴ Compare η for ε in Ptolemy's Δημηται, for *Dēmētai* (W. *Dyfed*), and in Polybius' Σηνωες for *Sēnōnes*. In a Celtic inscription at Avignon we find short *e* written η in Βηλησαμι and νεμητον (Rhys, Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy 13 f.).

presumably as a woman's name, in an inscription found in Kent (Holder, s. v.). The O. Ir. genitive *Sinnae* (E. Mod. Ir. *Sionna*), instead of the **Sinne* (< **Senuniās*) we should expect,¹ owes its non-palatal *-nn-* to the influence of the non-palatal *-n-* of the other cases.²

Libnios has left no trace in Irish; but Ekwall³ would equate with it the Welsh river-name *Llyfni*. The root is probably (s)*leib-*, seen, e.g., in Lat. *lībo*, Ir. *slemun* (< **slibno-*), 'smooth', W. *llyfn*, id.

Ravios would seem to correspond geographically to the River Erne, flowing into Donegal Bay. We have the same name (except for change of gender and declension) in *Roa*,⁴ the River Roe, Co. Derry, which would go back to **Raviā*. As it is perhaps unlikely that there should have been two rivers of this name, one in the north-west and the other in the north of Ireland, it is quite possible that Ptolemy's names may have become disarranged at this point, and that the River Roe may be the river referred to by Ptolemy. *Ravios* may mean 'roarer' or the like, and be cognate with Lat. *rāvus*, 'hoarse'. Its Irish equivalent is probably seen in *Roae* (older **Rauē*?), the name of one of 'the two historians of the Táin', the other being *Ro-án*.⁵ In the genitive it

¹ Compare *Lugaid*, gen. *Luigdech* (regularly), but later (analogically) *Lugdach*.

² Such analogical influence exercised by one case on another is common. Compare nom. *cara* (instead of **caire*), and gen. *diumsā* (Thes. Pal. ii, 488. 23, instead of **diummse*), *lethair* (instead of **lithir*, < **letrī*), *lebuir* (instead of **libir*), with non-palatal medial consonants due to the attraction of the other cases. Further we have *coin* (< **kuni*), dat. of *cú*, with *o* borrowed from *con*, *cona*, etc., and *bróin* (< **brugnī*), gen. of *brón*, with the *ó* of the nom. analogically retained. Pokorny's assumption (ZCP xxi, 127) that *Sinann* goes back to a 'Cello-Illyrian' **Sinnōnā*, in which *Sinn-* comes from *sindh-*, is intrinsically improbable and wholly unnecessary, and would divorce *Sinann* from Ptolemy's Σηνω.

³ English River-names, p. lxxvii.

⁴ Cf. *Dub Roa*, the name of the father of Goach, king of Cianrucht Glinne Gaimin (the valley of the Roe), who was slain in 927 (AU); *tres in abuinid . . . re n-aburt[h]ar an Roa aniugh*, B. Col. C. 344; *for brú na Roa*, B. Aedha Ruaidh 48 a. The retention of the spelling *Roa* in Modern Irish is remarkable; we should have expected *Rua*.

⁵ *im Roán im Roae im dá s[h]enchaid na Tána*, LU 5375 6.

occurs in the well-known name *Cú Roí* (*Ruí*)¹, earlier *Cú Rauí*, and (compounded with *vo-*) in *Fiamain mac Forói*², the name of a mythical personage who was the subject of some lost tales.³

Vidva is a good Celtic name, = O. Ir. *fedb*, 'widow', W. *gweddw*. If *Ravios* be the Roe, then it is probable that *Vidva* is the Bann, which in our native records is called simply *Bandae* (later *Banna*), 'goddess'.

Argita. If *Vidva* be the Bann, *Argita* can only be the Bush, in the north of Co. Antrim. The name is probably related to O. Ir. *argat*, < **argento-*, 'silver': It may be worth recalling that the mythical Fothad Airgthech was connected with Co. Antrim; he is said to have been slain by Cailte in a battle at Ollarba, near Larne.⁴ His epithet *airgthech*⁵ is explained as 'wealthy', and comes from **argentākos*, a derivative of **argento-*, 'silver';⁶ but formally *airgthech* might come equally well, or better, from **argitākos*, meaning perhaps 'bright', a derivative of *Argitā*.

TRIBAL NAMES.—*Robogdii*. Their position corresponds to that of the *Dál Riata* (Mod. Ir. *Dál Riada*) of historical times; these took their name from a mythical ancestor *Riata* (otherwise *Eochu Riata*, or *Cairbre Righfota*), whose name would

¹ Explained by Rhys as 'the Hound of the Plain, or of the Field' (Celtic Britain, 3 ed. 286), by Meyer as 'Hound of the Battlefield' (ZCP iii, 41 n. 4), and by d'Arbois as 'chien de bataille' (La civilisation des Celtes 59); but this is impossible, for *roí* or *roe*, f., 'plain, field, battlefield', has O. Ir. gen. *roē* (riming with *doē*, 'rampart', Féil. Oeng. Aug. 27). Stokes took *roe*, 'field', to be from **rovesiā*, and to be cognate with Lat. *rūs* (Urk. Sprachschatz 235); but this etymology is rejected by Pokorny 'wegen des Eigennamens *Cú Róí*, welcher älter *Cú Rauí* lautet' (Walde-Pokorny, ii, 356).

² For the diphthong cf. *Forói*: *roí*, RC xxiii, 306, §11; *Foraí*: *Con Ruí*, Cath M. Rath 212; *Foraói*: *gaoí*, ITS vii, 54 a. Other such compounds are *Fla(i)thruae*, nom., AU 773, 778, otherwise *Flaithroa*, 836, gen. *Flathruí*, 776; and *Cathruae*, nom., ib. 785. In the genealogies in R these names appear as nom. *Flathroe*, gen. id. and *-roí*, *-rae*; gen. *Cathrae*.

³ See as to these tales Thurneysen, Heldensage 446 f.

⁴ Cf. Voyage of Bran (Meyer and Nutt), i, 48; LL 48 b 39, 132 a 38.

⁵ Or *airgdech*; cf. *Fothad Airgdech*, LL 132 a 37.

⁶ In *airgthech* we have *-rgth-* interchanging with *-rgd-* (*airgdech*). Similarly *-rpth-* (= *-rbth-*) appears for *-rbd-* in *cairpthech*, by-form of *cairpdech*, **karbentākos*, a derivative of *carpat*, 'chariot'.

go back to **Rēdodios* (see p. 295). Ptolemy's text is so liable to corruption that it is not inconceivable that his 'Ροβογδιοι is to be amended to 'Ρειδοδιοι.¹

Darini. These were located approximately in South Antrim and North Down. Their name, implying descent from *Dáire* (**Dārios*), shows them to have been a branch of the *Érainn*.² Compare the closely related name *Dáirine*, < **Dāriunion*, which, though especially applied to the Corcu Loígde of Co. Cork, was applicable to the *Érainn* in general as 'descendants of *Dáire*.'³ In historical times both the *Dál Riata* of North Antrim and the *Dál Fiatach* of East Down claimed descent from *Dáire*. *Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe* refers to Dundrum, Co. Down (in the territory of the *Dál Fiatach*) as *Dún Droma Dāirine*.⁴

Voluntii, a corruption of **Uluti*, = Mid. Ir. *Ulaid*. The traditional capital of the *Ulaid* was *Emain*, near Armagh. In historical times we find them deprived of most of their territory, and retaining their independence only in eastern Down, where they were known as *Dál Fiatach*.

Eblani or *Ebdani*. Ptolemy places these somewhere about the north of Co. Dublin; but they and their town, *Eblana*, appear to be unknown to Irish tradition. It is, however, just possible (if no more) that a trace of them may exist in *Edmann*, an unidentified place or district name which is mentioned occasionally in old documents. In 'Compert Conculainn' the magic birds that visit *Emain* return southwards *tar Sliab Fúait, tar Édmuind, tar Brega* (LU 10567-8), otherwise *tar Sliab Fuait, tar Muirtemniu, dar Edmann, dar*

¹ Pokorny's suggestion (ZCP xii, 229 f.) that *Robogdii* stands for **ro-buchtī*, 'very poor', cannot be taken seriously. He imagines them as a 'Pictish-Eskimo' tribe who were given this name by their Celtic neighbours!

² By the beginning of the historical period they had been submerged in the newly-founded Cruthnian state of *Dál nAraidi*, which extended from Slemish mountain southwards to Newry.

³ Compare, on the one hand, *Dairfine .i. Corcca Laigde .i. fine Daire Doim[h]ig, is uad rochinset*, San. Corm. 444, and, on the other hand, *Darfinei. Ernai, 7 Dairfhine do rad friu side o Dare m. Dedad, a patre Con Rui, 7 ni Corco Laigde ut alii putant*, R 147 b 12-15. The name *Iverni* (*Érainn*) was used in two corresponding senses. The Corcu Loígde are the historical representatives of Ptolemy's *Iverni*.

⁴ Misc. Celt. Soc. 158.

Breg mag (Eg. 1782, IT i, 136). In 'Tochmarc Emire' Cúchulainn journeys southwards to the north of Co. Dublin via Mag Murthemne, Grelach Dollaidh, the stream Uanab, *Óchtar nEdmuinn*¹ (var. *Ouchtat nEdmon*²), and Druimne Breg. From these references we see that Edmann was located between Mag Muirthemne (which covered the greater part of Co. Louth, and extended as far south as the River Dee) and Druimne Breg, the hilly country in the south of Co. Louth; hence it was probably situated near Dunleer.³ Elsewhere we read of mythical Lagenian kings ravaging 'the land of Ethmon' (*iath Ethmuin*).⁴ A verse catalogue of place-names includes *Eithmann* (variants *Eatmand*, *Eathmainn*).⁵ In *co hEthbenna*, TBC Wi. 4890, we possibly have the same place. Now Mid. Ir. *Edmann* might possibly stand for an earlier **Edban(n)*,⁶ which in turn might stand for **Ebdan*,⁷ from **Ebodano-* or the like. All this, however, is highly conjectural; yet it may give some ground for supposing that the variant *Ebdani* in Ptolemy's text is more nearly right than *Eblani*,⁸ and that the name in its original form may have been **Ebodanī*.

The remaining tribes of the eastern coast are discussed at length below, p. 24 ff.

¹ Toch. Emire, ed. van Hamel, § 37.

² ZCP iii, 241.

³ The stream *Uanab* ('foam-river') I take to be the White River, which joins the Dee a couple of miles north of Dunleer.

⁴ *ÁID* i, pp. 17, 40, as emended by Thurneysen, ZCP x, 446 f. In the text the word rimes with *Crothomuin*, which Thurneysen tentatively suggests should be emended to *Cremthainn*.

⁵ Met. D. i, 40. 9.

⁶ The analogy of *aiminn* (a by-form of *oibinn*) suggests that *-b-* might become *-m-* under the influence of a following *n*. Compare also the doublets *aibenn* (Contrr.) and *aimend*, *Ériu* vi, 136, l. 87). After *n* we find the same change in words like *naem*, *niam*, *snom*. For the doubling of *-n* after *b* compare *abann* < *abonā*, *trebunn* < Lat. *tribunus*, and the like.

⁷ The tendency to metathesize *bā* to *db* was strong; compare *Coidbenach* (for *Coibd-*), AU 706, *dorodbad*, Féil. Oeng. prol. 96, *H. Idban*, LL 332 a 1 (= *Hui Ibdana*, R 161 b 27), *faidbe* for *faibde*, Meyer, Bruchstücke § 44, Mid. Ir. *bidba* from O. Ir. *bibdu*, and so on. Compare also *bg* > *gb* in *lugbort*, San. Corm. 821, dat. *lugburt*, Thes. Pal. ii, 294, 16, whence *lugbartóir*, Sg. 92 b 1.

⁸ For the confusion of *d* (*Δ*) and *l* (*Λ*) compare the variants *Otadini* and *Otalini* (recte **Votādīnī*) in Ptolemy's account of Scotland.

Iverni. Their name has survived as *Érainn*, which goes back to a variant form **Évernī*.¹ Ptolemy's *Iverni* were situated approximately in what is now Co. Cork, just as the name *Érainn* is applied chiefly to the *Érainn* of Co. Cork.

Vellabori. This tribe, dwelling in the south-west of Ireland, is also mentioned by Orosius, who calls them *Velabri*. The River Roughty was formerly known as *Labrann*, which may come from **Labaronā* (p. 4), with which compare *Labarā*, the Celtic name of several Continental rivers, Ir. *labar*, 'talking boastfully, chattering, talkative',² W. *llafar*, 'loud, vocal'.³ This suggests that *Vellabori* is perhaps to be emended to **Vellabari*, which may be analyzed as = *ver-* + *labarī*, for the change of *rl* to *ll* appears to have occurred in Celtic as in Latin.⁴ On the other hand MacNeill⁵ has called attention to some words in a poem in the Book of Leinster L. G. (23 a 17), viz. *cath Luachra laechdu Fellubair* (: *Glendamain*), which he translates 'the battle of Luachair, hero-home of Fellubar', taking *Fellubar* to be the name of some traditional 'hero' of whom nothing else is known;⁶ and as *Fellubar* would go back to **Vellabros*, he suggests that the tribal name was (not *Vellabori*

¹ Pokorny, ZCP xii, 357, concludes a discussion of the *Érainn* and their name as follows: 'Der Volksname der vorkeltischen "Ivernier" wird also vorderhand aus der irischen Urgeschichte zu streichen sein; jedenfalls aber hat er mit den *Érainn* nicht das Geringste zu schaffen.' These assertions are quite baseless. See an article by the present writer in *Ériu*, xiv, 7 ff.

² Cf. *nīptha labar*, 'thou shouldst not be boastful', Wb. 5 b 32; *elta druiti labor*, 'a flock of chattering starlings', LL 265 a 48.

³ Compare *Afon Llafar*, the name of a river flowing into Bala Lake.

⁴ Compare *Vellaunos* which may be explained as = **Ver-launos*, and W. *gwell*, which may come from **ver-lo-* (cognate with Ir. *ferr*, from **ver-so-*). It is significant that there is only one name beginning with *verl-* in Holder's Altcl. Sprachschatz, viz. *Verlucione* (abl.), mentioned in Itin. Ant. as a place in Britain, but otherwise unknown. For the similar change in Latin compare *siēlla* from **stēr-lā*, *supellax* from **super-leg-s*, *intellego* from **inter-lego*, *agellus* from **ager-los*, and the like.

⁵ Proc. R. I. A. xxix C, 62; *Ériu* xi, 132 f.

⁶ Or should we for *laechdu* read *laeccath*, 'warrior battle' (which would suit the context better), so that *Fellubar*, like *Luachair*, would be a place or district name? MacNeill's interpretation would require *laechdu* to be emended to *laechdon* (gen.).

or *Velabri*, but) **Vellabri*. This may well be correct, at any rate for Goidelic; for whereas W. *llafar* can go back only to **labaro-*, Ir. *labar*, *Labrann*, may equally well go back to **labro-*, **Labronā*. In favour of *-br-* in Irish we have the Ogam gen. LABRIATT[OS],¹ = Mid. Ir. *Labrada*; and we may further compare Gr. *λάβρος*, 'boisterous, impetuous', *λαβρεύομαι*, 'I talk boldly, brag', which can hardly be disassociated from the Celtic words.

Urdiae, or *Vodiae*, or *Udiae*. Rhys and others have sought to connect their name with that of the Osraige; but it is difficult to establish the connexion. Irish tradition derives *Osraige* from *os*, 'deer', < **uksos*. The *Os* in *Os-raige* was doubtless one of the designations of the ancestor deity, and was possibly a distinct word from *os*, 'deer'. Compare the mythical *Cú Oiss*, who is represented as (1) son of Nuadu Find Fáil, in the pedigree of Éremón's descendants, R 137 b 25, and (2) son of Nuadu Argatlám, and ancestor of the men of Munster (the *Eóganacht*), R 140 b 1, 148 b 27 (and cf. 154 b 23).

Gangani. These were probably located near the mouth of the Shannon. No trace of their name has survived in Irish; but there appears to have been a tribe of the same name in North-West Wales, for Ptolemy calls the extreme point of the Lleyn peninsula, in Caernarvonshire, *Γαγγανῶν*² ἄκρον, 'the headland of the Gangani'.

Auteini. Mac Neill's suggestion (Proc. R.I.A. xxix C, 102) that they may be identical with the *Uaithni* may be accepted without reserve. *Uaithni* would represent a Celt. **Autēniū* or the like. Ptolemy places the *Auteini* approximately in Co. Galway. In historical times the *Uaithni* are located in the north-east of Co. Limerick and the adjoining part of Co. Tipperary, but tradition has it that at an earlier period they had dwelt west of the Shannon. The genealogists appear to have been very uncertain regarding the ethnic affiliations of the *Uaithni*. They agree in giving them as ancestor a mythical *Fothad*,³ whom they split up into three brothers,

¹ Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1895, 363.

² This is the reading of most of the mss. The principal variants are *Καγκανῶν* and *Ἰαγγάνων*.

³ *Fothad* is evidently a name for the ancestor deity; it may come from **Vo-tādos*, and be cognate with *Votādīnī* (O. W. *Guotodin*), the name of a

but disagree notably as to their further origin.¹ The Fothads are variously said to descend (*a*) from Maicnia, or Lugaid mac Con,² of the Érainn, (*b*) from Cairbre Nia Fer,³ of the Lagin, (*c*) from Conall Cernach,⁴ like the Cruthin, (*d*) from Fergus mac Róig,⁵ and (*e*) from Celtchar mac Uithechair.⁶ Another account makes the Fothads sons of Maicnia, son of Lugaid, son of Dáire Derg, son of Gnáthaltach, son of Nuadu Necht;⁷ here a Laginian pedigree (Nuadu Necht) has been superimposed on an Ernean one (Dáire). Thus the only thing that is certain about the Uaithni is that they were of non-Goidelic origin. If we were at liberty to combine the contradictory genealogical accounts, we might suppose that they were of mixed Cruthnian, Ernean and Laginian descent. Their Laginian admixture, assuming it to be a fact, could have been acquired as a result of the Laginian (Dumnonian) conquest of Connacht, where the Uaithni originally dwelt. Compare the alleged Laginian descent of their neighbours the Araid (p. 20), and the mixed population dwelling in Uí Maine, west of the Shannon (p. 97 f.).

Nagnatae. These were apparently located in North Connacht. *Cóiced Connacht* as a name for the western province is a late creation, which could not have come into existence until after the Connachta (Goidels from the Midlands) had conquered the province. An earlier name for it

British tribe near the Firth of Forth. Fothad Canainne never sat down to a feast without the heads of dead men before him (RC xiv, 242); this seems reminiscent of the ancient Celtic custom, recorded by Diodorus, of bringing home the heads of slain enemies, but here it may typify the Otherworld feast amid the dead. He was constantly at feud with Finn (ib. 243), which suggests that he was a double of Finn's enemy, Goll.

¹ Cf. LL 325 d; ZCP xiv, 52.

² Fianaigeacht 4; Misc. Celt. Soc. 42. The name *Fothad* occurs among mythical ancestors of the Érainn, LL 324 e 56.

³ R 156 a 2 (cf. Misc. Celt. Soc. 58-60); LL 144 b 22 (Gilla in Chomded).

⁴ R 155 b 37 ff. (= LL 190 b 18-20; cf. Misc. Celt. Soc. 60). This account makes the Fothads descend from Iboth, grandson of Conall Cernach and ancestor of the Tuath Iboth (or Fir Iboth, ZCP xiv, 52. 5) of Scotland.

⁵ Misc. Celt. Soc. 42.

⁶ ib. 62.

⁷ RC xxxii, 392; R 128 b 53, 155 b 35; cf. Misc. Celt. Soc. 62, 64.

was traditionally remembered as *Cóiced (n)Ól nÉcmacht* (or *Nécmacht*).¹ We also find *fir Ól nÉcmacht*² (i.e. the men of Connacht) and *tuatha Ól nÉcmacht*.³ None of the attempts that have been made to explain the phrase can be regarded as satisfactory.⁴ As to what *Ól*⁵ may mean, I have no suggestion to offer; but it is possible that *Nécmacht* is related to Ptolemy's *Nagnatae*. Unfortunately we have no fixed point to argue from, for it is probable that both *Nagnatae* and *Ól Nécmacht* have been corrupted in transmission.⁶

CITY NAMES.—*Isamnion*. Orpen, following Karl Müller,⁷ writes: 'It is doubtful whether *Ἰσάμνιον* was a town or a promontory, probably the former, as Marcian reckons eleven towns and five promontories in Ireland, which agrees with Ptolemy if Isamnium is taken as a town'.⁸ This view is confirmed by the existence of Emain, capital of Ulaid, near

¹ e.g. *coiced Ól nÉcmacht*, LU 4079. The *n* of *nécmacht* is invariable. In the childish attempt to explain it in *Cóir Anmann*, § 77, the word is treated as *n-écmacht*; similarly in the line *d'fhéachain Chóigídh Ól* (v. 1. *Óil*) *nÉagmhocht*, Tadhg Dall, i, 10, § 3, we find *éagmhocht* alliterating with *ól*. But it is none the less possible that the *n* of *nécmacht* was originally the initial of the word, and not the eclipsing *n*-.

² e.g. *Fir Ól nÉcmacht*, LU 5461; *fir ól necmacht*, LL 114 a 44; *do fheraib ól necmacht*, ib. 311 c 23; *do feruib ool necmacht*, R 118 b 7.

³ *de thuathaib ól necmacht*, LL 186 a 11, = *do thuathaib ol necmachta*, R 107 b 17.

⁴ Cf. *Cóir Anmann* § 77; Thurneysen, *Heldensage* 76; ZCP xvii, 144; *Ériu* xi, 163 f.

⁵ It appears as *Óil*, riming with *cóir*, in *berid Cathal cétach cóir | cūced Fer nÓil nÉgmacht n-ān*, in a poem ascribed to Gilla Comgaill Ua Sléibín in *Cog. G. re G.*, 122. On the line *finnad senchada Olnécmacht*, *Met. D. iv*, 280, Gwynn comments (ib. 450): 'The elision of *Ol-* indicates that this syllable is unaccented'; but the apparent elision will vanish if we read *senchai* for *senchada*. (Compare *cluinet senchaide for selba*, LL 21 a 48, where the metre similarly requires to read *senchai*.)

⁶ Thus the *-acht* of *Nécmacht* may be due to assimilation to the ending of *Connacht*.

⁷ Claudii Ptolemaei *Geographia* (Paris, 1883), p. 79 n.

⁸ *Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1894, 126. Orpen adds: 'It might be Dundalk, the ancient Dundalغان. Its position negatives the identification with Rinn Seimhne, the ancient name for Island Magee, in Antrim'.

the town of Armagh, which must be the place referred to. *Emain* might go back to **Isamonis* or the like; the syncopated genitive, *Emna*, would be analogical (cf. *Lemain*, gen. *Lemna*).¹

Eblana or *Ebdana*. See above, p. 7 f.

Dunon is a good Celtic word (Ir. *dún*, 'fort', W. *din*); but in a place-name one would expect to find it forming part of a compound, and not standing alone. Orpen² would identify it with the fort of Rathgall, in the south-west of Co. Wicklow, a few miles from Tullow, Co. Carlow; but this is a place concerning which there are no traditions in our literature, and whose name is not attested in any Irish document.³ If conjecture is permissible, I would equate it rather with Dind Ríg, on the Barrow, near Leighlinbridge, which in point of situation would suit Ptolemy's data better than Rathgall. As its name, 'fortress of kings', suggests, it was once an important royal seat;⁴ and from the legend of Labraid Loingséach we infer that it had been such in pre-Laginian times, and that it was captured and sacked by the Laginian invaders. Possibly the Lagin themselves may have occupied it for a time; but there is no evidence to show that it ever was a royal residence within the Christian period.⁵

¹ Since the above was first written, Pokorny has discussed the name, ZCP xxi, 127. He identifies Ἰοάμνιον ἄκρον, 'near Dundalk', with *Emnae*, a name for the Otherworld, attested only in Imram Brain [elsewhere *Emain* is used in this sense]; and he suggests that *Emain* as the name of the Ulidian capital may have been originally **Emnae*, later altered to *Emain* under the influence of *emain* [or *emon*], 'a pair of twins'.

² Proc. R.I.A. xxxii C, 42, 52.

³ Orpen would further identify Rathgall with *Dún nGalion*, known only from a reference to it in LL 311 a 27 (and 377 a 45), where it is said to have been situated in the territory of Dál Mesi Corb. He conjectures that Rathgall represents **Ráith Gall* [we should expect rather *Ráith na nGall*], and that *Gall* is a substitution for *Galion*. The first of these conjectures is doubtful; the second has no basis.

⁴ With the name *Dind Ríg* compare *Brug Ríg*, 'Bruree'. So the royal seats of Tara, Cashel and Naas are frequently called *Temair na Ríg*, *Caisel na Ríg* (cf. *i Caisiul Regum*, AU 835), and *Nás na Ríg*. The absence of the article in *Dind Ríg*, *Brug Ríg*, is a mark of antiquity.

⁵ In the Life of Finnchua *Dind Ríg* is called *Dún uas Berbha* ('the Fort on the Barrow'), and an imaginary king of Lagin, Sean-Nuada Éces, is represented as residing there (Lis. Lives, 3034, -39, -50). Compare *i nDind Ríg uas brú Berba*, LL 43 b 8 (Broccán Cráibdech).

Ivernīs is placed by Ptolemy¹ a little to the north-west of the mouth of the Dabrona (the Lee). The name has not survived; but the place intended is probably either Ard Nemid, situated somewhere on the Great Island in Cork Harbour, or Dún Cermna, situated on the Old Head of Kinsale.²

Rēgia is not to be taken as a Latin word any more than the river-name *Vidva*. Rather it is an early form of Celt. **rīgiā*, dating back to a time before Indo-European *ē* had become *ī* in Celtic.³ Each of the two places called *Rēgia* was probably a royal seat (*rīg-ráith*); but they cannot now be identified. Compare Ir. *rīge*, 'kingship', from **rīgion*.

Raiba or *Reba*. Its location suggests a possible connexion with the name of Lough Ree, *Loch Rīb* (otherwise *Loch Rī*). Rīb, the legend goes, was 'drowned' in Loch Rīb, whence we may infer that (like the Eochu of Loch nEchach) he was ultimately the god of the Otherworld believed to exist beneath the lake. *Rīb* would go back to **Rībos*, which may possibly represent an earlier **Rēbos*; and Ptolemy's *Raiba* or *Reba* may possibly be intended for **Rēbā*. But all this, of course, is mere conjecture.

ISLAND NAMES.—*Ricina* or *Ricena*, which appears in Pliny as *Riginia* or *Ricnea*, is probably Rathlin Island, Ir. *Rechrann*,⁴ which might go back to **Rikorinā* or the like.

In *Adros* (**Ἄδρου ἔρημος*), which appears in Pliny as the island of *Andros*, we may have a corruption of **Antro-*, Ir. *Étar*, the Hill of Howth, assuming that the latter was mistaken for an island. Compare *Antros*, the name of an island in the Garonne (Holder, *s.v.*).

¹ See Orpen's emendation of K. Müller's text, *Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1894, 120 f. and map facing p. 115.

² For Dún Cermna see *Jrnl. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.* 1939, 16 ff.

³ The occurrence of *e* or *ei* for *ī* (< *ē*) in certain Gaulish names (cf. Pedersen, *V. G.* i, 51) suggests that the change was a comparatively late one. Compare also the change of *ē* to *ī* in the Greek-borrowed **Ēraklos* > **Iraklos* > Ir. *Íréil* (O'Rahilly, *The Goidels and their Predecessors* 39 f.).

⁴ This seems to be the oldest form of the nominative, later *Rechru* (cf. Ó Máille, *Lang. of the Ann. of Ulster* 149).

II

In Ireland at all periods of our history the tendency has been to attach great, and often undue, importance to descent. In the early Christian centuries the ethnic origins of the different sections of the Irish population were vividly remembered, so much so that one of the chief aims of the early Irish historians and genealogists was to efface these distinctions from the popular memory. This they did by inventing for the Irish people generally (apart from the lower classes, who did not count) a common ancestor in the fictitious Míl of Spain. This Míl was primarily ancestor of the dominant Goidels, but he had also to serve as ancestor of the older sections of the population; and so, in order to remove the reproach that the Goidels were, so to speak, new-comers, and at the same time to provide the Irish in general with a common descent, our pseudo-historians boldly taught that the Sons of Míl had arrived in Ireland some two thousand years (or more) before their own time. While admitting that there had been several invasions of Ireland during the millennium preceding the arrival of the Goidels, they held that thereafter down to their own time (i.e. during a period of a couple of thousand years) Ireland had been free from foreign invasion.

Fortunately the authors and upholders of this elaborate attempt to obscure the origins of the Irish people did not succeed in obliterating all the evidence which told a different story. Indeed, to do them justice, their object was not so much to suppress the popular traditions on the subject as to modify and expurgate them so that they could be reconciled with the fiction of the 'Milesian' invasion. From a study of these popular traditions, supplemented by linguistic evidence and by the occasional testimony of classical authors, we can infer clearly that there were four groups of Celtic invaders of Ireland, viz., beginning with the earliest:

(1) The Cruthin (Priteni), after whom these islands were known to the Greeks as 'the Pretanic Islands'.¹ In early

¹ The Priteni, or Pretani, I hope to discuss on another occasion. They are, as Zimmer and other scholars have recognized, the earliest inhabitants of Britain and Ireland to whom a definite name can be given. 'The Pictish

historical times they preserved their individuality best in the North of Britain, where they were known to Latin writers as *Picti*.

(2) The Builg, commonly called Fir Bolg, and also known as Érainn (Iverni).¹ Their name (**Bolgī*) identifies them with the Belgae of the Continent and of Britain. According to Irish tradition they were of the same stock as the Britons; and their own invasion-legend tells how their ancestor Lugaid came from Britain and conquered Ireland.²

(3) A group of tribes whom we may call the Leginian invaders, and who included the Legin, the Domnainn and the Gáloin.³ The two latter tribes were admittedly pre-Goidelic, and, partly for this reason, their names fell into disuse; but under the name *Legin* those of the invaders that had held on to their conquests in Mid and South Leinster were provided with a fictitious Goidelic pedigree. According to their own invasion-legend they were in origin Gauls, who invaded Ireland from Armorica. Their conquest of Ireland was but a partial one, confined for practical purposes to considerable parts of Leinster and Connacht.

(4) The Goidels, the latest of the Celtic invaders, and the only Q-Celts among them. They reached Ireland direct from

question', i.e. the question of the ethnic affinities of the Priteni of North Britain, has given rise to much discussion. Some scholars, notably Zimmer and Rhys, have supposed them to be non-Indo-European. I hold with those who regard them as non-Goidelic Celts. (It is needless to add that the Celts were not the first inhabitants of these islands.)

¹ The genealogists took advantage of the two names to invent an important distinction between them. While the Fir Bolg were admittedly pre-Goidelic, the Érainn were provided with a Goidelic pedigree. See Chap. iv.

² Caesar (De Bello Gallico v, 12) distinguishes the Britons of the maritime parts, who preserved a tradition that their ancestors had crossed *ex Belgio*, from those of the interior, who had been in the country from time immemorial. Thus in Britain we find Belgae ousting the earlier Priteni, as in Ireland Builg ousted the earlier Cruthin. Caesar's words have nothing to do with the Belgae who in early Roman times are located about Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*) and Bath; these, like their neighbours the Atrebates, represent a band of Gaulish settlers who established themselves in the south of Britain soon after Caesar's second visit in 54 B.C.

³ See Chap. vi.

Gaul, and their arrival cannot have been much anterior to the extinction of Gaulish independence (50 B.C.).¹

While the evidence of the names in Ptolemy's account of Ireland shows plainly that the Ireland he describes was a Celtic-speaking Ireland, none of the names has anything peculiarly Goidelic about its form. On the contrary, there is positive evidence to show that the Celtic spoken in Ptolemy's Ireland was of the Brittonic type. Thus we have *p* (instead of *q*) in *Manapii*, and syllabic *n* is represented by *an* (= Goidelic *en*) in *Brigantes*. Further the tribal name *Iverni* is Brittonic in form (= Goidelic **Ēvernī*), and so is the river-name *Logia* (= Goid. **Loigā*). Of *Libnios* the Goidelic equivalent would possibly have been **Slibnios*. Likewise *Vellabari*, if we may so emend Ptolemy's *Vellabori*, appears to be Brittonic (= Goid. **Vellabrī*).

Of the presence of the Builg or Érainn in Ptolemy's Ireland there is unmistakable evidence in such names as *Uluti*, *Darini*, *Iverni*. On the other hand there is not a trace of any Goidelic tribal name. The question remains: is there any evidence that the Lagenian invaders had arrived in Ireland at the time when Ptolemy's account was originally compiled? There is certainly no evidence for them in Connacht, where, for instance, the Dumnoni (who have left their name on Irrus Domnann, Dún Domnann, Mag Domnann, Tulcha Domnann) are not mentioned. It remains to see whether any Lagenian tribes can be traced in the south-east of Ireland, where the Lagenian invasion most permanently left its mark.

III

Like other pedigrees, the pedigree of the Lagen begins to be trustworthy only when it reaches the fifth century, and in its early part it is entirely fictitious.² The 'Milesian' descent

¹ See Chap. XI.

² Even in the fifth century the pedigree of the Lagen is partly ungenueine. According to the genealogists, the Northern and Southern Lagen have a common ancestor in Bresal Bélach, who had two sons, viz. Énna Nia, ancestor of the Uí Dúnlainge, etc., and Labraid, ancestor of the Uí Chenselaig (cf. R 124 b; LL 315 c, 316 b). This Bresal Bélach is to be identified with the Bresal, *rex Laighen*, whose death is recorded in 435 (AU). But there is every

of the Legin is only one of many such fabrications. The affiliating of the Osraige to the Legin is no less artificial.

The genealogists trace the pedigree of the Osraige back to Loegaire Bern Buadach, from whom it is carried back through nine or ten generations to Connla, at whose father, Bresal Brecc, it joins the Leginian line. This Bresal Brecc is no fewer than thirteen generations earlier than Cathaer Már; and it is obvious that at heart the genealogists had little belief in their own theory that the Osraige and the Legin were sprung from the same stock when they thought it necessary to push back to so remote a period the alleged common ancestor of both peoples. They go out of their way to assert that the Osraige had the same right to the name *Legin* as had the Legin themselves;¹ but their very insistence on this point reveals their consciousness that they were propagating a novel doctrine. For about a century and a half the Osraige were in subjection to Ernean allies of the king of Cashel; but in the first half of the seventh century they recovered their independence. Long afterwards their territory was still reckoned as part of the province of Munster, and Gabrán (Gowran) in Co. Kilkenny, not far from the Barrow, was regarded as a meeting-place of the two provinces.² It was possibly not until the eleventh century (after Donnchad, king of Osraige, had succeeded in making himself king of Legin, in 1033) that Osraige was finally regarded as forming part of the province of the Legin. Early texts always differentiate between the two peoples, as when we read of 'a battle between the Osraige and the Legin' fought in 693.³ Their own traditions show them to be Érainn. Thus their mythical ancestor Loegaire Bern Buadach is the same personage as the

reason to treat with scepticism the view that the two main sections of the Legin branched off from each other as late as the fifth century A.D.

¹ *Ní dílsiu do Laignib in t-ainm as Laigin oldas do Ossairgiu*, R 128 b 29. Similarly LL 339 a 7.

² See entries in AU s. aa. 857, 869, 905. So Urmuma is said to have extended eastwards to Gabrán, Ériu ii, 50.

³ AU 692, RC xvii, 213 (and cf. ib. 260. 13), Three Frags. 94. See also Trip. Life 194; and cf. *eter Laignib 7 Osraigi*, Féil. Oeng. p. 152. 30. The distinction between them is recognized much later by Ó Huidhrín (Top. Poems 92).

Loegaire Buadach of Ulidian tradition¹ (the Ulaid were Érainn), and Iar, great-grandfather of Loegaire Bern Buadach, bears a typically Ernean name.

Cathaer Már, the ancestor-deity of the Lagin² under one of his several names, naturally gets a prominent place in the Laginian pedigree. At Cathaer the Uí Fhailge (Aui Fhoilgi) and the Uí Bairrche are made to join the main stem. The affiliation of the Uí Bairrche to the Lagin is a fabrication, as we shall see; but the kinship of the Uí Fhailge³ to the Lagin is beyond reasonable doubt. On the other hand, the descent of the Uí Fhailge from Rus Failgech, son of Cathaer Már, is a genealogical fiction. Actually they take their name from Failge Berraide, who lived in the early sixth century.⁴ In 510 he won a battle at Frémainn Mide (AU). In the tract on the Bórama this battle is credited to *Falge Rot mac Cathaer* (LL 300 a 5, = RC xiii, 54.5); and the same Failge Rot, 'son of Cathaer', occupies second place in the list of kings of the Uí Fhailge, LL 40 c 3. In AI, 10 b 4, he is called *Rus Failge*.

Four generations earlier than Cathaer Már appears the name of Cú Chorb, whose four sons are credited with being the ancestors of 'the four chief stocks of the Lagin' (*cethri prímsluainte Lagen*).⁵ From one of his sons, Nia Corb, come the Dál Niad Corb, who represent the main stem. From a second son come the Dál Mesi(n) Corb; but the Laginian descent of these is a fiction, as we shall see later. A third son, Cormac, is ancestor of the Dál Cormaic, who appear to have

¹ Hence we understand why Loegaire Buadach, of the Ulaid, is said to have been for some time in exile among the Osraige (Ériu xi. 47).

² He is *senathair Lagen uile*, 'ancestor of all the Lagin', LL 313 b 14.

³ In Met. D. iv, 260, they are called *in dara shúag Laigen*, 'one of the two hosts of the Lagin'. The sept of Uí Thairsig, whom Mael Mura notes as of non-Goidelic origin, are called Uí Thairsig Ua Failge (Ir. Nennius, 268 and n.), and in a poem quoted by Mac Firbis (Gen. Tracts 81) are reckoned among the Gálíoin.

⁴ The Tripartite Life makes Failge contemporary with St. Patrick, and divides him into two persons, viz. 'Foilgi Berraidi', who died after having attempted to murder the saint, and 'Foilgi Ross', whom the saint blessed and from whom the rulers of the Uí Fhailge descend (ed. Stokes, 216-218).

⁵ See for these R 118 b 33 ff. and LL 312 a.

dwelt in the south of Co. Kildare and in the neighbourhood of Carlow town ;¹ it is likely enough that the Leginian descent of these, too, is fictitious, but we have no positive evidence one way or the other.

From Cú Chorb's fourth son, Cairbre (Coirpre) Cluichechair, came, according to the Leginian genealogists, the Dál Cairbre Arad, otherwise known as Dál Cairbre Loingsig Bic, who dwelt in Ara (Araid),² a district in Co. Tipperary, lying to the south of Lough Derg and Nenagh, and extending into Co. Limerick. Cairbre's mother is said to have been Ethne, daughter of Oengus (otherwise Cairbre) Músc, ancestor of the Múscraige, a branch of the Érainn. Cairbre was a poet, and, having migrated to Munster, he was given land by his grandfather in reward for his poetry.³ This suggests that Cairbre Cluichechair is modelled on his grandfather, the mythical Cairbre Músc, who elsewhere is said to have got a very extensive territory from Fiachaid Muillethan as a reward for a poem he had composed.⁴ Indeed it is natural to regard both Cairbres as ultimately identical, so that the Dál Cairbre may well have been Érainn (like the Múscraige), as indeed other (non-Leginian) texts state them to be.⁵ A kindred legend seems to claim Leginian descent for the Araid. It tells how Laider Ara, charioteer (*ara*) to Cú Corb, went to Munster, where he

¹ See for the *ranna Ua Cormaic la Laigniu*. R 119 b 49 ff., LL 312 c 15 ff., 383 b 44 ff. ; and cf. the Lecan version quoted in *Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1872-3, 353.

² *la hAraðu Cliach*, R 118 b 45 (and LL 312 a 15) ; *Dál Coirpri Arad Tire*, R 128 a 25 (and see LL 381 b 13, 15). Among the families belonging to Dál Cairbre Arad were Ó Donnagáin, king of Araid, Ó Duibhidhir, lord of An Seachtmhadh, and Mag Longacháin, lord of Uí Chuanach (cf. LL 381 b 20-33, *Top. Poems* 130 ; and also *Lec. fo.* 123 b 2).

³ R 119 a 14-18 ; LL 312 a 28-32.

⁴ For his poem Cairbre Músc obtained Clú, *Ir. Texts* i, 20, ll. 13-15 ; otherwise the land from Béalach Mór Osraighe to Cnoc Áine, *FF* ii, 100 ; otherwise *Aine Cliach 7 crích Aradh ó Chláire co Dergdherc 7 Clu Mhail cona hurrannaibh fo ihuaidh go Loch nDergdheirc*, LL 381 a-b (and cf. *BB* 121 b 10-12).

⁵ Cf. *Lugaid Corb a quo Dál Corpri Cliach, ut alii dicunt*, LL 14 a 34-35 (and cf. *BB* 41 b 30-31). So Cairbre Mór and Cairbre Bec (= C. Loingsech) from Clu descend from Lugaid mac Meic Con, *Misc. Celt. Soc.* 40.

married Ethne, daughter of Cairbre Músc, who gave him land.¹ But elsewhere Laider Ara is son of Fer Tlachtga,² who is made son of Fergus mac Roich³ or else of Celtchar mac Uithechair.⁴

It is thus obvious that no reliance can be placed on the claim that the Dál Cairbre Arad were of Leginian descent. Probably, like their neighbours the Uaithni (p. 10), they had at one time dwelt west of the Shannon; and like them they may have acquired a Leginian admixture as a result of the Leginian conquest of Connacht. It was doubtless the much later Goidelic conquest of Connacht that drove these tribes south-eastwards across the Shannon.

On the other hand there probably were Leginian tribes who for one reason or another were provided with non-Leginian pedigrees by the genealogists. The Éli are a likely instance. In historical times the name *Éli* is restricted to the people who occupied the district lying between Birr and Thurles, which was regarded as forming part of Munster; and the genealogists invented a Munster pedigree for them, making them descend from Tadg mac Céin, grandson of Ailill Aulomm. But the place-names *Bri Éle*, *Móin Éle* and *Mag Éle*⁵ suggest that at one time they must have occupied territory further north, out of which they were driven when the Midland Goidels took possession of the territories of Delbna Bethra and Fir Chell (in the west of King's Co.) and added them to the kingdom of Mide. This was doubtless effected soon after the battle of Druim Derge (or Druim Dergaige), in which Failge Berraide was defeated and as a result of which 'the plain of Mide'

¹ R 119 a; LL 312 a. In R, 119 a 11, Laider Ara is artificially connected with the Dál nAraidi: *Laidir Ara do Uthaib a quo Dal nAraidi*. Compare p. 31, n. 7.

² R, 128 a 37.

³ R 161 b 26; LL 331 c 54; ZCP viii, 334. 17. The genealogists utilized Fergus mac Roich as a convenient *deus ex machina* to provide a 'Goidelic' descent for several of the less important pre-Goidelic tribes.

⁴ R 157, 48; LL 331 c 3; ZCP xiv, 163.

⁵ Bri Éle is Croghan Hill in the north of King's Co. *Móin Éle* is the name of that part of the Bog of Allen which is in King's Co. (Ord. Survey Letters, King's Co., i, 107). *Mag* [leg. *Mag*] *Éli la Lagnib* is mentioned in Lebor Gabála, LL 15 b 15; O'Donovan identifies it with Moyelly (now Moyally) in the north of King's Co., a few miles from Moate, Co. Westmeath.

(Mag Midi) was permanently lost to the Legin.¹ As Brí Éle is situated in the north of Uí Fhailge, it is quite likely that the Uí Fhailge (whose name is of comparatively late formation) are in origin a division of the Éli.

Another tribe of probable Leginian descent was the Gailing (or Gailenga), whom we find settled, as vassals and fighting-men of the Goidels, in the north of Co. Meath and the north of Co. Dublin.² The genealogists make them descend, like the Éli, from Tadhg mac Céin; but in origin they are very probably a section of the Legin who submitted to the Goidels of Tara. Their name is probably a variant of that of the Gálioín,³ who were a branch of the Legin. In 'Táin Bó Cualnge' we read of three thousand Gálioín serving under Ailill and Medb in their expedition against the Ulaid; Medb bears testimony to their soldierly qualities, but distrusts their loyalty.⁴ Now another version of this must have once existed according to which these soldiers serving in Medb's army [i.e. the army of the men

¹ *Deinde Campus Midi a Lagenis sublatu est.* Cf. AU s. aa. 515, 516; RC xvii, 127; LL 24 b 13; AI 10 b 8. A poem by Orthanach says that as a result of the battle of Druim Deirg the Legin were deprived of the land from Brí Éle to Uisnech (ZCP xi, 110, § 26).

² Also in North Connacht, where, like the neighbouring Luigni, they were a relic of the Goidelic conquest of that province.

³ Other spellings of the name include *Galeoín*, *Galiuín*, gen. *Galean* (R 118 b 14). A few verse-examples show that the vowel of the first syllable was long (see Met. D. ii, 46; iii, 368; Skene's Celtic Scotland iii, 444). But in the MSS the *a* is very rarely so marked; and it is very probable that both *Ga-* and *Gá-* were in use. Compare *Gailianach*, riming with *ainfhiachaibh*, D. Ó Bruadair, iii, 42. Worth noting is the fact that the name is not infrequently treated as singular, e.g. nom. *Galióin*, LL 7 a 2; gen. *Gáleoín* and *Galióin*, LU 4079, *Galeoín*, LL 119 a 18. In 'Cath Ruis na Ríg' (LL) the form used for all cases is *Galian* or *Gallian*, singular. The name is probably Ivernic in origin; and the *io*, becoming later *ia*, suggests that it was originally trisyllabic. (In extant verse it is always disyllabic, except in *buaid ngelfini Gálioín*, LU p. 216, which counts as seven syllables.) A full discussion of the name would have to take into account several other sept or district names, including the probably originally synonymous *Gailing*, and also *Gailinne*, 'Gallen', near Ferbane, King's Co., *Gailine*, near Abbeyleix, Queen's Co., *Gailine* or *Gáilinne*, a sept in Co. Antrim, said to have been of Leginian origin, and *Gáille* (probably for **Gáilne*), the name of two districts, one in North Kerry, the other in Co. Roscommon.

⁴ TBC S.-O'K. 163-194; and cf. ed. Windisch 414-450.

of Tara] were known as Gailing, for we find an old authority insisting that it was the Gálioín, and not the Gailing, who took part in the Táin, on the very inadequate ground that the Gailing could not have been in existence at that time, inasmuch as they were (according to the genealogical fiction) descended from Cormac Gaileng, great-grandson of Ailill Aulomm.¹

For the purpose of the discussion that follows we are interested only in the tribes that inhabited 'the province of the Lagin', i.e. that part of Leinster which lies south of the mouth of the Liffey. In this area we have three Laginian tribes, namely, the Northern Lagin in Co. Kildare and in the south of Co. Dublin, the Uí Fhailge dwelling to the west of these and occupying parts of Queen's Co., King's Co., and Kildare,² and the Southern Lagin in Wexford and Carlow. Of the other tribes of this region some were fictitiously affiliated to the Lagin by the genealogists, e.g. the Osraige and the Uí Bairrche; while two tribes were admittedly non-Laginian, namely, the Loíges, in part of Queen's Co., and the Fothairt, of whom there were several scattered branches.

This may be a convenient place to remark that the Northern Lagin were known as Lagin Tuath Gabair, the Southern as Lagin Des Gabair.³ As collective names for them we find (in

¹ O'Mulconry § 779; also in the Rennes *dindshenchas* of 'Laigin', RC xv, 299 f. Here we have an attempt to dismiss what is obviously an early tradition on the ground that it conflicts with the doctrines of the genealogists. In much the same way we find the genealogists affirming that the Dál nAraidí, and not the Dál Fiatach, were 'the genuine Ulaid', and that the Osraige were a branch of the Lagin.

² Some years ago the names of King's County and Queen's County were unadvisedly altered to Uí Fhailghe (Offaly) and Laoighis (Leix), respectively. The change was unjustified historically (Uí Fhailghe and Laoighis never were county-names), and its effect is to give the younger generation a very misleading idea of the extent and situation of these ancient territorial divisions. In a work, like the present, dealing with history, it is necessary, in order to avoid confusing the reader, to retain the old and unambiguous names of these counties.

³ Inasmuch as the kings of the Lagin during a period of five centuries belonged almost exclusively to the northern branch (cf. *Ailill m. Dúnlaing dia chlaind atá ind rīg Lagen*, R 124 b 32), the genealogists occasionally employ the name *Lagin* in the sense of 'the Northern Lagin', in contradistinction to the Uí Chenselaig (cf. R 117 f 30, 140 b 13).

addition to the simple *Lagin*) *Lagin Tuath Gabair* 7 *Des Gabair*¹ and *diabol-Lagin*, 'double *Lagin*'.² For practical purposes the *Lagin Des Gabair* were identical with the *Uí Chenselaig*, and we find the same kings styled at one time 'king of *Lagin Des Gabair*', at another time 'king of *Uí Chenselaig*'.³ The *Uí Bairrche*, as outposts of the Northern *Lagin*, were to harass *crícha Deasgabhair*, i.e. the territory of their enemies the Southern *Lagin* (Lr. na gCeart 194). In some late texts, composed after the belief had grown that the *Osraige* were akin to the *Lagin*, one finds *Lagin Des Gabair* confusedly used in the sense of *Osraige*.⁴ Contrast an entry in FM, s.a. 876, where a defeat of the *Lagin Des Gabair* by the *Osraige* is recorded.

IV

South of the *Eblani* (p. 7) Ptolemy places the *Cauci*, whose territory probably included South Dublin and North Wicklow. South of these again he places the *Manapii*, who were probably located in Co. Wicklow.⁵ Next, about North Wexford, come

¹ Cf. R 116 c 52.

² LL 35 b 36. Compare *rī Diaballaigen*, *Cáin Adamnáin* p. 18; *itir diabul-Laighniu*; AU 726 (where Hennessy miswrites and misunderstands the name). Further, *cum duobus generibus Laginentium*, ib. 779.

³ Thus Aed Mend is king of *Lagin Des Gabair*, Three Frags. 40, king of *Uí Chenselaig*, LL 40 a; Coirpre is king of L.D., AU 792, king of *Uí Ch.*, LL 40 a; Echthigern is king of L.D., AU 852, king of *Uí Ch.*, LL 40 a; Cellach is king of L.D., Three Frags. 150, king of *Uí Ch.*, LL 40 b. Tadhg mac Faeláin is *in triath a DesGabair*, LL 52 b 49, and *an rígh aibhind Desgabhair*, FM 920; and he is king of *Uí Chenselaig*, AU 921, Three Frags. 210, LL 40 b. The FM, *loc. cit.*, speak of him as *tighearna Laighean Desgabhair fris aráite Uí Ceinnselaigh*.

⁴ So in a couple of poems in Lr. na gCeart, pp. 88, 222, and likewise in an obviously untrustworthy entry in the commoner version of the list of *aith-échtthuatha* (Gen. Tracts 114). Also in the late prose *dindshenchas* of Carman (RC xv, 312); whereas the poem on Carman (Met. D. iii, pp. 16, 22) and the LL prose version (LL 215 a 12-13) give no countenance to this error.

⁵ Orpen, who at first located the *Manapii* about the present town of Wexford, later came round to the much more reasonable view that they were further north, 'at Arklow' (Proc. R.I.A. xxxii C, 52). Possibly their territory extended inland to the Barrow, and may have included *Dind Ríg*, near Leighlinbridge. See the remarks on *Dunon*, p. 13.

the Coriondi; and then the Brigantes, occupying South Wexford.

The CAUCI have by a number of writers, myself included, been rashly equated with the Chauci (or Cauçi), a Germanic seafaring people seated between the Ems and the Elbe. Pokorny, who strongly favours this identification, would take the 'Uí Cuaich' of Hogan's Onomasticon to be a remnant of this Germanic tribe;¹ these were an obscure subdivision of the Uí Bairrche.² M. Ó Briain (ZCP xv, 229) suggests a similar origin for the Cuachraige, a no less obscure sept, who in R, 130 b 8,³ are included among the descendants of Conganchnes mac Dedad, and whose location is quite unknown. The only conclusion that can legitimately be drawn from the occurrence of these somewhat shadowy names (*Uí Chuaich*; *Cuachraige*) is that there probably existed an Irish mythical and personal name *Cuach*;⁴ to assume that such a name could have had anything to do with the Germanic Chauci is purely arbitrary. Of Ptolemy's *Cauci* we can only say that, if a tribe of that name ever existed, Irish tradition knows nothing of them.

On the other hand we have abundant references to *Cualu*, gen. *Cualann*, the name of a territory extending from the mouth of the Liffey to Arklow.⁵ That this was originally a tribal name in the plural is clear from Muirchú's *in regiones*.

¹ ZCP xi, 171. His attempt to explain why **Cúaich* should have degenerated into *Uí C[h]úaich* is a very lame one.

² They appear to be known only from a reference to them in the genealogies of the Irish saints: *Cuach ingen Caelbad m. Colaim mc. Bláit de Huibh Cuaigh Hua Mairce* [sic] *Muighe hAilbi*, BB 219 g 2-6, = *Cuach ingen Chaelbaid de Uib Cuaich Hua mBairrche Muigi hAilbe*, Lec. fo. 42 b 4. 10.

³ In the corresponding passages in LL, 331 a, and Laud 610 (ZCP viii, 331), the Cuachraige are not mentioned.

⁴ Celt. **Kavākos*? Possibly cognate with Gaul. *Kavapos*, Ir. *Cuar*, W. *cadw* (cf. ZCP xiii, 105).

⁵ *Cualu* included Áth Cliath (Dublin), Met. D. ii, 54; but this was its northern limit, and Étar (Howth) was *tuath Cualainn* (sic leg.), 'to the north of Cualu,' ib. iii, 104. In *Uilland dingna fil ina* [sic] *uachtur Fer Cualand i tuaiscirt Breag, cochrích do Feraib Cualand ocus do Luignib*, Ériu xi, 50, the expression *Fer (Feraib) Cualand* is obviously corrupt, and is no less obviously to be emended to *Fer (Feraib) Cúl*. Cf. *Fir Cúl do Luignib Temra*, Ériu xii, 190. H. Morris's discussion of 'ancient Cualu', Jrnal. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1937, 280 ff., has no value.

Coolennorum, L. Ardm. 2 b 2 ; so that the earlier form of the name was **Cualainn* (< **Koulenī*), gen. *Cualann*. Although the name was in very common use, it seldom occurs except in the genitive, the district in question being known as *tír Cualann*, *crích Cualann*, and *fine Cualann*.¹ The tribal character of the name was forgotten in the course of time ; and then *Cualann* was taken to be gen. sing. instead of gen. plur., and a new nom. sing. *Cualu* (Met. D. i, 38) and dat. sing. *Cualainn* (ib. ii, 54 ; Ériu iv, 163 ; R 120 b 39) were evolved. In much the same way the plural names *Bretain*, 'Britons', *Saxain*, 'Saxons', and *Frainc*, 'Franks', came to be used as names of countries in the singular ('Wales', 'England', 'France'). Similarly the Pictish tribal name *Verturiones*, later **Vorturiones*, after being gaelicized as **Fortrinn*, gen. *Fortrenn*, came to be used as a district-name in the singular, with dative *Fortrinn*.²

Inasmuch as the name *Cualu* (*crích Cualann*, etc.) appears to be applied with special frequency to the south of Co. Dublin and the neighbouring part of Co. Wicklow, it may be that this district was the original territory of the tribe.³ In any event I see in their name the most likely solution of Ptolemy's *Καυκοί* ; the original reading may have been **Καυλενοί*, which

¹ Cf. *tír Cualann usque Glenn Duorum Stagnorum*, AU 818 ; *etir Liphí 7 fíniu Cualann*, R 124 b 47-48 ; *di chlandaib Cualann*, Thes. Pal. ii, 295. 11. We have the gen. also in such names as *Fir Chualann*, *Slige Chualann*, *Bóthar Cualann*. The death of a king of Cualu (*rex Cualann*) is recorded in AU s. aa. 477, 777, 831.

² So *Condere*, 'Connor', Co. Antrim, was originally plural (*aeclessias quas Coindiri habent*, L. Ardm. 15 a 2 ; *ó Chonderib múraib*, Féil. Oeng. Sep. 3), and hence was probably a tribal name ; but later it is treated as singular. Similarly the Irish name of Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon, may in origin have been a tribal name in the plural, **Cruachain*, as the old dative *Cruachmaib* suggests. The acc. pl. *Cruachna*, AU 813, LU 8584, suggests an -*n* stem (**Kroukhones*, acc. -*onās*). From the gen. *Cruachan* (as in *Ráith Chruachan*) a new nom. sing. *Cruachu* (e.g. LU 2830) was formed. The gen. *Cruachna*, occasionally found (e.g. AU 773, LU 2872, -86, -88 ; *rig Cruachna caeme*, ZCP ix, 462, § 1), may be a new formation from nom. **Cruachain* treated as singular.

³ If we suppose a later conquest of the south of Co. Dublin by a hostile tribe, the remnant of the original inhabitants would doubtless find refuge in the inhospitable Co. Wicklow. So the Uí Fháeláin and Uí Muiredaig of Co. Kildare took refuge in the Wicklow hills when dispossessed by the Anglo-Norman invaders.

in the course of time, possibly before it reached Ptolemy, was misread as *Kaukoi* under the influence of the much better known Germanic name.

In Co. Wicklow, in the territory of the Cualainn and the Manapii, we find remnants of the earlier Érainn persisting into historical times, despite the Leginian conquests to the north, south, and west of them. In the genealogical account of the Corcu Loígde the Dál Mes (or Mis) Corb of Co. Wicklow are represented as Érainn, descended from Lugaid Corb, son of Dáire.¹ As Érainn they were regarded as of Munster extraction, and so we find them elsewhere placed hesitatingly among the descendants of Éber.² These views are directly opposed to the theory of the Leginian genealogists, who treat the Dál Mesin (or Mesi) Corb as one of 'the four principal stocks of the Legin' (see p. 19), and attach them to the main Leginian stem by representing Mesi(n) Corb as one of the four sons of Cú Chorb.³ We need not doubt that their Leginian descent is nothing more than a politic fiction, the more so as we find that *Dál Mesi(n) Corb* was for practical purposes synonymous with *Fortuatha Lagen*, i.e. the alien peoples living among the Legin, for, although the genealogists sought to mitigate the force of the word,⁴ *fortuatha* means in effect people belonging to a different stock from that of the rulers of the territory.

¹ *Lugaid Corp a quo Dal Mis Corp Laigen*, R 155 a 11; *Lughaid Corp dia [tá] Dál Mes Corp Laighen*, Misc. Celt. Soc. 30. *Conid uad* [i.e. ó *Lugaid Corbb*] *stuinter in chland* | *Dál Mess [Mos LL] Corbb i crích Cúaland*, Met. D. iv, 138 (= Misc. Celt. Soc. 70).

² *Dal Mess Corb, ut alii putant*, R 147 b 26; *Dál Mos Corb, ut quidem putant*, LL 319 b 49.

³ In R 119 a 8-10 we are told that Ethne, daughter of Músc [otherwise Oengus Músc], bore two sons to Cú Chorb, viz. Mesin Corb and Coirbre Díchmairc [= Cairbre Cluichechair]. Cf. also LL 138 b 26-27. This seems to be an indirect way of acknowledging the Ernean descent of the Dál Mesin Corb and the Dál Cairpre Arad. Elsewhere, however, the same Eithne is represented as mother of Cú Chorb's four sons (R 118 b 45-47; LL 312 a 23-25).

⁴ The *fortuatha* of the province of the Legin are defined as septs that do not descend from Cathaer Már: *it fortuatha cóicid Cathair cach oen na beir genelach cu Cathaer, amal atát Laĩgsi 7 Fothairt*, LL 318 c 8-10. (Compare R 140 b 27-30, where the *forstóinti* of the Legin are similarly defined.) This definition indirectly admits that the Osraige and three of 'the four principal stocks of the Legin' are not of Leginian descent.

The principal sept among the Dál Mesi(n) Corb was the Uí Garrchon,¹ whom the eclipse of the Southern Lagen brought into prominence for a brief period towards the end of the fifth century. After the slaying of Crimthann (son of Énna Censelach), king of Lagen, in 483 (or 485), Finnchad, son of Garrchú, seized power in South Leinster; hence in the list of kings of the Uí Chenselaig he appears as Crimthann's successor, and is assigned a reign of three years.² Finnchad was slain in the first battle of Granairt (or Gráine) in 485 (or 487).³ He was succeeded by his son Fraech, who is reckoned king of Lagen⁴ as well as king of Uí Chenselaig.⁵ Fraech was slain in battle in 495 (or 497);⁶ and thereafter the kingship of Lagen remained with the northern branch, and did not revert to the Uí Chenselaig until the eleventh century.⁷ It was doubtless Fraech's rise to power, coupled with the increased importance of his family, that made the Lagenian genealogists anxious to confer a Lagenian pedigree on them, while admitting, however,

¹ Their ancestor, Garrchú, who flourished about the middle of the fifth century, is represented as great-grandson of Mesin Corb (cf. R 120 a ll. 12-16, 49-50; 120 b 20-23).

² LL 40 a 5, where he is called *m. Dega*, which is an error (or a deliberate falsification) for *m. Garrchon*, as in the interpolation in AU 494 (and cf. R 120 a 52, b 19, LL 313 a 16, BB 54 a 33).

³ AU 485, 486. In AI, 10 a 18, he gets the title of *ri Laigen*; but Chron. Scot. (484) and A. Clon. (p. 73) make him merely king of Uí Chenselaig.

⁴ LL 39 b 7, where he is assigned a reign of eleven years. So he is *ri Laigen*, AU 494, and also AI, 10 a 30 (where the scribe has telescoped entries relating to two distinct battles).

⁵ LL 40 a 6, where he gets a reign of nine years. In Tig. he is (not *ri Laigen*, but) *ri Laigen Desgabair* (= *ri Ua Censelaig*); similarly Chron. Scot. 492, AU 496 (in an interpolated entry). In a tenth-century poem which enumerates the Christian kings of Lagen, the usurper Fraech is ignored, and Crimthann, the first king, is succeeded by Illann (son of Dúnlaing), R 84 b 9-11.

⁶ Cf. AU 494, 496; LL 39 b 7. At AU 494 a later hand has added the genealogies of Fraech and of the victor in the battle, Eochu son of Coirbre. These interpolations have completely misled Liam Price, when he writes: 'The addition of the genealogical particulars . . . gives the key to the meaning: it is really a record of the final loss of the kingship of Leinster by the Dál Messe Corb. We may take it that they were the rulers of Leinster just at the time when our written history begins' (MacNeill-Essays, 253).

⁷ Except that Brandub, king of Lagen, slain in 605, belonged to the Uí Chenselaig.

that there were non-Laginian elements among them.¹ The kings of Uí Garrchon had the title of *Rí na Fortúath* (LL 337 c).

Some of the Uí Garrchon were settled in Co. Kildare and in the adjoining part of western Wicklow. By the genealogists these are differentiated from the Uí Garrchon above discussed. They are represented as descending from Conall, son of Eochu Inmite, son of Cairbre Nia Fer;² but we need not doubt that this Laginian descent is quite as ungenue as the other. In the Tripartite Life we are told that Patrick, after he had arrived at Naas (and before he proceeded to Mag Liphí), was welcomed by Cillíne, of the Uí Garrchon, but Dricriu, king of the Uí Garrchon, 'refused to invite Patrick to his feast at Ráith Inbir'.³ In a grant of ca. 1173 there is mention of a church called *Cell Ugarcon*⁴ [i.e. **Cell Ua nGarrchon*], situated somewhere in the north-west of Co. Wicklow.⁵ Another reference to the inland branch of the Uí Garrchon occurs in the statement that Cell Ard was 'in Uí Garchon in the west of Lágín'.⁶

¹ Among the *forsluinte* (stranger sept) of the Uí Garrchon were a sept who were reputed to be of the Uaithni Tíre (Owney, Co. Tipperary), and another who were said to be of the Fir Maige Féne (in the north-east of Co. Cork), R 120 b 11-13. Compare the list of *forsluinte* of the Uí Théig (a Laginian sept in North Wicklow), which begins: *Dal mBirn di Osairgiu .i. Hua Laig*, etc. (R 125 a 29).

² R 118 b 19. Cf. *Conall mac Echach Inmite senathair Ua nGarrchon*, ib. l. 24. That these were located (in part, at least) in the north of Co. Kildare is to be inferred from the place-names *Ochtur Fine*, ib. l. 25, and *Druim Aurchaille*, l. 26.

³ Trip. Life (Stokes) 186. Ráith Inbir has not been identified with certainty; but the word *inber* suggests that it was on the coast (i.e. of Co. Wicklow), and so it would appear that the writer had in mind the royal seat of the East Wicklow branch of the Uí Garrchon. Cú Congalt, *rí Rátho Inbir*, was slain in 781 in a battle in which the men of Brega defeated the Lágín, (AU).

⁴ *Crede Mihi*, ed. Gilbert, 47.

⁵ We likewise find a trace of the Dál Mesin Corb in this area. The Uí Loippíni, who were affiliated to the Dál Mesin Corb, dwelt at Cell Rannairech, i.e. Kilranelagh, near Baltinglass (LL 313 b 7; the entry is absent from R 120 b 45).

⁶ Féil. Oeng. p. 166. The same Cell Ard was *i nUíb Ercáin* according to the Martyrology of Tallaght, July 3. From Trip. Life, 188, we infer that the Uí Ercáin were located in South Kildare.

This settlement of Uí Garrchon in Co. Kildare may well be a relic of the kingship of Fraech ua Garrchon (†495).

Another sept associated with both south-eastern Wicklow and Co. Kildare was the Uí Enechglais, who according to the Leginian genealogists were descended from Bresal Enechglas, son of Cathaer Már.¹ The main body of them was seated about Arklow;² a lesser branch, known as Uí Enechglais Maige,³ was located in Co. Kildare. Like the Dál Mesin Corb, the Uí Enechglais were almost certainly of pre-Leginian origin. Among them we find a sept known as Loíges Ua nEnechglais or Loíges Lagen, whom the genealogy of the Corcu Loígde claims as a branch of the Érainn.⁴ Alternatively, as their name would suggest, we might suppose that these were an isolated section of the much better known Loíges of the Midlands, and consequently a remnant of the still earlier Cruthin.⁵

The name of the MANAPII has long been recognized as a variant of that of the Menapii, a Gaulish tribe who were

¹ For their pedigree see R 117 b.

² See the references collected by Liam Price, Proc. R.I.A. xlvi C, 283 f. According to a note in Féil. Oeng., p. 26, the river Dael (which enters the sea at Ennereilly, about four miles north-east of Arklow) was the boundary between the Uí Enechglais and the Dál Mes Corb. Cell Rignaige in Uí Enechglais (LL 348 a 32) has been identified by Liam Price (*op. cit.* 264) with Templeraíny, a few miles to the north of Arklow. (There was also a Cell Rignaige *hi Fothartaib Mara*, R 121 a 18; this was identified by the late Rev. Paul Walsh with Kilreiny, Co. Kildare, on the Westmeath border, ZCP x, 76 f. In a document of 1179 Templeraíny is called *Domnach Rignaiqi*, *Crede Mihi*, ed. Gilbert, 7.22. Compare *Rignach Domnaig Rignaiqe* and *Rignach Cilli Rignaiqe*, LL 369 c 7-8, = Arch. Hib. i, 359.)

³ These are mentioned in a genealogical tract (R 122 b 5; LL 314 a 58), where it is said that there was a settlement of the Uí Bairrche among them.

⁴ *Laighis Hua nEnechlais i Cualaind*, Misc. Celt. Soc. 8; *Lughaidh Laighis, diatā Laighis Hua nEnechlais*, ib. 30; *Lugaid Laechfes a quo Laechfes Laigen*, R 155 a 10 (*Laechfes* is an 'etymological' spelling of *Loíges*; cf. R 126 b 39-41). In a thirteenth-century document in *Crede Mihi*, ed. Gilbert, 144, there is mention of 'Ecclesia de Leys' in the deanery of Arklow; and Liam Price, rightly, no doubt, sees in 'Leys' the Irish *Lóiges* (*op. cit.* 270).

⁵ The Loíges of the Midlands descend from Lugaid Loígsech Cennmar, son of Conall Cernach (R 126 b 14), otherwise from Lugaid Loígse, son of Loígsech Cendmór, son of Conall Cernach (LL 318 a 15, 17, 25; and cf. Met. D. iii, 16). Their descent from Conall Cernach implies that they were Cruthin.

seated on the Meuse and on the Lower Rhine. Mac Neill was the first to suggest that the people who in Irish documents are called Monaig or Manaig may be the representatives of Ptolemy's Manapii.¹ *Monaig*, which seems to be the older form in Irish,² would go back to **Monakvī* and thence to **Monapī*.³ We may compare *Moncha*, the name of the wife of Eógan Mór,⁴ which would go back to a non-Goidelic **Monapiā*;⁵ and further *Mochua m. h.* [= *moccu*] *Manche*, Arch. Hib. i, 314, 'Mochua, member of the tribe descended from Monapios'⁶, which probably means 'Mochua of the Monaig'.

Early in the historical period we find the Monaig or Manaig surviving in two communities, one situated in Uí Echach Ulad in the west of Co. Down,⁷ and the other in the neighbourhood of Lough Erne.⁸ According to the Tripartite Life, the Manaig

¹ Phases of Irish History, 58.

² The form *Manaig* may have been to some extent influenced by *manaig*, pl. of *manach*, 'a monk' (< Lat. *monachus*).

³ The tribal name *Menapii* suggests the existence of **Menapios* as a by-name of the Otherworld-deity of the Celts. The root is probably *men-*, 'think', of which ablaut forms are *mon-* and *mṛ-*. For the ablaut variation seen in *Menapii*: **Monapī*, compare *Belgae*: **Bolgī* (Ir. *Builg*). For the interchange of *-io* and *-o* stems compare Brit. *Dumnoniī* with **Dumnonī* (> Ir. *Domnainn*), Ir. *Cruthin* (< **Priteni*) with its doublet *Cruithni*, *Bolgios* (Ir. *Bulga*) with **Bolgos* (Ir. *Bolg*), and the like.

⁴ ZCP viii, 309; RC xi, 42, xiii, 450, xlvii, 300 z; Keating, FF ii, 272.

⁵ *Moncha*, represented as a lady of the pre-Goidelic sept of the Creceiraige, is probably a euhemerized goddess, just as Eógan is a euhemerized god. We have the same name in Pliny's name for the Isle of Man, *Monapia*; for goddess-names used as the names of islands see the discussion of the name *Ériu* in *Ériu*, xiv, 7 ff. Ptolemy's name for the Isle of Man, *Movopiva*, is probably a corruption of *Movania*. The related Welsh name *Manaw* would go back to **Manavā*. Ir. *Manu* (gen. *Manann*) may have borrowed its declension from *Albu*, etc.

⁶ Or *Monapia*, *Monapa*.

⁷ gen. plur. *Manach*, AU 1056, *Monach* 1104, 1171. In a text printed in O'Curry's MS. Materials, 472, they are called, exceptionally, *Monaigh Aradh*, and are affiliated to the Dál nAraidi. Compare *Monaich Ulad di Araib doib, ut alii aiunt, ut dicitur maccu Araidi Monach*, Lec. fo. 129 a 2. 16 (also ib. 88 b 1. 45).

⁸ Later the name of these was altered to *Fir Manach*, which became a district-name ('Fermanagh') when it was taken over by the new ruling sept of Clann Lugáin (the Maguires), descended from Colla Fo Chríth (cf. R 146 f-g).

of Uí Chremthain and of Ulaid are branches of the Uí Bairrche.¹ With this the genealogists are in agreement, for they tell us that both sections of the Monaig descend, like the Uí Bairrche, from Fiacc, son of Dáire Barrach, son of Cathaer Már.² Evidently the tradition of the Monaig was that they had come from South Leinster, the home of the Uí Bairrche, with whom they claimed kinship.³

A stage in the northward trek of the Monaig seems to be indicated by the tradition which associates them with the north of Co. Dublin. Fergall Monach, whom we may take to be a euhemerization of the ancestor-deity (*Monapos) of the Monaig, had his *bruiden* or Otherworld-residence near Lusk.⁴ In the parish of Lusk is a townland called *Druim Monach*,⁵

¹ Trip. Life (Stokes) 192. The Manaig of Uí Chremthain are the Manaig of Lough Erne. The Uí Chremthain dwelt to the east of Lough Erne; cf. *iar lochaib Eirne a tirib Connacht hi tir Hua Craum[h]ain*, AU 817.

² Their eponymous ancestor, Monach or Manach, is variously represented as (1) son of Ailill Mór, son of Breccán, son of Fiacc; cf. *Is do chlainn Ailella Moir m. Breccain Manaich Locha Eirne 7 Manaich Ulad .i. Manach m. Ailella Moir m. Feicc m. Breccain* [the last two names should be transposed] *m. Daire Barraich m. Cathair*, R 128 b 1-3. (2) son of Ailill Mór, son of Fiacc, R 162 c, Gen. Tracts 187, § 180. (3) son of Fiacc, ZCP xiv, 54, ll. 8-10 (which are out of place here), ib. 74.4. In Lec. fo. 88 b 2. 3 (and 129 a 2. 23) Fiacc's name is omitted, and Monach is made son of Ailill Már, son of Dáire Barrach. The Uí Bairrche descend from Breccán, son of Fiacc (R 117 a-b, 121 a 43).

³ According to R, 128 b 5, the Monaig were compelled to leave their original territory owing to the slaying of Énna, son of the king of Lagen, by Eochaid Gunnat of the Ulaid (*asi tucait rosfuc asa tir orgguin Enna m. rig Lagen la hEochaid Gunnat di Uthaib*). This tradition seems to have been modelled on that of the slaying of Crimthann mac Énna by Eochaid Guinech, king of the Uí Bairrche. Another version says that their ancestor Monach, having slain Énna, son of the king of Lagen, left Leinster and betook himself to his maternal uncle, Eochaid Gunnat, king of Ulaid, who gave him land (Lec. fo. 88 b 2. 21 ff.).

⁴ *bruiden Forgaill Monach a taebh Luscaí*, *Hibernica Minora* (Meyer), 51; similarly RC xxi, 396 y (*do thaebh Lusca*). From 'Tochmarc Emire' we infer that Forgall's *dún* was not far south of the River Delvin (the northern boundary of Co. Dublin). In the same tale (§ 48) Forgall is represented as sister's son to Tethra, king of the Fomoire; but this is merely an instance of the artificial relationships invented for divine personages.

⁵ Lis. Lives 983.

'Drumanagh'. A ford on the River Delvin is said to have got its name from a person named *Scenmenn Monach* (or *Manach*).¹

The practical identity of their names authorizes us to believe that the Monaig were ultimately an offshoot of the Menapii, who were one of the group of tribes collectively known as Belgae. Hence we may infer that the Monaig were Builg or Fir Bolg (**Bolgī*, variant of *Belgae*). With this inference agrees the fact that 'the seven communities of the Monaig', dwelling 'in the land of the Ulaid', are classed among the Fir Bolg.² Similarly the descent of the Monaig from Dáire Barrach implies that they were Érainn (= Builg). Like the Builg in general, we may assume that the Monaig reached Ireland via Britain, and not direct from the Continent. If the Menapii or Monapi are not attested in Britain, it is a likely conjecture that they had been neighbours of the Brigantes in Britain (much as they were in Ireland), and that they later became merged in them.³

Ptolemy's CORIONDI, as a South Leinster tribal name, has left no trace in Irish. We may compare *Coriono-totae*, the name of a people in Britain, known from a Latin inscription at Hexham (in the territory of the Brigantes); this suggests that *Coriondi* may be a corruption of **Corioni*. We may further compare *Corin(n)ion*, the British name of Cirencester. On the Irish side we have the mythical name *Cuirenn*, which might go back to **Corion(n)os* or **Corin(n)os*. *Cuirenn* was ancestor of the *Cuirennrige*⁴ (*Cuirenn a quo Cuirennrige*, R 139 b 37), and is represented as brother of Conn Cétchathach (R 143 b 16).⁵

¹ Toch. Emire §§ 53, 86.

² Gen. Tracts 82 (poem quoted by D. Mac Fir Bhisigh).

³ Or at least overshadowed by them. The territory of the Brigantes appears to have been much more extensive than that of any other tribe in Roman Britain; but its great extent may be more apparent than real, for it is likely that the names of some of the lesser tribes in this territory have not been preserved. Compare the Setantii of Lancashire whose name is known only from the place-name *Σεταντίων λίμνη*, recorded by Ptolemy.

⁴ An obscure sept, whose location is unknown, unless we compare *Inis Cuirennrige*, which appears to have been the old name of Inishtrahull, off the coast of North Donegal (see *Hermathena* xxiii, 206 ff.).

⁵ Compare *Cuirennrige .i. Conall Curann mac Fedelmithe Rechtada*, H. 2. 7, 162.

We also find an allusion to *Dál Cuirind*,¹ possibly synonymous with *Cuirennrige*. But these names, although they may well be related to the name of Ptolemy's Coriondi, throw no light on the fate which overtook the latter, who disappear from history the moment that they enter it.²

Finally we have the BRIGANTES, in South Wexford, whom it is hardly possible to disassociate from the Brigantes of Britain. At the time of the Roman conquest the latter were located in what is now the north of England; but it is permissible to suppose that at an earlier period they had dwelt further to the south, and that they had moved northwards as a result of the displacement of population caused by later invasions of the south and south-west of Britain from the Continent. Inasmuch as the British Brigantes belonged beyond question to the Belgic (not to the Pritenic) section of the population of Britain, we are safe in assuming that that section of them which settled in Co. Wexford belonged to the Builg or Érainn.

The Fothairt and the Loíges were faithful vassal-allies of the Lagen; together they were known as *cliathaire Lagen*, 'battlers of the Lagen' (R 119 a 5).³ The Loíges were Cruthin, as their genealogy implies; and so too were in all probability the Fothairt, as the legend of the defeat and expulsion of the Tuath Fhidga permits us to infer, though the genealogists turned Eochaid Finn, traditional ancestor of the Fothairt, into a brother of Conn Cétchathach. Branches of the Fothairt

¹ *Maelduin la Dál Cuirind hi Féic*, Anecdota iii, 62.5. Fothad Canann was slain in a battle at Féic (Fianaigeacht pp. 9 n., 10), and Gofraidh Fionn locates the same battle at the hill of Clárach, near Millstreet, Co. Cork (Ir. Monthly 1919, 167 f., = Dioghluim Dána 192 f.).

² Pokorny's argument (ZCP ix, 172) that the Coriondi were Germanic invaders has no basis. When he claims that their name cannot be Celtic because an *-nd-* suffix is unknown in Celtic, he assumes, *inter alia*, that the name has been handed down correctly. Also he asserts, very shortsightedly, that Ir. *Cuirenn-* must go back to *Coriondo-*, ignoring the many other possible forms which would have given the same result in Irish.

³ There was an old-standing friendship between the Loíges and the Fothairt; and we are told that Eochaid Finn, ancestor of the Fothairt, was foster-father of Lugaid Loígse, ancestor of the Loíges (ZCP xvii, 137).

were widely scattered through Leinster;¹ but their most important settlements appear to have been *Fothairt in Chairn*, represented by the barony of Forth in the south-east of Co. Wexford, between Wexford Harbour and Carnsore Point, and *Fothairt Fhea*, represented by the barony of Forth in Co. Carlow.

An old legend² tells how the Cruithni (Cruthin), fighting on behalf of Crimthann Sciathbél, king of the Lagen, crushed in battle a people known as the Tuath Fhidga,³ and took possession of their land. The defeated were of British origin (*do Breatnaib a mbunadh*, Mael Mura's poem; *tuath de Bretnaib*, LL 15 a 25), and dwelt in Fothairt (*i Fothartaib*, *ibid.*, interlined). We may safely identify the Cruithni of this legend with the Fothairt, and the tribe of 'Britons' with the Uí Bairrche. The story in effect tells us how the Fothairt, fighting as vassal-allies of the Southern Lagen, drove out the Uí Bairrche, and themselves settled in their territory, i.e. either in Fothairt in Chairn (the barony of Forth in Co.

¹ e.g. *Fothairt Airbrech*, near Bri Éle (Croghan Hill), in King's Co., and *Fothairt Maige Ítha*, in North Wexford or South Wicklow. One branch of them, *Fothairt Imchldir*, was located near the town of Armagh (cf. R 126 a 8; ZCP viii, 301, 26). I may add that Stokes's *Fothairt Domnann*, RC xv, 300.5, is an error; insert a full stop after *Fothairt*, and read *Domnainn*. Hogan's *Fotharta Domnaind* (Onomasticon 430) is to be corrected likewise. Stokes's mistake has misled Rhys, *Studies in Early Ir. Hist.* 38.

² LL 15 a 22-30, (= Todd's Ir. Nennius p. lxxiv), Met. D. iii, 164. The earliest version appears to be that in the poem 'Cruthnig cid dos-farclam' (cf. Lebor Bretnach, ed. van Hamel, 11 f.), which in one of the two mss. is ascribed to Mael Mura. Compare also FF ii, 110.

³ The name does not occur in Mael Mura's poem on the Cruthin (see last note). The *Fidgai* were among the tribes defeated by Tuathal Techtmar (Met. D. ii, 46). The Tuath Fhidga were duly taken over into the list of *aithechthuatha*; in the Edinb. xxviii version they dwell in Uí Chenselaig (RC xx, 337), in BB and Lec. in Fortuatha Lagen and Uí Chenselaig (Gen. Tracts pp. 114, 116, 120). The name is sometimes made *Tuath Fidba* (e.g. LL 15 a 30; contrast *Tuath Fidga*, *ib.* l. 25). We are told that the wounds they inflicted were deadly, and that only 'venomous' weapons could hurt them (LL); in later versions they themselves possess 'venomous' weapons (Todd's Ir. Nennius, p. lxxviii f.). This idea may have favoured the substitution of *Fidba* for *Fidga*, for *fidba* appears to have had as one of its meanings 'venom' or 'sorcery' (see RC xiii, 464, 471).

Wexford) or in Fothairt Fhea (the barony of Forth in Co. Carlow).¹

The Uí Bairrche in early times must have occupied the baronies of Forth and Bargy, in the south of Co. Wexford. Bargy, which takes its name from them, was known as Uí Bairrche Tíre, and was reckoned as part of Uí Chenselaig.² Though the Uí Bairrche Tíre had rulers of their own,³ they seem to have been shorn of all their power and reduced to a position bordering on insignificance. Actually in historical times we find the main body of the Uí Bairrche settled considerably to the north, chiefly in the barony of Slievemargy in the south-eastern corner of Queen's County and in the adjoining portions of Carlow and Kilkenny. There were isolated settlements of them further north still, in Co. Kildare.⁴ Another section of them appears to have settled down among the Osraige.⁵

This dispersal of the Uí Bairrche from their earlier home in South Wexford was the result of the hostility of the Southern Lagen (the Uí Chenselaig). According to the 'Expulsion of the Déisi', the Uí Bairrche were driven out by Fiachu ba Aiccid, king of the Lagen, who gave their territory to the Déisi, who continued to occupy it until the reign of Crimthann (son of Énna Censelach), when Eochu Guinech, a warrior of the Uí Bairrche, expelled them.⁶ According to the Tripartite Life (ed. Stokes, 192), Cremthan (son of Censelach), king of Lagen, oppressed the Uí Bairrche, so that they migrated from

¹ The latter is suggested in Mael Mura's poem, which refers to the defeated tribe as *shuag Fea*.

² Cf. *la H. Bairrche Tiri . . . i. i nH. Cendselaig*, LL 313 c 29.

³ A king of Uí Bairrche Tíre is mentioned in Three Frags., 150 (A.D. 858), and a tanist of the same in FM, s. a. 906.

⁴ See these *ranna Ua mBarrchi la Laigniu* enumerated in R 122 b 1-9, LL 314 a, Lec. fo. 88 b 1; and cf. O'Donovan (summarizing Mac Firbis) in Lr. na gCeart, 212 n. The places named include Cluain Conaire (Cloncurry, near Enfield), Cell Auxilli (Killashee, near Naas), in Chell (Kill, near Naas), and Cell Corpnatan (perhaps = Cell Corbáin, near Naas).

⁵ See p. 37, n. 3.

⁶ Ériu iii, 136 f.; Y Cymmrodor xiv, 106-108. This account is very artificial, for, as could be shown, the expulsion of the Déisi from Tara, and their subsequent wanderings in Leinster, are quite unhistorical.

their territory, and one of them, Oengus mac Maicc Erca, slew King Cremthan in revenge for his banishment. The date of the slaying of Crimthann (or Cremthan) is 484 or 486 (AU). Elsewhere his slaying is attributed, not to Oengus, but to Oengus's son, Eochu Guinech, king of the Uí Bairrche.¹ A few years later, in 490 or 491, we find Eochu Guinech aiding the Northern Lagen in the battle of Cenn Losnada (Kellistown, Co. Carlow), in which Oengus mac Nad Froích, king of Cashel, and son-in-law of Crimthann, was defeated and slain.²

The Uí Bairrche, whose original home was in South Wexford, may be taken to be the historical representatives of Ptolemy's Brigantes. Their traditional ancestor is Dáire Barrach, who is very artificially made one of the sons of Cathaer Már;³ but their descent from Dáire can only mean that, before the genealogists got busy with their inventions, the Uí Bairrche regarded themselves as Érainn. *Bairrche* in *Uí Bairrche* might be genitive of Celt. **Barrekā*, fem.,⁴ while *Barrach*

¹ *Eochu Guinech, rí H. mBarrchi, m. a ingini féin, rosmarb*, LL 39 b 5. Cf. AI 10 a 19; Chron. Scot. 484. For Eochu Guinech's pedigree see R 117 a 51, LL 331 b, 337 f.

² RC xvii, 120; Chron. Scot. 487; Ann. Clon. 73. Flann mac Mael Maedóc († 979) seems to suggest that the migration of the Uí Bairrche followed the slaying of Laidcenn mac Baircheda, the *filí*, by Eochaid, son of Énna Censelach: *ba de sain sôiset fo thuaid ó Inis Coirthi*, 'it was as a result of that they (the Uí Bairrche?) turned northwards from Enniscorthy', ZCP viii, 118, § 23. The name of Laidcenn's father, Bairchid, seems to imply that he was of the Uí Bairrche, though in R 116 c 5 and LL 311 a 32 he is said to have been 'of the Dál nAraidi'. For more concerning this Laidcenn, and for compositions fathered on him, see Meyer, *ÄID* i, 14 ff., ii, 21 f. Brii mac Bairc[h]eda, 'who was with Cathaer Már afterwards', was brother of Laidcenn (R 116 c 6). In the story of the expulsion of the Déisi, Brí mac Bairc[h]eda is a druid in the time of Crimthann mac Énna Chenselaig, king of Lagen (Y Cymmrodor xiv, 108). In the *dindshenchas* of Loch Garman he is a druid contemporary with Cathaer Már (Met. D. iii, 178).

³ This was the genealogy provided for the Uí Bairrche who dwelt among the Lagen. A branch of them in Osraige, known as Uí Bairrche meic Niad Coirb, are made to descend from Bairrche, son of Nia Corb, son of Buan, son of Loegaire Bern Buadach, ancestor of the Osraige, R 128 b 52, 130 a 48, LL 339 a 28 (*Bairche*).

⁴ Or of a masc. **Barrekios*, in case the Old Irish form of the sept-name was **Aui Bairrchi*. *Bairrche* (< **Barrekion*) is also found in the sense of 'the territory of the Uí Bairrche': dat. *Bairrchiu*, R. 127 a 30, = LL 318 b 20.

could represent **Barrekos*. With this is to be compared the British deity-name **Barreks*, identified with Mars in a Latin dedication M(ARTI) BARREKI found at Carlisle, in the territory of the Brigantes. These names are obviously to be connected with Ir. *barr*, W. *bar*, 'summit', and would mean 'the high god', 'the high goddess'. So the Brigantes take their name from **Brigantī*, 'the high goddess' (whence W. *Braint*, the name of a river in Anglesey), of which the Irish counterpart is *Brigit* (goddess and river name), < **Brigentī*; in inscriptions found in the territory of the Brigantes her name is latinized *Brigantia*.¹

Another non-Laginian tribe in Co. Wexford was the Benntraige, who have given their name to the barony of Bantry, lying between the Barrow and the Slaney. A section of this tribe, or at least a tribe of the same name, was settled in southwest Cork, where they have left their name on another barony of Bantry.² One genealogical account makes the Benntraige descend from Coemgin Conganchnes, son of Ded,³ which implies that they were Érainn. Another gives them as ancestor Benta, son of Mál, descended from Lug mac Ethnenn;⁴ alternatively this eponymous Benta is made son of Conchobar mac Nessa.⁵ It seems probable that the Benntraige were Érainn rather than Cruthin. Perhaps we might regard the

As *-rrch-* is often reduced to *-rch-*, we may equate with it *Bairche*, later *Boirche*, the name of a district in the south of Co. Down; cf. dat. *Bairchiu*, AU 610, 752, Ériu iv, 163.8 (later fem., as in *o Boirche beandaigh*, Top. Poems 38).

¹ Compare also *Uí Brigte*, the name of a sept among the Déisi (LL 328 a-b; called *H. Brigten na nDeisse*, R 130 b 7); and further the tribe of the Brigantii, whose capital was Brigantion, now Bregenz, on the Lake of Constanz.

² The latter Benntraige are classed among the *aithechthuatha* (RC xx, 337 z; Gen. Tracts pp. 114, 117, 120). If we may rely on an allusion in 'Macgnimmartha Find', their territory at one time extended northwards to Killarney: *co riacht Loch Léin ós Luachair, cur athc[h]uir a amsaine ac ríig Benntraige and sin*, RC v, 200, § 13.

³ R 130 b 8; ZCP xiv, 52.

⁴ R 127 a 38-41; Gen. Tracts 139, § 23. The genealogists absurdly treat Ethnenn or Ethlenn (whose name is properly the genitive of the name of Lug's mother) as Lug's father, and make her son of Fergus mac Roich (ZCP viii, 334.21; Gen. Tracts pp. 135, 139, 141). Cf. *infra*, p. 310, n. 5.

⁵ R 127 a 39; LL 331 c 17 (*Benna*); Gen. Tracts 139, § 24. Cf. *Benta in t-éces di Ultaib, de quo Benntraige*, Y Cymmrodor, xiv, 124. 9.

Benntraige of Co. Wexford as a remnant of the tribe that Ptolemy calls the Coriondi.

In early historical times the Lagen are the dominant power in that part of Leinster which lies south of the mouth of the Liffey; but, as we have just seen, numerous remnants of the earlier population survived, though reduced in status or expelled from their original territory. In the Ireland described by Ptolemy, on the other hand, there is not a trace of the Lagen or their kin, and those peoples whom we find occupying a subordinate position early in the historical period are in unchallenged occupation of this part of the country, e.g. the *Cauleni (cf. Dál Mes Corb), the Manapii (= Monaig), and the Brigantes (cf. Uí Bairrche). The Coriondi are unknown in the historical period, unless we see a remnant of them in the Benntraige.

The identification of Ptolemy's *Καυκοί* with the Germanic Chauci, and of his *Μαυαπίοι* with the Belgic Menapii, has led some scholars to suppose that there were settlements of Germans and Continental Celts on the south-east coast in the Ireland of about 100 A.D.¹ The theory of a Germanic invasion, which has as its sole support the occurrence of the name *Καυκοί* in Ptolemy's text, has been pushed to extremes by Pokorny, who has attempted to turn the Coriondi into Germans (see p. 34, n. 2), and has likewise sought a Germanic origin for the Gailing or Gálioín and for the mythical Fomoire.² Pokorny's arguments are wholly unconvincing, and need not be discussed here. Moreover the theory of a Germanic invasion is intrinsically so improbable that it would require much more than the spelling *Καυκοί* in Ptolemy's text to render it credible. If it had any basis in fact, we should expect to find it confirmed by ample evidence of early Germanic settlements on the east coast of Britain; but such evidence is entirely wanting.

v

As the foregoing discussion has shown, the most striking feature of Ptolemy's account of Ireland is its antiquity. The

¹ Cf. Rhys, *Studies in Early Ir. Hist.* 51; Mac Neill, *Phases of Ir. Hist.* 58; Pokorny, *History of Ireland* 22.

² ZCP xi, 173-188.

Ireland it describes is an Ireland dominated by the Érainn, and on which neither the Lagenian invaders nor the Goidels have as yet set foot. The language spoken in it was Celtic of the Brittonic type (p. 17). The form *Rēgiā*, for **Rīgiā* (p. 14), likewise suggests an early date, before IE. *ē* had been assimilated to *ī* in Celtic.¹

The proportion of Ptolemy's geographical and tribal names that can be identified with names occurring in Irish literature is astonishingly small,—only about one in four. This fact would of itself disprove the idea that Ptolemy is describing the Ireland of ca. 100 A.D.; if we possessed a similar number of names relating to the Ireland of that time, there can be little doubt that the great majority of them could be identified with names recorded in our literature. Actually a decidedly larger proportion of the British names noted by Ptolemy has survived than of Ptolemy's Irish names, despite the fact that Celtic speech has long been extinct in the greater part of Britain. Thus of the fifteen Irish river-names in Ptolemy only two or three have survived to our own day, and not more than four or five can be traced in our Irish records; while of some fifty river-names in Ptolemy's Britain about one-half have survived, nearly all of them to the present day. The conclusion is that Ptolemy's account of Ireland is considerably older than his account of Britain, which (at any rate so far as Roman Britain is concerned) probably reflects the Britain of the early second century A.D. Ptolemy's Irish names, in fact, must be derived, directly or indirectly, from some geographer who lived several centuries before Ptolemy's time.

Previous to the Roman conquest of Britain the only Greek geographer who is known to have visited the 'Pretanic Isles' is Pytheas of Massalia. The geographical treatise in which Pytheas embodied the results of his observations has unfortunately perished; but he is known to have travelled extensively in Britain, and is believed to have circumnavigated it. For aught we know to the contrary, he may have landed in Ireland too. No such detailed account of Ireland could have been composed by any Greek earlier than Pytheas; nor

¹ Note also *Auteini*, in which the *ei* (found in nearly all the mss. of Ptolemy) may represent IE. *ei*, which later became *ē* in Celtic.

do we know of any later Greek traveller to whom it might be attributed. Accordingly it is not rash to suppose that Ptolemy's account of Ireland is based on that of Pytheas, whose voyage took place *ca.* 325 B.C., a date which would harmonize very well with the antiquity of the account as proved by internal evidence. Ptolemy, it is true, fixes the position of the geographical features by latitude and longitude ; and while Pytheas, as is known, was sufficiently expert to be able to calculate the latitude of his native town, it would be impossible to regard him as the author of those measurements of latitude and longitude which we find in Ptolemy. The solution of the matter appears to be that the text of Pytheas's lost work contained a map of Ireland, drawn approximately to scale, but without parallels or meridians, and that these were at a later period calculated from Pytheas's map either by Ptolemy himself or by one of his predecessors.¹

The name 'Ιέρνη, 'Ireland', had probably been picked up by the Massaliot Greeks, from merchants and from their Celtic neighbours, as early as the fifth century B.C.² We may take it that Pytheas retained the traditional name 'Ιέρνη, and that he modelled on this the cognate names 'Ιερνοι (people), 'Ιερνις (city), 'Ιερνος (river) ; whereas in dealing with other names, previously unrecorded, we find him representing Celtic *v* by Greek *ov*, as for instance in *Vidva*, *Vellabori*, *Bouvinda*, *Ravios*. Ptolemy, or some near predecessor of his,

¹ H. Bradley, *Archaeologia* xlvi, 382 f., supposes that Ptolemy (or a predecessor of his) had before him, when putting together his account of the Pretanic Isles, three such maps, representing Southern Britain, Northern Britain, and Ireland, and that 'in fitting the three maps together Ptolemy (or his predecessor) fell into the mistake of turning the oblong map of Scotland the wrong way'. He thus gives a satisfactory explanation of the curious fact that in a map constructed from Ptolemy's data Scotland, instead of 'appearing, as it ought to do, as a continuation of England towards the north, is twisted round sharply to the east', so that 'Ptolemy's map of North Britain looks like a map of Scotland turned over on its side'.

² Compare *gens Hiernorum* in Avienus, implying 'Ιερνοι in his Greek original. Owing to the loss of so much of the work of the early Greek geographers 'Ιέρνη is not attested before Strabo (contemporary with Augustus). The digamma had disappeared from Ionic as early as the seventh century B.C. ; and when the Massaliot Greeks first heard the name *Ivernā*, they presumably had no means of indicating the *-v-* and simply dropped it. Later the Greeks adopted the expedient of representing *v* in foreign names by *ov*.

modernized 'Ιέρπη into 'Ιουερπία, and similarly inserted *ou* into the cognate names 'Ιούερνοι and 'Ιουερπίς, but by an oversight forgot to change the river-name 'Ιερνου (gen.) into 'Ιουερνου.

There is nothing to suggest that Ptolemy's account of Ireland is a composite one, or that it incorporates later names, or that, apart from the small orthographical changes just mentioned, any attempt had been made to bring it up to date.

Accordingly there is reasonable justification for assuming that the names in Ptolemy's description of Ireland are the same names as were recorded by Pytheas in his lost geographical work, *ca.* 325 B.C. In any event they cannot be older than this, for Pytheas had no predecessors capable of doing such work. Also they must be considerably older than 50 B.C., which would be the latest possible date for the arrival of the Goidels in Ireland. Hence we may draw the important conclusion that the two last Celtic invasions of Ireland, that of the Lagen and that of the Goidels, took place between *ca.* 325 B.C. and 50 B.C.

II.--FIR BOLG. BOLG. BULGA.

Just as we frequently find the periphrastic names *Fir Domnann* and *Fir Gáilion* used instead of the simple *Domnainn* and *Gáilion*,¹ and as *Fir Manach* replaces an earlier *Manaig*, so we should expect to find that *Fir Bolg*, the name applied to a body of pre-Goidelic invaders of Ireland, was at an earlier period *Builg* simply. Actually there is abundant evidence that this was so.

The earliest occurrence of the name is in the 'Historia Brittonum', where it appears as *Builc*.² Eochaid ua Flainn († 1004) employs *tuath Bolc*³ in the sense of *Builg* or *Fir Bolg*. We find the compound *Bolgthuath* applied to several remnants of the *Fir Bolg* in Connacht, viz. *Bolgthuath Baghna* (= *Badbgnai*),⁴ *Bolgthuath Mhuighe Luirg*,⁵ and *Bolgthuath Echtghe*.⁶ Another compound is *Bolgraige*, applied to an *aithechthuath* in *Tír Conaill*.⁷

The older form of the name is preserved, in the gen. plur. *Bolg*, in numerous place-names throughout the country. It may be worth while to enumerate these:⁸

¹ Similarly *Goidil* may be expanded to *Fir Goidel*, as in *féire Fer nGóidel*, Féil. Oeng. ep. 144. Compare also *bérta na Fer nGrécc*, Anecdota i, 34, § 71, for *bérta na nGrécc*; *Fir Ulad*, LL 126 a 18, LU 10129, for *Ulaid*.

² *Butlc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam et alias circiter*, Hist. Britt. c. 14. The use of *tenuit* for *tenuerunt* shows that the Welsh writer mistook the *Builc* (= *Builg*) of his Irish source for a man's name. There is, of course, not a shadow of justification for T. Lewis's assertion that *Builc* here is the Welsh *bwilch* used 'as a personal name' (MacNeill-Essays 55).

³ ZCP xiv, 174, 176. So Mael Mura employs *tuath Domnann* (Lec. fo. 8 b 2. 33) as a synonym of *Domnainn* or *Fir Domnann*.

⁴ Gen. Tracts pp. 77, 83, 89; otherwise *Bolgthuatha B.*, 'Flower, Cat. 274.11, O'Donovan's Hy-Many, 90.13.

⁵ Gen. Tracts 83; = *Fir Bholg ar Mhagh Luirg*, ib. 76.

⁶ O'Donovan's Hy-Many 92.2.

⁷ RC xx, 338; Gen. Tracts 77.

⁸ The abbreviation 'Tax.' in this list refers to the Papal Taxation of 1302-6 published in Cal. Docs. Ireland 1302-7. 'Onom.' = Hogan's Onomasticon Goedelicum.

Aithbhe Bolg, Aghabulloge, Co. Cork. For references (without identification) see Onom. s.vv. *Aithe Bolg*, *Áth Bii Bolc* (the latter form is a mere misspelling). Early English forms are 'Faytbullock', Tax. 315, 'Faybok' (with 'Aggabullog' in margin), Rotulus Pipae Clonensis (ed. R. Caulfield) 27. Later, by folk-substitution, the name became *Achadh Bolg* in Irish (cf. Plummer, Lives of Ir. Saints i, 15 n. 6, 22 n. 2).¹

**Cathair Bolg*, Caherbullog, Co. Clare. Another place of this name is possibly Caherbullig, near Ventry, Co. Kerry; in local Irish this is *Cathair Builg*, where *Builg* may be a modern substitution for an earlier *Bolg* (see *Dún Bolg* below).

Cluain Bolg, Clonbulloge, King's Co. So spelled in the *caithréim* of Aodh (mac Seáin) Ó Broin. Other places of the same name, but unattested in Irish documents, are Clonbulloge, alias Ballycallon, in Co. Carlow, and Clonbullogue, a parish in Co. Tipperary ('Clonbolg' in Tax. 317).

**Cnoc Bolg*, Knockbulloge, Co. Tipperary. Same spelling ('Knockbulloge') in Civil Survey Co. Tipp. i, 225.

**Druim Bolg*. Cf. Drombologe, Co. Donegal, and Drumbullog in Fermanagh and Leitrim.

Dumha Bolg, in Co. Westmeath, Betha Colmáin 64.15 (*Duma Bolgc*); now obsolete.

Dún Bolg, in Co. Wicklow; now obsolete.² Another place of this name is *Dún Bolg*, Dunbolloge, Co. Cork, e.g. Seán na Ráithíneach pp. 18, 50.³ Compare *Áth Bolg*, *nó Dún Bolg*; *láimh le Corca Mumhan*, Oss. Soc. ii, 182. A variant of this is *Dún Builg*, found in Diarmaid mac Seáin Bhuí, p. 5, and also employed by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, R.I.A. ms. 23 G 25 pp. 185, 236, 313.⁴

Gleann Bolg, obsolete; perhaps in Co. Louth. Cúchulainn is called *Cú Glinne Bolg*, TBC Wi. 3134.

Inis Bolg, an island in Lough Gara, on the borders of Roscommon and Sligo (Onom.); now obsolete.

Magh Bolg, Moybologue, a parish partly in Meath and partly in

¹ What *aithbhe* (which ordinarily = 'ebb-tide') may have meant in this name is uncertain. In pronunciation it would have regularly become *aife*, and thence *ahə* (compare current Ir. *taoid' aha*, 'ebb-tide'), so that the substitution of *achadh* (pron. *axə*) was natural. 'Faytbullock', quoted above, seems to show another popular substitution, **Faithche Bolg*.

² Misidentified in Onom. with Dunboyke, near Hollywood.

³ Also An Leabhar Muimhneach pp. 198, 200. So *Dunbolg* (in diocese of Cork), Tax. pp. 308, 319.

⁴ The name *Dún Bolg* doubtless came to be misinterpreted popularly as 'bellows-fort', and the change of *Bolg* to *Builg* may be connected with this misinterpretation. At the present day there is a strong tendency to use the nom. (plur.) form *builg*, 'bellows', as genitive, especially when the article does not precede.

Cavan (Onom.). According to the Dindshenchas, Mag nÍtha in Co. Donegal had *Mag mBolg* as an earlier name (Met. D. iv, 90-92).

**Mohtar Bolg*, Moherbullog, Co. Clare.

That *Bolg* in the foregoing names is the gen. plur. of *Builg* (= Fir Bolg) is in my judgment beyond question. We have parallels to *Dún Bolg*, 'fort of the Builg', in such names as *Dún Cruithne* and *Dún Domnann* in Ireland, *Dún Brettan* and *Dún Cailden*¹ in Scotland. Other parallels are seen in names like *Cluain Lagen*, *Mag Lagen*, *Druim Cruithne*, *Druim Monach*, *Insi Orc*.²

In ordinary use *Builg* was supplanted at an early date by the periphrastic *Fir Bolg*, which had the advantage of being wholly unambiguous, whereas the simple *Builg* would inevitably suggest the plural of the common noun *bolg*, 'bag'. So in the Middle Irish tract on the Bórama the place-name *Dún Bolg* (in Co. Wicklow) is no longer rightly understood; or at any rate the narrator does not scruple to give a folk-etymological explanation of the name, which, he tells us, was given to the place because of the *boilg lóin* (LL 301 b, = RC xiii, 66, § 67), or provision baskets, in which Brandub, king of Lagen, concealed the forces with which he made a surprise attack on his enemy's camp. In our own time P. W. Joyce has interpreted *Bolg* in place-names as meaning 'sacks or bags', though his remarks suggest that he accepted this

¹ *Dún Cailden* means 'the fortress of the Caledones'. John Fraser objects that the **Caillinn* of Mod. Sc. *Dún Chailleann* might come from **Caldiones*, but could not come from *Caledones* (SGS iii, 137). These assertions are groundless.

² It is interesting to find a place associated with the Fir Bolg in the remote Scottish island of St. Kilda. 'There is an antient Fort on the South end of the Bay, call'd *Dun-fir-Volg*, i.e. the fort of the *Volscij*. This is the Sense put upon the Word by the *Antiquaries* of the opposite Isles of *Vist*' (M. Martin, Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, 1716, p. 281). The ungrammatical form of the name points to a late origin, and the name is doubtless due to some Scottish *seanchaidh* who was acquainted with the Irish tradition that the Fir Bolg took refuge in 'the outer islands of the sea'. Concerning this *Dun-fir-Volg* Watson says that it affords 'the only clear trace of the Fir Bolg in Scotland' (Celtic Place-names of Scotland 64). He goes on to suggest that there may be another trace of them in the name *Dùn Bhalair* (in Lorne), if this is to be interpreted as 'Balar's fort'; but here he is in error, for Balar was not, as he supposes, 'one of the chiefs of the Fir Bolg'.

explanation only for want of a more intelligible alternative.¹ Goddard Orpen at one time thought that *Bolg* in place-names 'connotes the curved or rounded physical configuration of the object denoted—perhaps in these cases it refers to the circumvallations or rings forming the fort or forts, perhaps to the swelling or rounded nature of the ground on which they are situated'.² Meyer identified *Bolg* in *Dún Bolg*, *Mag Bolg*, with Ir. *bolg*, f., 'a gap';³ and in this he has been followed by van Hamel.⁴ The true explanation was later glimpsed by Goddard Orpen, who in a paper written in 1913 suggested, with regard to *Dún Bolg*, that 'the simplest explanation of the fort-names involving *bolg* is that the forts to which such names were applied were regarded as, in origin, forts of the Fir-bolg—i.e. non-Milesians'.⁵

In the various accounts of the invasion of the Fir Bolg more than one childish explanation is offered of their name, which is assumed to mean literally 'men of bags'. We are told that they were so called (*a*) from the bags in which they brought clay to put on stony ground at the bidding of their Greek oppressors,⁶ or (*b*) from the bags of clay they brought from Ireland to Greece as a protection against venomous reptiles,⁷ or (*c*) because they used these bags as vessels in which to sail to Ireland.⁸ In our own day these absurd speculations have been treated with undue deference, and various scholars

¹ 'Why it is that places took their names from sacks or bags, it is not easy to determine, unless we resort to the old explanation that sack makers lived in them; or perhaps the places may have been so called from the use of an unusual number of sacks in farming operations, in storing corn, flour, &c.' (Irish Names of Places ii, 196).

² Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1911, 147.

³ Contribb. to Ir. Lexicography 236. Meyer, misled by the Welsh *bwlch*, spells the Irish word *bolc*, apparently believing that the last letter of the word was the voiceless velar stop. For *bolg*, f., 'gap', and kindred words, see my note in *Ériu* xiii, 163 ff.

⁴ ZCP x, 187.

⁵ Proc. R.I.A. xxxii C, 54.

⁶ BB 29 a 1; Lec. fo. 276 a 1. 48-49; cf. Gen. Tracts pp. 53, 198 f.

⁷ Lec. fo. 276 b 2. 3-8, 277 a 1. 26-32; cf. Gen. Tracts pp. 197, 199.

⁸ Gen. Tracts 54. Cf. *gníset barca dóib dia mbolgaib*, LL 6 b 20; *doronsad barca dia mbolgaib*, *Ériu* viii, 10. Hence they are called *fir i mbalgaib*, 'men in (vessels of) bags', LL 8 b 3. Combined with (*a*), ITS xli, 14.

have in their turn attempted to explain why the Fir Bolg should have been called 'Men of Bags'. Stokes took 'bags' to mean 'breeches';¹ and in this he was followed by Meyer² and Rhys.³ Mac Neill explains *Fir Bolg* as 'people of leathern bags', and supposes that they were so called because their occupation was the manufacture of such bags.⁴ Pokorny argues that the 'bags' that gave their name to the Fir Bolg were boats made of hide.⁵ Finally we may note a couple of welcome departures from the Men-of-Bags explanation. Van Hamel's view is that the Fir Bolg were 'Men of the Gaps,' and were so called because they were mythological beings who 'were supposed to live in the gaps of roads'.⁶ More recently Timothy Lewis has persuaded himself that *bolg* signifies 'wall of defence' or the like, so that '*Fir Bolg* means literally

¹ RC xii, 118.

² Contributions to Ir. Lexicography 237. Meyer's only example of *bolg* in this sense is *fir i mbalgaib*, LL 8 b 3, which he misinterprets (see the last note but one).

³ Trans. Third Intern. Congress for Hist. of Religions, Oxford, 1908, pp. 205, 207. Previously Rhys had suggested that the 'bags' from which the Fir Bolg got their name might be 'the shining cap of salmon-skin that figures in Irish tales about the fairies' (The Hibbert Lectures 1886, p. 596).

⁴ Proc. R.I.A. xxix C, 81; Phases of Irish History, 76, 78. Similarly MacNeill would explain *Bolgraige* as 'Bag-folk' (Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1933, 16 n.). With *Fir Bolg* he compares '*Tuatha Taiden* or *Fir Taiden*, people of mantles' (Proc. R.I.A. *loc. cit.*); but *Taiden* in these names has nothing to do with *tuigen*, 'poet's cloak', but is either gen. (sing. or plur.) of *toidiu*, 'a watercourse', or gen. plur. of *toiden*, 'a troop'. Compare a *thuir Thaiden* (sic leg.), addressing Ó Ceallaigh, ITS xxvi, 63.6. In his 'Ireland to A.D. 800,' p. 14, Rev. Dr. John Ryan, like Mac Neill, asserts that the name *Fir Bolg* means 'bag men,' and was applied to 'a caste of bag-makers.' (I may add here that it would be superfluous to give further reference to the views expressed in Dr. Ryan's book, which, so far as it concerns us here, is merely a rehash, without acknowledgment, of Mac Neill's 'Phases of Irish History'.)

⁵ ZCP xi, 200. More recently he has written: 'The name of the pre-Keltic inhabitants of Ireland, *Fir Bholg*, is derived from their use of the skin boat' (History of Ireland 17). In this connexion he suggests that the Picts (*Cruithin*) 'may be descended from Eskimos, who, perhaps, came from North America in their skin boats' (ib. 16).

⁶ ZCP x, 188 (1915). The odd idea that they lived 'in the gaps of roads' is his own invention.

“burghers” or “burg-builders”, and is ‘a cultural and not a racial name’.¹

All these lame attempts to explain why the Fir Bolg were so called can be summarily dismissed in view of the fact that *Fir Bolg* is merely a later periphrasis for *Builg*. Accordingly, the only question to solve is: what does *Builg* mean? Inasmuch as Celtic tribal names were, oftener than not, pluralized forms of deity names or epithets, we might expect to find that the *Builg* took their name from a deity called *Bolg*.

The Corcu Loígde, of the south of Co. Cork, claimed descent from Lugaid, son of Dáire. As Dáire was their ultimate ancestor, the god of the Otherworld, no pedigree of theirs, in pagan times, could possibly go further back than Dáire; but the genealogists of Christian times, whose custom was to treat divine ancestors as real men, had no hesitation in tracing the pedigree of the Corcu Loígde back from Dáire to Íth, uncle of Míl, in order to provide them with a Goidelic descent. Accordingly the pedigree was continued backwards as follows: *Mac side Builg maic Fhir Shuilne*, etc., back to Íth, i.e. ‘He (Dáire) was the son of Bolg, son of Fer Suilne’, etc.² It was, however, very unusual to have a pedigree divided in this way into two sections; and so copyists were inevitably tempted to treat *M. side Builg* as *m. Sidebuilg*, and modern editors have invariably fallen into the same error.³ The first name, therefore, in the continuation of the pedigree beyond Dáire is, not the ghost-name *Sidebolg*, but *Bolg*, which we must assume was well known to the original continuator as the name of a traditional ancestor of the Corcu Loígde. Such pedigrees, of course, are little more than a hotch-potch of the names of faded deities; and it frequently happens that the same deity appears more than once in a

¹ MacNeill-Essays 58. Lewis’s views are so fantastic that it is needless to discuss them. He argues that Welsh *bwlch* (‘gap, notch’) has as its earliest meaning ‘fortified place, wall of defence’, and is a borrowing of O. Eng. *burh*, *burg* (he ignores the change of *r* to *l* which this implies), and he supposes that Ir. *bolg* is in turn a borrowing of *bwlch*.

² *m. Luigdech Loigde m. Dairi Doimthig nó Sirchrehtaig m. side Builg m. Fir Suilne*, R 155 a 2; *m. Lugdech Laigde m. Daire Sirchrehtaig m. side Builg m. m.* (sic) *Fir Suilmi*, LL 325 e.

³ Compare *coic mc. Daire m. Sidebuilc m. Fir Fuilni*, R 143 a 48; *cuic maic Dare Doimthig .i. na cuic Luigidig ut supra diximus maic Sithbailc maic*

pedigree, under different designations. The paternity assigned to any particular deity in a pedigree is for the most part purely artificial, and rarely preserves the tradition of pagan times. Thus it is quite as artificial 'to make Dáire 'son of Bolg' as it is to make Cú Roí 'son of Dáire', for the god Bolg was merely Dáire under another aspect, and Cú Roí and Dáire are ultimately one and the same.

Elsewhere in the genealogies of the same Corcu Loígde we find Bolg turning up as Oengus Bolg.¹ The Uí Builg (of whom was the family of Ó hEterscéoil) were descended from Oengus Bolg, son of Lugaid, son of Maicnia, son of Mac Con, son of Lugaid Loígde.² As the sept-name *Uí Builg* suggests, *Oengus Bolg* is merely an expanded form of the simple *Bolg*.

This Oengus Bolg turns up again in other contexts. Corc mac Luigthig (or Luigdech), the traditional founder of Cashel, is said to have married the daughter of Oengus Bolg (*ingen Oengusa Builg*), king of the Corcu Loígde.³ Here Oengus Bolg

Fir Huaille, Fianaigeacht 28. So Lugaid Lágde (*leg. Laigde*) is miscalled *hua Sidbailg* in a quatrain quoted in Laud 610 (ib. 30); and in O'Donovan's edition of the pedigree we read: *mic Luighdheach Laighi mic Dáiri Shirch-rechtaigh mic Sithbhuilg mic Firuillne* (Misc. Celt. Soc. 24; and cf. ib. 56). We find a very similar error committed in one of the prose versions of the story of the massacre of the nobles by Cairbre Cattchenn. The words *mac side .i.* (= *ingine*) *Lúait*, referring to Feradach Finn Fechnach (cf. ZCP xi, 91.2), were misread as *mac Side Lúait*, with the result that *Side Lúait* (ib. 62) was assumed to be the name of Feradach's mother. (I prefer this explanation of the blunder to that suggested by Thurneysen, ib. 67 n.).

¹ Misinterpreted by O'Donovan as 'Aenghus of the sacks or quivers' (Misc. Celt. Soc. 8 n.).

² R 155 b 11-12 (nom. *Oengus Bolg*, gen. *Oengusa Builg*); LL 326 a (same nom. and gen.); Misc. Celt. Soc. 16 (nom. *Aenghus Bolcc*, gen. *Aenghusa Builcc*). The names of the four immediate ancestors of Oengus Bolg in the pedigree are simply different designations of the ancestral Lugaid, who originally was son (not father) of Bolg. Hence there is no real contradiction between the above pedigree and the statement in Misc. Celt. Soc., 16, that Oengus Bolg was son of Lugaid Loígde. In another place (ib. 44) Oengus [Bolg] is son of Maicnia, son of Mac Con. Compare what is said concerning Oengus Gaifhuilech, p. 63.

³ R 148 a 24-25; LL 319 c 26-27; Anecdota iii, 59.20. The lady's name is *Oebfhind*, gen. *Oebfhinne*, in R; *Oebenn*, gen. *Aebinne*, in LL; *Aiménd* in Anecdota (where her father is 'of the Dáirine', *dí Darfhini*). It is worth noting that Corc's mother is said to have been a British woman named Bolg

typifies the Érainn. The tradition amounts to this: that one of the early kings of Cashel wedded a lady of the Érainn.¹

The long list of warriors' names in the Táin, known as *tochostol Ulad*, 'the muster of the Ulaid', includes the names of Oengus Bolg² and 'Lugaid, king of the Builg'.³ In a later tale, 'Cath Airtig', there is mention of Aongus Fer mBolcc (or, according to a variant, Aengus ri Fer mBolg), who is represented as one of the leaders of the Connachta.⁴ We likewise find the name Oengus associated with the Builg or Érainn in Oengus mac Umóir,⁵ mythical leader of the Fir Bolg of Connacht, and in Oengus Músc, ancestor of the Múscraige, a branch of the Érainn.

Mention may also be made of Cailte Bolg, son of Buan, son of Loegaire Bern Buadach, mythical ancestor of the Osraige.⁶ Meyer takes *Cailte* here to stand for *Cailte* (a name otherwise borne only by the Cailte mac Rónáin of the Finnian tales and ballads); but as the length-mark is absent in the MSS. it is possible that the *-ai-* may be short and that the present *Cailte* may represent a Celtic **Kaletios*.⁷ In that case *Cailte Bolg* would have a close kinship with *Caladbolg*, discussed in the next chapter.

If we may trust a Middle-Irish poem on the convention of Druim Cetta (held in A.D. 575), twelve kings called Aed took

or Bolga: *Bolce* (sic) *banBretnach . . . di Bretnaib*, Anecdota iii, 57, *Bolc ban-Bretnach . . . do Bhretnaib*, Cóir Anmann § 51, *Bolgbhain Breathnach* (so mis-written by Dinneen), FF ii, 5966. Gilla Mo-dutu refers to her as *Bolga Manand Bret[n]ach brass*, LL 139 b 16, = RC xlvii, 304. In An Leabhar Muimhneach, 139, her name is corrupted to *Boilgbhreithneach*.

¹ See p. 189.

² *co hOengus mBolg*, TBC Wi. 4847 (LL). The YBL text alters this to *co hOengus Fer m[B]olg*; evidently the scribe (or a predecessor of his) took *Bolg* in *Oengus Bolg* to be gen. plur., instead of singular in apposition to *Oengus*.

³ TBC Wi. 4824, where LL reads *co Lugdaig co rig mBuilg* [corrupt for *mBolg*], and YBL *co Lugaid ri Fer mBolc*.

⁴ Ériu viii, 177, 178.

⁵ RC xv, 478, 480; Met. D. iii, 440, iv. 234.

⁶ nom. *Cailte Bolgc*, R 128 b 50, *Cailte Bolcc*, LL 339 a 21; gen. *in Chailti Builc*, R 128 b 54, *Cailti Buile* LL 339 a 33.

⁷ Compare Mid. ir. *caritte*, 'hardness', from **kaletia*, and the Belgic tribal name *Caleti* or *Caletes*.

part in the convention, among them *Aed' Bolgc, ri Dūin Chermna*,¹ 'Aed Bolg, king of Dún Cermna', situated on the Old Head of Kinsale and traditionally associated with the Érainn. According to Gilla Mo-dutu, Diarmait, king of Ireland, who died in the year 665, had as wife a daughter of Aed Bolg.² There is mention of *Ráth Aeda Builc* (situation unknown) in a quatrain inserted in the Annals of Ulster, *s. a.* 622. *Aed Bolg* was doubtless in origin a deity-name (= *Bolg, Oengus Bolg*); but the foregoing instances seem to show that it was used as a personal name also.³

Closely akin to *Bolg* is the name *Bulga* or *Bolga*. This is best known from the phrase *in gaí Bulga* (or *Bolga*), 'the spear of B.', the name of Cúchulainn's deadly weapon. In the 'genealogy of the Érainn' Ailill Érann, the ancestor deity, is identified with 'the god *Bolga*'.⁴ We find *Bulga* interchanging with *Bolg* in the place-name *Glaissi Bulga*, which appears in verse as *Glassa Builcc* (riming with *uird*).⁵ Similarly we find *Oengus Bulga* as a variant of the usual *Oengus Bolg*.⁶

Bolg would go back to a Celtic **Bolgos*; *Bulga*, or *Bolga*,⁷ to *Bolgios*. The latter, as we shall see, is recorded by Pausanias

¹ RC xx, 138.

² *ingen dAed Builg* (riming with *cuirp*), LL 140 a 40, = RC xlvii, 308. Gilla Modutu seems to have taken over *Builg* (properly gen.) from the phrase *ingen Aeda Builg* which he presumably found in his authority.

³ What *bolc* (or *bolg*) may have meant in *Gartnait Bolc* (Todd's Ir. Nennius, p. lxxv), the name of a mythical Pictish king, is unknown. Possibly we might compare the Old Welsh name *Morcant bulc* (*Y Cymmrodor* ix, 174); or, alternatively, Ir. *bolc*, a variant of *balc* (*W. balch*), in *bolc .i. calma*, ACL i, 53 § 184.

⁴ *m. Ailella Erand De Bolgae*, LL 324 d, last line, = *m. Aililla De Bolga*, BB 139 a 14, Lec. fo. 110 b l.16.

⁵ Met. D. iv, 288. Compare *Glassa Bulgáin*, LL 205 b 7, probably identical with *Glaissi Bulgáin* in *Uí Thairsig*, in *Uí Fhailge*, which is said to have been the native place of Finn (Ac. Sen. 6548-52), and which, as Gwynn suggests (Met. D. iv, 451), is probably the same as the *Glaissi Bulga* mentioned above. In *dorochair leo for a shléib Guaire for Glassa Bulgáin*, LL 205 a 19, there is textual corruption, as the absence of rime shows.

⁶ Cf. gen. *Aenghusa Bulgae*, Misc. Celt. Soc. 24, otherwise *Aenghusa Builcae*, ib. 22. On the other hand the gen. *Aenghusa* (or *Oenghusa*) *Builc* (or *Builcc*; once it is *Bhuilc*) occurs seven times, ib. pp. 16, 18, 22.

⁷ Both forms may be paralleled. With *Bulga* compare *burbbu* < **borbiūs* *lurga* < **lorgiū*. With *Bolga* compare *orbae* < **orbion*, *Colgu* < **Kolgiū*

as the name of a Celtic chief. The derivation of these names is not open to doubt; they are to be referred to the IE. root *bheleg-*, 'shine, flash (especially of lightning)', seen for instance in Lat. *fulgeo*, 'I flash', *fulgur*, 'lightning', *fulmen*, 'a thunderbolt', Gr. *φλέγω*, 'I burn, blaze', *φλόξ*, 'a flame' (applied also to lightning, and to the fire of the sun), Germ. *blitzen*, 'lightning'.¹ Accordingly we may take it that **Bolgos* (*Bolg*) properly means 'lightning'. For its use as a designation (*pars pro toto*) of the god of lightning and thunder we may compare *Juppiter Fulgur*² and *Zeὺς Κεραυνός*, and, on the Irish side, *Sraiphthine* and *Lóchet*, both meaning 'lightning', but found as by-names of Labraid, ancestor-god of the Lagen. Similarly *Bolgios*, Ir. *Bulga*, *Bolga*, means 'he of the lightning'; compare *Zeὺς Κεραύνιος*. The Builg (Celt. **Bolgī*), therefore, called themselves after one of the names of their ancestor-god, viz. **Bolgos*,³ and thereby, so to speak, dedicated themselves to that deity. So the *gaí Bulga* or *gaí Bolga* was the spear of the lightning-god, i.e. the lightning or thunderbolt.⁴

We have a close parallel in *Meldi*, the name of a Gaulish tribe, which survives as 'Meaux' (dep. Seine-et-Marne). Their name suggests the existence of a deity called *Meldos*, which may be interpreted as 'thunderbolt, lightning-stroke', and which survives in Welsh *mellt*, 'lightning',⁵ Bret. *mell*, 'maillet, marteau en bois'. In Irish we have it in the com-

¹ For the root see Walde-Pokorny, ii, 214 f., where, however, no Celtic examples are cited. Rhys rightly connected *Belgius* (or *Bolgios*) and Ir. *Bolga* with the above root, though he erred in thinking that *Bolga* was the name of a goddess, 'some kind of a goddess of fire or light' (Trans. Third Intern. Congress for the History of Religions 207; Celtic Inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul 84, in Proc. Brit. Acad. vi).

² An inscription discovered at Ampuis, to the south of Lyon, runs: IOVI FVLGVRI FVLMINI (RC iv, 21).

³ So in Greek tradition a faded deity with a closely related name, *Phlegyas* ('the Flamer'), son of Arēs, was ancestor of the tribe known as the *Phlegyae*.

⁴ See Ch. III.

⁵ That *mellt* was also used as a deity-name may be inferred from *Mabon am Mellid*, 'Mabon, son of Mellt', included among Arthur's men in the dialogue between Arthur and Glewlwyd (Black Book of Carmarthen, fo. 47 b; see Rhys's preface to Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*, Everyman edition, i, p. xix), and also in 'Kulhwch and Olwen' (*Mabon uab Mellit*, RB 134.25).

pound *Siugmall*, i.e. **Segu-meldos* ('powerful thunderbolt'), the name of the deity who presided over Síd Nenta, near the northern end of Lough Ree.¹ The IE. root is *meldh-* or *meld-*, which is evidently an extension of the widespread root *mel-*, 'crush, grind'. Compare *mjöllnir*, 'the crusher', the name applied in Norse mythology to Thor's lightning-hammer.

The god *Bulga*, as we have seen, was also known as *Ailill Éránn*. As the *Builg* took their name from the god *Bolg*, so we should expect the *Érainn* (**Éverni*) to have taken their name from a god *Éránn* (**Évernos*). There was a strong tendency among the genealogists to expand an uncommon mythical name by prefixing to it another name of a common type, to which it is placed in apposition. Compare 'Ailill' *Aulom*, whose descendants are called *clanna Auluim*,² 'Fiachu' *Araide*, ancestor of the *Dál nAraidi*, 'Eochaid' *Liathán*, ancestor of the *Uí Liatháin*.³ Accordingly we are justified in supposing, with regard to *Ailill Éránn*, that *Éránn* is the significant part of the name, and *Ailill* a genealogists' addition. On the other hand, as *Éránn* elsewhere is invariably gen. plur., it was inevitable that *Ailill Éránn* should be misinterpreted as meaning 'Ailill of the *Érainn*'; hence by the twelfth century we find *Éránn* in this combination left undeclined, the genitive being *Ailella Éránn* (instead of *A. *Érainn*).⁴

¹ *Siugmall* is said to have burned Eochaid Airem in *Frémáinn* (*Siugmal roloisc i Fremáind*, LL 23 a 37); otherwise Eochaid was burned by 'fire' (i.e. lightning?; cf. p. 58, n. 1), *ro lloisc tene i Fremáind*, R 136 a 21, and cf. IT i, 130. 12. This suggests a persistence of the tradition that *Siugmall* was the god of lightning. Contrast the more euhemeristic later version in *Ériu*, xii, 190, according to which *Siugmall* led an army against *Frémáinn*, captured and burned it, and slew Eochaid. Compare the woman's name *Meld*, *Mell*, gen. *Melda*, *Mella*, dat. *Meill* (LL 316 c 36, 39; Y *Cymmrodor* xiv, 130, § 29), < **Meldā*, and the masculine personal names *Meldae* (R 118 b 27) and *Mellán* (latinized *Meldanus* by Adamnan). In O. Ir. *meldach*, 'delightful', it is possible that we have a derivative of *Meld*, i.e. the sun-god; compare the history of *án*, 'brilliant, delightful', *infra*, 286 ff.

² *Ériu* iii, 140, l. 163; *Fianaigecht* 28. Compare also *Dál nAuluim*, *Corcu Auluim*.

³ Similarly we have *Ailill Tassach*, ancestor of the *Uí Thassaig*, *Cairbre* (or *Oengus*) *Músc*, ancestor of the *Múscraige*, and so on. Compare also *Oengus Goibnenn*, R 157.11, for *Goibnenn* (*Goibniu*), and *Oengus Bolg* for *Bolg*, *supra* p. 49.

⁴ In *For gall Manach* (which replaces a simple *Manach* or *Monach*, ancestor of the *Manaig* or *Monaig*) the second word is sometimes declined, e.g. gen.

Érann (which is cognate with *Ériu*, p. 297) may well have been a name for the sun-god. In Celtic belief the sun-god was also the god of lightning (p. 58).

The fact that *Bolga* appears as another name of *Ailill Érann* in the pedigree of the *Érainn*, taken in conjunction with the further fact that *Bolg* was one of the mythical ancestors of the *Corcu Loígde* (the foremost representatives of the *Érainn*), is sufficient proof, without entering into further arguments, that *Builg* (*Fir Bolg*) and *Érainn* were two names for the one people. The only point of difference between the names was that *Érainn* (like Ptolemy's *Iverni*) was applied especially to those *Builg* who dwelt in the south of Ireland.¹

Belgae, the name applied to a considerable section of the Continental Celts, is but another form of **Bolgī*. The same interchange between *-ā* and *-o* stems is seen in *Celtae*: *Κελτοί*, *Cavarae*: *Κάβαροι*, *Γαλάται*: *Galli*. The ablaut variation in *Belgae*: **Bolgī* recurs in *Belgios*: *Bolgios*, double forms of the name of one of the leaders of the Celtic invasion of Macedonia in 280 B.C.; his name is given as *Belgius* by Pompeius Trogus and Justin, as *Βόλγιος* by Pausanias. We have a similar variation in *Belerion*: *Bolerion*, different forms of the name of a promontory in south-west Britain. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt that the *Builg*, or *Fir Bolg*, of ancient Ireland were in origin an offshoot of the *Belgae*.

There is nothing new in this equation of the *Fir Bolg* with the *Belgae*, for as long ago as 1685 R. O'Flaherty had assumed that the names were identical.² Unfortunately modern investigators, turning their back on O'Flaherty, have only succeeded in shrouding the question in obscurity.³

Forgaill Manaich, LU 10176, LL 112 a 6, and sometimes treated as gen. pl. (as if the name meant 'Forgall of the Manaig'). e.g. gen. *Forgaill Manach*, LU 8322.

¹ For the artificial genealogical distinction between the names see p. 80.

² 'Fir Bolg . . . quod idem est, ac viri seu gens Bolus . . . Bolus vero manifestè denotat Belgas Britanniae', *Ogygia* 14. What O'Flaherty means by *Bolus* I cannot say. Later in the same work (e.g. p. 171 ff.) he refers to the *Fir Bolg* as *Belgae* simply.

³ For the most part, as we have seen, they have pursued the will-o'-the-wisp dea that the *Fir Bolg* got their name from some kind of 'bags' . . .

Some have, with wholly unwarranted scepticism, regarded the Fir Bolg as non-historical, as, for instance, Alexander MacBain,¹ Rhys (in 1887),² and van Hamel.³

Rhys, who in 1884 had written: 'One thing is certain: neither the people [Belgae] nor its name had anything whatever to do with the Irish Fir-Bolg',⁴ had by 1903 advanced so far as to write that *Fir Bolg* (i.e. *Viri Bulgarum*) and *Builc* 'would seem to have been originally nicknames for Belgae';⁵ but, obsessed with the idea that the invasion of the Goidels occurred many centuries before the Christian era, he assumed (in defiance of Irish tradition) that the Fir Bolg invaded Ireland in Goidelic times, and that their conquest was but a partial one, and was followed by the absorption of the invaders by the Goidels. Some years later Rhys discussed the question of the Fir Bolg at greater length, and summed up his conclusions as follows:⁶ 'The inference I am disposed to draw from these facts would be that the Fir Bolg belonged to a seafaring

¹ 'The Firbolgs may be looked upon as earth-powers', *Celtic Mythology and Religion* 114.

² The Hibbert Lectures 1886, p. 589 ('mythic beings').

³ ZCP x, 188 ('mythological beings'). So our latest authority, R. A. S. Macalister, believes that the Fir Bolg were primarily 'gods of darkness', and consequently unconnected with history; at the same time, appropriating Meyer's ghostly breeches, he suggests that the name Fir Bolg, meaning '*bracati* or breeches-wearers', was given to the plebeian section of the population as wearers of such garments (ITS xli, pp. 2-4). Here we have a modified version of the views expressed by Rhys in his paper on the Calendar of Coligny (see below).

⁴ *Celtic Britain*, 2 ed., 280.

⁵ *Studies in Early Irish History* 50. In the third edition of his *Celtic Britain*, 299, Rhys erroneously includes the Fir Bolg among the auxiliaries brought to Ireland by Labraid Loingsech when he returned from exile.

⁶ Trans. Third Intern. Congress for the Hist. of Religions, 1908, p. 207. This attempt to sponsor several different explanations at the same time is very characteristic of Rhys, who in dealing with debatable matters was inclined to safeguard himself by putting forward mutually inconsistent views in different books or articles published by him about the same time. See the desperate, but amusing, attempts made by T. Rice Holmes to discover what Rhys's views really were concerning various controversial points (*Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, pp. 291, 412 f., 418).

people,¹ who wore breeches,² wielded improved weapons, and traced their origin to a goddess Bolg'.³ On the question of their ethnic affinities he is cautiously undecided, and all he has to say is: 'They can hardly have been Goidels, and it is nothing new to regard them as Belgæ'. In a still later paper⁴ Rhys suggests that the name *Fir Bolg* had two uses, one historical, the other non-historical. He supposes (without any justification) that the story of the victory of the Tuatha Dé Danann over the Fir Bolg at Mag Tuired is ultimately only another version of the story of their victory over the Fomoiré; and from this he concludes that *Fir Bolg*, 'men of the bags or sacks', was originally a name applied to the mythical Fomoiré, who were, he suggests, 'thieves who had bags or sacks for stealing the farmer's stores'. 'But when Belgic invaders or traders began to visit the coasts of the British Isles the Goidels seem to have nicknamed them *Fir Bolg*';⁵ and this (alleged) double use of the term 'has led to grievous confusion'.

It only remains to add that Pokorny⁶ and Mac Neill⁷ regard the Fir Bolg as 'pre-Celtic'.⁸

As regards the Érainn, scholars have had remarkably little to say. However, Rhys conjectures that they were Cruithni or 'Picts', and non-Celts,⁹ Mac Neill that they were 'almost

¹ This was suggested by the occurrence of the name *Fiachu Fer Mara* in the pedigree of the Dál Riata, etc.

² This is borrowed from Stokes's interpretation of *Fir Bolg* as 'men of brecks'.

³ These ideas were suggested to Rhys by *gai Bolga*, and by the *Dé Bolgae* of the pedigree of the Érainn.

⁴ The Coligny Calendar, Proc. Brit. Acad. iv, 45 ff. (1910).

⁵ 'I have guessed', he adds, 'one of their real names to have in Irish been *Tuatha Déa Bolgæ*, or *Fir Déa Bolgæ*, which turned into Latin would be *Viri Deae Bolgæ*, or "Men of the goddess Bolg"'. These conjectures are wholly unfounded.

⁶ ZCP xi, 198, 199; History of Ireland 17.

⁷ Phases of Irish History 76.

⁸ The same view of the Fir Bolg was earlier put forward by W. F. Skene (Celtic Scotland, 2 ed. i, 226).

⁹ Studies in Early Irish History pp. 54, 60 ('the Cruithnian race of the Érna or ancient Ivernians'); Arthurian Legend 25 ('the Ivernians or the non-Celtic inhabitants of the island'); Celtic Britain, 3 ed., 271 ('Next to

certainly ' non-Celts,¹ and Pokorny that they were Celts but with an admixture of non-Celtic elements.²

Munster this land of Dalriada, Dalnaraide, and Dalfiatach remained probably the most thoroughly Ivernian and the least Celtic in the island ').

¹ ' The Picts and Erneans, possibly separate branches of one race, were almost certainly not of Gaelic or Celtic origin ', Celtic Ireland 64. So, following Rhys, Mac Neill speaks of ' the Dál Riatai, an Ivernian or Pictish race ', ITS vii, p. xxv. But elsewhere he is disinclined to accept Rhys's view that the Iverni were a branch of the Picts. ' We are on safer ground ', he writes, ' in regarding the Picts and the Iverni as two fairly distinct peoples ' (Phases of Ir. Hist. 66). Also, ' during the historical period ', while ' the common population ' among the Iverni and the Picts were non-Celts, their rulers and nobles were probably of Celtic origin (ib. 65 f.). There is no foundation for his assertion (ib. 68) that ' in Irish tradition the original Iverni were a pre-Celtic people '. In supposing *Iverni* to be ' a local variant of *Iberi*, the name by which the people of Spain were known ' (ibid.), he adopts as his own a baseless suggestion of Rhys's (Studies in Early Ir. Hist. 49).

² ZCP xii, 355-7.

III.—THE *GAI BULGA* AND ITS KIN

LIKE other peoples in ancient times, the Celts believed that lightning and its accompanying thunder had, like fire in general, their source in the sun¹. The Sun-god, I may remark, was not only the god of lightning and thunder; he was also the lord of the Otherworld, and the ancestor (or maker) of mankind.² One of his many names in Irish was *Aed*, meaning 'fire'; another was *Eochaid Ollathair*, 'Eochaid the Great Father'.

From its shape and brightness the sun was regarded as the divine Eye of the heavens³; hence we understand how the Irish word *súil*, which etymologically means 'sun', and is cognate with Welsh *haul*, Lat. *sol*, etc., has acquired the meaning 'eye'⁴. When conceived anthropomorphically, the deity was often regarded as a huge one-eyed being,⁵ and one

¹ Lightning was itself 'fire' or 'fire from heaven.' Cf. *etir toraind 7 tenid*, 'both thunder and lightning,' RC xx, 48; *tene di nim*, 'lightning', AU 822, = *ignis celestis*, ib. 808. Another name for it was *tene geld(i)n*. So a 'thunderbolt' is *caer thened*, 'glowing mass of fire,' AU 1121, 1492.

² These remarks are applicable, not merely to the beliefs of the Celts, but to those of the Indo-European peoples in general. In Greek religion the thunder-god Zeus, the great deity of the sky, and 'the father of gods and men', has for the most part become disassociated from the Sun, who has evolved into an independent deity (Hēlios). A similar remark applies to his Latin counterpart, Jupiter. But that both Zeus and Jupiter were originally connected with the sun no less than with the sky, can, I venture to say, be proved to demonstration, though naturally such a question cannot be argued out in a footnote.

³ The idea of the sun being the eye of the heavens is a very old one, and is attested among many peoples. Compare Shakespeare's 'Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines'. In a morning invocation to the sun noted down by Alexander Carmichael in Gaelic Scotland the sun is called 'the eye of God', *súil Dhé* (*Carmina Gadelica* iii, 306).

⁴ We seem to have a relic of the original sense of *súil* preserved in the poetic phrase *li súla* (e.g. *Immram Brain* § 5; IT i, 217. 10, 222. 4; *Ériu* xi, 180), 'a thing glorious to behold', literally 'the brightness of the sun'. Cf. p. 286, n. 4.

⁵ So in Teutonic religion the far-travelling Odin (Wodan) is one-eyed, i.e. the sun-god, in addition to being lord of Valhalla and father of men.

of his names was *Goll*, 'the one-eyed'¹. So we find a number of allusions to the single eye of Eochaid, the sun-god (p. 292). Loch Deirgdeirc (Lough Derg, in the Shannon) is said to have got its name when Eochaid mac Luchta, whom the storyteller euhemerizes into a local king, plucked his only eye out of his head at the request of an importunate poet.² From this we may infer that *Deirgderc*, 'red eye', was another name for the sun-god, Eochaid.

The lightning issuing from the sun was sometimes conceived as a flashing glance from the god's eye. This idea is exemplified in Irish traditions concerning the one-eyed Balar, whose glance brought destruction. *Balar*, earlier *Bolar*, represents a Celtic **Boleros*; the IE. root is *bhel-*, 'flash', a simpler form of the root *bheleg-* that we have seen in *Bolg*, 'lightning'. A derivative of his name is seen in Brit. *Bolerion* (Ptolemy) or *Belerion* (Diodorus), 'the place

We have a Greek counterpart in the *Kyklōpes*, who, according to Hesiod, were three in number, their names being *Argēs* ('shining'), *Steropēs* ('lightening') and *Brontēs* ('thundering'), and who forged the thunderbolts of Zeus. Originally there was but one *Kyklōps*, who, as his name ('round-eyed') suggests, was the sun-god, and consequently the source of lightning. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, the *Kyklōps Polyphēmos* is a degraded deity, and the myth of his being blinded by Odysseus is already well on its way to becoming a folk-tale, in which a savage giant is outwitted by a hero.

¹ *Goll mac Morna*, Finn's enemy, was also, we are told, called *Aed mac Dáiri* (RC ii, 88-90, v, 197 f.). *Forgall* (in *Forgall Manach*, etc.) apparently stands for *Forgoll*, a compound of *for* (with the force of 'great', or perhaps 'on high') and *Goll*.

² RC viii, 48; Met. D. iii, 338 ff. The poet is *Athirne* in the former text, *Fercheirtne* in the latter. Cf. H. 6. 8, p. 50, where his name is given as *Athairne Ailgeasach mac Fircheirtne*. In 'Cath Maige Léna' Eochaid Aenshúla, 'E. of the One Eye', is introduced as a warrior fighting on Conn's side (cf. ed. Jackson, 1206 etc.). The O'Sullivan family owe their name to an ancestor called *Súildubhán* (*Suilduban*, R 150 b 14), whose floruit would be in the ninth century; later the surname became *Ó Súilleabháin*. The occurrence of *súil*, 'eye', in the name suggested to some etymologist the identification of the eponymous ancestor with the one-eyed Eochaid. Accordingly, in an anecdote concerning St. Ruadhán, we are told that *Súilleabhán's* real name was Eochaidh, and that the former name was bestowed on him when he plucked out his one eye in order to satisfy the extortionate demand of a druid named *Lobhán* or *Labhán* (Plummer, *Lives of Ir. SS.* i, 329; An *Leabhar Muimhneach* 147 f.; Keating, FF iii, p. 58. The last-named text gives Eochaidh the epithet *Aontsúla*).

sacred to B.', the name of a promontory (probably Land's End) in Cornwall.¹

The general idea concerning the lightning-stroke or 'thunderbolt' was that it was a surpassingly powerful missile² or other weapon. Thus it was variously regarded as a (fiery) spear, a sword, an arrow, a stone, a hammer, or an iron bar or club. I reserve for another occasion a detailed discussion (which would fill many pages) of these various aspects of the lightning-weapon of Celtic tradition. In the present chapter my object is merely to supplement and confirm the explanation I have given in Chapter II of the names *Bolg* and *Bulga*, viz. '(he of) the lightning'.

The lightning-weapon, I may explain, had its origin in the Otherworld, where it was forged by the Otherworld-god, the divine smith; but in myth we generally find it wielded by a younger and more human-like deity,³ the Hero, as we may call him (p. 271). With this weapon the Hero overcomes his enemy, the Otherworld-god, or, as it might be expressed, he slays the god with the god's own weapon.⁴ So we find Lug,

¹ So in Ireland the Mizen Head (*Carn Uí Néit*) in the south-west has associations with Balar, who is often called *Balar ua Néit*; see, e.g., the text of 'Bruidhean Chaorthainn' printed in J. F. Campbell's *Leabhar na Feinne*, p. 86, col. 2, ll. 3 and 4 from foot.

² The glance from Balar's eye was itself a missile. Compare Gr. βέλος, 'a dart', which is applied both to a glance from the eyes (ὀμμάτων βέλος) and to a thunderbolt (Ζηνὸς βέλη). Likewise the rays of the sun were regarded as missiles. In Irish the sun-beams are called 'sun-darts,' *gai gréne*. Homer speaks of the Sun (Hēlios) 'looking down' upon men with his rays (Od. xi, 16), and 'hitting' the ground with his rays (ib. xix, 441).

³ So in Norse mythology it is Thor, son of Odin, who wields the lightning-hammer (*mjöllnir*), and in Vedic mythology Indra's weapon is his father's thunderbolt (*vajra*).

⁴ I may remark here, once for all, that the 'slaying' of a deity in myth is not to be understood in a literal sense; it means no more than 'overcoming him for the time being'. To argue that, because deities are by definition immortal, the mythical personages alleged to have been slain cannot have been deities, would betray a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of these myths. (These 'deaths' of the pagan deities provided our euhemerizing pseudo-historians with an excuse for treating them as a race of mortals, the 'Tuatha Dé Danann', who had occupied Ireland before the advent of the Goidels.) Thurneysen's remarks on this matter

otherwise known as Lugaid, wielding a mighty spear. 'The spear that Lug possessed' (*an tsleg boi ac Lug*) was one of the marvellous things that the Tuatha Dé Danann brought with them to Ireland.¹ Hence Lugaid is called *Lugaid Lága* and *Lugaid Láigne*,² both meaning 'Lugaid of the spear'.

In the 'genealogy of the Érainn' it is said that the god Bolga, otherwise called Ailill Érann, was the inventor of the missile spear.³ In the Ulidian tales we find 'the spear of Bulga', *in gaí Bulga* (or *Bolga*), in the possession of Cúchulainn, who had obtained it in the Otherworld from the goddess Scáthach⁴ or from Aife, her double.⁵ By acquiring this deadly spear he was equipped for his encounter with the god. According to the storytellers, Cúchulainn learned a number of 'feats'⁶ from Scáthach, of which the *gaí Bulga* was one. Another of these 'feats' was called *in torannchles*,⁷ 'the thunder-feat', with which we may compare *in Torannchlesach*, the name of a venomous spear possessed by Aed Álainn, who lived in Tír na Fer (= the Otherworld).⁸ Originally Cúchulainn's acquisition of the 'thunder-feat

are hardly satisfactory: "Unsterblich" ist freilich nicht ganz das richtige Wort für die irischen göttlichen Wesen. Wohl sterben sie nicht an Alter oder Krankheit, aber durch Waffen fällt schon in den älteren Erzählungen der eine oder der andere, wie Nuado Argatlám und Ogma in der "Schlacht von Mag Tured". Man könnte also heute von "potenzieller Unsterblichkeit" sprechen' (ZCP xxii, 4 n., in a posthumous article).

¹ RC xii, 56. This spear is to be identified with the spear of Assal, as to which see p. 311.

² See p. 202, *infra*, and Ériu xiii, pp. 152, 153 n. 1.

³ *Isé toesech arrdnic faga*, LL 324 e 1 (and cf. BB 139 a 14; Lec. fo. 110 b 1. 16-17).

⁴ Toch. Emire § 78.

⁵ O'Curry, Manners and Customs ii, 311. Hence the spear is called *in gae Aife*, TBC Wi. 2373.

⁶ See the long (and mostly artificial) list of them in Toch. Emire, § 78; and further TBC Wi. 2096 ff. The word *cless*, 'feat', is applicable both to the wielding of a weapon and the hurling of a missile.

⁷ e.g. TBC S.-O'K. 1978, = Wi. 2633.

⁸ Ac. Sen. 5962-5, 6015 ff. Aed Álainn was another name for the Dagda (p. 320).

was but another way of saying that he got possession of the spear of Bulga, the god of lightning. In 'Táin Bó Cualnge' Cúchulainn slays with the *gai Bulga* the horn-skinned Lóch Mór, and his double Fer Diad. In other tales he slays with the same weapon Eochu Glas,¹ Gét, king of the Fir Fhálchae,² and his own son Conlaí³.

Later, when the meaning of *Bulga* was forgotten, the word was liable to be misspelled by scribes⁴; and in one text we find *gai boilggi* used vaguely in some such sense as 'deadly spears'⁵. In a poem on Áth Fadat we find *gai bulggach* (riming with *augtar*), LL 195 b 38, where the second word is an adjective based on *Bulga*, and the meaning is 'death-dealing spear' or the like⁶.

Though the meaning of *in gai Bulga* is simple enough, the phrase has invariably been misinterpreted in modern times. O'Curry connects it with *bolg*, 'belly', and explains it as 'belly-dart'⁷. O'Beirne Crowe translates it as 'the bellows-dart' and 'the dart of belly'⁸. Meyer explains it as 'gapped

¹ IT ii, 1, p. 184.

² Thurneysen, Zu ir. Hss. u. Litteraturdenkmälern i, 58, 1.

³ Ériu i, 118. The tale of the death of Conlaí is one that has been considerably modified from its original form. I hope to discuss its evolution on another occasion. In the meantime I may remark that there is no justification for the view, put forward by Meyer and Thurneysen, that its motif was borrowed from a Germanic source.

⁴ Cf. (acc.) *in gai mboilge*, IT ii, 1, p. 183 (as contrasted with *in gae bulgae*, ib. 184); *an ga bolg*, FF ii, 3405; *cleas an ghadh builg*, RC xxix, 136 (18th cent.). Cf. further *gath bolg* (riming with *borbe*, i.e. *borb*) in a Scottish poem in the Dean's Book, Rel. Celt. i, 38.15. Ó Bruadair retains the older form: *cleas ChongCulainn an ghaoi bhulga* (ITS xi, 102).

⁵ Laisrén saw a vision of demons who had *gai boilggi tentidi* in their hands, Otia Merseiana i, 114, § 3. Meyer's translation of the phrase quoted is 'fiery bulging spears'.

⁶ O'Curry translates this *gai bulggach* as 'sharp-piercing lances' (Manners and Customs iii, 405), Stokes as 'a bulging spear' (RC xv, 425), and Gwynn as 'a broad-headed spear' (Met. D. iii, 153). Meyer renders this *bulggach* as 'gapped' (Contrr. s.v.).

⁷ Manners and Customs ii, pp. 302, 309-311.

⁸ Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1871, pp. 391, 437.

spear', 'i.e., I take it, a weapon like a pitchfork'¹. Pokorny connects *gae bolgae* (sic) with *bolg*, m. 'bag', f. 'bubble', and explains it as 'Blasenspeer'; *bolgae*, he suggests, either represents **bolgios*, adj., or else is a compound, = **bolg-gaí*. He identifies it with the harpoon of the Eskimos, and on it bases his far-fetched theory that there were Eskimo settlements in Ireland. The *Dé Bolgae* of the pedigree of the Érainn² he would explain as **Dé bolg-gaí*, = **Dé gaí bolgai*³. Mac Neill takes *gaí Bulga* to be a scribal corruption of **gabul-gae*, 'forked spear'⁴, and the *Dé Bolgae* of the pedigree to be a corruption of **diabul-gaí*, 'of the twofold spear'⁵. Rhys alone gets a slight inkling of the true explanation; *gaí Bolgae* he takes to mean the spear of 'the goddess Bolg', 'in other terms it would be a spear characteristic of the Fir Bolg'⁶.

The god Bolg or Bulga, as we have seen (p. 51), was also known as Oengus Bolg (or Bulga); and as he was the owner of a deadly spear, it is natural to find that Oengus Bolg was also called Oengus Gaífhúilech, 'Oengus of the bloody spear'⁷. Elsewhere we find mention of Oengus Gaífhúilech, king of Brega, and contemporary with Cormac ua Cuinn, king of Tara.⁸ Another name for Cormac's contemporary was Oengus

¹ Contrr. 236. Stokes adopts the translation 'gapped spear', Ériu iv, pp. 31, 36. Thurneysen refrains from suggesting an explanation.

² See p. 51, n. 4, *supra*.

³ ZCP xii, 195 ff. (1918). More recently Pokorny has written: 'The Gae bolga . . . was doubtless identical with the Eskimo harpoon . . . It was named after the bladder (*bolg*), which is tied to the harpoon by a long string' (History of Ireland 17). There is no authority in Irish for *bolg* in the sense of 'bladder'. Pokorny has allowed himself to be misled by the equivocality of Germ. *blase*, which means 'bladder' (Ir. *lámhannán*) as well as 'bubble, blister' (Ir. *bolg*).

⁴ Celtic Ireland 48 n. (1921); Ériu xi 121 (1932).

⁵ Celtic Ireland, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Trans. Third Intern. Congress for the Hist. of Religions (Oxford, 1908), 205.

⁷ *Aenghus Gaífhúileach*, Misc. Celt. Soc. 8, where he is ancestor of Ó hEterscéoil, and is made son of Maicnia, son of Mac Con.

⁸ IT iii, 185.

Gaíbuuibthech,¹ 'Oengus of the venomous (?) spear'. In the story of the expulsion of the Déisi, Oengus Gaíbuuibthech is living in the Tara district. He slays a son of Cormac's with his spear, and knocks out one of Cormac's eyes. Afterwards he is king of the Déisi, and shares their exile.² In an account of the blinding of Cormac by Oengus, introduced into an anonymous poem dealing with the Bórama (LL 375 f.), Oengus is said to have been also called Gaí Bulga (*Oengus dárb ainm Gai Bolce*, 376 a 12, and cf. ib. 30); the confusion is obvious,³ but the statement no doubt rests on an identification (which need not be questioned) of the spear wielded by Oengus Gaíbuuibthech with the *gai Bulga*.

The Déisi were settled in what is now County Waterford and the south of County Tipperary; this territory they had conquered at the instigation of the Eóganacht, whose vassals they were. The story of their banishment from the Tara district can be shown to be a fabrication; it was suggested by the fact that there were also people called Déisi in the neighbourhood of Tara, and it served a useful purpose in enabling the genealogists to provide the Southern Déisi with a descent from an alleged brother of Conn Cétchathach. Actually the Déisi were Érainn,⁴ like the Múscraige (who resembled them also in being vassals and fighting-men of the Eóganacht), the Corcu Duibne, and the Corcu Loígde; and so it is natural that they should have preserved a tradition of their divine ancestor Oengus (otherwise called Bolg), who was armed with the terrible spear. We are told that Oengus

¹ So his epithet is usually spelled. Exceptionally it is *Gaibuaphnech*, LU 4054; *Gaibuafnech*, ib. 4338, -40; *Gaibuaifech*, Laws iii, 82 n. He is called *Oengus Fer Gae Buuibthich*, R 134 b 22.

² For one version of this text see Y Cymmrodor xiv, 104, and Ériu iii, 135; for another version see LU 4335 ff. and Anecdota i, 15. Cf. also Laws iii, 82; ZCP xx, 174 f.; Keating, FF ii, 312.

³ But we may compare the use of *Bolg*, 'lightning', as a name for the god who wields the lightning. Compare also the double use of *Crimall* noted below. The transference of the name of the weapon to the wielder of the weapon is further exemplified in *Gae Glass*, the name of a warrior who slew Cúldub mac Déin with the magic spear wrought by Aith Oengoba (Met. D. ii, 14; and cf. RC xv, 305). This myth is ultimately a version of the slaying of Cúldub mac Fidga by Finn.

⁴ Cf. *goirthior sliocht Oilíolla Éarann agus Éarna dhiobh*, FF ii, 4867.

Gasbuaibthech had with him in Tara his 'foster-son' (*dalta*) Corc Duibne.¹ Now Corc Duibne, ancestor of the Corcu Duibne, was son of Oengus Músc, who is ultimately identical with the Oengus Bolg and Oengus Gaífhuilech of the Corcu Loígde; hence the more genuine tradition would have been that Corc Duibne was son, not foster-son, of Oengus Gasbuaibthech.

Another name for the spear which destroyed Cormac's eye was *in crimall Birn Buadaig*, 'the *crimall* of Bern Buadach'², who may be equated with Loegaire Bern Buadach, mythical ancestor of the Osraige (otherwise called Dál mBirn).³ This spear of Bern Buadach is identified⁴ with the *lúin* of Celtchar, and also with the spear of Assal (*gai Assail*) which Lug obtained from the sons of Tuirill⁵; and as all three spears represent the lightning-weapon, the identifications need not be questioned.

The *lúin*⁶ of Celtchar (*ind lúin Cheltchair*) deserves a brief notice here. In order to quench its ardour for blood it had to be dipped from time to time in a caldron containing 'black fluid' or 'poison'; otherwise flames would break out on its shaft. Such is part of the description of it given in 'Togail Bruidne Da Derga' (§§ 128-129),⁷ where also it is said to have

¹ LÚ 4363; Anecdota i, 16; Ériu iii, 136, 15.

² H. 3. 17, col. 723, l. 29 (*in chrimall Birnn Buadaigh*). The same spear is called *in crimall Cormaic*, Laws iii, 82. The word *Crimall*, besides being applied to the lightning-spear, is also the name of an 'uncle' of Finn (*Macgnímartha Find* §§ 16-17). It may be a compound of *meldo-* (p. 52 f.).

³ This suggests the identity of Bern Buadach with Oengus Bolg, and affords confirmation of the view (p. 18 f.) that the Osraige were Érainn.

⁴ H. 3. 17, 723. 28. Cf. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs* ii, 325 f.; Hennessy, *Mesca Ulad* p. xiv.

⁵ *Ise in gai sin tucad do Lug mac Ethlenn i n-eric a athar o macaib Turill Bicrenn*, H. 3. 17, 723. 36. See p. 311, *infra*. Assal is elsewhere one of the Sons of Úmór, mythical leaders of the Fir Bolg.

⁶ *Lúin* probably goes back to **lukni-* (or **lugni-*), root *leuk-*, as in *lóch*, 'bright', *lóchet*, 'lightning'.

⁷ Compare the similar descriptions of Celtchar's spear in 'Mesca Ulad' (ed. J. C. Watson, 726 ff.), where the caldron contains black venomous blood, and in the late version of 'Cath Ruis na Ríg', ed. Hogan. p. 78, where the caldron in which the spear is dipped is filled with blood.

been 'found in the battle of Mag Tuired', which probably means that it was associated with Balar, for the second 'battle' of Mag Tuired is ultimately the mythological duel between Balar and Lug.

The same text (§ 87) contains a description of the gigantic Mac Cécht, with his huge spear, 'black-red, oozy' (*dubderg drúchtach*, meaning, probably, dripping blood). Mac Cécht's spear gets no name, but actually it is the lightning-spear, like the *liin* of Celtchar.¹ Mac Cécht is a euhemerization of Dian Cécht, the sun-god, who also was the god of healing. So the description of Mac Cécht 'striking fire' in the same tale (§ 54) is obviously at bottom a description of the god wielding thunder and lightning. His primary function as Traveller of the heavens stands out clearly towards the end of the tale (§ 148 ff.), where we are told that he journeyed all over Ireland 'before morning'², carrying with him a huge golden cup (i.e. the cup of the sun, the sun itself), and that he found all the rivers and lakes of Ireland dried up,—in which we have a reminiscence of the evaporative power of the sun-god, whose heat, wherever he travels, is able to dry up the waters.³ Mac Cécht also appears in Lebor Gabála, where he is one of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and where we are told that Mac Cuill, Mac Cécht and Mac Gréne were husbands of Banba, Fótla and Ériu, respectively. As the three wives all represent the divinized land of Ireland, so the three husbands all represent the sun-god⁴.

As the Britons were for the most part Bolgi (Belgae) by descent, it would not be surprising if they preserved some tradition of Bolgios and his terrible spear. One thinks of

¹ The *liin* of Celtchar is in the possession of Dubthach Doél Ulad in this text (and likewise in Mesca Ulad); hence Mac Cécht's spear is left without a name. Elsewhere we are told that Mac Cécht slew Cúscraid Menn with this weapon (*de Liin Cheltchair*, RC xxiii, 308, § 16).

² *ria matain*, BDD § 155. Originally, of course, this was 'before evening'.

³ So when Aed mac Ainninné came to the various lakes of Ireland, he sang a spell upon each of them in turn, so that it dried up (Meyer, *Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes* 22).

⁴ *Mac Cuill* = *Coll*, an early form of *Goll*, 'one-eyed'. *Mac Gréne* = *Grian*, 'sun'; another name for him was *Aed* (O'Clery's L. G. 166). *Aed* was likewise another name for the one-eyed *Goll mac Morna*.

Beli Mawr, who in Welsh tradition appears as a legendary ruler of Britain. In the Harleian genealogies the line of Owein, son of Hywel, is traced back to *Amalech qui fuit Beli Magni filius* (Y Cymmrodor ix, 170), which suggests that Beli Mawr was also the ancestor-deity. According to a Welsh triad Arianrhod, whose mother was Don, was daughter of Beli¹, so that Beli appears to have been Don's husband. Other Welsh traditions speak of Beli Mawr (or Beli Hir) possessing a mighty and bloody spear². As to the etymology of *Beli*³ nothing satisfactory has hitherto been proposed. Rhys's identification⁴ of it with Ir. *Bile* (the name assigned to the father of the fabulous Míl) is doubtful, for *Bile* may well represent **Belios* (probably closely related to Celt. **belion*, Ir. *bile*, 'a sacred tree'), and **Belios* could not have given *Beli* in Welsh. It seems possible, if no more, that *Beli* may be the Welsh development of Celt. *Belgios* or *Bolgios*.⁵ In Welsh *lg* became *ly* (and thence *lj*), so that we might perhaps assume an early development of *Belgi(j)os*, through **Belyijos*, to **Belios*, whence O. W. *Beli*. But, whatever be the worth of this suggestion, we are probably safe in referring *Beli* to the root *bhel-* which underlies Ir. *Bolga* and *Bulga* (p. 59), and in equating the spear of Beli with the Irish *gai Bulga*.

The lightning was also regarded as a flashing sword⁶. The sword of Nuadu was such that, when it was unsheathed, it was irresistible and none could escape from it⁷. In addition to his huge spear Mac Cécht wielded an immense sword, from

¹ *Aryanrot verch Veli*, RB 298. 13. Cf. Rhys, Hibbert Lectures 1886, 90.

² See the quotations given by W. J. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy* 176 f.

³ *Beli* was in use also as a personal name among the Britons; cf. *filius Beli*, Ann. Cambriae 613, 750, *Beli filius Elfin*, ib. 722 (= *Bile mac Eilphin*, AU 721).

⁴ The Hibbert Lectures 1886, 90; *The Welsh People*, 4 ed. 43.

⁵ Likewise the name *caledvwlch*, discussed below, suggests that the Welsh in early times preserved traditions of *Bolgos*.

⁶ The primitive sword was a thrusting weapon, with a pointed blade, and therefore not very dissimilar to a spear.

⁷ RC xii, 56. Nuadu's sword and 'the spear that Lug possessed' were among the treasures of the Tuatha Dé (ibid.). A poem inserted in a version of L. G. turns these into the spear of Nuadu and the sword of Lug (ZCP xviii, 85).

which broke forth fiery sparks which illumined the house¹. Cúchulainn possessed not only the spear of Bulga, but also a sword, known as *in Cruaidín Catutchenn*, which shone at night like a torch². In folk-tales the lightning-sword has survived as 'the sword of light' (*an cloidheamh solais*), possessed by a giant and won from him by a hero³.

Here, however, we are concerned only with one of the names of this lightning-sword, namely *in Caladbolg*. This was the sword of Léte, of Léte's son, Fergus, and of Fergus mac Roich, all of whom represent the Otherworld-deity under different designations. With this sword Fergus mac Roich, in order to sate his battle-rage, smote off the tops of three hills in Mide.⁴ Fergus, the owner of the lightning-sword, is ultimately identical with Fergus Foga, 'Fergus of the Spear' (i.e. of the lightning-spear), from whom the Corcu Óchae claimed descent. Of this latter Fergus we are told that he invented the spear,⁵ a statement which shows him to be a double of the god Bulga, who is elsewhere credited with the same invention.

In LL, the earliest extant ms. in which the name occurs, the spelling is always *caladbolg*; ⁶ but as this would inevitably

¹ BDD § 87.

² IT iii, 199. So Finn in late texts is equipped with an Otherworld sword, *Mac an Luin*, which takes the place of his Otherworld spear.

³ It is impossible to take seriously Macalister's imaginative attempt to rationalize 'the sword of light' into a folk-reminiscence of the swords of the Iron-age invaders (see his *Ancient Ireland*, 75 f.).

⁴ TBC S.-O'K. 3602-3, Wi. 6021-6. The latter passage describes the sword as *claideb Fergusa* and *claideb Léiti a sídib*, and says that, when it was in the act of striking, 'it was as big as a rainbow in the heavens'. The fact that the Ulaid preserved traditions both of the *gai Bulga* and the *Caladbolg* would go to prove, if proof were necessary, that they belonged ethnically to the Builg or Érainn.

⁵ *Is aire asberar Fergus Foga .i. cruisech lagae i nHeire ise roairnecht, conid de ro lill Fergus Foga*, R 143 a 51-52. *Is lasin Fergusa tra cetabae foga i nHerind*, ib. 143 b 14. This Fergus Foga is elsewhere euhemerized into a king of Emain (R 157.14, ZCP viii, 327), and is said to have been the last king of the Ulaid who reigned there, being slain by the Collas in the battle of Achad Lethderg (LL 21 a 3).

⁶ *caladbolg* LL 102 a 28 (nom.), b 23 (acc.), = TBC Wi. 5960, 6004. In LL 240 a 5, = Togail Troí, ed. Stokes (Calcutta, 1881), 1716, the nom. pl. *caladbuilc* is exceptionally used in the general sense of '(death-dealing) swords'. Compare the secondary use of *gai Bulga*, p. 62.

come to be interpreted as meaning 'hard bag', which would seem a very odd name for a sword, it is not surprising to find the name altered, by a kind of popular etymology, to *caladcholg*, 'hard sword', in later texts.¹ Actually *caladbolg* is a compound of *calad*, 'hard' (i.e. 'crushing'), and *bolg*. m., 'lightning'. Just as *Bolg* was used as a name for the divine ancestor of the Érainn, so *Caladbolg* was similarly used, if I am right in regarding *Dál Caladbuilg*² as the correct form of the name of an old sept among the Múscraige.

The Welsh counterpart of *Caladbolg* is *Caledvwlch*. Just as we find the *gai Bulga* in the possession of Cúchulainn, and the *Corrbolg* (see below) in the possession of Finn, so in the Welsh tale of 'Kulhwch and Olwen' we find the sword *Caledvwlch* in the possession of Arthur. Latinized *Caliburnus* by Geoffrey of Monmouth, it was adopted into Arthurian romance as the name of Arthur's sword, assuming various forms such as *Calibourne*, *Escalibur*, etc. In the Welsh 'Breudwyt Ronabwy' Arthur's sword, which here gets no name, has two golden serpents engraved on it and, when it is drawn from its scabbard, two tongues of fire appear to burst forth from the jaws of the serpents. In Arthurian romance several accounts are given of how Arthur obtained his sword; they all imply an Otherworld origin.³ In native Welsh texts no explicit account has survived of how Arthur obtained *Caledvwlch*; but there are several fragmentary traditions which show that it once existed. Thus in 'Kulhwch and Olwen' we are told how Kai went to Gwrnach the Giant, from whose house no guest returned alive, and by means of a ruse got the giant's sword into his hand and with it slew its owner. Here Kai is credited with an achievement which properly belongs to the

¹ e.g. TBC. S.-O'K. 3563 (*caladcolc*, YBL text); TBC Wi. p. 861, n. 4; SG i, pp. 251, 252; Celtic Review ii, 312; ITS vii, pp. 53, 54 (where, *inter alia*, it is said that the *caladcholg* came into the possession of Aonghus Gaoi Fuileach (*sic*), who gave it to Oscar).

² So I am inclined to interpret *Dal* [*Cala*]dbuig and for *Dail Calathbuig*. Ir. Texts i, 19 (= YBL 328 a 1, 5). In H. 2. 7, 163, *Calathboch* (*sic*) is five generations removed from his ancestor Cú Roí mac Dáire.

³ One of these accounts tells how a lady who lived beneath a lake (i.e. who lived in the Otherworld) presented him with the sword. Here we have a parallel to Scáthach presenting the *gai Bulga* to Cúchulainn.

Hero, and the sword he wins is nameless. In its original form the story must have told how the Hero (Lleu, etc.) won the sword *Caledvwlch* and slew with it its Otherworld owner.

It seems clear that in Welsh, as in Irish, the name of the lightning-sword was affected by popular etymology. Celt. **bolgos* might be expected to give in Welsh either *bol*, *bola*,¹ or else *bwlw*². Hence it is quite possible that **kaletō-bolgos* developed in Welsh to **caledvwlw*, and that the no longer intelligible second element of the compound was assimilated to the word *bwlch*, 'gap, notch' (resulting in *caledvwlch*), in an attempt to give a semblance of meaning to the name. Geoffrey's *caliburnus* (read, probably, *-buruus*) suggests a different modification of the original name, perhaps **caledvwrw*, under the influence of *bwrrw*, 'to cast, to strike'.

Ir. *caladbolg* was explained as 'the hard-bulging' by W. K. Sullivan³, who evidently saw in it a compound of *bolg*, 'bag, belly'. Meyer took it to be a compound of *bolg*, f., 'a gap', and tried to explain it as 'making hard notches'⁴, whatever that may mean. Windisch suggests that *caladbolg* may be a corruption of *caladcholg*, 'hard sword'⁵. The same suggestion is made, more confidently, by Thurneysen, who discusses the word in ZCP xii, 281-3, and again in his *Heldensage*, 114 f. Thurneysen's view is that the form *caladbolg* was invented by the author of the LL redaction of the Táin, and he further assumes that the Welsh *caledvwlch* was borrowed from it; and he goes on to use these questionable assumptions as a basis for dating the LL Táin and the Welsh 'Kulhwch'. But the view that *caladcholg* is the original form of the name lacks all probability. The facts are (1) that the name occurs three times as *caladbolg* in a MS. of the twelfth century, as *caladcholg* only in MSS. of considerably later date, and (2) that *caladbolg* at

¹ Cf. *bol*, *bola*, 'belly, bag', the Welsh counterpart of Ir. *bolg*, with same meaning.

² Cf. Welsh *llwrw*, 'path', Ir. *lorg*, < **lorgo-*.

³ In O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, ii, 320.

⁴ Contr. 308 f. So Thurneysen suggests that *caladbolg* means 'Hart-Scharte' (*Heldensage* 114). Both Meyer and Thurneysen have overlooked the disagreement in gender between the words.

⁵ TBC Wi. p. 800, n. 5.

this period would seem a meaningless name for a sword, whereas the meaning of *caladcholg* would be transparently clear and appropriate. The obvious conclusion is that the late and intelligible name is a re-formation of the early and unintelligible one. Thurneysen's other assumption, that the Welsh *caledvwlch* is borrowed, or rather translated, from Ir. *caladbolg*¹ is quite unproven.² That a certain amount of Irish influence can be detected in 'Kulhwch' and elsewhere in Welsh literature may be readily conceded; but the extent of this Irish influence has been greatly exaggerated by certain Welsh scholars, such as Rhys and W. J. Gruffydd. In the absence of good evidence to the contrary, the presumption must always be that the mythology which underlies the Mabinogion and the tale of 'Kulhwch' is no more borrowed from Irish mythology than the Welsh language is borrowed from Irish.³

Zimmer in 1890 had, rightly (as I think), regarded the Irish *caladbolg* and the Welsh *caledvwlch* as probably 'gemeinkeltisch'.⁴ Windisch, in 1912, dissented from this view. 'Die Brittannier', he writes, 'haben sich in den Jahrhunderten vor Christi Geburt von den Kelten Galliens abgezweigt. Dass die Gallier und die Vorfahren der Gälén Irlands von Urzeiten her von einem Heldenschwerte dieses Namens erzählt hätten, und dass sich eine solche Einzelheit von daher noch bei den Brittanniern bis in so späte Zeiten erhalten hätte, ist nicht wahrscheinlich'.⁵ Windisch's scepticism is sufficiently explained by the fact that he not only misunderstood the meaning of the name, but was unaware that the pre-

¹ Misinterpreted, one must suppose, as meaning 'hard gap'; but *bolg*, 'gap', is feminine, whereas *caladbolg* is masculine.

² Similarly I see no reason for accepting Thurneysen's suggestion (ZCP xii, 282 n.; xx, 133 n.) that the Welsh *Gwenhwyfar* (the name of Arthur's queen) is a 'translation' of its Irish counterpart *Finnabair* (the name of Medb's daughter, who figures in 'Táin Bó Cualnge' and 'Táin Bó Froich').

³ I find myself in agreement, prescindng from one or two points of detail, with what Morris Jones has written on this question in *Y Cymmrodor*, xxviii, 238 ff.

⁴ *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1890, 516. Zimmer refrains from suggesting an etymology of these names.

⁵ *Das kelt. Britannien* 132.

Goidelic Irish (among them the ancestors of the Ulaid) spoke the same Celtic dialect as the Britons.

Another possessor of the lightning-weapon was Finn mac Cumail. A 'venomous' spear which never missed its mark, and which had come from the *síd* of Finnachad¹, was given to Finn by his fosterer, Fiacclach mac Conchinn². With this spear he 'slew' the Otherworld deity under various names: Aed mac Fidaig³ (or Aed mac Fidga⁴), Cúldub mac Fidga⁵, and Aillén mac Midhna.⁶ Likewise he slew with it Deicell Find, known as *aithech Érand*⁷, and also Tété and her husband, Finn mac Regamain.⁸

At the moment, however, we are concerned only with another acquisition of Finn's, or rather with one that bears a different name, viz., *in Corrbolg*. In 'Macgnímartha Find' we read: 'The keeper of the *corrbolg* of his own jewels wounded (or slew) Cumall in the battle [of Cnucha]. Cumall was slain by Goll mac Morna in the battle'.⁹ Here, as is frequently the

¹ Ac. Sen. 1661 f., 1712 f. Compare the spear of Assal that Lug acquired.

² He is called *Fiacail Fi mac Conchind*, Met. D. ii, 76. In 'Macgnímartha Find' (see §§ 4, 7, 23, 25) *Fiacail* interchanges with *Fiacclach*, *Codhna* with *Conchinn*. In Ac. Sen. the name is corrupted to *Fiacha mac Congha*.

³ ZCP viii, 118, § 19; LL 48 b 40.

⁴ RC v, 202.5. He is *Hua Fidga* simply in *Fianaigecht*, 48, § 13. Compare *Mag Fidgae* and *Óenach Fidga*, names for the Otherworld in 'Serglige Conculainn' (IT i, pp. 210, 217, 221).

⁵ LL 48 b 43. He is called *Culdub mac hui Birrge*, RC xxv, 344.

⁶ Ac. Sen. 1662. Variants of the name are *Faillén mac Fidhga* and *Aillén mac Midgna*. As Aillén dwelt in the *síd* of Finnachad, we infer that he was slain with his own deadly spear.

⁷ LL 48 b 44. *Aithech Érand*, 'the vassal of the Érainn', suggests the god Bolg, ancestor of the Fir Bolg, who were at once *aithig* and Érainn. Elsewhere Liath Luachra and Labraid-Lámderg are said to have been sons of his (Ac. Sen. 2518, where *Arann* is to be emended to *Érann*). So Labraid Lámderg is *mac athaigh Eivrenn* (read *Érann*); ZCP xi, 41, § 12. In LL, 204 b 32, I note *Fland mac Find meic Echaig Erand*, where *Echaig* may be a scribal error for *Aithig*.

⁸ RC xiv, 243.6, where Meyer's text requires emendation. For *Carrfiacclach mac Connla* read *cairr* (acc.) *Fiacclach meic Connla* (= Conchinn), and omit the intrusive *urchur*.

⁹ *Gonas dano fer coimēta corrbuilg a s[h]ét feisin Cumull isin cath. Doíuit Cumull la Goll mac Morna isin cath* (RC v, 197). In 'Fotha Catha Cnucha' we are told simply: *Dofuit Cumall la Goll mac Morna* (RC ii, 88).

case in this text, we appear to have a conflation of two earlier accounts; according to one of these Cumall was slain by the keeper of the *corrbolg*, according to the other, by Goll. This suggests that the keeper of the *corrbolg* was Goll. Later in the same tale (§ 16) Finn goes in pursuit of 'a big hideous warrior', by name Liath Luachra, who is in possession of the *corrbolg*,¹ and who had been the first to wound Cumall in the battle; and Finn slays him and carries off the *corrbolg*. Gilla in Choimded alludes to this latter episode when he says that Finn 'took thirty jewels out of the jaws of the *corrbolg*', after the slaying of Liath Luachra.² An unfinished poem in 'Duanaire Finn' professes to tell the history of Cumall's *corrbolg*; it was made by Manannán from the skin of a certain heron (*corr*), and in it were kept many precious things such as Goibniu's belt and Manannán's tunic and knife; later it came into the possession of Lug Lámfhota.³

Gilla in Choimded and the compiler of 'Macgnímartha Find' understood the *corrbolg* to be some kind of bag (*bolg*) containing 'jewels' or precious articles of workmanship⁴; according to the latter text the bag and its contents belonged to Cumall, father of Finn. Later tradition, apart from the poem mentioned above, knows nothing of the *corrbolg*. In our principal source, 'Macgnímartha Find', the allusions to the *corrbolg* are more or less meaningless as they stand, and they serve no apparent purpose in the tale. It is clear that in what we are told concerning the *corrbolg* we have the remnants of a dying tradition, which in the twelfth century was no longer understood. The analogy of *caladbolg* and *gai Bulga* places the real meaning of *corrbolg* beyond doubt. It is a name for the lightning-weapon, belonging to the Otherworld-deity, which

¹ *Is amlaid ro buí-sim ocus corrbolg na sēd aigi .i. seōid Cumuill*, RC v, 201, § 16. Earlier in the tale (§ 4) in Liath Luachra appears as one of the two women-warriors (*in dá banféindig*) who reared the youthful Finn in secret; here we have an instance of confusion as well as conflation.

² *Fianaigecht* 50, § 28 (*trícha sét . . . tall Find a craes in chorrbuilg*).

³ ITS vii, 21 f.

⁴ The poem in 'Duanaire Finn' fancifully connects the first part of the name with *corr*, 'heron'; hence Meyer translates *corrbolg* as 'crane-bag' (*Fianaigecht* pp. 51, 102). O'Donovan explains the name as 'a round bag' (*Oss. Soc.* iv, 289 n.).

Finn acquired ; in other words it is ultimately identical with the spear of Fiacclach mac Conchinn. *Corrbolg*, therefore, would mean something like 'pointed lightning', i.e. the lightning-spear ; for the adjectival prefix compare *corr-ga*, *corr-shleg*. As the word *bolg*, 'lightning', suggests, Finn's connexion with the *corrbolg* probably belonged exclusively to the traditions of the Builg or Érainn.¹ Liath Luachra² we may take to have been a Munster counterpart of Goll ; the episode in which he is slain by Finn originally told how Finn got possession of the god's lightning-spear and 'slew' the god with it.

¹i.e. the *corrbolg* was probably unknown to the Finn of Lagenian tradition, associated with Almu in Co. Kildare. Internal evidence shows that the Finn of Gilla in Choimded's poem (*Fianaigecht* 46 ff.) was the Finn of Ernean tradition. In 'Macgnímartha Find', a composite production, Finn is still mainly Ernean.

²Liath Luachra, 'the Grey one from Luachair' (probably Luachair Dedad), is 'from Munster', Ac. Sen. 2517. We may identify him with the personage who in the mythical part of the Eóganacht pedigree is called *Liath Airbre* (R 154 a 42) or *Liath Dairbre* (LL 320 b), or, shortly, *Liath* (so read, *ÁID* i, 54.1). On the other hand Liath Luachra is associated with Connacht in 'Macgnímartha Find', § 16 (and cf. ITS xxviii, 340.1), perhaps because of his identity with Goll mac Morna, who is generally given a Connacht origin.

IV.—THE BOLGIC INVASION

ACCORDING to Lebor Gabála, the first invasion of Ireland after the Deluge was led by Partholón.¹ After they had dwelt some time in Ireland, his people utterly perished of a plague, and so they left no descendants. The story of this invasion is evidently a 'learned' invention, devoid of historical value, though it is reasonable to suppose that it has displaced an earlier popular tradition which told how the Cruthin were the first people to colonize Ireland (see pp. 342-344).

The next invasion of Ireland (according to the L. G. scheme) is of much greater interest. It was led by Nemed mac Agnomain.² After their arrival in Ireland Nemed's people, we are told, were hard pressed by the Fomoiré, and eventually they abandoned the country; but the descendants of Semion, who was fourth in descent from Nemed, returned later from Greece and colonized Ireland once more.

Nemed is said to have died in 'the island of Ard Nemid' (LL 6 a 42), i.e. the Great Island in Cork Harbour. In other traditions we meet a namesake of his, Nemed mac Sroibcinn, who, we are told, gave his name to the same Ard Nemid; he was king of the Érainn, and was defeated in battle by Deirgtheine, who was aided by the three Cairbres.³ Here,

¹ The name *Partholón* is non-Irish, being a borrowing of Lat. *Bartholomaeus*. Meyer (ZCP xiii, 141 f.) has suggested the most likely explanation of why the leader of the invasion should have borne this name, namely, that St. Jerome (followed by Isidore) explains *Bartholomaeus* as meaning *filius suspendentis aquas*, 'son of him who stays the waters' (interpreted as the waters of the Deluge). Van Hamel's idea (RC I, 217 ff.) that Partholón was a corn-demon has no basis; see Thurneysen, ZCP xx, 375 ff.

² In the *Historia Brittonum* (§ 13): *Nimeth filius quidam Agnominis*.

³ Ériu vi, 147 ff. Here the battle takes place at Belach Feda Máir. Other accounts represent this Nemed, together with Lugaid mac Con (ancestor of the Érainn), as defeated in a battle at Cenn Febrat (or Abrat), in the hills between Kilmallock and Doneraile, by Eógan (ancestor of the Eóganacht) and the Cairbres (RC xvii, 10 f.; Ériu vi, 146; Anecdota ii, 76 ff.; FF ii, 278). In an account of the battle of Cenn Abrat in RC, xiii, 440 (Cath Maige Muccrama), Eógan defeats Lugaid mac Con and

as often, the names of ancestors are used to represent the peoples sprung from them, so that the battle was one between the Érainn (typified by Nemed) on the one side, and, on the other, the Eóganacht (typified by Deirgtheine) and the Múscraige (descended from Cairbre Músc), a section of the Érainn whom the Southern Goidels had won over to their side. In the same way the invasion of Nemed is plainly the invasion of the Érainn or Fir Bolg. Nemed's connexion with the Great Island in Cork Harbour reflects the fact that the Érainn were especially connected with Co. Cork. The apparently futile proceeding of making Nemed's people abandon Ireland for a time is explained by the fact that it facilitated the narration of the later Lagenian invasion (p. 100).

Nemed was also ancestor of the Britons. A son of his, Fergus Lethderg, left Ireland, we are told, and went to Britain, along with his son, Britán; these two are the ancestors of all the Britons, and their descendants filled the country, until the Saxons came and drove them to the borders of the island (LL 6 b 24-30, 7 a 38-39). The compilers of L. G. adopted the convention of linking all the invaders of Ireland with Eastern Europe (thus Nemed was 'of the Greeks of Scythia', LL 6 a 13), a device which facilitated the invention of a Biblical ancestry for them. Another convention was that the different invaders came direct to Ireland, and never via Britain; hence the ancestors of the Britons invade Britain from Ireland. This idea doubtless reflects a consciousness of the fact that no invasion of Ireland from Britain had taken place in historical times, whereas the Irish were known to have made conquests in Scotland and in South-West Britain.

Worth noting, perhaps, is a statement in L. G. to the effect that it was in the time of Rinnal, king of the Fir Bolg, that weapons were first provided with points, i.e.

Lugaid Lága; there is no mention of Nemed or the Cairbres. The Belach Feda Máir of Ériu vi, 149, is unidentified; possibly it is only an alias of Belach Febrat (or Abrat), at Cenn Febrat (Abrat). It has nothing to do with 'Fedamore', of which the O. Ir. name was *Fētambir*, Mod. Ir. *Fiadamair* (see Hermathena xx, 177 f. note; and cf. *Fētomuir*, LL 47 a 23, = RC xxix, 212.6).

with iron heads; previously only wooden shafts had been used.¹ Possibly this represents a genuine tradition that iron weapons were first introduced by the Fir Bolg.²

The Érainn claimed to be descended from the god Dáire through his son Lugaid, and they preserved traditions which told how their ancestor, Lugaid, had led an army from Britain and conquered Ireland. The genealogists, however, in the process of converting the Érainn into Goidels, artificially made Lugaid mac Dáire a descendant of Íth, uncle of Míl; and so, in order to accommodate the legend of their origin to the genealogical fiction, Lugaid's invasion of Ireland was supposed to have taken place after (instead of before) the Goidelic invasion, and Lugaid himself was represented, not as a conqueror arriving in Ireland for the first time, but as an Irishman returning from banishment abroad.³

One version⁴ of this tradition runs as follows. Lugaid Mál was banished from Ireland (we are not told by whom). Going to Alba (i.e. Britain), he conquered that country, and became ruler 'from Gaul to Scandinavia (*ó Letha co Lochlaind*), and from the Orkneys to Spain'. Then he brought an army to Ireland, landing in Ulster, near Carn Máil (otherwise called Carn Lugdach), and became king of Ireland and Tara.

Another version of the legend centres round the battle

¹ *Cor ás Rinnal ní boi rind | for arm etir i nHérind | for gáib garga cen clíth cain | acht a mbith ina rithcrannaib*, LL 8 a 35-36. The last two words should probably be emended to '*na sithchrannaib*. Cf. *for fidhcrandaib*, BB 31 a 12, *na fidhcrannaib*, Lec. 278 a 2. 8, *na siothcrandaibh*, O'Clery's L. G. 138.

² In that case *Rinnal*, the name of the king of the Fir Bolg, would have been suggested by the tradition (cf. *rinn*, 'spear-point'). No importance need be attached to the fact that Rinnal is represented as reigning after the supposed joint invasion of the Fir Bolg, Gálioín and Domnainn; it is only after this invasion that the authors of L. G. begin to set down the names of kings of Ireland.

³ Elsewhere, too, and for similar reasons, we find the same expedient adopted of turning an invader into an exiled Irishman returning with a victorious army; see the legends of Labraid Loingsech, Tuathal Techtmar, and Mug Nuadat, discussed *infra*.

⁴ *Dindshenchas of Carn Máil*, Met. D. iv, 134-136.

of Mag Muccrama.¹ Lugaid mac Con, defeated by Eógan and his allies in the battle of Cenn Abrat,² fled to Alba. He became king of Alba.³ Thence he returned 'with an army of Britons', and took possession of the islands in Clew Bay (*Insi Mod*)⁴; and at Mag Muccrama (near Athenry, Co. Galway) he defeated and slew Art, king of Ireland, and Eógan, and himself became king of Ireland. In this version we have an amalgam of two distinct traditions: (1) a legend of how Lugaid mac Con (typifying the Érainn of Munster) was defeated in a battle at Cenn Abrat by the Southern Goidels and their allies, and (2) a tradition which told how, in pre-Goidelic times, Lugaid mac Con (again typifying the Érainn) invaded and conquered Ireland. The second of these traditions is a duplicate of the legend of Lugaid Mál. Why the battle in which Lugaid mac Con won the kingship of Ireland was located at Mag Muccrama, it is impossible now to say. Possibly the author was acquainted with the legend of a battle fought there in far off times⁵, and utilized it for his own ends. Lugaid's victory at Mag Muccrama is represented as a victory over the Goidels (Art, king of Ireland, and Eógan), because it is made a sequel to the battle of Cenn Abrat in which the same Lugaid was defeated by the Goidels of Munster.

The chief value for us of these legends concerning Lugaid is that they show us that the Érainn, according to their own traditions, came to Ireland from Britain, where they had already acquired power.

Before we leave the mythical Lugaid, it may not be amiss to look at his pedigree a little more closely. Mac Con,

¹ See 'Cath Maige Muccrama', RC xiii, 434 ff.; also *Fianaigecht*, 32 ff.

² See p. 75, n. 3.

³ Met. D. iv, 142. In 'Cath Maige Muccrama' Lugaid is befriended by the king of Alba, who gives him an army. In 'Baile in Scáil' he is said to have defeated the *tuatha Orc* (i.e. the Picts of the Orkneys) in four (or twenty-seven) battles, ZCP iii, 461, xiii, 375.

⁴ So *Fianaigecht* 34. A possible reason for mentioning these islands is that elsewhere Clew Bay is said to have been occupied by the Fir Bolg (cf. *Modlind*, i.e. 'Cuan Mod', Clew Bay, Met. D. iii, 442 z).

⁵ The pre-Goidels (cf. the Uí Maine) held their own best in South Connacht, and there may well have been a legend of a victory they won over the Connachta at Mag Muccrama.

otherwise called Lugaid mac Con¹, is represented by the genealogists as son of Lugaid Loígde, the son of Dáire.² But it is obvious that the one Lugaid (Lugaid mac Con) is really a double of the other (Lugaid mac Dáire); and the traditional name *Mac Con* tells us that he was son of Cú ('dog' or 'wolf'). We are safe in identifying this Cú (otherwise known as Dáire) with Cú Roí (who in the literature is artificially made son of Dáire). From this it follows that Lugaid mac Con is identical with the Lugaid mac Con Roí who is mentioned in some of the Ulidian tales, although in pseudo-history the two are separated by a couple of centuries. The 'death' of Cú Roí was avenged, we are told, by Conganchnes mac Dedad,³ nominally his uncle, but really Cú Roí *redivivus*. Another double of Cú Roí was Lóch (or Luach) Mór, who was likewise *conganchnes* or 'horn-skinned'. In 'Táin Bó Cualnge' Lóch Mór is slain by Cúchulainn with the *gai Bulga*; but in the earlier version of 'Aided Con Roí' he is Cú Roí's charioteer, and, significantly, his death is synchronized with that of his master.⁴ From the buried head of Conganchnes three dogs (*coin*) issued, one of them being Culann's Dog, whom Cúchulainn slew.⁵ Here we find the single Cú expanded to three. Hence we can understand why Cú Roí's son, Lugaid,

¹ As in Met. D. iv. 142; RC xiii, pp. 434, 436, 460, 466; ZCP iii, 461.16.

² Cf. Fianaigecht 28; Met. D. iv, 136 ff.; R 147 b. 16, 155 a 5; LL 325 e 55; Misc. Celt. Soc. 24. In some later texts (e.g. FF ii, 4395) the name of Maicnia is inserted between the two Luguids. Actually *Maicnia*, 'boy-champion', is only another appellation of Lugaid.

³ Meyer, Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes 26-28. Celtchar mac Uithechair slew Conganchnes, 'brother' of Cú Roí, and afterwards In Luchdonn, a destructive dog (*ibid.*). Here we have Cú Roí slain successively (1) in human form and (2) in the form of a dog.

⁴ ZCP ix, 192, § 12. Lóch Mór also appears among the mythical ancestors of the Eóganacht (R 149 a 41; LL 320 b 38).

⁵ Meyer, Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes 28-30; Met. D. iv, 170. In a marginal note in LU (p. 61 of the ms.) the identification of Culann's Dog with one of the dogs that issued from 'the brain of Conganchnes' is rejected on pseudo-historical grounds: Conganchnes went to avenge Cú Roí long after the Táin, and Culann's Dog had been slain by Cúchulainn some years before the Táin. The annotator has mistaken myth for history.

is sometimes called *mac Trí Con*¹, 'son of Three Dogs', instead of *mac Con* (*Rot*).

The ultimate identity of the Builg and the Érainn has already been pointed out (p. 54). But the genealogists invented a world of distinction between them, just as they did between the Domnainn and Gálioín and the Lagin. The Érainn were artificially provided with Goidelic pedigrees, whereas the Fir Bolg were admittedly a people who had occupied Ireland before the arrival of the Goidels. In historical times the rulers of a number of districts were admittedly of Ernean stock; but no ruler would have admitted, or would have been expected to admit, descent from the Fir Bolg. While the name *Érainn* was an honourable one, *Fir Bolg* connoted a decided inferiority of status. The last stage in the degradation of the name *Fir Bolg* was reached when it became associated with moral, as well as social, inferiority,² as when Mac Firbis quotes some verses to the effect that the descendants of the Fir Bolg, Gálioín and Domnainn have the distinguishing marks of garrulity and mendacity.³

The Érainn are found widely spread throughout Ireland, in districts as far apart as Antrim and Kerry. If they are less prominent in Leinster and Connacht than elsewhere, the fact is explained by the Laginian conquests in these provinces. Like Ptolemy's Iverni, they are especially associated with the South of Ireland; compare the frequent expression *Érna Muman*, 'the Érainn of Munster'. Hence we understand why the Dál Fiatach, a branch of the Érainn, are assigned a Munster origin: *A coiciud Con Rui la Mumain is ass bunad in Dail Fhiatach so*, R 143 a 17.⁴

¹ *mac trí con*, LL 121 b 43 (= *Lugaid mac Con Rut*, ib. 120 b 52, 122 b 9); *Lugaid Muman*, *Mac trí con*, IT i, 108.2; *Lugaid mac trí con*, RC xvi, 407.1. O'Curry's explanation of the phrase (MS. Materials 479 n.) is entirely unjustified.

² Compare the history of Eng. *villain*, Fr. *vilain*.

³ Gen. Tracts 23. It would be rash to infer from this statement that the descendants of these early tribes are ubiquitous in the Ireland of to-day.

⁴ As the genealogists treat the three Cairbres (ancestors of the Múscraige, Corcu Duibne, etc.) as sons of Conaire, king of Tara, it was natural to suppose that the Cairbres migrated to Munster from Tara (*Ériu*, vi, pp. 137,

Among the branches of the Érainn in early historical times were the following:—*Corcu Loígde*, in the western half of Co. Cork, between the River Bandon and the sea. *Corcu Duibne*, in Kerry. *Múscraige*, settled, as allies of the Goidels, in a number of detached districts between the River Lee and the extreme north of Co. Tipperary. *Corcu Baiscinn*, in West Clare. *Calraige* in Westmeath, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo, and (especially) Sligo. *Dál Fiatach*, the historical representatives of the ancient Ulaid,¹ in the east of Co. Down. *Dál Riata*, from whom descended the Scottish kings, in the north of Co. Antrim. Other tribes, such as the Osraige, the Uí Bairrche, the Uí Liatháin, and the Déisi of East Munster, were provided with fictitious genealogical affiliations which disguised their Ernean descent.

In the course of time the genealogists ennobled the remnants of the Érainn by inventing Goidelic pedigrees for them. This was done in particular in two ways. Some branches of them, especially the *Corcu Loígde*, they made descend from Íth, who is usually represented as son of Bregon and uncle of Míl;² and as Íth is said in L. G. to have come to Ireland before the Sons of Míl, the pedigree obliquely acknowledges the fact that the Érainn were in Ireland before the Goidels. The other Ernean tribes (among them the *Múscraige*, *Corcu Duibne* and *Corcu Baiscinn*, of Munster, and the *Dál Fiatach* and *Dál Riata* of Ulster) were made to descend from Fiachu Fer Mara, who

149). Pokorny's interpretation of the evidence is fantastic. In the third century A.D., he suggests, the Ulaid drove the Érainn out of Ulster into North Leinster, whence they migrated to Munster, where they became the ruling race, until they were displaced by the Eóganacht ca. A.D. 400 (Hist. of Ireland 25; ZCP xii, 336 ff.).

¹ Even if we had no other evidence, some of the names occurring in the Ulidian tales would suggest plainly that the ancient Ulaid were Érainn or Builg, witness *Cú Roí*, *Dáire* (owner of the bull, Donn Cualnge), *gai Bulga* (Cúchulainn's spear), *Caladbolg* (the sword of Fergus).

² Exceptionally Íth is son of Míl, R 143 a 50; son of Néil, son of Míl, *Fianaigecht* 28. In O'Mulconry, § 417, the Érainn descend from *Dáire Doimthech*, son of Íth, son of Bile, son of Bregon, so that Íth here is brother of Míl. In the genealogy of the *Corcu Loígde*, *Dáire Doimthech*, alias *Dáire Síchréachtach* (R 155 a 6), father of *Lugaid Loígde*, is eight, or more, generations removed from Íth (cf. Misc. Celt. Soc. pp. 24, 56).

is joined to the main line of the descendants of Éremón at Oengus Tuirbech Temrach, some seventeen generations earlier than Conn.¹

As this two-fold descent of the Érainn suggests, the genealogists failed to reach unanimity when inventing a Goidelic descent for them. An early view, which later fell into the background, was that all the Érainn of Munster descend from Íth. So Mael Mura makes the Corcu Loígde, the Músraige and the Corcu Baiscinn descend from Lugaid mac Ítha, the Dál Fiatach and Dál Riata from Éremón.² A somewhat different account is preserved in the genealogies, where we are told that Íth had two sons, Lugaid, ancestor of the Corcu Loígde, and Iar, ancestor of the Músraige, the Corcu Baiscinn and the Corcu Duibne.³ Another genealogical fiction, but one which met with little favour, was to make the Érainn of Munster descend from an eponymous Ér, son of Éber, son of Míl.⁴

But, despite the teachings of the genealogists, the non-Goidelic origin of the Érainn was long remembered. Mael Mura includes the Érainn of Munster among the *aithechthuatha* whom Tuathal subdued.⁵ In Lebor Gabála we

¹ Most of these descendants of Fiachu Fer Mara have Conaire as an intermediate ancestor. But Conaire's name does not appear in the pedigree of the Dál Fiatach, nor in 'the genealogy of the Érainn' (beginning with Duline, son of Mael Umai), LL 324 d.

² Todd's *Ir. Nennius*, 260-262, = LL 135 a 1-4.

³ The pedigree of the Músraige Mittine (LL 324 a, BB 140 b, Lec. fo. 103 b 2) is traced back to Oengus Músc, son of Mug Láma, and thence (through Conaire mac Etarscéli) to *m. Ier* (*Hiair*, BB, Lec.) *m. Itha*. A note following the pedigree confuses the name of Íth's son with the better known Ír, son of Míl, and accordingly it spells his name *Hír* or *Ír* (instead of *Iar*), and says that he was 'in the Northern Half along with Éremón'; it adds that his descendants, Cairbre Músc and Ailill Baschain, went to Munster in the time of the sons of Ailill Ólomm. Pokorny, ZCP xii, 334, mistakenly supposes *Ír* to be the Middle Irish form of *Ieir*, *Iair*, gen. of *Iar*.

⁴ *Sen-Erna Mor na Muman ar slicht Heir maic Eibir Fhind mc. Miled Espáine*, Gen. Tracts 195. Compare Ér (or Hér), one of the five sons of Éber, R 147 a 5, ZCP xiii, 4, note 1.

⁵ See p. 156. So the *senÉrainn* ('old Érainn'), of Ciarraige Luachra and Luachair Dedad, appear in the list of *aithechthuatha*, Gen. Tracts pp. 107, 115, 117, 120.

find mention of 'Érainn of the Fir Bolg'.¹ Elsewhere the Calraige of Co. Sligo are designated a *tuath aithech*.² In 'Cath Maige Muccrama' Eógan Mór (who typifies the Munster Goidels) contemptuously refers to Lugaid mac Con (who typifies the Érainn) as an *aithech*, i.e. 'tributary' or 'vassal', implying non-Goidelic descent, and Lugaid himself accepts the name.³ In another text the Múscraige, Fir Maige, Dési and Éli are called *echtarthúatha*,⁴ 'alien communities', implying that they were non-Goidelic in origin.

Finally a word may be said as to the literary evidence bearing on the date of the invasion of the Érainn or Builg. From the account of Ireland which Ptolemy has preserved, we have seen good reason to believe that the Érainn were the dominant power in Ireland *ca.* 325 B.C. At that time the name *Iverni* had two meanings; it was applied to the people of Ireland (**Īvernā*, > Gr. *'Ιέρνη*) in general, and in particular to a body of people who were settled in what is now County Cork. The latter fact suggests that the Builg, who invaded Ireland from Britain, may have made their first settlements in the South of Ireland, whence they extended their power over the rest of the country, though, of course, the possibility of later landings elsewhere in Ireland cannot be excluded.⁵ It may be noted that Avienus refers to the inhabitants of Ireland as *gens Hiernorum*.⁶

¹ for *Érnaib do Fheraib Bolg*, LL 17 b 48. Compare Mac Firbis in Gen. Tracts, 87. In the Lecan text of 'Táin Bó Regomon' the Corcu Baiscinn (a branch of the Érainn) appear to be treated as Fir Bolg (IT ii, 2, p. 229).

² R 143 a 9. So the Callraige appear among the *aithechthuatha* in Gen. Tracts, pp. 107, 119. Officially the Cal(l)raige descended from Lugaid mac Ítha, through Lugaid Cál, son of Dáire (cf. Misc. Celt. Soc. 26; R 155 a 9).

³ RC xiii, 438.

⁴ LL 275 a 31, = Proc. R.I.A. xxx C, 266. The corresponding text in the Book of Fermoy refers to them as *aithig*.

⁵ Compare the tradition, mentioned above (p. 77), that Lugaid Mál landed in Ulster.

⁶ *eamque late gens Hiernorum colit*, Ora Maritima 111. Avienus's name for Ireland is *sacra insula* (ib. 108); presumably *'Ιέρνη νῆσος* had been corrupted to *ἱερὰ νῆσος* in the Greek text he had before him.

Avienus' work has more sources than one, but its main and oldest constituent is the lost *periplus* of a Massaliot voyager. This *periplus* is dated by A. Schulten as early as *ca.* 530 B.C., though others would place it somewhat later. But it would, of course, be rash to infer from Avienus' *gens Hiernorum* that the lost *periplus* referred to the inhabitants of Ireland as **Iernoi*.

Early Greek geographers style Britain and Ireland 'the Pretanic (or Brettanic) islands',¹ i.e. the islands of the Pritani or Priteni (Ir. *Cruthin*, p. 15). From this one may reasonably infer that the Priteni were the ruling population of Britain and Ireland at the time when these islands first became known to the Greeks. The Greek colony of Massalia was founded shortly after 600 B.C. and we need have little doubt that the Massalians became acquainted with Britain and Ireland, whether by actual voyage or only by hearsay, in the course of the sixth century. In the account of Ireland preserved by Ptolemy, which we have dated *ca.* 325 B.C., the ascendancy of the Priteni has given way to that of the Érainn or Bolgi. It would thus appear that the overthrow of the Priteni by Bolgic invaders took place within the sixth-fourth centuries B.C.

¹ Cf. e.g. Holder, ii, 101. 53, 102. 7, 103. 41, 105. 9.

V.—IARNBÉLRE, 'THE LANGUAGE OF THE ÉRAINN'.

IN Sanas Cormaic, 755, the word *Iarnnbēlrae* is thus explained : 'it is so called because of the darkness of the language, and its obscurity and density, so that it is difficult to explore (*co nach erasa taisscēlad ind*)'.¹ Cormac evidently took the word to be a compound of *iarn*, 'iron', and *bēlre*,² 'speech, language', and understood it to mean a kind of obscure language, characterized by the employment of unusual words or word-forms. He further gives *fern*, 'good', as a word belonging to *Iarnnbēlrae nō Iarmbērla* (§ 612), and tells us that *onn*, 'stone', was the equivalent in *Iarmbērla* of the *cloch* of every-day speech (*gnāthbērla*, § 213).

In 'Auricept na nÉces' five kinds of Irish are recognized,³ including *bērla Féne* and *Iarmbērla*. The latter is illustrated by means of three examples, viz. *cuic* (.i. *rún*; cf. San. Corm. 300), *ballorb*, *muirne*.⁴ Evidently, as in Cormac, it was regarded as a dialect or jargon characterized by the use of obscure words. Two explanations are offered of the first part of the name.⁵ (1) *Iarmbērla* means 'the iron speech', and was so called because of its hardness; this testifies to a recollection of the earlier form *Iarnbēlre*, preserved in Cormac. Alternatively (2) it was so called from *Iar mac Nema*, who was its inventor. As *Bērla Féne*, 'the language of the Féni', suggested the creation of an eponymous Fénius Farsaid, who

¹ This entry of Cormac's seems to have given rise to the gloss *iarn* (or *iar*) .i. *áuibhe*; Cóir Anmann §§ 23, 253.

² Later *béria*. The metathesized form is already attested in Old Irish (gen. *bérli*, Wb. 12 d 4).

³ See the double enumeration : (a) ll. 197-201, 209-212, = 2510-15, 2525-28 ; (b) 1302 ff., = 4619 ff. They differ in that the *gnāthbērla* of (a) is replaced by *fásaige* (*na filed*) in (b).

⁴ Auricept 1305, = 4627.

⁵ ib. 1313-16, = 4632-34

was supposed to have invented it, so *Iarnbélre* or *Iarmbérla* suggested the creation of this *Iar mac Nema*.¹

In one of the metrical tracts edited by Thurneysen, *Iarmbérla* is one of the subjects to be studied by the apprentice-*fili* in his fifth year (IT iii, 37).² Here, it seems clear, the word is employed in the same sense as in Cormac's Glossary and the *Auraicept*.³

By an extension of usage *Iarmbérla*, which properly means some kind of speech (*bélre*, *bérla*), might be applied to a single word characteristic of the kind of speech in question; cf. *fern . . . i. iarnbélrae nō iarmbérla innsin*, San. Corm. § 612.⁴ Inasmuch as another of the five kinds of Irish, *Bérla na Filed*, likewise signified obscure speech, or language characterized by the use of strange words, the use of *Iarmbérla* in this sense became superfluous, and so we find grammarians utilizing it as a convenient name for single words which did not belong to the recognized parts of speech (nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs) and which were accordingly difficult to classify grammatically. Thus, in what appears to be an early interpolation in the *Auraicept*, 'another kind of *Iarmbérla*' is defined by means of examples, which include *iarum*, *dono*, *tra*, *immorro*, *edón*, *iar*, *ar*, *cair*, *cisne*.⁵ Here the word has become a grammatical term, and no longer means obscure speech.

Finally the poets of the schools, having to find a name for

¹ In much the same way *Gaedelg*, 'the Irish language', was said to have been so called from Gaedel mac Etheóir. Cf. *Auraicept* 212-214, = 2528 ff. This trio, Fénius, Iar and Gaedel, are credited with having invented part of the *Auraicept* (ib. 1102 f., and cf. 81-83).

² Cf. also Ériu xiii, 18.12.

³ So one of the tasks in the sixth year was the study of *Bérla na Filed*. In both mss. of this text (BB, Laud 610) a glossator has misinterpreted *Iarmbérla* here under the influence of *Auraicept* 1307-09 (see next paragraph).

⁴ So in current Irish one might say of a Latin word *Laidean é sin*, instead of focal *Laidne é sin*.

⁵ *Auraicept* 1307-09, = 4629-31. The first of the examples given is *iarum*, which gives a clue as to how the new meaning arose; the first part of *iarmbérla* was associated with *iarum*, hence *iarum* was an *iarmbérla*, and so likewise were other words which were thought to be of the same type.

proclitics, which were ignored in reckoning alliteration, and which could not (like enclitics) be regarded as forming part of an adjoining word, turned *iarmbérla* to account by employing it in this sense.¹ It thus finally acquired a purely grammatical function by serving as a name for one of the three parts of speech which the verse-grammarians recognized in Irish.² Nevertheless, as if to emphasize the unbroken descent of this latest use of the word from the earlier *Iarnbéltre*, the traditional connexion with its originator Iar mac Néma is re-affirmed: *Iar mac Néma ro láoi iarmbérla san nGáoidhilg* (IGT p. 4).

We can thus trace the stages by which a word which in Cormac's time was understood to mean ‘obscure speech’, acquired eventually the sense of ‘proclitic’. The earliest attested form of the word is *iarnbéltre*; but it would appear that already in Cormac's time this was being replaced by *iarmbéltre*, through confusing the first element of the compound with the preposition *iar**, ‘after’.

In an article on *Iarmbérla*, RC xiii, 267 ff., Thurneysen seeks to distinguish two words: *iarmbéltre*, ‘les parties atones du discours’, and *iarnbéltre* (or, through confusion, *iarmbéltre*), ‘langue de fer’, ‘langage poétique obscur’. But the real distinction, I suggest, is not between two words, but between different stages of the same word. Thurneysen is also mistaken in regarding *iaram*, *d(a)no*, *trá*, *immorro*, as ‘mots atones qui ne content pas pour l'allitération’ (ib. 268), with which compare his Handbuch, pp. 28, 506 f., where he speaks of *dano*, *didiu* and *trá* as enclitics. Actually, as abundant verse examples prove, the words he quotes are fully stressed.³

As to the meaning of *Iarnbéltre*, it is obvious that the second component is *béltre*, ‘speech, language, jargon’. The first

¹ For instances of *iarmbérla* (pl. *iarmbérladha*) in the sense of ‘a proclitic’, see IGT pp. 15, 18, 19, 24, 28. This sense of *iarmbérla* has been introduced into the BB and Edinburgh texts of the Auraicept in a passage (ll. 1309-12) which is an obvious interpolation and has no counterpart in the YBL-Egerton text.

² *tri hearnuile na Gaoidhilgi*, IGT p. 4. Compare Isidore's division of the parts of speech into nouns, verbs, and *appendices* (Etymologiae i, vi, 1).

³ Compare *iaram* riming with *adfladam*, Fél. Oeng. ep. 216, with *iarar*, ib. ep. 304, with *gamh*, San. Corm. 673, with *bliadan*, LL 181 b 15; and further examples of stressed *iarom* in the metrical Immram Maíle Dúin (ZCP xi,

element cannot be *iarn*, 'iron', for 'iron language', would give no sense, and in any case the composition form of *iarn* is *ern*-. The only possible explanation is that *Iarnbélre* stands for an earlier **Érn-bélre*, and means 'the language of the Érainn (Iverni), Ivernic'. This interpretation has already been proposed by Rhys,¹ who, however, makes no attempt to discuss the history of the word. We have parallel expressions in *Saxanbērla*, San. Corm. 845, later *Sacsbhērla*, 'the language of the Saxons', in *Gallbērla*,² 'the language of the Goill (Norsemen or English)', and in *Frangcbērla*, 'the language of the Franks (French)', ZCP ii, 232, § 124. So even if *Iar*, as the name of the originator of **Érn-bélre*, *Iarnbélre*, may have been in part suggested by its resemblance to the first part of the word, it is no mere coincidence that *Iar* is a name which elsewhere is closely associated with the Érainn.³ Indeed we may reasonably assume that the idea that *Iar* was the inventor of **Érn-bélre* arose at a time when the original meaning of the latter word was still remembered. The association of

149 ff.), §§ 10, 13, 75, 209. For examples of riming *dno* (< *dano*) see R.I.A. Dict. col. 88; so (*d*)*no* in *nó no*, 'or else', rimes with *so*, IGT ex. 263, Dioghluim Dána 233, § 30; and we find (*d*)*na* riming at the end of a line, ITS xx, pp. 86, 148, xxi, 214. *Didu* rimes with *firu*, Met. D. ii, 32. Of *trá* as a fully stressed word no end of instances could be quoted; thus it rimes with *combart-sa*, Thes. Pal. ii, 291.1, with *senchassa*, SR 6637, with *Riangabrá*, LU 4005, with *mná*, LL 139 b 8, with *lomma*, ib. 11 a 41; for later examples cf. Measgra Dánta p. 136.54, p. 155.2, p. 162, ll. 5, 27. For *immorro* cf. O. Ir. *immurgu* riming with *brú* and *clú*, Thes. Pal. ii, 291.6, 292.20.

¹ Studies in Early Ir. History, 14 (Proc. Brit. Acad. i). Rhys further remarks: 'As the term had got to mean "obscure language", it does not follow that any one of the instances given [by Thurneysen from Sanas Cormaic and the Uraicept] was really derived from ancient Ivernian, whatever the origin or characteristics of that language may have been'. The explanation of *Iarnbélre* as 'Ivernian language' was first put forward by Rhys in his 'Celtic Britain' (3 ed. 271).

² Cf. *Gallbērla*, 'the Norse language', LL 309 b 4; *anghaillberla* (read *a nGaillbhērla*), 'in English', Carswell, 21.

³ *Iar*, son of Ded, an ancestor of Conaire, appears in the pedigree of the Dál Riata (R 162 d). Cf. *Iar mac Dedad otát síl Conaire*, LL 324 f. Eterscél, father of Conaire Mór, is called *maccu Iair* (cf. LL 23 a 38; BDD § 5), apparently equivalent in meaning to 'of the Érainn' (*di Érnaib*). *Tuátha Ier* was a name for the Érainn (O'Mulconry, 417).

Iar with **Érnbelre* would readily account for the change of *Érn-* to *Iarn-* which we find in Cormac. By Cormac's time the language of the Érainn was a thing of the past,¹ and so the name of it had come to mean a kind of Irish in which unusual words (or word-forms) were employed.

In the invasion-legend of the Southern Goidels (the *Eóganacht*) we find another allusion to the language of the Érainn. This legend has come down to us in two versions: an older version² in *Laud 610* (printed in *ZCP* viii, 312 f.), and a later version which has been incorporated in the tale '*Cath Maige Léna*'. The former of these preserves a tradition that, when Eógan and his followers landed in Ireland, they found the natives speaking a different speech (or dialect) from their own.³ In the later text we are told how Eógan, after landing in Ireland, at Bantry Bay, sent a messenger to announce his arrival to the Munster princes. These were Conaire and Maicnia, leaders of the Érainn, and they had assembled their forces at Carn Buide, near Kenmare. The messenger, however, was unable to deliver his message, and the Munster nobles ignored him; a second messenger was equally unsuccessful at first, but finally succeeded in communicating it to Maicnia.⁴ This last incident is quite pointless as it stands; and we are justified in seeing in it an atrophied survival of the tradition, represented in *Laud 610*, that the invading Goidels spoke a different dialect from that of the Érainn of the South of Ireland, and consequently found some difficulty in making themselves understood. The explicit reference to a difference of dialect had to be dropped, for in this text Eógan is an Irishman returning to Ireland; nevertheless the earlier

¹ We may suppose that in its last stages it had become more or less goidelicized in morphology and syntax, while retaining a good part of its own vocabulary, much as Manx in its last stages became permeated with English influence, particularly in its syntax.

² This account is of undeniable antiquity, but is confused and obscure. See Ch. x.

³ *nā haithgēn nech bélrai araili itagmar*, *ZCP* viii, 312.16. The last word (*itagmar*) is unintelligible to me, and apparently corrupt; but the general sense is sufficiently clear.

⁴ *Cath Maige Léna*, ed. O'Curry, 52; cf. ed. Jackson, p. 31 f.

tradition persists that invaders and invaded had difficulty in communicating with each other.¹

Irish tradition recognizes that the Fir Bolg (*Builg*, **Bolgī*) were of the same stock as the Britons (cf. LL 6 b 24-30), and that their conquest of Britain and Ireland preceded by a considerable time the Goidelic conquest of Ireland.² In the above-mentioned legends concerning the arrival of the Eóganacht there is an implicit recognition of the fact that the Érainn (Iverni), like the Fir Bolg, were predecessors of the Goidels; and the same fact is acknowledged explicitly, if somewhat grudgingly, in the statement in 'Lebor Gabála' that Íth, ancestor of the most representative branch of the Érainn, reached Ireland before the Sons of Míl. Also, as we have seen above, the Érainn were admitted to have had a different language from that of the Goidels, and the name the newcomers gave that language has been preserved in the form *Iarnbélre*, 'Ivernic language'.

In a lecture³ delivered some years ago I ventured to uphold the trustworthiness of these ancient traditions, and to speak (as our forefathers did) of the language of the pre-Goidelic Irish as 'Ivernic'.⁴ Despite the wholesale fabrications of the early Irish literati, it is possible to learn a great deal concerning pre-historic Ireland from a critical study of our early traditions and of the Irish language itself; yet in fact so little attention has been paid to these matters that the views I put forward in the lecture in question seemed to some worthy people utterly strange and heretical, as if my object had been to throw gratuitous doubt on well established facts.⁵

¹ One need not, of course, infer that the tradition in question goes back to the time of the Goidelic invasion; rather one may see in it a particular adaptation of the historical tradition that the language of the Érainn (before its extinction) was different from that of the Goidels.

² A statement in the Welsh 'Historia Brittonum' (c. 15) agrees with this: *Brittones venerunt in tertia aetate mundi ad Britanniam, Scotti autem in quarta obtinuerunt Hiberniam.*

³ The Goidels and their Predecessors, Proc. Brit. Acad. xxi.

⁴ The Brittonic character of this pre-Goidelic language is proved by the numerous loan-words it has deposited in Irish. Cf. p. 205 f., *infra*.

⁵ Thus, on glancing at the aforementioned lecture, M. Vendryes was pained at discovering therein 'une oeuvre révolutionnaire' and 'des conclusions

In the present state of Irish studies there is no greater bar to progress than the complacent assumption that the 'last word' has been said on such subjects by the scholars of the past generation.

personnelles et tout à fait nouvelles' (Ét. Celt. i, 352). Unaware that Irish tradition authorizes us to speak of the Ivernic language, he dismisses the word *Ivernic* as 'mot chimérique digne d'aller rejoindre le fameux "celtican" dans les oubliettes de l'histoire' (ib. 357). It would be unkind to M. Vendryes to express the hope that his pronouncements on such matters will not be quickly forgotten.

VI.—THE LAGINIAN INVASION

1.—LAGIN. DOMNAINN. GÁLIOIN.

THE Lagin, who have left their name on the province of Leinster, preserved the tradition that *Lagin*, *Domnainn* and *Gálioín* were three names for the one people¹. We may interpret the tradition as meaning that these were the names of closely related tribes. So we find *cóiced nGálioín* or the like used in exactly the same sense as *cóiced Lagen*, 'the province of the Lagin'². An unidentified place in the territory of Dál Mesi Corb (in Co. Wicklow) was known as *Dún nGalioín*³. Similarly the name *Domnainn*⁴ is sometimes applied to the early Lagin in fabulous history, as when Crimthann Sciathbél, who is said to have been made king of the Lagin⁵ by Éremón, is described as 'of the Domnainn'.⁶ So *Inber Domnann*, the Irish name of Malahide

¹ Compare *Galioín tra 7 Domna[i]nd anmand sin do Lagnib*, LL 311 a 20 (genealogies of the Lagin), and *do gairtis dano ó trī hanmannoib, Domna[i]nd, Galeoín, Lagin*, O'Mulconry § 781 (and cf. § 779). Similarly RC xv, 299. Note the use of *Domnand* (properly genitive) for *Domnaind* in these texts, owing to the influence of the synonymous *Fir Domnann* (-nd).

² e.g. *cóiced nGáleoín*, LU 4079; *coiced Galioín*, LL 116 b 5; *cuiged Gailian*, Ériu viii, 12.

³ LL 311 a 27, = *Dun nGaileoín*, ib, 377 a 45.

⁴ A later form is *Domnannaig* (compare *Cruthin* : *Cruithnig*, *Brettain* : *Bretnaig*). When Mac Neill asserts that, according to 'Irish tradition' (i.e. Lebor Gabála), 'the Dumnonnes (Fir Domnonn) were aborigines' (Yorkshire Celtic Studies ii, 41), he distorts the facts, as the reader of Chapter IV and the present chapter will readily perceive. In support of this assertion he invents a purely fanciful explanation of their name: 'I interpret *Dumnonnes* to mean "the dim or deep folk," and this to mean remote and primitive in origin' (ibid.).

⁵ He is *ri ós gasraid Galian*, Met. D. iii, 164; *ri Laighen*, Todd's Ir. Nennius, 122.

⁶ *Dorat* [sc. Éremón] *rige coicid Galian do Chrimthan Sciathbél de Domnannchaib*, LL 15 a 16-17. Another fabulous king of Lagin, Eochu Áinchen, is similarly described as *do Domnandchaib*, Gen. Tracts 148. A

Bay, Co. Dublin, would appear to preserve the memory of the Domnainn.¹

The persistence of the view that *Gálioín* and *Domnainn* were but other names for the Lagin is especially remarkable because it was in direct conflict with the teaching of the pseudo-historians and the genealogists. According to these, the Gálioín and the Domnainn were among the pre-Goidelic invaders of Ireland,² whereas the Lagin were Goidels, descended from Éremón, son of Míl.³ In the course of time the names *Gálioín* and *Domnainn* dropped out of use, for names which connoted inferiority of social status could not be expected to retain their popularity, and only the honourable name of *Lagin* continued in use. In order to account for the obsolescence of the two former names, a convenient legend was invented that the peoples themselves were exterminated.⁴

The Domnainn of Ireland were, it is hardly open to

third such king, Mes Delmonn, is called *Mes Delmonn Domnann*, Meyer's Hail Brigit, p. 6. An early historical king, Crimthann, son of Énna Censelach, is spoken of as the protector of the Domnainn: *in doss dītnes druīngu Domnann do chlār Caihbad*, RC xxxvii, 335.

¹ *Inber*, 'estuary', is usually followed by a river-name (in the genitive); and so one must not overlook the possibility that *Domnann*, in *Inber Domnann*, is genitive of an unattested river-name, **Dumun* (i.e. the Ward River and the Meadow Water, which after uniting flow into Malahide Bay). Compare *Indech mac Dē Domnand*, the name of a king of the Fomóire (RC xii, 74, § 50). Nouns originally ending in *-nā* tend to pass to the *n*-declension in Irish, so that **Dumun* (gen. *Domnann*), instead of going back to **Dubnū* (gen. **Dubnonos*), might actually represent an earlier **Dubnonā*, a goddess-name. The Irish literati, however, assert that the *Inber Domnann* of the Fir Bolg invasion (see p. 99, *infra*) got its name from the Fir Domnann who landed there (Lec. fo. 277 a 2. 35).

² So Mael Mura reckons the Gálioín of the Lagin (*Galeoín Lagen*) among the non-Goidelic septa (Todd's Ir. Nennius, 268). The statement is repeated in L. G. (ZCP x, 189) and elsewhere (ib. ix, 177).

³ Compare the similar artificial distinction between the Fir Bolg and the Éraínn (p. 80).

⁴ RC xv, 300 (Rennes Dsh.), where we read that the druids chanted spells against the Gálioín, so that most of them perished, and where we are further told that the remnants of the Gálioín, and also the Domnainn, were exterminated by Tuathal Techtmar.

doubt, a branch of the Dumnonii of Devon and Cornwall.¹ There were also Dumnonii in Scotland, where their territory, as we infer from Ptolemy, lay around Dumbarton and extended southwards into Renfrew, Lanark and Ayr. If, as is quite probable, these are another branch of the same tribe, they must have reached Scotland by sea; and in that case it is perhaps more likely that they set out from the coast of Leinster than from South-West Britain. Possibly we may see a dim memory of this Scottish settlement in the raids on North Britain attributed to Labraid, ancestor of the Lagen.²

In early historical times the province of the Lagen (*coiced Lagen*) was separated from the territory of the Midland Goidels by the River Liffey, from its mouth to Leixlip; thence the boundary ran westward along the Rye Water, after which it followed approximately the northern boundary of the present Co. Kildare. Before the Goidelic invasion part at least of the territory lying between Dublin and Drogheda was in the hands of the Lagen, as traditions suggest. Rumal, son of Donn Désa, is said to have been the first king of Lagen to occupy the land between the Boyne and the Buaighech (probably the River Tolka, which flows into Dublin Bay).³ According to Orthanach (ninth cent.), the Lagen lost the territory between Dublin and the Boyne (*órá Boind co Áth Cliath*) after the killing of Lugaid Riab nDerg.⁴ Nevertheless, so strong are the associations of the Érainn with pre-historic Tara that we must infer

¹ *Dumnoniī* stands for an early **Dubnoniī*, evidently connected with **dubno-* (> **dumno-*), adj. 'deep', sb. 'world'. *Domnainn* goes back to **Dubnoni* or possibly to **Dubnonos*. (Compare the variants *Caledonii* : *Caledones*, *Santoni* : *Santones*.) The tribal name is doubtless derived from a deity-name, **Dubmonos* or **Dubmonā*.

² *Lāmair insi hili Orc*, *ÄID* i, 41 § 25. So *gabtais Galeoin*, 'he (Labraid) made the G. branch out', *ibid.*, may possibly reflect the memory of a colony sent overseas from Ireland. It may be added that in the same poem Labraid, or one of his immediate successors, is said to have plundered Tiree and Skye (*ib.* 40, § 21).

³ LL 378 a 47; *Cóir Anmann* § 211.

⁴ ZCP xi, 108, § 6. Compare also the legend of Cairbre Nia Fer's gift of territory to Conchobar mac Nesa, *ib.* xiii, 318.

that, if the Lagin ever conquered Tara, their conquest was but a temporary one, and that, if in pre-Goidelic times they possessed the land from Dublin to the Boyne, this land consisted of a narrow strip of territory along the coast.

Many of the Lagin of North Leinster appear to have entered the service of the Goidelic invaders, who assigned them 'sword-land' in return for military service and tribute. In particular the Gálíoin of this area were employed as fighting-men by the Goidelic kings of Tara; these became known as Gailing, and their Laginian origin was forgotten after the genealogists had invented a pedigree for them which made them descend from Éber. The Cianacht, who helped the Goidels of Tara to defeat the Ulaid in the battle of Crinna, may similarly have been of Laginian descent.¹ Indeed it would appear that the fighting-qualities of the Laginian tribes were widely appreciated, for the district (or tribal) names *Gáilín(n)e* and *Gáille* (p. 22, n. 3), if I am right in connecting them with *Gailing* and *Gálíoin*, would suggest that bodies of the Gálíoin took service as fighting-men in regions as far apart as Antrim and Kerry. Significant in this connexion is the fact that the Gailine, or Gáilínne, who constituted a *tuath* in Dál mBuinne, in the south of Co. Antrim, are said to have been of Laginian origin.²

In Connacht the Laginian tribes were well established. Of the Lagin as such there is no trace; but the Gálíoin are represented by the place-name *Dún Gailian*.³ The Dom-

¹ Forces of the Gailing aided the Goidels in their conquest of Connacht, and were rewarded with a grant of territory in Co. Mayo, where the barony of Gallen preserves their name. Similarly the Cianacht took part in the conquest of Ulster by the sons of Niall, and were rewarded with the barony of 'Keenaght' (Cianacht Glinne Gemin) in Co. Derry. According to the genealogists, this Ulster branch was founded by Findchán, who is made fourth in descent from Tadg mac Céin, the founder of the Cianacht of Brega (R 145 c 50, 153 b 53).

² *Gáilíne imorro do Laignib a mbunadas*, ZCP xiv, 76; *di Gáilínne di Ultaib dé*, LL 364 h. Fergus Gailine (RC xvii, 13; ZCP xiv, 68), who appears in the genealogies as grandfather of Fiachu Araide, eponym of the Dál nAraidi, was perhaps borrowed from the traditions of this sept; at any rate his epithet connects him with them.

³ O'Donovan's Hy-Fiachrach, 290. The place is unidentified, but was probably in the north of Connacht.

nainn are commemorated in several place-names. Tírechán applies the name 'campus Domnon' (i.e. *Mag Domnann*) to the district on the west of Killala Bay, which later formed part of *Tír Amalgada*, 'Tirawley'. *Irrus Domnann*, 'Erris', in the west of Co. Mayo, is well attested. We also have *Dún Domnann*,¹ later, by popular etymology, *Dún Domhnaill*,² 'Dundonnell', in Erris; and *Tulcha Domnann*,³ later *Tulcha Domhnaill*,⁴ situated probably in the north of Co. Galway.

In early historical times the Domnainn are settled especially in north-west Mayo. But we may take it that their association with this wild district was due mainly to the Goidelic conquest of Connacht. Tradition has it that in prehistoric times Cruachain, in the north of Co. Roscommon, was their capital.⁵ The Gamanrad of Irrus Domnann were celebrated in legend for their martial qualities. In 'Táin Bó Flidais' these Gamanrad are said to have been one of the three warrior-races (*láech-aicmi*) of Ireland, the other two being the Clann Dedad (i.e. the Érainn) and the Clanna Rudraige (i.e. the Ulaid)⁶. The

¹ Cf. AU iii, 16. 8.

² There is an intermediate form, *Dúin* (gen.) *Domhnainn*, in FM, s. a. 1386.

³ O'Donovan's Hy-Fiachrach, 94; Gen. Tracts 161.

⁴ RC xxiv, 182; O'Donovan's Hy-Fiachrach, 95 n.

⁵ According to 'Cath Bóinne', Eochaid Fedlech, king of Tara, banished Tinne mac Conrach, the Domnonian king of Connacht, from Cruachain into the wilds of the province before bestowing the kingdom on his own daughter, Medb (Ériu ii, 178). This is apparently based on a popular memory of the Goidelic conquest of Connacht. The Domnainn, driven into the wilds of Connacht, suffered the same fate as they themselves had meted out to the Fir Bolg a few centuries earlier.

⁶ IT ii, pt. 2, 215, = LU 1620 (hand of interpolator). The Ulaid are said to have destroyed the other two races (ibid.; and cf. Ériu viii, 179). MacFirbis quotes a statement to the effect that Cormac Ulfhota, king of Ireland, was the first to deprive the Gamanrad, Clanna Úmóir (= Fir Bolg), and the descendants of Cett mac Mágach, of the kingship of Connacht (Gen. Tracts 91, 93, 94); here we have another allusion to the Goidelic conquest of Connacht. The fighting qualities of the Domnainn of Connacht suggested making Cúchulainn's opponent, Fer Diad, one of them (he is a *hIrrus Domnann*, TBC S.-O'K. 2205; *d'fheraib Domnann*,

list of *aithechthuatha* in BB and Lec. represents the Fir Domnann as inhabiting the districts of Cera, Uí Amalgada and Uí Fhiachrach, i.e. the baronies of Carra, Erris and Tirawley in Co. Mayo, and Tireragh in Co. Sligo.¹ The tradition of the one-time dominance of the Domnainn in Connacht led O'Flaherty to include all the early non-Goidelic tribes of Connacht under this name.² In a late poem³ the Tuatha Taiden, the Gamanrad, the Gabraige of the Suck, and the Cattraige,⁴ are included among the Domnainn, as also are the Tuatha Eólaire of Ulster⁵ and the Mairtine of Munster.

The Uí Maine, an important tribe whose territory comprised approximately the eastern half of Co. Galway and the southern half of Co. Roscommon, would appear to have been of Lagenian descent. At any rate they were non-Goidelic in origin and the Goidelic pedigree which was invented for them by the genealogists is fictitious.⁶ Not-

ed. Wind. 3004), whereas in reality, as could be shown, he belongs, like Cú Roí, to the tradition of the Érainn. In 'Tochmarc Treblainne', a late tale, Fraech mac Fidaig is of the Domnannaig and of the Gamanrad of Irrus Domnann (ZCP xiii, 166, 171).

¹ Gen. Tracts pp. 115, 118, 121. The territories occupied by them are said to have stretched *ó Rodba co Codnaig* (sic leg.), 'from the River Robe to the river of Drumcliff'; these are actually the traditional limits of the territories of the Uí Fhiachrach (cf. O'Donovan's Hy-Fiachrach, pp. 142, 278, 300, 302). The shorter list in Edinburgh ms. xxviii has *T. Domnall for Umall 7 T. Rois for feraib Amalgadha 7 feraib Fiachrach*, RC xx, 328. Read, probably, *Tuath Domnann for Umall 7 Irrus 7 for feraib* etc.

² 'Damnonii fuere vetustissimi Connactiae reges ad Cormaci regis Hiberniae tempora', he writes (Ogygia, 175). Among the Damnonii he includes the Gamanrad of Irrus, Tuatha Taiden, Clanna Morna, Clanna Úmóir, Fir Chraíbe, Gabraige Succa and Partraige (ibid.).

³ Gen. Tracts 80 f.

⁴ The Cattraige were in Uí Maine, on either side of the Suck. Cf. O'Donovan's Hy-Many, 82-84.

Cf. *Tuath Eólaire for Tir Eoghain*, RC xx, 138.

⁶ The genealogists agree in making them descend from Maine (or Maine Mór), son of Eochu (otherwise Eochu Fer Dá Giall), son of Domnall; but the ancestry of this Domnall is variously given. The older account makes Domnall son of Fiachu Sraibtinne son of Cairbre Lifechair (R 139 b 43, 145 f.; LL 338 g; ZCP viii, 292); but others make him son of Imchad,

withstanding their importance, and the fact that they came to be reckoned as one of 'the three Connachta', they were vassals,¹ and paid tribute to the king of Connacht.² Despite the genealogical theory, the Uí Maine were believed to have been settled in Connacht from very early times, as when the author of 'Longes Mac nDuíl Dermait' makes Eochu Rond, king of the Uí Maine, contemporary with Cúchulainn.³ Among the Uí Maine dwelt the Sogain, who were Cruthin, and the Dál nDruithne.⁴ The latter are given a descent from Celtchar mac Uithechair,⁵ of the Ulaid, which suggests that they may have been Érainn.

The Conmaicne, who in historical times are dispersed in various parts of Connacht and in the north-west of Leinster, appear likewise to have been of Lagenian origin (see p. 119 f.).

In Connacht, as in most of Leinster, the pre-Goidelic population was unusually mixed, owing to the successive waves of invaders; and it is often difficult, or impossible, to segregate with certainty the different pre-Goidelic elements (Cruthnian, Bolgic, Lagenian). Nevertheless one can assert with some confidence that the politically dominant

son of Colla Fo Chríth (FF iv, 35; O'Donovan, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many 24). The Life of St. Grellán (quoted by O'Donovan, *op. cit.* 8 ff.) tells how Maine Mór went with a host from Airgialla to Connacht in order to seize the land of Cian, a ruler of the Fir Bolg, who dwelt in Magh Seincheineóil. Through the power of the saint, Cian and his people were, we are told, swallowed up in the earth, and Maine and his host took possession of their territory. Actually, we need not doubt, what was swallowed up was, not the 'old race' (*seincheinél*), but their non-Goidelic origin.

¹ In the year 538 we find Maine mac Cerbaill, king of Uisnech (Trip. Life, ed. Stokes, 552), claiming the vassalage (*gēlsine*) of the Uí Maine against the king of Uí Fhiachrach Aidne; but the latter defeated and slew Maine in battle (RC xvii, 136).

² Ir. na gCeart 106.

³ IT ii, pt. 1, 175.

⁴ Cf. *Dáil nDruithni Móenmuighi*, i.e. of Moenmag, the district around Loughrea, Co. Galway (Flower, Cat. 274). They were in the territory of the Uí Maine (O'Donovan's Hy-Many, pp. 13, 84).

⁵ R 157; ZCP xiv, pp. 52, 163.

element in the western province at the time of the Goidelic invasion was Leginian.

2.—THE LAGINIAN INVASION ACCORDING TO LEBOR GABÁLA

In Lebor Gabála, Nemed's people (i.e. the Builg) are, as we have seen, represented as abandoning Ireland and going to Greece. There they multiplied; but, being oppressed by the Greeks, they returned to Ireland 230 years after Nemed. They came in three sections, known as Fir Bolg, Gálioín and Fir Domnann, respectively; and each section landed at a different place. Their leaders were the five sons of Dela, by name Sláine, Gann, Sengann, Genann and Rudraige. All the accounts agree that the Gálioín, led by Sláine (or Sláinge), landed at Inber Sláine (or Sláinge) i.e. the mouth of the River Slaney. The landing-place of the Domnainn is variously given as Inber Domnann,¹ i.e. Malahide Bay, Co. Dublin,² or Irrus Domnann,³ i.e. Erris, Co. Mayo. The third landing place, that of the Fir Bolg is given by some as Inber Dubglaise, the location of which is uncertain, by others as Trácht Rudraige, i.e. Dundrum Bay, Co. Down. The reason why the leaders of the invasion were five in number becomes apparent when we are told that after their arrival in Ireland they divided the country between them, each taking a fifth part, and thus originated the permanent division of Ireland into five provinces (*coiceda*).⁴

At first sight it seems odd that the compilers of L. G.

¹ So BB 29 b; Lec. fo. 277 a 2. 34-35; O'Clery's L. G. 120, 126; Érim viii, 12; Met. D. iii, 170 (poem by Eochaid Eólach ua Céirín).

² But this Inber Domnann is perhaps rather to be identified with Inber Mór, i.e. Broad Haven in Erris; cf. p. 158, n. 1. O'Flaherty (Ogygia 171, and cf. 15) misidentifies the Inber Domnann where the Domnainn landed with Arklow, but admits that there was another bay of the name, now called *Inver-more*, in Erris.

³ *gabsat i nIrrus tar*, LL 4 b 17, = Ériu iv, 132. 8; *gabsat i nIrrus Domnann*, Gilla Coemáin (cf. Todd Lect. iii, 148).

⁴ It may be noted that, while Sláine is always the sole leader of the Gálioín, there is no agreement as to how the four remaining leaders were distributed among the Domnainn and the Fir Bolg. Thus the Fir Domnainn are led by Genann and Rudraige according to one account (BB 29 b;

should have made Nemed's descendants abandon Ireland for a time, in order to return later ; but the oddity is susceptible of a simple explanation. The Leginian invaders conquered a considerable part of the present provinces of Leinster and Connacht ; but they made little or no impression on Munster and Ulster. Their conquest of Ireland was thus a very partial one, while at the same time their invasion of Ireland was too important and too well remembered to ignore. Now a partial conquest of this kind was not a *gabáil Érenn*, and did not harmonize with the simple framework of *Lebor Gabála*, which professes to record only conquests of Ireland as a whole. Accordingly, in order to convert the present invasion into a complete conquest, the compilers adopted the expedient of making the Fir Bolg (whose conquest of Ireland had already been narrated as the invasion of Nemed) joint invaders with the Leginian tribes, and in order to make such a joint invasion possible it was necessary first to make the Fir Bolg leave Ireland for a period.

Like the Builg, the Leginian tribes were linguistically P-Celts, and had kinsmen in Britain ; and we may suppose that the Goidelic tradition was that the two rival peoples whom they found in occupation of Ireland differed only in that one of them was known to be a much more recent arrival than the other. Hence we can understand why the authors of L. G. adopted the simple method of making the Gálioín and the Domnainn descend from Semion, like the Fir Bolg. To get over the inconvenience of having to refer cumbersomely to the invasion as 'the invasion of the Fir Bolg, Gálioín and Fir Domnann', liberty was taken to employ on occasion the first of these names, *Fir Bolg*, as a collective name for the whole group, so that the invasion could be referred to briefly as *gabáil Fher mBolg*, 'the conquest [of Ireland] by the Fir Bolg.' Hence we sometimes find it emphasized that, although these tribes bore different names, it was permissible to apply the name *Fir Bolg* to

O'Clery's L. G. 118, 126), by Sengann, Gann, and Genann, according to Gilla Coemáin (*Todd Lect.* iii, 148 ; and cf. *Gen. Tracts* 84), while in *Ériu*, viii, 16, Rudraige and Sengann are the leaders of the Fir Bolg. Compare the confusion of the names in *Lec. fo.* 277 a 2. 28-34.

them all, for the reason that they had all sailed to Ireland 'in bags' (*i mbolgaibh*).¹ So it is not surprising to find the pre-Goidelic tribes of Connacht occasionally referred to as *Fir Bolg*, irrespective of their ethnic origins. Thus in 'Cath Bóinne' the Domnannaig, Dál nDruithne and Fir Chraíbe are collectively styled *Fir Bolg*.² In another text the Cruithentuath of Cruachain, the Bolgthuatha Bagna, the Clann Úmóir, and other Connacht tribes,³ are all reckoned as descendants of Genann.⁴ Here Cruithin and Builg are exceptionally classed together, but there is no express mention of the Domnainn.

3.—LABRAID LOINGSECH

Although the Lagen belong to the Southern half of Ireland rather than to the Northern, the genealogists attached them, not to the line of Éber, but to that of Éremón. This may have been suggested by the intimate political relations existing between the Lagen and the kings of Tara, who down to the eighth century claimed the Lagen as tributaries of themselves. The following extract from the pedigree of the descendants of Éremón will show the

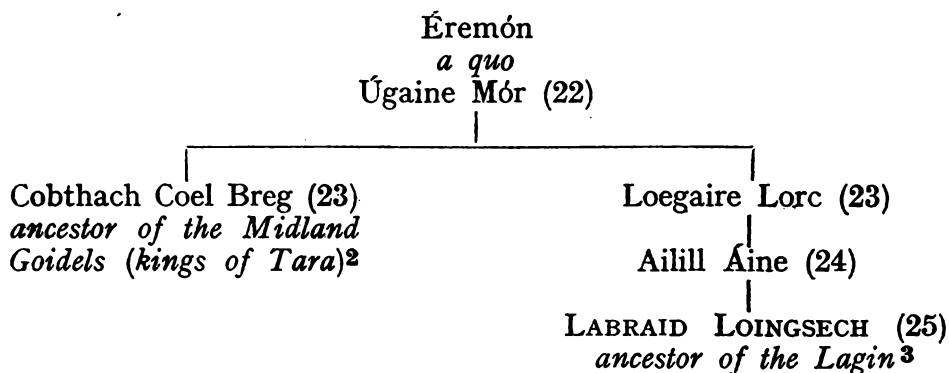
¹ Cf. O'Clery's L.G., 118, 124; Gen. Tracts 54, 85. Cf. p. 46, *supra*.

² Ériu ii, 180. The Fir Chraíbe appear to have occupied the most southerly part of Connacht, which in ancient times included the present Co. Clare. In BDC there is mention of *Eochaid Beg mac Eochach Ronn, rí Fer Craibe .i. rí an tres Condacht* (RC xxi, 158); here *Fer Craibe* is exceptionally substituted for *Ua Maine*, doubtless because the redactor adhered to the genealogical doctrine according to which Maine, the founder of Uí Maine, lived at a much later period than Cormac Conn Loinges, the hero of BDC.

³ Including Fir Thaíden, Gabraige Succa, Fir Chraíbe, Cattraige, and Dál nDruithne.

⁴ Gen. Tracts 88; Flower, Cat. 274. The mss. corruptly read *Cruithnigh tuath* (or *tuatha*) for *Cruithentuath*. Meyer appears to have been misled by the opening words of this passage (*Clanna Genainn .i. Cruithnigh tuath Cruachan*, Gen. Tracts) and to have taken *Cruithnigh* to refer to *Genainn*, for he writes, in expressing his approval of Mac Néill's view that the Partraige were 'Picts'; that the Partraige of Cera are said to be descended from Genann mac Dela, 'who is elsewhere expressly called *Cruithnech*' (ZCP viii, 191).

precise point at which the Legin were attached to the stem of the Midland Goidels¹:



The Legin themselves did not attach overmuch importance to the descent from Éremón with which the genealogists provided them. For them their first ancestor was Loegaire Lorc⁴ or Labraid Loingsech. In the pedigree Labraid is made grandson of Loegaire Lorc⁵; but we need not doubt that both names are ultimately designations of one and the same personage. So Labraid is sometimes called *Labraid Lorc*⁶; and he is said to have been born at a place called Áth Loegaire.⁷

¹ The number enclosed in parentheses after a name indicates how many generations the name is removed from Éremón.

² Among the descendants of Cobthach are Oengus Tuirbech Temrach (29), at whom the pedigrees of the Dál Riata, etc., join the main stem Conn Cétchathach (46 or 51); Niall Noigiallach (53 or 58).

³ Among the descendants of Labraid are Bresal Brecc (40), at whom the pedigree of the Osraige joins the Leginian stem; Cú Chorb (49); Cathaer Már (53); Bresal Bélach (55).

⁴ *Loegaire Lorc is he senathair Laigin* (sic), R 115 a 16; *is ó Loigaire la sodain diabol-Lagin*, LL 35 b 35-36.

⁵ One notes occasional confusion regarding the relationship of Labraid to Loegaire and Ailill. Thus Labraid is son (instead of grandson) of Loegaire Lorc, ZCP xi, 108, and he is grandson (instead of son) of Ailill, R 82 b 6.

⁶ R 82 b 26; ZCP iii, 15; Ac. Sen. 2552. He is *Laibraid* (sic) *Loingsech Lorc*, LU 628. The epithet *lorc* is glossed *balb*, 'dumb', in the Lecan and Stowe glossaries (ACL i, 87; iii, 275), which would make it synonymous with *Moén*, another name for Labraid; but elsewhere it is glossed *angbaid* or *garg*, 'fierce, ruthless' (cf. O'Clery; Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891-3, 81; O'Mulconry 780, = RC xv, 299). Keating exceptionally interprets *lorc* as *fioghal* (FF ii, 160).

⁷ *co hÁth Loegaire dit i rrucaid Labraid Longsech*, LL 308 a, = RC xiii.

Despite his euhemerization at the hands of the pseudo-historians and the storytellers, Labraid was no mere human being, but a divine personage, the ancestor-deity of the Lagen¹. Indeed a couple of poems in his praise go far towards acknowledging his divine character.² In 'Serglige Conculainn' *Labraid* is the name of a ruler of the Otherworld; elsewhere it is the name of the father of the god Nechtan.³ We further find *Labraid* among the mythical names in the pedigrees of the kings of Tara⁴ and of the Dál nAraidi.⁵ *Labraid* means 'the Speaker'⁶; yet the Labraid of the Lagen was also known as *Moen*, 'the Dumb',—a good illustration of the seemingly contradictory aspects of the Celtic god of the Otherworld. Compare *Moen* as a name for Cairbre, the father of Morann (*Morann mac Moín*), and *Moen mac Etna*, the name of a mythical poet.⁷

The Lagen regarded Labraid as their great tribal founder, the warrior-king with whom their history began. In Rawl. B 502 a collection of verse dealing with the early history of the Lagen (*Laíds[h]enchas Lagen*) begins with a poem devoted to Labraid (p. 82 b). In the same ms. a similar prose section, entitled *Scēlshenchas Lagen* (p. 130 b), begins with the tale 'Orgain Denda Ríg', of which the hero is

114, § 159. The place has not been identified, but was probably in Co. Kildare, on the River Liffey.

¹ Meyer is very wide of the mark when he supposes Labraid Loingsech to have been 'ein vielleicht historischer König von Irland zur Zeit der Römerherrschaft in Britannien' (Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands, p. 5 n.).

² He is 'the highest of beings, except the holy King of Heaven' (*arḍdu doínib acht noíbrī nime*), and a god who subdued both men and gods, *ÄID* ii, 10; 'a man higher than gods' (*arḍdu dēib doēn*), ib. 23.

³ Met. D. iii, pp. 27, 29.

⁴ R 144 a 25; otherwise *Labraid Lorcc*, IT i, 117.

⁵ R 156 a 51.

⁶ Like the Latin *Aius Locutius*, a by-name of Jupiter or Mars, and like the Greek *Gēryōn*, the name of the lord of the isle of Erytheiē (the Otherworld).

⁷ Cormac, s.v. 'Mug eme'. Compare further *Scól Balb*, 'the dumb phantom', as another name for Clan, the father of Lug.

Labraid. The Laginian pedigrees open with a discussion of the origin of the name of the Lagin, who are said to have been so called from the *láigne*¹ or spears with which they were armed when they came to Ireland with Labraid Loingsech Moen.² The origin of the name of the Gálioín is connected with the same event.³

Labraid's banishment from Ireland and his triumphant return form the subject-matter of several poems, and are alluded to in others. The principal of these may be tabulated as follows⁴:

- (A) *Móin óin*, five stanzas, attributed to Find fili. *ÄID* ii, 10.
- (B) *Labraid Loingsech lór a lín*, 3 stt. *Met. D.* ii, 52.
- (C) *Ro hort in rígrad 'mon rí*, 7 stt. *ib.* ii, 50.
- (D) *Augaine Mdr mac rí* *Hérenn*, 7 stt. *LL* 35 b 25.
- (E) *Dind Rí* *ruad tuaim tenbai*, 4 stt., attributed to Ferchertne fili. *ÄID* ii, 7. Quoted in 'Orgain Denda Rí'.
- (F) Stanzas 2-3 of a poem beginning *Masu do chlaind Ehdach airé*, ascribed to Orthanach († 840 ?). *ZCP* xi, 108.
- (G) Stt. 3-4 of *A chóicid choím Chairpri chruaidh*, ascribed to the same. *R* 88 b 49 (where only the first four stt. of the poem remain). The two stt. are quoted in 'Orgain Denda Rí', *ZCP* iii, 8.
- (H) St. 5 of the poem *Éol dam i ndairib dréchtá*, by Flann mac Mael Moedóc († 979). *ZCP* viii, 117.⁵

¹ On the word *láigen* or *lágan*, 'spear', see *Ériu* xiii, 152 f.

² *R* 115 a; *LL* 311 a. Similarly O'Mulconry, § 779; and cf. *Met. D.* ii, 52, *ZCP* iii, 8. Otherwise the Lagin are said to have got their name from the spears with which Labraid equipped his forces after his return to Ireland (*RC* xx, 431, and, as an alternative, *ib.* xv, 299). Compare: 'the warriors of the Gálioín took *láigne* in their hands, hence they were called *Lagin*', *ÄID* ii, 10.

³ The Gálioín were a force of Gauls (*fanlag do Gallaib*) who came to Ireland with Labraid, their name being etymologized *Galion quasi Gallion*, *LL*, 311 a 25, *Gaileoin quassi Gailleoin .i. clothaigh na nGall* (*fac. mgall*), *LL* 377 a. According to O'Mulconry, § 779, the Gálioín were a tribe of Gauls (*aicme do Gallaib*) who fostered Labraid when he was in banishment.

⁴ Poems in which reference is made to Labraid's association with Muiriath are discussed separately *infra*.

⁵ Mention may also be made of a metrical pedigree of the Lagin, *ÄID* i, 40, eleven or twelve stanzas of which are devoted to Labraid Loingsech, whose military successes in Gaul, Britain and Ireland are celebrated.

From the above-mentioned verse-references to Labraid we may summarize his legend as follows. Cobthach Coel slew his brother, Loegaire Lorc, as well as Loegaire's son, Ailill. The latter's son, Labraid Loingsech Moen, went to Gaul (*hi tíri Gall*, F)¹; and, returning later with an army of Gauls,² he slew³ Cobthach and thirty other kings⁴ in Dind Ríg,⁵ and became king of Ireland.

The prose account given in L. G. (LL 22 a) agrees in general with the above summary. Cobthach, king of Ireland, treacherously slew Loegaire Lorc, and likewise Ailill Áine, and banished Labraid 'beyond the sea'. After Labraid had been thirty years in exile, Cobthach made peace with him and gave him the province of Lagen (*co tarat coiced Galián dó .i. Lagen*). But Labraid slew Cobthach and thirty other kings one Christmas eve, and himself became king of Ireland. In this account there is no mention of Labraid bringing an army with him on his return; and, as in 'Orgain Denda Ríg', a treacherous colour is given to Labraid's slaying of Cobthach,—one act of treachery is repaid with another.

¹ Compare *Isé in Labraidh sin ro all a tírib Gall 7 táinig tar muir go nGall-aib imbe docum nEirenn*, LL 377 b 12 (and cf. BB 119 b 17). For *tíre Gall* = 'Gaul' compare *fín dobretha dō-som a tírib Gall*, Ériu iii, 140, l. 173; *a tuirc óir a tírib Gall*, Hail Brigit § 11. Similarly *hi tírib Brettan*, = 'in Britain', Cormac s. v. 'Mug eme'; *óthā tíre Franc*, = 'from France (Gaul)', Lis. Lives 4408; *a tírib Gréc*, 'from Greece', RC vii, 192.6.

² With 2200 *Gaill*, B (and cf. ZCP iii, 8); with 3000 *Dubgaill*, C. The latter name, *Dubgaill*, shows that to the writer who employed it *Gaill* no longer meant 'Gauls' but 'Norsemen'. In the prose Dindshenchas of *Lagen* the same misinterpretation occurs; Labraid brings back an army of *Dubgaill*, with their chief Ernoll, son of the king of Denmark (*Ernoll m. rí Danmargg*, LL 159 a, and cf. ib. 377 a 10, Bodl. Dindshenchas, and RC xv, 299).

³ burned, C (and cf. E), agreeing with 'Orgain Denda Ríg'. Similarly RC xvi, 378, Gilla Coemáin (Todd Lect. iii, 184), and Gilla Mo-dutu (LL 137 b, = RC xlvi, 294).

⁴ at a feast, D. So *ic ól na fleide*, Gilla Coemáin (loc. cit.). This agrees with 'Orgain Denda Ríg'.

⁵ 'in the *bruiden* of Tuaimm Ténbath', H (and cf. RC xvi, 378). Tuaimm Tenba(th) was understood to be the old name of Dind Ríg. See Meyer's note, *ÁID* ii, 8, n. 1.

This legend of Labraid was the oldest legend that the Lagen possessed concerning themselves¹; it was in fact the story of their origin, of their arrival in Ireland. It acknowledges that the names *Lagin* and *Gálioín* did not exist in Ireland until Labraid came from Gaul. In order to adapt it to the genealogical doctrine of the descent of the Lagen from Éremón, the original legend has had to undergo a certain amplification. Accordingly, Labraid coming to Ireland with his army of Gauls is no longer one who arrives in Ireland for the first time; he is a returning exile (this is the meaning given to his epithet *Loingsech*),² and his exile has been due to the oppression of Cobthach Coel, king of Brega and of Ireland. Here we see the useful purpose served by Ailill and Loegaire, Labraid's father and grandfather according to the pedigree. They are both represented as having been slain by Cobthach, and so Labraid's invasion of Leinster is provided with a vengeance-motive, which justifies the ruthless treatment he metes out to the tyrant.

Cobthach in the legend represents a king of the Érainn of Leinster who fell in resisting the Lagenian invaders. His name re-appears as *Cobthach Cain*³, or *Cobthach Coel*⁴, in the early part of the pedigree of the Eóganacht. Like so much else in the mythical parts of both pedigrees, it was evidently borrowed from Ernean tradition.

In addition to the simple form of the legend, as summarized above, we have an expanded form in which two new characters play a part, namely Muiriath,⁵ otherwise

¹ It is *cētna scēl Lagen 7 tuus a nglud*, 'the first (i.e. earliest) tale of the Lagen, and the beginning of their fighting', R 130 b 15.

² Inasmuch as *loingsech* means both 'seafarer' and 'exile', it is quite possible, probable in fact, that Labraid may have been given the epithet *Loingsech* in the sense of 'seafarer', i.e. leader of a force of invaders by sea, before the idea was invented that he had been banished from Ireland. In the metrical pedigree of the Lagen, already referred to, he is described as *solam for muir, maith ri imram*, 'schnell zur See, ein kühner Meerbefahrer', ÁID i, 40, §22.

³ *Cobthach cāin*, ÁID i, 54, § 9; *m. Cobthaich Cain*, R 154 a 52. Cf. *m. Cobthaich Chaem*, BB 173 a 1.

⁴ *m. Cobthaig Coel*, LL 320 b, ad calc.

⁵ *Muiriath* rimes with *buil-iath* and *fuil-iath*, Met. D. ii, 32, 34.

Moriath, a lady who falls in love with the exiled Labraid and eventually marries him, and Craiphtine, a harper who accompanies Labraid and aids him with the magic of his music. Evidently some poet or storyteller sought to embellish the rather prosaic and matter-of-fact legend of Labraid by introducing a little love and magic, two ingredients which are commonly found together in the most popular of our tales.

From a poem in R, 82 b 6-27, in the form of a dialogue between the exiled Labraid, Muiriath, and her father Scoriath, we deduce a version of the legend as follows. Cobthach slew Labraid's father and grandfather, and banished Labraid from *cōiced Gālian* out of Ireland. Labraid went eastwards across the sea to Scoriath. The latter undertook to help him by giving him 150 spears (*trī cōicait lāgan*); and Labraid promised to marry Muiriath, Scoriath's daughter. Here we have no allusion to Craiphtine and his music; but the nature of the poem, which does not pretend to give a full narrative, is sufficient to explain the omission. Neither are we told the name of the eastern country where Muiriath lived; elsewhere this is *Morca* (gen.).

Some verses are preserved which allude to Moriath and Craiphtine in connexion with Labraid. In the commentary on 'Amra Coluimb Chille' three stanzas (beginning *Ní ceilt céis céol de chruitt Chraiphtini*)¹ are quoted which tell us that the music of Craiphtine's harp 'brought a death-sleep on the hosts' and 'spread harmony between Moen and young Moriath of Morca'. In 'Orgain Denda Ríg' a quatrain², beginning *Feib conattail Moriath miúad*, and ascribed to Flann mac Lonáin († 896), speaks of Moriath being sent to sleep by the music [of Craiphtine], while the host of Morca (*slúag Morcae*) sacked Dind Ríg.

We also have three prose versions of the story of Labraid and Muiriath; these I distinguish by the letters O, P, and Q, respectively. They are: (O) 'Orgain Denda³ Ríg', edited

¹ RC xx, 166 (from R), 431 (from YBL); LU 620-630. The first two stanzas are quoted in 'Orgain Denda Ríg', ZCP iii, 6. 2. Edited from various mss. in *ÄID*, ii, 9.

² ZCP iii, 7. 1.

³ LL and YBL read *Dind*.

by Stokes, ZCP iii, 2 ff., from LL, 269 a, with variants from R, 130 b, and YBL, 112 a. (P) A version told in the commentary to 'Amra Coluimb Chille' in YBL (75 b) and Eg. 1782; edited from the former ms., with some variants from the latter, by Stokes, RC xx, 429 ff. (Q) Keating's version, FF ii, 160 (and cf. ib. i, 84). I append a brief summary of each of these versions.

O. Cobthach Coel Breg, king of Ireland¹, slays his brother, Loegaire Lorc², and poisons Ailill Áine, Loegaire's son. Labraid, Ailill's son, is banished 'out of Ireland' by Cobthach; and, accompanied by Craiphtine and Ferchertne, he goes westwards to Scoriath, king of the Fir Morca, in Munster. Moriath, the king's daughter, falls in love with Labraid, who wins her by means of Craiphtine's music, which sends her watchers to sleep. Thereafter Labraid with an army of Munstermen marches to Dinn Ríg. Craiphtine's music sends the garrison to sleep, and the fortress is captured and the garrison slaughtered. Labraid is now king of Lagen, and lives in Dinn Ríg. There he builds a house of iron. He invites to a feast Cobthach, who came with thirty other kings; and, confining his guests in the iron house, Labraid burns them all to death.

P. Cobthach Coel Breg, having slain Labraid's father and grandfather in a single night, banishes Labraid out of Ireland. Labraid goes eastwards until he reaches *Inis Bretan 7 in breacmacraid thiri Armenia* (so YBL; Eg. reads simply *in breacmac rig tiri Armenia*), where he takes military service with the king (*for rig Armenia*, YBL; *fri ri Fer Menia*, Eg.). His fame reaches Ireland, and Moriath, daughter of Scoriath, king of the Fir Morca in Munster, falls in 'absent love' with him, and send her harper Craibhtine with a message to him. Then the king gives him an army, and three hundred ships to take them to Ireland, and they land at the mouth of the Boyne (*ac Indbir Boindi*). Learning that Cobthach is in Dinn Ríg, they march there, and slay him; and Labraid becomes king of Ireland. He and Craibhtine go to Moriath's home, and there Labraid weds her.

¹ In the LL text Cobthach is merely king of Brega, and Loegaire Lorc is king of Ireland.

² In O and Q Cobthach slays his brother by means of a stratagem; he feigns to be dead and has himself placed on a chariot (bier, Q), and when Loegaire in his grief threw himself upon him, he stabbed him to death. The chariot (or bier) was intended to bear the corpse to the grave, like the modern hearse; it has nothing to do with the 'chariot-burial' which Miss M. Dobbs imaginatively reads into it (ZCP viii, 278 ff.).

O. Cobhthach Caol mBreagh slays his brother, Laoghaire Lorc, at Diinn Ríogh, and also Laoghaire's son, Oilill Áine. Maon (Labhraidh), Oilill's son, goes to Scoiriath, king of Corca Dhuibhne, and stays some time with him. Then he goes to France (*an Fhraingc*) or, as some say, to Armenia. The King of the Franks makes him general of his forces. His fame reaches Ireland; and Moiriath, daughter of Scoiriath, king of Críoch Fhear Morc in the west of Munster, falls ardently in love with him, and sends Craiftine, the harper, with a love-song to him. With an army of 2200 men provided by the King of the Franks, he lands at Loch Garman (Wexford). Learning that Cobthach was at Diinn Ríogh, he marches thither and slays him; and thereafter becomes king of Ireland. He then goes, accompanied by Craiftine, to Críoch Fhear Morc, where he marries Moiriath.

Comparing these three accounts, we observe that the most distinctive feature of *O* is that the whole action of the story takes place within Ireland. Although he is banished 'out of Ireland', Labraid does not cross the sea at all¹, and goes instead to Munster, to the Fir Morca, who are described in what appears to be a gloss as 'big men who dwelt around Luachair Dedad in the west'². In all the other accounts Labraid's place of banishment is beyond the sea.

Another characteristic of *O* is that the capture of Dinn Ríg and the death of Cobthach in Dinn Ríg are treated as separate incidents. This is due to the introduction of a mythological motif, the roasting of guests in an iron house, found also in 'Mesca Ulad' (LL version) and in the Welsh tale of Branwen. The earlier and simpler tradition was, apparently, that Cobthach was slain in Dinn Ríg when the place was stormed by Labraid's forces.

P is the result of an attempt to combine Labraid's traditional place of exile with the story (found in *O*) of his visit to the Fir Morca of Munster. In *P* the banished Labraid

¹ This apparent omission of all reference to Labraid's overseas adventures did not commend itself to the scribe of R, who repairs the omission by adding at the end of his text of *O* a few lines relative to Labraid's exile beyond the seas and to his bringing back with him 'the numerous Gauls' (*na Gaullu imda*) from whose spears the Lagen have derived their name.

² *i. fir mora batar immon Luachair nDedad thlar*, LL 269 a 49. YBL (112 a 52) is similar; but in R, 131 a 4, the gloss runs *i. fir Morcca batar im Luachair nDedaíd*.

crosses the sea to (apparently) 'Armenia'¹; and he does not visit the Fir Morca of Munster until he has returned from his exile. *Q* resembles *P* mainly, but has been further influenced by a version akin to *O*. Labraid, when banished, goes first to the land of the Fir Mhorc, then to France or Armenia, and after his return to Ireland he pays a second visit to the land of the Fir Mhorc.

In *O* the harper Craiphtine is banished at the same time as Labraid, and with his soporific music he helps Labraid first to win Moriath and afterwards to capture Dinn Ríg; while, somewhat inconsequently, Labraid's dumbness is cured as a result of getting a blow of a *cammán* on the shin. In *P* and *Q* all this is different. Craiphtine makes his first appearance in the tale as a messenger from Moriath to Labraid, and when he plays his harp, Labraid's dumbness is cured forthwith²; afterwards he accompanies Labraid when the latter goes to win Moriath. Now *Craiphtine*, as I have argued elsewhere,³ is merely a later form of *Sraiphtine*, 'sulphur-fire', a name for the Otherworld-god in his capacity of god of lightning; consequently Labraid and Craiphtine are ultimately one and the same deity. The introduction of Craiphtine into the story reflects a tradition (best preserved in *O*) that wherever Labraid went Craiphtine (his double) accompanied him. Craiphtine, like the Dagda⁴ and Fer Í⁵, could play on his harp the three kinds of music, *suantraige*, *goltraige* and *gentraige*⁶. The music was his voice;

¹ At this point the text has suffered corruption in both mss.

² This curing of Labraid's dumbness is implied, but not stressed, in *Q*. A couple of glosses in LÚ (625, 629) on the verses beginning *Ní ceilt céis céol* likewise suggest that Labraid's dumbness disappeared when Craiphtine's harp was played.

³ Ériu xiii, 184 ff.

⁴ RC xii, 108, § 64.

⁵ RC xiii, 438, § 8.

⁶ RC xx, 429. So in Ac. Sen., 1654 ff., Aillén mac Midgna, lord of Sídh Finnachaid (the Otherworld), plays supernatural music (*ceol sídhi*) on his *timpán* and thereby sends the folk of Tara to sleep, and then burns Tara with a 'pillar of fire' (*cairthe teined*), i.e. a thunderbolt. (In ll. 1665, -78, 1728, -30, *cairche* or *cairce* is to be emended to *cairthe*, 'pillar-stone'.)

hence he was dumb (*Moen*) at first, but became the 'Speaker' (*Labraid*) when he played his harp. Labraid was doubtless the thunderer before he was conceived as a divine musician; hence we may suppose that there was a more primitive view which made the thunder his voice.¹ His connexion with thunder and lightning was not forgotten, for in some old verses which Meyer has edited we find him called *Lōchet Longsech*², where *Lōchet* simply means 'lightning', and is synonymous with *Sraiphtine*³.

If *Craiphtine* is a name with good mythological ancestry, *Muiriath* and *Scoriath*, on the other hand, are wholly artificial⁴, and were invented presumably by the poet or story-teller who first supplied a 'love-interest' to the legend of Labraid. If we suppose that *Muiriath* was the earlier form of the lady's name, and that the *Mor-* of *Moriath* is due to the attraction of *Morca*, it is easy to find a clue as to how the name suggested itself to its inventor⁵. The common noun *muir-iath* means literally 'sea-land', and

Compare Gilla in Choimded's account of the same episode in *Fianaigecht*, 46, where in §5, last line, we should probably read *do chaindil tind, do thimpán*, and where the following lines should be translated: 'He used to come regularly each *samain* with a *timpán* wherewith to send all to sleep.' Here, as in the case of *Craiphtine*, the thunder-god is likewise the divine musician. Elsewhere we read of Goll (double of Aillén; see p. 279) attacking Finn and the *fián* after he has put them to sleep with his harp-music (LL 204 b 46-52).

¹ So Aillén's thunderbolt, in the shape of a fiery rock, issued from his mouth (Ac. Sen. 1728), like speech. With Labraid, 'the speaker', may be compared the Greek Polyphēmos, 'the much-speaking', the Kyklōps, or sun-god (p. 58, n. 5), whose thunderbolts are described as huge rocks. In answer to the prayer of Odysseus, Zeus 'thundered from gleaming Olympos' (Od. xx, 103).

² ÄID ii, 10, § 3. Meyer (ib. 11) misinterprets *Lōchet* here as the genitive of an unknown place-name **Lōche*, which he supposes to have been the name of the place of Labraid's banishment in Gaul.

³ Compare *Bolgos* and *Meldos*, other names of the same Celtic deity, *supra*, p. 52.

⁴ Both the names are indeclinable; thus we find *Moriath* used as nom. and dat., *Scoriath* as nom. and gen.

⁵ From 'Orgain Denda Ríg' the name was borrowed by the author of 'Acallam na Senórach': *Moriath*, or *Muiriath*, *ingen rígh mhara Grég*, l. 21 (and notes on ll. 21, 5316).

might serve appropriately as a gloss on *Armorica*,¹ the name of the country where, as we shall see presently, Muiriath dwelt. Moreover this very word occurs in one of the quatrains dealing with Labraid's exploits in the old metrical pedigree of the Lagen: *selaig m̄aru muiriathu muada fer Fagraig*, 'the great and grand coastal lands of the men of Fagrach (?) he laid waste'². The name of Muiriath's father, *Scoriath*, was probably invented later, and in any case it was meant to form a rime or jingle to *Moriath*³.

Whenever they mention Muiriath's home, all our sources agree in making her dwell among the *Fir Morca*⁴. In the verses 'Ní ceilt céis céol' she is called *Moriath Morca*.⁵ The word is found only in the genitive, except for one example of the dative in the metrical pedigree: *fīch trī coīctea cath i mMuirc macc maicc Luirc Labraid* (ÄID i, 40, § 22). Here the form *Muirc*⁶ may have been due to scribal assimilation to the following *Luirc* (there is no such rime elsewhere in the poem). The context strongly suggests that the district called Muirc is outside Ireland; compare § 28 of the poem, where Labraid is represented as conquering Gaul as far as the Alps (*domnais giallu Gall co cōic assa Elpion*). So, as we have seen, the dialogue in versé between Labraid and Muiriath takes place in an eastern land (unnamed) beyond the sea. Elsewhere the traditional place of Labraid's exile is in Gaul (*tīre Gall*). In striking contrast to all this, the author of 'Orgain Denda Rīg' places Labraid's exile in Munster, more particularly 'around Luachair Dedad'

¹ Cf. Welsh *arfor*, Old Welsh **armor*, 'land by the sea'.

² ÄID i, 41, § 24.

³ *Scoriath* would be regarded as connected with *scor*, 'a paddock, camp, troop'. Compare *ingen rīg Fer Morca, Moriath, diarb athair Scoriath na scor*, LL 137 b 11-12, = RC xlvii, 294. Of Labraid it is said, in the metrical pedigree of the Lagen; *ort ocht scuru Scithach*, 'er zerstörte acht Feldlager der Männer von Skye', ÄID i, 40, § 21.

⁴ In Keating shortened to *Fear* (gen.) *Morc*. In BB, 119 b 34, Moriath is *ingean rīg Morc*.

⁵ So all the mss., except BB, which reads *Moirce*. Compare *Mogelmi Morca* in a poem by Orthanach, ZCP xi, 110. 3.

⁶ A disyllable such as *Armuirce* would suit the metre equally well.

(though this may be due to an early glossator). That this is a mere blunder on his part I have no doubt. The author did not know where the Fir Morca dwelt; and as their name looked like an Irish one he chose to locate them in the remote region of West Munster.

Actually, I suggest, *tír Fer Morca* or *crích Fher Morca* is an early popular corruption of *tír* (or *crích*) **Armorca*, a borrowing of Lat. *Armorica*. When, from the ninth century onwards, the word *Gall*, 'a native of Gaul', tended to lose its original signification (the Gauls were now being called *Frainc*, 'Franks'), and to be applied more and more to the Norse raiders, it would be likely to occur to some one to replace the now ambiguous name *tíre Gall* (meaning 'Gaul') by the Latin name *Armor(i)ca*¹, which by a kind of folk-etymology became *tír Fer Morca*.

In the YBL text of the story of Labraid, *Armorca* has been corrupted to *Armenia*.² The Egerton scribe writes once *Armenia*, and once, by a further corruption, *Fer Menia*.³ D'Arbois de Jubainville mistakenly supposed that *Menia* was the genuine form, and took it to be a borrowing of *Menapia*⁴. Some years later E. C. Quiggin suggested that *Armenia* might be a corruption of *Armon*, i.e. Arvon, the mainland district facing Anglesey⁵; but this suggestion, too, can be rejected without hesitation.

¹ This is elsewhere found borrowed into Irish as *Armúirc* (nom. **Armorc* ?). Cf. dat. *Armaírc Letha*, Trip. Life 16, gen. *Armúirc* [read *-ce* ?] *Letha*, *ibid*.

² Stokes, RC xxi, 136, rightly suggests that *Armenia* here 'is probably a scribal error for *Armorica*'.

³ Compare *Síd ar (< al) Femen* becoming later *Síd Fer Femen*. So *do rígh Fermentia* means 'by the king of Armenia', AU 1299; and cf. *tír fFear Mentia*, a country of vague geographical location, ITS vii, 36.10.

⁴ RC xxviii, 35. D'Arbois assumes that the *p* of *Menapia* would drop out in Irish, because the Irish were unable to pronounce that consonant! Orpen quotes this suggestion of d'Arbois's with approval; but he wisely qualifies his approval by adding in a footnote: 'On the point of textual criticism, however, a better case might, I think, be made out for supposing that the country originally named was *Armorica*, and that this became changed in the one case into *Tír fer Morca* and in the other into *Tír Armenia*' (Proc. R.I.A. xxxii C, 50).

⁵ RC xxxviii, 16 f. Quiggin refers to the Llyn peninsula (in Caernarvonshire), which probably got its name from the Lagin; but it is much

Keating identifies the *críoch Fhear Morc* of the Labraid legend with Corca Dhuibhne in Co. Kerry (cf. FF i, 84; ii, 162). The list of *aithechthuatha* found in BB and Lec. includes *Tuath F[h]er Morc*¹, otherwise called *Tuath Morc*,² and locates them in Uí Chonaill, i.e. the western part of the present County Limerick. The source of this entry I take to be the reference to the Fir Morca in 'Orgain Denda Ríg', where, as we have seen, they are located 'about Luachair Dedad'³.

In later Irish tales, following the example set in 'Acallam na Senórach' and 'Togail Bruidne Da Choca', it became customary for the storyteller, when he had occasion to mention a place, to set down the former name of the place (often a name of his own invention) in addition to its ordinary name⁴. Some such storyteller, who was acquainted with the reference to *Tuath Fhear Morc* in the list of *aithechthuatha*, got the idea that *críoch(a) Fer Morc* would serve a useful purpose as the 'old' name of Uí Chonaill (otherwise called Uí Chonaill Gabra), and his example was followed by later writers. Thus in the Franciscan ms. text of 'Acallam na Senórach' we read: *a críchaib O [sic] Morc, risi n-abar Ua [sic] Conaill Gabra isin tan-sa* (ed. Stokes, p. 281). Similarly in 'Bruidhean Chaorthainn' (ed. Pearse), p. 8, we read: *fá thriúcha céad bhFear Morc ris a ráidhtear críoch [sic] Chonaill Ghabhra an tan so*; and in a text of 'An Giolia Deacair' we find: *do chríochaibh bhFear Morc re a ráidhtear Uí Chonaill Ghabhra an tan so*⁵. Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh

safer to see in *Lleyn* < *Lagin* a relic of the Irish occupation of this part of Wales in the fourth or fifth century A.D.

¹ Gen. Tracts pp. 107, 119, 120.

² ib. 115, 117.

³ Sliab Luachra included in its area the west of Uí Chonaill. It is significant that in the shorter and more authentic list of *aithechthuatha* the Tuath (Fher) Morc are not mentioned (RC xx, 336 ff.).

⁴ Thus, instead of the simple *Caissel na Ríg* one may find *Lis na Laechraide risa ráiter Caissel na Ríg issin tan-so* (Ac. Sen. 5387); and the simple *Leamhain* may be expanded to *Garbhabha na bhFiann ris a ráitear Leamhain an tan so* (cf. Oss. Soc. iii, 76).

⁵ ed. Hogan and Lloyd, p. 18. Similarly ib. p. 2, with *Fear Morc* corrupted to *bhFear Muighe*. (On the same page we find *Caoille an Druadh*

was acquainted with this identification of the land of the Fir Mhorc with Uí Chonaill Gabra, and with characteristic pedantry he cannot refrain from airing his antiquarian knowledge. Accordingly we find him writing that the Fitzgeralds of Co. Limerick lived 'in the territories of Fir Mhorc to the south of the Shannon'¹. So we find R. O'Flaherty writing, in connexion with the reign of Labraid Loingsech (or 'Lauradius Navalis', as he calls him): 'Moriatha filia Scoriathi de Fearmorc hodie Hycónallia Gaura in Momonia Occidentali fuit Lauradii regina' (Ogygia 262). Compare the statement in O'Brien's Dict., p. 125 b, that *Ibh-Conail* [sic] *Gabhra* 'was more anciently called *Tir-bfhearmorc*, or otherwise *Tir-armorc*'.

The evolution of *Armorica* into *Fir Morca*, and of this into the name of a people who were supposed to have once inhabited the western part of Co. Limerick, affords an interesting example of what corruption joined to guess-work may lead to. It also warns us that the BB-Lec. list of *aithechthuatha* is an uncritical compilation, which must be used with caution².

Dinn Ríg, which is on the Barrow near Leighlinbridge,³ was in the territory of the Uí Dróna, who were a branch of the Uí Chenselaig or Southern Ligin⁴. In the account of the invasion of the Fir Bolg and their fellows in Lebor Gabála, Sláine (or Sláinge), the leader of the Gálioín (p. 99), represents the Southern Ligin, and he is said to have died at Duma Sláine (or Duma Sláinge)⁵, which is

ris a ráitear críoch Fhear Muighe corrupted to Coill na ndrúadh ris a ráidh-tear críoch Fearnmhuighe.) In 'Giolla an Fhiugha' we read: *fá thorc ós loch* [read *Thorc ós Loch*], *agus fa chríoch bhFearmorc agus fá dha shliabh déag Fhéidhlime* (ITS i, 10).

¹ *vo aitreabhsad hi ccriochaibh Fer Morc fri Sionaind indes, Beatha Aodha Ruaidh 178.*

² Concerning this list Mac Neill writes: 'It bears evidence, linguistic and topographical, of having been composed at a very early date, in the eighth century at latest' (Gen. Tracts p. vi f.). But he, wisely perhaps, does not enlighten us as to what this 'evidence' is.

³ See p. 13.

⁴ Cf. LL 337 b.

⁵ LL 8 a 21; Todd Lect. iii, 150.

identified with Dinn Ríg¹. It is permissible to infer that that part, at least, of the Labraid legend which concerns the capture of Dinn Ríg belongs more particularly to the Southern Lagin.

The legend of Labraid leading a force to Ireland from Gaul (or Armorica) is ultimately, as we have said, the story, handed down among themselves, of how the Lagin first arrived in Ireland. As this was the earliest and most important event in their history, it is not surprising to find some of their learned men attempting to assign a date to it. Orthanach ua Caelláma, as quoted in 'Orgain Denda Ríg', dates the killing of Loegaire by Cobthach 300 B.C.² With this may be compared a poem in L. G. according to which 450 years elapsed from Cimbaeth (the first king of Emain Macha) to the birth of Christ³, and the slaying of Cobthach by Labraid occurred 150 years after Cimbaeth⁴,—in other words, the latter event took place in 300 B.C. In a prose passage in L. G. the death of Cobthach in Dinn Ríg is dated 307 B.C.⁵ These dates are, of course, mere guesswork, but it must be conceded that they are very fair guesses, for the Laginian invasion seems actually to have occurred in the third century B.C.

Finally we may suggest the possibility that the legend of Labraid may have had some influence in bringing about an event of cardinal importance in Irish history. The story of Labraid's expulsion from his Laginian kingdom, of his

¹ BB 29 b 46; Lec. fo. 277 b l. 15; O'Clery's L. G. 134; FF i, 196.

² *tri chet. b.*, R 131 b 12; LL and YBL agree. But in R 88 b 4 the reading is *coic bliadna*, where *coic* is doubtless a scribal misreading of *.ccc.* According to the poem 'Ro hort in rígrad mon rí', Cobthach Coel was slain in 500 B.C.: *coic cēt bliadnae bithglaine*, LL 192 a 43, = Met. D. ii, 50. Here, too, the number (*coic cēt*) may be due to a misreading of an earlier *.ccc.*

³ LL 21 b 11.

⁴ *ib.* l. 28.

⁵ *.uii. mbl- 7 .ccc. bl-*, LL 22 b 1. An anonymous poem in LL dates the 'war' between Labraid and Cobthach 207 B.C. (*na .uii. bl- [sic] ar díb cétaib*, 35 b 37). If we might suppose a misreading of *tríb* as *díb*, this could be emended to 307 B.C.

seeking foreign aid, and of his triumphant return, so that he made himself king of Ireland with the help of his Gaill, —all this was thoroughly familiar to the Lagen of the twelfth century, and not least to the notorious Diarmait Mac Murchada, who became king of the province in 1134. When, in 1166, Diarmait, hard pressed by his Irish enemies, fled across the sea to England, and thence to France, to seek the help of Henry II, it must have occurred to him that he was but following in the footsteps of his renowned ancestor, Labraid Loingsech; and no doubt he had high hopes that, like Labraid, he would, with the help of his army of Gaill, not merely recover his kingdom but would become king of the entire country. Fate, however, ordained otherwise; Diarmait's success was both meagre and inglorious, and his own descendants, like the rest of their countrymen, had reason to rue the day when Diarmait na nGall brought the Anglo-Normans to Ireland.

4.—TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA

Conaire Mór, son of Eterscéla (or Eterscél), appears as king of Ireland in the regnal lists in *Lebor Gabála* and elsewhere. The story of his death is told in the tale 'Togail Bruidne Da Derga' (BDD).¹ It has long been recognized that in the form in which it has come down to us the tale is a composite one, compiled (in the eleventh century, according to Thurneysen) from two earlier versions.²

Omitting details which do not concern us, we may give the substance of the tale as follows:

Conaire reigned prosperously and blamelessly in Tara as King of Ireland. Just before he became king, various *gesa* or tabus

¹ Edited (mainly from LU) by Stokes in RC, xxii; and recently (from YBL, etc.) by Dr. E. Knott. The references I give are to the paragraphs in these editions.

² For a critical analysis of the tale, and a discussion of the problems concerning its textual transmission, the reader is referred to Thurneysen, *Heldensage* 621 ff. Denoting the two earlier versions as *A* and *B*, we may say, speaking generally, that *A* is represented by §§ 1-37, 58-66, *B* by §§ 38-57, 67-167 (ib. 625). The fusion of the two versions has not been done very skilfully, with the result that in its present form the tale shows a number of duplications and inconsistencies.

had been imposed on him ; and in the course of the tale he unintentionally violates these *gesa*, one by one. His three foster-brothers, descendants (or sons) of Donn Désa, took to marauding (*díberg*), and Conaire banished them out of Ireland. For the same reason he banished ' the three Ruadchoin of Cualu ', who belonged to the Lagin.¹ At sea they meet a band of reavers lead by Ingcél Caech, a Briton, ' of the Conmaicne ', and they join forces with these. It was agreed that the combined forces should ravage Britain first, and then Ireland. In a joint attack on Britain they slew a local king, together with Ingcél's father, mother and brothers. Then they sailed to Ireland, arriving off Howth while Conaire was travelling along Slige Chualann towards Da Derga's hostel (*bruiden*). They disembark their forces, 5,000 men, at Trácht Fuirbthi,² and march to the *bruiden*, which they attack. Thrice the *bruiden* is set on fire, and thrice the flames are extinguished. All the available water having thus been consumed, Conaire dies of thirst, and two of the attackers cut off his head.³

¹ § 43. The three Ruadchoin belong exclusively to the *B* version, whereas the three sons (or descendants) of Donn Désa are taken over from *A*, though they are also introduced into the part based on *B*, where their number is increased to five (§ 110). Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the one trio is ultimately a duplicate of the other. The seven Maines, sons of Ailill and Medb, are also numbered among the marauders (§ 42, from *B*) ; earlier there was but one Maine among them (and he had nothing to do with Ailill or Medb), viz. Maine Milscothach (cf. §§ 8, 20, from *A*), who is described as *mac uae* (= maccu) *Aurbaith* in the summary of BDD which goes back to Cín Dromma Snechta (Thurneysen, *Zu ir. Hss. u. Litteraturdenkmälern* i, 27 ; RC xiv, 151), and who is elsewhere reckoned as one of the sons of Donn Désa. (LL 137 b 36, 165 a 5).

² *Trácht Fuirbthi* (or *Fuirbthen*) is probably, as J. H. Lloyd (*Ériu* ii, 69 ff.) has argued, Merrión Strand ; but his contention that the English name derives from the Irish is less certain, for the *-ng* of the older English forms ('Muryong', etc.) has not been explained. In the journey of the reavers from the shore to the *bruiden* only one place-name is mentioned, *Lecca Cinn Shlébe* (§ 64, and cf. 68, 168). A *dindshenchas* poem, on the other hand, provides them with a long itinerary, beginning with *Long Laga* and *Tonn* (= Sescenn) *Uairbéoil*, and ending with *Sliab Lecga* (Met. D. iii, 116) ; but the attempts that have been made to identify the places named in the poem (as by Mac Neill in *Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.*, 1935, 9 ff.) must in general be pronounced a failure. In the Egerton 1782 version the reavers, after they have arrived at *Lecca Cinn Shlébe*, proceed from Sescenn Uairbéoil to the *bruiden*. As the journey of the reavers to Da Derga's *bruiden* is an artificial addition to the original legend, the route they are supposed to have followed is of no importance for our present purpose.

³ The LU version adds that after his triumph Ingcél went to Alba and here became king (§ 160).

In a list of prehistoric kings of Ireland in R, 136 a 29-32, we read that Conaire Már was slain in Bruiden Da Derga by *Ingcél Caech mac h. Chonmaic* and by the three sons of Donn Désa of the Lagin, otherwise known as *tri Ruadchind Laigen*. Here the three *Ruadchoin* of BDD appear as three *Ruadchind*, and are (rightly, no doubt) identified with the sons of Donn Désa. So an anonymous Laginian poem credits the three *Ruadchind* with the slaying of both Conaire and Lugaid Riab nDerg, and names them as Fer Gel, Fer Roguin and Lomna Drúth (who in BDD are reckoned as sons of Donn Désa)¹. In another poem the reavers who attack the *bruiden* are 'the three sons of Conmand, son (or grandson) of Conmac, and the three grandsons of Donn Désa'.² Elsewhere Donn Désa appears as a legendary king of the Lagin, and he has a son, Rumal, who is represented as a Laginian conqueror, somewhat like another Labraid³. This Donn Désa, we suspect, is none other than the Otherworld-god, Donn, of whom another name was Labraid.

The principal leader of the invading bands was *Ingcél Caech*, who is described not only as a Briton, but also as a member of the tribe of the *Conmaicne*⁴. In historical times the *Conmaicne* are found dispersed in half-a-dozen segments, and occupying parts of Counties Westmeath, Longford, Leitrim, Mayo (adjoining Lough Corrib and Loch

¹ EL 48 b 17-19. Compare Flann mac Mael Maedóc († 979), ZCP viii, 117, §§ 10-11. Another Laginian poem attributes to the same *Ruadchind* the slaying of Conaire, Lugaid Riab nDerg and Conall [Cernach], LL 45 a 10-11, = O'Curry's MS. Materials, 483. Compare 'the two Reds of Roíriu' (*dá Ruad Rotremn*) who in Laginian tradition are represented as slayers of two other kings of Tara, viz. Cairbre Lifechair (LL 48 b 49-50; R 136 b 10) and Fiachu Sraiptíne (ZCP vii, 118, § 21). According to the Egerton 1782 text of BDD these two Reds of Roíriu were the first to wound Conaire in the fight at the *bruiden*.

² Met. D. iii, 116 (*dindshenchas* poem on Benn Étair).

³ LL 378 a 37-38, 47-48, = BDD, ed. Dr. Knott, p. 72 f. See p. 94.

⁴ In the 'Cín Dromma Snechta' summary, and in the LU text of BDD, *Ingcél* is *mac ui* (or, simply, *ua*) *C(h)onmaic*; later mss., such as YBL, make him *mac ui Conmaicni*. *Mac ui* is the later (corrupt) form of *maccu*, *moccu* (in Adamnan, *mocu*); and *moccu Conmaic* can only mean 'a member of the tribe descended from Conmac', i.e. 'one of the *Conmaicne*'.

Mask), and Galway. The genealogists make them descend from Lugaid Conmac, son of Oirbsiu Már (after whom Loch Oirbsen, 'Lough Corrib', was called), and Oirbsiu was very artificially provided with a descent from Fergus mac Roich¹, whom the genealogists utilized as a convenient 'Goidelic' ancestor for a number of tribes of lesser importance. The Conmaicne were certainly pre-Goidelic; and the fact that the Leginian reavers in BDD have Ingcél, 'of the Conmaicne', as a leader and confederate is evidence that at an early period the Conmaicne were believed to be akin to the Legin². Their geographical location, too, would not be inconsistent with such an origin. We may compare a statement in Lec. to the effect that Ingcél, grandson of Conmac, was of the Domnainn³. Accordingly we are justified in inferring that according to the primitive tradition Conaire's enemies, one and all, belonged to the Leginian group of tribes.

As to the location of Da Derga's *bruiden*, we are told (§ 146, and cf. § 101) that the River Dodder flowed 'through the house', and also that the road known as Slige Chualann passed 'through' the house (§ 29), while a well called Tipra Casra, which was close to the *bruiden*, is described as being in *crích Cúaland* (§ 154). Elsewhere we are told that the *bruiden* was *i crích Cualann*.⁴ In documents of 1542 we

¹ e.g. R 161 b 8-9; LL 332 b, 335 b. Another account makes the Conmaicne descend from Conmac, son of Fergus mac Roich (e.g. R 157, 35; ZCP viii, 332.8; Gen. Tracts 134).

² The Conmac ('dog-son', or 'wolf-son'), otherwise called Lugaid Conmac, from whom the Conmaicne take their name is evidently the same divine personage whom we meet in the traditions of the Érainn as Mac Con, or Lugaid mac Con. While Lugaid is especially prominent in the traditions of the Érainn, he was by no means their exclusive property. The name *Lugaid* is an old compound of *Lug* (Celt. **Lugus*), a name well known to all the Celts. In the mythical part of the Leginian pedigree we find Lugaid Lóithfhinn as son of Bresal Brecc and grandfather of Nuadu Necht (ÁID i, 17, § 10). This Lugaid is ancestor of the Legin (*senathair Lagen*, R 118 a 25), as his brother Condla is ancestor of the Osraige.

³ *Aincel Caech m. Cuscraid m. Conmaic Cais, do Domnandchaib*, Gen. Tracts 165 f.

⁴ *Mucc Meic Da Thó* § 1; RC xxi, 396. The *bruiden* is oddly described as situated 'between Cuala and Alba' in the 'Cín Dromma Snechta' sum-

find mention made of 'the lands of Brewyn alias Bohirny-brynee near Glaschymoky', Co. Dublin, otherwise 'Brune alias Borbrune by Glasnymycky'¹, i.e. *Bruidhean*, alias *Bóthar na Bruidhne* (Bohernabreena), near Glassamucky. Evidently the *bruiden* was supposed to be situated in the neighbourhood of Bohernabreena, which adjoins the Dodder, a mile or two to the south of Tallaght. But while we thus see that the *bruiden* has left its mark on local nomenclature, we must not draw therefrom the hasty conclusion that the *bruiden* at one time had a real existence.

In 'Scéla Mucce Meic Da Thó' (§ 1) we are told that in the time of Ailill and Medb there were five *bruidne* in Ireland, viz. Bruiden Da Derga, Bruiden Fhorgaill Manaich, Bruiden Meic Da Réo, Bruiden Da Choca, and Bruiden Meic Da Thó². The word *bruiden* means a spacious hall, especially a banqueting-hall; and as the Otherworld was conceived as a place of perpetual feasting, *bruiden* was applied in particular to the festive hall in the *síd* over which the god of the Otherworld presided³. That the five *bruidne*

mary of the tale: *Do-lotar i nAlbain do chur a ndíberge ant . . . Eter Cual-7 Alb- atá bruiden Ue Derga* (Thurneysen, Zu ir. Hss. u. Litteraturdenkmälern i, 28). Here the last sentence seems to me to be obviously corrupt. I suggest that the original reading was *I tír Cualann atá*, etc., and that some copyist mistook *itír* for the preposition, and consequently supposed that something had dropped out after *Cualann*, and, in attempting to supply the omission, could think of nothing better than *7 Albain*, suggested to him by the *i nAlbain* of the preceding line. (Compare the converse error in *Fianaigecht*, 28.13, where the scribe of Laud 610 wrote *hi tír Luidgech* for *itír Lugaid*.) *Alba* here has been interpreted as meaning one of the pair of unidentified hills, *Ériu* and *Alba*, mentioned in the legend of King Loegaire's death (e.g. LU 9804), but otherwise unknown; but, for reasons which it would occupy too much space to state here, this seems to me to be exceedingly improbable.

¹ *Fians* Henry VIII, nos. 315, 324.

² *Bruiden Meic Da Réo* is called *Bruiden Mic Cēcht Da Rēo*, RC xxi, 396, and *Bruigen Mic Cēcht*, *Fled Dúin na nGéd* 52. To the above five *bruidne* the same two authorities, and also a couple of texts of 'Scéla Mucce Meic Da Thó', add a sixth, viz. *Bruiden Bláí Briuga(d)*. *Bruiden Da Choca* was 'one of the six royal *bruidne* of Ireland', BDC § 31.

³ Hence we understand why in Modern Irish *bruidhean* has come to be applied to a residence of the 'fairies' within a hill or in an old fort, and in a secondary sense to the 'fairies' (*aes síde*, Mod. Ir. *sídheóga*) themselves.

above enumerated represent, not human habitations, but the Otherworld festive hall, the Celtic Valhalla, is not open to doubt.

Each of these *bruidne*, we are told, had a caldron which gave every one his proper food, and which cooked sufficient food for any company of guests¹. This is plainly the Dagda's caldron, 'from which no company went away unsatisfied'². The Otherworld possessed a never-failing supply of the choicest food and drink, commodities which were often very scarce among mortals. Above all it had an inexhaustible supply of pork, which was the meat most highly esteemed in ancient Ireland.³ Thus we read of Manannán's pigs, which, though killed and eaten to-day, are alive and ready to suffer the same fate on the morrow.⁴ So in BDD we find Nár Tuathchaech,⁵ 'the swineherd of Bodb of Síd ar Femen', engaged in cooking a pig in Da Derga's *bruiden*.⁶ In 'Scél Mucce Meic Da Thó' we have a feast of which the main constituent is a huge pig, and we find the euhemerized Mac Da Thó utilizing the feast as a means of sowing dissension between the Connachta and the Ulaid⁷. So characteristic of the Otherworld-feast was

Compare *bruighean Chnoc Magha*, 'the fairy castle of Knock Magha', Neilson's Ir. Grammar pt. 2, p. 72; *ann sna bruighinibh*, 'in the fairy castles' (said of one who had been taken away by the fairies), ib. 84; *braoin*, gen. *braoine*, 'fairies', J. H. Molloy, Ir. Gr. 27. For further examples of the word in these senses see Seán Ó Neachtain's 'Stair É. Uí Chléire', II. 352, 2021, 2313, 2514.

¹ RC xxi, pp. 314 (§ 31), 397; Fled Dúin na nGéd 50-52; IT iii, 187.

² RC xii, 58; ZCP xviii, 83.

³ The ancient Romans had a similar preference for pork.

⁴ e.g. IT iii, 196; Ériu xi, 188.20. In Bruig na Bóinne (one of the places where the Otherworld was located) there were two such supernatural pigs (ZCP xix, 56). Balar's pigs, to which allusion is made in an Ossianic poem (ITS vii, 30), were doubtless of this kind.

⁵ Nár had a baleful eye (*súil milledach*), like Balar. His epithet, *tuathchaech*, probably means 'having but one eye, and that an evil one'.

⁶ BDD § 140. His double, the one-eyed Fer Caille, is similarly engaged, § 136.

⁷ The appropriateness of Mac Da Thó's role will be apparent when we remember that the god who presided over the Otherworld-feast was also the god of war, and the stirrer up of dissension. We have a close parallel

the pig that the lord of the Feast is sometimes represented as a man carrying a pig¹. One of the names of this pig was *mucc Shlánga*². In 'Cath Crucha' we are told that dissension arose between Finn and Goll concerning the pig of Slánga (*imman muic Slanga*, LU 3214),³ i.e. concerning the lordship of the Feast. In a version of the slaying of Goll (otherwise called Aed) by Finn, the latter slays Aed mac Fidga⁴ by hurling at him the spear of Fiacclach mac Conchinn, as Aed was leaving one *síd* to enter a neighbouring one, carrying with him a kneading-trough with the pig of Slánga on it⁵. In what is ultimately another version of the same myth Finn spears Cúldub as the latter is entering Síd ar Femen (Slievenamon) carrying a pig⁶.

The *bruiden* of Da Derga, therefore, was ultimately situated in the Otherworld, in a *síd*, doubtless within one of the hills in the neighbourhood of Bohernabreena; but, as it never had any material existence, it would be as foolish to seek to identify its exact site as it would be to try to unearth, say, the home of the goddess Áine by excavating Knockainy⁷. A similar observation applies to

in 'Fled Briccrenn', in which the strife-causing Briccriu, builder of a splendid festive hall, is ultimately the lord of the Otherworld, like Mac Da Thó.

¹ See below, pp. 126, 127.

² In LL 297 a 33, = RC xiii, 46.14, *saill muicco Slánga* is mentioned as a delicacy. Elsewhere the pigs of Slánga are supposed to be quarry for Finn and his men (Ac. Sen. 2219 ff.; Feis Tighe Chonáin 1498).

³ Compare Ac. Sen. 2234-6.

⁴ RC v, 202 f. (Macgn. Find). Gilla in Choimded's version is that Finn slew Ua Fidga 'at a feast' (*ic feiss*, Fianaigeacht 48, § 13).

⁵ The text reads *co muic slainsi fuirri*, RC v, 202 x, where I would emend the meaningless *slainsi* to *sláingi*, intended for *Slángai*.

⁶ RC xiv, 245 f. (and cf. ib. xxv, 344). Here the storyteller has tried to rationalize the pig by supposing that it was being cooked as food for Finn and his *fian*, and that the *síd*-man Cúldub came and snatched it away, but was pursued by Finn, who slew him and returned with the pig. In LL, 48 b 43, Cúldub is *mac Fidga* (like Aed), and the spear with which Finn slays him is the spear of Fiacclach mac Conchinn (the spear with which he slays Aed). Compare Finn's conquest of Tadg mac Nuadat, who presided over the *síd* of Almu (p. 279).

⁷ H. Morris's attempt to determine the exact site of Bruiden Da Derga (Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1935, 297 ff.) has no value.

the locations of the other *bruidne* mentioned above. When, in 'Tochmarc Emire', Cúchulainn journeys southwards to the neighbourhood of Lusk, Co. Dublin, and arrives at the *bruiden* of Forgall Manach, in order to woo Forgall's daughter, he seems on a superficial view to be engaged in a very mundane transaction, such as might fall to the lot of any man; and no doubt this is the interpretation which the euhemerizing narrator of the tale himself put upon it. Originally, however, Cúchulainn's journeying to Forgall's *bruiden* was just as much a journey to the Otherworld as his subsequent journeying to the land of Scáthach in the same tale, or his journeying to Mag Mell to win Fand from Manannán in 'Serglige Conculainn'. We must not be misled by the fact that these *bruidne* are located in Ireland; they no more belong to this world than do the *side*, which are likewise for the most part associated with particular places (usually hills) in Ireland¹.

We read in BDD that, as Conaire, returning from Thomond, had travelled past Uisnech on his way to Tara, the country all around appeared as if it were being pillaged and set on fire (§§ 25-26); accordingly, circling Tara, Conaire turned southwards to the Road of Cualu, which eventually brought him to Da Derga's hostel. The pillaging and burning of the country between Uisnech and Tara is represented as a mere illusion, though to Conaire it seems real. This incident serves no purpose in the tale, except, perhaps, that of diverting Conaire towards the Hostel in which he is to meet his doom. Yet this interpretation of the incident is far from satisfactory, for it implies that Conaire was so timorous that, instead of facing the enemies who were raiding his home, he chose to run away; and such an exhibition of cowardice would be wholly out of keeping with his character, or indeed with the character of any Irish legendary king. The difficulty vanishes if we suppose that there was a primitive form of the legend which told how the Midland territory was in fact invaded from

¹ Inasmuch as the word *bruiden*, unlike *sid*, could be applied to human handiwork, it was comparatively easy to treat the Otherworld *bruidne* as earthly dwellings.

the sea, and how Conaire met his death in defending his own house against the raiders. The fact that Conaire was slain might be otherwise expressed by saying that he was sent to the Otherworld (where the dead lived a new life), i.e. to the house of Donn (*tech nDuinn*, BDD § 79), or the house of Derg (*tech nDeirg*, § 31), or to the *bruiden* of Da Derga.¹ Such synonymous expressions suggested to those who committed the tale to writing a means of heightening the interest of the tale, of infusing into it a strong element of weirdness, and of introducing a number of characters, such as Mac Cécht, who are ultimately supernatural beings. The invasion of the Eastern Midlands was too important an element in the primitive story to be discarded; but it is now represented as a mere illusion. Before (instead of after) his death Conaire has to make his journey to Da Derga's hostel, and it is there, and not in his own house, that he is slain by the raiders. As Da Derga's house is rationalized into a material building, which was attacked and fired by raiders, it has inevitably shed something of its original Otherworld character. Yet it will be conceded that, through these modifications of the primitive legend, the story as a whole has become imbued with a sense of mystery and magic which it could never have acquired had the storyteller treated it merely as a bit of legendary history.

In our extant version, Conaire, having turned southwards away from Tara, remembers that a friend of his, Da Derga, on whom he has often conferred favours, is dwelling somewhere in the neighbourhood. He does not know the location of Da Derga's house; but Mac Cécht², who now

¹ Compare the words addressed by Donn to his descendants (i.e. the Irish): *Cucum dom tic* [leg. *thig*] *tússaid uile iar bar n-écaib* (Todd's Ir. Nennius, 248), 'All of you shall come to my house after your death'. So the ancient Norse spoke of 'going to Valhalla' (i.e. being slain), and the ancient Greeks of 'going down to the house of Hades'.

² The storyteller artificially represents Mac Cécht as Conaire's *cathmlid* or battle-warrior (§§ 27, 88). For pseudo-chronological reasons he has to be distinguished from his namesake of the Tuatha Dé; hence the Mac Cécht of BDD is called *mac Snaidi Techid*. In §§ 87-88 his gigantic size is emphasized. He is, as could be shown, ultimately the sun-god, otherwise known as Dian Cécht.

makes his first appearance in the tale, is able to direct him to the house, and goes on in advance to kindle a fire (§§ 28-29). Here Mac Cécht (the guide) and Da Derga (the hosteler) are thoroughly humanized; but their Otherworld character comes out clearly in duplicate versions of the episode, which show us that Conaire's arrival at the *bruiden* was brought about by supernatural agents. In §§ 38-40 the one-eyed *bachlach*, Fer Caille, carrying a pig on his back, and followed by a hideous woman,¹ encounters Conaire on the Road of Cualu, and invites him to share his feast; Conaire declines the invitation, but Fer Caille and his companion none the less proceed before him to Da Derga's *bruiden*, and there await his arrival. Fer Caille is obviously a double of Da Derga, the lord of the feast; and it is easy to surmise that in an earlier version of the tale Conaire directed his course to the *bruiden*, not because Da Derga was a friend of his, but because he was invited to it, or lured to it, by Da Derga himself whom he met upon the way. The Fer Caille episode derives from version *B*; we find its counterpart from version *A* in §§ 30-37. Here Conaire sees 'the three Reds' (*na trí Deirg*), viz. three men with red hair and red accoutrements, and mounted on red steeds, riding before him 'to the house of Derg' (*do thig Deirg* ²), i.e. to Da Derga's hostel. Conaire sends his son in pursuit of them; but it is impossible to overtake them. 'We ride', says one of the horsemen, 'the steeds of Donn Détschorach (?); though we are alive, we are dead'. Evidently an earlier version of this incident told how Derg (otherwise Da Derga), lord of the Otherworld *bruiden*, appeared to Conaire as a horseman, and how Conaire tried hard to overtake him,

¹ The description of the woman resembles that of Caib in § 61. But this resemblance does not authorize us to say, with Thurneysen (*Heldensage* 626): 'der Fer-Caille-Episode in *B* war die Dublette zur Caib-Episode in *A*'. Compare Nettlau's remarks on this point, RC xii, 451.

² Similarly Da Derga's *bruiden* is called *tech nDeirg* in Met. D. iii, 116. *Derg* was a name for the ancestor-deity among the Lagen; hence we can understand why the Lagen are called *clanna Deirg* in 'Cath Ruis na Ríg', pp. 22, 26 (and cf. *teora catha clainne Deirg*, ib. 38). Compare *Bodb Derg*, the name applied to the lord of Síd ar Femen; according to Ac. Sen. he was son of the Dagda.

but in vain, until in the end he found himself lured' as far as Derg's residence.

It is a commonplace in Irish tales to find a hero guided, or enticed, to the Otherworld by a supernatural being (whether in the shape of man or beast) whom he pursues¹. Thus in 'Acallam na Senórach', 5006 ff., we are told how a lady from the *síd* of Donn mac Midir was sent by Donn in the shape of a fawn in order to lure Finn to the *síd*. Finn and his companions pursue the fawn until it disappears into the earth; then a heavy snowstorm comes on, and, looking for shelter, they discover the *síd* close at hand and enter it. So in 'Feis Tighe Chonáin', 474 ff., Finn and some of his men see a hideous *aitheach* pass by, carrying a pig on an iron fork, and followed by a handsome young woman; they pursue the *aitheach* and his companion, but are unable to overtake them; then a magic mist comes on, and, when it clears away, they find themselves close to a stately fortress (the Otherworld residence of the *aitheach*), which they enter. Here we have an obvious analogue of Fer Caille and his pig in BDD.

A word may be said as to the name of the lord of the *bruiden*. He is called *Da Derga* in BDD, §§ 28, 60, 133; but he is *Derg* in the phrase *na trí Deirg*² *do thig Deirg*, §§ 16, 31. The usual name of his abode is *bruiden Da Derga*, in which the *Da* came to be confounded with the numeral *dá*, 'two'³. Other forms of the name⁴ are also found, e.g.

¹ Compare Gadelica i; 280-283. There are parallels in Welsh tales, as when Pwyll (who is here assigned the role of Pryderi) pursues Rhiannon, mounted on her horse, and is invited by her to the castle of Hefeydd Hen. Such incidents derive ultimately from the myth of the Rival Wooers (p. 322).

² Here, as we have suggested, the original *Derg* has been multiplied by three; the compiler shows a notable fondness for triadic groupings. The result of this triplication is that in the tale in its present form the three Dergs have to be treated as distinct from *Da Derga* (compare §§ 59, 134, with 132). Compare the similar artificial distinction between Lugaid mac Con and Lugaid mac Trí Con (p. 79 f.).

³ Hence one finds the name written (in the dat. and acc.) *bruidin Dá Dergae*, LU 6923, -35, 7939; similarly, in the hand of the interpolator, *bruidin Dá Dercae*, ib. 3442. Compare *Mac Da Thó* misinterpreted as meaning 'son of the two deaf-mutes', RC viii, 52.4 (Talland Étair).

⁴ See these enumerated by Nettlau, RC xii, 457 f. The oldest extant mss. in which reference is made to *Bruiden Da Derga* are LU, R, and LL.

bruiden Uí Derga, *b. Da Derg*, *b. Da Berg(a)*. The first of these variants I would attribute to a desire to avoid the inconvenience arising from the natural confusion of *Da* with *dá*, 'two', which would lead to the name being interpreted as 'the hostel of the two Dergas', a meaning which was in conflict with the text, which makes it clear that the lord of the hostel was a single individual. The form *b. Da Berg(a)* was doubtless due to a desire for alliteration;¹ possibly also its originator may have been unconsciously influenced by the word *díberg* (p. 118, l. 4).

The same *Da* which we find in *Da Derga* appears also in all but one of the names of the owners of the other *bruidne* mentioned above (p. 121), viz. *Da Coca*, *Mac Da Réo*, *Mac Da T(h)ó*. So far as I am aware, no attempt² has been made to explain it; but I think that, once we realize that these four names are ultimately deity-names, a satisfactory explanation is not far to seek. I take *Da* to represent a shortening, in pretonic position, of *dea*, *dia*, 'god, goddess', so that *Da Derga* would mean 'the god Derga'³ and

In these mss. the form *b. Uí Derga(e)* occurs four times: LU 7049 (= BDD § 70), LU 8006, -35 (in the summary of BDD derived from *Cín Dromma Snechta*), and LL 189b, last line (the saga-list). But *b. Da Derga(e)* is much commoner, e.g. LU 4792 n., 6923, -35, 7280, 7939, also (in hand of interpolator) ib. 3442 (*Dercae*); R 88 a 40 (*Dergga*), 136 a 29 (id.); LL 23 a 48, 112 a 5, 292 a 42. (Some of the LU examples have *Dá* for *Da*; see the last note.) I am not convinced by Thurneysen's view (*Heldensage* 622 n.) that *Ua Dergae*, 'Enkel der roten (Frau),' was the earliest form of the hosteler's name, and that *Da* was later substituted for *Ua* owing to the influence of *Bruiden Da Choca*. It is, I think, significant that *Ua Derga(e)* is attested only in conjunction with *bruiden*, and that, when the hosteler is otherwise named, he is called *Da Derga* or *Derg*, never *Ua Derga*. If—what is not certain—*Da Derga* is to be regarded as an innovation, then I suggest that the hosteler's original name was *Derg*, which was altered to *Da Derga* under the influence of *Da Coca*.

¹ Hence we find it used in verse, e.g. *i cath Bruidne Da Berga*, RC xxiii, 304; *Conuire i mbruidhin Dá Bhearg*, *Studies* 1940, 618, § 31; *laoch mear a Bruighin Dá Bhearg*, ITS xxxvii, 14, § 10.

² Apart from a passing suggestion of Stokes's, which is not to be taken seriously, that 'the gen. sg. *dá* in *Bruiden dá Derga*' and the like 'may stand for **Dāvi*, and be cognate perhaps with Lat. *Dāvus*, a common name for a slave in Plautus and Terence' (RC xxii, 12 n.).

³ *Derga* would represent **dergios*, a derivative of **dergos* (Ir. *derg*), 'red'.

Da Réo 'the god Réo'. For the use of *dea* or *dia* before a deity-name compare *Tuatha Dé Danann*,² *mac Dea Dechtiri*, 'son of the goddess D.', LL 123 b 32; *m. Ailella Erand Dé Bolgae*, ib. 324 d, last line; *Innech mac Dé Domnand*, ib. 11 a 33. The special development of *dea* in *Da Derga* and the like is sufficiently explained by the fact that in these names *dea* lost all its stress, and became a mere proclitic, so that eventually its meaning was forgotten.³

When we subtract from the tale its obviously mythological accretions, and in particular the journeying of Conaire to the hall of the god Derga, we are left with a residuum which has all the appearance of having been based on historical fact.⁴ This original nucleus told how a king of the Érainn in what is now the province of Leinster was attacked and slain by a force of Lagenian invaders from overseas. In other words, the legend underlying BDD is essentially another version of the legend of the death of Cobthach at the hands of Labraid.

The story of Labraid, in its earliest and simplest form, is related in a severely matter-of-fact way. It is told, very obviously, from the Lagenian standpoint; its hero is Labraid, the leader of the invaders, and there is no sympathy for his victim, the Ernean king, whose character is artificially

¹ Mid. and Early Mod. Ir. *reó*, indeclinable, means apparently 'the expanse of the heavens, the sky'. It is doubtless a close relation of *ré*, 'space (e.g. of the heavens); moon'. It occurs in mythical names in the pedigree of St. Senán of Láthrach Briuin: *m. Reo Sorcha m. Reo Dorcha m. Maireda*, LL. 352 d 41. It is used especially in the phrase *reó doirche* or *reó dorcha* (cf. IGT p. 136, 16), 'dark night, pitch-darkness', with which we may compare Mod. Ir. *ré-dhorcha*, 'moonless', and *duibhré*, 'moonless (part of the) night'. The *mac* in *Mac Da Réo (Reó)* I take to be a later addition, as in *Mac Cuill* for an earlier *Coll* (p. 66, n. 4).

² Called shortly *Tuatha Dea*, *Tuatha Dé*, *Fir Dea*. Cf. p. 309, n. 2.

³ For the depalatalization of the initial consonant compare *der* > *dar* in *Dar Erca* and the like, *nioth* or *niad* (gen.) > *nath*, *nad*, in *Nath Í*, *Nad Frotch*, etc., and **less* > O. Ir. *la*, 'with'.

⁴ Compare Thurneysen's remark: 'Unter ihnen allen [viz. the sagas of the older cycle] könnte dieser [viz. BDD] am ehesten ein historisches Ereignis zu Grunde liegen, aber es ist völlig in Sage aufgelöst' (Heldensage 621).

blackened by his being represented as murderer of Labraid's father and grandfather. In BDD, on the other hand, the storyteller's sympathies are with the invaded. King Conaire is an innocent victim of relentless fate. His unintentional violations of the *gesa* imposed on him are but so many portents of his impending doom, and he fittingly travels, not to any terrestrial palace, but to the house of Death itself, whither all men repair when they die. As we have seen, a redactor of the Labraid legend sought to lighten and diversify his tale by making Labraid the lover of Muiriath; but no redactor could venture to introduce light-hearted love-making into the sombre and tragic tale of the death of Conaire.

The historical fact underlying BDD is, therefore, the invasion of Leinster by the people whom we have called the Leginian tribes. The tale (§§ 43-47) represents the invaders as ravaging Britain as well as Leinster; and here too, we seem to have the reminiscence of a probable historical fact, namely that the same tribes made conquests in the Cornish peninsula,¹ and perhaps elsewhere in Britain, about the same time as they invaded Leinster.

5.—*TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA CHOCA*

Cormac Conn Loinges (or Longas)² appears as a subordinate character in several of the Ulidian tales; only in one of them, 'Togail Bruidne Da Choca' (BDC), does he play a leading role. He is represented as son of Conchobar, king of Ulaid, and in the tale of 'Longes Mac nUsnig' he leaves his father, and, along with Fergus mac Roich and some others of the Ulaid, goes to Connacht, where he takes service with Ailill and Medb in Cruachain³. Hence we are

¹ This is plainly suggested by the fact that Devon and Cornwall were in pre-Roman times inhabited by the Dumnonii.

² Thurneysen erroneously takes his epithet to be *Connlongas* (one word), Heldensage 94. Compare *Cond* (: *glond*) *Longas*, ZCP xi, 109, § 11.

³ IT i, 76 f. Compare *Celtic Review*, i, 212 ff. In the *Táin*, Cormac Conn Loinges, 'with his three hundred who were quartered on the Connachtmen' (LU 4485), joins the forces of Ailill and Medb.

told that he got the epithet *Conn Loinges*, 'head of exiled bands', because he was leader of the Ulaid who went into exile in Connacht.¹

All this, however, is exceedingly artificial. There are clear indications that in the earliest tradition Cormac Conn Loinges was connected with the Midlands rather than with Emain. We are told, for instance, that Étaín, wife of Eochaid Airem, king of Tara, was a long time afterwards wife of Cormac Conn Loinges². So in BDD we read that Étaín II, daughter of Eochaid Fedlech (king of Tara) and Étaín I, was wife of 'Cormac' and mother of Mess Buachalla (whose son was Conaire). Who this Cormac was is not explained³, but evidently Cormac Conn Loinges was intended⁴. The context shows that something has been omitted here; and we may surmise that in an earlier version of this passage Cormac Conn Loinges was said to have succeeded Eochaid Fedlech as king of Tara, and that the compiler of the present text of BDD excised the statement as being inconsistent with the official teaching of the pseudo-historians⁵. Elsewhere we find it suggested that Mess Buachalla, daughter of Ésa and granddaughter of Étaín, was mother, not only of Conaire, but also of Cormac

¹ Cóir Anmann 275. Cf. *Cormac cond na loingse-se*, Met. D. iv, 236.6.

² Gen. Tracts 169. The attempt to humanize the immortal Étaín has somewhat complicated her matrimonial affairs, as when we read that she had a daughter of the same name and appearance whom Eochaid Airem, her father, mistook for his wife. For a similar reason the love-affairs of Medb, ultimately Étaín's double, have become multifarious and indiscriminate, with unfortunate results for the character of the one-time goddess.

³ The tale opens with an account of the wooing and wedding of Étaín by Eochaid Fedlech; Eochaid's death is then mentioned, and the tale proceeds *per saltum*: 'After a time Cormac, the man of the three gifts, forsakes Eochaid's daughter' (§ 4). In YBL the name *Cormac* is glossed *i. ri Ulad*.

⁴ So O'Flaherty says that 'Esa', daughter of Étaín and Eochaid, was wife of Cormac Conn Loinges (Ogygia 271, quoted RC xii, 237).

⁵ Moreover the compiler, in the brief reference to Cormac which he has retained, was forced to omit the epithet *Conn Loinges*, because (as Thurneysen has pointed out, Heldensage 628, n. 2) Cormac Conn Loinges appears in Conaire's retinue later in the tale (§§ 75, 77, taken over from version B).

Conn Loinges¹. This statement seems to reflect a belief that Conaire and Cormac were ultimately one and the same.

Cormac met his death in Bruiden Da Choca, the name of which is now represented by the townlands of Breenmore and Breenbeg, near Drumraney, in the west of Co. Westmeath, about equidistant from Athlone and from the hill of Ushnagh (*Uisnech*). On a conspicuous hill are the remains of an old fort, and within this fort the *bruiden* was popularly located. This connexion of Cormac with Bruiden Da Choca harmonizes with his relationship to Étaín, for Étaín's associations are with the Westmeath-Longford district². One may suggest that the Étaín tales, which serve as a preface (*remscéla*) to the story of Conaire, may have been at one time, and more appropriately, regarded as a preface to the story of Cormac Conn Loinges, before the latter had lost his identity by being transferred to the Ulaid.

References to incidents in the tale of the destruction of the *bruiden* of Da Coca are found as early as the ninth century³. *Togail Bruidne Da Choca* is named in both sagalists, from which we may infer that a tale of that name was in existence in the early eleventh century. But the old tale is unfortunately lost, for the tale which has come down to us under the title 'Bruiden Da Choca'⁴ is later in point of language⁵, though doubtless very similar in contents.⁶ From the *dindshenchas* of Druim Suamaig, found in LL,

¹ *Ba si mathair Chonaire Moir mc. Edirsceoil 7 do ba bancheli do Chonchobar mac Nesa in Mhes Buachalla sin, 7 gomad hi mathair Cormaic Con Loingis iar tain*, BB 283 a 40 (*Bainshenchas*). This has been quoted by Nettlau, RC xii, 237.

² Étaín was wife of Mider, lord of the *stá* of Brí Léith (near Ardagh, Co. Longford), and she was also wife of Eochaid Airem (otherwise Eochaid Fedlech), who is ultimately Mider's double. Eochaid has in pseudo-history become a king of Tara; but otherwise all his associations are still with Tethba (in Longford and Westmeath) and Mide (around Ushnagh).

³ Cf. ZCP xi, 109, §§ 10–11 (poem by Orthnach); ib. xviii, 426; San. Corm. 1159.

⁴ Edited by Stokes, RC xxi, 150 ff.

⁵ Cf. Thurneysen, *Heldensage* 586.

⁶ I am not convinced by Thurneysen's suggestion (*op. cit.* 587) that the edactor of the extant tale may himself have supplied most of its contents.

166 a, and elsewhere¹, we gather that Cormac, after being in exile in Cruachain, was journeying to Ulster to assume the kingship of that province, when he was slain in Bruiden Da Choca, which was set on fire. This is in agreement, so far as it goes, with the extant tale, which in outline runs as follows :

After the death of Conchobar the Ulaid offer the kingship to his son Cormac, who is in exile in Cruachain. Cormac accepts, and sets out from Cruachain with three hundred men. [Like Conaire in BDD,] Cormac has a number of *gesa* imposed on him, and these he unwillingly violates in the course of his journey. Cormac and his force proceed southwards to Athlone, where they cross the Shannon. A force of the Connachta which had been plundering some of the Ulaid happens to be near by, in Mag Deirg; and Cormac's men, against his wish, attack and defeat it. Cormac and his Ulaid resolve to spend the night in the *bruiden* of Da Coca, the smith. Da Coca welcomes them, [like Da Derga in BDD, 60]. A hideous hag appears and prophesies their destruction [like Cailb in BDD, 61-63]. Meanwhile Medb sends an army of Connachtmen in pursuit of Cormac, and, after arriving at Da Coca's *bruiden*, the Connachtmen send Mug Corb² to the hostel to reconnoitre. Mug Corb returns and gives an account of what he has seen [very much as Ingcél does in BDD, 73 ff.]. Then the Connachtmen attack the hostel, which is repeatedly set on fire, but each time the fires are quenched (§§ 51-52) [compare BDD 143]. Cormac and his men sally forth against the attackers [compare BDD 143, 149 ff.]. Cormac, aided by Cacht mac Ilguine, slays Mug Corb (§ 58), but is himself slain by Corb Gáillni, aided by Cett mac Mágach (§ 61). According to Lebor Dromma Snechta, Corb Gáillni cut off Cormac's head; but others say that Amairgin prevented him from doing so (§§ 61-62).³ Only three of the Ulaid escape, and five of the Connachtmen.⁴ Fergus mac Roich comes from Cruachain and bewails the dead.

The general resemblance of the above to BDD is obvious, and indeed a number of incidents in the one tale are clearly modelled on incidents in the other. As BDC in its extant form is decidedly later than BDD, one is tempted to suppose that the latter was the model. But it would be rash to

¹ Cf. *ib.* 593 f.; *Met. D.* iv, 234 ff.

² Mug Corb and Corb Gáilli, according to the second ms. of the tale.

³ Compare Mac Cécht in BDD, 157. Amairgin, like Mac Cécht, is sorely wounded after the fight.

⁴ So in BDD, § 159, only five of the attackers escape.

assume that the borrowing was always on the side of BDC, for it is quite possible that the compiler of BDD, or one of his sources, borrowed from the lost early version of BDC. It is probably not without significance in this connexion that in BDD, §§ 75, 77, Cormac Conn Loinges is not only in Da Derga's *bruiden* along with Conaire, but is the first of its numerous occupants to be described by Ingcél.¹

It is no less obvious that Cormac's earlier history, as an Ulidian exile living in Cruachain, fits badly into the framework of the tale. He has been for years, we are asked to believe, a friend and ally of Medb and Ailill; yet he has hardly left Cruachain when hostilities break out between himself and his old friends. He leaves Cruachain in order to return to Emain; yet most unaccountably he makes a long journey southward to Athlone before he crosses the Shannon. We are told (§ 30) that the territory of the Fir Malonn² (in Co. Westmeath, adjoining Athlone) belonged to Ailill and Medb; this has the appearance of being an invention of the storyteller in order to give plausibility to the episode in the tale which assumes that a force of the Connachtmen was stationed in this neighbourhood. Most significant of all is the fact that among the leaders of the Connachta are two personages who belong to the Lagen, though the redactor of the tale is discreetly silent as to what they are doing *dans cette galère*. One is Mug Corb, who is slain by Cormac; the other is Corb Gáilne³, the slayer of Cormac. This Mug Corb (son of Conchobar Abratruad, son of Finn, son of Rus, § 41) duly appears in the pedigree of the Lagen, as, for instance, in R, 117 e 23, where his name is followed by the words *qui cecidit i mBruidin Da Choca*. According to a poem by Orthanach (ninth century), Cú (or Mug ?) Corb, king of Lagen, was slain by Cormac Conn Loinges⁴. On

¹ This episode belongs to version *B*. Version *A* of BDD apparently treated Cormac Conn Loinges as predecessor of Eterscél (father of Conaire) in the kingship of Tara. See p. 131.

² Da Coca's hostel was situated on Sliab Malonn in this territory (BDC § 31).

³ i.e., very probably, Corb of the Gálioín. See p. 22, n. 3.

⁴ ZCP xi, 109, §§ 10-11. Meyer, *ib.* 111, is in error in seeing a reference to Bruiden Da Derga in § 10. For the ungrammatical *concorb* of the ms. (*atbath*

the other hand, an anonymous poem on the exploits of the Lagen claims that Mug Corb slew (not, was slain by) Cormac Conn Loinges,¹ and the same statement is made in a gloss in Egerton 1782.² We may suppose that the original tradition was that Mug Corb, alias Corb Gáilne, slew Cormac, and that afterwards advantage was taken of the two names to divide the slayer into two persons, one of whom Cormac slays, while the other slays Cormac. Significant, too, is the fact that Craiphtine, the harper, is numbered among Cormac's enemies, and by means of his music seeks 'to ruin his kingship and his life' (§ 12). Elsewhere Craiphtine is known only as the friend of Labraid Loingsech, who led the Lagenian invaders to Ireland; with his music he sends the garrison of Dinn Ríg to sleep, and thus enables Craiphtine to capture the fortress. As we have seen (p. 110), he is ultimately a double of Labraid.

Cormac Conn Loinges, therefore, was slain by the Lagen, just as Conaire was; in fact there can be no doubt that the story of his death is merely another version of the story of the death of Conaire. Originally the story of Cormac had no connexion whatever with the Ulidian cycle. The Ulidian Cormac, son of Conchobar and exile in Connacht, is an artificial creation.³ The attempt to combine this shadowy Ulidian Cormac with the Cormac of Midland tradi-

concorb . . . la Cormac, LL 52 a 8) we should read either *Cú Chorb* or *Mug Corb*. *Cú Chorb*, according to the pedigrees, was son of Mug Corb; he is said to have had Medb Lethderg as wife (Gen. Tracts 147; ZCP xvi, 137), which is tantamount to saying that he became king of Tara.

¹ *Múg* (sic) *Corb rí Lagen ro lass | ro marb Cormac Cond Loinges*, LL 48 b 46. With *ro lass* cf. *comrama dia chomramaib | Cerbaill luaithe ro lass (: cass)* LL 47 a 30, = RC xxix, 212.

² *Mug Corbb rígh Laigen r[o marb] Corbmacc Conn Loinges*, RC xxiii, 324.

³ Owing to the essential identity of their death-stories, Cormac and Conaire were naturally regarded as contemporaries. Accordingly, once Cormac had come to be regarded as son of Conchobar, king of the Ulaid, Conaire was inevitably assumed to have been a contemporary of the Ulidian heroes. Hence it was natural for the author of the *B*. version of BDD to introduce into his tale not only Cormac, son of Conchobar, but also another and much better known Ulidian hero, Conall Cernach, whose father, Antfairgein, fights on Cormac's side in BDC.

tion who was slain by the Legin has led to the forced attempt to substitute the Connachta for the Legin as Cormac's enemies. The victory of Conchobar, king of the Ulaid, over Fergus is at bottom merely a piece of mythology ; but it was given a pseudo-historical colour when Fergus was represented as taking refuge in Cruachain among the enemies of the Ulaid. It was doubtless Cormac's epithet, *Conn Loinges*, that suggested making him one of the Ulidian exiles ; originally, I take it, the epithet had been given him because in early tradition he was a Midland king who had been expelled from his kingdom by Leginian invaders.¹ In later tradition this Cormac became confused with the legendary Ernean king who was surprised and slain by the Legin, and who is elsewhere called Cobthach and Conaire ; and, as Conaire met his death in the *bruiden* of Da Derga, so the local tradition of Westmeath supposed that Cormac had been slain in defending the *bruiden* of Da Coca against Leginian enemies. In our extant version of BDC Cormac's enemies have been turned into Connachtmen, though the name of their Leginian leader has persisted. But Bruiden Da Choca is so far inland that it would have been impossible for the storyteller to adopt the tradition, preserved in BDD, that the *bruiden* was suddenly attacked by raiders from the sea.

The district in which Bruiden Da Choca is situated was at one time in the possession of the Legin, who had conquered it from the Érainn. Indeed it is probable that the Legin continued in possession of it down to the early years of the sixth century, when they were ousted by the Midland Goidels (p. 21 f.).

¹ The Legin, as well as the Ulaid, appear to have had a tradition of a king named Conchobar ; at any rate *Conchobar Abratruad* appears in the Leginian pedigree as the name of the father of Mug Corb (who plays a prominent part in BDC). Hence there may well have been a tradition that Cormac was driven from his kingdom by a Leginian warrior named Conchobar. From that tradition it would have been but a short step to imagining that Cormac had been forced into exile by Conchobar, king of the Ulaid. Worth noting is the fact that, in a metrical pedigree of the Legin, Conchobar Abratruad is designated *ruiri Macha* (ÁID i, 17, § 14), i.e. 'king of Emain'. So in LL 23 a 4-5 (L.G.) we find an alternative pedigree of the Ulidian Conchobar (viz. *m. Cathbad m. Rosa m. Fergus a Fairge m. Nuadat Necht*) which practically identifies him with his Leginian namesake.

*Bruiden Da Choca*¹ means 'the hall of the god Coca'. The derivation and meaning of *Coca* (in Mod. Ir. spelling *Coga*) are unknown. It would be tempting to connect it with Welsh *coch*, 'red', which we probably have in the British-Latin personal name *Coccus*, with its derivative *Cocillus*.² Irish *Cog-* might be either a Goidelic development of a nasalized form *ko-n-k-*,³ or else a borrowing of the Brittonic development of *kok-*. For Irish O'Davoren, 533, gives *coic*, which he explains as *derg*, 'red'. If *Da Coca* means something like 'the red god', it would be exactly parallel to *Da Derga*, which has a similar meaning.

The ultimate identity of the two tales, BDD and BDC, authorizes us to suppose that Cormac Conn Loinges, like Conaire, belonged to the tradition of the Érainn of what is now the north of Leinster.

Cormac Conn Loinges is the prototype of the later and better-known Cormac ua Cuinn, who in pseudo-history appears as an early Goidelic king of Tara.⁴ In this latter role we hear of him fighting against the Ulaid, and in particular of his defeating them in the battle of Crinna⁵ with the help of the Cianacht, whom he settled on the conquered territory. But in other respects Cormac ua Cuinn is reminiscent of his earlier namesake, the 'head of exiled bands'. Twice he was driven into exile, in Munster or Connacht, after having been expelled from Tara by the Ulaid.⁶ In

¹ Occasionally *Bruiden Da Choc* (cf. RC xxiii, 304; Laws i, 46).

² There were doublets with ungeminated *-c-*; see Holder, s. vv. *Cocus Cocillus*. We may also connect *Cocidius*, one of the names of a British deity identified with Mars. Stokes (Urkelt. Sprachschatz 89) compares Gr. κόκκος, 'a berry used for dyeing scarlet', whence Lat. *coccum*; and he suggests that the Gaulish and British words 'are probably borrowed'. In that case the Greek word must have been acquired by the Celts at an early date, doubtless in the course of trade. (Similarly it was probably traders who introduced Lat. *purpura* into Ireland, giving Ir. *corcur*, 'a purple dye', one of the earliest Latin loanwords in our language.)

³ Compare Gaulish *Conko-litanos* (Holder).

⁴ For more concerning Cormac ua Cuinn see pp. 283-285.

⁵ SG i, 319 ff.; LL 328f-329a; RC xvii, 16. Cf. also ZCP viii, pp. 314. 8-19, 328. 11-12.

⁶ See p. 284. Elsewhere we read that he was defeated by the Lagen in a battle at Tara and driven thence to Calatruim (Galtrim, a few miles to the south-west of Tara), ZCP xi, 42, § 27.

another reference to him we are told that he was fosterer of Eógan (grandson of Rus Failge), who was born and bred at Bruiden Da Choca.¹ Here we find the later Cormac fostering one of the Legin, like Conaire in BDD, and having associations with Bruiden Da Choca, like Cormac Conn Loinges. His reign was a golden age of peace and plenty, like the reign of Conaire in BDD (§§ 17, 66). So his death in the house of the hospitaller Spelán in Clettech,² on the Boyne, seems to have been partly modelled on the death of his namesake in Da Coca's hostel.³

The association of exile with Cormac Conn Loinges suggests that in the primitive tradition Cormac was an Ernean king who was driven (temporarily, at least) out of his dominions by the Legin. The same remark would apply to Conaire if we may suppose that he and Cormac ultimately represent the same legendary personage. In that case the legend of the death of Cormac-Conaire at the hands of the Legin may have been originally told of some other Ernean king, as we find it told of Cobthach in the legend of Labraid.

As we shall see later (p. 177 f.), Conaire, of the Érainn, was believed to have been succeeded in the kingship of Tara by Cairbre Nia Fer, king of the Legin. This might be expressed in other words by saying that a Leginian king (Cairbre) slew the Ernean Conaire, king of Tara, and took possession of his territory. Here we have what is substantially the theme of BDD, though Cairbre's name does not appear in that tale.⁴ We may see another version of the same tradition in the legend that Cairbre Nia Fer expelled the Meic Úmóir

¹ Met. D. iv, 282.

² SG i, 255 f. (for *hicheiltech*, 256.1, read *hi Cleitech*); ZCP xi, 43, §§ 34-40. Cf. Ac. Sen. 2736, 4756 ff. The lists of kings of Ireland say simply that he died 'in the house of Clettech' (*i tig Cleittig*) as the result of a salmon-bone sticking in his throat (R 136 b 8, LL 24 a; and cf. RC xvii, 20). At Clettech there was a *síd* (Síd Cleittig, Síd Ochta Cleittig), presided over by Elcmar (Ériu xii, 146), and Spelán's hostel was doubtless an non-terrestrial as those of Da Coca and Da Derga.

³ One account tells us that, as Cormac was dying, he heard the shouting of crowds outside Spelán's *ráith* (ZCP xi, 43, §§ 38-39). Compare the din of the attackers outside the hostels of Da Coca and Da Derga.

Ingcél or *Aingcél*, 'ill omen', the name of the leader of the Legin in BDD, is obviously artificial.

(i.e. the Érainn) from the Tara district.¹ Evidently this Cairbre was traditionally remembered as a Leginian warrior who in far-off days had won notable victories over the Érainn of North Leinster. Cairbre's name does not appear in the direct line of the Leginian pedigree, but its absence therefrom is only apparent. When we read in that pedigree: 'son of Nia Corb, son of Cú Chorb, son of Mug Corb'² we may safely take these *Corb*-names to be merely other forms of the name *Cairbre* (O. Ir. *Corpre*, Celt. **Korbirios*). We have already seen that the slayer of Cormac (= Conaire) in BDC was Mug Corb, otherwise Corb Gáilne; and we have also noted (p. 135 n.) a tradition that Cú Chorb, son, or rather double, of Mug Corb, became king of Tara. We may further compare the tradition that Rual, son of Donn Désa, conquered the district between the Boyne and the Buaignech (p. 94) with the role played by the sons (or descendants) of Donn Désa in BDD, where they are prominent among the Leginian enemies of Conaire.

As Conaire was succeeded by the Leginian Cairbre, so we might expect to find that Cormac Conn Loinges, in his capacity of ruler of an Ernean kingdom in North Leinster, was likewise succeeded by a Leginian king. Actually Cormac Conn Loinges, having been taken over into the Ulidian cycle (p. 130), is no longer, in our extant traditions, king of Tara or of any part of Leinster; but, very significantly, his namesake and ultimate double, Cormac ua Cuinn, king of Tara, is succeeded by Cairbre Lifechar. This Cairbre is represented as Cormac's son, and, as descendants of Conn, both father and son are assumed to have been Goidels, and so there is no question of an Ernean Cormac being supplanted by a Leginian Cairbre. But his epithet *Lifechar*,³ 'lover

¹ See below, p. 142.

² Mug Corb in the pedigree is the son of Conchobar Abratruad, son of Finn Fili; and the latter is represented as brother of Cairbre Nia Fer.

³ *Lifechar* (or *-air*) is evidently an old epithet traditionally handed down. In *Cóir Anmann*, 114, Cairbre is said to have acquired this epithet because his mother, Ethne, was daughter of Cathaer Már, or alternatively because he was reared in the plain of the Liffey (*Life Laigen*). In a poem by *Orthanach Cairbre Lifechar* is called *gormac Lagen*, 'adopted son of the Legin' (ZCP xi, 110.5).

of *Life*', i.e. of the plain of the Liffey in Co. Kildare (always a centre of Lagenian power), gives us a clear clue to his real origin. Cairbre Lifechar is ultimately the Cairbre of the Lagen, as his predecessor, Cormac ua Cuinn, is ultimately the Cormac of the Érainn.

While the stories told concerning Cormac Conn Loinges and Conaire contain, beyond doubt, a nucleus of historical truth, it does not necessarily follow that the names assigned to the leading characters are historically accurate. Thus the names *Cormac* and *Conaire* may well have been applied to the supernatural personage who is elsewhere known as Lug or Lugaid, and who in one of his functions was the divine exemplar of mortal kings; and it is possible that the historical kings who were slain or banished by the invading Lagen were in later folk-memory confused with the divine king.¹ On the other hand, men were often, perhaps usually, called by divine names, so that it is by no means impossible that *Cormac* or *Conaire* was the name of an Ernean king who was overthrown by the Lagenian invaders. The question must be left open.

Our native traditions concerning Labraid, Conaire and Cormac Conn Loinges might at first sight have seemed valueless from the historical point of view; yet our study of them has brought an ample reward. As spectators before a dimly-lit stage, we have been able to discern, through the mists of the centuries, the actors in the drama of the Lagenian invasion of some 2200 years ago. We get glimpses of a numerous invading band landing on the coast of Leinster, and of the death and destruction that followed in their wake. We see an Ernean king surprised and slain in his fortress, whether at Dinn Ríg or at Tara, and we hear of another such king banished from his kingdom by the invaders. And we are fortunate in possessing a double account of this invasion, one of them told from the viewpoint of the invaded, the other from that of the invader, so that we are enabled the more easily to realize the tragedy on the one side, the triumph on the other.

¹ Compare the legend of Lugaid leading the Builg to Ireland (p. 77). As we have seen (p. 103), Labraid, who is credited with having led the Lagen to Ireland, is ultimately their ancestor-deity.

6.—THE LAGINIAN CONQUEST OF CONNACHT

According to Lebor Gabála, the joint occupation of Ireland by the Fir Bolg, Gáíoin and Fir Domnann lasted only thirty-seven years.¹ It was terminated by the invasion of the Tuatha Dé Danann, who in a battle fought at Mag Tuired, near Lough Arrow, Co. Sligo,² defeated the Fir Bolg with great slaughter.

Inasmuch as the Tuatha Dé Danann were supernatural beings, we may dismiss their 'invasion' of Ireland as fictitious. On the other hand, there is no reason why we should regard the defeat of the Fir Bolg at Mag Tuired as a fabrication. On the contrary, it is much more likely that the compilers of L. G. were acquainted with the tradition of a battle fought there, some time after the Leginian invasion, in which the Fir Bolg of Connacht were overthrown; and the victors in such a battle can only have been the Legin. In order to lend some verisimilitude to the mythical Tuatha Dé Danann as conquerors of Ireland, the L. G. compilers represented these, instead of the Legin, as victors in the battle.

In the extant tale of this battle of Mag Tuired, the Fir Bolg, despite their defeat, are allowed by the victors to retain possession of the province of Connacht.³ Elsewhere, however, the invariable result of the battle is that those of the Fir Bolg who survived took refuge in certain islands outside Ireland, where they settled. That this view goes back to the first half of the ninth century may be inferred from a detached sentence in the 'Historia Brittonum', which must originally have had reference to the consequences of this battle.⁴ In the tale of the Second Battle of Mag

¹ BB 32 a 1; Lec. fo. 1 a 1.51. So the reigns of the Fir Bolg kings added together make up 37 years (LL 8 a, and cf. 39 a 12). Otherwise, the Tuatha Dé Danann came to Ireland 30 years 'after Genann and Rudraige', LL 8 b 48, = BB 31 b 36 (and cf. Ériu viii, 16, ZCP ix, 471. 11).

² For the location of Mag Tuired see Appendix iv.

³ Ériu viii, 56.

⁴ *Builc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam et alias circiter* (c. 14). *Eubonia* is the Isle of Man. The words *cum suis tenuit* are a mistake for *tenuerunt*, due to the Welsh author misunderstanding the meaning of *Builc*. See p. 43, n. 1.

Tuired the islands in which the Fir Bolg take refuge are Arran (*Arainn*, dat.), Islay, Man and Rathlin.¹ The same four islands are named in some texts of L. G.² with the addition: 'and the other islands of the sea'³.

Another tradition concerning the Fir Bolg of Connacht is recorded by Mac Liac in a poem on the *dindshenchas* of Carn Conaill.⁴ The people of Úmór, under their king Oengus mac Úmóir, came from 'the land of the Cruithni' (i.e. Scotland)⁵ to Cairbre Nia Fer, who permitted them to settle on lands in Brega, around Tara. Owing, however, to an intolerable tax which Cairbre imposed on them, they quitted these lands and journeyed westwards to Connacht. There they settled in various localities in the west of the province, mainly near the coast. Mac Liac mentions in all seventeen places (or districts) which they occupied. Of these, two are unidentified, four appear to be in Co. Mayo, seven in Co. Galway, and three in Co. Clare, which in ancient times was included in the province of Connacht. Only one of the places is definitely outside Connacht, namely, Druimm nAsail, 'Tory Hill', near Croom, Co. Limerick.⁶

¹ RC xii, 58. Rathlin was formerly regarded as belonging to Scotland.

² BB 32 b 7; Lec. fo. 279 a 2. 21.

³ So also BB 30 a 24 and Lec. fo. 277 b 2. 4-6, except that here 'Britain' is substituted for 'Man'. Mac Firbis (Gen. Tracts pp. 58, 102) has likewise 'Britain' instead of 'Man', but instead of Arran (the Scottish island) he has Aran (*Arainn*). In O'Clery's L. G., 150, the Fir Bolg flee to 'the outer islands of the sea', but no islands are named.

⁴ Met. D. iii, 440. Compare the prose version, RC xv, 478.

⁵ Úmór's people come to Ireland *a crích Cruithne*, but this does not mean (as Thurneysen supposes, ZCP xiv, 306, *ad calc.*) that they themselves were 'Picts'. Neither are we to assume, with Thurneysen (*loc. cit.*), that the author of the poem on Druim nAsail (Met. D. iv, 346) regarded Asal mac Úmóir as one of the Fomóire. The suggestion that the sons of Úmór may have belonged to *fine Fomóirach* occurs in one of a series of questions put to the poet by an imaginary ignorant enquirer, and receives no confirmation in the poet's reply. The Sons of Úmór are expressly classed as Fir Bolg in a poem quoted by Mac Firbis (Gen. Tracts 82). See also the *dindshenchas* poem on Loch Ainninn, referred to below.

⁶ Mac Liac's poem is apparently the source of the references to the Sons of Úmór which we find in the list of *aithechthuatha* in BB and Lec., where *tuath Mac nÚmóir* is located in Dál Cais (in the east of Co. Clare), Uí Fhia-

Úmór is a mythical personage.¹ His name (which means literally 'big-eared') is merely a by-name of the ancestor-deity of the Builg; so that *clann Úmóir*, like *clann Nemid*, is equivalent to *Fir Bolg*. Hence it is not surprising to find that in the *dindshenchas*-poem on Loch Ainninn the arrival in Ireland of Oengus mac Úmóir² and his brothers becomes a version of the coming of the Fir Bolg to Ireland.³ At the same time the author betrays his acquaintance with a version of the foregoing legend, when he says that the Sons of Úmór 'came to Tara in the reign of Cairbre Nia Fer'.

When Mac Liac makes the Sons of Úmór (i.e. the Fir Bolg) come 'from the land of the Cruithni' to Ireland, he assumes that their earlier history will be known to his readers. Some texts of *Lebor Gabála*⁴ quote Mac Liac's poem in connexion with the battle of Mag Tuired, and thus link (rightly, I have no doubt) these Sons of Úmór with those Fir Bolg who are said to have fled to the Scottish islands after their defeat at Mag Tuired.

Cairbre Nia Fer was, as we have seen, a Leginian king who was credited with having ousted Conaire from his kingdom of Tara, and with having expelled the Sons of Úmór from Brega. We find a namesake of his associated with Connacht, viz. Cairbre Cennderg, who is said to have become king of

chrach Aidne (adjoining Galway Bay on the east), and Umall (around Clew Bay in Co. Mayo), and where *tuath Conchobairni ocus Mac nÚmóir* is placed in Uí Briúin (to the east of Lough Corrib), *Gen. Tracts* pp. 115, 117 f., 121. In the list in Edinburgh ms. xxviii, we find only *Tuath Concubairn* in Uí Briúin; the Meic Úmóir are not mentioned (RC xx, 338).

¹ So we find among the Tuatha Dé Danann *Math mac Úmóir in drúit*, LL 9 b 37.

² Or, corruptly, *mac Gúmóir*, like *mac Guthidir* (LU 4357) for *mac Uthidir*. For Oengus mac Úmóir, a double of Oengus Bolg, see p. 50.

³ Met. D. iv, 230 ff. Grécus, ancestor of the Greeks, oppressed his brother's son Úmór, ancestor of the Fir Bolg; and Oengus mac Úmóir and his brothers left Greece and sailed to Ireland. From Ainninn, son of Úmór, Loch Ainninn (Lough Ennel, Co. Westmeath) gets its name. In LL, 6 a 22-24, the same lake gets its name from Ainninn, son of Nemed, which suggests the equation of Úmór with Nemed, the leader of the invasion of the Fir Bolg.

⁴ e.g. BB 30; Lec. fo. 277 b 2 (and cf. ib. 279 a 2.23-40). The BB prose introduction to Mac Liac's poem is printed by Stokes, RC xv, 480. For another text see *Gen. Tracts*, pp. 101-106.

Connacht after the death of his father-in-law, Eochu Fedlech, until, at the instigation of Medb, he was slain by the three Ruadchoin of the Mairtine of Munster.¹ While it is arguable that this Cairbre Cennderg may in origin be merely Cairbre Nia Fer artificially shifted from Tara to Cruachain, like Medb and Ailill, it nevertheless seems permissible to infer from the legend that there were traditions in Connacht of a Leginian Cairbre who ruled in Cruachain. In that case we might reasonably conjecture that it was this same Cairbre who was credited in tradition with having crushed the Fir Bolg at Mag Tuired, before the compilers of Lebor Gabála distorted that tradition by inventing the idea that the victors in the battle were the Tuatha Dé Danann.

We may now return to the legend of the migration of the Sons of Úmór. This may be explained as a compound of two traditions: (1) Cairbre, king of the Legin, expelled the Fir Bolg from Brega, and (2) a Leginian king (named Cairbre likewise?) defeated the Fir Bolg of Connacht at Mag Tuired, and drove the remnants of them to the western coast and to the Aran Islands. The two expulsions by a Leginian king were combined into one story; but the reference to the battle at Mag Tuired had to be dropped, for, according to the chronology of Lebor Gabála, Cairbre Nia Fer reigned as king of Tara shortly before, or after, the beginning of the Christian era, that is to say, many centuries after the arrival of the Goidels (the Sons of Míl), whereas the battle of Mag Tuired was fought in pre-Goidelic times.

The story of the battle of Mag Tuired, in the form in which it has come down to us, is a modified version of the second of the above traditions. The compilers of Lebor Gabála made use of this tradition to lend an appearance of historical truth to their fictitious invasion of Ireland by the Tuatha

¹ RC xii, 448; ZCP xvii, 145. This Cairbre is represented (*ibid.*) as son of Fergus Fairrge and brother of Rus Ruad, so that he would have been uncle of Cairbre Nia Fer. He was father of Cett mac Mágach (RC, *loc. cit.*). Elsewhere the three Ruadchoin of the Mairtine of Munster appear as slayers of Conall Cernach; they were of the Érainn, and slew Conall in revenge for the death of Cú Roí (Met. D. iii, 396; ZCP i, 105; and cf. RC xxiii, pp. 321, 326). Compare the three Ruadchoin (or Ruadchinn) of the Legin, who slay Conaire (*supra*, p. 119).

Dé Danann, and so the victors in the battle are no longer the Lagin but the Tuatha Dé. But in other respects they did not introduce any radical change. The defeated are still the Fir Bolg, and the chronology of the battle is, from one point of view, approximately correct, for the battle takes place after the invasion of the Laginian tribes and before the invasion of the Goidels. But the ensuing banishment of the Fir Bolg had to be modified somewhat. Tradition had it that it was the victorious Lagin who drove the Fir Bolg to the west of Connacht, and this tradition was too strong and too persistent to be disregarded. Among the places to which the Fir Bolg retreated was the island of Aranmore (*Arann*), where their king, Oengus mac Úmóir, established himself. This provided a hint as to how the original sequel to the battle of Mag Tuired might be adapted by the compilers of L. G. to their new version of the battle. Accordingly we are told that the Fir Bolg, after their defeat by the Tuatha Dé Danann, fled, not to the islands of Aran, but to the Scottish island of Arran (*Arann*) and to other islands outside Ireland. To link this with the tradition of the banishment of the Fir Bolg to the west of Connacht, it was only necessary to bring the Fir Bolg back (as Mac Liac does) from Scotland to Ireland during the reign of Cairbre Nia Fer.

Perhaps the most interesting part of these legends of the overthrow of the Fir Bolg of Connacht is that which attributes to them the building on the Aran Islands of two stone forts which are among the finest of their kind in Ireland. According to Mac Liac, three of the Sons of Úmór fled to the Aran Islands, one of them Oengus, settling in Dún Oengusa (Dunaengus) in Aranmore, and another of them, Conchuirn, in Dún Conchuirn (Dunconor) in Inishmaan.¹ As there is

¹Met. D. iii, 442, 444. R. O'Flaherty's account of the event may be worth quoting: 'De clanna Huamoriis Aeneas, & Conquovarus paulo ante Salvatoris adventum sub Mauda Connectiae regina floruerunt, ab hoc Dunaengus ingens opus Lapideum sine Coemento tamen, quod ducentas vaccas in area contineret supra altissimam maris crepidinem è vastae molis rupibus erectum adhuc extat in Arannâ magnâ . . . : ab illo perpetua incolarum traditione Conquovari filii Huamorii Dunum nuncupatur alia similis maces in inde non procul ad ortum in Aranna media insula' (Ogygia, 1685, p. 175 f.).

no reason to question the accuracy of the tradition which attributes their erection to the defeated Fir Bolg, it is permissible to conjecture that these remarkable fortresses were constructed probably in the second century, B.C.¹

¹To judge from Mac Liac's list of the places they occupied (see p. 142), the Fir Bolg were particularly numerous to the east and south of Galway Bay. Two of the places he mentions are in Burren, Co. Clare, on the shore of Galway Bay, viz. Cenn Bairne, i.e. Black Head, and Rind Bera, which I take to have been at Finavarra (Fidnach Bera). 'Clare is very rich in stone forts, the remains of about 400 of which are known. Most of these are in the Burren district; they are akin to the great duns of the Aran Islands, and were evidently built by the same race of people' (Wakeman's Handbook of Irish Antiquities, 3^d ed., by John Cooke, 175).

VII.—GAUL. QUARIATES. IR. CAIRID.

PLINY makes mention of the Quariates, an Alpine tribe, who are also known from inscriptions (see Holder, ii, 1060). Their name survives in the form *Queyras*, the name of a place situated on the River Guil, a tributary of the Durance, in the department of Hautes-Alpes. The Celtic character of this region is sufficiently attested by other place-names in the same department, such as Briançon, < Celt. *Brigantion*, Embrun, < Celt. *Eburodūnon*, and Chorges, representing the tribal name *Caturiges*. Yet, apparently for no other reason than that they have been prepossessed by the idea that Q-Celtic has left no traces in Gaul, scholars have failed to recognize *Quariates* as Celtic. D'Arbois de Jubainville assumed that *Quariates* was Ligurian, while relating it to Ir. *coire* (**kvario*-), W. *pair*, 'a caldron'. Pokorny (ZCP xxi, 147) substitutes his favourite 'Illyrian' for 'Ligurian', but in other respects he follows d'Arbois. Both these scholars, it will be observed, while assuming that *Quariates* is non-Celtic, make no scruple about interpreting it through Celtic.

Quariates when taken over into Latin was inevitably treated as *Quariātes*, the ending being assimilated to the common Latin termination seen in *Arpinātes*, *Ravennātes*, *optimātes*, etc. Similarly *Atrebates*¹ became *Atrebātes* in Latin, whence the Latin sing. *Atrebas*, employed by Caesar. None the less we may safely identify the suffix in *Quariates*, *Atrebates*, with the well-known Celtic suffix *-(i)atis*, seen also in Gaul. *Naumasatis*, *Nantuates*, *Lixoviatis*, *Dumiatis*, and in Ogam (gen.) *Labriatt[os]*, and identical with O. Ir. *-id*, W. *-iad*, both denoting the agent.² *Quariates*, therefore, would be plural of a Celt. **kvariatis*, P-Celt. **pariatis*. The latter is the exact forerunner of W. *peiriad*,³ 'one who causes', from *peri*, 'to cause' (1 sg. pres. ind. *paraf*), IE. root *q^her-*, seen also in, e.g.,

¹ Cf. R. Haberl, ZCP viii, 89:.

² Cf. Thurneysen, Handbuch § 267; Morris Jones, Welsh Gr. 233.

³ Compare the cognate *perydd*, 'one who causes', also 'the Creator'.

Ir. *cruth*, m., 'shape', vb., 'form, create', W. *pryd*, m, 'form, shape'.

Just as many of the by-names of deities were in frequent use as personal names, so Celtic tribes commonly gave themselves names which were the pluralized forms of names applied to deities, more especially names applied to the god of the Otherworld, the principal deity of the Celts. Thus *Biturix* is known to have been in use as a personal name among the Celts, and in the plural, *Bituriges*, it was the name of a Gaulish tribe; but primarily, I have no doubt, *Biturix*, 'lord of life', was simply a by-name of the god of the Otherworld, the lord of the universe. Similarly the name of the Aedui (Celt. **Aidvī*) is to be compared to Ir. *Aed* (Celt. **Aidus*), another name of the same deity. Now as the Otherworld-deity was the divine shaper and fashioner (often represented as a smith), an entirely appropriate name for him would have been **Kvariatis*, 'the shaper, the maker'. So we can well understand how a Celtic tribe might call themselves by the plural of this name, which in Latin spelling would become *Quariates*.¹

In Irish, **Kvariatis* regularly gave *Ca(i)rith*, *Cairid*, gen. *Ca(i)rētho*, *Caireda*, a name which is well attested in our early literature. It occurs in a mythical context in *Mairid mac Caireda*, the name of the father assigned to the god Eochu who gave his name to Loch nEchach, and who is made brother of the fabulous Mis of Sliab Mis. As a personal name it occurs in the genealogies of the Conmaicne and the Ciarraige; and it is found in the genitive in place-names like *Mag Cairetho*, *Tír Cairedo*, *Dún Caireda*.

Inasmuch as Meyer spells the name *Cárid* in his Index to Rawl. B 502 (in contrast to the *Carith* of his Contributions), it may be desirable to bring together as many examples as possible with a view to determining the length of the first syllable. The nom.-acc. is spelled *Carith*, R 161 a 39, 161 b 3, LL 332 b 9, 18; *Carid*, R 161 a 42; *Cairid*, Fenagh 382. As genitive we find: *Cairetho*, L. Ardm. fo. 12 b 1; *Cairedo*, Trip. Life 104; *Cairetha*, R 160 b 41, LL 332 b 31; *Caireda*, F 161 a 53, b 6, 17, LL 198 a 48 (= Met. D. iii, 240), 274 b 29, 31, 332 b 38, Lec. fo. 122 b 3. 26, BB 161 a 12, 16, 24, Fenagh

¹ The P-Celtic tribal name *Parisii* is probably from the same root.

198, 382, 384, Gen. Tracts 117; *Caireada*, Lec. fo. 122 b 2.15, 122 b 3.1; *Cairedai*, ib. 122 b 2.36, Fenagh 156; *Cairedha*, FM v, 1730, RC xv, 445; *Caritha*, LL 332 b 11; *Cairitha*, R 160 b 43; *Carida*, R 161 a 40; *Cairida*, BB 161 a 5; *Cairidha*, RC xx, 337; *Carith*, R 160 b 35; *Cairid*, BB 158 a 9; *Cureda*, AI 44 a 1.¹ In the foregoing 39 examples there is no instance of the length-mark. The eight examples of the word in LL are particularly noteworthy, as the scribe of that ms. regularly employs the length-mark over long vowels and diphthongs.

As against these, I have found only three instances, all late, in which the vowel of the first syllable is marked long, viz. *Mairid mac Cáiredo*, LU 2926 (hand of interpolator), *Carn Cáiridha*, Ac. Sen. 3902 (Stokes's text of Laud 610), *Cáiridh*, SG i, 78 (O'Grady's text of Eg. 1782). The length-mark in these spellings may be set down to carelessness or ignorance. Compare the name *Mairid*, which the LU interpolator misspells *Mairid* 2928, gen. *Matreda* 2925.²

In the Middle Irish period *Cairid* appears, so far as one can judge, to have dropped out of use as a personal name, but it was remembered in tradition and persisted in certain place-names. It survived into the thirteenth century (if not later) in *Dún Caireada*,³ the name of a place in the east of Co. Cork. This is referred to in AI s.a. 1206, where we read *ar caslean Lis Móir 7 ar casleán Duin Chureda 7 ar caslean na Corad*, and likewise in the unpublished annals in Nat. Lib. Ir. ms. 5, where we read under the same year (fo. 19 a): *caislen Leasi [sic] Moir 7 Duin Coiredha 7 na Corad*. The place has not been identified, nor has its name survived; it is a likely assumption that it was re-named soon after it had fallen

¹ Corrupt forms are nom. *Caireach*, Lec. fo. 122 b 2, ll. 13, 24; *Cairech*, BB 161 a 4; gen. *Cairetz*, ib. 158 a 16, 18; *Ciaraide* and *Cairige*, Gen. Tracts pp. 70, 107, 119.

² These might also be written *Máirid*, *Máireda*, for *ai* (Mod. Ir. *aoi*) and *ái* (Mod. Ir. *ái*) are not distinguished in mss. The same interpolator writes *Mairid* once, *Maireda* five times.

³ Cf. *óc Dún Chaireda i crích Ua Liathán*, LL 274 b 29. An *aiihechthuath* known as *Tuath Chaireda* was located in Uí Liatháin, RC xx, 337, Gen. Tracts 117

permanently into the hands of one of the Anglo-Norman invaders.

The spelling *Cureda* in the quotation from AI is to be noted ; here *u* stands for *ui*, just as it does in other spellings by the same scribe : *munter*, *Lumnech*, *Ulliam*, *ra cured*, etc. The development of *ai* to *oi* and *ui* shows beyond all possibility of doubt that the name is *Cairid*, and that Meyer's *Cárid* is an error.

I have noted only one instance of the name riming in verse, viz. *Caireda* : *Maireda*, Met. D. iii, 240.¹ Here we have additional proof that the name is *Cairid*.

In a collection of eight quatrains dealing with the Conmaicne in R, 161 a 41-56, the name occurs three times, but in no case does it rime. The first six of these quatrains are in Rannaigecht Mór ; the seventh is metrically irregular ; the last is in Ae Freslige.² The seventh quatrain may be quoted here, if only by way of precaution : *Mo bennacht for Conmaicne | ocus for sil Cairieda | for a macco for a mna | ocus for a noedena*. Here a careless reader might possibly, under the influence of the neighbouring (but metrically distinct) quatrains, be inclined to look for a rime between the end-words of ll. 2 and 4. Actually the metre of the quatrain does not conform to any recognized metrical scheme, though it approximates to Debide ;³ and the only riming words in the quatrain are *mnā* at the end of l. 3 and *noedena* at the end of

¹ In this poem of five quatrains we find an internal rime between the first and second lines of four of the quatrains, viz. *Maireda* : *Caireda*, *slúraig* : *crúaid*, *garb* : *marb*, and *dairib* : *Mairid*. The absence of such rime in the second quatrain seems attributable to a corrupt text ; in l. 5 we should expect a principal verb instead of *dia farcabsat*, and alliteration is wanting in this line (and also in l. 14 ; but nowhere else in the poem).

² Compare the metrical variety in a similar medley of five quatrains dealing with the Ciarraige, attributed to Mo-ling, Anecdota ii, 31 f. Here q. 1 is metrically irregular ($7^3 + 4^1 + 7^2 + 6^1$), the metre of qq. 2-3 is represented by the formula ($7^2 + 5^1$)², q. 4 is in Debide, and q. 5 in Ae Freslige.

³ The irregularity consists in the absence of rime between the end-words of the first couplet. So far as the lengths of the end-words are concerned, the metre of the quatrain agrees with Snám Sebaic (cf. Meyer, Metrics, 15) ; but this would require a rime between *mnā* and a word in the middle of l. 4, and also a rime between the end-words of ll. 2 and 4.

l. 4.¹ The possibility of a rime **Caereda* : *noedena* is definitely excluded by the existence of such well-attested spellings as *Carith*, *Carida* (see above), which shows that we are dealing with a simple vowel and not with an original diphthong. Moreover such a spelling as **Caerid* is nowhere found.²

It may be advisable to forestall another possible objection to our etymology of *Cairid*. If, it may be asked, Celt. **kvario* gives Ir. *coire*, 'caldrón', should we not expect Celt. **kvariatis* to give *Coirid* rather than *Cairid*? To answer this question it will be necessary to make a brief digression regarding the raising of *a* to *o*.

In Old Irish *a* followed by a palatal consonant tends to be raised³ to *o* or *u* after a labial or before a nasal, as in *foirinn*, Ml. 33 a 8; *foil*, Sg. 64 a 17; *proind*, Wb. 9 b 23; *coindlech* (: *Coimmed*), Fé. Oeng. Mar. 10; *Moisten* (gen.),⁴ Thes. Pal. ii, 295.5; *muig* (dat. of *mag*), ib. 266.4; *cruinn* (gen. of *crann*), ib. 295. 14.⁵ The commoner usage, however, is to retain the *a*; compare, e.g., *fairinn* (: *Cairill*), Fé. Oeng. Aug. 18; *praintech*, Thes. Pal. ii 242.5; *Maistin* (dat.), ib.

¹ The riming of a monosyllable ending in a long vowel with a word of two or (more usually) three syllables ending in a short vowel is, of course, a common feature in Old and Mid. Ir. Debide. In such cases it would appear that the short vowel was lengthened *metri gratiá*; at any rate the scribes of LU frequently write the length-mark over it. Cf. *Sláné* (: *ré*) LU 4326; *ruanadó* (: *bō*) 1041, 9678; *oentamá* (: *lā*) 3950; *Ailehá* (: *arubhā*) 4666; *echraidé* (: *do'gní*) 4712; *imdíbl* (: *lí*) 3762, etc.

² For several obvious reasons we must similarly rule out the possibility of there having been doublets **Caerid* : *Cáirid*, with the peculiar interchange of *ai* (*aoi*) and *ái* which is known to occur only in *faelid* : *fáilid* (with its derivative *faelle* : *fáilte*), *Faelbe* : *Fáilbe*, *caerthenn* : *cáirthenn* (also with non-palatal *-r*; cf. IGT p. 54).

³ Cf. Thurneysen, Handbuch 47. The converse change of *o(i)* to *a(i)* is seen in words like *foirge* > *fairge* (cf. ib. § 77). Compare *co(i)rihe*, 'pillar-stone', generally spelled with *-o-* in LU and LL, but, exceptionally, *cairthe* (under the influence of *carraic*), LU 6502.

⁴ The *oi* of *Moisten* is quite exceptional. Elsewhere we invariably have *aí* in this word: Mid. Ir. *Maistiú*, gen. *Maisten*, Mod. Ir. *Mullach Maistean*, 'Mullaghmast'. Compare the no less exceptional *oi* for *ai* in *oitherroch*, Thes. Pal. ii, 242. 18, and *coiptel* (for *caiptel*), Fé. Oeng. ep. 100.

⁵ Cf. *Muire* (: *uise*), Anecdota i, 64, § 24, in the metrical Immram Curaig Maile Dúin (tenth cent. ?; see Thurneysen, ZCP xii, 280). Compare further *aingliu* riming with *coimndiu*, Fé. Oeng. prol. 7, 159.

263.35; *maige* (gen. or pl. of *mag*), ib. 242.4, 364, 365, Ml. 48 d 12; *Maire*, Thes. Pal. ii, 252.10, 321 (: *aile*), Fél. Oeng. prol. 148 (: *baile*); *clainde* (gen. of *cland*), Wb. 5 a 19, Fél. Oeng. epil. 510 (: *daille*). (So we have not a few words of this type in which the *a* is always retained, including native words like *baile*, *ba(i)rgen*, *maidm*, *maith*, *maisse*, and borrowed words like *baithis*, *caille*, *magister*.) In the three great Middle Irish mss., LU, R, and LL, such words are almost invariably spelled with *ai*, e.g. *fairenn*, *fail*, *prainn*, *caindel*, *maig* and *maige* (from *mag*; cf. dat. pl. *maigib* : *sainig*, SR 6348), *Maire*, *bairenn*, *Brain*, *Flainn*.¹ Later, in many of these words, the *ai* is replaced by *oi* or *ui*; cf. the Early Mod. Ir. spellings *foireann* or *fuireann*, *proinn*, *coinneall*, *Muire*, *Boireann* or *Buireann*, *Broin*, *Floinn*.² Precisely the same development has occurred in many words in which Mid. Ir. *ai* neither followed a labial nor preceded a nasal, e.g. Early Mod. Ir. *oilén*, *oiread* or *uiread*, *doire*, *troigh*, *coileach*.

Accordingly there is nothing exceptional in the *a* of the O. Ir. gen. *Cairetho* (L: Ardm.) while such Mid. Ir. spellings as *Cairetha*, *Caireda* (R, LL), are precisely those that we should expect. It is not the *a* of *Cairid* that is irregular, but the *o* of *coire*, 'caldrón', concerning which a word must now be said: The O. Ir. spelling is *co(i)re*, e.g. *coire*, Adamnan (Thes. Pal. ii 276.42), San. Corm. 323, *findchoire*, dat. *findchoriu*, Ml. 126 c 16-17, gen. pl. *sáebchore*, Cr. Beda 34 b 9. The same spelling is almost invariably found in LU, R, and LL.³ The constant occurrence of *-o-* in this word, instead of the *-a-* we should expect, is evidently not phonetic in origin, but

¹ Among the very rare exceptions to this rule we may note *foil* (for *fail*), LU 10992, dat. pl. *foilgib*, ib. 5770, *muge*, ib. 3579 (in contrast to *maige*, 3577), *buirnib* (for *bairnib*), LL 291 a 16. Also *bratt* has nom. pl. *bruit* and *broit(t)*, LU passim, *bruitt*, LL 266 b 13.

² So Mid. Ir. *baile*, '(divine) frenzy', gives E. Mod. Ir. *boile* or *buile*, whereas its homonym *baile*, 'abode', remains unchanged.

³ See the references in Meyer's Contrr. (*coire*) and Windisch's Wörterbuch (*core*, *sáebchore*), to which may be added the following: *coire*, R 67 b 15, 133 b 33, LU 9410, LL 36 b 23, 145 a 36, 267 b 28, 300 a 48, 300 b 6, 48; *core*, LL 300 b 13, 21; *cori*, LL 267 b 26. I have noted only three instances of *-a-* for *-o-* in this word, viz. *cairi*, LU 9414, LL 267 b 8; *caire* (: *braine*), LL 300 a 48.

analogical; and indeed the analogy lies at hand, in the word *cor*, 'a circle, round'.¹ It was, I suggest, the influence of this *cor* that caused the word for 'caldron' to assume the form *co(i)re* in Old Irish instead of *ca(i)re*.

The development of *Cairid* to *Coirid* or *Cuirid* is regular. We have a close parallel in the mythical name *Mairid*, which would represent a Celtic **Mariatis*, meaning 'he who endures', or perhaps 'he who takes thought' (IE. root *smer-*, *mer-*). In LL we find only *-ai-* in this name;² but later the *-ai-* develops to *-ui-*.³

To sum up. There is not the slightest reason for assuming that the Quariates of south-eastern Gaul were other than a Celtic tribe. Their name is a Celtic one, and has its exact counterpart in Mid. Ir. *Cairid* and in W. *peiriad*. From our discussion of the name we are entitled to draw a conclusion of some historical importance, namely, that a remnant of Q-Celts survived in the Alpine region of Gallia Narbonensis in Roman times.

¹ *Cor*, 'a circle' (cf. acc. pl. *curu*, 'giros', Cr. Beda 18 b 2), and *coire*, a caldron, appear to be unconnected with each other etymologically. The former would represent Celt. **horo-*, IE. root (s)*qer-* (Walde-Pokorny ii, 568 ff.); the latter, Celt. **kvario-*, IE. root *q^uer-* (ib. i, 518).

² Cf. gen. *Maireda*: *caindelda*, LL 138 a 47; = RC xlvi, 298.

³ Cf. gen. *Mureda*, Féil. Oeng. p. 52, *Muireadha*, Ériu x, 84 (§ 79), 87 (§ 99), *Muirédha*, FM v, 1730, *Muireada*, Met. D. iii, 560, *Muirid*, ib. ii, pp. 26, 30. See also *Mag Muireda* in Onom. (earlier *Mag Maireda*, LL 22 a 33). *ai-* in the future of *marbaim* *-ai-* develops to *-ui-*; in the twelfth century *-ai-* is commoner (e.g. *mairfid*, LU 7717; *mairfider*, R 58 b 10; *mairfidir*, LL 111 a 31), but we already find *muirfetsa* in R, 55 a 28.

VIII.—TUATHAL TECHTMAR

1.—THE CONQUEST OF THE *AITHECHTHUATHA*

OUR earliest extant authority for the story of Tuathal's conquest of Ireland from the *aithechthuatha* (vassal tribes, of non-Goidelic origin) is a poem of some 83 quatrains written by Mael Mura of Othain († 887), and beginning *Fland for Éirinn i tig thogaid Tuathail Techtmair*.¹ The poem is addressed to Flann Sinna, king of Ireland, who reigned from 879 to 916. It was apparently composed on the occasion of the celebration of the *oenach* of Taittiu in 885, for the poet tells us that 750 years² have elapsed from Tuathal to the sixth *oenach*³ celebrated by Flann.

According to Mael Mura, the *aithechthuatha* of Ireland oppressed the race of Úgaine.⁴ Éllim mac Conrach⁵ slew

¹ The poem, which is still unpublished, has been preserved in some of the recensions of Lebor Gabála, e.g. Lec. fo. 8 b 2, ib. fo. 296 b 1 (anon.), D iv 1 fo. 7 b 2, D iv 3 fo. 31 b 1. In O'Clery's L.G. (23 K 32, pp. 141, 207) two poems have been constructed out of one, the part dealing with Tuathal (beginning *Triath ós triathaib Tuathal Techtmar*) being detached from that dealing with Flann Sinna.

² So Lec. fo. 297 a l.48; but 650 years according to another version, ib. 9 b l.37, and D iv 1 fo. 8 b 1 (in the latter ms. the number is corrected to 750 by Cathal Ó Conchobhair in a marginal note). According to the reckoning in FM, Tuathal was slain in A.D. 106. According to the Laud Synchronisms, Conn Cétchathach became king in A.D. 199 (ZCP ix, 477); this is tantamount to placing Tuathal's death in A.D. 183. Mael Mura's date for Tuathal's death appears to have been 135 (or 235).

³ The *oenach* of Taittiu was regularly held every year. The omission to hold it in 873 is recorded in AU as a thing that had not previously been heard of.

⁴ *dínges d'aithech fine Úgoini maicc Echach*. By the 'race of Úgaine' are meant the rulers of the Midlands,—the race of Conn, as they might be called, were it not that, according to the genealogies, Conn was Tuathal's grandson and was therefore not yet born. If one took the genealogical doctrines sufficiently seriously, the descendants of Úgaine would include the Lagen, and also a number of Ernean tribes such as the Dál Fiatach.

⁵ Éllim was of the Dál nAraidi and was king of Ulaid (R 156 b 51, 157.7; ZCP viii, 326, 327). His name is spelled *Ellim* in R and LL, *Eilim* in later

Fiachu, king of Tara, and became king in his stead. Associated with him were three other kings, viz. Foirbre mac Fine,¹ of Munster, Eochaid Ánchenn [of the Lagen], and Sanb mac Ceitt maic Mágach [of the Fir Ól nÉcmacht].² God punished them for their misdeeds by visiting Ireland with famine (*cen ith cen bliht cen mess cen iasc i n-uiscib*). Tuathal, Fiachu's son, came to claim his heritage. [The poem tells us nothing concerning Tuathal's early years, nor does it explicitly say that he had been in exile abroad.] Fiachra (or Fiacha) Cassán³ and his brother Findmall joined him with 600 men. They marched on Tara, where Éllim was slain in the battle of Achall.⁴ Tuathal, we are told, defeated the Ligmuini, the Gálioín, the Fir Bolg and the Domnainn. Then follows a long enumeration (which makes up the greater part of the poem) of the various battles fought by Tuathal against the vassal-tribes of each of the four provinces in turn: Ulaid, Gálioín [= Lagen], Muma, and Fir Ól nÉcmacht [predecessors of the Connachta]. It is clear that Mael Mura is close to the tradition

mss. The length of the *E-* is shown by *Ellim* riming with *réimim* and *ad fédim*, LL 132 a 10, 12, and by *Éilim* riming with *Éirinn*, Dioghluim Dána 271, § 27.

¹ His pedigree (R 162 g 45) makes him descend from Lugaid mac Ítha, i.e. he was of the Corcu Loígde.

² Mael Mura is evidently the source of other references which we find to these four provincial kings, e.g. in the Laud Synchronisms, ZCP ix, 477. In the Book of Fermoy version of the Cairbre-Feradach story the same four kings are represented as slayers of Feradach (Fiachu having been slain by Cairbre earlier in the tale), ZCP xi, 65.

³ Fiachra Cassán appears to have been traditionally remembered as the leader of a pre-Goidelic sept who proved himself a faithful adherent of the Goidels in the early days of their conquest. He turns up also in other contexts. In a version of the myth of Cormac's birth Fiachna (*sic*) Cassán, living 'in the North of Ireland', is foster-father (*aite*) of Art mac Cuinn, and likewise of Art's son, the youthful Cormac, whom he shields from his enemies (ZCP viii, 311). Flann mac Mael Maedóc numbers among the exploits of the Lagen the slaying of Fiachra Cassán by Iath mac Cailte (ZCP viii, 118, § 20). In the genealogies of the Airgialla Fiachra Cassán appears as one of the sons of Colla Fo Chríth, and from him some important septs in what is now Co. Armagh (Ind Airthir, Uí Nialláin, Uí Bresail) are made to descend (cf. R. 146 e-g, LL 334 a-b, 338 c-d).

⁴ At Skreen, close to Tara.

that before the advent of Tuathal all the inhabitants of Ireland were *aithechthuatha*, i.e. non-Goidels. Among the battles fought by Tuathal in Munster were seven against the Érainn (*ro fich .iii. catha fri hÉrnu*), otherwise *clann Dedad*, which plainly intimates that (contrary to the official teaching) the Érainn were of non-Goidelic descent. After conquering the four provinces and taking hostages from each of them, Tuathal, we are told, assembled the Irish leaders at Tara and made them swear to be loyal to his race for ever.

The later accounts of Tuathal's conquest have to a considerable extent been influenced by Mael Mura's poem; and so, in discussing them here, it will suffice to concentrate attention on such modifications or additions as they introduce into Mael Mura's version of the legend.

The tract known as 'the Bórama', preserved in LL,¹ opens with a brief account of Tuathal's conquest. Like Mael Mura, it is silent as to how Tuathal spent his early years. It represents not only Tuathal's father (Fiachu Findolad) but also his grandfather (Feradach Finn Fechnach) as having been slain by the *aithechthuatha*. Like most of the prose accounts it refrains from naming the battles fought by Tuathal (apart from that of Achall), and contents itself with setting down the numbers of them: 25 against the Ulaid, 25 against the Laigin, 35 against the men of Munster, and 25 against the Connachta² (total 110).³ The writer adds: 'it was against the *aithechthuatha* of Ireland that Tuathal Techtmar won all these battles'; no doubt he was anxious that the reader should not get the impression that the Ulaid, the Lagen, etc., were

¹ Edited by Stokes, RC xiii, 36 ff.

² *Connachta*, 'descendants of Conn' (grandson of Tuathal), is, of course, an anachronism.

³ The same enumeration is given in O'Clery's L.G. (23 K 32, 137) and Keating (FF ii, 244). Other such enumerations are 100 battles (25 to each province), Lec. fo. 8 b 2, D. iv. 1 to. 7 b 2, and Gen. Tracts 62; so Seaán Ó Clúmháin says of Tuathal: *leis do cuireadh an céad cath* (Dioghluim Dána 272, § 33). Compare the hundred battles fought by Conn Cétchathach. In LL 23 b (Lebor Gabála) the battles number 30, 27, 38, 28, total 123 (*Mumain*, l. 22, is a slip for *Ulltu*). In Ann. Clonmacnois, p. 51, the corresponding numbers are 30, 28, 37 and 38, giving a total of 133. In Lec., fo. 200 a 1, the total number of battles is reduced to 85.

themselves 'vassal-tribes'. The convention which Tuathal summoned is here (and in the later texts generally) called 'the *Feis* of Tara'; and it was attended by the five provincial kings (*ríg na cóiced*), who are named.

Another account of Tuathal's conquest occurs as an independent anecdote in LL, 51 a-b. After the death of Fiachu Findfholad, the *aithechthuatha* put to death all the descendants of Úgaine Már, with the exception of Tuathal Techtmar, Fiachu's son, and they made Éllim mac Conrach, one of themselves, king of Tara. Tuathal was brought by his mother to Fiachra Cassán, who commanded 150 mercenaries (*amuís*) in the service of Éllim. Fiachra befriended Tuathal and saved his life. Later, on Fiachra's advice, Tuathal crossed the sea in order to collect an army wherewith to regain his kingdom, and Fiachra promised that he and his brother Findmál, who commanded 150 *amuís* in the service of Eochu Ánchend [king of Lagin], would join Tuathal on his return. Afterwards, when Tuathal arrived with his ships, the two brothers marched with their forces to Rind Rámand,¹ and welcomed him. With 700 warriors they marched on Tara, and defeated Éllim at Achall. The story ends somewhat abruptly with the statement that Dairbre mac Lulaig, of the Ligmuini, who was wounded, gave his name to Druim nDairbrech. (This final statement is connected with the *dindshenchas* of Druim nDairbrech,² in which we read that Dairbre Derg, of the *aithechthuatha*, was, with the remnants of the Ligmuini, the Fir Bolg and the Fir Domnann, defeated by Tuathal Techtmar³ in the battle of Commar.⁴

¹ Unidentified. Possibly to be equated with *Rámand*, the name of a place on Wexford Harbour where a section of the Fir Bolg landed (Met. D. iii, 170). There was another place called Rinn Rámand in Inishowen (ZCP xiv, 245.13); with this is probably to be identified Rámand, near Srúb Brain (Met. D. iii, 258; RC xv, 450).

² RC xv, 298; Met. D. ii, 46. Druim nDairbrech is probably near Lough Derravaragh (Loch nDairbrech), Co. Westmeath, as Gwynn suggests.

³ The prose version gives the victors as *Tuathal 7 Fiacha Casán 7 Findmall a bráthair*.

⁴ In Mael Mura's poem *cath Comhair fri hEchaid nÓlach* comes second in the list of Tuathal's battles against the Ulaid.

Tuathal's conquest is also described in *Lebor Gabála*. According to the version in LL, 23 b, after Fiachu Findolad had been slain by Éllim mac Conrach, Ethne Imgel, daughter of the king of Alba and widow of Fiachu, fled to Alba and there gave birth to Tuathal. Twenty years afterwards, accompanied by his mother, he crossed to Ireland, landing at Inber Domnann (i.e. Malahide Bay, Co. Dublin). He was joined by the *díbergaig*¹ (marauders) of Ireland, 800 in number, under Fiachra Cassán and his brother Findmall; and these made him king of Ireland. Nothing is said (probably by an oversight) about the battle of Achall,² in which Tuathal defeated and slew Éllim.³ It is to be noted that in this account Tuathal's opponents are not referred to as *aithech-thuatha*; no doubt the writer was conscious that the view, implied in Mael Mura, that Éllim mac Conrach [of the Dál nAraidi], and indeed the Irish in general, were *aithig* (i.e. non-Goidels) was in violent conflict with the official, if fictitious, teaching of the genealogists and historians which made the Irish descend from the Sons of Míl.

A similar account is given in the version of L.G. in Lec., fo. 8 b 2, and elsewhere.⁴ Here Fiachu Findolad is slain 'in his own house in Tara' by the *cóicedaig* (who are named, as in Mael Mura). As in the preceding account, Tuathal's mother, Ethne, accompanies him from Alba, 'to guide him to Tara'. They land at Inber Domnann, and are joined by Fiachra Cassán and his brother Finnmall, with 600 'plunderers' (*foglaide*) of the Lagen. They make Tuathal king,

¹ The mention of *díbergaig* in connexion with Inber Domnann appears to have been suggested by the last battle named in Mael Mura's list of the battles fought by Tuathal, viz. *ro fich cath Nene (nEne ?) fri díbergu Inbir Domnann*. But, from the context, Mael Mura's Inber Domnann was located in Connacht (probably in Erris, *Irrus Domnann*). See p. 99, n. 2.

² This battle of Achall is mentioned not only in Mael Mura's poem but in nearly all the other accounts, e.g. LL 132 a 12 (Flann Mainistrech), Todd Lect. iii, 204 (Gilla Coemáin), RC xvi, 418 (Irish World-Chronicle).

³ The account in Ann. Clon., p. 50, resembles the above rather closely, except that it omits certain proper names (Ethne, Inber Domnann, Findmall). It says that 'Twahal Teaghtwar' defeated and slew 'Elym' in 'a battle', but omits to say where the battle was fought.

⁴ D. iv. 1, fo. 7 b 2; D. iv. 3, fo. 32 a 1.

march to Tara, and defeat and slay Élim in the battle of Achall.

In addition to the revolt of the *aithechthuatha* under Éllim, described above, we find accounts of a similar revolt led by Cairbre Cattchenn,¹ which was supposed to have taken place a few generations earlier. This, however, is a comparatively late invention (the evidence suggests that it hardly came into existence before the eleventh century), and it was largely modelled on the legend of Tuathal and Éllim.²

Cairbre Cattchenn is ultimately a divine personage, the ancestor-deity of the Érainn. He had a son Morann, who was likewise humanized, and who came to be regarded as an ideal judge and a wise instructor of princes. A myth which I have called 'the myth of the Birth of the Hero', and which has many parallels elsewhere, told how Cairbre tried to have his infant son put to death, and how the infant escaped and was brought up in secret. By the pseudo-historians Morann, the famous judge, was made contemporary with Feradach Finn, king of Ireland, the reason being apparently that 'Feradach Finn' was originally but another designation of Morann. Accordingly, when Cairbre was made Feradach's predecessor in the kingship of Tara, it was natural to suppose that he sought to put the infant Feradach to death just as he did the infant Morann. A motive for Cairbre's enmity towards Feradach was supplied by the legend of Éllim's enmity towards Fiachu Findfholad; and so Cairbre was represented as an *aithech* who gained the kingship of Ireland by slaying the nobles, the unborn Feradach escaping when his mother fled

¹ For a full discussion of this see a paper by the present writer in *MacNeill-Essays*, pp. 101-110. The relevant texts will be found in ZCP xi, 56 ff., xii, 273 ff.; RC xx, 335 ff.; IT iii, 188 ff.

² Under the influence of the Tuathal legend the prose accounts of the Cairbre-Feradach story represent Feradach as son of Fiachu Findfholad, contrary to the pedigree and the regnal lists (cf. *MacNeill-Essays* 105 f.). According to the regnal lists in their final form the succession of kings of Ireland at this period was as follows: *Crimthann Nia Ndir*, Cairbre Cattchenn, *Feradach Find*, *Fiachu Findfholad*, Éllim mac Conrach, *Tuathal Techtmar*. The names in italics occur successively in the pedigree of the kings of Tara, and in its earlier form the regnal list was made up of these names alone.

to Alba. After Cairbre's death Feradach was recalled from Alba by Morann, and peacefully became king of Ireland.

This Cairbre-Feradach story is ignored in Lebor Gabála, except in its latest recension, that of Michael O'Clery, in which for the first time both 'revolts' are recorded (23 K 32, 133 ff.). In O'Clery's version Fiachu Findolad is slain by the four *coicedaig* 'in the massacre of Mag Bolg' (*inn orgain Muighe Bolg*),¹ 'at the instigation of the *aithechthuatha*'.²

In the second of the two versions of Lebor Gabála incorporated in the Book of Lecan, only the Éllim-Tuathal story has been recorded (299b-300a), but a confused attempt has been made to amalgamate it with the Cairbre-Feradach story, and a version of the poem *Saerchlanda Érenn uile*,³ which recounts the latter story, is introduced as if it had reference to the Éllim-Tuathal legend.

Finally we may note how Keating⁴ achieved the feat of fusing the two stories into a homogeneous whole. This he effected by postponing the reign of Cairbre Cinn Chait and by disassociating him from Morann.⁵ Criomhthann Nia Náir was succeeded directly by his son Fearadhach Fionn Feachtnach, to whom succeeded Fiatach Fionn, and, after him, Fiachaidh Fionnoladh, Fearadhach's son. Cairbre, together with Monach and Buan, slew Fiachaidh Fionnoladh and the

¹ Mac Firbis turns this into *i n-orgain Dhuin Bolg* (Gen. Tracts 62), through confusing it with the Dún Bolg where a battle was fought in 598, of which a romantic account is given in the 'Bórama' (cf. *orgain Dúin Bolg* in one of the saga-lists, Anecdota ii, 47). Mag Bolg (in Meath and Cavan) was from its name, thought to be an appropriate place in which to locate a massacre by the Fir Bolg. Fiachu's slaying is said to have occurred there in R, 136 a 49, and in a poem by Gilla Coemáin (Todd Lect. iii, 200). In the R recension of the Irish World-Chronicle Fiachu is slain *in Teomoria, uel hi mMaig Bolg, ut alii aiunt* (RC xvi, 418).

² *a comhairle na nait[h]eachthuath* (cf. *a comairle na n-aithech*, ZCP xi, 65). This is added in order to disguise the earlier tradition which suggested that the *coicedaig* themselves were 'vassals', i.e. non-Goidels.

³ Cf. MacNeill-Essays 105; ZCP xi, 56 f.

⁴ FF ii, p. 234 ff.

⁵ Keating accepts the tradition that Morann mac Maoín lived in the time of Fearadhach; but he tacitly rejects the testimony of all the older literature that Morann was Cairbre's son.

nobles at a feast in Magh Crú in Connacht ; but three of their wives (by name Eithne, Bearta¹ and Áine) escaped to Alba, and there gave birth to three sons (Tuathal Teachtmhar, Tiobraide Tíreach, Corb Ólom). On Cairbre's death Eilim mac Connrach, of the race of Íor, succeeded as king. When he was twenty-five years old, Tuathal, accompanied by his mother, came with an army to Iorrus (*sic*) Domhnann, where they were joined by Fiachaidh Casán and his brother Fionnbhall (*sic*), who were leaders of a band of 600 plunderers (*foghluidhe*).² The united forces marched to Tara, where they proclaimed Tuathal king of Ireland ; and, in the battle of Achall, Eilim was defeated and slain.

That a basis of historical truth underlies the legend of Tuathal's conquest of the *aithechthuatha* will be shown in the next section. On the other hand, the idea that these *aithechthuatha* had previously revolted with success against their Goidelic rulers is a sheer fabrication, though it has imposed on various scholars in our own day.³

2.—THE TUATHAL TECHTMAR OF HISTORY

THE list of the pre-Christian kings of Ireland, found in Lebor Gabála and elsewhere, is for the most part a work of pure fiction, and many of the names in it are obviously mythical. Thus the non-historical character of Cairbre Cattchenn, Conn, and Lugaid mac Con, will be obvious to anyone who has taken pains to equip himself with a knowledge of Irish mythology. With Tuathal Techtmar, on the other hand, once the accretions to his story have been removed, we no longer find ourselves

¹ *Bearta* is a ghost-name, due to misunderstanding the phrase *bert a ingen side* (cf. the BB. text, ZCP xi, 63, notes 7, 8), as Mülhausen (ZCP xiv, 32) has pointed out.

² Keating makes Fiachaidh and Fionnbhall ' sons of An Donn Déasa of the Laighin ' (*clann an Duinn Déasa do Laighnibh*). This is a reminiscence of the reaver sons of Donn Déasa in ' Togail Bruidne Da Derga '.

³ Mac Neill, after some hesitation, favours ' the occurrence [in the second century A.D.] of a plebeian revolution which for a time displaced the Gaelic ascendancy ' (Phases of Ir. History, 119). Others have echoed Mac Neill's view.

in the cloudy altitudes of myth, but rather on the comparatively solid ground of legendary history.¹ Tuathal is portrayed as a warrior who, landing in Ireland, subdued the *aithechthuatha* (non-Goidelic tribes), became king of Tara, imposed a permanent tribute on the Lagen, and carved out a kingdom for himself in the Midlands. These achievements are all historical events which we know must have resulted from the Goidelic invasion of the Eastern Midlands.

The 'learned' authors of that elaborate fiction, the invasion of the Sons of Míl, and the genealogy-makers who collaborated with them, were animated by the desire to invest the Goidelic occupation of Ireland with an antiquity to which it was entitled neither in fact nor in tradition; for only in this way would it be feasible to provide a Goidelic descent for tribes of non-Goidelic origin, and to unify the divergent ethnic elements in the country by tracing them back to a common ancestor. Hence popular traditions concerning the Goidelic invaders had, before being admitted into the literature, to undergo some modification in order to make them harmonize with the new-fangled theory that the Goidels had come to Ireland at a very remote period under the leadership of the Sons of Míl. The genuine tradition concerning Tuathal told how he had led the ancestors of the Midland Goidels to Ireland, and how he had overcome the non-Goidelic tribes who had hitherto ruled the country, and who henceforth were to be vassals (*aithechthuatha*) of the Goidels. But the pseudo-historians and genealogists, who would give no countenance to a late date for the Goidelic invasion, insisted that Tuathal was an Irishman and was descended from a long line of Irish ancestors; and so in its accepted literary form the legend no longer represents Tuathal as a foreigner invading Ireland for the first time, but treats him as the rightful heir to the Irish throne who comes to Ireland to recover his patrimony, of which he has been deprived by the *aithechthuatha*. Thus, in the form in which the legend has come down to us, the fact that the *aithechthuatha* (i.e. non-Goidelic tribes) had been rulers of

¹ So W. K. Sullivan wrote, as far back as 1873, that Tuathal Techtmar 'has all the characteristics of reality about him', whereas 'it is more probable that Cairpre, Morand, and Feradach are all mythical personages' (O'Curry's *Manners and Customs* i, p. xxxiii).

Ireland before Tuathal's invasion is retained; but the post-invasion enmity between the Goidels and the *aithechthuatha* is projected back (like Tuathal's pedigree) into the pre-Goidelic past in order to provide a motive for the invasion. The usual account suggests that the ascendancy of the non-Goidels had not been of long duration, for only thus could it be reconciled with the fact that Tuathal's alleged ancestors, one and all, appear as kings of Ireland in the regnal lists. Nevertheless an approximation to the genuine tradition appears in the statement, found in some versions of L.G., that from the time of Énna Aigneach to that of Eochu Fedlech (that is to say, during eight generations) the *aithechthuatha* oppressed the descendants of Úgaine, whom they finally expelled by force, until Tuathal Techtmar came and curbed them.¹ Especially notable in this connexion is the tradition that the Cruithni [*recte* Ulaid] ruled Ireland (i.e. the northern half of the country) before the coming of the race of Conn to Ireland.² This has its counterpart in the tradition that the Érainn ruled Munster before the coming of the Eóganacht (p. 188).

From what has just been said it will be apparent that the accounts of Tuathal's early years, which some of the versions profess to give, are necessarily fabulous. Originally Tuathal was a foreigner whose connexion with Ireland began when he invaded it. When he was turned into an Irishman and some account had to be given of his childhood, the motif of the youthful hero brought up by his mother in a foreign land in order to guard him from his enemies was ready to hand in the myth of the Birth of the Hero.³ (On the other hand, his

¹ D iv 1 fo. 7 b 1; D iv 2 fo. 31 a 2; Lec. fo. 8 b 1.8 ff. Cf. *Is e roscar rigi ra hat[h]echt[h]uathaib Herenn*, 'it was he (Tuathal) who put an end to the rule of the *aithechthuatha*', in the Laud Synchronisms, ZCP ix, 477.

² ZCP viii, 313. Otherwise the Cruithni and the race of Conn ruled Ireland alternately 'until Conn Cétchathach came', ib. 314 a. Cf. RC xvii, 8: *O fheraib Muman righe cach la fecht co tanic Conn Cétcathach*, where *fheraib Muman* is a scribal error for *Chruithnib*, as the context suggests.

³ See above, p. 159. *Ethne*, the name of Tuathal's mother, is a borrowing from myth. Besides being known as a river (i.e. goddess) name, *Ethne* is found elsewhere as the name of the mother of (1) Lug, (2) Lugaid Lága, and (3) Conaire mac Moga Láma, as the name of the wife of (1) Conn, (2) Cormac

enemies are not mythological personages but the historical *aithechthuatha*.) In LL, 51, Tuathal is brought up secretly in Ireland, and afterwards goes abroad to collect an army; but in a better known, and probably older, account, that in L.G., he is still in his mother's womb when she flees to Alba for refuge. This latter version is notable for the skilful way in which it manages to retain part of the original tradition, while conforming fully to the doctrine of the genealogists; for it lets us know that Tuathal was born outside Ireland, and that he never saw Ireland until he invaded it.

Regarding the rest of Tuathal's story we can say with confidence that it rests on a solid foundation of historical fact, however much it may have been embroidered in the telling. He comes with a fleet of foreigners to the eastern coast, wins over to his side warrior-bands belonging to the king of Tara and the king of the Lagen, gains possession of Tara, and defeats the Fir Bolg, the Domnainn, the Gálioín and the Liguini.¹ Mael Mura, it should be remembered, makes Tuathal not only king of Tara but also king of Ireland;² and so he credits him with defeating the *aithechthuatha*, not merely in the Midlands, but throughout the country.

Another of Tuathal's achievements was the imposition on the Lagen of the heavy tribute known as the *bórama*.³ The payment of such a tribute implies that the Lagen were vassals of the kings of Tara. They were, as other evidence shows, of

ua Cuinn, (3) Morann, (4) Cúchulainn, and (5) Conchobar, and as the name of a daughter of (1) Oengus Músc, and (2) Eochu Fedlech. *Ethné* is also said to have been another name for Boand, the wife of Elcmar and mother of In Macc Óc (*Ériu* xii, 142).

¹ The Domnainn and the Gálicín were branches of the Lagen; see p. 92. Of the Liguini next to nothing is known. In one of the few other references to them we are told that (like the Domnainn and the Gálioín) they were not Fir Bolg (*Gen. Tracts* 80). Tuath Liguine, one of the *aithechthuatha*, was in Gailenga (*ib.* 72, 116, 121), otherwise (*ib.* 118) in Gailenga Breg.

² In Mael Mura's time the titles 'king of Tara' (*rí Temro, rí Temrach*) and 'king of Ireland' (*rí Éirenn*) meant the same thing.

³ On the *bórama* and its history see LL 23 b 30-52 (L.G.), and the long prose tract, interspersed with poems, in LL 295 b (= RC xiii, 40, = SG i, 359); also the poems in LL 35 b 39, 375 a 17. Cf. *Is dó* [= do Thuathal] *ceta-ronasced 7 fris roiccad bóroma Lagen*, RC xvi, 419 (*Irish World-Chronicle*).

pre-Goidelic descent, and so they are to be numbered among the tribes which Tuathal reduced to the position of being *aithechthuatha* or tributary states. It is obvious that the *bórama* must have been imposed in the first instance as the result of a decisive overthrow inflicted on the Legin by some early Goidelic king; but by the eighth or ninth century, when the Legin had been provided by the genealogists with a Goidelic pedigree, the origin of the tribute had been forgotten, or perhaps was deliberately ignored, and so a story was invented that the tribute had been originally imposed on the Legin in punishment for a wrong which their king, Eochu Ánchenn, had done to Tuathal's daughters.

The claim of the king of Tara to exact this tribute from the Legin persisted through many centuries. We know that in historical times the Legin not seldom resisted it by force. King Loegaire met his death, *ca.* 463, in attempting to enforce the tribute, and so did a successor of his, Aed mac Ainmirech, in 598. All our authorities,¹ agree that the tribute was at last remitted by Fínnachta, who was king of Ireland from 675 to 695.² Yet this was not quite the end of it, for in 721 we find King Fergal mac Maíle Dúin re-imposing the tribute,³ though the Legin had their revenge in the following year, when they defeated and slew Fergal.⁴ After this we hear no more of the *bórama*. Thus it was not until the eighth century that the Legin ceased to pay the penalty of their pre-Goidelic

¹ The oldest of them is probably the anonymous poem *Tuathal Techtmar ba rí Temrach*, LL 35 b 39, which was written in the reign of Donnchad (36 b 35), i.e. either the king of that name who died in 797 or his descendant and namesake who died in 944.

² Fínnachta is usually said to have remitted the *bórama* at the request of St. Mo-ling († 697). According to a well-known version of the story the saint gained his point by means of a verbal trick, not by persuasion (SG i, 384 ff., 404 ff.; Three Frags. 76-78). The event is not recorded in the ordinary Annals, but is mentioned in the LL Chronicle (*mathim na Bórama*, LL 25 a, = Trip. Life, ed. Stokes, 518) and in Three Frags., 92. Cf. also the account (in part illegible) inserted in a list of kings of Ireland in AI, 9 b 6-17.

³ AU.

⁴ In his turn, Aed Aldán, Fergal's son, avenged his father's death in 738, when he routed the Legin at Áth Senaig with terrible slaughter.

origin, and rid themselves of the shackles imposed on them by the Goidelic invader.

Still another achievement for which Tuathal is celebrated in legend is that he formed a special kingdom for himself in North Leinster by cutting off portions of the adjoining provinces.¹ The historical fact which this represents is that the Goidelic invaders of the Midlands won by force of arms a territory for themselves at the expense of the pre-Goidelic tribes (the Lagen and the Érainn). In the later texts the territory which Tuathal carved out for himself is called *Mide*, and it is said to have got its name from the fact that Tuathal, in forming it, cut off the neck (*méde*) of each province.² But if anything is certain, it is that *Mide* was *not* the name of Tuathal's kingdom, for *Mide*, Celt. **Medion*, 'the middle spot',³ was originally the name of a small district surrounding the hill of Uisnech in Co. Westmeath, reputed to be the centre of Ireland.

From the seventh century onwards the Midland territory was divided into two main kingdoms, a western kingdom called *Mide*, and an eastern known as *Brega*. The kingdom of *Mide* covered approximately Westmeath, Longford, and most of King's Co., while that of *Brega* comprised most of Meath, the southern part of Co. Louth, and the north of Co. Dublin. With Domnall *Mide*, who ruled as king of Ireland from 743 to 763, the western kingdom began to acquire a dominating position, which became still more marked at the beginning of the eleventh century, when the *Brega* dynasty, descended from Aed Sláine, appears to have come to an end.⁴ In consequence of these political developments the name *Mide* gradually came to be used in a wider sense so as to include

¹ *Isé Tuathal tall a cinnu dona cóicedaib*, LL 295 b 33 (=SG i, 361); *iss ē in Tuathal sin do ben a cind do chóic cóicedaib Éirenn*, Ac. Sen. 4128-9.

² *Is la Tuathal tra do dithcheannad cach coiced i nErind, conid de aderar Mide ria .i. meide cacha coicid*, Lec. 300 a 1 (L.G.). *Do theasg Tuathal . . . méidhe chinn gacha cúigidh, dar lean Midhe don mhúigh-sin*, Seaán Ó Clúmháin (ca. 1300), *Dioghluim Dána* 272, § 36. Cf. further 23 K 32 p. 137; FF i, 110, 112; Ann. Clon. p. 51. The suggested etymology (*Mide* from *méde*) is, of course, absurd.

³ Cf. *Mide*, *medón Gáedel*, Met. D. iii, 440.

⁴ Cf. Mac Neill in Arch. Hib., ii, 99.

Brega as well as Mide proper ; it already has this extended meaning in a couple of poems in *Leabhar na gCeart* (pp. 184, 266).¹ Eventually the wider sense of *Mide* gained the day, and the name was applied to the whole territory from Athlone westward to Dublin and Drogheda,² the earlier district of the name being henceforth known as *Iarthar Mide*,³ ' the west of Mide ' (whence Engl. ' Westmeath '). Hence we see that *Mide* as a name (in late documents) for the territory won by Tuathal from the natives is grossly anachronistic. The earliest conquests of the Goidelic invaders of the Midlands must have been in Brega, which adjoined the coast, and which included Tara.

Finally, if only because it appears to have misled some modern investigators, a word must be said concerning Keating's account⁴ of the origin of Mide. Tuathal, we are told, cut off a portion of each of the adjoining provinces, and thus formed a special territory for himself which thereafter was called *Midhe*, a name which had previously been confined to a single *tuath* of land around Uisnech. He built four residences, one in

¹ This is one of several pieces of evidence which tell against the view put forward by Mac Neill (*Celtic Ireland* 86), following O'Donovan, that *Leabhar na gCeart*, apart from some interpolations, was compiled ' about A.D. 900 '. That the old distinction between Mide and Brega was still remembered in the early twelfth century may be inferred from *co Feraibh Midhe 7 co Feraibh Bregh*, AU 1125.

² See AU *s.aa.* 1175, 1368 ; and cf. *ardmaeraigeacht na Mide uile ó Shionainn co fairrce*, SG i, 403. Compare also the late document, used by Keating, setting forth the bounds of Mide ' as Tuathal Techtmar ordained it in the beginning ' (FF i, 114 ; see the edition by Rev. P. Walsh in *Arch. Hib.*, i, 3) ; this gives Mide an unwarranted extension towards the north, making it include a small part of Leitrim, most of Cavan, the southern half of Monaghan, and the whole of Louth. The annalists record that Aed Oirdnide, king of Ireland, ' divided Mide between the two sons of Donnchad ' in 802, a division which was terminated by the death of one of the brothers in 803. Keating, owing to his belief that Mide in its widest sense is as old as the time of Tuathal Techtmar, misunderstands this entry, and supposes that the division was into West Meath and East Meath (the latter including Tara), and that ' that division has continued ever since ' (FF i, 116).

³ Cf. AU 1105.

⁴ FF i, 112 ; ii, 244-250.

each of the portions he had appropriated from the provinces,¹ viz. at Tlachtga (near Athboy, Co. Meath), Uisnech, Tailtiu (Teltown, Co. Meath), and Tara, which four places had previously belonged to the provinces of Muma, Connachta, Ulaid and Legin, respectively. The absurdity of the statement concerning Tuathal's four residences is evident, as is also its lateness. The legendary association of Tlachtga with the daughter of Mug Ruith² was, no doubt, deemed sufficient basis for the assertion that it had once belonged to Munster. The view that Tailtiu once formed part of Ulster may have been inspired by the statement, found elsewhere,³ that it was the burial-place of the Ulaid. The view that Tara once belonged to the Legin must have as its only basis the association of Cairbre Nia Fer with Tara in some of the Ulidian tales.⁴ Finally the inventor of the anecdote had to cast about for some place in Mide which might be regarded as having formed part of Connacht, but he could think of nothing better than Uisnech, undeterred by the knowledge that Uisnech was reputedly the meeting-place of the provinces, and did not belong to any one of them. Apart from this late concoction which Keating reproduces, there is, so far as I am aware, nothing whatever in Irish literature which would connect Tuathal with Uisnech.⁵ Naturally, therefore, I am a convinced disbeliever in the theory of 'the occupation of Uisneach by Tuathal Teachtmhar', which Mac Neill has put forward.⁶ We need not wonder

¹ In other words, only four of the provinces met at Uisnech, though Keating elsewhere (FF i, 110) says that the five provinces met there. No doubt he would have tried to explain the contradiction by claiming that Munster, which met the other provinces at Uisnech, was equivalent to two provinces.

² Met. D, iv, 186.

³ LU 4103.

⁴ The writer of the prose preface to one of the poems in *Leabhar na gCeart* (p. 52) commits the absurdity of assuming that Tara was situated in Mag Mide, and was won from the Legin as a result of the battle of Druim Deargaidhe [A.D. 516].

⁵ Mac Neill writes: 'Tuathal, we are told, set up a new kingdom for himself around Uisneach' (*Phases of Ir. History* 118). This is merely a distorted inference from Keating's fabulous account.

⁶ *Phases of Irish History* 118 f. Mac Neill's idea is that Tuathal was a king of Connacht who established himself in Uisnech ca. A.D. 150, and that Uisnech

that, when Uisnech was excavated some years ago with a view to unearthing relics of the occupation, 'little was found to support the identification of the site as a royal residence'.¹ That Uisnech was ever 'a royal residence' has as its only basis the gratuitous assumption that it was 'occupied' by Tuathal.²

To sum up. Legend represents Tuathal as the leader of a band of invaders who conquered a kingdom for himself in what is now the north of Leinster and who reduced the pre-Goidelic tribes of that region, and in particular the Lagen, to a state of vassalage. In all this we have the tradition of an historical fact—the Goidelic invasion of the Midlands, and the events resulting therefrom. It is not, of course, necessary to suppose that the invaders met with immediate and complete success; it is more than likely that in the popular memory Tuathal has been credited with achievements which it took several generations to complete. But to say this is not to impugn his historicity; and I see no reason why we should not accept the tradition which tells us in effect that Tuathal was the name of the warrior who led the Goidels across the sea to North Leinster. As it happens, both his name and his epithet are remarkably appropriate for such a leader. *Tuathal* Celt. **Teuto-valos*, means 'ruler of the people', and is a name

continued to be the residence of his successors until the time of Cormac, four generations later. The same scholar, writing in 1932, says: 'In the second century of the Christian Era the kings of Connacht pushed their power eastward across the Shannon and occupied Uisnech in Westmeath. In the following century they occupied Tara' (Saorstát Eireann Official Handbook, p. 43). In 1934 he writes: 'The Connacht kings extended their power eastward in generation after generation, occupying Uisneach, where Professor Macalister has recently explored their royal house, and afterwards Tara' (St Patrick p. 56). Macalister, whose habit is to adopt Mac Neill's theories as his own, writes to the same effect (Ancient Ireland 103). Pokorny likewise echoes Mac Neill's views (Hist. of Ireland 24), and so, inevitably, does Rev. John Ryan (Ireland to A.D. 800, pp. 33 f., 177). Thus is newly-invented myth transmuted into history.

¹ Proc. R.I.A. xxxviii C, 116.

² Macalister has identified to his own satisfaction ('as near to certainty as the conditions permit') the actual house at Uisnech in which King Tuathal lived, from which he infers that Tuathal's 'mode of life cannot have been much above the level of an Eskimo in his *igloo*' (Ancient Ireland, 104 f.). Comment is superfluous.

devoid of mythical associations. The epithet, *Techtmar* is unique in Irish tradition ; its meaning was forgotten,¹ but the simplest and most natural explanation of it is to refer it to *techt*, 'going' (= W. *taith*, 'journey, voyage'), and to interpret it as meaning 'of the great journeying', i.e. 'voyaging from afar', or the like.

¹ See the various unsatisfactory guesses in C6ir Anmann, 109. A poem in the 'B6rama' suggests that Tuathal got his epithet because 'the envoys (*techta*) of the earth used to come to his house', LL 295 b 29. In Ac. Sen. 4130-2 he is said to have been called *techtmar* because he got possession (*techtad*) of Ireland and parts of the provinces. Mac Carthy speaks of 'Tuathal the Acceptable' (Todd Lect. iii, 309. 5), Mac Neill of 'Tuathal the Rightful' (Celtic Ireland 72); but these explanations of *techtmar*, extracted from O'Reilly's Dictionary, are devoid of authority.

IX.—THE FIVE PROVINCES

THE Hill of Uisnech, between Mullingar and Athlone, was reputed to mark the centre of Ireland.¹ A big natural rock on its side was supposed to be the meeting-point of the provinces of Ireland.² As the centre of the country Uisnech must have been a hallowed spot in early days, even in pre-Goidelic times.³ Traditions have survived in Irish literature of a great assembly called *Mórdáil Uisnig*, held there periodically on May-day.⁴ We have a parallel among the Gauls in the druidic assemblies which were held annually, as Caesar informs us, in a hallowed spot (*in loco consecrato*) in the territory of the Carnutes, *quae regio* (Caesar adds) *totius Galliae media habetur*.⁵ The name *Uisnech*, which is unique in Irish topography, was probably given to it on account of its quadrilateral aspect as being the centre of the country. I take it to stand for **Ostināko*-, 'the angular place', connected with Ir. *uisin*, 'the temples', Sc. *oisinn*, 'angle'.⁶ The district immediately surrounding the hill was, as we have seen, known as **Medion*, O. Ir. *Mide*, 'the middle district'.

¹ Cf. *i nUisneach Midi a medōn Érenn*, Ériu xii, 144 (and cf. xiii, 92).

² The five provinces met at this pentagonal rock (*lia cloichi cóic-druimneach*), Ériu iv, 152, and cf. BB 31 b 33. Concerning this rock Giraldus Cambrensis reports: *umbilicus Hiberniae dicitur, quasi in medio et meditullio terrae positus*, Top. Hib., ed. Dimock, 144.

³ The names *Uisnech* and *Mide* are said to have originated in the time of Cland Nemid (= the Fir Bolg), Met. D. ii, 42-44. The quintuple division of Ireland is said to go back to the time of the Fir Bolg, LL 8 b, Ériu viii, 14.

⁴ IT iii, 198, FF ii, 246; and cf. Lr. na gCeart pp. 6, 22.

⁵ De Bello Gallico vi, 13.

⁶ For the probable root see *ost-*, *osti-*, 'Knochen', Walde-Pokorny, i, 185 f. P. W. Joyce guesses that *Uisnech* 'comes from *os*, a fawn, . . . and signifies a place of fawns', and he likewise guesses that Usnagh, the name of a townland in Co. Tyrone, represents the same Irish word (Ir. Names of Places ii, 7). Meyer interprets *Uisnech* as 'Lerchenhügel' (Festschrift für Wilhelm Braune, 1919, p. 2), but the *uisiu*, gen. *uisen*, 'lark', from which he derives it has no existence.

In pre-Goidelic times, we may take it, the country was divided into four quarters, corresponding to the four points of the compass (Ir. *cethar-aird*),¹ and these four quarters met at the central point of Uisnech. At the time of the Goidelic invasion the Ulaid were the dominant people in the north, the Érainn in the south, the Lagen and their kin (Domnainn, etc.) in the east and west. But one need not assume that at any period in Irish history there were four (or five) political divisions which actually met at the hill of Uisnech. The idea of the different provinces meeting at Uisnech is probably only a popular distortion of the fact that Uisnech, being in the centre of the island, was *ipso facto* the meeting-place of the four divisions of the country (*tuaiscert* or *fochla*, *descert*, *airther*, *iarthar*) corresponding to the four points of the compass.²

It is clear that the tradition known to Mael Mura was that, previous to Tuathal's warfare against the *aithechthuatha*, Ireland was divided into four districts or provinces; thus he names for us the four provincial kings (ruling in the north, south, east and west of the country) who conspired against Tuathal's father (p. 154 f.). The kingdom carved out of the Midlands by Tuathal added a fifth division to the existing four; and so each of the Irish provinces came to be known as a 'fifth-part' (*coiced*, Mod. Ir. *ciigeadh*), a name which made it impossible ever afterwards to regard the Irish provinces as numbering either more or less than five.³

What was this latest-born of the Irish provinces, the Midland 'fifth', called in early times? We cannot say for certain, as the name has not been handed down. But as the neighbouring provinces are invariably known in the literature as 'the fifth of the Ulaid' (*coiced nUlad*) and 'the fifth of the Lagen' (*coiced Lagen*, *coiced nGáilian*), we may reasonably conjecture that it, too, was called after its rulers and was

¹ So the primal fire kindled at Uisnech by the wizard Mide spread its blaze *tar cethri hairde Hérend* (Met. D. ii, 42).

² According to a quotation from an old authority, Cín Dromma Snechta, the earliest division of Ireland was a quadruple one, when Partholón divided the island among his four sons (ZCP x, 392 f.).

³ We have, of course, no means of knowing what was the generic name applied to a 'province' in pre-Goidelic Ireland; presumably it was a word akin to O. Ir. *cethramthu*, 'a fourth part, a quarter'.

known as 'the fifth of the Connacht', for the Midland Goidels were *Connacht*, 'descendants of Conn', just as their kinsmen in the South were *Eóganacht*, 'descendants of Eógan'. We shall see below why such a name as 'the fifth of the Connacht' would inevitably drop out of use in later times.

The kingdom established by the Goidelic invaders of the Eastern Midlands was won by the sword¹; and we know that the enmity between the invaders and the earlier inhabitants, represented by the Ulaid and the Lagen, lasted for centuries. On the other hand the establishment of the Goidels in the south of Ireland was effected mainly by a kind of peaceful penetration, as tradition asserts.² The Midland Goidels established themselves in Tara, a short distance from the coast, and this remained their capital down to the seventh century. The Southern Goidels had no such fixed location from the beginning; they pushed inland, moving from one district to another, until they finally made Cashel their headquarters, perhaps as late as the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Hence we can understand why the Goidelic settlements in Munster, unlike those in the Midlands, were not regarded as constituting an additional Irish province.³

The race of Conn were an ambitious and expansive people, who did not rest content with ruling a moderate-sized area in the Midlands. At an early period, which we have no means of determining, some of them pushed westward across the Shannon, and made themselves masters of what is now known as the province of Connacht (or Connaught). In the Midland kingdom the first trickle of the stream of continuous history begins with the reign (first quarter of the fifth century) of Niall Noígiallach, who partitioned among his sons the Midland territory, as well as part of the newly-conquered province of Ulster, and founded those dynastic families from which came the 'Kings of Ireland' during the next 600 years.

¹ Cf. *gabít tír and ar chlaideb . . . tria hécin gabait flaith*, ZCP viii, 313.

² See pp. 186, 189, *infra*.

³ The 'official' doctrine that Munster was equivalent to two provinces (see p. 175) is an artificial invention, suggested perhaps by the extension of the Munster area as a result of the conquests of Thomond (which originally formed part of the province of Connacht, p. 181 n.) and Ossory (see p. 18).

Hence the name *Uí* (earlier *Aui*) *Néill*, 'descendants of Niall', came to be used as a convenient designation for the Goidels of the Midlands¹ and of Ulster, so much so that in the course of time the name *Connachta* ceased to be applied to them and was restricted to the Goidelic conquerors of the west, to whom the name *Uí Néill* could not be applied.² An earlier name for the western province was preserved traditionally as *coiced Ól nÉcmacht* (p. 12); but as early as the latter half of the seventh century the ordinary name for it appears to have been *coiced Connacht*.³

The Goidelic kingdom of the Midlands was at first a *coiced*, as being one of the five territorial divisions of the country, and consequently its ruler was a *coicedach* or provincial king. In the course of time, however, the king of Tara, as the king of the Midland kingdom was called, became by far the most powerful of Irish kings; and so in early historical times we find him claiming to be king of all Ireland and superior to the other *coicedaig*. Accordingly the time came when the Midland kingdom, as the seat of the king of Ireland, was no longer reckoned a mere *coiced*. Moreover, as we have just seen, the dominant race in the Midlands ceased to be known as *Connacht(a)*. Inevitably, therefore, the Midland kingdom lost its earlier designation;⁴ and while people continued to speak

¹ Cf. Tírechán's *in regionibus Nepotum Neill* (=in the Eastern Midlands), L. Ardm. fo. 11 a 2.17. In BDD, § 25, the land between Uisnech and Tara is referred to as *tír Úa Néill*.

² With *Uí Néill* ousting *Connachta* in part, compare *Uí Chenselaig* ousting the synonymous *Lágin Des Gabair*. The restriction of the name *Connachta* to one branch of the descendants of Conn finds a parallel in *Dáirine*, 'descendants of Dáire', which is properly synonymous with *Érainn* (cf. R 147 b. 13-15), but is nearly always restricted to one branch of the *Érainn*, viz. the *Corcu Loígde*. The limitation in sense of *Connachta* made it necessary to employ the periphrasis *Dál Cuinn* to express the original sense, 'descendants of Conn'.

³ Thus Adamnan speaks of *Connachtarum regio* (V. Columbae ii, 39). Those who have read 'The Goidels and their Predecessors', p. 49, will observe that I no longer suggest that the restriction in meaning of the name *Connachta* was due to the influence of the Ulidian tales; but this, of course, in no way impairs the validity of my contention that the *Connachta* of the Ulidian tales were originally the men of Tara.

⁴ It was not until a comparatively late period that a new name was found for it, *Mide* (see p. 166 f.).

as before of the 'fifths' (*cóiceda*) of Ireland, it was possible to give names to only four of them. The literati saw the difficulty, and made a lame attempt to solve it. They were debarred from proposing the real solution, because in their view it would have been a degradation of the status of the Midland kingdom to rank it as a mere *cóiced*. Accordingly they treated the Midland kingdom as lying outside the five provinces, and in order to make five provinces out of the remaining four they invented the theory that the province of Munster really consisted of two provinces, which they distinguished as 'the fifth of Cú Roí' and 'the fifth of Eochu mac Luchta'. The artificiality of this explanation is so obvious that no time need be wasted on refuting it.¹

The restriction of the name *Connachta* to the men of the western province (p. 174) had important consequences for the Ulidian tales. The Ulaid preserved traditions of the long-continued struggle they had waged against the original *Connachta*, i.e. the men of Tara, and these traditions were introduced to some extent into the tales of the Ulidian cycle, more especially into 'Táin Bó Cualnge', the most famous tale of all. By the time these tales were being given literary shape the name *Connachta* had been narrowed in meaning and was applied only to the men of the province of Connacht, whose capital was Cruachain in Co. Roscommon. After some hesitation the authors of the tales retained the traditional term *Connachta* as the name of the opponents of the Ulaid, but deliberately gave it the narrow sense current in their own day.²

¹ Accordingly the official theory was that there was a hexarchy in ancient Ireland, namely, five provincial kings (two of them from Munster), together with the king of Tara who was also king of Ireland. So we find five provincial kings named in 'Serglige Conculainn' (in an interpolation), IT i, 212-214, in 'Tochmarc Étaíne', ib. 118, and in the 'Bórama' tract, RC xiii, 36, the king of Ireland being Lugaid Réoderg in the first instance, Eochaid Airem in the second, and Tuathal Techtmar in the last.

² There is evidence of the existence at one time of a competing convention, according to which the enemies of the Ulaid lived in Tara, but belonged (not to the race of Conn, i.e. the Goidels, but) to the Érainn. The enmity between Cú Roí and the hero who in these tales is known as Cúchulainn was purely mythological in origin; both belonged to the tradition of the Érainn, but in the Ulidian tales, while Cú Roí is admittedly of the Érainn, Cúchulainn and the Ulaid generally are supposed to be of non-Ernean origin (see p. 180, n. 3). Hence it was easy to suppose that the enemies of the Ulaid were Érainn, like

The genuine tradition of the Ulaid, before it became conventionalized in the literature, must have recognized quite well that their enemies in ancient times were the men of Tara on their southern border;¹ but the literati judged it more diplomatic to represent the struggle as one between two provinces, and not between the Ulaid and the king of Ireland, for in their day the king of Tara would inevitably be regarded as king of Ireland.² Accordingly Medb, the goddess who typifies the sovereignty of Tara, is made to reign, not in Tara, but in Cruachain,³ together with her husband Ailill mac Máta; and so in 'Táin Bó Cualnge' the narrator has first to bring Medb and her forces rapidly from Cruachain to the Tara district before they can march northward against the Ulaid.⁴

There is no reason to believe that the kings of Tara laid claim to be kings of Ireland until comparatively late times, probably not until after the overthrow of the Ulaid early in the fifth century. That probable fact, taken in conjunction

Cúchulainn's great opponent Cú Roí. Moreover the Tara district was in the possession of the Érainn in pre-Goidelic times, and abundant traditions survived concerning their rule there. So an earlier form of 'Mesca Ulad' must have told how the Ulaid made a successful raid on Tara, which was ruled by the Érainn; in the surviving fragmentary versions Tara (Temair Breg) is replaced by Temair Lóchra, which was imagined to be an Ernean stronghold in Munster (cf. my note in J. Carmichael Watson's edition, p. xxxvi ff.).

¹ The genuine tradition is preserved in the tale of the battle of Crinna, in which the vassal-allies of Cormac, king of Tara, defeat the Ulaid. So the legend which formed the basis of 'Cath Ruis na Ríg' told how the Ulaid defeated the men of Tara at the Boyne, and possibly how they followed up the victory and captured Tara (from the Goidels, not from Cairbre and his Lagin, —unless the basal story had reference to the enmity between the Ulaid and the Lagin of pre-Goidelic times).

² Moreover, as we may suppose, the Ulidian traditions spoke of fighting against kings of Tara (kings of the Connachta) but not against 'kings of Ireland'.

³ Traces of Medb's original connexion with Tara persist, as when we are told that she was daughter of Eochu Fedlech, king of Tara. So her double, Medb Lethderg, was wedded to successive kings of Tara. See Ériu xiv, 15. Mac Neill erroneously speaks of 'Medb, daughter of a king of Connacht', *Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1933, 24.

⁴ Medb's forces included 3000 Gálioín (i.e. Lagin), whose fine soldierly qualities were admitted, but whose loyalty was somewhat suspect (TBC S.-O'K. 163 ff.; cf. ed. Windisch 414 ff.); this is evidently a relic of the original tradition according to which the invaders of the Ulidian territory were the men of Tara and their vassal-allies, among them some of the Lagin.

with the practical elimination of Tara from the tales, is sufficient to explain the absence of allusions in them to the kingship of Ireland. To the pseudo-historians, however, the kingship of Ireland, centred in Tara, was a fact which had existed from the remotest times, even before the coming of the Sons of Míl; hence the silence of the Ulidian tales on the subject presented them with a problem to solve when they were concocting a list of the kings of Ireland in prehistoric times. A suitable place in Irish pseudo-history had to be found for certain personages such as Conchobar and Cúchulainn, and for such an event as the cattle-raid of Cualnge. It was, however, impossible to associate these personages and events with the reign of any particular 'king of Ireland.' The difficulty was surmounted by supposing that there was (for some unexplained reason) an interregnum in the kingship of Ireland during the years¹ immediately following the death of Conaire Mór in the *bruiden* of Da Derga.² The official view, therefore, was that during those years there was no king of Ireland, but only *cóicedaig*, or provincial kings, one for each of the five provinces, namely, Conchobar in Ulster, Ailill mac Máta in Connacht, Cairbre Nia Fer in Lagen, Tigernach Tétbannach and Cú Roí in the two provinces of Munster.³ This period our pseudo-historians called *aimser na cóicedach*, 'the time of the provincial kings'.⁴ Alternatively, instead of ruling after the death of

¹ The interregnum lasted seven years, IT i, 212, or five years, R 136 a 32, Todd Lect. iii, 198 (Gilla Coemáin), RC xi, 210.

² For the reason for bringing Conaire and the Ulidian heroes into chronological proximity see p. 135, n. 3.

³ R 136 a 24-27, LL 23 a 42-44. In the Irish World-Chronicle Ded mac Sin replaces Cú Roí (RC xvi, 405; AI 7 a 4). In LL, 22 a 7, Eochu mac Luchta takes the place of Tigernach Tétbannach mac Luchta. The same Eochu is made king of Thomond, Met. D. iii, 338, king of South Connacht (*rí descirt Connacht*), RC viii, 48. In the LL 'Mesca Ulad', ed. Watson, 354-5, both Eochu mac Luchta and Cú Roí appear; the former is made ruler of a *cóiced*, the latter is not expressly so designated, but his kingship of one of the 'fifths' of Munster is implied (ib. 837-8, 845-6), though he also gets the grander title of 'king of the world' (*rí in domain*, ib. 452). In 'Cath Ruis na Ríge' Cú Roí is not mentioned, and Eochu mac Luchta is impliedly king of all Munster; also Eochu's capital is Temair Luachra, which in the LL 'Mesca Ulad' is the residence of Cú Roí.

⁴ The genealogical tract on Síol Ébir mentions a second and later period to which the name *aimser na cóicedach* is applied, and names the five kings;

Conaire, these *cóicedaig* ruled immediately after the death of Eterscél Mór, Conaire's father.¹

It seems likely that the idea of an interregnum was introduced into the regnal list as an afterthought. It is not improbable that in an earlier form of the list Cairbre Nia Fer, king of Lagen, was represented as succeeding Conaire in the kingship of Ireland, in the same way as Nuadu Necht, king of Lagen, is made to succeed Eterscél Mór, Conaire's father. At any rate the Cairbre of pseudo-history is at once king of Lagen² and king of Tara,³ but not king of Ireland. Once it had been decided to place the cattle-raid of Cualnge in Cairbre's reign, it was no longer possible to regard him as king of Ireland, for no 'king of Ireland' was known to the Ulidian tales. Hence Cairbre occupies a unique position in Irish pseudo-history, in that, being king of Tara, he is yet not reckoned king of Ireland.

four of these are identical with those mentioned by Mael Mura as reigning during Tuathal's exile (p. 154 f.); the fifth is Lugaid Alludach, who is intended as a second Munster king (R 147 b 5-8, LL 319 b 16-20).

¹ R 136 a 24. In LL 23 a 42, 48, both the alternatives are given. Mac Neill attaches undue importance to this phrase *aimser na cóicedach*, which served to extricate the pseudo-historians from a difficulty. He imagines five co-ordinate provinces in Ireland from 'prehistoric' times. 'The Pentarchy', he writes, 'is the oldest certain fact in the political history of Ireland' (Phases of Ir. Hist. 104). It lasted until the latter part of the third century A.D., when Cormac, a Connacht king who ruled also in Uisnech, extended his power eastward and captured Tara from the Lagen (ib. 120, 124). Mac Neill admits that this alleged conquest of North Leinster finds no support in Irish tradition, in which, to quote his own words, it is represented by 'a complete blank'. But, before proceeding to fill the vacuum by an exercise of the imagination, it would have been wiser first to make sure that there was a vacuum to be filled.

² His kingship of Lagen is implied in his inclusion in the lists of *cóicedaig* (see above). He is *lānrī Lagen* in a poem by Orthanach (ninth century), ZCP xi, 109, § 9. In R, 116 c 55, *coicid* (gen.) *Cairpri* seems to be used in the sense of *cóicid Lagen*, like *coicid Catha[ī]r* in the preceding line.

³ Tara is in 'Cairbre's province': *óc Temuir . . . hi cóiciud Chorpri Nio Fer*, Ériu vi, 147. Forgall Monach (whose *bruiden* was near Lusk, in the north of Co. Dublin) belonged to Cairbre's province, *do choiciud Cairpre Nia Fer*, LL 144 b 26 (Gilla in Chomded). Compare *Cairpre Nia Fer tra is uad dogairther coiced Corpre*, LL 311 c. In the Táin Cairbre is king of Tara, but he has no part to play in the tale, though his son Erc is represented as bringing aid to the Ulaid (cf. TBC S.-O'K. 3072).

Actually the Cairbre of the Ulidian tales is little more than a name, and it is clear that his connexion with them is artificial, and that the original Ulidian tradition knew nothing of him.

The uncertainty regarding the kingdom ruled by Cairbre gave an opportunity for utilizing Cairbre's 'brother', Finn fili (mac Rossa Ruaid), whose name appears in the Leginian pedigree. Some Leinsterman accordingly invented the idea that Cairbre, Finn and Ailill¹ were three brothers, who ruled contemporaneously in Tara, Ailenn, and Cruachain, respectively. This idea naturally proved very popular among Leginian writers.² It was taken up by the redactor of the LL Táin and 'Cath Ruis na Ríg', and introduced by him into these tales.³

In an interpolation in 'Serglige Conculainn' (IT i, 212) we find Finn mac Rosa reckoned as a provincial king (i.e. as king of Legin), the other four kings being Ailill (Connacht), Cú Roí and Tigernach Tétbannach (Munster), and Conchobar (Ulster). Erc, son of Cairbre Nia Fer, of Tara, is mentioned; but owing to the two Munster kings there is no room for him among the *cóicedaig*. In 'Cath Ruis na Ríg', on the other hand, Cairbre Nia Fer is reckoned a provincial king, as in the usual lists of *cóicedaig*, but (as in the LL Táin) he is king of Tara only, and is disassociated from Legin, which is treated as a distinct province ruled by Cairbre's brother Finn mac Rosa;⁴ the three other kings are Conchobar, Ailill, and Eochu mac Luchta. The last-named is impliedly king of all Munster, for the inclusion of both Cairbre and Finn among the pro-

¹ According to earlier tradition Ailill mac Máta (husband of Medb) was of the Érainn. Cf. *m. Ailella [m.] Mate m. Srobcind* in the genealogy of the Érainn, LL 324 d, where for *Mate* BB reads *m. Matach*, Lec. *m. Madach*. See also Ériu ii, 174-176.

² See Meyer's Hail Brigit, p. 8 f.; ÁID i, pp. 17, 23; Met. D. i, 48; R 118 b 4-6 (Leginian genealogies). In regarding the poem in ÁID i, 16-18, as a composition of the seventh century, Meyer, as it seems to me, greatly exaggerates its antiquity.

³ TBC Wi. II. 26-27, 51; Cath Ruis na Ríg, p. 58.

⁴ Cath Ruis na Ríg p. 22. Finn is represented, *ibid.*, as having his headquarters in Dinn Ríg, Co. Carlow; but in some verses quoted later in the tale (p. 58) he rules at Ailenn (Knockaulin, Co. Kildare), as he invariably does in other texts. The mention of Dinn Ríg is a bit of antiquarianism on the part of the writer, who knew of its being prominently mentioned as a royal seat in the Leginian legend of Labraid Loingsch.

vincial kings left room for only one province in the south. Thus by a freak of chance the redactor of 'Cath Ruis na Ríg' has blundered into giving us what is substantially a correct enumeration of the five Irish provinces.

Genuine Ulidian tradition was quite unconcerned with the five provinces of Ireland, for it had to do with only two sections of the population, primarily with the Ulaid, whose capital was Emain, and secondarily with their enemies the Connachta, whose original capital was Tara.¹ But purely local tales could hardly be expected to win a nation-wide popularity; and so we find the storytellers attempting to give some of the Ulidian tales a wider appeal by inventing the idea that the four other provinces were leagued against the Ulaid, especially in the warfare of the cattle-raid of Cualnge.² The interest of the men of Munster was stimulated by treating Cú Roí as a Munsterman, whose residence was in the south-west of Ireland.³ The Legin,

¹ Hence Mac Neill's assertions are quite misleading: 'The main fact of that historical tradition [viz. the tradition of the Ulidian tales] was that Ireland, in the time of Cú Chulainn, was divided into five co-ordinate chief kingdoms' (Phases of Ir. Hist. 100); and 'The Five Great Fifths of Ireland are a living fact in the political framework of the stories of the Ulster cycle' (ib. 103).

² Mac Neill, who evidently regards Cúchulainn as an historical person, likewise accepts as history this storytellers' invention. Mac Neill's view is that 'at the commencement of the Christian Era' the Ulaid were engaged in warfare against the men of the western province, who had as allies the three other provinces of Ireland. 'Five generations later', however, in the time of Tuathal Techtmar, 'a prince of the Connacht dynasty', 'the alliance of the Four Great Fifths against Ulster was no longer operative' (Phases of Ir. Hist. 118).

³ The Ulaid were a branch of the Érainn. Cú Roí was originally the ancestor-deity of the Érainn under one of his many aspects, though in the Ulidian tales he is euhemerized into a mortal man; hence he belonged to the Ulaid just as much as Cúchulainn did. The Dál Fiatach (= Ulaid) descend, according to their pedigree, from Fiachu Fer Umai (Fiatu Fer Uirme), son of Dáire; elsewhere (R 143 a 16-18) they are said to descend from Cú Roí mac Dáire, and to have come from Cú Roí's province (*cóiced Con Ruid*) in Munster. As the Érainn were connected especially with the south-west of Ireland, it was a simple matter to suppose that the Cú Roí of the Ulaid lived there. On the other hand the genealogists did their best to turn the Ulaid of the Ulidian tales (excluding Cú Roí) into Cruthin by identifying them with the Dál nAraidi (cf. R 143 a 14, 19) and making them descend from Ír, and

too, acquired a special interest in the tales when, as we have seen, a Leginian pedigree was invented for Ailill mac Máta, king of Cruachain.

To sum up. The earliest division of Ireland was a quadruple one, Uisnech being regarded as the central point of Ireland and the meeting place of the four divisions or provinces. As a result of the Goidelic invasion of the Eastern Midlands another province was added ; and henceforth the country was divided into five provinces, each called a *cóiced* (' fifth part '). This division (Ulster, Connacht, Munster, Leinster, together with the Midland province) continued down to modern times, though naturally the provincial boundaries were liable to alteration with the passage of time.¹ The Midland province no longer exists officially, having been incorporated in the province of Leinster ; but it is probable that if Irish had continued to be spoken in the Midlands the inhabitants would even now regard themselves as distinct from the *Laighnigh*.

While the identity of four of the five provinces (viz. Ulster, Connacht, Munster, Leinster) has at all periods been obvious and unmistakable, confusion arose regarding the fifth. This was due in part to the new and restricted sense given to the name *Connachta* (p. 174), but still more to the fact that at an early period the Midland province ceased to be called a *cóiced*, because its king (the king of Tara) was conceded the title of ' King of Ireland ', and thus had a rank much higher than that of the king of a *cóiced*. The result was that only four of the five *cóiceda* could actually be named. In order to make up the fifth the official historians invented the idea that Munster contained two ' fifths ', so that according to their theory there was a six-fold division of the country, namely, the five ' fifths ' *plus* the Midland district.

thus the cleavage between them and Cú Roí was accentuated. Cúchulainn, I may add, was provided with special pedigrees, which traced his descent back to the Dagda (cf. LU 9549 ff. ; LL 332 a 56 ff. ; ZCP xiv, 50) ; the reason for this I hope to discuss on another occasion. But a note in Lec. makes Cúchulainn great-grandson of Ded mac Sin (Gen. Tracts 159).

¹ For example, the present Co. Clare originally formed part of the province of Connacht, and is generally so reckoned in our older literature. Thus one of ' the three wonders of Connacht ' was located in Inis Cathaig, i.e. Scattery island, in the Shannon, near Kilrush (Meyer, *Triads of Ireland* § 237). Cf. further RC xxiv, 186-188.

This artificial bisection of Munster, in order to avoid the necessity of having to reckon Mide (as the Midland district eventually was called) as a *cóiced*, probably never imposed on anyone outside the 'learned' class. At all times the ordinary man must have been aware that Ireland was made up of four *cóiceda* (*cúigídh*) plus the Midland district, even though he might not venture to degrade the latter territory by applying the term *cóiced* to it. Compare, in a seventeenth-century text (Parl. Chloinne Tomáis) : *fa cheithre hollchóigibh Éirionn agus fa chlár maiseach mínáluinn na Midhe*,¹ meaning simply 'throughout Ireland'. So although Richard Stanyhurst was not a first-class authority on things Irish, he was justified in regarding Meath as one of the five provinces, even though, as Keating (FF i, 32) objects, this view contradicted Lebor Gabála.

Mac Neill² has attempted to show that the original 'fifths' of Ireland were Ulster, Connacht, Munster, North Leinster, and South Leinster (the last-named including a considerable part of Munster). No one has taken the trouble to challenge these views, which we find repeated in school-books as if they were established facts ;³ and so it is needful to point out that Mac Neill's examination of the question is exceedingly superficial, and that his conclusions rest on misconceptions. He professes to base his arguments on the tales of the Ulidian cycle ; but actually he takes only one of these tales into account, namely 'Cath Ruis na Ríg'. Thus he writes : 'the Ulster tales speak of Eochaidh Mac Luchta as king of all Munster' (p. 103), the truth being that 'Cath Ruis na Ríg' is the *only* tale that makes this suggestion. With extreme rashness he asserts that 'Cath Ruis na Ríg' is in agreement with all the other 'Ulster stories' in its enumeration of the five provinces (pp. 103, 105). Equally unjustified is his assertion that 'in many old documents' the existence of two provinces in Leinster 'is definitely

¹ Gadelica i, 39, ll. 79-80. The author shows himself acquainted with the 'learned' view that there were two 'fifths' in Munster when he writes *a bhflaithios dá Chóige Mumhan*, ib. 47, l. 400.

² Phases of Irish History 100 ff. See also the map in his Celtic Ireland, facing p. 182.

³ They are echoed by, among others, Pokorny in his History of Ireland, 24.

recognised'; 'one of these divisions', he writes, 'is called *Cúigeadh Laighean Tuadh-Gabhair* and the other *Cúigeadh Laighean Deas-Gabhair*' (p. 107). These names are quite ungenueine; we find fairly frequent mention of *Lagin Des Gabair* and *Lagin Tuath Gabair*, but neither of these divisions is ever called a *cóiced* (or *cúigeadh*).¹ He states that 'the ancient Fifth of South Leinster extended over a considerable part of eastern Munster' (p. 108). This error is due partly to his confusing Grian on the western boundary of Osraige (= Greane Hill, near Urlingford, Co. Kilkenny) with Pallas Grean, Co. Limerick, and partly to his acceptance of the genealogical fiction that the Osraige were a branch of the Lagin. In a more recent publication he repeats his identification of 'the Five Fifths', and adds that the capital of ancient Munster was Temair Érann, which, following the late T. J. Westropp, he locates 'near Ardpatrick, in Co. Limerick'.² As I have elsewhere suggested, Temair Érann as a Munster stronghold is a storytellers' fiction; and recent excavations have effectively disposed of Westropp's identification of it with Cush, near Kilfinnan. Elsewhere he writes: 'The sagas of this [viz. the Ulidian] cycle contemplate a division of Ireland into five principal kingdoms . . . [and] show three of the five kingdoms ruled by three kings who were brothers', viz. Cairbre, Finn and Ailill; and he goes on to draw the conclusion that 'succession to rulership and ownership through the maternal line' prevailed in Ireland 'in the times to which the story [viz. Táin Bó Cualnge] has reference'.³ Here Mac Neill's premisses are quite unsound, and his conclusion has no basis.

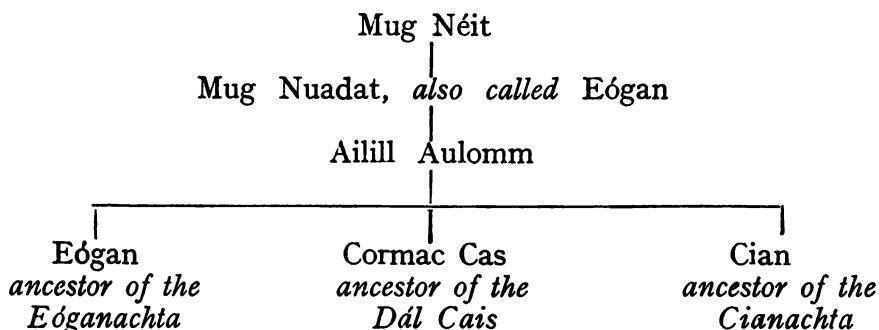
¹ Apart from a blundering insertion in the BB version of the list of *aithechthuatha*, where the Gálioín are said to have dwelt *hi Cuigiud Lagen Tuath-Gabair* (Gen. Tracts 114; read *hi Cuigiud Lagen*), and where also the Tuath Fidgea, represented as one of the three divisions of the Gálioín, are located in Fortuatha Lagen and Uí Chenselaig. Contrast the other version of this list, RC xx, 337, where the *tuath Gailian* are said to have dwelt *for Laignib* simply. (The blundering identification of Lagin Des Gabair with Osraige in the BB-Lec. version of the list has already been noted; see p. 24. n. 4)

² Saorstát Eireann Official Handbook (1932), p. 42. In his 'St Patrick' (1934), p. 108, Mac Neill writes: 'Munster like Ulster had a capital of the older tradition. Its name was Temuir Erann and its place was in the hilly country south-east of Kilmallock'.

³ Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1933, 24 f.

X.—MUG NUADAT

IN the pedigree¹ of the Munster Goidels, the Eóganacht,² we find two ancestors named Eógan. Thus :



From the fact that the name *Eóganacht(a)* is restricted to the descendants of the later Eógan, and is by no means applicable to all the alleged descendants of his grandfather, who was also known as Mug Nuadat, we might infer that the use of the name Eógan as a second appellation of Mug Nuadat is a later development. In 'Tochmarc Momera' (discussed below) the name of the father of Ailill Aulomm is always Eógan (Eógan Táidlech or Eógan Fideccach), never Mug Nuadat, and the example of this text may have had an influence on later writers. Compare LL 319 b, where the scribe adds when he comes to mention Mug Nuadat: *Eogan Taidlech ainm aile, amail ro scribsamar i Tochmarc Momera ingine Ríg Espaine*. Elsewhere we are told that Mug Nuadat was also called Eógan Táidlech and Eógan Fitheccach;³ and he was also known as Eógan Mór.⁴ All this illustrates the growing tendency to

¹ Cf. R 147 b, LL 319 b-c, ZCP viii, 303; also the tabular pedigree in R 154 a, LL 320 b, BB 172 b.

² As they were divided into several branches, the name is often used in the plural, *Eóganachta* (cf. *Connachta*, *Cianachta*).

³ ZCP viii, 312; *Cóir Anmann* § 36.

⁴ R 149 b 2; *Cath Maige Léna* 8; ZCP viii, 312.26; xii, 292; *Cóir Anmann*, *loc. cit.* More commonly, perhaps, *Eógan Mór* (or *Már*) is applied to him whom the pedigree makes son of Ailill Aulomm (cf. *ÁID* i, 53; LU 9877; ZCP viii, 309, ll. 8, 12, 19; R 147 b 37, 148 b 4).

amalgamate Mug Nuadat and Eógan, as far as possible, into a single individual.¹ It would appear that Mug Nuadat had so impressed himself on the popular memory as the earliest ancestor of the Eóganacht that it was easy to confuse him with the eponymous Eógan.² The latter is ultimately the ancestor deity of the Southern Goidels, and is the counterpart of the Midland Conn.³ The genealogists provided him with brothers who served as ancestors of the Dál Cais, Éli and Cianachta, just as they provided Conn with brothers who served as ancestors of the Fothairt and the Dési.

Mug Nuadat, on the other hand, is the Southern counterpart of the Midland Tuathal Techtmar.⁴ Like Tuathal, he is represented as invading Ireland with a force of foreigners; and as Tuathal conquered a kingdom for himself in the Midlands, so Mug Nuadat made himself ruler of the South of Ireland.

Traditions of the Goidelic invasion of Munster have survived in particular in two texts. One of these occurs among the genealogical material in Laud 610.⁵ It is a rather confused and obscure account; but it is of interest in that it plainly implies that, when Mug Nuadat, otherwise Eógan, landed in Ireland, he did so for the first time, and not as a returning exile.⁶ It tells us how, owing to his foresight in laying up stores

¹ Compare the statement that Mug Nuadat was also called *Eogan Taidleach a quo nominatur Eoganacht*, RC xvii, 7 (Irish World-Chronicle).

² *Mug Nuadat*, 'servant of (the god) Nuadu', is probably a humanization of an earlier *Nuadu*. See Additional Notes.

³ *Conn*, *Eógan* and *Nuadu* are ultimately appellations of the one deity. (My interpretation of *Eógan* in 'The Goidels and their Predecessors', p. 44, is to be discarded.)

⁴ Tuathal Techtmar appears in the pedigree two generations earlier than Conn, and, as it happens, Mug Nuadat appears in the pedigree two generations earlier than Eógan.

⁵ Printed in ZCP viii, 312 f.

⁶ We are told, however, that the invaders were of Irish descent (*do fheraib Héivrenn a mbunad*). Eógan's landing-place in this text is Inber Colpthai, i.e. the Boyne estuary, an error due apparently to the writer momentarily confusing this invasion with that of the Midland Goidels, an account of which immediately follows. According to this text, the Southern Goidels reached Ireland before those of the Midlands. The names Eógan Taidlech and Mug Nuadat appear to be applied both to the leader of the invaders and to his son. There is no mention of Ailill Aulomm.

of provisions, he was able to feed the natives in a time of famine, with the result that they gladly made his son king. This was doubtless suggested by the Biblical story of Joseph storing up provisions in Egypt in view of a coming famine, with the result that Pharaoh became possessed of all the people and all their lands (Gen. cc. 41, 47) : but we may suppose it to be based on a tradition to the effect that the natives came to a peaceful understanding with the invaders and accepted their leader as ruler.¹

A later and longer version of the above is incorporated in 'Cath Maige Léna'.² Here Mug Nuadat, alias Eógán, is represented as an Irishman, in conformity with the teaching of the pseudo-historians, and so, before he can play the part of invader, he must first be exiled from Ireland. In this text it is Mug Néit (the father of Mug Nuadat) who stores up provisions for a coming famine, and in return for relieving them the men of Munster banish the two Ernean Munster kings, Conaire mac Moga Láma and Maicnia mac Lugdech, and give the kingship to Eógán (alias Mug Nuadat). The deposed kings take refuge with Conn in Tara. An invasion of Munster by Conn follows. Eógán is defeated, and Conaire and Maicnia are restored. Eógán then goes to Spain, where he marries the daughter of Éber, king of Spain. After nine years he returns to Ireland with an army of 2000 Spanish warriors. Conaire and Maicnia submit to him without a fight and give him hostages. The story goes on to tell how Eógán stirred up the Lagen and the Ulaid to revolt against Conn, so that Conn was compelled to divide Ireland with him. After fifteen years Eógán renewed the war against Conn, but on this occasion he was defeated and slain in the battle of Mag Léna,³ and Conaire and Maicnia were once more restored to their kingdoms, the two provinces of Munster.

In the same tale Eógán is represented as setting out from, and returning to, Inis Greagraige, i.e. Beare Island, in Bantry Bay, where his fay-mistress, Étaín, dwelt. But when we look closely into the text we find reason to suspect that in an earlier

¹ See p. 189 f.

² Edited by O'Curry, 1855 ; recently re-edited by Kenneth Jackson.

³ Mag Léna is co-extensive with the parish of Kilbride in which the town of Tullamore, King's Co., is situated (O'Donovan, FM i, 564 n.).

version of the story Eógán set sail from, and returned to, the estuary known as the Kenmare River. We are told how Eógán was defeated by Conn and his allies in a battle at Carn Buidhe, near the mouth of the River Roughty, close to Kenmare, and how Étaín came and rescued him and his men and took them to sea in her ships.¹ The story goes on to tell how Eógán returned ashore and continued the fight, but was again defeated, and how he fled until he reached Inis Greagraige, where Étaín sheltered and tended him, and from which he later set sail for Spain. Here we have what appears to be a later addition to the tale; the battle at Carn Buide is duplicated, as is also the meeting of Eógán and Étaín, which on the second occasion is made to take place at Inis Greagraige, apparently because this was popularly supposed to be her dwelling-place. It is significant, too, that, when Eógán returns to Inis Greagraige from Spain, it is at Carn Buide, whence he had first gone to sea, that he finds the Munster princes assembled. All this suggests that the underlying tradition was that Eógán and his forces landed near Kenmare, in south-west Munster.

In another text, 'Tochmarc Momera',² that part of the story which concerns Eógán marrying a Spanish wife has been worked up into a *tochmarc* or love-story, and at the same time stripped of its political context. Here again Eógán is an Irishman, but his visit to Spain is a voluntary one. Three youths appeared before him one day; they had come from Spain to inform him that the druid of Éber, king of Spain, had prophesied that Éber's daughter would wed Eógán. Eógán and the youths set sail from Dún na mBárc,³ and arrived in Spain. Later, accompanied by his Spanish wife, he sailed to Ireland with six ships, landing at Dún Corcán⁴

¹ Ed. O'Curry, 26 ff.; ed. Jackson, 14 ff.

² Edited by O'Curry from YBL in his 'Cath Mhuighe Léana', 152 ff. A version of the tale was once contained in LL; see LL 319 b 42-44, quoted *supra*, p. 184.

³ Dún na mBárc is either situated on the coast of south-west Kerry (cf. O'Curry's note in his 'Cath Mhuighe Léana', 34 f.), or else is the place of that name (in English, Dunnamark) a little to the north of Bantry town.

⁴ Dún Corcán was in Iarmuma (practically = the present Co. Kerry), but has not been identified.

in West Munster. At that time Cathaer Már¹ was king of Ireland, and Eógan's father, Mug Néit, was still alive. There is no mention of Eógan bringing military forces to Ireland, nor of any fighting, nor is Conn Cétchathach named, although druids prophesy to Eógan that he will conquer half of Ireland.²

In 'Cath Maige Léna' we are told that, when Mug Nuadat landed in Ireland, Munster was ruled by two kings of the Érainn. This statement reflects an historical fact, namely, that the Érainn were the dominant people throughout the south of Ireland at the time of the Goidelic invasion. So elsewhere we are told, plainly enough, that the Érainn ruled Munster before the coming of the Eóganacht.³ Usually an attempt is made to accommodate this tradition to the Éber fiction. Thus in the genealogical tract on the descendants of Éber it is said that in early times the Érainn overcame the race of Éber, so that kings of the Érainn (viz. Iar, Dáire, etc.) ruled in Munster;⁴ the last of such kings was Conaire mac Moga Láma, whose immediate successors were Mug Néit and Mug Nuadat.⁵ So, just as we are told that the Cruthin (*recte* the Ulaid) and the Midland Goidels held the kingship of Ireland in alternate succession until the time of Conn Cétch-

¹ Ancestor of the Lagin, and in pseudo-history the predecessor of Conn in the kingship of Ireland.

² Compare also the late composite account in An Lr. Muimhneach, 53 ff. Here Eóghan (alias Mugh Nuadhad) goes to Spain voluntarily, and brings back as wife Bérra, daughter of Éimhir, king of Spain. He became king of Munster after defeating in battle Lughaidh Allathach and Aonghus (cf. p. 192), the two Ernean kings of Munster; and he compelled Conn Céadchathach to divide Ireland with him. Afterwards he stored up provisions in anticipation of a coming famine; and in return for supplying them with food the men of Ireland made him king of the entire country. After three years Ireland was [again] divided between Eóghan and Conn. Fifteen years later Eóghan was treacherously slain by Conn at Magh Léana. His successor was Maicnia mac Luighdheach, who (like Eóghan) ruled over the southern half of Ireland. With the foregoing compare the briefer account in FF, ii, 262 ff.

³ *Batar díib rígh Muman ría nEoghanacht*, O'Mulconry, § 417.

⁴ R 147 a 34 ff., LL 319 a 46 ff.

⁵ In the list of kings of Ireland this Conaire is successor of Conn Cétchathach. Next but one in succession to Conaire as king of Ireland comes Lugaid mac Con; but the above-mentioned tract does not reckon Lugaid as king of Munster.

athach,¹ we find frequent mention of a tradition that the descendants of Éber (the Southern Goidels) and the Dáirine (= Érainn) ruled Munster in alternate succession.² Actually all this means that the Érainn ruled in Munster before the coming of the Goidels, and that the Goidels ruled thereafter.

It is notable that, whereas the Midland Goidels appear to have been engaged in warfare from the beginning, tradition represents the invaders under Mug Nuadat as having obtained a kingdom in the South by agreement with the natives and without the shedding of blood. Quite in harmony with this view are other traditions which suggest that some of the early Eóganacht kings took wives from the Ernean nobility.

Corc mac Luigdech, the legendary founder of Cashel, is said to have had as wife Oebenn (otherwise Oebfhind, Aímend), daughter of Oengus Bolg, king of the Corcu Loígde.³ Oengus Bolg is not an historical character, being the divine ancestor of the Builg (Fir Bolg) or Érainn; but the tradition of an Ernean queen in Cashel (or perhaps in an earlier seat of the Eóganacht) is not the less credible on that account. Elsewhere we find it stated that the Múscraige (a branch of the Érainn) had a queen in Cashel.⁴ Eógan Mór, son of Ailill Aulomm, is said to have wedded Moncha, daughter of the druid Triath (or Díl) moccu Creca, i.e. of the Crecraige.⁵

¹ See p. 163.

² *Dare 7 Dergthene hi comflaith .i. sil Lugdach 7 sil nEbir . . . ar is o Hernaib cech dara ri aness co' Conaire mac Moga Lama 7 o Dergthene in ri aile*, R 147 b 11-16 (similarly LL 319 b 24-32). From the time of Dáire and Dergthene to that of Ailill Ólomm Munster was ruled alternately by the Corcu Loígde and the race of Éber, Misc. Celt. Soc. 6. Of the Corcu Loígde it is said: *it sair cen ciss o flaithib Muman, ar is lethgabail flatha fri hEoganacht*, Ir. Texts i, 21. *Ba di Darfhini cechla fhlaith*, Fianaigeacht 34 a. Cf. further ib. 28; Ériu iii, 140, ll. 159-165; FF ii, 276. Note in some of these references the use of *Dergthene* (suggested by *Dáirine*) as a name for the imaginary pre-invasion Goidels of the South; properly it is the name (meaning 'red fire') of the father of Mug Néit in the pedigree. So *Dairine 7 Dergthine* = the men of Munster (Érainn and Goidels), RC xliii, 54. Compare the designations *clann Augaine, fine Augaine*, applied to the imaginary pre-invasion Goidels of the Midlands (p. 155, n. 4).

³ See above, p. 49 f.

⁴ LL 288 a 8 (*7 rigan uadib i Caisiul*).

⁵ ZCP viii, 309; RC xi, 42; xiii, 450-452. In the last text Díl is a druid

The Crecraige or Grecraige are found dispersed in various parts of Ireland; here there may be allusion to those Grecraige who were a vassal-tribe of the king of Cashel.¹ In this connexion we may recall the visit of Mug Nuadat (alias Eógan) to Inis Grecraige (i.e. Beare Island), where his supernatural *leannán*, Étaín, lived. So, notwithstanding the obviously mythical character of the birth-story of Fiachu Muillethan (son of Eógan Mór and Moncha), it is possible that the memory of an historical truth may be embedded in it, namely, the alliance of an early king of the Southern Goidels with a lady of the Crecraige or Grecraige.

The Southern Goidels gave themselves the name *Eóganacht*, in honour of the ancestor-deity Eógan. This fact, too, seems to imply the existence of friendly relations between the two peoples of the South, for Eógan was one of the names of the ancestor-deity among the Érainn.² Another designation of the same deity was *Nuadu*, a name which was borrowed³ by the Goidels from the pre-Goidelic peoples (Érainn, Lagen),

of the Osraige, as he also is in the tract on the migration of the Déisi, which, however, places him in a much later period, making him contemporary with Oengus mac Nad Fraích († 490), king of Munster (Y Cymmrodor xiv, 116). In 'Forbais Dromma Damgaire' Dil mac Da (*sic*) Creca is ancestor of the Crecraige (RC xliii, pp. 54, 68), and Mug Ruith prophesies to him that, though his descendants will be scattered through Ireland, his name will remain only on a single territory (ib. 72). In LL 138 b 41-42 (Gilla Mo-dutu) Moncha is *ingen Tretain ú Gregga* or else daughter of Dil the druid.

¹ Anecdota iii, 58.23 f., where the name of their ancestor is given as Grigga. Compare *Crecraidhi* or *Grecraidhi* in Munster, Lr. na gCeart pp. 88, 94. The best known branch was the Grecraige of North Connacht; see Trip. Life (ed. Stokes) pp. 108, 138. As *tuath Crecraige* (or *Grecraige*) these appear in the list of *aithechthuatha* (cf. Gen. Tracts pp. 72, 115, 118, 121). In a version of the myth of Cormac's birth and upbringing we are told that Grec mac Arod got 'the land where the Grecraige [of North Connacht] dwell' from Lugna, Cormac's fosterer, as a reward for rescuing the infant Cormac (SG i, 254). The Crecraige were among the vassal-tribes crushed by Tuathal (Met. D. ii, 46).

² In 'the genealogy of the Érainn' we read: *m. Cachir lasa ndernad Dún Cermna, m. Etersceoil m. Eogain m. Dubthaig*, LL 324 d. Cf. *Eogan Mór* and *Eogan Fudene* among ancestors of the Érainn, ib. 324 e. Eterscéil, father of Conaire Mór, is son of Eógan, son of Ailill Áne, son of Iar, son of Ded, R 162 d. Eógan, son of Iar, son of Ded, was a legendary Ernean king of Munster, ib. 147 a 56, LL 319 b 8.

³ See O'Rahilly, *The Goidels and their Predecessors*, p. 34 f.

among whom (as among the Britons) it was well known. The fact that such a name as *Mug Nuadat*, 'slave (i.e. devotee) of Nuadu', was traditionally assigned to the leader of the Southern Goidels would harmonize with the view that the invading Goidels entered into amicable relations with their predecessors in the South.

We are not, of course, to suppose that the Eóganacht became the leading power in Munster all at once. The expansion of their power was a gradual process, as I hope to show on another occasion. Neither are we to suppose that the peaceful relations which appear to have existed at first between themselves and the Érainn continued all through the centuries. We have, for instance, legends which tell us in effect that the Eóganacht and their Ernean allies (the Múscraige) defeated the rest of the Érainn in a battle at Cenn Febrat, to the north of Doneraile, Co. Cork.¹

All through Irish literature the Northern half of Ireland is known as *Leth Cuinn*, 'Conn's half', the Southern half as *Leth Moga Nuadat* (or, shortly, *Leth Moga*), 'Mug Nuadat's half'. We may take it that here, as often,² the names of ancestors are used in a secondary sense to signify the peoples descended from them, so that *Leth Cuinn* properly means 'the half dominated by the descendants of Conn (the Dál Cuinn)', and *Leth Moga Nuadat* 'the half dominated by the descendants of Mug Nuadat (the Eóganacht)'. Such names could hardly have come into existence until the Goidelic conquest was well advanced.³ Our early historians usually prefer a picturesque explanation to a prosaic one; and so from the ninth century, if not earlier, we find them inferring from these names that Conn and Mug Nuadat had divided Ireland between them. As Conn⁴ was ancestor of the kings of Ireland and was himself

¹ See p. 75, n. 3.

² Compare *clód catha for Cond*, 'winning of battles against the descendants of Conn', RC xxix, 211; *Conall 7 Eogan*, 'descendants of Conall and Eógan', LL 303 a 8 (Bórama).

³ Possibly *Leth Moga Nuadat* was formed as a counterpart to *Leth Cuinn*, which would have been an appropriate name for the Northern half after the conquest of Connacht and Ulster.

⁴ Conn's epithet *Cétchathach*, 'of the hundred battles', reminds one of the hundred or more battles credited to Tuathal Techtmar (p. 156). Perhaps

reckoned one of them, it was assumed that Mug Nuadat had compelled Conn by force of arms to yield him half the country, Conn's right to the kingship of Ireland being vindicated by making the division a temporary one, which came to an end when he slew Mug Nuadat in battle. This rivalry between Conn and Mug Nuadat is the theme of a good part of 'Cath Maige Léna' (p. 186). Their partitioning of Ireland into two 'halves' finds mention in the Irish World-Chronicle,¹ and in the genealogical tracts,² though it is ignored in Lebor Gabála,³ which contents itself with recording the parallel partition of the country between Éremón and Éber (p. 197).

This imaginary struggle for supremacy between Conn and Mug Nuadat was sufficient to suggest that the latter was a very warlike individual; and so, in a late anecdote in Lecan,⁴ we find him making war on the Érainn, as well as on Conn. This tells how Eógán Mór, alias Mug Nuadat, defeated and slew in successive battles the three kings of the race of Conaire who ruled over Munster, namely, Lugaid Allathach (Ollshuthach?), Dáire Dornmar, and Oengus, and how he defeated Conn in ten battles, and compelled him to yield the southern half of Ireland, but was afterwards defeated and slain by Conn in the battle of Mag Léna.

there was some confusion between Conn and Tuathal, as there was between Eógán and Mug Nuadat.

¹ *Rorannad Hériu i ndo eter Mug Nuadat, .i. rig Muman, ocus Chond Cétchathach, .i. eter da Ath Cliath*, AI 7 d 16-18 (also RC xvii, 7).

² *Mug Nuadat a quo Leth Moga Nuadat i comflaith 7 Cond Cétchathach, co torchair la Conn i mMaig Lena*, R 147 b 19-21 (also LL 319 b 36-38). *Diuisa est Hibernia insola in duas partes compares eter Conn Cétchathach 7 Eogan Mar qui et Mug Nuadat [m. Moga Néit] m. Dergthene diximus [leg. dicitur]*, R 149 b 1-3.

³ But a poem taken over into L.G., and ascribed internally to Eochaid ua Flaínd († 1004) includes the division of Ireland between Mug Nuadat and Conn among the ancient partitionings of Ireland (*vand Moga .N. 7 Cuind*, LL 22 a 25).

⁴ ZCP xii, 292. Keating incorporates a version of this in his History (FF ii, 262-264).

XI.—THE GOIDELIC INVASION

FROM the eighth century onwards a succession of learned Irishmen devoted themselves to the task of reconstructing the history of their country in pre-Christian times. The result of their labours is seen in the compilation known as *Lebor Gabála*, of which several recensions exist. In the forms in which it has come down to us, it is much more comprehensive than its usual name (in full *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, 'the Book of the Conquest of Ireland') might suggest; besides giving an account of the successive invasions of Ireland after (and even before) the Deluge, it enumerates the successive 'kings of Ireland' from the time of the Fir Bolg down to the introduction of Christianity, with occasional remarks on battles or other events which were supposed to have taken place in their reigns.¹ Doubtless, when the name *Lebor Gabála* was first given to it, the work was of very moderate compass and its original nucleus, that part of it dealing with the invasion of the Goidels, was correspondingly more prominent.²

While L.G. in general may be described as a deliberate work of fiction, yet the compilers could not afford entirely to

¹ We even find by way of an appendix to L.G. the list of kings continued into Christian times, with remarkable events noted briefly under each reign, as for instance in LL, 24a-26b, where the record is brought down to the reign of King Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, and even contains an entry of his death (A.D. 1198). L.G. proper ends with the invasion of the Sons of Míl; cf. *Finit dona gabalaib anuasana*, LL 14 b 43.

² On the ground that the list of Christian kings subjoined to L.G. is carried down to Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, Thurneysen supposes that L.G. was originally composed ca. 1160-1168 (Zu ir. Hss. u. Litteraturdenkmälern ii, 7; Heldensage 47), so that our earliest extant text of it, that in LL, would be contemporary with the original. But this view is certainly erroneous, for there can be no doubt that the first beginnings of L.G. go back far beyond the twelfth century, and that simpler and shorter forms of it once existed but were in the course of time superseded by the highly elaborated and expanded versions that are known to us to-day. It will suffice to point to the Irish section of the 'Historia Brittonum', which shows that a version of L.G. was in existence in the early part of the ninth century. See also Met. D. v, 100, 107 ff., where Edward Gwynn adduces good reasons for rejecting Thurneysen's view.

ignore the popular traditions which were current in their day. In the eighth century there was still a strong popular consciousness of the fact that the population of Ireland was composed of different ethnic strata, and that no small part of it was sprung from peoples who had been in Ireland before the dominant Goidels. The L.G. compilers accepted the fact that several different sets of invaders had come to Ireland before the Goidels; hence they tell of the invasions of Partholón, Nemed, and the Domnainn. They even went further and invented another invasion, which had no roots in history or tradition, namely, that of the Tuatha Dé Danann, with the deliberate intention of reducing the faded deities of pagan Ireland to the status of mere mortals.

There can be no doubt that one of the chief motives which prompted the literati to undertake the compilation of L.G. was a desire to unify the country by obliterating the memory of the different ethnic origins of the people. The country was already unified in language, for the earlier Celtic (non-Goidelic) dialect or dialects had gradually been extinguished. The task which the literati set themselves was to endow all the septs which possessed any importance in their day with a common Goidelic origin. In order to effect this it was necessary to discountenance the popular view that the Goidels were, comparatively speaking, late-comers to this country, and so the authors of L.G. boldly and deliberately pushed back the Goidelic invasion into the remote past, somewhere in the second millennium B.C.¹ A small number of tribal names (*Fir Bolg, Gáiloin, Domnainn*) were retained as designations of the pre-Goidelic population of Ireland, whose invasions had naturally to be placed still further back than that of the Goidels. But in general, thanks to the inventiveness of the genealogists, the tribes of pre-Goidelic descent, or rather such of them as had preserved a modicum of independence, were turned officially into Goidels, with the result that the name

¹ According to the genealogists some 54 generations (say, 1800 years) intervened between Loegaire mac Néill († 463 A.D.) and his alleged ancestor Éremón, son of Míl. From the lengths of the reigns assigned to the various pre-Christian kings of Ireland in Gilla Coemáin's poem, 'Ériu ard inis na rríg', one might compute that the Goidelic invasion occurred *ca.* 1566 B.C. The FM reckoning is A.M. 3500, = 1700 B.C.

aithrechthuatha, i.e. tributary peoples (implying non-Goidelic descent). ceased to be applied to them.

The Goidelic invasion is known in L.G. as the invasion of the Sons of Míl. The highly artificial and 'learned' character of the L.G. account is obvious at the first glance. Míl's full name is *Míl Espáne*, which is merely *Miles Hispaniae*, 'the soldier of Spain'. *Scotta*, the name of Míl's wife, is simply the Latin for 'Irishwoman'. *Scotti* was assumed to be related to *Scythi*, and so we are told that the Goidels originally lived in Scythia. Among the ancestors of the Goidels were Fénus Farsaid and Góidel Glas, whose names were suggested by *Féni* and *Goídil*, the two names by which the Goidels were known. The Goidels came to Ireland from Spain, because it was believed, on the authority of Isidore,¹ that *Hibernia* was derived from *Iberia*.² A passage or two in Orosius³ suggested the invention of 'the tower of Bregon' (*tor Bregoin*) in Spain, from which Míl's uncle, Íth, is said to have descried Ireland.

We may take it that in the primitive version of L.G. Míl had but two sons, Éber and Éremón.⁴ The name of the former simply means 'Irishman' (*Éberus*, *Ébernus*, Hiberno-latin forms of *Hibernus*),⁵ while *Éremón* is based on *Ériu*,

¹ *Hibernia . . . cujus partes priores Hiberiam et Cantabricum Oceanum intendunt, unde et Hibernia dicta*, *Etymologiae* xiv, 6.6. The whole passage from Isidore was taken over into what Thurneysen considers to be 'the original beginning' of L.G. (see his *Zu ir. Hss. und Litteraturdenkmälern* ii, 6). Compare O'Mulconry § 416: *Ériu, quasi Hebrii, hoc est ab Hispania, ar is di is nessam 7 is ese rogabad*, meaning 'Ériu is derived from Hiberia, i.e. Spain, the country to which Ireland is nearest, and from which it was conquered'. In ancient times, it may be recalled, it was believed that Ireland lay between Britain and Spain.

² St. Columbanus († 615) employs *Iberi* in the sense of *Hiberni*.

³ See these quoted by A. Herbert in Todd's *Irish Nennius*, 238-9 n. (also in Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus* 224 n.; and in ZCP x, 273).

⁴ This is implied in *maicc Ébir*, *maicc Érimón*, meaning 'the people of Ireland', in Fiacc's Hymn (ca. A.D. 800), *Thes. Pal.* ii, 316. By the genealogists Éber and Éremón are called *duo filii principales Militis* (cf. R 136 b 35).

⁵ Cf. *Eber a quo dicitur Hibernia ut alii putant*, R 147 a 2.

'Ireland'. A third son, Ír,¹ was added early; the 'Historia Brittonum' (c 13) speaks of the invasion of Ireland by *tres filii Militis Hispaniae*, who can only be Éber, Éremón and Ír. The invention of Ír was probably due in the first instance to the genealogists, who were favourably disposed towards the Cruthin and determined to provide them with a highly respectable Goidelic pedigree.² Before the end of the ninth century the number of Míl's sons had been increased to six by the addition of Donn, Colptha and Amairgein.³ Later we find two others added, viz. Érech Febria and Airennán, making a total of eight.⁴

In Íth, uncle of Míl, we may see another accretion to the primitive L.G. story of the invasion. Íth is said to have come to Ireland before the Sons of Míl, and he served a useful genealogical purpose as ancestor of the Corcu Loígde (see p. 81).

The L.G. story of the invasion of the Sons of Míl succeeded in imposing itself upon our ancestors as the only authoritative account of the coming of the Goidels to Ireland. It is fortunate that, despite the weight of its 'learning' and its authority, it did not succeed in obliterating the popular traditions of the same event. These traditions, which are connected with the names of Tuathal Techtmar and Mug Nuadat, have been discussed in the preceding chapters. Thanks to the influence of Mael Mura's poem on the subject, the legend of Tuathal's conquest was admitted into L.G., the more readily because it had already been adapted to the view that the Goidels

¹ Ír was apparently suggested by *Íriu (O. Ir. *iriu*, 'land'), a doublet of *Ériu*. Compare the adjectives *irmar*, *irach*, applied to Ireland (*Ériu irmar*, Meyer's Bruchstücke, § 112; *fri hÉrinn n-traig*, LL 127 a 30, quoted *ibid.*; also *la cóiced n-irach n'Hévenn*, LL 132 a 43).

² Inasmuch as the Cruthin are made to descend from Ír through a son of his who is called Éber, it is perhaps possible that at one time, before Ír was invented, they were made to descend from Éber son of Míl, and were thus genealogically linked to the Southern Goidels. See, however, p. 348 f.

³ So Mael Mura, Todd's Ir. Nennius, 242. For Amairgein as ancestor see Gen. Tracts pp. 171, 182, and cf. R 158. 53.

⁴ So LL 12 b 1 (where read *.iiii.* for *.iii.*); Met. D. iii, 10 (where the comma after *Herech* should be omitted); O'Clery's L.G. pp. 234, 280. The genealogists made some small use of Érech, and represent the Ciarraige and Fir Maige Féne as descended from him (R 158; cf. also ZCP viii, 333 f., Gen. Tracts 171).

had been in Ireland for many centuries before Tuathal's time. Mug Nuadat, on the other hand, is ignored in L.G. The fact that the Mug Nuadat legend is ultimately only a variant of the story of Éber's invasion was implicitly recognized by some early redactors. Thus the Laud 610 account of the origin of the Dál Cuinn speaks of their leader as *in Míl Espáne tánaise*,¹ 'the second Míl Espáne', which suggests that the leader of the Eóganacht invasion (an account of which immediately precedes) was 'the first Míl Espáne'. Similarly it is significant that the name assigned (in 'Tochmarc Momera' and 'Cath Maige Léna') to Mug Nuadat's father-in-law is Éber, and that Mug Nuadat himself (like Éber in L.G.) comes to Ireland from Spain.

Despite the artificiality of the story of the invasion of the Sons of Míl, it is yet in its broad outlines modelled on the popular traditions. Éber and Éremón in their role of leaders of the invasion correspond to Mug Nuadat and Tuathal, respectively; as ancestors of the Goidels they have their counterparts in Eógan and Conn. In L.G., as in the popular traditions, the Goidels land in two parties, one in West Munster, the other in North Leinster. Like Mug Nuadat and Conn, Éber and Éremón divide the country between them.² As Conn slew Mug Nuadat, so Éremón slew Éber in battle. According to some the battle was fought at Argetros, near the Nore; but more usually it is said to have been fought in the neighbourhood of Geashill,³ King's Co., which is but a few miles from Mag Léna, where Mug Nuadat is said to have fallen.

According to the L.G. account⁴ the Sons of Míl first landed in

¹ ZCP viii, 313.19.

² Éremón took the North, Éber the South, Mael Mura, Irish Nennius 250, 252. So LL 14 b 18-19 (L.G.); Lebor Bretnach (van Hamel) p. 27. Similarly in the genealogies: Ireland was divided between the two, Éber taking the South, Éremón taking the North *cum monarchia* (i.e. the kingship of Ireland), R 136 b 35-39, ZCP viii, 291. Cf. further Met. D. iv, 260.

³ Cf. LL 15 a 9, 16 a 42; BB 42 b 35-42; FF ii, 104 (where for *ag Brú Bhriodáin*, l. 1621, read *ar brú Bri Damh*); Anecdota i, 33; Met. D. iv, 262 (and see Gwynn's note, *ib.* 445).

⁴ LL 12b-14a; BB 39-41; O'Clery's L.G., 250 ff. More briefly in Mael Mura, Todd's Ir. Nennius, 246-248.

one body at Inber Scéne,¹ by which is meant (as is clear from the context) an estuary in South Kerry, probably the Kenmare River.² They proceeded northwards to Sliab Mis (Slieve Mish, Co. Kerry), and thence to Tara, where they found the three kings of the Tuatha Dé Danann, who were supposed to be in occupation of Ireland at this time. In consequence of a judgment delivered by Amairgein, they returned to Inber Scéne, and, re-embarking on their ships, went nine waves out from the shore. Thereupon the Tuatha Dé Danann raised a magic wind which drove them out to sea. Donn, the eldest of Míl's sons, was drowned, and was buried at Tech Duinn. Éremón sailed with part of the fleet to Inber Colptha (the Boyne estuary), where he landed. Éber, after landing once more at Inber Scéne,³ 'remained in the South' (*anais Eber thess*).

The above is but a very meagre summary of the highly elaborated L.G. account of the coming of the Sons of Míl to Ireland. The redactors, of course, could not ignore the strong tradition that the Goidelic invaders had landed in two widely separated parts of the country. In its simplest form the story, when adapted to the 'Sons of Míl' fiction, would have told how Éber and Éremón set sail together from Spain, how Éber landed at Inber Scéne, and how Éremón sailed along the coast and landed at Inber Colptha. But it would be difficult to motivate this want of unity among the leaders of the invasion, and it was obviously preferable to make their invasion a united one if possible. Accordingly they are represented as invading the country in one body; and only later, when they have been induced to return to their ships

¹ As Mac Neill has pointed out, *Inber Scéne* is not a genuine Irish name, but an adaptation of Orosius' *Scenae fluminis ostium* (Phases of Ir. Hist. 94 f.). Probably Orosius' reference was to the estuary of the Shannon (**Senā*); see p. 4. Meyer's note on *Inber Scéne*, *Ériu* ii, 85 f., is quite mistaken.

² From LL 13 a (BB 40 b 6) we infer that Inber Scéne was adjacent to Inber Féle, the mouth of the Currane River, which flows out of Loch Luigdech (Lough Currane). Mael Mura, however, seems to identify Inber Scéne with Inber Féle (Ir. Nennius 248).

³ Cf. Mael Mura, Todd's Ir. Nennius, 248; FF ii, 88. The place where Éber landed on the second occasion is not expressly mentioned in the above-named versions of L.G.

and the Tuatha Dé Danann raise a magic tempest, are the two brothers separated, so that each makes his invasion independently of the other.

Two of Míl's sons, Donn and Amairgein, have been borrowed from Irish mythology. Donn, the ancestor-deity of the pagan Irish, was believed to reside on the rocky islet known as Tech Duinn, near Dursay Island. In L.G. his connexion with the rock is accounted for, in the usual euhemeristic way, by saying that he was drowned there.¹ As ancestor of the Irish he was naturally represented as the eldest of the Sons of Míl.² As Donn's associations were mainly with the South of Ireland,³ it is not surprising to find a certain confusion between him and Éber, the fictitious ancestor of the Southern Goidels. Hence the Donn of L.G. is sometimes called Éber Donn,⁴ the other Éber being distinguished by the epithet Finn. This, too, may suggest a reason why of the two principal Sons of Míl Éber was regarded as the elder (*sinser*), Éremón the younger (*sóiser*).

We must now approach the question of the probable date of the Goidelic invasion.⁵ In L.G. there is an extraordinary

¹ Possibly this 'drowning' of Donn may have suggested the idea of a magic tempest raised by the Tuatha Dé Danann.

² *Donn in sinser*, LL 13 b 4. The word *sinser* means both 'ancestor' and 'eldest'. In AI 2 a 28-30 Donn and Éber are the eldest, Éremón and Ír the youngest, of Míl's sons.

³ Cf. Tech Duinn, off the coast of south-west Cork; Donn Fírinne, associated with Knockfeerina, Co. Limerick; Donn na Dufhe, associated with the western coast of Clare.

⁴ e.g. *Eber Donn mac Miled sinser na clainne*, LL 12 b 24; *Eber Donn sinser Mac Miled*, ib. 13 a 24.

⁵ Mac Neill, mainly on the ground that 'the Bronze Age in Ireland comes down to about 350 B.C.', would date the arrival of the Goidels (or 'the Celts', as he calls them) in Ireland about 400 B.C. (*Phases of Ir. Hist.* 48 ff.). But from these he excepts the Eóganacht, whom he takes to have been 'a relatively late Gáulish settlement on the seaboard of East Munster'; and, because the name *Caissel*, 'Cashel', is a borrowing from Latin, he supposes that the Eóganacht arrived in Ireland 'after the Roman conquest of Gaul' (ib. 127 f.; *Jrnl. of the Ivernian Society* iii, 158 f.). These speculations as to the 'late' Gaulish origin of the Eóganacht have as their only basis the occurrence of the name NETA (OR NETTA; gen.) SEGAMONAS in some Ogam-inscriptions in Co. Waterford and of its counterpart *Niad* (nom. *Nia*) *Segamain* in the mythical part of the pedigree of the Eóganacht. See the discussion

discrepancy between the date implied for the arrival of the Sons of Míl (somewhere in the second millennium B.C. ; see p. 194), and the implied dates of Tuathal and Mug Nuadat, who represent the leaders of the Goidelic invasion according to popular tradition. According to the reckoning of the Four Masters, Tuathal conquered the *aithechthuatha* and became king of Ireland in A.D. 76 ; according to another reckoning, in Laud 610, the date would be A.D. 153. Mug Nuadat is represented as a contemporary and rival of Conn Cétchathach, whose reign began in A.D. 123 according to the Four Masters, in A.D. 199 according to Laud 610.¹ It is hardly necessary to add that no credence is to be given to such datings, whether they are based on the fictitious reign-lengths of the fictitious succession of pre-Christian kings or on arbitrary synchronizations with foreign events.

If we turn to the pedigrees, we find that Tuathal is ten generations earlier than Loegaire mac Néill, who died in 462 or 463 ; so that if we were dealing with an historical pedigree we should be justified in inferring that Tuathal's period of activity lay in the early years of the second century A.D. By a similar reasoning we should expect Mug Nuadat, who is eight generations removed from Oengus mac Nad Froích (who died *ca.* 490), to have flourished about 200 A.D. But the pedigrees previous to the fifth century are quite as untrustworthy as the corresponding 'history' and the succession of kings. Indeed the pre-Christian parts of the pedigrees are little more than a conglomeration of the names of mythical or fanciful personages. Both the pedigrees and the regnal lists may fairly be described as a hotch-potch of names thrown together in what appears to be deliberate confusion.

Our historians and genealogists made little or no attempt to

of this name and of the Gaulish *Segomo* in the present writer's *The Goidels and their Predecessors*, 42 f. Mac Neill's theory of the 'relatively late' arrival of the Eóganacht was evidently suggested to him by the following sentence in Rhys's *Studies in Early Irish History*, p. 31 : 'The relatively late growth of that power [*viz.* the Eóganacht] is indicated by the comparatively late date of the building of Cashel, . . . and by its being given the Latin names of Maceria and Cashel, which is the Latin word *castellum* adapted.'

¹ ZCP ix, 477.

place events and personages in a rational chronological sequence. We find, for instance, Conn and Eógan, the divine ancestors of the Goidels, appearing two generations later in the pedigrees than Tuathal and Mug Nuadat, respectively, who, as we have seen, represent historical personages. It is obvious that in pagan times, and in the popular tradition of early Christian times, Conn and Eógan would have been the first ancestors, not the descendants, of Tuathal and Mug Nuadat. But it is vain to look for a conscientious adherence to popular tradition in pedigrees which were compiled with the intention of rendering that tradition innocuous. The object of the pedigree-makers was to invent a common Goidelic descent for the non-plebeian portion of the population ; and in order to effect this they fabricated pedigrees, going back to the Sons of Míl, in which one-time divinities were freely euhemerized into mortal ancestors.

Conaire was a king of the Érainn who, according to primitive tradition (as we have seen), was slain by Leginian invaders at Tara or elsewhere in Leinster. Cairbre Nia Fer (who succeeds him as king of Tara in L.G.) was in primitive tradition a warrior of the Legin who gained victories over the Érainn. Both belonged to pre-Goidelic times ; but in L.G. the date assigned to them would be round about the beginning of the Christian era.

The Érainn, like the Legin and the Goidels, preserved a folk-tradition of how they had first come to Ireland. The hero of the Ernean invasion-legend was Lugaid mac Con (otherwise called Mac Con), their mythical ancestor, who was said to have come with a force from Britain and conquered the country. This event, of course, occurred long before the Goidelic invasion ; but in L.G. Lugaid's arrival in Ireland is placed several generations after Tuathal Techtmar (in A.D. 196, according to the reckoning in FM).

The places assigned to Cairbre Nia Fer and Lugaid mac Con exemplify the chaotic chronology of the L.G. scheme of pseudo-history. As it happens, our earliest extant reference to these two personages occurs in a sentence in Tírechán's Memoir of St. Patrick. The saint, we are told, raised from the dead a huge man who had been buried in a great grave, whereupon the man informed him that he had been slain one

hundred years before by the war-band of Mac Con in the reign of Cairbre Nia Fer.¹ Thus Tírechán sees nothing wrong in supposing that Mac Con and Cairbre both lived in the fourth century A.D. Tírechán's chronology is even more impossible than that of the compilers of L.G. ; but the disparity between their respective datings suggests that at the time when Tírechán wrote (*ca.* 690 ?) the L.G. synthesis, or at any rate that part of it relating to the pre-Christian kings, had not yet come into existence.

The same personage frequently turns up in different pedigrees, or even in different parts of the same pedigree. Thus Lugaid, the mythical hero of the Érainn, appears as Lugaid mac Dáire and Lugaid mac Ítha in the pedigree of the Corcu Loígde ; as Lugaid mac Con in the same pedigree, and in the list of kings of Ireland, which makes him successor to Art, son of Conn ; as Lugaid Láigne in the early part of the pedigree of the Eóganacht ; as Lugaid Lága, son of Mug Nuadat, in 'Cath Crinna' and 'Cath Maige Muccrama' ;² and as Lugaid Riab nDerg in the pedigree of the kings of Tara, in which he is made ancestor of Conn.

Similarly we find Conaire duplicated in the pedigree of the Érainn descended from Éremón, and likewise in the list of kings of Ireland. He is split up into Conaire Mór mac Eterscéla, the hero of 'Togail Bruidne Da Derga', and Conaire mac Moga Láma, who appears six generations later in the pedigree and who succeeds Conn as king of Ireland.³

So the three Cairbres (*viz.* Cairbre Músc, C. Baschain, C. Rigfhota) are made sons sometimes of Conaire Mór,⁴ and

¹ *Iugulauit me fian Maicc Con in regno Coirpri Niath Fer anno .c. usque hodie.* In L. Ardm. *maicc* is repeated in error (*cf.* Stokes, *Trip. Life* 324 f.) ; but the dittography is absent from the corresponding passages in the *Tertia Vita* (§ 67) and the *Vita Tripartita* (ed. Stokes, 122).

² So also in R 147 b 36, = LL 319 b 56.

³ The later Conaire is often called Conaire Caem by way of distinguishing him from his predecessor ; but the distinction is an artificial one, and we find the earlier Conaire called *Conare Caem* in a poem in RC, xxi, 396. In ZCP viii, 337, ll. 24, 28, each of the Conaires gets the epithet *Coem*.

⁴ So BDD § 92, *Tucait Innarba na nDéssi* (LU 4363), and *De Maccaib Conaire* (Ériu vi, 147).

sometimes of Conaire mac Moga Láma.¹ Now the mother of these three Cairbres was Sárarit, daughter of Conn Cétchathach, who was therefore father-in-law either of Conaire Mór or of Conaire mac Moga Láma. In an old text, 'De Maccaib Conaire', Conaire Mór is Sárarit's husband, and Eógan Már is a contemporary of his.² All this, of course, is quite unhistorical; but it is of interest as showing that according to one view, and that an early one, Conn belonged to the generation preceding that of Conaire Mór; and this, on the basis of the regnal lists and the lengths assigned to the various reigns, is tantamount to placing Conn's floruit in the first century B.C.

Certain of the Ulidian tales preserve traditions of the warfare between the Ulaid and the Connachta, i.e. the Goidels of Tara. According to the Irish World-Chronicle, the expedition of Táin Bó Cualnge took place in 8 B.C.; the death of Cúchulainn, 'fortissimus heros Scottorum', in 2 A.D.³ Without attaching any importance to these dates, we may note that they imply that the Goidels were waging war on the Ulaid in the latter half of the first century B.C.

As we have seen, the L.G. scheme of history suggests that

¹ LL 323 f 40, 336 b 7. In LL 324 g both the alternatives are given; the Corcu Baiscinn descend from Ailill Bascain, who is 'son of Conaire Mór or of Conaire mac Moga Láma'. Oengus Músc, Ailill Baschain, and Eochaid Riata, are usually regarded as other names for the three Cairbres; but we also find them made sons of Cairbre, son of Conaire Mór (LL 324 b 29-30; and cf. Ériu vi, 133). In LL, 324 a 6, 34, Oengus Músc is made son of Mug Láma.

² Ériu vi, 147 f. (In this text Conn is exceptionally made son of Oenlám Gába; and a gloss on the text represents Eógan Már as son of Eterscél and brother of Conaire.) In 'Tucait Indarba na nDésse' Sárarit, daughter of Conn, is wife of Conaire Mór and contemporary with Cormac ua Cuinn (cf. LU 4364, 4415). Thurneysen assumes that the 'original' Conaire was the later one, on the ground that Conn Cétchathach, Conaire's father-in-law, is supposed to have lived in the second century (Heldensage 663; and cf. Lucius Gwynn, Ériu vi, 144). Actually, as we have argued, the story of Conaire's death has an historical basis in an event which took place in pre-Goidelic times, so that the date assigned to Conaire Mór has better justification than that assigned to his later double.

³ RC xvi, 406, 407; AI 7 a 27. So also Todd Lect. iii, 304. A later date is implied in L.G. (LL 23 a 40), and in the regnal list in R, 136 a 23-24, where the death of Eterscél Mór (father of Conaire Mór) is synchronized with the birth of Christ. On the other hand the FM date the death of Eterscél A.M. 5089, = B.C. 111.

the reigns of Conn and Eógan, Tuathal and Mag Nuadat, fell within the first three centuries of the Christian era. Despite the untrustworthiness of L.G. in such matters, it can hardly be without significance that these ancestors of the Connachta and the Eóganachta, the two branches of the Goidels, appear so late in pseudo-history. It is reasonable to see in the lateness of the period assigned to them a reflexion of the popular view that the Goidels were, comparatively speaking, new arrivals in Ireland. The literati, in taking over the popular traditions concerning Tuathal and Mug Nuadat, made such modifications in them as would reconcile them with the learned invention of a far-distant invasion by the Sons of Míl; but otherwise they left these popular traditions substantially intact.

From the foregoing discussion we see that the evidence of the regnal lists, the pedigrees and other old documents, regarding the date of the Goidelic invasion is confused and contradictory, and would, if we had to depend on it, leave us uncertain whether the Goidels arrived in the first century B.C. or the first or second century A.D. But amid this confusion one fact seems to stand out clearly, namely, that in the popular belief the Goidelic invasion was a comparatively recent event, which occurred not many centuries before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland.

Other evidence of various kinds points still more plainly to the same conclusion.

Even in L.G. the Goidelic invasion is admittedly the latest of the Celtic invasions of Ireland. It is later than the Lagenian invasion (the invasion of the Domnainn and the Gálioín), and later still than the Belgic conquest of Ireland, which was itself a sequel to the Belgic (Brittonic) conquest of Britain.¹

As late as the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the Goidelic conquest was still incomplete. The Ulaid still ruled in Emain, and were still challenging the power of the Midland Goidels. In the South the Eóganacht had probably not yet established themselves in Cashel. It was only in 516 that the conquest of the Midlands was completed, when 'the Plain of Mide' (probably lying between Uisnech and Birr) was wrested from the Lagen.

¹ See p. 90.

Despite the welding together of conquerors and conquered into one nation, the effects of the Goidelic invasion are still very plain to read in the division of the tribes into free and tributary, which continued down to the Anglo-Norman invasion. As we have seen (p. 164 f.), the Lagen were for centuries tributary to Tara; but after a long struggle they were fortunate enough in the eighth century to free themselves from the yoke.

The Goidels on their arrival found Ireland occupied by the Builg (or Fir Bolg, otherwise called Érainn) and by the Domnainn and other Lagenian tribes. That these were Celts who spoke a dialect (or dialects) of P-Celtic, like the Britons, is beyond question. Thus the name *Builg* is merely a form of *Belgae*, and *Domnainn* is a variant of *Dumnoniī*, the name of the tribe who were in occupation of Cornwall and Devon at the time of the Roman conquest of Britain, and who afterwards, by emigration, gave their name to a district in Brittany.

The evidence of loanwords in Irish would by itself afford decisive proof that Goidelic (Irish) superseded an earlier dialect of the Brittonic type, which we may call Ivernic. Not that we can ever hope to identify more than a small proportion of the words actually taken over from Ivernic. Such Ivernic words as were borrowed soon after the Goidelic invasion would be indistinguishable in form from purely Goidelic words; compare such tribal or geographical names as *Cruthin* (< **Priteni*), *Lagin* (< **Lagini* or the like), *Ulaid* (< **Uluti*), *Albu* (< **Albiū*). Only when a word was adopted into Irish at a later period, and when at the same time there happens to be something in its form which shows that previous to being borrowed it had undergone a peculiarly Brittonic development, or when it includes certain consonants or consonant-groups (e.g. *p*, *nc*, *st-*) which were in use in Brittonic but not in purely Goidelic words,—only then is it possible for us to recognize the word as a borrowing from Ivernic. Such words, nevertheless, are quite numerous, e.g. *rón*, *sgriob*, *raideóg*, *carraig*, *gealbhann*, *Brian*, *Bruadar*, to mention but a few. We find *p*- retained in *partán*, *port* ('tune'), *pata*, (*s*)*preas*, and in the tribal names *Partraige*, *Papraige*. Especially notable among these Ivernic loanwords are the national name *Góidil*, the name of the Irish language *Góidalg*, and a

number of pagan deity names including *Nuadu* (or *Luadu*), *Ded*, *Cathaer Már*, *Buchet*, in *Tat Már*, *Allduí*. Such loanwords make it clear that a Brittonic dialect continued to be spoken by sections of the people down to the seventh century, if not later.¹ Many of these words suggest by their meaning or connotation that they were of humble origin, and must have been taken over from the socially inferior classes of the population, e.g. *rómhar*, *caibe*, *aoileach*, *súgán*, *capall*, *madra*; and a similar conclusion is suggested by the fact that many of them were only tardily admitted into the literature, e.g. *gaol*, *gruag*, *ciotach*, *spreas*, *gaobhar*, *faoibín*.

To anyone who has seriously studied the question it will be very obvious that in the mass the 'Brittonic' loanwords in Irish were borrowed from Irish natives on Irish soil, and not picked up by Irish sojourners in Britain or from British visitors to Ireland. MacNeill, as quoted by Pokorný,² is of opinion that 'the great number of imported British slaves could easily account for the lowly origin of so many Brittonic loanwords'. To this it is sufficient to reply that foreign slaves learn the language of their masters, whereas masters do not learn the language of their slaves. Irish raids on Roman Britain are first heard of in A.D. 297. The main period of such raids, so far as is known, fell within the years 350-440, and Britons brought to Ireland as slaves during this period would have been Christians for the most part, and would have been largely romanized as well.³ We may dismiss the suggestion

¹ We have seen (p. 85 ff.) that one of the Irish names applied to this Hiberno-Brittonic dialect was **Érnbéire*, 'the language of the Érainn'.

² MacNeill-Essays 243. Pokorný's own contributions to the discussion of this question have at any rate the merit of being amusing to those who can appreciate his special pleading. He asserts, in capital letters, that the unlenited *b* of *Albu* 'shows that the name must be genuinely Goidelic', and this proves 'that the Goidels were in these islands before the Britons' (ib. 242). The Brittonic loanwords in Irish may be due to 'later invaders from Britain', who 'could have been reduced to vassalage', like the Fir Domnann (ib. 243). When Pokorný wants to prove a case, he too often addresses his arguments to the more innocent of his readers.

³ Compare St. Patrick (the Briton), and the mother of St. Ailbe. We are told in the Life of Ailbe (Acta SS. Hib. ex cod. Salmant. 235 f.) that he was the son of a female slave named Sant, and that he was brought up by British

that Romano-British slaves were responsible for British words being borrowed into Irish all over the country. Common sense forbids us to suppose that the names *Goddil* and *Goddeg* were adopted from British slaves, or that the Papraige and Partraige were tribes of such slaves, or that these slaves introduced into Irish the names of a number of pagan deities, which were afterwards taken over into the pedigrees of the Irish nobility.

Thus traditional, historical and linguistic considerations all support the conclusion that the Goidelic invasion was a late event in Irish history, an event which must have occurred not long before, or not long after, the beginning of the Christian era.

Regarding the earlier home of the Goidels a few words must suffice on the present occasion. If anything is certain about them, it is that the Goidels reached Ireland direct from the Continent, notwithstanding Rhys's unsupported theorizings to the contrary. For more reasons than one we cannot accept the 'learned' Irish view that they came from Spain (p. 195); hence they must have come to Ireland from Gaul. Several pieces of evidence, which we need not now discuss, unite in suggesting that the Goidels were connected with the south-east of Gaul, and it is there, too, that we have found the Quariates, a tribe of Q-Celts, located (p. 147 ff.). We must suppose that, before sailing to Ireland, a body of Q-Celts first migrated from south-east Gaul to the western coast, just as the Helvetii and other tribes tried to do in 58 B.C.¹ The most likely cause of such a wholesale migration would have been the pressure of neighbouring enemies, whether these enemies were fellow-Celts or Romans or Germans. If (which is not certain) the Continental Goidels were settled within the area which became the Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis, their migration to the western coast must have taken place not later than 120 B.C. In any event the Goidels must have left

slaves in his native district of Artrige Cliach; obviously this must mean that his mother was a British Christian (*sancta*) who had been brought captive to Ireland.

¹ Compare also the mass migration of Celts from south-west Britain to Aremorica in the fifth century A.D.

Gaul before 50 B.C., when the rest of the country was finally subjected to Roman rule.¹

To sum up. The Goidelic invasion occurred not long before 50 B.C. We are safe in placing it within the century preceding that date, i.e. within the years 150-50 B.C. The Irish evidence would favour the second half of this period rather than the first.²

¹ In my lecture on 'The Goidels and their Predecessors', 24 ff., I suggested that the Goidels might have been a remnant of the mass migration from Switzerland in 58 B.C. According to Caesar five tribes took part in the trek, viz. Helvetii, Rauraci, Tulingi, Latobrigi and Boii; but we have no evidence to show that any of these were Q-Celts, and, as Thurneysen has pointed out to me, there is some reason to believe that the Helvetii at least were P-Celts. My 'Helvetian' suggestion, which has the fatal merit of being picturesque, has unfortunately impressed itself on people who have quite forgotten (or rather, perhaps, who were not in a position to appreciate) the other arguments of the lecture in question. If I were doing the lecture again, I should like to relegate the Helvetian migration to a footnote or an appendix, in the hope of preventing the less experienced reader from drawing lopsided conclusions.

² Zimmer, it may be worth recalling here, not only argued strongly against Rhys's idea that the Goidels reached Ireland via Britain, but also conjectured that the Goidelic invasion of Ireland was posterior to the Brittonic invasion of Britain. 'If the Britons reached Britain about 400 B.C., the Goidels may have reached Ireland about 300 B.C.' (ZCP ix, 89). Unfortunately Zimmer accepted the common view that the Goidels were the first Indo-European people to colonize Ireland; and indeed he went to extravagant lengths in finding superabundant traces of the *Urbewohner* of these islands in the Irish and Welsh languages and literatures.

XII.—NIALL OF THE NINE HOSTAGES

IN Irish history contemporary native records begin immediately after the arrival of Palladius in Ireland in A.D. 431. At first these records are very scanty; and over a long period the exact dates of events are somewhat uncertain; and it is necessary to differentiate those entries which go back ultimately to contemporary local records from occasional later accretions which have no historical value. Loegaire is the first king of Ireland of whom we know with reasonable accuracy the dates of both his accession (A.D. 427 or, less probably, 428) and his death (462 or 463). We may accept as certain the tradition that he was son of Niall, known as *Niall Noígiallach*, 'Niall of the Nine Hostages'; and there is no reason to question the further tradition that Niall was *mac Echach*, 'son of Eochu.' But further back than this we may not go, for the pedigree that has come down to us appears to be quite unhistorical before Eochu. The list of Loegaire's predecessors in the kingship of Tara is equally unworthy of credence; still a critical examination will at least enable us to determine who was Loegaire's immediate predecessor.

In the list in question the four kings who come immediately before Loegaire are as follows, beginning with the latest and proceeding backwards:¹

Nath Í, son of Fiachra, 23 (23) years.²

Niall Noígiallach, 27 (26) years.

Crimthann mac Fidaig, 13 (16) years.

Eochu Mugmedón (father of Niall), 8 (7) years.

¹ LL 24 a 30-41; Flann Mainistrech, ib. 132 a-b; Gilla Coemáin, Todd Lect. iii, 210; R 136 b 19ff.; synchronisms in Laud 610, ZCP ix, 478. I give the length of each king's reign according to Gilla Coemáin (and the FM), with whose figures R and Laud 610 are in agreement, except as regards Nath Í. The figures in parentheses give the regnal years according to LL 24 a.

² Nath Í is generally assigned a reign of 23 years, as above; so also in AU s.a. 445, Chron. Scot. p. 18, ZCP xviii, 183. But AI, 8 d 26, and Ann. Clon., 64, make him reign 26 years (confusion of *xxiii* and *xxvi*). Exceptionally, 22 years, ZCP ix, 478; 80 (*lx*) years, R 136 b 32.

Crimthann mac Fidaig, Niall's predecessor in the above list, admittedly belonged to a Munster stock,¹ and would therefore have been unrelated to the ruling family of Tara. It is, however, a matter of doubt whether this Crimthann ever existed, for it is arguable that he was ultimately a supernatural personage,² as his sister Mongfhind admittedly was.³ In any event his inclusion among the kings of Ireland (i.e. of Tara) is obviously artificial.⁴ In what appears to be the earliest mention of Crimthann, Cormac (San. Corm. 883), associates him with the historical fact of Irish conquests in south-west Britain; Dind Tradui, one of the places occupied by the Irish settlers, was, he tells us, the fort of 'Crimthann Mór mac Fidaig, king of Ireland and Britain as far as Muir nIcht (the English Channel)'.⁵ *Dind Tradui*, i.e. *Din tra Dui*, 'the Fort on the far side of the Dee',⁶ is a British name; its Irish name was presumably *Dún Crimthainn*.⁷ Doubtless the mention of Crimthann by so eminent an authority as Cormac went far to establish his reputation; and the Irish historians

¹ For his pedigree, which connects him with the Eóganacht, see R, 148 a 16.

² In that case his conquests (see below) would be on a par with those attributed to Dáire (Misc. Celt. Soc. 4) and Cú Roí (who is called *rí in domain*, LL 265 a 40.; and cf. ZCP iii, 38, Ériu iii, 162. 18, ITS xxviii, 16. 23). Compare his namesake, the mythical Crimthann Nia Náir, who is credited with an expedition to the over-sea Otherworld, where he secured many treasures.

³ See RC xxiv, 178.

⁴ In another list, in Laud 610, of the kings of Ireland *qui non crediderunt* Crimthann's name does not appear (ZCP viii, 337); nor is there any allusion to him in 'Baile in Scáil' (ib. iii, 462; xiii, 378). On the other hand in 'Baile Chuind Chétchathaig' Crimthann is named as Niall's predecessor in the kingship, though it is worth noting that in this text Eochu, the father of Niall, is ignored (Thurneysen, *Zu ir. Hss. u. Litteraturdenkmälern i*, 50).

⁵ In R, 148 b 13-14, we are told that three Irish kings 'crushed' (i.e. conquered) the sovereignty of Britain, viz. Rechtaid Rigderg, Labraid Loingsech, and Crimthann Mór. The first and second of these names are plainly mythical.

⁶ Thurneysen, in *Windisch Festschrift*, 28 n.

⁷ Compare *Dún Crimthainn* at Howth, associated with the fabulous Crimthann Nia Náir. Fortresses were not infrequently called after (i.e. placed under the protection of) the god of the Otherworld, who was likewise the god of war. Compare *Camulodūnon* in Britain, 'the fort of Camulos', who in Latin inscriptions is equated with Mars. So in Ireland we have names like *Dún Guill*, *Dún Lóich*, *Dún Balair*; and the fortress of Ailech was associated with Nét and the Dagda, and that of Emain with the war-goddess Macha.

must have felt that they had no choice but to include among the kings of Ireland an Irish warrior who was credited with having attained dominion over Britain.

The inclusion of Nath Í¹ among the kings of Ireland is equally unhistorical, as we shall proceed to show. By origin he belonged to Connacht, and his kingship of that province may be accepted as an historical fact. Apparently he acquired considerable fame as a raider of Britain, and it was partly this fact that led to his being included among the kings of Ireland, his alleged reign being intercalated after that of Niall, another famous raider of Britain. A son of Nath Í, Ailill Molt, did succeed in making himself king of Ireland after Loegaire's death, and this, no doubt, made the historians all the more willing to grant the same distinction to Nath Í. Yet, despite his inclusion in the regnal lists, Nath Í's kingship of Ireland is ignored in several texts.

As late as the tenth century we find Cinaed ua hArtacáin regarding Niall as the last king of Ireland before the introduction of Christianity during the reign of Loegaire (LU 4181-86, = Met. D. ii, 14). In 'Baile Chuind Chétchathaig' Crimthann, Niall and Loegaire are mentioned as ruling Ireland in succession, whereas Nath Í is ignored. So the author of the tract 'Senchas na Relec' implicitly rejects Nath Í's kingship of Ireland, for he tells us that from the time of Crimthann Nia Náir to that of Loegaire there were but three kings who were not buried in the Bruig, viz. Art, Cormac, and Niall Noígiallach (LU 4084-87); whereas the invariable tradition regarding Nath Í is that he was buried in Cruachain in his native Connacht (e.g. LU 2799, 2812, 2916-17).

Our suspicions in this matter are converted into a certainty when we consider the annalistic evidence. In AU under the year 445 we find the entry *Nath I mac Fiachrach . . . obiit et xx^a [sic] tribus annis regnavit in Hibernia*; the statement

¹ *Nath Í* was later changed to *Da Thí* (or *Dá Thí*) under the influence of *Da* (or *Dá*) *Thó*, *Da* (or *Dá*) *Derga*, and the like. This is the form used in the verse of the schools, in which *Da* (or *Dá*) is treated as a proclitic and *Thí* as a fully stressed word. *Da Thí* is already found in LU (2792, etc.) and LL (139 a 47), in addition to the earlier *Nath Í* (e.g. LU 2783, LL 132 b 4). Cf. R. I. A. Dict. s.v. *Dathí*. In later times *Da Thí* is occasionally used as a Christian name, e.g. *Da Thí Ó Dubhda* († 1594), FM vi, 1946.

concerning the length of his reign is almost certainly a subsequent addition, and so beyond question is a further statement, in Irish, to the effect that he was killed by lightning at the Alps.¹ In AI, 9 d 20, at the year corresponding to 445, we have the very brief entry *Nath Í mac Fiachrach*. In the Annals of Clonmacnois (p. 70. 5) the corresponding entry is: 'Nahie m^cFiaghra of Ulster died in anno 427'; here 'Ulster' is an obvious blunder, and the date has evidently been 'corrected' by the translator or scribe, for the preceding annal belongs (in AU dating) to the year 443, and the following annal to 446. Here we see an attempt to get rid of the contradiction between the annalistic entry which placed Nath Í's death in 445 and the doctrine of the official historians that he died in 427 or 428. A subtler attempt in the same direction is seen in FM, where the death of Amalgaid, son of Fiachra, is entered under the year 449.² Here the date has in effect been retained (a discrepancy of four years is found in other datings at this period)³; but inasmuch as the death of Nath Í (*Dathí mac Fiachrach*) had already been recorded by the FM under the year 428, they did not scruple to 'emend' the present entry by making it refer to Nath Í's brother, Amalgaid. Thus while the redactors or transcribers of the various Annals (AU, Ann. Clon., FM) have, each in his own way, tampered with the text, enough remains to show that, according to the original annalistic entry, whose authority is paramount, Nath Í died in 445.

Vague traditions of Nath Í's warlike activities are preserved in a list⁴ of battles and raids in which he is said to have

¹ A photograph of the original of this entry in H 1. 8 (T. C. D.) suggests that the scribe at first wrote merely the words *Nath Í mac Fiachrach* (compare AI), and added the rest at a later date.

² Similarly a marginal entry in Chron. Scot. (p. 22), probably borrowed from FM, records the death of Amalgaid, son of Fiachra; it adds that he was 'the first king of Connacht after the Faith,' in consonance with the official lists of the kings of Connacht.

³ Thus the death of Senex Patricius is dated 457 and 461; the birth of Brigit, 452 and 456; the death of Loegaire, 458 (FM) and 462 (AU).

⁴ One version of this, from YBL, has been printed in ZCP xviii, 183; another version occurs in 'Baile in Scáil,' ZCP iii, 463, xiii, 378 f. In the latter text these exploits are by a scribal confusion attributed to Ailill Molt.

taken part, both in Ireland and abroad. These include a battle in Strathclyde (*cath Sratha Cluaidi*), another in Mag Circinn (Kincardine), and 'an expedition across the English Channel to the Alps' (*céim dar muir nIcht dochum nElpa*).¹

The reference in the last quotation is doubtless to the story of Nath Í's death. According to the official historians he was killed by lightning at the Alps (*oc Elpa ; oc Sléib Elpa*).² The legend is told in some detail in LU (2783 ff.) and later MSS.,³ which recount that Nath Í, having gone on an expedition to the Alps, was struck by lightning in punishment for having destroyed a tower (*tor*) in which Forménus (or Fearmenius), king of Thrace (*rí Tracta*), lived as a hermit. Amalgaid⁴ then took command of the Irish forces, and brought Nath Í's body back to Ireland, fighting nine battles on the way. The body was interred in Cruachain, the capital of the Connacht kings.

Except for the name of Nath Í's burial place, all this may be dismissed as sheer fiction. It was evidently modelled on the story of the death of Niall.⁵ The name of the pilgrim (*Forménus*, etc.) was doubtless picked up by the concoctor of the

¹ Several of the place-names in this list cannot now be identified, e.g. *Sabralla* or *Sabruldaí* (*céim for S.*, 'an expedition to S.'), which may, or may not, have some connexion with *Sabran*, the Severn. Cf. *Tipra Sabraille* (unidentified, but presumably in Ireland), LL 353 c 45.

² RC xxiii, 310 (Cinaed ua hArtacáin ; I am by no means sure that Thurneysen's rejection of his authorship, Heldensage, 20 f., is justified) ; LL 132 b 3 (Flann Mainistrech) ; Todd Lect. iii, 212 (Gilla Coemáin) ; R 136 b 32-33 ; LL 24 a.

³ Edited from LU, YBL, BB, by Vlad Bănăteanu, ZCP xviii, 160 ff. The Lecan text was published by Ferguson, Proc. R. I. A. ii, 2 ser., 181. There are later accounts in *Cóir Anmann*, § 146, Keating, FF ii, 412, and the *Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach* (ed. O'Donovan) 18 ff. Compare the modern tale summarized by O'Curry, MS. Materials 284 ff.

⁴ Originally, no doubt, this was Nath Í's brother, Amalgaid mac Fiachrach ; but the LU interpolator has turned him into a son of Nath Í, and distinguishes him from Amalgaid mac Fiachrach, and the later texts follow suit. According to the legend Amalgaid died near Tara on his journey back with Nath Í's body ; and this suggests a reason why the LU interpolator, or his source, tried to invent a second person of the name.

⁵ See this discussed *infra*. We are elsewhere told that Nath Í's object in going to the Alps was to avenge Niall (*do digail Neill*, ZCP xviii, 183), and also that he was slain, not by lightning, but by the same arrow that had previously slain Niall (Lecan version ; and Hy-Fiachrach 22).

legend from some Continental source ;¹ but that fact in no wise mitigates the fictitious character of the whole. Yet this Nath Í legend² has strangely imposed itself on scholars in our own day, who have persuaded themselves that it has a basis of historical fact.³ Bury, in particular, shows himself very credulous in this matter, for he not only accepts the FM date, 428, of Nath Í's death, but rashly links the event with contemporary Gallic history : ' He [Nath Í] led a host to help the Roman general Aetius to drive back the Franks from the frontiers of eastern Gaul ' !⁴

Actually all that is known concerning Nath Í may be summarized by saying that he was king of Connacht in the first half of the fifth century, that he appears to have acquired fame in his day as a leader of predatory expeditions to Britain, and

¹ Ferguson in a paper ' On the legend of Dathi ' (Proc. R. I. A. ii, 2 ser. 167-184) tried to connect Forménus with the eighth-century St. Permin, and with Pharamond, the more or less mythical fifth-century king of the Franks. So Zimmer would correct *Forménus rī Tracia* to *Faramundus rī Francia* (Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen, p. 43 n., Abhandl. der königl. preuss. Akad. 1912). Cf. also J. Vendryes, in ' Mélanges d'histoire du moyen-âge offerts à Ferdinand Lot ', 743 ff.

² ' The hosting of Da Thí to the Alps ' and ' The hosting of Niall to Muir nIcht ' appear as titles of tales in both the saga-lists (O'Curry's MS. Materials 592 ; Anecdota ii, 46). Immediately preceding these is ' The hosting of Úgaine Mór to Italy ', *Sluagad Augaine Móir co hEtáil*, a title which will serve to remind us that sagas, even when they profess to deal with historical characters, are not to be regarded as history.

³ Zimmer sees in it ' eine Erinnerung an den Tod eines Atecottenführers, der in römischen Diensten an den Alpen seinen Tod fand ' (Nennius Vindictus 85 f.). More recently Vendryes (*op. cit.* 759) expresses himself thus : ' Dathi aurait été un chef de bandes au service de Rome contre l'invasion des peuples barbares. Son histoire, transformée par la légende, a été ultérieurement attribuée aussi à Niall '. Mac Neill accepts as history the legend that Nath Í was killed by lightning while he was on a raiding expedition in Gaul, and that his body was brought back to Ireland ; his date for the event is 429 (Phases of Ir. Hist. 157 ; Saint Patrick, ed. Rev. P. Walsh, 12).

⁴ Life of St. Patrick, 95, and see ib. 354. Bury's view of Nath Í has been adopted by some English scholars. Thus Gilbert Sheldon writes : ' Dathi, who became High King of Ireland in 405, was taken into her pay [by Rome], and commanded an Irish contingent serving with the imperial armies in Gaul ' (The Transition from Roman Britain to Christian England, 1932, p. 26). For evidence in favour of this assertion Sheldon refers to E. Foord, The Last Age of Roman Britain, pp. 127 f., 141 f. (1925).

that he died in or about the year 445, and was probably buried at Cruachain.

The elimination of the name of Nath Í from the list of the kings of Ireland permits us to infer that Loegaire's immediate predecessor in the kingship was his father, Niall, so that the date of Niall's death would be, not about 405 (the date accepted hitherto), but 427 or, at latest, 428. This conclusion receives confirmation from a consideration of the dates of the deaths of Niall's sons. The obits of four of these are recorded in AU: Maine, *ob.* 440, Loegaire, *ob.* 462, Eógan, *ob.* 465, and Conall Cremthainne, *ob.* 480.¹ The mean of these dates is 462, i.e. 34 or 35 years after the suggested date of Niall's death. Now, when Irish genealogies are compared with the obits in the annals, we find that three generations cover approximately 100 years, i.e. on an average a son dies about 34 years after his father.² Thus, if we turn to Niall's descendants, we find, for instance, that Mael Sechnaill, king of Ireland, who died in 1022, was 16 generations³ removed from Conall Cremthainne, who died in 480, which shows an average of $33\frac{7}{8}$ years to each generation. Again, Domnall, king of Ireland, who died in 980, was 14 generations⁴ removed from Eógan (son of Niall), who died in 465; here we get the slightly higher average of $36\frac{1}{4}$ years per generation. In these calculations we have to do with averages, and in any particular generation we must, of course, be prepared to find considerable deviations on one side or the other. Thus it is easy to believe that one son of Niall's should have died 52 or 53 years, another only 12 or 13 years, after his father. On the other hand, it is all but incredible that Niall's four sons should have died *on an average* 57 years (462—405) after their father, and that one of them should have survived him by as many as 75 years (480—405).

¹ The FM record the death of Conall Gulban (son of Niall) in 464, but this finds no confirmation elsewhere. Under the year 465 they quote a quatrain to the effect that Eógan died of grief for Conall; and on the strength of this they did not scruple to assign the death of Conall to the preceding year.

² Compare Meyer, *Fianaigeacht* p. vii (where emend 'sixteen' to 'nineteen', l. 25, '425' to '483', l. 27, and '485' to '480', l. 30).

³ See the pedigree in R, 143 b.

⁴ See the pedigree in R, 145 g.

It would, of course, be rash to place any confidence in the length of reign assigned to Niall by Gilla Coemáin, viz. 27 years,¹ though, for aught we know to the contrary, it may be approximately correct. In 'any event Niall's reign fell mainly within the first quarter of the fifth century. At this very time the defenceless state of Britain gave unique opportunities to Irish marauders, and so it is not surprising to find that in after-ages Niall was best remembered for his raids on Britain, which were magnified into conquests on a grand scale.²

The extant Irish traditions of raids on Roman Britain begin with Niall's father, Eochu Mugmedón. We are told that in a raid on Britain (*Alba*) Eochu carried off a lady named Cairenn, whom he made his wife, and who by him became the mother of Niall.³ Her name in the nom. is *Cairenn* riming with *fairenn*,⁴ Ériu iv, 98, § 28, in the gen., *Cairne*,⁵ riming with *caindle*, ib. 94, § 13; in the acc. *Cairind* riming with *Bairind*,

¹ So according to Chron. Scot. he reigned *annis xxviii*; but in AI (8 d 7) this becomes *annis xviii*, and in the Cottonian Annals *annis lxxviii uel xxxviii*, while Ann. Clon., 64, assigns him a reign of '19 yeares.'

² A poem attributed to Cormac mac Cuilennáin says that Niall was king of Ireland and Britain (*rogab rige . . . Herenn ocus Alban*), R 136 b 27 (= Otia Merseiana ii, 87). A few lines earlier we are told, in a prose account, that he ruled 'the west of the world' (i.e. western Europe) for 27 years: *rogab Niall Noigiallach iar sin rigi iarthair domuin fri re .xxvii. b.*, R 136 b 22.

³ Cf. Ériu iv, 92-(Cúan ua Lothcháin). Cairenn usually gets the alliterative epithet *chasdub*. Keating makes her 'the daughter of the king of the Britons' (*inghean ríogh Breatain*, FF ii, pp. 66, 372). She is called *Cairenn Chruithmech*, 'C. the Pict', in Met. D. iv, 118, probably as the result of interpreting *Alba* in the narrow sense of 'Scotland'. Gilla Mo-dutu anachronistically makes her 'daughter of the king of the Saxons' (*ingen ríog Saxan*, LL 139 a 31). Elsewhere she is 'daughter of the king of the Old Saxons' (*ingine ríog Allsaxan*, R 138 a 40). Corrupt forms of the last expression apparently led to the invention of a name for her father; and so we find her described as *ingen Sacheill Bailb di Saxanaib*, R 81 b 7, *ingen Saxaill Bailb ri Saxan*, BB 265 a 3, and *ingen Sgail Bailb ri Saxan*, RC xxiv, 190 (Lec.), in which the epithet *Balb* appears to have been borrowed from the mythical name *Scál Balb*.

⁴ In a poem of ca. A.D. 1200 we find *Catreinn* riming with *caimseng*, Met. D. iv, 118. If the text is sound, the author has mistaken the form of the name.

⁵ The gen. is *Cairinne* in a prose passage, R 138 a 40; but *Cairne* (disyllabic, as the metre requires) in verse, ib. 81 b 6, and YBL 187 b 37 (=RC xxiv, 184 z).

LL 139 a 33 (= RC xlvii, 303. 2). Now this name *Cairenn* appears to be otherwise unknown in Irish literature; and it is certainly not the kind of name that would have been assigned to Niall's mother if the story were an invention. Moreover, it can hardly be a mere coincidence that it has its exact counterpart in the Latin woman's name *Carina*, which, borrowed into Irish, would have given O. Ir. *Cairenn*, gen. *Cairne*. Accordingly I have no hesitation in accepting as trustworthy the tradition of the British origin of Niall's mother.

The reliability of the tradition which represents Eochu as bringing slaves from Britain receives confirmation from his standing epithet, *Mugmedon*.¹ This word is unattested elsewhere in Irish, and is evidently of great antiquity. Its first element is plainly O. Ir. *mug*, 'slave', Celt. **magus* (in composition *magu-*). The second element, *-medon*, Celt. **medonos*, I would refer to the IE. root *med-*, seen in O. Ir. *midiur*, 'I judge', *coimmdiu*, 'lord', Welsh *meddu*, 'to possess, to govern', Gr. *μέδων*, 'ruler'. Eochu's epithet, therefore, may be interpreted as meaning 'lord of slaves'.

Niall Noígiallach has the distinction of being the ancestor of all but two of the long line of kings of Ireland that ruled from the second quarter of the fifth century down to the battle of Clontarf.² As might be expected, several legends have gathered around his name; yet it must be confessed that these contain very few grains of historical fact. The story of his birth and upbringing³ is mythology pure and simple. Like-

¹ This I take to be the historically correct form of Eochu's epithet. The usual *Mugmedón* (riming with *brón*, LL 129 b 35) owes its *ó* to the etymologists, who connected it with *medón*, 'middle'. See the attempts made to explain it in LL 333, top margin, and *Cóir Anmann* § 117 (whence FF ii, 366), surpassed in ineptitude only by Conell Ma Geoghagan's: 'in English "Moystmidle", because he was much troubled with the flux of the Belly' (A. Clon. 63).

² The two exceptions are Ailill Molt (†482) and Brian Bórama (†1014). In later times we find claims to the high-kingship made retrospectively on behalf of other dynasties. Thus the author of an interpolated passage in AI, 12 e 21-30, would have it that five Munster kings became kings of Ireland 'after the Faith', namely, Oengus mac Nad Fruích, his son Eochaid, Cathal mac Finguine, Fedlimmid mac Crimthainn, and Brian mac Cinnétig.

³ Ériu iv, 92 ff; RC xxiv, 190 ff. Compare the no less fabulous stories told about Muirchertach mac Erca, great-grandson of Niall (Todd's Irish Nennius, 178 ff.).

wise a great deal of fiction has intruded into the story of how he met his death. The historians and annalists content themselves with saying that he was slain by Eochu (or Eochaid), son of Énna Censelach, at Muir nIcht (*ós*, or *oc*, *Muir Icht*), i.e. the English Channel.¹ They thus imply that his slaying was an incident in the long-continued enmity between the Lagen and the men of Tara. But the connexion of the Lagen with the death of Niall has all the appearance of fiction. We know that a son of Énna Censelach, Crimthann, king of Lagen, was slain in 483 or 485 (AU), and it passes the bounds of credibility to suggest that this Crimthann had a brother Eochu² who slew Niall in 405, or even in 427. I think it very likely that Eochu, the alleged slayer of Niall, was originally the mythological personage of that name, i.e. the sun-god,³ who was also the god of lightning. In this sense Eochu's arrow⁴ or spear⁵ would have been the lightning-stroke;⁶ and the original tradition would have meant that Niall was killed by a flash of lightning. This view receives support from the fact that Nath Í's death is attributed to lightning, for the legend of Nath Í appears, as I have suggested, to have been modelled on that of Niall. Later our euhemerizing historians attempted, not very successfully, to convert this Eochu into an historical figure.

According to a poem attributed in LL to Cinaed ua hArtacáin († 975), Niall led seven expeditions across the sea.⁷ On the last

¹ Flann Mainistrech, LL 132 b 2; Gilla Coemáin, Todd Lect, iii, 210; R 136 b 23–24; Cottonian Annals, RC xli, 317; Chron. Scot. 18; FM. Cf. RC xxiii, 310 (*uas Muir Icht*). A poem by Orthanach (acephalous in LL), celebrating the exploits of the Lagen, says that Niall, who had laid Ireland and Britain (*Albu*) under tribute, was slain *for in maig muad* by Eochu mac Énnai (LL 43 a 14–15).

² Of this Eochu nothing historical is known. For some spurious verses in his praise see Meyer's *ÁID*, ii, 22. For the legend of his slaying of Laidcenn mac Baircheda see p. 37, n. 2.

³ See Ch. xv.

⁴ R 81 a 2; ACL iii, 323. So lightning is elsewhere called an 'arrow': *saighet teneadh*, AU 960; *saiget geld(i)n*, LU 2794, LL 132 b 3.

⁵ Met. D. ii, 36.

⁶ See Ch. iii.

⁷ Met. D. ii, 36. Another poem by the same Cinaed speaks of Niall having 'gone to the Alps seven times,' LU 4183, = Met. D. ii, 14.

of these Eochu of the Lagen slew him *ós muing mara hIcht*, out of love for the Saxons (whom the poet evidently believed to have been in possession of England in Niall's time). His men brought his body home, fighting seven battles on the way.

There are later prose accounts¹ which tell the story more fully, but no longer place the scene of his death at or near Muir nIcht. Niall, we are told, set out with the intention of conquering Gaul and Italy. On his way to the Alps his march was held up by a great river (the Loire), and while he was there an envoy arrived from the Romans to offer him hostages (in token of submission). His enemy Eochu had taken refuge with the king² of Alba (here understood to mean the Scottish Dál Riata); and tradition hesitates as to whether Eochu followed Niall to Gaul and slew him there, or whether Niall returned from Gaul and was slain by Eochu near the house of the king of Alba.³ As in the verse account, his men brought his body home to Ireland, and fought seven battles on the way.

At the time when these legends were being committed to writing, the memory of the former Roman occupation of Southern Britain and of Gaul had been quite lost in Ireland; and the writers imagined that in Niall's time, as in their own, Britain was for the most part occupied by Anglo-Saxons (*Saxain*), that Gaul was the land of the Franks (*Frainc*), and that the Romans (*Rómáin*) were associated only with Rome and Italy. This explains why, in the prose accounts, Niall is represented as marching southwards through France until he meets an envoy of the Romans. Evidently the tradition that Niall had come into hostile contact with the Romans

¹ *Otia Merseiana* ii, 84 (from R, 81); ACL iii, 323. Cf. also Keating, FF ii, 402-404. The differences between the versions are unimportant, and need not be considered here.

² His name is variously given as Erc, Loarn, and Gabrán—all quite anachronistic. Cf. Meyer, *Otia Merseiana* ii, 85.

³ In 'Baile in Scáil' (ZCP iii, 463; xiii, 378) there is mention, in connexion with Niall, of Druim nAlban, the Scottish mountain-range which in Adamnan's time separated the country of the Irish colonists from that of the Picts. This suggests, what is otherwise probable, that Niall's raiding activities extended to Scotland as well as to Roman Britain.

(i.e. the rulers of Roman Britain, or the romanized Britons themselves) had persisted all through the centuries; but in later times people were unable to understand how such a contact could have taken place in Britain.¹

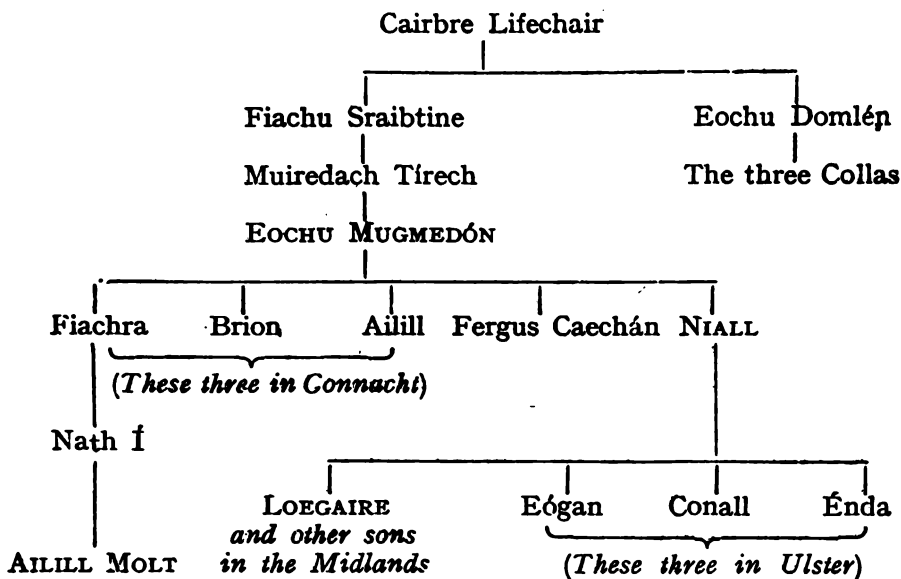
It is reasonable to see a kernel of historical fact in the legends of Niall's oversea expeditions and of his death abroad. He himself had attained greater power in Ireland than any of his ancestors, and he lived at a time when the temptation to take advantage of the helpless state of Roman Britain must have been irresistible. We may take it, therefore, as tolerably certain that Niall took a foremost part in leading or organizing expeditions against the unfortunate Britons during the first quarter of the fifth century; and underlying the legend of his end there is probably at least this much historical truth, that he met his death (quite possibly through being struck by lightning) while engaged in one of these predatory raids, probably in the year 427.²

While Niall's fame in later ages was associated mainly with his warlike exploits outside Ireland, he probably has a more genuine title to fame in his achievements at home, though, for reasons that will appear later, these have been allowed to fall into obliuion. It will help to clarify the following discussion if at the outset we quote the official pedigree of Niall's relations:³

¹ So Meyer rightly comments on the legendary extension of Niall's conquests to the Continent: 'Originally it may have been due to the fact that the existence of Romans in Britain had become unintelligible to Irish tradition', *Otia Merseiana* ii, 84 n. Meyer also points out the possibility of confusion between *Alba* (also spelled *Alpa*), 'Britain', and the name of the Alps, viz. *Elpa* (LU 4183) or *Ailp* (R 78 b 40), otherwise *Sliab n'Elpa*, *Sliab n'Ailp*, *Sliab n'Aelpae* (cf. LL 251 b 34, 252 a 2).

² Bury (*Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 331, 334) unfortunately accepts as accurate the FM dating of the death of Niall in 405; and he even conjectures that Patrick was taken captive in the very raid in which Niall was slain, and was consequently born in 389. This part of Bury's argument is worthless. A late Latin *Life of Patrick*, quoted by Keating, FF ii, 400-401 n., associates the taking captive of Patrick with Niall's depredations in Britain, thus anticipating to some extent Bury's suggestion.

³ The names of historical kings of Tara are printed in capitals.



For Niall's ancestors, at any rate those earlier than his father Eochu, the pedigree is wholly unreliable, as I have already remarked. His relationship to his 'brothers', Fiachra, Brion and Ailill, all three of them connected with Connacht, must also be treated with considerable scepticism. Brion, for instance, would appear to have lived a generation or two later than Niall's time. Indeed when the early pedigree-makers decided to make the three Connachtmen brothers of Niall, they apparently had some qualms about it, for they admit that Niall had a different mother, Cairenn.¹ Fiachra, the father of Nath Í, may be ultimately the same as Fiachu Sraibtine, who appears some generations back in the pedigree; compare *Dathi mac Fiachrach Sraibtine*, R 136 b 32, if this is not merely a scribal slip.² Eochu Domlén³ may ultimately be the mytho-

¹ See above, p. 216. It is worth noting that, although he succeeds to the kingship, Niall is described as the youngest of the brothers. This may reflect folk-tale influence.

² *Sraibtine*, 'sulphur-fire', was in origin a deity-name, but such names were also applied to men. Worth noting, perhaps, is one of the explanations of Fiachu's epithet *Sraibtine*, viz. that he was reared in Dún Sraibtine in Connacht (Cóir Anmann § 115).

³ Possibly borrowed from Leginian tradition. In the 'Bórama' we find Eochu mac Echach Domlén named as king of Legin in the time of Tuathal Techtmar (RC xiii, 36).

logical Eochu, the sun-god, with whom, too, tradition has in part confused Eochu, Niall's father.

A cardinal event in early Irish history was the establishment of kingdoms, at first approximately co-extensive with the present county of Donegal,¹ in the north-west of Ulster, by three of the sons of Niall, viz. Eógán († 465), Conall, and Énda.² Two of these kingdoms afterwards rose to great prominence under the names of Tír Eógain and Tír Conaill. It is tolerably certain that these conquests by Niall's sons were made in Niall's lifetime. The Annals pass over them in silence, though if they took place after 431 we might reasonably expect to find some allusion to them. According to Flann Mainistrech, Eógán took possession of Ailech and reigned there for forty years.³ It would be rash to place much reliance on the length assigned by Flann to Eógán's reign; yet the date he implies for the capture of Ailech, 425 (forty years before Eógán's death in 465), may well be approximately correct.⁴

Traditions embodied in several of the Ulidian tales,⁵ as well

¹ Conall's kingdom is said to have extended from Lough Foyle to Trácht nEóthaile (on Ballysadare Bay), so that it would have included the barony of Carbury in the north Co. Sligo; but Carbury (*Cairbre*) was, as its name suggests, properly the land of Cairbre, another son of Niall's. Cf. Ériu xiii, 92.

² The descendants of these three sons were known as the Northern Uí Néill (*Uí Néill in Tuaiscirt*), in contradistinction to the Southern Uí Néill (*Uí Néill in Deiscirt*), descended from those sons of Niall who, like Loegaire, remained in the Midlands. From the time of Muirchertach mac Erca (grandson of Eógán) onwards, the kingship of Ireland was shared alternately by the two branches of Niall's descendants.

³ LL 181 b 14-16, = Arch. Hib. ii, 48.

⁴ The monarchies set up in the north-west by three of Niall's sons had counterparts among their brothers in the Midlands. Cinaed ua hArtacáin says, with obvious exaggeration, that, after Niall's death, 'his sons divided Ireland' (*rannsadar a maic iarsin inis nAirt*, Met. D. ii, 38). It was not Ireland, but only the territories that Niall had acquired, by inheritance or conquest, that were distributed among his sons. Compare the more restrained statement in a genealogical tract: *fodlais Niall Noigiallach a chrich mbunaid eter a chlaind*, Ériu xiii, 92.

⁵ In these the enemies of the Ulaid are called *Connachta*, a name originally applied to the Goidels of Tara and the Midlands, but later transferred to the ruling race (and then the inhabitants generally) of the western province. Hence, when the writers of the Ulidian tales retained the traditional name

as legends such as those relating to Cormac ua Cuinn and the battle of Crinna, suggest very plainly that during an extended period an aggressive warfare was waged by the men of Tara, with the help of the vassals whom they employed as fighting-men, against the Ulaid, who were the dominant power in Ulster. The warfare ended in the subjugation of the northern province. The settlement of the three sons of Niall in the north-west of Ulster marks the end of the struggle.¹ The overthrow of the Ulidian power completely changed the political face of the province. The Ulaid themselves were driven eastwards into Co. Down.² Their kinsmen, the Dál Riata, were henceforth confined to a small territory in the north of Co. Antrim.³ A body of the Cruthin of East Ulster, who, we need not doubt, had hitherto been subjects of the Ulaid, were formed into an independent state under the name of Dál nAraidi. In central and south Ulster a number of vassal states were set up. Among these were the Airthir (*ind Airthir*, 'the eastern districts'),⁴ whose territory extended over most of what is now Co. Armagh and included Emain, the former Ulidian capital. Other such septs were the Mugdornai, Uí Chrimhainn, Uí Méith, Uí Thuirtri, Fir Lí, and Uí Macc (< *Moccu*) Uais. The last-named are notable in that there were branches of them in Brega and Mide;⁵ it is a

Connachta, they had to accommodate themselves to the facts of their day by making the opponents of the Ulaid live, not in Tara, but in Cruachain, the royal seat of the province of Connacht. See p. 175.

¹ A parallel, on a smaller scale, to this settlement of princes of the royal house of Tara in north-west Ulster occurred in connexion with the conquest of Thomond by the Eóganacht. Most of the conquered territory was assigned to the Dál Cais, originally vassals of the Eóganacht; but a branch of the Eóganacht themselves settled in the north of Co. Clare (*Eóganacht Ninussa*), and their name is still preserved in 'Onaght' on the main island of Aran.

² Later they lost western Down to the Uí Echach, a branch of the Dál nAraidi.

³ The impairment of their territory was doubtless one of the reasons why a section of the Dál Riata crossed the sea and colonized Argyll. In the course of time, as is well known, they became the dominant power in Scotland.

⁴ The inhabitants are called *Anteriores* by Adamnan, *Orientalis* by Muirchú and in AU.

⁵ Cf. Ériu ix, 57 f.; Met. D. iv, 443.

probable inference that they originally belonged to the Midlands, and that some of them participated in the conquest of Ulster as fighting-men of the king of Tara and were rewarded with grants of conquered territory. In the same way the Cianacht of Co. Derry, a branch of those of the Midlands, doubtless got their lands in the north as a reward for their military services to the sons of Niall (cf. p. 95, n. 2).

The name applied to this conglomeration of vassal tribes was *na hAirgialla*, connected with *giall*, 'hostage', and apparently meaning something like 'the submitted (*in deditioem accepti*)' or 'the hostage-givers'.¹ It probably stands for **Airgiallnai*,² as O. Ir. *giallae*, f., 'dicio, deditio' (Ml. 63 a 12, 72 b 11, 14), stands for *giallnae*.³ In the course of time the kings of Ailech (descended from Eógan, son of Niall) extended their territory southwards and eastwards at the expense of the Airgialla. A notable event in the history of Ulster is the battle of Leth Cam fought in 827, in which Niall Caille inflicted a heavy defeat on the Airgialla and slew many of their kings (*reges multi dinaib Airgiallaib*).⁴ In *Cóir Anmann*, 144, we are told

¹ In view of Welsh *arwysil*, 'a pledge', there is no ground for interpreting the *air-* in this name as meaning 'eastern' (as Mac Neill does, *Ériu* xi, 29 n.). See Meyer, *Zur kelt. Wortkunde* § 193, where, however, Meyer is mistaken in thinking that *Airgialla* was an 'Ehrenname'. Compare *argiallaim do* 'I submit to, I give hostages to' (LU 10709).

² The earliest gen. was *Airgialla*; cf. *rex na nAirgialla*, AU 696, 875, 884. Later, on the analogy of names like *Fotharta*, *Gailenga* (earlier *Fothairt*, *Gailing*), gen. *Fothart*, *Gaileng*, this became *Airgiall*; cf. *ri na nAirgiall*, AU 962. Finally when the word had come to be regarded as a tribal name of the ordinary type, and its original meaning was no longer remembered, the article was dropped; cf. *ri Airgiall*, AU 998. Stokes (IT iii, 433) and Mac Neill (*Ériu* xi, 28 n.) are mistaken in treating the word as a compound of *giall*, with nom. pl. originally **Airgéill*.

³ Cf. *hi ngiallnai*, 'in hostageship', Trip. Life (Stokes) 58.4; *i ngialnai*, LU 7015 (BDD); *i ngiallnai do duine*, 'submissive to a human being', Toch. Emire (van Hamel) § 63. Further: *maidm* [read, with Hennessy, *naidm*] *na ggiallne Laghen*, AU 720; *bertair giallno iar congail*, ib. 562.

⁴ AU 826; and cf. Arch. Hib. ii, 61, § 43 f. (Flann Mainistrech). The principal tribes known collectively as Airgialla had kings of their own, e.g. Ind Airthir, Uí Thuirthri, Uí Méith, Uí Chrimthainn. Such kings are evidently those referred to in the record of the battle of Leth Cam. The title 'king of the Airgialla', suggesting a kingship over the Airgialla in general, first appears in AU s. a. 696, when the death of Mael Fothartaig, *rex na nAirgialla*, is

that as a result of this battle the Airgialla were thenceforth tributary to the descendants of Eógán. This statement may well be true in substance, and may mean that after 827 the overlordship of the Airgialla, which in theory belonged to the king of Tara (king of Ireland), passed in fact to the king of Cenél nEógain.

A necessary preliminary to the settlement of the sons of Niall in Ulster was the breaking of the power of the Ulaid. A legend as to how this came about serves as a preface to the genealogists' account of the Airgialla.¹ According to the genealogical convention, the Airgialla were descended from three brothers known as 'the three Collas',² who were sons of Eochu Domlén, brother of Fiachu Sraibtime, king of Ireland.³ They slew their uncle, Fiachu.⁴ They were afterwards pardoned by Fiachu's son, Muiredach Tírech, who, knowing their prowess as warriors, urged them to attack the Ulaid and make sword-land of their territory. Accordingly they went

recorded. (The mention of *ri Airgiall*, ib. 513, is obviously a later addition.) Bécc mac Cuanach, *rex Nepotum Mac Cuais* (so AU 597), is styled *ri Airgiall* in Tig. and Chron. Scot., and by the genealogists (LL 333 c 47, ZCP viii, 321.20). Mael Craibe, *ri na nAirgiallu* (so AU 918), belonged to the Uí Thuirtri (R 146 g 28), who likewise descend from Colla Uais. In later times the title 'king of Airgialla' is reserved for Mac Mathgamna, descended from Colla Fo Chríth (cf. BB 113 d).

¹ R 142 a-b, LL 332c-333a, ZCP viii, 317-319; and cf. FF ii, 356 ff., Lr. Cloinne Aodha Buidhe 48 ff. The text of LL is printed in SG ii, 461 f.; that of R in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, ii, 170 ff. (1939).

² *na trí Collae*, R 142 b 1, otherwise *na trí Conlae*, ib. 143 a 4, *na trí Conla*, Met. D. iv, 98. For the meaning of the name see p. 230. The three brothers were distinguished as Colla Uais (or Ós), Colla Fo Chríth, and Colla Menn. The epithet of the second of these brothers is uncertain both in form and meaning. Three alternative forms and explanations are given by the genealogists: (1) *Colla Fo Chríth*, connected with *críth*, 'payment', (2) *Colla Fo Chrí*, connected with *cré*, 'clay', and (3) *Colla Ochre*, because Ochre was the name of his foster-father (R 141a 10-19, LL 333 b 27-40, ZCP viii, 319. 27-35). Cf. *Colla Fo Chrí* (: *rī*), R 138 a 9. Colla Uais (or Ós) evidently derives his epithet from the Uí Moccu Uais.

³ A note in Lec. says that, according to some, the three Collas were sons of Fiachra Fer Dá Giall, son of Cairbre Lifechair (Gen. Tracts 165). Presumably Fiachra Fer Dá Giall is another name for Fiachu Sraibtime, son of Cairbre Lifechair. Compare Eochu Fer Dá Giall, mythical ancestor of the Uí Maine.

⁴ After which, according to the regnal lists, Colla Uais became king, and reigned for four years, until he was banished by Muiredach.

to the Connachta,¹ who provided them with seven battalions of fighting-men. At Carn Achaid Lethdeirg in Fernmag (in Co. Monaghan) the Ulaid were defeated in seven battles. The first six of these battles were won by the Connachta; the seventh and last by the Collas.² The victors pursued the Ulaid as far as Glenn Rige (the valley of the Newry River), and made sword-land of 'the territory in which dwell the Mugdornai, the Uí Chrimthaim, the Airthir, and the Uí Macc Uais'. Thus were established the Airgialla, who in early historical times are in occupation of about half of the present province of Ulster.

That the foregoing legend has a solid basis of historical fact is unquestionable; though there is every reason to treat with scepticism the details with which the story has been embroidered. The approximate date of the event it records, the overthrow of the Ulaid, has now to be considered. A prelude to the driving of the Ulaid out of what is now Co. Armagh would have been the capture of their capital, Emain, near the town of Armagh. The capture of Emain is implied, but not specifically mentioned,³ in the foregoing accounts. Other texts record the razing of Emain by the Collas as a result of their victory at Achad Lethdeirg (LL 21 a 1; RC xvii, 29).⁴ The destruction of Emain was rightly regarded as a

¹ *co firu Ól nÉcmacht* (= co Connachta). Here, as in the Ulidian tales, we find the tradition preserved that the enemies of the Ulaid were the Connachta, —as indeed was historically the case; only we must bear in mind that the original Connachta, who waged war on the Ulaid, were the Goidels of Tara (see p. 175 f.). By the time of 'the three Collas', however, the Goidels of the Midlands had in fact extended their power to the western province.

² Elsewhere we read of a single battle, fought at Achad Lethdeirg in Fernmag, in which the Ulaid were overthrown and Fergus Foga, the last ruler of Emain, was slain, LL 21 a 1-4 (and cf. 332 a 16), RC xvii, 29 (Fig.).

³ Except in Keating's version, FF ii, 364.

⁴ The latter text (the Irish World-Chronicle in Rawl B 488) adds: 'The Ulaid have never dwelt therein since, and they were deprived of their territory on this side of Lough Neagh'. In the genealogical account of the D'ál nAraidi (who unjustifiably claimed to be 'the genuine Ulaid', *firUlaid*) the razing of Emain is exceptionally attributed to the Ulaid themselves; after their defeat in the battle of Achad Lethdeirg, we are told, 'Emain was then razed by the Ulaid' (*is andsin rotascrad Emain la hUlltu*, LL 332 a 17, and cf. ZCP viii, 335.32). But R 162 a 51 reads: *is annsin ro scar flaith nUlaid frr Emain*, which suggests emending the LL text to read *is annsin ro-scarad Emain frr hUlltu*, 'then the Ulaid lost Emain'.

decisive event in Irish history, and accordingly various attempts were made to date it. Of course if we could trust the legend when it says that the event took place in the reign of Muiredach Tírech, and if at the same time we could treat as historical the list of Loegaire's predecessors in the kingship and the lengths assigned to their reigns, then an approximate date could be arrived at at once. This is the method followed by Gilla Coemáin,¹ who reckons that the destruction of Emain took place 29 years before the death of Muiredach Tírech, and that Niall Noígiallach died 49 years after Muiredach and 27 years before the coming of St. Patrick, in other words, according to Gilla Coemáin, Emain was destroyed 105 years before A.D. 432, i.e. in the year 327. Gilla Coemáin elsewhere assigns a reign of 30 years to Muiredach Tírech ;² and so does the World-Chronicle, which places the destruction of Emain in the year following Muiredach's accession (RC xvii, 29). Similarly the Four Masters make Muiredach reign from 326 to 356, but they differ from the foregoing in assigning the defeat of the Ulaid by the Collas, and the ensuing destruction of Emain, to the 'fifth year' of Muiredach's reign, viz. 331,³ a date which has been accepted in our day by writers who ignore the fact that its only basis is a series of fictions.

On the other hand we find a statement in Lebor Gabála to the effect that Emain was founded in 450 B.C., and was destroyed in 450 A.D. by the three Collas, after they had defeated and slain Fergus Foga, the last Ulidian king of Emain, in the battle of Achad Lethderg.⁴ This statement is evidently based on an anonymous poem that follows, beginning *Cimbaeth*

¹ Trip. Life, ed. Stokes, 536.

² Todd Lect. iii, 208, § 6, where for *a deich* read *trí deich* with BB.

³ With this compare the date assigned to the same event in Lr. Cloinne Aodha Buidhe, 51, viz. A.D. 338.

⁴ *Cóic* [leg. *colca*] *bl- ar .cccc. ria ngein Chríst. Et .i. bl- aile ar .cccc. ó ghein Críst co turscur Emna Macha do na trí Collaib iar mbrissiud chatha Achaiá Lethdeirg i Fernmaig etc.*, LL 20 b 50-21 a 4. In a version of this statement in A. Clon., 41, we read that Emain was built in 450 B.C., and that the kings of Ulster lived there 'for the space of 855 years after'. This would imply that Emain was destroyed in A.D. 405; but the date is doubtless due to misreading *colca bl- aile* as *cóic bl-* (compare a similar misreading in the beginning of the passage quoted above from LL).

cleithe n-óc nEmna.¹ According to this poem 450 years elapsed from Cimbaeth (husband of Macha, the foundress of Émain) to the birth of Christ (LL 21 b 11). Later in the poem, in what may well be a subsequent addition to it, there is mention of the battle won by the three Collas in Fernmag, in which Fergus Foga, the last king of Émain, was slain, and we are told that Émain was waste for 150 years before the coming of the Faith,² which would imply that it was destroyed in A.D. 281 or 282; yet in the very next quatrain it is stated that 900 years intervened between Cimbaeth and Fergus Foga (LL 21 b 19-20), which, taken in conjunction with the date assigned to Cimbaeth earlier in the poem, would imply that Émain was destroyed *ca.* A.D. 450.

Thus the dates proposed for the destruction of Émain vary between the extremes of A.D. 281 and A.D. 450. Obviously no reliance can be placed on any of them. When they are not absolute guesswork, they are calculations based on fabricated regnal lists.

Neither can any reliance be placed on that part of the legend which represents the three Collas as contemporaries of Muiredach Tírech, grandfather (according to the pedigree) of Niall. The genealogists, and likewise such historians as Flann Mainistrech and Gilla Coemáin, record that Fiachu Sraibtime, the father of Muiredach, was slain by the Collas; but in other texts the same Fiachu meets a very different end,—he is slain, along with his two brothers,³ in the battle of Cnámross, in which the Lagen under Bresal Bélach defeated Cairbre Lifechair and the men of Tara.⁴ Moreover we find remnants of a tradition that the Collas, far from belonging to the same generation as Niall's grandfather, were contemporary with Niall himself.

¹ LL 21 a 42. There are other copies of the poem in Lec., fo. 7 b 1, 10 and 292 b 2 23.

² *Fás Emain . . . ré .ui. míl- bil on chath chian co creim*, LL 21 b 17-18. For *.ui.* here read *íll.* (i.e. *iri caect*; cf Lec.), and for *chian* read *chtana*.

³ The two brothers are called Eochaid (or Eochu) and Eochaid Doimlén. For the latter see above, p. 221.

⁴ ÁID ii, 16 ff.; LL 43 a 2; RC xiii, 50; ZCP iii, 462, xiii, 377 (Baile in Scáil). Cf. also RC xvii, 28; ZCP viii, 118, § 21, Met. D. iii, 130-132; LL 43 a 2 (acephalous poem, by Orthanach); ib. 43 b 41 (poem by Broccán Cráibdech).

In 'Baile in Scáil' Eochu Mugmedón, Niall's father, takes the place of Fiachu Sraibtime in the usual legend, for he is slain by the three Collas in the battle of Dub Comhair.¹ Just as we elsewhere find Colla Uais reigning for four years after slaying Fiachu Sraibtime, so in a list of kings drawn up by Marianus Scotus we find Colla Uais reigning for four years after Eochu Mugmedón and before Niall.² Evidently there was at one time a rival version of the Colla legend, according to which the overthrow of the Ulaid took place, not in the time of Niall's grandfather, but during the reign of Niall himself. This version would run thus in outline: The three Collas slew Eochu Mugmedón, Niall's father, and for some time Colla Uais reigned as king; later, when Niall had won the kingship, he pardoned the Collas, and sent them to win 'sword-land' for themselves at the expense of the Ulaid. I have little doubt that this version is the earlier one, and that it is nearer historical truth in so far as it represents the conquest of Ulster as having taken place during the reign of Niall and as having been instigated by him.³

In the long-sustained efforts of the men of Tara to bring the northern province into subjection, the only power with which they had to contend was, so far as we can judge, that of the Ulaid. Once the Ulaid were overthrown and their capital razed, there was no longer any serious obstacle to completing the conquest of the province. We know that three of the sons of Niall made conquests in north-west Ulster, almost certainly within the life-time of their father; and it is natural to suppose

¹ ZCP xiii, 378. Niall is succeeded in the kingship by Colla Uais, who reigns for four years; but it should be remarked that there is a good deal of confusion in this text regarding the succession of kings of Tara in the fifth century. The scribe of the Harleian version has endeavoured, with little success, to remedy the confusion (ZCP iii, 463 f.). Flann Mainistrech expressly rejects the account of Eochu Mugmedón's death given in 'Baile in Scáil' (*issin Scálbaile*, LL 132 a 48), and likewise asserts that Fiachu Sraibtime was slain in the battle of Dub Comhair, not in that of Cnámross (ib. l. 40).

² Todd Lect. iii, 93. For *Conlae (Colla) Uais* Marianus writes *Conlae Roiss*.

³ When the floruit of the Collas was shifted back a couple of generations, it was no longer possible to attribute to them the death of Eochu Mugmedón. This, I think, explains the unusual reticence of the regnal lists regarding Eochu's end; they tell us merely that he 'died in Tara' (Todd Lect. iii, 210; LL 24 a 36).

that this was an immediate consequence of the destruction of the Ulidian power by 'the three Collas', who according to one tradition were contemporaries of Niall. As the warfare against the Ulaid was organized by the kings of Tara, it is impossible to believe that the three sons of Niall had not as prominent a part in the campaign in which Emain was destroyed as they shortly afterwards had in the conquest of the north-west. The conclusion is inevitable: the three brothers known as 'the Collas' were none other than Eógan, Conall and Énda, three of the sons of Niall.

As the achievements attributed to the Collas represent a fact of history, so the name collectively applied to them, *na trí Colla*, has all the appearance of having been handed down by genuine popular tradition. At the same time it is obvious that *Colla* cannot have been the real name of each of the three brothers, and that it must therefore be a kind of nickname equally applicable to all of them. Now *Colla* stands for an earlier *Conlae*,¹ and shows the change of *nl* to *ll* which we find in several old words such as *tellach*, *cuallacht*. It is thus identical with the personal name which in Old Irish assumes the form *Conlae* (or *Connlae*),² and which in Middle Irish, when *nd* had come to be merely a way of writing *nn*, is often spelled *Condla*.³ Pokorny, *Altir. Gramm.* § 81, derives *Connlae* from **Cuno-valijos*, but erroneously, as this would have given a trisyllabic **Conail(l)e*. Rather, I suggest, *Con(n)lae* may be identical with Gaulish *Condollios*, a derivative of *Condollos*,⁴ which is to all appearances a compound of **kondo-*, = Ir.

¹ Cf. *Conla*, R 142 b 49, *Conlae* (gen.), 142 b 50, *Condla*, LL 333 b 36.

² Cf. nom. *Conlae*, Thes. Pal. ii, 364, *Connlae*, AU 799; gen. *Conli*, ib 740, Thes. Pal. ii, 365, *Conlai*, ib. 284, AU 770, *Connlai*, ib. 779.

³ So also *Condla*, AU 869. The form *Colla* (with *ll* < *nl*) is applied all but exclusively to the legendary conquerors of the Ulaid (but cf. *Colla*, -ae, in a pedigree of the Ciarraige, R 160 a 49). In comparatively late times this *Colla* was adopted as a Christian name in certain families, mainly those which claimed descent from the Collas, e.g. Mág Uidhir, Mac Mathghamhna, Mac Domhnaill. Otherwise the name *Con(n)la* retained its -nl- as long as it continued in use, i.e. down to the seventeenth century (if not later); it was anglicized 'Conle' and 'Conly'. Cf. *Connla*, pronounced *Cúnlá*, ITS xi, 40.10; *Cell Chonnla*, 'Kilconla', Co. Galway.

⁴ See Holder under *Condollius*, *Condollus*.

conn, 'head, chief',¹ and *ollos*, = Ir. *oll*, 'great'. After syncope, the consonant-group *-ndl-* might be simplified to *-nl-*,² so that *Condollios* might give O. Ir. *Conlae*. Gaulish inscriptions permit us to infer that derivatives in *-ios* had the force of patronymics,³ so that *Condollios*, for example, would mean 'son of Condollos'.⁴ Hence, if I am right in identifying the three Collas with the three sons of Niall, and in taking their name to stand for *Condollios*, we might further suppose that *Condollos* was a name applied by some of his contemporaries to the powerful King Niall, ruler of the men of Tara, and conqueror of the province of Ulster.

It was the genealogists who, for their own ends, differentiated the three Collas from the three sons of Niall. Faced with the problem of having to invent pedigrees for the congeries of tribes known as the Airgialla, their ingenuity was equal to the occasion. The Airgialla owed their political existence to the military successes of the three sons of Niall; and the genealogists, whose task was to provide them with a noble pedigree, found a convenient way of doing so by making them descend from 'the three Collas', whom they linked to the Tara dynasty, though of course they could no longer treat them as sons of Niall.⁵ At first, apparently, they made them contemporaries of Niall; but later, perhaps in order the better to distinguish them from Niall's sons, they pushed back their floruit a couple of generations.⁶ It might be asked why, if the Collas were so

¹ Also 'sense, wisdom'; see *infra*, p. 282, and Additional Note thereto.

² Compare *-ind-* simplified to *-ld-* in O. Ir. *áildiu*, compar. of *áilind*.

³ Exactly the same usage was known in Greek, and also (as may be inferred) in primitive Latin. See Solmsen, *Indogermanische Eigennamen* 140 f.

⁴ Cf. RC v, 120 f.; Rhys, *Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, pp. 32, 40, 45. A Gallo-latin inscription makes mention of M. Ammutius *Ollognatus* and his son *Ollognatus Secundus* (Holder, ii, 847). It may be noted that the Conla (*Conla*, LU 9991) who was lured away to Mag Mell by the lady of the *sid* is represented as son of Conn Cétchathach. Con(d)la is Conn's *gilla*, Met. D. ii, 76, RC ii, 90.

⁵ So in the South the Dál Cais, who conquered Thomond as vassals of the Eóganacht, were ennobled by the genealogists, who attached them to the Eóganacht line.

⁶ The genealogists' affiliation of the Airgialla of the Goidels of Tara was, of course, a fiction; but, as it was a flattering fiction, it was, no doubt, gratefully

closely akin to the ruling family of Tara, none of their descendants had ever been king of Ireland. The genealogists anticipated that question, and had an answer ready: the Collas had slain Fiachu Sraibtime, king of Ireland, and in punishment for that crime their descendants were excluded from the kingship.¹ In an earlier version, as we have seen (p. 229), the king of Ireland whom the Collas slew was Eochu Mugmedón.²

The name *Niall* appears to have originated with Niall Noígiallach. The name is unknown in the pedigrees previous to his time, and is devoid of mythological or prehistoric associations.³ I think it extremely probable that his real name was not *Niall* (gen. *Néill*), but *Nél* (gen. *Niúil*). The latter, identical with the word meaning 'cloud', occurs as a mythical name in the pedigree of the Érainn (*m. Srobcind m. Niúil* LL 324 e; and cf. Ériu ii, 174); and we also hear of Nél, son of Cormac Gaileng, ancestor of the Luigni of Meath (Gen. Tracts 154). So we find Nél, father (or son) of Goídel Glas, among the ancestors of Míl.⁴ The tradition of the ultimate identity of *Niall* and *Nél* appears to have been long remembered, for the author of 'Airec Menman Uraird Maic

accepted. With regard to the Mugdornai, hints of their non-Goidelic descent have been preserved. The genealogists make them descend from Colla Menn, who, they tell us, was fostered by Mugdorn Dub, 'of the Ulaid' (*de Ultaib*; cf. R. 142 b 33-34, LL 333 b 10-12, ZCP viii, 319, 17-18). We may take it that this Mugdorn Dub was originally the ancestor of the Mugdornai, and not merely the fosterer of their ancestor. The same Mugdorn Dub is admittedly the ancestor of a number of little-known septs, such as the Papraige, Sor-draige, and Artraíge (see, e.g., ZCP viii, 319, 20-26). In R. 142 b 36, it is remarked of him: *unde ortus ignoratur, sed dicitur di Ultaib tantum (? tamen)*.

¹ *Issi an fíngalso roscar rígi nEreenn fri hAirgiallu*, RC xvii, 28 (Ir. World-Chronicle). So also R 142 a 22; LL 332 c 15; ZCP viii, 317, 14.

² Inasmuch as *Eochu* was one of the names of the god of lightning (p. 292), and *Sraibtime*, 'he of the lightning', was another name of the same deity, the transition from Eochu Mugmedón to Fiachu Sraibtime was an easy one.

³ The few unimportant occurrences of the name in the Ulidian tales are evidently of late origin. Niall Niamglonnach is assigned as father to Fintan in 'Mesca Ulad' (ed. Watson, ll. 22, 86, 552; and cf. TBC Wi. 4502, FB § 12). There is mention of Niall Cendfhind, son of Conchobar, in 'Tochmarc Ferbe' (IT iii, 504). In a pedigree of Cúchulainn's we find *meic Nélruid* (LU 9553) corrupted to *mic Néill Ruaidh* in TBC Wi., p. 389, n. 2.

ZCP xiii, 155; Thes. Pal. ii, 316; LL 346 d 21.

Coisse' connects the two names.¹ The change of *Nél* to *Niall* may be ascribed to the influence of the *giall* of his constant epithet *Notgiallach*.² From the new nom. *Niall* a new gen. *Néill* was formed, like *giall*, gen. *géill*.³

Niall admittedly got his epithet *Notgiallach* from the nine hostages (*noi ngéill*) he had secured.⁴ These are said to have consisted of five hostages from Ireland (one from each province) and four from Britain.⁵ Alternatively the four foreign hostages are said to have been: one from Britain or Scotland (*Alba*), one from the Saxons, one from the Britons (Welsh), and one from the Franks.⁶ We may safely leave the foreign hostages out of account, as a later embellishment, and take it that Niall's nine hostages were Irishmen. We have seen that in internal affairs the great achievement of Niall's reign was the conquest of Ulster and the establishment of a group of states collectively known as the *Airgialla*, a name which is closely related to the *-giall-* of Niall's epithet. When we read in the Book of Rights that the only claim that the King of Ireland had on the *Airgialla* was that they should deliver 'nine hostages' (*nae ngéill*) into his custody,⁷ it is hardly possible to doubt that Niall's epithet has reference to these nine hostages of the *Airgialla*.⁸

¹ Anecdota ii, 52.4.

² The *-i* of *Nél* would in any case become *-ll* (in speech) before the following *N-*. So *nél*, 'cloud', is later often written *néll* (cf. Ac. Sen. p. 418), which apparently originated in the common phrases *nél nime*, *nél nóna*. It may be noted that we occasionally find *Nial*, with single *-l*, in early texts; cf. *Nial*, Thes. Pal. ii, 365, *Nial*, LL 183 a 28, 29, gen. *Neil*, Thes. Pal. ii, 281, *Néil*, LU 1175.

³ So from monosyllabic *Brian* (earlier *Brion*, disyllabic) a new gen., *Briain*, was formed which replaced the earlier gen. *Briuín* (disyllabic; later monosyllabic *Briuín*, preserved in certain stereotyped tribal or district names).

⁴ Cf. the paraphrase in *a n-aimsir Néill na Naoi nGiall*, Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer 346.

⁵ R 136 b 24-25, 28-31.

⁶ *Cóir Anmann* § 118. Cinaed ua hArtacáin says that after Niall's death the hostages he had got from the Saxons, the Franks and the Romans, were sent back to their respective countries (Met. D. ii, 38).

⁷ Lr. na gCeart 146; and cf. *Cóir Anmann* § 144.

⁸ As to why the number of hostages was fixed at nine, one may perhaps conjecture that this was the number of constituent states among the *Airgialla* as originally established.

To sum up. Niall Noígiallach and his father Eochu are the earliest historical kings of Tara. Of the internal events of Eochu's reign (approximately towards the end of the fourth century) we know nothing. Niall was the immediate predecessor of his son Loegaire on the throne of Tara ; the alleged reign of Nath Í (who died in 445) is a fiction. Niall's reign, which came to an end *ca.* 427, covers approximately the first quarter of the fifth century. There is good evidence that his mother, Cairenn, was a British captive, so that Niall himself was half-British in blood. He was famed for his raids on Roman Britain, and there is no reason why we should not accept the tradition that he met his death while engaged in one of these raids. At home his reign was marked by events which had a momentous effect on Irish history. Led by three of his sons (Eógan, Conall, Énda), his forces finally overthrew the Ulaid and razed their capital Emain. One of the main results of this victory was the establishment on the conquered territory of a number of vassal peoples, who came to be known collectively as the Airgialla. From the hostages which he held from these vassal states Niall got the epithet *Noígiallach*, 'of the nine hostages'. To the east of Lough Neagh the Cruthin were raised to independent status, and became the state of Dál nAraidi. In north-west Ulster Niall's three sons established kingdoms for themselves, two of which play an important part in later history down to the early seventeenth century. The conquest of the entire province of Ulster must have enormously increased the power and prestige of the Tara dynasty ; and it is not unlikely that the claim of the king of Tara to be 'king of Ireland' originated at this time. Actually during a period of close on six centuries the 'kings of Ireland' were, almost without exception, sprung from Niall Noígiallach.

XIII.—SOME QUESTIONS OF DATING IN EARLY IRISH ANNALS

It is generally agreed that, previous to the adoption of the Continental Easter in the seventh century, the Irish Church computed the date of Easter by means of a cycle of eighty-four years¹. Probably it was a common practice in the early religious communities to make brief marginal entries on Paschal tables with a view to commemorating notable events, especially those which concerned the Church². There is, at any rate, good evidence that in early Christian Ireland events were sometimes (perhaps usually) dated by being assigned to a numbered year in an 84-year cycle. This fact is revealed by blunders made later, when an event which occurred in the *n*th year of a particular cycle was inadvertently credited to the *n*th year of an earlier or a later cycle. We should have something of a parallel if in modern times events were dated by means of numbers from 0 to 99, the century being always omitted, so that an event which occurred, say, in 1621 would be on record as having occurred in the year 21. In that case, later writers, one may imagine, might occasionally go astray as to the date intended, and might assign the event in question to 1521 or 1721.

Tírechán, in his Memoir of St. Patrick (*ca.* 690 ?), tells us that, according to the chronologists of his day, 140 years elapsed between the death of Patricius and the birth of

¹ Compare Mac Carthy, AU iv, p. lxxv f. ; Gougaud, Christianity in Celtic Lands, 186 f. Columbanus testifies to the use of the 84-year cycle in Ireland; Bede to its use among the Britons and the Picts. In Rome the 84-year cycle was superseded by the 532-year cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine, drawn up in 457.

² Cf. Mac Carthy, *op. cit.* iv, p. c. 'The drawing up of these [Paschal] tables gave a great impetus to annalistic writing. Each year occupying a line of the ms., the custom grew up of entering on each line any notable event which happened to mark that year' (Plummer, *Baedae Hist. Eccl.* ii, 334). Events thought worthy of record would include remarkable natural phenomena. Compare numerous entries like the following in AU: *uentus magnus factus est*, 563; *nix magna*, 587; *defectio solis .i. mane tenebrosum*, 590; *terrae motus i mBairchii*, 600.

Ciarán (of Clonmacnois)¹. Another passage in the same work shows that Tírechán's date for the death of Patricius was A.D. 461². Hence Tírechán's statement regarding Ciarán would, if correct, imply that the latter was born as late as 601. Evidently Tírechán reproduced the calculation of the *peritissimi numerorum* without adverting to the fact that it made Ciarán hardly more than a single generation removed from Tírechán himself. In AU Ciarán's birth is recorded under the years 511 and 516,³ i.e. 512 and 517, and his death under 548 (= 549). In *Annales Cambriae* his death is dated 544,⁴ and this, too, seems to be the date intended in Tig. and Chron. Scot. The annalistic dates for Ciarán's life are, therefore, either 512-544 or 517-549.⁵

Bury has satisfactorily explained the origin of Tírechán's blunder concerning the date of Ciarán's birth⁶. Assuming that the chronological authorities on whom Tírechán relied accepted 517 as the date of this event, he pointed out that the interval between the death of Patricius and the birth of Ciarán was 56 years. 'This puts the solution in our hands — 140 — 56 = 84'. The 56th year and the 140th year from a

¹ *Interest autem inter mortem Patricii et Cerani natiuitatem [ut] peritissimi numerorum aestimant cxi annorum. Et baptizatus est Ceranus ex libro Patricii a diacono Iusto, etc., L. Ardm. fo. 12 b 2.* The compiler of the *Vita Tripartita*, who had a text of this passage before him, adds a blunder of his own by interpreting the 140 years as the age of Justus when he baptized Ciarán (*cxi. fuit quando Ciaranum baptizauit, ut aiunt peritissimi*, ed. Stokes, 104).

² Bury, in *Engl. Hist. Review*, 1902, 239 ff.

³ It is to be noted that the entry of Ciarán's birth at the year 516 is an addition in a later hand.

⁴ In quoting *Annales Cambriae* I follow Egerton Phillimore's dating, *Y Cymmrodor* ix, 152 ff. As Alfred Anscombe has pointed out (*Ériu* iii, 123 f.), the initial year of these Annals is 445,—not 444, as given inadvertently in Phillimore's edition.

⁵ The tradition was that Ciarán died in his thirty-third year. So according to a Latin Life of him he died *trigesimo tercio etatis sue anno* (Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hib.* i, 215); according to his Irish Life, *isin tres bliadain .xxx. a aeisi* (Stokes, *Lis. Lives* 4450). Similarly Chron. Scot., p. 48, makes him die *xxxiii° anno aetatis suae*, and the Cottonian Annals (RC xli, 320) and A. Clon. (p. 89) agree. But in AU 548 the corresponding number is *xxx.iii.*; in Tig. (RC xvii, 138), *xxxi.*

⁶ *Engl. Hist. Review*, 1902, 245.

given point in the past would occupy the same position in successive 84-year cycles. In this case the chronologists who were responsible for the calculation which Tírechán reproduces made the mistake of assigning Ciarán's birth to the cycle next after that to which it properly belonged, with the result that they post-dated it by 84 years¹.

Some curious misdatings in the Annals can, I think, be similarly explained. Among the materials utilized by the eighth-century compiler of the 'Ulster Chronicle', as I may call the annals which form the main basis of the early part of AU and of the corresponding parts of the other collections of annals², were documents in which events were dated as occurring in a numbered year of an 84-year cycle. This may be inferred from the duplication, after a long interval, of the entry of a couple of events of Scottish history. In AU under the year 581 (= 582) we have the entry: *Bellum Manonn in quo uictor erat Aedhan mac Gabrain*; this is repeated in the following year as *Bellum Manand fri [leg. la] Aedan*.³ Under 583 (= 584) the same Annals have *Mors Bruide mc. Maelcon regis Pictorum*.⁴ Now these same two events are

¹ Bury accepts Mac Carthy's argument (AU iv, p. lxxiii) that the year 381 was the initial year of the 84-year cycle; but, according to Rev. D. J. O'Connell, this contention of Mac Carthy's 'will not hold water' (Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1936, p. 85). For our present purpose the question is not of any importance.

² AI, Tig., Chron. Scot., Cottonian, A. Clon. Some local annals have gone to the making of these. Thus entries deriving, probably, from a Clonmacnois chronicle appear in Tig. and Chron. Scot., and entries deriving from a Southern chronicle (written at Emly?) in AI.

³ Both these entries are in the original hand. In Tig., at a year corresponding to AU 581, we have *Cath Manand in quo uictor erat Aedan mac Gabran* (RC xvii, 153), an entry which is repeated in full in the following year. Hence it would appear that the entering of the battle in successive years goes back to the original 'Ulster Chronicle'. Manu, where the battle was fought, is, according to Reeves (*Vita Columbae* 371, n. d), probably the Scottish district of that name, which included Slamannan in the south-east of Stirlingshire. But O'Donovan (Three Frags. 7 n.) took it to be the Isle of Man; and the compiler of *Annales Cambriae*, here probably drawing on an Irish source, interpreted it in the same sense, for he has, under a date corresponding to 584, *Bellum contra Euboniam*. So A. Clon., p. 89, speak of 'the Battle of the Isle of man.'

⁴ Tig. is similar, save that the two last words are in Irish. Cf. A. Clon. p. 89.

likewise recorded, but erroneously, many years earlier. Under 503 (= 504) AU have *Bellum Mhanann la hAedhan*, and in the following year *Mors Bruidi m. Mailchon*.¹ Here we have the battle of Manu pre-dated by 78 or 79 years, the death of Bruide by 79 years. In view of the uncertainty of the datings of events at this period,² it is not unlikely that the earlier dates, 504 and 505, are intended for 498 and 500, respectively, years which have identical ferial numbers; and the difference between these dates and 582, 584, is exactly 84 years.

In our earliest annals (which, needless to say, knew nothing of A.D. dating)³ the entry or entries for each year were marked off from those of the year immediately preceding by beginning with the abbreviated words *Kal. Jan.* (or simply *Kl-*); after this came the appropriate ferial number (indicating the day of the week on which the first day of the year fell),⁴ to which was commonly subjoined the epact (the number of days of the moon's age on the first day of the year).⁵ That such was the system of dating employed in the original 'Ulster Chronicle' is beyond doubt.

¹ These entries, like the later ones quoted above, are in the original hand in AU. The same erroneous duplication occurs in Tig. (RC xvii, 125): *Cath Manand la hAedhan mac Gabrain*, and (in the following year) *Bass Bruidhi m. Maelchon, rig Cruithnech*. Likewise in A. Clon., p. 74.

² Compare the discrepancy of five years in the dates assigned to Ciarán's birth and death. The defeat of Aedán by the 'Saxons' of Northumbria, recorded *s. a.* 599 (= 600), is dated 603 by Bede; while the battle of Chester, recorded *s. a.* 612 (= 613), probably took place in 616, according to Plummer (see his edition of Bede's *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 77).

³ Ó Máille's statements regarding the dating of Irish annals (Lang. of the Annals of Ulster 7, § 9) are too absurd for quotation.

⁴ That the year began on the first of January may be inferred from AU 641: *Mors Domnall . . . regis Hibernie in fine Januarii. Postea Domnall Brecc . . . in fine anni in Decembri interfectus est.* (Tig., RC xvii, 186, is similar.) Likewise the entries of the lunar eclipses of 725 and 734 (*s.aa.* 724, 733) show that the year extended from January to December.

⁵ Compare what O'Flaherty writes in this connexion: 'Hibernorum in forma anni Juliani alia fuit antiquior, & certior, si sarta tecta ad nos pervenisset, annos numerandi ratio; cujusque viz anni, qua [*sic*] quidquam memoriae, prodiderunt, Kalendas Januarias hebdomadis feriâ, in quam inciderent, nullâ aliâ adhibitâ aerâ signabant. . . . Aetatem Lunae etiam

In the Annals of Ulster,¹ which are provided with an A.D. dating, and which begin with the year 431, the original scribe² left a blank, intended for the insertion of the ferial and lunar criteria, at the beginning of each entry, immediately after *Kl-Jan*. A later hand has in part repaired this omission by inserting these criteria in a large majority of years from the beginning of the Annals down to A.D. 695.³ It is natural to conclude that these criteria were absent from the exemplar which the AU scribe had before him; and it is no less reasonable to suppose that the writer of the exemplar had omitted them because, having provided what he took to be the correct A.D. datings of the events recorded, he not unnaturally regarded the retention of the ferial and lunar data as superfluous. In the so-called Annals of Tigernach, preserved in Rawl. B 488, a manuscript of the fourteenth century (according to Stokes), the lunar notation has been discarded, but the ferials are given from A.D. 489 (where the extant fragment begins) down to 656 (excluding the years 653-655), though, as might be expected from the corrupt state of its text, they are often hopelessly confused.⁴ In the kindred Chron. Scot., likewise,

nonnunquam addebant, & illius anni numerum Decennovalis cycli. Unde facilis esset ratio, quemlibet annum sic signatum sine ullo errore, aut controversia ad quamvis reducere aeram. Verum temporum injuria, ac Amanuensium incuria factum est, ut in multis annis unus numerus feriarum, vel aetatis Lunae pro alio poneretur, nonnunquam etiam praetermissis his characteribus, longa Kalendarum series, tanquam fasti consulares, tot annos, quot Kalendas denotans sequeretur' (Ogygia, Introduction p. 39).

¹ The earliest and most authoritative text of these Annals is that in H. 1. 8, T.C.D.

² Down to A.D. 1489 these Annals are (apart from later interpolations) written in a uniform hand of the late fifteenth century. Here I am concerned only with the early part of them (say, down to A.D. 750). Mac Carthy, referring to H. 1. 8, says that a new hand begins on folio 50 (AU iv, p. ii); and similarly Ó Máille writes that 'H. 1. 8 from fol. 49 (A.D. 1115) onwards is written in a different hand to the earlier portion' (The Language of the Annals of Ulster 5 n.). These assertions appear to be mistaken.

³ Compare Hennessy's remark on this point, AU i, 4 n. 1. Sometimes this later hand has left the blanks unfilled, e.g. at the years 431, 433, 435, 441-5, 449-453. Occasionally he inserts only the ferial, e.g. at 514, 515, 524-526, 529, 530. Under 718 a later hand has added *f. vii*. But the lunar criteria that are given under the years 872-885 are in the original hand.

⁴ There is, almost inevitably, frequent confusion between *iii* and *vi*, *ii*

the ferials (only) are noted, irregularly and incorrectly, down to 643. In the Annals of Inisfallen, which have the distinction of being the oldest extant annals (they were transcribed *ca.* 1092), traces remain of ferial and lunar notation during the years immediately following 432 ;¹ but the scribe, who otherwise shows an invincible propensity towards abbreviating (sometimes rather ruthlessly) his original,² soon grows tired of them and drops them altogether.

A distinctive and valuable feature of AU is the fidelity with which the scribe reproduces many of the Old Irish forms of the original Ulster Chronicle and its continuation, a fact which would suggest that the redactor of the AU exemplar had the original Chronicle before him. At the same time it is clear that the AU exemplar was by no means a simple transcript of the original, for, as we have seen, it had been provided with an A.D. dating, and had discarded the earlier ferial and lunar criteria. Moreover the AU scribe has incorporated in his text certain entries which did not form part of the original Chronicle, though whether he found these in his exemplar or inserted them himself from other

and *u*, etc., though one must bear in mind that Stokes, who transcribed the text, was himself careless about such matters.

¹ viz. *prima feria* (referring to A.D. 433), *iii. f.* (435), *ix. l.* (437), *xx. l.* (438), *i. f.* (439), *ii. f. xii. l.* (440), *iiii. l.* (442), *xxiii. l.* (454 ; read *xvi. l.*). The statement in the Introduction to AI, p. 8, to the effect that 'at A.D. 798 the ferial and lunar days are given for the first time', is to be modified accordingly.

² A few examples of the tendency of the scribe of AI to scamp his work may be noted here. He reduces to the meaningless words *xl. iii. eps.* (9 d 15) the entry *Leo ordinatus est xl. iii. Romanae ecclesiae episcopus* (cf. AU *s.a.* 441). An entry concerning the pontificate of Gregory (see AU *s. a.* 592) he wrongly abridges to *Quies Grigoir Roma ut alii dicunt*. His *Macc Colmain Rímeda 7 Conchenn a* [subscript] *mathair mor.* (11 a y-z) is a blundering attempt to write *Mors Colmáin Rímeda ; Cú cen Máthair mortuus est* (cf. AU *s. a.* 603, where in the final entry *mortui sunt* is a scribal error for *mortuus est*). I may add that other annalistic scribes misidentify this Cú-cen-máthair (who died in 604, and is otherwise unknown) with the Munster king of that name who died in 665 ; hence the entry relating to him is expanded to *Cú cen mat[h]air, ri Muman, mortuus* in Chron. Scot., and is further emended in Tig. (p. 165) by substituting *natus est* for *mortuus*. (The suggestions made in *Ét. Celt.* iii, 365, by M. A. O'Brien regarding this obit are unacceptable.)

sources¹ can hardly be determined. As examples² of such accretions to the basic text we may take the entry, in Irish, *Senchus mor do scribunn*,³ 438, and the entry relating to the foundation of Armagh, *Ard Macha fundata est*, 444, which is otherwise known only from LL, 24 a 47. Another likely example is *cetna brat Saxan di Ere*, 434, which appears in Latin in AI, 9 d 6. Likewise one may note that the entry *Alii libri dicunt Maine filium Neill in isto anno perisse*, 440 (cf. AI 9 d 14), appears to be a subsequent insertion in the MS. A special group of such accretions to the text consists of those entries which professedly derive from the Book of Cuana (now lost), e.g. the entry in Irish s. a. 552, which tells of Colum Cille enshrining the relics of Patrick. Sometimes this source is quoted merely as giving a different date for events recorded under another year in the text, as when it places the death of Cainnech under 598 instead of 599 (= 600), the death of Comgall, etc., under 600 instead of 601 (= 602), and the events of 603 (= 604) under 602. 'Liber Cuanach', or its supposed author Cuana, is mentioned thirteen times in all, at intervals from 467 to 629; but it is unlikely that the use the compiler of AU made of this source was confined to those occasions on which he expressly mentions it as his authority. Another source, the Book of Dub-dá-lethe, is quoted once during the period with which we are concerned, viz. under the year 628 (= 629), in connexion with the battle of Lethirbe, which is entered independently under the following year.

As is well known, the A.D. dating that was fitted to AU is one year short of the true dating from at least the sixth century down to 1013. Towards the beginning of these annals, however, the dates are free from this error. Thus the first entry, dealing with the sending of Palladius to

¹ The AU compiler, Cathal Mág Uidhir († 1498), is said in his obituary notice to have collected the Annals 'out of many books' (*a leabhraibh ilimdaí*, AU iii, 430).

² All the instances quoted, or referred to, in the present paragraph are written in the original hand in H. 1. 8.

³ Also in Chron. Scot.: *Sench[h]us Mór do scriobadh isin bliadainsi*. For this A. Clon. have (p. 69): 'The chronicles of Ireland were renewed this year.'

Ireland, is rightly dated 431. Likewise the datings of several other events in the first half of the fifth century are in exact agreement with the datings implied in AI¹ and Chron. Scot. The date 457 for the death of Senex Patricius is supported by *Annales Cambriae*, which place the death of Patricius in that year; while the alternative date of the same event, 461, is confirmed by a calculation in *Tírechán* and also by an annalistic note under 663 (= 664), *a morte Patricii cc.^a .iii.*, implying that he had died in 461. On the other hand the erroneous dating is already in evidence before the end of the fifth century. Thus the death of Zeno in 491 is recorded under 490.² Accordingly we infer that the A.D. numerator of AU first fell into his error of pre-dating events by a year at some point within the period 461-491. The probable explanation is that in the ms. of the annals upon which the numerator worked a blank year had been accidentally omitted somewhere in the period in question, and that the numerator failed to detect the omission.

The ferial and lunar data which were later supplied by an owner of AU, whom we may call B, enable us to determine more precisely the point at which the mistake first occurred. B had before him another recension (which we may call X) of the *Ulster Chronicle*. In X the original method of identifying the years had been retained. Beginning with 432, B inserted year by year, in the blank spaces left by the scribe of H. I. 8, the ferial and lunar data that he found in X. Occasionally he leaves these data uninserted, in whole or in part, presumably because they were absent (or possibly illegible) in X. Down to 481 his data confirm the correctness of the A.D. dating of AU. Then come four years, 482-5, for which he leaves the data uninserted,³ after which, under the year which is dated 486, he inserts the data *5 f. l. 21*, which, as Mac Carthy has pointed out, belong to the year 487. There is a similar disaccord between the AU date and the added ferial and lunar numbers in subsequent years.

¹ e.g. the first raid of the Saxons, 434; the arrival of Secundinus, etc., 439; the death of Maine, 440; *probatio Patricii*, 441; *Patricius florens*, 443; Nath í, 445.

² This entry is borrowed from Marcellinus. Cf. Additional Note to p. 253.

³ At 484 and 485 he inserts merely the letters *f. l.*

Accordingly we may take it that the mistake in the A.D. dating arose in one of the years 482-486.¹ It was due to the A.D. numerator being unaware of the fact that a year had been accidentally omitted at this point, whether by himself or by some immediate predecessor.²

Alternative datings are a prominent characteristic of Hennessy's text of the early part of AU. Even if we had nothing but Hennessy's edition to guide us, it would be obvious enough that these duplications (or triplications) do not, for the most part, go back to the original Chronicle, but are the result of later conflation. Evidently either the compiler or a later owner of the ms. had before him a copy of annals of the 'Tigernach' type, which he collated with the main text. One might suppose that an A.D. dating had been fitted (possibly by the collator) to the annals in this subsidiary ms., and that when their dating of a particular event differed from the A.D. dating already fitted to AU, the event was frequently entered a second time, the alternative nature of the second entry being generally marked by such phrases as *uel in hoc anno . . .*, *secundum alios*, *secundum librum alium*. The 'Tigernach' type of annals is characterized, when compared with AU, by later spelling and word-forms and by the substitution of Irish words for Latin; and the selfsame characteristics often distinguish the later of two alternatives datings in AU. Compare, e.g., such pairs of entries as the following :

bellum Oche, 482.

cath Ocha, 483.³

bellum Cinn Losnado, 489.

cath Chell osnaid, 490.

¹ A later hand has inserted occasional A.M. datings in AU. Thus 481 is equated with A.M. 4685, 487 (= 488) with A.M. 4692. Here the difference of seven years as compared with the six years of AU confirms the conclusion that the author of the AU dating has missed a year at this point. Mac Carthy, AU iv, pp. xcvi ff., argues that the mistake originated in the omission from the annals of the year 486. But he is in error in supposing that the ferial and lunar criteria in AU are older than the A.D. numeration. In point of origin, of course, they are older; but so far as AU (i.e. the ms. H. 1. 8) is concerned, they are unmistakably later.

² It seems very improbable that the omission in question goes back to the original Chronicle. The inserter of the A.M. dating mentioned in the last note appears to have had before him a text in which the omission did not occur.

³ Dated [*c*]ccclxxxiii, i.e. 483, in LL 24 a 50.

demersio Muircertaig filii Erca,
533.¹

bellum Torten, 542.

quies Brendain [leg. -ani] Clona
Ferta, 576.²

bellum Daethe, 586.

bellum Montis Cuae in
regionibus Mumem, 596.

Mors Cernaigh filii Diarmato,
663.

Diarmait mac Aedo Slane 7
Blaimac . . . Dormitatio
Fecheni Fabair, 664.

badhadh Muircheartaigh mic
Earca, 535.

cath Tortan, 547.

quies Bhrenainn Chluana
Ferta, 582.

cath Bhealaig Dhaithe, 592.

cath Shleibhe Cua i mMughain,
602.

Cearnach sotal mac Diarmoda
(?), 666.

Diarmaid 7 Blathmac da rig
Erenn 7 Feichin Fobhair,
667.

It will be obvious at a glance that, in such pairs of entries as the foregoing, the second entry is not coeval with the first, but is a later addition and cannot have formed part of the original AU. It is worth nothing that the two alternative dates not infrequently have the same ferial, though this may be a matter of chance. Thus the dates assigned to Ciarán's birth, 511 and 516 (= 512, 517), have a common ferial and so have the dates of the death of Brénainn and of the battle of Sliab Cua.³

If one turns from Hennessy's edition of the early part of AU to the original ms., H. 1. 8 (T.C.D.), the briefest glance at the text will suffice to show that innumerable additions have been made by later hands in the blank space left at the end of each yearly entry, and also between the lines and on the margins.⁴ Before considering these additions, it may be

¹ Dated *dxxxiii* in the LL facs., 24 b 11, but the ms. appears to have *dxxxiiii*, i.e. 534 (Bury, in Eng. Hist. Review 1902, 701).

² Dated *dlxxx*, i.e. 580, in LL 24 b 31.

³ Other such datings with a common ferial are (I give the AU figures, which are short by a year): birth of Cainnech, 520, 526; battle of Áth Sige, 527, 532; birth of Gregory, 539, 544; death of King Tuathal, 543, 548; foundation of Cluain Ferta, 557, 563; death of Etchen, 577, 583; death of Baetán, 580, 586; death of Mac Nisse, 584, 590; death of the two Aeds, 588, 594. The 520 entry of the birth of Cainnech is in a later hand; in the remaining instances the second of the two entries is in a later hand.

⁴ A careful study of the different interpolating hands in H. 1. 8, with a view to distinguishing each of them, would be highly desirable; but such a study is impossible at present as the ms. is no longer accessible.

well to give a fairly complete list of the alternative datings both of which are in the *original* hand: death of Bresal, king of Lagen, 435, 436; birth of Brigit, 452, 456; death of Senex Patricius, 457, 461; death of Patricius, 491, 492; death of Ibar,¹ 499, 500 (the triplicated entry under 503 is late); battle of Ard Corann and death of Lugaid, 506, 507²; death of Brigit in her seventieth year, 523, 525 (the entry under 527 is late); death of Ailbe, 526, 533; *bellum Eiblinne*, 532, 536 (the entry under 534 is late); death of Pope Felix, 527, 532 (at the latter year the text is corrupt); *bellum Lochara Móre*, 534, probably the same as *bellum Lochar*, 538; death of Eugen Bél in the battle of Slicech, 542, 546 (the entry under 547 is late); death of Colmán Mór, 554, 557; *ecclesia Bennchuir fundata est*, 554, 558; battle of Cúl Dreimne,³ 559, 560; *bellum Cuile Uinsen*, 560, 561; *bellum Mona Daire*, 561, 562; *bellum Gabrae Liphí*, 564, 565 (the entry under 572 is late)⁴; *fecht i nIardoman*, 566, 567; *bellum Delocho*, 575, 576; *bellum Droma Maic Erce*, 579, 580 (the entry under 585 is late); *fecht Orc*, 579, 580; death of Fergna mac Caibléine, 581, 582⁵; death of Feradach mac Duach, 582, 583; *bellum Echrois*, 601, 602; death of Fursa, 647, 648 (the entries under 655 and 660 are late); death of Scannlán, 673, 674; death of Flann Foirbthe mac Fogartaich, 715, 747⁶; death of

¹ Dated 501 in *Annales Cambriae*.

² The entries under 510 and 511 are in a later hand.

³ This battle is dated *dlxvi* (i.e. 566) in LL, 24 b 28. From Adamnan we learn that Colum Cille left Ireland two years after this battle, and that he lived for 34 years after his departure, so that the true date of the battle is very probably 561. The AU entry: *Nauigatio Coluim Cille ad insulam Iae anno etatis sue xl.º ii.º*, s. a. 562 (= 563), is a marginal addition in the original hand, apparently borrowed from other annals (cf. Tig., Chron. Scot.), and ultimately based on Adamnan. Compare Ann. Cambriae under the year 564: *Columcillae in Britannia[m] exiit*.

⁴ Under 564, *Quies Brendani Biror, ut alii dicunt*, appears in the original hand. The words *ut alii dicunt* suggest an alternative date; hence, as Tig. has two entries of the event (RC xvii, pp. 147, 150), it would appear that a second entry was accidentally omitted in AU. The entry in AU s. a. 571 is in a later hand. Cf. *Brendan Byror dormitatio*, Ann. Cambriae s. a. 574.

⁵ Also duplicated in Tig. (pp. 153, 154).

⁶ Also duplicated in Tig. (pp. 225, 250). The discrepancy of 32 years is remarkable. One is tempted to connect it with the obits of the two

Flann Sinnae, abbot of Clonmacnois, 731, = Flann Fine, 732; death of Sechnasach mac Colggen, 745, 746.¹ Mention has already been made of alternative datings which admittedly derive from the Book of Cuana or the Book of Dub-dá-lethe.

Apart from the foregoing, and from a few unconscious duplications which are discussed elsewhere in the present chapter, I have noted only the repetition *s. a.* 559 of three events already recorded two years earlier. Probably very few of these duplications go back to the original Chronicle. In most cases it is likely that one of the entries has resulted from the compiler having collated his main source with another collection of annals, such as those in the lost Book of Cuana.² The entries of 559 compared with those of 557 show Latin turned into Irish (*feiss* for *cena*, *immirge re* for *fuga ante*), and are evidently an accretion to the text. So too, doubtless, is the entry of the battle of Slicech under 546, as the late spelling *Sligidhe* (gen.) would suggest. The duplication of the obit of the later Patricius is peculiar to AU; the second entry, that under 492 (= 493), resembles in its wording the entry in Tig. and Chron. Scot., and has pretty certainly been borrowed from a text of the 'Tigernach' type.

Apart from the duplications, comparatively few in number, which have just been enumerated, the alternative datings

Patricks, and to suggest tentatively that the discrepancy may have arisen in the following manner. If, as may reasonably be assumed, one of the two obits (715, 747) goes back to a contemporary entry, the other obit might be due to misunderstanding a record of the number of years that elapsed from the death of Patricius to that of Flann Foirbthe. Thus, if we suppose that the obit of 715 (= 716) is the genuine one, the interpolation of the later obit might have resulted from seeing a calculation that the death of Flann occurred '255 years after the death of Patricius' (meaning Senex Patricius, † 461), which was misunderstood as referring to the later Patricius, whose death was sometimes placed in 493. Flann's father may have been Fogartach, king of Ireland († 724), other sons of whom died in 738, 751, 761, 771. In that case we may take the later obit, 748, to be the correct one. Cernach, son of Flann Foirbthe, died in 770 (AU 769).

¹ Also duplicated in Tig. (p. 248).

² This remark applies especially to those duplicated entries which differ in dating by a single year. Thus with *bellum Echrois*, which occurs as the last entry *s. a.* 601 and (with more detail) as the second entry under the following year, we may compare *quies Cainnigh . . . ut Cuana docet*, the last entry under 598, and *quies Cainnigh sancti*, the first entry under 599.

which are so characteristic of Hennessy's edition of AU were entirely absent from the MS. as it was originally written. In each case one of the duplicated entries has been added later, mainly in one or more somewhat unkempt hands which are notably different from that of the original scribe. These interpolations are numerous down to the end of the sixth century. In the seventh century they are much fewer, and occur mostly within the years 650-670. In the eighth century they are rare. For the most part the interpolators are interested only in alternative dates for events; but occasionally they chronicle new events, i.e. events which were not recorded by the original scribe. To the latter class belong the following: arrival of the Angles, 464; death of Mac Cuilinn, 497; finding of the relics of Barnabas, etc., 500; battles between the Lagen and the Uí Néill, 498, 500, 502; death of David, bishop of Armagh, 550 or (alternatively) 552; birth of Bede, 649 or 653; beginning of the reign of Fergal mac Maíle Dúin,¹ 709; *Beda librum magnum hoc anno fecit*,² 711; death of Bede, 734; translation of the relics of Petronilla, 740; death of Iacobus, 746.³ The inter-

¹ Nearly all the entries of this type (i.e. those recording the beginning of a king's reign) are likewise interpolated, viz., in addition to that mentioned above, those relating to Ailill Molt, 463, Lugaid, 484, Muirchertach, 512, Tuathal Maelgarb, 536, Aed mac Ainmirech, 591, Colmán Rímid and Aed Sláine, 597, Domnall mac Aeda, 627, Aed Ollán 733, Domnall mac Murchada, 742. Mac Neill, *Ériu* vii, 70-72, shows himself unaware of the interpolated nature of these entries.

² Mac Neill, *Ériu* vii, 76 f., has drawn erroneous conclusions from this interpolated entry, which he assumes to have formed an integral part of AU. The entry has reference to Bede's Chronicle, published in 725 and later continued to 729; consequently it is pre-dated by fourteen years. It was borrowed from an annalistic collection of the 'Tigernach' type; compare the similar misdating in *Tig.* p. 223, and see further *A. Clon.* p. 112 l. 9. So another work of Bede's, *De Temporibus*, is entered in *Tig.* (p. 211) and *Chron. Scot.* (p. 109) at a date corresponding to AU 689 (= 690), the true date being 703. Compare also the entry, borrowed from Bede, relating to St. Egbert (*Tig.* p. 217), which, although dated 715 (*d. cc. xii.*; recte *dccxvii*) is included among the events of the year 701. In *Three Frags.*, 56, under years corresponding to 728 and 729, there are two entries regarding Bede's composition of his Chronicle; the second of them has its counterpart in *Tig.*, p. 235, and in *A. Clon.*, p. 114.

³ To the above are to be added: the death of St. Augustine, 440 [recte 430]; capture of the *muirgheilt*, 571; the coming of Augustine to England,

polated alternative dates are nearly always later than those of the original scribe. The discrepancy between the dates may vary from one to seven years, as is illustrated in the following obits (in each case the second date is the interpolated one): Ailill Molt, 482, 483; Muirchertach, 533, 535; Tuathal Maelgarb, 543, 548; Ultán, 656, 662; Domnall mac Airmirech, 568, 575. As a rule the datings of the original scribe appear to be the more trustworthy. Thus the birth of Gregory is rightly entered under 539 (= 540) in the original hand, whereas the interpolator's date is 544; and the death of Colum Cille, which occurred very probably in 597, is entered under 594 (= 595) by the original scribe, under 600 by the interpolator. The general reliability of the AU dates receives support from its correct dating (i.e. after allowance has been made for its pre-dating of events by a year) of the solar eclipses of 591, 592, 664 and 689, and also from the fact that its datings of British events in the period 651-729 are either identical with, or approximate closely to, the dates assigned to the same events by Bede.¹

Unfortunately scholars have been rash enough to write on the subject of the alternative datings in AU without ever taking the trouble to consult the MS., and without even studying carefully the text of Hennessy's edition. Thus Mac Neill erroneously supposes that the alternative datings we have been discussing are an integral part of the earliest Irish annals. 'In the Annals of Ulster', he writes, 'we find often two and sometimes three dates assigned for important events of the fifth and sixth centuries, and the uncertainty remains in evidence to some extent beyond the middle of the seventh century; e. g. where the deaths of the high kings Diarmait and Blathmac, and of Saint Féichín of Fobhar, in the yellow plague are recorded under the year 664, and again "secundum alium librum", under 667. These doubts, however, indicate that several distinct Irish chronicles were in

597; the death of Mór of Munster, 631. The first of these events is entered twice in AI, at years corresponding to 431 (9 c 12) and 440 (9 d 14).

¹ Compare their respective datings of certain events common to Ireland and Britain, viz. the comet dated 676 (= 677) in AU, 678 by Bede (Hist. Eccl. iv, 12), 676 in Ann. Cambriae, and the 'Saxon' raid on Mag Breg, dated 684 (= 685) in AU, 684 by Bede (iv, 24).

existence in the seventh century'.¹ The Rev. Dr. John Ryan is equally misinformed. In an unfortunate attempt to discredit the authority of the annalistic record of the death of St. Patrick (Patricius Junior) in 491/2, he imagines the compiler of the original Chronicle as frequently 'vacillating about an event or date', and as finding 'the effort to harmonize the discordant elements with which he was confronted quite beyond his powers'! 'Between 435 and 500', writes Dr. Ryan, 'the compiler of the Annals of Ulster gives frequent expression to the disagreement among his sources: *secundum quosdam; vel hoc anno . . . secundum alios*', and so on.² One could hardly find better illustrations of the pitfalls which beset professional historians, in common with other mortals, when they neither study the linguistic evidence nor consult the sources.

We now turn to the strangely-dated entry *Finis Cronici Iusebii*, which appears in AU under the year 609 (= 610), and which has its counterparts in Tig. (*Finis Cronice Euseui*, p. 169) and A. Clon. (*The end of the Chronicles of Eusebius*, p. 98).³ This entry, of course, means neither more nor less than: 'The Chronicle of Eusebius comes to an end in this year'.⁴ By *Chronicon Eusebii* can only be meant St. Jerome's

¹ Arch. Hib. ii, 47. 'The absence of alternative datings' in Tig. Mac Neill imagines to be due 'in part to a process of selection, in which the redactor, unlike the faithful copyists of the Annals of Ulster, thought it proper to determine for himself the question of the correct placing of each event'! (Ériu vii, 74). As a matter of fact 'alternative datings' do occur in Tig. Thus the obits of the following are entered twice: Brénainn Birra, pp. 147, 150; Lugaid of Les Mór, pp. 158, 159; Coemgen, pp. 172, 175; Fursa, pp. 190, 193; Ultán, pp. 192, 194; Cumméne Fota, p. 196; Fland Febla, pp. 220, 224; Bran, *rí Laigen*, pp. 211, 213. Also the battle of Dún Cethirn, pp. 179, 181.

² Ir. Eccl. Record lx (1942), 247 f. 'In the other annals', he remarks sagely, 'such doubts are passed over in silence'.

³ The corresponding entry in AI (11 b 8-10) runs: *Anno quinto Eracli imperatoris 7 quarto anno Sesibuti regis 7 finis Cronici Issidorii*. Here we have an unintelligent amalgam of *Finis Cronici Eusebii* with a version of the entry relating to the Chronicle of Isidore which appears in AU s. a. 616.

⁴ Compare an entry of similar import at 536: *Huc usque perduxit Marcellinus Cronicon suum* (AU s. a. 535; also Tig. p. 135). Similarly we have *Beda in Cronicis cessat*, Three Frags. 56, which appears in Irish in Tig. (p. 235), and which in A. Clon. is englished 'Here ends the Cronocles of Bede'.

Latin translation and continuation (to A. D. 378) of the Chronicle of Eusebius, as revised and continued by Prosper of Aquitaine. Of Prosper's work there were several editions,¹ and it is reasonable to suppose that, after the publication of the first edition (in 433), he made a practice of writing it up to date from year to year.

But how are we to reconcile the date, 610, in the Irish annals with 433-455, the period within which fell the different editions of Prosper's Chronicle? If we subtract two 84-year cycles (= 168 years) from 610, we arrive at 442, a date which brings us to Prosper's time. Now there is good evidence that the elder Patricius (whom Prosper calls Palladius) paid a visit to Rome about that very year. The Tripartite Life² preserves a legend of Patrick journeying from Ireland to Bordeaux and thence to Rome, whence he returned with many relics, among them relics of SS. Peter and Paul, Laurence and Stephen, all of which he later deposited in Armagh. During his absence, we are told, he committed the Irish Church to the care of Sechnall (Secundinus), who, as we know from the annals, came to Ireland in 439 and died in 447 or 448. In Tírechán's Memoir of Patrick³ we read that Patricius bestowed on Bishop Sacellus some of the relics of SS. Peter and Paul, Laurence and Stephen, which in the writer's time were in Armagh. In the same passage Tírechán further tells us that, some considerable time after he had entered on his Irish mission, Patricius ordained in Rome Sacellus, whose church was later at Baslick, Co. Roscommon; this implies that Patricius paid a visit to Rome and brought Sacellus with him on his return. In the Annals of Ulster, under 441, we read: *Leo ordinatus .xlii. Romane ecclesie episcopus, et probatus est in fide Catholica Patricius episcopus.*⁴ In this entry we may,

¹ 'There seem to have been three editions: the first continued up to 433, the second to 445, the third to 455', F. J. Bacchus, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, xii, 487.

² ed. Stokes, 238.

³ *ibid.* 301, = L. Ardm. fo. 9 a 1.

⁴ Cf. also A. Clon. p. 70. The corresponding entry in AI is abbreviated: *Probatio Sancti Patricii in fide Catholica.*

with Bury,¹ see another reference to Patrick's visit to Rome, while guarding ourselves against Bury's error in identifying the Patrick in question with his later namesake, the author of the *Confessio*.²

Now the annalistic dates at this period are hardly ever quite certain, and may easily be wrong by a year,³ so that Patrick's visit to Rome may have taken place in 442.⁴ At that time Prosper was residing in Rome, where he enjoyed the confidence of Pope Leo the Great, whose secretary some believe him to have been. He must have been on terms of friendship with Palladius (otherwise called Patricius), for he was probably living in Rome in 431,⁵ when, as he records in his Chronicle, Palladius was consecrated bishop by Pope Celestine and sent to 'the Irish who believed in Christ'.⁶ We may reasonably suppose that among the gifts that Palladius brought back with him from Rome on the occasion of his visit to Pope Leo was a copy of his friend's Chronicle, brought down to the year 442. This copy, we may further

¹ Life of St. Patrick 367 ff.

² See my lecture, 'The Two Patricks', p. 21 f. etc.

³ Thus for the solar eclipse of 445 the date indicated in AI, 9 d 18, is 444; and the celebration of Easter on the eighth of the calends of May in 455 is dated 454 (impliedly) in AI, 451 in AU and A. Clon. So the reference to Victorius in AU, 455, ought to have been dated 457, which moreover is the date implied in the corresponding entry in AI. Similarly the obit of King Loegaire is dated 462 in AU and (impliedly) in AI, whereas the evidence of Tírechán points rather to 463, which is likewise the date given in LL 24 a 49. Compare further the variations in dating in the obits of the following bishops: Auxilius, 459 AU, 460 AI; Iserninus, 468 AU, 464 AI, 469 A. Clon.; Benignus, 467 AU and AI, 468 Ann. Cambriae and A. Clon.

⁴ Alternatively, we might refer the entry *Finis Chronici Eusebii* to the year 609 (instead of 610), which on the above argument would stand for 441. Compare the statement in AU s. a. 616 (= 617) that 'Isidore wrote his Chronicle down to this year'; this is post-dated by two years, the correct date being 615.

⁵ Zimmer, *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, 32.

This entry of Prosper's was well known in early Christian Ireland. It is quoted in a modified form in the appendix to Tírechán's Memoir of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh; and another modification of it served as the initial entry of the Ulster Chronicle. See my lecture on 'The Two Patricks', p. 12 and note 9 (p. 51).

suppose, was long preserved in Ireland, and a later writer of annalistic tendencies noted that it ended at a particular year, which he denoted by its number in the appropriate 84-year cycle, and which we know as A.D. 442. In the eighth century the compiler of the Ulster Chronicle found this note among the materials he had collected for his work, but did not know the particular cycle to which it referred, and, influenced probably by the fact that another Latin chronicle, the *Chronicon Isidori*, came to an end in 615 (cf. AU s. a. 616), he dated the completion of the *Chronicon Eusebii*, with which he himself was evidently unacquainted, just two cycles (168 years) too late.

That the *Finis Chronici Eusebii* of the Irish annals at 610 is nothing more than a badly misdated entry regarding Prosper's Chronicle is, it seems to me, not open to doubt. But, unless the printed edition¹ does him an injustice, the scribe of the T.C.D. copy of the Annals of Clonmacnois went completely astray in interpreting the phrase. He imagined that it marked the end of a special section of the work he was transcribing, a section which, as he thought, bore the name of 'the Chronicles of Eusebius'.

In our own day the selfsame words have inspired Eoin Mac Neill to put forward a very similar view.² Mac Neill supposes that the Eusebian Chronicle of Jerome and Prosper was 'continued' by some Irishman in Ireland down to about the year 607.³ He further argues that, about the year 712,

¹ A. Clon., ed. D. Murphy, 98, where the words 'The end of the Chronicles of Eusebius' are printed in capital letters. There is a similar mistake later in the text (p. 114), where the words 'Here ends the Cronocles of Bede' are similarly printed. We can hardly, I suppose, saddle these blunders upon the translator, Conell Ma Geoghagan.

² Compare also Hennessy's comment on the entry *Finis Cronici Iusebii* (AU i, 86, n. 3): 'This . . . may possibly allude to some copy thereof [viz. of the Chronicle of Eusebius], with additions, known to old Irish Annalists.'

³ Ériu vii, 62 ff. He favours 607 instead of the annalistic 610 as the year of the completion of the alleged Irish continuation merely on the ground that the death of Pope Bonifacius III (in 607) is not recorded in the Irish annals. Elsewhere he writes: 'The oldest traceable Irish chronicle . . . actually bore the name *Chronicon Eusebii*, being a version of that chronicle continued in Ireland until A.D. 609' (Celtic Ireland 26 f.).

an 'Old-Irish Chronicle' was compiled which began with the year 431 and incorporated 'the Irish continuation of the Chronicle of Eusebius' as far as it went.¹

My own views on these matters, summarily stated, are as follows. (1) The 'Ulster Chronicle', as I have ventured to call it, was compiled in East Ulster (probably in the monastery of Bangor) *ca.* 740,² and was thereafter continued from year to year; it began with the arrival of Palladius in 431. The compiler drew most of his material from local Irish (including Scoto-Irish) records; but he also utilized certain foreign sources, e. g. the Chronicle of Marcellinus and a *Liber Pontificalis*. The compilation is best preserved (though in a conflate form) in AU; but it is represented also in AI, Tig., Chron. Scot., A. Clon. and the Cottonian Annals. (2) At a later period, certainly not earlier than the ninth century, another East Ulster scholar compiled what may be called 'The Irish World-Chronicle', which began with the creation of the world and ended with A.D. 430, and was

¹ Mac Neill's theory of an Irish continuation of Eusebius is rejected on good grounds by van Hamel, ZCP xvii, 259 f. For a decisive argument against the theory of an Old-Irish Chronicle of A.D. 712, see Thurneysen, ZCP x, 396 f. Mac Neill has remained unperturbed by these criticisms, which he has not attempted to answer. In 1934 he writes: 'From a study of the Annals of Tighearnach [in *Ériu*, vii] I showed evidence that this chronicle and also the Annals of Ulster down to the year 610 were based upon an ancient Irish chronicle completed in that year' (St Patrick, p. 71). In 1940 he writes: 'The common source for the Annals of Ulster, the Annals of Inisfallen, and the Annals of Tigernach, as far as A.D. 661, was a chronicle originally compiled in Ireland, probably in the monastery of Bangor, in continuation of the Chronicle of Prosper, between the years 590 and 610' (Ir. Hist. Studies ii, 130). Cf. also Annals of Inisfallen (1933), p. 29, and Jnl. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc. 1941, 7 f.

²This view of mine was stated in print for the first time in my lecture on 'The Two Patricks' (1942), p. 11: 'The various bodies of Irish annals dealing with the fifth and sixth centuries go back to a common original, which was a compilation made *ca.* 740 by an unknown monk,' etc. A couple of months later, Rev. Dr. J. Ryan, with my lecture before him, writes (the italics are mine): '*As scholars generally agree*, all our Annals in their early sections, derive from a common original compiled by an unknown monk about the middle of the eighth century' (Ir. Eccl. Record, Oct. 1942, 247). It is flattering to learn on such excellent authority that my view has won immediate and general acceptance.

no doubt intended as a supplement to the Ulster Chronicle.¹ It was compiled from various Latin sources, mainly Eusebius (the Latin version), Orosius and Bede ; but a certain amount of Irish pseudo-history was incorporated in the foreign material, e. g. the various 'invasions' of Ireland (taken from an early version of Lebor Gabála), and the succession of kings of Emain (from its foundation) and of Tara (from about the beginning of the Christian era).

I have suggested that the original 'Ulster Chronicle' was compiled *ca.* 740 ; but it must be confessed that, owing to the lateness of AU and the other extant annalistic texts, and the consequent uncertainty of the evidence, it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible to determine the date with any precision. Had the original ms. of the Chronicle and its continuation survived, the solution of the problem would, of course, be easy. The habit of amalgamating different chronicles and of making retrospective entries in annalistic compilations was an inveterate one, and doubtless the original ms. had itself been thus interpolated long before its destruction or disappearance. When a fresh transcript was made of such a text, the interpolated entries would, as a rule, cease to be recognizable as such, especially when the added entries, like the original ones, were written in Latin. Further complications are caused by mistakes or omissions due to the ignorance or carelessness of transcribers, or to their tendency to abbreviate, illustrated in AI, Chron. Scot., and (most of all) in the Cottonian Annals.

Some considerations which point to 730-740 as the probable period of the compilation of the original Chronicle may be briefly mentioned. Some use was made of the Chronicle of Bede (A.D. 725), e.g. in connexion with the Emperors, whose successive reigns are recorded from Marcian (A.D. 450) to Theodosius (A.D. 720). From the compiler's point of view the chief utility of foreign chronicles, such as Bede's, was that they provided matter with which to fill out the scanty native entries in the early centuries. Hence we can under-

¹ Versions, fragmentary or curtailed, of the Irish World-Chronicle are preserved in Rawl. B 502, Rawl. B 488, H. 1. 8 (these three edited by Stokes in RC, xvi-xviii), AI, and the Cottonian Annals. See van Hamel's paper, 'Über die vorpatrizianischen irischen Annalen', ZCP xvii, 241 ff.

stand why in the eighth century, when Irish records were plentiful, the compiler omitted the names of several Emperors.¹

From about the middle of the sixth century events of Scottish history, including those relating to the community of Iona, are recorded with increasing fullness down to *ca.* 737; but thereafter they become decidedly scantier. It seems clear that a copy of a chronicle compiled in Iona was in the hands of the compiler of the Ulster Chronicle.² So the entry *Uenit gens Gar[t]nait de Hibernia*, AU *s. a.* 669, was evidently (as *uenit* suggests) written in Scotland, as also the entry *Reuersio reliquiarum Adomnani de Hibernia*, *s. a.* 729.³ (On the other hand the entry *Sleibene, abbas Iae, in Hiberniam uenit*, *s. a.* 753, was obviously penned in Ireland.) These Scottish records not infrequently give the precise dating (i.e. the day of the week, the month, and the day of the month) of the events recorded, e.g. under the years 685, 712, 715 and 718.⁴ Of the purely Irish records of this type the earliest may well be that relating to the battle of Corann, *s. a.* 702 (= 703), fought on Saturday, 11th July, which shows that the correct date is 704.⁵ The error in the dating of this battle would harmonize with the view that the compiler lived about a generation after 704. During the period 713-738, on the other hand, there are records of a

¹ It is to be noted that most of the express references to Bede in AU are ungenune. Under 649, 653, 711, 734, the entries which mention Bede are in a later hand; so, too, are the words *secundum Bedam*, *s. a.* 605. The references to Bede's Chronicle *s. aa.* 432, 440, 460, are inaccurate. The remaining references to Bede are those under the years 565 and 583. In Tig. Bede's Chronicle is extensively drawn on; but this additional use of it is obviously due to a later redactor.

² Compare Mac Neill, *Ériu* vii, 80.

³ Similarly such an entry as *uentus magnus .xvi. Kl- Octimbris quosdam .vi. ex familia Iae mersit*, AU *s. a.* 690, must derive from a contemporary record made in Iona.

⁴ The entries of the lunar eclipse of November 11, 691, and the earthquake of Wednesday, February 8, 729 (= 730), may likewise be of Scottish origin.

⁵ Cf. Hennessy, AU i, p. 152 n. A few years earlier a couple of events are post-dated by a year. The lunar eclipse *s. a.* 691 (= 692) ought to have been entered under 690 (= 691). The battle of Dún Nechtain, *s. a.* 685 (= 686), was fought on Saturday, 20th May (AU, Tig.), which shows that the true date is 685, a date confirmed by Bede.

number of events the precise dating of which proves that they have been assigned to their correct years (i.e. after allowance has been made for the AU pre-dating of events by a year). Thus the death of Dorbéne (*s. a.* 712) took place on Saturday, 28th October, 713, and the battle of Almu (*s. a.* 721) on Friday, 11th December, 722¹.

A point or two concerning the language of AU at this period may be worth mentioning. If we ignore interpolations, the early part of AU is almost exclusively in Latin, apart from personal and place names²; indeed it is only in the tenth century that Irish gets the upper hand. Occasionally Irish words are admitted; these are very rare at first, but in the second quarter of the eighth century they begin to be introduced a little more frequently.³ Notable is the use of the Latin preposition *apud* (= Ir. *la*, 'by', 'among'), which is employed fourteen times during the period 695-731, but is elsewhere exceedingly rare.⁴ This usage shows us an individual chronicler leaving his mark on the annals of this period. In this connexion it may be worth noting that in 730 the death of a scribe of the monastery

¹ Compare further the election of Faelchú, *s. a.* 715; the battle of Finn-glenn, *s. a.* 718 (here the ferial requires emendation; see Reeves, *Vita Columbae* 381, n. s); the battle of Ard Nesbi, *s. a.* 718; earthquake, *s. a.* 729; the battle of Áth Senaig, *s. a.* 737 (here the precise date is a later addition in AU, in, apparently, the original hand, and the ferial *.iii.* is to be emended to *.iii.*, as in Tig.).

² Even these are occasionally translated, in whole or in part, into Latin, e.g. *Insola Uaccae Albae*, 675, *Canis Cuarani*, 707, *Faelbeus Modicus*, 712, *Dorsum Britanniae*, 716, in *Campo Itho*, 733. Cf. in *Ualle Pellis*, 694 (i.e. *i nGlinn Gaimin*), which is mistranslated into Irish as *i nGlend in C[h]roccind* in Tig., p. 214.

³ Compare *immairecc* (for *congressio*), 617, 651, 696, 700, 709, 759; *loscoth* (for *combustio*), 642; *guin* (for *iugulatio* or *occisio*), 643, 645, 648; *oscolt mōr*, 669, *int ascalt mōr*, 753; *mes mōr*, 671, *mess mār*, 759; *gabāil*, 672; *coscrad*, 710; in *dā tigerna*, 718; *murbrucht mār*, 719; *itir* (for *inter*), 726, 736, 742, 762; *dūnaid*, 729; *dāl*, 736; *ceniuil* (for *generis*), 739, 741, 746, dat. *ceniuil* 751, 754; *foirdābe* (for *interfectio magna*), 741, 743, 751, 753; *sārughadh Domnaigh*, 745; *imthoitim*, 745; *bādhud* (for *demersio*), 747; *aithbe fatho*, 750; *riuth fola*, 753; *lethri*, 757.

⁴ Outside the period in question, I have noted *apud* only under the years 668, 786, 810, 853, 866. Compare an apparently solitary instance of Latin *cum* in the sense of 'by', *s. a.* 733.

of Bangor is recorded for the first time: *Cochul odhor, scriba familie Benncair, dormitavit* (s. a. 729).¹

The duplicate entries in AU and elsewhere concerning the battle of Manu and the death of Bruide suggest that the compiler of the Ulster Chronicle did his work in a somewhat mechanical fashion and had no keen interest in Scottish events. A couple of other entries point in the same direction. The death of Domnall Brecc, king of Dál Riata, in a battle against the Britons in 642 is recorded in AU (s. a. 641) and Tig. (p. 186); yet we are later told that the same Domnall Brecc was defeated in a battle at Calathros in 678 (AU s. a. 677; Tig. p. 205) and that he died in 686 (AU s. a. 685; Tig. p. 209). The two last entries are, it is clear, considerably misplaced. It is difficult to account for the misplacement beyond suggesting that one of the compiler's authorities may have misread or misinterpreted the year-numbers of the 84-year cycle according to which these events were originally dated.

The duplicated entries mentioned in the last paragraph resulted from the compiler of the Ulster Chronicle having among his sources two or more records of the same event. Another instance of unconscious duplication is possibly *Bellum Cathrach Cinn Chon*, AU s. a. 639: *Bellum Cinn Chon*, s. a. 642.² So when in AU the death of Bran Finn mac Maele Fothartaigh is recorded s. a. 669, and the death of Bran Finn mac Maele Ochtraich in the following year, it may be that both men are ultimately the same, in which case we may suppose that *Ochtraig* was misread as *Fothartaig* in one of the compiler's sources.³

¹ Only two other scribes of the community of Bangor are mentioned in AU, and those at a much later date (s. aa. 838, 928).

² There is a similar duplication in Tig. (pp. 185, 187) and Chron. Scot. (pp. 86, 88).

³ There are similar double entries in Tig. (pp. 201, 202; the latter is repeated p. 200), Chron. Scot. (pp. 100, 102), and A. Clon. (p. 108). In these three texts the Bran Finn who was son of Mael Ochtraig is styled 'king of the Dési of Munster'; so also in AI (12 b 8), which omits the first of the two obits. *Bran Fionn mac Maoil ochtraigh for na Désib* is mentioned in an enumeration of kings who were poets, Ériu xiii, 42. 21. AI (alone among the annalistic compilations) record the death of his father, Mael Ochtraig, ca. 644 (*mors Mail Óchtraig rig na n-Desse*, 11 d 10).

Finally a word or two may be said regarding Tig.¹ and Chron. Scot. These two bodies of annals (with which we may also group the lost Irish original of A. Clon.) are very closely akin to each other; and internal and other evidence suggests that they derive from a chronicle belonging to the monastery of Clonmacnois. In Tig. the entries relating to the years 767-973 have been lost; up to the beginning of this chasm the text of Tig. runs parallel with that of AU, but when the text resumes at 974 it is quite independent of AU. The point at which the divergence of Tig. from AU began is inferable from Chron. Scot. In this there is a chasm extending from 723 to 803; but throughout the ninth century Chron. Scot. still has a good deal in common with AU, though the number of entries which are independent of AU tends to increase. About the year 911 the connexion between Chron. Scot. and AU ceases. The mutual relationship of these chronicles would deserve a closer study than the present writer has had time to give it; but one may infer, provisionally at least, that a copy of the Ulster Chronicle and its continuation reached Clonmacnois in the early years of the tenth century, and that a new recension of it, incorporating the local annals,² was made at Clonmacnois at that time.

In the preceding discussion we have more than once assumed that those entries, relating to the period 431-740, which are common to AU and to Tig. or Chron. Scot. go back to the eighth-century Ulster Chronicle. In general this is a fairly safe assumption; but unfortunately the evidence at our disposal will seldom, if ever, permit us to attain absolute certainty. Although the Annals of Ulster, as transcribed in the original hand in H. 1. 8, have as their main basis the Ulster Chronicle, yet, as we have seen, the compiler also

¹ I employ the expression 'Annals of Tigernach', abbreviated 'Tig.', as a convenient, if inaccurate, name for the annals in Rawl. B 488, fo. 7 a ff., beginning with A.D. 489 (or 488). These are preceded in the ms. by a fragment of the Irish World-Chronicle. The two compilations are quite distinct in point of origin, and their accidental conjunction in this ms. does not justify us in treating, as Stokes does (RC xvi-xvii), the Irish World-Chronicle as part of the 'Annals of Tigernach.'

² These local annals would presumably have begun with the founding of the monastery by Ciarán († 544 or 549).

utilized, for the most part without acknowledgment, other annalistic documents, including probably one of the 'Clonmacnois' type. Moreover, as we have said, we may assume that the practice of making entries retrospectively in annals existed in early times, as it did in later; and when a fresh copy was made of such documents the interpolations would no longer be distinguishable. Accordingly it is reasonable to suppose that the copy of the Ulster Chronicle which appears to have reached Clonmacnois early in the tenth century already contained some interpolated entries. A likely example is the entry *natiuitas Donnchada mc. Domnaill*, AU s. a. 732 (in the original hand), Tig. p. 237, A. Clon. p. 115. It is fairly obvious that this record of the birth of Donnchad, who was king of Ireland from 769 to 797, was a subsequent insertion in the annals, and not a contemporary entry.¹

¹ Another such example is seen in AU s. a. 717, where the falling of a shower of honey and a shower of blood is chronicled, after which is added: *Inde uocatur Niall Frosach mac Fergaile* (the words *quia tunc natus est* are interlined in a later hand). This has its counterpart in Tig. p. 226, Chron. Scot. pp. 118-120, A. Clon. p. 112, and the Cottonian Annals (RC xli, 323), all of which speak of three marvellous showers (viz. of honey, silver, and blood) instead of two. In Three Frags. 20 the showers are of honey, silver and wheat; in LL 274 a 5-8 (also C6ir Ammann § 124), of silver, blood and wheat. Elsewhere we read that three showers (viz. of silver, honey, and wheat) fell at the beginning of Niall Frosach's reign, i.e. in 763; this is related at length in A. Clon. p. 121, and briefly in an entry in Irish (in the original hand) in AU 763 (and cf. LL 25 b 6, = Trip. Life 520. 6).

XIV.—HISTORY OR FABLE ?

I.—EUHEMERISTS AND OTHERS

To our forefathers of a few centuries ago the history of Ireland appeared to be known, at least in outline, continuously from a couple of thousand years B.C. down to their own time. Nowadays we are naturally more sceptical. Before we can give credence to precise statements regarding events in remote times, we have to assure ourselves that these statements are based on contemporary, or nearly contemporary, records.

The critical evaluation of the sources of our knowledge of pre-Christian Ireland is of recent growth. About the middle of the last century those two great contemporary scholars, O'Donovan and O'Curry, still had almost unbounded confidence in the historical accuracy of most of our records relating to pre-Christian times. Thus in O'Donovan's opinion the Tuatha Dé Danann 'were a real people, though their history is so much wrapped up in fable and obscurity'.¹ A folk-version of the myth of the birth of Lug, which he records, he regards as 'evidently founded on facts', while conceding that the facts have been 'much distorted'.² O'Curry seems to have accepted without question the history of Ireland as related in *Lebor Gabála* and elsewhere from at least the time of the 'Milesian' invasion onwards.³ Even the story of the Second Battle of Mag Tuired, in which the mythical Tuatha Dé Danann vanquish the no less mythical Fomoiré, he is inclined to regard as veracious.⁴

Euhemerism, that is, the treating of divine beings as if they were men of a far-off age, has long been a favourite

¹ FM i, 23 n.

² ib. 18 n.

³ See his MS. *Materials*, 446 ff. He has very exaggerated ideas of the antiquity of many of the texts he is dealing with. Thus of the tale of the First Battle of Mag Tuired he says: 'The antiquity of this tract, in its present form, can scarcely be under fourteen hundred years' (ib. 246).

⁴ ib. 247 f.

method of manufacturing early history, in Ireland and elsewhere. Our Irish pseudo-historians were thoroughgoing euhemerists; so, too, were the inventors of the pre-Christian parts of our genealogies. By thus humanizing and mortalizing the divinities of pagan Ireland, they hoped to eradicate the pagan beliefs that still lingered on among many of their countrymen. Cormac mac Cuilennáin († 908) turns Manannán mac Lir into a skilful navigator who lived in the Isle of Man and who was afterwards deified by the Irish and the Welsh. Flann Mainistrech († 1056) devotes a poem (LL 11 a 19 ff.) to recounting the deaths of all the leading members of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Doubtless his intention was to emphasize their mortal nature, for he must have been well aware that many of the personages he mentions were really pagan deities.¹

The euhemeristic method has several features which have ensured it a continued popularity in Ireland. It is easy to apply; it enables the uncritical writer to fill up the historical vacuum which he abhors; and it gives us the flattering notion that the records of our history reach back into a very remote past. Moreover with the lapse of time and the disappearance of pagan beliefs the original divine character of the euhemerized personages became increasingly difficult to recognize and was frequently quite forgotten. Accordingly it is not surprising to find that euhemerism still has its votaries. Thus, to take a rather extreme instance, a well-known scholar of our own day has argued that the god Oengus, of Bruig na Bóinne, was originally 'a real historical character who lived, probably, some time towards the beginning of the Bronze Age.' Similarly the goddess Medb has been treated as 'a real historical character' by Eoin Mac Neill and others. One may readily concede that famous men (e. g. Brian Bóramha and his son Murchadh) have frequently been credited with fabulous achievements in the popular imagination of a later age. But that admission does not alter the fact that

¹ A generation or two before Flann's time Eochaid ua Flainn had composed a poem in which he names many of the Tuatha Dé; at the end of the poem he is careful to add: *cia dos ruirmend nis'adrand*, 'though he (the author) enumerates them, he does not worship them' (LL 10 a 42; of ZCP xiv., 178. 4).

the euhemeristic method in general is worthless and misleading, and can throw light neither upon history nor upon religion. As Alfred Nutt wrote many years ago, 'the mythology of the Celts has suffered more than that of any other race from the euhemerising methods of investigation applied to it'.¹

With euhemerism is usually associated rationalization, which would explain the supernatural as due to the misunderstanding or exaggeration, by simple or stupid people, of what was originally not supernatural at all. Among many of our population the belief long persisted that a supernatural personage had his dwelling beneath a local lake. Our early rationalizers tried to explain away this belief by averring that the site of the lake had once been dry land, and that, when the lake was formed by the bursting forth of water from a well, the dwelling of the local lord had been engulfed in the flood and he himself drowned therein. As an example of modern rationalization we may quote O'Donovan's opinion of the Tuatha Dé Danann: 'From their having been considered gods and magicians by the Gaedhil or Scoti who subdued them, it may be inferred that they were skilled in arts which the latter did not understand'.² Similarly O'Curry rationalizes the supernatural powers of the Tuatha Dé into their 'scientific superiority'.³ We are indebted to a contemporary of these scholars for the following amusing explanation of Finn's custom of chewing his thumb in order to acquire occult knowledge. Finn, 'when in deep thought, seems to have been in the habit of biting his nails'; but the common people, observing the beneficial results of his meditations, distorted his unpleasant habit into the chewing of his thumb, which they regarded as 'some mysterious act necessary to his communication with the unseen world'.⁴ The submarine Otherworld was sometimes conceived as a glass house in the sea; and into such a glass house the enchanter Merlin is said to have taken the thirteen treasures of Britain.

¹ Folk-lore Record iv, 33 (1881).

² FM i, 24 n.

³ MS. Materials 250.

⁴ John H. Simpson, Poems of Oisín, Bard of Erin. (1857), 207 n.

An eighteenth-century Welshman, Lewis Morris, explains that 'this house of glass, it seems, was the museum where they kept their curiosities to be seen by everybody, but not handled', and he makes Merlin 'the keeper of the museum'.¹ Of all the methods applied to the interpretation of mythic material, the rationalistic method is surely the most absurd.

One sometimes hears the question asked: 'Where are we to draw the line between fact and fiction?' It would, no doubt, be very convenient if we could draw such a line: if we could, for instance, assume that before A.D. 200 we have fiction, and after that time fact.² Actually no such line can be drawn. Even in the accounts we possess of historical persons, like Colum Cille or Brian Bórama, fiction is blended with history or legend (i.e. semi-history). Speaking generally, however, we may say that our annalistic records, which begin immediately after the official introduction of Christianity in the year 431, give us fact. For the pre-Christian period contemporary records fail us; but fortunately we are not left completely in the dark. In early Christian Ireland the popular memory was extraordinarily tenacious and conservative regarding the various origins of the different strata of the population; and with the help of these popular traditions, which have been in part preserved, it is possible to trace our history, in some of its broad outlines, back to a period antecedent to the Christian era.

2.—LEBOR GABÁLA

The history of pre-Christian Ireland as related in Lebor Gabála seems to have imposed itself easily on our ancestors. In the course of time the increasing antiquity of the record only strengthened its authority; and as late as the seventeenth century it was accepted unquestioningly as historical truth.

¹ Quoted by Rhys, Hibbert Lectures 1886, 155, n. 4.

² According to Mac Neill, 'neither history nor genealogy in Ireland, it may confidently be affirmed, is credible *in detail* beyond A.D. 300' (Celtic Ireland 57). The implication is that our 'history' is trustworthy, even in detail, as far back as A.D. 300,—a view which will commend itself only to the credulous and the uncritical.

by scholars like the Four Masters, Keating,¹ and Duaid Mac Firbis. Despite its generally spurious character, *Lebor Gabála* embodies some popular traditions concerning the Goidelic invasion and the names of the pre-Goidelic inhabitants (pp. 194, 197). One section of it, that relating to the Tuatha Dé Danann, owes its origin to a desire to reduce the deities of pagan Ireland to the level of mortal men. This part of *Lebor Gabála* misled d'Arbois de Jubainville² into treating the whole work as a mythological compilation, a kind of Irish theogony, into which he read the struggles of the 'gods of life and light' against the 'gods of death and night'. Actually *Lebor Gabála* is no more a mythological treatise than it is an historical one.³

While no one nowadays would accept all the fictions of *Lebor Gabála*,⁴ its influence on opinion is by no means exhausted. The biggest fiction of the authors of *Lebor Gabála*, and a fiction which necessitated a long series of other fabrications to support it, was their claim that the dominant Goidels had been in occupation of Ireland from a very remote period; and it is precisely this 'pious fraud' that has been most readily accepted by many scholars in recent times. Sir

¹ Keating's credulity is shaken only with regard to the expedition of the lady Ceasair to Ireland forty days before the Flood (FF. i, 146 ff.). Charles O'Connor, in 1766, criticizes Keating's work as 'a most injudicious Collection; the historical Part is degraded by the fabulous, with which it abounds' (Dissertations on the History of Ireland, p. x). Yet he himself accepts as historical the 'Milesian' invasion, and the subsequent kings of Ireland as enumerated in L. G., and also the heroes of the Ulidian tales and Finn mac Cuímaill.

² *Le cycle mythologique irlandaise et la mythologie celtique* (1884 English translation by R. I. Best, 1903).

³ Compare Meyer's animadversions on d'Arbois's view of *Lebor Gabála*: 'Die Zeit, wo man in diesem Machwerk die Urgeschichte Irlands sah, ist öffentlich auf immer vorüber; es wäre aber auch an der Zeit, es nicht ohne weiteres als Fundgrube für irische Mythologie und Sagensgeschichte zu benutzen' (Sitz.-Ber. der preuss. Akad. der Wissensch. 1919, 546).

⁴ This statement, though true in substance, may yet be slightly misleading. In Ireland our tendency with regard to early Irish history is to accept as historical truth any statement, true or otherwise, that we have heard repeated sufficiently often; and if to-day, speaking generally, we are not prepared to swallow all the fictions of *Lebor Gabála*, one probable reason is that we are no longer sufficiently familiar with them.

John Rhys, as is well known, maintained that the Goidels were settled, not only in Ireland but also in Britain, from a remote antiquity ;¹ indeed Rhys's theorizings are quite as imaginative and unsubstantiated as anything in *Lebor Gabála*. Even yet similar views are put forward from time to time by archæologists, who, chafing under the limitations of their science, too often succumb to the temptation to lend a specious semblance of reality to their speculations by linking them arbitrarily with the names of historical peoples.

Even scholars who are rightly sceptical regarding the historicity of most of the kings who are recorded as having reigned in pagan times seem to lose their caution when dealing with the alleged kings of Ireland during the early centuries of our era. Despite the fact that the story of Tuathal's birth and upbringing 'reads like a fairy tale', Mac Neill gives it sufficient credence to infer from it that there was probably 'a plebeian revolution' in Ireland in the second century A.D.² The same scholar regards Medb as an historical queen of Connacht who 'flourished just at the commencement of the Christian era'; and because the pedigree represents Tuathal as sixth in descent from Eochu Fedlech, Medb's father, he concludes that Tuathal flourished 'between A.D. 150 and A.D. 175'.³ Likewise he regards Cormac ua Cuinn as an historical king, who conquered Tara from the Lagen.⁴ During Cormac's reign, he writes, 'we trace the establishment in Ireland of permanent military forces, the Fiana, adopted no doubt in imitation of the Roman military organization'.⁵ This idea that the Fiana, the hunting and fighting bands of Finn and Goll, were modelled on the Roman legions goes back to John Pinkerton, who wrote, as far back as 1814: 'His [i.e. Finn's] formation of a regular standing army, trained to war, in which all the Irish accounts agree, seems to have been

¹ One of his guesses as to the date of their arrival was 'more than a millenium before the Christian era'.

² *Phases of Irish History* 119, f.

³ *ibid.* 118.

⁴ *ib.* 120 ff.

⁵ *Saorstát Éireann Official Handbook* (1932), 45; and cf. *Phases of Irish History* 150, *Jrnl. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.* 1941, 7 f.

a rude imitation of the Roman legions in Britain'.¹ Now the Fiana in question are indissolubly linked with Finn and Goll; and the only connexion they have with Cormac is that Finn and his fellows are often supposed to have lived contemporaneously with Cormac. The question of their historicity is bound up with the historicity of Finn and Goll; if these are mythical figures, so too are the Fiana, who have no existence apart from them.

3.—THE GENEALOGIES

The Irish genealogists did their work thoroughly. Not only did they provide every Irish family of importance with a pedigree which went back to Míl of Spain (or to Íth, Míl's uncle), but they also invented a pedigree of Míl's ancestors going back to Noah and thence to Adam. All this was accepted as indubitable truth by our native scholars. Mac Firbis in 1650, in the preface to his great genealogical compilation, stoutly affirms his belief in it.² So does Thady Roddy (Tadhg Ó Rodaighe), who, writing in 1700, boasts that 'all the families of the Milesian race' can trace their pedigree back to Adam.³ As late as 1856 Eugene O'Curry is strongly inclined to make a similar claim, and deprecates the 'scepticism' with which some would regard such pedigrees.⁴ In our own day one may still notice a certain

¹ *Inquiry into the History of Scotland* ii, 77. This has been quoted approvingly by Petrie, *Hist. and Antiqq. of Tara Hill* (1839) p. 25, and by O'Donovan, *FM* i, 119 n. Macalister in adopting the same view gives free rein to his imagination: 'Cormac had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with Roman methods of government, and with the machinery of empire. These methods he ambitiously set himself to imitate in his own kingdom. . . . He organized a standing army—a thing till then unheard of in Ireland. So deep was the impression produced by this innovation that the general entrusted with its organization has dominated the country's folk-lore ever since, in the person of the gigantic [*sic*] Find mac Cumhail' (*The Archaeology of Ireland*, p. 21). Pokorny, *Hist. of Ireland* 25, echoes Mac Neill.

² O'Curry, *MS. Materials* 575, = *Gen. Tracts* 10.

³ *Miscellany. of the Irish Arch. Society* 120.

⁴ *MS. Materials* 205.

reluctance among Irishmen to consign these imposing lists of ancestors to the scrap-heap. Mac Neill at one time held that 'the extant genealogies of great families are substantially accurate as far back as the Birth of our Lord.'¹ A few years later, in 1908, he is decidedly more sceptical; he has not 'a shadow of doubt' that 'the authentic genealogies reach back in no instance beyond the year 300 A.D.'² Yet in 1919 we find him treating as historical the pedigree of the kings of Tara in the first and second centuries A.D.,³ and in 1941 he treats the same pedigree as historical back to the middle of the third century.⁴

The fact is that no trust can be placed in the pedigrees of pre-Christian times. The pedigree-makers and the authors of *Lebor Gabála* worked hand in hand. Their object was the same, namely, to provide a fictitious antiquity for the Goidels and a fictitious Goidelic descent for the Irish generally (p. 162). Accordingly they filled out the pre-Christian part of the pedigrees of the kings of Tara and of Cashel with mythical or fanciful names, drawn in part from the traditions of the pre-Goidelic Érainn. It is sometimes argued that, because people have been known who could repeat their pedigree back for seven generations, the pedigree of King Loegaire († 463) must be trustworthy for at least a couple of centuries previous to his time.⁵ Unfortunately the cases are not parallel. The record that we possess of the ancestors of Loegaire was not derived from Loegaire himself or from any contemporary of his, but forms part of a lengthy pedigree, invented several centuries after his death, in which his descent is traced back to the fabulous Míl. Moreover, as we have seen, the inventors of this and similar pedigrees were very far indeed from being

¹ Ireland before St. Patrick 14. With regard to 'our lists of kings and their order of succession' he expresses the opinion that they 'are probably fairly authentic in the main as far back as 200 B.C.' (ibid.).

² ITS vii, p. xl.

³ Phases of Ir. History 118.

⁴ See the next note.

⁵ So, relying on the fact that Cormac's name appears six generations earlier than that of Loegaire, Mac Neill writes: 'Reckoning by generations, we can thus date the floruit of Cormac and the main prominence of the Fiana about the middle of the third century' (Jrnl. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc. 1941, p. 8).

animated by a desire for historical truth and accuracy ; indeed one need not hesitate to say that their object was rather to disguise the truth.

The Leginian pedigree is instructive in this connexion. The death of Bresal, king of Legin, is chronicled in AU under 435 and 436 ; he was thus an elder contemporary of Loegaire, king of Ireland. Elsewhere he is called Bresal Béalach, as in the pedigree, according to which he was grandson of Cathaer Már (or Mór).¹ Accordingly, Meyer places the *floruit* of Cathaer Már (whom he takes to have been an historical king) in the fourth century.² Actually, there can hardly be a doubt, Cathaer Már is the ancestor-deity of the Legin, the Otherworld god from whom they claimed descent.³ Hence we see that the compilers of the Leginian pedigree did not shrink from making a purely mythical personage grandfather of an historical king who lived in the early fifth century.

As Cathaer Már was ancestor of the Legin, so Conn Cétchathach was ancestor of their enemies, the Goidels of the Midlands. Hence our pseudo-historians, without troubling on this occasion to adapt their implied chronology to that of the genealogists, thought it appropriate to make Cathaer and Conn contemporaries and rivals,⁴ and so in the list of kings of Tara Cathaer appears as Conn's immediate predecessor. So in the tract on the Bórama Cathaer's grandson, Bresal Béalach, is said to have won a battle at Cnámross against Conn's great-grandson, Cairbre Lifechar, and to have slain three of Cairbre's sons,⁵ although according to the pedigree Cairbre Lifechar was

¹ e.g. R 117 a 26. In the list of kings of Legin, LL 39 b, Bresal Béalach occupies the first place.

² Zur kelt. Wortkunde § 44, where Meyer suggests an impossible etymology of *Cathaer*.

³ He is thus identical with Nuadu Necht. The name *Cathaer*, as I hope to show elsewhere, is a borrowing of an Ivernic (Hiberno-Brittonic) form of Celt. **Catu-tegnos*, 'battle-lord'. The Otherworld deity was also the god of war.

⁴ e.g. LL 24 a 11, R 124 a 26 (= LL 315 b 45), Fotha Catha Cnucha (RC ii, 86). See also Gwynn's discussion of Cathaer's date, Met. D. iii, 508 f. But in 'Esnada Tige Buchet' Cathaer is an elder contemporary of Cormac Conn's grandson (RC xxv, 24).

⁵ RC xiii, 50 ; and cf. Met. D. iii, 130-132, RC xvii, 28.

five generations removed from Loegaire, who historically was Bresal's junior contemporary. On the other hand, as we have seen (p. 19), Failge Berraide or Failge Rot, who fought battles in 510 and 516, is said to have been a son of Cathaer Már, which would imply that Cathaer lived in the fifth century ! It is vain to attempt to resolve these inconsistencies ; the fact is that Cathaer Már, as a non-historical character, does not belong to any century more than another.

4.—THE ULIDIAN TALES

Our earliest critic of any of the Ulidian tales is Aed mac Crimthainn, the twelfth-century scribe of the Book of Leinster, who records his opinion that 'Táin Bó Cualnge' includes fictitious and foolish things (*quaedam fragmenta poetica . . . quaedam ad delectationem stultorum*), and is fable rather than history.¹ Many centuries elapse before we hear a similar critical voice. Keating and his contemporaries have no doubts about the historical character of the Ulidian tales. Concerning 'Táin Bó Cualnge' O'Curry wrote in 1855 : 'Though often exhibiting high poetic colouring in the description of particular circumstances, it unquestionably embraces and is all through founded upon authentic historic facts' ; and again : 'The chief actors in this warfare are all well-known and undoubted historical characters, and are to be met with not only in our ancient tales, but in our authentic annals also'.² Zimmer in 1884 affirmed his belief in the historicity of Ailill, Medb, Conchobar, Cúchulainn and Finn.³ A few years later Meyer writes : 'Conchobar and Cuchulaind were, I believe, historical personages'.⁴

With greater insight Alfred Nutt wrote in 1888 : 'This [viz. the Ulidian] cycle, in its origin almost if not wholly

¹ TBC Wi. p. 911.

² MS. Materials pp. 33, 41. O'Curry's confidence in 'our authentic annals' is to be noted. He was unaware that the Irish 'annals' previous to A.D. 431 are a concoction devoid of all historical value.

³ Keltische Studien ii, 189.

⁴ The Archaeological Review i, 68 (1888).

mythic, was at an early date (probably as early as the eighth century) euhemerised, and its gods and demi-gods made to do duty as historical personages living at the beginning of the Christian era'.¹ In his Hibbert Lectures, published in the same year, Rhys, like Nutt, regards the Ulidian tales as based on myth, not on history; but in his attempts to unravel the underlying myths and to explain the actors in them he is very much at sea. Thus he regards Cúchulainn as 'the Sun-god or Solar Hero';² and he takes Conchobar mac Nesa, Cormac mac Airt and Conaire Mór to be representatives of 'the Celtic Zeus'.³

The view of Rev. Edmund Hogan in 1892 approximates to that of O'Curry; he regards the characters of the Ulidian tales as 'real personages,' on the ground that there is mention of them in Irish documents from the eighth century onwards.⁴ Windisch's view in 1905 is not very dissimilar. Concerning 'Táin Bó Cualnge' he writes: 'Es ist sehr wohl möglich, sogar wahrscheinlich, dass es einst einen König Conchobar von Ulster, eine Königin Medb von Connacht gegeben hat, dass Ulster und Connacht aus ähnlichen Anlässen, wie sie

¹ Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail 185. Cf. also The Archæological Review iii, 211. J. A. MacCulloch in 1911 ranges himself with Alfred Nutt: 'Though some personages who are mentioned in the Annals figure in the [Ulidian] tales, on the whole they deal with persons who never existed' (The Religion of the Ancient Celts 127). MacCulloch's conclusion is excellent, though he does appear to attach undue importance to the Irish 'Annals' (of the first century B.C.!).

* Rhys applies 'solar' methods of interpretation in all directions with incredible recklessness. The *gal Bulga*, Cúchulainn's weapon, he interprets as 'the appearance of the sun as seen from the Plain of Murthemne when rising out of the sea to pierce with his rays the clouds above' (The Hibbert Lectures 1886, 481). In this inept explanation, as throughout the book, one can see the influence of Max Müller and his school, who imagined that all kinds of myths and mythical figures originated in solar or atmospheric phenomena.

³ The equation of these three personages with the Celtic (or any other) Zeus is so absurdly inappropriate that one cannot but sympathize with Windisch's protest: 'Warum können jene drei irischen Könige, soviel auch über sie gefabelt worden ist, ihrem Kerne nach nicht historisch sein? (Das kelt. Britannien 118).

⁴ Cath Ruis na Rí, p. x.

in der Sage geschildert werden, Krieg mit einander geführt haben, dass Helden mit den Namen, die in der Sage genannt werden, warum nicht auch ein Held Namens Cuchulinn, in solchen Kämpfen sich ausgezeichnet haben. Aber ein geschichtliche Genauigkeit in dem Berichte davon ist nicht zu erwarten. Dazu waltet in der Sage die Phantasie zu sehr vor'.¹

The euhemeristic tendency is by no means extinct. Because myth has become attached to certain historical personages, it is supposed by those who have no deep acquaintance with Celtic mythology that characters like Cúchulainn and Fergus mac Roich were likewise historical.²

Actually the Ulidian tales are wholly mythical in origin, and they have not the faintest connexion with anything that could be called history, apart from the fact that traditions of warfare between the Ulaid and the Connachta have been adventitiously introduced into a few of them, and especially into the longest and best-known tale, 'Táin Bó Cualnge'. Cúchulainn, who in the Táin is assigned the role of defender of the Ulaid against their invaders, can be shown to be in origin Lug or Lugaid, a deity whom we may conveniently call the Hero, provided we bear in mind that he was a wholly supernatural personage, and not a mere mortal. The other leading characters, such as Cú Roí, Fergus, Bricriu and Medb, are likewise euhemerized divinities.³

5.—FINN AND THE *FIANA*

The other great cycle of storytelling, that of the Finnian tales (as we may call them), is concerned mainly with Finn mac Cumail, his son Oisín, Diarmait mac Duinn (D. ua Duibne),

¹ TBC Wi. p. viii. Twenty-seven years previously, in 1878, Windisch had expressed very similar views (RC v, 79).

² In 1917 van Hamel expressed his belief in the historicity of Cúchulainn, Conn and Cormac (cf. ZCP xii, 451 f.). For more recent examples of the euhemeristic interpretation of Irish mythical material see H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* i, pp. 179, 236 (1932).

³ For the moment I have to content myself with this bald summary of my views. The details and the proofs, which would fill many chapters, must be deferred to a later volume.

and Goll mac Morna. Finn and his fellows are represented as a *fian*¹ or band of hunters and warriors; and the rivalry between Finn and Goll is rationalized into a contest concerning the *rigfhénnidecht* or leadership of the *fian*. Keating claims that Finn and his *fian* were real persons (FF ii, 324), though he admits that not a few of the tales told about them, such as 'Cath Fiontrágha', are fictitious romances (ib. i, 50; ii, 326). O'Curry's views are identical. 'It is quite a mistake', he writes,² 'to suppose Finn Mac Cumhaill to have been a merely imaginary or mythical character. Much that has been related of his exploits is, no doubt, apocryphal enough; but Finn himself is an undoubtedly historical personage, and that he existed about the time at which his appearance is recorded in the annals, is as certain as that Julius Caesar lived and ruled at the time stated on the authority of the Roman historians'.

John O'Donovan likewise held that Finn and his *fiana* were historical. 'I have always believed,' he writes, 'that Finn Mac Cumhaill was a real historical personage, and not a myth or a god of war. . . . He was the son-in-law of the famous Cormac Mac Airt monarch of Ireland, and the general of his standing army. He was slain in the year A. D. 284, according to the Annals of Tighernach, a period to which our authentic history unquestionably reaches'.³ W. M. Hennessy, while accepting the popular opinion that 'a person named Find Mac Cumhaill did live' in the third century, held that 'his history has degenerated into a pure myth'.⁴ The views of Windisch (in 1878) concerning Finn and his fellows resemble those of O'Curry, except that Windisch is sceptical as to the complete accuracy of the dates assigned

¹ Otherwise spelled *fiann*; and often used in the plural (*na fianna, fianna Érenn, fianna Finn*).

² MS. Materials 303.

³ Ossianic Soc. iv, 285. Similarly O'Donovan asserts his belief that 'Diarmuid and Gráinne were historical personages, and that the romance of their running away is founded on historical facts' (letter of 1837, in Rev. P. Walsh, *The Placenames of Westmeath* i, 53).

⁴ RC ii, 87. This drew from Alfred Nutt the apposite rejoinder: 'So far from his history having degenerated into a myth, his myth has been rationalized into history,' *Folk-lore Record* iv, 39 (1881).

to them in early Irish history.¹ As a curiosity may be mentioned the theory put forward by Zimmer in 1891, that Finn is in origin the Norseman Caittil Find who was slain in Munster in 857, and that the Finnian tales have their origin in popular recollections of the Norse invaders.² Contrast with this the conclusion reached by Alfred Nutt, that 'from the earliest date to which we can trace it, the Ossianic saga is romantic rather than historical; in other words, it narrates to a very slight extent events which ever actually happened, or which ever would happen'.³

Scottish scholars, as was to be expected, have also interested themselves in the question. W. F. Skene, in 1862, propounded the theory that the Feinne (*sic*) 'were of the population who immediately preceded the Scots in Erin and Alban'.⁴ Equally extravagant is the theory of David MacRitchie, that the Fians (*sic*), the Picts and the 'fairies' are all 'historical people,' who were 'closely akin to each other, if not actually one people under three names'.⁵ J. A. MacCulloch's view resembles that of Nutt. 'Little historic fact,' he writes, 'can be found in it' (*viz.* the Finn saga); and 'whether personages called Fionn, Oisín, Diarmaid, or Conan, ever existed [or not], what we know of them now is purely mythical'.⁶

Whereas the Ulidian tales are tied down geographically and are assigned to a definite period of pseudo-history, the

¹ RC v, 82 f.

² Kelt. Beiträge iii, in Zeit. für deutsches Alterthum, Bd. xxxv. Cf. Nutt's summary and criticism in Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition, iv, p. xxii ff. For a refutation of Zimmer's exaggerated views regarding Norse influence on Irish, see Meyer, Sitz.-Ber. der preuss. Akad. der Wissensch. 1918, 1042 ff.

³ Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition iv, p. xxi.

⁴ The Book of the Dean of Lismore, ed. M'Lauchlan, p. lxxvi ff. He identifies the 'Feinne' with the Cruithni of Scotland and the Tuatha Dé Danann of Ireland.

⁵ See MacRitchie's book, Fians, Fairies and Picts (1893).

⁶ The Religion of the Ancient Celts 144 f. Under the influence of Skene's theory, MacCulloch supposes, without any justification, that the Finn-saga was 'the saga of a non-Celtic people occupying both Ireland and Scotland' (*ib.* 146). Compare Mac Neill's view that 'the Fenian epic originated among the Galeoin who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Almu' (ITS vii, p. xxxii).

Finnian tales are much more elastic in both respects, and in particular they possessed (unlike the Ulidian tales) a local adaptability, which contributed in no small measure to their increasing popularity. While Cúchulainn belonged to the Ulaid alone, Finn had no exclusive connexions with any tribe, and he and his *fiana* were free to indulge in war or the chase or adventure in any part of the country, so that eventually, as may be inferred from 'Acallam na Senórach', there was hardly a district in Ireland that did not acquire associations with them. In Gaelic Scotland, too, the stories of Finn and his *fiana* became thoroughly acclimatized.

Unlike the heroes of the Ulidian tales, Finn mac Cumail and the members of his *fiana* are entirely ignored by the genealogists and by the authors of Lebor Gabála. However, the growing importance of the Finnian tales and poems made it necessary to allocate a place in pseudo-history to Finn; and so we find the Irish World-Chronicle recording his death, just as it records the death of Cúchulainn. Finn is there said to have been slain by the Luaigni of Tara in the reign of Cairbre Lifechar.¹ His death at the hands of the *fian* of the Luaigni is also recorded by Cinaed ua hArtacáin.² His birth is assigned to the reign of Conn, or of Conn's predecessor Cathaer Már.³ Elsewhere Finn is supposed to have lived in the reign of Cormac,⁴ Conn's grandson. But the author of the compilation known as 'Macgnímartha Find', probably because of the difficulty he found in reconciling his sources, deliberately refrains from introducing any king of Ireland into his tale, and leaves Finn divorced from pseudo-history.⁵

While Finn's lifetime is made to extend over a period of four

¹ RC xvii, 21; and cf. Ann. Clon. 61. The absence of the entry of his death in AI, 8 b, may be attributed to the abbreviating tendencies of the scribe.

² LU 4152 (= Met. D. ii, 12); RC xxiii, 310, § 29. Gilla Coemáin records the slaying of Finn by the three sons of Urgriu (Trip. Life, ed. Stokes, 536.6.).

³ Met. D. ii, 74; Fotha Catha Cnucha, RC ii, 86; and cf. Ac. Sen. 1678.

⁴ e.g. Ac. Sen. 2381; Aided Finn, in Meyer's Cath Finntrága, p. 73.

⁵ Mac Neill, ITS vii, p. xxix f., draws unwarranted conclusions from the absence of any reference to a king of Tara in 'Macgnímartha Find,' which he dates far too early ('about 900').

generations, from Conn Cétchathach to Cairbre Lifechar,¹ his son Oisín and his nephew Caílte were, by a later convention, supposed to have lived sufficiently long to have held converse with St. Patrick. This idea² of Oisín and Caílte surviving into Christian times proved very popular, and underlies 'Acallam na Senórach' (a long prose text interspersed with poems), as well as a great deal of later 'Ossianic' verse.³

Traditions of a hero of superhuman accomplishments, one of whose names was Finn, must have been known in various parts of the country; and it is possible to distinguish a Finn of Midland tradition, a Laginian Finn, and a Finn associated with the Érainn of Munster. In the pedigree of the kings of Tara, Finn is father of Eochu Fedlech,⁴ while the pedigree of the kings of Lagen includes Finn Fili,⁵ son of Rus Ruad. The Finn of romance (Finn mac Cumail) was, however, dissociated from these, and various special pedigrees were invented for him. Sometimes he is made to descend from Nuadu Necht,⁶ ancestor of the Lagen; at other times from

¹ According to the reckoning of the Four Masters, Conn began to reign in A.D. 123, and Cairbre Lifechar was slain in 284. In the same Annals Finn's death is dated 283. Meyer (*Fianaigecht* p. xxvii) says that in the tract on the Bórama 'Finn converses with Molling († 697), so that well-known historical [*sic*] personages who lived centuries apart are brought together'. This is an error; in the tract in question Finn converses with his foster-brother, Molling Lúath, son of Fiachú mac Conga (LL 297 a 1), an imaginary character, who is quite distinct from the seventh-century saint Molling who plays a part later in the tale (LL 305 a 22).

² It goes back at least to the twelfth century, being found in a poem ascribed to Caílte, LL 208 a 24, = Ériu i, 72.

³ Compare the extravagant life-spans credited to various members of the *fiana* in an Ossianic poem, RC xvi, 26 f. Finn is said to have lived for 249 years, *ibid.*; for 230 years, Ac. Sen. 2537.

⁴ In some versions of the pedigree this Finn is son of Finnlug (R 137 b 39; IT i, 121), in others he is son of Fintan, son of Finngoll, son of Finnlug (R 136 a 19, 144 a 15).

⁵ Finn mac Cumail is even more distinguished as a poet and seer (*fili*), than as a warrior; hence Finn Fili would have been a very appropriate name for him. So *Finnecis* (read *Finn Eces*, 'Finn the poet or seer') was a name for Finn mac Cumail (Macgn. Find, RC v, 202, § 22).

⁶ ZCP viii, 560; R 118 a, = LL 311 c (quoted in Meyer's *Fianaigecht*, p. xvii); Laud 610 (quoted in Meyer's *Cath Finntrága*, p. 76). His connexion

Dáire,¹ son of Ded, ancestor of the Érainn. There is a similar fluctuation regarding his descent on the maternal side. Finn's mother is best known as Muirne, daughter of Tadg, son of Nuadu (or Nuadu Necht); but according to other accounts his mother was Torba or Tarbda, who was of the Érainn of Cermna (in Co. Cork).² Likewise there were at least two different accounts of Finn's death. Usually he is represented as having been slain at Brea, or Áth Brea, on the River Boyne;³ but another tradition made his death take place in Luachair Dedad, in the south-west of Ireland.⁴

In 'Tochmarc Ailbe' Finn is represented as an officer in the service of Cormac, king of Tara, and as captain of Cormac's fighting-men (*taísech ceithirne*).⁵ He wedded Gráinne, Cormac's daughter; but as a result of her unfaithfulness he was temporarily banished from Tara. Later he was reconciled to Cormac, and wedded another daughter of his, named Ailbe. Here we probably have the Finn of Midland tradition. His close relations with Cormac are what one would expect, for reasons that will appear later. Naturally, when he is brought into association with a pseudo-historic king of Ireland, Finn's role has to be a subordinate one.

On the whole it is the Lagenian Finn who is best known. According to Lagenian tradition Finn compelled his maternal

with the Uí Thairsig (of the Uí Fhailge) likewise links him with the Lagen (Cath Finntrága, *loc. cit.*; Ac. Sen. 6547 ff.).

¹ ZCP viii, 560; YBL 119 a 37; LL 379 a 35-37; ITS xxviii, 16, 18. So Dáire Derg is said to have been another name for Morna, father of Goll (RC v, 197).

² Meyer's *Fianaigecht*, pp. xxix (l. 19), 48; Gen. Tracts 148 (where *Chruith-entuaith* is to be emended to *Érmaib*). We are told (*ibid.*) that this Torba or Tarbda was also mother of another Finn, called Finn mac Geoir (or Gleoir); doubtless the two Finns are ultimately one and the same. In 'Macgnímartha Find' Cumall marries successively Torba and Muirne (the mother of Finn), and Finn mac Gleoir is another name for Finn mac Cumail (RC v, 197 f.). According to another account Finn's mother was Fuince, daughter of Dáire (*Anecdota* ii, 76).

³ RC xvii, 21; xxiii, 328; Meyer's *Cath Finntrága*, p. 75; ZCP i, 464.

⁴ Ac. Sen. 1766; RC xxiii, 328. 16. Compare Gilla in Chomded's statement that Finn was buried in Ard Caille in Múscraige Trí Maige, in the north of Co. Cork (*Fianaigecht* 46).

⁵ ZCP xiii, 254. So also Meyer's *Cath Finntrága*, p. 73; ZCP i, 472.

grandfather, Tadg mac Nuadat, to surrender Almu (the hill of Allen, near Kildare town); and in the later literature it is an established convention that Almu was Finn's principal residence.¹ In the legendary battle of Cnámross, in which Bresal Bélach defeated Cairbre Lifechar, king of Tara, Finn and his *fian* are said to have fought on the side of the victors.² Conversely Goll, who is Finn's enemy in the primitive myth, is associated with the Luaigni,³ who were the fighting-men of the early kings of Tara; and as the Luaigni were said to have slain Cathaer Már,⁴ king of the Lagin, so too they are said to have slain Finn.⁵ Hence Conn Cétchathach, king of Tara, sometimes takes the place of Goll as enemy of the youthful Finn.⁶

Our storytellers may be forgiven for the fluctuating chronology they assign to Finn and his *fian*, for none of their alleged achievements has the remotest connexion with history. Finn and his fellows (Goll, Diarmait, Oisín, etc.) never existed. Finn is ultimately the divine Hero, Lug or Lugaid, just like Cúchulainn.⁷ Lugaid, who was especially prominent in the

¹ In 'Aided Finn' we are told that, after Cormac's death, Finn resided mainly in Almu (Meyer's *Cath Finntrága* p. 73. 30). Compare RC ii, 90 (Fotha Catha Cnucha), and *Almu Lagen, les na Fian, port ragnáthaig Fínd fírshial*, Met. D. ii, 72 (and Ac. Sen. 1262).

² RC xiii, 50.

³ RC ii, 88; v, 197. In 'Cath Maige Léna' Goll and his men fight on Conn's side against the men of Munster.

⁴ R 136 a 55; LL 24 a 11; Lr. na gCeart 204. In an Ossianic poem (ITS vii, 86) Goll boasts that he slew Cathaer in battle.

⁵ *Fianaigecht* pp. xxii, 70, 98; RC xvii, 21; Meyer's *Cath Finntrága*, p. 75. See p. 274, n. 2.

⁶ Cf. *Fianaigecht* 46, § 8 (Gilla in Chomded); ITS vii, 33 f. In the Dindshenchas poem on Almu, Conn brings about Cumall's death, but is friendly to the youthful Finn, Met. D. ii, 74-76 (similarly Fotha Catha Cnucha, RC ii, 88-90). Ultimately Conn and Goll represent the one deity (cf. pp. 318-320).

⁷ It should be added, however, that the name *Finn* (Welsh *Gwyn*, Celt. **Vindos*), meaning 'white', would be no less appropriate to the Otherworld-god than to the Hero. Compare the mythical names *Finn-goll* and *Finn-lug*. This may help to explain why Finn is represented as the rival of Diarmait for the hand of Gráinne, and is thus assigned a role which in primitive myth would belong to the Otherworld deity. On the other hand,

traditions of the Érainn, appears in pseudo-history as Lugaid mac Con, who is the immediate predecessor of Cormac in the list of the kings of Ireland, and again as Lugaid Lága, who is likewise contemporary with Cormac, and who is represented as brother of Ailill Aulomm. We find early mention of the *fian* of Lugaid mac Con,¹ which we may regard as the forerunner of the *fian* of Finn. So we understand why the Finn of Southern tradition is represented as the friend and avenger of Lugaid mac Con.² Likewise we see the probable reason why Finn was made contemporary with Cormac. Finn's rival, Goll ('the one-eyed'), who was also called Aed ('fire'), is the sun-deity, who was also the lord of the Otherworld. The enmity between Finn and Goll mac Morna is but another version of the enmity between Lug and Balar, and between Cúchulainn and Goll mac Carbada. According to the primitive myth,³ the newly-born Hero 'slew' or overcame the Otherworld deity. The latter had many appellations; here we need only mention that one of his names in Laginian tradition was Nuadu Necht. As it happens, the Laginian Finn, descended from Nuadu, has his counterpart in the Gwyn, son of Nudd, of Welsh mythical tradition.⁴

We have several versions of the myth of Finn's overcoming

making Finn the rival of Diarmait may equally well be a storyteller's invention, like making Gráinne daughter of Cormac ua Cuinn. We may compare the unfavourable light in which Conchobar mac Nesa, as wooer of Deirdre, is depicted by the author of 'Longes Mac nUsnig.'

¹ *Fian Maicc Con* is incidentally alluded to by Tírechán in his memoir of St. Patrick. See p. 201 f.

² Finn is said to have been Mac Con's *féinnid* or *fian*-leader; and after Ferches had slain Mac Con, Finn slew Ferches in revenge (Fianaigecht 38; and cf. San. Corm. 1084). In an account of the battle of Cenn Abrat Finn mac Cumail fights on Mac Con's side (Anecdota ii, 76).

³ This I hope to discuss at length on another occasion.

⁴ It is, however, right to add that the Welsh traditions regarding Gwyn ab Nudd are few and fragmentary, and leave it by no means certain that Gwyn represents the Hero, like his Irish namesake Finn. In the *mabinogi* of 'Branwen' there is mention of Heilyn, son of Gwyn Hen. This Gwyn Hen may, or may not, be the same as Gwyn ab Nudd; but his epithet, *hen*, 'old,' would be appropriate to the Otherworld deity, but not to the Hero.

of the Otherworld-god. Two of them may be briefly mentioned here. In 'Acallam na Senórach' it is told how the youthful Finn slew Aillén mac Midgna of the *síd* (or Otherworld) of Finnachad, and how Goll had to surrender to Finn the leadership of the *fiana* of Ireland (*ríghféinnidhecht Éirenn*).¹ This deposition of the euhemerized Goll is admittedly an immediate consequence of Finn's victory over Aillén; and so the conclusion is sufficiently obvious, that the Aillén whom Finn overthrew was in reality Goll himself. Elsewhere² the personage whom Finn deposes is his maternal grandfather, Tadg mac Nuadat. The youthful Finn threatened Tadg with battle, and Tadg, unable to resist, surrendered Almu, where he lived, to Finn.

In pagan belief the deity Nuadu (of whom Tadg mac Nuadat was but an alias) was lord of the *síd* of Almu.³ The primitive version of the rivalry between Finn and Nuadu would have told how Finn 'slew' Nuadu, as elsewhere he slays Aillén, and as Lug slays his maternal grandfather Balar; but when Nuadu had been euhemerized into an historical person, it was natural to assume that Finn, after overthrowing his maternal grandfather, deprived him of his property rather than his life. As the *síd* or Otherworld was above all a place of feasting,⁴ we understand why Finn is represented as presiding over feasts in Almu. Similarly Finn's victory over Aillén means that he deposed the lord of the festive Otherworld; but in 'Acallam na Senórach' the myth has been adapted to pseudo-history, with the result that the feast no longer belongs to the *síd*, but is represented as the Feast of Tara

¹ Ac. Sen. 1721 ff. Aillén used to burn Tara every *samain* with a fiery rock that issued from his mouth (see p. 110, n. 6, p. 111, n. 1). For a folk-version see Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* 213 ff.

² In the verse *dindshenchas* of Almu (Met. D. ii, 72 ff.), and in the derived prose-tale 'Fotha Catha Cnucha' (RC ii, 86 ff.).

³ In Ac. Sen., 5119, Tadg mac Nuadat is a member of the Tuatha Dé Danann and dwells in the *síd* of Almu. In Meyer's *Hail Brigit*, p. 16, § 19, Almu is 'the dwelling-place of Tadg, son of Nuadu Necht'. According to Met. D., ii, 72, Nuadu built a residence for himself on Almu, and his son Tadg inherited it; in this text, and in 'Fotha Catha Cnucha', Nuadu and Tadg are reduced to the position of 'druids' of Cathaer Mór in order to accommodate the Finn story to pseudo-history.

⁴ See p. 121 f..

(*feis na Temra*), which is being held by King Conn Cétchathach and is being assailed by the fire-breathing Aillén.

The hill of Almu (Allen), therefore, was a *síd* or hill within which the Otherworld, ruled by Nuadu, was believed to be located; and Finn's taking possession of it is merely a late euhemeristic inference from his victory over Nuadu in the pagan myth. Accordingly it is not a matter for surprise if those who have explored the hill of Allen in the hope of finding material evidence of Finn's residence thereon have returned disappointed. Thus O'Donovan writes in 1837: 'I traversed all the hill, but could find upon it no monuments from which it could be inferred that it was ever a royal seat. . . . And still, in all the Fingallian or Ossianic poems, this hill is referred to as containing the palace of the renowned champion, Finn Mac Cool, who seems to have been a real historical character that flourished here in the latter end of the third century'.¹ Later explorers of the hill have naturally had no better success.² Mac Neill, who (like the others) entirely misses the mythological significance of Finn, tries to explain away the absence of all traces of former habitation on the hill by suggesting that 'its military value must have consisted in its being a watching place from which the Leinster king in his stronghold of Ailinn might be warned of an enemy's approach'.³ T. O'Neill Russell tried to get over the difficulty by suggesting⁴ that our storytellers have confused Almu (the hill of Allen) with Ailenn (Knockawlin, near Kilcullen), which was at one time the residence of the kings of Leinster, so that Ailenn 'may have been the hill on which Finn Mac Cumhaill had his dun'. This suggestion was taken up by Meyer, who, observing that Ailenn was assigned as residence to Finn Fili, mythical king of the Lagin, asserted that 'the connexion of Find mac Cumhaill with the hill of Allen rests on a confusion with his namesake [Finn Fili]

¹ Quoted in ZCP, iv, 340.

² So W. M. Hennessy and J. F. Campbell (RC ii, 87), T. O'Neill Russell (ZCP iv. 339), and Lady Gregory (ITS vii, p. lix).

³ ITS vii, p. lix. Lately the same scholar has written: 'The chief centre of the Fiana at Almuin was a permanent military camp' (Jrnl. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc. 1941, 7).

⁴ ZCP iv. 341 f.

and of Alenn with Almu (Allen)'.¹ Actually there is no 'confusion' between Finn Fili and Finn mac Cumail, who are always kept distinct, even though they are ultimately the same; nor is there ever any confusion in the literature between Ailenn and Almu. In his role of pseudo-historical king of Lagin, Finn Fili was inevitably thought to have resided in Ailenn, which was the residence of the kings of Lagin in early historical times. Finn mac Cumail's residence on Almu is simply a way of saying that he overcame the god Nuadu, who ruled over the Otherworld within the hill. To look for traces of Finn mac Cumail's *dún* on the hill of Allen is as vain as to try to discover Bodb Derg's residence on Slievenamon or Mider's on Croghan Hill. The Otherworld is impervious to archæological exploration.

6.—CONN CÉTCHATHACH. CORMAC UA CUINN.

Conn Cétchathach and Cormac ua Cuinn have been mentioned above as the two 'kings of Ireland' with whom Finn is most frequently associated. The Dictionary of National Biography treats these two personages as historical kings, and devotes several columns to an account of the doings of each of them. It may be worth while to examine their alleged historicity a little more closely.

Conn was one of the numerous names applied to the god of the Otherworld, from whom the Celts believed themselves to be descended, and after whom they were wont to name themselves, both as individuals and as tribes. Hence the Midland Goidels called themselves *Connacht(a)*, 'descendants of Conn'. The pseudo-historians and the genealogists, following their custom, turned Conn into an Irish king, making him son of Fedlimmid Reichtaid,² son of Tuathal Techtmar.

As a common noun *conn* (*cond*) means 'sense, reason',

¹ Meyer, Hail Brigit p. 8 n.

² Fedlimmid Reichtaid is a mere name to us. He was possibly taken over from Laginian tradition. Fedlimmid Fortrén, whose name occurs in the mythical part of the Laginian pedigree, is called *Fedelmid Reichtaid* in a metrical version of the same (ÁID i, 28, § 16, = *Fortrén Fedelmid*, ib. 40, § 18).

and goes back to Celt. **kondo-*, IE. **kom-dho-*.¹ We may take it, therefore, that the name *Conn* was applied to the god in his capacity of god of wisdom.² Welsh tradition affords a close parallel in Pwyll, 'head of Annwfn', whose name (Welsh *pwyll*, 'sense, reason, prudence') is the counterpart of Ir. *ciall* and is synonymous with *conn*. In Gaul *Condos* and *Sencondos* are known to have been in use as personal names;³ as the Otherworld deity was characterized at once by great age and great wisdom,⁴ the latter name, meaning 'the wise old one',⁵ would have been a very appropriate designation for him.

The word *conn* (*cond*) means also 'head' and (figuratively) 'chief'. A possible explanation of this is to see in it a secondary use of *conn*, 'reason', the head being the seat of reason. In any event a word meaning 'head' would be an appropriate designation of the Celtic Otherworld-deity.⁶ On Gaulish monuments he is often represented as a triple-faced head, or as a triple head. Welsh tradition tells of the joyous feasting in the Otherworld island of Gwales, presided over by Bran's Head, and known as *yspydawt urdawel Benn*, 'the hospitality of the honourable Head'.⁷ So it is possibly significant that Pwyll is called, not 'lord of the Otherworld', but 'head of the Otherworld', *penn Annwvyn*. Sufficient

¹ Walde-Pokorny, i, 458; Pedersen, V. G. ii, 502.

² Mac Neill erroneously interprets *Conn* as 'the Freeman,' and, no less erroneously, takes *Leth Moga* [*Nuadat*] to mean 'the Slave's Half,' in contrast to *Leth Cuinn*, 'the Freeman's Half' (Celtic Ireland 61).

³ See Holder, s.vv. *Condu*, *Sencondos*.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 318 f. *Conn Cétchathach* is called *Cond Crinna*, 'Conn the Wise', LL 364. 5, = Martyr. Tallaght 122. The word *crinna* (*crinda*), 'prudent, wise', is a derivative of *crin*, 'old, withered'. In Munster Irish *crionna* has come to mean 'old', for, as the Munster proverb has it, 'good sense only comes with age' (*Ní thagann ciall ruim aois*).

⁵ Thurneysen's interpretation is 'den Verstand eines Alten habend' (Rom.-Germ. Kommission, 20, Bericht, 198).

⁶ The head symbolizes the sun as well as wisdom. See *infra*, p. 300, n. 2.

⁷ The storyteller (*mabinogi* of Branwen) rationalizes the tradition by supposing that Bran was dead, and that his head had been cut from off his body. In Norse mythology Odin has a double in the all-knowing Mimir; and we are told that, after Mimir's head had been cut off by the Vanir,

evidence remains to show that in pagan Ireland, too, there was a similar belief concerning the divine Head presiding at the Otherworld feast.¹

A plain trace of the divinity of Conn is seen in the text 'Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig',² which purports to be a prophecy by Conn concerning the kings of Ireland who were to succeed him. Here Conn, as befits his name, is the god of foreknowledge and prophecy. It is interesting to observe the modifications introduced into 'Baile in Scáil',³ a later and longer text on the same theme. This tells how Conn one day, after a magic mist had come upon him near Tara, found himself in the Otherworld, and how the lord of the Otherworld, who is here identified with Lug mac Ethlenn,⁴ foretold to Conn the kings who were to succeed him. Here Conn is merely king of Tara, and as a mortal he no longer possesses the power of seeing into the future; hence it is necessary to transport him to the Otherworld in order that the future may be revealed to him.

Cormac, who is made grandson of Conn, is likewise, I have little doubt, a wholly unhistorical personage. His name,⁵ the story of his birth and upbringing, and the story of his

Odin kept it alive by means of his spells and drew from it a store of hidden knowledge. The cutting off of Mimir's head is, of course, a piece of rationalization, analogous to that in 'Branwen'.

¹ It is thus that we can explain the Irish traditions of a severed head speaking at a feast, viz. the head of Lomna (San. Corm. s. v. 'orc tréith'), the head of Finn mac Cumail (ZCP i, 464 f.), and the heads of Donn Bó and Fergal mac Maile Dúin (RC xxiv, 58 ff.).

² Edited by Thurneysen, Zu ir. Hss. u. Litteraturdenkmälern i, 48 ff.

³ ZCP iii, 458; xiii, 372.

⁴ The transference of the functions of the Otherworld deity to Lug is a mythological impossibility, and marks a redactor's mishandling of the original story. A *Scál*, meaning 'the Phantom' or the like, is an appropriate name for the Otherworld deity; so that *Baile in Scáil* = *Baile Chuinn*. (Compare *Scál Balb* as a name for Cian, the father of Lug, LL 9 a 43, RC xv, 317, xvi, 50.) In the text Lug is referred to as a *scál*, though he himself disclaims the name and says that he is 'of the race of Adam'.

⁵ *Cor(b)mac* is from **Korbo-mahkvos*. In *Maccorb* we have the same components reversed. Cormac's explanation of *corb* as 'chariot' (San. Corm., 204), suggested by *carbát*, can be dismissed as a fiction; but a discussion of the probable meaning of the word would occupy too much space here. Compare

wedding Ethne Thoebfhota, all suggest his ultimate identity with the divine Hero, Lug or Lugaid. In Ernean tradition he appears as Cormac Conn Loinges, who in the Ulidian tales is very artificially made son of Conchobar, king of Ulaid.¹ As the kingship of Tara was taken over by the Goidels from the Érainn, so also, it would appear, was Cormac. The Goidelic Cormac is distinguished by being called Cormac ua Cuinn,² which practically means 'Cormac of the Goidels'. In the regnal lists he succeeds Lugaid mac Con, of the Érainn, as king of Tara,³ and after this there is no further mention of the Érainn ruling in Tara. He is said to have been twice driven out of Tara by the Ulaid.⁴ These 'exiles' (*loingis*) of Cormac have doubtless been inherited from the earlier Cormac Conn Loinges, though they may also be regarded as typifying vicissitudes in the warfare of the early Goidelic kings with their neighbours. We also hear of Cormac winning battles against each of the four provinces,⁵ much like Tuathal.

Lug, in one of his functions, was the divine prototype of human kingship; and so Cormac has become an idealization of the first Goidelic king of Tara. In later times his supposed reign had in retrospect something of the halo of the Golden Age, and under his rule, it was thought, Tara reached the summit

other names for the youthful Hero, viz. *Conmac* (otherwise *Mac Con*), and *Macc ind Óc* (a corruption of **Maccon Óc*), = Welsh *Mabon*.

¹ See p. 130 ff.

² So nearly always in early texts. In late texts he is called Cormac mac Airt.

³ Cf. SG i, pp. 255, 317.

⁴ RC xvii, pp. 14, 16. He was driven out first by Fergus Dubdétach, and afterwards by Eochaid Gunnat (Meyer's *Cath Finntrága*, p. 72 f.); these two kings belonged to the Dál Fiatach. Another text speaks of his being driven out by Fiachu Araide, of the Dál nAraidi, and of his going into exile (*for longes*) to Fiachu Mullethan in Munster (ZCP viii, 314. 8-9). Another account says that he was banished by the Ulaid into Connacht (LL 328 f 18). Compare also his banishment 'across the sea': *loingeas mór Cormuic maic Airt tar magh rein fri re teora mbliadan* (RC xvii, 13; and cf. ZCP xiii, 375.22, 376.7).

⁵ RC xvii, 13; and cf. ZCP xiii, 375 f.

of its glory.¹ He is said to have built the great *ráith* at Tara.² To him is attributed the compilation of a fictitious 'Saltair Temrach', and he is also credited with the authorship of 'Tecosca Cormaic', an Old-Irish text which professes to be a series of counsels given by him to his son Cairbre. Together with his mythical predecessors Conchobar and Morann, he is one of the three who believed in the true God before the coming of St. Patrick.³ In no small measure, as Gwynn has shown,⁴ this glorification of Cormac is of learned origin, suggested by the biblical descriptions of King Solomon and his house.

Just as Cormac, Goidelic king of Tara, is ultimately a borrowing of a legendary Ernean namesake, so his alleged son and successor, Cairbre Lifechar, is, as we have seen (p. 139 f.), a borrowing of the Leginian Cairbre whom we meet elsewhere as Cairbre Nia Fer, king of Tara.

¹ Cf. Met. D. i, pp. 14, 28-36; Aided Finn, in Meyer's *Cath Finntrága*, p. 73 (=SG i, 89 f.); IT iii, 85 f. Tara is pre-eminently the residence of Cormac: *ard-chathir Cormaic meic Airt*, Met. D. i, 14. Cormac brought the hostages of Ireland to Tara, ib. 16.

² RC xxv, 24-26.

³ LU 4045-51. Elsewhere (Meyer, *Death-Tales* p. 8) there are only two such believers, Conchobar and Morann.

⁴ Met. D. i, 70 ff.

XV.—THE TRAVELLER OF THE HEAVENS

1.—*ÁN. ÁINE.*

THE adjective *án* means 'fiery, bright, glowing (i.e. emitting both heat and light)'; compare, e.g., *saigtea āna*, glossing 'sagit[t]as ardentes', *MI. 24 c 3*; *in grian án*, *Fél. Oeng. June 17* (and cf. *Mar. 17, July 7*); *ánbréo*, *ib. p. 297*; *āngrian grīssach goires brēoda*, *ĀID ii, 15*. In such phrases as *intan bá hánem dó*, 'when he was at the height of his performance'¹, *BDD § 109*, *in tráth rop ániu dōib oc ól*, 'when their feasting was at its height', *ZCP xii, 273*, otherwise *tan rop āine dōib ag fledōl*, *ZCP vii, 306*, we seem to have a figurative use of a phrase originally used of the mid-day sun². Compare *ánle*, meaning apparently 'warm sunshine',³ which seems to be an old compound of *án* and *li*,⁴ 'brightness' (Welsh *lliw*, 'colour'; *lliw dydd*, 'the light of day').

Frequently *án* is used as a complimentary epithet meaning 'brilliant, splendid, delightful', or the like; see, e.g., *Wb. 8 a 5*, *Fél. Oeng. (gloss.)*, *SR (passim)*. Compare *ba suī*, *ba ān*, *ba airdirc*, *Meyer, Bruchstücke § 96*, *Senac[h] án mar oebill*, *Mart. Gorm. Feb. 11*; the latter example shows that the earlier sense of 'brightly glowing' was still remembered in this usage.⁵ It appears to have been a traditional epithet of

¹ Stokes translates 'when he was swiftest', but the meaning is rather as above.

² For other examples see *Ir. Aeneid (ITS vi)*, l. 1939 and p. 203; *Anecdota iii, 59.30*; *Plummer, Lives of Ir. SS. i, 96.4*; *Feis Tighe Chonáin 423*; *IT iii, 468, l. 88*. *In tráth rop ániu don gréin* would mean 'when the sun was at the height of its power (at its brightest and hottest)'.
³ Used in the phrase *i lló ánlí (áille)*, 'on a hot summer's day', for examples of which see *TBC Wi.*, p. 513, n.l. In a secondary sense *ánle* means 'an outstanding person, a champion'.

⁴ Cf. *lí grēne*, 'the sun's brightness', *Thes. Pal. ii, 250.11*.

⁵ In *Aimirgen indse Gáedel | ar n-ór, ar n-án, ar n-óebel*, *Ériu iv, 136.18*, we have a substantival use of *án*, applied complementarily (like *oibel*, 'a glowing coal') to a distinguished person. Compare the similar use of *grian* 'sun', e.g. *Aedán in grian geldae*, *Fél. Oeng. Aug. 31*.

Ériu, 'Ireland', e.g. *ōs Érin̄n āin*, Meyer, Bruchstücke § 125, *i nErind āin*, LU 9967 (and cf. Anecdota i, 14.8), *d'Erind āin*. Todd Lect. iii, 202 a (= LL 129 b 3), *Hérend dīne*, Met. D. iv; 150.8; and it is thus that we find it used in one of the very latest examples of the word in Irish: *nós do chlaois na mílte i nÉirinn āin*, *Búrdúin Bheaga* § 96.¹

Notable is the use of *án* in the phrase *aes án*, 'bright (or splendid) folk', applied to the inhabitants of the Otherworld and synonymous with *aes síde*, *lucht síde*, and *sluag síde*.²

Another meaning of *án* was 'swift, speedy' (.i. *luath*, O'Davoren 13; .i. *éasgaidh nó luath*, O'Clery). This may be exemplified in *for ech án*,³ *Hibernica Minora* 76, *eochnu āna athloma*, *Togail na Tebe* 2862, *fer án athlamh*, *TBC Wi.* 5324.

The derivative *dīne*, f., means 'fieriness' (e.g. *āne thened*, *Thes. Pal.* ii, 355, *āne in teined*, *Ériu* ii, 134, § 114); 'brightness, radiance' (*di étrachtu 7 āne 7 soilse a gnūisi*, *ib.* 142, § 155); 'splendour, delight' (cf. *Sg.* 204 b 2; *Fél. Oeng.*). Often it becomes *dīnius* under the influence of the more or less synonymous *oibinnius*, *oibnius*,⁴ with which it is often coupled, e.g. *co n-āinius co n-aebinneos*, *SR* 974, *co n-dīnius 7 co n-atbinnius*, *LU* 2048, *ānius 7 aibinnius*, *ib.* 3226, *dīgēnsad āinius 7 oibnius*, *RC* xiii, 221; and as *dīneas* this form of the word continued in use down to the seventeenth century (Keating, Ferriter). Another meaning of *dīne* was 'speed'

¹ In *go hÉirinn bháin*, *Aog. Ó Rathile*, *ITS* iii, 2 ed. 28, one may suspect that the last word is a scribal corruption of *āin*. My latest example of *án* in a prose text is *na cleasa āna iolordha (iolardha)*, *ITS* xxiv, pp. 46, 92. An example occurs in a poem in *deibhidhe* composed in 1696: *a fhoghlaim án*, *Éigse* i, 163. 17.

² Cf. *aes án nō sīthc[h]aire*, O'Davoren 1600; *go millthighe leis̄an aois dīn no leis̄na síodh-bhruighibh [= siabhradhaibh] gach mac dá mbeir̄r̄thi roimhesin dó*, *Plummer, Lives of Ir.* SS, i, 164.4. The phrase is not yet quite obsolete, though no longer analyzed as two words, as in *poc aosáin*, 'a fairy-stroke' (cf. *RC* iv, 178 f.; spelled *puc aosán* in *Sheehan's Seanchaint na nDéise*, 237).

³ But in *ech án amlúath*, *Triads of Ireland* § 85, *án* must mean 'fine-looking' or the like. Compare *mac as āine 7 is áilli 7 is cháime baí a nÉrin̄n*, *RC* xxiv, 44, § 3. So *āne* in *āne la dóer*, *Triads* § 84, probably means 'handsome appearance', though Meyer would interpret it as 'agility, deftness, skill.'

⁴ Cf. *āine .i. aibnes*, O'Davoren 108; *dīne nó aoibhneas*, *ITS* xxiv, 18.

(*i. lúas no déine*, O'Clery); compare its association with *déine* in *ara dēni 7 ara āni in charpait 7 ind erred*, LU 10179 (Toch. Emire). In Scottish the word, shortened to *àin*, is still preserved in the phrase *àin an latha (là)*, 'the heat of the day' (cf. H. S. Dict.), 'broad daylight' (Dwelly); compare *thainig āin an latha*, 'the day has become bright and hot' (Dieckhoff). So in a poem by Uilleam Ros († 1790) *àin* is applied to the heat of the sun: *tha cùirnean driùchd 'na thùir air làr | ri dìrd 's ri àin na gealghréine* (Watson, Bàrd. Ghàidhlig 1255-6).

Aine is also the name of a goddess, who was associated in particular with the *síd* of Cnoc Áine, 'Knockainy', Co. Limerick.¹ In the genealogical tract on the descendants of Éber she is represented as daughter of Fer Í, son of Eógabal.² Elsewhere she is made daughter of Eógabal,³ and sister of Fer Í,⁴ or else daughter of Manannán.⁵ A discussion of the divinities with whom Áine is brought into relationship would lead us too far afield; here it will suffice to remark that Fer Í ('man of yew') and Eógabal are ultimately one and the same, and so indeed is Eógan, after whom the Southern Goidels gave themselves the name *Eóganacht*.

Aine was also the designation of a god. As such it occurs, subjoined to *Ailill*, in the mythical parts of two pedigrees. Conaire Mór, of the Érainn, is *m. Eterscēlae m. Eōgain m. Ailella Ani m. Heir (= Iair) m. Dedad*, R 162 d 30. Labraid Loingsēch, ancestor of the Lagen, was, according to the genealogists,

¹ On St. John's night men used to go in procession around Áine's hill, carrying flaming *cliars* (bunches of straw and hay tied upon poles). See RC iv, 189.

² R 147 b 24, LL 319 b 45-46.

³ San. Corm. 60; RC xiii, 434-438 (Cath Maige Muccrama); LL 138 b 39 (Gilla Mo-dutu); Ac. Sen. 3651, 5123; Ériu iii, 162, § 16. Eógabal was lord of the *síd* of Cnoc Áine, which was also called *Síd Eógabail* and *Druim Eógabail*.

⁴ Instead of *Fer Í* we find, by alliterative attraction, *Fer Ft*, LL 27 b 12, 14 (but *Fer Hí*, ib. l. 5), RC xiii, 438, Met. D. iv, 58, SG ii, 575. Another corruption is *Fer Aí*, Ac. Sen. 5123.

⁵ IT iii, 83; Meyer's Cath Finntrága, p. 74; and cf. Met. D. iii, 114, Oss. Soc. iii, 112. In Ac. Sen., 3671, Áine is wife of Manannán.

son of Ailill Áine¹; as we also find him called 'son of Áine²', we infer that *Ailill Áine* is merely a genealogists' expansion of *Áine*, the addition of *Ailill* serving incidentally to distinguish the male Áine from his female counterpart and name-sake. The simple *Áine* occurs as a man's name in the genealogies of the Ciarraige.³

With Ailill Áine, ancestor of the Érainn, we may compare Echdae Fer Áine, whose name appears in some versions of the Eóganacht pedigree.⁴ *Fer Áine* we may take to be a way of expressing *Áine*, masc.⁵; or we may take it in its literal sense of 'husband of Áine', which would amount to the same thing, for we may safely suppose that in pagan belief the god Áine had the goddess Áine as consort. According to tradition Áine of Cnoc Áine was wife of Ailill Aulomm.⁶ This Ailill is represented as father of Eógan, the ancestor of the Eóganacht; but, as could be shown, like much else in the mythical part of their pedigree, he has been taken over from the traditions of the Érainn.

A near neighbour of Áine's was Grian, the goddess who dwelt in the *síd* of Cnoc Gréne, a hill near Pallas Grean, about seven miles distant from Knockainy. Like Áine, she

¹ *m. Ailella Aine*, R 117 g 1; *oenmac Ailella Ane*, LL 311 a 34; *mac do Ailill Áine*, ÁID i, 28.

² *mac Áine*, ÁID, ii, 23. Similarly Labraid is *Moín macc Áini oínvíg*, *ibid.* 10, § 5.

³ The bearer of it is called *mac Imchada*, R 159 b 48, but *mac Ambri maic Imchada*, *ib.* 160 a 10.

⁴ *m. Echdae Fir Aine*, R 148 b 6. *Echdae* here was later assimilated to the better-known *Eochu*; cf. *m. Echach Fir Aine*, BB 172 b 45, and see Keating, FF iv, pp. 17, 47.

⁵ Compare *Fer Cete*, son of Ded, ancestor of the Dál Cete. Adamnan makes mention of *To-channu mocu Fir Cetea* (cf. *Thes. Pal.* ii, 281), i.e. 'T. of the Dál Cete', which shows that *Cete* in this name is fem. (< **Kantiā*); so *Fer Cete* would appear to be synonymous with *Cete*, m., < **Kantios*. This male *Cete* was taken over into the pedigree of the Eóganacht, in which he appears as *Cete Cuimnech* (cf. R 148 b 22), otherwise *Cēite Fāith* (ÁID i, 54).

⁶ So Gilla Mo-dutu speaks of *Ani ben dAilill*, LL 138 b 29. The well-known legend of Ailill outraging Áine (LL 27 a 56, 288 a 41, 319 b 45) was invented primarily with the object of accounting for Ailill's epithet *aulomm*, 'bare-eared', and secondarily in order to explain how enmity, engineered by Áine, arose between Lugaid and Ailill's son, Eógan.

is represented as daughter of Fer Í, son of Eógabal.¹ In pagan Ireland every district of importance tended to have its own *sid* or hill within which the Otherworld was believed to be located; nevertheless there was in Celtic belief but one Otherworld, despite the fact that so many different locations were assigned to it. In the same way the deities who presided over the different *side* were ultimately the same everywhere, despite the variety of local names applied to them. So, beyond a doubt, Grian and her neighbour Áine were but one goddess under different names.²

The goddess Grian was also known elsewhere. In the east of Co. Clare her name appears in *Loch Gréne*, 'Lough Graney', in the place-name *Tuaimm Gréne*, 'Tomgraney', and in the river-name *Grian*, 'Graney'. In connexion with these names Grian is described as 'daughter of Finn'.³ Elsewhere we are told that *Grian* was another name of Macha, who is represented as wife of Cruind and daughter of Mider of Brí Léith.⁴

2.—THE HEAVENLY HORSE

That Grian was the sun-goddess is obvious, for her name means simply 'Sun'. That her double, Áine, was likewise the sun-goddess is no less obvious from the evidence of her name, for the combination of meanings seen in *án, áine* (viz. brightness, heat, and speed) inevitably suggests the sun.⁵

The sun is not only the giver of light and warmth, but also

¹ *ingen firai mic eogamail*, Stokes, *Three Ir. Glossaries* (1862), p. xliii.

² Indeed it would seem that their identity was understood as late as the eighteenth century by Aogán Ó Rathile, when he wrote *do ghuil Áine i n-árus Gréne* (ITS iii, 2 ed., 224).

³ Cf. Met. D. iii, 306, Ac. Sen. 1013. So we find mention of Áine daughter of Finn: *Áni ingen Fhind ben Echach*, LL 139 a 10 (Gilla Mo-dutú), = RC xlvii, 302.2. In the prose *banshénchas* this Áine is mother (not wife) of Eochu Domlén, RC xlviii, pp. 178 w, 215. 7. Compare Áine, daughter of Modorn and wife of Finn, in Ac. Sen.

⁴ Met. D. iv, 126. The name *Cruind*, meaning 'round', suggests the sun-deity.

⁵ In 'Immacallam in Dá Thuarad' a *cuarlaib Áine* (cf. RC xxvi, 18.3; R 108 a 48) probably means 'from the circuits of the Sun'.

the speedy and unwearied traveller who circles the world each day. The swiftness of the sun and its long and regular journeys made a deep impression on the minds of our early forefathers. As the horse was the swiftest of terrestrial travellers, the sun was fittingly regarded as the courser of the heavens. Sometimes the sun-god was imagined as having the form of a horse. Compare *Roach*, 'great horse'¹, the name of the father of Fergus in the Ulidian tales; and *Riangabair*, 'sea-horse', the name of the lord of an insular Otherworld in 'Longes Mac nDuill Dermait' (IT ii, i, 180), whom we may take to be a double of Manannán. We have a British counterpart in March ('horse') ab Meirchion, who according to Welsh (and Breton) tradition had horse's ears, and who is better known from the 'Tristan' romance as King Mark of Cornwall. At other times the god was conceived as being partly human, partly equine, in shape. Compare Eochu Ehcend ('E. horse-head'), king of the Fomoir, LL 329 e 15; and Eochaid Mairccend² (with the same meaning), whose horses were Wind (*Gaeth*) and Sun (*Grian*), Met. D. iv, 182. So we have *Echbél*, 'horse-mouth', as the name of a son of Ded (Scéla Mucce Meic Da Thó, § 7), and as an epithet in *Eichde* (*Eochu*, *Errge*) *Echbél*. At other times, again, both conceptions, the anthropomorphic and the hippomorphic, are found side by side; and the god is represented as a man riding a horse or accompanied by a horse. Thus we read of the splendid horseman Eochu Rond, whom Cúchulainn overcomes by killing the horse with Eochu's own spear;³ and we also hear of the 'great horse' (*ech mór*, Met. D. iv, 64, LU 2948) who accompanied Eochu mac Maireda, after whom Loch nEchach, 'Lough Neagh', was named.⁴ So Manannán

¹ Cf. Thurneysen, *Heldensage* 92, n. 2.

² Otherwise *Eochaid Cenn Maircc*, R 155 a 10; *Eochaid Ceann Mairc*, Bk. of Uí Maine fo. 34 b 2.43.

³ IT ii, pt. 1, 177 (Longes Mac nDuill Dermait). Spearing Eochu's horse was tantamount to spearing Eochu himself. Later in the same tale (p. 183 f.) we find Cúchulainn slaying Eochu Glas. Elsewhere (Serglige Conc., IT i, 220) he slays Eochaid Iuil, ruler of the Otherworld.

⁴ The Celtic Otherworld was often conceived as being situated beneath the sea or beneath a lake. In pagan times Eochu was believed to be lord of the Otherworld beneath Lough Neagh. In Christian times, after Eochu

possessed a horse that could travel over sea and land¹; and elsewhere we read of his driving over the sea in his chariot (Immram Brain § 32), or riding through the waves on horseback.² In Gaul one of the names of the deity identified with Apollo (i.e. the sun-god, or the god of healing) was *Atepomāros* (RC xvii, 34 ff.), meaning something like 'possessing a great horse (or great horses).' Much more might be said in this connexion; but it will suffice to add that the well-known mythical (and personal) names, *Eochu*, *Eochaid*, derived from *ech*, 'horse', were originally, I have little doubt, appellations of the Otherworld deity in his role of horseman of the heavens.³ Compare *Echdae*, the name of the 'husband of Áine', mentioned above, which means either 'horse-god' (**ekvo-dēvos*) or 'horse-like' (**ekvodios*), and the cognate **Epidios* (> Ir. *Eichde*), whence the name, recorded by Ptolemy, of the Epidii of Kintyre.

had been euhemerized into a mortal man, his connexion with the lake was explained by inventing the legend that he was drowned when the lake burst forth and flooded the country. So the tradition recorded by Giraldus (Top. Hib. ii, ix) that fishermen on Lough Neagh could in calm weather see buildings (round towers) beneath the water goes back ultimately to the pagan belief that Eochu had his residence beneath the lake.

¹ Atlantis iv, 162 (Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann). So Iubdán's golden horse bears its rider safely over sea and land (SG i, 242); and, in Norse mythology, Odin rides over the sea on his eight-footed steed, Sleipnir. Compare the popular French riddle (quoted in Andrew Lang's *Custom and Myth*, ed. 1893, 14): 'What runs faster than a horse, crosses water, and is not wet?' Answer: 'The Sun.'

² Ciabán and his two companions in the midst of a storm at sea are rescued by a horseman who comes riding through the waves and brings them on his horse to Manannán's residence in Tír Tairngire (Ac. Sen. 3743 ff.). The horseman is not named, but the context makes it clear that he is Manannán. As Manannán, who is made son of Ler ('sea'), came to be regarded as travelling over the surface of the sea, like a ship, we find the expression 'Manannán's horses', *groigh meic Lir*, used as a kenning for the waves (RC xii, 104). The comparison of waves to horses is a natural one; compare *gabra réin*, 'sea-horses', = waves', Immram Brain § 4, and Italian *cavallone* in the sense of 'a great wave'.

³ Cf. *Eochaid Anchenn*, 'E. of the glowing (or speedy) head', the name of a fabulous king of the Lagen (LL 51 b 24; earlier in a poem by Mael Mura, *Eochaid Anchenn*, Lec. 10. 8 b 2. 29). The 'head' is a symbol of the sun. For the one-eyed Eochaid see p. 59, *supra*.

In the same way the sun-goddess, consort of the sun-god, was regarded as having the form of a mare, or alternatively as a woman mounted on, or accompanied by, a mare. We may see one of her designations in *Láir Derg*, 'red mare', the name of a mythical lady who appears in legend as foster-mother of Corc of Cashel¹ and of Niall Noígiallach.² Inasmuch as no terrestrial horse could rival the sun in speed, it is natural to find the lady Grian, otherwise known as Macha, outstripping the fastest horses of the Ulaid (Met. D. iv, 126). Although the tales told concerning Étaín (Ériu xii, 137 ff.) have undergone drastic re-fashioning at the hands of the storyteller, plain traces persist of Étaín's original role of sun-goddess. Her epithet *Echraide* (*ekvo-rēdiā; cf. Welsh *ebrowydd*, 'swift', lit. 'horse-riding') suggests the speedy horse; she is wooed and won by a magnificent horseman, Eochaid Airem; she lives in a crystal *grianán* or sun-house, and accompanies Mider (or the Macc Óc) wherever he goes; for seven years she moves incessantly through the sky like a radiant purple fly; and finally, in the shape of a swan, she flies away through the air with Mider. So in the *mabinogion* of 'Pwyll' and 'Manawydan' there are very obvious traces of Rhiannon being the horse-goddess. She is clad in shining gold, and rides 'a big white-pale horse' (*ar uarch canwelw mawr*) of surpassing fleetness; she is wife of Pwyll,³ lord of Annwfn (the Otherworld); at another time she carries travellers on her back, like a horse, and wears an ass's collar about her neck; and her son, Pryderi, has a double in a colt born at the same time as himself. That the Gaulish Epona was a horse-goddess is sufficiently proved by her name, and by the statues of her that survive.

There is abundant other evidence, which need not be touched on here, to show that the Celts worshipped both a

¹ ZCP viii, 307.30; Anecdota iii, 57; Cóir Anmann 54.

² ZCP xviii, 420. Compare *an láir bhán*, 'the white mare', which is still remembered as a paraphrase for *an ghealach*, 'the moon'.

³ Pwyll, whose name means 'wisdom', 'the wise one', may be equated with Mider, lord of the *sid* (Otherworld) of Brí Léith, whose name (Celt. **Mediros*; root *med-*, as in O. Ir. *midir*, 'I judge') has probably much the same signification.

sun-god and a sun-goddess,¹ and that they pictured to themselves the ever-journeying sun as the divine horse or horse-rider. It is hardly necessary to add that similar beliefs are found far outside the Celtic world.²

3.—ITALO-CELTIC *JANOS*

No acceptable etymology has hitherto been discovered for *án*, *áine*, *Aine*;³ but if we bear in mind the connexion of these words with the sun, a satisfactory etymology lies at hand. I suggest that *án* goes back to Celt. **jāno-*, *Aine* to Celt. **Jānios*, **Jāniā*. The root would be *īā-*, an augmented form of the IE. root *eǵ-*, implying motion; compare Ir. *áth*, 'passage, ford', < **jātu*, and also O. Ir. *á*, 'chariot, axle', as to which see Marstrander, *Ériu* v, 252. The primary meaning of *án*, **jānos*, would thus have been 'travelling', a very appropriate epithet of the sun. From its constant application to the sun it acquired the general meaning of 'sun-like', 'having the characteristics of the sun', i.e. 'speedy', 'fiery', 'brilliant', hence also 'illustrious, glorious, pleasurable'.

We have a survival of *An* as a designation of the sun-god in the name *Ro-án*, which is preserved in the mythical part of

¹ That special emphasis was laid in early Ireland on the feminine aspect of the deified sun is indicated by the fact that the only Irish word for 'sun', *grian* (**grēnā*), is always fem., though, of course, one is free to suppose that the masc. counterpart (**grēnos*) of this word may have once co-existed. In Welsh there are two words for 'sun': *haul*, masc., but formerly also fem. (Morris Jones, *Welsh Gr.* 229), and *huan*, fem.

² I content myself with quoting what Herodotus (i, 216) says of the Massagetæ (in Turkestan): 'The only god whom they worship is Hælios (the Sun). To him they sacrifice horses, deeming it appropriate to offer to the swiftest of the gods the swiftest of all mortal things'. Compare further Leopold von Schroeder, *Arische Religion* ii, 65 ff.

³ Stokes would derive *án*, 'fiery, bright', from **agno-* (Urk. *Sprachschatz* 7; also Féil. Oeng. p. 297), which he would connect with Skr. *agní*, 'fire' Lat. *ignis*; this is rightly rejected by Walde-Pokorny, i, 327. *An*, 'speedy', Stokes would refer to a different **agno-*, which he would connect with Lat. *ago*, Gr. *ἄγω* (ACL ii, 200). Both suggestions are impossible, for in that case we should have had **ánae* (not *áine*) from **agniā*; compare *tón* (< **tuknā*), gen. *tóna* (< **tukniās*), and *dénom* from **de-gnīmu-*.

the Eóganacht pedigree¹. In its original sense *Ro-án* would have meant 'great traveller'²; and with it may be compared the name *Ro-thechtaid*, likewise meaning 'great traveller', which occurs in the same pedigree,³ and also among the mythical descendants of Éremón.⁴ Other mythical names of similar import might be quoted. Thus we have Eochu Riata, eponym of the Dál Riata, whose epithet I interpret as meaning 'travelling (on horseback, or in a chariot)', Celt. **Rēdodios*, IE. root *reidh-*. So the cognate Gaulish tribal name *Rēdones* (preserved in the place-name 'Rennes'), meaning 'riders on horseback, travellers in chariots', probably implies the existence of a sing. **Rēdū* as a name for the Otherworld-deity. Compare *Sétna*, the name of a mythical ancestor in the pedigrees of the Lagen and the Eóganacht, Celt. **Sentonios*, which I take to be cognate with O. Ir. *sét*, 'path', Welsh *hynt*, and with the Gaulish tribal name *Santonī*.⁵

Among the British Celts the word **jānos* was equally well

¹ *Roán*, *ĀID* i, 54. The epithet *ruad*, 'red', is added in (gen.) *Roain Ruaid*, R 148 b 20, 154 b 12.

² Compare *rán .i. ro-án .i. ro luath*, O'Clery.

³ gen. *Roithechtaida*, R 147 a 25. The name also appears as *Oenroithechtaid*, peerless great traveller' (cf. *m. Huin rothechtaida*, R 148 b 26, *m. Ainrothechta*, 154 b 20, *m. Cain* [sic] *rothechtaida*, LL 320 c), which is abbreviated to *Oen* (sic leg.) in *ĀID* i, 54, § 12. A second and later personage called *Rothechtaid Rotha*, son of Roán, finds a place in some versions of the pedigree (cf. FF ii, 2150, iv, p. 17, *Cóir Anmann* 13), and is included among the mythical kings of Ireland (LL 19 a, b, R 135 a 2, and cf. Todd Lect. iii, 170). Mac Neill erroneously takes the name to be *Rothechtach*, which he interprets as 'the Very Rightful or Legitimate' (Celtic Ireland 60).

⁴ *Rothechtaid*, LL 18 b 13, Todd Lect. iii, 162; gen. *Rothechtaida*, R 137 b 22. In *ĀID*, the forms are *Rot[h]echt*, i, 29, *Rothait*, 41; cf. gen. *Rot[h]echta*, ZCP viii, 291. 17.

⁵ So *Sentona*, the name of a goddess to whom a dedication has been found at Fiume (see Holder, *s. v.*), may well mean 'wayfarer', i.e. the sun-goddess, though the name is not necessarily Celtic. Compare the Norse *Odin*, the sun-god, whom Saxo Grammaticus describes as 'the tireless traveller', *viator indefessus* (cf. *Ἡέλιον ἀκόμματα*, Il. xviii, 239), and Snorri as 'far-travelling,' *viðförull*.

known, and has given Welsh *iawn*,¹ adj. 'right, just', m. 'right, equity', Bret. *eeun*, adj. 'droit, directe, juste'². In the eyes of our early forefathers the daily course of the Sun, bringing about the alternation of light and darkness and the regular succession of the seasons, was the most striking example that man had of that divine order of the universe which served as a model for order and justice in terrestrial affairs. Hence to go *dessel* or righthandwise, thus imitating the course of the sun, was not only the right way to make a journey, but was likewise beneficial in other affairs of life, and was likely to lead to a prosperous result³; whereas

¹ A compound of *gwir*, 'true', and *iawn* is seen in W. *gwirion*, 'innocent', from an early form of which is borrowed O. Ir. *fírión*, *fírian*, 'righteous' (cf. Thurneysen, Handbuch 519). Pedersen, V. G. i, 92, assumes that *fírian* is a native Irish word; but the form of the word and its exclusively Christian associations contradict this assumption.

² V. Henry (Lexique étym. 110) suggests that the Welsh and Breton words go back to **ipāno-*, which he would connect with Eng. *even*, Germ. *eben*. He is followed by Pedersen, V. G. i, 92, who postulates **epōno-* for Celtic, **epno-* for Germanic; but according to the generally accepted view (see Kluge, Etym. Wb. 11 ed. s.v. *eben*, and Walde-Pokorny i, 102) the Germanic words go back to **im-no-*, and are cognate with Lat. *imitior*, *imago*. Stokes, Bezz. Beitr. xix, 43, without attempting to trace the words further back, equated Welsh *iawn* with Ir. *án*, 'truth', for which our only authority is *án fír* in LU 528 and some late glossaries; but this *án*, 'true' (so Stokes ought rather to have translated it), seems to have been invented by some etymologist who was trying to analyze and explain the word *fírian*.

³ Compare what Poseidonius, quoted by Athenaeus (4, 36), says of the Celts: τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνῶσιν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι. After the death of Cúchulainn, his steed, the Liath Macha, 'went to bid farewell to Emer, and put his head in her lap, and went thrice around her sunwise' (*dochuaid ina dessel fo thri*, LL 123 a 19). From the instances mentioned by Martin in his 'Description of the Western Islands of Scotland' (2 ed., 1716) one can form some idea of the frequency with which this rite of making a circle like the sun was formerly practised. Fire was carried *deiseal* around the houses, corn and cattle of each family (p. 116 f.). A similar 'fiery circle' was made around women after child-bearing before they were churched, and around infants before they were baptized (p. 117). When invoking blessings on a benefactor, one went around him 'sun-ways' three times (pp. 20, 118). One began a journey by sea by rowing the boat sunwise (p. 119). Similarly rounds were made *deiseal* about healing-wells (pp. 140, 277 f.), or a sacred stone (p. 241) or heap of stones (p. 277), or around a church (p. 248). Cf. also Betha Colaim Chille 190, 20-24, and the references in Plummer's *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, i, p. cxxxv.

to go in the contrary direction (*tuathbel*) would be a violation of the established order and would lead to harm¹. Accordingly it is easy to understand how Celt. **jānos*, meaning 'following the (customary) course, like the Sun', acquired in the British dialects the sense of 'right, just'. We have a remarkable parallel in the Vedic *ṛta* (meaning, according to one etymology, 'course'), which was the name applied equally to the divinely established cosmic order and to right and justice in human affairs.² Compare also the cognate Latin *rīte*, which means 'according to (divinely ordained) usage', and hence 'in a just and proper manner'.

The root *eġ-* that we have seen in **jānos* may also underlie *Ériu*, the name of a goddess, also a river-name (in Scotland) and a territorial name (Mod. Ir. *Éire*, 'Ireland'). If so, *Ériu* (< Celt. **Everiū*; cf. *Érainn*, < **Evernī*) might mean something like 'the regular traveller'.³ That *Ériu* was the sun-goddess is suggested by her traditional epithet *án* (p. 286 f.). The sun-goddess, who was also, and primarily, the goddess of earth and its springs, often gave her name both to tracts of country and to rivers (cf. *Aine*, *Grian*).

Another word from the same root *eġ-*, viz. IE. **oitos*, 'motion, course', likewise acquired a religious connotation among the Celts and the Teutons, doubtless because it was associated especially with the movement of the sun-deity through the heavens. In Celtic (cf. O. Ir. *oéth*, 'oath'; Welsh *anudon*, 'perjury') and Germanic (cf. Eng. *oath*, Germ. *eid*), **oitos* came to be applied to a solemn declaration the truth of which one or more divine powers were called upon to witness.⁴

¹ Witches, accordingly, when they wished to injure somebody, made a circle around him withershins (for *túathbiul*, Met. D. iv, 304). A flagstone left by Maedóc of Ferns had the property that, when turned lefthandwise (*tuathhbhel*) thrice against anyone who injured the monks, it cut short the transgressor's life (Plummer, Lives of Ir. SS. i, 248, 250). So the baneful Athirne went on a circuit *tuathbel Hérenn* (RC viii, 48).

² The connexion between 'order' and 'justice' is further exemplified in Ir. *coir*, *cóir*, 'good order' (= Welsh *cywair*, sb. 'order', adj. 'well ordered'), which has acquired the secondary sense of 'justice, right' (sb.), 'just, right' (adj.).

³ As I have tentatively suggested, *Ériu* xiv, 26 f.

⁴ Some scholars have supposed that the Germans borrowed the word from the Celts; but proof of this is lacking. In Walde-Pokorny, i, 103,

The ideas of 'law, justice' and 'oath' were closely connected, as may be inferred from Lat. *jus: juro*. Moreover the sun-god was the especial protector of oaths. In Greece, Hēlios, 'who sees all things and hears all things', was invoked as a witness to oaths and solemn protestations.¹ In ancient Ireland an oath was taken by giving, especially, the sun and moon (*grian agus éasca*) as sureties.² Loegaire swore to the Lagen *per solem et venturum* that he would never again exact tribute from them.³ The practice of swearing by the sun and moon must have survived well into Christian times. First among the 'sureties' given to Adamnan when he promulgated his Law for the emancipation of women were 'the sun and the moon, and the rest of God's elements'.⁴ We find a similar practice persisting in Gaul down to the

the explanation offered of the special semantic development in Celtic and Germanic is a very lame one: 'Bedeutung etwa aus "Eidgang, Vortreten zur Eidleistung" entwickelt'. Gr. *olros*, 'fate, doom', likewise suggests the inevitable course of the Sun. Lat. *usus* (< **oittus*), 'custom, practice', is related.

¹ Cf. *Iliad* iii, 276-8, and xix, 259-60, where Zeus, Hēlios and Gē are invoked as witnesses to an oath. Compare also Vergil's account of the compact between Aeneas and Latinus, *Aen.* xii, 176 ff. The former begins his declaration with the words *Esta nunc Sol testis*, and among other witnesses invokes 'the almighty Father' (i.e. Jupiter); the latter invokes, among other powers, *Ianum bifrontem* and 'the Father who ratifies treaties with his thunderbolt'. Zeus was the special guardian of the sanctity of the oath (cf. *Zeus* 'Ὀρκίος'); and in ancient Rome Jupiter fulfilled the same function (cf. *Juppiter Lapis, Dius Fidius*). The connexion of Zeus and Jupiter with the oath and with the cosmic order reflects the fact that they descend from the Indo-European solar deity. Cf. p. 58, n. 2.

² Cf. *tabair rum rátha . . . tabair rum éasca 7 grián*, *Ériu* vii, 227, § 61. The memory of this pagan oath became traditional, and is found even in late texts. Thus in 'Eachtra Chonajill Ghulban' we read: *Caidhe na cuir 7 na teanta géabhtur fris sin do chomall, ar Connall. Gabh rátha gréine 7 eusga úaim, ar sé. Géabad, ar Connall*, 23 M 10, p. 58. Cf. further *do bhéar grián agus éasca, muir agus tír, a coraighocht orm féin fá theacht do chómhrac ríot*, *Atlantis* iv, 178 (O. Chl. Tuireann).

³ AU 458, 462; and cf. RC xiii, 52, LU 9797-9, 9805-6. The specific mention of the wind in an oath appears to be peculiar to this legend.

⁴ *grian 7 éasca, dúile Dē arcenae*, Cáin Adamnáin § 22. So the author of *Saltair na Rann* (A.D. 988) represents Pharaoh as making his promise to Joseph binding by giving him as sureties *grian agus éasca* 'mole, | muir is tír. *drú(ch)t is dathe*, ll. 3363-4.

seventh century, for St. Eloi is represented by the author of his Life as forbidding the faithful to swear by the sun and moon.¹

Irish *án* (*An*) is thus identical, formally and otherwise, with Lat. *Jānus*.² That Janus is the solar deity has been recognized by Preller and other modern investigators. Most certainly he is not the personified doorway that some recent scholars like Wissowa have imagined, in the mistaken belief that the major deities have been developed out of mere *numina*.³ The two-facedness of the god led to a door being called *jānuā*, and the creation of this common word tended to obscure the god's primary functions by making him be regarded as the god of the beginnings (or openings) of things. Yet the association of his name with *jānuā* was far from obliterating his original character, as when he is styled the heavenly janitor *qui exoriens aperiat diem, occidens claudit*, or is addressed, or referred to, as *antiquissime divum, temporis et aevi deus*, and *principium deorum* (age was a characteristic of the sun-deity, and moreover Roman tradition rightly saw in Janus a deity whose worship went back to primitive times). So, too, it is natural to find him called *rector viarum*, for he is the great Traveller of the heavens.

In the identity of Celt. **Jānos* and Lat. *Jānus* we have one of several pieces of evidence which go to show that, as might be expected, there was a special kinship between the religion of the ancient Latins and that of the Celts. Janus, 'the Traveller', as the all-seeing sun-god, was represented as a two-faced (occasionally as a four-faced, *quadrifrons*)

¹ 'Nullus Dominos Solem aut Lunam vocet, neque per eos juret, quia creaturae Dei sunt,' Vita S. Eligii, quoted RC ix, 433.

² Closely related words in other languages are Skr. *yāna-*, m. 'Bahn', n. 'Gang, Vehikel', and Germ. *jahn*, 'a swath' (Walde-Pokorny i, 104 f.).

³ For arguments against Wissowa's view of Janus cf. Leopold von Schroeder, *Arische Religion*, ii, 28 ff. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* ii (1925), 335 ff., regards Janus, whose name he takes to stand for **Divianus*, as the god of the sky. 'Janus, it would appear, belonged to the older stock—which, for want of a better name, I should term Illyrian—and was retained by the incoming Latins, despite the fact that their own Jupiter was a god of essentially similar character' (p. 340 f.). But surely there is not the slightest justification for assuming that Janus was borrowed by the Latins.

bearded head.¹ So the corresponding Gaulish deity is represented on monuments of the Gallo-roman period as a bearded head with three faces, or as possessing three complete heads.² Compare in Irish tradition the triple-headed Ellén (*in tEllén trechend*), who issued from the cave of Cruachain and devastated Ireland, until Amairgein slew him.³ Here the destructive aspect of the Otherword-deity is emphasized, as it generally is in those myths which represent the Hero as his rival.⁴

4.—AINNE, FÁINNE

O. Ir. *á(i)nne*, 'a ring', has given Mod. Ir. Sc. *fáinne*, Manx *fainey*, the *f-* being probably due to the influence of *fail*, a word of kindred meaning. Stokes took *áinne* to be a native word, cognate with Lat. *ānus*; but his attempt at

¹ As to the significance of Janus' double face A. B. Cook can only offer the unsatisfactory suggestion that it symbolizes the double character of the sky, which is bright by day and dark by night (Zeus ii, 378).

² For illustrations see, e.g., A. Bertrand, *La religion des Gaulois* 316; 317, 344. So in Greek myth we have the triple-headed Gēryōn, lord of the sun-island of Erytheiē. The double-faced head of Janus and the triple-faced head of his Gaulish counterpart often stand by themselves, unattached to any trunk. This doubtless represents an earlier stage than the full-length figures, for the original 'head' symbolized the sun. Compare *Eochaid Anchenn*, supra p. 292, n. 3.

³ RC xiii, 448. 15. Ellén I would identify with the Aillén (otherwise Goll, the sun-god) whom Finn vanquished; see p. 279. His name I take to be a derivative of *Ailill*, which is sometimes spelled *Elill* (e.g. ZCP viii, 299. 22; Thes. Pal. ii, 335 n.), and which probably stands for **Aillill*, identical with Welsh *elyll*, 'a spirit, an elf'. The change of *ll* to *l* before a syllable ending in *ll* would be parallel to the change of *nn* to *n* in *cenand*, *cenann* (from *cenn* + *find*). Stokes's translation of *Ellén* as 'monstrous bird' (RC xiii, pp. 449, 470) is merely a bad guess.

⁴ Irish tradition likewise knows of mythical personages with two or four heads, e.g. the two-headed Garb of Glenn Rige, slain by Cúchulainn, RC xiv, 420, and Cimbe *cetharchend*, Met. D. iii, 446. 16. It may be noted that some of the representations of the Gaulish deity with three faces (two of them in profile) suggest the existence of a fourth face on the hidden side of the head. Compare Janus *quadrifrons*.

an etymology is patently unsatisfactory.¹ Others have asserted that *dinne* is a borrowing of Lat. *ānus*,² but without attempting to explain the divergence in form between the two words. Pedersen, however, has reverted to the view that *dinne* is a native word, akin to Lat. *ānus*, and would refer both to an Italo-Celtic root *ān-*.³ In Modern Irish *fáinne an lae*⁴ means 'the dawn of day', i.e. the 'ring' of light on the sky-line at day-break; but Pedersen (V. G. i, 86) mistakenly supposes the *fáinne* of this phrase to be an independent word, cognate with O. Ir. *fáir*, 'dawn', and quotes it as an instance of the Irish treatment of IE. *sn*. Following him Loth has equated this imaginary *fáinne*, 'dawn', with W. *gwaun*, 'gossamer', and would derive both from **uāsniā*.⁵

As *fáinne*, 'ring', is in the Mod. Ir. phrase *fáinne an lae* applied to the ring of light on the horizon that heralds the dawn, so conversely, it may be noted, *fáir*, 'dawn', has in Mod. Ir. *fáir*, otherwise *fóir*, come to mean 'a protective ring (e.g. of sods placed around a rick of turf, or of straw-ropes placed around a heap of grain)'.⁶

The first thing that strikes one in connexion with O. Ir. *dinne* is that it affords an instance of *nn* preceded by a long

¹ Stokes supposes *dinne* to represent a Celtic **āinā*, which he would derive (in some unexplained way) from an earlier **akniā* (Urk. Sprachschatz, pp. 16, 327).

² So Vendryes (De Hib. Voc., 111), Walde (Lat. etym. Wb.), Walde-Pokorny, i, 61.

³ Litteris ii, 1 (1925). The article in which Pedersen throws out this suggestion I know only from a notice of it in RC xlii, 446. According to the generally accepted etymology, Lat. *ānus* stands for **ank-no-s*, root *ank-*, 'bend'.

⁴ In Connacht usually *fáinniú*, or *fáinneachan*, *an lae*. But cf. (for South-West Galway) *le fáinne an lae*, Peadar Chois Fhairge 73.

⁵ RC xxxviii, 297. Loth's view is approved by Lewis-Pedersen, Celt. Gr., p. 24.

⁶ Cf. *fáir fóir* (*na cruaithe*), IGT p. 68 (and ex. 674). Another meaning of *fóir* is 'limit, border'; cf. *thar chiumhsaibh na córa agus thar fóir na fírinne*, 'beyond the bounds of justice and of truth', Keating, Eochairsgiath 17.11. The old meaning is better preserved in Scottish, which has *fàir*, *fàire*, 'dawn, sky-line, horizon'. Cf. *fàire*, 'the sky', Kirk, SGS v, 85. The old meaning also persists in *camdàir*, E. Mod. Ir. *camhdàir* and *camhàior* 'dawn'.

vowel. In Old Irish (except in its latest period) *nn* is rarely found after a long vowel or diphthong.¹ Apart from certain prepositional pronouns of the 1 pl. (*dáin*, *dín*, *úain* or *úain*) which have by-forms with analogical *-nn*, I can recall only *dínnim*, with *-nn-* from *-sú-*²; *coénna*, 'shell, moss', which, as I hope to show elsewhere, is a derivative of *caín*, 'surface'; and a small number of words in *-nne*, viz. *áinne*, *gráinne*, *Gráinne*, and (in case this word goes back to the O. Ir. period) *róinne* or *ruainne*. Now *gráinne* and *Gráinne* are derived from *grán*, 'grain',³ and *róinne* or *ruainne* from *rón*, 'horse-hair'; so there is *prima facie* reason to suppose that *á(i)nne*, the remaining word of this type, is derived from *án*.

The suffix *-ne* has various meanings,⁴ and has doubtless had more than one origin. It is best known as a singulative suffix,⁵ as in *gráinne*, *róinne*; but is also found with a diminutive force (cf. *gasne*, by *gas*, Thes. Pal. ii, 295. 15;

¹ Later the number of such words increased, especially owing to the change of *nd* to *nn*, as in *Bóinn* (O. Ir. *Boänd*), *gránna*, *buanna*, *crínna*, *cuanna*, *daonna*, *ónna*, *Énna*. In Mod. Ir. we have in addition *nn* from *dn* in *céanna*, and likewise *nn* after a long vowel in a few borrowed words such as *cuinne*, *méinne*, *pónna* (earlier *pónna*, Gadelica 304), and in one or two words of unascertained origin, e.g. *stinné*, *gáinne*. To these may be added the Mid. Ir. personal name (borrowed?) *Béinne Britt* (e.g. LU 9878, LI. 139 a 13, 290 b); and Mid. and Mod. Ir. *fianna* (earlier *fiana*), with exceptional development of *n* to *nn* (cf. Meyer, Fianaigeacht p. v). Compare *miann*, *miannach*, occasionally found for *mian*, *mianach*; and the doublets *Ciánán* : *Ciannán*, *Cianacht* : *Ciannacht* (the last perhaps influenced by *Connachta*); also *biann* : *bian*.

² Cf. San. Corm. 423. Spelled *dínim* MI. 61 b 28.

³ *gráinne* is fem. in Wb. 13 c 23 (nom. *ind óengránne*); but in Mod. Ir. it is masc., e.g. ZCP i, 248 y, Tromdám Guaire 596, 602, Dioghluim Dána p. 129. 4, Measgra Dánta 164, l. 28, Desiderius 4794. Scottish dictionaries give *gráinne* as fem. Possibly the homonym *Gráinne*, f., has had some influence on the gender. This I take to mean 'she of the corn', i.e. (ultimately) the Corn-goddess.

⁴ Thus it may have an abstract force, as in *bairdne*, or a collective force, as in *maicne*.

⁵ In this sense it was fertile down to the Middle Irish period, or even later; cf. the hybrid *dís-ne*, 'a die' (see SGS iii, 67). Likewise the corresponding Welsh suffix, *-yn* or *-en*, has best survived in a singulative sense, e.g. *gronyn* (= Ir. *gráinne*), from *grawn* (= Ir. *grán*), and is found affixed not only to the Latin-borrowed *plant*, 'children' (*plentyrn*, 'a child'), but also to recent English-borrowed words, e.g. *brics-en*, 'a brick'.

gipne, LU 9275; *bruitne*, ib. 9278)¹. In Sg., 47 b, a number of Latin diminutives are glossed in Irish, among them *anellus*, which is glossed *ánne*; from the context it seems clear that the glossator regarded *ánne* as itself diminutive in form, in other words, he regarded it as a diminutive of *án*. The same derivation is plainly suggested by Cormac, who explains *áinne* as *cuairt* ('circle,² circuit') and adds 'ueteres enim ponebant *án* pro circo [ms. circum], unde dicitur *annus*' (San. Corm. 14)³.

We may take it, therefore, that *áinne* is a diminutive of *án*. What is this *án*? Formally it could be a borrowing of Lat. *ānus*, but there is not the slightest reason to suppose that *ānus* was borrowed into Irish any more than it was into the Brittonic dialects. Moreover there is no instance in Irish of diminutive *-ne* suffixed to a Latin-borrowed word. On the other hand we have seen above that *án*, 'the traveller', was very well known as a by-name or epithet of the sun; and this, I have little doubt, is the word from which *áinne* was formed. The diminutive *áinne*, therefore, means properly 'a sunlet', i.e. a small representation of the sun, in other words, a ring, for the simplest and commonest way of symbolizing the sun was by means of a circle or ring.

One of the attributes of the sun-god was the healing of disease; and in this belief we have one of the reasons of the importance attached in ancient times to the wearing of rings or other solar emblems, which were primarily amulets and only secondarily ornaments. In particular a ring was more

¹ Pedersen, V. G. ii, 58, suggests that the singulative sense of *-ne* was developed from the diminutive. (So previously H. Gaidoz, Y Cymmrodor iv, 217 ff.) Cf. also Marstrander, ZCP vii, 380 n.

² For *cuairt* in the sense of 'circle' cf. *senedchuairt* (*na*) *gréne*, 'the fiery orb of the sun', Ériu ii, 116 (§ 47), 122 (§ 64), where Stokes misrenders *senedchuairt* as 'fiery circuit'. So *cuaird* is applied to a collar (*munci*) or hoop, IT iii, 190.11.

³ It may have been this entry of Cormac's that gave occasion for O'Brien's speculations in his Dict., p. 13: '*Ainn* & *ain*, a great circle, hence *Bel-ain*, (vulg. *Bliaghain*) the great circle of Belus, i.e. of the sun . . . Upon these celtic monosyllables *ain* & *ainn* the latin words *anus* & *annus* have been formed'; and again '*A'inne*, vulg. *fáinne*, the diminutive of *ainn*, a small circle or Ring. lat. *annulus*'. O'Reilly takes over *ainn*, 'a great circle', and adds *an*, 'a year'. The latter word has no existence, despite the suggested instance of it in Met. D. iii, 378.

realistic, and therefore more efficacious, when it was made of gold and thus imitated the brightness, as well as the rotundity, of the sun.

Sometimes the ring became a miniature wheel, and thus suggested not only the shape of the sun but also its motion. Hence we find the word *roth*, 'wheel', applied to a kind of circular brooch.¹ The sun itself was the great celestial wheel: compare *roth gréine*,² = 'the sun', like Lucretius' *solis rota*. So we find God referred to not only as *ardRī grēne*, 'supreme King of the sun', SR 2385, but also as *ardRuiri ind roith*, 'supreme King of the wheel', ib. 1077, which means just the same thing.³ So the sun-goddess may be called a wheel. In the Welsh tale of 'Kulhwch' the name of the heroine, *Olwen*, is explained as meaning 'white-tracked', 'leaving white footprints', as if it were a compound of *ol* and *gwen* (fem. of *gwyn*); but I have little doubt that this etymology is a product of the storyteller's fancy, and that her original name was *Olwyn*, f., 'wheel'. The same tale enumerates 'the gold-collared daughters' of Britain, among them being a lady called *Eurolwen merch Wdolwyn Gorr* (RB 112); in *Eurolwen* we doubtless have a similar modification of *Euroolwyn*, 'golden wheel'. Compare *Arianrhod*, 'silver wheel', the name of Lleu's mother in the *mabinogi* of 'Math'.

When the solar deities are represented anthropomorphically, the symbols of ring or wheel are often found associated with them. In several of his statues the Gaulish sun-god is represented as a man holding a wheel in his hand, or bearing a wheel on his shoulders.⁴ Elatha, when he came to mate with Ériu, wore a shining brooch of gold (*delc n-óir*)

¹ *roth* (acc.) *n-óir*, BDD § 99; *roth crêda*, TBC Wi. 5401; *roith* (gen.), = *delg*, RC xx, 421. 22. Numerous miniature wheels of gold or other metal, apparently intended as votive-offerings, and with spokes varying in number from four to ten, have been found in river-beds in France. These, of course, represent a developed form of the wheel; the primitive wheel was merely a disk with a hole in the centre for the axle.

² Dioghluim Dána, p. 10. 12. Cf. *roth(a) grene 7 escai*, ZCP i, 368, § 66.

³ Similarly Muirchú in his *Life of Patrick* employs *rotæ factorem quo totus illuminatur mundus* and *solis factorem* as synonymous expressions (Trip. Life, ed. Stokes, 496. 32 f.). Cf. *Rī nā roth*, 'King of the wheels', ZCP vii, 304, § 17, = *Rī na grēne*, 'God'.

⁴ Cf. H. Gaidoz, *Études de mythologie gauloise* i, 1 ff.

on his breast, and on his back were 'five wheels of gold' (*cōic roith òir*, RC xii, 60). So the goddess is traditionally described as wearing rings or circlets, symbolical of her connexion with the sun or moon. Thus Bé Bind, a supernatural lady of huge size, wears three gold rings (*trī failge òir*) on one arm, two on the other.¹ Olwen, in the Welsh tale, wears a collar of red gold (*a gwrđ dorch rud eur am vynygl y uorwyn*, RB 117), and we also hear of her rings (*modrweyu*, *ib.*).²

The word *áinne* occurs but seldom in old texts, a fact which suggests that it may have been regarded as a word of popular origin, and not sufficiently dignified for literature; it is, however, employed freely enough in the verse of the schools. Already it has developed prothetic *f-* in *a fánne* 7 *a falge*, LL 54 a 35, = TBC Wi. 65, and *fánni òir im cach mēr dā mēraib*, LL 267 a 48 (Mesca Ulad). It is commonly applied to rings worn on the fingers; compare, besides the latter quotation, *meóir foa ngabar áinne* (: *dille*) *imda*, Met. D. iv, 118; *sēn dā fuil a fāinne òir | a t[h]uir Gāille an mēr medōin*, Ir. Texts, ii, 29 § 33; *fāinne don dergór . . . fa gach énmēr dā mēraib*, Anecdota i, 30, § 41.³ A secondary meaning is 'ringlet (of hair), curl', e.g. *fāinne fuilt*, O'Gr. Cat. 472, *barr na bhfāinneadh bhfiar*, IGT ex. 126, *gach fāinne cornchas dá céibh*, Dánta Grádha 2 ed. 89.31.⁴ Few of the examples I have noted reveal the gender of the word. In *Éigse Suadh is Seanchaidh*, p. 14, *áinne* is fem.; but *fāinne* is masc. in a poem by Tuathal Ó Huiginn, ITS xxxvii, 86 z, in Lr. Chl. Suibhne pp. 32-34,

¹ Ac. Sen. 5942. Here Bé Bind (= *Bé Find*, 'white lady') is wife of Aed Álainn and daughter of Trén, king of a western Otherworld. Later in the tale (l. 6804) there is mention of Bé Bind wife of Aed Minbrecc and daughter of Elcmar, of Bruig na Bóinne. The two Aeds are one and the same (p. 320, n. 2). In 'Tochmarc Étaíne' Mider calls Étaín *Bé Find* (Ériu xii, 180).

² Hence in 'Pwyll' the storyteller represents Rhiannon as giving presents of bracelets or rings or precious stones to all and sundry; and in another of the Four Branches Branwen is represented as doing just the same.

³ In Toch. Ferbe (Eg. 1782 version) *fāinne* is used of a ring fastening or adorning the hair: *cona fainniḡ oir ima fultuib*, IT iii, 550, 31.

⁴ Hence *fāinneach*, adj., 'ringleted, curly', e.g. Lr. Cloinne Aodha Buidhe 60, § 25, Tadhg Dall (ITS xxii) 151, § 3, Dánta Grádha pp. 17, 119. Also 'adorned with rings', e.g. *méar fāinneach*, O'Gr. Cat. 546.13.

in the Ir. Common Prayer (marriage-service, ed. 1608), and in the spoken language of to-day. In Scottish, *fàinne* is of both genders.¹

For a finger-ring the usual word in the older language was *ordnasc*, lit. 'thumb-tie', which (like the Welsh *modrwy*, 'ring', lit. 'thumb-tie') shows that in ancient times the thumb was the finger on which a ring was usually worn. Cf. *ordnasc óir im ordain cach ae*, LU 7635, = BDD § 119. *Ordnasc* was liable to suffer various corruptions (*órnasc*,² *dornasc*,³ *fornasc*⁴) before it was finally superseded by *fàinne*. Like the Welsh *modrwy*, it came to be applied to a ring worn on any finger. In 'Cath Maige Tuired' (RC xii, pp. 62, 72) an *ordnasc* (MS. *órnsnasc*, *órnasc*) is worn on the middle finger. In the earliest version of the story of the death of Conlaí, the ring given by Aífe to her son is called *or[d]nasc* (Ériu i, 114); in a later version this becomes *dornasc*, and is worn on the forearm (*rig*, ib. p. 124)⁵; in a still later version the ring is called *áinne*, and is worn on the middle finger.⁶

Diodorus (27, 3) tells us that the Gauls were much addicted to the use of gold ornaments on the person, including bracelets on their wrists and arms, torcs about their necks, and rings on their fingers.⁷ The evidence of Irish literature suggests that his words were applicable also to the Celts of early Ireland. Other Irish words for rings or circlets worn on the

¹ The fem. gender may possibly be due to association with *fail*; or the double gender may simply reflect the fact that the ring symbolized both the sun-god and the sun-goddess.

² A compound *ór-nasc* is, of course, possible. Compare *órnsnasc*, Fianaigecht 14.6; and further *aunasc*, 'ear-ring', explained as *ornasc nobid im c[h]luasaib na saorchland*, San. Corm. 54.

³ Cf. Táin Bó Froich, ed. Byrne-Dillon, p. 44. *Dorn[n]asc*, lit. 'fist-ring', is, formally at least, a possible compound; cf. *dornasc d'ór*, LU 3977, =IT i, 225.16.

⁴ Cf. pl. *fornasca*, TBC Wi. 65.

⁵ In Tochmarc Emire (version III) the ring is likewise a *dornaisc* (sic) but is worn on the finger, *mér* (ed. van Hamel, p. 55).

⁶ Éigse Suadh is Seanchaidh 14. Keating in his version of the story says that Aoife gave her son an *órnsnasc* (which he misinterprets as meaning 'a gold chain', *slabhradh óir*), or, according to others, an *iodh óir*, 'a gold ring' (FF ii, 218).

⁷ Cf. Holder i, 1538. 10 ff.

person are *muince*, 'a necklet, a collar',¹ and *fail* (gen. *falach*, pl. *failge*). The latter word is commonly used of rings or bracelets worn around the arm or wrist.² By Keating's time the word in this sense had fallen into disuse, for he finds it necessary to explain it as *fáinne*; thus *fail óir*, Cog. G. re G. 138, becomes *fail nó fáinne óir*, FF iii, 4127.³ The disuse of the word, was, no doubt, a consequence of the disuse of the old practice of wearing bracelets or armlets.

We conclude that O. Ir. *ánne*, later *fáinne*, 'a ring', is a diminutive of **Jānos*, 'the sun', going back to Celt. **jāninio-* or the like, and that the formal resemblance between *ánne* and Lat. *ānus* is fortuitous.

¹ For *muince* see R.I.A. Contr.

² Cf. *foil*, gl. 'armillam', Sg. 64 a 17; *is leis ar thūs doronait failgi óir im dóitib i nHérind*, R 147 a 27; *ix. failge glano immá láma*, LU 7635, = BDD § 119; *a dá láim lána di fhailgib óir ocus arcait co a dā uillinn*, Toch. Becfholá, ed. O'Looney, 176 y; *fail cóig n-ungae ndécc fo [a] láimh*, Móir-thinchell Érenn Uile, ed. Hogan, § 29 (here a manacle is meant). *Fail*, besides meaning 'bracelet' (cf. Bret. *gwalen*, 'ring'), means also 'a (round) sty', = Welsh *gwal*, 'sleeping-place for animals'. Compare the meanings of Ir. *cró*, 'circle, circular fence, round hut, sty'. The guttural declension of *fail* is secondary; and Pedersen's suggestion (V. G. i, 147) that Ir. *mucc-foil* and W. *gwal* are related to W. *gwely*, 'bed' (< **vo-legio-*), may be discounted.

³ So the *fail Tomair* of the annalists (Chron. Scot. s. a. 993; Tig., RC xvii, 350) is by Keating referred to as *fail nó fáinne óir*, FF iii, 3881; and the *fiche falach* of Lr. na gCeart (in O'Donovan's edition, pp. 30, 34, misspelled *fálach*) becomes in Keating *fiche fail nó fáinne*, FF iii, 2639.

XVI.—THE THREE GODS OF CRAFTSMANSHIP¹

IN Irish literature we find a number of allusions to a group of three mythical brothers, whose names are generally given as Brian, Iucha(i)r, and Iucharba.² Occasionally *Uar* replaces either *Iucharba*³ or *Brian*⁴ in the names of the trio.⁵ Their father is variously said to have been Tuirill Piccrenn (Biccrenn, Picreo, Bicreo), Delbaeth, or Bres.⁶

The point which chiefly concerns us here is that these mythical brothers are sometimes known as *trí dee Danann* (or *Donann*),⁷ 'the three gods of Danann (Donann)'.⁸ This

¹ The following abbreviations, special to this chapter, require explanation : CMT = Cath Maige Tuired, ed. Stokes, RC xii, 56. ICT = [Imthechta Clainne Tuirill], the poem *Étsid in senchas shuagach*, and the later prose summary prefixed to it, ed. Thurneysen, ZCP xii, 244. OCT = Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann, ed. O'Curry, Atlantis iv, 158. The fragmentary Latin version of OCT inserted in Harl. 5280 (cf. Flower, Cat. 300) has only a curiosity value (ed. R. B. Breathnach, Éigse i, 250 ff.).

² So Lebor Gabála, e.g. LL 10 a 28, 11 b 2 (Flann Mainistrech). Also LL 30 d 39-40; ICT; Ériu viii, pp. 44, 54; Cóir Anmann 155 (this last with *Eocháid* corruptly for *Iuchair*).

³ So R 110 a 22, = LL 187 c 56 (= RC xxvi, 31, n. 2); IT iii, 58.

⁴ So Celtic Review x, 348, 4; OCT. O'Curry in his edition of the latter text replaces the *Uar* of the mss. by *Brian*, in accordance, as he says, with 'the ancient books'.

⁵ In BB 35 a 6 and Lec. fo. 2 a 1. 36 we find (in addition to Brian, Iuchair and Iucharba) an alternative set of names: *Triall 7 Brian 7 Cet*.

⁶ See Thurneysen's discussion of this point, ZCP xii, 240 f. All three names are attested in LL. *Tuirill* became later *Tuireann* (nom. and gen.); *Tuirend*, gen., occurs already in LL 207 b 26. The second part of this name I take to have been *Bricriu* (gen. *Briccrenn*), which with the first *r* dropped by haplogy would become *Bicriu* (gen. *Biccrenn*). Compare the dissimilated form *Briccne*.

⁷ *trí dee Donand*, LL 30 d 38; *trí de Donand*, IT iii, 58; *na trí dee Danand*, BB 35 a 8. In Toch. Étaíne, Ériu xii, 154, *na trí dei Danand* are mentioned incidentally, but the appended identification, *.i. Lugh 7 Dagda 7 Oghma*, finds no support elsewhere in our literature, and seems to be an unintelligent gloss which afterwards became incorporated in the text.

⁸ *Danann* or *Donann*, properly gen., is used also as nom., the original nom. being lost. I hope to discuss the name on another occasion; in the present chapter I simply adopt the M̄d. Ir. nominative.

name was interpreted as meaning 'the three gods of the Tuatha Dé Danann'; hence we find Flann Mainistrech paraphrasing it as *tri dee Tuathe* [leg. *Tuath*] *D. D.* (LL 11 b 2), and in an earlier text, CMT, we find the Tuatha Dé Danann referred to as *fir Trí nDea*, 'the men of the Three Gods'¹. Now no reason is known, nor has any plausible reason been suggested, why this obscure trio of brothers should be called 'the three gods of (the goddess) Danann', or 'the three gods of the Tuatha Dé Danann'². While it is difficult to extract much sense from either name, it is obvious that such names are by no means appropriate to a trio whose role in Irish mythological tradition is so unimportant. Accordingly it is not surprising that the designation *tri dee Danann*, taken as it stands, has caused some perplexity to students of Irish mythology, and has led to some unwarranted theorizing.³

The earliest and most important allusion to this trio occurs in CMT, where we read that Lug went 'to the three gods of Danann' (*go tri deo Danonn*), and got from them equipment for the forthcoming battle against the Fomoiré, viz. weapons which they had been preparing and making for seven years.⁴ In this simple statement we have the starting point of the later developments. It is important to note that in this text 'the three gods of Danann' are not named individually.

¹ RC xii, 76. Hence it is not surprising to find that the idea grew up later that the Tuatha Dé Danann were so called from *na tri dee Danann*, BB 35 a 5, Lec. fo. 2 a l.38 (and cf. O'Clery's L. G., 152, and Keating, FF i, 214).

² The artificiality of these designations is obvious. Danann, like her double, Anu, was 'the mother of the gods'. *Tuatha Dé Danann*, 'the peoples of the goddess D.', was the name assigned to the Irish pagan deities by the learned folk who deliberately reduced their status by including them among the early conquerors of Ireland. But, despite this attempt to euhemerize them, it was well understood that they were supernatural beings, gods in fact.

³ Compare the erroneous views, in part based on his misinterpretation of *tri dee Danann*, enunciated by van Hamel in his 'Aspects of Celtic Mythology' (Proc. Brit. Acad. xx), 11 f. As may be inferred from the last note, I am in disagreement with some of the opinions expressed by Thurneysen, Heldensage 63.

⁴ RC xii, 82. So we are told that the sons of Cailitín took seven years to forge the weapons with which Cúchulainn was destined to be killed (O'Curry, MS. Materials 508).

In a poem by Flann Mainistrech († 1056) we read that Cian met his death at the hands of Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchair, and that in turn these 'three gods of the Tuatha Dé Danann' were slain by Lug at the Isle of Man.¹ In this poem of some 36 quatrains Flann sets down succinctly the manner of death that befell each of the best known personages of the Tuatha Dé Danann; and it is evident that his main object in composing it was to try to remove from the popular mind the persistent belief that the Tuatha Dé Danann were something more than mere mortals.² There can be little doubt that not a few of the details with which his poem is crammed were invented by Flann himself; and in the present case it is more than likely that he was the originator of the deaths which he assigns to Cian and to 'the three gods of the Tuatha Dé Danann'.

In ICT, a text which Thurneysen³ dates not earlier than the eleventh century,⁴ Brian, Iuchair and Iucharba are said to have slain Lug's father, Ethlenn,⁵ in the Bruig, while he was in the shape of a lap-dog (*oirce*). In punishment therefor Lug obliged them to go in quest of various precious articles for him; and 'after searching the world' they returned

¹ LL 11 a 28, 11 b 2-3.

² That Flann's efforts in this direction were not quite successful may be inferred from an entry in Tigernach's Annals, which shows us that in the year 1084 the belief was held that Oengus Óc still lived in a *sid* (RC xvii, 416), despite Flann's assertion that Oengus had long since met his death by being drowned in the Boyne estuary. In 'Acallam na Senórach' the Tuatha Dé Danann are admittedly immortal (*nemírchradach*, 3908), and one of them, a grand-daughter of the Dághda, is introduced to St. Patrick (3893 ff.).

³ ZCP xii, 243. I am not convinced by Thurneysen's suggestion (*ibid.*) that the author of ICT appears to have been unacquainted with Flann's poem.

⁴ And not later than the middle of the 12th century, for (as Thurneysen points out) the author of the ballad *Dám thríx táncatar i-ille* (LL 207 b) shows himself acquainted with one of the incidents in ICT.

⁵ Lug being called *Lug mac Ethlenn* (as in Flann's poem, LL 11 b 3-4) more frequently than *Lug mac Céin*, the author of ICT assumed that *Ethlenn* was an alias of Cian, whereas in reality it is a corruption of *Ethne*, the name of Lug's mother. In a poem fathered on Fintan mac Bóchra, Éblenn, sister of Lug, is called *ingen Chéin 7 Eithleand*, 'the daughter of Cian and Ethliu' (Ériu iv, 156. 16; YBL text); but in the Book of Lismore version this is altered to *ingen Chéin darbh ainm Eithlend*, 'the daughter of Cian who was [also] called Ethlenn'. Cf. *supra*, p. 38, n. 4.

successful from their quest, and paid Lug his *éiricc*. The precious articles in question have a supernatural character. Among them is the spear of Assal, which never fails to kill when he who hurls it says *ibar*, and which returns to him who hurls it when he says *athibar*; this is plainly the lightning-spear.¹ Nothing is said in ICT as to the treasures sought out by the three brothers being required by Lug for any specific purpose; but doubtless its author was well aware that the purpose was to equip Lug for his contest with Balar and the Fomoire.² The statement in Flann's poem that the three gods had slain Cian, Lug's father,³ readily suggested the idea that the fetching of the treasures was an *éiricc* imposed on them by Lug.

This poem, and the prose summary which was later prefixed to it, served as a basis for the modern prose tale 'Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann' (OCT). As Thurneysen has pointed out (ZCP xii, 243), the author of OCT misunderstood *oirce*, 'lap-dog', as 'pig' (*orc*), and so he makes Uar (who in this text takes the place of Brian) wound Cian when the latter is 'in the shape of a pig' (*i riocht muice*). The list of treasures to be won by the brothers is increased by the addition of 'three apples from the Garden of the Hesperides'. Several other changes are introduced into the list; thus the *gai*

¹ See p. 60 ff. Compare Thor's lightning-hammer, which of itself returned to the hand of him who hurled it.

² In ICT (ZCP xii, 245.7) Tuirill Piccrenn, the father of the three brothers, is called *athair na ndée n-airc[h]elta*, where the last word appears to be gen. of *airchellad*, verbal noun of *ar'celim*, 'stehlen, rauben' (Pedersen, V. G. ii, 482); hence Thurneysen translates the line quoted as 'der Vater der Götter des Raubes'. On the other hand we should get a more satisfactory sense if we could connect *airchelta* with *airichell*, verbal noun of *ar'fochlim*, 'I make provision for' (cf. Pedersen, ii, 485). Possibly the author of ICT may have employed *airchelta* (the form of the participle) as gen. of *airichell*, instead of the regular (but apparently unattested) gen. **airichle*; in which case the meaning of the line quoted would be 'the father of the gods who made provision' (i.e. for the battle). Compare CMT § 83 (RC xii, 82), where in the sentence which tells of 'the three gods of Danann' providing Lug with equipment for the battle we find the expressions *airic[h]ill an c[h]atha* and *roboth sec[h]t mbliadnai oca foichill*.

³ Flann does not specifically refer to Cian as Lug's father, but the relationship between them was very well known in Flann's day and afterwards.

Assail becomes the spear (*sleagh*) of Pisear, king of Persia¹, and *mucc Dūise* becomes *muc Thúis*, the possessor of its skin being *ardri Gréag* (23 M 25, p. 78), while the apples from the apple-tree of Findchaire become a cooking-spit belonging to the women of Inis Fionnchuire beneath Muir Torrian (ib. 79). While the earlier text, ICT, leaves us to infer that the three brothers lived at peace with Lug after they had procured for him the talismans he had sent them to seek, the author of OCT gave his tale a tragic ending, and thus made it one of the 'Three Pitiful Stories'. This he did by including among Lugh's demands the giving of three shouts on Miodhchaoín's Hill in Lochlainn, a final adventure in which the three heroes are mortally wounded²; moreover Lugh is represented throughout this part of the tale as endeavouring to compass their death.

The first part of OCT (about one-quarter of the whole) is akin to the first part of CMT, and has no counterpart in ICT. It tells of Nuadha Airgeadlámh and his leeches, of the oppressive exactions of the Fomhóraigh (who come from Lochlainn, like the Norsemen), of the arrival of the deliverer, Lugh, of the defeat of Breas (who is here represented as son of Balar), and of his withdrawal to Lochlainn after pledging himself to meet the Tuatha Dé Danann later in battle at Magh Tuireadh. But this preliminary part is almost completely forgotten once the author comes to tell of the *éiric* imposed by Lugh on the Sons of Tuireann, whose adventures occupy the rest of the tale. In a hurried reading the two parts of the tale might well appear to have nothing to do with each other; yet the author was

¹ In O'Curry's text (p. 188) this spear gets the name *Aréadbhair*, which in H. 3. 23, p. 274, appears as *adbhair*; ultimately these corrupt forms go back to the *athibar* of ICT, which was misunderstood. Later in the text (ed. O'Curry, p. 210) the spear is called *iubhar* in one of the intercalated poems.

² As Flower has pointed out (Brit. Mus. Cat. 348), this last adventure is alluded to in a poem by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh († 1387): *Trí meic Tuireann . . . tuitsead im Chnoc mac Miodhchaoín*, Irish Monthly 1919, p. 169, = Dioghlúim Dána p. 194, § 27; so that we may infer that OCT was already in existence in the fourteenth century. There is another allusion to the fight with the sons of Miodhchaoín in a poem by Maoil-eachlainn na nUirsgéal (ca. 1488), Irish Monthly 1927, p. 438, = Dioghlúim Dána p. 320, § 34.

well aware of the connexion which in fact exists between the doings of the Sons of Tuireann and the struggle against the Fomhóraigh, for in a couple of places¹ he tells us (although casually, and without emphasis) that the talismans brought to Lugh by the three brothers provided Lugh with 'all that he required for the battle of Magh Tuireadh'.

The tale of the Second Battle of Mag Tuired (CMT) has as its basis the myth of the slaying of Balar by Lug.² Round this simple nucleus a highly artificial, and loosely constructed, tale has been built up. The tale has been adapted to the 'Lebor Gabála' fiction, that the Tuatha Dé Danann were a people who once conquered Ireland from the Fir Bolg and ruled it until the arrival of the Sons of Míl. Accordingly the oppression of Lug by Balar is represented as the oppression of the inhabitants of Ireland (the Tuatha Dé Danann) by the Fomoiré, one of whose kings was Balar. The battle-field of Mag Tuired has been borrowed from the tale of the First Battle of Mag Tuired, in which the Tuatha Dé Danann were supposed to have won Ireland from the Fir Bolg. So the duel between Lug and Balar of the original myth becomes a battle in which the Tuatha Dé Danann vanquish the Fomoiré. Likewise the weapons which in CMT are forged by the *trí dee Danann* and given to Lug for the purpose of winning the battle, have their origin and counterpart in the lightning-weapon, forged by the god of craftsmanship, with which, in the basic myth, Lug overcame his divine opponent, Balar. In the modern folk-versions of the Lug-Balar myth (which are quite unaffected by the literary version in CMT), it is Goibniu, the divine smith, who forges the spear, or the red-hot bar, which Lug sends through Balar's eye.³ To enter into a full discussion of the Lug-Balar myth is, of course, impossible

¹ Atlantis iv, pp. 192, 214.

² Concerning CMT Macalister writes: 'The grotesque story of the battle . . . appears to be a mere farce, designed to bring ridicule upon the ancient gods' (ITS xli, 298). A more 'grotesque' judgment than this it would be hard to conceive. It is paralleled by the same scholar's assertion that OCT is 'an anti-pagan droll' (ib. 300).

³ This is especially well brought out in the Connemara version in Curtin's 'Hero-Tales of Ireland', p. 311. Compare also the Donegal versions, ib. 293, and O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters i, 21 n.

here. But I may remark, firstly, that Balar, the sun-god, and Goibniu, the smith-god, though they were differentiated in later times, are ultimately one and the same, and secondly, that in the primitive form of the myth the Hero (as we may call Lug, Cúchulainn, and Finn) 'slays' the god (represented by Balar, the Dog of Culann, and Aed) with the latter's own weapon, viz. the thunderbolt.

It is of interest to note the way in which the help given to Lug in the myth has been both expanded and duplicated in the published text of CMT. First (§§ 77-83) we find Lug summoning the druids, leeches, smiths, etc., of Ireland (i.e. of the Tuatha Dé Danann), and inquiring of them what power they can wield against the Fomoiré; the answers of Mathgen, a cup-bearer (unnamed), Figol, and the Dagda are set down. Then Lug goes to the *tri dee Danann*, who give him the weapons they had made for the battle. A little later in the text (§§ 96-119) we find what is evidently another (and more detailed) telling of all this. Lug assembles the chiefs of the Tuatha Dé Danann in order to ascertain what power each of them can wield in the battle against the Fomoiré. Goibniu, the smith (*goba*), undertakes to provide spear-points which will slay all whom they touch. Dian Cécht undertakes to heal the wounded. Credne, the worker in bronze (*cerd*), will provide rivets for their spears, hilts for their swords, bosses and rims for their shields. Luchta, the wright (*soer*), will manufacture shields and spear-shafts. Similarly Ogma, the Mórrígan, the sorcerers, the cup-bearers, the druids, Coirpre mac Etna, Bé Cuille, Dinann, and the Dagda, all announce the contribution they will individually make to the success of the Tuatha Dé Danann in the fight. Now of all these various helpers the only ones whose service consists in the manufacturing and supplying of weapons are the *tri dee Danann* in the first version, and Goibniu, Luchta (or Luchtaine), and Credne in the second version. The expertness of the latter three in forging weapons for the battle of Mag Tuired is specially emphasized in another passage (§ 122), which likewise occurs, in somewhat different words, in Cormac's Glossary.¹ Inasmuch as the function of 'the three gods of Danann' coincides with that of the other

¹ San. Corm. 975.

three gods, Goibniu, Luchta and Credne, we need have no hesitation in identifying the one trio with the other.¹

The question remains: how did these three deities come to acquire so odd a designation as *trí dee Danann*? The answer is suggested by a passage in our earliest extant text of Lebor Gabála, that in LL. There we are told that Donann was the mother of Brian, Iuchorba and Iuchair, and the comment is added: *ba siat sin na trí dee dana, diatá Sliab na Trí nDee*.² Evidently the redactor was acquainted with two forms of the phrase: (1) *trí dee Donann*, which suggested to him that Donann was their mother, and (2) *na trí dee dána*, 'the three gods of artistic skill'. That the latter was the original and genuine form of the phrase is, I think, not open to doubt. Its appropriateness as a collective name for Goibniu, Luchta and Credne is obvious. But after the twelfth century the earlier form of the phrase was supplanted by the later, which had the backing of such texts as CMT and Flann's poem, and so in later copies of Lebor Gabála we find *dána* replaced by the corrupt *danann* or *donann*.³ The cause of the corruption is evident; it was inevitable that, as the knowledge of pagan beliefs grew dimmer, *na trí dee dána* should suffer partial assimilation to the much more familiar phrase *Tuatha Dé Danann* (or *Donann*).

The phrase *na trí dee dána* occurs also in 'Immacallam in Dá Thuarad' (a text of the ninth century⁴), in an allegorical pedigree of learning, which ends with the words *Ecná mac na trí nDea nDána*, 'Wisdom, son of the Three Gods of *dán*'.⁵

¹ Just as the former three are represented as brothers, so also are the latter (BB 33 a 40-42, where Dian Cécht is added as a fourth brother).

² LL 10 a 29-31. So more briefly (the relative clause being omitted, and also the reference to Donann): *ba siat sin na trí dee dana*, Lec. 18 b 2. 45-46. *Sliab na Trí nDee* is unidentified, but appears to have been in Co. Meath; cf. *ro carta a Bregaib, a Brí, a Slemain, a Sléib Trí nDé*, LL 35 a 42 (referring to the expulsion of the Désí from Meath).

³ *na trí dee Danand*, BB 34 b 6; *na trí dee Danann*, Lec. 281 a 2. 7; *na trí dee Donann*, O'Clery's L. G. 170. Cf. *na trí dee Danann*, Keating, FF i. 214. The retention of the article is to be noted.

⁴ Thurneysen, Heldensage 520.

⁵ RC xxvi, 30. The gloss on the text (ib. 31 n. 2; R 110 a 22) identifies the three gods with Brian, Iucha(i)r and Úar, and makes them sons of Brigit, the *banshíli*.

Here, from the context, the author evidently intended *dán*, 'skill, art', to be taken in the restricted sense (which eventually became the usual one) of 'poetry, the poetic art'¹. But the traditional nature of the phrase is confirmed by its occurrence in this early text.

The results of the foregoing discussion may be briefly summarized as follows :

In the Lug-Balar myth Lug (the Hero) 'slew' his divine opponent by means of the lightning-weapon. This weapon had been forged by the Craftsman-god, who was originally Balar himself. In a later development of the myth, Balar is differentiated from the Craftsman-god, and the latter is represented as friendly to the Hero.

In Irish tradition the Craftsman-god is often multiplied into three,² viz. Goibniu, the smith, Luchta, the wright, and Credne, the worker in bronze. Collectively these three were known as *na trí dee dána*, 'the three gods of craftsmanship'.

Owing to the influence of *Tuatha Dé Danann* the phrase *na trí dee dána* began at an early date to be corrupted to (*na*) *trí dee Danann*. It was in this corrupt form that the author of CMT (late tenth century ?)³ knew the phrase, which

¹ The word *dán* being somewhat ambiguous, it is possible that, before the phrase became obsolete, some may have understood *na trí dee dána* to mean 'the three gods of poetry'. In the tale of the First Battle of Mag Tuired the *aes dána* or 'poets' of the Tuatha Dé Danann are three in number, viz. Etan, Cairbre mac Etaine, and Aí mac Olloman (Ériu viii, 28) ; but this is probably a mere coincidence.

² The tendency to regard different names of the same mythical personage as implying the existence of so many different personages is very marked in Irish. Doubtless it is mainly a product of the Christian period, but in part it may possibly go back to pagan times. The same tendency towards multiplication is found even when the personage bears a single name, as when Cormac distinguishes three goddesses named Brigit, viz. a goddess of *écse*, a goddess of healing, and a goddess of smithery (San. Corm. 150). So in Hesiod the original Kyklōps, the sun-god, is triadized into a god who shines, a god who lightens, and a god who thunders (p. 58, n. 5).

³ From San. Corm., 975, it is clear that by the beginning of the tenth century the Lug-Balar myth had undergone a literary re-fashioning into a tale of a battle fought at Mag Tuired by the Tuatha Dé Danann against the Fomoiré. But this primitive account of the battle is lost ; and the extant text of CMT, though doubtless based on and incorporating the earlier account, is comparatively late, for it contains some loan-words from Norse

he interpreted as meaning 'the three gods of the Tuatha Dé Danann'. In this text the unnamed *tri dee Danann* make weapons for Lug, and so do Goibniu, Luchta and Credne; but each trio is henceforth disassociated from the other.

A later development was to provide the *tri dee Danann* with new names (Brian, Iuchair, Iucharba, etc.).

According to Flann Mainistrech these 'three gods' slew Lug's father, Cian; this, like much else in his poem, was probably his own invention.

In ICT the forging of weapons for Lug becomes a quest for various talismans, among them a magic spear. The author turns the death of Lug's father to account by representing the procuring of the talismans as a penalty imposed on the slayers by Lug. He names the three individually, and alludes to them as 'gods', but he does not use the expression *tri dee Danann*.

Finally the author of OCT, working chiefly on ICT, humanized the three brothers (they are no longer 'gods'), and invented various adventures for them in their quest of the talismans, and at the same time gave his tale a tragic ending.

and applies the name *Innsi Gall* to the Hebrides (cf. Stokes, RC xii, 52 f.). The statement that Sanas Cormaic has three quotations from CMT (cf. Hull, ZCP xviii, 80) cannot be accepted without qualification. Two of these quotations are from Coirpre's satire on Bres, which has only an accidental connexion with CMT and is found independently. As regards the third 'quotation' (San. Corm. 975), the author of CMT presumably borrowed it either from Cormac or from Cormac's source (the lost primitive version of the tale). Hull's 'additional evidence' (ZCP xviii, 88 f.) is illusory; he has been misled by a misprint in Meyer's Sanas Cormaic, p. 98, where footnotes 9 and 10 ought to have been numbered 10 and 9, respectively.

XVII.—THE WISDOM OF FINN

1.—THE SOURCE OF WISDOM

IN Celtic belief the Otherworld was the source of all wisdom, and especially of that occult wisdom to which humanity could not (except in a very limited degree) attain¹. One of the characteristics of the god of the Otherworld was his omniscience.² This idea is reflected in several of his names, e.g. *Conn*, *Mider*, and the Welsh *Pwyll* (pp. 282, 293 n. 3). So the Dagda was also known as (*in*) *Ruad Rofhessa*, 'Ruad of great knowledge' (San. Corm. 1100 ; LL 187 c 59, 188 a 2).

The Otherworld-deity was polymorphic. He was often regarded as possessing, or assuming, animal shape, e.g. as a horse, a bull, or a wolf. As he could fly through the air, he might be conceived as a great bird (an eagle or a swan). Similarly when the Otherworld was conceived as situated beneath the sea or a lake, the appropriate shape which the god would assume, as a denizen of the waters, would be that of a salmon.

Age and wisdom are naturally associated. A surpassingly great age was one of the prominent attributes of the Otherworld-god.³ This is exemplified in, among others, *Fintan*

¹ Occult knowledge, the knowledge of what was hidden or to come, was the highest kind of wisdom. One of the names applied to it was *imbas*, a compound of *fiss* or *fess*, 'knowledge, wisdom'. The simple word *fiss* (Mod. Ir. *fios*) not seldom has the special sense of 'occult knowledge'.

² So in Norse belief Odin, the lord of Valhalla, was the god of wisdom and magic lore, as indeed is suggested by his name (O. Norse *Óðinn*. O. Eng. *Wōden*), which is cognate with Lat. *vātēs*, O. Ir. *fáith*, 'a prophet', (Compare the related O. Norse *ōðr*, O. Eng. *wōd*, 'mad, raging', which originally meant 'divinely inspired'; for the semantic development cf. O. Ir. *baile*, 'divine inspiration, prophetic ecstasy', giving Mod. Ir. *boile*, *buile*, 'madness, rage', and also the meanings of Gr. *μαίνομαι*, *μανία*, *μάντις*.) Similarly in ancient Greece Zeus was the source of all prophetic and divinatorial power (*Ζεὺς Πανομφαῖος*).

³ See on this point Ériu, xiii, 167. It was natural to attribute great age and great knowledge to the deified Sun, the heavenly Eye, who has observed the doings of countless generations of men.

(Fintan mac Bóchra), whose name means ' the white ancient ', **Vindo-senos*.¹ He was in Ireland before the Deluge, and lived for 5500 years after that event ; and he knew the whole history of the western world.² He was one-eyed, and had spent some hundreds of years in the shapes of a salmon, an eagle, and a hawk.³ The great age of the deity, and his animal shapes, suggested the popular idea that certain animals had lived for thousands of years and could remember all that had happened during that time. Thus we read of the bird (hawk or crow) of Achill, who was coeval with Fintan, and who like him could remember the remote past.⁴ In the Welsh tale of ' Kulhwch ' the eagle of Gwern Abwy is ' the oldest animal in the world ', yet not even he is quite so knowledgeable as the magic salmon of Llyn Llyw, who dwells in the Severn.

From his omniscience the deity in salmon-form was known as the *eó fis*,⁵ ' the salmon of wisdom '. One of the locations of this wise salmon was at Ess Ruaid (' Ruad's waterfall '), i.e. the falls of Assaroe on the Erne at Ballyshannon. Being one-eyed (*goll*), this salmon was known as Goll Essa Ruaid⁶ ; and, as might be expected, he is identified with the all-knowing Fintan.⁷

Elsewhere we read of a mythical Aed Ruad, who was

¹ Thus derived by Meyer, who interprets it as ' weiss(haarig) und alt ' (Zur kelt. Wortkunde § 1). But it is to be noted that *Vindo-* + *s-* gives *Find-* in *Findabair*, so that **Vindo-senos* might have given **Findan* (**Finnan*) rather than *Fintan*. Hence an alternative derivation of *Fintan* would appear to be **Vindo-tenos*, of which the second component may be a form of *tene* or *ten*, ' fire '.

² LU 10067-71 ; Ériu iv, 128 ff.

³ Anecdota i, 26-28. The single eye symbolizes the sun (p. 58 f.).

⁴ Anecdota i, 24 ff. Cf. Celtic Review x, 142, where *an sean-phréachán Eachlach* is the oldest of all animals. He is also referred to as an eagle (*fiolar*, ib. l. 2).

⁵ ZCP viii, 227, § 11 ; Feis Tighe Chonáin 1373.

⁶ Anecdota i, 27, § 21 ; Celtic Review, x, 138 f.

⁷ Anecdota i, 26 f. So in Cath Maige Léna, ed. O'Curry, 96, Fintan is referred to as *eó fis forlámaighthe gacha feasa*. But the late tale ' Eachtra Léithín ' treats the salmon of Ess Ruaid and Fintan as separate, though contemporary, individuals (Celtic Review x, 140).

drowned in the waterfall at Ballyshannon, which from him was called *Ess Ruaid*, and who left his name also on the adjacent *síd*, or Otherworld-hill, known as *Síd Aeda*.¹ Here we have the god *Aed* who presided over the the *síd* identified with the *Ruad* who was drowned in (i.e. who, in pagan belief, lived beneath) the neighbouring waterfall. Another text gives '*Aed Alainn* of *Ess Ruaid*' as one of the names of the *Dagda*, who was also known as *In Ruad Rofhessa* and as *Eochaid Ollathair*.² We know further that *Aed* was another name for the one-eyed *Goll mac Morna*,³ Finn's traditional enemy. From the foregoing evidence it will be sufficiently obvious, without entering into more detailed or more fundamental arguments, that the all-knowing *Salmon of Assaroe*, *Goll Essa Ruaid*, is identical at once with the all-knowing *Dagda* and with *Goll mac Morna*.

The *Salmon of Wisdom*, as we shall see, was also associated with the *River Boyne*, over which the god *Nuadu* (otherwise called *Nechtán* and *Elcmaire*) presided. In an anecdote concerning *Cúchulainn*, we are told how he speared a salmon in the *Boyne* and then mutilated *Elcmaire*, who had entered the river to oppose him.⁴ Originally the spearing of the salmon and the wounding of *Elcmaire* were one and the same act. Elsewhere we read of *Cúchulainn* 'killing the salmon in *Linn Féic*' (*oc guin na n-iach il-Lind Feig*, RC vi, 182 f.). *Linn Féic* was the name of a pool in the *Boyne*, adjoining the *síd* of *Clettech* and the *síd* of the *Bruig*; and it was in that pool that the *Salmon of Wisdom* resided.⁵

¹ LL 20 a b; Met. D. iv, pp. 2, 6-8.

² See the anecdote edited by Bergin in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, 402, where *Aed Abaid* (a scribal misreading) is to be emended to *Aed Alainn*. In Ac. Sen., 2716, we find mention of *Aed Alainn*, son of *Bodb Derg*, son of the *Dagda*,—which exemplifies the common practice of constructing a pedigree out of different names for the one deity. In the same text there is frequent mention of *Aed Minbrecc*, son of the *Dagda*, of the *síd* of *Ess Ruaid*. *Aed*, son of the *Dagda*, is also referred to elsewhere, e.g. Met. D. iv, pp. 92, 108; LL 10 a 19 (where he is called *Aed Caem*).

³ RC ii, 88-90; v, 197 f.

⁴ ZCP viii, 120.

⁵ The *Dagda* is called 'the king of *Linn Féic*', *rig Féic-Linne*, Ériu vii, 220. 4

Among the representations of the god Nodons (= O. Ir. *Nuado*) discovered in the remains of his temple at Lydney Park, on the Severn, is a 'triton with an anchor in one of his hands, and opposite him a fisherman in the act of hooking a fine salmon'.¹ With this we may compare the fisherman who, in the story of Finn's acquisition of wisdom (discussed below), catches the divine salmon and gives it to Finn to cook. If the comparison is justified, we may take it that the fisherman and the salmon in the Lydney Park effigy both represent the god Nodons.

Cú Roí, like Nuadu, is ultimately the ancestor-deity and the lord of the Otherworld.² In the story of his death, 'Aided Con Roí' (the earlier version), we are told how Cúchulainn, in order to kill him, had, with Cú Roí's own sword, to kill first a certain salmon in a well, and then Cú Roí himself. The narrator explains that Cú Roí's 'soul' resided in the salmon, and tells how, when the salmon had been killed, Cú Roí lost his strength and valour.³ This is a development, for storytelling purposes, of the basic idea that Cú Roí had many shapes, or, as folklorists would express it, that he was a 'shape-shifter'. One of these shapes was, as his name implies, that of a dog (see p. 79). Another of his shapes was that of a salmon; hence in the story of his death Cú Roí has to be killed first in salmon-form, and then in the form of a man. In this tale Cúchulainn is aided by Cú Roí's wife, Bláithíne, who is represented as discovering and revealing the way in which Cú Roí could be slain.⁴ As Bláithíne's role suggests,

¹ Rhys, *Celtic Folklore* 447. Compare the wise salmon of Llyn Llyw associated with the Severn in 'Kulhwch'.

² He is thus identical with Dáire (cf. p. 49). It is, of course, impossible to enter into a detailed discussion of Cú Roí here. But I cannot help remarking that Thurneysen's view (borrowed from Henderson, *ITS* i, 197, and approved by Baudiš) that he was 'in origin a sea-demon' (*ZCP* ix, 233) is absurdly inadequate. Thurneysen was interested in many branches of learning, but Celtic religion was hardly one of them.

³ *ZCP* ix, 92, §§ 10-11 (based on Ériu ii, 33 f.). In the statement that Cú Roí's 'soul' was in 'a golden apple' in a salmon we have an instance of what folklorists call the 'external soul' motif, which is well known in a widespread type of folktale.

⁴ So Conganchnes, uncle (but ultimately double) of Cú Roí, is similarly betrayed by Niam, daughter of Celtchar, and he is killed by having red-hot

the story is a version of the myth of the Rival Wooers (as we may call it), a widespread myth, with many ramifications, into which, naturally, we cannot enter here.¹

Elsewhere the source of all wisdom and occult knowledge is the Otherworld Well. This well, known as the well of Segais, was, according to one account, situated beneath the sea in Tír Tarngire (the Otherworld)². Around it were hazel-trees, the fruit of which dropped into the well and caused bubbles of mystic inspiration (*na bolcca immaiss*) to form on the streams which issued from the well.³ Another account⁴ has it that the nuts which fell from the hazels into the well of Segais used, either once a year or once in seven years, to pass into the River Boyne⁵; and those mortals who were fortunate

iron spits thrust into his feet (Meyer, *Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes* 26-28).

¹ J. Baudiš discusses 'Aided Con Roí' in *Ériu*, vii, 200 ff., and calls attention to its kinship with certain folk-tales. For the most part his article is devoid of value. He regards the *Cú Roí* tale as 'a very old stratum of folk-lore which intrudes into the historical Ulster cycle' (p. 208). But to speak of 'intrusion' is quite misleading. Rather, I would say, the Irish tale points to one of the ways in which the storytellers' device of the 'external soul' originated, and throws light upon its real meaning. Baudiš admits that 'the demon', *Cú Roí*, 'has noble features; he is a prince, and we can hardly find a trace [in him] of the repellent character of the popular *fathach*'; but this anomaly (for so it seems to him) he would explain as due to 'the political motives of the old story-tellers'! (p. 207). When he asserts that the *Cú Roí* tale 'has its origin . . . in totemistic culture', and that the myth of *Cúchulainn* slaying the Dog of *Culann* is 'probably a transformation of an old story relating how *Cúchulainn* got his *manitou*' (p. 208), he is merely writing learned nonsense. His article affords a good illustration of the way in which folklorists grope in the dark when they come to discuss the ultimate origins of certain types of folk-tales.

² Compare in Norse mythology the well of Mimir (double of Odin), in which all the rivers of the earth had their source.

³ *Met. D.* iii, 286-288; and cf. *Ériu* iii, 156, § 9. For these hazel-trees, known as *cuill Chrtinmond*, etc., see further *San. Corm.* 237, *RC* xxvi, 18.2, *Met. D.* iii, 292, *ZCP* xvii, 268. In *IT* iii, 195, § 35, the hazels are called *cuill buana* (= *Buana*? Cf. *coll Buana*, *RC* viii, 62.14).

⁴ *ZCP* xvii, 268. Cf. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs* ii, 143.

⁵ The well of Segais was the source of the Boyne, which arose in *Síd Nechtain* (*Met. D.* iii, 26), and also of the Shannon (*ib.* 286 ff.). Compare Segais as the name of a district adjoining the River Boyle, which is an affluent of the Shannon.

enough to find the nuts and to 'drink the *imbas* out of them' obtained the seer's gift and became accomplished *filid*. According to other accounts, there were salmon in the Otherworld well, and as the wisdom-full hazel-nuts dropped into the water the salmon ate them.¹ Here again we have the Otherworld salmon associated with wisdom.

2.—THE SEER

While the boundless knowledge which was a prerogative of the Otherworld was in general hidden from mortals, it was yet not wholly inaccessible to them. A class of men known as 'seers', *filid* (Celt. **velītes*), claimed to be able, by practising certain rites, to acquire as much of this supernatural knowledge as was required for a particular purpose. One of the ways in which divination was practised in pagan Ireland is described by Cormac in a well-known article in his Glossary.² The *fili* chewed (*cocná*) a piece of the raw flesh of a pig, dog, or cat, and then chanted an incantation over it, and offered it to the gods, whom he invoked. He then slept, and in his sleep the knowledge that he sought was revealed to him. Cormac's name for this rite is *imbas forosnai*. Doubtless he had only a traditional knowledge of it, and is not to be trusted in all his details; but in its main outlines his description is probably accurate enough.³ Cormac adds that the rites of *imbas forosnai* and *teinm láida* were 'banished' by St. Patrick as being contrary to the Christian religion, whereas the saint permitted the incantation known as *dichetal do chennaib* to remain, because this involved no 'offerings to demons'.

Elsewhere we read of a *tairbfheis*, or 'bull-sleep',⁴ under-

¹ Met. D. iii, 192; IT iii, 195, § 35.

² San. Corm. 756; Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891-3, p. 156.

³ Cf. ZCP xix, 163 f., where Thurneysen seems a little too severe on Cormac. *Imbas forosnai* is treated at length by Mrs. N. K. Chadwick in SGS, iv, 97 ff.; but her article contains a good deal that is fanciful or inadmissible, and must be read with considerable caution.

⁴ 'Stierschlafen', Thurneysen, Heldensage 421. As *feis* means both 'feast' and 'spending the night', an alternative rendering would be 'bull-feast' (so Stokes).

taken with a view to determining who should be king of Tara. A bull was killed, and a man ate of its flesh and drank its broth, and then lay down to sleep, and in his sleep the future king appeared to him.¹ With this may be compared Keating's account of what he takes to have been the most effective method of divination practised by the druids of ancient Ireland. Upon wattles of mountain-ash they spread, raw side uppermost, the hides of bulls that had been offered in sacrifice, 'and in this way they had recourse to their *geasa* to evoke the demons, for the purpose of winning knowledge from them, even as the *togharmach* (evoker of spirits) does in the circle to-day'.² Keating's account of the latter part of the rite is vague; possibly he himself was not quite clear about it. We may, however, take it that the diviner lay down upon the hide, and, wrapping himself in it, went to sleep.³ A similar practice continued long in Gaelic Scotland, and is described by Martin. In a solitary place, remote from any house, a man was wrapped in a cow's hide, and was left there all night, in the course of which 'his invisible friends' communicated to him the knowledge that he sought.⁴

¹ BDD § 11; Serglige Conculainn §§ 22-23.

² FF ii, 348-350. Of the Irish *togharmach* of Keating's day no account seems to have been preserved. In the Irish Life of Berach we read that, with a view to discovering who had performed certain miracles, druids 'went on their wattles of mountain-ash (*ar a ccliathaibh* [sic leg.] *cáerthainn*), and new ale was given to them' (Plummer, Lives of Ir. SS. i, 34). The wattles on which the druid lay were known as *cliatha fis* (ITS xxxvii, 37, § 21). The phrase *dul ar a chliathaibh fis* was proverbially used of a zealous seeker after knowledge; cf. ITS xx, 158, § 91, Keating, FF ii, 350. When Marco Polo tells how Jengiz-khan consulted his magicians as to the issue of a forthcoming battle, his Irish translator says that the druids of Jengiz 'went on their wattles of wisdom (*luidhset na druidh for a cliathaib fis*) and summoned to them demons and aerial gods' (ZCP i, 264, § 32).

³ Compare *codail ar do chliathaibh fis*, 'sleep on thy wattles of wisdom', ITS xx, 108, § 2. In the Welsh tale 'Breudwyt Ronabwy', Rhonabwy lies down to sleep on 'the skin of a yellow steer', and in his sleep he has a wonderful dream, which forms the substance of the tale.

⁴ M. Martin, Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, 1716, 111 f. According to Armstrong, Gaelic Dict. s.v. *taghairm*, the diviner 'was wrapped in the warm smoking hide of a newly-slain ox . . . and laid at full length in the wildest recess of some lonely waterfall'.

The foregoing accounts differ widely in date, but they refer essentially to the same divinatory rite, a rite which had close analogues in ancient Greece.¹ The object of the *fili* or seer was to commune with the Otherworld in order that he might tap, so to speak, the divine omniscience for his own ends. By being sacrificed to the deity, the animal became in a sense deified; and so the seer, by chewing some of the animal's flesh and by wrapping himself in its hide, was believed to be able to acquire some of the knowledge possessed by the deity, which was imparted to him when he fell into a sleep or a trance. It is interesting to note how in much later times, when the *fili* was no longer a seer but a trained poet, the belief persisted that he could get inspiration only when he was lying alone in the dark;² and it was invariably in this way that the *filidh* of Ireland and Scotland composed their verses, previous to the break-up of the old order in the course of the seventeenth century.³

¹ *Viz.* the Greek *ἐγκοίμησις*, which had its counterpart in the Latin *incubatio*. Compare Vergil's account of the way in which the oracle of Faunus was consulted: 'Huc dona sacerdos | cum tulit, et caesarum ovium sub nocte silenti | pellibus incubuit stratis somnosque petivit, | multa modis simulacra videt voltantia miris, | et varias audit voces fruiturque deorum | conloquio' (Aen. vii, 86 ff.).

² I find that Bergin has long since called attention to the probable connexion of this custom with the methods of 'pagan divination', *Jrnl. of the Ivernian Society* v, 162 f. (1913).

³ Martin tells how the 'orators', as he calls the *filidh*, when composing verse, lay on their back in a dark cell, with plaids about their heads and with their eyes covered (*op. cit.* 116). So in the Irish 'poetical seminaries' each scholar composed his verse lying on his bed in the dark in a small windowless apartment (*Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanrickarde*, 1722, p. clix). Early in the seventeenth century we find the poet Ó Gnímh saying that he adheres to the time-honoured custom of composing verse while lying on a bed in a hut from which the sunlight is excluded (see the poem of his edited by Bergin, *Studies*, 1920, 1 ff.). A poem on Benn Étair, preserved in LL and elsewhere, opens with the line *Cid dorcha dam im lepaid*, 'Though I lie on my bed in the dark' (*Met. D.* iii, 110). Little more than a century ago we find a remnant of the old custom surviving in the north-west of Co. Mayo. 'Many a winter's night', writes P. Knight, 'have I heard the old chronicler, lying on his back quietly, in the bed beyond the fire, repeat the "deed of old" to delighted listening ears, but in language so ancient as to be now almost unintelligible to most Irish speakers of the

3.—HOW FINN ACQUIRED WISDOM

If the wisdom of the Otherworld was not inaccessible to mortals, it is natural to expect that it was more easily available to the 'terrestrial god' whom we have called the Hero. The main role which the Hero plays in myth is that of spoiler of the Otherworld. His victory over the Otherworld-god is interpreted as meaning that he won the Otherworld caldron or became master of the Otherworld feast. So, too, he gets possession of the Otherworld weapon, the lightning sword or spear. He was master of all the arts known to mankind. Hence Lug, the *samildánach*, is, among other things, a *fili* or seer.¹ So, too, Amairgein, Morann mac Moín and Cormac ua Cuinn² were *filid*, and were also eminent for their juridical wisdom. Likewise Cúchulainn, though best known as a warrior, was distinguished for his wisdom.³

The possession of supernatural knowledge and prophetic power is attributed especially to Finn mac Cumail. Two different stories are told as to how he acquired these gifts. According to one account, Finn obtained his occult knowledge by drinking a draught from the Otherworld well. Three versions of this are preserved in 'Feis Tighe Chonáin'. (A) When Finn, Diorraing and Mac Reithe were one day on the top of Carn Feradaig (Cahernarry, near Limerick city), they found the door of the *sid* open and proceeded to enter. The daughters of Bec mac Buain, the owner of the wisdom-giving well, tried to close the door against them. One of the daughters, Céibhfhiinn, had in her hand a vessel filled with water from the well, and in the struggle some of the water spilled into the mouths of Finn and his two

modern school' (Erris, 1836, p. 110). Here the old reciter appears to have adopted the traditional posture of the composer.

¹ RC xii, 76, § 62.

² Of Cormac it is said: *ba sú, ba file, ba flaith, | ba fir-brethem fer Féne*, Met. D. ii, 14, § 2.

³ Among his instructors were the wise Sencha, and Amairgein the *fili*. Illustrations of his wisdom will be found in his allusive discourse with Emer in 'Tochmarc Emire' and in his *bríathartheosc* addressed to Lugaid in 'Serglige Conculainn'.

companions, who thus acquired *fios* (p. 40 f.). (B) Another version, evidently a variant of the foregoing, tells how one day, when they were on the summit of Carn Feradaig, Finn and four others of the *fian* followed an *aitheach* who was carrying a pig on a fork and was accompanied by a young woman¹. A magic mist came on them, and when the mist cleared away they found themselves near the *aitheach*'s palace, which they entered. Finn drank a draught from each of the two wells that were outside the palace. As a result of his visit Finn acquired *fios* (pp. 14-19)². (C) The third version tells how Finn, after bathing in a lake at Sliab Cuilinn (Slieve Gullion, Co. Armagh), found himself transformed into a feeble old man. The *fian* thereupon laid siege to the neighbouring *sid*. Cuilenn, the lord of the *sid*, came forth, bearing a golden cup, and when Finn had drunk from it his former strength and appearance returned to him. Finn then handed the cup to Mac Reithe, who likewise drank from it; but the cup then sprang out of Mac Reithe's hand and disappeared into the earth. By drinking from Cuilenn's cup Finn and Mac Reithe acquired supernatural knowledge³ (pp. 34-38).

From ancient times the favourite belief regarding Finn's wisdom was that it resided in his thumb,⁴ and was evoked by him by means of a special rite. Owing to the popularity

¹ Cf. p. 127.

² The storyteller, who is intent only on giving an allegorical explanation of what Finn saw within the palace, does not expressly attribute Finn's acquisition of wisdom to his drinking from the wells.

³ In the case of Finn the drink at once restored health and imparted wisdom. In 'Tóraidheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne' it is said that, when Finn got the power of divination 'on the Boyne', he at the same time acquired the power of healing anyone in sickness by giving him a drink of water from the palms of his hands (Oss. Soc. iii, 184). Compare the numerous traditions of healing wells, e.g. the well *Sláine* which heals the wounded in the second battle of Mag Tuired (RC xii, 94, § 123, 96, § 126). Bé Bind, daughter of Elcmar, and wife of Aed of Ess Ruaid, possessed the healing drink (*deoch leighis 7 tcece*) of the Tuatha Dé Danann, Ac. Sen. 6805.

⁴ The association of wisdom with Finn's thumb has been discussed at length by R. D. Scott in 'The Thumb of Knowledge in legends of Finn, Sigurd, and Taliesin', New York, 1930. This book deserves praise for its painstaking collection of material; but the author's elaborate hypotheses

of this belief some versions of the story which originally attributed Finn's wisdom to a draught from the Otherworld-well have undergone a certain re-fashioning. Thus in 'Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar' we have an anecdote which is merely a version of (A) above, modified by introducing an explanation of how wisdom was communicated to Finn's thumb. The scene takes place in the Curliou Mountains, on the summit of Carn Coirshléibhe, and each of the three daughters of Bec mac Buain holds in her hand a cup filled with 'the liquor of inspiration' (*don lionn iomhais*). When the three ladies of the *síd* shut the door against Finn and his two companions, Finn's thumb was squeezed 'between the doorpost of the *síd* and the door', and he put it between his teeth (*idir a dhédaibh*). At the same time liquid from Céibhfhionn's cup was splashed on the faces of Mac Reithe and Diorraing. The three thus acquired supernatural knowledge, Finn in one way, his two companions in another.¹

One of the versions of the myth of Finn's victory over the Otherworld-god tells how he slew Cúldub, as the latter was entering Síd ar Femen (Slievenamon, Co. Tipperary). One account of this says that Finn encountered in the doorway a woman of the *síd*, who had in her hand a dripping vessel from which she had just distributed drink. The woman closed the door against him, and Finn's finger got jammed between the door and the doorpost. He put his finger into his mouth [to ease the pain], and then found that he had

and reconstructions have little or no value. He has been handicapped by his lack of linguistic knowledge (as when he identifies Welsh *Gwion* with Ir. *Finn*), and still more by the fact that he has no inkling of the real nature of the material he is handling. Thus he commits the absurdity of treating Aed mac Fidgea, Aillén, and the like, as mere 'goblins' or 'fairies'. Actually Aed and Aillén represent the Otherworld-god, the greatest deity of the Celts, who was no more a 'goblin' than was Jupiter or Zeus. If, in the myths as we have them, the god appears to have fallen from his high estate, this is partly because of the myth-tellers' bias in favour of the Hero, and partly because the myths have been recorded at a time when paganism was a thing of the past. It is necessary to stress the fact that no investigation, however laborious, of the origins of the tales told concerning Finn or Cúchulainn can be fruitful unless the writer is equipped with a sound knowledge of pagan Irish beliefs.

¹ B. iv. 1 (R.I.A.), fo. 13 a.

acquired the illumination of *imbas*¹. Here the goddess holding the cup in her hand is retained, though the cup no longer serves any purpose. In another version² of the slaying of Cúldub neither goddess nor cup is mentioned, and there remains only the closing (by whom we are not told) of the door on Finn's thumb. Yet it seems clear that the idea that Finn acquired *fis* when his thumb was jammed by the closing of the door is a secondary development. Originally his acquisition of wisdom in, or at the entrance to, the *sid* was due to his swallowing a draught of the Otherworld liquor.

Elsewhere the knowledge-giving property of Finn's thumb results from its having come in contact with the Salmon of Wisdom. According to the literary version, preserved in 'Macgnímartha Find', the youthful Finn (at this time called Demne) went to learn *écse* and *flidecht* from Finn Éces, who dwelt by the Boyne. It had been prophesied that this Finn Éces would catch and eat the salmon of Linn Féic (a pool in the Boyne), after which nothing would be unknown to him. The salmon was caught, and was given to Finn to cook. During the cooking Finn scalded his thumb [by touching the salmon], and then put his thumb into his mouth [to ease the pain]. 'Your name is no longer Demne, but Finn', said his tutor, giving him the salmon to eat. Thus did Finn acquire *fis*, whenever he put his thumb into his mouth.³—There is a good deal of artificiality in this account. The name of the owner of the salmon is made *Finn Éces* apparently for no other purpose than to give the compiler a second opportunity of telling how his hero acquired the name *Finn*.⁴ The story goes on to say that Finn, after eating the salmon and composing a poem to demonstrate his possession of *écse*, went to Cethern mac Fintain in order that he might learn *écse* from him too. Here we doubtless

¹ RC xxv, 344-346.

² RC xiv, 245 f.; re-edited by Vernam Hull, *Speculum* xvi, 329 f.

³ RC v, 201, §§ 17-18.

⁴ An episode earlier in the tale (§ 9) gives a different account of how the hero's name was changed from Demne to Finn. *Finn Éces* is properly the name, not of Finn's tutor, but of Finn himself. Compare *ba Finnecis* [leg. *Finn Éces*] *dino* [leg. *diúiu*] *a ainm micc Cumail in tan sin*, § 22.

have the more genuine tradition¹. If we suppose that the salmon of Linn Féic belonged to (i.e. was a metamorphosis of) Cethern, son of Fintan, we can link the salmon of the Boyne with his counterpart of Ess Ruaid, who was a metamorphosis of Fintan mac Bóchra (p. 319).

The myth has been better preserved in oral versions, which have been recorded in Ireland and Scotland. These tell how Finn, when cooking the magic salmon for its owner, had occasion to touch the salmon with his thumb, and how, when he put the scalded thumb into his mouth, he found himself in possession of *fios*. By this means he discovered that the owner of the salmon was an enemy of his, and so he killed him. According to some Scottish and Irish versions Finn slew the owner with his own sword.² Other Irish versions represent the owner of the salmon as a one-eyed giant, whom Finn blinds by thrusting a red-hot spit or iron bar through his eye.³ Several of the oral versions speak of the salmon of Eas Ruaidh, i.e. of the falls of Assaroe at Ballyshannon⁴; the others are silent as to the geographical location of the story.

Just as the deity in horse-shape is commonly represented (in duplicate, so to speak) as a man riding a horse,⁵ so in the present myth the owner of the salmon is the anthropomorphic counterpart of the deity represented by the salmon. Hence we understand why the killing of the salmon

¹ Gilla in Choimded mentions Finn's learning *écese* from Cethern mac Fiutain (Fianaigeacht 46); but he makes no allusion to Finn's tasting or eating a salmon.

² So J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne* 38; *Celtic Review* ii, 270; Ml. Ó Tiománaidhe, *Sgéalta Gearra ón Iarthar* 10 (a version obtained in Achill, in which, exceptionally, the salmon is owned by three men instead of one).

³ *Gaelic Journal* v, 92; Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* 210 f.; Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends . . . of Ireland*, ed. 1902, 85. (Cf. also *Irisl. Muighe Nuadh* 1911, 67 f.; 'Our Boys' Jan. 1916, 152.) From Curtin's version I quote: 'In came a giant with a salmon in his hand. This giant was of awful height, he had but one eye, and that in the middle of his forehead, as large as the sun in heaven'.

⁴ J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne* 37 f.; *Celtic Review* ii, 14; Ml. Ó Tiománaidhe, *Sgéalta Gearra ón Iarthar* 10.

⁵ See p. 291

is necessarily followed by the slaying of its owner. As we have seen, the salmon of Eas Ruaidh is identical with Finn's enemy, Goll, otherwise called Aed. Finn slays his enemy with the latter's own sword, i.e. with the lightning-weapon (p. 60). This is often represented as a red-hot bar¹; and Goll, the one-eyed sun-god, is very naturally represented as a one-eyed giant. Compare the slaying of the one-eyed Balar by Lug (p. 313). Hence, despite the obvious resemblance, (in some of the versions) of the owner of the salmon to the Polyphēmos of the Odyssey, there is no need to postulate borrowing so far as concerns the incident of the blinding of the one-eyed giant by Finn.²

The Welsh 'Hanes Taliesin', a late composition, contains a kindred episode.³ Ceridwen, the wife of Tegid Voel who 'dwelt in the midst of Llyn Tegid' (Bala Lake), was boiling 'the caldron of inspiration' for her son, Avagddu, and she employed Gwion Bach to stir the caldron. One day three drops of the magic liquor spilled on to Gwion's finger, and when he put his finger into his mouth 'he foresaw everything that was to come', and knew that Ceridwen was his enemy. Later Gwion was re-born as the poet Taliesin.⁴

With the many other analogous tales of how a mortal (or one presumed to be such) acquired prophetic inspiration we are not concerned.⁵ In ancient Greece we have the

¹ So when Mael Dúin and his companions approach one of the Other-world islands in the sea, a smith (the lord of the island) comes out of his smithy and hurls at them a huge mass of glowing metal, 'so that all the sea boiled' (RC x 52, = LU 1864 ff.; paralleled in Vita S. Brendani, Plummer's Vitae SS Hiberniae, i, 129).

² On the other hand, the incidents of Finn's escape in a goat-skin and the speaking ring (which eventually proves the giant's undoing) derive, not from primitive myth, but from a well-known type of folk-tale of which versions have been recorded all over Europe. Cf. the detailed study by Oskar Hackman, *Die Polyphemsage in der Volksüberlieferung*, Helsingfors, 1904.

³ Cf. R. D. Scott, *op. cit.*, 118 ff.

⁴ 'Hanes Taliesin', as printed by Lady Guest, is admittedly something of a patchwork. It is possible that the incidents have got misplaced, and that an earlier form of the tale told how Taliesin (instead of Gwion Bach) tasted the liquor in the caldron and thus acquired poetic inspiration.

⁵ Mention may, however, be made of an Irish folk-anecdote which tells how a cloud-like shape descended on a cow, or on a tuft of rushes which

stories of how Melampous and Polyidos acquired, each in a different way, superhuman knowledge from serpents. A common type of folktale, recorded in many parts of Europe, tells how an individual acquired (like Melampous) understanding of the language of birds, usually as the result of eating or tasting a white serpent.¹ Often (as in the case of Finn and Gwion) the wisdom-giving food is tasted by one for whom it was not intended, e.g. by the servant who is cooking it. This type of tale has made its way to the Scottish Highlands; see J. F. Campbell's story of Fearachur Léigh,² in which, however, the hero acquires omniscience instead of a knowledge of the language of birds.

A well-known incident in the Old-Norse story of Sigurd deserves special mention, as it has some striking points of resemblance to the Irish story of Finn's thumb.³ Regin, the master-smith, was the tutor of Sigurd, and re-forged Odin's sword, Gram, for him. With this sword Sigurd slew the dragon Fáfnir, who was brother to Regin. Sigurd roasts the dragon's heart, in order that Regin may eat it. Trying it with his finger to see if it is roasted enough, he burns his finger and puts it into his mouth. At once he understands

was then eaten by a cow, with the result that the first person to drink of that cow's milk acquired the gift of prophecy or of *fillocht* (Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. ii, 315; Béaloideas iii, 85). In the latter of these accounts, which comes from South Kerry, the poet Cearúl Ó Dála is the person who got the first drink of the cow's milk, as he also is in a very similar version which I heard many years ago in Ballymakeera, Co. Cork. We may compare O'Davoren's explanation of *imbas gréine*, 'inspiration from the sun' (ACL ii, 477, § 1569), viz. 'a sun-bubble (*bolg gréine*) which the sun produces on herbs, and whoever consumes them acquires the gift of poetry (*dán*)'.

¹ See 'The Language of Animals' by J. G. Frazer, *Archaeological Review* i, 81 ff., reprinted in the same scholar's *Garnered Sheaves*, 93 ff.

² *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, ed. 1890, ii, 377 ff.

³ It occurs in an Eddic lay (the *Fáfnismál*) and in the *Völsunga-saga*. There is also a version in the *Thidrekssaga*. Summaries will be found in Scott, *op. cit.* 193 ff. C. W. von Sydow's opinion is that the Sigurd story has in part been borrowed 'from Keltic folk-tale,' and that in particular the episode of Sigurd roasting the dragon's heart 'is a manifest loan from the Gaelic Finn-cycle' (Béaloideas iv, 351; and cf. Scott, *op. cit.* 214-217). But this is going farther than the evidence warrants.

the language of the birds. From the birds he learns that Regin is his enemy, and that whoever eats the heart will become the wisest of men. Thereupon he slays Regin with the sword, and himself eats the heart.

From what has been said above, it is clear that the Irish myth is a composite one. It tells (A) how Finn 'slew' his enemy, the Otherworld-god, one of whose shapes was that of a salmon. Accordingly Finn slays him first in the shape of a salmon, and then in the shape of a man. (Compare the way in which Cúchulainn overcomes the anthropomorphic Elcmaire and Cú Roí, after first slaying each of them in salmon-form.) With this has been amalgamated (B) the story of how Finn acquired wisdom by tasting or eating the salmon. This part of the myth we may regard as an Irish modification of the widespread belief that wisdom could be acquired by eating a sacred serpent.¹ Inasmuch as the omniscient Otherworld-god was often represented as a salmon, and as serpents are unknown in Ireland, the substitution of salmon for serpent was a natural one. Also it was natural to synchronize Finn's acquisition of wisdom with his victory over the Otherworld deity. In another account we have seen how Finn acquired his wisdom just after he had slain Cúldub, the lord of Síð ar Femen.

The resemblance of the Norse myth to the Irish consists in the fact that it, too, is a composite one, made up of elements analogous to (A) and (B) above. In the Norse form of (A), Fáfnir, the dragon, and Regin, the smith,² are slain by Sigurd with Odin's sword. Sigurd is the Hero, like Finn. Fáfnir and his brother Regin are mythologically doubles; both represent the Otherworld-god, Mimir, otherwise Odin. Regin is Sigurd's tutor, just as in the Irish literary version the owner of the salmon is Finn's tutor. In the Norse form of (B), the dragon's heart takes the place of the Irish salmon. Here the Norse version is much closer to the folk-tales. The dragon or 'worm' is only a magnified

¹ The serpent is pre-eminently the animal that typifies the powers of the nether Otherworld.

² In the *Thidrekssaga* Regin is the dragon, and Mimir, the smith, is Regin's brother and Sigurd's tutor.

serpent ; and, as in the folk-tales, Sigurd by tasting it learns the language of the birds, a detail which has been discarded in the Irish version.

4.—THE CHEWING OF THE THUMB

Finn first acquired supernatural wisdom when he put his thumb into his mouth after it had been scalded by coming in contact with the cooking salmon. The wisdom he thus acquired did not automatically inhere in his mind ever afterwards ; on each subsequent occasion it had to be freshly evoked, for it became available to him only 'when he put his thumb into his mouth' (*an tan do bered a ordain i n-a beolu*, RC v, 201, § 18). At first sight this rite might seem to be a mere imitation of the means by which he first acquired wisdom ; but actually, as we shall see below, it was something more than the words we have quoted would seem to imply, for whenever Finn wished to renew his wisdom he had to *chew* his thumb. An essential part of the divinatory rite to which Cormac gives the name of *imbas forosnai*¹ was the chewing of a piece of the raw flesh of an animal sacrificed to 'the pagan gods'. In the same way Finn availed himself of supernatural knowledge whenever he chewed a certain piece of raw flesh, namely, his thumb, which was able to impart divinatory power as a result of its previous contact with the Salmon of Wisdom. Thus Finn's chewing of his thumb was modelled on the rite of the pagan diviner.

As chewing involves the use of the teeth, the idea arose that Finn possessed a special 'tooth of wisdom', *dét fis*. This is already found in an Ossianic ballad in LL : *atrubairt friss a dét fiss | re mac Cumail cen ēslis*.² In several texts,

¹ We find this phrase associated with Finn in Fianaigecht, 38, where he twice speaks *triasa n-imbas forosnai*. Compare in one of the accounts which attribute Finn's wisdom to his thumb having been jammed in the door of the *síd* : 'Finn put his thumb into his mouth ; when he took it out again his *imbas* enlightened him' (*fortnosna a imbus*, RC xxv, 348).

² LL 207 b 21, = Festschrift Wh. Stokes p. 8. With this compare *Tabhair t'ordóg fod' dhéad fis | is nā léig sinn a n-ēslis*, O'Curry, MS. Materials 624,

when Finn makes use of his thumb for the purpose of divination, the phrase employed is: *tuc a ordain fo a dét fis*, literally, 'he put his thumb under his tooth of wisdom', but really meaning 'he chewed his thumb by means of his tooth of wisdom'¹. Examples will be found in Ac. Sen. ll. 203, 1834, 2408, 2607, 2662, 5416.² Variants, with *cuir* replacing *tabhair*, are seen in: *cuirid a ordain fa dét fis*, ib. 6627; *do chuir sé a ordóg fá n-a dhéid fis*, Br. Eochaidh Bhig Dheirg (P. Ó Briain's *Bláithfhleasg*, 138. 4); *ro chuireas m'órdóg fá m dhéid físe* [leg. *fis*], Oss. Soc. iii, 180. So in a Scottish version of the ballad 'Tóiteán Tighe Finn' we find: *chuir Fionn ansin a mhiar fo dheud fios*, J. G. Campbell, *The Fians* 160 (and cf. J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne* 177 b, § 25).

The meaning of the phrase is fully expressed in *chuir Fionn a órdóg 'na bhéal a's do chogain í fá na dhéad go cruaidh*, 'F. put his thumb into his mouth and chewed it strongly beneath his tooth', Oss. Soc. vi, 78 (*Sealg Ghleanna an Smóil*), and also in the following passage from 'Cath Finntrága' (ed. Meyer, p. 62): *D'iaradur maithibh na feinne ar Fhionn mac Cumhail a ordóg do chuir fána dhéad ag foillsiúghudh na fírinne . . . Gídh eadh do chuir an órdóg ionna bhéal 7 cognus go cnamh í 7 assin go smior 7 assin go smúsach 7 do foillsígheadh eólus do*, etc. In folk-tales the chewing of the thumb is always brought out clearly. Thus, to take a few examples at random: 'Fionn put up his thumb and chewed it, and knowledge was given him', etc., folk-tale from Co. Mayo, in J. H. Simpson's 'Poems of Oisín, Bard of Erin' (1857), 207. 'Fin chewed his thumb from the skin to the flesh, from the flesh to the bone, from the bone to the marrow, from the marrow to the juice, and then he knew', etc., J. Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland* 474 (W. Kerry). *Chogain sé an órdóg ón gcroiceann go dtí an fheoil, ón bhfeoil*

from q. 6 of another Ossianic poem, beginning 'A Oisín, an ráidhe rinn', of which a full version was printed by N. O'Kearney, *The Prophecies of S.S. Columbkille*, etc. (1856), p. 206.

¹ To put a thing under one's tooth means to chew it, much as in current Irish *cuir féid shróin é*, 'put it under your nose', means 'smell it'.

² So *tabhair h'ordain fad dhétt fis*, ITS xxviii, 154.

go dtí an cnámh, ón gcnámh go dtí an smior, 's ón smior go dtí an smúsaig, S. Laoide, *Tonn Tóime* 80 (S. Kerry). *Bhain se fios as a órdóig nuair a chuirfeadh se i n-a bhéal í agus nuair a chognochad se í ó fhéith go smuais*, S. Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Óirghiall*, 39 (Farney, Co. Monaghan).

5.—TEINM LAEDA

We now come to *teinm laeda* (*laido*), which Cormac couples with *imbis forosnai* as having been forbidden by St. Patrick. Cormac tells how, when the skull of a lap-dog was found, the poet Moén mac Etnae discovered through *teinm laido* that the skull was that of the lap-dog called Mug Eme: *tethnae iarum in t-éces tre t[h]enm laido, co n-epert*, etc.¹ Elsewhere *teinm laeda* is invariably associated with Finn chewing his thumb. Thus: 'Finn put his thumb into his mouth, and chants through *teinm laido*' (*dobert iarum Find a ordain inna béolu 7 dicain tre thenm laido*), and reveals that a certain headless body is the body of Lomna (Cormac, s. v. *orc tréith*).² So in 'Macgnímartha Find' we are told that Finn used to obtain whatever knowledge he required, *an tan dobered a ordain ina beolu ocus no chanad* [sic leg.] *tria teinm laega* (RC v, 201). Similarly in 'Aided Finn' we read: *co tuc-som a ordain fa ded fis 7 cura chan tre teinm laega, cur foillsiged do* etc. (Meyer, *Cath Finntrága* p. 74). So in another text: *dober Find a ordain mo ded fis, 7 canuid tria teinm laoga, 7 falsigtir do imar adboi*, RC xiii, 11; and *rochan Find trie tenm [la]edha agus tuc a orduin mó* (sic) *dhed fis, 7 rofaillsighedh dó iarum*, *ibid.* 7. (The exceptional order of the first and second clauses in the last example is to be noted.)

Zimmer's attempt to explain *teinm laeda* as a borrowing from Norse is to be dismissed;³ it is on a par with his

¹ Stokes's translation is: 'Then the poet solved it by *tenm láido* "illumination of song", and said' (Trans. Phil. Soc., 1891-3, p. 169).

² Cf. *op. cit.* 176; San. Corm. 1018.

³ Cf. RC xii, 295 f.; Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* 127.

identifying Finn with a ninth-century Norseman. Stokes interpreted the phrase as 'illumination of song',¹ and mistakenly took *te(i)nm* to be 'a derivative of *ten*, "fire"' (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891-3, 196). Thurneysen has explained *teinm laeda* as 'Enthüllungs-Lied' (Festschrift Windisch 29) or 'Eröffnung durch das Lied' (Heldensage 71), and Pokorny as 'solving by means of song' (Hist. Reader of Old Irish 74); while Gwynn has suggested that it means the cracking of a nut (i.e. the solving of a riddle) by means of a *laed* or song (ZCP xvii, 156).²

The first word, *teinm*, is clear enough; it is the verbal noun of *tennim*, cognate with Gr. *τένδω*, 'I gnaw', and with Lat. *tondeo*.³ *Tennim* means 'I cut (with the teeth or by gnawing)', Ériu ii, 192, 194; 'crack or unhusk' (a nut, with the teeth), Ir. Texte iii, 195, § 35, RC xxv, 346.21; 'cut open, cleave' (a nut, with a knife), RC viii, 56, (an apple, with a sword), Ériu ii, 33 z.

The second word, *laeda* (*laído*), has been interpreted by the above-named authorities as genitive of *laid*, 'song'. Actually there is no evidence for such a genitive except a single doubtful instance in O'Mulconry.⁴ Elsewhere the only known genitive of *laid* is *laide* (E. Mod. Ir. *laoidhe*).⁵ Moreover one would naturally take *laeda* as objective

¹ So, too, Meyer, but queryingly (Ériu i, 186, n. 1). Earlier O'Curry had explained *teinm laeghdha* (sic) as 'the illumination of rhymes', Manners and Customs ii, 209. D'Arbois de Jubainville's explanation of the phrase is 'ardeur ou feu du poème' (La civilisation des Celtes 91), otherwise 'flamme du poème' (RC xxviii, 21).

² According to R. D. Scott (*op. cit.* 106), *teinm laida* was probably 'a form of divination performed with the aid of a poet's wand'. Previously Plummer (Vitae SS. Hib. i, p. clx, n.) had expressed the opinion that it was 'probably rabdomancy'. For the source of this idea see Laws i, 44 and n.

³ Cf. Stokes on O'Davoren, 1494; Pokorny, ZCP x, 198; Walde-Pokorny ii, 719 f.

⁴ *denam lanchor láido*, O'Mulconry § 537, where the last word, I suggest, owes its form to a scribe of antiquarian tastes remembering the phrase *teinm laído*.

⁵ Cf. *hi-llög a laide*, Ir. Texts i, 20.15; *for slicht na laídi*, TBC S.-O'K. 3080. Similarly the gen. sg. is *láide*, TBC Wi. 540; *laide*, ib. 1488; *laidhe*, Laws i, 4; *laidhe*, IGT ex. 1575; *laoidhe*, Ériu xiii. 24.15, 27.4, ITS xii, 132 v; *laoidhi*. ib. 108.5.

genitive, and certainly not as indicating the means ('by means of song', 'durch das Lied'). I suggest that *laeda* is gen., not of *laid*, 'poem', but of an entirely different word, *laed*, 'pith, marrow'. O'Reilly gives in this sense a Mod. Ir. *laodh*, which, however, I cannot quote from any text. The derivative *laodhán*, on the other hand, is well attested. Cf. *laeghan truim*, 'the pith of alder-wood', Ir. Texts v, 9 y; *do laeghan na cruithneachta*, ITS xxix, 192.4 (= 'adipe frumenti', Ps. cxlvii, 14); *as amhlaidh rinne sin liomsa mur rinne an c[h]aor theineadh le crann, oir dfág sí an choirt slán 7 rinne sí luath don laodhan*, 23 M 3, 31, translating Montalvan's 'como son rayos, hizieron conmigo lo que con un arbol à quien dexan la corteza entera, y el centro convertido en ceniza'. Begly has *luíghéan rothadh*, 'nave', 486 b, and *luíghéan an bhláith*, 'the cup of a flower', 146 b. O'Reilly gives *laoidhean*¹, 'pith, pulp, marrow', in addition to *laodhán*. In Scottish, *laodhan* ('heart of a tree, pith, pulp') appears to be well known. R. Kirk in the vocabulary printed in 1702 has *laodhan*, 'the pith' (SGS v, 87). The H. S. Dict. quotes from Macintyre: *a' toirt brigh á laoghan na maoth-shlait fann* (= ed. 1790, p. 32; ed. Calder, p. 50, 132). The etymology of the word is clear; *laed* stands for **loidu-*, from the IE. root *lei-*, implying what is slimy, slippery, viscous, seen, for example, in Ir. *lenaim*, 'I adhere (*de*, to), I follow', Lat. *lino*, *līmus*, O. Eng. *lām*, *līm* (Eng. *loam*, *lime*); for the *d* suffix cf. O. Pruss. *laydis*, 'loam' (Walde-Pokorny, ii, 389).² Compare the parallel formations from the IE. root *glei-*,³ viz. Mid. Ir. *glaed* (Mod. Ir., Sc., *glaodh*,⁴ Manx *gleiy*), 'glue', Mid. Ir. *glenaim*, W. *glynaf*, 'I adhere'.

Teinm laeda, therefore, means literally 'the chewing (or breaking open) of the pith', and originally, I suggest, had

¹ In most of the Northern Half *laoidheán* (or *luíghéán*) would be indistinguishable in pronunciation from *laodhán*.

² With Ir. *laed*, 'pith, marrow', from the root *lei-*, 'slimy, etc.', compare the relationship of Ir. *smior*, 'marrow', to Eng. *smear*.

³ Cf. Walde-Pokorny, i, 619.

⁴ Under the influence of *glaodh*, Sc. *laodhan* has developed a by-form *glaodhan*; cf. *an glaothan* [leg. *glao-*], *laodhan*, 'the pith or heart' (of a tree or plant), A. M'Donald's Vocabulary (1741), 69.

reference to the way in which Finn was believed to have chewed his thumb for divinatory purposes. So when Finn is described (p. 335 f.) as chewing his thumb 'from the bone to the marrow (*smior*), from the marrow to the inmost core (*smúsach*)', we may justly see in this folk-tale formula a traditional paraphrase of the original *teinm laeda*.

The phrase *imbas forosnai* must originally have referred to the inspired wisdom of the seer.¹ Cormac, however, as we have seen, applies the name to a particular rite practised by the seer; but it is unlikely that he had a first-hand acquaintance with the rite he describes; and when he tells us that the diviner 'chants over his palms', and 'puts his palms on his cheeks' before going to sleep, he is probably influenced by his fanciful etymology of *imb*, which he derives from *imb-* and *bos* or *bas*, 'palm'.² He also mentions *teinm laeda*, and implies that it was another method of divination, but does not venture to give any account of it, beyond suggesting that it, too, involved 'offerings to demons'. It seems evident that he had no clear idea of the original significance of the phrase *teinm laeda*. In one passage he associates the *teinm laeda* with Moén mac Etnae, whereas elsewhere (and originally, I suggest) it is the prerogative of Finn alone. The mention, in Cormac and elsewhere, of Finn 'chanting through *teinm laeda*' would suggest that the writers misunderstood it to mean 'supernatural inspiration'³ or else a kind of divinatory chant. Later writers were, if possible, still more in the dark regarding

¹ This appears to be the meaning of the phrase in 'Táin Bó Cualnge' where Medb enquires of the *banfhili* Fedelm whether she has acquired *imb* *forosna* (LU 4527).

² Loth (RC xxxvii, 312 ff.) accepts Cormac's etymology; but Stokes (RC xxvi, 60) and Thurneysen (ZCP xix, 164) are, no doubt, right in taking *imb* to be a compound of *fus*. In late mss. the misspelling *iomhas* is general (cf. *tre imhus forosna*, LL 379 a 29; *iomhus*, Ériu xiii, pp. 18, 26, 38; gen. *iomhais*, ib. pp. 18, 26, Walsh, Gleanings pp. 89, 92, ITS xxxvii, 96, § 27), which shows that the word had ceased to be a living one.

³ So one hears of utterances 'through *imb* *forosnai*'. Finn twice speaks *triasa n-imb* *forosnai*, Fianaigeacht 38; and Scáthach prophesies *trias* *imb* *forosnai* in 'Tochmarc Emire', LU 10348. In none of these three passages is there mention of any divinatory rite.

the true meaning of the phrase; a commentator on the Laws explains *tenm* as 'shining' (*taitnem*) and 'understanding' (*tuicsin*), and appears to connect *laeda* with *laid* (Laws v, 56).

Cormac, as we have seen, brings together what he supposes to be three ways of acquiring prophetic or hidden knowledge: *imbas forosnai*, *teinm laeda*, and *díchetal do chennaib*. The same three names are also found joined elsewhere. In 'Macgnímartha Find' Finn is said to have learned these three things: *ro fogluim-sium in treide nemtigiús filid .i. teinm laega ocus imus forosna ocus dicedal di cennaib*, RC v, 201. Here the three acquirements are said to be the three things that assure the dignity of a *filí*.¹ So a commentator on the Laws (v. 56) says that these are the three things that are required of an *ollam filead*, and he quotes the 'Bretha Némed' in support. In one of the older metrical tracts the course of study prescribed for the would-be *filí* in the eighth year includes *laide .i. tenm laida 7 immas forosnai 7 díchetal do chennaib na tuaithe* (IT iii, 50). Here the three names have lost all connexion with their pagan past, and have come to mean nothing more than particular kinds of metrical composition.²

¹So also in Triads of Ireland, § 123. Cf. further Anecdota II, 76 (*iomus forasna ocus dícetal do chollaib cenn ocus teinm laoga*).

²Compare the specimens of *tedmleoda* (sic) and *imus forosnadh* (sic) given in another metrical tract (IT iii, 102, §§ 186, 187).

APPENDICES

I.—CRUTHIN AND ULAID

WHILE a discussion of the Priteni or Cruthin lies outside the plan of this book (cf. p. 15, n. 1), there are two matters in connexion with them which it is desirable to treat here. One is the distinction, which modern writers seem unable to grasp, between the Ulaid, who were of Bolgic origin, and the Cruthin of East Ulster. This is the subject of the present Appendix. The second matter is the language spoken by the Cruthin of Scotland, commonly called the Picts, before they came under the influence and rule of the Scotti or Irish colonists. This question, which is discussed in Appendix II, is of interest to us here, partly because we have included (p. 15 f.) the Priteni among the Celtic invaders of Ireland, and partly because one of the views put forward as to the nature of 'Pictish' would, if it were tenable, have a bearing on the date of the Goidelic invasion.

In early Christian Ireland remnants of the Cruthin survived in scattered communities, mainly in the northern half of Ireland. The most important of these communities was the Dál nAraidi, who with their kinsmen the Uí Echach occupied the greater part of Co. Antrim and the west of Co. Down. *Cruthin* (gen. *Cruthen*, LL 41 e 12) represents an earlier **Kvriteni*, which is a Goidelic borrowing of **Priteni*, preserved in Welsh as *Prydyn*, 'Pictland'¹. The usual form of the name in Irish is *Cruithni* (an *-io* stem; cf. p. 31, n. 3), or *Cruithnig* (pl. of *Cruithnech*, adj. and sb.).

The Cruthin or Cruithni were much more prominent in Scotland, where they preserved their independence down to the ninth

¹ **Priteni* (*Prydyn*, *Cruthin*) is connected with W. *pryd*, Ir. *cruth*, 'shape'. In an attempt to equate it with *Picti* (treated as a Latin word) it has often been interpreted as meaning 'the tattooed'. Rather, I suggest, *Priteni* is probably akin in sense to the cognate *Quarriates* (see p. 147 f.). Compare *Cruithne* (<**Kvriteniā*), the name of a daughter of Lóchán, the master-smith, and wife of Finn mac Cumail (RC v, 200, § 15).

century. Before the invasion of 'Scots' from Ireland the Cruthin possessed nearly the whole of Scotland north of the Clyde-Forth isthmus. They were distinct on the one hand from the northern Britons, whose capital was Dumbarton (*Dún Bretan*), and on the other hand from the two newly-invading peoples whom we find in Scotland from the sixth century (or earlier), the Góidil or Irish in Argyle, and the Angles in the south-east.

From the third century onwards the Cruthin of Scotland were known to Latin writers as *Picti*, 'Picts'. Hence Irish writers called the inhabitants of northern Scotland *Picti* (or, occasionally, *Pictones*, *Pictores*) when they wrote in Latin; *Cruithni* or *Cruithnig* when they wrote in Irish. But the Irish Cruthin are never called *Picti*;¹ and it is a serious error to speak, as Mac Neill does,² of 'Picts' in Ireland. As Watson has aptly said, 'the Irish Cruithnigh were no more Picts than they were Caledonians'.³

The Cruthin or Priteni are the earliest inhabitants of these islands to whom a name can be assigned. In early Christian times, when the origins of the different ethnic strata of the Irish population were well remembered, the Cruthin of Ireland must have been conscious of the fact that their ancestors had inhabited the country before the coming of the Bolgi and the Goidels. If that was so, we may reasonably infer that, when the Irish literati first began to interest themselves in the various invasions of Ireland that had preceded the invasion of the Goidels, the first of their invasion-stories told how the Cruthin came to Ireland, and how some of them afterwards spread from Ireland to Britain.⁴

Some such story as this forms the basis of Bede's account of the origin of the Picts of Scotland. According to Bede,⁵ the Picts came from Scythia and landed in the north of Ireland. The Irish (*Scotti*) refused to allow them to remain in Ireland, but advised them to settle in Britain. The Picts having no wives, the Irish

¹ There is no basis for Mac Neill's assertion that the *Dál nAraidi* are 'named in the Annals both by the Latin name *Picti* and its Irish equivalent *Cruithni* or *Cruithin*' (Phases of Ir. History 63, and cf. Jnl. of R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1933, 13).

² Phases of Ir. History, and Celtic Ireland, *passim*.

³ Celtic Place-Names of Scotland 67. Previously Fraser had written: 'To speak, as is often done, of Irish Picts is misleading' (History and Etymology 5).

⁴ In early Christian Ireland it appears to have been an established convention that invaders spread from Ireland to Britain, not *vice versa* (see p. 76).

⁵ Hist. Eccl. i, 1.

gave them wives on condition that, whenever there was any doubt about the royal succession, they should choose their king *magis de feminea regum prosapia quam de masculina*.¹ Accordingly the Picts went and settled in the north of Britain, for the Britons were already in possession of the south.

Internal evidence suggests that this account is mainly of Irish origin; but in Bede's hands the Irish original has been modified in two respects. Firstly, the Picts arrive in Britain after (instead of before) the Britons. This idea was borrowed by Bede from Gildas (p. 378). Secondly, the Picts leave Ireland in a body, none remaining behind. This is because Bede was aware that there were no people called *Picti* in the Ireland of his day; but he was unaware that the Irish equivalent of *Picti* was *Cruthin*, and that there were Cruthin in Ireland as well as in the north of Britain.

The authority of Bede won currency in Ireland for his version of the legend of Pictish origins. About a century and a half after Bede's time, Mael Mura of Othain († 887) composed a versified account of the origin of the Cruithnig of Britain.² Mael Mura accepts the modifications introduced by Bede into the legend, and he expands Bede's account considerably, and amalgamates with it the story of how the Cruithnig defeated the Tuath Fhidga (see p. 35). The Cruithnig, in Mael Mura's poem, set out from Thrace,³ and after many wanderings reached Ireland in the time of Éremón. Six of their druids remained in Ireland. The rest of the Cruithnig were banished to Britain;⁴ but before they left Ireland, they were given Irish wives on condition that eligibility for kingship among them would depend on descent through the

¹ The reference to Irish wives is, of course, intended to explain, in a way flattering to the Irish, why among the Picts eligibility for kingship depended on the candidate's mother being of the royal line. Skene, however, sees in it only an oblique way of saying that the early Picts spoke Irish as their 'mother-tongue'! (Celtic Scotland i, 201 f., iii, 97).

² Todd's *Ir. Nennius*, 126 ff., =Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts etc.*, 32 ff. =Lebor Bretnach, ed. van Hamel, 10 ff. Mac Neill erroneously says that Mael Mura's account of the Picts 'may well have been invented by himself' (*Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq., Ir.*, 1933, 18).

³ The idea that the Cruithni or Picti came from Thrace or Scythia is of typically 'learned' origin, having been inspired by Vergil's references to *pictos Gelonos* and *picti Agathyrsi*. See Todd's notes, *The Irish Nennius*, pp. 120, 121; and cf. Giralduus Cambrensis quoted in Skene, *op. cit.* 163.

⁴ As Mael Mura, following Bede, represents the Cruithnig as staying but a short time in Ireland, he has perforce to synchronize their defeat of the Tuath Fhidga with the reign of Éremón.

mother. In Britain they conquered from the Britons the land 'from Caithness to the Forth'.¹ Mael Mura's account was accepted by the compilers of *Lebor Gabála*, in which a summary of it is given under the reign of Éremón.²

Once Bede's legend of Pictish origins, which represented the Picts as comparatively late arrivals in these islands, had been accepted in Ireland, it was no longer possible to regard the Cruthin as the earliest invaders of Ireland. Accordingly in *Lebor Gabála*, in the forms in which it has come down to us, the invasion of the Cruthin is no longer reckoned as one of the invasions of Ireland, and the role of earliest invaders is now assigned to the artificial Partholón and his people (see p. 75). This is already so in the summary of *Lebor Gabála* which was incorporated in the ninth-century 'Historia Brittonum'.³

In early documents the name *Cruithni* is constantly applied to the Dál nAraidi as being the leading Cruthnian state. Adamnan in his 'Vita Columbae' refers to the Dál nAraidi as *Cruithnii* and *Cruthini populi*. In the Annals the Dál nAraidi continue to be designated *Cruithni* down to the last quarter of the eighth century,⁴ but from the year 790 onwards only *Dál nAraide* is employed.

This disuse of *Cruithni* as a name for the Dál nAraidi is doubtless connected with the rise of a new genealogical doctrine which turned the Irish Cruthin into Goidels and thus disassociated them from the Cruthin of Scotland. Bede's legend of the origin of the Picti would suggest to an Irishman that the stay of the Cruthin in Ireland had been a very brief one, and that they had all left the country and gone to Scotland, and that consequently the application of the name *Cruithni* to an Irish sept like the Dál

¹ *ó chrích Catt co Foirchíu (Foirthiu?)*. Watson, Celtic Place-Names of Scotland 60, would interpret the latter name as the Fords of Frew on Forth. *Crích Catt* might possibly include the Shetlands, *Insi Catt*.

² Cf. LL 15 a 22-37, = Todd's Ir. Nennius, p. lxxiv. There are later and debased partial prose summaries of Mael Mura's account, e.g. one which represents Cruithnechán as being sent by the Sons of Míl to Britain, where he aided the Britons (*sic*) of Fortrin against the Saxons (*sic*), and won the territory of Cruithentuath (= Pictland, which included Fortrin), afterwards returning to Ireland and bringing back Irish wives (Chronicles of the Picts etc., ed. Skene, pp. 45, 329; and cf. ib. 319, = ZCP xiv, 64).

³ *Primus autem venit Bartholomaeus* etc., Hist. Brittonum c. 13.

⁴ In AU, as may be seen from Mac Carthy's Index, the latest reference to the Irish Cruthin occurs *s. a.* 773, where the death of Flathruae, *rex Cruithne* (i.e. king of Dál nAraidi), is recorded.

nAraidi was unjustified. Thus it is probable that the influence of Bede stimulated the Irish genealogists to invent a third son of Míl, Ír, to serve as ancestor of the Irish Cruthin (p. 196).

The combined influence of Bede, Mael Mura, and the genealogical fiction of Ír, caused *Cruithni* to lose favour as the name of a section of the Irish population. The twelfth-century Irish genealogies make no allusion to the existence of Cruthin in Ireland beyond remarking incidentally in one place that the Dál nAraidi 'are also called Cruithni'.¹ Nevertheless the fact that there were Cruthin in Ireland as well as in Scotland was, as might be expected, long remembered; and so it is not surprising to find writers occasionally suggesting, in defiance of Mael Mura, that the Cruthin of both countries formed one people in remote times. At the beginning of the Pictish Chronicle we find named among the primitive Pictish kings two personages, Gede Ollgothach and Ollfhínnachta (=Fínnachta), who appear in Lebor Gabála as early kings of Ireland of the race of Ír. In the same document it is said that thirty Pictish kings named Bruide 'ruled Ireland and Scotland' (*regnauerunt Hiberniam et Albaniam*).²

In the Irish World-Chronicle it is stated that 'seven kings of the Cruthin', meaning seven kings of the Dál nAraidi, 'ruled Ireland'.³ In the earliest extant genealogical tracts the number of kings of Ireland belonging to the Dál nAraidi is increased to twenty-five.⁴ A later genealogical account of the Dál nAraidi, 'who are also called Cruithni', is preserved in Lec. and elsewhere.⁵ This incorporates an abbreviated and altered version of Mael Mura's account of how the Cruithnig reached Scotland. It also states that 'thirty kings of the Cruthin (of Ireland and Scotland) ruled Ireland and Scotland, from Ollam [i.e. Ollam Fótla] to Fiachna mac Baetáin [†626]',⁶ and that 'seven kings

¹ *Dál nAraide . . . ainm aili dóib Cruithne*, R 143 a 14.

² Todd's *Ir. Nennius*, 154, 156, =Lebor Bretnach (van Hamel) 82 f.

³ *Secht ríog di Chruihentuathaib ro follmaisset for Hērind co tānic Cond Cēthathach*, AI 7 d 19 (similarly RC xvii, 8).

⁴ R 156 b 30; LL 329 e; ZCP viii, 326.6. These accounts speak only of the Dál nAraidi and other descendants of Ír, and refrain from using the name *Cruithni*.

⁵ ZCP xiv, 62 ff; Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts etc.* 318-321.

⁶ This statement is apparently based on the statement in the Pictish Chronicle that thirty kings named Bruide ruled Ireland and Scotland. Skene concludes from it that the Picts of Scotland and the Cruithni of Ireland were 'governed as one nation' until A.D. 626! (*Celtic Scotland* iii, 126). For Fiachna mac Baetáin as king of Ireland and Alba cf. Ériu v, 118. He

of the Cruithin of Scotland ruled Ireland in Tara.¹ The redactor thus identifies the Cruithin of Ireland with those of Scotland, though he assigns different origins to each. Doubtless at the time when this late tract was redacted, the Cruithin of Scotland (like those of Ireland) had long been assimilated to the Góidil or Scotti, so that the genealogical distinction between the two sections of the Cruithin no longer corresponded to any difference in language and culture.

In historical documents, such as the Irish annals (from A.D. 431 on), the name *Ulaid* invariably means the Dál Fiatach of Co. Down (cf. p. 7, *supra*). The Ulaid are always distinguished from the Cruithni or Dál nAraidi, as in such entries as *Bellum Fertsí inter Ultu 7 Cruith[h]ne*, AU 667 (and cf. RC xvii, 200), and *Caedes magna Ulad la Dál nAraide*, AU 789.² The same distinction between Ulaid and Cruithni is found in other early writings. Muirchú in his Life of Patrick tells how the saint went by sea to Saul (near Downpatrick, Co. Down), which was in the territory of the Ulaid (*regiones Ulothorum*), and how he thence proceeded by land to Slemish (in Co. Antrim), which was in the territory of the Cruithni (*regiones Cruidnenorum*, read *Cruithneorum*).³ In the list of guarantors of the Law of Adamnan (A.D. 698) Fiachra Cossalach, of the Dál nAraidi, gets the title of 'king of the Cruithni' (*ri Cruithne*), while Bécc Boirchi, of the Dál Fiatach, is 'king of the Ulaid' (*ri Ulad*).⁴ Likewise in 'Táin Bó

is said to have aided Aedán mac Gabráin in his warfare against the Saxons (Meyer and Nutt's Voyage of Bran, i, 42). A lost tale told of an expedition by this Fiachna to Dún Guaire in the land of the Saxons; see Meyer, Fianaigecht p. xiii f., where, however, Meyer confuses Fiachna's father with Baetán mac Cairill († 581), of the Dál Fiatach. He may have been misled by a marginal addition in AU 593, which inaccurately describes Baetán, Fiachna's father, as 'son of Cairell, son of Muiredach,' instead of 'son of Eochaid, son of Conla'.

¹ *Secht rig do Chruithnibh Alban rofhallnastair Erind i Temair*. This is borrowed from the Irish World-Chronicle, with the significant addition of *Alban* after *Chruithnibh*. The seven kings are named, and include Ollam Fótla and his sons Ailill Ollfhínnachta and Gede Ollgothach.

² Mistranslated in A. Clon. p. 127: 'There was a great slaughter of Ulstermen by the Redshankes or Dalriada'.

³ Trip. Life, ed Stokes, 275-277. In the Tripartite Life (second half of ninth century) the use of *Ulaid* in the sense of *Dál Fiatach* is retained, but the Dál nAraidi are no longer called *Cruithni*.

⁴ Cáin Adamnáin, ed. Meyer, p. 18.

Cualnge' the Ulaid are incidentally distinguished from the Cruithni¹ (i.e. the Dál nAraidi), and also from the Uí Echach.² This testimony of the principal tale of the Ulidian cycle is specially significant as confuting the claims (discussed below) which were put forward by the genealogists on behalf of the Dál nAraidi.

The Ulaid, as the one-time leading power in the north of Ireland, gave their name to the province of Ulster, *cóiced nUlad*, which extended from the River Drowes (which separates Co. Leitrim from Co. Donegal) to the mouth of the Boyne³. The traditional theory was that the ancient Ulaid, whose capital was Emain (near Armagh), ruled the entire province; hence another, but purely literary, name for Ulster was *cóiced Conchobair*, 'the province of Conchobar', king of Emain in the Ulidian tales.

After the overthrow of the Ulaid in the early fifth century, followed by the establishment of the Airgialla in Mid-Ulster and the settlement of some of the sons of Niall in the north-west (*supra*, p. 225 ff.), the kings of the Ulaid could no longer claim any dominion over the greater part of the province. Hence in the Book of Rights we find the province of Ulster divided among three independent kings, viz. the king of Ailech, the king of Airgialla, and the king of Ulaid. From the fifth century the kingship of Ulaid implies no more than a certain suzerainty over the eastern part of the province, corresponding to the modern counties of Antrim, Down, and Louth.

The title *rí Ulad*, therefore, had in historical times a double signification; it meant 'king of the Ulaid, i.e. the Dál Fiatach', and 'suzerain of Eastern Ulster'. From time to time, however, the more extensive and populous state of Dál nAraidi obtained a supremacy over the Dál Fiatach, and then their kings laid claim to the coveted title of *rí Ulad* in its wider sense. In LL, 41 c-d, a list is given of the 'kings of Ulaid' (*Ríg Ulad*) from Muiredach Muinderg, who flourished towards the close of the fifth century, down to Ruaidrí Mac Duinn Shlébe, who was slain by John de Courcy in 1201. Of the sixty-two kings who are named in this list, only ten, so far as I have observed, belong to the Dál nAraidi; the rest are kings of the Dál Fiatach.

It is to be noted that in AU the title *rí Ulad* is reserved

¹ TBC S.-O'K. 1316. Cf. ed. Windisch 4592, 5012.

² TBC S.-O'K. 3678.

³ It thus included Co. Louth, which continued to be reckoned part of Ulster down to the seventeenth century.

exclusively for the Dál Fiatach kings.¹ Thus Cú Chuaráin (of the Dál nAraidi), whose name appears in the lists of 'the kings of Ulaid', is called merely *rex Cruithne* in AU s.a. 707; but he is *rí Cruithne et Ulad* in Chron. Scot. (and so read in Tig., RC xvii, 221), *rí Ulad 7 Cruthentuaiithe* in LL 25 a 39 (= Trip. Life 518). The original compilers of these annals were evidently unwilling to concede the title 'king of the Ulaid' to kings who were genealogically unconnected with the Ulaid (i.e. the Dál Fiatach). The difficulty was surmounted by interpreting *rí Ulad* as if it meant 'king of the province (of Ulster)' and inventing a synonymous expression *rí* (or *rex*) *in chóicid*, which, as it did not contain the offending word *Ulad*, could be applied to kings of the Dál nAraidi equally with those of the Dál Fiatach².

The 'Milesian' legend was invented for political and genealogical ends, partly to supply the dominant Goidels with the hall-mark of antiquity, and partly to provide certain tribes of non-Goidelic origin with a Goidelic descent (cf. pp. 15, 162). In the earliest form of the legend Míl had but two sons, Éremón and Éber (p. 195). The Érainn of East Ulster, viz. the Dál Fiatach or Ulaid, and the Dál Riáta, founders of an important Irish kingdom in Scotland, appear to have been treated as descendants of Éremón from the first (cf. p. 81 f.). On the other hand, the Cruthin of East Ulster must at first have been regarded as non-Goidels, just as their

¹ In AU s. a. 552 the words *.i. rí Ulad a quo Hu Echach Ulad nati sunt* are a subsequent marginal addition, (partly in another hand, but mostly, it would seem, in the hand of the original scribe). The duplicate obit under 557 (*Mors Eathach mic Conlaith rígh Uladh*) is an interpolation. This Eochu (or Eochaid) mac Conla(id) (*a quo H. Echach Ulad*, LL 41 c 5) is the first king of Dál nAraidi to be included in the list of 'Kings of Ulaid' (*cētrī Dāl Araide*, ZCP ix, 484. 14).

² Several kings of the Dál nAraidi are styled *rex* (or *rí*) *in chóicid* in AU, viz. Fergus mac Aedáin (who apparently belonged to the Uí Echach; cf. R 161 b 37), s. a. 691, Leathlabar mac Loingsig, 872, Aed mac Loingsig, 971. The same title is given to a king of the Dál Fiatach line s. a. 913 (and cf. 923). Two kings of the Dál Fiatach line are styled *rex* (or *rí*) *coicid Conchobair*, s. aa. 838, 918 (and cf. 850), which testifies to the influence of the Ulidian tales. Later we find the expression *coiced nÉreenn*, literally 'the (or a) fifth part of Ireland', used in the sense of *Ulaid* (i.e. Dál Fiatach), s. aa. 932, 1062, 1096. So *coiced Ereend* is used as a designation of the ancient Ulaid, Ériu ii, 22. 13. (On the other hand we find the same phrase employed in some poems of Leinster provenance as a synonym of *Lagin*, thus *Crimthann clothri coicid Herenn*, R 85 b 1, *hí rrigu choicid Herenn*, 'in the kingship of Leinster', ib. 85 a 26. Similarly *cenn coicid Banba*, = 'ruler of Leinster', ZCP viii, 262. 1.)

kinsmen and namesakes the Cruthin or Picti of Scotland at all times were. Accordingly we are justified in supposing that there was a period, after the invention of Éremón and Éber, and before the invention of Ír, during which the Dál Fiatach were regarded as Goidels, descended from Míl, the Dál nAraidi or Cruthin as non-Goidels and aborigines. To this period we may assign the primitive account of the 'Milesian' invasion preserved in Laud 610.¹ This tells how 'the second Míl Espáne', as it calls the leader of the Goidelic invaders of the Eastern Midlands, found the Cruithnig or Dál nAraidi dominant (i.e. in the northern half of Ireland), and how the invaders fought many battles with them. Until the time of Conn Cétchathach, we are told, every alternate king of Ireland was of the Cruithnig. According to the same account, Conn fought many battles against the Dál nAraidi (whence his epithet *Cétchathach*), and so did his son Art and his grandson Cormac. Fiachu Araide succeeded in driving Cormac out of Tara, but with the help of Fiachu Mullethan, of Munster, Cormac defeated Fiachu Araide at Fochaird Muirthemne. All this reflects the tradition of long-continued warfare between the Goidels of Tara and the people of eastern Ulster. But since the historical enemies of the men of Tara, the Ulaid, were, according to the genealogical doctrine, Goidels, descended from Éremón, son of Míl, it was impossible to represent them as opponents of the Goidelic invaders; and so the role of the Ulaid was transferred to their neighbours, the Dál nAraidi or Cruithni, whose pre-Goidelic origin was still recognized when this account was first committed to writing.

When, probably towards the end of the eighth century, the Irish Cruthin were converted into Goidels by being made to descend from Ír, son of Míl, that part of the legend which represents them as ruling the northern half of Ireland before the arrival of the Goidels had to be dropped. But the rest of the legend was retained without substantial alteration, and the genealogists continued to represent the Dál nAraidi as engaged in warfare over a long period with the race of Conn. Not only so, but they boldly identified the Dál nAraidi with the Ulaid of the Ulidian tales, against whom the Connachta waged war. The Ulidian heroes (Cúchulainn and Cú Roí excepted) were provided with a descent from Rudraige,² who in turn was made a descendant of Ír. Sixth in the line of descent from Rudraige is Conall Cernach, the most

¹ ZCP viii, 313 f. Cf. *supra*, pp. 185, 197.

² Hence in some of the later Ulidian tales one finds *clanna Rudraige* employed as a synonym for *Ulaid*.

famous Ulidian hero after Cúchulainn; and from Conall's son, Íréil, the Dál nAraidi and the other Cruthnian tribes are made to descend.¹ Cimbaeth, the legendary founder of Emain Macha, capital of the ancient Ulaid, is given a descent from Ír (cf. R 135 b 7 ff.);² and similarly the last king of Emain, Fergus Foga, is represented as descended from Fiachu Araide, eponym of the Dál nAraidi. The Dál Fiatach, indeed, are for practical purposes excluded from Emain by the genealogists, whose only concession is that they admit a few Dál Fiatach names into the fictitious list of rulers of Emain, e.g. Fiatu Finn, Eochaid Gunnat, and Fergus Dubdétach. The last of these is notable in that he and his two brothers are joint-kings of Emain in the tale of the battle of Crinna, which narrates how they were defeated and slain by Tadhg mac Céin, who was fighting on behalf of Cormac ua Cuinn.

The compiler of the Irish World-Chronicle (p. 253 f.) gives special prominence to the ancient Ulaid, whose kings he records from Cimbaeth down to Fergus Foga. He evidently accepted the new doctrine which identified the ancient Ulaid with the early Dál nAraidi. Among the documents utilized by him was a version of the account preserved in Laud 610 of the early rivalry between the Cruthin or Dál nAraidi and the race of Conn. From this he took over the statement that before Conn every alternate king of Ireland was of the Cruthin (cf. RC xvii, 8, quoted *supra*, p. 163, n. 2), and also his account of the battle of Fochairt Muirthemne, in which Fiachu Mullethan and Cormac ua Cuinn defeated 'the Cruthin and Fiachu Araide' (RC xvii, 14; AI 8 a 10-13).³

It was doubtless with a view to silencing the sceptics of their

¹ The same descent from Conall Cernach is claimed for the early inhabitants of the Scottish islands (p. 377); but, as we have seen, a different origin is assigned to the Cruthin of Scotland generally, for whom the genealogists, unscrupulous though they were in such matters, never tried to manufacture a Goidelic descent.

² Note that Macha, after whom Emain Macha and Ard Macha were named, is variously said (cf. Met. D. iv, 124-126) to have been wife of (1) Nemed, leader of the Bolgic invasion, (2) Cimbaeth, of the descendants of Ír, and (3) Cruinn or Cruinniuc, of the Dál Fiatach. The last-named is said to have been *mac Agnomain m. Curir Ulad m. Fhiatach*, LL 126 a 26, where *m. Curir Ulad* is a corruption of *moccu Fhir Ulad* (cf. *mc. Fir Ulad*, ZCP xii, 252.5). Similarly *Curir Ulad is de do-gairter Ulaid*, LL 126 a 27, is to be emended to *Fer Ulad is de etc.* Here Fer Ulad is ancestor of the Ulaid (otherwise called *Fir Ulad*, *supra*, p. 43, n.1).

³ The former text has, correctly, *Cruithniu* (acc. pl.), which in AI is corrupted to *Criunu*.

day that the genealogists assert with emphasis that the Dál nAraidi are 'the genuine Ulaid', *na firUlaid*,¹ while they admit that the name *Ulaid* is 'to-day' applied to the Dál Fiatach.² The implication contained in the word 'to-day' (*indiu*) is, very obviously, a bit of special pleading. Actually the name *Ulaid* is applied to the Dál Fiatach in our very earliest documents, going back to the seventh century, and it continued to be applied to them until the Anglo-Norman invaders put an end to their power. Indeed *Ultach*, 'Ulidian', continued in use down to modern times as an alias for *Mac* (or *Ó*) *Duinn Shléibhe*, the name which the ruling family of Dál Fiatach adopted after the introduction of surnames.

The genealogists' contention that the Ulaid of history had no title to their name, and that the Dál nAraidi were 'the genuine Ulaid',³ illustrates how artificial and how remote from reality the genealogical doctrines could be. We have suggested the circumstances which first impelled the genealogists to make the Dál nAraidi usurp the place of the Ulaid. But it may be doubted whether the genealogists would have persisted in their audacious claim, were it not that it was favoured by two circumstances. Firstly, the euhemerized *Cú Roí*, son of *Dáire*, of the Ulidian tales, was admittedly of the Érainn, and accordingly he was provided with a residence in the south-west of Ireland, the home of the Érainn. The enmity, mythological in origin, between *Cú Roí* and *Cúchulainn*, the champion of the Ulaid, made *Cú Roí* be regarded as the enemy of the Ulaid in general. Hence it was assumed that *Cú Roí* and the Ulaid must have been unconnected genealogically; and if the ancient Ulaid were not Érainn, it was natural to identify them with the neighbouring Dál nAraidi, sprung from Ír. Secondly, the Dál Fiatach were Érainn, descended (like *Cú Roí*) from *Dáire*, and hence were popularly supposed to have been of Munster origin (see p. 80). Hence the argument implicit in the genealogical doctrine might be expressed as follows: Whereas the Cruthin have always been specially associated with

¹ R 156 b 46 (=LL 330 a 3, =ZCP viii, 326.10), R 143 a 19. Also LL 22 b 47 (L.G.).

² *Is hiatsuide asbertar indiu Ulaid*, R 143 a 18.

³ The Dál nAraidi made the most of the noble descent invented for them. Thus they claimed, or it was claimed for them, that (Fiachu) Araide, Conn and Eógan were 'the three noble ancestors of Ireland' (*tri saéir Hérenn*, LL 22 b 50-52, 381 a 6-8), a claim which would exclude from nobility the Lagen and the tribes of Ernean descent (Dál Fiatach, Dál Riata, Corcu Loigde, etc.). Cf. ZCP xi, pp. 57 (§ 11), 64 (l. 17).

Ulster, the Dál Fiatach are in origin immigrants from Munster, and therefore cannot be descended from the ancient Ulaid, for that would be tantamount to saying that the ancient Ulaid did not really belong to the province to which they gave their name.

That the ancient Ulaid, later (when their territory was much restricted) known also as Dál Fiatach, were Érainn or Bolgi by descent (cf. p. 81, n. 1) is as certain as anything in ancient Irish history. Mac Neill, however, has persuaded himself that they were 'Picts'.¹ In a newspaper report of his still unpublished Rhys Memorial Lecture on 'The Picts in Ireland' we read: 'The sagas of the Ulster cycle, in their origin, were Pictish, and the Ulster heroes were the champions of the last great stand of the Irish Picts against the Gaelic aggression. The Uluti themselves, later called Ulaidh and Ultaigh, from whom Ulster takes its name, were a Pictish people' (*The Irish Independent*, 16 November, 1933). Elsewhere he writes: 'In the paper which I have in preparation on the subject of "The Picts in Ireland", I show evidence from various early sources, that the Uluti (*Ulaidh*), who were dominant in ancient Ulster and gave its name to that province, were Pretani (Irish *Cruithni*)' (Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society for 1937, 330). Still later he writes: 'I hope to show, in a paper not yet completed for publication, that the kingdom of Emain in early Irish tradition was a Pictish kingdom' (Yorkshire Celtic Studies ii, 19). As Mac Neill's long-awaited lecture has not yet been given to the world, nothing further can be said about it at present.

¹ Mac Neill at one time, with greater wisdom, regarded the Dál Fiatach as the historical representatives of the Ulaid of tradition. He was, however, puzzled, quite unnecessarily, by their pedigree. 'In the historical record of the Ulaid', he writes, 'there is one fact for which I know no adequate explanation in tradition or otherwise. The historical kings of the Ulaid, the Dál Fiatach line, make no genealogical claim to be Ulidians. They claim to be descendants of Ded, . . . i.e. Erainn' (Celtic Ireland 13 n.). By 'Ulidians' here Mac Neill apparently means 'Cruithni'. His idea that there is something strange, for which 'no adequate explanation' is forthcoming, in the Dál Fiatach pedigree is merely the result of his own failure to understand the invasion and colonization of Ireland by the Érainn or Bolgi.

II.—ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

IN our own day three different views have been formulated regarding the language spoken by the Picts (i.e. the inhabitants of Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde) in the early centuries of our era. Pictish has been variously taken to be (A) a dialect of P-Celtic, (B) an unknown non-Indo-European language, and (C) Q-Celtic or Goidelic.

(A). The preponderant opinion of modern scholarship is that Pictish was a Celtic language, different from both British and Goidelic, but decidedly more akin to the former than to the latter. This view has the support of Stokes,¹ Alexander MacBain, and other scholars.² Even Zimmer, who on the ground of the Pictish custom of *Mutterrecht* held strongly to the view that the Picts were non-Indo-Europeans,³ expressed the opinion that by the time of

¹ Stokes's views will be found in a section (entitled 'Pictish Names and other Words') of his paper 'On the Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals', which he published in *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1888-90, p. 365 ff. and afterwards reprinted, 'with additions and corrections', in *Bezz. Beitr.* xviii, 56 ff. Stokes gives a very comprehensive alphabetical list of Pictish names, etc., with etymological notes (in part superannuated); but the material he collected needs a good deal of sifting, and includes many names which have no real claim to be called Pictish. Where Stokes's second edition does not differ from his first, I give references to the latter as being more accessible.

² Morris Jones, *Welsh Grammar*, p. 5, says: 'The Picts were Britons as shown by the fact that $p < q^h$ abounds in Pictish names'. Instead of 'Britons' it would have been more correct to say 'P-Celts, like the Britons'. Similarly Watson, as it seems to me, unduly minimizes the difference between the Picts and the Britons, which he regards as arising merely from the Roman conquest (*Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* pp. 66 f., 126 f.). Actually the Priteni or Pretani (later known as *Picti*) and the later Celtic invaders (who eventually styled themselves *Brittones*) were distinct before ever the Romans set foot on Britain.

³ Stokes rejected Zimmer's reasoning. 'The Scottish Picts', he writes, 'had, as everyone knows, a matriarchal [*sic*] system. But to argue, as has been done, that therefore they were not Indo-European is not only ignorant but illogical' (*Ériu* iii, 18). The difference between filiation through the mother (*Mutterrecht*) and matriarchy is rightly stressed by J. Loth, *RC* xxxix, 77.

Julius Caesar they had acquired Celtic speech from the Britons.¹

The evidence in favour of Pictish being a variety of P-Celtic² is of various kinds, and can only be touched on briefly here.

Tacitus makes no distinction, except as regards their physical appearance, between the tribes of the north of Scotland (*Caledoniam incolentes populi*) and those of the rest of Britain. Neither does he make any distinction of language between them, for in this connexion all he has to say is that the language of the *Britanni* (the name he applies to the inhabitants of the island in general) differs but little (*haud multum diversus*) from that of the Gauls. From the silence of Tacitus one may infer that his informant Agricola was not aware of any striking difference between the language of the Caledonians and that of the southern Britons. It is worth noting that, some eight centuries later, the Irishman Mael Mura, in his versified account of how the Cruithnig left Ireland and went to settle in the north of Britain, thought it appropriate to give their leader a British name, *Catluan*,³ as if in his view, too, the Pictish language was a variety of British.

The place and personal names recorded by classical authors show us a Celtic-speaking Scotland. Compare the tribal names *Smertae*, *Selgovae*, the town-name *Carbanto-rigon*, the personal names *Calgacus*, *Argento-coxos*. Some of these names are also attested in southern Britain, e.g. the tribal names *Cornavii*, *Decantae*, *Dumnonii*, the river-name *Deva*, the town-name *Lindon*.

¹ Sitz.-Ber. der königl. preuss. Akad. 1909, 553 n. Elsewhere Zimmer writes: 'Alle Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht dafür, dass zur Zeit des Ptolemäus in Britannien nur Brittonen sassen' (Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen, Abhandlungen der königl. preuss. Akad. 1912, 18). In another posthumous paper, however, he says of the Picts: 'Noch zu Bedas Zeiten reden diese eine nichtkeltische Sprache' (ZCP ix, 95).

² Little is known as to the date of the change of *q* to *p*, which took place in much the greater part of the Celtic-speaking area; neither do we know the date of the arrival of the Priteni (or 'Picts') in these islands. Hence it is possible that when the Priteni left their continental home *q* had not yet become *p*, so that in their dialect of Celtic this change may have taken place more or less independently, like the parallel developments that occurred in Breton and Welsh after these two British dialects had ceased to have any contact with each other.

³ Lebor Bretnach (van Hamel) pp. 12-14; and cf. LL 15 a 31. *Catluan* is an hibernization of Welsh *Cadwallon* (in O. W. spelling *Catguollawn*), from Celtic **Katu-vellaunos* (cf. the tribal name *Catuvellauni*, in Gaul and Southern Britain). Cf. *Catlōn*, Tig. (RC xvii, 182); gen. *Cathloen* (read *Cailōin*), AU 631, *Catluaín*, AI 11 c 23; latinized acc. *Callonem*, Adamnan, Vita Columbae i, 1.

Four names contain the criterion *p*, viz. the tribal name *Epidii*, Mons *Graupius*, the scene of the Caledonian defeat in A.D. 84, and the town-names *Pexa* and *Louco-pibia*. There is no instance of a name containing *q*. *Orcades*, the classical name of the Orkneys (=Ir. *Insi Orc*, 'the islands of the Uirc'), has by Stokes and other scholars been referred to Celt. **orko-*, Ir. *orc*, 'a young pig', cognate with Lat. *porcus*. As *Orcades* probably goes back to Pytheas, we have thus ground for supposing that Celts had reached the extreme north of Scotland in the fourth century B.C.¹

That the Irish colonists in Scotland regarded themselves as a distinct people from the Picts is evident from history and from the distinction always made between *Goídil* (Lat. *Scotti*) and *Cruithni* (Lat. *Picti*). The name of Dunkeld in Perthshire, O. Ir. *Dún Cail(l)den* (where *Cailden* is gen. of **Caildin*, the regular Irish development of *Caledones* or *Calidones*), means 'the fort of the Caledonians', and the Caledonians were a leading Pictish people. To the Gaelic-speakers who gave Dunkeld its name the Caledonians must have been aliens, just as alien as the Britons, to whose fortress of Al Clut (Ail Cluaithe) they gave the name *Dún Brettan*, 'Dumbarton'. So in Ireland such names as *Dún Cruithne*, *Dún Bolg*, *Dún Domnann*, testify to the fact that the *Goídil* who bestowed these names regarded the *Cruithni*, the *Builg*, and the *Domnainn* as distinct peoples from themselves, though, as we know, they were later (like the *Picti*) assimilated by the *Goídil*.²

St. Columba, as we learn from Adamnan, had to employ an interpreter when conversing with Picts; this shows that their language in the sixth century was unintelligible to a native of the north of Ireland. Bede tells us that in his day four separate languages were spoken in Britain, namely, those of the Britons, the Picts, the *Scotti* (i.e. the Irish in Scotland), and the English.³

¹ Cf. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 29.

² Similarly such Irish names as *Gall-bhaile* and *Baile Gallda*, meaning 'English-town', bear testimony to the fact that the English-speaking settlers in Ireland were aliens to the Irish; while the converse truth, that the English regarded the Irish as a different people from themselves, is reflected in the English name *Irishtown*.

³ *Omnes nationes et provincias Britanniae quae in IIII linguas, id est Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum, diuisae sunt*, Hist. Eccl. iii, 6. Cormac mac Cuileinnáin, ca. A.D. 900, incidentally refers to the same four languages, his names for them being *Combrec*, *bérta Cruithnech*, *Goídelg*, and *Ainglis* (or *Saxanbérta*), respectively. Cf. Hist. Brittonum c. 7: *In ea [= Britannia] habitant quattuor gentes: Scotti, Picti, Saxones, Brittones.*

He also tells us that the Roman wall between the Clyde and the Forth terminated at its eastern end *in loco qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun, appellatur*.¹ In *Peanfahel*, = P-Celtic **Pennon Vālī*,² 'End of the Wall', we have Pictish *pean*, = O. Welsh *penn*, = O. Ir. *cenn*, 'head, end'.

The surviving place-names of ancient Pictland show a considerable non-Goidelic element akin to British, e.g. place-name components like *pet* (cf. W. *peth*),³ *preas* (cf. W. *prys*), *pùir* (gen.),⁴ *monadh* (cf. W. *mynydd*), *blàr* (cf. W. *blawr*, 'grey'), *cardan* (cf. W. *cardden*), *abar*⁵, *bad*, and names like 'Perth' (cf. W. *perth*),

¹ *ibid.* i, 12.

² The *f* of *Peanfahel* (regarded as a single word) would in Anglo-Saxon spelling have the value of *v*. The *-ahe-* (i.e. *ae*) for *ā* is perhaps attributable to the lost *ī* of **vālī*. Watson (*op. cit.* 347) is mistaken, I suggest, in taking *-fahel* to be Bede's spelling of Ir. *fáil*, and in treating the whole name as half-Gaelic, half-British. *Penneltun* may be an error for *Penueltun* (= *Penweltun*).

³ Fraser's objections to regarding *pet* as of Pictish origin and as cognate with Welsh *peth* are all of an insubstantial character. 'The main objection', he says, 'is based on semantic grounds' (SGS ii, 193). Actually the equation of Sc. *pet* with W. *peth* is unobjectionable semantically. The Welsh word means not only 'thing' but also 'portion, quantity'; compare Ir. *ní* and *réad*, which have just the same range of meanings. The corresponding Breton word *pez* has the sense of 'pièce, morceau'. With *pet* in the sense of 'a piece of land' compare Ir. *cuibhreann*, 'a portion, share' (synonymous with *cuid*), which in Donegal to-day means 'a tilled field'. In a later article (SGS v, 67 ff.) Fraser raises other objections. 'There is no good reason for believing' that W. *peth* and Ir. *cuid* 'are at all related', and Sc. *pet* 'is of entirely unknown origin'. This hyper-scepticism is unjustified. We may safely follow Thurneysen and Stokes in seeing in Ir. *cuid*, 'portion, share', the counterpart of W. *peth*. Both would go back to a Celtic **kvezdi-* or **kveddi-*, which in British (and also presumably in Pictish) would become **petti-*, with which is to be compared Gallo-latin **pettia*, the forerunner of Fr. *pièce*.

⁴ An early example is *pet ipuir* (= *Pet in Phuir*) in the Book of Deer (SGS v, 55), i.e. Pitfour, in the north of Aberdeenshire.

⁵ F. C. Diack, SGS i, 83 ff., mistakenly tries to disassociate Sc. *abar* (O. Ir. *apor-*, in Scottish place-names), 'confluence', < **ad-boro-*, from Welsh (also Cornish and Breton) *aber*, 'confluence, stream', < **ad-bero-*. Cf. Fraser, *ib. ii*, 193-195. *Abar*, Diack asserts, means not 'confluence' but 'marsh'. 'The meaning is established from the Irish, where the word is still living, though obsolete in Scottish Gaelic. It there means "marsh"; so Dinneen, *Dictionary*, and O'Reilly'. Actually the *abar* of these dictionaries is merely a late misspelling of *eabar* (< **ek-boro-*), which is in use in the Irish of Donegal, and also in Scottish, in the sense of 'mud, mire'. The same *eabar* is attested in place-names in Donegal and the adjoining

'Strathpeffer', 'Spey', 'Spean'¹. Certain of these words have been taken over into Scottish Gaelic, viz. *preas*,² 'bush, shrub, thicket', *monadh*, 'hill-ground, moor', *blàr*,³ 'plain, battle-field, white spot on animal's face', (adj.) 'white-spotted', *bad*, 'a cluster, bunch, thicket, bush'. With the last compare Bret. *bod*, 'grappe, touffe d'arbres ou de plantes, buisson', which is ultimately identical with W. *bod*, 'residence', Ir. *both*, 'hut'. MacBain was right in thinking that 'the topography of Pictland is one of the most cogent factors in the solution of the problem' of the nature of Pictish.⁴

counties in the sense of 'a channel or rivulet flowing through a bog or marsh.' The genitive *an Eabair* (riming with *leabaidh*) occurs in a thirteenth-century poem, Irish Texts ii, 21, § 36, = Dioghlaím Dána 393, § 36. Manx *aber*, explained as 'a pasture, a run for sheep, a marsh', doubtless represents *eabar* (cf. such Manx spellings as *aggle*, *assag*, for *eagla*, *easóg*).

¹ See Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 407 ff., 420 f., 376 f., 391 ff., 352 f., 458 ff., 423 f., 356 f., etc.

² Ir. *spreas* (= *preas* with prothetic *s*-), 'a twig', is to all appearances an independent borrowing from Ivernian. It is of late occurrence in the literature, and is not used in place-names.

³ There are traces of *blàr* in Irish, partly inherited from pre-Goidelic times and partly imported from Scotland. Cf. *Blàr* as the name of a mythical person in *Bolc mac Blair ó Ath Blair*, Gen. Tracts 17; (gen.) *Atha Blair*, ZCP ix, 456. 13. Cf. also the place-names *Blàrach* and *Blárna*. A thirteenth-century poem alludes to a horse traditionally known as *in Blàr* (O'Grady, Cat. 488, = Dioghluim Dána 329, § 39), who was doubtless so called because he had a white spot on his face; this horse had belonged to one Aedán, i.e., probably, Aedán mac Gabráin. The occurrence of *blàr*, 'field (of battle)', in Ulster Irish may be set down to Scottish influence. There is an example of it in a seventeenth-century Ulster elegy, H. 5. 28, fo. 166 b; and in the Irish of Donegal to-day it is known in the phrase *ar an bhblàr* (*fholaímh*), used in the figurative sense of 'at the end of one's resources'.

⁴ Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 ed., 389. Compare the opinion expressed by Reeves as far back as 1857: 'The Pictish was undoubtedly a Celtic dialect, but more nearly allied to the British or Welsh than the Gaelic. Of this the eastern topography of Scotland is satisfactory evidence' (*Life of St. Columba* p. 63 n.). Compare also J. Loth, RC xxxii, 408: 'D'après les noms de lieux il paraît certain que le picte est un langage celtique plus apparenté au brittonique qu'au gaëlique'. Loth intended to discuss the question in an article which he did not live to write. 'Comme j'essaierai de le montrer dans un article plus ou moins prochain de la *Revue Celtique*, il est fort probable que les Pictes proprement dits (*Pictā*, plur. *Pictās*) étaient une variété de Celtes' (RC li, 195; and cf. ib. xxxix, 77.)

We know, in one form or another, the names of a number of Picts who lived during the three centuries A.D. 550-850. Our main sources are : firstly, a list of the Pictish kings of this period, which may be called 'The Pictish Chronicle' (abbreviated PC)¹, and secondly the Irish annals, especially AU. It may not be amiss to discuss these Pictish personal names at some length, though the reader is forewarned that, for reasons that will appear, the light they throw upon the nature of the Pictish language will not be at all commensurate with the space occupied by the discussion.

The Pictish Chronicle is the nearest approximation to a Pictish document that we possess, a fact which illustrates the extreme paucity of our materials for a knowledge of the language. It is based on a list in which the personal names were written in their Pictish forms. The original redactor of the extant versions, a Gaelic-speaker (possibly a monk of Abernethy) of probably the tenth century, appears on the whole, so far as we can judge, not to have interfered very much with the spelling of these Pictish names. Unfortunately, however, later transcribers have played havoc with the names², with the result that we can rarely, if ever, determine the true Pictish forms.

¹ Of this list there are at least eight versions extant. Seven versions are printed by W. F. Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts etc.*, where, however, the name 'Pictish Chronicle' is reserved for a single version of the list, that in the Colbertine ms., 'Bibl. Imp. Paris 4126'. Cf. also the edition in van Hamel's *Lebor Bretnach*, 82 ff., from H. 3. 17 and the Book of Uí Maine, with variants from the Colbertine ms. The most reliable texts are the three just mentioned together with that in Laud 610; these four constitute one group. The other four mss. (those which Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* i, p. xlvi f., denotes by the letters D, F, I and K) give in addition to PC a list of the early kings of Scottish Dál Riata, and their versions of PC are distinguished by the attempts they make to hibernicize certain of the Pictish names. The preliminary matter in PC, which is due to later redactors, may be ignored here, and also the names of those kings who are supposed to have reigned before Bruide mac Maelchon. The list of Pictish kings is followed in all the mss. by a list of the Scoto-Irish kings who supplanted them, beginning with Cinaed mac Ailpín († 858).

² Thus the same name is spelled *Cinioch*, *Ciniath*, *Cinhoint*, *Cinirot*, *Kynel*, *Kynet*, etc., in different mss. (Cf. Anderson, *op. cit.* i, p. cxix ff., where the variant spellings of most of the names in the seven versions of PC published by Skene are brought together.) We may compare the corruption suffered by Irish names in some of the texts published by Skene, *op. cit.*; thus on p. 148 we find *Hethghed bud* (for *Echaid Buide*), *Amernikellethe* (for *Ainfe*

It was the custom of the Irish colonists in Scotland, when speaking of individuals among the neighbouring Picts and Britons, to give their Pictish or British names an Irish form if possible. This may be inferred from the usage of the Irish annals and other early texts. Thus Adamnan, when he has occasion to refer to Tudwal (O. Welsh *Tutagual*), of the Britons of Strathclyde, gives his name the Irish form of *Tōthal*. Similarly Dyfnwal (O. W. *Dumngual*), king of Strathclyde, is called *Domnall* in AU 693¹, and Cynan (O. W. *Cinan*), king of Gwynedd, is called *Conān*, *ibid.* 815². The Irish versions of the foregoing names are the exact equivalents of the British. When no exact equivalent was in use in Irish, the foreign name might be represented in Irish by a native name which agreed with it in part. Thus the Welsh *Rhodri* (O. W. *Rotri*), a compound of which the first element is *rhod*, 'wheel'³, appears in the Irish annals as *Ruaidri* (AU 815, 855, 876, 877), of which the first element is a quite different word, *ruad*, 'red; mighty'. Other British names were retained in a disguise of Irish spelling. Thus the name of a king of Strathclyde is given as *Hoan* (AU 641, = *Ohan*, Tig.), gen. *Auin* (AU 693), which is intended to represent O. W. *Eugein*, later *Owein*⁴;

chellach), *Scuagh munere* (for, perhaps, *Sliab Manann*). We have Irish mss. which enable us to correct these and similar misspellings; but unfortunately we have no Pictish mss. with which to emend the corruptions in the Pictish Chronicle.

¹ A later king of the same area appears as *Domnall mac Eogain* in AU 974. Conversely *Domnall Brecc* is translated into Welsh as *Dyuynwal Vrych*, Canu Aneurin (ed. Ifor Williams) 977.

² The same Welsh name is spelled, in the genitive, *Conaen* in AU 612 (read, with Tig., *Condin*).

³ *Rhodri*, meaning 'king of the wheel (i.e. of the sun)', was evidently in origin a deity-name. See p. 304.

⁴ The 'Hoan' who slew Domnall Brecc in 642 (AU 641) may be identified with the Eugein mab Beli whose name occurs in the pedigree of the kings of Strathclyde (Y Cymmrodor ix, 172 b), and whose grandson Beli mab Elfin died in 722 (Ann. Camb.; AU 721). This identification was suggested, briefly, by Anwyl, Trans. Soc. Cymmrodorion 1909-10, 115, and later by Loth, RC xlvii, 179. There are some errors in Loth's article, one of which may be mentioned here. AU, s. a. 648, speak of a battle between the grandsons of Aedán (*cocath huae nAedhāin*) and Gartnait mac Accidāin. This is misquoted and mistranslated as *cocad huas Naedan*, 'combat du petit-fils de Naedon', by Loth, who identifies this imaginary 'Naedon' with Neithon, grandfather of the Eugein mab Beli mentioned above. Gartnait mac Accidāin is confused by MacCarthy (AU Index) and Anderson (*op. cit.* 179 n.) with the Gartnait whose sons came to Ireland in 668 (see p. 361, n.1).

and the Welsh king Hywel Dda (O. W. *Higuel*, < **Su-velos*) is referred to as *Oel*, AU 949. If the British language had disappeared like Pictish, it is obvious that these Irish forms of British names could throw no light whatever on the particular variety of Celtic spoken by the Britons.

The case is very similar with Pictish. Adamnan makes mention of Picts bearing the names *Emchatus*, *Iogenanus*, and *Artbrananus*, which are merely latinized forms of Old Irish *Imchath* or *Imchad*, **Éugenán* or *Éogánán*, and **Artbránán* (cf. *Artbran*, AU 757), respectively. Similarly in the Irish annals Pictish names are rendered by their Irish counterparts when possible, and so we find Picts bearing such names as *Oengus*, *Éugánán*, *Finguine*, *Iarnbodb*¹, *Nechtán*. So Bruide, the Pictish king who was contemporary with St. Columba and who died in 584, is called by the annalists (and in PC) *mac Maelchon* (or *Mailchon*), 'son of Maelchú'², and by Bede (here doubtless drawing on an Irish

¹ gen. *Iarnnboidbh* AU 642, = *Iarnnduidb* (sic), Tig. 187. In Irish, if the name were an old one, we should rather expect **Ernbodb* (cf. *Ernmál*, *Ernmass*); but cf. *Iarnbuidi* (gen.), LL 364 c, = Martyr. Tallaght Oct. 21, and *Iarnán* (for *Ernán* or *Ernéne*), LL 314 d, 337 e.

² In *Fergusson mac Maelcon*, AU 702, we appear to have another instance of *Maelchú* as a Pictish name. The *-ch-* of *Maelchon* shows Irish phonetics. The name is to all appearances a compound of *mael* (adj.) and *cú*; the corresponding Welsh name would be **Moelgi*. We have an Irish instance of the name in *Moelchú*, Féil. Oeng. p. 78. 22. Rhys's interpretation of *Maelchon* as 'the Hound's Slave' (Celtic Britain, 3 ed., 267) carries no weight. Stokes (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1888-90, 408) suggests that *Maelchon* 'is to be compared with W. *Maelgwn* (= Maglo-cunos) rather than with Ir. *Mael-chú*'. This would mean that *Mael-* is not the Irish adjective but a borrowing of the Pictish development of *maglo-*. Compare *Gurchon* (genitive), LL 364 d, = Martyr. Tallaght Oct. 21, which may be a similar half-ibernicization of Welsh *Gurgi* (: Ir. *ferchú*). Following the hint thrown out by Stokes, MacBain and Nicholson (and latterly Mac Neill, Yorkshire Celtic Studies ii, 15 f.) have suggested that Bruide's father was Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd († 547), an identification which is improbable for more reasons than one. This Maelgwn is addressed as *Maglocune* (vocative) by his contemporary Gildas, which suggests that his name represents Celtic **Maglo-kunos* (a compound made up of the same elements as **Kuno-maglos*, Ogam CUNAMAGLI, Ir. *Conmál*, Welsh *Cynfael*), though an original **Maglo-kū*, gen. *-kunos*, cannot be ruled out as impossible. One may note that *Conmál* has a variant form *Conmael*, possibly due to British influence. Thus the *Conmál* of AU 736 is *Conmael* in Tig. p. 240; and cf. *Conmael sapiens*, R 128 a 14. So the name of a son of Éber is, in the genitive. *Conmáil* (: *báig*), Met. D. iii, 460, but *Conmall* (: *catl*), ib. 266. Similarly one finds both *Cathmál* and *Cathmael*. On the other hand *mael* in such names

source) *filius Meilochon*. Another Pictish name is represented in Irish documents by *Cano* (gen. *Canonn*)¹, meaning 'cub', cognate with O. Welsh *ceneu*, 'cub, offspring'. The latter is known to have been in use as a personal name among the Northern Britons (*Ceneu, Keneu*, ACL i, pp. 195, 545)². There were other Pictish names for which Irish had no recognized counterpart; these were fitted with an Irish declension and were otherwise accommodated to Irish.

The three nations of the Picts, the Scoto-Irish, and the Northern Britons were for centuries in close contact, and so it is not surprising to find a tendency among them to borrow personal names from one another, and also, occasionally, from their Anglian neighbours. On the Irish side this tendency is exemplified by several of the names in use among the early Irish settlers in Scotland³. King Aedán, St. Columba's friend and contemporary, appears to have had as wife the daughter of a king of the Britons

might be explained as = *mael*, f., later m., in the secondary sense of 'servant', In the well-attested name *Crundmael* (gen. *Crundmaíl* : *dublaid*, Arch. Hib. ii, 71, § 14) I have noted only *-mael*.

¹ The earliest occurrence of the name is in AU 620, where the death of Nechtan mac Canonn is recorded. This Nechtan has with considerable probability been identified with the Pictish king Nechtan *nepos Uerb* (or *Uerd*) of PC. From the Scottish genealogies (Skene, *op. cit.* 316) we learn that Gartnait, son of Aedán mac Gabráin, had a son Cana Garb, who had a son Conamail. This Cano, son of Gartnait, was slain in 688 (*occisio Canonn filii Gartnaidh*, AU 687, where Chron. Scot. reads *Gartnait*, Tig. and Three Frags. *Gartnāin*), and his son Conamail ('dog-like') was slain in 705 (AU 704). In the romantic tale 'Scéla Cano meic Gartnāin', Anecdota i, 1 ff., Gartnán (who historically was son of Aedán) is described as 'son of Aed, son of Gabrán', and is slain by his uncle Aedán mac Gabráin († 606), with whom he has been contending for 'the kingship of Alba'. In the same tale Cano is 'from Skye' (*o Sci*), and after spending some time in Ireland becomes king of Alba. From the Annals we learn that 'the sons of Gartnait' went to Ireland 'with the people of Skye' (*cum plebe Sceth*) in 668, and returned two years later (AU 667, 669).

² The use of *Cano* as a personal name was not unknown in Ireland; cf. *Cano*, R 128 a 9, and the Ulster surname *Ó Canann*. Compare the similar (but purely Irish) use of *cuilén*, 'cub', as a personal name, preserved in the surname *Ó Cuilén*. So we find *Cuilén* as the name of a king of Scotland who ruled from 966 to 971 and who was fourth in descent from Cinaed mac Ailpín. Compare the Latin names *Catulus*, *Catullus*.

³ See the tract entitled 'Míniugud Senchasa Fer nAlban' (here abbreviated SFA) in BB 148 b and Lec. fo. 109 a 4. 9; edited by Skene, Chronicles of the Picts etc. 308 ff., from H. 2. 7, with variants from BB and Lec.

of Strathclyde¹. One of his sons was called *Artúr*² (O. Welsh *Arthur*, from Lat. *Artōrius*) after the famous British hero. One of Aedán's grandsons was named *Rígullón* or *Rígullán*³, evidently a borrowing from British,⁴ and another bore the name of *Morgand*,⁵ which was similarly borrowed⁶. The Irish colonists borrowed names from the Picts likewise. One of Aedán's sons was called *Gartnait*⁷, a name elsewhere associated with the Picts. *Ailpin*, the name of the father of Cinaed, the first Scotie king of the Picts, is a non-Irish and probably Pictish name (see below). Likewise the name *Cinaed* or *Cinaeth* is possibly of Pictish origin⁸.

¹ St. Laisrén's mother, Gemma, was *Edani regis Scotie filia regisque Britannie neptis* (Acta SS. Hiberniae ex cod. Salmanticensi, ed. de Smedt and de Backer, 791). If the Welsh genealogies may be relied on, Aedán's mother was a daughter of Brachan (Brychan), ruler of Brecheniauc (i.e. Brecknock), who is credited with an enormous number of sons and daughters, most of whom became saints (cf. Anscombe, ACL i, 526; Baring-Gould and Fisher, Lives of the British SS. i, 303 ff.). In LL 372 d'eleven saints who laboured in Ireland are named as sons of Brachan, 'king of the Britons of Brecknock' (*Brachain ríg Bretan m. Brachameoc*, where omit *m.* and read *Brachaineóc*).

² *Artur*, Tig. 160. Adamnan (i, 9) latinizes his name as *Arturius*. SFA erroneously omits *Artúr* in its enumeration of Aedán's sons, but gives him a grandson of the name (*Artúr*, son of Conaing, son of Aedán). The name spread to Ireland though it never became popular; cf. *Artúir*, AU 846, *Artúir ó táit Uí Artúir*, An Leabhar Muimhneach 309. 9.

³ *Rigullan*, Tig. 180 z, SFA (Skene, *op. cit.* 310. 8; *Rigallan*, BB; omitted in Lec.); *Rigullon*, AU 628; gen. *Rigullain*, ib. 675.

⁴ O. Welsh *Riguallaun* (Welsh *Rhiwallon*), from Celtic **Rīgo-vellaunos*.

⁵ SFA (Skene, *op. cit.* 310. 11), AU 662. A later Scot of the name is mentioned in Lec. fo. 110 a 3. 25. The name continued in use, and is found in the Book of Deer (*Morgunn*, gen. *Morgainn*, *Morcunn*, *Morcunt*).

⁶ O. Welsh *Morcant* (Welsh *Morgan*), from Celtic **Mori-kantos*. The name may also have been in use among the Picts, but of this we have no direct evidence.

⁷ SFA.

⁸ It is first attested as the name of Picts (gen. *Cinedon*, AU 630, = *Cinaeda*, AI, *Cinaetha*, Tig.; nom. *Ciniód*, AU 712, = *Cinaedh*, Tig.). In PC the name is variously corrupted, but the forms appear to point to an original *Cinioth* or *Ciniód* (the latter agreeing with AU 712). In Ann. Cambriae it appears as *Cenioyd* (s. a. 776) and *Cenioyth* (sic leg., s. a. 856). Note the genitives (in addition to *Cinaeda*, *Cinaetha*, and the forms in *-don* mentioned below) *Cinadha*, AU 878, *Cinatha*, Book of Deer; and further Mod. Ir. *Cionáith* in *Mac Cionáith*, 'Mac Kenna'. The common Irish form *Cinaed* was treated as a compound of the native name *Aed*. The genitives *Cinedon*, AU 630, *Cinadon*, 729, 748, *Cinadhon*, 774, 777, *Cinadan*, 877, are paralleled

A name borrowed from the Angles is *Conaing*, = Old English *cynnyng*, 'king'; the earliest known bearer of the name is Conaing, son of Aedán¹. Other names of non-Irish origin in use among the Dál Riata were *Pletān* and *Partān*².

The Picts were no more averse from borrowing personal names than were their neighbours the Scoto-Irish. In certain of their names we possibly have traces of their contacts with the Romans during the Roman occupation. *Custantin*, the name of a Pictish king who died in 820, is, like the Welsh *Custenhin*, a borrowing of Latin *Constantinus*. The adoption of the name may have been due in the first instance to the fame of Constantinus who ruled as emperor of Britain and Gaul A.D. 407-411. *Elp(h)in* or *Alp(h)in*³ may, as Stokes has suggested, be a borrowing of Latin *Albinus*.⁴ If so, we might see in it a memory of Clodius Albinus, who was Roman governor of Britain in the last decade of the second century, and who had himself proclaimed emperor. *Ulfa* or *Ulpha*, known only from Mael Mura of Othain, who gives it as the name of one of the six brothers who led the Picts to Ireland⁵,

by **Lugaed*, gen. *Lugedon*, AU 789, *Lugadon*, 780, 800, R 143 b 34 (otherwise LUGAEDON, Thes. Pal. ii, 258, *Lugaedón* (sic), ib. 256), by *Beóaed* (Trip. Life 160. 3; Tig. p. 129), Ogam gen. BIVAIDONA, and by *Dubaed* (Thes. Pal. ii, 365), Ogam gen. DOVVAIDONAS. The name *Cinaed* was borne by a king of Ireland, *Cinaed mac Irgalaig* (reigned 724-728), after whose time it acquired popularity in Ireland.

¹ SFA; AU 621. Later the name *Conaing* became popular in Ireland (cf. AU Index).

² SFA. For *Partān* Skene (*op. cit.* 310. 6) has *Pardan*, BB and Lec. *Partan* (or *Pertan*, *Portan*).

³ *Alphin*, AU 692; latinized *Elpinus*, ib. 727; *Eilpin*, ib. 779; *Elphin*, Tig. 232. PC favours the spelling *Elpin*.

⁴ Trans. Phil. Soc. 1888-90, 393. This derivation presupposes that Latin *-lb-* was treated as *lp* by the Picts. Among the Northern Britons the name is found as *Elphin*, probably borrowed from the Picts. The death of *Beli filius Elfin*, king of Al Clut, is recorded in 722 (Ann. Cambriae; = *Bile mac Eilphin*, AU 721, = *Bili mac Elphine*, Tig. 228). The Pictish king *Eilpin* who died in 780 is by a scribal error styled *rex Saxonum* in AU instead of *rex Pictorum* ('king of the Picts', A. Clon. 123). This has misled Anderson (Early Sources of Scottish History i, 250 n.) into suggesting that 'his name is probably of Anglo-Saxon origin (*Ælfwine*); perhaps his mother was English'. The Anglo-Saxon name is hibernicized *Ailmíne*, AU 679, *Almutne*, Tig. 205. Morris Jones, Welsh Grammar p. 167, takes W. *Elfin* to be a borrowing of Lat. *Alpinus*. Similarly Lewis-Pedersen, Celt. Gr. p. 62.

⁵ Todd's Ir. Nennius, 130, = Lebor Bretnach p. 10. The names of the brothers are repeated in the Dindshenchas poem on Ard Lemnacht (Met.

may be a borrowing of Latin *Ulpus*, if we assume that the change of *lp* to *lf*, regular in British, occurred also in Pictish. In that case it, too, might go back to the late second century, when Ulpus Marcellus, governor of Britain, repelled a formidable invasion of Picts (*ca.* 184 A.D.)

We need not doubt that the Picts likewise borrowed personal names from the Scoto-Irish during their centuries of mutual intercourse, though our scanty knowledge of the history of the Picts and our still scantier knowledge of their language make it impossible to identify these names with certainty. There were also contacts between the Picts and Ireland.¹ Intermarriages between the Picts and the Irish colonists were probably common.² As the Pictish right of succession to the throne was through the mother, it is quite conceivable that a particular king of the Scots might have had some claim to the Pictish throne on the ground of being the son of a Pictish princess³. In any event the Pictish system of succession favoured the marrying of Pictish princesses to outsiders.⁴

D. iii, 164). The five other names are *Nechtan*, *Drostan*, *Oengus* (all three well known in Pictland), *Letenn* (or *Lethenn*, which seems to recur in the place-name *Dùn Leithfinn*, in Scotland, AU 733), and *Solen* (with which we may perhaps compare the O. Bret. name *Sulan*, a derivative of *sul*, < Lat. *sōl*).

¹ Thus Adamnan (ii, 9) speaks of a Pictish priest named Iogenanus in Leinster. The Pictish king Tarain went to Ireland in 699, after his deposition (AU, etc.). The Drostan who died in the monastery of Ard Breccáin in 719 was probably, as his name suggests, a Pict; likewise the Elpín who died in Glass Noide (Glasnevin) in 758. We find Bruide, son of the Pictish king, Oengus, in Tory island in 733.

² In SFA we read that Bairrhinn, grandson of Oengus Mór mac Eirc, had a son Galán by a Pictish wife (Skene, *op. cit.* 311. 11).

³ Skene, *Celtic Scotland* i, 315, conjectures that Ailpín, the father of Cinaed, 'was of the Pictish race by maternal descent', and 'may have had a claim to the throne'. The name of Conall mac Taidg appears, in corrupted forms, in the four more trustworthy versions of PC; according to a couple of Irish authorities the same Conall ruled in Dál Riata. AU record his death in 807, but give him no title. As both his own name and that of his father appear to be purely Irish, it may well be doubted whether he was a Pict at all (except, possibly, on his mother's side), so that we may perhaps see in him a forerunner, in a minor way, of Cinaed mac Ailpín.

⁴ We know that one Pictish king, Talorgen († 657), was son of Eanfrith, an Anglian prince, and that another king, Bruide († 693), was son of Beli, king of the Britons of Dumbarton. This Bruide's successor was *Taran filius Entfidich* (otherwise *Enfidaig*, etc.), whose father's name is probably

The total number of these Pictish personal names is small. Their true forms are nearly always doubtful.¹ The names are liable on the one hand to hibernicization, on the other hand to scribal corruption. It is not easy to distinguish borrowed Pictish names from native. In view of these various difficulties it is not to be expected that these Pictish names can throw much light upon the Pictish language. Still the evidence they afford, such as it is, points to Pictish having been a Celtic dialect, more akin to British than to Goidelic, and thus re-inforces the conclusion drawn from earlier documents and from the place-names of Pictland.

A few characteristically Pictish names may be mentioned. *Bruide*² is possibly related to (if not ultimately identical with) the Irish name *Bruidge*.³ *Gartnait* (or *Gartnat*?)⁴ is doubtless

intended to represent the genitive of Irish *Ainbthech* or *Ainſthech* (cf. A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* i, 201, n. 1). So Domnall, the father of Gartnait († 663) and of Drust (dethroned 672), may have been a Scot. In AU 725 is recorded the death of Tolarggān *maphan*, who was pretty certainly a Pict. Following a suggestion of Anderson's (*op. cit.* 222, n. 7), one might interpret *maphan* as = *map Hoan*, 'son of Oan' (cf. *Hoan*, AU 641), so that Tolarggān's father may have been a Briton.

¹ The primary difficulty in dealing with most Pictish names is the uncertainty of their form. Thus, to take the reference to *Biceot mac Moneit* in AU 728 as an example, the name *Biceot* is a *hapax legomenon*, and may easily be corrupt. The father's name seems to recur in *Drest* (or *Drust*) *filius Munait* (variants *Munaith*, *Moneth*, etc.), the name of a sixth-century king in PC; but which of these various forms best represents the original Pictish name no one can tell. Rhys's interpretation of *Moneit* as = Ir. *Moga Néit* (Celtic Britain, 3 ed., 266) is not to be taken seriously.

² In Irish documents generally *Bruide*; in PC, *Brude*, *Bredei*, etc. Latinized *Brudeus* by Adamnan, *Brudeus* and *Bruideus* in AU, *Brideus* by Bede. On the ground of forms like *Bridei* (in PC) and Bede's *Brideus*, Stokes assumes that the *u* of *Brude* was long (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1888-90, 396); but there is otherwise no evidence of this, and the *u* never bears the length-mark in Irish mss. Possibly in Pictish short *u* was unrounded and tended towards *i* or *e*. Compare the variants *Drust*, *Druist*, *Drest*, and *ui* for *u* in *Unuist*, *Urguist*, quoted below.

³ R 122 b 38, 123 a 5, 124 b 22; and cf. Meyer, *Contr.* 275 z, *Miscellanea Hibernica* 25. 4. In R 151 a (ll. 21, 22, 32) the name is metathesized, *Bruidge* or *Bruidgi*. In O'Donovan's *Hy-Fiachrach*, p. 36. 6, *Bruidhe*, the name of a man fourth in descent from Nath Í, probably stands for an earlier *Bruidge*. Compare, however, *m. Bruidi m. Brudach* in a pedigree of the *Araid*, LL 326 i 2-3.

⁴ There were three Pictish kings of this name in the sixth and seventh centuries. In PC the best-attested form is *Gartnait*. In the Book of Deer

connected with O. Ir. *gart*, explained as *cenn*, 'head', Welsh *garth*, 'hill, headland', seen in Ir. *Domungart*, Welsh *Dyfnarth*. The second element *-na(i)t* may possibly represent Celt. *-gnātos*,¹ common in Gaulish names. In *Talorgg*² Stokes sees 'the Pictish reflex of Gaulish *Argio-talus*, "bright-browed".'³ This name was not unknown in Ireland; Adamnan (i, 20) speaks of an Irishman named *Baitanus* [i.e. Baetán] *gente Nepos Niath Taloirc*, and the Annals record the death of Tolarg, king of Southern Brega, in 888. A derivative was *Talorgán*⁴, the Pictish form of which may be represented by *Talorcen* (or *Talorgen*), the best-attested form in PC. *Tarain*⁵ is probably to be equated with *Taranis*, known from Lucan as a name for the Gaulish thunder-god; compare the mythical name *Taran*, literally 'thunder', in the Welsh tale of 'Branwen'. *Drust*⁶ I would equate with Welsh *trwst*, 'noise' (pl. *trystau*, 'thunder'), Bret *trouz* (with *-z* from *-s*, from *-st*), 'bruit, tapage', from **trustu-*, (IE. root *ter-*, *tereu-*).⁷ Originally, I take it, *Drust*, like *Tarain*, was a name properly applicable to the thunder-deity. The interchange of

the name appears as *Gartnait* (nom.) and *Garnait* (gen.). AU have nom. *Garnat*, 715, *Gartnaith*, 634; gen. *Garnait*, 669, *Gartnaith*, 642, 648, *Gartnaidh*, 662, 667, 687. The forms in *-naith*, *-naidh*, appear to be hibernicized.

¹ But the apparently short *a* of *-na(i)t* would require explanation (early borrowing into Irish?). Stokes takes *Gartnait* to be 'a diminutive of *gart*, "head"', comparing Irish forms like *Bláthnait*, *Gobbnait*, *mátharnait*. But this Irish suffix *-nait*, O. Ir. *-nat*, is for practical purposes exclusively feminine.

² In PC *Talorc*, *Tolorc*, *Talorg*. In AU *Talorgg*, 685, 733, *Tolargg*, 712; gen. *Tolairg*, 652.

³ Trans. Phil. Soc. 1888-90, 414. Alternatively one might suppose that the name goes back to **To-lorgos*, and compare Ir. *Éolorg* (< **Ivo-lorgos*?) seen in *Carn* (or *Carrac*) *Eólairg*, the name of a place on Lough Foyle, Co. Derry. The use of the plural in *Ardd Eolorgg*, *Tírechán* (Trip. Life 329. 16; and cf. AU 562), and *for Eolarcca*, ZCP xiii, 379. 2, suggests that we have to do with what was originally a tribal name (*Éoluirgg*). So *Tuath(a) Eólairg*, supra, p. 97, probably stands for an earlier *T. Éolorgg*.

⁴ *Talorggan*, AU 725, 733, 735, 738, 749; *Talargan*, Ann. Cambriae 750; gen. *Tolargain*, AU 656, *Tolorggáin*, AI 11 b 24.

⁵ *Tarainus*, Adamnan; *Tarachin*, AU 696; *Tarain*, ib. 698; *Taran*, and also *Tarain*, PC.

⁶ In PC *Drust* and *Drest*; in AU generally *Drust*, gen. *Drosto*, but acc. *Druist*, AU 725, gen. *Druis[t]*, ib. 724.

⁷ Ir. *trost*, 'loud or thunderous noise, as of a falling body striking the ground' (cf. *deilm .i. torand nó throist*, LU 542), must be a borrowing from Ivernic; the *-o-* suggests that it represents a Celtic by-form **trusto-*.

tr- and *dr-* is found in other words ¹, e.g. Ir. *truid*, *druid*, Welsh *drudwen*, Bret. *tred*, *dred*, 'starling' (in which the *tr-* is original). The derivative *Drostan* ² is well known; in the St. Vigeans inscription it occurs in a more Pictish form, *Drosten* ³; in Welsh it is *Drystan* and *Trystan*, in Breton *Trestan*—all representing a Celtic **Trusto-gnos*.⁴ With the exception of *Drostan* all the foregoing names occur in the list of Pictish kings. There is no reason to suppose that any of them is of other than Celtic origin ⁵.

To be noted is the fact that Celtic *st*, which became *ss* in Irish

¹ Cf. Pedersen, V. G. i, 494 f.; Thurneysen, Handbuch p. 133.

² nom. *Drostan*, Book of Deer; gen. *Drostein*, AU 712, 728. In Mael Mura's poem on the origin of the Picts (Todd's Ir. Nennius, 130, = Skene, Chronicles of the Picts, etc. 34, = Lebor Bretnach p. 10) *Drostan* is one of the leaders of the Picts; in later texts he is represented as their druid (Met. D. iii, 164), and his name sometimes assumes the form *Trostan* (Todd's Ir. Nennius p. lxxviii f.; RC xv, 427; FF ii, p. 10). With *Drostan* from *Drust*, compare *Torannán* or *Tarannán*, the name of an early Scottish saint, from *torann* or *tarann*, 'thunder'.

³ For *Drusten*? Cf. *Talorcen filius Druisten* in the Laud 610 version of PC (Skene, *op. cit.* 29. 10).

⁴ The reading DRUSTAGNI in an inscription in Cornwall (cf. RC xxxii, 407 f.) is quite uncertain; Macalister reads CIRVSINIVS.

⁵ There are, of course, Pictish names, or names presumed to be Pictish, whose origin is quite obscure; but the same may be said of not a few Irish personal names, whose forms (unlike those of the Pictish names) are for the most part well ascertained. The fact that an Irish or a Pictish personal or place name is not intelligible to us does not authorize us to assume that the name is non-Celtic, for our knowledge of the vocabulary of Celtic is, and must always remain, very imperfect. At the same time one may readily concede that, as the Priteni or Picts were, to all appearances, the first Celtic invaders of these islands, their vocabulary and nomenclature were more susceptible to the influence of the pre-Celtic inhabitants than were the dialects of the later Celtic invaders, such as the Belgae and the Goidels. So the Pictish custom of reckoning royal descent through the mother is regarded by not a few scholars as a pre-Celtic survival. (In the last century of Pictish independence this custom admittedly shows signs of breaking down, under Scotie influence.) Fraser, who minimises unduly the evidence of Pictish filiation through the mother, denies that the Pictish system of succession differed essentially from that which prevailed in Ireland and Wales (Medieval Studies in Memory of G. S. Loomis 407-412; SGS ii, 178-182). Earlier d'Arbois de Jubainville had expressed himself to the same effect (RC xxiii, 359; xxv, 206). But it seems impossible to reconcile this view either with what Bede and Irish authors tell us of the Pictish system of succession, or with the facts alluded to on p. 364, n.4.

at a very early period ¹, is preserved in *Drust*, *Drosten*, *Uurguist* ² (: Ir. *Forggus* ³), and *Unuist* ⁴ (: Ir. *Oengus* ; O.W. *Ungust*). From *Naiton* ⁵ (: Ir. *Nechtán* ; O. W. *Neithon*), Bede's form of the name of a contemporary Pictish king, one may infer a development of *-ekt-* in Pictish analogous to that in British. ⁶ One may further

¹ Compare CUNAGUSSOS (gen.) in an Ogam inscription, and CUNOGUSI in a Latin inscription (of Irish provenance) in Anglesey, = O. Ir. *Congus*, in contrast to O. Welsh *Cingust*, *Cinust*, from Celtic **Kuno-gustus*.

² This is the best-attested form in PC. As the name happens to be always in the genitive (preceded by *filius*), one might perhaps suppose a nominative *Uurgust*; but, apart from the irregular declension which this would imply, the use of *Unuist* (see n. 4) as nominative is against this.

³ The name *Forggus* (< **Ver-gustus*) went out of use in the Old Irish period, and is often confused by scribes and editors with the better known *Fergus* (< **Viro-gustus*). Compare *Fergus*, LL 24 b 29, R 140 a 9, for *Forggus*, AU 562, and so read ib. 560 (spelled *Forcus* in Adamnan, i, 7, *Forgus* in Todd. Lect. iii, 398, ll. 12, 20). The father of the Pictish king Oengus († 761) is rightly called (in the genitive) *Forggusso*, AU 740, and so read ib. 749; but this is replaced by *Fergusso* ib. 735 (thrice), otherwise *Ferghussa*, ib. 760. So writers on Scottish history mistakenly speak of King 'Angus mac Fergus'. The two names probably existed also in Welsh and Breton, but are difficult to distinguish; cf. O. W. *Gurgust*, *Gorust* (ACL i, pp. 203, 547), O. Bret. *Uuorgost*, *Uurgost*, *Gurgost* (Loth, Chrestomathie Bretonne 178).

⁴ Various spelled in PC (nom. and gen.): *Unuist*, *Onnist* (read *Onuist*), *Onust*, *Oinuist*, etc. In the legend of St. Andrew in the Colbertine ms. (Skene, Chronicles of the Picts etc. 138-140) one finds *Ungus* (otherwise *Vngus filius Vrguist*), where the *-g-* and final *s* show Irish influence. The full Irish form is found in the continuation of Bede: *Oengus Pictorum rex*, Baedae Opera Historica, ed. Plummer, i, 363.

⁵ PC has mostly *Nechtán* or the like, apparently due to Irish influence.

⁶ The O. Welsh counterpart of *Nechtán* is *Neithon*, which occurs thrice in the Harleian genealogies. This shows that *Nechtán* goes back, not to **Niktonos*, but to **Nektonos*, which might possibly stand for an earlier **Neptonos* and be cognate with Lat. *Neptūnus* (as to which see Walde-Pokorny, ii, 693). Stokes (Urkelt. Sprachschatz 194) erroneously writes *Nechtán*, which he derives from **Nictagnos* and connects with Ir. *nigim*, 'I wash', *necht*, 'pure, white' (< **niktos*, lit. 'washed'), Gr. *νίζω*, 'I wash, cleanse'. Holder (ii, 696) adopts Stokes's etymology of the name, while inconsistently giving the Celtic form as **Necta(g)nos*. The god *Nechtán* was a double of *Nuadu*, who is often called *Nuadu Necht*; but the epithet *necht*, though doubtless suggested by *Nechtán*, is apparently unrelated to it etymologically. The river-name *Nethan* in Lanarkshire (in the twelfth century *Neithan*) is derived by Watson from **Nectonā*.

note the loss of intervocalic *g* in the PC spellings *Unuist* and *Uuen*¹; and also in *filius Lutrin* (implying probably a nom. **Lutren*, i.e. **Ludren*), where AU 630 has *filius Lugthreni*, Tig. m. *Lucht[h]ren*².

In the foregoing developments Pictish runs more or less parallel with British. On the other hand there is no evidence in the little that has survived of Pictish for certain sound-changes which took place in British, e.g. the change of *s-* (before a vowel) to *h-*; compare the Pictish name *Simul*, AU 724, which Stokes suggests may be identical with Welsh *Hywel*. So *rg*, which became *ry* and thence *rj* in Welsh, *rch* (through *rc*?) in Cornish and Breton, may have remained unchanged in Pictish³. Initial *v-*, which became *gw-* in British⁴, and *f-* in Irish (from the seventh century), appears to have been preserved in Pictish as long as that language continued to be spoken. Compare such names as *Uurguist* and *Uuid*⁵ (i.e. *Vurguist*, *Vuid*) in PC. Adamnan mentions a Pict named *Virolecus*⁶, whereas in his Irish names (with but a couple of partial exceptions) original *v-* has become *f-*. An inscription⁷ in Hiberno-roman lettering at St. Vigeans in Forfarshire runs: DROSTEN | IPEUORET | ETTFORCUS. Without entering into the disputed question of the interpretation of the inscription,

¹ *Uuen* (for which one ms. reads *Unen*) was, or was regarded as, the Pictish counterpart of O. Ir. *Eugan*, *Eogan*. In AU s. a. 838 the bearer of the name is called *Euganān*. (Conversely a brother of Aedán mac Gabráin is called *Eugan* in AU 594, but *Iogenanus* in Adamnan, iii, 5.) *Annales Cambriae* record the death in 736 of *Ougen rex Pictorum*, who is otherwise unknown, and who was probably a namesake of the *Uuen* of PC.

² Compare the early loss of intervocalic *g* in DEO MOUNTI (for the usual DEO MOGONTI), DIS MOUNTIBUS, DEO MOUNO, in inscriptions in Britain (Holder, s. v. *Mogons*, etc.)

³ The *rg* of the compound *Uurguist* might, according to the Old Irish system of spelling, represent either *rg* or *ry*. The *rc* of *Talorc*, *Talorcen*, might represent either *rg* or *rc*. The common factor is the value *rg*.

⁴ Bede writes *Vertigernus* and *Vurtigernus*, with the *v-* retained; but this has become *Guorthigirrus* in *Historia Brittonum* (= Mod. Welsh *Gwrtheyrn*).

⁵ Hibernicized *Foith* and *Fooith*, (both gen.) in AU 640, 652. In AU Pictish *v-* is turned into *f-*, except possibly in *Uineus*, s. a. 622, the name of an abbot of Deer, perhaps identical with Ir. *Fine* in *Foirbri mac Fine*, R 162 g 45. Compare Celt. *vroiko-* giving Pictish **vrōg*, whence (as I hope to show elsewhere) Sc. *fròg*, 'a fen'.

⁶ The second element in *Virolecus* appears to occur also in *Nechtleicc* (gen.), AU 689 (corruptly *Nachtalich*, Skene, *op. cit.* 187. 13).

⁷ Cf. the illustration in Nicholson's *Keltic Researches*, facing p. 75.

one may note that it appears to contain three personal names, *Drosten*, *Voret* and *Forcus*. *Voret* (with *-t* = *-d*) may well be the same name as that written *Uurad*, gen. *Uuroid*, in PC¹, and is probably to be equated with O. Bret. *Uuoret*², Welsh *gwarded*, 'deliverance', Celtic **Vo-retos*. On the other hand *Forcus* (= *Forggus*) is a purely Old Irish form, and testifies to the strength of Irish influence in Pictland at the time when the inscription was engraved.

How long Pictish continued to be spoken is not known. When, about the year 842, the Pictish royal line was extinguished, the days of Pictish were numbered. The Picts had been for centuries subject to continuous Irish influence. Irish traditions³ tell how, early in the fifth century, Corc, the grandfather of Oengus mac Nad Froích († 490), king of Cashel, sojourned in Scotland, where he wedded the daughter of Feradach,⁴ king of Cruthen-tuath (Pictland),⁵ and founded the Eóganacht of Mag Gerginn

¹ In some versions of PC this is replaced by the partly hibernicized forms *Feret*, *Ferat*, (Skene, *op. cit.* pp. 150, 173). Compare *Feroth*, AU 728, gen. *Ferith*, ib. 652.

² Loth, *Chrestomathie bretonne* 179. Cf. the compound O. Bret. *Cat-uoret*, O. W. *Cat-guoret*, *Cat-guaret*.

³ *Anecdota* iii, 57 ff. (and cf. LL 287 f.), R 148 a 20 ff., LL 319 c 21 ff.; and cf. FF ii, pp. 382-386. See Watson, *op. cit.* 218 ff. The acephalous text in LL 287 f. has recently been edited by Vernam Hull, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* lvi, 937 ff.

⁴ One may note that forms of the name *Feradach* occur in the Pictish Chronicle. Among the prehistoric kings is one whose name given as *Uuradach Ueilla* (with variants). An historical king, who died in 775, is called *Ciniod filius Uuredech* or *Uuredeg*; his father, of course, may have been a Scot named *Feradach*, but it seems unlikely that the *F-* would have been changed to *U-* (i.e. *V-*) unless the name were already established among the Picts. Stokes (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1888-90, 403) suggests that *Feradach* 'may represent an O.-Celt. **Verédāco-s*, cogn. with W. *gorwydd*, "horse", Low-Lat. *veredus*.' This etymology would not suit Ir. *Feradach* (which appears to come from **Viro-vidāhos*; compare the names *Fedach*, *Muiredach*); but it suggests the possible existence of an independent Pictish name which might have been identified with the Irish one.

⁵ One of the sons he had by her was known as *Cairbre Cruithnechán*, 'Cairbre Pictling', and is otherwise referred to as *mac na Cruithnige*, 'the son of the Pictish woman' (*Anecdota* iii, 59. 27). According to some accounts the rulers of Lennox were descended from another son of Corc's, by name Maine Lemna. See Watson, *op. cit.* 219-221, and the references there given; also An Leabhar Muimhneach 139-141.

(between the Tay and the Dee).¹ Oengus mac Forggusso († 761), the most powerful Pictish king known to history, is said to have belonged to this offshoot of the ruling family of Munster.² The fact that the tradition of this early Irish settlement survived implies that it preserved its individuality all through the centuries, and for this and other reasons we can hardly be wrong in saying that King Oengus spoke Gaelic as well as Pictish. Oengus appears to have founded a new Pictish royal house, connected with Fortrinn³; and it is not rash to suppose that the rise to

¹ That there was also a considerable 'Scotic' colony among the Picts in the north of Perthshire, to the west of Mag Gerginn, is suggested by the name *Athfhólla*, 'Atholl', which can hardly mean anything but 'a second Ireland', 'New Ireland'. (This interpretation has the support of Stokes, MacBain, Meyer, Watson, and Fraser; F. C. Diack's objections, RC xxxviii, 129 f., are unconvincing, and his own explanation is highly imaginative and otherwise unacceptable.) An Irish name meaning 'a second Ireland' can only have been given by the Irish settlers themselves. As the death of Talorgg (son of Drostan), 'king of Atholl' (*rex Athfhotla*, Tig.; exceptionally *rex Athfhoithle*, AU), is recorded in 739, the name must have come into existence not later than the beginning of the eighth century. There is also evidence of the penetration of the 'Scots' into Fife. The descendants of Conall (*recte* Conad, or Connad) Cerr, son of Eochaid Buide, son of Aedán, are called 'the men of Fife'; and AU, 628, on the authority of the Book of Cuana, style Eochaid Buide *rex Pictorum*, which suggests that he had made conquests among the Picts (see Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 225).

² *Eoganacht Maigi Dergind* (sic) *i nAlbae .i. dia rabi Oengus ri Alban*, R 148 a 30-31. See Watson, *op. cit.* pp. 109, 219. There is no basis for Rhys's assertion that this Oengus 'was undoubtedly a Brython' (*Celtic Britain*, 3 ed., 176).

³ Cf. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* i, 306. The district of Angus (otherwise Forfarshire), Ir. *Oengus*, not improbably preserves the name of Oengus mac Forggusso (cf. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 109 f.). Fortrinn (< Celtic *Verturiones*, supra, p. 26) has been defined by Skene as 'the district between the Forth and the Tay', otherwise 'the districts of Menteith and Stratherne' (*Celtic Scotland* i, pp. 207, 340). I suggest, however, that Fortrinn was much more extensive than Skene's definitions would imply, and probably included Fife and Forfar. In the fourth century the *Verturiones* must have occupied or controlled a considerable territory, for Ammianus speaks of them as one of the two divisions of the Picts (*Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Verturiones*). The earliest Pictish king styled *rex Fortvenn* in AU is Bruide mac Bili, the victor of Dún Nechtain, who died in 693. The use of this title as a synonym for *rex Pictorum* may be connected with the establishment of Scone as the capital of the Pictish kingdom.

power of his family facilitated, rather than hindered, the further penetration of Pictland by Gaelic influences. Cinaed mac Ailpín († 858), the first 'Scot' who ruled in Pictland, is styled *rex Pictorum* by the annalists,¹ and his three immediate successors get

Mael Mura's account of Pictish origins assumes that the Britons had occupied all Britain before the arrival of the Picts, who, we are told, conquered from them the north of Scotland, 'from Caithness to the Forth'. Some later Irish writers, knowing that Fortrinn had been the leading Pictish province, speak of the Picts going from Ireland to 'the Britons of Fortrinn' and there securing a territory for themselves (p. 344, n. 2). This allusion to the Britons being in Fortrinn at the time of the arrival of the Picts in Britain is, of course, wholly unhistorical (cf. p. 376, n. 2); but it has served to mislead Skene, who imagines that 'the original population' of Fortrinn 'consisted of part of the tribe of the Damnonii, who belonged to the Cornish variety of the British race', and were later 'incorporated' in the Picts (*op. cit.* pp. 211, 231, 238). He is followed by Rhys, who in treating of Scotland in Roman and post-Roman times makes repeated reference to 'the Brythons of Fortrenn' or 'the Verturian Brythons' (Celtic Britain, 3 ed., pp. 95, 184, 186, etc.), and identifies the Verturiones with 'the outlying tribes of the Dumnonii' (ib. 161). So the Pictish king Constantin, who died *rex Fortrenn* in 820, is by Rhys styled 'the Brythonic king of Fortrenn' (ib. 180).

¹ AU; also Ann. Cambriae. Cinaed is elsewhere styled *primus Scottorum*, or *primus rex Scottorum* (Skene, Chronicles of the Picts etc., pp. 8, 131), meaning, from the context, 'the first Scot who ruled the Picts'; otherwise 'he was the first Góidel who ruled the kingdom of Scone' (ib. 21, = ZCP xix, 91. 3, where *Alpín* is to be emended to *Cinaed mac Alpín*; cf. A. O. Anderson, Early Sources of Scottish History i, p. cxlvii, § 17). The history of Scottish Dál Riata during the century preceding the accession of Cinaed is very obscure. This is mainly due to the fact that the Irish annalistic entries relating to Scotland, which are our sole authority for the period, become decidedly scanty from the fourth decade of the eighth century onwards (see p. 255, *supra*). Skene's view of this period is well known: the Pictish king Oengus 'almost annihilated the Scots of Dalriada', and made their country 'a Pictish province', the remnants of the Scots being 'driven to seek settlements elsewhere'; and thus matters remained until Cinaed mac Ailpín suddenly 'emerged' in 844 and with his 'barbarous Scottish hordes' seized the Pictish throne. All this is an absurd exaggeration (cf. MacBain, Skene's Highlanders of Scotland, 2 ed., 387 f.). Two of the lists of kings of Dál Riata include among the immediate predecessors of Cinaed mac Ailpín the names of several kings of Fortrinn, among them Eóganán mac Oengusa († 839), who is likewise styled 'king of Dál Riata' in LL 309 b 22 (= Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh 226). Accordingly there is reason to suppose that for a period during the early ninth century the kings of Fortrinn exercised authority over Dál Riata also. But by this time the kings of Fortrinn had probably become 'more Scotie

the same title. But the later kings, beginning with Domnall mac Caustantín († 900), are styled 'king of Alba', and after the ninth century there is no further reference to *Picti* in the Irish annals, but only to *Fir Alban* (see p. 386). All this seems to point to the conclusion that by the end of the ninth century the Picts had been largely assimilated to the Scoto-Irish and their language was on its way to extinction.

During the first millennium of the Christian era Irish showed remarkable powers of expansion. At home it became the language of the whole of Ireland, after reducing to the level of *patois*, and finally extinguishing, the earlier P-Celtic dialects. In Scotland it was no less successful in first depressing and finally extinguishing Pictish and British. The Dál Riata, who introduced Irish into Scotland, were Érainn (or Bolgi) by descent, and originally spoke a Celtic dialect closely akin to British; but by the time they began effectively to make settlements in Scotland they had exchanged their own dialect for Goidelic. To the Picts the cultural superiority of the Irish and their language must have been overwhelming. It was mainly Irish missionaries¹

than the Scots themselves'. *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*. The accession of Cinaed merely gave political sanction to a cultural transformation that had begun long before.

¹ 'The widely extended and prolonged activity of the Irish clerics, settled as they usually were, not singly but in communities large or small, must have had a great influence in spreading the language. It must further be conceded, with all due deference to the accomplishments of the Northern Picts, that Gaelic was the language of superior culture' (W. J. Watson, *Trans. Gaelic Soc. Inverness* xxxv, 198). Among the early Irish missionaries who laboured in Scotland was Faelán, who is said to have been son of Oengus († 490, king of Cashel), and great-grandson of Corc (p. 370). He is described as of *Srath Hérenn*, i.e. Strathearn, where his name survives in *St. Fillan's*, at the eastern end of Loch Earn. See the notes to Féil. Oeng., Martyr. Tallaght and Martyr. Gorman, under June 20. (The form *Ráith Érenn*, given in some of these, appears to be corrupt.) Here may be mentioned an important centre of Irish religious influence, dating from the sixth century, in northern Pictland. The Annals of Ulster record the obits of Vineus, abbot of Nēr (*quies Uinei abbatís Neir*), s. a. 622, and Nechtan of Nēr (*dormitatio Nechtain Neir*), s. a. 678. The latter person is commemorated in the calendars of Oengus and Tallaght at Jan. 8; the former text reads in Stoke's edition *Nechtán nár* (to be emended to *Nechtán Nēir*) *de Albae*. Nēr has not been identified, and consequently the obit of 623 has escaped the notice of Scottish writers; but there cannot, I think, be any doubt that *Nēr* is the old form of the name of Deer in the north of Aberdeenshire. In the Book of Deer the name has become *Dér* and *Déar*, and by folk-etymology is equated with

who converted them to Christianity, and it was from the Irish they learned the use of letters. Irish influence not only permeated Pictland but extended to the Angles likewise. R. H. Hodgkin, the historian of the Anglo-Saxons, sees in Irish cultural and religious influence one of the main reasons for the supremacy of Northumbria over the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the greater part of the seventh century. 'For the first and only time in history, Ireland, thanks to its past immunity from barbarian invasions, excelled the rest of western Europe in learning, culture, and vigorous Christianity. Thus in the middle of the seventh century foreign stimulus came for once in a way from the north, by way of Iona. The Northumbrians, as neighbours of the Scots, had an advantage which in other periods has been enjoyed by those who live in the south of the island, and superiority in culture had its influence on political power'.¹

(B). Rhys held that the Picts spoke a non-Indo-European language, on the ground that it is impossible to interpret through Celtic or any form of Indo-European the inscriptions in Ogam characters found in the north and east of Scotland.² These

dé(a)r, 'tear'. As *i Néir* and *i nDéir* sounded alike, the change of initial is easily accounted for, and is paralleled in other place-names, as when Mid. Ir. *Mennat*, gen. *Mennata*, became *Beannada*, 'Banada', Co. Sligo. According to its own tradition, the monastery of Deer was founded by Columba and his disciple Drostan from Iona; and the Irish record of the death of one of its abbots in 623, doubtless itself derived from the chronicle of Iona (p. 255), goes far to confirm the substantial accuracy of this tradition.

¹ Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1935), 404. Compare the labours of Aidan († 651) and other Irish missionaries in Northumbria as related by Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* iii, 3 etc.). The assimilation of Irish culture by the Northumbrians was probably facilitated by the fact that for some time previous to the battle of Dún Nechtain in 685 the *Scotti qui erant in Britannia* had to some extent come under the dominion of the Angles (cf. Bede, *op. cit.* iv, 24 (26)).

² See his Revised Account of the Inscriptions of the Northern Picts, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland* xxxii, 324 ff. (In an earlier paper, *ib.* xxvi, 263 ff., he had attempted to prove that the language of these inscriptions was related to Basque; but he later acknowledged that his attempt was 'a failure'.) Rhys further saw traces of 'non-Aryan syntax' in several of the Ogam inscriptions of Wales and Ireland, from which he inferred that 'the Goidelic of the west of Britain may have been profoundly modified by the pronunciation and syntax of the non-Aryan language of the Aborigines'! (*The Welsh People*, 4 ed., 17-19). He tried to safeguard himself

inscriptions, numbering some sixteen in all, are largely fragmentary or indecipherable, and Rhys admits that there are only 'two or three which may be said to be fairly legible' (The Welsh People, 4 ed., 16). The Picts, as all are agreed, learned the Ogam-script from the Irish colonists in Scotland; its adoption by the Picts testifies to the strong Irish cultural influence to which they were eventually to succumb. But if the various attempts made in recent times to decipher these inscriptions are even approximately correct, one may legitimately doubt whether the Pictish engravers ever mastered the Ogam alphabet sufficiently to be able to apply it accurately to their own language.¹

Mac Neill, who long ago adopted Rhys's view that the Goidels were the first Celtic conquerors of Ireland (cf. pp. 56 f., 428), has inevitably had to follow Rhys also in supposing that the Picts or Cruithni spoke a non-Celtic language. In a paper which he has entitled 'The Language of the Picts', in Yorkshire Celtic Studies ii, pp. 3-45, his only argument as to the nature of Pictish centres round the Pictish Chronicle. The forms which the names of historical Pictish kings assume in the Chronicle do not, he suggests, throw any light upon the Pictish language, for 'the language of the main body of the Chronicle was Cymric'. On the other hand the names of the fabulous Pictish kings in the early part of the Chronicle 'speak neither Gaelic nor Cymric', though it is possible that they may be merely 'a jargon invented to pass for Pictish'. 'In either case the Pictish lists are evidence that the Picts had, or were anciently believed to have had, a language that was neither Gaelic nor Cymric'. It is unnecessary to point out the weakness of Mac Neill's argument. It is only from genuine Pictish names, i.e. from the names of historical Picts, that any valid linguistic conclusions can be drawn. Mac Neill dismisses these as 'Cymric', and naturally finds more favourable to his 'pre-Celtic' view of Pictish the fanciful names,

against objections to his theory by suggesting that Pictish became 'overloaded with loan-words from Goidelic and Brythonic' (ib. 15). In an Ogam inscription from Shetland he discovered a Norse loan-word *dattr*, 'daughter', and also a Norse inflexion.

¹ R. A. S. Macalister, MacNeill-Essays 184 ff., like Rhys, regards these Pictish inscriptions as written in a non-Indo-European language. Although the language is unknown, he courageously offers a tentative translation of the inscriptions, and even on occasion corrects the inscribers' Pictish. On the other hand, F. C. Diack, with at least equal confidence, interprets these inscriptions as Goidelic (The Inscriptions of Pictland 55 ff.). The one interpretation may be left to cancel the other.

made more grotesque by corrupt transmission, with which an imaginative redactor filled up the blank page of Pictish pre-history.

In the same paper Mac Neill suggests that, at some unspecified time previous to the settlement of the Dál Riata in Scotland, 'the Cymry occupied all the eastern seaboard [of Scotland] as far north as the Moray Firth, and also penetrated inland'. The 'Pre-Celtic folk' Mac Neill places in 'the highland and island regions from the Mull of Cantire to the Orkneys'; these include the Epidii, the Maiatai (Adamnan's Miati), and the Picts generally. Bede tells us that in his day (A.D. 731) the Firth of Forth separated the land of the Picts from that of the Angles¹; and the Irish annals record that in a civil war among the Picts in 728 a battle was fought near Perth, close to the Firth of Tay, and another battle near Scone, some miles to the north. These facts, of course, contradict Mac Neill's assumption that the east of Scotland was occupied by 'Cymry'; but Mac Neill endeavours to forestall such objections by further supposing that, during the period of 'Pictish expansion', beginning with the defeat of the Angles in 685, the hypothetical 'Cymry of eastern Scotland north of the Firth of Forth' 'were brought under the power of the Pictish kings'.² This notion of 'Cymry' inhabiting the east of Scotland as far as the Moray Firth, but conveniently disappearing after 685, is pure fancy, without a shred of evidence to support it. What happened as a result of the Pictish victory of 685 was, as

¹ Elsewhere Mac Neill has written: 'Bede calls the Firth of Forth "the arm of the sea which parts the lands of the Angles and the Scots", not the lands of the Angles and the Picts', and he goes on to draw the conclusion that between 685 and 731 the Scots 'must have extended their power eastward into Fifeshire, occupying that district from which the Picts had [in 685] expelled the encroaching Angles' (Phases of Ir. History 202). Unfortunately for his argument, Mac Neill's quotation is not from Bede but from J. A. Giles' translation (Bohn's Library edn., p. 244). Bede's words are: *in uicinia freti quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disterminat*.

² Mac Neill sees 'an echo of such a course of things' in Mael Mura's poem on the Cruithnig, where the poet says that Catluan, who led the Picts from Ireland to Britain, conquered from Caithness *co Foirchíu*, i.e. to the Forth (not, as Mac Neill suggests, to Forfar), and 'drove out the Britons' (*nocor indarb Bretnu*, Lebor Bretnach, p. 14. 20). This, of course, has nothing whatever to do with historical events; it simply reflects the view that when the Picts reached Britain the Britons were in occupation of the whole island (cf. LL 6 b 26-27, and also *Historia Brittonum* c. 9), so that the Pictish settlements in the north of the island had to be made at the expense of the Britons. (Bede, on the other hand, implies that the Britons had not yet spread to the north of Britain when the Picts arrived; cf. p. 343.)

Bede gives us clearly to understand, that the Picts recovered territory to the north of the Forth which had once been theirs but of which they had been deprived by the Angles (not by the Britons).¹

Mac Neill in the same paper further asserts that 'in early Irish tradition the Orkneys and Hebrides were occupied by a people' distinct from the Cruithni or Picts, because, he says, the *tuatha* (*F*)*Orc ocus Iboth*, i.e. the inhabitants of the Scottish islands, 'are not called Cruithni and are not classed with the Irish Cruithni in any ancient writing known to me'. Here Mac Neill's memory is at fault. The *tuatha Orc ocus Iboth* are made to descend from Conall Cernach (R 155 b; LL 190 b; Misc. Celt. Soc. 60); and, according to the well-understood genealogical convention, their descent from Conall Cernach implies that they were Cruithni. Not very much is known for certain about the Picts, but one of the few certain things about them is their connexion with the Orkneys. According to the 'Historia Brittonum', the Picti first established themselves in the Orkneys,² whence they plundered many parts of Britain, and afterwards they occupied the northern parts of the island. This, too, was evidently the view of Gildas, though he does not name the Orkneys.³ In the first century

¹ *Picti terram possessionis suae, quam tenuerunt Angli, . . . receperunt*, Hist. Eccl. iv, 24 (26).

² *insulas quae vocantur Orcades*, Hist. Brittonum c. 12. Cf. *ibid.* c. 38, from which we infer that the Orcades were inhabited by Picts in the fifth century. In the latter half of the sixth century, as we learn from Adamnan (*Vita Columbae* ii, 42), they were governed by a *regulus* who was subject to the Pictish king, Bruide. (In Pictland, as in Ireland, there were *reguli* or local rulers, who appear to have been, in theory at least, subject to the over-king; cf. the mention of a Pictish 'king of Athole' in AU 738.) The plundering propensities of the Picts, upon which Latin writers lay stress, continued to manifest themselves in the Picts of the northern islands (*insi Orc* and *insi Catt*), who appear to have remained pagan until a comparatively late date, and to have been much addicted to piracy and plunder. See Watson, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 63. Hence we understand why Aedán mac Gabráin, king of Dál Riata, sent, or led, an expedition against the Uirc in 580 or 581. Under the year 671 AU record that 'the Ibdag [i.e. the inhabitants of the western islands] were destroyed', *Deleti sunt Ibdig*, the aggressors being, one may surmise, these northern pirates. (This entry has hitherto been misunderstood; Hennessy's translation is '[Many] were destroyed there'.) Ten years later we read that King Bruide 'destroyed' the Uirc (*Orcades deletae sunt la Bruide*, AU 681), presumably in punishment for their depredations.

³ According to Gildas (*De Excidio Britanniae*, cc. 14, 19, 21) the Picti

B.C. the Britons, as we learn from Julius Caesar, were still conscious of the fact that they themselves were, comparatively speaking, late arrivals in Britain, and that the *pars interior* (meaning in this case the remoter districts, towards the north) was inhabited by tribes who had been in Britain from time immemorial (see p. 16, n. 2). But in the sixth century A.D. the Britons no longer admit that any other people had occupied Britain before themselves, and so Gildas couples the Picti with the Scoti as *gentes transmarinae*.¹ This belief of the Britons in their own antiquity as compared with that of the Picts was adopted by Bede from Gildas; and, influenced by Bede, Mael Mura of Othain makes the Picts reach Britain in the time of Éremón (p. 343 f.), i.e. long after the Britons had taken possession of Britain (pp. 76, 90).

(C). Another view, which has found favour only in Scotland, is that the Picts spoke Gaelic, just like their rivals the Dalriadic Scots. This view was first put forward by W. F. Skene in 1837, and for a long time, in the words of MacBain,² it 'completely captivated the popular historians and other writers on historic subjects in Scotland'.

In 1868 Skene was cautious enough to express some doubt as to the completely Gaelic character of Pictish. 'Pictish', he wrote, 'appears to occupy a place between Cymric and Gaelic'; 'it is not Welsh, neither is it Gaelic; but it is a Gaelic dialect partaking largely of Welsh forms'.³ In his later work, *Celtic Scotland*, he reverts to the pure Gaelic theory. The Northern Picts 'appear to have been purely Gaelic in race and language'; and the same may be said of the Southern Picts, with this qualification, that 'between the Forth and the Tay' the Damnonii appear

plundered Britain, coming by sea from the north, and afterwards settled down in the northernmost parts of Britain. In Gildas's view the Picts (and likewise the Scots) first began to harry Britain after the revolt of Maximus (A.D. 383).

¹ Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* i, 12) incorporates in his text the passage in which Gildas speaks of Britain being plundered by *gentes transmarinae*; but, not accepting, or not understanding, the view suggested by Gildas that the Picts were quite recent arrivals in Britain, he forcedly interprets the phrase in question as meaning that the Picts and the Scots were separated from the Britons by two arms of the sea (i.e. the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde).

² *Trans. Gaelic Soc. Inverness* xxi, 192.

³ *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* i, pp. 130, 135.

to have introduced 'a British element' into the language.¹ Viewed in the light of the linguistic knowledge of to-day, most of Skene's arguments regarding the nature of Pictish are quite absurd, and consequently the conclusions which he drew from them have merely a curiosity value.

Although Skene's views were rejected many years ago by Alexander MacBain,² the foremost Scottish Gaelic scholar of his day, and later by W. J. Watson,³ there were still Scotsmen who hankered after Skene's theory and who preferred to believe that Gaelic was, so to speak, indigenous to Scotland, and was not first transplanted there some 1500 years ago.⁴

Early in the present century Skene's view of Pictish found an enthusiastic supporter in E. W. B. Nicholson, who in his 'Keltic Researches' (1904) attempted to show that 'Pictish

¹ Celtic Scotland i, 231. For Skene's view of the Damnonii see p. 372 n.

² See his re-edition of Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland* (1902), 387 ff., and also his article on Ptolemy's *Geography of Scotland*, *Trans. Gaelic Soc. Inverness* xviii, 267 ff. (MacBain outgrew his earlier 'pre-Keltic' view of the Picts, which he set forth in a paper abounding in wild etymological speculations, *ib.* xvi, 228 ff.)

³ *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (1926).

⁴ Skene's writings, with his obsession in favour of the Picts, his prejudice against the 'barbarous' Irish colonists, and his 'Scottish-Gaelic-owes-nothing-to-Ireland' theory, engendered in some of his fellow-countrymen a kind of patriotic Pictomania which is by no means extinct. Thus some recent Scottish writers have set themselves to belaud 'the Pictish nation', 'the Pictish Church', and 'Pictish civilisation', and to belittle the debt of Scotland to Ireland through the Columban missionaries. In his books 'The Historical St. Columba' (1927) and 'The Celtic Church in Scotland' (1935; and cf. *SGS* v, 169 ff.) W. Douglas Simpson puts forward the view that there was an organized Pictish Church, established by St. Ninian, throughout all the north of Scotland 'long before Columba's time', and that the labours of the 'astute and masterful' Columba, who was 'a politician first and an ecclesiastic afterwards', were almost entirely confined to his fellow-countrymen of Dál Riata and to 'the Pictish tribes of the borderland'. Simpson, it is true, is willing to concede that monks from Bangor, Co. Down, such as Mo-luóc († 592) and Mael Ruba († 722), did good work in spreading the Gospel in Pictland; but we have a clue to the reason for this concession on his part when we find him referring to the monks of Bangor as 'Irish Picts', and thus differentiating them from the Scots of Iona! For a refutation of Simpson's anti-Columban views and his exaggerations concerning St. Ninian, see John A. Duke, *The Columban Church* (1932), pp. 36 f., 150-162. Cf. also Watson's paper on 'Early Irish Influences in Scotland', *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* xxxv, 179 ff.

stands to Highland Gaelic in exactly the same relation in which Anglo-Saxon stands to modern English'. He likewise held that Goidelic preserved Indo-European *p* until a late period, that the Belgic invaders of Britain were Goidels, who drove the Kymry into the interior of the island, and that 'apparently the great majority of the tribes inhabiting Roman Britain were Goidels'. Nicholson's work is an amazing example of what industry divorced from judgment and unhampered by accurate linguistic knowledge can lead to.

In recent years the upholders of Skene's view have found a further champion in the late Francis C. Diack, who in various articles¹ sought to provide linguistic proof that Goidelic was the language of Pictland as early as the first century A.D. The result of Diack's laborious and persistent efforts has been to confirm the view that he had set himself an impossible task.

Diack holds that 'Pictish was, as Skene justly saw, simply the parent of the Scottish Gaelic we know' (The Inscriptions of Pictland 82). At the same time the testimony of Adamnan compels him to admit that in the sixth century Pictish was unintelligible to the Irish colonists in Scotland (ib. 108, n. 2). These views are incompatible with each other, and contradict a well-known fact of history.² Not only did Ireland and Gaelic Scotland possess the same literary language, *an Ghaoidhealg*, down to the seventeenth century, but Gaelic-speaking Irishmen and Scotsmen had no difficulty in understanding one another previous to the rise of the modern dialects in each country. This community of language, continuing long after the two countries had ceased to have any political connexion with each other, implies that one country had borrowed its language from the other at a time not so very remote, and the evidence of history (epitomized in the names *Gàidheal*, *Gàidhlig*, *Scot*, and *Erse*) shows us on which side the borrowing was.

¹ A selection of these will be found reprinted in a recently issued volume, *The Inscriptions of Pictland*, by F. C. Diack (Aberdeen, 1944), which also contains *inter alia* his previously unpublished essay on the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones of the North-East and North of Scotland. The present appendix was drafted before this work came into my hands.

² Skene landed himself in a similar difficulty, to which, like Diack later, he turned a blind eye. Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx, he writes, 'form but one language, which may be called Gaelic, and show no greater variety among each other than those which characterise the vernacular speech of different provinces of the same nation' (*Celtic Scotland* i, 193 f.). Yet in the sixth century the difference between Pictish and Irish must have been as great as that between modern Breton and Welsh (ib. 201).

E. W. B. Nicholson, in a desperate attempt to neutralize the evidence of Bede's Pictish place-name *Peanfahel*, had interpreted it as *pinna(e) valli*, taking *pean* to be 'a Goidelic borrowing from the Latin *penna* or *pinna*'.¹ Diack goes further still. *Peanfahel*, he asserts, means 'round rock', *pean* being perhaps a Gaelic borrowing of 'some Low Latin word' (he quotes in support Spanish *peña*, which comes from Lat. *pinna*), and *fahel* being identical with Ir. *fail*, 'a ring'.² All this is too absurd for comment.

It may be noted that Diack gave his approval to the discredited view of Rhys that the Ogam inscriptions of south-western Britain were the work of Goidels who had been in Britain from a period long anterior to the Roman conquest (cf. SGS ii, 232). He evidently accepted Rhys's theory that the Goidels reached Ireland via Britain; but while Rhys was content with making the Goidels conquer England and southern Scotland, Diack extended their conquests to the extreme north and identified them with the Picts or Priteni, in whom Rhys saw the remnant of the pre-Celtic aborigines. Why the Goidels of Ireland were differentiated from the Priteni (Cruthin) of Ireland Diack did not attempt to explain.

Diack sought to support his thesis of a prehistoric Gaelic-speaking Scotland by a number of wild or purely fanciful etymologies and by imaginative interpretations of inscriptions, which it is impossible to take seriously, and which it is needless to discuss. His arguments¹ from the names of three Scottish rivers, viz. the Lossie, the Dee, and the Don, are on a different footing and deserve a brief notice here.

Ptolemy mentions a river *Loxa* (*Λόξα*), which has generally

¹ Keltic Researches 21-24. Nicholson's explanation was accepted by Rhys, Celtic Britain, 3 ed., 153. See the criticism of it by T. Rice Holmes, Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar 422, n. 2; his verdict is that the notion that *Pean-* is the Latin *pinna* 'is too ridiculous to be discussed'.

² RC xli, 141, = The Inscriptions of Pictland 138. W. M. Alexander in the editorial introduction to the latter book, p. xvii, hints at another explanation, perhaps due to a confused recollection of one of Nicholson's theories. The distinction between Q-Celtic and P-Celtic has, he says, been misunderstood; 'it does not exclude initial *p* from Gaelic, and it is not enough to say that *Peanfahel* must be a Cymric word from the look of it'.

³ RC xxxviii, 117 n., 118-120.

been identified with the modern Lossie, in Morayshire.¹ Granting this equation, the name would appear to show the change of *ks* to *s* which is characteristic of Goidelic; cf. Celt. **oukselo-*, 'high', > Ir. *uasal*. On the other hand, in British (Welsh, Cornish, Breton) Celtic *ks* becomes *ch*, as in Welsh *uchel*, 'high'; and the same development appears to have occurred in Pictish, if Rhys, Stokes, and other scholars are right in taking the name of the Ochil Hills, near the town of Stirling, to represent Celt. **oukselo-*. But it must be borne in mind that the form *Loxa* rests on a very precarious foundation, namely, a single reference in Ptolemy's Geography, the text of which is frequently corrupt. Thus the mss. of Ptolemy give the name of a tribe near the Firth of Forth as *Ōtadīnoi* or *Ōtalīnoi*, which the Old Welsh form *Guotodin* authorizes us to emend to *Votādīnoi* (or *Votodīnoi*).² In another of Ptolemy's Scottish names we find *Z* interchanging with *Ξ*, viz. *Ταίζαλοι* or *Ταιξαλοι*,³ the name of a tribe in the present Aberdeenshire. So, instead of *Λόξα*, it is quite possible that the true form of our river-name may have been *Λόξα*, i.e. *Lostā* or *Lotsā*, with which we might compare Ir. *los*, m., 'tail, end', Welsh *llost*, f., 'tail; spear', Bret. *lost*, m., 'tail', which go back to Celt. **losto-*, **lostā*.⁴ As *-st-* is generally reduced to *s* in the British dialects, there would be nothing remarkable in Pictish **Lostā* becoming **Lossā*,⁵ and finally *Losaidh*,⁶ 'Lossie'.

¹ The identification is by no means certain, and Watson holds that Ptolemy's *Loxa* is the Findhorn, on the ground that the location of the latter corresponds to Ptolemy's data for the *Loxa*, whereas 'the Lossie is much too far to the east' (*op. cit.* 48 f.).

² Immediately north of these Ptolemy locates a tribe whose name assumes a variety of forms in the mss.: *Venikones*, *Venikōnes*, *Venikōmes*, *Vernikōmes*, etc., and whose territory may have stretched from the Firth of Forth to the Dee. These different ms. spellings are, I suggest, merely bad corruptions of *Verturiones*, attested in Ammianus Marcellinus and borrowed into Irish as *Fortrinn* (see pp. 26, 371, n. 3).

³ Which of these readings is the more correct it is impossible to say, unless the name happens to be connected with Celt. **taisto-*, the forerunner of Ir. *taes*, W. *toes*, 'dough'.

⁴ On the semantic side we might perhaps compare *Flesc*, 'rod, wand', which is the name of at least three Irish rivers (the rivers Flesk in Kerry, Cork, and Antrim).

⁵ Even in Gaulish *-st-* seems to have generally become *ss* (through *ts*); compare *vassos* from **vo-stos* (Pedersen, V. G. i, 35) and *cassi-* from **kasti-*, as contrasted with *glastum*, 'woad' (recorded by Pliny). Hence one would be justified in identifying Pictish **Lostā* or **Lotsā* with the Gaulish personal name *Lossā* (exemplified in Holder, s. v.).

⁶ *-idh* is a frequent suffix of river-names in Scottish Gaelic. As there

It remains to say a word or two concerning the names of the Aberdeenshire Dee and Don. The former, in Scottish Gaelic *Dé* (old dat.-acc.), goes back to *Dēvā*; the latter, in Scottish Gaelic *Deathain*, to *Dēvonā*. These show no trace of the special British development of Celtic *ē*, illustrated in Welsh (*Dyfr*)*dwy* < *Dēvā*, and in O. Corn. *duy*, Bret. *doue*, < **dēvos*. If, Diack argues, the Picts of Aberdeenshire had spoken a 'British' dialect, then when their language was supplanted by that of the Scoto-Irish, not earlier than 'the 7th or 8th century', the names of these two rivers would have passed into Gaelic in a distinctively British form. Diack imagined that this argument was 'decisive' in favour of his contention that Pictish was Goidelic. Actually it proves nothing at all. The date of the diphthongization of Celtic *ē* in the British dialects cannot be fixed; still less can one date the corresponding development which may, or may not, have taken place in Pictish. Moreover it is very probable that the Dee and the Don were already known to the Scoto-Irish in the sixth century, or even as early as the fifth,¹ when Celtic *ē* was still intact. In Wales the diphthongization of *ē* had not yet taken place when, probably in the early part of the seventh century, the Anglo-Saxons borrowed the name of the Dee, Celt. *Dēvā*, on the Welsh-English border.²

John Fraser has devoted a paper to 'The Question of the Picts' in *SGS* ii, 172 ff. While he states his views with extreme caution and with many reservations, he shows leanings towards a modified

is no corresponding suffix in Irish, and as the *-dh* is merely graphic, the Scottish suffix may possibly be related to the *-i* of numerous Welsh river-names, e.g. *Gwili*, *Teifi*.

¹ Compare the Irish tradition (p. 370) of the Munster prince Corc going to Scotland, marrying a Pictish wife, and founding the *Eóganacht* of Mag Gerginn or Mag Circinn (between the Tay and the Dee). During the reign of Aedán mac Gabráin the Irish of Dál Riata ranged far afield. In 580 Aedán sent an expedition against the Uirc (the inhabitants of the Orkneys). In 596 he fought a battle which in Tig. is called 'the battle of Circhenn' (in A. Clon. 'the battle of Kirkyinn'), from which we infer that it was fought in Mag Circinn. Cf. *terra Circin* (in Pictland), RC xvii, 253. 12; *im chrích Cruithne im Gergin*, Anecdota i, 14, 18. We have spoken above of the foundation of the monastery of Deer (*Nēr*) in Aberdeenshire, a daughter-house of Iona, in the sixth century.

² In any event names like *Dēvā* and *Dēvonā*, of which the meaning was known, would probably be translated into their Irish forms by bilingual speakers among the Scoto-Irish settlers. So places in Pictland are called *Srath Ethairt*, AU 653, *Dūn Fo(i)ther*, ib. 680, 693, *Dūn Nechtain*, ib. 685. Similarly the Welsh Bangor is called *Bennchor Brittonum* in Irish records.

form of Skene's theory. We may, of course, accept his suggestion (ib. pp. 186 f., 200) that in remote prehistoric times a non-Celtic language was spoken in 'Pictland'; the same might be said of any part of Britain. As regards 'the early historic period', which he defines as 'from the second to the sixth century A.D.', he says that 'comparison of place-names in Classical authors with their later forms seems to favour the view that the language of northern Pictland was Goidelic rather than British' (ib. 200), though he does not exclude the possibility that this Goidelic speech may have been introduced from Ireland (ib. 184), as the Gaelic spoken in the same area in later times quite certainly was (ib. 201). But though he speaks of 'place-names' in classical authors as favouring the view that Goidelic was spoken in northern Pictland in the early centuries of the Christian era, he adduces only *one* such place-name in his text, viz. Ptolemy's *Loxa*, concerning which he writes: 'The form of the name [i.e. the development of *Lossie* from *Loxa*] is consistent with the uninterrupted existence of a Goidelic speech in that district from before the Christian era down to the present day' (ib. 189).¹

¹In 1923 Fraser had discussed 'the Pictish Question' in a lecture entitled 'History and Etymology' (Oxford, 1923), in which he states his conclusions as follows: 'There is abundant evidence that a Goidelic dialect was spoken in Pictland, while the evidence for a Brythonic dialect is less conclusive. That a language which was not Celtic or even Indogermanic was spoken in Pictland is certain'. The 'abundant evidence' in favour of Goidelic is found to consist of three river-names, viz., Ptolemy's *Varar* and *Loxa*, together with *Divona* [properly *Dēvonā*; inferred from Ptolemy's town-name *Δηουάνα*], the later forms of which, Fraser suggests, show 'distinctively Goidelic sound-changes'. 'It follows with a reasonable degree of certainty that from the second to the sixth century a Celtic language that was not Brythonic was spoken over a considerable portion of northern Pictland'.—In his paper in SGS, written five years later, Fraser is decidedly more cautious, and admits that no conclusions can be drawn from the later developments of *Varar* and *Dēvonā* (SGS ii, 187 f.).

III.—ON THE NAME ALBA

THE oldest name of the island of Britain is recorded by classical writers as *Albion* (Gr. 'Αλβίων, 'Αλονίων, "Αλβιον). This name, which represents Celt. **Albiū*, gen. **Albionos*, has been preserved, but with altered meanings, in Irish and Welsh. Mod. Ir. *Alba* (O. Ir. *Albu*)¹ means 'North Britain', 'Scotland'. Its Welsh counterpart, *elfydd* (O. W. *elbid*), has become a common noun meaning 'the earth, *terra firma*'²; compare O. Ir. *iriu*, 'land, ground', which is ultimately a doublet of *Ériu*, 'Ireland'.

Down to the ninth century *Alba* retained its original sense of 'Britain'³, and there was no special name, either in Irish or in Latin, for that part of the island lying north of the Clyde and the Forth⁴, nor indeed was there any need of such a name until the Scots of Dál Riata had joined Pictland (*Cruthentuath*⁵; in late Latin *Pictavia*) to their own territory and had thus laid the foundations of the future kingdom of Scotland. Hence *Druimm nAlban*, the Irish name of the mountain-range separating the Scots from the Picts, is translated into Latin as *Dorsum Britanniae* in Adamnan's 'Vita Columbae' and in AU 716.⁶ So Adamnan speaks of Iona as being *in Britannia* (= O. Ir. *i nAlbae*, *i nAlbain*),

¹ Meyer, Sitz.-Ber. der königl. preuss. Akad. 1913, 953, suggests that the 'original' form of the name in Irish was *Alpe*, indeclinable, a borrowing of *Albion*; but the evidence he adduces leads to no such conclusion. In the examples he quotes from 'Tochmarc Emire' *Alpi* and *Alpai* mean 'the Alps' (cf. Thurneysen, Heldensage 388).

² Cf. Rhys, *Studies in Early Ir. History* 16 n.

³ Fraser, *SGS* v, 72-75, unnecessarily throws doubt both on the correctness of the equation *Albion* = 'Britain' in classical writers, and on the early Irish use of *Alba* in the same sense.

⁴ In Latin, from the first century, *Caledonia* or *Calidonia* had approximately this sense, but after the fifth century this name went out of use.

⁵ The name *Cruthentuath* was not confined to the Picts; it was also applied, though less frequently, to the Cruthin of Ireland.

⁶ Reeves, misunderstanding *Alba*, speaks of *Druim-Bretain* as 'the vernacular name', which 'at an early date passed into the form *Drum-Alban*' (*Life of St. Columba* p. 64 n.). Similarly Hogan includes *Druim Bretan* in his *Onomasticon*. This *Druim Breta(i)n* is a ghost-name

where we should nowadays rather say 'in Scotland'; and the Irish colonists in Scotland are called *Scoti Britanniae* by Adamnan, *Scotti qui Britanniam inhabitant* by Bede.¹ There are a couple of instances of *Alba* used in the sense of 'Britain' in Cormac's Glossary (ca. 900), s. v. 'Mug eme'. In BDD we read that Ingcél, the Briton (*mac ríg Bretan*, § 22; *dí Bretnaib*, § 44), after having been banished out of *Alba*, i.e. Britain, returned to his homeland to plunder and slay. The YBL text of BDD retains the old use of *Alba* (§§ 46, 47, 102, 144, 145), except in § 45, where *a tír Alban* has been expanded to *a tír Alban 7 Brettan*; but in §§ 46-47 the author of the LU recension, no longer understanding *Alba* as 'Britain', represents Ingcél as plundering first *Brettain*, i.e. the land of the Britons, and then *Alba*, i.e. North Britain.

It was the conquest of Pictland by Cinaed mac Ailpín († 858) that caused *Alba* to be narrowed down to mean 'North Britain', i.e. that part of Britain ruled by the Scots or Gaels². The restricted sense of *Alba* is already in evidence in the 'Vita Tripartita' (second half of ninth century), which speaks of Aedán 'taking *Alba* by force' (ed. Stokes, 162. 16); the context shows that *Alba* here includes Fortrinn, so that Aedán is credited with an achievement similar to that of Cinaed mac Ailpín. In the Annals of Ulster the first definite instance of *Alba* in its later sense occurs in the year 900: *rí Alban*, AU 899.³ The new Scotie kingdom of *Alba* comprised the dominant Gaels or Scots and the subject Picts who were rapidly being merged in them. Its inhabitants were called *Fir Alban* (first in AU 917) and *Albanaig*, names which suggest a more or less unified population. A poem of the eleventh or early twelfth century refers to the inhabitants of *Alba* in the time of the Fiana as *Bretnaig Cruthnig Albanaig* (LL 207 b 48, = Festschrift Whitley Stokes 8), where the *Albanaig* or men of Gaelic speech are distinguished from the *Cruthnig* or Picts.

¹ Similarly AU (s. a. 670) speak of Mael Ruba sailing 'to Britain', in *Britanniam*, where (s. a. 672) he founded the church of Apor Crosán (Apple-cross, in Ross-shire).

² As a Latin equivalent of *Alba* in its new sense *Albania* was coined, and is so employed in the Pictish Chronicle. In the eleventh century this was replaced by *Scotia*, 'Scot-land', which had hitherto been synonymous with *Hibernia*. It is interesting to note that Bede, writing in 731, already regards the island of Iona as forming part of *Scotia*, 'Ireland' (see Reeves, Life of St. Columba, 341, n. p; Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica* ii, 186). After *Alba* had acquired its restricted sense, the old sense of 'Britain' was expressed in Irish by *Inis Bretan*.

³ The earlier occurrence of *rígh Alban*, AU 605, is an interpolation.

Late writers or redactors, who lacked the historical sense, anachronistically apply the title *rí Alban*, 'king of Alba', familiar to them in their own day, to the early rulers of Dál Riata or (less frequently) to the Pictish kings. Thus Gabrán († ca. 558) gets this title in a Middle-Irish poem in R 86 a 43, and in Tig. p. 142, and so does the Pictish king Cinaed († 631) in AI 11 c 20. Similarly when the writer of the Middle-Irish Life of Colum Cille describes that saint as travelling *fo Albain 7 Bretnu 7 Saxanu* (Lis. Lives 1025), 'through Scotland, Wales and England', he has in mind the three nations of the Britain of his own day, when the Picts had ceased to be a separate people. The same three nations are enumerated in a contemporary entry in AU 951: *Cath for Fíru Alban 7 Bretnu 7 Saxanu ria Gallaibh*. Here 'the men of Alba' (*Fir Alban*) are the new Gaelic-speaking nation of North Britain.¹

Finally one may note that at one period within Scotland itself the name *Alba* was applied in particular to the country between the Forth and the Spey, i.e. to that part of the kingdom which was not affected by the Norse conquests in the north and west, and which continued to be ruled by *rí Alban*. Compare the narrow sense given to *Albanach* in certain Scottish place-names (Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 12), and the entry *bellum eter Fhiru Alban 7 Feru Moreb*, AU 1130, which distinguishes 'the men of Moray' from 'the men of Alba.'²

¹ Contrast the earlier division of the inhabitants of Britain into four peoples, found in Bede and in 'Historia Brittonum' (see p. 355, n.3); also in a line in poem 52 of the Book of Taliesin (= ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, p. 75. 19): *Kymry, Eigyl, Gwydyl, Prydyn*, i.e. 'Britons, Angles, Scots and Picts'.

² In a document which Skene would date in the twelfth century, *Albania que modo Scocia vocatur* in one place means all Scotland north of the Forth, including the Scottish islands, but in another place the same 'Albania, now called Scocia', is distinguished from *Morouia* (Moray, Ir. *Moreb, Mureb*) and the Scottish islands (Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts* etc. 153 f.).

IV.—MAG TUIRED

THE mythical Tuatha Dé Danann are credited with having fought and won two battles at Mag Tuired. In the first battle they defeat the Fir Bolg, and thus become masters of Ireland. In the second battle they vanquish the mythical Fomoire.

The story of the first battle of Mag Tuired was in existence before that of the second, to which it served as a model. It appears to have been based on popular traditions of an historical fact—a great defeat suffered by the Fir Bolg in north-eastern Connacht (see p. 141). The second battle is merely a pseudo-historical expansion of a mythological theme, the ‘slaying’ of the god Balar by Lug; under the influence of the story of the first battle the duel between these supernatural personages becomes a battle between two armies (see p. 313).¹

The location of Mag Tuired is well known (cf. AU 1399). The name survives in English as Moytirra (East and West), two adjoining townlands in the parish of Kilmactranny, near Lough Arrow, Co. Sligo. This has always been recognized as the place in which the second battle of Mag Tuired, that against the Fomoire, was supposed to have been fought. Hence in Ann. Connacht, 1398, § 24, Moytirra is called *Mag Tured na Fomōrach*, ‘M. T. of the Fomoire’.

As the second battle was suggested by the first, we have a *priori* reason for supposing that the first battle was believed to

¹ D’Arbois de Jubainville held, correctly enough, that ‘in the primitive Irish legend’ there was but one battle of Mag Tuired. But in his view the battle was a purely mythological one, a contest in which ‘the gods of Light and Life’ (the Tuatha Dé Danann) were victorious over ‘the gods of Night and Death’ (the Fomoire). The Fir Bolg, who represent the pre-Celtic inhabitants, were associated with the wicked gods, and consequently were represented as sharing in their defeat (The Irish Mythological Cycle pp. 84 f., 91, 93 f.). Similarly Rhys regards the two battles of Mag Tuired as a single mythological battle (*supra*, p. 56). Actually, as we have seen, the connexion of the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fomoire with the battle of Mag Tuired is secondary.

have been fought at Moytirra likewise. That this was so hardly admits of doubt. In the tale of the first battle of Mag Tuired (ed. Fraser, *Ériu* viii) the Tuatha Dé, after landing in Ulster, are represented as proceeding to Slébe Rén¹ in Bréfné (ib. 20), i.e. to the hills around Slieveanierin in Co. Leitrim, and thence westward (*siar*, ib. 26 a) to Mag Tuired. We are further told that Eochaid, king of the Fir Bolg, fled from the battlefield to Tráig Eóthaile, i.e. Beltra Strand, near Ballysadare, Co. Sligo, and was there slain.² These incidents point plainly to the battle having been fought in Co. Sligo. In early documents each battle is known as *cath Maige Tuired* simply; ³ but when a distinction is required, they are called 'the first battle of Mag Tuired', *cétchath Maige Tuired*,⁴ and 'the last battle of Mag Tuired', *cath dédenach Maige Tuired*,⁵ respectively. These designations obviously imply that both battles were fought in the same place.

At a later period, however, probably not earlier than the thirteenth or fourteenth century, some sceptic appears to have found it difficult to believe that the Tuatha Dé should have won victories over two very different sets of opponents on the same battlefield; and so the idea was invented that the Mag Tuired where the Fir Bolg were defeated was situated at Cong (*Cunga*), between Lough Mask and Lough Corrib. The neighbourhood of Cong abounds in cairns and other stone monuments, so that it was, perhaps, natural to regard *mag tuired*, 'the plain of pillars', as an appropriate name for it. Accordingly in late texts the first battle is known as the battle of *Magh Tuireadh Cunha*,⁶ or alternatively *Magh Tuireadh Theas*,⁷ 'Southern Mag Tuired'. But, despite

¹ = *Slébe Conmaicne Réin*, LL 9 a 5.

² *Ériu* viii, 50; Lec. 279 a 2. 10-17.

³ Cf. the tale of the Second Battle of Mag Tuired (RC xii), §§ 10, 97. The two battles are referred to as *dā c[h]ath Muigi Tuire* (sic), Laws i, 46.

⁴ Cf. LL 9 a 9, 24; 11 a 25; Met. D. iv, 272. Further BB 32 b 49; Lec. 279 b 1. 9.

⁵ Cf. LL 9 a 51, 9 b 15; BB 33 a 8; Lec. 279 b 2. 5-6. Otherwise *cath tãnaide Muige Tuireadh*, 'the second battle of M. T.', BB 30 a 26.

⁶ So the last sentence in the text in H. 2. 17 (*Ériu* viii, 58); O'Clery's L.G. 148; *Cóir Anmann* §154; FM i, 16. Cf. *Partraidi in Lacha ait ita Mag Tuiread agus Cunha*, Gen. Tracts 178 (also ZCP viii, 112).

⁷ Keating, FF i, 212, 218. The original Mag Tuired is distinguished by being called *Magh Tuireadh Thuaidh* (ibid.), or *Magh Tuireadh na bhFomhórach* (cf. FM i, 18).

Sir William Wilde's imaginative attempt¹ to identify places mentioned in the tale of the first battle of Mag Tuired with existing memorials in the vicinity of Cong, one may safely dismiss this 'Mag Tuired of Cong' as a late concoction.

A word may be said regarding a modern attempt to find a new location for the scene of the battle in which the Fir Bolg were defeated. According to a survey of Co. Sligo made in 1633-36, Owen Duffe Mac Brehane was proprietor of 'Tawmal-lankillglass', 'Cong', and 'Kilnomanagh', all in the parish of Ballysadare.² W. G. Wood-Martin, who published this document, rashly identified the name *Cong* in the part we have quoted with the *Cunga* of *Magh Tuireadh Cunga*, and accordingly suggested that the first battle of Mag Tuired was fought in the neighbourhood of Ballysadare.³ Actually, it is hardly open to doubt, *Cong* is merely a misreading of *Cony*, by which is meant the present townland of Cooney in the parish of Ballysadare. This unlucky suggestion of Wood-Martin's was accepted by Henry Morris, who in a lengthy, but unconvincing (and not always accurate), article in *Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1928, 111-127, argues that *Magh Tuireadh Cunga* was situated to the west of Ballysadare.

¹ See his 'Lough Corrib' (1867), 210 ff. Wilde, who was untroubled by any doubts as to the location of Mag Tuired, built a residence for himself near Cong, which he called 'Moytura House'. The 'Firbolgs' he takes (following O'Flaherty) to have been Belgae or 'Belgians'. The Tuatha Dé Danann, or 'the Dananns', as he calls them, he regards as 'Scandinavians'.

² W. G. Wood-Martin, *History of Sligo* ii, 174.

³ *ibid.* 30.

V.—LUAIGNI. LUIGNI

THE legend of Tuathal's invasion tells how he won the crown of Ireland with the aid of two bands of soldiery who came over to his side. One of these bands, we are told, had been in the service of the king of Tara, the other in the service of the king of the Lagen (p. 157, *supra*). We have here an evident allusion to the Luaigni of Tara and to the Gálioín of the Lagen. We may compare the role played by these two septs in 'Cath Ruis na Ríg': when Conchobar, king of the Ulaid, marches southward against the king of Tara, he is met at the Boyne by the Luaigni of Tara and by the Gálioín, who put up a brave fight against him. When Queen Medb (who typifies the sovereignty of Tara) marched northwards against the Ulaid, the flower of her forces consisted of 3000 Gálioín (p. 22).

While the Gálioín were a section of the Lagen, the Luaigni were almost certainly Érainn.¹ We are safe in seeing in them a section of the Ernean population of the Tara district whom the Goidelic conquerors of the Eastern Midlands enrolled as vassal-allies and fighting-men.

Tradition consistently represents the Luaigni as defenders of the Tara monarchy against its enemies. 'They were the leading *fian* of Ireland for a long time', and 'they were the fighting forces of Conn Cétchathach' (LL 386 b 49-51). Cathaer Már, of the Lagen, is said to have been slain by the *fian* of the Luaigni²; and they are also said to have slain Finn mac Cumail,³ who is often

¹ Cairbre Cinn Chaith, leader of the *aithig*, was of the Luaigni, ZCP xi, 60; he was of the Luaigni of Tara, and of the Fir Bolg, Cóir Anmann 241. The family of Uí Airt, 'who are in Luaigne Temrach', descend from Lugaid Ligairne, son of Dáire Síchréchtach (Gen. Tracts 165), i.e. they are Érainn. Elsewhere (ib. 158), however, we are told that the Luaigni descend from 'Luaidne', son of Fedlimmid Rechtmar (the father of Conn Cétchathach); but this Luaidne or Luaigne is unknown to the earlier genealogists (cf. R 137 b 46).

² R 136 a 56 (and cf. 124 a 31); ÁID ii, 15; RC xvii, 7; Lr. na gCeart 204; LL 24 a 11.

³ See p. 274, notes 1 and 2, and p. 277, n. 5.

associated with the Lagen. They are generally referred to as *Luaigni (na) Temrach*, but occasionally as *sentuatha Temrach*,¹ 'the old (i.e. pre-Goidelic) peoples of Tara'. The Luaigni belong exclusively to the traditions of pre-Christian times; they are mentioned in connexion with the prehistoric kings of Tara, but never in historical documents such as the Annals (from A.D. 431 on).²

The Luaigni, as defenders of Tara, were appropriately called *colamain na Temra(ch)*;³ and in late texts which allude to the Tara of prehistoric times this descriptive phrase tends to replace their proper name.⁴

In references to events of historical times we no longer hear of *Luaigni*, but only of *Luigni*. Similarly the Gáioin associated with prehistoric Tara are in the historical period known as *Gailing* (pp. 23, 95). The Luigni have left their name on the barony of Lune,⁵ in Co. Meath, the Gailing on the barony of

¹ Fianaigeacht 78. 7 (*cúig mic Uirgrena do hsentúathaib Temrach*). Cf. *cúic mic Uirgrena do Lúaignib Midhi*, ib. 70. 20; *sen-Luaighni Temrach*, ib. 82. 3.

² An exception—more apparent than real—occurs in 'Cáin Adamnáin', where we are told that Adamnan restored to life the wife of the king (unnamed) of the Luaigni (*ben righ Luaighne Temrach*, p. 6). Rónán, abbot of Clonmacnois, is said to have been *do Luaignib*, Tig. p. 262, but *do Luigh-nibh*, FM s. a. 759; the latter is doubtless correct.

³ Literally 'the pillars of Tara'. For the metaphor, derived from the posts of a house, cf. Cath Maige Léna, ed. Jackson, 1360-63, where the *colamhain Temrach* are said to have been the *cuailledha* of Tuathal, the *uaithmeda* of Fedlimmid, and the *cletha cosanta* of Conn. Compare also the metaphorical use of Mid. Ir. *clí* and Mod. Ir. *taca* and *posta*.

⁴ See the interesting list of examples brought together by Dr. E. Knott, Ériu xiv, 144 f. Dr. Knott suggests that *colamain na Temra(ch)* may have given rise to the nickname 'collonnes' (or 'collounes') applied to the husbandmen of Fingall in the sixteenth century (see Ériu xiii, 207 ff.). But *colamain na Temra(ch)* was a purely literary phrase, designating the fighting-men of prehistoric Tara, and having no relation to anything contemporary; and it is inconceivable that the word *colamain* should have been borrowed from it by the English of the Pale and applied by them to the English-speaking rustics of their own day.

⁵ Mac Neill separates the names *Luaigni*, *Luigni*, and asserts that the barony of Lune derives its name from the former (Proc. R.I.A. xxix C, 73, n. 2; Phases of Ir. History 80). There are two arguments, both decisive, against this view. Firstly, it is unthinkable that the name *Luaigni*, never applied to any people in historical times, should have survived as the English name of a barony. Secondly, O'Donovan noted that the Irish-

Morgallion ¹ in the same county. The Luigni and the Gailing were likewise neighbours in North Connacht, where their names survive as the baronies of Leyny (Co. Sligo) and Gallen (Co. Mayo). These western territories they doubtless got as a reward for the part they played, as fighting-men of the kings of Tara, in the Goidelic conquest of Connacht.

While *Luigni* and *Gailing* are purely Goidelic in form, *Luaigni* and *Gálioín* appear to be half-Iverníc, and are quite possibly based on the names these ancient septs gave themselves before they discarded their own dialect in favour of Goidelic. *Luigni* is the regular Irish development of **Luguniī* (cf. Ogam LUGUNI). *Luaigni* possibly stands for **Luaini*, in which the diphthong would represent the Iverníc development of *-ugu-*, the *g* being afterwards restored under the influence of the doublet *Luigni*.² *Gailing* I take to represent **Gaiso-lingī* or *-lengī*.³ Compare the names CORBALENGI, EVOLENGI (Ogam gen. IULENGE; Ir. *Eólaing*) in inscriptions in Wales, and the Irish names *Dúnlaing* (later *Dúnlang*), *Conlaing* (cf. the place-name *Cuil Chollainge*). *Gálioín* or *Gálion* (p. 22, n. 3) could well represent an Iverníc development of **Gaiso-ligones*, of which the second element might perhaps be explained as a dissimilated form of *-lingones*, identical with the Gaulish tribal name *Lingones*.

Similar in status to the Luigni and the Gailing were the Cianacht of Brega. In return for their military services against the Ulaid,

speakers of his own day 'corruptly' pronounced the barony-name as *Luibhne* (FM iii, 128, note p; Lr. na gCeart 186, note q). *Luibhne* might well be a local development of *Luighne* (cf. *tuibhe*, *eibheann*, dialectal forms of *tuighe*, *eidheann*), but it could hardly come from *Luaighne*.

¹ Morgallion represents *Machaire Gaileng*; cf. Rev. P. Walsh in MacNeill-Essays, 519. Most of the Co. Meath baronies (e.g. Kells, Navan, Slane) are creations of the English period, made at the expense of the earlier native territorial divisions; and the modern Lune and Morgallion represent only part of the ancient territories of the Luigni and the Gailing. Both these territories extended into the south-east of the present Co. Cavan; thus Loch Munremair (Lough Ramor) was *la Luigne*, LL 6 a 22, and Sliab Guaire (Slieve-Gorey) was *hi nGalengaib*, Féil. Oeng. p. 224 (cf. *Gailenga Slebe Guairi*, BB 195 a 6).

² Alternatively one might take *Luaigni* to be the Irish development of **Louguniī*, differing in ablaut from **Luguniī*. For the root *leug-* see Pedersen, V. G. i, 98. *Luaigne* occurs as a man's name in R 161 a 1, = LL 349 g. There is an unidentified place-name *Enach Luaigne*, Arch. Hib. i, 332. 11.

³ See p. 461.

the Cianacht were granted a territory in the north of Co. Dublin and the south of Co. Louth; and at a later period a section of them was similarly rewarded with a grant of land in Co. Derry (see pp. 95, 137). The genealogists made the Cianacht descend from Connla, son of Tadg, son of Cian, and Cian was represented as brother of Eógan, ancestor of the Eóganacht of Munster (p. 184). The Cianacht were thus provided with a respectable pedigree, which at the same time stamped them as *deoraid* or aliens, and stressed their inferiority in status to the rulers of the Midlands.¹

The genealogists, appropriately enough, link the Gailing and the Luigni with each other, and also with the Cianacht, by making them descend from Cormac Gaileng, who is represented as son of Tadg, son of Cian.² But, despite the genealogical doctrine, the non-Goidelic origin of the Luigni was not forgotten. The Luigni of Connacht are bluntly styled a *tuath aithech* in R 143 a 9; and the Luigni of Brega are included in the list of *aithechthuatha*.³ Their ultimate Ernean origin receives some corroboration from the fact that a sept called *Dál Luigne*, mentioned as forming part of the Dési of East Munster, is specifically said to be *di Érnaib*.⁴

¹ Conversely, and for similar reasons, the Dési of East Munster, vassal-allies of the Eóganacht, were provided with a pedigree which associated them with the Midlands and made them descend from a brother of Conn Cétchathach (p. 64).

² Cf. R 153 b 49-52.

³ RC xx, 337 (*tuatha Lughne*). In the longer list (Gen. Tracts pp. 73, 116, 118, 122) the *tuath Luigne* (so three mss; the fourth, BB, reads *tuath Luaigne*, a scribal error or emendation) are located in 'Brega, Loegaire. Ardgall, the two Delbnas, and Uí Mac Uais, as far as Tara, and from the Boyne estuary to the confluence of Clonard' (in the south-west corner of Co. Meath). The districts named cover the greater portion of Meath and part of Westmeath.

⁴ Ériu iii, 139; Y Cymmrodor xiv, 130. Worth noting, perhaps, is the mention of *fianna Luigne* in a pedigree of the Eóganacht: *Lóch Mār mac Ma-Femis a quo sunt Eoganachta 7 fianna Luigne*, R 149 a 42.

VI.—EARLY KINGS OF CONNACHT

IN the Ulidian tales Connacht is ruled by Ailill mac Máta, and by his more famous wife, Medb, daughter of Eochu Fedlech; and their place of residence is Cruachain (Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon). Medb was originally the goddess-queen of Tara, and had nothing to do with Cruachain or Connacht.¹ The belief that Eochu Fedlech, king of Tara, had bestowed the kingdom of Connacht on one of his daughters led to the further idea, which finds expression in the tract 'Senchas na Relec', that Connacht was a kind of dependency of the monarchy of Tara. The tract in question explains the supposed granting of the province of Connacht to Medb by saying that the descendants of Cobthach Coel Breg, i.e. the kings of Tara, had the province of Connacht as their own special demesne.²

Mac Firbis, in the preface to his Book of Genealogies, makes a courageous attempt to enumerate the kings of Connacht from the time of Medb down to the fifth century.³ His first king is a son of Ailill and Medb, by name Maine Aithremail. Other kings succeed in their turn. Mac Firbis goes on to tell us that Cormac ua Cuinn, king of Ireland, interfered in the succession, deprived the Gamanrad of the kingship of Connacht, and conferred it on a half-brother of his own, Nia mac Lugna. Subsequent kings are named, who are unconnected with Tara. Finally we are told that Muiredach Tírech, a descendant of Cormac, was king of Connacht 'in the time of the Collas' (nothing is said as to how this came about)⁴, and that when he subsequently became king of

¹ See p. 176, *supra*, and Ériu xiv, 15 f.

² LU 4080-4083. In the same tract we are told that down to the time of Crimthann Nia Náir the kings of Tara were buried in Cruachain (ib. 4070 ff., 4084).

³ Gen. Tracts pp. 88-97. Cf. O'Flaherty, Ogygia 277 f., 305, 315, etc.

⁴ The idea that Muiredach Tírech was ruler of Connacht 'in the time of

Ireland he gave the kingdom of Connacht to his son, Eochu Mugmedón, who, when he became king of Ireland in his turn, transferred the Connacht kingship to his son Niall Noígiallach. When Niall succeeded to the throne of Ireland, he gave Connacht to his four half-brothers, Brian, Fiachra, Ailill and Fergus¹.

All this attempt to fill the void in the history of Connacht in pre-Christian times is obviously worthless as history, and not least that part of it which represents three of the kings of Ireland (Muredach, Eochu, and Niall) as ruling in Connacht before they became kings of Tara. Mac Neill, however, accepts this part of it as sober history, and indeed goes much farther than Mac Firbis, for he assumes that, from the time of Cormac ua Cuinn (whose floruit he gives as 'A.D. 275-300') down to the death of Ailill Molt (in 482), 'the high kingship was filled from Connacht', i.e. the successive kings of Connacht were promoted from Connacht to Tara according as the throne of Tara became vacant. With this he links his theory of 'the eastern expansion of the Connacht power', which he supposes to have resulted in the conquest of Tara by the men of the western province (cf. pp 168 f., 265, *supra*). All this is mere fancy, without any historical basis. Of the kings who ruled in Connacht in pre-Christian times history knows nothing.

Even in the fifth and sixth centuries there is a great deal of uncertainty and confusion regarding the succession and genealogical affiliations of the kings of Connacht. Our most reliable information concerning them comes from the Annals². We have seen above (p. 211 ff.) that Nath Í (son of Fiachra), king of Connacht, died in 445. His son, Ailill Molt, became king of Ireland after Loegaire's death, and died in 482. The next king of Connacht, Dauí³ Teŋga Umai, was slain in the battle of Segais in 502. The other annalistic references to kings of Connacht in the sixth century are: death of Eógan Bél in the battle of

the Collas' was suggested to the author by the legend of the Collas getting aid from the Connachta against the Ulaid. See p. 326, *supra*.

¹ In 'Aided Crimthainn' Niall bestows the kingship of Connacht on Fiachra after the death of his brother, Brian (RC xxiv, 182).

² But it should be noted that a number of the entries in the annals in Rawl. B 488 (the so-called 'Annals of Tigernach') have obviously been interpolated, in whole or in part, from a list of the kings of Connacht, and to that extent have little or no historical value.

³ *Dauí*, Mid. Ir. *Duí*, *Dal*, tends in late mss. to be replaced by the genitive, *Duach*.

Slicech, 543 (or 547); death of Ailill Inbanda¹ in the battle of Cúl Conaire, 550; death of Aed, son of Eochu Tirmchárna, 577. The last-named (Aed) is also recorded (AU, etc.) as having fought on the side of the victors, the northern Uí Néill, in the battle of Cúl Dremne, A.D. 561, in which Diarmait mac Cerbaill, king of Ireland, was defeated.²

Another source of information is the lists of the kings of Connacht who reigned 'after the Faith' (i.e. after 431 or 432)³; but these lists are all comparatively late, and for the fifth and sixth centuries they are far from reliable and frequently contradict one another. Also in several of the lists⁴ we find duplications. Dauí, son of Brion⁵, appears first as Duí Galach and afterwards

¹ Occasionally *Ailill Banda*, as in LL 24 b 27, = Trip. Life 514.15. Meyer (Contr. 175) and Rev. Paul Walsh write *Ailill in Banda*, but such a use of the article would hardly accord with Irish idiom. Compare *Oilill Inbhanna*, Cóir Anmann § 148, *Oilill Anbhann* (sic), FF iii, 54. The victors in the battle of Cúl Conaire were the two sons of Muirchertach mac Erca (AU, Tig.; wrongly *clanna Fiachra* in the Bóroma tract, RC xiii, 84).

² In the year preceding this battle the slaying of King Aed's son, Cornán, by King Diarmait mac Cerbaill is recorded in Tig. and Chron. Scot. (but not in AU), and it is remarked that this was the cause, or one of the causes, of the battle. In AI, 10 c 16, the entry is abbreviated: *Mors Cairlain* (sic) *m. Aeda m. Echach*. Cf. further ZCP xiii, 7. 23-28; SG i, 79; Betha Colaim Chille (ed. O'Kelleher and Schoepperle), 178-180; FF iii, 86-88.

³ Six such lists have come down to us; they will be found in LL 41 a, ZCP ix, 482 f. (Laud 610), BB 57 a, BB 58 a (poem by Gilla-na-naem Ua Duinn, † 1160), ZCP ix, 462 (anonymous poem from R), ZCP xix, 86 ff. The last of these texts is a series of synchronisms edited by Thurneysen from D iv 3, Lec., and Rawl. B 512. Thurneysen has overlooked the fact that Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts etc.*, 18 ff., has printed extracts (relating to Scotland) from this text under the titles of 'Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach', and (p. 119) 'Continuation of Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach'. His sources were Edinburgh MS. xxviii, Lec., and Rawl. B 512. From Skene's remarks (*op. cit.* p. xxxi) we infer that the final section (no. ix) of Thurneysen's text occurs neither in the Edinburgh ms. nor in another copy (which Skene did not utilize) in Rawl. B 486. These two mss., as Skene says, give the synchronisms 'without the continuation', and terminate the Scottish section 'with Malcolm the Second, who died [in 1034] during the lifetime of Flann'.

⁴ A paper on 'Christian Kings of Connacht' by the late Rev. Dr. Paul Walsh, Jnrl. Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc. xvii, 124 ff. (1939), may be consulted in this connexion.

⁵ In Middle Irish, *Brian*. Cf. p. 233, n. 3.

as Duí Tenga Uma¹; and Eógan Bél² is sometimes provided with a successor called Eógan Srem³, son of Duí Galach.

The earliest historical king of Connacht is probably Nath Í, who died in 445 (see p. 211 f.). If his name does not appear in the lists of kings of Connacht 'after the Faith', the reason is that by the time these lists were being drawn up Nath Í had come to be regarded as Loegaire's predecessor in the kingship of Ireland, so that he was believed to have died in 427 or 428, i.e. some years 'before the Faith'.

In all the regnal lists, with one exception,⁴ the first king of Connacht 'after the Faith' is Amalgaid (Amolngaid), son of Fiachra, whose name is perpetuated in *Tír Amalgada*, 'Tirawley', the name of a barony in Co. Mayo. The date of Amalgaid's death is not known; the Four Masters' record of his death in 449 is, as we have seen (p. 212), merely an attempt on their part

¹ The historical Dauí succeeded Ailill Molt; the unhistorical Dauí is represented as succeeding a later namesake, Ailill Inbanda. Here we may mention that in a note in the genealogies of the Irish saints, LL 350 a 29-31, Dauí (here called *Dúí Galach Tenga Umaí*) is made 'son of Fergus, son of Muiredach, son of Brion'. With this the corresponding passage in BB, 220 a 39-41, agrees, except that it gives his name as *Duach Galach no Tenga Uma* and omits 'son of Brion'. The version in LB, 17 c *ad calc.*, runs: *Duach Galach Tengai Umaí m. Fergusua m. Muireadaig Mail m. Eogain Sreb*; while Lec. 43 a 1. 10-15 distinguishes two Dauís and reads: *Duach Tenga Umae m. Feargusa m. Muireadaig Mail m. Eogain Sreim m. Duach Galaig m. Briain*. In the regnal list in LL 41 a, Duí Galach and Duí Tenga Umae are included as separate individuals, but nothing is said as to their ancestry. In the list in BB 57 a-b each of the two Duachs is made son of Fergus, son of Muiredach Mál.

² Eógan Bél was very probably of the Uí Fhiachrach; but most of the regnal lists make him son of Dauí and thus attach him to the Uí Briuin (so LL; ZCP ix, 462, § 4; *Eogan m. Duach*, ib. 482. 34; ZCP xix, 86. 3). On the other hand Ua Duinn refers to him as *Eogan mac Cellaig* (BB 58 b 4), and elsewhere his pedigree is given more fully as Eógan Bél, son of Cellach, son of Ailill Molt (so BB 57 a 43; Betha Chellaig, SG i, 49; O'Donovan's Hy-Fiachrach, pp. 32, 312). The battle in which he fell is called 'the battle of the Uí Fhiachrach' (RC xvii, 137). In another place we find it stated that Eógan Bél was either son (*sic*) of Ailill Molt or son of Erc Caelbuidé, son of Fiachra (SG ii, 468. 37, from BB 107 b 25):

³ Eógan Bél was doubtless so called because of some deformity of the mouth or lips. Eógan Srem's epithet is similarly explained: *.i. sreng bai ina beolo*, Cóir Anmann § 294; *.i. rang* (v. l. *reng*) *beag bai 'na bhel*, Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1934, 109i

⁴ ZCP xix, 86. 1, which begins with Duí Galach.

to amend what they deemed to be an erroneous obit of Nath Í. Whether Amalgaid was ever actually king of Connacht is open to question; it is possible that his name may have been inserted in the regnal lists in the first instance as a substitute for that of his brother Nath Í.¹

Bury, in his *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 360-367, has a long, but, it must be confessed, quite futile, discussion of the kings of Connacht in the fifth and sixth centuries. He accepts the Four Masters' dating of the death of Amalgaid in 449 as approximately correct, and himself suggests, on utterly insufficient grounds, that Amalgaid reigned from 424-5 to 444-5. Amalgaid would thus have been king of Connacht in 432, the year in which (according to Bury) St. Patrick's missionary career began. Bury is troubled by the fact that, although Tírechán represents the saint as desirous of visiting the wood of Voclut (in Tír Amalgada) at the outset of his mission, Patrick does not at any time meet Amalgaid but only Amalgaid's sons. Hence Bury infers that Patrick was unable to fulfil his wish to revisit the wood of Voclut 'until after the lapse of thirteen or fourteen years',² i.e. until after the death of Amalgaid. But Bury's chronological difficulties are of his own creation. The saint who desired to visit *silva Vocluti* was Patricius the Briton, the author of the *Confessio*, whose missionary work in Ireland did not begin until after the death of Senex Patricius in 461; and the only inference that can legitimately be drawn from Tírechán's narrative, assuming it to be substantially historical, is that Amalgaid had died not long before (or, at latest, immediately after) the beginning of the mission of the later Patricius.

¹ No reliance, of course, can be placed on the varying numbers of years Amalgaid is said to have reigned, viz. 34 years, LL 41 a; 20 years, BB 58 a 39 (Ua Duinn); 9 years, BB 57 a 36. Mac Firbis, who assigns him a reign of 32 years, represents Amalgaid as the first Christian king of Connacht (O'Donovan's *Hy-Fiachrach*, 310); but this is no more than an inference from the occurrence of his name at the head of the list. In a tract in BB (Todd Lect. iii, 264) we find a curious medley of names of kings who were ruling 'when Patrick came to Ireland', viz., in addition to Amalgaid mac Fiachrach, king of Connacht, Muiredach Muinderg (see p. 402, n. 2), Loegaire († 462 or 463), Findchad mac Fraeich (*recte* Findchad mac Garrchon, † 485, or Fraech mac Findchada, † 495), and Oengus mac Nad Froich († 490).

² *Life of St. Patrick* 127. Bury, *ibid.*, invents a fanciful explanation of Patrick's alleged delay in revisiting Tirawley: 'It may be inferred, perhaps, that Amolngaid could not be persuaded to look with favour on the strange religion which his sons afterwards accepted'.

Mac Neill¹ dismisses Bury's arguments with the remark: 'Bury attaches too much evidential value to certain regnal lists of late provenance and to an entry for A.D. 449 in the Annals of the Four Masters'. If the name *Amalgaid m. Fiachrach* occurs at the head of the regnal list in Laud 610, which was 'drawn up in 742', this must be 'a scribal interpolation'. Amalgaid, Mac Neill suggests, can never have been king of Connacht, for otherwise Tírechán 'would not have kept silence about it'. According to Tírechán, when Patrick visited Cruacháin, the seat of the kings of Connacht, he met there the two daughters of King Loegaire;² but there is no mention of his having met there any king or other person of importance. Accordingly Mac Neill infers that 'Tírechán apparently held that Lóiguire was king of Cruacháin as well as king of Tara'. Hence Mac Neill now thinks it 'quite probable that the kingships of Cruacháin and Tara were held simultaneously by the same kings [from the time of Cormac mac Airt?] until the death of Ailill Molt', and he throws overboard his former theory that 'the high kingship was filled from Connacht'. Actually there is no evidence that any king ruled simultaneously in Cruacháin and Tara with the single exception of Ailill Molt.³

According to the regnal lists, Amalgaid was succeeded as king of Connacht by his nephew, Ailill Molt, son of Nath Í⁴. Ailill, as we know, became king of Ireland after the death of Loegaire mac Néill in 462 or 463, and he was defeated and slain in the

¹ Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1929, 4; and cf. Ériu xi, 24 f.

² *Rectius*, as I have elsewhere suggested ('The Two Patricks' 36 f.), the two daughters of Ailill Molt, Loegaire's successor.

³ Concerning Ailill Molt O'Curry writes: 'We know that he resigned the throne of Connacht for that of all Erin in 459' (MS. Materials 500). In fact we know nothing of the kind.

⁴ So all the regnal lists with two exceptions: (1) the synchronisms in ZCP xix, 86, which begin with Duí Galach, and (2) Laud 610, ZCP ix, 482, where the omission of Ailill's name is probably a mere scribal error, for Duach Tenga Umai who succeeds Amalgaid is assigned a reign of 19 years, which, as he was slain in 502, means that he began to reign in 483, i.e. immediately after the death of Ailill Molt. The length of Ailill's reign as king of Connacht is quite uncertain. LL 41 a makes it 20 years; BB 57 a, 40 (*xl*) years; Ua Duinn, 11 years (*aenbl- dec do na ri*, BB 58 a 40). There may have been confusion between *xl*, *xi*, and *xx*. Mac Firbis says that he was twenty years king of Connacht before he became king of Ireland for another 'twenty years' (O'Donovan's Hy-Fiachrach, 310). These figures, untrustworthy though they are, suggest that Ailill may have directly succeeded his father Nath Í on the latter's death in 445.

battle of Ocha, twenty years later, by a confederacy of the descendants of Niall, aided by the Lagen and the Dál nAraidi.¹

Ailill was succeeded as king of Connacht by Dauí Galach, otherwise known as Dauí Tenga Umái, to whom a reign of 19 or 20 years is assigned, and who was slain in 502. He was the first descendant of Brion to become king of Connacht², and his posterity gradually increased in power and eventually acquired a monopoly of the kingship. If we accept the general tradition that Dauí was son of Brion,³ we have no choice but to place Brion's floruit approximately in the period 450-470, despite the genealogical doctrine which makes Brion an elder brother of Niall Nofgiallach († 427). Tírechán in his memoir of St. Patrick represents the (unnamed) sons of Brion as dwelling at Selca⁴, near Tulsk, Co. Roscommon, a few miles to the south-east of Cruachain (Rathcroghan). It would appear that while Ailill Molt was ruling in Tara and was busy defending his throne, the sons of Brion took advantage of his absence to increase their power in the west, so that after Ailill had been defeated and slain

¹ In AU 482 the victors in the battle of Ocha are Lugaid, son of Loegaire, and Muirchertach mac Erca. Elsewhere two other names are joined to these, viz. Fergus Cerrbél, son of Conall Cremthainne, and Fiachra Lonn, king of Dál nAraidi (Chron. Scot. p. 28; AU 483, interpolated; Todd Lect. iii, 396; FF iii, 44). In the LL Chronicle the victors are the above four leaders together with Crimthann mac Énna, king of Lagen (LL 24 a-b, = Trip. Life 512). Other Leinster traditions attribute the slaying of Ailill Molt at Ocha to Crimthann mac Énna Chenselaig, and make no allusion to Lugaid or his allies (RC xiii, 52; ZCP viii, 118, § 27; O'Curry's MS. Materials, 484, 488; and cf. Plummer's Vitae SS. Hiberniae, i, 225. 6). Cf. the confused entry in AI, 10 a 14.

² He is *cēdrī cloindi Briain*, BB 58 a 46 (Ua Duinn).

³ So the genealogies and other texts, against the weight of whose evidence we can hardly set an isolated statement in Lec. that Duach Galach was son of Aengus Finn, son of Brian (Gen. Tracts 151), nor another note in LL 350 a, according to which the same Duach (Duf) was son of Fergus, son of Muiredach, son of Brion (see p. 398, n. 1). It is, however, somewhat disconcerting to find that in our earliest enumeration of Brion's sons, viz. that in the 'Vita Tripartita', there is no mention of Dauí, nor, for that matter, of Aengus or Muiredach (Trip. Life 106). In this text, as in Tírechán, Brion has six sons; but later their number was increased to twenty-four (Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1934, pp. 97-100), a fact which bears testimony to the continued inventiveness of the genealogists. Compare the twenty-four sons assigned to Nath Í (O'Donovan's Hy-Fiachrach, 32).

⁴ L. Ardm. fo. 12 b 2. 25. In Trip. Life 106 the name is given as *Mag Selce* and *Duma Selce*.

in Co. Meath in 482 one of them was in a position to seize the kingship of Connacht.

A tradition of uncertain date, preserved in BB, says that Echen, son of Brian, was king over Brian's sons when St. Patrick visited Connacht, and that of all Brian's sons only Duí Galach, the youngest, submitted to the saint, who accordingly prophesied (truly, as the event showed) that Duí would succeed Echen as king.¹ The compiler of the synchronisms in ZCP xix, 85 ff. appears to have been acquainted with some such tradition as this. In attempting to enumerate the provincial kings who were ruling 'when Patrick came to Ireland', after King Loegaire had been four years on his throne (i.e. in 431 or 432), this compiler made in most cases the mistake of assuming that those kings whom tradition represents as having been blessed by the saint were ruling their territories at the beginning of Patrick's mission. Accordingly he gives us to understand that in or about the year 432 Duí Galach was king of Connacht, Oengus mac Nad Froích king of Munster, and Muiredach Muinderg king of the Ulaid.²

O'Curry, in his *Manuscript Materials*, 500, discusses the date of Dauí Galach. Referring to Gilla-na-naem Ua Duinn's poem (BB 58) he says that it is stated therein, 'as a known historical fact, that from the death of Duach Galach to the date of the Battle of Seaghais, 79 years elapsed'; hence he infers that Dauí Galach died in 'A.D. 420, or at latest, A.D. 425', undeterred by the fact that the same poem makes him reign for twenty years after Ailill Molt (i.e. during the years 482-502). The quatrain in Ua Duinn's poem to which O'Curry alludes is as follows (BB

¹ *Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1934, 101 f. But in 'Aided Crimthainn', RC xxiv, 182, it is (not St. Patrick but) Brian who blesses his son Dui Galach, and prophesies that the kingship of Connacht will fall to him and his descendants.

² Actually Dauí died in 502, Oengus in 490. Tig. gives the obit of Muiredach Muinderg under the year corresponding to 490, but this seems to be an interpolation based on a regnal list of the kings of Ulaid. It is likely that Muiredach survived into the sixth century, for two of his grandsons, Démmán mac Cairill and Baetán mac Cairill died in 572 and 581, respectively (AU). Conell Ma Geoghagan, it may be noted, interpolated matter from these synchronisms in his translation of the *Annals of Clonmacnois*. See A. Clon., p. 69, where the above three kings are named as reigning when St. Patrick came to Ireland (an event for which Ma Geoghagan's date is A.D. 425). Contrast a tract in LB in which Duí Tenga Uma is said to have been reigning in Connacht in 493, the year of Patrick's death (Trip. Life 552).

58 b 2): *A secht o sein ro chuala | secht ndeich da bliadain buadha | co Seagais [read ó Shegais] in Coraind cain | co har Conaill is Eogain*, which simply means that 79 years elapsed from the battle of Segais (in 502) to 'the slaughter of Conall and Eógan', i.e. to the battle of Druimm Maic Erca fought in 580 or 581, in which the descendants of Conall defeated the descendants of Eógan—Colggu, grandson of Muirchertach mac Erca (the victor of Segais), being slain. Bury, who quotes Ua Duinn, falls into the same error as O'Curry, and infers that Duí, son of Brian, died 77 (*sic*) years before 502, i.e. in 425.¹

The early part of the Uí Briuin pedigree provides a further illustration of the corruptions and contradictions we are liable to find in the extant material relating to the Connacht of the fifth and sixth centuries. Uatu (who died, king of Connacht, in 601 or 602) is there represented as son of Aed Abrat, son of Eochu Tirmchárna, son of Fergus, son of Muiredach Mál, son of Eógan Srem, son of Duí Galach, son of Brian mac Echach Mugmedóin.² Now we know from the Annals that Eógan Bél (= Eógan Srem) died in 543 or 547, and that Aed Abrat died in 577, i.e. thirty or thirty-four years (say, a generation) later, whereas in the pedigree the names of these two kings are separated by no fewer than four generations. It is fairly obvious that three generations have been intruded into the pedigree at this point. There seems little doubt that Eógan Bél belonged to the Uí Fhiachrach; but, as we have seen, most of the regnal lists make him son of Dui, and so does the pedigree under his alias of Eógan Srem, the intention doubtless being to increase the importance of the dominant Uí Briuin in the early days when they were still inferior in power to the Uí Fhiachrach.³ Likewise Muiredach Mál (son of Eógan Srem) and his son Fergus are probably interpolations in the pedigree.⁴ In 'Betha Chellaig' we read of Muiredach, son of Eógan Bél, succeeding his father as head of the Uí Fhiach.

¹ Life of St. Patrick 365.

² R 145 e; LL 328 i.

³ So in a couple of texts of the Irish World-Chronicle we find Brian mac Echach Mugmedóin included among the kings of Ireland, his reign being intercalated after the reign of Crimthann mac Fidaig and before that of Niall Noígiallach (RC xviii, 389; Cottonian Annals, ib. xli, 317).

⁴ A possible alternative explanation would be to regard 'son of Fergus, son of Muiredach Mál' as misplaced in the pedigree, and to suppose that these two names should properly come between Dauí Galach and Brion. For this our only evidence is LL 350 a 29-31, quoted *supra*, p. 398 n. 1.

rach¹; and although the tale is far from being historical,² we may be justified in seeing in this Muiredach, descended from Fiachra, the original of the Muiredach Mál of the Uí Briuin genealogy. It is worth noting, too, that in the oldest extant versions of the genealogies of the kings of Bréfné, descended from Brion, the name of Muiredach Mál is omitted.³

The Uí Briuin first rose to power under Dauí Galach, 482-502. The next two kings after Dauí, viz. Eógan Bél and Ailill Inbanda, in all probability belonged to the Uí Fhiachrach; and it would appear that no other descendant of Brion attained the kingship of Connacht, until the accession of Aed mac Echach Tirmchárna († 577), who was succeeded by his son Uatu († 601 or 602). In the seventh century, and to a lesser extent in the eighth, not a few of the kings of Connacht belong to one or other branch of the Uí Fhiachrach; but from the ninth century onwards the kingship is reserved for the Uí Briuin alone.⁴

¹ SG i, 52. Ailill Inbanda, Eógan Bél's successor in the kingship, is usually described as Eógan's son; but in O'Donovan's *Hy-Fiachrach* he is son of Muiredach, son of Eógan Bél, p. 312, otherwise brother of Eógan Bél, p. 32.

² Thus it makes Eógan Bél's sons contemporary with Guaire mac Colmáin, who died in 663.

³ R 145 g 33-34, LL 338 f 48-49; = *Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1934, 230.

⁴ Cf. BB 57, where the scribe has distinguished the kings that were *d'Ib Fiachrach* from those that were *d'Ib Briuin*; and see the genealogical tables in Rev. Paul Walsh's article, mentioned on p. 397, n. 4.

VII.—‘ THE THREE CONNACHTS ’

THE name *Connacht(a)*, as we have seen (p. 173 f.), was originally synonymous with *Dál Cuinn* (or *Síl Cuinn*, *Clanna Cuinn*), i.e. the Midland Goidels and their offshoots in Ulster and Connacht; but at an early period it came to be reserved for those ‘descendants of Conn’ who had made themselves masters of the western province.

In early historical times we find these latter divided into three sections, known as *Uí Fhiachrach*, *Uí Briuin*, and *Uí Ailella*, descended from *Fiachra*, *Brion*, and *Ailill*, respectively, whom the genealogists represent as three sons of *Eochu Mugmedón* (p. 221). The *Uí Fhiachrach* and *Uí Briuin* were spread widely through the province, and from them come the historical kings of Connacht. On the other hand, the *Uí Ailella*, who were settled in *Tír Aillela* (*Tirerrill*, Co. Sligo), seem never to have attained much importance. Over a long period the name *Connachta* was in strict usage reserved for these three tribes,¹ who were accordingly known as *teóra Connachta*, ‘the three divisions of the Connachta’. This expression is of fairly frequent occurrence in the Annals, from the eighth to the early tenth century, as when *Conchobar, rex teora Connacht* (= king of Connacht), is recorded as having died in 882 (AU).²

¹ Hence we are told that the *Calraige* and the *Luigni* (of Co. Sligo) ‘are not reckoned as *Connachta*’ (*nisfil i n-arim Connacht*, R 143 a 10), unlike the *Uí Ailella*, who descend from a brother of *Brian* and *Niall*. (The *nisfil* of the following line, R 143 a 11, is a scribal error for *atát*, as Rev. Dr. Paul Walsh has pointed out, *Jrnl. Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.* xviii, 125.)

² Other instances in AU *s. aa.* 771, 792, 824, 899; *Chron. Scot.* 703, 924. Dr. Paul Walsh (*loc. cit.*), adopting a suggestion of *Hennessy’s* (AU i, 269 n.), misinterprets *dux na trí sloinnté*, AU 789, as meaning king of the three Connachts: ‘In the year 790,’ he writes, ‘a *dux* or king of the Three Septs was slain while leading the *Uí Ailella* against *Luigni*’. Actually the entry records that the *Luigni* were defeated by the *Uí Ailella*, and that *Dub-dá-thuath, dux na trí sloinnté*, was slain. This *Dub-dá-thuath* was chief of the *Luigni* of Connacht, who were in three divisions. Cf. *na trí Luighne*,

The Uí Ailella eventually, at some unrecorded date,¹ lost their independence, and their territory was appropriated by the neighbouring Uí Briuin. In 'Leabhar na gCeart' the *saer-thuatha* of Connacht are the Uí Briuin and Uí Fhiachrach (and their subdivisions); the Uí Ailella are not mentioned. Once they had been overrun by the Uí Briuin, the Uí Ailella could no longer be regarded as constituting one of 'the three Connachts'. Hence in a Lecan version of L.G. 'the three Connachts' are enumerated as *Ui Briuin Brefne 7 Ui Muiredaig 7 Ui Fhiachrac* (Lec. fo. 285 b l. 34), where, in order to make up for the elimination of the Uí Ailella, the two chief branches of the Uí Briuin, viz. the Uí Briuin of Bréfne and the Síl Muiredaig, are named along with the Uí Fhiachrach.²

Elsewhere, in Rawl. B 502, we find the Uí Ailella replaced by the Uí Maine, who originally were not Connachta at all (see p. 197 f.).³ Thus we are told in a genealogical tract that the

Tadhg Dall (ITS xxii), 232, § 21; *Lai a quo na tri Luighni la Connachtaib*, Lec. fo. 222 a 2. 40. From the fact that the name of Tadhg mac Conchobair, who died *rex teora Connacht* in 900 (AU etc.), is omitted in the list of Connacht kings in LL 41 a-b, Hennessy erroneously inferred that the kingship of 'the three Connachts' did not extend to the entire province (AU i, 415, n. 10); and following this suggestion Dr. Walsh writes (*op. cit.* 134) that 'BB 93 a 25 makes a distinction between *Connachta uili* and *Teora Connachta*'. Actually *airdrih for Teora Connachta*, BB 93 a 23-24, means exactly the same thing as *rih for Connachtaibh uili*, ib. ll. 24-25. Cf. LL 276 b 6.

¹ Ninth or tenth century? The last reference to the Uí Ailella in AU is s. a. 792.

² It was probably some such enumeration as this that caused, at a late period, the territory of Bréfne, i.e. the counties of Leitrim and Cavan, to get the name *Garbthrian Connacht*, 'the rough third-part of Connacht' (Ann. Connacht 1416, 1419; AU ii, p. 266 n.). Cf. A. Clon. p. 122, where Conell Ma Geoghagan defines 'the rough third part of Connaught' as 'the 2 Brenyes and Analey', i.e. the counties of 'Leytrym, Longford, and Cavan'.

³ In Lr. na gCeart, 106, the Uí Maine are among the tribes that are bound to pay tribute to the King of Connacht; but the author tries to mitigate the inferiority of their status by saying that the tribute is imposed, not upon the Uí Maine, but upon their land. He makes a similar apology when enumerating the tribute due from the Luigni and the Delbna. As these two tribes were of Munster origin according to the genealogists, and as the Uí Maine had a traditional friendship with the Eóganacht (cf. O'Donovan's Hy-Many, 92) and the Dál Cais, we shall probably not be wrong in inferring that this poem on the dues of the King of Connacht was composed by a Munsterman.

pedigrees of the Uí Néill and ‘ the two Connachts ’ join that of ‘ the third Connacht, i.e. the Uí Maine ’ at Fiachu Sraibhtine.¹ So we read elsewhere that the Uí Maine were regarded as occupying a third of the province of Connacht.²

We have seen (p. 12 f.) that the phrase *Fir Ól nÉcmacht* was preserved in early Irish as a name for the inhabitants of the western province in pre-Goidelic times, i.e. before they were conquered by the Connachta. Later this old name was gradually forgotten, and we find writers referring to the pre-Goidelic inhabitants of the west as *senChonnachta* or *senChonnachtaig*, ‘ the ancient Connachta ’.³ We have seen (p. 175) how the name *Connachta* came to be applied by the authors of the Ulidian tales to the early inhabitants of the western province; and this use of the name provided ample justification for using *senChonnachta* in a similar sense. So it is not surprising to find the tripartite division of the historical Connachta transferred along with their name to their prehistoric predecessors. The late Ulidian tale ‘ Cath Airtig ’ tells of ‘ the three Connachts ’ (*teora Connachta*) mustering against the Ulaid, and names them as Fir Domnann, Fir Chraíbe, and Tuatha Táiden.⁴

Mac Neill at one time held that ‘ the three Connachts ’ were ‘ a small race-group in the north of Connacht, probably the remnant of a race which dominated the region and gave a name

¹ *Oc Fiachaig Sraibhtine condrecaat .H. Neill 7 in dⁱ Chonnacht arrubrammar frisín tres Connacht .i. fri hU Maine*, R 142b–143a. So *ibid.*, 146 g 56, the scribe speaks of his having set forth the genealogies of Síol Cuinn, including those of *na teora Connachta*, and from the preceding page we see that he interprets this expression as meaning the Uí Briuin, the Uí Fhiachrach, and the Uí Maine.

² O’Donovan’s *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, pp. 62, 64 n.

³ For examples of *senChonnachta(ig)* see Rev. P. Walsh in *Jrnl. Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.* xviii, 126. Dr. Walsh, *ibid.* 125, suggests that the Uí Briuin, Uí Fhiachrach and Uí Ailella usurped the name *Connachta*, which properly belonged to the earlier population whom they subdued. This idea can be rejected without hesitation; its only basis is the popular view, derived from ‘ Táin Bó Cualnge ’ and from pseudo-history, that the Connachta of Cruachain were at war with the Ulaid about the beginning of the Christian era.

⁴ Ériu viii, 176; and cf. Mac Firbis in *Gen. Tracts* 97, and O’Flaherty, *Ogygia* 175. ‘ Cath Airtig ’ was intended as a sequel to BDC, and the mention in it of ‘ the three Connachts ’ was probably inspired by a passage in BDC (quoted *supra*, p. 101, n. 2), in which the Fir Chraíbe take the place of the Uí Maine as ‘ one of the three Connachts ’.

to it before its settlement by Brian and Fiachra' (Ériu iii, 48 f.).¹ Later, under the influence of his theory of the expansion of 'the Connacht power' over the northern half of Ireland, he suggested that the original *teóra Connachta* consisted of 'the kingdom of Connacht, the Airgialla, and the territory of the descendants of Niall (Uí Néill)'.² Neither of these views has any justification.

¹ See p. 407, n. 3.

² Phases of Ir. History 130. The Airgialla had not the slightest claim to be called *Connachta*, a fact which was well understood in early Ireland; notwithstanding the genealogy which was manufactured for them. The original *Connachta* ('descendants of Conn'), before their name became restricted to those of them who had settled in the western province, were in three divisions, viz., the Midland Goidels, together with their offshoots in Connacht and Ulster (p. 405). Hence it is possible, though not provable, that the expression *teóra Connachta* had at an early period been applied to these three divisions, before it acquired the restricted sense which it has in extant documents.

VIII.—‘ THE EARLIEST IRISH HISTORIES ’

FOR the history of Ireland during the centuries immediately following the mission of Palladius (A.D. 431) our most authentic sources are the Annals, the bulk of the entries in which go back to contemporary records. These were first entered on the margins or blank spaces of Paschal tables (p. 235), and at a later period evolved into monastic chronicles in which events of special interest to the community were briefly noted as they occurred. We have seen that several such chronicles (including one from Iona) were collected into one in an East Ulster monastery *ca.* 730-740, and that this compilation is embodied in AU and other extant annals. We also possess some early native Patrician documents, in particular Tírechán's Memoir of St. Patrick and Muirchú's Life (both dating approximately from the last decade of the seventh century), as well as the later 'Vita Tripartita'; but the material in these is mainly legendary, and their value for fifth-century history is consequently restricted. The famous 'Vita Columbae' by Adamnan († 704) must not be overlooked, though it is mainly concerned with Scotland. The genealogies, too, deserve mention, though for the fifth and sixth centuries they are not always reliable.

Mac Neill has been singularly unfortunate in his attempts to identify and date our anonymous early historical documents, whose age he constantly exaggerates, sometimes to the extent of hundreds of years. Thus he makes Tírechán the author not only of the 'Notulae'¹ in the Book of Armagh, but also of the 'Vita Tripartita' 'in its original form'². The original form of the 'Vita Tripartita' Mac Neill would determine by the simple method of excising from it all those passages which appear to him to tell against Tírechán's authorship, and in particular 'a

¹ L. Ardm. fo. 18 b, 2; cf. Thes. Pal. ii, 364 f., Trip. Life (ed. Stokes), 348-351. These 'Notulae' are brief memoranda referring to incidents in a lost Life of St. Patrick, akin to, but by no means identical with, the 'Vita Tripartita'.

² Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1929, pp. 2, 15; Ériu xi, 2.

number of passages having reference to events of later date than Tírechán' (Ériu xi, 5). Thus he asserts that the verses concerning Dúngalach, whose floruit would be in the second half of the eighth century¹, are 'evidently an interpolation' (ib. p. 8); but, unfortunately for his arguments, he has overlooked the fact that the same 'interpolation' is plainly indicated in the 'Notulae'², the authorship of which he likewise mis-ascribes to Tírechán. A discussion of the 'Vita Tripartita' and of its relation to Tírechán's Memoir and other documents would be out of place here³, but will appropriately form part of the *Quellenkritik* of my detailed study of the Patrician question, if ever I get sufficient leisure to prepare it for press. It will suffice to say that there is not a shadow of doubt that the 'Vita Tripartita' was not compiled before the second half of the ninth century⁴. If a reference in it (ed. Stokes, p. 196) to Cenn nGécán, otherwise called Finguine, king of Cashel from 895 to 901, is a genuine part of the text, the date of its composition would lie within those years; but if, as seems to me more probable (for reasons into which I need not now enter), the sentence in which this reference occurs is a later addition, then the date of the 'Vita Tripartita' would be about a generation earlier.

The hymn *Génair Pátraic i nNemthur*, commonly known as Fiacc's Hymn, is by Mac Neill attributed to Aed, bishop of Sléhte, who died in 700⁵. But linguistic considerations point to its being composed *ca.* 800⁶, and other evidence, which I must pass over here, would harmonize with such a date.

We have already noted that the BB-Lec. list of *aithechthuatha* was, according to Mac Neill, composed 'in the eighth century at latest' (see above, p. 215).

Mac Neill enumerates what he calls 'the earliest Irish histories' as follows⁷: (a) the Irish 'Chronicon Eusebii', composed A.D.

¹ Dúngalach was 'grandson of Nad Froích' (Trip. Life 214. 3), who was son of Colgu († 678).

² *Dungalach*, Thes. Pal. ii, 365. 30, = Trip. Life 351. 7.

³ On p. 240, n. 1, I have had occasion to call attention to a passage in the 'Vita Tripartita' in which the compiler has misinterpreted Tírechán.

⁴ On the date of the 'Vita Tripartita' cf. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick* 269 f., and especially Dr. K. Mulchrone, ZCP xvi, pp. 1-5.

⁵ Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1928, 18.

⁶ Cf. Stokes and Strachan, Thes. Pal. ii, p. xxxviii.

⁷ Cf. ZCP x, 96.

607; (b) its continuation, the 'Old Irish Chronicle', A.D. 712; (c) the BB-Lec. synchronistic tract of A.D. 721; and (d) the synchronistic regnal lists in Laud 610, compiled in A.D. 742. Not one of these is authentic.

Mac Neill's theory of an early-seventh century Irish adaptation and continuation of the Chronicle of Eusebius has as its sole basis a misinterpretation of a misdated entry in the Irish annals; see above, p. 249 ff. The bulk of this alleged Irish chronicle modelled on Eusebius admittedly consists of what I have called (p. 253) the Irish World-Chronicle, which began with Adam and ended with A.D. 430. While this Chronicle of events before the advent of Palladius is but little concerned with Ireland, it gives special prominence to the kings of Emain, from its foundation by Cimbaeth to its destruction by the Collas. It is clear that its compiler accepted the genealogists' contention that the ancient Ulaid, the rulers of Emain, were identical with the later Dál nAraidi; and this fact alone would suffice to prove that the Chronicle cannot have been compiled before the latter half of the eighth century (see p. 349 f.).

A Middle-Irish synchronistic tract¹, edited from BB 9a by Bartholomew Mac Carthy in Todd Lect. iii, 278-286, was by its editor believed (on utterly insufficient grounds) to have been composed 'towards the close of the sixth century' (ib. 245; AU iv, p. cix). Mac Neill at one time accepted Mac Carthy's view of the dating of this tract²; but he later realized that the tract 'is based, largely but not wholly', on what Stokes has termed the First and Second Fragments of the Annals of Tigernach (i.e. the Irish World-Chronicle)³. He still, however, holds that 'in its original form' it was composed about A.D. 600, and was identical with his imaginary Irish 'Chronicon Eusebii'⁴.

In 1056, the last year of his life, Flann Mainistrech, drawing upon Bede's Chronicle, composed a versified list (beginning *Réidig dam, a Dé do nim, co hémig a n-innisin*) of the 'kings of the world' down to the ninth year of the reign of the Emperor Leo III, the

¹ It covers the period from Adam to the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland, and is mostly occupied with foreign events. Three of the 'invasions' of Ireland are introduced, and the kings of Emain are enumerated from Cimbaeth to Conchobar mac Nessa. Only two of the kings of Tara are mentioned: Cormac and Loegaire.

² Proc. R.I.A. xxviii C. pp. 142, 144.

³ Ériu vii, 110.

⁴ Celtic Ireland 27 f.

point at which Bede's work comes to an end, i.e. the year 725.¹ Flann, however, made a serious chronological error in equating the final year of Bede's Chronicle with the year 712, and in consequently calculating that 344 (instead of 331) years had elapsed since its composition. See for all this Thurneysen, ZCP x, pp. 269 ff., 396 f. The source of Flann's error was an interpolated entry in a text of Irish annals of the 'Clonmacnois' type, in which the composition of Bede's Chronicle was erroneously assigned to the year we now know as A.D. 712. So in Tig., p. 223 (= A.D. 712), we read: *In hoc anno féicit Béda librum magnum .i. Berba Béid*, and in A. Clon., p. 112 (where the translator gives the date as 710): *This year venerable Bede finnished his Chronicles*².

This entry regarding Bede's composition of his *liber magnus* (i.e. his *De Temporum Ratione*, in which was included his Chronicle) was inserted in AU s. a. 711 by a later hand (see p. 247). Mac Neill infers from it that a copy of Bede's earlier work, *De Temporibus*, completed in 703, 'reached Ireland in 712' (Ériu vii, 76 f.), and on this erroneous deduction he bases his theory of an 'Old-Irish' Chronicle' compiled in or about that year.

According to Mac Neill, Flann Mainistrech's poem *Rédig dam a Dé do nim* was based on an Irish prose synchronistic tract incorporated piecemeal in certain versions of Lebor Gabála (BB 21 b; Lec. 1 a 1), and this prose tract had been translated into Irish by the same Flann from a Latin original which 'was written in the year 721' (Proc. R.I.A. xxviii C, 123 ff.). Actually there was no Latin original, apart from Bede's Chronicle, and the tract in question is an attempt by some writer after Flann's time to synchronize Irish events with the data provided by Flann's poem.

It remains to consider the 'Laud Synchronisms' published by Meyer in ZCP ix, 471-485. These were transcribed in 1454

¹ Cf. *In hoc anno composuit Beda suum magnum opus, hoc est, in nono anno Leonis*, Three Frags. 56 (= A.D. 728). Leo III reigned from 717 until his death in 740; but the wording of the reference to him in Bede's Chronicle, *Leo an. viiii*, lent itself to being misinterpreted by the inexpert as meaning that he reigned nine years in all. Hence in Three Frags. we find the entries *Leo imperat annis ix*, p. 20 (= A.D. 720), and *Leo Aug. moritur*, p. 54 (= A.D. 728). Similarly Tig., p. 219, has *Leo annis ix regnavit*, which is entered under the year corresponding to A.D. 705 (instead of 717; see the next note).

² The records of not a few other foreign events, borrowed from Bede's Chronicle by an interpolator who inserted them under wrong years, are similarly antedated 12 or more years in Tig. Two examples have been quoted *supra*, p. 247, n. 2.

from the ms. (no longer extant) known as 'The Psalter of Cashel' (*Saltair Chaisil*) into the ms. now preserved in the Bodleian Library and known as Laud 610. The matter falls naturally into two sections. In the first section we have a list of the alleged kings of Ireland in pagan times, beginning (fo. 112 a) with those of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann, and terminating (fo. 114 b) with the fourth year of King Loegaire, i.e. 431 or 432. In this section the kings of Ireland are synchronized with foreign rulers, e.g. the kings of Assyria, the Roman emperors, and the early Popes. The names of the successive rulers of the various kingdoms were given synchronistically in parallel columns, the length of the reign being given after each name; but the fifteenth-century copyist has preserved the columnar synchronization only in part¹. In the second section, from A.D. 431/2 on, foreign events are excluded, and the kings of Ireland are synchronized with other Irish rulers. We have here eight regnal lists, comprising (A) the kings of Ireland, (B) the coarbs of Patrick, and the kings of (C) Munster, (D) Dál nAraidi, (E) Mide, (F) Connacht, (G) Ailech, and (H) Ulaid. The synchronistic columnar arrangement is preserved only on fo. 115 a, where A, B, and C are brought down to Domnall mac Murchada († 763), Céle Petair († 758), and Cathassach († ca. 759²), respectively. On folios 115 b and 116 a-b the scribe once more abandons synchronization and we get merely detached lists in some disorder. First come D, which is brought down to Inrechtach³, and E, which is brought down to Domnall mac Murchada († 763). Then A, B, and C are resumed and are continued down to 1022, 1020 and 1014, respectively. Finally we have F, brought down to Fergus mac Cellaig († 756), G to Aed Ollán († 743), and H to Bressal mac Aeda († 750). Immediately after this comes a note by the scribe to the effect that he has now transcribed all that he could find 'in the old book, i.e. the *Saltair* of Cashel', and that everything that is missing from the end of his transcript will be found completed in an earlier part of it (*cach nī nach fuil 'na dered atā 'na lār nō 'na tosach a comlinad*, ZCP ix, 485)⁴.

¹ viz. on folios 113, 114, 115 a. The matter on fo. 112 is in great disorder, due to the transcriber's carelessness. See Mac Neill's reconstruction of it, ZCP x, 87-89.

² Cathassach is assigned a reign of 17 years, and succeeds Cathal mac Finguine, who is known to have died in 742.

³ Obit unknown. His successor (according to LL 41 e 31) was Cathassach mac Ailella, who died in 749.

⁴ Of this Laud tract we have another recension, minus the synchroniza-

We thus find in Laud 610 three regnal lists brought down to the early eleventh century, and five others which break off in the eighth century at dates varying from 743 to 763. The scribe's note at the end shows that he was aware that the regnal lists were left uncompleted at this point, and he gives us to understand that he has already transcribed the remainder of them elsewhere in his ms. His exemplar, 'the old book', was evidently in a state of dilapidation, and some of its leaves were loose or misplaced. If the continuation of these lists is not now to be found in Laud 610, its absence is no matter for surprise, for the fifteenth-century ms. has in its turn suffered from the wear and tear of time, and has lost many of its folios¹.

In his discussion of the date of 'the Laud Synchronisms' (ZCP x, 90 ff.) Mac Neill tacitly assumes that the regnal lists of the lost *Saltair Chaisil* have come down to us intact in Laud 610. 'The date of the compilation of the Laud tract is established by the terminal reigns of the dynasties', and the known dates of these reigns 'suffice to show that the document was compiled about the middle of the eighth century', though three of the lists were for some reason 'continued by a later redactor down to the beginning of the eleventh century' (ib. 92). This view is superficial and untenable.

If we suppose that the regnal lists were compiled 'about the

tions and the lists of foreign rulers, in the series of regnal lists in LL 39-42. The pre-Christian part is here compressed into a single column (39 a). After enumerating the kings of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann, the scribe begins a list of the 'Milesian' kings of Ireland, but immediately breaks off with the remark that these kings have been already named in the *Lebor Gabála* that precedes. The lists of kings 'after the Faith' begins with the kings of Lagen, after whom come successively the kings of Uí Chenselaig, Uí Fhailge, and Osraige. (These four lists have no counterpart in the Laud tract, though one may reasonably suppose that, in its complete state, it included at least a list of the kings of Lagen.) Next come the kings of Connacht, Ulaid, Dál nAraidi, Uisnech (= Mide), and finally the coarbs of Patrick (42 c). The scribe omits the list of the kings of Munster because, as he remarks in a note on p. 39 a, he has given such a list among the genealogies (= LL 320 a). After each regnal list there is a blank space left for continuing the succession. The various lists are brought down to the second half of the twelfth century; in one instance the final entry is not earlier than 1201.

¹ John O'Donovan writes concerning Laud 610: 'It is quite evident from the notices in this ms. that the *Saltair Chaisil* was not then [i.e. in 1454] perfect, and that even of what was then transcribed from it the Bodleian ms. contains but a small fragment' (Book of Rights p. xxxiii).

middle of the eighth century', and reject the continuations as subsequent additions, there is no date to which all the lists can be assigned. Thus the terminal reign in *A* is from 743 to 763, in *B* from 750 to 758, in *G* from 722 to 743. In *G* the last name is *Aed Ollán*, whereas the same *Aed Ollán* is second-last in *A*. Mac Neill can only discover a date for them (1) by eliminating the terminal reigns in *A*, *B*, *C*, which he assumes to have been inserted by 'a later redactor', and (2) by similarly eliminating, as due to 'later revision', the lengths of the terminal reigns and such other notices as suggests that the rulers in question were not alive when the lists were being compiled, as when Fergus mac Cellaig († 756) is stated to have reigned 13 years and to have died 'in pilgrimage', or when Aed Ollán († 743) is stated to have been slain in the battle of Mag Sered. By means of these arbitrary excisions Mac Neill fixes the date of compilation as 742¹.

But, apart from other considerations, such as the scribal colophon (which Mac Neill ignores), the internal evidence of the lists themselves shows plainly that they were *not* compiled in 742 or at any time near that date. Thus the list of the kings of Connacht ends in its present state with the following names (I add the years of their deaths from AU): *Cathal* († 735) *m. Muiredaig*; *Domnall* († 728) *m. Cathail, u.*; *Indrechtach* († 724) *m. Muiregaid* (sic), *.xvii.*; *Aed Balb* († 742), *.viii.*; *Fergus* († 756) *m. Cellaig, .xiii.* Here we find a serious misplacement in the order of succession, and the same error recurs in the corresponding list in LL 41a.² Instead of *Cathal*, *Domnall*, *Indrechtach*, the historical order is *Indrechtach*, *Domnall*, *Cathal*. Also *Domnall's* paternity is incorrectly stated; he was son of *Cellach* (AU 727; Tig. p. 234; A. Clon. p. 114; AI 12 f 13; LL 25 a, = Trip. Life 518)—not *mac Cathail*³, 'son of *Cathal*', which has been carelessly borrowed from the *Cathal mac Muiredaig* that precedes.

¹ ZCP x, 93. Elsewhere he writes: 'The oldest regnal lists known to us are those of Laud 610 . . . These were drawn up in 742' (Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1929, 4); 'The Laud Synchronisms [were] drawn up originally in the year 742' (Studies 1943, 312).

² This misplacement was copied into later lists. In the synchronisms in ZCP xix, the names of *Cathal*, *Domnall* and *Indrechtach*, p. 90, are erroneously repeated p. 92. This may well be the source of the similar erroneous duplication in the metrical list in R (ZCP ix, 464, §§ 13-16). In *Ua Duinn's* poem the order is likewise *Cathal*, *Domnall*, *Indrechtach*, after whom the name of *Cathal* alone is repeated (BB 58 b 51). In the BB prose list, on the other hand, the order is *Cathal*, *Indrechtach*, *Domnall*, and there is no repetition (ib. 57 b 28-31).

³ So also in LL 41 a. Similarly *Domnall* is *mac Cathail* in all the lists

The list of kings of Ulaid ends with the names: *Cū Chuarān m. Dūngaile*; *Aed Rōin, .xxxi.*; *Bressal m. Aeda, bliadain*. Aed Rōin was slain in 735 (AU 734, Tig. p. 238); his son Bressal, who reigned 'one year', was slain in 750 (AU 749). Here we have an apparent interregnum of 14 years, the reason for which becomes apparent when we turn to the corresponding list in LL 41 c, and note that Bressal mac Aeda is there succeeded by Cathassach mac Ailella, to whom is assigned a reign of *xui* (recte *xiiii*) years. As Cathassach was slain in 749 (AU, Tig.), we may take it that the order of succession was deranged at this point, and that the correct order was Cú Chuaráin († 708), Aed Rōin († 735), Cathassach († 749),¹ Bressal († 750).²

In the list of kings of Mide the latest names are: *Diarmait m. Airmedaig* († 689), *.xxxviii.*; *Murchad m. Diarmata* († 715), *.xx.*; *Diarmait, Airmedach, Aed 7 Cholgu, .u.*; *Domnall m. Murchada* († 763), *.xlvii.* The list in LL 42 a substantially agrees. For *Diarmait Airmedach* LL has *Dermaid 7 Airmedach*; these names appear to be corruptions of *Diarmait m. Airmedaig*, which would be merely a blundering repetition of the name of the king who was slain in 689. The introduction of the names of Aed and Colgu is like-

mentioned in the last note, a fact which reveals how dependent they ultimately are on a version of the list preserved in LL and partly in Laud 610. The name of a later king of Connacht, Tadg mac Conchobair († 900), is omitted in LL 41 b, and the same omission occurs in the synchronisms in ZCP xix and in the metrical list in R, but not in Ua Duinn's poem or the prose list in BB.

¹ Cathassach is styled *rex* (or *ri*) *Cruithne* in AU and Tig., and his name duly appears in the list of kings of Dál nAraidi in LL 41 e. The kings of the Dál nAraidi (otherwise called Cruithni) were, as we have seen (p. 347 f.), occasionally acknowledged to be kings of Ulaid. Mac Neill appears to suggest that this was due to the Dál nAraidi being 'confused by many writers' with the Ulaid (ZCP x, 91 f.), and he takes it for granted (ib. 94) that Bressal succeeded his father as *ri Ulad* in 736. He overlooks the fact that Cú Chuaráin, Aed Rōin's predecessor, belonged (like Cathassach, Aed Rōin's successor) to the Dál nAraidi. That various writers, foremost among them Mac Neill himself (*supra*, p. 352), have 'confused' the Dál nAraidi and the Ulaid may be conceded; but the insertion of Cathassach's name among *rig Ulad* is far from being an instance of such confusion.

² In ZCP xix, 89, Bressal's brief reign is omitted, as it also possibly is in a metrical list in R 166 b 1, which, however, is hardly legible at this point. Another metrical list, BB 53 a 20-26, agrees with LL in the names and the order of succession: Cú Chuaráin (2 years), Aed Rōin (30 years), Bressal mac Aeda (1 year), Cathasach (16 years).

wise an error; they were both slain in the battle of Bile Tened in 714 (AU 713), a year before the death of Murchad¹.

These various blunders with regard to the names and succession of kings who reigned in the first half of the eighth century make it clear that these regnal lists were drawn up, not about the middle of that century, but much later. Some of these difficulties in the way of accepting the date he suggests, 742, Mac Neill simply ignores; others he tries unconvincingly to explain away. On the ground that the list of Munster kings in LL 320 a 'does not include the name of Tnúthgal', successor of Artrí mac Cathail, Mac Neill says that 'it seems probable that the compiler of the list in LL, though he possessed a version of the Laud synchronism, did not find in it the continued sections after A.D. 750' (ZCP x, 94 n.). This reasoning is quite mistaken. In the LL list Artrí is succeeded by Tuathal mac Artrí, where *Tuathal* is simply a scribal miswriting of *Tnúthgal*.

The language of the Laud Synchronisms (which, except for two sentences in Latin, are wholly in Irish) shows no traces of having been written down in the eighth century. Mac Neill does not comment on this fact, but he doubtless had it in mind when he suggests that 'the original tract must have been written mainly in Latin'.

Some other marks of lateness may be briefly mentioned. The first five bishops of Armagh in the Laud Synchronisms, and also in LL 42 c, are Pátraic, Sechnall, Senphátraic, Benén and Iarlaithe. The second and third of these names are late accretions, and were apparently unknown (as bishops of Armagh) to the compiler of the Ulster Chronicle, who doubtless had before him a list supplied by the Armagh community, for in AU 481 Iarlaithe is described as *tertius episcopus Ard Machai* (sic)². In the synchronisms dealing with pre-Christian Ireland we find certain mythical kings (descended from Ír, according to the genealogists), such as Ollam Fótlá, described as 'of the Ulaid' (*d'Ultaib*). This suggests plainly that the compiler accepted the genealogists' view that the ancient Ulaid were descended from Ír.

¹ Flann Mainistrech, as Mac Neill points out (ZCP x, 95; and cf. Arch. Hib. ii, 84, § 20), follows a version of the LL-Laud list in treating Diarmait, Airmedach, Aed and Colgu as four kings of Mide who succeeded Murchad. According to Flann and LL 42 a, all four of them fell in the battle of Bile Tened. Laud 610 is silent as to the manner of their death.

² So the chronicle appended to L.G. records *Quies Benigni secundi episcopi*, and *Quies Iarlathi tertii episcopi*, LL 24 b, = Trip. Life 512 (where *sancti*, l. 15, is to be emended). See my lecture on 'The Two Patricks', 65 f.

The basis of the Laud 610 tract consists of (A) a list of the kings of pagan Ireland, beginning with those of the Fir Bolg, (B) a list of the kings of Ireland 'after the Faith', (C) lists of kings of the Irish provinces and other important states 'after the Faith', and (D) a list of the coarbs of Patrick (abbots of Armagh). This is very much what we find in LL 39-42. The names in A and B were extracted from Lebor Gabála (in its expanded form)¹; those in B were also to be found in the Annals. The simple regnal lists, as in LL 39-42, came first; the synchronizing, as in the original of Laud 610, later. The kings of pagan Ireland were synchronized with foreign rulers, on the model of the Chronicle of Eusebius and the Irish World-Chronicle. The kings of Ireland in Christian times were synchronized with other Irish rulers. We have no means of determining at what dates the regnal lists of the lesser Irish kings were compiled; but for the most part they appear to be late, probably not earlier than the latter half of the tenth century. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries these Irish regnal lists provided a quarry for 'historians' like Flann Mainistrech and Gilla Coemáin, who busied themselves in turning the lists into verse².

¹ Compare the brief lists of kings of Ireland from Éremón to Brian Bórama in some of the genealogical tracts, e.g. R 136b-137a, ZCP viii, 337 f. Also the detailed, but acephalous, list of pagan kings, in the style of L.G., inserted among the genealogies in R 135a-136b.

² For examples see the metrical lists of the kings of Ireland, pre-Christian and Christian, in LL 127-133 (by Gilla Coemáin and Flann) and Todd Lect. iii, 408 ff. (by Gilla Mo-dubda), and similar lists of Irish territorial kings 'after the Faith' in R 163-166, LL 181-185 (= Arch. Hib. ii, 48 ff.), BB 52, 55d, 58. An early example is the anonymous poem on the Christian kings of Leinster, *Coic rig trichat triallsat roe*, R 84 b 5, originally composed in the reign of Faelán mac Muiredaig († 942) and continued in the following century. Compare a poem by Flann [Mainistrech] enumerating the Christian kings of Cashel from Oengus mac Nad Froích to Donnchad mac Briain († 1064), LL 150 a-b; a new recension of this continued the list down to Cormac mac meic Carthaig († 1138), R 163 a 31 (= An Leabhar Muimhneach 408 ff., where the basic poem in LL has been overlooked). We have a late example of a metrical regnal list in a poem (BB 60 b, = An Leabhar Muimhneach 412 ff.) by Seaán Ó Dubhagáin († 1372) which enumerates the kings of Cashel from Mug Nuadat to Toirdelbach Ó Briain († 1194).

IX.—SOME MODERN THEORIES REGARDING THE GOIDELIC INVASION

The question of the arrival of the Goidels in Ireland has been darkened and complicated by two fundamental errors of modern growth. It has been assumed (1) that the Goidels first occupied Britain, in whole or in part, and later spread, or were driven, thence to Ireland, and (2) that the Goidels were the earliest Celts to arrive on these shores. Both these assumptions run counter to Irish tradition, which tells how the Goidels arrived in Ireland direct from the Continent, and how the country had before their arrival been colonized by other peoples, whose names (e.g. *Builg*, *Domnainn*) show them to have been Celts.¹ In the present book I have supplied superabundant proof that the Goidels, so far from being the first Celtic invaders, were, as our forefathers always believed, the latest of all. The other native tradition, that the Goidels reached Ireland direct from the Continent, must likewise be accepted, for the good and sufficient reason that no serious argument has ever been brought forward against it. Such settlements as the Irish made in Britain were, as we know from history, considerably later in date, and were made from Ireland.

Before proceeding to enumerate the principal theories put forward during the past sixty or seventy years regarding the Goidelic and other invasions of Ireland, we may recapitulate briefly the conclusions we have reached in the foregoing pages, based on a critical examination of Irish traditions, supplemented by linguistic arguments and by the testimony of classical writers. There were four bodies of Celtic invaders, viz. (I) the Priteni, who spread over Britain and Ireland; (II) the Bolgi, or Belgae, who invaded Ireland from Britain; (III) the Leginian tribes, who came from Armorica, and who appear to have invaded

¹ The name 'Celt' (borrowed in modern times from classical sources) had no equivalent in the traditions of the Irish and the Welsh, who had forgotten their original community of language. Incidentally one may note that the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland are never called 'Celts' (*Κελτοί*, *Celtae*) by classical writers, who employ the name in a more restricted sense than it has to-day.

Britain and Ireland more or less simultaneously; and (IV) the Goidels, who reached Ireland direct from Gaul. The earlier invaders were P-Celts; the Goidels alone Q-Celts. The invasion of the Bolgi occurred perhaps in the fifth century B.C.; those of the Lugin and the Goidels between the time of Pytheas (*ca.* 325 B.C.) and the year 50 B.C.

Rhys's well-known theory that the Goidels, coming from the Continent, first conquered southern Britain and thence spread to Ireland¹ was first enunciated by him in his 'Celtic Britain' in 1882. Previous to their arrival Britain and Ireland were, he held, inhabited by Picts, who were non-Indo-Europeans. Regarding the date of the arrival of the Goidels Rhys is vague and inconsistent: probably 'more than a millennium before the Christian era';² not much later than the sixth century B.C., though they probably began to arrive very much earlier;³ probably in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.⁴ Later an invasion of Brythons⁵ from the Continent drove the Goidels to the west of Britain and 'some of the latter made their way to Ireland, but it is quite possible that their emigration thither had begun before'.⁶

¹ A discussion and criticism of Rhys's theory will be found in Miss Cecile O'Rahilly's 'Ireland and Wales', chap. i (1924).

² Celtic Britain, 3 ed., 2.

³ The Welsh People, 4 ed., 11.

⁴ Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1900) 893.

⁵ According to 'The Welsh People', 4 ed. (1906), 5, these invading Brythons belonged to the Belgae, and arrived between the time of Pytheas (towards the end of the fourth century B.C.) and 54 B.C. In his 'Celtic Britain', 3 ed. (1904), 217 f., Rhys speaks of invaders who 'called themselves Brittones and Belgae' 'driving the Goidelic Celts before them to the west and north of the island'. Apparently he here means to distinguish the Brittones from the Belgae, for on p. 4 of the same book he postulates two post-Goidelic invasions, the first 'before the middle of the fourth century B.C.', the second 'that of the Belgae, which was recent in Caesar's time'.

⁶ Report of the British Association, *ut supra*; and cf. The Welsh People p. 11. Rhys's views resemble those put forward by his fellow-countryman Edward Lhuyd in his 'Archaeologia Britannica' in 1707 (cf. J. Morris Jones, 'Sir John Rhys' p. 10, Proc. Brit. Acad. 1925; also Kuno Meyer, Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion 1895-6, 67). It is of interest to note that Lhuyd's views were accepted by Bishop John O'Brien, who in his Irish English Dictionary (Paris, 1768), Preface p. 1, refers to 'a fact that

In his 'Lectures on Welsh Philology', 161 ff., published in 1877, Rhys had expressed the view that the language of the Ogam inscriptions found in Wales and Cornwall was an early form of Welsh and Cornish. But by 1882 he had come to realize that this view was untenable,¹ and that these Ogam inscriptions were in an early form of Irish; and accordingly he had to devise an explanation of how the authors of these Goidelic inscriptions had come to be in Wales and Cornwall. In an endeavour to salvage what he could of his first theory, he supposed that these inscriptions, even though written in a non-Brittonic language, were none the less the work of natives of Britain,² namely, of Goidels who from time immemorial had lived in Britain.³

is solidly proved by Mr. Edward Lhuyd, a learned and judicious antiquary, viz. that the Gaidheliens or old Irish had been the primitive inhabitants of Great Britain before the ancestors of the Welsh arrived in that island, and that the Celtic dialect of these Gaidheliens was then the universal language of the whole British Isle[s]'. Lhuyd's theory was doubtless suggested to him by popular traditions, which still lingered on in his day, of early Irish settlements in Wales. Speaking of the inhabitants of the hilly parts of Caernarvonshire, he writes: 'Tis a common tradition amongst them, as also amongst those that inhabit the like places in Brecknock and Radnorshire, that the Irish were the ancient Proprietors of their Country; which I therefore thought remarkable, because 'tis impossible that either those of South-wales should receive it from these, or the contrary, seeing they have no communication, there being a Country of about fourscore miles interpos'd' (Camden's Britannia, ed. E. Gibson, 1695, col. 669). For a similar tradition among 'the vulgar' in Anglesey see *ib.* col. 677.

¹ Compare the criticisms addressed to Rhys on this score by d'Arbois de Jubainville, RC iii, 270 f., 282-284.

² In his revised theory the authors of the inscriptions are still, if only 'in part', 'the ancestors of the Welsh and Cornish peoples' (Celtic Britain, 3 ed., 217).

³ This impossible view Rhys never wholly abandoned, though he evidently entertained increasing doubts about it. Thus in 1904, while he still attributes these inscriptions to 'Goidels belonging to the first Celtic invasion of Britain, of whom some passed over into Ireland, and made that island also Celtic', he is cautious enough to add that they were 'partly perhaps' the work of 'Goidelic invaders from Ireland' (*op. cit.* 217 f.). On the origin of Goidels in Wales he writes (*ib.* 248 f.): 'The author finds the data so slender, and the difficulties involved so considerable, . . . that he must content himself with merely warning the reader that the question is answered in different ways, some scholars being of opinion that all Goidelic peoples in Britain are to be traced to Ireland. He prefers to think that the Goidels of the districts in point were partly of the one origin and partly of the other.'

Such was the genesis of Rhys's theory that the Goidels reached Ireland through Britain. It was invented primarily in order to provide an explanation of the existence of Ogam inscriptions in south-western Britain. Nowadays everybody knows that these inscriptions were the work of settlers from Ireland. If Rhys had only grasped that fact from the beginning, his theory of the Goidelic conquest of southern Britain would never have been born.

As an argument in favour of his hypothesis that the Goidels reached these islands before the Britons, Rhys pointed to 'the relative position of the peoples speaking Goidelic and Brythonic at the present day'. 'For', he added, 'it may be regarded as fairly certain that those who are found driven furthest to the west were the earliest comers, namely the Goidels'¹. Here the word 'driven' begs the whole question. Granting that the movement of population was from east to west, the assumption that the people whose location is the most westerly were the first to arrive might be reasonable if we were dealing with wholly inland countries, but does not hold valid in the case of islands. In ancient times journeying by sea was often much less difficult than journeying by land, which interposed such obstacles as mountains, woods, fens and rivers. Ireland is directly accessible by sea from the Continent; and while most of the various invaders of Ireland may have come via Britain, we must not ignore, as Rhys did, the possibility of direct invasion from the Continent.²

In order to understand the vogue which Rhys's hypothesis has enjoyed in England, one must bear in mind that during a whole generation, from 1882 until 1915, Rhys was for practical purposes the only Celtic scholar in these islands who interested himself in the question of the Celtic invasions of Britain and

¹ The Welsh People 4. Rhys's words were echoed by Lloyd in his History of Wales (1911), 20.

² On one occasion, indeed, Rhys admitted this possibility, when he indulged in a wild speculation regarding Ptolemy's *Ovōδίαι* (if that is the correct form of their name; see pp. 2, 10, *supra*). Merely on the ground of the resemblance of their names, he conjectures that these may have been an offshoot of the *Ωστρίατοι* or *Όσίομοι* of western Brittany, and that their migration to Ireland may have taken place 'as late as Caesar's Gallic War'. 'In early ages the voyage from the nearest parts of the Continent to Ireland must have been a formidable undertaking; but by the time, let us say, of Caesar, it was probably well within the capacity of the mariners of the Veneti and of the other tribes belonging to the Armoric League' (The Welsh People, 4th ed., 83-85).

Ireland. With only the rarest exceptions his readers knew nothing of the history of the Celtic languages and were quite incapable of criticizing his views; while for the many who might find even the reading of his text laborious he considerably provided a map, prefixed to his 'Celtic Britain', which shows at a glance, in a delightfully imaginative fashion, how Brythons, Goidels, and 'Picts or Ivernians' were distributed throughout Britain during the Roman occupation.¹ The unfortunate result of the popularization of Rhys's views² is that to-day he is probably better remembered for his ill-judged 'British Goidels' theory than for the meritorious work he accomplished in other directions.

Rhys's contention that the first Celtic invaders of Britain were Goidels, who were later ousted by invading Britons, was accepted by the French Celtologist d'Arbois de Jubainville († 1910), who, nevertheless, refused to follow Rhys in regarding the Picts as non-Celts (see p 529). D'Arbois's view was that a body of Celts—those who were later known as *Goidil*—conquered Britain and Ireland not later than *ca.* 800 B.C.³ The invaders were necessarily Q-Celts, for at that time the P-dialect of Celtic was not yet in existence. From the Greek names *Πρε(τ)ανική* and *Πρε(τ)ανικάι νῆσοι* he infers that **Qritanici* or Q-Celtic Picts were the ruling power in these islands as late as the time of Pytheas.⁴ A second Celtic invasion, this time of Belgic P-Celts, took place about the second century B.C.; these conquered the whole of Britain but in Ireland they only made some coastal settlements.

¹ In *The Welsh People* (4 ed., facing p. 75) Rhys gives a map which purports to show the distribution of Goidels, Brythons and non-Celts in Great Britain and Ireland 'in the first century A.D.'

² His 'Celtic Britain' (first published in 1882) went through four editions. (The fourth edition, 1908, appears to be a reprint of the third.) Of 'The Welsh People' (written in collaboration with David Brynmor-Jones, and first published in 1900) there were four editions and two reimpressions.

³ The date is based on a worthless conjecture of Salomon Reinach's namely, that the Homeric *κασσίτερος*, 'tin', is a borrowing of a Celtic name given to the British Isles by Celtic invaders.

⁴ RC xiii, 401 f. The form *Πρε(τ)ανικός*, with its initial P- for Q-, was, he is forced to suggest, picked up by Pytheas from the Gauls. D'Arbois's view rests on the erroneous assumption that the change of *q* to *p* occurred throughout the whole Celtic-speaking area of the Continent, but did not occur in these Islands, though it was introduced into Britain by invaders from Gaul. Incidentally one may note that d'Arbois overlooks the probability that the name of the inhabitants of Britain, **Pritani*, was known to the Greeks of Massalia long before the time of Pytheas.

Some of the Q-Celts fled to Ireland; those that remained adopted the P-Celtic of their Belgic conquerors¹.

Although the theory that the Goidels reached Ireland through Britain was first put forward by Rhys in 1882, its repeated enunciation over a period of years did not fail to make an impression. Already in 1912, in the lifetime of its parent, the theory has for Vendryes become *la doctrine traditionnelle*². With more excuse we find an archaeologist like Déchelette imagining that the hypothesis of Rhys and d'Arbois was sanctioned by *les linguistes*³.

Rhys's theory is essentially a philological one. The purpose of its author was to explain how two distinct varieties of Celtic were spoken in these islands, and in particular to account for the presence of Goidelic inscriptions in south-western Britain⁴. It is significant that it has found very little favour with Celtic scholars, who alone can claim competence to pass judgment on it.

As early as 1891 Heinrich Zimmer in Germany had rejected Rhys's views⁵. So did Hugo Schuchardt in 1894⁶. In the following year Kuno Meyer expressed his complete disbelief in the view that the Goidels reached Ireland from Britain. 'Whether', he wrote in a memorable sentence, 'we take history for our guide, or native tradition, or philology, we are led to no other conclusion but this: that no Gael ever set his foot on British soil save from a vessel that had put out from Ireland'.⁷

¹ D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Celtes* (1904), 17 ff.; and cf. *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe* ii (1894), 282 f.

² RC xxxiii, 387.

³ Manuel d'archéologie, 2 ed., iii, 62 f.

⁴ The purpose of d'Arbois's version of Rhys's theory was to account for the fact that what appeared to be a primitive form of Celtic was spoken in Ireland, but not in Britain (except as an importation from Ireland).

⁵ *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* xiii, 64. (I borrow this reference from Windisch, *Das keltische Britannien* 25 n.; there appears to be no copy of this journal in Dublin.)

⁶ *Literaturblatt für germ. und roman. Philologie*, 1894, col. 126. (This reference is borrowed, for a similar reason, from H. Gaidoz, who in '*Revue internationale de l'enseignement*', 1917, 112, n. 1, thus refers to a review by Schuchardt of Rhys's Rhind Lectures on Archaeology: 'M. Schuchardt . . . a condamné de la façon la plus formelle les thèses et les rapprochements philologiques de Rhys. *Kartenhäuser*, dit-il, "Châteaux de cartes"'.)

⁷ *Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion* 1895-96, 69. In 1902 Alexander MacBain declared his adherence to Meyer's view (*Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 ed., 383). The Goidels, he suggests, reached Ireland direct

In 1903 E. Zupitza avowed himself completely unconvinced by Rhys's arguments that the Goidelic invasion was the earliest in point of time and that the Goidels reached Ireland through Britain¹.

In a paper which was left uncompleted at his death and which was posthumously published in 1912²; H. Zimmer subjected Rhys's views on the Goidelic occupation of Britain to a searching criticism. In Zimmer's view the Goidels came direct to Ireland, following 'the old trade route from the Loire and the Garonne to the south of Ireland'³.

Windisch, too, rejected the theory of Rhys and d'Arbois that the Goidels had occupied Britain before the arrival of the Britons. 'Weder in der Tradition der Iren, noch in der Tradition der Britannier, noch in den Nachrichten der römischen Schriftsteller, gibt es einen Anhalt dafür'⁴.

When Rhys died in 1915, his theory of the Goidelic conquest of Britain may be said—so far as linguists are concerned—to have died with him. In Wales Sir John Morris Jones, Rhys's most distinguished pupil, declared himself convinced by Zimmer's reasoning⁵. Another Welsh scholar, W. J. Gruffydd, wrote in 1928: 'No one, as far as I am aware, now holds this opinion,

from Gaul 'about 600 or 500 B.C.' 'About the same time' the Picts arrived in Britain. The Picts of Ulster 'were evidently invaders from Scotland'; those of other parts of Ireland were doubtless mercenaries introduced by some Irish king returning from exile (ib. 391 f.).

¹ ZCP iv, 21. To Rhys's main argument he replies: 'Der Umstand dass die Goidelen den am weitesten nach Westen vorgeschobenen Posten der Inselkelten bilden, berechtigt noch keineswegs zu dem Schlusse, dass sie die ersten Ankömmlinge gewesen sind. Man kann ihre Sitze auch bei der Annahme verstehen, dass sie als die zuletzt gekommenen die dem Festlande näher liegender Gegenden bereits okkupiert gefunden haben und daher am weitesten gewandert sind, ehe sich für sie ein Platz bot'.

² 'Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen vom Kontinent nach Irland?', Abhandl. der königl. preuss. Akad. 1912. A summary of Zimmer's criticism of Rhys will be found in Miss C. O'Rahilly's 'Ireland and Wales', 13 ff.

³ ZCP ix, 89.

⁴ Das keltische Britannien 25 (Abhandlungen der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften xxix, Leipzig, 1912).

⁵ Y Cymmrodor xxviii (1918), 2. Some years later the same scholar wrote: 'I think it is now generally agreed that the theory [of Rhys] has been definitely disproved by Zimmer, who vindicated the Irish tradition of direct migration from the Continent' ('Sir John Rhys' p. 10, Proc. Brit. Acad. 1925).

which was utterly demolished by Zimmer and Kuno Meyer¹. In Scotland in 1926 W. J. Watson accepted Meyer's view. A Swedish linguist, Eilert Ekwall, the leading authority on the Celtic place-names of England, has been unable to find any toponymic evidence to support Rhys's theory. 'No river-name of definitely Goidelic origin has yet been found in England. Personally I do not believe that an original Goidelic population was displaced by or merged in a later British. I look upon Celtic names in England as normally British. If there are Goidelic names, they are due to a later Goidelic immigration'².

Alone among linguists, John Fraser, Rhys's successor at Oxford, has endeavoured to find arguments in support of Rhys's theory. In his 'History and Etymology' (1923), 9 f., referring to the equation Ir. *Cruithni* = Welsh *Prydyn*, *Prydain*, he writes: 'The Goidels must have borrowed from the Brythons or the Brythons from the Goidels, and that, as is shown by the form of the name, some time before the fourth century B.C.³ . . . It is more likely that the name should have been first used by the Goidels than by the Brythons, whose acquaintance with the British Isles dates from so much later a period; and that seems to involve the conclusion that the Goidels passed through Britain on their way to Ireland'. There is not a shadow of justification for Fraser's assertion that the borrowing of the native name of those who were later known (in Latin) as Picti must have taken place 'before the fourth century B.C.'. The fact is that the name **Priteniā* would have given O.Ir. *Cruthin* (cf. p. 341) if it were borrowed

¹Math vab Mathonwy 342. In 1930 Lloyd admits that Rhys's theory (which he had accepted as fact in 1911) is 'a theory and nothing more'.

²Ekwall, English River-Names (1928) p. xlix. Elsewhere he writes: 'This theory [of Rhys's] is not founded on very strong arguments. The chief reason for accepting it is really the fact that it is somewhat difficult to believe that the Irish should have come over to Ireland direct from the Continent. . . . It seems we must assume that if the Goidels once inhabited what is now England, their language and place-names must have been totally superseded by British. The Goidelic elements found in the English place-nomenclature are due to later influence' (Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names, part i, ed. Mawer and Stenton, p. 32 f.).

³Fraser here has been in part misled by some faulty reasoning of Loth's, RC xxxviii (1921), 281. Loth supposes that the Britons on their arrival in Britain borrowed from the Picts (or possibly from the Goidels) the name **Qritenia*, 'the country of the Picts', the forerunner of Welsh *Prydain* (< **Priteniā*). (He forgets that the Gauls would not have to wait until they invaded Britain in order to become acquainted with a national name like **Priteniā*.) In order to account for the British *P-*, Loth assumes that

into Irish at any time down to the fifth century A.D.¹ The argument in the second sentence of the quotation is based on Rhys's hypothesis, the truth of which is taken for granted, that the Britons arrived in these islands 'much later' than the Goidels; whereas according to both Irish and Welsh tradition (see p. 90) the Goidelic invasion was the later. Fraser goes on to draw wholly unwarranted conclusions from three of Ptolemy's river-names (see p. 384 n.), and these conclusions lead him to suggest, 'with all reserve', that 'the wave of immigration which carried the Goidelic language into Ireland extended northwards into Scotland in very early times' (*op. cit.* p. 15). Fraser's attempt to buttress Rhys's 'British Goidels' theory is a signal failure, and only serves to reveal how indefensible that theory is.²

Up to the year 1903 Rhys had not attempted to elucidate the problems of the population of early Ireland beyond suggesting that the Cruithni represented the aboriginal pre-Celtic inhabitants and that the Goidels reached Ireland via Britain. In that year he published his 'Studies in Early Irish History' (Proc. Brit. Acad. i). Like much of Rhys's work, this paper is discursive and incoherent; but its main conclusions appear to be as follows. The Iverni or Érna were the ruling people of pre-Celtic Ireland.

the Britons must have borrowed the name at a time when the change of *q* to *p* had not yet occurred in their dialect of Celtic; and because this change (according to d'Arbois de Jubainville) took place before the sixth century B.C., Loth draws the 'certain' conclusion that the Brittonic invaders reached Britain before the sixth century B.C. All this argument is worthless.

¹ The *c*- (earlier *q*-) of Ir. *Cruthin* need not be an antique survival, but merely the nearest equivalent to *p* that Goidelic possessed. It is, in fact, on all fours with the *ch* of *Echde* (< *Epidios*) and with the *c* of such later borrowings as *corcur*, *cruimther* (Ogam gen. QRMITIR), *Cothraige*. If **Priteni* is (as is extremely probable) a Celtic word, its *p*- must, of course, derive from an earlier *q*- (*kv*-); but the existence of a borrowed Ir. *Cruthin*, earlier **Qriteni*, does not in itself prove that the name was originally Celtic at all.

² Fraser, like some other Scotsmen, is reluctant wholly to discard Skene's view of Pictish, and holds (or at least held in 1923) that Goidelic was one of the languages of Pictland at a very early date (see p. 383 f.); hence he has found Rhys's 'British Goidels' theory useful as suggesting a way in which Goidels might at a remote period have reached the north of Scotland. Diack, as we have seen (p. 381), went further and apparently identified Rhys's British Goidels with the Picts. Rhys himself, on the other hand, was sensible enough to see that Picts and Goidels were quite distinct peoples; and in his Rhind Lectures on Archaeology, 81 ff., he rejects the view that Gaelic was introduced into Scotland otherwise than by colonists from Ireland.

In the north of Ireland they were known as Cruithni or Picts (cf. p. 56, *supra*). 'The race of Emer [*recte* Éber] was a branch of the Érna' of Munster, and rose to power at a 'relatively late' date (cf. p. 200 n.). The Goidelic invaders, who are identified by Rhys with the descendants of Éremón,¹ ruled in Meath (at Tara), in Lagen (at Ailenn and Nás), and in Connaught (at Cruachain). Later one of these Goidels, a banished king, Labraid Loingsech, who is supposed to have lived in the sixth century B.C.,² brought back with him Galeoin, Lagen and Fir Domnann. The Galeoin 'were probably of Gallo-Brythonic origin'. The Fir Domnann, to be identified with the Dumnonii of Britain, were probably Goidelic-speaking; so too, probably, were the Lagen, if they came from Lleyn in Carnarvonshire. The Galeoin and other 'Gallo-Brythonic' settlers, among them the Brigantes of Wexford, were absorbed by the earlier Goidelic population. The conquest of Ireland by the Celts was 'very incomplete', but was more effective in Leinster and Connaught than elsewhere.—As the evidence has already been discussed in detail in the preceding pages, it will suffice to say here that not one of the foregoing conclusions can be accepted as it stands.

Mac Neill, in his 'Phases of Irish History' (1919), follows Rhys in supposing the Cruithni and the Érainn to be non-Celts, and in holding that there was only one Celtic invasion of Ireland—apart from the later arrival of the Eóganacht,³ and the establish-

¹ Instead of *Éremón* Rhys wrongly supposes a nominative '*Erem* or *Airem*', which he interprets as 'ploughman'.

² Rhys's authority for Labraid's floruit is doubtless the Annals of the Four Masters, which date the slaying of Cobthach by Labraid in A.M. 4658 (= B.C. 542).

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 199, n. 5. In an article contributed to a college journal in 1922 Mac Neill threw out the suggestion that the [Aulerci] Ebuovices, who dwelt near the mouth of the Seine and who rebelled unsuccessfully against Caesar in 56 B.C., may have migrated to Ireland and may have there become known as the Eóganacht (An Reult i, no. 2, p. 9 f.). His arguments are: (1) Caesar does not record that the Ebuovices were punished for their rebellion; and (2) the *eó-* of *Eóganacht* and the *eburo-* of *Ebuovices* both mean 'yew'. My only reason for disinterring this wild and worthless conjecture is that Pokorny has given it his approval, apparently without having read the article in which it appeared. 'In 1911', writes Pokorny (MacNeill-Essays 238), 'Eoin Mac Neill has given good reasons to assume (Journ. Ivernian Soc., iii) that the Eóganachta of Munster . . . had been late Gaulish invaders: in fact identical with the Eburones, who had to flee before the wrath of Caesar'. For the 'Ebuovices' Pokorny substitutes the 'Eburones', a Belgic tribe whom Caesar classes as *German*

ing of some 'Celts-Germanic' settlements on the coast. He differs from Rhys in holding, on professedly archaeological grounds, that 'the Celts did not reach either Britain or Ireland until the Late Celtic period, i.e. until the fourth or fifth century B.C.' (*op. cit.* 52; cf. *supra*, p. 199, n. 5). Adopting an early view of Rhys's, which its author had discarded, Mac Neill suggests that, when these invasions took place, Celtic was not yet split up into *p* and *q* dialects; the new development ($q > p$) affected the Celtic of Britain and the Continent, but was arrested by the barrier of the Irish Sea (*op. cit.* 46).¹

'Goidels' is a linguistic term. It means people who spoke Goidelic, i.e. a conservative variety of Celtic characterized by the retention of original *q*, which in most of the Celtic-speaking area was at an early date² replaced by *p*. The problem of the arrival of Goidelic speech in Ireland (or elsewhere) is one that must be elucidated, if at all, by linguistic and literary evidence. Linguist

Neither Ebuovices nor Eburones are alluded to in Mac Neill's article in 'Journ. Ivernian Soc., iii'. Mac Neill's equation of the Eóganacht with the Ebuovices makes one wonder why he has overlooked similar arguments which ought to prove conclusively that the Picts of North Britain were late immigrants from Gaul. (1) The Pictones joined the rebellion of Vercingetorix in 52 B.C.; Caesar does not record that they were punished. (2) The names *Picti* and *Pictones* or *Pictavi* are evidently akin. (3) The Picts were late arrivals in Britain, *teste* Gildas; they are first mentioned in the year 297 A.D. (4) Mael Mura records that the Picts sojourned in *Pictaue*, i.e. in the land of the Pictones, before they migrated to Britain.

¹ Compare Rhys in 1877 (Lectures on Welsh Philology 33 f.): 'A Celtic people speaking one and the same language came from the Continent and settled in this island [i.e. Britain]; sooner or later some of them crossed over to Ireland and made themselves a home there. . . . Owing to their being separated by an intervening sea, there grew up between the Celts of Ireland and their kindred in this country differences of dialect', which increased in the course of time and gave rise to two distinct languages, Irish and Welsh.

² That the division of Celtic into P- and Q-dialects is at least as old as the fourth century B.C. may be inferred from the name *Περανοί*, which was almost certainly employed by Pytheas, and may go back to the sixth century B.C. (p. 84). In his 'Les premiers habitants de l'Europe', ii (1894), 283 ff., d'Arbois de Jubainville enumerates many Celtic names of places, persons and tribes containing *p*, and supposes that the change of *q* to *p* occurred at latest in the sixth century B.C.; but the absence of sufficiently early literary references to these names renders his argument inconclusive. On the other hand it is quite possible—some might say probable—that the change of *q* to *p* is considerably older than the sixth century B.C.; but the question is really insoluble, for we have no evidence one way or the other.

and archaeologist would meet on common ground if we possessed inscriptions (e.g. on grave-stones, votive offerings, or coins) going back to the time of the Goidelic invasion; but no such early inscriptions exist. The problem, therefore, is beyond the range of archaeology. No archaeologist by examining an archaeological object—whether a bone or a brooch, a sword or a sickle—can possibly tell us that the object in question belonged to one who spoke a particular variety of Celtic.¹

As an old-fashioned believer in the principle of the shoemaker sticking to his last, I have throughout the present book deliberately refrained from trespassing on the domain of archaeology. When on the other hand, archaeologists choose to stray into matters which lie outside their province, it is not only legitimate but desirable that non-archaeologists should call attention to their aberrations. Mention is made of some of these in the following pages, in which a selection is given of the views propounded by archaeologists regarding the Goidels and other early invaders of Ireland.

Archaeology is a science which has an immense amount of very valuable work to its credit, and which has placed all who are interested in the past heavily in its debt. It is no disparagement to archaeology to say that its evidence from prehistoric times is often unsatisfying; not only is it apt to be inconclusive or equivocal, but from the nature of the case it tends to be dry and lifeless as well. It is by no means easy to vivify the dry bones of prehistory without undue recourse to the imagination or without overstepping the bounds of archaeology. So it is not surprising to find prehistoric archaeologists from time to time yielding to the temptation to wander into other fields, with which they are less familiar. Thus, instead of contenting themselves with expressing the opinion that a certain 'culture' was introduced by a new people coming from abroad, they will seek to give an appearance of solidity to their conclusions by identifying the hypothetical new-comers with some historical people who is known, or who

¹ Compare the following remarks by d'Arbois de Jubainville, written as far back as 1895 (RC xvi, 103): 'Un Celte pour le linguiste est un homme dont, par exemple, l'idiome a perdu le *p* indo-européen; quel rapport peut-il y avoir entre ce phénomène phonétique et la forme d'une épée ou tel usage funéraire? Sur quel argument s'appuiera-t-on pour démontrer que les guerriers incinérés à Sesto-Calende, près de Milan, au huitième siècle avant notre ère, que les gens incinérés à une date mal déterminée dans la nécropole d'Hallstadt en Autriche parlaient une langue d'où le *p* indo-européen avait disparu?'

is imagined, to have at one time inhabited the country. Seldom is this foible of archaeologists better exemplified than when they take it on themselves to tell us that such and such a body of invaders of Britain spoke Goidelic¹. When, towards the close of the last century, English archaeologists had learned from Rhys that the Goidels had occupied southern Britain at a very remote period, they hastened to turn their newly-acquired knowledge to archaeological account. A fashion once established is not easily changed. The ghost of Rhys's theory still haunts the speculations of archaeologists, and will probably continue to do so for years to come. In particular the label 'Goidels' has been repeatedly affixed to the Beaker-folk, who on archaeological grounds are believed to have invaded Britain at the beginning of the Bronze Age. The fact that the same Beaker-folk have left hardly any evidence of their presence in Ireland presented a difficulty which was solved by the simple method of ignoring it.

Joseph Loth in 1921 (RC xxxviii, 259 ff.) argues that the invaders of Britain at the beginning of the Bronze Age (i.e. the Beaker-folk) were Celts, and he would identify them with the people known to history as Picts. He thinks that it is impossible to identify the Picts with any later invaders, because there appears to be no evidence of any other invasion of Britain before the Iron Age.² Loth was a linguist, but in this paper his arguments are exclusively craniological and archaeological. Apart from other objections, which need not be stated here, it would be very difficult to accept Loth's thesis that Celtic had already become a distinct dialect of Indo-European as early as 1900 B.C.

During the past twenty-five years the attention of archaeologists has been directed to the appearance in Britain and Ireland, at a date variously estimated from *ca.* 1200 to *ca.* 800 B.C., of bronze leaf-shaped swords and bronze socketed axes, though there is considerable disagreement among them as to whether their introduction was due to trade or to an invasion. Déchelette³ had doubtfully envisaged the bare possibility that these swords might have been brought by the first Celtic invaders of these islands.

¹ Thus V. Gordon Childe, writing in 1940, assures us, in all seriousness, that 'the Urn-folk spoke Goidelic'! (*Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles* 162).

² Most archaeologists to-day, I imagine, would dissent from this statement. The Britons, according to Loth, arrived in Britain before the sixth century B.C.; this conclusion is based on quite unsound premisses (see p. 426, n. 2).

³ *Manuel d'archéologie*, 2 ed., iii, 212.

In 1922 O. G. S. Crawford,¹ taking up this hint; put forward the view that the people of the leaf-shaped swords were the Goidels. But immediately afterwards Crawford made a frank avowal of the inability of archaeology to decide linguistic problems, saying that his attempt 'to equate an archaeological period with a philological event' had been suggested to him by the theory of Rhys, but that he was now prepared to look for some other name than 'Goidelic' to distinguish the Late Bronze Age invasion. He added that 'as archaeology could not reveal the language of the new-comers it must be left in the hands of the philologists'.²

Such scruples, however, were not shared by Harold J. E. Peake, who in his 'The Bronze Age and the Celtic World' (1922) adopted Rhys's 'British Goidels' theory with enthusiasm. He draws a vivid picture of a fierce feud between P-Celts and Q-Celts *ca.* 900 B.C., which resulted in the Q-Celts with their bronze swords being worsted by P-Celtic iron-swordsmen, who pursued them westwards across France, until at last they found refuge in Britain and Ireland, where some of their relations had already settled some centuries³ before. In *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1891-3, 117 ff., Rhys had suggested that the dialects of the 'P Aryans', viz. P-Celtic, Osco-Umbrian, and standard Greek, originated in a common centre in the Alpine region of central Europe owing to 'contact with a non-Aryan race'³. Peake accepts this theory, too, so far as concerns the mutual relation of Q-Celtic and Latin on the one hand, and of P-Celtic and Osco-Umbrian on the other; and he concludes that the archaeological evidence goes to show that 'the thesis of Sir John Rhys that two waves of people left Central Europe for Italy and the west, the first speaking a Q and the second a P tongue, is absolutely correct', and that 'the equation of the Q peoples [i.e. Latins and Goidels] with the spread of the bronze swords is beyond dispute'. Peake's book abounds in illustrations of the fact that archaeologists have an unhappy knack of coming to grief whenever they are rash enough to correlate culture with language or otherwise to meddle with linguistic problems.⁴

¹ *The Antiquaries Journal* ii, 27 ff.

² *ibid.* ii, 207.

³ The same suggestions were put forward by Rhys in his *Early Ethnology of the British Isles* (Rhind Lectures in Archaeology 1889), 11 ff.

⁴ Attention has been called by Fraser (*Linguistic Evidence and Archaeological and Ethnological Facts* p. 9 f.) to Peake's absurd identification of the names *Cimbri*, *Cimmerii* and *Cymry*. Compare on this point J. Loth, *RC* xxx, 384 ff.

Archaeologists are by profession predisposed to disturb the bones of the dead, and Peake's exhumation of the British Goidels with their bronze swords has found more than one imitator. In 1932 Adolf Mahr¹ enumerates three prehistoric invasions of Ireland. The first invaders, the megalith-builders (*ca.* 2500 B.C.), he equates with the Picts, otherwise 'the Parthalonians'. The second (*ca.* 1000 B.C.) he identifies with 'the Nemedians'; they were the wielders of the bronze leaf-shaped swords, and spoke Goidelic. They were the first Celtic invaders, and landed in the north-east of Ireland, coming from Wigtownshire. They were followed in the third century B.C. by British P-Celts, whom he identifies with the Tuatha Dé Danann. These likewise entered Ireland by the north. They came in small numbers, but conquered the country. These British P-Celts 'seem to have been the founders of the Tara High Kingship'. The Goidels, driven before them, were forced to take refuge on the Aran Islands; yet, strange as it may appear, the same Goidels 'soon absorbed' the victors.² In a later paper³ Mahr, besides repeating with some vehemence his 'conviction' that the Late Bronze Age invaders from Britain ('somewhere about 900 B.C.') were the Goidels, makes some new and original contributions to our knowledge. Thus he identifies the Picts with certain hypothetical inhabitants of Ireland in the epi-mesolithic period;⁴ and he counters the objection that no trace of indigenous Q-Celtic has been found in Britain by pointing to the irrefragable fact that 'up to modern times q Keltic was the language of the Isle of Man'.⁵ These and similar extra-archaeological assertions and inferences are made with naïve self-confidence; the author is blissfully unconscious that he is dealing with matters which are wholly beyond his competence.

More recently an Irish archaeologist, Joseph Raftery, would identify the Irish 'Picts' with a body of invaders whom he supposes to have reached the north-east of Ireland from England

¹ In 'Saorstát Eireann Official Handbook', 225 ff.

² 'We may assume that Dún Aonghusa and others [i.e. other such stone forts] were the stronghold[s] of the Goidels, defending themselves against the usurpers who came with the "Gallo-Britannic" La Tène civilization and who must have been soon absorbed by the older Goidels' (*op. cit.* 226).

³ Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society for 1937, 261 ff.

⁴ It is but fair to add that Mahr recognizes that this identification will appear 'very daring, almost lunacy' (*op. cit.* 327).

⁵ *op. cit.* 401.

ca. 175 B.C.¹ This is certainly a far cry from Mahr's epi-mesolithic wielders of stone clubs. 'You pay your money, and you take your choice'.

With Henri Hubert² we are back again to the identification of the Beaker-folk with the Goidels. According to Hubert, the Celtic invasions of Britain began when (1) the Goidels conquered the country at the beginning of the Bronze Age. Next came (2) the Picts, who, arriving towards the middle of the Bronze Age, conquered the British-Goidels; then (3) the Britons, between 550 and 330 B.C.; and finally (4) the Belgae, in the second century B.C. All four invasions extended to Ireland, but with this striking difference, that in Ireland the first Celtic conquerors, the Goidels, retained their supremacy all through, and the later invaders (Picts, Britons, Belgae) were, according as they arrived in the country, reduced to serfdom by the Goidels.

All this is sheer fantasy, from whatever standpoint we regard it. No less fantastic is Hubert's argument in support of his theory that the Goidels established themselves in Britain and Ireland as far back as *ca.* 1900 or 1800 B.C. He argues that the preservation of IE. *q^u* by the Goidels shows their kinship both to the Latins and to the Ionian Greeks;³ and from this premiss he draws the following conclusion: 'Le détachement du groupe goidélique et probablement la première colonisation celtique des Iles Britanniques doit être contemporain de la descente en Italie des Latins et de la descente en Grèce des premiers envahisseurs grecs'.⁴ Hubert was a man of uncommon industry and of wide reading; but his acquaintance with the Irish evidence in particular was second- or third-hand, and when he tries to grapple with the complexities of early Irish history and of the Irish language, every page he writes bears pathetic witness to the truth that an archaeo-

¹ MacNeill-Essays 278. The same scholar states that the Fir Domnann are 'alleged to have been Pictish' (by some archaeologist, no doubt, whom he does not name); and he also informs us that 'early P-Keltic would have been as unintelligible to a Goidel as Welsh is to-day to a native of the Kerry Gaedhealtacht' (*ibid.*).

² *Les Celtes et l'expansion celtique jusqu'à l'époque de La Tène* (published posthumously in 1932), pp. 206 ff., 259 ff.

³ *op. cit.* 162 ff. This is a resurrection of an old hypothesis of Rhys's mentioned above, p. 432.

⁴ It is superfluous to stress the fatuity of the argument that, because certain peoples belonging to distinct linguistic groups retained IE. *q^u*, it follows that three of these peoples simultaneously reached the furthest point of their wanderings.

logist who aims at solving linguistic and historical questions is no more exempt than other men from the necessity of devoting years of specialized study to such problems.

There have not been wanting, it is pleasant to record, archaeologists who recognize the danger of applying the linguistic or ethnic terminology of the historical period to cultures of which our knowledge is based solely on remote archaeological evidence. Thus in 1932 Iorwerth C. Peate, in a discussion of Rhys's theory,¹ gave some excellent advice to his fellow-archaeologists. 'The conclusions which I wish to draw are: that modern archaeologists should abandon all attempts to equate invasions for which there is archaeological evidence with philological events for the dating of which there is no evidence; that an arbitrary classification of the Keltic peoples of prehistoric times into Q-Kelts and P-Kelts is—in an archaeological context—fundamentally unsound; and that archaeologists who—in their ignorance of Keltic philology—wittingly or unwittingly maintain this method of nomenclature are open to ridicule'. At the same time he himself has not a clear grasp of the linguistic position. Thus he censures Rhys for having 'utilized the term "Goidel" to represent the Q-Kelts and "Brython" the P-Kelts, thus giving to a fundamental philological occurrence an archaeological and geographical significance for which there was no justification'. Actually 'Goidel' and 'Brython'² are unobjectionable and useful terms; they are purely linguistic, and have nothing to do with archaeology. 'Brython' means a speaker of Brittonic, the forerunner of Welsh,

¹ *Antiquity* vi, 156-160.

² In the present book I employ 'Britons' in the sense of Rhys's 'Brythons'; their language I refer to indifferently as 'British' or 'Brittonic'. Rhys objected to 'Britons' and 'British' on the ground that these names have in modern English usage been given an entirely new meaning (almost equivalent to 'English'). There is a further objection that, even when the context makes it clear that we are referring to the Britain of pre-Anglo-Saxon times, the name 'Britons' is ambiguous; it may mean either the inhabitants of Britain generally, including the Caledonians and other Picts, or only Rhys's 'Brythons', i.e. those of the inhabitants who adopted the name *Brittones* and who were distinct from the Picts. That the names 'Brythons' and 'Goidels' are anachronistic may be conceded. The Welsh *Brython*, < *Brittones*, is a borrowing from Latin (p. 447), in which it originally had a wider sense; while O. Ir. *Goldil* is a borrowing from Ivernic (p. 495), and presumably only came into existence some time after the Goidelic invasion. But 'Brythons' and 'Goidels' have the advantage of being distinctive and unambiguous terms, and no one has suggested any better.

Cornish and Breton.¹ 'Goidel' means a speaker of insular Q-Celtic, the forerunner of Irish (O. Ir. *Goidelg*, Welsh *Gwyddeleg*). Peate is mistaken in thinking that 'Brythons' and 'Goidels' are synonymous with 'P-Celts' and 'Q-Celts', respectively. If, as there is good reason to believe, the Goidelic dialect of Celtic was introduced into Ireland by a single body of invaders, then it is perfectly legitimate to speak of 'the Goidelic invasion', i.e. the invasion of Ireland by men of Goidelic speech. It is the archaeologists who, very much more than Rhys, have sought to give these linguistic terms an 'archaeological interpretation'. Rhys has enough failings of his own to answer for without being held responsible for the sins the archaeologists have committed in his name.²

R. E. M. Wheeler comments as follows³ on the way in which Rhys's 'British Goidels' theory has been turned to account by his fellow-archaeologists: 'Unfortunately, more than one essay has been made to extract the theory from its linguistic context and to charge it with an archaeological significance. Attempts have been made, for example, to associate beakers (about 1900 B.C.), leaf-shaped swords (about 1200 B.C.), and various other bronze implements (about 800 B.C.) with the hypothetical Goidelic invasion. . . . It may be remarked in passing that, if the Beaker-folk were the Goidels, it is a noteworthy fact that Ireland, whither the Beaker-folk scarcely penetrated, should have become the stronghold of the Goidelic tongue. The truth of the matter is that we have at present no evidence, and are scarcely likely ever to obtain evidence, for associating the [hypothetical] arrival of Goidelic Celts into Britain with any specific cultural unit.'⁴

¹ Cf. Welsh *Brythoneg* (= *Cymraeg*), 'Welsh', Bret. *Brezonek*, 'Breton', < **Brittonikā* and **Brittoniko-*, respectively.

² Peate quotes with approval Mac Neill's superficial suggestion (borrowed from Rhys) that P-Celtic had not yet been evolved at the time when the Celts invaded Britain and Ireland. He himself appears to suggest that P-Celtic did not come into existence 'before (approximately) the 3rd century B.C.'. Also he is very much in error when he supposes that 'the writings of Zimmer, Meyer and their school' imply that there was 'an insuperable barrier between the two countries' (Britain and Ireland).

³ European Civilization (ed. E. Eyre), ii, 270.

⁴ Compare the following remarks by the late R. G. Collingwood: 'Sir John Rhys . . . advanced the theory that there had been two waves of Celtic immigration into Britain from the Continent, the first of Goidels or "Q-Celts", the second of Brythons or "P-Celts". Archaeologists then, supposed it their business to discover when these two invasions took place, and what distinct types of civilization they introduced. The task was never

R. A. S. Macalister's latest views on the invasions of Ireland in prehistoric times are set forth in his 'Ancient Ireland' (1935). (I) The Early Bronze Age invaders were non-Indo-Europeans,¹ and are represented later by the Picts of Scotland. In Irish tradition, as preserved in Lebor Gabála, they are represented by the Partholon, Nemed, and Fir Bolg legends, which are 'nothing more than three different versions of one story'. (II) Next come the Goidels, who invaded Ireland from Britain² ca. 1000 B.C. They enslaved their predecessors, the Picts, who 'made their last despairing stand' on the Aran Islands, where they built those great fortresses which are 'silent but eloquent witnesses to the terror inspired by the Sword-Men' (i.e. the Goidels).³ In Irish legend the Goidelic conquest is represented by the conquest of the Tuatha Dé Danann. (III) An occupation of Ireland during the Early Iron Age is possible, but not yet certain. (IV) Finally a new body of invaders conquered the country 'in or about the fourth century B.C.' These were Teutons⁴; but their language 'was forgotten in a generation'. In Irish tradition they are represented by the 'Milesian' invaders.—It is unnecessary to criticize the foregoing views, some of which border on the absurd. It is right to add that Macalister himself stresses their tentative nature.⁵

satisfactorily accomplished' (Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 2 ed., 1937, 18 f.).

¹ Concerning these invaders he writes, in apparent seriousness: 'Their latent intellectual powers were far in advance of those of all their successors . . . It is more than likely that most of what is good in the mixed strains that now occupy both countries is a Pictish heritage: that most of the faults are due to the Celtic intrusion' (*op. cit.* 51). *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.*

² They came 'from South Britain, and [were], if not actually identical with, at least cognate with the Beaker-People at a later stage of cultural development' (*op. cit.* 82, and cf. 54). Thus in a roundabout way we find ourselves back at the equation of the British Beaker-folk with 'Goidels'.

³ Thus according to Macalister Dunaengus in Aran (as to which see p. 145) was built by Picts fleeing before the Goidels; according to Mahr (p. 433), by Goidels fleeing before the Britons.

⁴ This idea is based on some quite impossible etymological equations (*Fomoiré* = 'Pomeranians'; *Éremón* = 'Herrmann'; *Éber* = German *Eber*).

⁵ The views expressed by Macalister in an earlier work, 'The Archaeology of Ireland' (1928), differ considerably from those summarized above. There was no invasion of any consequence during the Bronze Age; and the Iron Age invaders, who arrived 'a little after 400 B.C.', were the Goidels.

In 1935 Cecil P. Martin in his 'Prehistoric Man in Ireland' published the results of his study of a number of prehistoric Irish skulls. Naturally we can learn nothing about language or dialect from an examination of skulls; and even if we could, the practice of cremation would leave large gaps in our knowledge. Martin, like the archaeologists, succumbs to the temptation to stray outside his province; and so he compares his tentative results with 'the accounts of the early Christian annalists', and suggests a ridiculous series of equations: (1) Iberian invaders towards the end of the Neolithic Age = 'Firbolg'; (2) Bronze Age invaders = 'Danaans' (*sic*); (3) Iron Age invaders = 'Milesians'.

Finally we may mention briefly the variety of views which Julius Pokorny has propounded regarding the prehistoric invasions of Ireland. In his 'Irland' (1916), pp. 9-12, the successive Celtic invaders are: (1) Goidels, *ca.* 300 B.C.; (2) Celts and Germans, who settled on the south-east coast before the second century A.D.; (3) British Celts, in the third century A.D., who occupied Tara and Ailenn; and (4) Gaulish Celts, in the fourth century A.D., who founded Cashel. Here (1) is borrowed from Zimmer; (2) is based on a misinterpretation of Ptolemy; (3) is, except for the date, an early theory of Mac Neill's, which its author 'has long since abandoned'¹; and (4) is based on Mac Neill's idea that the Eóganacht represent 'a late settlement of Gauls on the southern coast'.²

In 1925 Pokorny is still of opinion that the Goidels cannot possibly have reached Ireland before 400 B.C. (ZCP xv, 281). But by 1933, when he published his 'History of Ireland', he has fallen under the influence of the archaeologists, and his views are largely copied from Adolf Mahr. The succession of Celtic invaders of Ireland is now as follows: (1) The Goidels reach Ireland from Scotland *ca.* 900-800 B.C. (2) British Celts arrive about 250 B.C. They establish the High Kingship, but are 'soon absorbed' by the Goidels. (3) By the first century A.D. 'Belgic and Teutonic sea-rovers' such as Ptolemy's Manapii, Cauci, and Coriondi, are settled on the east coast. 'This invasion later gave rise to the saga of Labhraidh Loingseach'.³ There were also

¹ Cf. Mac Neill, *Celtic Ireland* p. xiii. The distinction between the rulers of Tara and Ailenn on the one hand, and those of Cashel on the other, goes back to Rhys (p. 428).

² Proc. R.I.A. xxix C, 73 n. Cf. *supra*, p. 199, n. 5.

³ 'It is to Labraid's initiative we are possibly to trace the settlement of Brigantes and other small tribes on the coast of Leinster', says Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 3 ed., 299.

settlements of Brigantes and Domnainn, who probably came from Britain. Pokorny also mentions (4) the Eóganacht, whom (following Mac Neill) he describes as 'relatively late immigrants from Gaul'.

A few years later, in a series of articles entitled 'Zur Urgeschichte der Kelten und Illyrier', in ZCP xx-xxi (1935-38), Pokorny has become an enthusiast for the Illyrians, who, according to certain archaeologists (to whose opinion he subscribes), spread themselves over western Europe in prehistoric times. The views expressed in his 'History of Ireland' are now discarded, and instead we have the following list of invaders of Britain and Ireland: (1) The Beaker-folk¹; (2) The Urnfield-folk, i.e. Illyrians, in the eighth century B.C.; (3) Late Hallstatt invaders, i.e. Q-Celts, sixth-fifth centuries B.C.; (4) P-Celts, third century B.C. In Britain the last of these invaders obliterated all traces of Q-Celtic. In Ireland, on the other hand, the same P-Celts were absorbed by the earlier Goidels.

In his studies of Irish prehistory Pokorny may be said, not unjustly, to have specialized in the discovery of mare's nests. At one time he devoted his energies to tracking down non-existent Germanic settlements in ancient Ireland (ZCP xi, 169 ff.; cf. *supra*, p. 39); at another time he was no less intent on proving that Eskimos were among the early settlers in Ireland (ib. xii, 195 ff.; cf. *supra*, p. 47, n. 5, and p. 63). His latest hobby, the discovery that the Illyrians had conquered and colonized all the lands (including Britain and Ireland) which we find later in the possession of the Celts, belongs to the same category. As I have elsewhere² criticized Pokorny's 'Illyrian' theory, I am fortunately relieved from the necessity of wasting any space on it here.³

In the absence of any surer guide, one naturally looks to archaeology to throw light on the successive invasions of any particular

¹ From Britain they invaded Ireland, *allerdings ohne Glockenbecher*, ZCP xxi, 125. Their beakers they apparently mislaid on the way.

² Irish Historical Studies i, 306-309 (1939).

³ There is no reason to suppose that Pokorny has come to the end of his resources; and for all we know he may by now have discarded his 'Illyrian' theory in favour of some new invention. Already in MacNeill-Essays (1940), 241, we seem to detect the first symptoms of a retreat. 'There is no need', he writes, 'to assume that the urnfield invasion into the British Islands was a purely Illyrian conquest; we may as well think of early Kelts, driven over the North Sea and followed by urnfield conquerors, or of later invaders of mixed Kelto-Illyrian stock, among whom the earlier Keltic element may have already begun to get the upper hand again'.

country in remote times. But the difficulties that confront the archaeologist when he attempts to solve such problems must not be underestimated. Often the archaeological evidence will be scanty and imperfect, or ambiguous and open to more interpretations than one. It is quite possible for a body of invaders to conquer a country, in whole or in part, and yet to leave no clearly recognizable archaeological traces of their conquest. When, on the other hand, archaeology does reveal evidence of a prehistoric culture spreading from one region to another, it is often very difficult, if not quite impossible, to decide with any confidence whether the new culture arrived by peaceful infiltration or was introduced by invaders. Nor, if we assume the latter alternative, can archaeology, in the absence of inscriptions, tell us anything regarding the language or dialect spoken by the invaders. Archaeologists, however, when dealing with prehistoric times, are rather prone to assume that, when a culture may be inferred to have spread in a more or less modified form from one region to another, its spread was accompanied by the introduction of a new language. Yet the facts of history prove that a new culture is frequently introduced without any change of language or any forcible invasion. One need only point to the adoption of Greek culture in ancient Rome, and to the adoption, a few generations ago, of European culture by the Japanese.¹

Archaeological facts are often dull, but they have the compensating merit of possessing a permanent value; archaeologists' inferences, on the other hand, are often interesting, but are apt to be precarious and ephemeral. When archaeologists abandon their proper domain and indulge in linguistic speculations, the precariousness of their theorizings is increased ten-fold. In the Late Bronze Age the Lausitz culture, one of the characteristics of which was the burial of the cremated dead in 'urnfields', prevailed in Saxony and Silesia; and it has been conjectured

¹ D'Arbois de Jubainville long since reminded archaeologists that, whereas the spread of a new language is usually the result of conquest, cultural changes are frequently unconnected with military or political events. 'De ce que l'art grec s'est établi en Gaule au premier siècle de notre ère, conclurait-on qu'une armée grecque est venue conquérir la Gaule à cette date? L'architecture gothique inventée en France au douzième siècle a été adoptée au siècle suivant par une grande partie de l'Europe: les cathédrales de Fribourg en Brisgau, de Vienne en Autriche sont des églises gothiques; sera-t-on en droit d'en tirer cette conséquence qu'à la date où ces édifices ont été bâtis, Fribourg en Brisgau, Vienne en Autriche étaient compris dans l'état dont Paris est la capitale?' (RC xvi, 104). See further observations on this point by the same scholar, *ib.* xviii, 125 f., and xx, 391.

that the Lausitz people were the ancestors of the Illyrians of history. Before the end of the Bronze Age this 'urnfield' culture had, in a more or less modified form, spread widely in central Europe. From such premisses as these Richard Pittioni¹ has drawn the far-reaching conclusion that an Illyrian empire, and with it Illyrian speech, extended over the greater part of Europe (excluding Russia) at the beginning of the Iron Age. The same scholar further insists that the Celts were the last of the Indo-European peoples to develop, and first came into existence towards the end of the sixth century B.C. and in the course of the fifth.² The word 'Celts', of course, means neither more nor less than people who spoke the Celtic dialect of Indo-European, the most notable characteristic of which was the loss of original *p*. Taken at its face-value, Pittioni's assertion can only mean that Celtic came into existence as a separate Indo-European dialect as late as *ca.* 500 B.C. Perhaps, however, it might not be quite fair to saddle him with so absurd a statement as that. The confusion in his mind between language and culture may be responsible for the confused way in which he expresses himself. What he ought, I suppose, to have said is that he is unable to trace the archaeological history of the Celtic-speaking people further back than the beginning of La Tène.

Against such archaeological divagations into the domain of philology linguists have protested in vain. One or two of their protests may be quoted here. 'The natural desire to bring objects of archaeological interest into relation with communities known from documentary evidence . . . leads frequently to a severe strain on the credulity of the layman', writes John Fraser.³ And again: 'The principle that it is dangerous . . . to argue that [a man's] language must have been this or that because his skull was of a particular shape and his weapons of a particular pattern, is generally recognized, but is not always acted on. No one would dream of applying such tests in the case of a living man; and the mere fact that the object of investigation has been dead for thousands of years, and that no other tests *can* be applied, cannot make the results of this method any more convincing'.⁴

¹ ZCP xxi, 167 ff.

² *ibid.* 202. Hence, he infers, the first Celtic invasions of Britain and Spain cannot have been earlier than the fourth century B.C.

³ Linguistic Evidence and Archaeological and Ethnological Facts, Proc. Brit. Acad. 1926, 8.

⁴ *ibid.* 10.

More recently Joseph Vendryes has written: 'On a prétendu établir un rapport entre les faits linguistiques et les trouvailles de l'archéologie . . . L'outillage est indépendant de la langue que l'on parle. Les objets de civilisation sont transportés par le commerce bien loin de leur pays d'origine. Des gens peuvent porter les mêmes jambières ou se servir des mêmes vases et parler des langues différentes. Et inversement. Il y a d'ailleurs un danger à appuyer des notions linguistiques sur une base archéologique; car cette base est des plus fragiles. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de lire les travaux publiés depuis quelques années sur l'archéologie de l'Europe. Ce n'est qu'un conflit d'incertitudes et de contradictions, dont chacun se tire par des hypothèses personnelles plus ou moins aventureuses. Celles qui paraissent le plus solides un jour risquent d'être ruinées le lendemain'.¹

In Ireland, as elsewhere, prehistoric archaeology is subject to inevitable limitations. It cannot, for instance, tell us the names by which the successive Celtic invaders of Ireland were known, nor can it enlighten us as to the dialects of Celtic they spoke. Eventually it may be able to isolate these invaders, i.e. to identify them archaeologically; but even for that the time has not yet come. Irish archaeology suffers from a peculiar handicap in that the potter's art fell into complete desuetude in Ireland at an early date—apparently some time before the Christian era,² with the result that the Irish archaeologist is deprived of the best criterion of date he could hope to possess. A still greater handicap—though it is one which will grow less in time—is the fact that scientific excavation is still in its infancy in Ireland. If we make a rough list³ of the sites which (so far as may be conjectured) would be most likely to throw light on pre-Christian Celtic Ireland, we shall find that not one of them has been systematically explored and that with one or two exceptions they are as yet untouched by the excavator's spade. The needful excavations will, in the most favourable circumstances, take many years to carry through.

¹ La position linguistique du celtique, Proc. Brit. Acad. 1937, 12 f.

² Hence Irish has no native word for 'potter'. Mod. Ir. *potadóir*, 'a potter', is based on the borrowed *pota*, 'a pot'. Keating finds it necessary to render the Latin *figulus* by the periphrasis *ceard chorcán gcriadh do dhéanamh*, 'an artificer who makes pots of clay' (Trí Biorghaoithe an Bháis II. 313, 490).

³ Such a list might include Emain, the Dorsey, Dún Delgan, Temair, Tailtiu, Tlachtga, Ailenn, Nás, Maistiú, Roíriu, Carman, Dinn Ríg, Dún Cermna, Brug Ríg, Dún Cláire, Cnoc Rafann, Dún Aengusa, Cruachain, Ailech.

Meanwhile, while giving full credit for the admirable work accomplished by archaeologists in Ireland, we shall do well to bear in mind that theories based on the fragmentary archaeological knowledge at present at their disposal are often, of necessity, in the highest degree tentative and precarious. The point is stressed here, because the archaeologists themselves—perhaps because they are by nature optimists, who like to think (or like others to think) that they are achieving definitive results—are not always so commendably frank as was R. A. S. Macalister, when he wrote : ‘ We have as yet such a scanty knowledge of the hidden things which await discovery beneath the soil of Ireland, that we are not entitled to make any categorical statement whatever about the early inhabitants of the country, without large reservations. And we are at present in that phase of scientific development where each new discovery increases our reservations rather than our knowledge ’.¹

¹ Ancient Ireland 81. Actually, of course, we know nothing at all concerning ‘ the hidden things which await discovery ’ ; but Macalister evidently means to contrast the scantiness of our present archaeological knowledge with the fuller knowledge we may hope eventually to acquire.

X.—PRITENI, PRITANI, BRITANNI.

We may supplement what has been said (p. 341 ff.) regarding the history of the Cruthin by a brief discussion of the history of their name.

Two slightly different P-Celtic forms of their name can be reconstituted, viz. **Pritenī* and **Pritanī*. The former is the forerunner of Ir. *Cruthin*, and of Welsh *Prydyn* which means primarily 'Picts' and secondarily 'Pictland'. A variant Welsh form *Pryden*, occasionally found, may be a petrified survival of the genitive (: Ir. *Cruthen*).¹ The alternative form **Pritanī* is represented by the Greek *Περραβοί*,² a name for the early inhabitants of Britain and Ireland, and survives in Welsh *Prydain* (Mid. W. *Prydein*), 'Britain'. In early Welsh literature *Ynys Prydein*³ invariably means 'Britain'; but otherwise *Prydein* has often the restricted sense of 'Pictland' (like *Prydyn*).⁴

¹ Cf. *Pappo Post Priten*, *Y Cymmrodor* ix, 179. Morris Jones, *Welsh Gr.* p. 201, would derive *Pryden* from **Pritenes*, a form for which there is otherwise no evidence.

² Forms with geminated *-τ-*, and with initial *B-* for *Π-*, e.g. *Περραβοί*, *Βπερραβοί*, are more common in Greek writings; but Stephanus of Byzantium bears testimony to the antiquity of the initial *Π* and the single *-τ-* (see Holder, i, 560. 46).

³ Literally 'the island of the Pritani'. This may have served as a model for Mid. Ir. *Inis Bretan*, literally 'the island of the Britons', which replaced the earlier *Albu*, 'Britain' (p. 386, n. 2). The Irish literati, it should be remembered, taught that at one time the Britons possessed the whole of Britain (cf. p. 376, n. 2).

⁴ Rhys, Zimmer and Windisch rightly see in *Prydain* (*Prydein*) a plural form (= *Περραβοί*); the name of the inhabitants became a name for the territory as so often happens (cf., e.g., W. *Cymru* for *Cymry*, Eng. *Wales*, Ir. *Bretain*). D'Arbois de Jubainville took *Prydain* to stand for a Gaulish **Pritanis* or **Pretanis* (RC xiii, 400), but there is no authority for any such geographical name. (The Greek *Περραβίς*, gen. *-ίδος*, is, of course, a purely Greek formation.) *Prydain* is derived by Morris Jones (*Welsh Gr.* 5) from **Pritan(n)ia*, by Loth (RC xxxviii, 280) from **Pritenia* or **Pritania*; but the termination *-ia* in names of countries is classical, not Celtic.

In Latin writings, in which the name is attested from before the middle of the first century B.C. (Catullus, Caesar), only forms with *B-* (instead of *P-*) are employed. The earliest Latin form is *Britanni*. A different formation, with geminated *t*, *Brittones* (sing. *Britto*), is attested from the second half of the first century A.D. From this the *-tt-* spread¹ to *Brittanni* and *Brittani*, later forms of *Britanni*.

The short *o* of *Brittones* (Juvenal xv, 124) points to this form of the name being of Celtic origin (< Celt. **Brittū*, plur. *Brittōnes*). Geminated consonants, which are characteristic of popular and expressive words, as well as of childish language, are especially common in the shortened forms of personal names.² *Britto* belongs to this class of words, and is a shortened or 'hypocoristic' form of *Britannus*.³ It is probably significant that *Britto* was in use as a personal name on the Continent.⁴ From a variant *Brittus*⁵ comes *Brittia*, 'the land of the Britti', the forerunner of Bret. *Breiz*, 'Brittany'.

Roman writers prefer the more dignified *Britanni* (with its variants) to the popular *Brittones*; but they make no distinction of meaning between them. In the course of the Roman occupation of Britain both forms of the name underwent a natural restriction of meaning; they ceased to be applied to the inhabitants of Britain in general, and came to be confined to the inhabitants of Roman Britain. Thus in the fourth century Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of the *Brittanni* being constantly harassed by Picts, Saxons and Scots.⁶ In the Latin writings of Welsh

¹ So Rhys and Morris Jones. The geminated *t* common in Greek forms like *Περραιβοί* is explained by Morris Jones as 'a probable misspelling of copyists, due to the *Britt-* forms which prevailed later'. This was also the view of d'Arbois de Jubainville.

² Cf. Pedersen, V. G. ii, 62 f.; Morris Jones, Welsh Gr. 133. Gaulish instances of such shortened names are *Cattos*, *Eppū*, *Mattū*, apparently representing full names beginning with *Catu-*, *Epo-*, *Matu-*. (On affective gemination generally cf. E. Kieckers, Einführung in die idg. Sprachwissenschaft. i, 112 f., F. Solmsen, Indogermanische Eigennamen 131 f.; also, for Latin, A. Meillet, Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine (1928), 166-169.)

³ Morris Jones, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See Holder, i, 609; iii, 976.

⁵ Employed by Marianus Scotus in the sense of 'Briton' (*Patricius genere Brittus*, Trip. Life 510. 37). In Holder (i, 609) attested only as a personal name.

⁶ Holder, i, 559. 14. Similarly Constantius in his 'Vita Germani' distinguishes the *Brittanni* from their enemies the Picts; and so does Gildas later.

and Irish authors of post-Roman times the favourite form is *Brittones*,¹ which is always employed in its restricted sense and means the surviving remnants of the inhabitants of Roman Britain. These were the Welsh and the Cornish, together with their kinsmen of the north (who in part lived between the two Walls), and also the 'Bretons' who had emigrated from the south-west of Britain to Armorica.² The Brittones are thus sharply distinguished from the Picti of the north of Britain, who never came under Roman rule, and also from the later invaders of Britain—the Anglo-Saxons and the Irish 'Scots'.

These Britons were in the main descendants of the old post-Pritenic invaders from Gaul, Belgic and non-Belgic; but they had no common name for themselves until they adopted the name *Brittones* from the Romans.³ In the south-east of Britain and in the towns, and in most of the territory which the Anglo-Saxons overran in the first impetus of their invasion, it is likely that the British population had been more or less completely romanized. But in the more remote districts, which continued in the possession of the Britons in post-Roman times, the romanization of the inhabitants had been but partial, and they had kept their Celtic speech, which after the departure of the Romans from Britain soon regained its ascendancy. Nevertheless these surviving Britons did regard themselves as the heirs and successors of Roman Britain. Thus, for Gildas, writing more than a century after the Romans had abandoned Britain, Latin is still *nostra lingua*, and his fellow-countrymen are *cives*.

The borrowed name *Brittones* regularly developed to *Brython* in Welsh. It was also borrowed by the Irish, who had hostile contacts with the Brittones of Roman Britain as early as the third century. In Irish it regularly became *Bret(t)ain*. In Irish literature we have references not only to the Britons of Wales, but also to those of the North (*Bretain Tuaiscirt*, or *Bretain Ail*

¹ e.g. 'Historia Brittonum'; 'Annales Cambriae'; Muirchú's Life of Patrick; Adamnan's 'Vita Columbae'. So Bede employs *Brettones* (sic), not *Britanni* or *Brittani*, when he is speaking of the Britons of his own day, and whenever he wishes to distinguish them from the other peoples of Britain.

² In the present book I employ 'Britons' in the sense which *Brittones* has in post-Roman times. To express the same sense Rhys has coined the name 'Brythons'. See p. 435.

³ A natural consequence of their adoption of the name *Brittones* was that the Britons henceforth claimed that they were the earliest inhabitants of Britain, and that the Picts were late intruders. See p. 377 f.

Cluaide), of Cornwall (*Bretain Corn*) and of Armorica (*Bretain Letha*). The accusative plur. *Bretnu* is modelled on *-o* stems, such as *Érainn*, *Lagin*, *Gaill*, and is paralleled in *Saxanu*, acc. plur. of *Saxain*, a borrowing of Latin *Saxones*, whence also Welsh *Saeson*. Besides the plural *Bretain*, a singular *Britt*¹ is also found. This is a borrowing of Lat. *Britto*, treated as **Brittū* on the model of native *-n* stems, and is paralleled in Ir. *Sax*,² W. *Sais*, 'a Saxon', from *Saxo*, treated as a native word **Saxū*.

The view hitherto held that *Brython* and *Bretain* are purely Celtic names must be discarded. So far as Welsh and Irish are concerned, these names are early borrowings from Latin, and not native words. Rhys has mistakenly sought to differentiate *Brython* (< *Brittones*) from Ir. *Bretain*, which he would derive from a Celtic **Brittani*.³ Accordingly he supposes that the Romans must have borrowed *Brittani* or *Britanni* from the Goidels of these Islands or of the Continent, and he suggests that those who hold that there were no Goidels in Britain until they came over from Ireland in the second century A.D. and later will find it difficult to reconcile their view with the [alleged] fact that the Romans borrowed *Britanni* from the Goidels.⁴

As a result of the loss of their independence by the Britons of Strathclyde and of Cornwall, and the subsequent extinction of their language and nationality, the only 'Britons' left in Britain in later times were the Welsh. Accordingly in Modern Irish *Breatain* has been narrowed down to mean 'Wales',⁵ and *Breat(h)nach* to mean 'Welshman'.⁶ Brittany is distinguished

¹ In our extant literature this mostly survives as an epithet, e.g. *Aedgen Britt* (AU 863), *Béinne Britt*.

² As in *Finán Sax*, Martyr. Gorman Jan. 9.

³ Similarly d'Arbois de Jubainville supposes that Ir. *Bretan* [a non-existent singular form] goes back to a Celtic **Brittanos* (RC xiii, 402).

⁴ The Welsh People, 4 ed., pp. 6, 77; Studies in Early Ir. History 35. In 'Celtic Britain', 3 ed., 208 ff., Rhys suggests that the Greeks picked up the name *Bperravoí* from the Goidels of the south-west of Britain, and he connects *Brittones* with Welsh *brethyn*, 'cloth', and interprets it as meaning 'a clothed people'. Here we have further examples of the worthless conjectures which Rhys threw out in such profusion. Cf. T. Rice Holmes, Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar 459-461.

⁵ Cf. *Cambria da ngairthear Breatain aníú*, FF ii, 5826.

⁶ To express the whole of Britain (Mid. Ir. *Inis Bretan*) Keating employs a translation of 'Great Britain', viz. *an Bhreatain Mhór* (gen. *na Breatan*, or *Breataine*, *Móire*); but in translating from Latin writers he occasionally renders *Britannia* by *an Bhreatain* simply.

as *Breatain na Fraince* (FF ii, 5830), otherwise *an Bhreatain Bheag* (ib. i, p. 8).¹

The Celtic name of Britain, **Albiū* (whence Ir. *Alba*), was known to Greek writers (see p. 385), and is recorded as *Albion* by Pliny, who evidently drew his information from a Greek source. The Greeks more frequently referred to Britain as *ἡ Περραινική* (or *Βερραινική*), 'the Pritanic (or Britanic) island'; compare the synonymous Welsh *Ynys Prydain*. The Romans invented the name *Britannia*, 'the land inhabited by the Britanni', on the model of *Galli* : *Gallia*, and the like; and this was borrowed as *Βερραιρία* by late Greek writers.

The close resemblance, both in form and meaning, between **Pritani* (*Περραινοί*) and *Britanni* suggests the question whether both names were not originally one. The question has been variously answered. Some scholars, e.g. MacBain,² J. Morris Jones,³ and Watson,⁴ regard the latter name as a deformation of the former. Others, finding it difficult to account for a change of *P-* to *B-*, and impressed by the fact that the Pritani (the Welsh *Prydyn*) and the later Brittones were distinct peoples, have supposed that the names are distinct in origin. This is the view taken by d'Arbois de Jubainville,⁵ Rhys,⁶ Windisch,⁷ and recently by Vendryes.⁸

Mac Neill suggests that *Britanni* as the Latin name for the inhabitants of Britain originated in a blunder of Julius Caesar's. Pliny makes mention of an obscure tribe of *Britanni* who were located in Belgic Gaul near the mouth of the Somme⁹; and Mac Neill suggests that Caesar confused the name of the inhabitants

¹ A late borrowing *an Bhriottáin* is used in a double sense: 'Brittany' (ZCP vi, 33. 3-4), and 'Britain' (Plummer, *Lives of Ir. SS.* i, 296, § xx). Cf. *Briottáinis*, 'the British language', FF i, 28.

² Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 ed., 384.

³ *Welsh Grammar* pp. 4-6.

⁴ *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 13 f.

⁵ RC xiii, 398 ff. D'Arbois mistakenly assumes that the underlying forms begin with *Pret-* and *Britt-*, respectively. *Brit-* (with single *t*) he does not attempt to explain.

⁶ *The Welsh People*, 4 ed., 76; *Celtic Britain*, 3 ed., 207 ff., 241.

⁷ *Das keltische Britannien* 36.

⁸ MacNeill-Essays 160-166. Vendryes strangely ignores the arguments of Morris Jones and Watson, which he appears not to have read.

⁹ Holder, i, 554. 44; iii, 947. Their name survives in the French village-name *Bretagne* (< *Britt-*).

of Britain with that of this petty tribe, and mistakenly called the former *Britanni* and their island *Britannia* instead of employing the correct Gaulish names *Pretani* and *Pretania*.¹ This suggestion cannot be taken seriously. The island of Britain and its inhabitants must have been known by repute to the Romans long before the time of Julius Caesar, and there is not the slightest justification for supposing that Caesar in calling the inhabitants *Britanni* was not using the name which the Romans had long since learned from the Gauls.² As for the tribelet of *Britanni* mentioned by Pliny, it is very probable that, as their name would suggest, they were merely a body of immigrants from Britain.³ As Caesar does not once allude to them, we must assume that their settlement in Gaul was subsequent to Caesar's campaigns, or else that Caesar either had not heard of their existence or thought them too unimportant to mention.

The facts, certain or probable, regarding the two names may be recapitulated. **Pritanī*⁴ or **Pritenī*, the name of a people dominant in both Britain (**Albiū*) and Ireland (**Ivernā*), was borrowed by the Greeks as *Ππερανοί*.⁵ The borrowing may have taken place as early as 500 B.C. (p. 84). In the course of time new invaders from Gaul deprived the Pritani of their dominion

¹ Phases of Irish History 58 f.; Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1933, pp. 6 f., 28. (This view was adopted by R. G. Collingwood, Roman Britain and the English Settlements 31.) Mac Neill wrongly assumes that *Pretani* was 'the Gallo-Brittonic equivalent of Ir. *Cruthin*, and that the latter goes back to **Qreteni*.

² If the *τῶν Βπερρατικῶν νήσων* of the mss. of Polybius may be trusted, it shows that the *B*-form of the name was already in existence in the second century B.C.

³ This suggestion has been made by MacBain (Skene's Highlanders of Scotland, 2 ed., 384) and Zupitza (ZCP iv, 20).

⁴ The ending *-ī* of the nom. plur. of *-o* stems comes from an earlier *-oi*; and it is quite possible that at the time when the Greeks first heard the name the Celtic form was **Pritanoi* rather than **Pritanī*.

⁵ Sonant *r* before a stop gives *ri* in Celtic, hence **Pritanī* (> W. *Prydain*). The *ε* of *Ππερανοί* seems, as Morris Jones (Welsh Gr. p. 88) has suggested, to be a Greek attempt to represent open *i*. We should have a parallel in Caesar's *vergobretus*, confirmed by *VERCOBRETO* on coins, if the second element could be referred to **britā* (< **bytā*), Ir. *breth* (so Pedersen, V. G. i, 42); but Thurneysen has rejected this interpretation as impossible (ZCP xvi, 288 n. 2). We may perhaps compare *-eos* for *-ios* in the patronymics *Kondilleos*, *Litumareos*, *Villoneos*, in Gaulish inscriptions in Greek characters, and also the interchange of *e* and *i* in *Lexovii* (Caesar, etc.), *LIXOVIO* (on their coins).

over the south of Britain, though they retained their hold on the north of the island. Notwithstanding the encroachments of the later invaders, Britain continued to be regarded as 'the island of the Pritani'.¹ From this we may infer that *Pritani* continued to be employed as a name for all the inhabitants of the island, new as well as old. At the same time, as was to be expected, *Pritani* was in a special manner the name of the older inhabitants,² who had formerly occupied the entire island but were now being pushed towards the north. After the Roman conquest of Gallia Narbonensis ca. 121 B.C., if not before that event, the Romans must have heard of Britain from the Gauls. The earliest Latin name for the inhabitants of Britain is *Britanni*.

The two names, *Pritani* and *Britanni*, both mean the same thing, viz. 'the inhabitants of Britain'. They differ in point of date; the former, in its Greek shape *Ππερανοί*, is attested, indirectly, several centuries earlier than the latter. In classical writings a variety of forms is found, but there is never any distinction of meaning between the various forms. The Greeks called Britain and Ireland αἱ Ππερ(τ)ανικαὶ (or Βπερτ-) νῆσοι and Ππερ(τ)ανίδες (or Βπερτ-) νῆσοι, which Pliny latinizes as *Britanniae*³ and other Latin writers as *Britannicae insulae*.⁴ The presumption certainly is that the names *Pritani* (*Ππερανοί*) and *Britanni*, identical in meaning and very similar in form, are ultimately one and the same.

The only difficulty in the way of identifying the two names is that the *P-* of the earlier name is replaced by *B-* in the later. Morris Jones would explain this as due to a 'British alternation *p : b*'; but this explanation is, to say the least, unconvincing,⁵ and there is no reason to believe that this change of *P-* to *B-* occurred in Brittonic at all. Watson appears to suggest that the *B-* is an instance of the representation of a Greek tenuis by a Latin media, as in Lat. *buxus* < Gr. πύξος⁶; but this, too, is unsatisfactory, for it would imply that the Romans learned the name of the inhabitants of Britain from the Greeks, whereas

¹ So much is clear from the Welsh *Ynys Prydain*, 'Britain'.

² This may be inferred from the use of Welsh *Prydain*, *Prydyn*, and Ir. *Cruthin*, in the sense of 'Picts'. With the double sense (general and local) of **Pritani* we may compare the double sense of **Ivernī* (p. 83).

³ Holder, i, 566. 12.

⁴ *ibid.* 595. 34, and cf. 596. 2.

⁵ The only other example he gives of this alleged alternation is W. *brig*, 'top', which he tortuously equates with W. *crib*, 'comb' (Welsh Gr. 157 f.).

⁶ Cf. F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, 2-3 ed., 197.

the correct *-i-* of *Britanni* (in contrast to the *-e-* of the Greek forms) suggests that the Romans got the name directly from the Celts. MacBain had earlier made a similar suggestion when he spoke of *Britannia* as 'a bad Latin pronunciation of *Pretannia*'. The Romans as a rule transferred Celtic place and personal names to their own language with remarkable fidelity; and there is no reason to suppose that *Britanni* is an exception to the rule, or to doubt that it accurately represents the name of the inhabitants of Britain current among the Gauls *ca.* 100 B.C.

Accordingly we are justified in assuming that the change of *P-* to *B-* occurred neither in British nor in Latin, but in Gaulish. From the Gauls the Romans borrowed not only *Britanni*, but also the hypocoristic formation *Brittones*.¹ The Celts of Roman Britain adopted *Brittones* from the Romans as a name for themselves; but in the native names **Pritanī* and **Pritenī* they retained the *P-*, as we see from the Welsh *Prydain* and *Prydyn*.²

The Gaulish change of *P-* to *B-* in *Britannī* < **Pritanī* can only be explained as the result of analogical influence.³ Of the vocabulary of Gaulish very little, unfortunately, is known; but it is not rash to suppose that Gaulish possessed not a few proper names and other words beginning with *brit-*, which might represent either IE. *bhr̥t-* or IE. *m̥t-*,⁴ referable to the various IE. roots *bher-*, *mer-*. We may take as an example *Brito-martos* (Holder, i, 551) or *Brito-māros* (ib. iii, 945), of which the first element might be related to Ir. *breth* (< **britā*), 'act of carrying; birth; judgment', IE. root *bher-*, or alternatively might stand for an earlier *mrito-*, from the IE. root *mer-*, *smr-*, 'to take thought', which is well represented in Celtic.⁵ We may further compare *Britovios*, a by-name of the Gaulish Mars, which may well stand

¹ One may note that *-ones* was a common termination of Gaulish tribal names, e.g. *Eburones*, *Senones*, *Lingones*, *Redones*, etc.

² Likewise the pre-Goidelic Celts of Ireland retained the *P-* of **Pritenī*, which borrowed into Irish gave O. Ir. *Cruthin* (with *c-* < *q-* < *p-*).

³ Compare *Ivernī* becoming *Hibernī* in Latin, owing to the influence of *hibernus*, 'wintry'.

⁴ In Gaulish and Brittonic *mr-* fell together with *br-* at an early date, as in *Allo-broges*, *Braciaca*.

⁵ e.g., to confine oneself to proper names, the Gaulish goddess-name *Rosmerta*; the personal names *Smertu-litanos* and *Smerto-mārā* (Holder ii, 1593); *Smertae* or *Mertae*, the name of a tribe in the north of Scotland; **Smritus*, preserved in the Irish mythical name *Smrith*, gen. *Smretha* (ÁID i, 29; ZCP xiii, 373); **Mariatis*, preserved in the Irish mythical name *Mairid* (p. 153).

for **Mritovios*, formed from the *-u* stem **mritu-*,¹ and may thus be related to *Smertatios*, another Gaulish name of the same deity. There would be nothing extraordinary in the *P-* of **Pritanī* becoming *B-* through association with names like the foregoing or with other words beginning with *brit-*.² For the interchange of *n* and *nn* in **Pritanī : Britannī*, we may compare the single *-n-* of Welsh *Gofynion* (< **Gobinionos* or **Gobiniū*)³ with the geminated *n* attested in Welsh *Gofannon* (< **Gobannonos*), the British place-name *Gobannion*, and the Gaulish personal name recorded as *Gobannitio* by Caesar.

While this question of the ultimate identity or non-identity of the names *Ππεραβοί* and *Britanni* is of considerable philological interest, it is of small importance historically. What is important is that we should bear in mind that the Priteni or Pritani, the earliest inhabitants of Britain and Ireland known to us historically, and whose name appears in Welsh as *Prydyn* and *Prydain*, in Irish as *Cruthin* (or *Cruithni*, *Cruithnig*), were distinct from the 'Britons', i.e. the descendants of the later Belgic and other Gaulish invaders of Britain, who eventually styled themselves *Brittones*. Morris Jones (whom Watson follows) was, I have little doubt, right in concluding that the name *Britanni* is merely another (Gaulish, I suggest) form of **Pritani*, but he was wrong in inferring from the identity of these names that 'the Picts were Britons' (cf. p. 353, n. 2).

¹ In **mritu-* (IE. root *smer-*, *mer-*) I see the forerunner of Welsh *bryd*, m., 'mind, thought', which has hitherto (e.g. by Stokes, Meyer, Pedersen and Walde-Pokorny) been connected with Ir. *breth*, f., < **britā*.

² One may perhaps make reference here to the occasional interchange of tenuis and media in initial position in insular Celtic, e.g. *Cre craige : Gre craige* (p. 190). So O. Ir. *coll*, 'one-eyed', becomes (perhaps through some hidden analogy) *goll* in Middle Irish (cf. p. 66, n. 4). See Pedersen, V. G. i, 494 f. (The IE. alternation of tenuis and media in certain words, as to which see ib. 186 f., E. Kieckers, Einführung in die idg. Sprachwissenschaft i, 27, and also Morris Jones, Welsh Gr. 156 f., is, of course, not relevant here.)

³ Closely related is Ir. *Goibniū*, which may come from either **Gobenniū* or **Gobeniū*. The interchange of *-en(n)-* and *-ann-* in **Goben(n)iū : Gobannion* recalls the doublets **Pritenī : *Pritanī*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

CHAP. I

P. 3. Whether the name *Modorn* in *Ess Ruaid meic Moduirn* (Ac. Sen.), 'Assaroe', is genuine is open to question. The Aed Ruad from whom the waterfall derived its name is called in older texts *Aed Ruad mac Badiurn*.¹ Another instance of *Modorn* as a man's name occurs in Ac. Sen. 3071 (*Modhurnn ri Alban*). Cf. also *Sliab Moduirn* in Co. Monaghan (e.g. LL 16 b 11, Met. D. iv, pp. 88, 164).

P. 4, l. 22. A sixteenth-century poem makes reference to *cuan Duibhe i nDíbh* [leg. *nÍbh*] *Duibhne* (ITS xxxvii, 109.7), where *cuan Duibhe* (riming with *muighe*) appears to imply the existence of a river named *Dub* in Corcu Duibne in Kerry.

P. 5, l. 5. *Lemain* (Mod. Ir. *Leamhain*) is the name of the River Laune in Co. Kerry, and of the River Leven in Dumbartonshire, Scotland. The district adjoining the Leven was called *Mag Lemna*, or *Lemain* simply.² *Lemain* and *Mag Lemna* were also used as the name of a district near Clogher, in the south of Co. Tyrone. Here, too, it is likely that *Lemain* was originally a river-name; possibly it preserves the earliest name of the Tyrone Blackwater, which in the literature is called *Daball* (later *Abhann Mhór*, and *Abhann Dubh*). The fact that the Leven was known as *Lemn* in Old Welsh (*Historia Brittonum* c. 67) suggests that the Old Irish form of the name of these rivers was *Lemun*, dat.-acc. *Lemuin*. The Irish name is commonly taken to be a derivative of *lem*, 'elm', as if it meant 'elm-water';³ but W. *Lemn*, and Ir. *Lemun*, would go back rather to **Limnā*, earlier

¹ e.g. R. 135 b 3, 156 a 52. Exceptionally Aed Ruad is *mac Bóduirn*, LL 20 a 45, *mac Báduirn*, ib. l. 49. Contrast *Badiurn*, riming with *ramuirn*, Met. D. iii, 410, and iv, 2.

² Cf. *in Valle Limnae*, 'in the Vale of 'Leven', AU 703.

³ So Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places* i, 508; Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 119; Pokorny, ZCP xxi, 119.

**Libnā*, meaning 'smooth' or the like. Cf. O. Bret. *limn*, glossing 'lentum'. With **Libnā*, which is Brittonic rather than Goidelic in form, we may compare Ptolemy's river-name *Libnios*.¹

P. 5 f. The Roe is called *Abhann na Róo* in a seventeenth-century list of place-names in Franciscan Convent MS. A 31. It may be added that the Munros, known in Scottish Gaelic as *Roithaich*, are said to have been so called because they came originally from *Bun Rotha*, 'the mouth of the River Roe'. The disyllabic pronunciation indicated by *Rotha* (i.e. *Ro'a*) would be regularly preserved in Scottish Gaelic, but would have no parallel in Modern Irish. O'Mellan in his Diary spells the surname 'Munro' *Bon Roo*, *Bon Róo*, *Bon Róó*.

Ravios would regularly give O. Ir. disyllabic *Raue* (*Roa*, *Roe*), gen. *Raui*, later monosyllabic *Rua*, gen. *Ruí* (*Roí*). We seem to have a secondary use of it in the compound *senrua* (*senRua*), used in some such sense as 'old warrior, veteran'.² Compare the use of *Balar* as a common noun in Met. D. iv, pp. 76 ('chieftain'), 126 ('warrior'), and the similar use of *Anroth* (p. 522); also *Lug* in *ba hē Lug na fian fadbach*, *Fianaigecht* 12. 1. Other compounds, *Flathrua* and *Cathrua*, have been preserved as personal names.³ Further we have *Dam Ruí*, 'the ox of Rua', which in a modified form, *Dam Ré*, is common in Early Modern Irish verse in some such sense as 'champion'.⁴

¹ Ptolemy's *Λεμαννόνιος κόλπος*, generally identified with Loch Fyne, has been regarded by MacBain and Watson as cognate with *Leamhain*, 'the Leven'. I suggest that the two names are unconnected etymologically. Likewise *Lemain* would be unconnected with *Liamain*, the name of a district in Co. Dublin, which apparently has its Welsh counterpart in *Llwyfain* (< **Lēmani-*; cf. Y Cymmrodor xxviii, pp. 71, 159, 169 f.).

² For the three known examples of it see R.I.A. Contrr. s. v. *rúa*. The *rua* of *senrua* is disyllabic, RC xiii, 397; monosyllabic, LU 1253. Pokorny conjectures that *rua*, 'Held', (in *sen-rua*) goes back to **reujo-*, root *reu-*, 'rennen, eilen', as in Lat. *ruo*, Ir. *rúathar* (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* xlv, 154); but this etymology would disassociate *rua* from *Cú Ruí*, and is otherwise improbable.

³ See p. 6, n. 2; and cf. *Fergus mac Flathraí*. RC xiii, 92. 14 (LL 304 b). From the genitive *Flathruí* a new name, *Flaithrí*, was formed by popular etymology.

⁴ *Dam Ruí* is parallel to *Cú Ruí* ('the dog of Rua'), but, unlike the latter name, it was preserved only in a metaphorical sense. Originally, I take it, *Dam Ruí* was the god in bull-form, otherwise known as *Dáire* and *Dáire Donn*, who in 'Táin Bó Cualnge' appears, with his divinity disguised, as the huge bull *Donn Cualnge*, owned by one *Dáire mac Fiachna*. There

P. 7, l. 7.. *Dáirine*, which was commonly written *Dáirfhine*, was interpreted as a compound of *Dáire* and *fine*, 'tribe, kindred'. Cf. *Dáirfhine .i. fine Dáire Doimthigh*, O'Mulconry, 417, and see Cóir Anmann § 68. Marstrander (R.I.A. Dict. s. v. *Dáirine*) objects that *fine* is a fem. *-iā* stem in Old Irish, whereas Mid. Ir. *Dáirine*, when its gender can be tested, is masc. (or neuter), and sometimes has dat. *Dáirfhiniu*. But these objections are not decisive. Compare Mid. Ir. dat. (for acc.) *finiu* in *etir Liphí 7 finiu Cualann*, R 124 b 48. In IGT, p. 37, *fine* is both masc. and fem.

P. 9, n. 4. It is worth noting that the *ve-* of *-vellaunos* was treated in British like the *ve-* of *ver-*.¹ Thus Celt. *Katu-vellaunos* gave O. Welsh *Cat-guollaun*, O. Bret. *Cat-uuallon*, *Cat-guallon*, and *Dubno-vellaunos* gave O. Bret. *Dumno-uuallon*, *Dumuuallon* (Loth, Chrestomathie 171).

Pp. 10 (l. 5), 103, 147. **Labriatis* would regularly have given O. Ir. **Laibrid*, gen. **Laibredo*.² Under the influence of *labrae*, 'speech', *labrar*, 'I speak', this became *Labraid*, gen. *Labrado*.

In the Ogam inscription, at Ballyboodan, Co. Kilkenny, the reading LABRIATT . . (genitive) is due to Rev. Edmond Barry.³ After the five notches indicating I, there is, he says, 'an A-notch not quite perfect but yet quite evident, and next, two imperfect T's ending close to the top of the stone'. Macalister in his recently published 'Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum' (i, 42) ignores the A-notch and reads LABRID . . (As the end of the stone is broken away the D might be read as an imperfect T.)

P. 10, l. 12. The name of the Osraige or Osairge was by the etymologists connected with *os*, 'deer'. They were so called

is much that might be said concerning *Dáire*, Donn Cualnge, and the bull-god of Irish heathen belief; but a discussion of these matters would be out of place here.

¹ Under the influence of another prepositional prefix *vo-* (giving Ir. *fo-*, Welsh *gwo-*, *gwa-*, *go-*), *ver-* became *vor-* both in Goidelic and in British, giving Ir. *for-*, Welsh *gwor-*, *gwar-*, *gor-*.

² A form **Labratis* would have given O. Ir. *Labraid*, gen. **Labartha*.

³ Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1895, 363. Previously Brash and Ferguson, working on a paper mould of the inscription, had read LABRIDD and LABRIDD(A), respectively (Brash, The Ogam Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil 288; Ferguson, Ogham Inscriptions in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland 76).

because on one occasion 'they ran away like deer' (*amal ossa is samlaid rorathatar ass*, Ériu iii, 141, l. 207). Hence their name was etymologized as **os-éirge* (Cóir Anmann § 213). The name of Oengus Ossairge (so LL 138 b 5), father, according to the genealogists, of Loegaire Bern Buadach (p. 18), is spelled *Oengus Os(f)rithe* in the genealogies in LL and R, because, it is explained, Oengus 'was found among deer' (*eter ossu alta fofrith*, LL 339 a 46, R 117 f 19; and see Cóir Anmann § 213). Further *lecht Oengusa Osrithe*, LL 43 b 12 (Broccán Cráibdech). Hence the artificial spelling *Osrithe*, R 117 e 39, in contrast to the *Ossairge* of the line immediately preceding. *Osraige* or *Os(s)airge*, properly a singular collective, came to be sometimes treated as plural, e.g. acc. *Osraigiu*, AU 1026, dat. *Ossairgib*, LL 290 a 33, on the model of *Laigniu*, *Laignib*.

P. 16, n. 2. Caesar (De Bello Gallico v, 12) records that the 'interior' of the Britain of his day was inhabited by people who claimed to be aboriginal; the 'maritime part' by people who had crossed over from the territory of the Belgae (*ex Belgio*). The expressions *pars interior* and *maritima pars* are, of course, to be interpreted, not in a slavishly literal sense, but from the standpoint of one who, like Caesar, had visited Britain from Belgic Gaul. The *maritima pars* would be that part of Britain most accessible from Gaul; the *pars interior*, the remoter districts, especially towards the north. MacBain¹ and other scholars have rightly identified the aboriginal inhabitants of the 'interior' with the people later known as Picts, who were pressed back into the more remote parts of the island by Belgic invaders.

In recent years it has been inferred on archaeological grounds that there was an invasion of south-east Britain by Gauls about 75 B.C., that is to say, less than a generation before Caesar's expeditions to Britain. Some such settlement as this would explain the contrast that Caesar (v, 14) noted between the people of Cantium (Kent) and the rest of the Britanni. The people of Cantium, he tells us, were by far the most civilized (*longe humaníssimi*) of all the inhabitants of Britain, and differed but little in their culture from the Gauls.

In Caesar's reference to the invasion of Britain *ex Belgio*, there is nothing which would suggest that this invasion was a quite recent event which had occurred but a few years before. Caesar's words would be quite consistent with the supposition that the

¹ Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 ed., 384.

Britons whose ancestors had come *ex Belgio* had been settled in the country for some centuries.¹ Nevertheless archaeologists have without the least hesitation identified their own invasion of *ca.* 75 B.C. (which they arbitrarily term 'the First Belgic Invasion') with the invasion *ex Belgio* of which Caesar had heard. Thus V. Gordon Childe goes so far as to assert, very misleadingly, that 'an invasion of south-eastern England about a generation before the British campaigns of Julius Caesar is a historical fact, duly vouched for by Caesar himself'!²

Another statement of Caesar's, concerning the Belgae of Gaul, has likewise been misinterpreted by archaeologists. Caesar tells us that he was informed by the Remi, a Belgic tribe, that the Belgae were for the most part sprung *ab Germanis* and had crossed the Rhine into Gaul at a remote period.³ In particular Caesar (ii, 4; vi, 32) applies the name *Germani* to the Eburones, the Condrusi, and certain other Belgic tribes. The meaning to be attributed to these statements linking the Belgae with the 'Germans' is not open to doubt. They mean neither more nor less than that not a few of the Belgic tribes had formerly dwelt in 'Germania', to the east of the Rhine.⁴ In Caesar's view the Belgae were intruders into Gaul, and consequently the name *Galli* was not properly applicable to them; hence, too, he sometimes confines the name *Gallia* to the territory occupied by the non-Belgic Gauls. *Germani*,

¹ Irish traditions show how tenaciously the popular memory could preserve such ethnic distinctions for hundreds of years, and could differentiate the various strata of the population according to their relative antiquity.

² Early Communities of the British Isles 250.

³ *plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis Rhenumque antiquitus traductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse*, De Bello Gallico ii, 4.

⁴ So. E. Zupitza, ZCP iv, 19; d'Arbois de Jubainville, Les Celtes 14. T. Rice Holmes states his verdict as follows (I supply some needed qualifications within square brackets): 'My own conviction is that when the Reman envoys told Caesar that the Belgae were [mostly] "of German origin", they spoke the truth; but that they only meant that [most of] the Belgae were the descendants of a people who had once dwelt on the east of the Rhine' (Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, 2 ed., 333). And again: 'If the Eburones and their neighbours were called Germani in a special sense, as distinct from the rest of the Belgae, who also [for the most part] claimed to be of German origin, the explanation may be that the former were the latest immigrants' (ib. 340). Compare the long discussion by E. Norden, Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania 353 ff. 'Die Behauptung einer germanischen "Abstammung" irgendwelcher Stämme der Belgae, und nun gar die "meisten", ist in das Gebiet der Fabel zu verweisen', ib. 375.

as he employs it, is a geographical rather than an ethnic term; it was a name for those tribes who dwelt, or had recently dwelt, to the east of the Rhine. Indeed it was originally applied to Celts rather than to Germans.¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, doubtless copying some earlier Greek writer, speaks of the land of the Celts (ἡ Κελτική) as divided into two territories by the Rhine, viz. Γερμανία, east of the Rhine, and Γαλατία, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees and the ocean.² In Caesar's time, however, the right bank of the Rhine had come to be occupied almost exclusively by Teutonic tribes; hence he is able to describe the manners and customs of the *Germani*, or dwellers to the east of the Rhine, as differing considerably from those of the Gauls (vi, 21-23).³

It is easy to understand Caesar's somewhat confused and inconsistent use of *Germani*, which in his day had not yet fully shed its older associations or fully acquired its later sense of 'Teutons'. With less excuse we find English archaeologists misinterpreting Caesar's reference to the 'Germanic' origin of the Belgae as meaning their Teutonic origin.⁴ 'What distinguished the Belgae from the rest of the Gauls, as we know from Caesar, was their strain of German blood', write C. F. C. Hawkes and G. C. Dunning.⁵ Indeed the same scholars go so far as to suggest that the Belgae had no existence until they were 'formed' by the 'fusion' of Germans and Celts in the latter half of the second

¹ 'Aus diesen Stellen [viz. in 'De Bello Gallico', and in the 'Germania' of Tacitus] geht klar hervor, dass der Name "Germani" ursprünglich rechtsrheinischen kelt. Stämmen zukam, die ihn aber aufgaben, als sie in ihre neuen linksrheinischen Sitze übergesiedelt waren' — Sigmund Feist, in Ebert's Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, iv, 276. Similarly Solmsen, Indogermanische Eigennamen 30 f.

² Edm. Cougny, Extraits des auteurs grecs concernant la géographie et l'histoire des Gaules ii, 478 ff. Cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Les Celtes 15 f.

³ Caesar had no suspicion that the 'Germani' who in his day occupied the right bank of the Rhine were, comparatively speaking, new-comers who had pressed the Celts westwards. He admits (vi, 24) the existence of one Celtic tribe dwelling in 'Germania', viz. the Volcae Tectosages; but he supposes that these were a relic of former times, when Gaulish invaders from the west had crossed the Rhine and settled in 'German' territory.

⁴ Mac Neill falls into the same error (Phases of Irish History 22-24).

⁵ The Archaeological Journal lxxxvii, 181. 'The Belgae always boasted of their German blood', writes C. F. C. Hawkes, in Kendrick and Hawkes, Archaeology in England and Wales 1914-1931, 204.

century B.C.¹ R. E. M. Wheeler speaks of the Belgae as a 'group of half-Celtic, half-Teutonic tribes', while admitting that 'the Germanic elements in this mixed population are difficult now to isolate'.² And more recently V. Gordon Childe makes the following slipshod and inaccurate assertion: 'In the latter half of the second century Teutonic tribes from beyond the Rhine had conquered northern Gaul, . . . creating mixed states with a preponderantly Germanic population, as Caesar states in his "Commentaries on the Gallic War"'.³

It was Caesar's campaigns in Gaul that first brought the Romans into contact with the Belgae, the earliest extant references to whom occur in Caesar's 'De Bello Gallico'. But the much earlier conquest of Ireland by Builg (i.e. **Bolgā*) from Britain suggests plainly that there were Belgae in northern Gaul centuries before Caesar's time.

P. 22, n. 3. In contrast to Ó Bruadair's *Gailianach*, we find *Gáilianach* in an Ossianic poem: *ríge chóigídh Gháiltanach* (: *sáimríaghla*), ITS vii, 87. 3.

In the attempts that were made to find etymologies for *Gálioín* and *Gáiling* the first part of each name was sometimes identified with *gát*, 'spear'.⁴ This may well be correct.

Gát, which is masculine in Irish, would go back to **gaisos*.⁵ Intervocalic *s* became *h* at an early date, and then disappeared (cf. Ogam IARI⁶ < **Isari*). At the period of syncope -s- in com-

¹ Even if we accepted the unproved assumption that the Belgae of Caesar's time were largely of German blood, this suggestion would still be absurd—as absurd as to suppose that there were no English previous to the Norman invasion.

² European Civilisation, ed. Eyre, ii, 259.

³ Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles 250.

⁴ See, for *Gálioín*, ZCP x, 163.11, Cóir Anmann § 226; and cf. *Viri Armorum .i. Fir Gaileoín*, Lebor Bretnach 21. For *Gáiling* see R 154 a 5, = LL 329 c 12, Cóir Anmann § 239.

⁵ Contrast Gallo-latin *gaesum*, which was perhaps modelled on *pilum*, *telum*, *jaculum*.

⁶ On another Ogam stone Macalister at one time read ISARI (Studies in Ir. Epigraphy ii, 113), which was interpreted by Meyer (Fianagecht p. xvii, n. 3) and Pokorny (ZCP xii, 334) as the genitive of *Iar*. But this reading, 'which began at the wrong end of the inscription', has now been discarded by Macalister; see his 'Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum', i, p. 200.

pounds was sometimes preserved as *h*,¹ but more often had become silent.² The diphthong *ai* appears to have been reduced to *a* in hiatus. Compare dat. pl. **gaisobis* giving O. Ir. disyllabic *ga(a)ib*,³ later monosyllabic *gáib*.⁴ Hence we might expect that *gaiso-* as the first element of a compound would by the period of syncope have evolved either to disyllabic *ga(h)a-* or to monosyllabic *gā-*. The former would be syncopated to *ga-*; the latter would remain, and the following syllable would be dropped by syncope. Hence we may infer with probability that the names *Gailin(n)e* and *Gáilne (Gáille)*⁵ are doublets.

Gáille is the name of (1) a district in Co. Roscommon, bordering on Lough Ree, and now represented by the townlands of Galey and Galey Beg⁶; and (2) a district in the north of Co. Kerry, now represented by the parish of Galey and the River Galey.⁷ *Gailin(n)e* is the name of (1) Gallen, near Fermagh, King's Co.⁸; (2) a district near Abbeyleix, Queen's Co.⁹; and (3) a sept in Dál mBuinne in Co. Antrim¹⁰. The name of the Antrim sept is written *Gáilinne* in LL 364 h, = Martyr. Tallaght Oct. 30: *Mochholmoc m. h. (= moccu) Gualae no .h. Gáili, di Gáilinne di*

¹ Note the unvoicing of spirant *g* in *machad*, < **mago-sedon* (Marstrander, RC xxxvi, 343), and in *fochaid*, < **vo-sagiti-*; of spirant *d* in *fotha*, < **vo-sodio-* (Thurneysen, ZCP xiii, 301).

² Cf. *degaid*, < **de-sagiti-*; *foéssam*, < **vo-sistāmu-*; *cuingid* (and *cuindchid*), < **kon-dī-sagiti-*. In the last word, and also in *foéssma*, gen. of *foéssam*, the loss of the original second and third syllables shows that these syllables had been reduced to one before syncope. Note *Findabair*, without trace of the lost *-s-*, and contrast *Fintan* (see p. 319, n. 1). Compare the doublets *int(s)amail*, *indamail*.

³ Cf. disyllabic *gáib* (read *gaaib*), Met. D. iv, 104.6.

⁴ e.g. *gáib* riming with words like *máil*, *láim*, LL 44 b 24, Anecdota ii, pp. 27 (§ 15), 71 (l. 13).

⁵ Cf. *Corb Gailli*, otherwise *Corb Gaillni*, in BDC (RC xxi, 318, 390). Perhaps we may compare *Gálla* (with *-ll-* from *-ln-*?) in *Dál nGálla* (or *nGáilla*), R 123 f 9, 12, the name of one of the *forstuinte* of the Uí Fhailge; and also the obscure *gallnai gáir* in a passage of 'rhetoric' in TBC, LU 5430, which may be a variant of *galión gáir*, ib. 5424.

⁶ Cf. *Buile Shuibhne* (ITS xii), pp. 118, 120; Ériu v, 60.6; O'Donovan's Supplement to O'Reilly, s. v. *bléan*.

⁷ Cf. *súuagh cháomhG[h]áille*, Ériu ix, 165.3 (misidentified, ib. 174).

⁸ *Gáinne*, AU 832; gen. *Gáilinne*, LL 368 b; dat. *Gáilinni*, LL 367 b.

⁹ *Gáilne* (riming with *fine*), Top. Poems 86; and cf. FM iv, 732.2

¹⁰ See p. 95. But the correct form of their name is doubtful; see the next note.

Ultaib dó. This Mocholmóc is doubtless identical with Colmán *m. h. Guali* (Arch. Hib. i, 319. 11).¹ We find a couple of other saints, Mo-lua and Mo-chummae, referred to as *m. h. Gaili* (ib. pp. 336, 340), meaning possibly 'of the Gailine'. (This would suggest that *Gailine* was a derivative of *Gaile*; but the names following *m. h. (moccu)* are not always genuine, as the use of *m. h. Baird* in the sense of 'of the Lombards' shows.) The statement that the Antrim Gailine (or Gáilinne) were of Laginian origin (p. 95, n. 2) suggests that their name may be connected with that of the Gálio(i)n (or Galion). But formal and etymological obscurities remain, which the insufficiency of the available evidence does not permit us to clear up.

The tribal name *Gailing* may go back to **Gaiso-lengī* or **Gaiso-lingī* (p. 393). Another example of the composition-form *ga-* occurs in O. Ir. *gaisced*,² 'arms, spear and shield' (Mod. Ir. *gaisgeadh*, 'feat of arms, valour'), which I take to be an old *dvandva*-compound of *gai* and *sciath* ('shield'), < Celt. **gaiso-skēto*.³ For this type of compound compare *feólfhuil*, otherwise *fuilfheoil*, 'flesh and blood', *corpanim*, 'body and soul'.⁴ Spear and shield were the essential equipment of a warrior.⁵ When the youthful Cúchulainn assumed arms (*gaisced*), he was given 'a spear and a shield' (*gai 7 sciath*, LU 5044).

A word may be added regarding the replacement of Mid. Ir. *gai*, *gaé* by Mod. Ir. *ga*.⁶ In Middle Irish the nom. plur. was indistinguishable from the nom. sing., and so the formation of

¹ He is commemorated in Féil. Oeng. at October 30, where Stokes's text has *Colmán maccu Gúalae*, the last word riming with *biadae*. But instead of *Gúalae* Rawl. B 505 (the text of which is, according to Stokes, 'by far the best that has come down to us') reads *Gaili*, which, as it rimes with *naebi*, must stand for *Gaili*. Hence the forms *Gailine* and *Gáilinne*, as the name of the Antrim sept, are of doubtful authenticity; the correct spelling may have been *Gailin(n)e*. Note the various spellings, as recorded by Stokes, in the annotations to Féil. Oeng., p. 230: (1) *Gaela*, *Gaile*, *Gále*; (2) *Gailine*, *Gáilinne*.

² Cf. the derivative *Gaiscedach* used as a personal name, AU 798.

³ There is nothing to be said in favour of Pedersen's suggestion (V. G. ii, 4 n.) that *gaisced* is 'a late borrowing' of Welsh *gwisg[i]ad*, 'dress, apparel'.

⁴ Cf. Meyer, Zur keltischen Wortkunde §§ 1, 130.

⁵ Dio Cassius, speaking of the Caledonians of the early third century, says that 'their arms consist of a shield and a short spear' (*τὰ δὲ ὄπλα αὐτῶν ἀσπίς καὶ δόρυ βραχύ*, Holder, i, 693.24).

⁶ Occasionally written *gath*, a form attested from the seventeenth century. Similarly Scottish Gaelic has *gath*, and Manx *gah*.

a new nom. sing. was an advantage. *Ga*, which was already in existence in the twelfth century,¹ appears to be a back-formation from the compounds *foga*, *trega*, *murga*.²

P. 23 f. *Lagin Tuath Gabair* means 'the Lagin to the north of Gabair' (an unidentified place or district³); *Lagin Des Gabair*,⁴ 'the Lagin to the south of Gabair'. A few other examples of this prepositional use of *tuath* and *des* (or *tes*) may be quoted: *tuath Cualainn* (sic leg.), 'north of Cualu', Met. D. iii, 104; *túath Mugnae*,⁵ 'north of Mugnae', LU 8022; *isin tsléib túath Ochainne*, ib. 5518; *des Almain* (: *talmain*), 'south of Almu', RC xxiv, 54. 13; *i n-iath Cairpri des Boinn*, R 158. 2; *secnab Fer Rois des abaind*, AU 846; *i nDruim Ríg tes Taltin tréin*, RC xxiii, 312. 4.⁶

In addition to *Des Gabair* we also find *Desgabair*, used as an indeclinable compound and stressed on the first syllable. Thus *in triath a Desgabair*, LL 52 b 49 (= Three Frags. 218); *crícha Deasgabhair* (sic leg.), Lr. na gCeart 194; *ó na Laighnibh Deasgabhair* (sic leg.), ib. 222. On the other hand in the line *an rígh aibhind Desgabhair*, FM ii, 606, we must read *des Gabhair* (to rime with *ag(h)air*).

P. 25, l. 6 and n. 2. The Uí Chuaich, whom Pokorny identifies with Ptolemy's Cauci, had no existence. Their name is merely a

¹ Cf. gen. plur. *ga* (: *Bethra*), LL 212 b 34.

² In the verse of the schools both *ga* and *gai* are employed, but *ga* appears to be the commoner. It was doubtless the substitution of *ga* for *gai* that suggested the replacement of *baí*, *cnot* (nom. plur. of *bó*, *cnú*) by *ba* and *cna*, respectively. Here, too, the verse of the schools recognizes the newer as well as the older forms.

³ Possibly in the north of Co. Carlow (cf. *Leabhar na gCeart* p. 1x).

⁴ In the Annals their name is latinized as *Laginenses Dexteriores* (cf. AU 711, Tig. p. 223).

⁵ This phrase, which occurs in the old summary of BDD, was later misunderstood, and gave rise to the idea in the extant version of the tale (§ 24) that Coñaire went to settle a quarrel *hi Túathmumain*, 'in Thomond'.

⁶ In Fél. Oeng. Dec. 11 Stokes reads *Mugnai tuaithe, mag lethan*, which he translates 'of (Belach) Mugnae, in the north, a broad plain'; later he suggested that this should be emended to *Mugnai tuathmaig lethain*, 'of Mugnae in the broad northern plain' (ZCP vi, 238). The correct reading, I suggest, is *Mugnai tuath Mag (or Maig) Lethan*, 'of Mugnae, north of Mag Lethan' (cf. *i mMaig Lethan*, R 118 b 28). Similarly Stokes's *desmaig Midi*, Fél. Oeng. prol. 226, is to be emended to *des Ma(i)g Midi*; see p. 488, *infra*.

late scribal blunder for *Uí Ellaig*, which was first corrupted to the better known name *Uí Chellaig*, and then, owing to the proximity of the personal name *Cuach* (fem.), to *Uí Chuaich*. In LL 349 g *Cuach* is *de .H. Ellaig .H. mBairrchi Maige Ailbe*; in LB 17 b 8, *do Hib Ellaig .H. mBarrchi Muigi Ailbe*. Compare *.H. Ellaig i mMaigib* [sc. *Ailbe*], R 121 b 48, LL 313 c 28; *.H. Fellaig* (sic) 7 *.H. Forca i mMaig Lethan*, R 118 b 28. In LL 316 a 36 she is *de .H. Cellaig .H. mBairrchi Maige Ailbe*; and Lec. fo. 91 a 2.29 is similar (*de Uib Cellaig*).

P. 26, l. 10. In the sense of 'the land of the Britons', 'the land of the Anglo-Saxons', the singular and plural forms of *Bretain* and *Saxain* are used indifferently in Early Modern Irish. Cf. *i mBretnaibh*, *i mBretain*, and *don Bretain*, Lives of Ir. SS. (ed. Plummer) i, 211; *i mBretain bhend-bhuicc bladaigh*, ib. 214. Cf. IGT p. 152, where the nom. sing. forms are *Breta* and *Sagsa* or *Saghsa*, and where also we learn that other plural tribal names, such as *Connachta*, *Oirghialla*, *Gailenga*, *Ealla*, *Éile*, may be used in a territorial sense, without change of form, as indeclinable feminine nouns in the singular.¹

P. 26, l. 13. With *Ver-turiones* may be compared the Gaulish tribal name *Turonī* or *Turones* (whence 'Tours'), and the Irish mythical name *Torna*, < **Turonios*. In making these comparisons I have been in part anticipated by F. C. Diack, RC xxxviii, 122. But Diack's assertion (ibid.) that 'the history of the word is purely Goidelic from the 4th century' is quite misleading. What he ought to have said is that, apart from Ammianus Marcellinus (and probably Ptolemy; see p. 371, n. 3), the name has been preserved only in Irish documents.²

The Irish form occurs most commonly in the genitive *Fortrenn*,³ which may be either singular or plural. The non-occurrence of the nominative (sing. *Fortriu*; plur. *Fortrinn*) in extant texts is fortuitous. We find acc. sing. *Fortrind* in AU 735; and dat. sing.

¹ With regard to **Cruachain* (p. 26, n. 2) one may note that it is declined as follows in IGT p. 152: nom. *Cruacha*, gen. *Cruachan* and *Cruachna*, dat. *Cruachain*.

² Fraser, SGS ii, 191, remarks that *Fortrenn* (sic) 'can scarcely be a translation of a corresponding British form, for there is no record that such a form ever existed'. The fact that no Pictish (or British) documents have survived which would show us how *Verturiones* developed in later Pictish (or in British) is regrettable, but irrelevant.

³ e.g. *rí Fortrenn*, *Mag Fortrenn*, *Fir Fhortrenn*.

Fortrinn in AU 663, 767, Trip. Life 162.14. On the other hand we have an instance of the dat. plur. in a *Fortreannaibh*, Three Frags. 58.2.¹

The loss of the second syllable in *Fortrinn* < **Vorturiones* shows that the name was borrowed into Irish before the period of syncope or while the law of syncope was still operative.² In the Ogam inscriptions non-syncope is the all but invariable rule (cf. such non-native names as Q^RIMITIR and COLOMAGNI); among the rare exceptions are CARRTTACC, VECREC and VEQREQ, VERGOSO. Some verses attributed to Colmán mac Lénéni³ would show, if they are genuine (as Thurneysen thinks), that syncope was already an accomplished fact towards the end of the sixth century.⁴ But the syncope in *Callón* (= Welsh *Cadwallon*; see p. 354, n. 3) suggests that syncope was still operative in newly borrowed words in the first quarter of the seventh century.⁵ In the Irish names in Adamnan's 'Vita Columbae', written at the end of the same century, syncope is, as might be expected, fully established. But one at least of Adamnan's names suggests that he may have had access to records written before syncope had gained the day, namely, *Cule* (gen.) *Drebene*, otherwise *Cule Drebinae*, referring to the battle of A.D. 561 in which Columba is said to have been implicated.⁶ Elsewhere the Old- and Middle-Irish form of this

¹ In AU 865 the *i Fortrenn* of the MS. is to be emended to *i Fortrinn* or *i Fortrenna* (acc.).

² Another Pictish tribal name, *Caledones* or *Calidones*, was similarly syncopeated in Irish, as we see from the place-name *Dún Cailden* (p. 365).

³ This St. Colmán died in the same year as Aed Sláine, i.e. 604, according to Tig. and Chron. Scot.; but AI, II a 29, place his obit a year earlier, in the same year as St. Fintan's.

⁴ ZCP xix, 207.

⁵ The non-syncope in *Rigullón* (= Welsh *Rhiwallon*; see p. 362, notes 3 and 4) is explained by the fact that in its borrowed form it was treated as a compound of Ir. *ri*. Similarly the borrowed *firion* (p. 296, n. 1), 'justus', originally trisyllabic, was treated as a compound of Ir. *fir*. Compare the syncopeated derivative *firinne*, 'justitia'. In *firiōn* (= Welsh *gwirion*, < *gwir* + *iawn*) we have an instance of *j*- in a foreign word becoming syllabic in Irish. Similarly we have Old Irish disyllabic *Ióob* and trisyllabic *Iacób* (Fél. Oeng.; SR).

⁶ Compare further Adamnan's *Fechureg*, by *Fechreg* (= later *Fiachrach*, gen. of *Fiachra*); but the *-chu-* may be intended to represent a spirant *q*, as, I think, Mac Neill has somewhere suggested.

place-name is invariably *Cúl Dre(i)bne* or *Cúl Dre(i)mne*.¹ In the names in non-Ogamic lapidary inscriptions (Thes. Pal. ii, 286-288) syncopation is the all but universal rule.²

P. 33, n. 3. Compare the following remarks by R. G. Collingwood : ' At and before the conquest there were numerous tribes in Britain whose names are unknown to us, because the tribal names which have been preserved are mostly those of the cantons which the Romans made into units of local self-government, and when this system was created many smaller tribes were merged in larger ones and their identity lost ' (Collingwood and Myres, Roman Britain and the English Settlements 82 n.).

P. 38. The mythical Sigmall is called *rī Bendtraige*, Ériu xii, 190, 192, which suggests that there may have been another Benntraige in or near Co. Westmeath. The district of Lée (otherwise Fir Lí) in the east of Co. Derry, is called *Lée Benndrigi* in Tírechán (Trip. Life 329.17). Lée was for a while in the possession of the Cruthin ; it was given to Fiachra Lonn, king of the Dál nAraidi, in reward for his participation in the battle of Ocha, ca. 482 (FM s. a. 478), but was ceded by the Cruthin to the Northern Uí Néill in 563 (AU s. a. 562). Among the Benntraige of Co. Cork (?) was a sept known as Corcu Sogain,³ descended from Sogain, son of Araide, son of Fergus mac Roich (BB 155 a 16 ; Lec. fo. 117 a 1. 16).⁴ The Corcu Sogain may have been akin to the Sogain of

¹ The length-mark in *Cuile Dréimne*, AU 560, is an error. Compare *Cuile Dreimne* : *Eilíne*, AU 562 ; *Cul Dremni* : *demni*, RC xlvi, 311.10.

² Compare, however, LUGAEDON (> O. Ir. *Lugaedon* ; see p. 363 n.) in the early inscription in Inchagoile in Lough Corrib. In an inscription at Clonmacnois we have COLUMBÁN (Macalister, The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois 27), for the usual COLMAN, of which there are, or rather were, three instances at Clonmacnois. This may be explained as due to the influence of the latinized form *Columbanus*. Another Clonmacnois inscription, now lost, read SUIBINE MC. MAILĒ HUMAI (Macalister, *op. cit.* pp. 45, 97 f.) ; its date would be late ninth-century, for it beyond doubt commemorated Suibne mac Maíle hUmai, *ancorita et scriba optimus Cluana Maccu Nois*, who died in 891 (AU 890). The second *i* of SUIBINE must accordingly be either a blunder of the engraver or a misreading.

³ The words MUCOI SOGINI, meaning probably ' of the Corcu Sogain ', occur in an Ogam inscription discovered near Aglish, about a dozen miles to the west of Cork city.

⁴ Elsewhere in Lec. Arad, son of Fergus, is ancestor of the Sogain (*Arad mac Fergusa a quo Sogain*, Gen. Tracts 134).

Uí Maine and Mide, who were given a descent from Conall Cernach and thus acknowledged to be Cruthin. But the fact of a Cruthnian sept being located among the Benntraige would not, of course, prove that the latter were Cruthin.

In 'Forbais Dromma Damgaire', RC xliii, 68, Bent, ancestor of the scattered Benntraige (*Bent dia tat Benntraidhi fo Eirinn*), is represented as a foster-son of Mug Ruith.

P. 40, n. 1. With the suffix in *Auteinī* compare *-ēno-*, from an earlier *-eino-*, in the Gaulish personal name *Epēnos* (ΕΠΗΝΟΣ), to which corresponds Ir. *Echen*. We have another example in the Gaulish tribal name *Rutēnī*. The latter reminds one of Ir. *ruithen*, f. 'a flash, gleam', pl. 'rays (of the sun)', which might¹ go back to Celt. **rutēnā*, and of which the probable root is *reut-*, as in Lat. *rutilus*, 'red, glowing (e.g. of fire)'.

P. 40, l. 24. There is evidence that Ptolemy's account of Scotland was derived, in part at least, from Latin sources, and to that extent it cannot be much older than Ptolemy's time. Thus he gives the names of the three most northerly Scottish promontories as *Ταρουεδουμ*, *Ουρουεδρουμ*, and *Ουρουβιουμ*, in which *-ουμ* represents the latinized termination *-um*; and he calls one of the towns of the Damnonii by the Latin name of *Victoria*.

CHAP. II

Pp. 45 f., 54. E. W. B. Nicholson in 1904 equated the Fir Bolg with the Belgae, and took the *Bolg* of the place-names mentioned by Joyce to refer to these Belgae (Keltic Researches pp. 98-100). Nicholson's book contains so much chaff that one is apt to overlook an occasional grain of wheat. On the same pages Nicholson suggests that the Belgae (i.e. 'Pouches') and Fir Bolg (i.e. 'Pouch-men') were so called 'from the practice of wearing the *bulga*' or skin-pouch, and he takes the Fir Bolg and Fir Domnann to be Goidels, and the Fir Galeoin to be Picts.

Pp. 48, 58. It will not be out of place to add a brief note here concerning the Otherworld deity in his role of ancestor of mankind. We learn from Caesar that the Gauls regarded themselves as

¹ At least if we suppose that the palatal quality of the *-th-* is due to the influence of syncopated forms like gen. *ruithne*.

descended from Dis Pater¹ i.e. from the Otherworld-god. (The same belief was found among non-Celtic peoples; thus most of the Anglo-Saxon kings traced their pedigree back to Woden.) The non-historical parts of the various Irish pedigrees are largely filled out with names which originally were appellations of the ancestor-deity but which are treated by the genealogists as the names of human ancestors (pp. 48, 201). Among such names two are especially prominent, viz. *Eochaid*² or *Eochu*, and *Nuadu*.³ The latter occurs among the mythical descendants of Éremón (*Nuadu Finn Fáil*), and in the mythical parts of the pedigrees of the Lagen (*Nuadu Fuilidín*, and *Nuadu Necht*), the Osraige (*Nuadu mac Condlai*), the Corcu Loígde (*Nuadu Airgthech*, or? *Airgnech*), and the Eóganacht (*Nuadu Declam*, etc.⁴).

The *fable convenue* of the genealogists and the pseudo-historians was that all the personages named in these pedigrees, including those called Nuadu, were descended from Míl, or, in the case of the Corcu Loígde, from Míl's uncle, Íth. Nevertheless traces remain of an earlier view which knew nothing of Míl, but regarded all the Irish as sprung from Nuadu Argatlám, who in L.G. and elsewhere is treated as a king of the Tuatha Dé Danann who was slain in the second battle of Mag Tuired. Despite its wholly heterodox character this view succeeded in retaining a place in some of the genealogical tracts. Thus in R 140 b 1-3 we are told that Nuadu Argatlám had two sons: Cú Oiss, from whom descend the men of Munster, and Glass, ancestor of Síol Cuinn, Dál Riata, Ulaid, Lagen and Osraige.⁵ In another passage it is said that the

¹ De Bello Gallico vi, 18. Dis Pater was the god of the nether Otherworld. His name is, of course, purely Latin (*Dīs* = *dīves*, 'rich'; cf. *Πλούτων*), and has nothing to do with Ir. *dīth*, 'destruction', contrary to the suggestion put forward by G. Dottin in his 'Manuel . . . de l'antiquité celtique', 2 ed., 303.

² i.e. (ultimately) *Eochaid Ollathair*, as to whom see pp. 58, 469.

³ The *Nuadu* of the pedigrees has a more obviously mythical flavour than *Eochaid* or *Eochu*, for, whereas the latter was in frequent use as a man's name in historical times, *Nuadu* was but rarely so used.

⁴ See p. 490. The name *Nuadu* occurs also among the ancestors of the fabulous Míl.

⁵ The same passage occurs also in Lec., Gen. Tracts p. 185. Compare ib. 172, where it is said that Leth Cuinn and the Eóganacht descend from Nuadu Argatlám, and a somewhat different statement, ib. 135, to the effect that all the Irish dynastic families, with the exception of the Eóganacht, descend from the same Nuadu. The descent of all the Irish from Nuadu Argatlám is also asserted in AI, 2 d 23-24 (partly illegible).

pedigree of the Munstermen and the Lagen joins that of Síl Cuinn, Ulaid and Dál Riata at Nuadu Argatlám (R 143 a 5). The pedigree of the Osraige in R 117 e-g is carried back to Bresal Brecc (at whom it joins that of the Lagen), thence through Labraid Loingsech, ancestor of the Lagen, to Éremón, son of Míl, and thence back to Noah. Four generations earlier than Bresal Brecc occurs the entry *m. Nuadat Fuildon Argatlaim*, after which comes a note: *Sunn condrecaat Mumnig fri clainn Augaini* (R 117 f 39), 'Here the pedigree of the Munstermen [i.e. the Eóganacht] joins that of the descendants of Úgaine [i.e. the race of Conn, the Lagen Dál Fiatach, etc.]'. The note is in complete disaccord with the usual genealogical doctrine, and evidently belongs to another tradition.¹

P. 48, n. 3. With the ghost-name *Sidebolg* may be compared another ghost-name which arose out of a statement in the pedigree of the Eóganacht that the mother of Nia Segamain was Flidais Fholtcháin: *Flidais Fholtcháin a máthair*. This was later misunderstood as meaning that Nia Segamain was the son of *Amathair Flidais Foltcháin*, and accordingly a personage of this name was introduced into the list of prehistoric kings of Ireland.²

P. 51, l. 1. Another poem on the same theme (the kings named Aed who were present at the convention of Druim Cett) includes the name of Aed Balg (*sic*), king of Iarmuma (ZCP xiii, 8.21). Compare also Bolc Derc, son of Brian mac Echach Mugmedóin, Trip. Life 106.24.

P. 55. In 1889 Rhys refers to 'the groundless conjecture which would connect the Belgæ with the mythic folk of the Fir Bolg of ancient Erin' (Early Ethnology of the British Isles, Rhind Lectures in Archaeology 1889, 8).

In ZCP iv (1903), 583, L. Chr. Stern remarks incidentally that he has elsewhere argued that *Bolg* in *Fir Bolg* is the name, not of a garment [i.e. 'breeches'], but of a tribe; but I have failed to trace the article to which he refers.

¹ If we took the note to be a homogeneous part of the pedigree, we should have to suppose that the writer believed that all the Irish were descended from Labraid Loingsech, and from Labraid's ancestor Éremón, son of Míl.

² e.g. Gilla Coemáin, Todd Lect. iii, 189; LL 22 b 17 (L.G.), where the name is *Amadair Flidais Foltcháin*. The first to call attention to this blunder was Rev. E. Barry, Jnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1895, 367. Later, Mac Neill ZCP x, 86.

CHAP. III

P. 58. The Otherworld-god had many functions and many aspects, most of which are incidentally alluded to in the present work (cf. General Index, s. v.). Thus the Dagda, whose name means 'the good god', was also known as *Eochaid Ollathair*¹ and *Aed Alainn* (p. 320), names which reveal him as the sun-god and the father of mankind. Being owner of the inexhaustible caldron, he was lord of the Otherworld Feast (p. 122). The gluttony attributed to him is but a later development of the same idea.² He frequently gets the epithet *Dian*, 'swift',³ which identifies him with *Dian Cécht* (p. 472). He is also represented as a mighty warrior, wielding a deadly club (i.e. the lightning-weapon, p. 60), and inciting a host to war.⁴ His huge size is also stressed.⁵ Another name for him, (*In*) *Ruad Rofhessa*, shows him to be the god of wisdom (p. 319). We are also told that 'he used to rule the weather and the crops'.⁶

Most scholars of to-day assume that 'complex' deities, or deities with many functions (the Norse Odin and the Irish Dagda will serve as examples), have acquired their complexity by accretion and were originally 'departmental' deities, i.e. deities with only one special function or activity. Thus they will speak of a god who rules the realm of the dead, a sun-god, a sky-god, a god of the wind, a thunder-god, a god of war, and so on; but they cannot conceive the possibility of a deity who, in his own proper right, is all these things at once. This tendency to 'departmentalize' deities is largely a legacy—and a very unfortunate one—of Greek speculation; but in part it owes its popularity to the modern fondness for labelling and pigeon-holing, and to the modern misconception that early religion was characterized by the worship of a multitude of independent

¹ LL 9 b 17; Ériu xii, 142; Met. D. iv, pp. 108, 268. Cf. *supra*, p. 320.

² RC xii, 84-86. It was easy to imagine one who presided at a perpetual feast as possessing an insatiable appetite.

³ e.g. Met. D. ii, pp. 16, 18; iv, 92; Ériu vii, 225, 228. He gets the epithet *daith*, 'speedy' or 'bright', Met. D. ii, 92.

⁴ RC xii, 92; Mesca Ulad (ed. Hennessy), 32. See also p. 61, *supra*.

⁵ Mesca Ulad, *loc. cit.*; Met. D. iv, 108.

⁶ *ba hé . . . conmidhedh na sīna 7 na toirthē*, Ériu xii, 142 (Toch. Étaíne). With *stn* (Welsh *hin*, Celt. **sīnā*), 'weather', are probably connected *Sinatīs*, a by-name of the Celtic Mars, and *Sinorix*, a Galatian personal name (originally a deity-name, 'ruler of the weather'?).

deities. To discuss this matter further would be out of place here ; it will suffice to add that the 'departmentalizing' obsession has proved a serious stumbling-block to the study of the religions of the Indo-European peoples.¹

Even in the comparatively neglected field of Celtic religion the departmentalizing mind has shown itself. Thus MacCulloch writes: 'Professor Rhys regards [the] Dagda as an atmospheric god ; Dr. MacBain sees in him a sky-god. More probably he is an early Earth-god and a god of agriculture' (Religion of the Ancient Celts 78). 'Most likely', writes Macalister, 'In Dagda was a fire-, or perhaps a storm-divinity' (ITS xli, 102). All such attempts to confine the Dagda to a single department are fundamentally erroneous. The question 'Who was the Dagda?' is fully answered if we say that he was the god of the Otherworld, or the god of the sun. That he possessed other attributes follows as a matter of course.

Our earliest documentary allusion to Irish pagan beliefs occurs in St. Patrick's 'Confessio' in a passage² which may be paraphrased as follows: The splendour of the material sun, which rises every day at the bidding of God, will pass away, and those who worship it will go into dire punishment (*omnes qui adorant eum in poenam miseri male devenient*); whereas 'the true sun, Christ' (*solem uerum Christum*),³ whom we, Christians, worship, shall endure for ever, and those who do His will shall abide with Him for ever. Here we have the evidence of an unimpeachable authority that the worship of the sun was a prominent feature in the pagan religion of fifth-century Ireland. To the religion preached by Patrick was opposed the worship of Coll (or Goll), the great orb of the heavens.

Some centuries later the tradition of the opposition of Irish paganism to Christianity in the fifth century had become dramatized in the popular mind into a contest between two protagonists,

¹ It is, of course, true that when a deity-name can be interpreted etymologically it is usually found to relate to a single aspect of the deity ; but that does not mean that the deity was ever confined to that aspect. Also it is true that in Celtic religion, as in the other religions of antiquity, appellatives denoting particular attributes of a deity were liable in the course of time to be regarded as the names of distinct deities (cf. p. 316, n. 2).

² ed. Rev. Newport J. D. White, § 60.

³ Compare Gildas, who, speaking of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, writes: *verus ille sol . . . radios suos primum indulget, id est sua praecepta, Christus* (De Excidio Britanniae, c. 8).

namely, Mac Cuill (i.e. Coll¹), the champion of paganism, and Patrick, who preached the new religion of Christ. Such is the role assigned to Mac Cuill in Muirchú's Life of Patrick, where he is described as *homo ualde impius, saeuus tyrannus, ut Cyclops nominaretur*.² The wording suggests that Muirchú was not far removed from the belief that Mac Cuill was no mere man, but the one-eyed solar deity. It is noteworthy, too, that Muirchú makes Mac Cuill's adversary, St. Patrick, shine with a celestial light,³ very much as the saint himself opposes *solem uerum Christum* to the sun-deity of Irish paganism. Irish tradition prefers to deal gently with the older religion; and so Muirchú goes on to tell how St. Patrick, by displaying superior magical power, converted Mac Cuill, who, as a penance for his intention to kill the saint, was sent adrift, with his feet bound, in a rudderless and oarless coracle, which bore him to the Isle of Man,⁴ where he became a Christian missionary. Thus was evolved the St. Maughold of Manx tradition.⁵

¹ Compare p. 66, n. 4. It is noteworthy that Simon Magus (p. 521), the traditional opponent of the early Apostles, is called *mac Guill* in 'Forbais Dromma Damgaire' (RC xliii, 58, and cf. ib. xlv, 163).

² L. Ardm. fo. 5b-6, = Trip. Life, ed. Stokes, 286 ff. From Muirchú the legend was widely borrowed into later Lives of Patrick. In the *Tertia Vita*, ed. Bury, c. 73, St. Patrick's opponent is called *Maguil* (i.e. *Mac Guill*). In Jocelin his name is corrupted to *Machaldus*, a form which betrays Manx influence (see below).

³ *claro fidei lumine radiantem et miro quodam caelestis gloriae deademate fulgentem*.

⁴ This may be a modification of an earlier idea that St. Patrick banished the pagan deities, who were liable to be regarded as demons, to the pagan Otherworld, which was sometimes equated with hell (compare the meanings of Welsh *annwfn*) and one of the probable locations of which was the Isle of Man, associated with the god Manannán. 'Mac Cuill in the Isle of Man' (*Mac Cuill hi Manaind*) is mentioned in an enumeration of saints of the Uí Bairrche (R 121 a 41, LL 313 b); but Muirchú makes Mac Cuill *maccu Greccae*, i.e. 'of the Greccraige'.

⁵ The name *Maughold*, earlier *Machald(us)*, is of literary origin, and descends from a corruption of the written *Maccuill* (otherwise *Macuil*, etc.). In attempts to give Maughold a place in history he has been identified with St. Machutus (i.e. the Breton saint Maclovius or Malo), and with the Irish bishop Mac Caille († 490). See O. Kolsrud, ZCP ix, 362-364, and A. W. Moore, *Manx Names*, ed. 1906, 136 f. J. J. Kneen, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man* 273, ignores Mac Cuill, and impossibly derives *Maughold* from *Machutus*.

P. 58, l. 5. One may note that popular tradition invested St. Aed mac Bricc († 589, AU) with the attributes of his namesake, the pagan sun-god. His Life credits him with various solar powers, such as flying through the air in his chariot,¹ travelling in a chariot with a single wheel,² and warding off a deluge of rain from a cornfield.³ He was also invoked as a healer, in particular as a healer of headache.⁴

P. 63, l. 11. Mac Neill's explanation of *Dé Bolgae* was borrowed from the Lecan version of *Cóir Anmann* (IT iii, 408, § 208), in which an *Ailill Diabalgai*, 'Ailill of the double spear', has been inferred from *Ailill Dia Bolgae* (gen. *Aillella Dé Bolgai*; cf. *supra*, p. 51, n. 4). Previously Kuno Meyer had accepted this *Cóir Anmann* misinterpretation (*Zur kelt. Wortkunde* § 157, Sitz.-Ber. der königl. preuss. Akad. 1917, 619).

P. 66. Dian Cécht was the leech of the Tuatha Dé Danann. His healing powers are shown when he provides Nuadu Argatlám with an arm,⁵ and when he heals the wounded in the second battle of Mag Tuired.⁶ Belief in this aspect of him persisted long after the introduction of Christianity, for we find his name invoked in an Old-Irish charm against various ailments.⁷ As Dian (or Dén), son of Rothechtaid, he appears among the mythical descendants of Éremón.⁸

Dian means 'swift', also 'quickly revolving (like a wheel)'.⁹ Cormac's explanation of *cécht* (gen. plur.) in *Dian Cécht* as *cum-*

¹ Acta SS. Hib. ex Codice Salmanticensi, ed. de Smedt and de Backer, 339, 344, 352, 354, and cf. 346. Compare Mug Ruith, p. 520.

² *ibid.* 337, 358. For the solar wheel see p. 304.

³ *ibid.* 338. This illustrates the desiccative powers of the sun. Compare Aed mac Aininne, p. 66, n. 3.

⁴ So in a Latin hymn preserved in an eighth-century ms. (Stokes, *Lives* p. 324). Cf. further *Irish Texts* i, 9 f. (§§ 28, 31).

⁵ LL 9 a 31-33; RC xii, pp. 58, 66.

⁶ RC xii, pp. 88, 94; Met. D. iv, 182. Cf. also Ériu xii, 148.

⁷ Thes. Pal. ii, 249.

⁸ ÁID i, 29 (§ 27), 41 (§ 37); R 137 b 22, 27; LL 311 a 48, 346 e; ZCP viii, 291.16. For *Rothechtaid* see above, p. 295.

⁹ For the latter sense compare *déinithir bróin mulind*, 'turning as rapidly as a mill-stone', *Fled Bricrenn* § 80. Compare also the cognate Greek *δῖνος*, 'a rotary motion; a round vessel', *δινέω*, 'I rotate'.

achta,¹ 'power', appears to be an unauthoritative guess. I take the word to mean 'a forward movement', from **kenkto-* (or *-tu-*), Celtic root *keng-*, *king-*, as in Ir. *cingim*, 'I step, move on', Welsh *rhy-gyngu*, 'to amble', Ir. *céim*, W. *cam*, 'a step'. *Dian Cécht* would therefore mean something like 'he who rolls quickly forward', an appropriate name for the solar deity, the great moving Wheel of the heavens (p. 304). That *Dian Cécht* was the sun-god was doubtless still remembered when Eochaid ua Flainn († 1004) wrote: *Dian Cécht fri dul rôt roichthe*, 'Dian Cécht, expert in travelling long roads' (cf. ZCP xiv, 177).

P. 66, n. 4. In Lebor Gabála we are told that Mac Cuill,² Mac Cécht and Mac Gréne were so called because their gods were a hazel (*coll*), a ploughshare (*cécht*) and the sun (*grian*), respectively.³ In this naïve explanation we may see a deliberate attempt to euhemerize these personages; if they worshipped 'gods', then, it is implied, they cannot have been gods themselves. Like the no less naïve explanation of *Fir Bolg* as 'men of bags', this L.G. explanation has been accepted by scholars in our own day.⁴

P. 67. In suggesting an etymology of Old Welsh *Beli*⁵ I overlooked the fact that its Old Breton counterpart is *Bili*; see Loth, *Chrétomathie bretonne* 110. This rules out the possibility that W. *Beli* represents *Belgios* or *Bolgios*, for in Breton *lg* becomes *lch*; compare Bret. *bolc'h* = Ir. *bolg*.

The origin of the ending *-i* remains a difficulty. Stokes conjectured that *Beli* and *Bili* went back to **Belesio-* (Bezz. Beitr.

¹ San. Corm. 446.

² In AI 2 c 5 his name assumes the form *Mac Guill*. Cf. p. 471, n. 1.

³ LL 10 a 35-36; O'Clery's L.G. 166.

⁴ Mac Neill sees in *Mac Cuill* an instance of 'tree-worship', in *Mac Cécht*, an instance of 'implement worship' (Celtic Religion, Cath. Truth Soc., p. 6). Macalister asserts that *Mac Cuill*, *Mac Cécht* and *Mac Gréne* are 'unquestionably to be identified with the beings alleged to be their "gods", from whom they derived their names, and thus to be regarded as departmental divinities of a simple agricultural community' (ITS xli, 104).

⁵ That the O. Welsh form was *Beli* is placed beyond doubt by the numerous occurrences of the name in Ann. Cambriae and in the genealogies in Harl. 3859 (Y Cymmrodor ix). The form *Belim*, attested only in the *Elucidarium* (ed. Morris Jones and Rhys), p. 127, must, as Professor Lloyd-Jones has suggested to me, be an error. W. J. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy* 174 f., accepts Rhys's equation of *Beli* with Ir. *Bile*, while at the same time he inconsistently supposes that the oldest Welsh form of the name was *Belim*.

xviii, 88) ; a preferable conjecture would be **Beliso*-.¹ The suffix *-i* is a rather common ending of nouns, mainly abstract or collective, in Welsh ; but its origins are obscure.² It also occurs in many Welsh river-names ; one may compare the *-y*, *-ey*, or *-ie* in the anglicized forms of river-names, especially in the south-west of England³ and in Scotland.⁴ It is likewise found in some Welsh place- or district-names.⁵

P. 71, l. 11. It is curious to observe that, while certain Scotsmen have sought to minimize the extent of Irish influence on Scotland (p. 378 ff.), obvious and unmistakable though that influence was, the tendency of certain Welsh scholars has been to exaggerate the relatively small influence exercised by Ireland on the literature and language of Wales. This is partly due to Rhys's theory that the Goidels were in occupation of Wales (as of most of Britain) long before either Briton or Roman set foot on it ; but in part, too, it results from the impression made on Welshmen by the wealth of early traditions preserved in Irish in contrast to the comparative dearth of such traditions in their own literature.

To Rhys the Welsh *mabinogion* were simply 'stories which were current among the Goidels of old in Britain'.⁶ The leading historian of Wales, Sir John E. Lloyd, who accepts without discussion Rhys's views regarding the 'Goidelic' occupation of Wales, would have it that the Goidels exercised an extraordinary influence, not only on early Welsh literature, but also on the Welsh language.⁷ W. J. Gruffydd expressed the opinion that 'we have in the Mabinogi a native Goidelic basis on which have

¹ This **Belisos* may likewise be the forerunner of Ir. *Bile*.

² See Pedersen, V. G. ii, 17 f. ; Morris Jones, Welsh Gr. pp. 231, 232, 386.

³ See Ekwall, English River-Names p. lxxvii, where, however, Ekwall's assertion that the ending *-i* in some Welsh river-names 'is demonstrably an O. Brit. *-io-* or *-ion*' cannot be accepted without considerable reserve, despite the relationship of the river-name *Gefenni* to the place-name *Gobannium* (Abergavenny), for such endings were liable to spread from one name to another. A full list of Welsh names of rivers and streams in *-i*, numbering over seventy in all, will be found in R. J. Thomas's *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru*, i, 127 ff.

⁴ In Scottish Gaelic spelled *-idh* ; see p. 382, n. 6, and p. 476, n. 3.

⁵ e.g. *Cedweli*, 'Kidwelly', in Carmarthenshire (from the personal name *Cadwal*) ; *Arwystli*, in Montgomeryshire (from the personal name *Arwystl*, O. W. *Arguistil*).

⁶ Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, 4 ed., 57, and cf. ib. 69.

⁷ See his *History of Wales*, 121 f.

been superimposed many legends of later Ireland, which British Goidels heard from the Irish colonists in Wales, or actually in Ireland itself'.¹ In a later work, 'Math vab Mathonwy', p. 342, the same scholar, while renouncing the view that the Goidels were in Wales before the Britons, reaches the very questionable conclusion that the *mabinogi* of 'Math' originated among the Irish settlers in North Wales.

CHAP. IV

Pp. 75, 193 f. The brief account of the invasions of Ireland in 'Historia Brittonum', cc. 13-15, is very confused. It is evident that Nennius (Nemnius) had only an imperfect understanding of the Irish account he was trying to summarize. (1) The earliest invasion, that of Partholón, appears in the 'Historia' as the invasion of Partholomus (or Bartholomaeus) and his people, who eventually were wiped out by a plague. (2) The invasion of Nemed appears as that of *Nimeth filius quidam Agnominis*, who, after remaining in Ireland for many years, 'returned to Spain'.² (3) The invasion of the Fir Bolg, Domnainn and Gálioín is represented by the words: *Et postea venerunt paulatim a partibus Hispaniae et tenuerunt regiones plurimas*, which occur later in the text (at the end of c. 13), out of their proper place.³ (4) The invasion of the Tuatha Dé Danann is not expressly mentioned, but a trace of it remains in the sentence in c. 14: *Builc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam et alias circiter*,⁴ which refers to the L.G. story that the Fir Bolg, after being defeated by the Tuatha Dé in the battle of Mag Tuired, fled to Arran, the Isle of Man, and other islands outside Ireland. (5) The invasion of the

¹ Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion 1912-13, 26.

² 'Spain' here takes the place of Greece in the extant Irish versions of L.G.

³ These words ought to have followed immediately the sentence describing the invasion of Nimeth. In the text as we have it the latter sentence is followed by one beginning *Et postea venerunt tres filii Militis Hispaniae*. This suggests a likely explanation of the misplacement. Two consecutive sentences began with the words *Et postea venerunt*, and the scribe of the archetype, we might suppose, omitted the first of them through letting his eye stray from one *venerunt* to the other. The omission was later detected, and the missing sentence added in the margin; but a later transcriber inserted it in the text in a wrong place.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 43, 141, n. 4.

Sons of Míl is referred to several times in cc. 13-15. First in the sentence at the beginning of c. 13: *Novissime autem Scotti venerunt a partibus Hispaniae ad Hiberniam*. Also later in the same chapter in the passage which begins: *Et postea venerunt tres filii Militis Hispaniae*, and which ends: *Et de familia illius ciulae . . . tota Hibernia repleta est usque in hodiernum diem*. This passage relates the episode of the attack on the tower in the sea, which in the Irish L.G. forms part of the story of Nemed and his descendants (see p. 493 f.). The sentence *Novissime venit Damhactor et ibi habitavit cum omni genere suo usque hodie*, at the beginning of c. 14, must, from its wording, likewise refer to the invasion of the Sons of Míl. Here again there is evident confusion. *Damhactor*, which Nennius has mistaken for the name of a leader (he has made a similar mistake with regard to *Builc*), is the Irish phrase *dám ochtair*, 'a company of eight', which in Irish texts is applied to the invaders under Partholón,¹ and which has nothing to do with the invasion of the Sons of Míl.² Finally c. 15 is mostly occupied with an account of the early wanderings of the Scotti in Egypt and Spain, and includes a brief reference to their arrival in Ireland.

P. 79. Ir. *lóch*, 'bright, radiant', cognate with *lôchet*, 'lightning', has its counterpart in Welsh *llug*, 'bright'; they both go back to Celt. **leukos*, identical with Gr. *λευκός*, 'bright, white'. *Lóch Mór*, the name of Cú Roí's charioteer and Cúchulainn's opponent, therefore means 'the Great Shining one', and is obviously a designation of the sun-god. That **Leukos* was similarly used as a deity-name among the Gauls is suggested by the Belgic tribal name *Leuci*.

Ir. *lóch*, it may be noted, was also employed in the opposite sense of 'black'. Cf. *dicitur lóch .i. solas ⁊ lóch dorcha*, Betha Colmáin (ed. Meyer), p. 10. 3. That this antiphrastic use of *lóch* is old is shown by Adamnan's interpretation of the river-name **Lóchdea*, i.e. the Lochy,³ near Fort William, as *nigra dea* (*Vita Columbæ* ii, 37). So the corresponding Welsh word, *llug*,

¹ RC I, 224, = ITS xxxix, 38 (and cf. ib. pp. 4, 62); Met. D. iii, 418.

² Immediately after the sentence last quoted Nennius begins an enumeration of the Irish settlements in Britain. Mommsen's text (*Mon. Germ. hist.*, *Chronica Minora* iii, 156) reads . . . *usque hodie in Britannia. Istoreth Istorini filius tenuit Dalrieta cum suis*. This is to be emended to . . . *usque hodie. In Britannia quoque Istoreth Istorini filius* etc.

³ Cf. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 50. The Lochy in Scottish Gaelic is *Lòchaidh*, i.e. *Lócha*, the regular development of O. Ir. **Lóchdea*, plus *-idh*, a common suffix in Scottish river-names (cf. p. 382, n. 6).

has sometimes the sense of 'black' (cf. J. Loth. RC xxxix, 72). This euphemistic use of a word meaning 'bright' in the sense of 'black' has other parallels in Irish. Compare *dael*, 'a black beetle', in composition 'black', < **doilo-*, literally 'bright'.¹ So the adjective *ciar*, 'black', < **keiro-*, may have originally meant 'white' or the like.² Similarly O. Ir. *androcht*, 'dark', means formally 'non-dark'.³

CHAP. V

P. 87, l. 11. So Duaid Mac Firis writes: 'It was Iar mac Néma, a pupil of Fénius Farsaid, who introduced into the Irish language conjunctival and prepositional words, called *iarmbérlas*, i.e. the *bérlas* of Iar mac Néma' (*Iar mac Néma, dalta dFhénius Farsaidh, as e do chuir isin nGaoidhelg na focail choimhchenguil 7 remhs[h]uidhighthe, darob anmanna iairmberladha .i. berladha Iatr mec Nema*, Rawl. B 480, fo. 60a).

CHAP. VI

Pp. 92 f., 95. Pokorny's attempts (ZCP xi, 174-179, as modified ib. xv, 196) to show that the Gálioín were of Germanic origin cannot be taken seriously. He impossibly derives their name from **Gáligni*, and explains the form *Gálian* as a Leinster dialect form of **Gá(i)lén*, on the ground that in Munster Irish *trén*, *fér*, and

¹ The etymology is due to Pokorny, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* xlvii, 167 f.; cf. Walde-Pokorny, i, 772. Pokorny would account for the transition in meaning by supposing that *dael* (*dóel*) originally meant 'glänzendschwarzes Insekt'. Rather, I suggest, the black insect was euphemistically termed 'bright', because it was a thing of ill-omen (cf. Cóir Anmann § 264). *Dael*, f., < **Doilā*, is the name of at least four Irish rivers; one may surmise that 'black water' would be an appropriate name for each of them, but only local knowledge could decide. We may compare the old name of the Blackwater which joins the sea at Youghal, viz. *Nem* or *Neim* (cf. BDD § 154, AU 857, Plummer's *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, i, 84, ii, 35), in case this stands for *Ném* (*Niam*), dat.-acc. *Néim*, literally 'brightness, radiance' (also the name of a goddess).

² It is cognate with O. Eng. *hār* (Eng. *hoar*), 'grey, white-haired'.

³ The simplex *drocht*, 'dark', appears to have had a by-form **trocht* (for *dr-*: *tr-* see p. 366 f.), whence *étrocht*, 'bright, shining' (cf. *éadrocht*: *céadloch*, ITS xxii, 204, § 14). Thurneysen, *Handbuch* 460, assumes that *étrocht* had short *e-*, and consequently that the prefix was *eks-*, not *u-*.

the like, are nowadays pronounced *trīan*, *fiar*, etc. ! **Gālignī* he takes to be a metathesized form of **Gālingī*, the Germanic original of Ir. *Gáiling*.¹ If Pokorny happens (as I think) to be right in equating the Gailing with the Gálioín, it is only by a lucky accident, for the arguments he employs prove nothing.

P. 94, l. 4. The Dumnonii of Scotland (whose name is miswritten *Δαμνόιοι* by Ptolemy) would thus seem to be the ancestors of the Britons of Strathclyde, whose capital in historical times was Dumbarton. One of the towns of the Dumnonii, Alauna (*Ἀλαῦνα*), Watson would identify with the Rock of Dumbarton, 'which must have been a place of strength from very early times' (Celtic Place-Names of Scotland 32).

Ignoring the fact that the Dumnonii of south-west Britain were ancestors of the Bretons of Armorica,² Rhys regarded these Dumnonii, and likewise their namesakes of Scotland, as Goidels. 'The position of the two peoples', he says, 'suggests the hypothesis that their countries are to be regarded as extreme portions of the Goidelic area which had escaped conquest by the Brythons, and that the word *Dumnonii* was a collective name of the Goidels of Britain when the Brythons arrived' (The Welsh People, 4 ed., 114).³ On the other hand, the name *Belerion* (see p. 59 f.), which he impossibly equates with O. Ir. *bétre*, 'language', was, he suggests, given by the Goidels to the Land's End neighbourhood 'at a time when the language of the Aborigines was still dominant over a certain area of the south-west of the Island' (*op. cit.* 78). Into such absurdities was Rhys led by his theory that the Goidels had in prehistoric times occupied the greater part of Britain until they were ousted by 'Brythonic' invaders.

P. 95. In accordance with his unproved and unsupported theory of 'the occupation of Tara by the kings of Connacht'

¹ There is no such form as *Gáiling*. The *a* is always short; compare, e.g., *Gaileang* : *ra[i]leann*, Lr. na gCeart 188.

² The emigrants to Brittany took with them the district-names *Domnonia* and *Cornubia*.

³ In his *Celtic Britain*, 3 ed., 215, Rhys goes so far as to throw doubt on the tradition that the Bretons came from Britain. 'If they set out from the nearest parts of this country, that is from Cornwall or Devon, they would most likely have been Goidels [], so that the language of the Bretons would now probably be a Goidelic dialect, and not the comparatively pure Brythonic speech it is'.

(cf. p. 168), Mac Neill imagines that the Luigni, the Gailing and the Cianacht were transplanted from Connacht to Leinster 'to guard the conquests of the Connacht kings' (Phases of Ir. History 121). He makes the very misleading assertion that 'these states, when we trace them back as far as possible, are native to Connacht' (ibid.). In a later paper on 'Colonisation under early Kings of Tara' (Jrnl. Galway Arch. and Hist. Society xvi, 101 ff.) he carries to extravagant lengths the idea of 'a zone of colonies' introduced from Connacht into Leinster *ca.* 'A.D. 250-300', and includes among these military colonists the Partraige, Delbna, Sogain, Corcu Roíde, and Gre craige, of Meath and Westmeath, and the Conmaicne Réin of Co. Leitrim. Of course he takes for granted the one thing that demands proof, namely, that these various tribes were brought into Leinster from Connacht.

P. 97, n. 6. According to the Life of St. Grellán (quoted in O'Donovan's Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, 8 ff.; and cf. his Book of Rights, p. 106 n.) Maine Mór arrived in Connacht from Oirghialla in the reign of Duach Galach, king of Connacht († 502). Mac Neill accepts this as historical, and invents an explanation of why the Uí Maine were tributary. 'The founder of this state was Maine, a prince of the Oriel kindred. The territory was under Pictish rulers until their expropriation by Dúi, the king of Connacht, who died about 499, and the kingdom was given by him to Maine, but on condition of its remaining tributary' (Celtic Ireland 87).

There were, as might be expected, numerous traces of pre-Goidelic tribes in Uí Maine. (1) The Tuatha Taiden, who appear to have been located in Co. Roscommon, and who may have been the forerunners of the Uí Maine of history. The following have been mentioned above (p. 97 f.). (2) The Sogain (*na sé Sogain*), who were seated in the modern barony of Tiaquin, Co. Galway (cf. O'Donovan's Hy-Many, pp. 72 f., 159 f.), and whose Cruthnian origin is implied in their descent from Conall Cernach. (3) The Dál nDruithne, of Moenmag,¹ around Loughrea, who may have been Fir Bolg. (4) The Cattraiqe, and (5) the Gabraige of the River Suck, both of whom have been classed as Domnainn. To these may be added (6) a branch of the scattered Delbna, viz. Delbna Nuadat, between the Shannon and the Suck (cf. O'Donovan's Hy-Many, 82). Once the rulers of the Uí Maine

¹ Otherwise Mag Maoin (Gen. Tracts 75). In AU 802 a battle is recorded between the *Sogen* and *aicme Moenmaighi*.

had been provided with a Goidelic pedigree, any of the other septs might possibly be designated a *senchenél* or 'ancient kin'; but the name would, of course, be more appropriate to the Cruthnian Sogain than to the others. The longer list of *aithechthuatha* includes *tuath Senchenel* (sic), in the North of Uí Maine (Gen. Tracts pp. 71, 115, 117). A passage cited by Mac Firis (ib. 106) appears to treat the Senchenél of Uí Maine as Fir Bolg; but a versified list of *aithechthuatha* quoted by the same scholar (ib. 75) speaks of *senchineal seanchláir Soghain*, which identifies them with the Sogain.

P. 103, n. 6; p. 111, n. 1. Similarly Zeus was 'the speaker', who guided men with his 'voice' (*ῥῶσα, ῥομφή, φήμη*); hence his epithets *Φήμιος, Ἐϋφήμιος, Πανομφαῖος*.

P. 120. The Fergus mac Roich¹ of the Ulidian tales is represented as a king of the Ulaid who was driven from his throne by Conchobar mac Nesa and went into permanent exile to Cruachain in Connacht.² The genealogists made the Ulaid descend from Ír, through Rudraige (p. 349); and accordingly Fergus, as one of the Ulaid, is represented as grandson or great-grandson of Rudraige.³ Fergus proved a boon to the genealogists when they adopted him as ancestor of a number of minor septs of pre-Goidelic origin for whom it would have been difficult otherwise to invent a 'Milesian' descent. In his new role of ancestor of these scattered septs Fergus inevitably shed some of his Ulidian associations; and so we find an alternative pedigree invented for him which traces his descent back to Érech Febria,⁴ son of

¹ O. Ir. *Ro(e)ich, Ro(a)ich*, disyllabic; Mid Ir. *Róich, Róig*.

² Fergus mac Roich had a double in Fergus mac Léti (cf. p. 68), who is sometimes represented as the immediate predecessor of Conchobar in the kingship of Ulaid (cf. RC xvi, 404; ZCP viii, 217, § 4).

³ Fergus is sometimes made *mac Rosa*, 'son of Rus', and occasionally the two patronymics are combined as *mac Rosa Roich*, which was later altered to *mac Rosa Ruaid* under the influence of *Find fili mac Rosa Ruaid* of the Laginian pedigree. Cf. *Fergus mac Róig m. Rosa m. Rudraige*, LL 331 c 40, ZCP viii, 333. 33; *mac Roich Fergus hua Rosa*, TBC S.-O'K. 967; *Fergus mac Rossa Róich* LU 5442; *a Fherguis meic Rosa Ruaid*, TBC Wi. 491; *m. Fhergusa m. Rosa m. Roig Rodanai*, LL 327 d; *Fergus m. Rosa m. Rudraige*, ZCP viii, 326. 37 (and cf. R 154 d 43, 156 b 2, LL 329 e); *Feargus m. Rosa Ruaid m. Rudraidi*, Lec. fo. 117 a 2. Exceptionally *Feargus mac Rosa Roig m. Fhachtina m. Rudraigi*, ZCP xiv, 50. 1.

⁴ R 158. 47-51; LL 327 d, 331 c 40; ZCP viii, 333 f.; Lec. fo. 117 a 2; BB 155 a. The name of Érech Febria (cf. *supra*, p. 196) is occasionally

Míl, while a third pedigree represents him as descended on his mother's side from Lugaid mac Ítha, the ancestor of the Corcu Loígde.¹

In a map of Ireland which purports to indicate the various 'Pictish tribes' of Ireland (Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society for 1937, 329) Mac Neill includes as 'Picts' those tribes whose origins the genealogists disposed of by making them descend from Fergus mac Roich, such as the Conmaicne, the Benntraighe, the Ciarraighe, and the Corcu Mruad. That such tribes were of 'Pictish' origin is a purely arbitrary and unwarranted assumption.²

P. 125. Fundamentally there were but two locations for the Otherworld of Indo-European belief. It was either (1) in the region of the sun—hence in the distant west, where the sun sets, or in the east, where it rises, or (2) beneath the earth. This dual location was preserved in modified forms in Irish pagan belief, according to which the Otherworld was variously situated in one or more islands in the western ocean, or where the sun rises in the east, or within a hill, or beneath the sea or a lake or a well. But notwithstanding the diversity of locations assigned to it, there was, in Irish pagan belief, but one Otherworld.

MacCulloch differentiates the Celtic 'Elysium' from 'the land of the dead', while admitting that the latter was a 'joyous' place and 'was certainly not a land of darkness any more than Elysium'.³ So Meyer would draw a sharp distinction between Tech Duinn, the island of the dead (*die Toteninsel*), ruled by Donn, and the happy Otherworld islands (*die Inseln der Seligen*) of the

treated by scribes as two names (cf. *m. Hérich m. Febria*, LL 331 c 44); in late mss. it appears as *Airech Februad*.

¹ R 158. 5; LL 331 c 34; ZCP viii, 333. 27; Lec. fo. 117 a 2; BB 155 a. In this pedigree the name *Roich* or *Róig* is supposed to be the name of Fergus's mother. Doubtless this misinterpretation had its use in serving to explain why Fergus was known both as *mac Rosa* and *mac Roich*.

² In an earlier map of the 'Pictish' tribes of Ireland which Mac Neill published in *Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1933, facing p. 10, the descendants of Fergus were excluded. Maps and such-like pictorial aids are a god-send to those who know nothing about a subject, for they appear to relieve them not merely from the duty of trying to weigh the evidence, but even from the necessity of reading and understanding the text. With more gratefulness than intelligence Adolf Mahr hails Mac Neill's earlier map as 'the first map of this kind ever published, and embodying the results of many years' painstaking research' (*Proc. of the Prehistoric Society for 1937, 328*).

³ *Religion of the Ancient Celts* pp. 370, 373, 376.

far west, which only a few favoured mortals could reach, and that during their lifetime. The former, he says, corresponds to the realm of Hades, the latter to the Homeric Elysium and the Hesiodic Islands of the Blessed.¹ But these distinctions, however valid they may have been in ancient Greece, are not applicable to the eschatology of the Celts. There is no reason to suppose that the realm of Donn, which had other locations besides the islet known as Tech Duinn, differed in any essentials from the Otherworld which is elsewhere described as a place of perpetual joy and feasting. And one must guard against interpreting too literally² those stories which tell of a supernatural lady inviting a mortal man (or, as in 'Tochmarc Étaíne', of a supernatural man inviting a mortal woman) to come and dwell in the happy Otherworld. Such stories ultimately derive from episodes in the myth of the Rival Wooers (p. 322), in which all the characters were originally divine personages, and in which there was no 'favoured mortal'.

Mac Neill³ imagines that the pagan Irish believed in 'two divine races', viz. the Tuatha Dé Danann, who were 'the lords of light and life', and the Fomoiré, who were 'the lords not only of darkness but of death'.⁴ He further distinguishes two Otherworlds, corresponding to these two 'divine races', namely, the Happy Otherworld, where the Tuatha Dé dwelt,⁵ and to which a mortal hero occasionally gained access, and the dwelling-place of the Fomoiré, of which, however, no description has come down to us. According to Mac Neill, the Irish pagan belief was that after death men went to the abode of these 'malevolent gods', not to the abode of the Tuatha Dé.

These views are groundless. The distinction between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fomoiré, on which Mac Neill lays

¹ Sitz.-Ber. der preuss. Akad. der Wissensch. 1919, 545.

² As MacCulloch does when he writes: 'If the dead went to Elysium, there would be little need for inviting a living person to go there' (*op. cit.* 375). Other scholars, such as Nutt and Meyer, have fallen into the same error.

³ Celtic Religion (Cath. Truth Soc.) 9 f.

⁴ These ideas have been borrowed by Mac Neill from d'Arbois de Jubainville cf. *supra*, pp. 264, 388 n.).

⁵ So previously MacCulloch: 'The rulers of Elysium are always members of the Tuatha Dé Danann or the *síd*-folk, never a Fomorian like Tethra' (*op. cit.* 375).

such stress, is a thoroughly artificial and 'learned' one.¹ The name *Tuatha Dé Danann* was invented by the literati who compiled *Lebor Gabála*, and was applied by them to the euhemerized pagan deities whom they represented as invaders and occupiers of Ireland (cf. p. 309, n. 2). It was the same literati who applied the name *Fomoire*, whatever its original signification may have been, to a body of warlike foreigners who were represented as seeking to oppress and enslave Ireland when it was occupied by the *Tuatha Dé*.² This distinction between the *Fomoire* and the *Tuatha Dé* was adopted and popularized (if it was not originated) by the author of the tale of the Second Battle of Mag Tuired (CMT).

Actually the *Fomoire* are euhemerized divinities, just like the *Tuatha Dé*, and no real distinction can be drawn between the two groups. In CMT Balar, one of the leaders of the *Fomoire*, is an enemy of the *Tuatha Dé*, among whom are included the Dagda, Nuadu, and Dian Cécht; but in fact these four personages are ultimately one and the same. So Lug, although he is Balar's grandson, is the leading champion of the *Tuatha Dé*, whereas Bres, who (as could be shown) is ultimately a double of Lug, is on the side of the *Fomoire*. The latter are referred to as *trénfiru an tsídho* (RC xii, 72), 'the champions of the *síd*', an appellation equally appropriate to the *Tuatha Dé*. In CMT Tethra is one of the kings of the *Fomoire* (ibid. pp. 62, 106); whereas in 'Echtra Chondla' the inhabitants of the joyous Otherworld are called 'the people of Tethra' (*doimí Tethrach*, ZCP xvii, 199. 2), and in 'Immacallam in Dá Thuarad' the phrase *etir triunu Tethrach* (RC xxvi, 26), 'among the mighty ones of Tethra', appears from the context to mean 'among the folk of the Otherworld'.³

The belief of the Celts was that after death they went to the house of their ancestor, the god of the Otherworld.⁴ Hence Donn

¹ MacCulloch would regard the *Fomoire* as 'aboriginal gods of fertility', 'the gods of the pre-Celtic folk—Firbolgs, Fir Domnann, and Galioin' (*op. cit.* 57). This view, originally suggested by d'Arbois de Jubainville (cf. p. 388 n.), cannot be taken seriously.

² See p. 524.

³ When Cormac explains *Tethra* in this phrase as 'the name of a king of the *Fomoire*' (San. Corm. 1207), he is doubtless thinking of the role of Tethra in the early version of CMT which he quotes elsewhere in his Glossary. We may likewise see a reminiscence of CMT in 'Tochmarc Emire', § 48, where Forgall Manach is described as 'sister's son to Tethra, king of the *Fomoire*'.

⁴ 'Le paradis celtique, la plaine heureuse, *mag mæld*, est le dernier séjour de tous les Celtes sans exception', writes d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Les*

bids his 'children' (*clann*), i.e. the men of Ireland, come to his house when they die (see p. 125, n. 1).¹ Donn, therefore, is the ancestor-deity, and is identical with the Dagda, 'the Great Father' (p. 469), and with Nuadu Argatlám, from whom all the Irish were sprung (p. 467). Both the Dagda and Nuadu are reckoned among the Tuatha Dé in Lebor Gabála and elsewhere. If Donn does not appear in the enumeration of the chiefs of the Tuatha Dé given in L.G., the reason is that he had already been converted into a son of Míl (p. 199). Elsewhere we find Donn Ailëin and Donn Dumaige named among the leaders of the Tuatha Dé (Ac. Sen. 5119-20). The former, 'Donn of the Rocky Isle', may be identified with the Donn of Tech Duinn; the latter with the Donn of Dumach on the western coast of Co. Clare.² In 'Cath Finntrága' (ed. Meyer, ll. 260-263) no fewer than six of the chiefs of the Tuatha Dé are named *Donn*.³

Druides 134). Alfred Nutt, on the other hand, denies that the Celts believed in the existence of a land to which men went when they died (Folk-Lore xviii (1907), 445-448). 'The Irish Other-world is *not* a Hades, a land to which all men, or even men generally, go after death, but is a god's land to which certain favoured mortals, and they alone, penetrate, and from which they may return'. Eleanor Hull writes to much the same effect (ibid. 141). Her views and those of Nutt are due partly to misinterpreting the evidence, partly to an insufficient acquaintance with it (some of it was still unpublished when they wrote). In expressing his dissent from their views, d'Arbois de Jubainville appositely quotes Lucan's Pharsalia i, 450-458, on the druidic doctrine of survival in a new world (RC xxix, 103 f.).

¹ A later account of the 'drowning' of Donn tells how Donn and Amairgen foretold that Donn's people, i.e. his descendants, would always come [after their death] to his house, Tech Duinn. Hence, we are further told, the heathen Irish believed that the souls of sinners visited Tech Duinn before they went to hell (Met. D. iv, 310). The mention of 'sinners' and of 'hell' is, of course, due to a Christian redactor.

² To the latter Donn, viz. Donn na Dufhe (*Duimhche), Aindrias Mac Cruitín (*flor.* 1720) addressed a poem (published in The Irish Monthly, May 1925, 257 ff.) in which he bewails his friendless condition and beseeches Donn, whose history he traces back to the time of the Tuatha Dé Danañ, to grant him entrance to his hospitable *bruidhean*. He was believed to reside in the sand-hills of Dough More, to the north of Doonbeg, Co. Clare. These sand-hills, which were known as *Dumhacha Duinn* (see p. 493), are described by John Llóyd in his 'Short Tour' (Ennis, 1780), p. 15, as 'of great height and a mile long'.

³ Among them are *Donn Duma*, i.e. probably Donn Dumach or Donn Dumaige, and *Donn Fritgrine* (read *Fri(d)grinne*) i.e. Donn of Knockfeerina, in Co. Limerick (see Hermathena xxiii, 203 f.).

Pp. 127, n. 4; 128, n. 1. The following instances from the early part of Rawl. B 502 may be added: dat. *Brudin Dd Dergga*, 19 a 1; gen. *Bruidne Da Berga*, 21 a 23.

P. 129. The name *Mac Da T(h)ó*, taken as it stands, appears to mean 'the son of two mutes', i.e. *mac dd thó*. This is the explanation given in 'Talland Étair' (see p. 127, n. 3, *supra*); but it is obviously unsatisfactory. Marstrander (R.I.A. Dict. s. v. *Dathó*) suggests that *Da Thó* may represent an earlier **Nath Ó*; but there is no evidence that such a name as **Nath Ó* ever existed. As *Mac Da Thó* was the lord of the Otherworld Feast (p. 122) and the ultimate ancestor of all, to speak of him as a 'son' (*mac*) is obviously unoriginal and artificial. Hence (as in the case of *Mac Cuill* and *Mac Da Réo*) we are justified in regarding the *Mac* as a later addition, and in supposing that the earlier form of his name was *Da Tó* (*Tau*), i.e. 'the silent god, *deus Mutus*', which had become sufficiently stereotyped to be left undeclined when *mac* was euhemeristically prefixed to it. So we find *Tó* among the mythical ancestors of Míl.¹ Compare *Moen*, 'the dumb', another name for the same deity (p. 103).

P. 135, l. 21. While it is true that the Ulidian Cormac, son of Conchobar and exile in Connacht, is for the most part an artificial creation, there were probably other reasons besides his epithet *Conn Loinges* for associating him with the Ulaid. The Ulaid were Érainn; so, too, were the pre-Goidelic inhabitants of the Tara district. The legend of the battle of Crinna (p. 137) suggests that at the time of the Goidelic invasion the power of the Ulaid extended south of the Boyne, and consequently included Tara. So far as legend permits us to infer, the Goidels had no opponents north of the Boyne except the Ulaid; and when the Ulaid were finally defeated and their capital razed, the greater part of the province appears to have fallen at once into the hands of the men of Tara and their allies (p. 229). This leads us to suppose that there was a confederacy of tribes under the leadership of the Ulaid, whose name was used as a comprehensive designation for them all. If we suppose that a similar Ulidian confederacy existed at the time of the Lagenian invasion, we could easily understand why Cormac Conn Loinges, an Ernean king traditionally associated

¹ *maic Thoe*, R 117, lower margin. To this corresponds *filii Thoi* in a mythical pedigree, of Irish origin, in *Historia Brittonum*, c 17. The genitival forms *Tai* (: *aī*) and *Toe* are used as nominatives in *ÁID* i, pp. 30 (§ 37), 42 (§ 43).

with North Leinster, whom the Lagen banished or slew, might be regarded as having belonged to the Ulaid.¹

Cormac ua Cuinn, who is ultimately a double of Cormac Conn Loinges (pp. 139, 284), commonly gets the epithet *Ulfhota*. This adjective *ulfhota*, apparently meaning 'long-bearded', is otherwise unknown, and it may not be over-fanciful to see in it a deliberate distortion of an earlier *Uloth*,² and to suppose that *Cormac Uloth*,³ 'Cormac of the Ulaid', or 'Cormac the Ulidian', was originally an alias of Cormac Conn Loinges. It is worth noting that the native etymologists connected *Ulfhota* with *Ulaid*, as when we read in the Irish World-Chronicle, RC xvii, 18.22: *As de ba Cormac Ulfada dia rochuir Ultu a fad*.⁴

Another personage associated with both Tara and the Ulaid is Lugaid Réoderg (otherwise called Lugaid Riab nDerg).⁵ His name appears in the list of prehistoric kings of Tara as successor of Conaire Mór. He is known as *mac na Tri Find nEmna*,⁶ 'son

¹ For the hostility between Cormac and Conchobar see p. 136, n. 1.

² So the name of Cairbre Riata, ancestor of the Dál Riata, was distorted to *Cairbre Rigfhota*, as if it meant 'Cairbre the Long-armed'.

³ Compare *Cormac Gaileng*, 'Cormac of the Gailing', or 'Cormac the Gailing', son of Tadhg mac Céin and ancestor of the Gailing.

⁴ *Cóir Anmann*, § 113, is similar, but gives 'long-bearded' as an alternative explanation. The name *Ulaid* (< **Ulu*ti) itself probably means 'the bearded', from *ul* (= *ulcha*), 'beard'. This is one of the traditional explanations of the name; cf. R 156 a 44.

⁵ Lugaid's epithet *Réoderg* (found, e.g., in the Irish World-Chronicle, RC xvi, pp. 411, 414, AI 7 b 34) appears to mean something like 'of the red sky'. (For *réo* see p. 129, n. 1.) Later, under the influence of etymological speculation, *Réoderg* was altered to *Riab nDerg* (see the next note), as in the genealogies (e.g. R 136 a 33 and 37, 137 b 42) and in certain texts in LL (e.g. 124 b, 125 a-b); but the implied identification of *réo* with *riab*, 'stripe', has no basis. Occasionally one meets a contaminated form *Réo nDerg*, e.g. IT ii, 1, p. 176. 2, *Cóir Anmann* § 105.

⁶ Verse examples show that *Find* and *Emna* are separate words (see Met. D. iv, 56; Ériu v, 210, l. 55; RC xlvii, 296). So in the dative we have *na Tri Finnaib Emna*, R 137 b 42, Met. D. iv, 42. Hence the late Irish explanation (Ériu ii, 174; *Cóir Anmann* § 104), 'son of the three fair twins (*find-emna*)', though accepted by Thurneysen (Heldensage pp. 270, 427), must be discarded. Lugaid's revised epithet, *Riab nDerg*, was fancifully connected with his triple paternity. He had 'three stripes' (cf. *Lugaid Tri Riab*, ZCP viii, 337. 25; *Lugaid Tri Riab nDerg*, Ériu ii, 174), representing his three fathers; otherwise his body was divided into three parts by two stripes (*Cóir Anmann* § 105).

of the three Finns of Emain',¹ and an interpolation in 'Serglige Conculainn' represents him as being in Emain, along with his tutor Cúchulainn, at the time of his election to the kingship of Tara (IT i, 213). Originally, as could be shown, this Lugaid Réoderg was none other than Cúchulainn himself.

Pp. 141 f., 145. In Lebor Gabála we read that, when Nemed's people (i.e. the Builg; see p. 75 f.) were evacuating Ireland, Matach, Érglan and Iartach, the three sons of Beóán, migrated to 'Domon and Erdomon in the north of Alba'.² By Domon and Erdomon are meant the Hebrides.³ We thus appear to have three separate stories which tell where the Fir Bolg settled after their defeat. (1) Some of Nemed's people fled to the western Scottish isles; (2) the Fir Bolg, defeated at Mag Tuired, fled to Islay, Arran, Rathlin, and other islands; and (3) the Sons of Úmór fled to the Aran islands and to the westerly parts of Connacht. It would be easy to believe that the Fir Bolg who were settled along the Connacht coast were, or soon became, expert mariners; and there is, perhaps, no good reason why we should reject the tradition that some of them went and settled in the nearer Scottish islands. Hence the Ibdaig, as the inhabitants of these islands were called (p. 538), may have been, partly at least, of Bolgic origin. So, in later times, it is likely that the conquest of Ulster by the Midland Goidels gave the first impulse to the migration to Argyle of a large section of the Dál Riata of Co. Antrim, and that it was the raids of the Saxons that stimulated many of the Britons to seek a new home in Armorica.

CHAP. VII

Pp. 148, 150. I have overlooked the following comment on the name *Cairid* made by Kuno Meyer in his Introduction to the Rawl. B 502 facsimile (p. xiii, n. 1): 'That the first syllable is long is shown by the rhymes *áigid* (i.e. *óigid*): *Cárid*, p. 161 a 42; *nóedena*: *Cáireda*, ib. 53'. The length-marks in these quotations have been added by Meyer, and do not occur in the MS. It will be observed that Meyer, though he spells the name *Cárid*, treats it as standing for *Cairid*. His assumption that *Carid*, R 161 a 42, rimes with *áigid* is quite gratuitous. In the six quatrains

¹ Compare his double Lugaid *mac Trí Con*, as to whom see p. 79 f.

² LL 6 b 15-17, = ITS xxxix, 124 (and cf. ib. 144).

³ See Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 40 f.

in *Rannaigecht* there is only one such rime (viz. *moine* : *doine*, l. 48), and that is probably accidental. The other alleged rime, *noedena* : *Caireda*, has been discussed above. It may be added that the metre of the seventh quatrain (quoted *supra*, p. 150) is sharply distinguished from that of the quatrains that precede by lacking the *uaithne*, or consonance, of quatrains 1-6.

P. 150, l. 3. There are some earlier examples of *Cureda* or *Curida* in LL. The genealogy of the *Aes Aella* [read, probably, *Aes Ella*] begins: *Aed m. Celechair m. Curida*, LL 327 b 16. Another pedigree, that of St. Senán of Láthrach Briuin, begins: *m. Fintain Srenedo m. Glinnir m. Cuirc m. Cureda*, ib. 352 d 6. This latter pedigree is mostly fabulous (it is continued through some fifty generations back to Éremón); but the beginning of it, including the names I have quoted, may well be historical. On the other hand, in the mythical part of the same pedigree we find (352 d 33) *m. Maireda m. Caireda*, where the old spelling is retained. Similarly the fabulous Lí Ban, otherwise called Murgén, who appears in the legend of Loch nEchach, is *ingen Echach m. Maireda m. Caireda*, ib. 352 d 55.

CHAP. VIII

P. 166 f. Domnall Mide was the first king of Mide (or Uisnech) to become king of Ireland (he is *cétri Hérenn a Midi*, LL 42 a, margin). After his time the rulers of Brega, descended from Aed Sláine, were, with a solitary exception,¹ excluded from the kingship of Ireland. After the abdication of Niall Frosach, Donnchad, Domnall Mide's son, became king of Ireland, and ruled until his death in 797. This Donnchad depressed still further the descendants of Aed Sláine, whom he defeated in battle and whose leading men he slew (see AU 776, 777, 785, and the *fiugal Clainne Aeda Sláine* recounted in LL 42 a). Hence towards the end of the eighth century Brega had already begun to be regarded as a dependency of Mide. It is thus that we can account for a curious allusion to Mide in the *Félire* of Oengus (composed ca. A.D. 800), prol. 226, where St. Mael Ruain is described as *grian mór desmaig Midi*, which Stokes translates 'the great sun on Meath's south plain'. As Mael Ruain belonged to Tallaght, which is in the south of Co. Dublin and was at no time reckoned

¹ viz. Congalach, who ruled as king of Ireland from 944 to 956.

as being within Mide, it is clear that the text requires emendation. We should read *grian már des Maig* (or *Mag*) *Midi*, 'the great luminary to the south of the plain of Mide' (see p. 462, *supra*), and understand *Mag Midi* here to be used loosely, *metri causâ*, in the sense of *Mag Breg*.

P. 167, n. 1. O'Donovan's opinion regarding the date of the composition of 'Leabhar na gCeart' will be found on p. 231 of his edition. See also pp. viii, xii, of the unsigned Introduction to the book. This Introduction is usually credited to O'Donovan, who was certainly responsible for no small part of it; but according to W. K. Sullivan it was 'the work of the late W. E. Hudson' (O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, ii, 45 n.).

P. 168. H. T. Knox in 1900 suggested that 'the Eremonian clan was a family of the Domnonians who reigned in Connacht, which rose above the others not very long before the fourth century, and made itself a kingdom of Meath out of a small territory about Ushnagh' (*Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1900, 352). Here we have the immediate source of Mac Neill's theory of 'the eastern expansion of the Connacht power', beginning with the occupation of Ushnagh. In 1935 Mac Neill speaks of 'the skeleton of tradition which shows the historical kingdom of Tara to have been an extension of the older kingdom of Connacht' (*Jrnl. Galway Arch. and Hist. Society* xvi, 106). The fact is that this so-called tradition had no existence, as a 'skeleton' or otherwise, prior to the year 1900.¹

CHAP. IX

P. 177, n. 1. In the Rawl. B 502 text of the Irish World-Chronicle the death of Conaire in Bruiden Da Derga is entered twice, the dates being approximately 25 B.C. and 44 A.D. (RC xvi, pp. 405, 411). Immediately after the first of these entries an interpolating hand adds that Lugaid Réoderg became king 'in the seventh year after Conaire's death' (R 19 a 4). Five years after the second entry the original hand records the beginning of the reign of Lugaid Réoderg (R 21 a 35). The much-abbreviated version of the Irish World-Chronicle prefixed to the Cottonian

¹ In 1919 Mac Neill acknowledged that his theory of the conquest of Tara by 'the kings of Connacht and Uisneach' finds no support in Irish tradition. See p. 178, n. 1.

Annals contains only the later of these pairs of entries. After the destruction of Bruiden Da Berca, 'Ireland was five years without a king'; in the sixth year after the destruction Lugaid Roderc (*sic*) began to reign in Tara (RC xli, 314, §§ 99, 101).

CHAP. X

Pp. 184 f., 191. It is probable that *Mug Nuadat* stands for an earlier *Nuado*, as *Mug Ruith* (p. 519) stands for an earlier *Roth*. The simple *Nuado* and *Roth* were too obviously deity-names; and so, when the bearers of them were euhemerized, their names were correspondingly humanized by prefixing *Mug*. As Nuadu and Eógan represent the same deity,¹ we can the more easily understand the tendency to identify Mug Nuadat with Eógan. Among the mythical ancestors of the Eóganacht was Nuadu Declam,² otherwise known as Nuadu Argatlám,³ or Nuadu Fáil;⁴ hence we are told that 'all the race of Éber descend from Nuadu'.⁵ It would appear that Nuadu, as ancestor-deity of the Eóganacht, was supposed to have led them to Ireland, much as the Lagen believed that they were led to Ireland by their ancestor-deity Labraid (p. 103).

P. 191. In addition to legends of defeats of the Érainn by the Eóganacht in the battles of Cenn Febrat (or Abrat) and Belach Feda Máir (p. 75, n. 3), we have, underlying the tale known as 'Forbais Dromma Dámgaire',⁶ the legend of a similar defeat inflicted on the Érainn at Knocklong, in the south-east of Co. Limerick.

This tale tells how Cormac ua Cuinn marched southwards from Tara against Fiachu Muillethan (son of Eógan Mór), king of Munster, and how, with the help of the magician Mug Ruith (p. 519 f.) whom he summoned to his assistance, Fiachu defeated Cormac in a battle at Druim Damgaire (later called Cnoc Luinge, 'Knocklong'). In reward for his aid Fiachu granted Mug Ruith and his descendants

¹ Both appear to have been taken over by the Southern Goidels from the Ivernian population. See pp. 190, 495 f.

² R 147 a 17, 154 b 24; LL 319 a 17; ZCP viii, 302.

³ R 148 b 27.

⁴ LL 346 e.

⁵ *Ó Nuadait atát sil Ébir uile*, LL 319 a 17-18; and cf. R 147 a 17.

⁶ Edited by M.-L. Sjoestedt, RC xliii-xliv.

the territory of Mag Féne, an extensive district in the north of Co. Cork, extending from the Nagles Mountains northwards to the Ballyhoura hills.¹

The introduction of Cormac ua Cuinn into the tale is obviously a storyteller's invention, made with the intention of investing the tale with something more than a local interest. The territory granted to Mug Ruith had, we learn, previously belonged to Mac Con and the Dáirine (i.e. the Corcu Loígde or Érainn)²; and we may take it that it was as a result of his victory that Fiachu found himself in a position to dispose of it. The conclusion is sufficiently obvious: Fiachu's victory was gained, not over the king of Tara, but over the Érainn of Munster.

Mug Ruith dwelt in Dairbre, otherwise Inis Dairbre,³ i.e. Valentia Island, in the south-west of Co. Kerry in the ancient territory of the Corcu Duibne. The Corcu Duibne, like the Múscraige, are made to descend from Cairbre (otherwise Oengus) Músc. Mug Ruith and Cairbre Músc both represent the ancestor-deity, and both are associated with the Corcu Duibne; hence we are justified in regarding that section of the Fir Maige Féne which claimed descent from Mug Ruith as closely akin to the Múscraige.⁴ Hence the tradition that underlies the tale is that the Eóganacht (represented by Fiachu) won a battle over the Érainn at or near Knocklong with the aid of vassal-allies of the Corcu Duibne, who were rewarded by being settled on part of the conquered territory.

It is by no means unlikely that 'the siege of Druimm Damgaire' is ultimately another version of the legend of the battle of Cenn Febrat, in which Eógan, son of Ailill Ólomm (representing the Eóganacht), defeated Mac Con and Nemed (representing the Érainn), with the aid of the three Cairbres (which is to be interpreted as meaning Cairbre Músc,—representing the Múscraige

¹ In early historical times, and down to the Anglo-Norman invasion, part of this territory is occupied by a branch of the Eóganacht (known as Eóganacht Glennamnach); the remainder by the Uí Dhubhagáin and other families who claimed descent from Mug Ruith.

² Another name for it was *Corrchaílle Meic Con*, RC xliii, 66; *rob é ruidlius Clainne Dáirine*, *ibid.*

³ RC xliiii, 56 (*Inis Dairbre*), 58 (*Dairbre*); ZCP xiv, 155 (*Dairbri*). In ZCP viii, 314. 20, Mug Ruith dwells *hi Tarbri* (sic), and is confusedly associated with the battle of Crainde (*leg. Crinda*), as a result of which the Cianacht got their land. Keating exceptionally represents Mug Ruith as dwelling in Ciarraighe Luachra (FF ii, 320).

⁴ The Múscraige are 'kinsmen' (*bráit[h]re*) of Mug Ruith, RC xliiii, 64.

and the *Corcu Duibne*). In any event both these legends are concerned with the northward movement of the *Eóganacht* and their allies, which resulted in their conquest of the northern part of Co. Cork and the adjoining part of Co. Limerick from the *Érainn*.

CHAP. XI

P. 194, n. 1. In a synchronistic tract embodied in the BB, Lec. and Rawl. B 512 texts of L.G. it is said that the Sons of Míl came to Ireland when Alexander the Great had been five years on the throne (BB 36 a 49), i.e. in B.C. 331. The writer explains that this computation is 'according to the synchronisms', and that the general opinion is that the invasion of the Sons of Míl took place in the Third Age of the world (ib. 41 a 23-25). Mac Neill writes: 'We may fairly assume that the later the date assigned, the earlier is its source. For the tendency and the temptation is to push imaginary dates farther and farther back. . . . Thus the date B.C. 331 is probably one of the earliest adopted for the Gaelic Occupation'.¹ Mac Neill's 'fair assumption' is contradicted by the facts. The tract in which the invasion of the Sons of Míl is synchronized with the reign of Alexander, so far from being, as he thought, 'the oldest known document which assigns a period to the Gaelic conquest of Ireland', is a late composition (see p. 412) and may well be the latest of all the Irish synchronistic tracts.

P. 199. The Sons of Míl landed at Inber Scéne, somewhere near Kenmare, in the south of Co. Kerry. Their landing in this part of Ireland may have helped to suggest the inclusion of Donn among the sons of Míl, for Tech Duinn,² 'Donn's House', is in this neighbourhood. A *dindshenchas* account of Tech Duinn tells how Donn was first stricken with disease through the spells of the Tuatha Dé, and how afterwards his ship was sunk, and how his body was placed on the 'high rock' which thence got the name of Tech Duinn (Met. D. iv, 310). In the LL version of

¹ Celtic Ireland 36; and cf. Phases of Irish History 50, and Proc. R.I.A. xxviii C, 125.

² The rocky islet of Tech Duinn (which in English is known as the Bull) was otherwise called *Inis Tarbnaí* (cf. AU 857). *Tarbnae* is a derivative of *tarb*, 'a bull'. For Donn, otherwise known as *Dáire*, as a tauriform deity see p. 454, n. 4.

Lebor Gabála it is told how Donn and his brother Érech, together with their ship's crew, were drowned *oc na Dumachaib oc Taig Duind*.¹ As there are no sand-hills (*dumacha*) at Tech Duinn, it would appear that we have here a conflation of two accounts, one of which placed his drowning near Tech Duinn, the other near the sand-hills known as (*na*) *Dumacha Duinn*² on the western coast of Co. Clare. Flann Mainistrech speaks of Donn and his fellows being drowned *oc na Dumachaib*,³ and makes no reference to Tech Duinn.

In the account of the invasions of Ireland in 'Historia Brittonum' (c. 13), it is said that, after the three Sons of Míl had reached Ireland, they set out to capture a Tower of Glass (*turris vitrea*) which they had observed in the middle of the sea, but when they disembarked on the shore which surrounded the Tower they were all drowned by the tide. Only the crew of one ship, which was unable to take part in the expedition, escaped.⁴

The Tower of Glass in the sea is simply the Otherworld, the realm of Donn. To go to Donn's house means 'to die'.⁵ Hence those who arrived at the Tower of Glass were already dead. The statement that they were drowned after their arrival at the Tower, like the further statement that their object was to capture the Tower, is merely a rationalistic addition. The inhabitants of the Tower, we are told, spoke not a word when they were addressed (*numquam respondebant*); this is a reminiscence of the silence which is characteristic of the dead.⁶

¹ LL 13 b 18-20; and cf. O'Clerys L. G. 258.

² ZCP xiv, pp. 249, 252. See p. 484, n. 2.

³ LL 16 a 29-31.

⁴ This episode of the Tower of Glass is misplaced in the 'Historia'; it properly belongs to the story of the invasion of Nemed. But it has an obvious kinship with the story of the drowning of Donn in the Irish accounts of the invasion of the Sons of Míl.

⁵ See p. 125, *supra*. So the Irish expressions *dul *écu*, *dul do écaib* (later *dul d'éag*), 'to die', originally meant 'to go to the dead'. Cf. *ó dohuid issin écdáil* (Met. D. iii. 214), 'since she went to join the dead', i.e. 'since she died'. *Éca* (pl. of *éc*), 'death', originally meant 'the dead', like the cognate Greek *vékves*, *νεκροί*. Similarly W. *angeu* and Bret. *ankou*, 'death', were originally plurals, = Ir. *éca*. Cf. Thurneysen, Handbuch 124.

⁶ Cf. Lat. *silentes*, 'the dead'. In the Welsh tale of 'Branwen' the dead who are restored to life by being placed in 'the caldrón of regeneration' (*y peir dadeni*) are without the power of speech. In Martyr. Gorm., Jan. 29, the Christian Heaven is called *toethir*, glossed *lir toi nimhe*, 'the silent land of Heaven'.

In the Irish version of 'Historia Brittonum', it is the Tuatha Dé Danann, not the Sons of Mil, who attack the Tower (*tor*) in the sea, and the Tower is a stronghold of the Fomoire.¹ The sea overwhelmed the Tuatha Dé, and only the crew of a single boat escaped.²

In the accounts of this episode in *Lebor Gabála* the attackers of the Tower are the people of Nemed. According to one version, Nemed and his people, while voyaging to Ireland, saw a Tower of gold (*tor óir*) in the sea, and, coveting the gold, they attacked the Tower, but were all drowned except Nemed and his sons.³ According to another, and apparently older, version, the attack on the Tower came at the end of the Nemedian occupation of Ireland. The Fomoire, who oppressed the descendants of Nemed, had their stronghold in *Tor Conaind* (or *Tor Conaing*)⁴ in the island of *Torinis*, off the north-west coast of Ireland; and in an attack on the Tower the descendants of Nemed were all slain or drowned, with the exception of the crew of one ship, who thereupon left Ireland.⁵ This simply means, or at least originally meant, that those of Nemed's people who had not journeyed to the Otherworld-house, i.e. all of them, who had not gone to their death—in other words, all the survivors of Nemed's people—left Ireland.

P. 203, l. 16. The entry *Slogad Tana Bo Cualngi* is an interpolation in the text (R 19 a 5); but the date agrees with the data given in connexion with Cúchulainn's death (ib. 19 b 7-9).

¹ The Fomoire here represent the Otherworld-god (cf. Balar). The idea of making the Tuatha Dé Danann their opponents was probably suggested by the story of the Second Battle of Mag Tuired.

² Todd's *Ir. Nennius*, 46-48, = *Lebor Bretnach* 22.

³ O'Clery's *L. G.* 72; ITS xxxix, 128-130.

⁴ *Tor Conainn*, 'Conann's Tower', is apparently the earliest form. *Conann* may represent a Celtic **Kunonos*, a derivative of **kū*, 'dog', like the Welsh *Cynon*.

⁵ LL 6a-7b; ITS xxxix, 138 ff., 174, 180 ff. MacAlister, influenced by d'Arbois de Jubainville, sees in the attack on the Tower 'an incident in the eternal conflict between gods of light and goodness and gods of darkness and evil' (ITS xxxix, 116). He adds the characteristically imaginative comment: 'It is not improbable that the drownings in the tide are reminiscent of sacrifices: victims having been bound upon the shore below the tide-mark and left to be engulfed. It is also just conceivable that another Flood-legend reminiscence may underlie this group of tales' (ib. 117).

Pp. 204-206. The Goidelic invaders gradually won a dominating position in Ireland, not by force of numbers, for they must have been few in comparison with the earlier population, but by their skill in war and in politics. Doubtless they were also helped by the prestige of a superior civilization. It was they, for instance, who brought the Ogam script to Ireland, though the later use of this script for epigraphic purposes acquired a greater vogue among the goidelicized tribes, especially those of the south of Ireland, than it did among the descendants of the original Goidels.

Although the dominant Goidels regarded the older population (the *aithechthuatha*) with some contempt, the influence exercised by these upon the Goidels and their language was far from negligible. The fifth and sixth centuries are known to have been a period of unusually rapid development in the Irish language; witness the contrast between the general language of the Ogam inscriptions and the earliest Old Irish known to us from MSS. We shall probably not be far wrong in supposing that the tendency to rapid change which characterized the language of this period was accentuated by the widespread adoption of Goidelic speech by the earlier inhabitants, just as at a much later period the spread of Irish among the Anglo-Norman settlers had an influence in bringing about the transition from Middle to Modern Irish. It is a noteworthy fact that the dominant people adopted as their own the names given by the pre-Goidelic P-Celts to themselves and their dialect, viz. *Goidil*, 'Irishmen', and *Goidelg*, 'the Irish language'.¹ It is no less noteworthy that the god Nuadu, who was regarded as ancestor of all the Irish (p. 467 f.), was adopted by the Goidels from the earlier inhabitants. That this was so is suggested by various considerations, among them the form of his name, which I would connect with Ir. *smuad*, 'aspect, hue' (originally '*cloud'), Welsh *nudd*, 'mist, haze', cognate with Lat. *nūbēs*²; and it is confirmed by the fact that

¹ See The Goidels and their Predecessors, p. 5 f.

² *Nuadu*, earlier *Nuado*, gen. *-dot* (Celtic **Noudōs*, gen *-dontos*) may thus mean something like 'the cloud-maker'; compare Zeus 'the cloud-gatherer', *νεφεληγέρετα*. So Mug Ruith, the sun-god, forms clouds with his breath (p. 520). Stokes, followed by Rhys and Thurneysen, would refer *Nuadu* to the IE. root *neud-*, 'acquire possession of', seen in Germ. *geniessen* and *nutzen*. The same etymology is adopted by J. R. R. Tolkien in his discussion of the name *Nodons* in 'Report on the Excavation of the . . . Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire', by R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, p. 132 ff. A serious objection to this etymology is that this root *neud-*, so

there are traces of a variant form *Luadu* in Irish, as in *Mag Luadat, Delbnae Lōdot*, just as Welsh developed *Lludd* as a by-form of *Nudd* owing to the alliterative attraction of the epithet *Llawereint*, 'silver-handed' (= Ir. *Argatlám*).¹

The important subject of Ivernic loan-words in Irish, which has been merely outlined above, would deserve a lengthy study, including full discussions of individual words. I hope to treat it in sufficient detail in a series of articles intended for publication elsewhere.

CHAP. XII

P. 210. Crimthann Már is represented as son of Fidach, son of Dáire Cerbba, son of Ailill Flann Bec (R 148 a 16, 149 a 40); but according to another account his father Fidach was son of Ailill Flann Bec and brother of Dáire (ib. 149 a 34). Compare his fabulous namesake among the reputed early ancestors of the Osraige, viz. Crimthann Már (or Mór), who was father of Oengus Osfhrithe (Osraige) and grandfather of Loegaire Bern Buadach, and whose wife Cingit (otherwise Cennait, Cindnit) was daughter of Dáire mac Dedad (R 117 f 15, LL 339 a 48, 138 b 5-6).

Crimthann mac Fidaig is mentioned as 'king of Ireland' in the story of Conall Corc, *Anecdota iii*, 57. 22, which Meyer (Sitz.-Ber. der königl. preuss. Akad. 1918, 874) would date in the eighth century:

Meyer, following the FM, says that 'Crimthann was over-king of Ireland from 366 to 378' (Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion 1895-6, 60). MacBain is still more uncritical, for he accepts as literal truth Cormac's statement² that Crimthann was 'king of Ireland and Alba as far as Muir nIcht (the English Channel).' 'In 366', he writes, 'and for a few years, the Province of Britain

far as is known, is peculiar to the Germanic and Baltic languages; there is no trace of it in Celtic.

¹ We are thus entitled to infer that a form of Nuadu's epithet resembling the Welsh *Llawereint* was at one time in use in Ireland, presumably among the pre-Goidelic population. The above explanation of *Lludd* was first put forward by Rhys (The Hibbert Lectures 1886, 125). We have Irish parallels to this change of initial in order to secure alliteration, as when *Craiph tine* was developed from *Sraiph tine* owing to the influence of an accompanying *cruith* or *cruithire* (Ériu xiii, 186), or when *Eoir*, 'the Nore', was frequently made *Beoir* in the phrase *Beoir 7 Berba*, 'the Nore and the Barrow'.

² San. Corm., s.v. 'Mug eme'.

was ruled, or misruled, by Crimthann, High-King of Ireland' (Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 ed., 383).

P. 210, i. 14. Thurneysen's ingenious explanation of Cormac's *Dind Tradui* is discounted by the geographical location which it assigns to the place, viz. 'on the far side of the Dee'. Egerton Phillimore (*Y Cymmrodor* xi, 90 n.) is more likely to be right when he equates *Dind Tradui* (= **Din Dradui*?) with *Dindraithov*, a place in Cornwall mentioned in the Life of St. Carannog (miswritten *Dindrarthou* in Rees's *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, 99. 8), and also with the *Cair Draitou* of the catalogue of British cities included among the additions to 'Historia Brittonum'. But the exact situation of Din Draithov (or Cair Draitou) is quite uncertain. Ferdinand Lot proposed to identify it with Castle-an-Dinas, near St. Columb Major, in Cornwall (*Romania* xxx, 5). E. K. Chambers thinks it is probably 'the great citadel of Dunster', in the west of Somersetshire (*Arthur of Britain* 83).

P. 216 f. As Christianity is known to have been well established in Britain in the fourth century, it is possible—perhaps even probable—that Niall's mother was a Christian. But Niall himself was brought up a pagan. Tírechán records the tradition that King Loegaire refused to accept the Christian faith on the ground that his father, Niall, had forbidden him to do so.¹

P. 217, l. 5. The Latin name was doubtless *Cārīna* (cf. *cārus*). The *-ā-* would be shortened in pretonic position in late spoken Latin. In Irish the stress would be shifted to the first syllable, and the vowel of the second syllable would later be shortened in the general shortening of unstressed syllables. Compare *strātūra* giving Ir. *srathar*, and *mātutīna* becoming **matīna*, whence Ir. *maiten* and *matan*.

Holder, iii, 1104 f., gives examples of *Carinus* (m.) and *Carina* (f.) from Latin inscriptions in Gaul and elsewhere. He regards these names as 'also Celtic', and marks the first vowel short, presumably in order to accommodate it to Celtic *kār-* (as in Ir. *cara*, *Carthach*, Welsh *car*, *Caradog*). But this view is questionable. There is really no evidence that these names existed in Celtic.

P. 217, n. 3. Cathal mac Finguine († 742), king of Cashel, is styled *rí Herend* in AI 13 a 9 (but *rex Caisil*, AU 741). Fergal

¹ *Non potuit credere, dicens: 'Nam Neel pater meus non sinit mihi credere'*, L. Ardm. fo. 10 a 2, = Trip. Life 308.

mac Maíle Dúin, king of Tara, is said to have submitted to him when he plundered Brega (AI 12 e 20). The bellicose ecclesiastic, Fedlimmid mac Crimthainn († 847), king of Cashel, has a better claim to the title. In AI 14 d-e we are told how in 838 Niall mac Aeda, king of Tara, submitted to Fedlimmid at Clonfert, *cor bo lánri Herend Fedlimmid in la-sein*. The chronicle appended to L.G. concedes that Fedlimmid was king of Ireland 'with opposition' (LL 25 b, = Trip. Life 520.24).

Gilla Mo-dubda, writing in 1143, says that the Munstermen reckon Fedlimmid king of Ireland, and that the Ulaid give the same title to Baetán, Fiachu Find, and Eochaid Iarlaithe (Todd Lect. iii, 432). For Baetán mac Cairill († 581) see the Additional Note to p. 237. Fiachu (*recte* Fiatu) Find is a mythical personage, ancestor of the Dál Fiatach.¹ Eochaid Iarlaithe († 666) was king of the Dál nAraidi.

P. 218, l. 12. Another anachronistic anecdote, invented to account for the epithet *Censelach*, represents Énna Censelach as defeating Eochu Mugmedón, king of Ireland, in the battle of Cruachán Cloenta (e.g. LL 316 b 44-55, 389 b 24-37; Cóir Anmann § 209; FF ii, 366). In 'Aided Crimthainn' (RC xxiv, 182) Crimthann († 483), son of Énna Censelach, is said to have slain Brian, son of Eochu Mugmedón, in the lifetime of Niall Noígiallach († 427).

P. 221. The name *Brion* (disyllabic), later regularly *Brian* (monosyllabic; cf. p. 233, n. 3), I discuss at length in a note which I hope to publish elsewhere, and in which I suggest that it is a borrowing of the Ivernian development of Celt. **Brigonos*, which gave native Irish *Bregon*.

P. 223, n. 2. The three Collas and their forces pursued the defeated Ulaid eastward as far as Glenn Rige, i.e. the valley of the Newry River (p. 226). This suggests that Glenn Rige was the western boundary of the territory of the Ulaid for some time after their defeat. This view finds confirmation in a tract on the Collas,²

¹ In R 156 b 35-44 there is a versified list of the seven kings of the Dál Fiatach who became kings of Ireland. Three of these are historical persons: Muiredach Muinderg, Cairell and Baetán. The four mythical kings include Fiachu Find. Elsewhere there are prose lists which mention only six such kings, the name of Cairell being omitted (LL 330 b; ZCP viii, 327; ib. xiii, 326).

² Skene's Celtic Scotland iii, 463; Lr. Cloinne Aodha Buidhe 50. The

in which we are told that the Collas, after they had slain Fergus Foga, king of the Ulaid, in the battle of Achad Derg (*sic*), 'made the boundary of Glenn Rige from Newry northwards between themselves and the Ulaid, and the Ulaid have never returned since'. Here we probably have the explanation of the ancient defensive rampart which appears to have extended from Glenn Rige to the marshes of the Upper Bann.¹

Evidence is lacking to enable us to determine at what time the western part of Co. Down was wrested by the Dál nAraidi from the Ulaid (or Dál Fiatach). But it must have come into the possession of the Dál nAraidi before the middle of the sixth century if the regnal lists are right in giving the title 'king of Ulaid' to Eochu (or Eochaid) mac Conlai, king of Dál nAraidi, who died in 553 (see p. 348, n. 1). The statement (see *ibid.*) that this Eochu was ancestor of the Uí Echach Ulad² finds little support in the confused accounts in the genealogies. According to these, Eochaid mac Conla was third in descent from Cruind ba Druí,³ whereas the Uí Echach descend from Eochu Coba, who is represented sometimes as son of Cruind ba Druí,⁴ and sometimes as father of the same Cruind.⁵ On the other hand we are also told that the pedigrees of the Uí Echach and the Dál nAraidi meet at Eochaid, father of Baetán,⁶ i.e. the Eochaid who died in 553.

P. 229, l. 3. *Dub Combair* is a personal name (as in AU 771, 786), not a place-name. The legend of the battle acknowledges this, and tells how it was called 'the battle of Dub Commair' because Dub Commair, the druid of Fiachu Sraibtime, was slain

tract is a late one in point of language, but evidently incorporates earlier material.

¹ Traces of this rampart remain, and are locally known as 'the Danes' Cast'. See H. C. Lawlor's *Ulster: its Archaeology and Antiquities*, 48, and *Preliminary Survey of the Ancient Monuments of Northern Ireland*, ed. D. A. Chart, 111 f. and plate 65.

² Otherwise called *Uí Echach Coba*. They have left their name on the baronies of Iveagh in western Down.

³ R 161 b 36; LL 332 a 23, 335 g 15; ZCP viii, 335. 14; O'Clery in FF iv, 55.

⁴ R 162 a 42, b 33; LL 332 a 13, 51; ZCP viii, 335. 30; Gen. Tracts 134. 1.

⁵ LL 332 a 27; ZCP viii, 335. 16; FF iv, 25. Cf. R 161 b 40, and LL 335 g 19.

⁶ LL 332 a 19; ZCP viii, 335. 34. But according to R 162 a 55 the pedigrees of the Uí Echach and Dál nAraidi meet at Cruind ba Druí.

therein (LL 332c-333a); RC xvii, 28). Compare *bellum Pante*, 'the battle of Penda', i.e. 'the battle in which Penda was slain', AU 655 (and cf. Hennessy's note *ad loc.*). Hence in old texts the battle is called *cath Duib Chommair*.¹ Later the name was misunderstood as a place-name, as when Keating writes *adhbhar catha Dubhchumair*, FF ii, 356, and *i nDubhchumair ldimh ré Tailltin*, ib. 358; and this error was adopted by O'Donovan,² and later by Hogan.³

P. 230 f. In Old Irish one finds *-ndl-* retained in compounds like *in-dliged*, *in-dlach*, and in derivatives like *Scandlán*⁴ (from *Scandal*). But in a word which was no longer consciously analyzed (such as *Conlae*) *-ndl-* may well have been simplified to *-nl-*, for a stop between a nasal and another consonant was liable to be dropped in Old Irish.⁵ Two other points must be borne in mind in this connexion. Firstly, *nd* became *nn* in the Old Irish period, probably as early as the eighth century, so that *-ndl-* would be pronounced *-nnl-*.⁶ Secondly, *n* was presumably unlenited before *l*, so that *-nl-* and *-nnl-* would have the same phonetic value. Hence—at least in Middle Irish mss.—we occasionally find *-nl-* written for *-nnl-*, < *-ndl-*, e.g. *ro inled*, Trip. Life 242.1, LU 8507 (H), *cainlech*, LU 10795 (M), *Scandlán*, LL 326 i, 327 a.⁷

I find that the equation of Mid. Ir. *Condla*, the name of the hero of 'Echtra Condla', with the Gaulish *Condollios* has already been proposed by d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Les noms gaulois chez César et Hirtius* 59). D'Arbois explains the Gaulish name as a derivative of *Condollus*, itself derived from *Condos*, = Ir. *cond*, 'citoyen'.

¹ e.g. LL 24 a 31, 132 a 40, 333 a 6; *cath Duib Chommair*, R 136 b 6. Otherwise *maidm Duib Chommair*, LL 131 a 29.

² O'Donovan took the name to be *Dubhchomar*, which he interpreted as 'black confluence', and which he supposed to have been 'the ancient name of the confluence of the Blackwater and the Boyne' (FM i, 122 n.).

³ Onomasticon s.v. *Dubchomar*.

⁴ SCANDLAN in an inscription, Thes. Pal. ii, 287. 6; latinized *Scandlanus* by Adamnan. Cf. also Adamnan's *Find-luganus*.

⁵ See Thurneysen, *Handbuch* p. 109, where among the examples quoted are *do sluinfdier* with *-nf-* from *-ndf-*, and *angaid*, a variant of *undgaid*. Cf. further *Finguine* (Thes. Pal. ii, p. xxi. 13), with *-ng-* from *-ndg-*.

⁶ Compare CUINDLESS, Thes. Pal. ii, 286 (from *con-* + *diles* ?), = *Cuinnles*, AU 723.

⁷ In Middle Irish mss. *nd* is constantly used for *nn*, e.g. *crand*, *tond*, *goband* (gen. of *goba*), *Crimthand*. Hence *Cenälachān*, LL. 312 c, for *Cennlachān*, R 120 a 18.

CHAP. XIII

P. 235, n. 2. The two earliest references to eclipses in AU are *Defectus solis apparuit*, s. a. 495, and *Defectus solis contigit*, s. a. 511. The former entry occurs also in Tig. and Chron. Scot. (the ferial *ii*, common to all three texts, points to the year 496); the latter is found only in AU.

O'Donovan (FM i, p. xlvi) assumes that the correct dates for these eclipses are 496 and 512, respectively. So, too, does Mac Carthy (AU iv, 140), who identifies them with the eclipses of October 22, 496, and June 29, 512. But 'L'Art de Vérifier les Dates', on which O'Donovan professes to rely, gives no ground for supposing that the solar eclipse of 496 (October 22) was visible in Ireland; and it would appear that the eclipse referred to in AU 495 was that of April 18, 497.

I owe the following communication to the kindness of the late Sir Arthur Eddington, of Cambridge. During the years 495-497 the only solar eclipses visible in Ireland were those of June 8, 495, and April 18, 497. In the former eclipse 'the maximum obscuration was only $\frac{1}{10}$ of the sun's diameter, and it seems unlikely that it would be noticed'. The eclipse of 497 'gave a maximum obscuration of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the sun's diameter, and would be reasonably noticeable; it occurred about 2.30 p.m.' During the years 511-513 there were two partial eclipses visible in Ireland, viz. on January 15, 511, and June 29, 512. 'They were about equally favourable, both giving a maximum obscuration of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the sun's diameter. The first lasted from 2 to 3.45 p.m. (sunset about 4 p.m.); the second, from 6.45 to 8.30 a.m. (sunrise about 3.45)'.

After the receipt of the foregoing I observed that Marcellinus in his 'Chronicon' has the entries *Solis defectus*, A.D. 497, and *His fere temporibus solis defectus contigit*, A.D. 512. This confirms the date suggested for the former eclipse. But the close agreement of the wording of the AU entries with those of Marcellinus goes to prove that the former are not of Irish origin but merely borrowed from Marcellinus.¹

¹ This borrowing by Irish annalists of the records of eclipses is very exceptional and would be difficult to parallel. All the other Irish annalistic records of natural phenomena appear, so far as I can judge, to be of native origin. (We may, of course, ignore the record of the earthquake at Constantinople, copied from Marcellinus, AU s. a. 448.) The earliest of such entries are the following, preserved only in AI: *nix magna*, 434; *stella crinita apparuit*, 442; *eclipsis solis in nona hora*, 444. Marcellinus has

Pp. 237, 253. The common origin of AU and of the 'Clonmacnois' type of annals¹ is shown by, *inter alia*, their agreement in certain errors which presumably go back to the archetype. Thus under a year corresponding to A.D. 571, AU, Tig. and A. Clon. agree in reckoning that one hundred years, *c. anni*, have elapsed since the death of Patricius, where *c.* must be an early error for *cx.* In AU 692 we have *Mors Dirath . . . 7 Bran nepos Faelaen . . . mortui sunt*, where the two last words are a grammatical slip for *mortuus est*²; and Tig. (p. 213) and Chron. Scot. (p. 111, n. 7) agree. In AU 642 we have a note, which we may safely attribute to the compiler of the Ulster Chronicle, on the succession of the kings of Ireland at this period: *Hic dubitatur quis regnavit [sic] post Domhnall. Dicunt alii historiographi [sic] regnasse iiii. reges, .i. Cellach 7 Conall C[a]el 7 duo filii Aedho Slane .i. Diarmait 7 Blathmac, per commixta regna.* The same remark is found in Chron. Scot. p. 86, and also in Tig. p. 186 (where it is mostly translated into Irish).³

The Annals of Inisfallen (AI) stand apart from AU and from the 'Clonmacnois' group of Annals. During the period with which we are concerned, the average annual number of entries is very much smaller in AI than in AU or Tig. Moreover the annals in AU and Tig. tend progressively to increase in length, whereas in AI there is little or no evidence of such an increase. Thus the annals of the years 623-661 fill one page (fo. 11 vo) of AI, those of 662-703 another (12 ro), those of 703-738 a third (12 vo),⁴ with which we may contrast the number of lines of print occupied by the events of the same years in AU, viz. A.D. 623 to 661, 220 lines; 662 to 703, 317 lines; 703 to 738, 443 lines.⁵

Stella quae crinita dicitur per plurimum tempus ardens apparuit, A.D. 442; but he makes no reference to the snow of 434, nor to the solar eclipse of 444 (recte 445; cf. Anscombe, Ériu iii, 130, n. 4).

¹ i.e. Tig., Chron. Scot., and A. Clon., to which may be added the much abbreviated Cottonian Annals.

² But as *Dirath* is apparently nominative in form, and as the following word which Hennessy expands to *episcopi* might equally well be read as *episcopus*, it would be simpler to regard *mors* as intrusive and to accept *mortui sunt* as correct.

³ In the Cottonian Annals, § 207, only the first sentence is preserved, with *regnavit* emended to *regnauerit*, and with *mac Ainmirech* (recte *mac Aeda meic Ainmirech*) inserted after *Domhnall*.

⁴ Ten lines of fo. 12 vo, col. 2, are occupied with non-annalistic matter, viz. an enumeration of the kings of Cashel who became kings of Ireland.

⁵ In making these calculations with regard to AU I have disregarded

We have already noted (p. 240) that the transcriber of AU, who wrote about 1092, was very much given to abbreviating his original, and we are safe in adding that his favourite method of abbreviation consisted in the omission of entire entries. The progressive increase in bulk of the annual records available to him had little or no effect on our scribe, who appears to have jettisoned much of his material, and who was well content if he entered an event or two under each year. He was apparently determined not to burden himself with a lengthy transcript.¹

The influence of the 'Ulster Chronicle' on AI, which is marked in the record of fifth-century events, can be traced down to the first half of the seventh century. Owing to the severely eclectic methods of the scribe it is impossible to say when this influence came to an end.

From the latter part of the sixth century onwards one notices in AI the records of a number of events which are unrecorded in the other extant Annals. These records are mainly concerned with the South of Ireland, e.g. obits of kings of Cashel, the Déisi, the Uí Fhídgente, Iarmuma (West Munster), or of abbots of Emly, Lismore, Lorrha, Terryglass, or of saints like Finnchua of Brigown or Cammíne of Iniscaltra. One may note also that certain entries, mostly relating to the South of Ireland, are shared by AI with Tig. or one of the other 'Clonmacnois' versions, but are absent from AU.²

P. 237, n. 3. Baetán mac Cairill, of the Dál Fiatach, king of Ulaid, who died in 581, is credited by the genealogists with having attained the kingship of Ireland.³ He is said to have compelled Aedán mac Gabráin, king of Dál Riata, to submit to him, and

the verse-quotations (which are always, or nearly always, marginal additions) and also matter interpolated in a later hand.

¹ One must, of course, add, in justice to the unknown transcriber of AI that one cannot be sure that all this abbreviating is to be laid solely at his door. There is at least a possibility that his exemplar may itself have been abbreviated.

² e.g. (I add references to the folios and columns of AI, and to the pages of Tig.) the battle of Luimnech (10 d; p. 149); the battle of Loch Dá Éces (10 d; p. 152); death of Senchán mac Colmáin Móir (11 a; p. 159); death of Fingín, king of Munster (11 b; p. 174); death of Cathal mac Aeda, king of Munster (11 c; p. 178); death of Cailchíne mac Dímma (11 c; p. 181); deaths of Scandlán Mór, Oengus, and Cuana mac Cailchíne (11 d; p. 187).

³ *Sed alii Boetán apud magnos reges non numerant*, ZCP viii, 291. 10.

to have conquered the Isle of Man. 'Aedán mac Gabráin submitted to him at Ros na Ríg in Semne (Island Magee). It was by him (Baetán) Manu was cleared; and in the second year after his death the Irish abandoned Manu'.¹ The entry *Primum periculum Uloth in Eufania*,² AU 576 (= 577), followed by *Reuersio Uloth de Eumania* in the following year, doubtless refers to an expedition by Baetán to the Isle of Man (called *Euonia* by Muirchú, *Eubonia* in Hist. Brittonum and Ann. Cambriae). The 'first' (*primum*) expedition of the Ulaid implies that there was a second, which is not recorded in the extant Annals, but which, according to the statement quoted above, terminated in the second year after his death, i.e. in 582 or 583. This makes it very probable that the entry in AU s. a. 581 (= 582), repeated in the following year, regarding 'the battle of Manu, in which Aedán mac Gabráin was victor', has reference to an expedition undertaken against the Ulaid of the Isle of Man by Aedán after his rival's death, rather than to a battle fought by him in the district of Manu in Scotland.³ Compare another sea-expedition by Aedán, to the Orkneys, chronicled in AU s. a. 579.⁴

Mac Neill (Yorkshire Celtic Studies ii, 33) assumes, without argument, that the *bellum Manonn* of the Irish annalists refers to the battle which, Adamnan tells us, Aedán fought against the Miati in Scotland. This assumption is unjustified. Adamnan (i, 8-9) relates how Aedán won a battle against the Miati, but purchased his victory dearly, losing 303 of his men, among them two of his sons, Artúr and Eochaid Finn. In AU 595 (= 596) the death of two others of Aedan's sons is recorded: *Iugulatio filiorum Aedain i. Brain 7 Domangairt*. (From Adamnan we know that Domangart was slain in a battle *in Saxonia*.) Cor-

¹ LL 330 b-c; ZCP viii, 327; ib. xiii, 328, and cf. 324. Cf. also R 156 b 40-42.

² In Tig. and Chron. Scot. corrupted to *Eam(h)ain*.

³ Rhys (Celtic Britain, 3 ed., 158), following Skene (Celtic Scotland i, 160), mistakenly speaks of Baetán mac Cairill 'driving the English out of Manaw' (in Scotland).

⁴ The Isle of Man had been occupied from Ireland long before the year 577. Orosius, whose source was Julius Honorius (Zimmer, *Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen* 40), says of the Isle of Man (*Mevania*) that, like Ireland, it was inhabited by 'Scots' (*aeque a Scottorum gentibus habitatur*, Holder, ii, 622). By what Irish tribe it was first colonized is not known; but the later rivalry between the Dál Riata and the Ulaid would suggest that it was in the possession of the former. Irish tradition speaks of the Builg having occupied the Isle of Man in remote times (p. 142 f.).

responding to this AU entry Tig. (RC xvii, 160) has: *Iugulacio filiorum Aedan .i. Bran 7 Domungort 7 Eochaid Find 7 Artur, i cath Chirchind, in quo uictus est Aedhan*; and A. Clon., p. 96, agree. Here, it would appear, two records have been run together: (1) the record of the death of Bran and Domangart which we find in AU 595, and (2) a record of the battle against the Miati, here called the battle of Circenn, in which Eochaid Finn and Artúr were slain. There is thus reason to suppose that the battle against the Miati was fought in or about the year 596.¹

P. 245. Other such duplicated entries in the original hand are: *bellum secundum Granairct*, 492, 494 (the entry under 496 is late); *expugnatio Duin Lethglasse*, 495, 497; *mors Gartnain m. Foith . . . Gartnait m. Oith*, both s. a. 634; *iugulatio . . . Dargarto m. Finngvine*, 685 (cf. Tig. p. 209; Chron. Scot. 68), = *mors Doergairt m. Fingvine*, 692. Compare also *bellum Breg Heile*, 475 (from Liber Cuanach), 478 (the entry under 473 is late).

P. 246, and n. 3. In AU the first entry of the death of the later Patricius is dated 491, by which is meant the year 492, as is suggested by the ferial number 4, and also by the fact that the death of the Emperor Zeno (which occurred in 491) is recorded in the preceding year. In Tig. likewise the death of Patricius is entered a year after the death of Zeno,² and so may be dated 492, though the ferial number (*ui*, to be emended to *iii*, as in Chron. Scot.) suggests 491.

¹ According to Dio Cassius the Maeatae dwelt 'near the Wall' (i.e. of Antoninus Pius). The evidence of one or two place-names appears to connect them with Stirlingshire. (See Rhys, *The Welsh People*, 4 ed., 98, and Rhind Lectures in Archaeology 1889, 78; Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 56-59; Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 157.) Mag Circinn, of which Circenn appears to be a synonym, has been identified approximately with Angus (Forfarshire) and Kincardine (cf. p. 383, n. 1). The battle of Circenn would thus appear to have been fought a considerable distance from Stirlingshire. But, besides being wholly ignorant of the circumstances of the battle, we know too little about the situation of the Miati in the sixth century, and of Circenn, to be justified in rejecting on geographical grounds the identification (long since proposed by Skene and Rhys) of Aedán's battle against the Miati with the battle of Circenn.

² Chron. Scot., following its usual practice with regard to non-Irish events, omits the obit of Zeno. In Tig. and Chron. Scot. a quatrain in Irish is appended which gives the date of Patrick's death as 493; but this is probably an interpolation of no great antiquity.

The ferials in Tig. during the following five years are *iii* [read *iii*, i.e. 492], *u* [read *ii*, i.e. 493], *iii* [494], *i* [495], and *ii* [496]. In Chron. Scot. the corresponding ferials are *iii*, *u* [read *ii* and *iii*; two years have been telescoped at this point], *i*, *ii*. A comparison of the three texts suggests that the common original of Tig. and Chron. Scot. agreed with AU (when allowance is made for the pre-dating of the latter) regarding the dates of the events of 493-496. On the other hand the same original of Tig. and Chron. Scot. erroneously made two years out of the year 492, and assigned the ferial of 491 to the year of the death of Patrick (492), and the ferial of 490 to the year 491.¹

The second entry of the obit of Patricius in AU, viz. under the year 492 (= 493), has, as its wording suggests, been borrowed from a text of the 'Tigernach' type. The compiler of AU probably found the date 492 attached to it in the annals upon which he drew, and subjoined it to his own entries under that year, for he was unaware of the fact that his own date, 492, for the entries in question was an error for 493. Under the influence of the second entry he probably modified the wording of his entry under 491 (*Dicunt Scoiti [= Scotti] hic Patricium archi[e]piscopum defunctum*). In its original form it may have been something like *Patricius Scottorum episcopus quieuit*, as in LL 24 b 9.

Accordingly there is good ground for believing that in the original Ulster Chronicle there was but one entry of the death of the later Patricius, and it is probable that the date assigned to it was the year we now know as A.D. 492.

P. 248, n. 1. The true date of the *stella cometes* (AU 676) is 676; and Bede's date for it is 677 rather than 678. See R. L. Poole, *Studies in Chronology and History* 43.

P. 248, l. 19. It may be well to stress the fact that the Irish annalistic records of affairs relating to Britain are not borrowed from Bede or from any foreign source. Down to the fourth decade of the eighth century they derive for the most part from the Iona chronicle (p. 255). The existence of an important Irish colony in Britain and the labours of Irish missionaries among the Picts and the Angles naturally made the Irish of the sixth and following centuries take an interest in the affairs of the neighbouring island.

¹ The ferials of 489 (where the Tig. fragment begins) and 490, correctly *i* and *ii*, are corrupted to *u* and *iii* in Tig. and Chron. Scot.

A. G. van Hamel¹ imagines that the entries in the Irish annals relating to English events were borrowed from lost Anglo-Saxon chronicles. Down to the close of the eighth century, he suggests, the Irish annalists drew upon a Northumbrian chronicle; but from 795 on they derived their knowledge of English affairs from a chronicle of West-Saxon origin. He contrasts the outlook of the Irish annalists, who record foreign events and are curious as to the doings of their neighbours, with the sturdy self-sufficiency of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which confines itself to Anglo-Saxon affairs² and thus gives proof of the dominating spirit of the English. All this shows a remarkable lack of historical perspective, and a grave misunderstanding of the way in which the Irish annals were compiled. Van Hamel has forgotten that there was a *Scotia minor* in Britain, whereas there were no English settlements in Ireland.

P. 248 f. Mac Neill still hugs his old delusions. In a rambling article in 'Studies', 1943, 312, he alludes to the duplications in the dating of events in the printed edition of AU, and adds: 'Their origination from scribal errors in the transcription of chronicles drawn up on the Eusebian model is explained and copiously exemplified in my paper on "The Annals of Tigernach".'

Mac Neill's theories have, as usual, been unthinkingly accepted by others. Thus the late Rev. Paul Walsh writes: 'The dates in the sixth century exhibit wavering or uncertainty, but that is due to the circumstances in which our earliest annalistic documents grew, or were compiled. Originally they were not in serial form at all, and when accounts in columnar arrangement were turned into a continuous narrative, there was not infrequently doubt as to which was the proper year under which to set this or that entry. This is particularly true of the fifth and sixth centuries' (Ir. Ecclesiastical Record, Feb. 1941, 166). In a posthumous article in Irish Historical Studies, ii, 357, the same scholar, after quoting *anno quinto Eraclii imperatoris 7 quarto anno Sesibuti regis* (AI 11 b 8) and *mors Stemonis* [leg. *Zenonis*] *qui regnavit annis .xviii.* (ib. 10 a 24), adds the comment: 'Notices of this description derive from columnar synchronisms such as that published by Kuno Meyer from MS. Laud 610'. Actually

¹ RC xxxvi, 1 ff; and cf. his earlier work 'De oudste Keltische en Angelsaksische Geschiedbronnen', reviewed by J. Vendryes ib. xxxii, 348-350.

² On the other side we might recall the fact that three of the Northumbrian kings were well acquainted with Irish, namely Oswald († 642), Oswy († 671) and Aldfrid (known in Irish as Flann Fina; † 705).

the first of these quotations is merely a scribal abbreviation of the entry preserved in AU s. a. 616, which is itself an abridgement of the final entry in the Chronicle of Isidore; and the second is an abbreviated version of the entry in AU s. a. 490, which is borrowed¹ from the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

P. 249, n. 1. Even in AI duplicated entries are not wholly unknown. Thus we have (1) the death of Crimthan Cennselach (*sic*), king of Lagen, 10 a 19, and again 10 a 22; (2) *Quies Grigoir Roma ut alii dicunt* (probably due to a wrong abridgement; cf. p. 240, n. 2), 11 a 11, followed by *Quies Grigoir Roma*, 11 a 23; (3) the death of Lugaid, otherwise Molua, maccu Óche (*sic leg.*), 11 b 6 and 11 b 17; (4) the death of Cú Cen Máthair, king of Cashel, 12 a 16 and 12 a 24.

Pp. 250, 252. I have overlooked an entry in Tig. which affords an exact parallel to the Irish annalistic misdating of *Finis Chronici Eusebii*. Under a year corresponding to the year 752 Tig. has the entry *Cath Asreith in terra Circin inter Pictones inuicem, in quo cecidit Bruidhi mac Maelchon* (RC xvii, 253).² Now Bruide mac Maelchon, as we know, died in 584, so that the entry is postdated 168 years, in other words, it is dated two 84-year cycles too late. There is nothing corresponding to this in AU, and the date, 752, shows that it cannot have formed part of the original Ulster Chronicle. We have already seen (p. 237 f.) that in AU and Tig. Bruide's death is assigned to the years 505 and 584, so that we have no fewer than three annalistic records of his death—one of them correct, another predated by one cycle (or, to be strictly accurate, by 79 years), and a third postdated by two cycles. From the last we learn that he was slain in a civil war at a place (unidentified) called Asreth.

Pp. 251, n. 3; 255, n. 5. One of the most notable instances of misdating in the Ulster Chronicle occurs in connexion with St. Columba (Colum Cille), whose death is placed in the year 595³ (AU s. a. 594), whereas the true date is 597. See Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, 309 ff. The only argument against 597 is the

¹ As Hennessy long since pointed out (AU i, 29 n.).

² Skene (*Celtic Scotland* i, 295), followed by Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, 3 ed., 179), erroneously sees in this entry the record of an attack by the northern Picts in 752 on Oengus, king of the Picts († 761).

³ Similarly *Annales Cambriae*, here borrowing from an Irish annalistic source, place Colum Cille's death in 595.

statement found in the Irish Life of Colum Cille (Lis. Lives p. 33), and also in Tig., Chron. Scot., and A. Clon., that the saint died on Whitsunday (*adhaigh Domnaigh Cincdhighisi ; in nocte Dominica Pentecostes ; on Whitsunday ieve*), where Sunday, in accordance with Irish usage, is to be understood as meaning the period which begins with nightfall on Saturday and terminates with nightfall on Sunday. But this mention of Pentecost is almost certainly an interpolation in the common original of Tig., Chron. Scot., and A. Clon. It is significant that AI (11 a 9) and the Cottonian Annals (RC xli, 321) have (*in nocte Dominica* simply, without *Pentecostes*. Mac Carthy's argument (AU iv, p. lxxviii) in favour of 596 is mistaken ; cf. Anscombe, ZCP iv, 336 f.

In AI Columba's obit is followed two years later by the entry : *Anni Pasionis Domini dlxxii in hoc anno*, which has no counterpart in the other annals. Now A.P. 572, in the Victorian reckoning, is A.D. 599, so that one might be tempted to infer that AI, alone among our annalistic compilations, correctly assigned Columba's death to the year 597. But this would be a superficial view, and it is much more likely that the A.P. dating is itself either incorrect or misplaced. If we count three years backward from Columba's obit, we find the entry *Defectio solis in matutina hora*, AI 11 a 5, to which corresponds the *Matutina tenebrosa* of AU 591, the reference being to the solar eclipse of March 19, 592 (Mac Carthy, AU iv, 140) ; and this would place Columba's death in 595. We may compare another incorrect reference to the Victorian reckoning, likewise found only in AI, viz. *Finis Cikli Victorii*, AI 10 c 22. The true date of this is 559 ; but the date implied in AI is 562, for it is entered in the year immediately preceding the record of Columba's going into exile, the date of which is pretty certainly 563 (cf. p. 245, n. 3).

P. 251 f. Concerning the entry *Probatas est in fide Catolica Patricius episcopus*, AU 441, Professor Serafino Riva, of the University of Venice, has (through Dr. T. J. Kiernan, Irish Minister to the Vatican) favoured me with an interesting communication (dated 20th January, 1943), of which the substance is as follows. The entry in question, he writes, 'does not prove a visit either by the elder Patricius (or Palladius) or by Patrick the Briton to Rome, although a visit by the former may be considered as a certain fact'. It means that 'the Patricius with whom the entry is concerned (and I think with you that he was Palladius) drew up and presented to Pope Leo the Great a *Fides*, i.e. an exposition of what the writer believed in point of Christian faith

and doctrine'. We have a parallel in 'the very eloquent *Fides* presented to the same Pope by a contemporary British monk and saint, Bacharius'. [In his work 'La base celto-latina della fonologia inglese' (1942), pp. 41-47, Professor Riva argues that Bacharius lived in the second half of the fifth century, and that John Bale was well informed when he described him as *natione Brytannus*.¹] 'Another such *Fides* sent to the Pope in Rome is mentioned by Gennadius of Marseilles in his "De Viris Illustribus": *epistulam de fide mea misi ad beatum Gelasium urbis Romae episcopum*'. Such declarations of faith 'appear to have been asked in the fifth century from the bishops and prelates of Britain and Gaul to make sure that they were not Pelagian'. The two visits of St. Germanus to Britain were for the purpose of suppressing the Pelagian heresy. St. Jerome's statement that Pelagius was of Irish origin may be interpreted as meaning that he was sprung from the Irish who had settled in western Britain.

Professor Riva's valuable suggestion as to the meaning to be attached to the *probatio Patricii* of the Irish Annals is, of course, quite consistent with the view that Patricius paid a visit to Rome about the year 442. Instead of sending, as Gennadius did, an *epistula de fide sua* to Rome, Patricius, we may suppose, on reaching Rome, made a declaration of his faith, orally or in writing, to the new Pope, Leo the Great, and thereby obtained the papal approval of his orthodoxy (*probatio in fide catholica*). We may compare Bede's account of the declaration of faith made by Wilfrid, bishop of York, to Pope Agatho in 680, when a synod of bishops was being held in Rome in connexion with the Monothelite heresy. Wilfrid, who was then in Rome, was ordered 'to declare his own faith and the faith of his province or island' (*dicere fidem suam, simul et prouinciae siue insulae de qua venerat*), and, his declaration being approved by the Pope (*cum catholicis fide cum suis esset inuentus*), the fact of the orthodoxy of his Church and those of the Scots and the Picts was placed on record in the acts of the synod (Hist. Eccl. v, 19).

¹ On the other hand the late Rev. M. H. Mac Inerny, author of a series of articles on 'St. Mochta and Bacharius' published in the Ir. Ecclesiastical Record in 1923, held that the *Fides* of Bacharius was written not later than 413 or 415 on the ground that it contains 'not a solitary word in reprobation of Pelagian error'. As to the nationality of Bacharius, he was inclined to accept the view that he was a Spaniard. But these questions of the nationality of Bacharius and his precise date are not, it would seem, of primary importance to Professor Riva's argument.

P. 252 f. Since he became acquainted with the Annals of Inisfallen, Mac Neill has shown some hesitancy regarding the date of his imaginary Irish Eusebian Chronicle. In 1933 this Eusebian Chronicle comes down 'to A.D. 660 or thereabouts'.¹ In 1940 he combines the two dates; the Chronicle came down 'as far as A.D. 661', but was 'originally compiled' between 590 and 610 (see *supra*, p. 253, n. 1). In his latest pronouncements he ignores the 661 date. The Irish Eusebian Chronicle was 'composed, as I claim to have shown, between the years 590 and 610' (Jrnl. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc. 1941, 8). The annalistic entry *Finis Chronici Eusebii*, he elsewhere writes, shows that a copy of the Eusebian Chronicle was made in Ireland 'within the years 590 and 610'; and 'the Irish redactor, besides continuing it to his own time, added a section for the history of Ireland', beginning with 'the foundation of the kingdom of the Uluti' (Studies 1943, 310 f.).

P. 253, l. 11. Marcellinus is expressly mentioned as an authority in AU *s. aa.* 432, 449, 457, 535; but he was drawn on silently for the records of several other foreign events. In borrowing from Marcellinus the compiler of the Ulster Chronicle generally went astray in his dates. In the following list the A.D. dates inferable from Marcellinus are first given, and are followed by the AU dating in parentheses: 432 (432); 447 (448); 450 (449); 457 (456); 467 (468); 491 (490, = 491); 497 (495, = 496); 512 (511, = 512); 534 (535, = 536). Thus only three of the ten events may be said to be correctly dated in AU.

P. 254. Macalister has recently discussed the sources of the Irish World-Chronicle (or, as he calls it, 'the Preface to the "Tigernach" Annals') in an article in Irish Historical Studies, iv (1944), 38 ff.

P. 255, ll. 3-6. It is worth noting that, down to the year 737, Scottish affairs are generally grouped together, and moreover are generally given the first place in the record of events for the

¹ Annals of Inisfallen p. 29. Mac Neill adopts the date '660 or thereabouts' because, as he says (*ib.* p. 26), the early parts of AI, AU and Tig. 'are derived from a common source, an older chronicle coming down to A.D. 661 or thereabouts'. But the only reason for making the 'common source' terminate about that year is the rather irrelevant fact that after folio 11, which ends with the year 661, the scribe of AI arranges his material in three columns per page, instead of in two columns as hitherto.

year, e.g. AU s. aa. 723, 725, 728, 729, 732, 735, 736. Occasionally these Scottish events make up the greater portion of the year's record (cf. AU s. aa. 716, 728).

P. 256, ll. 8-10. Of the entries in Irish in the early part of AU very few are in the original hand. Those that are in the original hand appear in general to have been borrowed by the compiler from a source other than his main source. Such are the entries under the years 434, 438 and 552 (this last admittedly from the Book of Cuana) referred to above, p. 241; and also *Cath Tailten for Laighniu ria Cairpri mac Neill*, 493 (agreeing with Tig. p. 122), *Guin Raghallaig m. Huatach righ Connacht*, 648 (repeated by an interpolator, 655; differently worded in Tig. p. 188), *Slogad Cathail m. Finnguine co Laighniu* etc., 737 (agreeing with Tig. p. 242). The final entry under 732, which begins in Latin but continues in Irish, is likewise in the original hand (cf. Tig. p. 237, where it is wholly in Latin). So also is the Scottish entry, found only in AU, *Cocath huae nAedhain* etc., 648.

Other entries wholly or mainly in Irish have been inserted in H. 1. 8 by an interpolator. Examples are (besides some of the duplications noted *supra*, p. 243 f.) *Loch Eachach do shoudh hi fhuil hoc anno*, 683, and the entry regarding the whale that was cast ashore, 752.¹

CHAP. XIV

P. 262. From the writings of R. A. S. Macalister a goodly number of examples of the rationalistic method of interpretation might be culled. Thus he rationalizes 'the sword of light' into the sword of the Iron Age invaders (see p. 68, n. 3), and Finn mac Cumail into the general of an Irish standing-army (see p. 266, n. 1). Da Derga's hostel (*bruiden Da Derga*; see p. 121 ff.) is for him an elaborate pagan temple. 'It was a sort of pantheon: its numerous "cubicles" were shrines, each with its idol, and the quaint creatures seen and described by the spy in the service of the raiders [BDD §§ 75-140] were the images which the shrines contained'. 'So interpreted, it immediately assumes an importance for the history of European culture second only to that possessed by the painted "chambers of imagery" in the Palaeo-

¹ Cf. Tig. p. 246, where the date of this event would be 744. For this whale, cf. further A. Clon. p. 118, Cottonian Annals § 235 (RC xli, 324), and Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus* (ed. Kelly), i, 356.

lithic caves' (ITS xxxv, 262). In the Fer Caille of BDD (see p. 126 f.) Macalister sees 'a famous fetish, originally discovered in some wood or sacred grove' (ibid. 263). One shudders to think of a 'history of European culture' based on this kind of evidence.

P. 264. Macalister's view of Lebor Gabála is even more fantastic than that of d'Arbois de Jubainville. The story of the pre-diluvian invasion of Ireland by Cesair is 'a cosmogony'; the accounts of the post-diluvian invasions are 'a series of successive variations of a theogony, with ritual elements interspersed'. The story of Partholón 'is the narrative of a fertility-ritual drama', though 'it has suffered extreme deformation by arbitrary editorial manipulation'. 'Though badly messed by uncomprehending redactors, it [L.G.] gives us one of the most extensive collections of European pre-Christian theology, ritual, and mythology that any non-classical literature can afford' (ITS xxxv, pp. 166 f., 264). Yet it would appear that this abundant 'theology, ritual, and mythology' is frequently visible only to the eye of faith. Thus from the L.G. account of the invasion of Nemed anti-pagan editors 'have assiduously cut out everything which savoured of the paganism with which the story must have been originally charged' (ib. xxxix, 115). And the 'basal saga' which underlies the account of the invasion of the Fir Bolg 'became what we may term historico-political rather than mythological. It was designed to explain not only the origin of the "Plebeians" [cf. p. 55, n. 4] but also of the "Five Fifths"' (ib. xli, 5).

On the other hand, Lebor Gabála, extremely valuable though it is as a storehouse of pagan beliefs and practices, throws no ray of light upon the subject of which it professes to treat, viz. the early invasions of Ireland. 'There is not a single element of genuine historical detail, in the strict sense of the word, anywhere in the whole compilation'.¹ 'It is altogether chimerical to attempt to draw any correlation between the successive waves of historical immigration, to which Archaeology and Ethnology introduce us, and the wild tales contained in this book. These latter are partly mythological, partly ritual in their origin' (ITS xxxv, 252).

P. 270. Rhys in his Hibbert Lectures regards both Lug and Cúchulainn as 'the Sun-god or Solar Hero', and herein he has

¹ When he published his 'Ancient Ireland' in 1935, Macalister was of quite a different opinion. See p. 437.

been followed by others. Thus Eleanor Hull speaks of Lug as 'essentially the sun-god' (Folk-Lore xviii, 131), and of Cúchulainn as 'an impersonation of the sun, or, in the technical terms of mythology, a Sun Hero' (The Cuchullin Saga p. lxxviii). So Alfred Nutt regards Lug as 'the Irish sun-god' (Voyage of Bran i, 292), and Cúchulainn as 'the sun-hero, the hypostasis of the sun-god' (Cuchulainn the Irish Achilles 44). Plummer asserts that 'Lug is the Celtic Sun God' (Vitae SS. Hiberniae i, p. cxxxvi). I mention these views here merely in order to express my dissent from them. A discussion, necessarily lengthy, of the true character of Lug and Cúchulainn would be outside the scope of the present book.

P. 282. The question of the origin and meaning of *Conn* is a complicated one. Two names have apparently fallen together. The personal name *Condus* is found in Latin inscriptions in Britain and Gaul.¹ The name *Connos* occurs on coins of the Lemovices, and a latinized derivative *Connius* is attested in Gaul.² The name *Conn* or *Cond* does not happen to occur in MSS. written during the Old Irish period; but the *-nn-* of *Connachta* in Adamnan (*de Connachtarum regione*, ii, 59) and the Book of Armagh (*Connacht*, gen.) authorizes us to identify the name of Conn Cétchathach with Gaulish *Connos*.³ Against this testimony we cannot attach importance to the spelling *Cond* not infrequently found in later MSS.,⁴ which constantly substitute *nd* for *nn*.⁵ We thus have evidence that *Conn* (< *Konnos*) was in use in ancient Ireland as a name for the ancestor-deity; and the tendency was to employ

¹ A Gaulish inscription, in Greek characters, found at Nîmes, reads: ESKINGOREIX KONDILLEOS (Rhys, Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy 38, Proc. Brit. Acad. ii), in which the second word stands for **Condillios*, an adjectival formation from **Condillos*, a derivative of *Condos*.

² See Holder, *s. vv.*, for examples of the foregoing names.

³ Holder (iii, 1275) and Pokorny (Hist. Reader of Old Irish 3) quote gen. CONNI from an Ogam inscription at Castlekeeran, Co. Meath; but they have overlooked the fact that Rhys, who at first gave this reading (Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir. 1898, 59), afterwards emended it to COVAGNI (ibid. 1899, 427).

⁴ As in *maccu* [sic ms.] *Chuind*, AU 662; *mac hui Chuind*, LU 1053, = *mac hui Chuind*, RC xx, 276; *m. h. Chuind*, LL (Martyr. Tall. Oct. 9; Arch. Hib. i, pp. 321, 331, 334). Contrast *nepotes Cuinn*, AU 737.

⁵ For the confusion of *nn* and *nd* in AU see Ó Máille's Language of the Annals of Ulster, 105 ff.

deity-names as personal names also.¹ It is quite probable, though proof is lacking, that *Cond* (< *Kondos*) was similarly used.²

As a common noun *conn* or *cond* has two meanings: (1) 'sense, reason', (2) 'head'. Here, too, I think it likely that we have to do with two originally distinct words, **konno-* and **kondo-*. In O. Ir. *fochonn* or *fochunn*, 'cause' (Ascoli, Gloss. Pal.-hib. p. cclxi), we have to all appearances a compound of *conn* 'sense' (compare the meanings of Fr. *raison* and Eng. *reason*); if so, we may take it that *conn*, 'sense', goes back to **konno-*. In that case we should have to discard the conjectural derivation of *conn*, 'sense', from IE. **kom-dho-*, Celt. **kondo-*. If conversely we suppose that *conn* in the sense of 'head' goes back to O. Ir. *cond*,⁴ Celt. **kondo-*, a suitable etymology presents itself in IE. *gondo-*, whence Skr. *kanda-*, 'Knolle', Gr. *κόνδυλος*, 'knuckle' (cf. Walde-Pokorny, i, 390; Stokes, ACL ii, 277, § 494). The foregoing suggestions are necessarily tentative; but the evidence, unsatisfactory though it is, gives us some ground for interpreting the Gaulish names *Connos* and *Condos* as meaning, respectively, 'sense' and 'head'. *Seno-condos* (p. 282) may thus have meant 'the Ancient Head', and *Condollos* (p. 231 f. 'Great-headed (*cennmór*), he of the Great Head'⁵; thus interpreted, both would have been appropriate appellatives of the Otherworld deity (see pp. 282, 300), and such appellatives were frequently used as names of men.

¹ Compare dat. *CUNN* as a personal name in two inscriptions (Thes. Pal. ii, 287). Meyer (Zur kelt. Wortkunde § 33, Sitz.-Ber. der königl. preuss. Akad. 1912, 1150), and after him Pokorny (Hist. Reader of Old Irish 23), have suggested that *Conn* is a hypocoristic form of a name beginning with *Con-* [< *Kuno-*], but the existence of Gaul. *Connos* renders this explanation both unnecessary and improbable.

² A possible example of *Cond* as a personal name occurs in *filius Condi*, AU 710.

³ Neither *conn* nor *cond* appears to occur in the Old Irish glosses. In the line *in chli comvas cond credail* in the Codex S. Pauli (Thes. Pal. ii, 295. 4) the meaning of *cond* is uncertain.

⁴ If the Old Irish form were *conn* (not *cond*), 'head', one might be inclined to suppose a Celtic **kvonno-*, differing in ablaut from **kvenno-*, Ir. *cenn*, W. *pen*, Gaul. *penno-*, 'head'; but even so the absence of any evidence of corresponding Gaulish or British forms with *p-* would render such a suggestion very hazardous.

⁵ We may compare Welsh *Pendaran*, the name of a personage (the Otherworld-god) who, in the *mabinogi* of 'Pwyll', instructs Pryderi (the Hero) in martial accomplishment. The name appears to mean 'big-headed'.

P. 283 f., n. 5. Macc ind Óc, otherwise called In Macc Óc, deserves a brief notice here. He was properly the Hero, like Lug, Lugaid and Finn. His victory over the Otherworld deity, the lord of Bruig na Bóinne,¹ was represented as a bloodless one; by means of a verbal trick, or of threats, he ejected Elcmar, or his own father the Dagda, from the *síd* of the Bruig, and then took possession of it himself. Herein he resembles Finn, who ejected Tadhg mac Nuadat from the *síd* of Almu; but whereas Finn became fully humanized, the Macc Óc never lost his supernatural character. His other name, *Oengus*, was originally a name for the Otherworld-god, and in particular for the Dagda, who presided over Bruig na Bóinne. Just as Aed, 'son' of the Dagda (p. 320, n. 2), was identical with the Dagda, so too, as could be shown, Oengus, another 'son' of the Dagda, was ultimately the Dagda himself.

Boand, the divinized River Boyne, was the wife of Nechtan, otherwise called Elcmar (or Elcmaire) and Nuadu. A well-known story tells how the Dagda won the love of Boand, after sending her husband away. This might be expressed in other words by saying that the Dagda ousted Nuadu from the lordship of Bruig na Bóinne. In this legend we may see the reflection of an historical fact: in pre-Goidelic times the lord of Bruig na Bóinne was Nuadu, but after the Goidelic conquest of that region he was replaced by the Dagda, the corresponding Goidelic deity. It was easy to confuse the legendary expulsion of Nuadu by the Dagda, otherwise called Oengus, with the mythical victory of the youthful Hero (Macc ind Óc) over the Otherworld-god. In this way the two victors, Oengus (the god) and Macc ind Óc (the Hero), were amalgamated into a composite personage, Oengus Óc, otherwise Oengus in Broga, lord of Bruig na Bóinne (also known as Bruig Maicc ind Óc).

Even a brief discussion of Mac ind Óc would be incomplete unless something were said concerning the etymology of his name. In the oldest extant texts the nominative is *Maç* (or *Macc*) *ind Óc*, gen. *Maic* (*Meic*) *ind Óc*²; in other words, only

being a compound of W. *pen*, 'head', and *taran*, as to which see Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* 266.

¹ Bruig na Bóinne was a famous pagan burial-ground on the north bank of the Boyne, to the east of Slane. In it was a *síd* or Otherworld-location.

² For examples of this genitive see LU 2942, 4117 (riming with *róit*), 4125 (: *fóit*); LL 152 b 39, 164 b 30 (: *róit*), 194 b 26 (: *óc*), 209 b 30 (: *fóit*); Met. D. iii, 100. We find *inn* for *ind* in *Mc. inn Óc*, LL 25 a 15, 209 a 58 (: *fóit*); *Mc. inn Óc*, ib. 66 a 27 (all genitives).

the *mac(c)* is inflected, the ungrammatical *ind Óc* remaining unchanged. Rhys (Hibbert Lectures 1886, 145) and Stokes (RC xxvi, 60) have interpreted the name as 'Son of the (two) Young Ones'; but this is impossible, both grammatically and mythologically. Thurneysen (Heldensage 598, n. 5) suggests tentatively that from a genitive *Maic ind Óic* a new nominative *Mac ind Óc* was corruptly formed; but this explanation is not borne out by the history of the name, and is otherwise unconvincing.¹

I suggest that the original name was **Maccon* or **Maccan* (< Celt. **Makkvonos*), 'the Youth, the Boy-god', corresponding to the Welsh *Mabon*, British *Maponos* (identified with Apollo in inscriptions). The idea of youthfulness, inherent in the name, was further emphasized in Irish by permanently affixing the epithet *oac*, Mid. Ir. *óc*, 'young', so that **Maccan* ceased to be employed alone. In **Maccan Óc* the first word was popularly misinterpreted as the common word *macc*, 'son, boy', followed by an unstressed vowel and eclipsing *n-*, as if the name were *Macc a nÓc*, which by Middle Irish scribes was written *Macc ind* (= *inn*) *Óc* through confusing the middle syllable with one of the forms of the article. Sometimes, especially in later texts, the meaningless *ind* was dropped, and the name was re-formed as *Macc Óc* otherwise in *Macc Óc*, 'the young boy'.²

CHAP. XV

P. 287. A clear example of *dn* in the sense of 'nimble, active, speedy', occurs in: *connadbuī i fein Find [fer] bad áiniu 7 bad éscaidiu ó sain [im]mach*, R 107 a 17, which Meyer translates: 'so that henceforward no one in the war-band of Finn was quicker and more untiring' (Four Old-Irish Songs of Summer and Winter 23).

¹ The gen. *Maic ind Óic*, which Thurneysen would interpret as 'of the young boy', could only mean 'of the son of the youth'. Moreover this gen. is unknown in the earlier language, and is attested only in a few late mss., e.g. in *Brug Micc inn Oicc*, RC iii, 346 z, *Brug Mc. in Óic* RC xv, 329. 4, *ioiseach teaglaig . . . Aenguis meic in Óig*, Met. D. iv, 254. 4. It evidently arose from a blending of the older gen. *Maic ind Óc* (see the last note) with the synonymous (*in*) *Maic Óic*. This rare gen. *Maic in Óic* naturally led to a new nom., *Mac in Óic*, which is found sporadically. Compare dat. *Mac in Oicc*, Anecdota ii, 6. 20 (text of D iv. 2), where the Book of Fermoy retains the older *Mac ind Óc* (RC i, 41. 13).

² Compare the no longer intelligible *Caladbolg* re-formed as *Caladcholg* (p. 70 f.).

P. 288. From a letter of John O'Donovan's in Ordnance Survey Letters Co. Londonderry¹ we learn that the goddess Áine was well remembered in the Moneymore-Cookstown area of counties Derry and Tyrone a century ago, when that district was still Irish-speaking. Her name survives in the parish-name 'Lissan', *Lios Áine*. In this parish are a hill called *Cnoc Áine*, and a well known as *Tobar Áine*. When O'Donovan visited the district in 1834, Áine was locally regarded as a lady who had been 'taken away at night by the wee folk from her husband's side, and never returned. She is living still, and [is] particularly attached to the family of *O'Corra* (Corr), who are believed to be her descendants, because whenever one of them is about to die she is heard wailing² in the most plaintive and heart-touching manner in the wild glen of *Alt na Sion* and adjacent to the fort of *Lios Áine*'.

There was also a district (or districts) associated with Áine in Co. Down. *Ráith Áine*, 'in the east of Ulaid', is said to have been called after Áine, wife of Finn (cf. *Ac. Sen.* 3043 ff.). From *Sliab Fuait* (the hills in the south of Co. Armagh and the adjoining part of Monaghan) one could discern *Sliab Cairthind oc Áni á[i]n* (*Met. D.* iv, 164. 3). *Sliab Cairthinn* has not been identified, but was probably one of the hills in central Down (to the southwest of Ballynahinch), of which *Slieve Croob* is the highest. O'Donovan has recorded the name of one of these hills as *Sliabh Áine* (*Ordnance Survey Letters Co. Down, R. I. A. ms. p. 85*). In this hilly district is the present extensive townland of Leganny³ (*Lagán Áine*?). One may further note that the hill of Knockmany, near Augher, in the south of Co. Tyrone, was in local legend associated with 'a fairy or witch' named Áine.⁴

P. 296, ll. 1-2 and notes. Victor Henry's etymology of *Bret. eeun* was evidently borrowed from Stokes, who in his *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, 44, derives *W. iawn*, *Bret. eeun*, and also *Ir. (fir-)idn* [sic], from **i(p)ānos*, cognate with *Germ. eben*, etc., from **epnós*. In the Old-Breton glosses on Eutychius the word occurs as *eeunt*, gl. 'aequus' (*Loth, Vocab. vieux-breton* 125), in which the final

¹ MS. R.I.A., p. 228 f.

² So the southern Áine was among the *mná sídhe* who bewailed the deaths of members of the Fitzgerald family. Cf. *Do bhí Áine i nÁine dot fhógra*' in Pierce Ferriter's elegy on Muiris Mac Gearailt.

³ There is another townland of this name near Loughbrickland, about thirteen miles to the west.

⁴ *Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1898, 110.

-t has been 'surajouté sous une influence inconnue', as Victor Henry remarks. In the Black Book of Chirk text of the Welsh Laws there are not a few examples of *yaunt* or *iaunt*, with a similarly superfluous *-t*, though *yaun* or *iaun* is much commoner; but Professor J. Lloyd-Jones, to whom I am indebted for a learned note on these Welsh forms, is no doubt right in suggesting that this use of *-nt* for *-n* is merely one of the orthographical vagaries indulged in by the scribe of this ms., and he cites parallel misspellings from the same text, such as *llaunt* for *llawn*, *digaunt* for *digawn*, *cornt* for *corn*, *allant* for *allan*.

P. 302, n. 1, l. 6. *Finné*, meaning (1) 'testimony', (2) 'a witness', is attested from about the thirteenth century. It is evidently borrowed; compare O. Norse *vitni* with the same meanings. The *f-* and long *i* may have been influenced by the native synonym *fiadnaisé*; and the *-nn-* probably comes from an earlier *-dn-*. *Gáinne*, 'a dart', though attested late, may be an old word, and related to *gai*, 'spear'. It might conceivably come from a Celtic **gaisonnio-*, in which *gaiso-* could have been reduced to *gā-* before the period of syncope (see p. 460). But the *-nn-* suffix would require explanation.¹

P. 304. For the sake of brevity I omitted mention of Mug Ruith²; but the omission may be repaired here. Originally the Sun-god, he has been euhemerized in our texts into a wonder-working 'druid' or magician (*druid*).³ We are told that he was called Mug Ruith because he was fostered by Roth, son of Rīgoll.⁴ Actually, of course, *Mug Ruith* is merely a euhemeristic form of an earlier *Roth*, 'wheel' (i.e. the Sun).⁵ As might be expected (cf. p. 318 f.), he attained a great age, having lived through the reigns of nineteen kings.⁶ He was ancestor of the Fir

¹ Holder, ii, 858, quotes examples of a 'Celtic and Ligurian suffix' *-onno-*.

² The discussion of Mug Ruith by Käte Müller-Lisowski, *Ét. Celt.* iii, 46 ff., explains nothing.

³ He was the chief druid of all Ireland, ZCP xiv, 156; the chief druid of the world, RC xliii, 92.

⁴ R 157.40 (= ZCP xiv, 162); LL 331 b 38; ZCP viii, 332; xiv, 154; Met. D. iv, 186.

⁵ Compare Mac Roth, the messenger of Ailill and Medb, who circles Ireland in a single day (TBC S.-O'K. 1109-10), in whom we have another obvious reminiscence of Roth, the sun-god.

⁶ LL 144 a 48, = ZCP xiv, 157. Cf. also ZCP xiv, 44, §§ 52-53.

Maige Féne,¹ who have left their name on the barony of Fermoy, Co. Cork. He is said to have lost one of his eyes,² which permits us to infer that he was one-eyed, as befitted the sun-god (p. 58 f.). Likewise as befits the sun-god (p. 66), he is associated with the drying-up of waters.³ By blowing his breath he was able to raise a tempest,⁴ or form a cloud.⁵

Mug Ruith drove in a chariot which was made of *findruine* (white metal) and of lustrous gems, so that to those who sat in it the night was as bright as the day⁶; and he flew through the air like a bird.⁷ The chariot is, of course, the sun, which brings daylight wherever it goes. With it is to be identified the *Roth Rámach*, or 'oared wheel', which is associated with Mug Ruith in other texts,⁸ and which Cormac calls *Roth Fáil*,⁹ i.e. 'the wheel

¹ The genealogists variously make him son of (1) Fergus, or (2) Cuinesc or (3) Cethern mac Fintain (R 158. 39-41, = ZCP xiv, 163). But in L.G. Mug Ruith is *mac Ma-Femis*, LL 16 b 14, just as Eochu Mumo (otherwise Eochu Garb) is in LL 19 a 25, 319 a 19, and as Lóch Mór (p. 476) is in TBC and in R 149 a 41. In a late poem Mug Ruith is *mac Seinfhesa*, 'son of ancient wisdom', ZCP xi, 44, § 52.

² ZCP xiv, 157. Another text gives two accounts of how Mug Ruith lost an eye, and consequently represents him as blind (ib. 155).

³ The tale 'Forbais Dromma Damgaire' (RC xliiii) tells how the magicians of Cormac ua Cuinn, who had invaded Munster, caused the rivers, lakes and springs to disappear, and how the blind Mug Ruith, who was summoned by the distressed Munstermen to their aid, restored the waters. Cormac's invasion of Munster is, of course, a storyteller's invention (p. 491); originally, we may safely assume, it was not Cormac's magicians, but Mug Ruith, who caused the waters to evaporate.

⁴ RC xliiii, pp. 80, 84. So when Cúchulainn was about to land from his *curach* on an Otherworld-island, Conla Coel, the lord of the island, drove him out to sea with his breath (Loinges Mac nDuíl Dermait, IT ii, pt. i, 181, l. 197).

⁵ RC xliiii, pp. 98, 108-110.

⁶ RC xliiii, 62.

⁷ *ibid.* 110. Compare Mider, *supra*, p. 293, and Fintan, p. 319.

⁸ R 157, 37 (= ZCP xiv, 163); LL 331 b 32; ZCP viii, 332; Met. D. iv, 188. The 'oars' are the sun's rays, and were suggested by the comparison of the sun to a barque moving through the celestial sea. Among the solar symbols found inscribed on stones is a circle with rays standing out from the circumference, in other words, a *roth rámach*; for illustrations see, e.g., George Coffey's 'New Grange (Brugh na Boinne) and Other Incised Tumuli in Ireland', pp. 55, 88, 89, 106.

⁹ San. Corm. 598.

of light'.¹ In a poem fathered on St. Colum Cille the *Roth Rámach* is described as a huge ship which sailed alike over sea and land.²

A 'remnant' of this wheel, identified with a pillar-stone at Cnámchaille ('Cleghile,' near the town of Tipperary), is said to have been such that it would kill those whom it touched, blind those who saw it, and deafen those who heard it.³ This is plainly the thunder-stone or 'thunderbolt', which issues from the sun (*supra*, pp. 58, 60), with its accompanying lightning and thunder.

A couple of amplifications of the Mug Ruith tradition require only a brief notice here. Mug Ruith as the sun-god was regarded as the champion of paganism and the enemy of Christianity, just like his double Mac Cuill (p. 471). Hence some learned writer conceived the idea of making the euhemerized Mug Ruith learn his magic (*druidécht*) from Simon Magus⁴ (*Símon Druí*), who in later ecclesiastical legend was a bitter opponent of St. Peter, and who, it is said, attempted to show his superiority to the Saint by ascending into the air in a fiery chariot. Also the idea that the deadly pillar-stone of Cnámchaille was a fragment of the Wheel, in *Roth Rámach*, led to the further notion that the Wheel itself was an engine of destruction; and we are told prophetically that

¹ 'The ordinary meaning of Ir. *fál* is 'hedge, fence'. Its Welsh counterpart is *gwawl*, 'wall' (Celt. **vālo-*). The fundamental idea of these words is 'a circle' or 'a circular surround'. Compare the related Ir. *fail*, 'a circlet for the arm; a sty, hovel,' and its Welsh and Breton cognates (see p. 307), and further O. Norse *valr*, 'round'. Welsh *gwawl* means also 'light', and this, I suggest, is also the meaning of Ir. *fál* in certain traditional phrases, such as *Roth Fáil*, *Inis Fáil* ('island of light', originally a designation of the insular Otherworld; compare *Tír Sorcha*, *Tír na Sorcha*, used in this sense). A full discussion of *Fál* must be reserved for another occasion. Here I will merely point to the possibility of *fál*, 'light', being ultimately the same word as *fál*, 'fence'; originally meaning 'circle' it may have been applied in particular to the orb of the sun, and thence to the sun's light.

² The Prophecies of SS. Columbkille (etc.), ed. N. O'Kearney, 52 (a faulty text). Cf. O'Curry, MS. Materials 402. Elsewhere the sun is a horse that travels over sea and land (see p. 292),

³ R 157. 44-45 (= ZCP xiv, 162); LL 331 b 52-57; ZCP viii, 332; Met. D. iv, 188. Compare the fiery pillar-stone (*cairthe*) which Aillén emitted from his mouth (see p. 110, n. 6).

⁴ Cf. Acts viii, 9. It is possible that the formal resemblance of Ir. *mug* to Lat. *magus* may have favoured the idea of bringing Mug Ruith into relationship with Simon Magus. Compare the late Irish misinterpretation of *Mug Ruith* as *magus rotarum* (ZCP xiv, 163; Cóir Anmann § 218).

it will 'come over Europe' before Judgment-day as a punishment for the way in which a disciple from each nation co-operated with Simon Magus in his opposition to St. Peter.¹

With *Roth*, 'wheel', inferable from *Mug Ruith* as a name for the solar deity, we may compare the compound *Ánroth*, 'travelling (or glowing) wheel', found as the name of a mythical ancestor of the Eóganacht.² In *Cóir Anmann*, § 13, this *Ánroth* is identified with *Rothechtaid Rotha*, 'the great traveller of the wheel', as to whom see p. 295, n. 3.³

CHAP. XVI

P. 308 ff. A. C. L. Brown's work on 'The Origin of the Grail Legend' (Cambridge, Mass., 1943) came to hand too late to make reference to it in the text. On the strength of Flann Mainistrech's allusion to Brian, Iucharba and Iuchair as 'the three gods of the Tuatha Dé Danann', the author imaginatively constructs an Irish mythology in which Brian or (as he writes the name) Brión plays a preponderant role. Brión, he asserts (ib. 292), 'is the chief beneficent god of the Irish, and many of their kings and heroes were regarded as manifestations or hypostases of him'. It is true that 'Brión's name, considering what must have been his importance as the god of the Tuatha Dé, is seldom mentioned', but there probably was 'a taboo against writing down heathen names' (ib. 325). Brión, 'who is usually called the "god of the Tuatha Dé"', is identical with the Irish Bran, of 'Immram Brain', and with the Welsh Bran, of the 'Mabinogi' (ib. 270, 288, 307). 'The chief of the manifestations of Brión was Nuadu' (ib. 292), and the King Arthur of romance is 'a successor or substitute' for Nuadu (ib. 310 f.). The five invasions of Ireland in Lebor

¹ R 157. 37 (= ZCP xiv 162); ZCP viii, 332. For other prophetic allusions to the coming of the *Roth Rámach* see ZCP x, 343 f., and O'Curry's MS. Materials, pp. 401, 421, 426.

² *ÁID* i, 54; R 148 b 19; LL 320 c.

³ In a secondary sense *ánroth* or *ánradh* means 'a champion' or the like. Names or epithets of the sun, the brilliant luminary of the heavens, were applied in a complimentary sense to persons. Compare *án* (p. 286), *ánle* (p. 286, n. 3), and *án-chaindel* (Meyer, *Contrr.* 96). *Grian* itself is so used, e.g. *grian bán ban Muman*, Féil. Oeng. Jan. 15, referring to St. Íte, *grian Liss Móir*, ib. June 25, referring to St. Mo-luóc; and cf. Mod. Ir. *grian na Cairge Báine*, 'the peerless lady of the White Rock'.

Gabála¹ have as their basis 'the story of the ruin of fairyland by giants' (ib. 240).² 'They are based on an old myth about an island of women. The king of the island was Bríón, the queen Ériu, and the invader Amargen' (ib. 268). Partholón, Nemed, Nuadu Argatlám, Mac Cuill, Mac Cécht and Mac Gréne are all 'hypostases' of the ubiquitous Bríón (ib. 240 ff.). The Dagda's caldron 'generally belongs to Bríón' (ib. 162). Bríón 'is usually a fisherman or navigator who ferries people across the river of death or who voyages from earth to fairyland' (ib. 247).

All this is a veritable fairy-tale. There could be no better proof of the need there is for a scientific investigation of early Irish religion and mythology than the fact that so eminent and experienced a scholar as A. C. L. Brown can put forward in all seriousness hypotheses like the above. And such an investigation should be undertaken as an end in itself, and not for any secondary purpose, such as the elucidation of Arthurian origins.

P. 311, n. 2. The apparent non-attestation of *airichle* as gen. of *airichell* is no doubt fortuitous. The Early Modern Irish forms, *uirichill* and *oirichill*, are, according to IGT p. 150. 25, declined like *soighidh*, gen. *soighthe*, so that their genitives were *uirichle*, *oirichle*.

P. 313. The Fomoire, as we know them from Lebor Gabála and from the tale of the Second Battle of Mag Tuired, are purely

¹ The author (ib. 242 n.) assures his readers that 'the historical character of the invasions has already been destroyed, as, for example, by A. G. Van Hamel, "Aspects of Celtic Mythology" (*British Academy*, xx [1934], 222).' The fact is that van Hamel's paper (which impossibly attempts to show that the insular Celts believed in 'magic' and 'divine magicians', but not in gods, except as shadowy 'oath-strengtheners') does not discuss the 'invasions' at all, and makes no allusion to them beyond remarking incidentally on p. 222 (= p. 18 of the offprint) that 'the successive groups of colonists' of Ireland had to contend, not only with their predecessors, but also with 'the Fomore, the demons of the surrounding sea'.

² Elsewhere the same scholar gives the following unsatisfactory interpretation of the tale of the Second Battle of Mag Tuired: 'The plot, to put it in a few words, is that the land of the Tuatha Dé Danaan (who are the same as the fairies) has been ruined by giants called Fomorians, and is saved by the coming of a supernatural hero, Lug. He is the destined deliverer and brings talismans which give him victory over the Fomorians, and enable him to deliver the fairies. . . . The notion is that a race of giants has brought enchantment upon the fairies by stealing their marvelous gear' (*Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* 103).

mythical personages, and are no more connected with history than are the Tuatha Dé, between whom and the Fomoiré there is at bottom no real distinction (p. 483). It is possible that the Fomoiré were first introduced into L.G. by the redactor who rationalized the mythical contest between Balar and Lug into a battle between two opposing armies. One of the parties in the contest, the Tuatha Dé Danann, was supposed to be in occupation of Ireland. Their opponents, the Fomoiré, were represented as invading Ireland with the intention of bringing the Tuatha Dé into subjection. In this way the myth of the overcoming of Balar by Lug was adapted to the L.G. framework. It was probably a later development, inspired by the long-continued Viking raids on Ireland, to represent the Fomoiré as similarly harassing the earlier inhabitants of Ireland, viz. the people of Partholón and the people of Nemed.

The name *Tuatha Dé Danann* appears to have been invented by the authors of L.G., who needed some designation for the group of euhemerized divinities whom they represented as invading and occupying Ireland. *Fomoiré*, on the other hand, looks like an old name which they put to a new use.

In some verses edited by Meyer¹ it is said of Art Mes Delmann, of the Domnainn, a fabulous king of the Lagen, that 'he destroyed the meadow-flats of the Fomoiré' (*selaig srathu Fomoiré*). From these words Meyer infers, not only that the Fomoiré were an historical people, but also that they were probably neighbours of the Domnainn in Ireland and may have dwelt in the present Co. Wicklow.² He further conjectures that their name is derived from a district-name **Fomuir*, meaning 'land by the sea'.³—The idea that the Fomoiré were settled in Leinster, or in any part of Ireland, may be dismissed, for there is nothing in Irish tradition which would give it any support. If Art Mes Delmann is said to have overthrown the Fomoiré, that must not be taken to imply that they were neighbours of his in Ireland. Of another fabulous

¹ ÁID ii, 6.

² This suggestion that the Fomoiré may have lived in Co. Wicklow rests on nothing more than the reference to their *sratha*.

³ See Thurneysen's objection to this derivation, Heldensage 64. Pokorny, ZCP xi, 180-182, adopts Meyer's views regarding the Fomoiré, and adds some worthless conjectures of his own. In his 'History of Ireland', 24, n. 6, he asserts that 'a part of the Leinster coast' was called *Fomuir*, without giving his readers any hint that both the name and the location are purely hypothetical.

Laginionian king we are told that he defeated the people of Tیره and of Skye (ÄID i, 40, § 21).

On the other hand, it is possible—perhaps even probable—that *Fomóire* was originally a name or nickname applied, not to mythical beings, but to real pirates who infested the Irish coast. These pirates may have been as Watson¹ has suggested, the inhabitants of the northern Scottish islands and mainland, Zimmer² has attributed to early Vikings the devastation of Tory Island in 617 and the murder of St. Donnán and his companions in Eigg in the same year; but Watson, with much more probability, sees in these outrages the work of sea-rovers from the north of Scotland. At any rate Irish tradition consistently treats the Fomóire as sea-raiders, and associates them especially with the north-western coast of Ireland and with the Scottish isles. Hence their later assimilation to the Norsemen was an easy matter. Already in the tale of the Second Battle of Mag Tuired, Balar is 'king of the Islands' (*rí na nInnsí*, RC xii, 74), meaning, from the context, king of the Norse-occupied Hebrides (*Insi Gall*). In later texts, such as 'Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann' and 'Bruidhean Chaorthainn', the Fomhóraigh, as they are called, are associated with Lochlainn (Scandinavia), like the Norse raiders.

P. 314. Goibniu, whose name is a derivative of *goba* (gen. *gobann*), 'smith', is primarily the Otherworld god in his capacity of artificer (p. 148). As a healer (cf. Dian Cécht) he is invoked in an Old-Irish charm against the prick of a thorn (Thes. Pal. ii, 248). That he was lord of the Otherworld-feast (cf. the Dagda's caldron and Manannán's pigs) appears from the name applied to it: *fled Goibnenn*, 'Goibniu's Feast'. Those who partook of his Feast were preserved from age and decay, i.e. they became

¹ Celtic Place-Names of Scotland 62 f.

² Nennius Vindicatus 223.

³ Cf. for *Fomóire* .i. *loingsig na fairrge*, LL 6 a 39; *Fomóra fairge*, ib. 7 a 31; *méithir ra fomóir na re fer mara*, TBC Wi. 3805. These examples likewise show the second *o* of the name lengthened under the influence of *mór*, 'big', and show the singular noun *fomóir* in process of acquiring its later meaning of 'giant' (Early Mod. Ir. *fomhóir*, Sc. *famhair*, Manx *foawr*). The association of great size with the Fomóire may well be a secondary development. Compare *aithech*, which from meaning 'rent-payer', and thence 'churl, peasant', has likewise come to mean 'giant' in Modern Irish (*athach*, *fathach*).

immortal.¹ We have a rationalized counterpart of Goibniu's feast in 'Bricriu's feast', *fled Briccrenn*, at which Bricriu presided in a splendid palace built by himself. Goibniu, as the divine 'smith' or artificer, was naturally regarded as a wonderful builder.² In this aspect of him he is known to tradition as Gobbán,³ or Gobbán Saer ('Gobbán the Wright'). In a poem, in Codex S. Pauli (Thes. Pal. ii, 294. 13) the house that Gobbán built appears to be the firmament of heaven. In the lives of some of the Irish saints Gobbán Saer is assigned the role of expert builder of churches, and as *an Gobán Saor* he is still remembered in folk-tales.

The Welsh counterpart of Goibniu is known by various names: *Gofynion* (Mid. W. *Gouynyon*, RB 108 y), *Gofannon*, and *Gwydion*, all derivatives of Welsh *gof*, 'smith'. In the *mabinogi* of 'Math', in which he plays a leading part, Gwydion is a fashioner of magic horses and ships, and a maker of beautiful shoes. His name (Mid. W. *Gwydion*) I take to stand for **G(o)vydion*, a dissimilated form of *Gouynion*.⁴ In 'Kulhwch and Olwen' there is mention of Glwydyn Saer ('Glwydyn the Wright'), who built Ehangwen, Arthur's festive hall. In *Glwydyn*,⁵ I suggest, we probably have a scribal corruption of *Gwydion*. The Arthur of romance has succeeded to the attributes of the Hero (the Welsh Llew, Ir. Lug), and the feast over which he presides, like Finn's feast at Almu, is

¹ Ac. Sen. 6402 (and cf. 6806); Ériu xi, 188. 18. A. C. L. Brown thus explains Goibniu's connexion with the Feast: 'In ancient times the smith in small villages would generally be the inkeeper or host. This is the reason why Goibniu, like the Greek Hephaistos, was both smith and cupbearer of the gods' (The Origin of the Grail Legend 162). Such pseudo-historical or 'anthropological' explanations of myth are often very wide of the mark.

² Compare the marvellous house of bronze built by Hēphaistos for himself, described by Homer (Il. xviii, 369 ff.).

³ *Gobbán* is a hypocoristic form of *Goibniu* or *goba*, with geminated *b* (cf. p. 445).

⁴ W. J. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy* 147, would needlessly (and impossibly) explain *Gwydion* as an early Welsh borrowing of 'Gavidin', the form in which Goibniu's name appears in a translation of a modern folk-tale from Donegal (Curtain, *Hero-Tales of Ireland* 283). This 'Gavidin' (in Irish *Gaibhdán*, Quiggin, *A Dialect of Donegal* 237) is merely a local corruption of Mod. Ir. *Gaibhneann* (= Mid. Ir. *Goibnenn*, properly gen., but used also as nom.).

⁵ So RB 109, 12 (= *Glwydyn*, White Book Mab. col. 464). But in RB 138 y the name is spelled *Gwlydyn*. Could the intrusive *l* have been due to the influence of *gwledd*, 'feast'?

ultimately, as could be demonstrated, the Otherworld-Feast, from the lordship of which the god had been deposed.

CHAP. XVII

P. 321, ll. 1-5 and n. 1. Rhys's source was a volume entitled 'Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire', by Rev. W. Hiley Bathurst (London, 1879), of which I have failed to discover a copy in Dublin. The bronze fragment on which is represented the fisherman hooking the salmon will be found illustrated in 'Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire', by R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler (London, 1932), fig 21 (facing p. 87), no. 113. That Nodons was the sun-god (like Goll, Aed, Fintan and the Dagda) is to be inferred from another bronze discovered on the site of his temple, which shows him driving in a four-horse chariot and grasping in his right hand a club (i.e. thunderbolt).¹ There is also evidence that he was connected with the sea (cf. Manannán, and the connexion of Nuadu with the Boyne), and with healing (cf. Dian Cécht). The numerous figures of dogs found at Lydney Park suggest that he was, in one of his shapes, a dog (cf. Cú Roí). One inscription identifies him with Mars: D(EO) M(ARTI) NODONTI. These various attributes are in complete accord with those of the Otherworld-god of the Celts (see above, p. 469 f.), though the authors of the Report are puzzled by the complexity of his cult.²

P. 328 n. It is only fair to add that R. D. Scott was following the example of others in his misuse of the words 'goblins' and 'fairies'. Thus in a series of articles ('The Grail and the English *Sir Perceval*') in *Modern Philology*, vols. xvi-xviii, xxii, A. C. L. Brown speaks of Aillén and Cúldub as 'goblins', of the Tuatha Dé Danann as 'fairies', of the Fomoiré as 'giants'. To apply the language of the nursery-tale to personages who are ultimately

¹ See Wheeler, *op. cit.*, plate xxvii, no. 123.

² 'The combination of these diverse elements at Lydney necessarily presents difficulties—and probably insuperable difficulties—to the modern mind' (*op. cit.* 42 f.). Rhys was not very far from the truth when he said that Nodons 'is not strictly to be compared with the classic Zeus, but with the pre-classic Zeus, who was Zeus, Posidon and Pluto all in one; who also discharged the functions of several of his classically so-called sons, such, for example, as Ares' (The Hibbert Lectures 1886, 131).

deities is misleading and otherwise objectionable. Thurneysen in his *Heldensage* (pp. 62, 386, etc.) refers to Mider, Manannán, the Mac Óc, and Lug as 'elves' (*Elfen*). Actually these were no more elves than were the Odin and Thor of Germanic mythology.

APP. I

P. 341. One or two examples may be given here of the confusion into which modern writers have fallen regarding the Ulaid. Rhys, following Skene,¹ identifies the Ulaid with the Cruithni. He refers to them as 'the Ivernian people of Ulster' (cf. p. 56). They were, he says, also called *Fír Ulaid*, or 'True Ultonians' (cf. p. 351), in order to distinguish them from the Goidels who had invaded Ulster from Meath and had driven the Ulaid into Down and Antrim.²

MacBain makes a vain attempt to remedy the 'confusion' of Skene and Rhys by drawing a distinction between the non-Pictish rulers of 'Dal-araidhe or Ulidia or Uladh' and their Pictish subjects. The former were 'the old kingly heroes of Ulster—the Clann Rudraid [*sic*], descended of Ir', who were driven out of most of the province of Ulster by 'scions of the royal line of Ireland'.³

P. 344, n. 1. The Forth was known in Middle Irish as *Foirthe*, in Welsh as *Gweryd*.⁴ *Foirthe* would go back to **Voretiā*, *Gweryd* rather to **Voritiā*.⁵ The root would be *ret-*, 'run', and the meaning may have been something like 'the helping (goddess)'.⁶ On the other hand the Forth is called *Bodotria* by Tacitus, *Boderia* by Ptolemy. It is obvious that one, at least, of these 'classical' forms is corrupt. If we grant, with Fraser (SGS iii, 138), that the *B-* of *Boderia* is probably a mistake for

¹ Cf. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* i, 131.

² *Celtic Britain*, 3 ed., 246; Rhind Lectures on Archaeology 1889, 41.

³ Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 ed., 392.

⁴ See J. Morris Jones, *Y Cymmrodor* xxviii, pp. 47, 48 n., 61 f.; and Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 52 f.

⁵ **Voritiā* would have given Ir. **Fuirthe*. Compare *ruirthech*, 'swift-running (?)', < **ro-ritāko-* or **ro-rituko-*. The *-rit-* of such forms would represent *rt-*, the zero grade of *ret-*. Compare Gallo-latin *petor-ritum*.

⁶ Compare O. Ir. *fo-reith*, 'succurrit', W. *gwarded*, 'deliverance', Gallo-latin *Voreto-virius*.

V-, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that both *Boderia* and *Bodotria* are merely corruptions of **Voretia*.

Mael Mura says that the Picts took possession of Britain *ó chrich Catt co Foirchíu*.¹ As the sense required is 'from Caithness to the Forth' (*Foirthe*), we are probably justified in accepting Watson's emendation of *Foirchíu* to *Foirthíu*. But it is difficult to follow Watson when he interprets *Foirthíu* as the acc. plur. of a noun meaning 'ford', and assumes that the reference is to the Fords of Frew (on the Forth). The Fords of Frew were doubtless well known in their own neighbourhood, but they were not so widely known that an Irishman, writing in Ireland, could expect to be understood if, instead of calling them by their full name, he referred to them simply as 'Fords'. Moreover the existence of a word *foirthíu* meaning 'fords' is exceedingly doubtful.²

If we assume that Mael Mura wrote *Foirthíu*, it seems impossible to disassociate it, as Watson does, from the river-name *Foirthe*. I suggest that it may be the acc. plur. of a noun **Foirthi*, < **Voretii*, meaning 'dwellers by the Forth'.³ Tacitus tells how, after the battle of Mons Graupius, Agricola led back his army *in fines Borestorum* (Agricola 38). These Boresti are nowhere else mentioned, and their name has long been a puzzle. I suggest tentatively that *Boresti* may be a corruption of the same **Voretii*.⁴

APP. II

P. 353. D'Arbois de Jubainville consistently maintained, against Rhys, that the Picts were Celts (cf. RC vii, 381; xx, 390; Les Celtes 27 ff.). But in other respects his views were peculiar

¹ BB reads *co Foirchíu*, riming with *toirthíu*. In the only other copy of Mael Mura's poem, that in H. 2. 17, the reading is *co Forcu*, and there is no riming word, the text being corrupt.

² The only evidence for this meaning is *trisna foirthíu ailitherdi*, glossing *peregrina per marmora*, Thes. Pal. i, 488. 26 (cf. Ascoli, Gloss. Pal.-hib. p. ccvii). The editors of Thes. Pal. translate 'through the foreign fords (?)', but their rendering is admittedly conjectural and probably inaccurate. Watson quotes *co forthíu máil*, LL 52 a 30 (= ZCP xi, 110. 2), which he translates 'to the fords of Mál'; but the meaning is quite uncertain.

³ For the formation of a tribal name from the name of a river we may perhaps compare *Sequani* with *Sequana*, *Ambarri* with *Arar*, *Rauraci* with **Raura*.

⁴ For the interchange of *b* and *v* compare the examples noted by Dottin. *La langue gauloise* 61 f.

to himself. He appears to have held that the ancestors of the Picts were Q-Celts, like the Goidels, with whom, he implies, they were originally identical, but that after the Belgic conquest of Britain (which he would date about the second century B.C.) the Picts of Britain adopted the P-Celtic of their conquerors. Hence he writes: 'Les Pictes font partie du groupe celtique et, dans ce groupe, appartiennent à la branche gauloise comme l'atteste le *p* de *penn fahel*' (Les Celtes 30).

A detailed discussion of the 'Pictish Question', as it stood a generation ago, will be found in T. Rice Holmes's 'Ancient Britain' (1907), 409-424. Much of it is devoted to a criticism of Rhys's views. The writer states his own conclusions as follows: 'For all these reasons it appears to me infinitely more probable that in Pictland, as . . . in the rest of Britain, the non-Aryan language should have been absorbed by Celtic than that Celtic should have been absorbed by the non-Aryan language. There is probably this grain of truth in Professor Rhys's theory, that the non-Celtic natives continued to exist in greater purity in [Pictland] than in any other part of Britain. But I doubt whether this eminent scholar could have spent his time less profitably than in striving to demonstrate, first, that the language of the Picts was related to Basque, and, when he was forced to abandon this attempt, in clinging to the theory that it was a non-Aryan tongue'.

Gildas, as we have seen, imagined that the Picti were, like the Scotti, a *gens transmarina*, who at quite a late period began to plunder Britain and to occupy its northern parts. The account of the Picts in 'Historia Brittonum' is similar, and says that they first established themselves in the Orkneys (see p. 377 f.). Windisch, who regards the Picts as non-Celts (Das kelt. Britannien 6 n.), would accept this as historically correct: 'Aus den Quellen geht hervor, dass die Picti und Scotti neue Eindringlinge einer späteren Zeit waren' (ib. 30). At the same time Windisch appears to hold that the Caledonians, unlike the Picts, were Celts (ib. 28 f.).

W. J. Watson,¹ pointing to the known fact that the circular castles known as brochs, and popularly associated with the Picts, are found mainly in the far north of Scotland (Orkney and Shetland, Caithness, Sutherland), would identify the broch-builders with the Picti of Gildas and the 'Historia'. Hence he infers that 'the Picts did really settle at first in the Northern Isles', whence, like the Norsemen later, 'they gradually extended their power to the mainland and throughout the Isles of the West', so that they eventually replaced the Caledonians as the leading tribe

¹ Celtic Place-Names of Scotland pp. 61, 65-67.

north of the Antonine Wall, with the result that the name *Picti* came to be used by Latin writers as a collective designation for all those tribes who in Irish were known as Cruthin. At the same time Watson, unlike Windisch, holds that the Picts were Celts, and differed neither in race nor in customs from the Caledonians.

The view that the Picti first took possession of the northern Scottish islands, and only at a later period made settlements on the mainland, is inherently improbable. It would require more trustworthy evidence than that provided by Gildas and 'Historia Brittonum' to make us believe that Orkney and Shetland were colonized directly from the Continent, and not from the adjoining mainland. If, as Watson appears to hold, the Picti were in occupation of the northern islands in the first and second centuries A.D., it is unfortunate that Ptolemy has refrained from mentioning them. The classical name *Orcades* and the Irish names *Insi Orc* and *Insi Catt* permit us to infer that the islands in question were inhabited by tribes named **Orkī* and **Cattī* at an early period. On Watson's theory we should rather expect to find them known in early times as 'the islands of the Picti'. And the evidence of the brochs, which suggests sea-rovers from the north getting a foothold on the western isles, is far from bearing out Watson's suggestion that the northern islanders made such extensive conquests on the mainland that they became 'the leading tribe' north of the Antonine Wall.

The fact is that the view of Pictish origins put forward by Gildas, and later in 'Historia Brittonum', is wholly unworthy of credence. Though Gildas was himself a Briton, his ideas concerning the history of Roman Britain are notoriously confused and inaccurate¹; and it was not to be expected that he could have had any real knowledge at all of the history of the Picts. The name *Britannia* had two meanings: it meant the whole island of Britain, but in a narrower sense it meant no more than Roman Britain, whose native inhabitants, descendants of the later Gallic invaders, had come to call themselves *Brittones* (see p. 446). When Gildas wrote, in the first half of the sixth century, the territory of the Brittones was confined to a fringe along the western coast, but for Gildas this restricted area is still *Britannia*. *Britannia* means in effect 'the land of the Britons',² and it was easy and natural for

¹ 'Les pages [de l'opuscule de Gildas] consacrées à la Bretagne romaine témoignent d'une ignorance et d'une stupidité prodigieuses', writes Ferdinand Lot, Bretons et Anglais (Proc. Brit. Acad. xvi), p. 9.

² Even when 'the land of the Britons' had been still more diminished than

the Britons to believe that they were the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the whole island (*Britannia* in its wider sense). A corollary is that the Picts were regarded as late comers to Britain.¹ The three non-Brittonic peoples who dwelt within Britain in the sixth century were known to have been enemies of Roman Britain. Two of them, the Saxones and the Scotti, had, as everybody knew, come across the sea; and it was very natural that Gildas, whose knowledge of history was both scanty and confused, should regard the third of these peoples, the Picti, as likewise a *gens transmarina*.²

The question of the origin of the name *Picti* is still *sub judice*.³ Some have seen in it a purely Latin name⁴; others, with less probability, have taken it to be Celtic.⁵ On the ground of late borrowings like the Welsh *Peithwyr*, 'Picts' (where *Peith-* comes from *Pect-*), Watson⁶ has argued that the original form must

in Gildas's day, the surviving Britons continued to identify their land with *Britannia*. In the Book of Llan Dâv the words *breenhined hinn ha tou yssocion Cymry*, p. 120. 5, 'these kings and princes of Wales', are rendered into Latin as *a regibus istis et principibus Britanniae*, p. 118. 13. In Asser's Life of King Alfred (cf. ed. W. H. Stevenson, p. 365) *Britannia* means sometimes 'Britain', and sometimes merely 'Wales' (as opposed to *Saxonia*, 'England').

¹ These views regarding the relative antiquity of the Britons and the Picts were accepted in Ireland. See pp. 76, 343 f., 378.

² In Caesar's time (see p. 16, n. 2) the southern Britons were aware that they had arrived in Britain later than the inhabitants of the north; but during the subsequent five centuries they had ample time to forget this tradition. If in his native British Gildas called the island of Britain **inis Pritein*, 'the island of the Pritani', he had not skill enough to draw any historical conclusions therefrom. As a Latinist he remembered only that the people known as Picti had been among the enemies who assailed Roman Britain from without.

³ One may note a parallel difficulty with regard to the name *Scotti*. This is certainly not Latin, and is therefore presumably of Celtic origin. But in Irish there is no trace of it, any more than there is of *Picti*, except as a Latin-borrowed word.

⁴ But the idea of Zimmer and others that it is a Latin translation of *Pritani* or *Pretani* is not to be taken seriously.

⁵ For Rhys's varying views regarding *Picti* reference may be made to T. Rice Holmes's *Ancient Britain*, 412 f., where Rhys's 'quick changes of front' are sorrowfully detailed.

⁶ Celtic Place-Names of Scotland 67 f. Watson is here following Rhys, who had argued to the same effect in his *Rhind Lectures on Archaeology* (1889), 103 ff.

have been **Pektī*, so that the name could not have been Latin.¹ In that case, however, the name lost its Celtic character when the Romans took it over, for they turned it into *Picti*, which by speakers of Latin would inevitably be understood to mean 'the painted men'. In Caesar's day the painting or tattooing of the body was practised by all the inhabitants of Britain (*omnes Britanni*, De Bello Gallico v, 14); but by the time the Picts are first heard of (A.D. 297) this practice had doubtless been long abandoned in Roman Britain. From this time onwards *Picti*, whatever its ultimate origin may have been, must have seemed to the Romans a very convenient collective nickname for their enemies beyond the northern border; and one may suggest that it is to this circumstance, and not to any conquests made in northern Scotland by the Picts of the Isles, that we are to attribute the extension² of the name among Latin writers to all the tribes of non-Roman Britain.

P. 360, l. 7. Adamnan makes mention of a druid whom he calls *Broichanus* at the court of King Bruide. Reeves (Life of St. Columba 146 n.) says that 'the name is a British one', and equates it with *Brochan*,³ the name of a British king in 'Vita S. Ninnocae'; but this equation ignores the diphthong *-oi-* of Adamnan's form. Similarly John Fraser (SGS ii, 191) takes *Broichanus* to be 'a British name'; but, in order to clear the Northern Picts from the imputation of having had 'British' names, he suggests that Broichanus may have been a British druid who had wandered north from Strathclyde, though he might have reflected that one would hardly expect to find British druids in existence in the second half of the sixth century.

Actually *Broichanus* is, as might have been expected, the latinized form of an Irish name. It represents a sixth-century

¹ But may not *Pecti* for *Picti* reflect the change of short *i* to close *e* in vulgar Latin? There appear to be traces of this in some Latin-borrowed words in Irish, e.g. *trebunn* < Lat. *tribūnus* (unless Ir. *treb* has influenced). So *Pictavi* became in late Latin *Pectavi* (whence 'Poitiers' 'Poitou'); see numerous examples in Holder, ii, 987 ff.

² The word 'extension', however, begs the question. Actually there is no evidence that the name *Picti* was ever confined to a single tribe. It is true that the author of a panegyric on Constantius, A.D. 310, appears, according to one text, to distinguish the Picti from the Caledones: *Caledonum, Pictorum aliorumque silvas* (Holder, ii, 994), but the alternative reading *Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum silvas* is undoubtedly to be preferred.

³ This Brochan is to be identified with Brachan (Brychan), the eponymous king of Brecknock. See p. 362, n. 1.

Irish **Vroichān*, O. Ir. *Froíchán*, *Fróechán*,¹ a derivative of *froích*, *fróech*, 'heather' (Celt. **vroikos*; Welsh *grug*). Compare the Old Welsh personal names *Grucauc* and *Grucinan* (The Book of Llan Dâv 240). The combination *vr-* (with consonantal *v*) being unknown in Latin, Adamnan (or his source) in latinizing the name substituted *b-* for *v-*. For a similar reason Gaulish **vroikos*, 'heather', when borrowed into Latin became **brūcus*.² So the Gallo-latin place-name *Brocomagus*³ (now Brumath, in Alsace) represents, I suggest, an earlier **Vroico-magos*, 'heather-plain', like Ir. *Fraechmag*. Another instance of *brōco-* < *vroico-* occurs in a Latin dedication in the south-east of Gaul to a group of divinities (doubtless goddess-mothers) called in the dative plural *Uro-brocis* (Holder, iii, 44), with which we may contrast the *Vroicis* of another, and doubtless earlier, dedication in the same region (ibid. 455). A further example of Celtic *vr-* latinized *br-* is seen in *brigantes* (preserved by Marcellus of Bordeaux), to which correspond Ir. *frigit* and W. *gwraint*.⁵

P. 360, n. 2. The *Cuno-* (or *Kuno-*) of such personal names as *Cuno-maglos*, *Cuno-valos* (> Ir. *Conall*, W. *Cynwâl*), *Cuno-belinos* (> W. *Cynfelyn*), has generally been interpreted as meaning 'high, exalted'.⁶ But, as Rhys has pointed out (*Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1907, 87), the Welsh words on which this explanation was based have no existence, and *cuno-* in such names can only

¹ As Stokes long since suggested, queryingly (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1888-90, 395).

² Whence a derivative **brūcāria*, giving Fr. *bruyère*. In RC xlvi, 312 ff., P. Aebischer argues that the Swiss river-name 'Broye' goes back to Gaulish **Vroica*.

³ Holder interprets this name as 'feld des Brōcos', Dottin as 'le Champ-du-Blaireau' (*La langue gauloise* pp. 86, 219, n. 2; equating *broco-* with *brocco-*). Pokorny, as was to be expected, takes it to be Illyrian ('enthält den zweifellos illyr. PN *Breucus*', ZCP xxi, 101).

⁴ In Brittonic the diphthongs *oi* and *ou* (or *eu*) fell together as *u* (> *ü*). Latin spellings of British and Gaulish names show that *ou* developed to close *ō*, and thence to *ū* (see the examples noted by Zupitza, ZCP iii, 591; and compare the *ō* of Latin loan-words becoming *u* in Brittonic). From Gaulish *vroico-* giving Gallo-latin *brōco-* and *brūco-* one may infer that *oi* (like *ou*) was first monophthongized to close *ō*.

⁵ See Holder i, 535; also iii, 936, where Zupitza's equation of *brigantes* with the Irish and Welsh words is quoted—an equation repeated, without acknowledgment, by Mac Neill, *Ériu* xi, 131.

⁶ Cf. Holder, i, 1193; *kuno-s* 'hoch', Stokes, *Urk. Sprachschatz* 84.

be the composition-form of **kū*, gen. **kunos*, 'dog'.¹ Hence, despite the *Maglocune* of Gildas, we must, with Rhys, take W. *Maelgwn* to represent an oblique case of **Maglo-kū*, rather than an apparently impossible nominative **Maglo-kunos*.

This interpretation is confirmed by a bilingual inscription² at Nevern in Pembrokeshire, in which we find MAGLICUNAS (genitive) in Ogam, to which corresponds MAGLOCVVI (perhaps intended for -CVNI) in Latin. These must represent Celt. **Maglo-kunos*, gen. of **Maglo-kū*. The Irish equivalent would regularly be **Málchú*, gen. **Málchon*; but in view of the interchange of *Conmdl* and *Conmael* we may reasonably identify the name with **Maelchú*, gen. *Maelchon*, the name of King Bruide's father.

P. 363 f. It is unlikely that *Ulfa* has any connexion with the Anglo-Saxon name *Wulf*, which appears as *Ulph*, the name of an Anglian warrior in the Book of Taliesin (poem 36), and as *Ulb*, 'son of the king of the Saxons', in Ac. Sen. p. 329. 16.

P. 367, n. 3. The peculiar Pictish system of succession is indirectly confirmed by Caesar, who in a well-known passage (De Bello Gallico v, 14) says in effect that the Britanni practised polyandry. Rhys,³ who is supported by Zimmer,⁴ suggests that Caesar here is

¹ Compare the frequent Irish use of *cú* followed by a genitive or an adjective as a man's name, e.g. *Cú Chaille*, *Cú Mara*, *Cú Mide*, *Cú Chalma*, *Cú Allaid*. Similarly one finds *cú* forming the second element of a compound, e.g. *Findchú*, *Faelchú*, *Doborchú* (= *Cú Dobuir*), *Odorchú* (= *Cú Odor*). Compare also *congal*, f., literally 'dog-fight', < **kuno-galā*, which was also used as a man's name: *Congal*, gen. *Congaile* (later *Congail*).

² See the discussion by Rhys in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1907, 81 ff., ib. 1910, 327-329, and *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer* 227-230.

³ *Celtic Britain*, 3 ed., 55 f., 170; *The Welsh People*, 4 ed., 36 f. Mac Neill, in putting forward a similar view (*Jrnl. R. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* 1933, 5 ff.), strangely omits all reference to his two predecessors.

⁴ *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* xv, 209 ff., translated by G. Henderson in his *Leabhar nan Gleann* [1898], pp. 1-41 (see especially p. 21 f.). Zimmer discusses not only the above-mentioned passage in Caesar, but also the reports of later writers, from Strabo to the interpolator of Solinus, which attribute laxity of sexual morals to the Caledonians (or the Irish). He refers in support to the lax morals of heroines in the Ulidian and other Irish tales, and would explain this as a reminiscence of the habits of the pre-Celtic folk, who were especially numerous in the north of Ireland; but the conclusions he draws from the Irish evidence are vitiated by a fundamental error, namely, his failure to recognize that the tales in question are essentially of mythical origin, a fact that must be borne in mind by one who seeks to draw sociological inferences from them (cf. *Ériu* xiv, 15 f.).

referring, not to the Britanni in general, but only to those of 'the interior' (i.e. the northern parts of Britain; see p. 456), and he sees in Caesar's words a distorted reference to the Pictish custom of reckoning descent through the female line, a custom which Caesar either misunderstood or concerning which he was misinformed. It is, however, possible that Caesar was doubly mistaken, and that he imagined that this polyandry (as he misunderstood it) was practised by the inhabitants of Britain generally—apart, that is, from the inhabitants of Cantium, whose customs, which he had opportunities of personally observing, differed, as he tells us, but little from those of the Gauls. In Caesar's day the Gaulish name *Britanni* had presumably, like its British synonym *Pritani* (see p. 450 f.), a double signification; it was used as a general name for all the inhabitants of Britain, but in a more proper and particular sense it was the designation of the older inhabitants of 'the interior'. Hence it is easy to understand how Caesar, most of whose observations regarding the inhabitants of Britain are obviously based on hearsay, might confusedly attribute to the Britanni generally customs which his informants intended only to ascribe to the Britanni (or Pritani) of the north.

P. 368, n. 6. The name *Neithon* appears to be attested only in the Harleian genealogies, but its genuineness seems beyond question. Compare the Breton saint's name *Neizan* (Loth, RC xxx, 150), and also *Naiton* or *Naitanus*, Bede's forms of the name of a Pictish king who was known to his Irish contemporaries as *Nechtan*. A British saint named Nethan or Naithan is said to have left his name on Cambusnethan in Lanarkshire.¹ There was also a Welsh personal name *Nwython* (e.g. RB 134. 11; Canu Aneirin 975), but this must be from a different root.²

¹ He has been identified with a saint who is named Noethon or Noethan in Welsh documents. See Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints* iv, 20 f.

² Ifor Williams's suggestions in favour of the ultimate identity of *Neithon* and *Nwython* (Canu Aneirin p. xli f.) do not carry conviction. In part he has been misled by Loth's misinterpretation of *cocath huae nAedhain* (AU 648), noted above, p. 359, n. 4. Watson (*Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 443) would connect Sc. *Niachdaidh*, the name of a stream (the Neaty Burn) in Glen Strathfarrar, with Welsh *Nwython*. But he cannot be right in suggesting that the underlying *neiht-* is 'a different grade of *nekt-*' (seen in Ir. *Nechtan*, etc.). Neither is Anwyl right when he speaks of 'the Welsh *Nwython*, which corresponds to the Gaelic *Nechtan*' (*Celtic Review* iv, 139).

P. 372 n. The eleventh-century poem 'A eólcha Alban uile' says that Albanus (eponym of Alba), who was the first to take possession of Alba, was banished *tar muir nIcht*, i.e. 'across the English Channel', by Britus (eponym of the Britons), who possessed himself of Alba as far as 'the promontory of Fothudán' (*go Rinn fhiadhnach Fot[h]udáin*)¹ Rhys² has connected this *Fothudáin* (gen.) with the tribal name *Votadini*, and supposes that the reference here is to a promontory in East Lothian over against Fife.³ The meaning which the poet intended to convey is that the Britons took possession not only of southern Britain but also of Alba, of which the southern boundary was the Firth of Forth.⁴ The poet goes on to say that long afterwards Érglan, of the race of Nemed, took possession of Alba, and that later still Alba was occupied by Cruithnig, who were led from Ireland by Catluan, and of whom seventy kings ruled *Cruithenclár* (Pictland). The mention of Érglan's settlement in Scotland has been borrowed from Lebor Gabála (p. 487); if this were omitted, the poet's account would agree with the view, which we find expressed elsewhere, that the Britons were in occupation of north Britain when the Picti first arrived there.

P. 377. Ptolemy in his account of Ireland speaks of five islands called *Ebudae* (*Ἐβουδαί*) lying to the north of Ireland, and he gives their names as *Ebuda* (two islands so called), *Rikina*, *Malaios* and *Epidion*.⁵ Similarly Solinus speaks of *Ebudes insulae quinque numero*. If one may rely on Ptolemy, it would appear that the name *Ebudae* was applicable, not to all the Hebrides, but only to the most southerly of the Scottish islands, those nearest to Ireland.

¹ Todd's Irish Nennius, 272, = Skene's Chronicles of the Picts etc., 57. For *fhiadhnach* read *fiadnach* (Mid. Ir.).

² The Welsh People, 4 ed., 98 n. Rhys's view is adopted by Watson, *op. cit.* 28.

³ The equation *Fothudán* : *Votadini* is by no means exact. The promontory referred to was not necessarily in the territory of the *Votadini*, and may have been on the opposite coast of Fife.

⁴ Rhys, *op. cit.* 115 f., misinterprets the poet's *Alba* as meaning 'Britain', and accordingly supposes the poet to mean that the Britons occupied Britain 'from the English Channel to the Firth of Forth'. Rhys's emendation (*ibid.*) of *muir nIcht* to *muir *nIoth* is likewise unjustified.

⁵ Pliny, writing somewhat earlier, refers to *xxx Hebudes*, but gives no further information about them. From a misreading of Pliny's text the modern name 'Hebrides' has been borrowed.

The corresponding Irish name is applied, not to the islands, but to their inhabitants, viz. **Ibuid* (< **Ebudī*), gen. **Ibod*.¹ It has been preserved in the phrases *Tuath Iboth*² and *Fir Iboth*,³ in which the final *-th* is perhaps to be explained as due to the influence of the O. Ir. gen. pl. *Uloth*, 'of the Ulaid'. A later form of the name was *Ibdaig*,⁴ which stands to **Ibuid* as *Bretnaig* stands to *Bretain* or *Cruthnig* to *Cruthin*. Oengus, brother of Muiredach Muinderg (king of Ulaid, ca. A.D. 490), acquired the cognomen *Ibdach* (or *Ibthach*) because his mother was a woman of the *Ibdaig*.⁵

From *Iboth*, eponymous ancestor of the *Tuath Iboth* or *Ibdaig*, descend also, according to one account, the *Uaithni*, whom Ptolemy calls *Auteini*, and whom he locates approximately in the present Co. Galway (see p. 10, and p. 11, n. 4). This may have some connexion with the fact that some of the *Fir Bolg* of Connacht, among whom we may reckon the *Auteini*, are traditionally said to have taken refuge in certain of the Scottish islands.⁶

¹ On the analogy of *Insi Orc*, 'the Orkneys', one would expect *Insi Ibod* as a collective name for the islands in question; but this does not appear to be attested. In the literature the Hebrides are known by a name of later origin: *Insi Gall*, i.e. 'the islands of the Norsemen'.

² e.g. Misc. Celt. Soc. 60. Mac Neill was the first to suggest a connexion between *Tuath Iboth* and *Ebudae*: 'Tuatha Iboth are doubtless the old traditional inhabitants of the Hebrides, *Ebudae Insulae*. *Ibdaig* = **Ebudaci*' (Proc. R. I. A. xxix C, 102).

³ e.g. *Fir Iboth de Albain*, ZCP xiv, 52. With *Tuath Iboth* and *Fir Iboth* = **Ibuid*, compare *Tuath Bolg* (supra, p. 43) and *Fir Bolg* = *Builg*. So the co-existence of *Tuatha Taiden* (p. 97) and *Fir Thaiden* (p. 101, n. 3) suggests that we have to do with an earlier plural tribal name **Toidin*. (This explanation is more probable than that proposed on p. 47, n. 4. I may add that *toidiu*, 'watercourse', is probably a later form of *toiden*, f., as Meyer has suggested, Zur kelt. Wortkunde § 187. Compare *Arann* > *Aru*, *Ara*, and *Rechrann* > *Rechru*, *Rechra*.)

⁴ *Ibdig* AU 671 (see p. 377, n. 2).

⁵ ZCP viii, 328; xiii, 336. His descendants were known as *Uí Ibdaig* (ibid.). A grandson of his died in 557: *Mors Fergna nepotis Ibdaig, regis Uloth* (AU 556; and cf. ZCP viii, 329. 10, xiii, 338. 12).

⁶ See p. 487. The *Tuath Iboth* and *Tuath Orc* are made to descend from *Iboth* and *Forc* (*rectius* *Orc*), respectively, who are made sons of *Írél*, son of *Conall Cernach*. This does not necessarily prove that the *Ibdaig* were not largely of *Bolgic* descent. The *Uirc* (*Tuath Orc*) were undoubtedly *Cruthin* or *Picts*, a fact which explains their descent from *Conall Cernach*, who is made ancestor of the Irish *Cruthin*; but it is possible that the similar descent assigned to the *Ibdaig* may have been suggested merely by their geographical proximity to the *Uirc*.

APP. III

P. 386. In 'Acallam na Senórach' when St. Patrick enquires where Arann (the island of Arran in the Firth of Clyde) is situated, Caílte replies: *Idir Alpain 7 Cruithentua[i]th*, 'Between Alba and Pictland' (Ac. Sen. 332). The description is loosely-worded and inaccurate, but it testifies to the fact that the Middle-Irish author imagined that in the time of St. Patrick Alba (i.e., as he understood it, North Britain) was occupied partly by *Albanaig*, or men of Gaelic speech, and partly by *Cruithnig* or Picts.

An example of *Albanaig* in its earliest sense of 'inhabitants of Britain' is quoted by Meyer (Contrr. 77) from LL. 29 a: *Albanaig .i. Saxain 7 Bretnaig 7 Cruithnig*, 'Men of Alba, i.e. Saxons, Britons and Picts'. Here the glossator, while including the Anglo-Saxons, ignores the Irish colonists in North Britain.

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ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

- ACL = *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, ed. Stokes and Meyer.
A. (or Ann.) Clon. = *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, translated by Conell Ma Geoghagan; ed. D. Murphy.
Ac. Sen. = *Acallamh na Senórach*, ed. Stokes (IT iv).
AI = *The Annals of Inisfallen* (facsimile).
ÄID = *Über die älteste irische Dichtung*, by K. Meyer (reprinted from *Abhandlungen der königl. preuss. Akademie*, 1913).
Anecdota = *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*.
Arch. Hib. = *Archivium Hibernicum*.
AU = *The Annals of Ulster*, ed. Hennessy and Mac Carthy.
BB = *The Book of Ballymote* (facsimile).
B. Col. C. = *Betha Colaim Chille*, ed. O'Kelleher and Schoepperle.
BDC = *Bruiden Da Choca*, otherwise *Togail Bruidne Da Choca*. See p. 132.
BDD = *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*. See p. 117, n.1.
Bezz. Beitr. = *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*.
Chron. Scot. = *Chronicum Scotorum*, ed. Hennessy.
CMT = the tale of the Second Battle of Mag Tuired, ed. Stokes (RC xii).
Cog. G. re G. = *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, ed. J. H. Todd.
Contrr. = *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, by K. Meyer.
Cr. Beda = the Glosses on the Carlsruhe Beda (in *Thes. Pal.* ii, 10 ff.).
Ét. Celt. = *Études Celtiques*.
FB = *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Windisch (IT i), and Henderson (ITS ii).
Fél. Oeng. = *Féilire Óengusso, The Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. Stokes (1905).
Fenagh = *The Book of Fenagh*, ed. Hennessy and Kelly.
FF = *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, by Keating; ed. Comyn and Dinneen (ITS).
Flower, Cat. = *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii, by R. Flower.
FM = *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, ed. O'Donovan.
Gen. Tracts = *Genealogical Tracts*, i, ed. T. Ó Raithbheartaigh.
Heldensage = *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, by R. Thurneysen.
Holder = *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, by A. Holder.
H. S. Dict. = *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, compiled under the direction of the Highland Society of Scotland.

- ICT = [*Imthechta Clainne Tuirill*]. See p. 308, n. 1.
- IGT = *Irish Grammatical Tracts*, ed. Bergin (Ériu viii-x, suppt.).
- Ir. Nennius = *The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius*, ed. J. H. Todd.
- Ir. Texts = *Irish Texts*, ed. Fraser, Grosjean and O'Keeffe.
- IT = *Irische Texte*, ed. Windisch and Stokes.
- ITS = Irish Texts Society.
- L. Ardm. = *Liber Ardmachanus* (The Book of Armagh), ed. John Gwynn.
- Laws = *Ancient Laws of Ireland*.
- LB = *Leabhar Breac* (facsimile).
- Lec. = *The Book of Lecan* (facsimile).
- L. G. = *Lebor Gabála*, in LL and later MSS. (At present being edited by R. A. S. Macalister for ITS.)
- Lis. Lives = *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. Stokes.
- LL = *The Book of Leinster* (facsimile).
- Lr. na gCeart = *Leabhar na gCeart or The Book of Rights*, ed. O'Donovan.
- LU = *Lebor na hUidre*, ed. Best and Bergin.
- MacNeill-Essays = *Essays and Studies Presented to Prof. Eoin MacNeill* (1940).
- Mart. (or Martyr.) Gorman = *The Martyrology of Gorman*, ed. Stokes.
- Met. D. = *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, ed. Edward Gwynn.
- Misc. Celt. Soc. = *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, ed. O'Donovan.
- MI. = the Milan Glosses (in Thes. Pal. i, 7 ff.).
- O'Clery = *Foclóir no Sanasán Nua*, by M. Ó Cléirigh (1643; reprinted in RC iv-v).
- O'Clery's L. G. = the MS. 23 K 32 (R. I. A.). References are mainly to the partial edition by Macalister and Mac Neill.
- OCT = *Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann*. See p. 308, n. 1.
- O'Davoren = O'Davoren's Glossary, ed. Stokes (ACL ii, 197 ff.).
- O'Gr. Cat. = *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. i, by S. H. O'Grady.
- O'Mulconry = the glossary miscalled 'O'Mulconry's Glossary', ed. Stokes (ACL i, 232 ff.).
- Oss. Soc. = The Ossianic Society.
- PC = *The Pictish Chronicle*. See p. 358, n. 1.
- Proc. Brit. Acad. = *Proceedings of the British Academy*.
- Proc. R. I. A. = *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.
- R = *Rawlinson B 502* (facsimile).
- RB = *The Text of the Mabinogion from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. Rhys and Gwenogvryn Evans.
- RC = *Revue Celtique*.
- Rel. Celt. = *Reliquiae Celticae*, by A. Cameron; ed. MacBain and Kennedy.
- R. I. A. Contrr. = *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language*, in course of publication by the Royal Irish Academy.
- R. I. A. Dict. = *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, of which two fasciculi

- have been published by the Royal Irish Academy.
 San. Corm. = *Sanas Cormaic*, ed. Meyer (Anecdota iv).
 SFA = *Míniugud Senchasa Fer nAlban*. See p. 361, n. 3.
 Sg. = the St. Gall Glosses (in Thes. Pal. ii, 49 ff.).
 SG = *Silva Gadelica*, ed. S. H. O'Grady.
 SGS = *Scottish Gaelic Studies*.
 SR = *Saltair na Rann*, ed. Stokes.
 TBC S.-O'K. = *Táin Bó Cúailgne*, ed. Strachan and O'Keeffe (from YBL and LU).
 TBC Wi. = *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, ed. Windisch (from LL, etc.).
 Thes. Pal. = *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ed. Stokes and Strachan.
 Three Frags. = *Annals of Ireland: Three Fragments*, ed. O'Donovan.
 Tig. = *The Annals of Tigernach* (so called), viz. the annals, from A.D. 489 on, in Rawlinson B 488. See p. 258, n. 1.
 Toch. Emire = *Tochmarc Emire*, ed. Meyer (RC xi and ZCP iii); also edited by van Hamel in 'Compert Con Culainn and other Stories'.
 Toch. Étaíne = *Tochmarc Étaíne*, ed. Windisch (IT i), and Bergin and Best (Ériu xii).
 Todd Lect. iii = *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus No. 830*, by B. Mac Carthy.
 Top. Poems = *The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin*, ed. O'Donovan. (Recently re-edited by J. Carney.)
 Trans. Phil. Soc. = *Transactions of the Philological Society*.
 Trip. Life = *The Tripartite Life of Patrick with Other Documents relating to that Saint*, ed. Stokes. (The text of the Tripartite Life has been re-edited by K. Mulchrone.)
 V. G. = *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, by H. Pedersen.
 Walde-Pokorny = *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, by A. Walde; ed. J. Pokorny.
 Wb. = the Würzburg Glosses (in Thes. Pal. i, 499 ff.).
 YBL = *The Yellow Book of Lecan* (facsimile).
 ZCP = *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*.

Other abbreviations are: Ir. = Irish; Sc. = Scottish (i.e. Scottish Gaelic); W. = Welsh; Bret. = Breton; Corn. = Cornish; O. = Old; Mid. = Middle; Mod. = Modern; Gaul. = Gaulish; Celt. = Celtic; IE. = Indo-European; lit. = literally.

CORRIGENDA, ETC.

[Some minor typographical errors, e.g. the occasional omission of marks of punctuation (particularly in footnotes), or (pp. 97, 138, 232, 251) of footnote-numbers, are not noticed here. I have to thank Mr. A. Martin Freeman for calling my attention to several of the following errors. It is probable that others have been overlooked.]

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- 1, l. 4. *Read* Ptolemy's
- 1, n. 2, l. 6. *For* RC 1. *read* RC 1,
- 4, l. 4. *For* *Bearbha* *read* *Berba*
- 5, n. 4, l. 3. *For* B. Aedha *read* Beatha Aodha
- 8, n. 6, l. 3. *Read* : *aimend* (Ériu)
- 12, n. 1, l. 3. *For* v. 1. *read* v. 1.
- 38, l. 3. *For* BARREKI *read* BARRECI
- 44, l. 2. *For* *Aithe* *read* *Aithbe*
- 67, n. 3, l. 2. *Omit* stop after *Beli*
- 97, n. 6, l. 4. *Read* *Sraibtine*
- 99, n. 1, l. 1. *For* Érin *read* Ériu
- 99, n. 2, l. 4. *For* name. *read* name,
- 103, n. 7, l. 2. *Read* Cian,
- 108, l. 29. *Read* sends
- 118, n. 3, l. 2. *For* here *read* there
- 129, l. 1. *Read* *Da Réo*,¹
- 132, n. 6, l. 2. *Read* redactor
- 135, l. 14. *For* Craiptine *read* Labraid
- 151, n. 3, l. 4. *For* *carraic* *read* *carrac*
- 151, n. 4, l. 2. *For* *aí* *read* *ai*
- 153, n. 1, l. 3. *Read* **horo-*,
- 153, n. 3, l. 4. *For* 30 *read* So
- 160, n. 2, l. 3. *For* *coicedaig* *read* *cóicedaig*
- 167, l. 5. *For* westward *read* eastward
- 173, l. 8. *Read* inhabitants,
- 192, n. 3, l. 2. *Read* († 1004),
- 197, n. 3, l. 2. *For* 1. 1621, *read* 1. 1621,
- 225, n. 2, last line. *For* *Ui Moccu* *read* *Uí Macc*
- 226, n. 2, l. 3. *For* (Tig.) *read* (Ir. World-Chronicle)
- 228, n. 2, l. 1. *Read* *co cretim*,
- 231, n. 6, l. 1. *For* of the Goidels *read* to the Goidels
- 238, n. 5, l. 4. *Omit* comma after *memoriae*
- 243, l. 25. *Read* alternative
- 261, n. 1, l. 4. *For* of *read* cf.
- 282, n. 5, l. 3. *For* Rom. *read* Röm.
- 283, n. 1, l. 4. *Read* Maíle

- 286, n. 5, l. 3. *For or read of*
 289, n. 3, l. 1. *Read Ambrit*
 298, n. 4, l. 4. *For thr, read thr,*
 301, n. 1, l. 1. *For *āinā read *āniā*
 301, n. 6, l. 5. *For 85, read 85.*
 301, n. 6, l. 6. *For camhaioir read camhaoir,*
 302, n. 2. *For 423. read 421.*
 306, l. 13. *For fingeí, read finger.*
 313, l. 9. *Read artificial*
 318, l. 4. *Read omni-*
 332, l. 4. *Read individual*
 338, l. 11. *After laodhan, insert : R.I.A. ms.,*
 340, l. 3. *For laid read laíd*
 343, n. 2, l. 4. *Read Antiq.*
 356, n. 5, l. 2. *For apor-, read apor,*
 356, n. 5, l. 8. *Read *eks-boro-*
 366, l. 16. *Omit comma after *trustu-*
 373, n. 1, l. 17. *Read Stokes's*
 383, l. 15. *Read not,*
 385, n. 3, l. 1. *Read correct-*
 405, n. 2, l. 4. *Read : dux, or king,*
 405, n. 2, l. 5. *Omit the before Uí Ailella*
 406, l. 16. *For 197 read 97*
 415, l. 10. *Read suggest*
 417, l. 14. *For 94 read 93*
 420, n. 6, l. 6. *Read Irish-*
 421, n. 3, l. 7. *For slender. read slender,*
 428, n. 3, last line. *For German read Germani.*
 432, n. 3, l. 2. *For in read on*
 436, l. 6. *For body read group*
 436, n. 4, l. 4. *Omit comma after then*
 447, l. 8. *For : word *Saxū. read : -n stem in -ū.*
 450, n. 2, l. 3. *Omit asterisk before Íverni*
 457, n. 4, l. 1. *Omit stop after So*
 466, l. 6. *Substitute comma for period*
 468, l. 28. *For in read on*
 474, l. 7. *Read district-names⁵.*
 495, l. 20. *For accentuated by read partly due to*
 495, n. 2, l. 7. *Read in his*
 500, l. 1. *Delete parenthesis after 333a*
 503, l. 1. *For AU, read AI,*
 505, n. 1, l. 4. *For in read on*
 508, l. 31. *Read connexion*
 511, l. 18. *For 457, read 456,*
 511, l. 26.¹ *For ten read nine*

¹ Alternatively one might include a reference to the synod of Chalcedon, dated 451 in Marcellinus, 457 in AU; but the wording of the brief entry in AU suggests another source than Marcellinus.

515, n. 5, l. 3. *Read* accomplishments.

535, l. 13. After *Uifa* insert : (assuming it to have been in use among the Picts)

535, l. 17. *For* n. 3. *read* n. 5.

Apart from *Verlucione* (*supra*, p. 9, n. 4) the only other evidence of *-rl-* in Celtic appears to be the woman's name *Marlosama*, attested in a Latin inscription in Côte d'Or. Holder (ii, 431) suggests a connexion with **marlo-s*, which Stokes doubtfully conjectured to be the original form of Ir. *mall*, 'slow'. Possibly the name in question stands for **Marilosama* (cf. *Marila* in Holder).

P. 102, n. 6. In *Cóir Anmann*, 176, Loegaire's epithet *lorc* is variously explained as *garg*, 'fierce', *slatach*, 'plunderous', and *finghalach*, 'parricidal' (whence Keating's *fioghal*).

P. 218, n. 1, l. 5. *Maig* in the quotation may be an error for *muir*, 'sea'. For examples of *muad* ('great'?) applied to the sea, see R.I.A. *Contrr.* s. v.

In connexion with *Mider* (p. 293, n. 3) I ought perhaps to have remarked that the usual form of the name in Middle Irish is *Midir*, indeclinable; see, for examples, the rimes in *Met. D.* ii, pp. 4, 8, iv, p. 228, and *Ériu* vii, 219 ff. (§§ 40, 50, 52, 56, 64). There is, however, a notable tendency in Middle Irish to employ the genitival forms of uncommon names as nominatives (cf. *Mid. Ir. Goibnenn*, p. 526, n. 4); hence my assumption that the Old Irish form of the name was *Mider*, gen. *Midir*.

The interchange between *mál* and *mael* noted on p. 360, n. 2, is further exemplified in the district name *Cliú Máil (Mail) maic Úgoini*, in which we find *Mail*, riming with *caín*, LU 9880, but *Máil*, riming with *áin*, in a later poem, *Fianaigecht* 42, § 4, and *Máil*, riming with *fagháil*, in a poem by Gofraidh Fionn, *Dioghluim Dána*, p. 201, § 12.

On p. 374, n. 4, I ought to have observed that *W. gorwydd* and Lat. *verēdus* go back to Celt. **vo-rēdos*. A derivative of this, **vorēdākos*, may conceivably have been in use as a personal name among the Picts. Stokes's **Verēdācos* is an impossible form.

In my note on 'the battle of Dub Commair', p. 499 f., I overlooked the fact that in the *Rawl. B* 502 version of the legend of the Collas the battle is said to have been fought *i nDubchommur fri Talltin anes*, 'in D., to the south of Taltiu (Teltown)', and the battle is called *cath Dubchommair* (R. 142 a 30, 50). (The corresponding readings in LL are *i nDuib chommair fri Taltin aness*, 332 c 31, and *cath Duib Chommair*, 333 a 6.) Hence it is more probable that *Dubchommair* was a genuine place-name, and that the existence of a personal name

Dub Commair gave the storyteller an opportunity of inventing a fanciful explanation of its origin. The 'black confluence' in question may have been the junction of two arms of the Meath Blackwater, a little to the south-east of Teltown. Compare *Commur*, in the neighbourhood of Teltown, Met. D. iv, 148. 9.

P. 533, n. 1. The change of Latin short *i* to *e* is well attested in Irish borrowings, as in *lebor*, *cengal*, *discipul*, *cepp*, *Brettain* (cf. Bede's *Brettones*), *Espáin*; though Welsh generally retains the *i* (now spelled *y*, and modified in pronunciation).

P. 535. The nominative form **Maglo-kû*, it may be noted, gave O. Welsh *Meilic* (Book of Llan Dâv 161.21; R.B. 107.18), in Mod. Welsh spelling *Meilyg* (Henry Lewis, *Datblygiad yr Iaith Gymraeg* 50). This development shows that the name had ceased to be analyzed as a compound.

Certain books and articles which I should have liked to consult and refer to were not available in the Dublin libraries. Among these I may mention Canon J. A. MacCulloch's 'Celtic Mythology' (Boston, 1918), and an article by Rev. G. Lehmacher, 'Die zweite Schlacht von Mag Tured und die keltische Götterlehre', which appeared in vol. xxvi of 'Anthropos' (1931).

