Fil súil nglais
A Grey Eye Looks Back

a Festschrift in honour of

Colm Ó Baoill

edited by
Sharon Arbuthnot
Kaarina Hollo

Clann Tuirc

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Contents

Foreword

Colm Ó Baoill (O Boyle) was born in Armagh city on 22 September 1938 and educated at St Patrick's College, Armagh, and at Queen's University, Belfast, from which he graduated B.A. (Hons.) in Celtic (1960), M.A. (1962) and Ph.D. (1966). The work carried out for his doctoral thesis was eventually published in 1978 under the title *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*. In the early 1960s he collected Scottish material for the final volume of Heinrich Wagner's monumental *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* and served as Assistant Lecturer in Celtic at Queen's before joining the Department of Celtic, University of Aberdeen, in 1966. Once in Scotland, Colm's research focus turned to Scottish Gaelic verse of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and between 1972 and the present he has produced a number of excellent editions in this area. Of course, this immersion in the work of Sìleas na Ceapaich, Eachann Bacach and the like did not mean that his interest in Irish had declined – proof of that can be found in his collection of Irish translations of Scottish Gaelic short stories, *Feoil an Gheimhridh*, which was first published in 1980. In the same year, he was promoted to Senior Lecturer. By the end of 1992, he had been promoted again, this time to Reader. Throughout these and subsequent years, Colm enjoyed fruitful collaborations with Meg Bateman, Richard Cox, Donald MacAulay and Cathair Ó Dochartaigh. He also published a substantial number of single-authored articles and reviews, many in *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, the journal which he co-edited with Donald MacAulay between 1988 and 1997 and of which he is now editor-in-chief. In 1996 he was appointed to a personal chair at the University of Aberdeen; he continues as Honorary Research Professor since his retirement in 2003.

Such bald facts of an academic career hardly do justice to the man in honour of whom this volume was constructed. Few can claim to have elicited unqualified affection in the way that Colm Ó Baoill has done. His continually open door and his unassuming manner have endeared him to generations of students. Those who have worked alongside him have known a scholar with a keen mind, a colleague for whom nothing seems to be an imposition, a friend with a gentle,

often self-deprecating, humour. Indeed, no appreciation of our honorand should overlook the fact that he has been responsible for the Scottish Gaelic cartoon language courses *Gaelic is Fun!* and *Gaelic is Fun-tastic!* as well as *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*.

With Colm's retirement imminent, we solicited contributions from scholars in Scotland, Ireland, Norway and the United States, with the intention of putting together a Festschrift which would generally reflect his own work – both in terms of subject matter and language range. Accordingly, the papers herein have been written in English, Irish and Scottish Gaelic and fall broadly into four groups. Those which deal with linguistic topics cover Old Irish (or Old Gaelic as Colm himself would have it) through to the present. Thomas Clancy's contribution takes as its starting-point OI *rót* and considers the relationship between this and some near-homophones in other languages. Richard Cox investigates the etymology of the Scottish Gaelic conjunction *far*. On the nomenclature of the animal kingdom, Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh provides a study of the word *leaghmhan* 'moth' which expands to a consideration of some more general issues in Gaelic linguistics, and Roy Wentworth sets himself the task of elucidating the question of the Gaelic names for the goose barnacle / barnacle goose. W. F. H. Nicolaisen's article on *sliabh* is a substantial extension of his own earlier work on the subject, and R. L. Thomson's contribution, also based primarily on place-name material, ensures that Manx is not neglected. Sadly, neither Roy Wentworth nor R.L. Thomson has lived to see these papers in print.

The poetry of the early medieval period is represented by William Gillies' edition of a poem related to the saga of Fergus mac Léti and by Séamus Mac Mathúna's edition of five poems from *Immram Curaig Ua Corra*. Students (and teachers) of Scottish Gaelic verse will find much else to occupy them in this group: there are studies of the poetry of Donnchadh Bàn MacIntyre by Anja Gunderloch, Rob Donn by Donald MacAulay, and Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh by Máire Ní Annracháin, as well as an edition of 'Marbhrann Mhic Dhùghaill Lathurna' by Terence McCaughey. Wilson McLeod's piece is concerned with the depiction of the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd* in Irish poetry of the Jacobite period. From the nineteenth century, we have Donald Meek's edition and illuminating discussion of a Gaelic

song of the Christian missionary movement and, from the twentieth, Derrick McClure's study of George Campbell Hay's translations from Italian.

In the field of Scottish history, Alex Woolf discusses aspects of church organisation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Ben Hudson ponders what may have been lost from the historical record, Alasdair Ross looks into the identity of the 'Prisoner of Roxburgh', and Richard Oram examines the historiography of the site of Burghead, demonstrating how its interpretation has been dependent upon political and ideological agendas. Irish history is represented by Cathal Ó Háinle's contribution on Murchadh Ó Briain and by Mícheál Ó Mainnín's prosopographical study of the Meic Giolla Mhura of Armagh.

Finally, fittingly enough in a publication of this sort, Ronald Black and Jan Erik Rekdal have given us articles on archival material related to two other distinguished Celtic scholars, Angus MacLeod and Carl Marstrander, respectively.

The editors would like to join with the contributors in wishing Colm Ó Baoill many more productive years of scholarship and leisure. The title of this volume is drawn from that well-known Middle Irish poem attributed to Colum Cille which begins *Fil súil nglais/fégbas Érinn dar a hais* (edited by Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics*, p. 64) 'there is a grey eye that looks back at Ireland'. The cover image is of the Tandragee Man, a replica of which resided in Colm's office for several years. The image appears by the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St Patrick, Armagh. We would like to take this opportunity to thank also Alasdair Ross for reading many of the papers in the early stages of preparation and supplying references, Richard Cox for dealing so efficiently with the publication of this volume and for providing guidance on a number of issues, Meg Bateman for allowing us to print her poem 'Do sgoilear àraidh', and all who contributed papers for their patience and encouragement.

Sharon J. Arbuthnot
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April 2007

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Publications of Colm Ó Baoill

1969

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Do sgoilear àraidh

Meg Bateman

Mar chat
a' cluich le luch
gun ghlacadh oirre

mar ghreann na gaoithe air an loch
a' sìneadh gu grad
's cho luath a' tarraing air ais

tha an sgoilear a' teagasg
a' gluasad air leth-chunntas.

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Abbreviations

General

Ainm.	Roinn Oideachais 1978
B.Gh.	Watson 1932
CPR Jas I	Griffith 1966
CSD	*Concise Scots Dictionary*
DD	Quiggin 1906
DIL	Royal Irish Academy 1983
Dinneen	Dinneen 1927
DOH	Borgstrøm 1940
DOST	*Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*
DR/DS	Borgstrøm 1941
DSC	Highland Society of Scotland 1828
DT	Sommerfelt 1922
Dwelly	Dwelly 1901–11
EPG	Ó Murchú 1989b
ESG	Dorian 1978
f./ff.	folio / folios
G	Gaelic
GA	Holmer 1957
GK	Holmer 1962
GL	Oftedal 1956
GOI	Thurneysen 1946
GPC	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*
GWE	McDonald 1958
GWR	Wentworth 2003
IA	Ó Curnáin 2007
IAM	Stockman 1974
ICF	de Bhaldraithe 1945
IE	Mhac an Fhailigh 1968
IGT	Bergin 1916–55
Ir.	Irish
IR	Breatnach 1947
IT	de Búrca 1958
IWM	Ó Cuív 1944
LASID	Wagner and Ó Baoill 1958–69
Lh.	Campbell and Thomson 1963
LU	Best and Bergin 1929
MacBain	MacBain 1896
Mackenzie	Mackenzie 1930
MI	Middle Irish
Mod.I	Modern Irish
MW	Middle Welsh
NED	*New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
Ó Dónaill	Ó Dónaill 1977
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OG	Old Gaelic
OI	Old Irish
OS	Ordnance Survey
OW	Old Welsh
Rental 1703	'A View or an Account of the Archbishoprick of Armagh', Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, DIO/4/35/3
RIA	Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
Robert	*Le grande Robert de la langue française*
RobPER	Robertson 1900
RobWR	Robertson 1904
ScG	Scottish Gaelic
SGDS	Ó Dochartaigh 1994–97
SND	*Scottish National Dictionary*
SOED	*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*
TY	Hamilton 1974
Zoil.	O'Donnell 1960

Specific to Gaelic-Language Papers

ainr.	ainmear
àir./àirn.	àireamh/àireamhan
boir.	boireann
iol.	iolra
leabh.	leabhar
LS	làmh-sgrìobhadh
m.e.	mar eisimpleir
MG	a' Mheadhan-Ghàidhlig
MSO	Mapa an t-Suirbhidh Òrdanais
NGA	Nuadh-Ghàidhlig Albannach
NGE	Nuadh-Ghàidhlig Èireannach
SG	an t-Sean-Ghàidhlig
sr.	sreath
td.	taobh-duilleag

Specific to Irish-Language Papers

ARÉ	Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann
bain.	baininscneach
fir.	firinscneach
gin.	ginideach
l.	líne
lch./lgh.	leathanach/leathanaigh
LS/ls./lsí.	lámhscríbhinn/lámhscríbhinní
MN	Coláiste Phádraig, Maigh Nuad
r./rr.	rann/rainn
uimh.	uimhir

Angus MacLeod's Papers in the University of Edinburgh

Ronald Black

Angus MacLeod (1885–1960), from Garrabost in Lewis, was rector of Oban High School from 1919 to 1950. In 1933 he published *Sàr Òrain*, an invaluable edition of three major poems: Màiri nighean Alastair Ruaidh's 'Luinneag Mhic Leòid', Donnchadh Bàn Macintyre's 'Moladh Beinn Dóbhrain', and Alastair mac Mhaighstir Alastair's 'Birlinn Chlann Raghnaill'. Upon his retirement, he followed this in 1952 with *The Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre* for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.

During the last years of his life, MacLeod was working on a complete edition of the poems of Alastair mac Mhaighstir Alastair (c.1698–c.1770). It is a matter of huge regret that this remained incomplete at his death. Fortunately, his notebooks remain. They contain drafts or definitive texts of about fifty of the sixty surviving poems but are chiefly of value for their translations, which are certainly the best renderings into English ever made of this poet's work as a whole.

MacLeod's papers passed to another Lewisman, Donald Thomson (1907–80), Oban High School's redoubtable head-teacher of Gaelic. Following Thomson's death, his family gave them to one of his former pupils, Donald Meek, then a lecturer in Celtic at Edinburgh University, who donated them in turn to his department. They are now, therefore, the property of the recently amalgamated Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies.

Of the fifty-seven items, MSS 1–38 relate to Alastair mac Mhaighstir Alastair and MSS 47–50 and 52 to Donnchadh Bàn Macintyre, while MSS 39–46, 51 and 53–57 are best described as miscellaneous. Since the importance of the material is almost entirely in relation to the verse of Alastair mac Mhaighstir Alastair, I have restricted my index to items of relevance to that poet. The catalogue can be used in conjunction with the classified list of poems in my booklet *Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair: The Ardnamurchan Years* (Black 1986b: 37–9), which provides

Fil súil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: a Festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill
ed. by S. Arbuthnot and K. Hollo, Ceann Drochaid: Clann Tuirc, 2007, 1–16

references to published versions of texts and translations.

Much work on Alastair mac Mhaighstir Alastair and his poems has appeared since 1986 (see, for example, Thomson 1993: 13–59, and 1996; Stiùbhart 1995; Black 1994–96 and 2001: 126–33, 162–5, 190–3, 202–17, 425–7, 438–40, 459–60, 467–75; Campbell 1998; Fraser 1999 and 2002; Arbuthnot 2002). It is very satisfactory, in my opinion, that most of the new work since 1998 has been on the satires, the more sexually explicit of which Angus MacLeod refrained from translating (see MSS 2 and 13). It looks as if the problem of how to present them in any future edition, which must have caused MacLeod a great deal of soul-searching in the 1950s, has been solved.

MS 1. Quarto notebook, 23 ff. (22v–23v blank). Text and translation.
1r 'Moladh Móraig', *Is truagh gun mi sa choill.*

MS 2. Quarto notebook, 14 ff. (alternate pages blank). Text only.
1r 'Òran do Dhà Bhodach', *Càit a bheil tionnail.*

MS 3. Quarto notebook, 22 ff. + list on inside front cover. Text and translation.
1r 'Dìomoladh Chabair Féidh', *Gu bheil mi air mo bhódhradh.*

MS 4. Quarto notebook, 25 ff. (22v–25v blank). Text, translation and notes.
1r 'Moladh air Pìob Mhóir Mhic Cruimein', *Is iomadh baintighearn' bha spéiseil.*

MS 5. Quarto notebook, 19 ff. (19v blank). Text, translation and notes.
1r 'Moladh air Pìob Mhóir Mhic Cruimein', *Is iomadh baintighearn' bha spéiseil.*

MS 6. Quarto notebook, 16 ff. (1r and 15v–16v blank). Text and translation.
1v 'Aoir do na Caimbeulaich (1st)', *Tha clannach ainmeil.*

MS 7. Quarto notebook, 12 ff. (10r–12v blank). Text and part translation.
1r 'Smeòrach Chlann Raghnaill', *Gur e mis' an smeòrach chreagach.*

MS 8. Quarto notebook, 14 ff. (1r and 11r–14v blank). Text and part translation.
1v 'Fàilte na Mórair', *Fàilte ort féin a Mhórair bhòidheach.*

MS 9. Quarto notebook, 16 ff. (1r and 10v–16v blank). Text and part translation.

1v 'Fàilte na Mórair', *Fàilte ort féin a Mhórair bhòidheach*.

MS 10. Large quarto notebook, 15 ff. (14v–15v blank). Text, translation and vocabulary.

1r 'Moladh an Leoghainn', *Fàilte an leòmhainn chreuchdaich.*

MS 11. Small quarto engagements diary for 1946, 51 ff. including loose insertions (11v–12v, 13v–40v, 41v–43r, 46r, 48v, 49v, 50v and 51v blank).

1r General notes on sources and vocabulary.

MS 12. Quarto notebook, 20 ff. (16v–20v blank). Notes and vocabulary.

1r 'Òran d'a Chéile Nuadh-Phòsta', *Air Allt Ghartain ghlacas brad-an.*

4r 'Moladh a' Chaimbeulaich Dhuibh', *Ge beag orts' an Caimbeulach dubh.*

8r 'Marbhrann do Pheata Coluim', *Is tùirseach mo sgeul ri luaidh.*

11v 'Moladh air Pìob Mhóir Mhic Cruimein', *Is iomadh baintighearn' bha spéiseil.*

MS 13. Quarto notebook, 24 ff. (24rv blank). Text only.

1v 'Mìomholadh Móraig', *A Mhùideartaich dhuibh dhàna.*

15r 'Marbhrann na h-Aigeannaich', *Tha mi cràiteach tinn.*

21v 'Moladh air Deagh Bhod', *Tha ball-ratha sìnte riut.*

22v 'Tinneas na h-Urchaid', *Gu bheil tinneas na h-urchaid.*

MS 14. Quarto notebook, double cover + 12 ff. all loose (12rv blank). Text, part translation and notes.

1r 'Cuachag an Fhàsaich', *A bhanarach dhonn.*

MS 15. Quarto notebook, 32 ff. + some text on inside front cover (1r, 5v, 11v, 18v, 26v and 29v–32r blank). Text and translation.

1v 'Òran d'a Chéile Nuadh-Phòsta', *Air Allt Ghartain ghlacas brad-an.*

6r 'Moladh a' Chaimbeulaich Dhuibh', *Ge beag orts' an Caimbeulach dubh.*

12r 'Òran Rìoghail a' Bhotail', *Biomaid subhach 's òlar deoch leinn.*

19r 'Òran Ailein', *Ailein, Ailein, is fhad an cadal.*

20v 'Deoch Slàinte Theàrlaich', *An litir ghluais mo dhòchas.*

22v 'Òran don Phrionnsa', *Is éibhinn leam fhìn, tha e tighinn.*

23v 'Òran Eile don Phrionnsa', *Moch sa mhadainn 's mi dùsgadh.*

27r ‘Màiri Shugaideach’, *A Mhàiri shugaideach is ròsach ruiteach thu.*

MS 16. Quarto notebook, 14 ff. (13v–14v blank). Text and translation.
1r ‘Am Breacan Uallach’, *B’ fheàrr leam breacan uallach.*
9r ‘Marbhrann do Pheata Coluim’, *Is tùirseach mo sgeul ri luaidh.*

MS 17. Quarto notebook, 25 ff. (6rv is extra sheet tipped in; 9v, 15v and 25v blank). Text and translation.
1r ‘Òran nam Fineachan Gaidhealach’, *A chomainn rìoghail rùnaich.*
10r ‘Deagh Shoisgeul’ / ‘Òran Nuadh’, *Tha deagh shoisgeul feadh nan Garbhchrioch.*
16r ‘Òran Mhormhair Mhic Shìomoin’, *Is lìonmhor blanc a th’ againne.*
22r ‘Òran Bachail’, *Ho ró mo bhobag an dram … Se chuireadh an sodan ’nam cheann.*

MS 18. Quarto notebook, 39 ff. (5v, 18v and 39v blank; 39rv is extra sheet tipped in). Text, translation and notes.
1r ‘Òran Luaidh’ / ‘Clò Mhic Ghille Mhìcheil’, *Òganaich ùir a’ chùil teudaich.*
6r ‘Òran Luaidh no Fùcaidh’, *A Mhórag chiatach a’ chùil dualaich.*
11r ‘Òran do Raghnall Òg Mac Mhic Ailein’, *Mo chion na chunnaic mi ’m chadal.*
19r ‘Òran a Rinneadh sa Bhliadhna 1746’ / ‘Òran mu Bhliadhna Theàrlaich’, *Is fuar fearthainneach gach lò.*
28r ‘Dealachadh a’ Phrionnsa ris na Gaidhil’ / ‘Òran Àraid’, *Mìle marbhphaisg air an t-saoghal.*
35r ‘Rannan eadar am Bàrd agus an t-Àireach Muileach’, *Cha chreid mi ’m briathran ga rìribh.*

MS 19. Quarto notebook, 25 ff. (26r–27v loose and blank). Notes and vocabulary.
1r ‘Òran Rìoghail a’ Bhotail’, *Biomaid subhach ’s òlar deoch leinn.*
4r ‘Òran Bachail’, *Ho ró mo bhobag an dram … Se chuireadh an sodan ’nam cheann.*
5r ‘Òran nam Fineachan Gaidhealach’, *A chomainn rìoghail rùnaich.*
10r ‘Deagh Shoisgeul’ / ‘Òran Nuadh’, *Tha deagh shoisgeul feadh nan Garbhchrioch.*
13v ‘Am Breacan Uallach’, *B’ fheàrr leam breacan uallach.*
17r ‘Òran do Raghnall Òg Mac Mhic Ailein’, *Mo chion na chunnaic mi ’m chadal.*

19r 'Dealachadh a' Phrionnsa ris na Gaidhil' / 'Òran Àraid', *Mìle marbhphaisg air an t-saoghal.*

20v 'Òran a Rinneadh sa Bhliadhna 1746' / 'Òran mu Bhliadhna Theàrlaich', *Is fuar fearthainneach gach lò.*

22v 'Òran Mhormhair Mhic Shìomoin', *Is lìonmhor blanc a th' againne.*

MS 20. Quarto notebook, 26 ff. foliated 1–11, 11a, 12–22, 22a, 23–24 (5v, 7v, 11av, 12v, 17v, 20v, 22av, 22v–23v and 24v blank; 7, 11a, 12, 17, 22a and 24 are slips of various sizes, tipped in). Notes and vocabulary.

1r 'Moladh an Ùghdair don t-Seann Chànain Ghàidhlig', *Gur h-i as crìoch àraid.*

6r 'Guidhe no Ùrnaigh an Ùghdair don Cheòlraidh', *A cheòlraidh mhór tha 'n tàmh gu h-àrd.*

10r 'Òran an t-Samhraidh', *An déis dhomh dùsgadh sa mhadainn.*

16v 'Òran a' Gheamhraidh', *Tharraing grian, rìgh nam planaid 's nan reul.*

MS 21. Quarto notebook, 46 ff. (10r–21v, 45r and 46v blank; 45–46 form a separate sheet).

1r Vocabulary noted from MacKenzie 1792.

22r Vocabulary noted from MacDomhnuill 1741.

45v Brief notes on Alastair mac Mhaighstir Alastair's three 'Montrose' translations (for texts, see MSS 29 and 31).

MS 22. Quarto offprint from *Éigse* 5 (cover + ff. 4–5) with three additional loose leaves taken from printed documents, totalling 5 ff. There is thus printed text on the versos of 1–3.

1r 'Aoir do na Caimbeulaich (2nd)', two stanzas (13th and 14th) beginning here *A bhruthaistich a' bhròis*, with translation. (The first line of the poem as a whole is *Bha Seumas Caimbeul san àm*.)

3r Vocabulary.

4r *Éigse* 5, 155–8, including full text of Angus Matheson's article on 'A Ughdar so Fearchar mac Phádraig Grannd' (a poem from the Book of the Dean of Lismore).

MS 23. Quarto notebook placed within separate hard cover, 16 ff. (10v and 16v blank). Text and translation.

1r 'Moladh an Ùghdair don t-Seann Chànain Ghàidhlig', *Gur h-i as crìoch àraid.*

11v 'Guidhe no Ùrnaigh an Ùghdair don Cheòlraidh', *A cheòlraidh mhór tha 'n tàmh gu h-àrd.*

MS 24. Quarto notebook, 20 ff. (1r blank). Text and translation.
1v 'Òran an t-Samhraidh', *An déis dhomh dùsgadh sa mhadainn.*
11r 'Òran a' Gheamhraidh', *Tharraing grian, rìgh nam planaid 's nan reul.*

MS 25. Quarto notebook, 16 ff. (1r blank). Text, translation and (16v) some notes.
1v 'Allt an t-Siùcair', *Dol thar Allt an t-Siùcair.*

MS 26. Quarto notebook, 10 ff. (1r and 10v blank). Text and translation.
1v 'Imrich an Ùghdair á Eigneig do dh'Inbhir Aoidh', *Dh'fhalbh mi a nathrachan creagach.*
7v 'Aoir a' Chnocain', *Bu mhath gach crosachd gus a-nochd.*

MS 27. Quarto notebook, 29 ff. (23v–29v and most alternate pages blank).
1r 'Allt an t-Siùcair', *Dol thar Allt an t-Siùcair.* Notes.
6r 'Allt an t-Siùcair', *Dol thar Allt an t-Siùcair.* Vocabulary.
12r 'Moladh Móraig', *Is truagh gun mi sa choill.* Notes.
17r 'Moladh Móraig', *Is truagh gun mi sa choill.* Vocabulary.

MS 28. Large quarto 'Record of Work' notebook, 37 ff. (1rv separate and unconnected; 1v–3r and 36v–37v blank).
1r Transcript of dedication to Walter MacFarlane from Mac-Dhonuill 1751.
3v 'Iorram Cuain', *Gur neo-aoigheil turas faoillich.* Text and translation.
8v 'Birlinn Chlann Raghnaill', *Gum beannaicheadh Dia long Chlann Raghnaill.* Text and translation.
34v Some words noted from MacDomhnuill 1741.

MS 29. Loose foolscap leaves in ledger-type hard cover from an attendance register, 53 ff. (versos blank or, as often in this collection, containing irrelevant printed matter). Text and translation.
1r 'Òran do Raghnall Òg Mac Mhic Ailein', *Mo chion na chunnaic mi 'm chadal.*
16r 'Dealachadh a' Phrionnsa ris na Gaidhil' / 'Òran Àraid', *Mìle marbhphaisg air an t-saoghal.*
26r 'Òran do Bhliadhna 1746', *Is fuar fearthainneach gach lò.*
41r 'Òran Mhormhair Mhic Shìomoin', *Is lìonmhor blanc a th' againne.*
48r 'Marbhrann Rìgh Teàrlach I le Montròs', *A Thì mhóir mhath cheart.*

50r 'Earrann de dh'Òraid Mhontròis air beulaibh Pàrlamaid Albainn', *'S nam fàgadh Dia mo chorp.*

52r 'Rainn le Montròs 's E fo Bhinn Bàis', *Air gach beannaig.*

MS 30. Loose foolscap leaves in hard cover cut from a school register, 78 ff. (versos blank except for 76v and 77v; 78 is large, folded). Includes Christmas cards etc., some bearing text of minimal importance (lists of poems with numbers of lines), not numbered or catalogued. Text and translation except where noted.

1r 'Òran Luaidh no Fùcaidh', *A Mhórag chiatach a' chùil dualaich.* No translation.

5r 'Guidhe no Ùrnaigh an Ùghdair don Cheòlraidh', *A cheòlraidh mhór tha 'n tàmh gu h-àrd.*

11r 'Moladh an Ùghdair don t-Seann Chànain Ghàidhlig', *Gur h-i as crìoch àraid*. First part of text missing.

14r 'Òran d'a Chéile Nuadh-Phòsta', *Air Allt Ghartain ghlacas bradan.*

20r 'Marbhrann do Pheata Coluim', *Is tùirseach mo sgeul ri luaidh.*

24r 'Moladh air Pìob Mhóir Mhic Cruimein', *Is iomadh baintighearn' bha spéiseil.*

36r 'Òran Rìoghail a' Bhotail', *Biomaid subhach 's òlar deoch leinn.*

46r 'Òran Bachail', *Ho ró mo bhobag an dram … Se chuireadh an sodan 'nam cheann.*

50r 'Òran nam Fineachan Gaidhealach', *A chomainn rìoghail rùnaich.*

60r 'Òran Nuadh' / 'Deagh Shoisgeul', *Tha deagh shoisgeul feadh nan Garbhchrioch.*

68r 'Am Breacan Uallach', *B' fheàrr leam breacan uallach.*

76r 'Òran a' Gheamhraidh', *Tharraing grian, rìgh nam planaid 's nan reul.* Translation only.

78r List of poems and sources. Large leaf.

MS 31. Loose leaves in ledger-type hard cover from an attendance register, 25 ff. (1–5 quarto, with surviving quarto notebook cover, 6–25 foolscap; 1r, 2v–3r and all foolscap versos are blank). Text and translation except where noted.

1v 'Earrann de dh'Òraid Mhontròis air beulaibh Pàrlamaid Albainn', *'S nam fàgadh Dia mo chorp.*

3v 'Marbhrann Rìgh Teàrlach I le Montròs', *A Thì mhóir mhath cheart*. Text only.

4v 'Rainn le Montròs 's E fo Bhinn Bàis', *Air gach beannaig.*

6r 'Òran an t-Samhraidh', *An déis dhomh dùsgadh sa mhadainn.*

16r 'Òran a' Gheamhraidh', *Tharraing grian, rìgh nam planaid 's nan reul.*

MS 32. Loose leaves in hard cover from an attendance register, 18 ff. (1–15 foolscap, 16–18 quarto; all foolscap versos are blank).

1r 'Allt an t-Siùcair', *Dol thar Allt an t-Siùcair.* Text.

8r 'Allt an t-Siùcair', *Dol thar Allt an t-Siùcair.* Tanslation.

16r 'Allt an t-Siùcair', *Dol thar Allt an t-Siùcair.* Notes.

17v 'Allt an t-Siùcair', *Dol thar Allt an t-Siùcair.* Vocabulary.

MS 33. Loose foolscap leaves in hard cover from an attendance register, 22 ff. (versos blank).

1r 'Moladh Móraig', *Is truagh gun mi sa choill.* Text.

12r 'Moladh Móraig', *Is truagh gun mi sa choill.* Translation.

MS 34. Loose leaves in hard cover from an attendance register, 19 ff. (1–8 foolscap, 9–19 miscellaneous in size, shape and origin). Contains much information (11r–19r) of great value on the 'Oban poetess' and 'Lorn poetess'. See also MS 40.

1r 'Moladh a' Chaimbeulaich Dhuibh', *Ge beag orts' an Caimbeulach dubh.* Text.

5r 'Moladh a' Chaimbeulaich Dhuibh', *Ge beag orts' an Caimbeulach dubh.* Translation.

9r 'Iorram Cuain', *Gur neo-aoigheil turas faoillich.* Notes by W. J. Watson. Removed on 21 December 1985 by the present cataloguer from the copy of MacDonald and MacDonald 1924 held by the then Celtic Department, University of Edinburgh.

10r Cutting (*The Scotsman*, 7 February 1925). Anonymous review of MacDonald and MacDonald 1924. Removed on 21 December 1985 from the copy of that book held by the then Celtic Department.

11r Postcard, 14 August 1951, from Mrs M. C. Sandy-Brown, Stronsaule, Connel, Argyll, to Angus MacLeod, with information on Margaret, wife of Duncan Campbell, notary, and her father, Colin Campbell of Achnaba.

12r On the same. Typed extracts from minutes of Presbytery of Kilmore, 1675–76.

15r On the same. Connection with Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. See also 19r.

16r On the same. Letter, 30 July 1951, from M. R. Dobie, National Library of Scotland, to Alastair Mac an Tòisich MacLachlainn, copied to Angus MacLeod and others.

17r Business card of Alastair Mac an Tòisich MacLachlainn, Tobermory, with note in Gaelic (Gaelic script) to Angus MacLeod, formerly affixed to f. 18.

18r On Mrs Campbell of Barr and the wife of Duncan Campbell,

notary. Copy of letter, 9 August 1951, from Miss Margaret S. MacKenzie, Edinburgh, written at Ronebhal, Connel, Argyll, to Alastair Mac an Tòisich MacLachlainn, Tobermory.

19r On the same. Connection with Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. See also 15r.

MS 35. Loose leaves in ledger-type hard cover, 25 ff. (all foolscap except 25, which is quarto; all versos blank except 24v (final stanza of translation) and 25v (printed, not relevant)).

1r 'An Àirc', *Adhra mhialach nan cath.* Text.

13r 'An Àirc', *Adhra mhialach nan cath*. Translation.

25r Brief notes on Simon Lord Lovat and executions after 1745.

MS 36. Quarto notebook, 34 ff. (33v–34v blank except for a few figures jotted at 34v).

1r 'An Àirc', *Adhra mhialach nan cath*. Introduction.

1v 'An Àirc', *Adhra mhialach nan cath.* Text and translation.

25v 'An Àirc', *Adhra mhialach nan cath*. Notes on individuals mentioned.

MS 37. Quarto notebook, 16 ff. + some text on inside front cover.

1r 'An Àirc', *Adhra mhialach nan cath*. Introduction.

1v 'An Àirc', *Adhra mhialach nan cath*. Text and translation (continued in MS 38).

MS 38. Quarto notebook, 17 ff. (1r, 12r and 16r–17r blank).

1v 'An Àirc', *Adhra mhialach nan cath.* Text and translation (continued from MS 37).

13v 'An Àirc', *Adhra mhialach nan cath*. Notes.

17v Notes on the word *coidhirp*, *coi' earbs'* etc.

MS 39. Miscellaneous loose sheets contained in a hard cover, small quarto, 9 ff. (versos of 4–8 blank).

1r Letter, duke of Argyll to Angus MacLeod, Inveraray Castle, 21 April 1945. On genealogy.

2r Letter, D[ugald] MacArthur to Angus MacLeod, St Andrews, 2 March 1957. On (a) Margaret Cameron's collection of 1805 and (b) Iona.

3r Letter, Angus Matheson to Angus MacLeod, Glasgow, 2 August 1956. On certain words and derivations: *grinn*, *crann(an)* etc.

4r Letter, Angus Matheson to Angus MacLeod, Glasgow, 11 August 1956. On *crann(an)*.

5r Notes on words: *gìogan*.

6r Notes on words: *crann(an).*
7r Notes on words: *grinn*.
8r Notes on words: *car* and *càr*.
9r Notes on words: *muir*, *gothadh*, *miosgainn* etc.

MS 40. Quarto notebook, 14 ff. (8v–14v and all versos blank).
1r The Oban and Lorn poetesses: genealogy and notes. See also MS 34.

MS 41. Quarto notebook, 14 ff. (7v–14v blank).
1r Notes from Stewart and Stewart 1804. See also MS 42.

MS 42. Quarto notebook, 10 ff. (6r–10v blank).
1r Vocabulary from Stewart and Stewart 1804. See also MS 41.

MS 43. Quarto notebook, 18 ff. (9v–18v blank).
1r Notes from Campbell 1885.

MS 44. Quarto notebook, 38 ff. (14r–38v and most versos blank). On the front cover the printed words 'Notes of Lectures on' are scored out and 'Gaelic Hymn Book – tunes selected' written in.
1r Brief scrawled notes on the tunes to which Gaelic hymns are sung.

MS 45. Printed book: *Árd-Fheis, 1909*, programme (xvi + 119 pp.) of Árd-Fheis of Connradh na Gaedhilge, held in the Rotunda, Dublin, 4 August 1909. The only handwriting is a semi-legible scrawl on the back cover.

MS 46. Offprint: J. L. Campbell, 'The Late Fr. Allan McDonald, Miss Goodrich Freer and Hebridean Folklore', reprinted from *Scottish Studies* 2.2 (1958), 175–88. 'With the author's compliments' written on front cover.

MS 47. Loose quarto sheets contained in hard cover cut from a ledger-type book, 30 ff. (all versos blank).
1r Lecture in Gaelic on Donnchadh Bàn and his poetry.

MS 48. Quarto notebook, 12 ff. (5r–12v blank).
1r Notes from an account of the laying of the foundation stone of Donnchadh Bàn's monument at Dalmally, 2 September 1859, published by James Fraser, 25 Royal Exchange Square, Glasgow, 1860.

MS 49. Loose sheets contained in cover of quarto notebook, 56 ff. (versos of page-proofs of *The Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre*).

Part 1 Rough draft of lecture in English on Donnchadh Bàn, foliated by author 2–3, 5–23, 23a, 24–29, i.e. ff. 1 and 4 are missing.

Part 2 Final draft of the lecture, foliated 1–28 by the author.

MS 50. Loose foolscap, 15 ff. (versos blank).

1r Part of manuscript draft of vocabulary for *The Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre.*

MS 51. Loose sheets, 22 ff. (all foolscap except 1–3; all versos blank except 1–3).

1r Scrawl about music on postcard.

2r *An Fhianuis Ghaidhealach* (November 1926), 81–4. Articles on 'Tormad MacLeòid (nach maireann)' and 'Là na Ceisd an Eaglais "Iain Nocs" an Glaschu'.

4r Radio reviews of *Leigheas Cas O Céin* and *An Dealbh Briste* (three drafts), broadcast 6 November 1951.

MS 52. Correspondence, mainly on Appin Stewarts, 40 ff. With envelope addressed to Angus MacLeod.

1r From F. S. and C. E. Miller, Vancouver, 15 January 1948. On genealogy of Appin Stewarts.

2r Do., Vancouver, 19 March 1948. Do.

3r From Miss Dorothy Stewart Linney, Kingskerswell, Newton Abbot, Devon, 20 October 1947. On Appin Stewarts.

9r From do., do., 8 December 1947. Do.

10r From do., do., 10 February 1948. Do.

11r From do., do., 24 February 1948. Do.

13r From do., do., 16 March 1948. Do.

14r Appin Stewart genealogical tables.

16r From do., do., 27 April 1948. Do.

17r From do., do., 17 July 1948. Do.

18r From do., do., 21 February 1949. Do.

19r From Douglas Wimberley, Dundee, 23 February 1949. On genealogy of Achallader Campbells and John Campbell of the Bank.

22r On descent of Rev. Alexander Stewart, 'Nether Lochaber'.

23r From Iain C. Stewart (Fasnacloich), Camserney, Aberfeldy, 2 October 1947. On genealogy of Appin Stewarts.

26r From do., do., 12 October 1947. Do. (MacLeod's query appears to have concerned Donnchadh Bàn's Màiri Bhàn of Invernahyle and her relationship to 'Nether Lochaber'.)

27r From David Kenneth Stewart, Hamilton, Ontario, 1 February 1948. Do.

29r From do., do., 11 March 1948. Do.

30r From do., do., 13 December 1948. Do.

31r From Campbell of Dunstaffnage, New Club, Edinburgh, as from Dunstaffnage Castle, 17 November 1947. On genealogy of Barcaldine Campbells.

33r From Mary Stewart Cameron, Corpach, 7 January 1948. On genealogy of Appin Stewarts.

35r From do., do., 28 February 1949. Do.

37r From Rev. Ian Carmichael, The Manse, Lismore, 22 April 1948. Do. N.B.: "I regret to say that I have lost all faith in the Fasti. I have been severely taken to task by some grandchildren of MacGregor who was minister here once. My only fault was that I repeated the errors of the Fasti, which were scarcely credible. Wrong names, wrong dates – almost every particular was wrong. My only consolation was that St. Moluag could not have any descendants hanging around to call me to account for falsifying the details of his life."

38r 'Possible line of descent of Rev. Alex Stewart from Mary Stewart of Invernahyle'. Some notes.

39r Copy letter from Angus MacLeod to David Kenneth Stewart, Hamilton, Ontario, 25 February 1948, explaining and summarising his interest in tracing connection between Màiri Bhàn and 'Nether Lochaber'.

40r On genealogy of Appin Stewarts.

MS 53. Loose foolscap sheets contained in cut-off portion of hard cover from an attendance register, 12 ff. (2rv and all versos blank).

1r Music in sol-fa notation. Unidentified.

3r Sol-fa notation of 'Alasdair nan Stòp' and 'Nighean Dubh Roineach'.

5r Part typescript translation of 'Òran a' Bhotail'. See MacLeod 1952: 309.

6r First page of draft talk in Gaelic on Gaelic verse.

7r Script of radio talk in Gaelic on the history of education in the Highlands.

10r 'Translation by Douglas Young ("Chasing an ancient Greek") p. 84.' Begins *Rocky Cuillin, awesome monster.*

MS 54. Large quarto sheets of thin paper, bound, foliated 1–111, with additional interleavings.

1r Seventy-six Gaelic hymns in typescript, with notes and interleavings (some of printed music) to indicate tunes to which they are sung.

MS 55. Loose materials in folder inscribed 'Mod Committee Minute Book – Wallet'. Not sorted or foliated. Contains miscellaneous notes,

correspondence and printed matter relating to the work of the Rev. M. N. Munro, Taynuilt, for the Mod and Music Committee of An Comunn Gaidhealach, c. 1916–20. See also MS 56. Malcolm Nicolson Munro (1869–1934), a Lewisman, was U. F. minister of Muckairn 1898–1930 and convener of the Mod and Music Committee 1908–24.

MS 56. As MS 55, not sorted or foliated. Contains a very large amount of material indeed, mainly musical. Probably the most interesting item is a Gaelic lecture 'Dain Ian Ghobha' (24 ff.) for Ceilidh nan Gaidheal, dated 8 December 1906, apparently by Rev. M. N. Munro.

MS 57. Formerly in MS 55. A collection of press cuttings, c.1906–20, apparently made by the Rev. M. N. Munro, including much on musical matters in general and on Frances Tolmie in particular. Contained in a copy of Reid, *The Higher Grade Choir* 1, 1900.

Index of first lines, titles and subjects of poems by Alastair mac Mhaighstir Alastair

First figure = manuscript number
Second figure = folio number
* = includes translation

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Spaghetti Junction: OI *rót*, *roüt*, ScG *ròd*, *rathad*, Scots *rod*, *rode*, Eng. *road*, and Some Other Minor By-Ways

Thomas Owen Clancy

> 'It floated among flexible conjectures no more solid than those etymologies which seemed strong because of likeness in sound, until it was shown that likeness in sound made them impossible …' George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, chapter 48.

This note was born in an Old Irish reading group, whilst studying the edition of *Críth Gablach* by D.A. Binchy (1979). Line 188 refers to the *bóaire*'s need to be: 'túalang gabála[e] ríg nó epscuip nó suad nó brithemon di rout (variant *rot*)' ('capable of receiving a king or a bishop or a man of learning or a judge from the road'). The near-homophony between OI *rót* /ro:d/ ('road'), in a text of c.700, and English *road* led us to probe deeper. The pursuit of the etymology of the word prompted a rejection of the explanations discussed below, which usually see it as related to English *road* or to French *route*. This note suggests some new possiblities. The relationship between OI *rót* and English *road* and their various offshoots proves to be a very twisted one.

We are interested in a series of words, all similar in sound and all meaning 'road, path' at some stage of their existence. It may be helpful to introduce these words individually before going on to conclusions about how they are related.

OI *rót*, *roüt*

We are fortunate to have an Old Irish legal text 'Róda, cis lír-side?' on different types of roads, listing five in descending order from the highway (*slige*) to the cow-track (*bóthar*) (Kelly 1997: 537–44). The *rót* was the 'B-road' of early Ireland, defined with the statement 'docuet carpat 7 da oeneochde imbi; doronad fri echraite mendoto a medon' ('a chariot and two horsemen can pass on it; it has been constructed as a horse-road of the locality internally') (ibid.: 538). Kelly dates this legal text to roughly 700 A.D. (ibid.). Given the early dates of 'Róda,

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cis lír-side?', *Críth Gablach* and other texts employing the word (see below), we should perhaps be cautious about taking *rót* as a loan-word from Old English *rád*, the ancestor of English *road*, especially as there is nothing exotic about the definition of *rót* suggestive of an imported concept or technology. More cogently, as we shall see, the Old English word *rád* referred primarily to the act of riding, being on a journey, and subsidiarily to the journey or place of riding, but not, it seems, to the route of passage. As a loan-word, it would be difficult to account for its contrastingly physical and technical meaning in Old Irish.

Phonologically, too, there can be no relationship between OI *rót* and Old English *rád*. Whilst *á* > *ó* in Latin loan-words is common in Old Irish (e.g. OI *póc* < Latin *pacem*), the difficulties arise elsewhere. *Rót* was originally disyllabic *roüt* (ibid.: 539, n. §1.2; *DIL* s.v. 1 *rót*). Because of this, we may well wish to join *rót*, *roüt* 'road, highway' (i.e. *DIL* s.v. 1 *rót*) to *roüt* 'throw, cast' ?< 'distance, length' (i.e. *DIL* s.v. 1 *rout*). While semantically both are clearly distinct in Old Irish, both are originally disyllabic masculine *o*-stems, and they share a similar semantic field, that of distance, length and travel, and thus may perhaps go back originally to the same term; alternatively one or both may have influenced the development of the other.

Medieval lexicographers and linguistic speculators thought otherwise. *Sanas Cormaic* etymologises *rout* as being from *ro-shét* 'great path', because 'it is greater than a path' ('is mó oldás sét'); perhaps it is because of this etymology that *Sanas Cormaic* includes the *sét* 'animal track' in its list of roads otherwise derived from the earlier legal text (see Stokes 1862: 38; Meyer 1994: 96; Kelly 1997: 537). *Roüt* 'length, distance, cast' seems to have been understood as from *ro-fhot* 'great length' (see *DIL* s.v. 1 *rout*). The latter may be correct; the speculation of *Sanas Cormaic* seems less likely (see Mac Eoin 1999: 171). The *-u-* of *roüt* probably needs something more than the *u*-stem *sét* to explain it (and in any case, as noted, *rót* is an *o*-stem).

At least one Middle Irish text gives the form *rád* as a variant (Stokes 1887: 116, 676; cf. *DIL* s.v. 1 *rót*); there it rhymes with *atát*, confirming that the vowel is *-á-* (the form seems to be genitive plural). This was also an acceptable variant in Classical Gaelic, as shown by its inclusion in *IGT Declension* (§88): *ród*, *rád*; *fód*, *fád*. Vendryes, referring to Meyer, took this as being some confirmation of a possible origin in

Old English *rád*: 'ce qui a fait supposer que le mot est emprunté au vieil anglais *rád*, auj. *road* …', but he was tempted to see also some trace of French *route*: 'mais la variété des formes donne lieu de croire que le vfr. *route* de lat. *rupta* (*uia*) a pu exercer ici son influence' (Vendryes 1974: R–45; cf. Stokes 1862: xxvi, lii). This latter suggestion must be discounted. One presumes the evidence of influence he saw in the 'variété des formes' was the presence of the *-u-* in *roüt*, but it is clear that the word was disyllabic and that the *-u-* belonged to the second syllable (cf. also genitive plural *róot*, *LU* 8633). Certainly *rót*, *roüt* cannot be etymologically related to (*via*) *rupta*, which as a loan-word might have given something like **rucht* (cf. *cacht* < Latin *capta*) or, if borrowed later, perhaps **rupt* (cf. *precept* < Latin *praeceptum*). The Old French word retained the *-p-* as late as the fourteenth century (the spelling *roupte* is noted in 1347; see *Robert*: R–492).[1]

Like Meyer, Heinrich Zimmer derived OI *rót* from Old English *rád*, the word underlying English *road*, and he was essentially followed in this by *DIL* (Zimmer 1887: 270). As noted above and discussed further below, when one probes both words, it becomes clear on the basis of semantics that this derivation is unlikely. OI *rót* is attested early and often, and has a fairly precise technical meaning alongside its more general application. Old English *rád* did not have the technical meaning of 'a road or path', although it could denote a journey or the course of a journey in a more general sense, as well as 'riding at sea' > 'anchorage'. As a physical 'line of communication', it is not properly attested until the sixteenth century.

Unless one of the medieval conjectures, relating *roüt* to either *ro-shét* or *ro-fhot* should prove correct, I cannot provide a very satisfying derivation for *rót*, *roüt*. One could look to one of a series of Indo-European roots which provide words for types of constructed ways of passage, or alternately for words of motion (for which, see below), but the originally disyllabic nature of *rót*, *roüt* seems instead to point to hiatus, which normally arises in Old Irish from the elision or vocalisation of an earlier consonant. Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (personal communication) suggests that we could look at the final part of *rámat* 'cleared area,

[1] It has been suggested to me that this could be a learned archaising spelling, cf. Old French and English *debt(e)* for *det(te)* (Mark Zumbuhl, personal communication; see *OED* s.v. *debt* and note).

road' (see below), which is also attested as *rámut* (Stokes 1862: 38). He notes similar endings to other words involving topographical passage or distance: *bélat* 'place where several roads meet, pass' (also attested as *bélot*, presumably < *bél* 'lip, mouth, edge, rim', although perhaps related to *belach* 'pass'; on *bel-* see O'Rahilly 1942c: 165–6), *mennat*, *mendut* 'district or locality, neighbourhood, place of abode' (perhaps < *menn* 'clear, conspicuous'), and possibly also *drochat*, *droichet* 'bridge, causeway' (< *droch* 'wheel' (*DIL*), or 'wooden', Stokes 1901: 469). In this context, it is worth noting the ending found in a number of Scottish place-names, analysed by W. J. Watson as having derived from 'an early *-ant-*' > OI *-at* > ScG *-ad*, *-aid* (Watson 1926: 444–5). Names include Tressat (cf. OI *tres* 'battle'), Dunturket (cf. OI *torc* 'boar'), Tarvit (cf. OI *tarb* 'bull'). The frequency of the ending in stream names, noted by Watson, may tempt us to think along the lines of a meaning of 'way' or 'water-course'.[2] Watson cites, among other stream names, the Glorat (cf. OI *glór* 'voice, speech') and the Mossat (cf. OI *mosach* 'filthy, stinking'). If these words all contain the same second element, and this is by no means certain, they may provide a clue to the origin of *roüt*. The first element *ro-* would then be a challenge, although the intensifying prefix could not be ruled out.

There are several other Old Irish words which bear some auditory similarity to *rót* and which seem in some circumstances to mean 'road'. These are *raite* 'a clear space or road', which forms the basis of various compounds such as *echraite* 'horse-road' in the quote above from 'Róda, cis lír-side?',[3] and *rámat* 'cleared area; open space;

[2] I am grateful to Dr Simon Taylor for the Watson reference. Watson's analysis may ally itself with a suggestion of Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (personal communication) that for the origins of this putative final element we look to Indo-European roots related to Sanskrit *path-*, which would probably have given Celtic **-ant-*. Cf. Stokes 1901: 469, for a variant of this idea. Stokes posits two elements **ot*, Celtic **onto-s*, cognate with Latin *pons*, and **ét*, from a weakened form of **onto-s*, this cognate with Sanskrit *pathi*, lying respectively behind the final syllable of *drochat* and *droichet*.

[3] Also *lámraite* 'road cleared by hand' or 'secondary road', and *tógraite*, variously interpreted as 'curving road' (Kelly 1997: 539–40) or as *tuagraite* 'a type of road', 'road cleared by an axe' (*DIL* s.v.; cf. *túagrótae*, Mac Eoin 1999: 171). There is some difficulty about the second element in some of these compounds. Attested forms, especially in *Sanas Cormaic*, suggest *-rotae* (*lámrótae*, *tuagrottae*), which seems to have been taken as a form of *rót*, but Kelly probably rightly reads *-raite* instead. Perhaps the forms in *-rotae* are influenced by *rót*, although they are in fact derived from *raite*?

road' (see *DIL* s.vv.; Kelly 1997: 539–40, 543–4). *Raite* seems etymologically unconnected to *rót*, *roüt*. Could *raite* be a petrified form of the past participle or verbal of necessity from *reithid* 'runs'? Forms such as those in *Sanas Cormaic* (*lámróta*, *tuagróta*) suggest some confusion between *raite*, *roite* (?= *roitte*, past participle of *roithid* 'sets in motion, drives'; see *DIL* s.v.), *rót*, and perhaps also *rota* 'bog-stuff', perhaps because of the presence of ditches on such roads (cf. Stokes 1862: 38; Meyer 1994: 96, for forms; Kelly 1997: 542, where he notes a definition of *rót* in a legal text *.i. ima mbi clad* 'i.e. about which there is a ditch'). The first part of *rámat* may be *ráma* 'spade' (see Mac Eoin 1999: 171), although it seems less clear that the final syllable of the word is from *sét*. While it was suggested above that the final syllable of *rámat* may be related to the final syllable of *roüt*, none of these other terms discussed immediately above is directly connected to *rót*, *roüt*, or to any of the other words we shall be discussing.

English *road*

English *road* is not attested in the meaning 'road, path' until the sixteenth century, and even then not very well. It seems to be the seventeenth century which sees the real emergence of *road* as a technical term for a highway, no doubt in tandem with the development of the early modern road-system in England (cf. *OED* s.v. *road*). In origin, it is formed from the preterite stem of the verb 'to ride', Old English *rídan*. In Old English this took the form *rád* and is attested in the meaning 'a riding, a journey'; it is from this meaning that the word *raid* ultimately originated, as a riding made into another's territory. Despite the lack of attestation of *rád*, or Middle English *rade*, as meaning 'road', compounds of the word found in poetic contexts are suggestive, e.g. *hron-rád*, 'whale's riding, i.e. the sea', *swan-rád* 'swan's riding, i.e. the sea', *segl-rád* 'sail's riding, i.e. the sea' (all from *Beowulf*; see Klaeber 1950, lines 10, 200, 1429). It should be noted that in all these cases, with their maritime contexts, the meaning of *rád* is somewhat ambiguous. While it could mean 'location of a riding, journey, way', it could also have the sense of 'riding' as in 'anchorage, place where a boat rides or floats', and this is the definition noted by Borden (1982:

1093): 'sea (as a roadstead or riding place for what swims or floats)'. This is also the meaning to be found in English place-names, e.g. Carrick Roads in Cornwall, described c. 1540 as *Caryk Rood* 'a sure herboro for the greatest shyppes that travayle be the occean' (Padel 1988: 66).[4]

The Old English word *hueolrád*, literally 'wheel-riding', promises a closer meaning to modern 'road', but it appears only once, in the *Corpus Glossary* (Lindsay 1921: O–233), as the equivalent of Latin *orbita*, and thus may be considered a learned creation rather than an active part of the lexicon, and the sense of *rád* in the compound is open to discussion.

The *OED* lists several definitions of *road* in order of their attestation: (a) 'The act of riding on horseback; also a spell of riding; a journey on horseback', well-attested in the Old English period, (b) 'The act of riding with hostile intent against a person or district' (whence, *raid*), attested from c. 900, (c) 'A sheltered piece of water near the shore where vessels may lie at anchor safely; a roadstead', first attested in the Scots work *Sir Tristram* (this is also related to a subsidiary use of (a) 'the act of riding on the waves', not certainly attested until the fifteenth century), and (d) 'An ordinary line of communication used by persons passing between different places, usually one wide enough to admit of the passage of vehicles as well as of horses or travellers on foot'. Despite the startling resemblance of this last to the definition of *rót* in 'Róda, cis lír-side?', the first attestation of this meaning is from Shakespeare.

Hopefully, this will reinforce the conviction that Old English *rád* and its derivatives do not lie behind OI *rót*, *roüt*. There are, however, words in the later Gaelic languages which may still leave room for some doubt.

ScG *RÒD*

Modern Irish also has the word *ród* 'road, track' and its by-forms (cf. Dinneen s.v.). The main meaning of *ròd* in Scottish Gaelic is 'way, road, path, track' (Dwelly s.v.). One can trace these words continuously back from Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic through Classical Gaelic to OI/MI *rót*, *roüt*, and there is no convincing

[4] I am grateful to Mark Zumbuhl for this reference.

reason (such as shift of meaning) to cause us to look to a later loan from English *road*. Because of this, we must reject MacBain's etymology for ScG *ròd* 'road' which derives it from Anglo-Saxon or English.

However, both ScG *ròd* and Mod.I *ród* are also attested in the meaning 'anchorage or mooring place for boats' (cf. Dinneen s.v. *ród*, exx.), and related uses, and this meaning can be found in vernacular Scottish Gaelic poetry of the seventeenth century and later (e.g. Mackenzie 1964: line 386; Watson 1932: line 6143 and p. 374). We should remember that Old English *rád* and English *road* also had this specific meaning of a place where boats (and other things) ride on the sea. Thus, while we should certainly exclude English *road* from our analysis of the origin of ScG *ròd* 'way, road, path, track', it is surely the word which gives us ScG *ròd* and Mod.I *ród* 'anchorage'. The predominant form of 'anchorage' in Scots was *rade* (see *DOST*: xxxvii.38; but for the spellings *rod(e)* and *red(e)*, see *DOST*: xli.549, xxxviii.154 respectively), so we may guess that the loan came through English rather than Scots, and its presence in this meaning in Classical Gaelic and Modern Irish supports this. This probably means that the loan-word entered Scottish Gaelic via Classical Gaelic, rather than directly.

There is a further usage of *ròd* in Scottish Gaelic, and that is in the meaning 'a quantity of seaweed cast on the shore'. Here MacBain is clearly correct in deriving it from OI *roüt* 'cast, shot'.

Scots *rod*, *rode*

The *OED* is at pains to let us know that Scots *rod*, *rode* 'a path, way, or road' can have nothing to do with English *road* in the sense of a road or path. It is far from clear to me why this need be the case (*DOST* is more diplomatic), but it is not my purpose here to probe the argument more closely. At any rate, the etymological suggestion in the *OED*, 'perhaps due to a wrong analysis of an early **futtrod*', seems perverse (although it is cautiously followed in this by *DOST*: xli.547). The Scots word in the sense 'a path or way; a track; a road; a route or means of passage' is widely attested from at least the fourteenth century. Unless we take Old English *rád* > Scots *rod*, *rode* as a northern development (not impossible?), it seems best to

look for the derivation of the Scots word elsewhere.[5] In light of my arguments above, I would suggest that the origin of Scots *rod*, *rode* be sought at least partially in the Gaelic term. The technical nature of Gaelic *ròd* < OI *rót* means it is a much closer match for Scots *rod*, *rode* than is Old English *rád*. Alternatively, should it be deemed possible that Old English *rád* could give Scots *rod*, *rode*, we could instead postulate some semantic interference from Scottish Gaelic which may have helped to concretise the meaning in eastern Scotland earlier than happened in English.

ScG *RATHAD*

Various scholars have compared ScG *rathad* 'road' with OI *rámat* (e.g. MacBain s.v. *rathad*), but straightforward derivation must be rejected, as the labial fricative and vowel nasalisation might then be expected to have survived in some dialects. On the other hand, a series of scholars seem (without much in the way of explanation) to have been prompted by the hiatus in *rathad* in modern Scottish Gaelic dialects to refer it to Old Irish hiatus forms in *roüt* (see Borgstrøm 1940: 222; Oftedal 1956: 133, both citing *rout* '(length of a) cast or shot'; Holmer 1957: 45, who cites OI 'róut "road"'). This is more promising, but given the above suggestion that OI *rót* > ScG *ròd*, it demands further discussion and presents us with problems to be solved.

We should probably first consider whether *rathad* might be a later borrowing from either English *road*, or Scots *rad(e)*. Oftedal (1956: 134–5) has noted a series of instances in which English (and perhaps Scots) monosyllabic loan-words have resulted in disyllabic words with hiatus in Scottish Gaelic dialects; some of these are also discussed by Holmer (1957: 82). Variously rendered orthographically, these loans include 'drawer', 'pay', 'tea', 'pair', 'stair', and, phonetically closer to our words, 'hose', 'dose', 'host'; also 'gown' (for which, see Watson 1999: 351). Oftedal (1956: 135) suggests, in the context of the dialect he

[5] I have no expertise in English lexicography, but there seems to be a presumption in the *OED* that the Scots word cannot have influenced the concretising of the English word (if not in fact given English the meaning 'road, highway, means of transport, line of communication'). Given the chronological indicators, the improvement in the transport system throughout Britain under the (Scottish) Stuarts in the early seventeenth century would seem a suitable context for such a transfer of meaning.

was studying, that 'this may be an attempt at reproducing the falling tone of E[nglish]', but rightly warns 'nothing final can be said about this until an investigation has been made of the variety of English from which these words are borrowed'. Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh suggests to me (personal communication) that it might 'be related to perceived differences in length, i.e. these English words are not quite the same as short or long Gaelic vowels, but somewhere in between'. Nonetheless, the phonology does not seem entirely suitable for English *road* or Scots *rade* > ScG *rathad*. Also problematic would be the presence in several dialects of plural forms with a long vowel, as *ròidean* (cf. Borgstrøm 1940: 88, 222; Oftedal 1956: 71). We could find other explanations for this (e.g. syncope or infection from *ròd*), but overall *rathad* as a modern loan-word from English or Scots, while not impossible, does not seem convincing, especially given the semantic developments of the words outlined above.

Scottish Gaelic hiatus can also result from the vocalisation of historical intervocalic *-th-* (Oftedal 1956: 134; Watson 1999: 351). We may thus wish to consider whether a historical form containing *-th-* underlies ScG *rathad*. Such a form would presumably be derived in some way from OI *roth* 'wheel', e.g. **rothat*, and we could look to forms such as *droichet*, *bélat* and *rámat* (discussed above) for some clues as to the second element. Hiatus seems to be fairly consistent in *rathad*, however, with little sign of the presence of an historical *-th-*. Watson (1996: 377) takes the occasional presence of [h] in *rathad* in some dialects as resulting from hypercorrection. More to the point, once again we would be hard pressed to explain the plural form *ròidean*, although once again we could invoke analogy or interference from *ròd*. To be placed against all this, however, is the absence from Old Irish, Middle Irish or Classical Gaelic of any word like **rothat*. Had *-th-* in the word disappeared by the Old Irish period? This is difficult to envisage. Whilst derivation from a hypothetical **rothat* is not impossible, we should prefer a derivation from a known word, if it is shown to be feasible.

Finally, Scottish Gaelic hiatus can result from the retention of an historical hiatus in Old Irish. In many cases this has been represented orthographically by a *-th-* (cf. ScG *fitheach* < OI *fiäch*, ScG *latha* < OI *laä*). This is the category in which Oftedal, Borgstrøm, Holmer and Watson have placed *rathad* in discussions of Scottish Gaelic hiatus,

as noted above. Thus, we should refer *rathad* back to OI *roüt* 'road', as preserving the original disyllable. Support for this is found in some dialect forms of the genitive as *rothaid*, and the plural forms in *ròidean*, which thus correspond to presumed OI/MI genitive *róit* (cf. nominative plural *róit*), and Classical nominative plural forms *róid* and *róide* (cf. *DIL*; *IGT Declension* §88). This would help explain what is essentially a convergence of forms in the nominative plural in some Scottish Gaelic dialects between *rathad* and *ròd*, both giving *ròidean*.

Thus, the strongest suggestion is that, like ScG *ròd*, ScG *rathad* also originates in OI *rót*, this time in the originally disyllabic form of the word *roüt*. It may have continued into Old Gaelic/Middle Gaelic (by which I mean the Gaelic spoken in Scotland during the Old Irish/Middle Irish period) as **roüt* and thence to **raät*, by lowering of *o* to *a* (cf. OI *rodarc* > *rodharc~radharc*; OI *robud* > *robhadh~rabhadh*; OI *rogu* > *rogha~ragha*, *IGT Declension* §§11.23, 53.8, 2.4), which was then represented orthographically by *rathad*. Alternatively, a form **raüt/raät* may already have existed in Old Irish/Gaelic or Middle Irish/Gaelic. Some support for this latter hypothesis may be sought in the form *rád*, cited above, which appears both in a Middle Irish poem, rhyming with *atát*, another original disyllable with hiatus (cf. Thurneysen 1946: 33, for *a-taät*), and is also an accepted form in the *Bardic Tracts*. It is also worth noting that the intensifying prefix *ro-* (if that is indeed the first element) appears sometimes as *ra-* (see *DIL* s.v. 2 *ro*), and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh notes (personal communication) that 'some older hiatus words which were reduced to long monophthongs also show variation between *ó* and *á* in Classical Irish', just as does *ród~rád*, citing the examples OI *co(a)ïr* > *cóir~cáir*, OI *oäc* > *óg~ág* (cf. Knott 1922: lxvi).

Either way, it may be conjectured that *rathad* is a form which developed in the 'vernacular', while OI/MI *rót* took the high road of the written and then the Classical language, donating itself to Scottish Gaelic thence.[6]

By-roads and further divergences

I simply wish to note here a series of other words which, despite surface

[6] This is not to say that *roüt* could not have been reduced to *rót* > *ród* in Old/Middle/Scottish Gaelic. The development of *roüt* 'cast, throw' > ScG *ròd* 'seaweed cast ashore' demonstrates that it could.

similarities to the main words in question, can have (nearly) nothing to do with them. These include the Welsh word(s) *rhawd*, *rhawt* 'way, course', only attested from the nineteenth century and probably to be referred to English *route* in its early nineteenth-century orthography and pronunciation as *rout* /raut/ (cf. *GPC* s.v. *rhawd*[1]; *OED* s.v. *route* and notes). It has also been suggested (*GPC*: note) that *rhawd* 'way, course' could simply be a nineteenth-century spelling of *rhod* 'course, circuit' (*GPC* s.v. *rhod*[1](e)). This word, attested from as early as the twelfth century, is not connected with OI *rót*. Rather, Welsh *rhod* meant 'wheel, circle' and is cognate with OI *roth* 'wheel' and Latin *rota*. It is this sense of a circle, hence 'way round; going round, circuit', which gives one of its meanings some overlap with those of OI *rót*. A compositional form of Welsh *rhawd* or *rhod*, found in Middle Welsh *gaeafrawd*, on the other hand, seems to be cognate with OI *ráithe* 'quarter (of the year)' (see Loth 1894 and 1926), and both ultimately relate to the Indo-European root **ret(h)-* 'run' (see Evans 1967: 249–51), which itself lies behind the Indo-European root **rot-* 'wheel' which gives *rhod* (*GPC* s.v. *rhod*[1]). It is probably also worth noting the Indo-European root **prt-* which gave rise to Gaulish *ritu-*, Welsh *rhyd* 'ford', and is cognate with Old High German *furt*, English *ford*, and Latin *portus* and *porta*. Finally, Welsh *rhawd*[2] 'large number, crowd, tumult; host, multitude' is attested from as early as the ninth century, but one may have doubts, along with *GPC*, about its meaning in some early instances, and whether we are not seeing the word *rhod* or *rhawd* 'way, course, circuit'. Certainly, many of the later examples, sometimes spelled *rhawt*, in the meaning 'troop, crowd' must be related to English *rout*, ultimately derived via Old French from another sense of Latin *rupta* 'a division, detachment'.

For good measure, we may note that ScG *ròd* 'perch of land, measure of six lineal yards; masonry rood' (cf. Dwelly), Scots *rod* 'stick; measure of land etc.', and Welsh *rhwd*, all derive from English *rod*, *rood* 'stick, measure of length' and have nothing to do with OI *roüt* 'distance, length' > 'cast'.

End of the road: some conclusions

1) OI *rót*, *roüt* 'main local road' is a native word, perhaps related to OI *roüt* 'throw, cast' < 'distance or length'. Its etymology is uncertain.
2) OI *rót* (a) gave rise to ScG *ròd* in its meaning of 'way, road, path,

track', and (b) gave rise to or influenced Scots *rod*, *rode* 'path or track', perhaps through (Classical Gaelic *ród* and?) ScG *ròd*.

3) OI *roüt* 'road', dissyllabic, also gave rise to ScG *rathad*, either through a proposed intermediary form **roüd* > **raäd*, or through a hypothetical OG/MG form **raät*. This shows a retention of hiatus common in Scottish Gaelic from the Old Gaelic period, cf. *fitheach* < *fiäch*; *latha* < *laä* etc. Thus, neither Scottish Gaelic word for 'road' is derived from English *road*.
4) ScG *ròd*, Mod.I. *ród* 'haven, anchorage, a place where boats ride at rest', attested in seventeenth-century Scottish Gaelic poetry, is derived from a meaning of English *road*, also found in Scots *rad(e)*, *rod(e)*, a meaning attested as early as the Old English period, but it probably entered Scottish Gaelic through Classical Gaelic in the Early Modern period.

The honorand of this Festschrift has come to the end of one academic journey, and so, via various diversions, has this article, inspired as it is by his many journeys across and indeed into *cuan sruthach nan ròd*, the linguistic sea between Ireland and Scotland. It is warmly to be hoped that many other roads, academic and personal, of diverse origins and destinations, stretch out before him, or wait as safe places of anchorage, in the years to come.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my companions in the reading group, Mark Zumbuhl and Nicholas Evans, for the initial discussions which led to this note, and to them and Professor Cathair Ó Dochartaigh for later encouragement, discussion and comments; to Cathair Ó Dochartaigh, Mark Zumbuhl, Alaric Hall, and Simon Taylor for critically reading a first draft; and especially to Professor Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh for information, leads, comments and criticism of two drafts of this note. They are not responsible for any abuse made of their ideas. I would also like to thank the Leverhulme Trust, who provided me with a Research Fellowship in the course of which this article was completed.

The Question of the Etymology of (Scottish) Gaelic *far*

Richard A. V. Cox

In conversation, Professor Colm Ó Baoill once paraphrased a satirical comment of Karl Horst Schmidt's on the conjectural nature of etymological research. It is easy, he said, to derive *Moses* from *Middleton*: you merely take off the *-oses* and add on the *-iddleton*. Something of the same sentiment comes to mind in the case of the Scottish Gaelic conjunction *far* 'where' whose suggested derivations are (a) earlier Gaelic *mar*, (b) Old Gaelic *baile* or *fail*, and (c) Old Norse *hvar*.

Noting the negligible influence of Old Norse on Scottish Gaelic grammar, Magne Oftedal (1983: 99) suggested that 'one possible instance may be the relative particle *far*, sometimes spelt *bharr* (where), which may be Old Norse *huar*, with the same meaning'.[1] Old Norse *huar* (more usually spelt *hvar*) gives modern Norwegian *kvar* or *hvor* [v]-, but earlier initial [ɸ]- might be expected to give modern Gaelic *f-* (although it has yielded *-p-* by a process of back-formation in the case of the place-name *Am Parbh*).[2] Oftedal (1962a: 122) had already pointed out, however, that it is very unlikely that *far* derives from *hvar* 'because the O.N. word is always interrogative (the corresponding relative being *þar er*)'. Additionally, this derivation of such a grammatically central word might be more convincing were *far a*^{n} confined in use to one or more of the island dialects; instead, it appears to be used more or less throughout the whole of Gaelic Scotland.[3]

[1] The alternation between the spellings *far* and *bharr* (*bhàrr*) is more usually associated with the preposition 'from (off)' < *de bhàrr*, a compound preposition with *bàrr* 'top' etc.

[2] *Am Parbh* (English *Cape Wrath*), but Lewis *An Carbh* (Oftedal 1962b: 133; Cox 1992: 141).

[3] ScG *far* is always followed by the relative particle *a*^{n} and a dependent verb, e.g. *fàg e far an do chuir mi e* 'leave it where I have put it' (Gillies 1993: 218): Kintyre [far ən] (Holmer 1962: 85), Arran [far əɴ] (Holmer 1957: 141), Glengarry [far] (Dieckhoff 1932: 83), East Perthshire /fɑr/^{ɴ} (Ó Murchú 1989b: 340), Skye [far] (Holmer 1938: 164), South Uist [far] (MacGill-Fhinnein 1966: 39); Oftedal (1956: 345) gives /far əɴ/ in the index but /fɑʀəɴ/ in the body of his dialectal study on Leurbost Gaelic (p. 259). It is curious that many grammars and course books apparently fail either to give a formal treatment of this conjunction, e.g. *MacLaren's Gaelic Self-Taught* and *Teach Yourself Gaelic*, or to include the word at all, e.g. *Gaelic without Groans* and *Elementary Course of Gaelic*.

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George Calder (1972: 316 and 352, in an addendum to p. 171) gives '*Far am* = O.G. *baile*, *bale i*, with rel[ative]', while Nils Holmer (1962: 85), comparing Islay Gaelic *fail an* [fal ən],[4] writes that *far* 'evidently corresponds to Middle Irish *fail i n-* "(the) place in which"'. Besides *a bhaile i*^{n} 'where' (rather than *in baile i*^{n}; *DIL* s.v. *baile*), both *b(h)ail i*^{n} and *i fail i*^{n} (*DIL* s.vv. 1 *bail* (b) and 2 *fail* (c), respectively) occur. While any one of these conjunctive phrases may lie behind Argyllshire *fail an*,[5] the last would seem on the face of it to be the most likely source.[6] Whether there is any connection between *fail* and *far* is not certain: interchange of /l/ and /r/ is formally less likely than between /l/ and /rʹ/. Therefore, while it cannot be ruled out that *fail*, as a localised variant, is merely a by-form of *far*, the likelihood that *far* is a development from *fail* would seem to be more remote and it may simply be the case that the forms *far* and *fail* have different origins.[7]

MacBain (1982: 164) gives '**far an** (**am**), where, Ir. *mar a n-*, where; from *mar* and rel[ative]', deriving *mar* from OG *immar* (p. 242). While *immar* as a conjunction followed by a dependent or relative verb does occur in the sense 'where' (*DIL* s.v. *immar* II (e)), hence Ir. *mar a*^{n}, there are apparently no early examples showing a development to *far a*^{n}, although one may compare the use of *far a*^{n} 'where' in Rathlin (Holmer 1942: 112). There may be a parallel in Scottish Gaelic in the case of the compound preposition *mar ri* 'together with' which has a by-form *far ri* (Calder 1972: 16, 65); however, MacBain (1982: 242)

[4] Cf. also Holmer 1938: 164, s.v. *far*: '[fɯl] "where", rel.; *cuir do cheann far am faigh thu sa' mhaidinn e* ... "put your head where you will find it in the morning"'; MacLennan 1925: 154 has '**far a bheil e**, where he is; *also* **fail a bheil e**'; MacAlpine 1973: 125, s.v. *far* has '*far* for *where*, is less often used than *fail*' (chiefly Islay and neighbourhood).

[5] The relationship between these early Gaelic conjunctions is not clear: they are merely cross-referenced in *DIL*.

[6] Devoicing of initial *bh-* [v]- is not a feature of the dialect as it is for example in Lewis, e.g. [f]- *bhos cionn* (< *os cionn*) 'above', *bho* (< *o*) prep. 'from', conj. 'since; because', and *bhàrr* 'from off, down from'.

[7] I have recorded a variant form [faḍ] in Lewis, e.g. *fad a robh an t-airgead* 'where the money was', *fad a fac' i an aisling* 'where she'd dreamt' (Cox 2002: s.n. *Creagan na h-Ulaidh*), which may have developed as a result of dissimilation in *far a(n) robh*, although an alternative phrase *an àite* (?or even *am bad*) 'where' may have had an influence.

sees *mar ri* as the later form and *far ri* (p. 164) as a reflex of OG *i farrad* (*i n-arrad*; cf. Ir. *i bhfarradh*) 'beside, in the company of, along with' etc. (*DIL* s.v. *farrad*).[8] On the whole, a development of OG *immar* + *fri* > *mar ri* > *far ri* seems more plausible than one of OG *i farrad* > *far ri* > *mar ri*. In the case of the former development, the question remains, however, why initial *m-* > *f-* in both conjunctive and prepositional phrases? OG *immar* does not occur in the Old Irish glosses (*DIL* s.v.), but it may be compared with OG *immalle*(*-i*) 'jointly, together; at the same time' < *imm* + *a*^{n} + *le* (*la*) (Thurneysen 1975: 517); while stress shifted from the final to the medial syllable, the first syllable was lost, thus the modern reformations, Ir. *maille le* and ScG *maille ri* 'with, together with'.[9] It is probable that the preposition *immar* derives from a reinterpretation of the adverbial form *immaróen* 'together, jointly' which, while originally *imm* + *a*^{n} + *róen* (modern *raon*), came to be seen as consisting of *immar* + the numeric pronoun *oén* and eventually, with loss of the stressless first syllable, *mar oén*.[10] The new preposition *immar*/*mar* could then be used in the formation of the phrases *mar a*^{n} and *mar ri*. The origin of the form *far* in Scotland and part of the north of Ireland may be due to the lenition of *mar* in adverbial usage[11] and subsequent denasalisation and devoicing of the initial (see note 6 above), i.e. *mar* > *mhar* > *bhar* > *far*, and it is just possible that an early example of such lenition occurs in the form *mharáon* (besides *maráon* and *aráon*) in the Gaelic version of the Shorter Catechism (Thomson 1962: e.g. Questions 51b4, 22b7 and 27b18, respectively). Alternatively, while

[8] MacBain also cites *na warri* from the Book of the Dean of Lismore.

[9] It may be relevant to note OG *fare faré* 'along with, in the company of' (*DIL* s.v.), Ir. *fara* 'along with, beside, compared with, in addition to' (Dinneen s.v.) here, although any connection with **ma le*, perhaps via a hypothetical intermediate **fa ré*, with the late variant form of *imm* (*DIL* s.v. *fo fa fá* I (f); O'Rahilly 1976: 225) and confusion of *ré* 'before' with *le* (cf. ibid.: 227), is highly conjectural.

[10] Bergin 1946: 142, n. 1: 'In *immaróen fri*, later *maróen ri* (*ra*) "along with", we seem to have *róen* "path" preceded by *imma n-* "around their" (cf. *imma-lle*, *imma-sech*, *imma n-etar*). This would be indistinguishable in pronunciation from *immar óen*; in *dán díreach* it is treated indifferently as *ma raon* or *mar aon*, alliterating with *r* or a vowel; similarly *a-raon* or *ar-aon*.'

[11] Cf. ScG *thairis* (ultimately from OG *tar*), *chuige*, *thuige* (ultimately from OG *co*), *cho* (ultimately from OG *com*), *cha* (ultimately from OG *nícon*), and the phrase *fhad 's a* + rel. verb 'while'.

ScG *mar-aon* and the semantically identical *ar-aon* are traditionally seen as containing different prepositions (*DIL* s.v. *oen* III: *mar oen*, *ar oen*),[12] both may be a result of a reinterpretation of OG *immaróen*, on the one hand yielding *mar* + *oén*, on the other *ar* + *oén* (see note 10 above); and it is from the latter that the Scottish by-form *far-aon* will have developed by prothesis (Calder 1972: 37). According to this, *far a*^{n} and *far ri* have developed from earlier *ar a*^{n} and *ar ri*, respectively.

In conclusion, regardless whether *Moses* from *Middleton* is now more or less likely, it is hoped that the foregoing, while it does not pretend to resolve it, will reopen the debate on the question of the etymology of (Scottish) Gaelic *far*.

Acknowledgement

I am very grateful to Professor Máirtín Ó Murchú for reading a draft of this article.

[12] Cf. Ir. *ar aon* 'together, both, all', *mar aon le* 'along with, together with' (Dinneen s.v. *aon*); *araon* 'both', *ar aon le* 'together with', *mar aon le* 'in addition to' (Ó Dónaill: 58 and 52, s.v. *aon*, respectively).

A Poem on the Land of the Little People

William Gillies

Introduction

The Early Modern tale about Fergus Mac Léide is contained – uniquely, to my knowledge – in British Library, Egerton MS 1782, ff. 30–34 (hereafter E), from which it has been edited and translated by Standish H. O'Grady (1892: I, 238–52, and II, 269–85. See further Thurneysen 1921: 539–47; Binchy 1952 and 1968). The date of composition of this tale is not known, although there appears to be an allusion to it in the poem 'Fada an chabhair a Cruachain', attributed to Muireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh, which would mean it was already composed by the thirteenth century, i.e. early in the Early Modern period (Murphy 1953–55: 77. See further Ó Caithnia 1984: 79).

It has been remarked that this tale is graced by some rather fine poems (Flower 1926: 272). One of the most memorable of these is that which begins 'Ingnad echtra romégla úaibh ar filedhaib' in E, with its description of the palace of Iubhdán, king of the Little People, and his *familia* as recounted by Fergus's chief-poet Aodh, who has travelled to visit them and now returns to the court of Fergus, king of the Men of Ulster (O'Grady 1892: I, 249–50, and II, 282). This poem attracted the attention of the compilers of the Book of the Dean of Lismore (hereafter B), who included it on pp. 32–33 of their anthology (for a plain transcription, see Quiggin 1937: 64–5). As such, it bears testimony both to their taste and to the capacity of verses like these to develop an existence independent of their original milieu.[1]

The two versions of the poem contained in E and B appear to be independent of one another and to stand fairly close to a common original, for the following reasons:

[1] It may be inferred that our poem's background involved contact with the tale: (a) B's verse 16, which is not in E, contains a reference to a specific episode in the prose part of the tale (see the note on 16a); (b) B's verse 5, which is not in this poem in E, seems to be an adaptation of a verse from another poem in E (see note). Elsewhere (Gillies 2005) I discuss further the circumstances under which the poem may have found its way into B.

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1) Each of E and B contains verses, not in the other, which appear to be integral to the poem and not accretions to it.[2]
2) Despite a disagreement as to the order of two verses early on in the poem, the beginning and ending are closely similar, as is the verse order of the second half of the poem as a whole.
3) This picture is replicated at the level of individual readings. There are some instances where E is inferior, some where B is inferior, and some where both E and B seem to have subverted the 'original' text, while at the same time there is an extensive core of underlying unity.

In circumstances like these it would be legitimate to suspect that one could create a composite text that would be nearer to 'the original' than either of the two extant versions. However, the specific linguistic problems associated with B, together with an undeniable level of minor variation in the shared lines and verses, are sufficiently weighty to counsel parallel rather than composite presentation, for present purposes at least.

Metre

This poem and those beginning 'A fhir duib, is mór in gábad i fuil' and 'Beir mo ghó, a Fherguis dan bidba bró' in E are presented by O'Grady (1892: I, 243, 248–9) as isosyllabic four-line verses set out in pairs of long lines. In order to achieve this effect, O'Grady has had to reduplicate the first phrase of each verse, against the testimony of E and, in this case, that of B as well. In fact, in all three poems the inserted half-lines represent an unnecessary and unwarranted distortion of the manuscript text.[3]

The metre of our poem is actually more interesting than O'Grady's presentation has allowed us to see. On a cursory inspection, it appears

[2] There is also one pretty certain accretion in B from another poem embedded in the tale (see n. 1 above). It has to be borne in mind that the compilers of B were quite as capable of adding verses as they were of losing them (Gillies 1996: 222–4).

[3] For such unwarranted interference with the text of *rannaigheacht* and *deibhidhe* poems where the originals were composed in recognised metrical variants with shortened first lines, see Knott 1957: 14, n. 1.

to consist of pairs of 12-syllable lines ending on rhyming trisyllables (in what follows, I term the two long lines 'a' and 'b' respectively). The consistently marked punctuation of E (see Appendix), when taken together with breaks in sense and syntax, further suggests that each line has a caesura after the fourth syllable. This would yield a pattern 2(4 + 8) according to the usual formulation.[4] While the second segment can be further specified as 8^3, the first is not so straightforward: it is 4^1 on most occasions, but 4^2 in lines 1a, 12a, 14b and 18a.

Again, the syllabic count is not wholly regular: lines 2b, 5b, 6a, 6b, 11a (reading suspect), 13b (reading uncertain), 16b (reading uncertain) and 17a appear 'hypermetrical' and lines 3a and 8b 'hypometrical' by the syllabic criterion. While some of these 'irregularities' can be explained away, e.g. in terms of elisions that were permitted in *dán díreach*, or by simple substitutions such as *is* for *agus*, not all can be so easily disposed of. It comes through pretty clearly that those who handed the poem down to us were not deeply concerned by syllabic count.[5]

While the (roughly) 12-syllable lines are to be divided in the first instance in the pattern (4 + 8), parallelism between the first segment and the first half of the second segment is also consistently present in the second line of each couplet and was obviously intended.[6] That is to say, there was a level at which the line was felt to be divided (4 + 4 + 4). Nevertheless, when viewed as syllabic poetry, a significant number of the first lines have word-divisions which would force us to analyse the second segment as (5 + 3) rather than (4 + 4): see 4a, 7a, 14a, 15a, 16a, 17a and 18a (reading uncertain).

This awkwardness, as it appears, is reminiscent of the situation described by James Carney in his ground-breaking 'Three Old Irish Accentual Poems' (1971), and I wish to suggest that it is worth viewing the present poem in the same light. Within this more

[4] The sole visible exception is 6a, which the scribe of E has punctuated after the eighth syllable, and not after the fourth.

[5] One should record that the syllabically 'irregular' lines are not concentrated in those verses preserved only by E or by B alone, but appear to be embedded in the poem as a whole.

[6] The parallelism, which involves both rhyme and rhythm, is complete in lines like 17b where *guth na slógh saor* is echoed 'perfectly' by *uch is mór Aodh*.

congenial framework, we should describe our poem as consisting of 3-phrase lines, in which the first two phrases each contain two stresses and the third phrase contains one stress. Phrases 1 and 2 are similar in shape, and phrase 3 provides a contrasting coda. This way of regarding the poem parallels Carney's analysis of certain early poems in *ochtfhoclach* metre (1971: 34–6), except that ours would have the verse structure 2(2A + B) whereas Carney's proved to have 2(3A + B).

Under this analysis, a degree of syllabic irregularity is unremarkable, as are word-divisions which prevent the analysis of certain lines as (4 + 4 + 4). Admittedly, a certain number of phrases appear at first sight to contain 'extra' stresses, if analysed according to the stressed/stressless criterion appropriate to discussion of *dán díreach*. But if read with consideration for the stress patterns of the spoken language, this difficulty too disappears: e.g. the phrase *eiteach éan bhfionn* (5a) is to be read with stress on *eiteach* and *bhfionn* and with *éan* de-stressed, as in accentual verse in general (see Blankenhorn 2003: especially 51–80, 111–41).

On that basis, the poem's metre could be described as an accentual version of what has been called *ollbairdne aiclech iarcomarcach* (Murphy 1961: 61, no. 48).[7] The use of this unusual metre was perhaps deemed appropriate on the lips of Aodh, who was an *abhag* ('dwarf') to the Men of Ulster, although a giant to the Tuath Luchra or Little People (O'Grady 1892: I, 241).[8]

Editorial policy

The edition here is of B. Because O'Grady's edition of E is disfigured by the procrusteanising tendency mentioned above, and is unacceptable

[7] The ornamentation in our poem consists of (a) the trisyllabic end-rhyme between a and b, (b) regular alliteration, apparently obligatory in b, (c) internal rhyme, sometimes consisting of consecutive rhymes in identical sequence, in b only. The standard of rhyme is variable: sometimes the rules of *dán díreach* are observed, but sometimes not, and there are several violations of consonant quality. This variability seems to be inherent in the poem itself rather than in E or B.

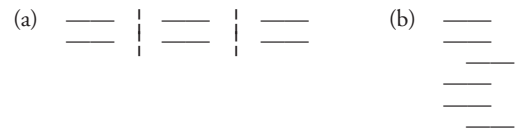
[8] The metres of the poems in our tale are remarkably varied, and include several unusual types with short or shortened lines. My suggestion is that this could be a literary way of highlighting the fact that they are mostly spoken by members of the Tuath Luchra or, in the present case, one who is half-way between the two worlds.

in some other respects besides, I have also printed E afresh (see Appendix), both for the sake of accuracy and for ease of comparison.

In editing B, I give the manuscript text first, followed by two levels of interpretation: (a) a transliteration into traditional Gaelic orthography, and (b) a normalised Early Modern Gaelic version, reflecting the fact that the poem was obviously composed to an Early Modern standard, which can mostly be restored without difficulty (for the principles involved, see Gillies 1978: 21–3). I discuss forms which do not readily submit to this classification, together with other matters of textual importance, in the Notes. The text of B is presented in a form as near as possible to that of the manuscript, including changes made by the scribe. In the transliterated text, Scotticisms and dialectalisms are allowed to stand, and editorial interference is minimal. In the standardised text punctuation, capitals etc. have been added as part of the normalising process, and metrical propriety has influenced the choice between alternative forms.

The text of E is given as it appears in the manuscript. Some local difficulties (e.g. 'floating' accents; tall, short and ligatured *e*; lenition dots and *h*-strokes) are mentioned in the preamble to the Notes. The Notes also contain translations of all lines and verses found only in E.

In terms of presentation, poetry of this sort can be set out (a) in long lines, or (b) in a more 'vertical' structure:



I have chosen (a) in deference to the manuscripts and for reasons of space.

Edition of B

The following textual and linguistic points are worth mentioning at the outset:

1) Corrections and additions to B are all in the same hand and ink as the main text. Some were made during the course of writing the main text (e.g. 1a), while others were added later, which could, of

course, include 'later in the same writing session' (e.g. 2a, 6a, 9a, 9b, 14b, 15a, 17a and perhaps 17b).

2) Some of the corrections in B rectified obvious mistakes, but it is not always clear that the changes were intended to eliminate the results of carelessness. Possibly, some of them reflect editorial suppression of alternative readings (e.g. 14b).

3) Some lines suggest that this scribe at least was not wholly in command of the text he was trying to represent (e.g. 9a, 11b and 17b).

1 [= E 1]
[32] Eny^{t} m[ ]ir is ma er nyilt ~~g~~ ra milezow
o rewrow voir gow schee vrowi schroil di vy*n* arrew

Io(ng)nadh m'[eacht]a(i)r is mé air ndea(gh)ailt ra m'fhileadhaibh
o río(gh)bhru(gh) mhó(i)r go sío(dh) bhru(gh) sró(i)l do mhin fhearaibh.

Iongnadh m'eachtra, 's mé ar ndeaghailt ré m'fhileadhaibh,
ó ríoghbhrugh mhór go síodhbhrugh sróil do mhinfhearaibh.

Marvellous (was) my adventure once I had separated from my poets; from a great royal residence to a silken fairy residence belonging to Little Men.

2 [Not in E]
lwm hic fer beg g^{w} ~~w~~^{b}row vdane o Innawin*n*
re wrow mir sen*n* a^{t} schee wrow ne vlli a hy*n*nawle

Liom thig fear beag gu bru(gh) U(bh)dáin o fhinnEamhain
río(gh)-bhru(gh) mar sean ach sío(dh) bhru(gh) ní fhuil a h-ionna(mh)ail.

Liom tig fear beag go brugh Iubhdáin ó fhinnEamhain;
ríoghbhrugh mar soin, acht síodhbhrugh ní fhoil a h-ionnshamhail.

A Little Man comes with me to Iubhdán's residence from bright Eamhain; to a royal residence like that there is no comparison but a fairy residence.

3 [= E 6]
skailleit ann doynnei^{t} schoil aynei^{t}
Cawlei^{t} chwle c*h*hornei^{t} chwne is clairrei^{t}

Scéalai(gh)eacht ann duanai(gh)eacht sco(i)l(e) fhianai(gh)eacht cabhlai(gh)eacht chiúil chornai(gh)eacht chiúin is cliarai(gh)eacht.

Scéalaigheacht ann, duanaigheacht scol, fianaigheacht; cabhlaigheacht chiúil, chornaigheacht chiúin is cliaraigheacht.

(There is) story-telling there, recitation of poems of learned poets, fian-*lore; harp-playing by way of music, gentle horn-playing and choral singing.*

4 [cf. E 4]
a hwrlar blae di fleiskew irvee aynnoe
…

A h-urlá(i)r bláith do phlaosgaibh iorbhuaidh éanu(gh)a
…

A h-urláir bláith do bhlaosgaibh ioruaidh éanugha;
…

Its floors smooth (made) of the (egg-)shells of an eagle, each (floor consisting of) a single egg [?] …

5 [Not in E]
a toee vein detty^{t} ayn fynni ni fewe
a heny^{t} ra hoil a keily^{t} doir is di*n*drone

A tui(gh)e mhín d'eiteach éan fionn na fio(dh)bhai(dh)e
a h-aonach ra h-(e)ó(i)l a caola d'ór is d'fhiondruine.

A tuighe mhín, d'eiteach éan bhfionn na fiodhbhaidhe;
a h-aonach ra-óil, a caola d'ór is d'fhiondruine.

Its smooth thatch of the plumage of the bright birds of the forest; its assembly-place of great carousing(?), its walls of gold and white-gold.

6 [Not in E]
sork i*n* te dalk is yg*h*e er in ~~grane~~ done skoogge
a solse ra schawae si dorse er in greine gaarg[….]

Suairc an toi(gh) dtailc is aghaidh air an dtonn (a)s cumhgai(ghth)e
a soilse ra séimhe 's a doirse air an g(h)réin g(h)airg [cumhdaighthe].

Suairc an teach dtailc 's 'aghaidh ar an dtuinn as cumhgaighthe;
a s(h)oilse ra-s(h)éimh 's a d(h)oirse ar an ghréin ghairg [cumhdaighthe].

Blithe is the well-set house with its face towards the most enclosed shore(?); its lighting most mellow and its doorways protected(?) from the fierce sun.

7 [= E 2]
dorris er ched er i*n* drave dalgor deve holl[..]
gi mon*m*or mor is koil or gi an*n*e dorr[.. …]

Dorus air chéad air an dtreibh dtalg(mh)oir dtaobh shol[uis]
go monmar mó(i)r is comhl' ó(i)r gach éan dor[uis].

Dorus ar chéad ar an dtreibh dtolgmhóir dtaobhsholuis,
go marmhair mhóir is comhlaidh óir gach éandoruis.

There are a hundred and one doorways on the strongly mighty, bright-sided dwelling; with copious marble and a golden door (for) every single door-way.

8 [cf. E 7]
Re ossil ann gi eith gi*n* oath gi*n* alchei^{t}
gi*n* delve zoo gy*n* te*n*m chloo gy*n* ta*n*tei^{t}
gi*n* weiss gi*n* wreg gi*n* eiss gi*n* eed gi*n* al[…]

Rí uasal ann ga[n] fhíoch gan fhuath gan fheallchaigheacht(?)
gan deilbh ghó gan teinm chló gan teanntai(gh)eacht
gan bhaois gan bhréig gan aois gan éad gan fheallchaigheacht(?).

Rí uasal ann, gan fhíoch, gan fhuath, gan fhealltaigheacht,
gan deilbh ghó, gan teinm chló, gan teanntaigheacht;
gan bhaois, gan bhréig, gan aois, gan éad, gan fhealltaigheacht.

A noble king there, without anger, without hatred, without false dealing, without fashioning of deceit, without attrition of form, without hardship; without foolishness, without a lie, without ageing, without envy, without false dealing.

9 [= E 10]
IS mevoyn*n*ni ra // $^{ven}_{d}$vdane In vanchurre
ne vein zaig zale gin iij^{c} ben*n* na bane c*h*hurre

Is Mé Bhuainne(?) ra-bhean U(bh)dáin an bhanchuire
ní mhín (*or* bhinn?) dhéad gheal gan trí chéad bean 'na ban chuire.

Is Bé Bhó fhionn ra-bhean Iubhdáin an bhanchuire;
ní bhí an ghéag gheal gan trí chéad bean 'na banchuire.

And fair Bé Bhó, peerless wife of Iubhdán of the female company: the bright scion is never without three hundred women in her female retinue.

10 [= E 11]
Bantry^{t} bevoo beg loyit vlk na^{t} torrwm[..]
roo zil i*n* gwrp rigge i*n* wlt i*n* wybr[…]

Bantracht Bé Bhó beag luai(dh)id u(i)lc ná to(gh)ram[a]
ró-ghil an gcu(i)rp rigi(dh) an bhfu(i)lt an bhfa(dh)br[anna].

Bantracht Bé Bhó, beag luaidhid uilc nó taghrama;
ró-gheal a gcuirp, rigidh a bhfuilt a bhfadhbranna.

The women-folk of Bé Bhó, little of evil do they utter, or of imprecation; very white (are) their bodies, their hair reaches (down to) their ankles.

11 [= E 12]
[33] Ollew i*n* ree Eskgi^{r}dy^{t} m^{c} bege v^{c} boye
Rosgow gorm*m* lye na dorn*n* i*n* donyrre

Ollamh an río(gh) Eascairdeach mac Beag mhic Bua(dh)ai(gh)e
Rosgaibh gorm lu(gh)a ná dorn an duanaire.

Ollamh an ríogh [Éisirt] mac Big mhic Buaidh[gheine];
rosg [gubha] gorm, lugha ná dorn an duanaire.

The king's chief-poet (is) Éisirt, son of Beag, son of Buaidhgheine; (with) soulful blue eye, the poet is smaller than a (man's) fist.

12 [= E 13]
Ben i*n* nollew gley vinni gi glor za ga*n*nit schee
ben*n* alyn oog y*n* lawin or zi chedlit sche / E

Bean an ollaimh glé bhinn gach glór dhá gcanad sí
bean álainn óg an lámhainn óir dho chaidlead sí.

Bean an ollaimh, gléibhinn gach glór dá gcanadh sí;
bean álainn óg, i lámhainn óir do chadladh sí.

The wife of the chief-poet, clear and melodious was every sound that she would utter; a handsome young woman, she used to sleep in (my) gold glove.

13 [= E 15]
Trane er in ree gla*n*mor m*c* glass v*c* gloyre
Far glorrur gark sei^{t}we i*n* foown*n* ard da aynvil

Tréan fhear an río(gh) Glanm(h)or mac Glas mhic Gló(mh)rai(gh)e
fear glór(mh)or garg saoieadh an fo(gh)bhan ard dá éanbhuill(e).

Tréinfhear an ríogh, Glonnmhar(?) mac Glais mhic Glomhraighe;
fear glórmhor garg, [do] sódh oghbhan ard dá éanbhuille.

The king's champion, Glonnmhor son of Glas son of Glomhraighe; a vainglorious, fierce man, a tall thistle is felled by his single blow.

14 [= E 14]
dalown i*n* reig i*n*nwl fer chom chorn deive
Invin firryn di we ~~mayin~~ *i*n villin mi vouchille

Dáilea(mh)a(i)n an ríogh ion-ndúil fear chom[a] chorn dibh(e)
ionmhain firein do bhí in bhfillín mo mhui[n]chille.

Dáileamh an ríogh, iondúil fear comtha cuirndighe;
ionmhain firín, do bhí i bhfillín mo mhuinchille.

The king's cup-bearer, desirable companion for horn-swigging; a beloved manikin who was (once) in the fold of my sleeve.

15 [= E 16]
[.]e gis
xvij deik i*n* mouchsy^{r} i*n* lwth cleive chommi sen*n*
Cay^{t}rir im chriss fer rew gi*n* niss i*m* mwlchwiss

Seacht [n-]éigis déag in m'uch(t)-sa an lucht cléibh com(a) sean
ceathrar im chrios fear (dh)íobh gan n-fhios in m'ulchaibh-eas.

Seacht n-éigis déag im ucht-sa – an lucht-cléibh cumtha-san –
ceathrar im chrios, fear dhíobh gan fhios im ulcha-sa.

Seventeen poets in my bosom – that beloved band of companionship – four in my belt, (and) one of them unnoticed in my beard.

16 [Not in E]
Rai^{t} wak in ree er mvnni meil m^{o}ygh marcki^{t}[.]*is*
fer folt chass fail dany^{t} coo anmi fage folthollis

Rá-mhac an río(gh) air muin mí(o)l muigh marcai(gh)i(o)s
fear folt chas fáil dana(dh) có(mh)ainm fáidh foltsholus.

Ra-mhac an ríogh, ar muin míol muighe marcaigheas;
Fear foltchas Fáil, dana comhainm Fáidh Faltsholuis.

The king's mighty son, he rode on the back of hares; curly-haired Fear Fáil, whose alias is 'Bright-haired Prophet'(?).

17 [= E 17]
i*n* te
Sai derteis oge ag*is* wrre // gy*n*ni slog^{e} seir
Wthe is more eg^{e} ir weircharri I

Sé deirtis óig agus urra(dh)a an t-sí(dh)
go n-a slógh saor, uch is mór Aodh ar bhfíorchara í.

Is é adeirdis óig agus urradha an t-síodh[bhrogha],
guth na slógh saor, "Uch, is mór Aodh, ar bhfíorchara!"

What the warriors and chief men of the fairy citadel used to say – the voice of the free-born hosts – was: "Och, isn't he big, our true friend Aodh!"

18 [= E 18]
agsen mathty*ri* zut a v^{c} leta nir mor mewe
a arreis aille lwm hanic feyn lor mor neny^{t} E

Ag sean m'eachtar(a) dhut a mhic le(i)d(e) nar mór mbio(dh)bha(dh)
a Fhearghuis fhéil liom tháinig féin lór mór n-io(ng)nadh.

Ag sein m'eachtra dhuit, a mhic Léide na móirfhiodhbhadh;
a Fhearghuis fhéil, liom táinig féin lór móiriongnadh.

There is my adventure for you, Mac Léide of the great forests(?); generous Fergus, I myself met with an abundance of great marvels.

Textual notes

1a The beginning of the line is very faint. Quiggin read *Enyth … is* etc.

1b At 2b, 4a, 5a and 5b, *brugh* is apparently treated as a feminine noun, although we seem to have the normal masculine in genitive singular *an t-síodhbhrogha* at 17a.
E has 'with great kings, with bright men'.

2a *liom thig*: Given that B's *liom tháinig* in 18b is probably for *dom-* or *rom-tháinig*, the question arises whether an infixed pronoun has similarly been lost here. Could one read *dom-ug* or *rom-ug* and translate 'a little man brought me'?

2b This word-order recurs in another poem contained in the tale: 'acht mise is an airdrigan / ní fil nech uainn fó duibe' (O'Grady 1892: I, 245, line 5).

3a In B *sch-* normally represents /ʃ/ rather than /sk/ (e.g. *schee* = *sí* at 12a), which might suggest *seól* with the meaning 'music' (for which, see O'Brien 1932: 169), or *seal*, i.e. 'poems for a while' (cf. *greas ar tháiplis* 'a while at backgammon'; O'Rahilly 1927: I, 17).

3b For *cliaraigheacht*, cf. 'Oisein treun an tùs na cliarachd' (Livingston 1882: 143), where the word is glossed 'chorus'.

4 E's version of this verse (see E 4) provides good sense and end-rhyme, and may well indicate what has been omitted by B. However, one may suspect that the author of the poem had in mind the picture of a giant bird's egg forming a dome or cupola, as did the roc's egg in *Sinbad the Sailor*, rather than a floor.

4a For the *ioruadh* as supreme bird, and for its single giant egg, see Kitson 1984: 128–33; McNamara 1988. Cf. also, from another poem in B, 'an ioruaidh ós gach éanlaith' 'the *ioruaidh* above all the other birds' (sic leg. in Gillies 1996: 221, verse 7b).
B's *aynnoe* corresponds well enough with E's *énugha* (: *crédumha*). I have taken *-ugha* as nominative plural in apposition to *urláir* (which I take as plural by analogy with the plural *léibinn* in E). Another possibility would be to take it as genitive singular, dependent on *ioruaidh*, and translate 'of the shells of the *ioruadh* that lays (but) one egg', i.e. with reference to the rarity of the material used to make the floors. E's *blaosg uighe* 'egg-shell' for

blaosgaibh 'shells' is conceivably a *lectio difficilior* here.

Given the possibility that the author's original picture was of roofs rather than floors, it is worth noting that emending to *én[t]ugha* 'whole roof' would not be difficult (see next note).

5 Although E lacks this verse, the following verse occurs in an earlier poem in the tale (O'Grady 1892: I, 245), in which Iubhdán tells Fergus about the splendours of his royal chamber:

> A fordorus d'fionndruine . is a tairrsech d'uma
> is d'eitib én bhfionnbuide . dar lium fil a thuga.

I am inclined to believe that the verse is intrusive in B; certainly, its removal would permit one to introduce (or restore) a reference to 'roof' in the previous verse.

5b B's *eny*[†] and *hoil* are problematic; *f(h)íona* would also be possible for the former, and *h-eóil* and *sheól* for the latter.

For *caol* 'wattling', cf. *DIL* s.v. *cáel* II: 'cóel fo tuighib d'itib én', describing the residence of Mac ind Óic.

6a *an teach dtailc*: For eclipsis in conjunction with old neuters cf. *rosg ngubo ngorm* (E 12b). In general, eclipsis in this position is common in place-names (*Loch nEathach*, *Sliabh gCua* etc.) and occurs in a few set phrases like *teach n-óil* (McManus 1994: 358), but is unusual in an unmarked noun-adjective sequence in Early Modern texts.

aghaidh: Possibly plural *aighthe* (which would be metrically easier) was intended; for *aghaidh* (singular) usually appears as *ye* in B. (See, however, *ríogh* spelled *ree* at 13a beside *reig* at 14a.)

dtuinn: I translate 'shore' (literally, 'wave') in the belief that some sort of marine environment is envisaged for Iubhdán's palace. But perhaps 'surface' > 'land' is all that is meant.

6b *cumhdaighthe* (cf. ScG *còmhdaichte* 'covered') is a mere guess. Quiggin read *gaargge* and recorded *gaavge* as an alternative.

7a E has 'twelve doors'.

7b B's *monmar* (with an extravagant *m*-suspension over the whole word) suggests *monm(h)ar.* I am unclear whether to take this as a by-form of *marmor* 'marble' (see *DIL* s.v.) or as the result of confusion with *monmhar* 'murmur' (see *DIL* s.v. *monmhar*, *murmur*).

8a *ann*, or possibly *án*.

fealltaigheacht: See also verse 3 for inventive use of the *-aigheacht* suffix, whether from metrical exigency or with artistic effect in mind. The ScG adjective *fealltach* and noun *fealltachd* are developed from *feallta* (genitive singular of the verbal noun *fealladh* and also past participle passive of the verb *feall*).

8b E's association of *deilbh* with *clódh* suggests 'deterioration of form' in a way that parallels B's *gan aois* 'without age(ing)'. For *teanntaigheacht*, cf. the Scottish Ossianic text 'Teanndachd Mhór na Féinne' (for which, see Campbell 1872: 95–105).

8c Unfortunately, the end of the line is illegible in B. This line may be the remnant of another verse giving an expanded treatment of the debilities from which Iubhdán was free. Alternatively, since 8c, like 8a, apparently ended with a word based on *feall*, it may reflect an alternative or doublet to 8a.

9a The scribe of B evidently had difficulty with this line, presumably on account of the unusual name Bé Bhó. Probably the epithet *an bhanchuire* appears in anticipation of 9b, where it is more comfortable. E's *na tromthuile* 'of the heavy flood' shows the sort of descriptor that we should have expected in B.

9b B's scribe had difficulty with this line too, changing *ghéag* to *dhéad*. He may have started out thinking he was dealing with *mínghéag* 'fine branch'. The problems in this verse seem to involve an oral-aural dimension.

10a E has *d'ardfolaid* 'of high resentment'.

10b E's *soithid* is presumably for *saighidh* 'approaches'.

11a Comparison of the variously contracted forms of Éisirt's name in the tale as a whole enables one to be sure of its form. B's version of it, which is hypermetric, is clearly secondary. The grandfather's name is likewise a 'hit and miss' affair in B.

11b B's *rosgaibh* is problematic, whether taken as a dative plural (in which case we would presumably have to supply *go* before it) or as a nominative plural. In either case emendation to *gorma* would be needed, which would spoil the rhyme with *dorn*. E's *rosg ngubha* offers a solution, perhaps suggesting an aural misunderstanding on B's part. (Cf. 4a, where E's *blaosg uighe*, especially if pronounced as *uibhe*, could have given rise to B's reading in *-aibh*.)

12a Should *glébhinn* be translated 'very melodious' as in ScG?

12b 'in my glove' (B): The point is lost unless the woman slept in the speaker's (i.e. Aodh's) glove, as in E.
The line ends with a slash and a capital 'E', as though the scribe thought the poem was coming to an end here (cf. 18b).

13a E's name-forms (see E 15) on the whole carry more conviction than B's do; however, the end-rhyme is difficult in either case.

13b The line is quoted in *IGT Declension* §406, where the rhyme *glonnmhor* : *ogban* is cited.
I take the verb-form *taoth*, which occurs in E and *IGT*, as a gnomic preterite meaning 'falls'. For the form, cf. *IGT Verb* §252, *mun tí taoth* 'about the one who has fallen'. See also *IGT Metrical* s.v. 25 *Béarla lochtach*, which includes *nochor taoth* 'has not fallen'. B's reading presumably conceals something similar. I suspect it represents in the first instance *(do) saoieadh* or similar (literally, 'has been overthrown'), from *soäidh*, *sóidh* 'turns', with labial treatment of the past passive ending *-(e)adh*. However, the original may have been nearer to *taoth*: the scribe may have been faced with *saoth*, apparently a by-form of *taoth*, given the passage just cited from *IGT Metrical*.
Although *éanbhuille* does not rhyme with *Glomhraighe*, it is supported by B, E and *IGT*, and is probably best left alone. Were it to be changed one could perhaps think of *forbhuille* 'mighty blow', if this lies behind ScG *fearbhuille* (understood as 'manly blow', but perhaps for *farbhuille*).

14a The simplest explanation of B's *dáileamha(i)n* is that the scribe thought he was dealing with the plural, though the possibility that it is an example of the accusative/dative ending being used for nominative should not be discounted.
Perhaps read *Iondúil*, i.e. as the cup-bearer's name.
For *comtha* (beside *cumtha*), see *DIL* s.v. *commaid* and cf. 15a.

14b *do bhí*: One could also read *do bhíodh* 'used to be'.
Note that B originally had *meadhón* 'waist, middle' (like E), before this was scored out and *in bhfillín* put in its place.

15a I take *cumtha* to be genitive of *comaidh*, *cumaidh* 'companionship', as in 14a.

15b B appears to have dative plural *ulchaibh*. Translate 'whiskers'? Or 'forked beard'?

The end-rhyme could be improved by reading *mo lucht-cléibh cumtha-sa*.

16a The idea of a hare acting as a horse to one of the Little People occurs in the tale, where Aodh, on his journey to the Land of the Little People, likens Iubhdán's horse to a *míol mongruadh muige* (O'Grady 1892: I, 242).

16b B's *dana(dh)* should presumably be retained as a linguistic *lectio difficilior*. Although this appears to give a hypermetric line, it may be that a disyllabic *iairmbéarla* could be used thus (forming, as it were, an 'anacrusis within the phrase') in this sort of versification. The point of the line may be that *Fear Fáil* is to be understood as 'Man of Learning' (see *DIL* s.v. 4 *fál*) rather than 'Man of Ireland'.

17a B's *urradha* (beside E's *ánraid* 'nobles' or 'champions') is reminiscent of ScG *urracha (móra)* 'magnates, bosses'.

17b B's *go n-a* (or whatever it is) suggests that the scribe was not wholly *au fait* with his subject matter at this point. As in 9b and 11b, aural misunderstanding may seem to be indicated.
The added letter 'I' (if I have correctly interpreted it) is puzzling. Did the person who added *an t-sídh* at the end of line 17a feel that 17b needed a rhyming cadence? Or was it intended to supply a *dúnadh* for the poem?

18a B's spelling here lends some support to Binchy's suggestion (1968: 44) that the *-e-* in *Leide* may originally have been short. Was his supposition founded on the rhyme *Leite* : *beice* (taken as genitive singular feminine of *beag*) which occurs in another poem in the tale (see O'Grady 1892: I, 252)? If so, one would have to say that *beice* for *bice* is not usual, especially when the same text contains such spellings as *lite*, genitive singular *litean*, dative singular *litin* 'porridge' (ibid.: 243–4), and when alternative readings such as *b[r]ēice* 'false' or *bēice* or *bēic[th]e* 'loud-mouthed' (see *DIL* s.vv. *béiccech* and *béiccid* respectively) would give better sense. It is safest to stick with *Léide*. (On this point, see also Ó hUiginn 1993: 35.)

18b If *liom* is taken as equivalent to *riom* (earlier *frimm*) the sense is passable. However, E's *domtánic* strongly suggests that a form with an infixed pronoun has been suppressed here.

18ab E's end-rhymes confirm that we need trisyllabic rhymes in this verse as in the rest. B's attempt to present the verse with disyllabic rhymes seems to have started from the belief that *biodhbhadh* 'of enemies' was involved, leading to further adjustments. E's *-fhidbad* '(of the great) woods' may well preserve the reading which gave rise to B's confusion.

Appendix: The Version Contained in the British Library, Egerton 1782, f. 33b, Col. a

The text of E is clearly but closely written, which makes word-division difficult to identify in some cases. The following orthographical points may be noted.

1) Accents are pretty regularly supplied, but with a hair-stroke that is not always easy to see. Moreover, the accent is sometimes placed rather casually in relation to diphthongs and triphthongs, e.g. over the *u* of *duanaigheacht* (6b), over the *a* of *uaib* (1b), and over the *i* of *uaini* (3b). Sometimes, indeed, it seems to cover two vowels or to fall between two vowels. In cases of doubt, I have assumed the 'correct' spelling to be intended.
2) Short *e* with ligatured subscript *a* is used for *ea*, e.g. in *fichealla* (5d), while tall *e* is used with ligatured subscript *a* for *ae*, e.g. in *cháem* (9b) and *aen* (9d). Ligatured *æ* is used for *ae* in *blaeísg* (4b).

Text

1 Ingnad echt*ra* romégla úaibh a*r* filedhaib . co
sithb*rug* slóigh . go rigr*a*idh móir go bfin*nfer*uib

2 Da dor*us* .x. arint*re*ib tolgmóir tóebsol*uis* . go
ma*rmair* móir . co gcoml*aid* óir gach óendoruis

3 D*er*g is buidhi . is úaini glas gor*m* is rochoilcti . cu*m*
achta cían . fulachta fían is fot*ra*igti .

4 A léibin*n* bláith . doblaeísg uighi ir*uait*h é*n*ugha .
colbo glai*n*e . colba ai*r*gitt is créduma .

5 Sída 7 sróll . s*ré*in 7 buabae is birtenga .
cu*macht*a cían . fulachta fían is fichealla .

6 Sgélaighecht an*n* is dúanaigh*eacht* . fíanaigh*eacht* . col
baigh*eacht* ciúil . cornai*reacht* chiúin is clía*r*aigh*eacht* .

7 Rí úasal é . iu*bdán* m*ac* abdaei*n* echbuidi . gan deilb
do chlódh . gan fheidm go mór a*r* ercn*aid*e .

8 Ingena an*n* . agsnám locho go lérgloi*n*e . gon
etach sróill . go slab*ra*d óir gach enduin*e* .

9 Amuis i*n* righ . got*rí*llsib folt cas cháemshol*uis*
fir fin*n*o fhois . tuill*ead* a*r* bois g*ach* aena*muis* .

10 Be bó blath ríghan . iu*bdáin*. na t*ro*mtuile . ní bí
[f. 33b, col. b]
ingég geal . gan tri chet ben na banchuire

11 Banntro*cht* be bo . beg lúaighid dolc *no* dard
fol*aid* . rogela a c*uir*p . soithid a fuilt go fadhb*ron*n*aib* .

12 Oll*am* in righ . é*sir*t m*ac* big m*ei*c búaidhgine . rosg
ngubo ngor*m* . lugha na dorn in dúainire .

13 Ben in egis . ba maith gach ní ro ad*ra*dhsí . bean
aluin*n* uill . i*m* lamuin*n* chuirr do chadladsí .

14 Dáilem in rígh . maith in fer com*m*tha cuir*m*tighi .
inmui*n* f*er* ór . do bí a medhón mo mui*n*chilli .

15 Trénf*er* in rígh . glóm*u*r m*ac* glais m*ei*c glomr*aid*e . laech
glon*n*m*ur* ga*r*g . taeth fothan*n*án a*r*d dáenbhuille .

16 Secht ngeisi .x. i*m* ucht don lucht cu*m*thasin . cet*ra*
a*r* im c*ris* . f*er* gan fhiss im ulchuinsi .

17 Aderdis rim . óig 7 ánr*aid* intsídhasoi*n* . guth
na slógh sáer . uch is mór aedh a fhírath*aig* .

18 Isísi*n* mechtr*a* . a m*e*ic l*eid*i na móirfhidb*ad* . a f*erguis* féil
domtánic in né moiringna*m* . INgna*m* //

Textual notes

1a Cf. B 1. The reading *romégla úaibh ar filedhaib* presumably stands for *rom-dheaghlaigh ó ar bhfileadhaibh* 'separated me from our poets' or similar. Perhaps a copying error.

1b '.. with great kings, with bright (*or* tiny) men'. See *DIL* s.v. 5 *finn*, for the proposed meaning 'small' here and at 9b.

2 See B 7.

3 Not in B. 'Red and yellow and emerald (and) pale blue (are its) wondrous quilts, long and well-built (are its) outdoor cooking pits and bathing places.'

3a Read *glas-ghorm [a] ro-choilcthe*(?).

3b Read *cum[t]achta*.

4 Partial in B 4. 'Its smooth terraces, of the egg-shell of (the) *ioruath*, single eggs (or 'of the *ioruath* (that lays a) single egg'); columns of crystal, columns of silver and bronze.'

5 Not in B. 'Silk and satin, bridles and drinking-horns(?) and cooking-spits(?); long (and) well built (are its) outdoor cooking pits and *fithchell* sets.'

5a *buabae*: Cited without explanation in *DIL* B 218.23. I tentatively read *buaba[ill]*.
birtenga: Cited in *DIL* s.v. 1 *bir* (see B 104.27) as 'some kind (or part) of horse's headdress(?)'. I tentatively read *bir-theng[th]a* (literally 'spit-tongues'?).

5b The reduplicated material seems marginally more appropriate in 3 than here.
Read *cum[t]achta* as in 3b; for *fichealla* read *fi[th]cheall*a.

6 See B 3.

6a O'Grady's *gach lá do bhíodh* is pure invention.

7 Cf. B 8. 'A noble king is he, Iubhdán son of Abhdaoin of yellow horses; without (his) form being corrupted, without great need

of wisdom.' Both form and sense are slightly unconvincing.

7b I take *ercnaide* as a mistake for *ecnaide* 'wisdom' (< *ecnaid* 'sage'), perhaps by contamination with *érgna* 'discernment'.

8 Not in B. '(There are) maidens there, swimming (in) a crystal-clear loch, with satin clothing, with a gold chain, (on) each one (of them).'

9 Not in B. 'The king's mercenaries, with long-haired, comely-bright tresses; tiny, steadfast men who would fit on the palm of any mercenary (of the Big People).'

9b See note on 1b for the mooted *finn* 'small'.

10 Cf. B 9. As in B 6, the reference to 'water' is presumably significant.

11 Cf. B 10.

12 Cf. B 11.

13 Cf. B 12. 'The wife of the poet, good was every aim that she used to pursue; a lovely, ample woman, she used to sleep in my tapering glove.'

13b What is normally the accusative/dative form *uill* is here used as nominative, perhaps *metri gratia*.

14 Cf. B 14.

14a *cuirmtighi*: 'excellent ale-house companion'.

14b 'Beloved was Fear Ór', or possibly 'the golden fellow was beloved'.

15 Cf. B 13.

16 Cf. B 15. E's *secht ngeisi* seems to show the same sort of transcriptional mix-up as in 1a. (But O'Grady translates *geisi* as '"swans" [i.e. pretty girls]'!)

17 Cf. B 17. 'They used to say to me, the warriors and champions of that elf-mound – the voice of the free-born hosts – "Och, isn't Aodh big, you real giant!"'

18 Cf. B 18.

Donnchadh Bàn MacIntyre's 'Marbhrann do Chù' and the Gaelic Ballad Tradition

Anja Gunderloch

'Marbhrann do chù a chaidh troimh 'n èigh, 's a' mhaigheach tarsainn 'na bheul' (MacLeod 1952: 406): this is the title of a poem in praise of a dog, evidently drowned in the manner described. It is not possible to determine the exact date of composition. In 1805 the poem was attributed unequivocally to Donnchadh Bàn MacIntyre by the Rev. Joseph MacIntyre, who had been involved in the publication of the 1768 edition of Donnchadh Bàn's work and who knew the poet (ibid.: xv, 549). However, although the poem was in existence in leaflet form in or before 1805 (ibid.: 549), it was not included in any edition of Donnchadh Bàn's verse until the fourth edition of 1834. Metrical evidence is not inconsistent with the attribution of authorship to Donnchadh Bàn. Two metres are employed in the poem: stanzas 1 and 3 are in a metre derived from *rannaigheacht mhór* ($7^1 + 7^1$) and stanza 2 uses a metre derived from *rannaigheacht bheag mhór* ($8^2 + 8^2$). In other poems by Donnchadh Bàn, we also find the combined use of two different metres of ultimately Classical origin: *snéadbhairdne* ($8^2 + 4^2$) and *rannaigheacht bheag mhór* are the ancestors of the metres employed in 'Rainn Claidhimh' (ibid.: 362–5), 'Rainn Gearradh-Arm' (ibid.: 234–7), 'Rann do 'n Ghàidhlig 's do 'n Phìob-Mhór 'sa' Bhliadhna 1783' (ibid.: 282–5), 'Rann do 'n Ghàidhlig 's do 'n Phìob-Mhór 'sa' Bhliadhna 1789' (ibid.: 296–9), and, with some variation, in 'Aoir Uisdein' (ibid.: 316–21).

Despite the term *marbhrann*, the poem is not an elegy but a humorous piece, perhaps relating to an actual incident where the death of the dog came about in near-farcical circumstances. It is possible, however, that there is no factual basis for this literary work. Mock-elegies for animals are not uncommon in Gaelic tradition; 'Marbhrann do Pheata Coluim' by Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair (Thomson 1993: 15) is a near-contemporary Scottish Gaelic poem with which Donnchadh Bàn may well have been familiar. Irish examples are also in evidence at the time, e.g. 'An Bonnán Buí' by Cathal Buí Mac Giolla Ghunna (Ó Tuama and Kinsella 1994: 132–5).

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Donnchadh Bàn has a substantial number of humorous songs in his repertoire. They can be categorised into six groups, with a degree of overlap in some cases: songs with a political or social dimension (3), songs in praise of weapons (3), whimsical songs (2), satires (6), hunting songs (3), and drinking songs (4). The songs with an obvious political or social dimension are 'Òran do Bhlàr na h-Eaglaise Brice' (MacLeod 1952: 2–7), 'Òran do 'n Bhriogais' (ibid.: 8–15), and 'Òran nam Balgairean' (ibid.: 346–9). In the last two, Donnchadh Bàn fulfils his role as spokesman of society by commenting on serious concerns of his time but with a light touch. 'Òran do Bhlàr na h-Eaglaise Brice', while ostensibly about the poet's somewhat absurd feud with Archibald Fletcher, makes a number of serious points on both the battle of Falkirk and the politics of the time (Gunderloch 2000: 99–103). The largest category, satire, is comprised of: 'Òran do Charaid Tàilleir air son Chuairt Shuirghe' (MacLeod 1952: 86–9), 'Òran do 'n Taillear an Éirig Òrain a Rinn Esan an Adhbhar a Charaid' (ibid.: 90–101), 'Aoir Uisdein' (ibid.: 316–21), 'Aoir Anna' (ibid.: 322–5), 'Òran do 'n Inbhir' (ibid.: 350–7), and 'Òran Iain Faochag' (ibid.: 396–405). With the exception of 'Òran Iain Faochag', these are all directed at persons known to Donnchadh Bàn and composed in response to specific circumstances; for example, in 'Aoir Anna' and 'Òran do 'n Inbhir' the poet castigates named individuals who did not extend proper hospitality to him. The four drinking songs praise both those who dispense drink freely and the good qualities of the drink itself: 'Rainn do 'n Phadhadh' (ibid.: 300–1), 'Òran a' Bhranndaidh' (ibid.: 302–5), 'Òran a' Bhotail' (ibid.: 306–11), and 'Alasdair nan Stòp' (ibid.: 312–5). Then there are two whimsical songs: 'Òran do Chaora' (ibid.: 132–45) and 'Rainn do 'n Cheud Cheàird' (ibid.: 358–61). The first of these imagines the potentially dire economic consequences that might arise from the death of a ewe the persona had received as a gift and pictures him going thigging for wool to have made into clothes. The second portrays Adam as the first craftsman since he invented the tailor's craft following expulsion from the Garden of Eden. The songs to weapons are 'Òran do 'n Mhusg' (ibid.: 16–9), 'Òran do Thailbert a Fhuaradh o Bhanrìgh Màiri' (ibid.: 20–5), and 'Rainn Claidhimh' (ibid.: 362–5). These three songs are concerned with weapons that Donnchadh Bàn was

given in the course of his duties as a member of the Town Guard of Edinburgh and as a militiaman in the Breadalbane Fencibles.[1] Finally, in addition to 'Marbhrann do Chù' itself, the hunting songs include 'Marbhrann Coilich' (ibid.: 150–5) and 'Òran Seachran Seilge' (ibid.: 156–9). None of the hunting expeditions described in these is crowned with success. In 'Marbhrann Coilich', Donnchadh Bàn relates the tale of the unfortunate death of a cockerel at the hands of a group of inept hunters who mistook the cockerel for a bird of prey. 'Òran Seachran Seilge' tells how the persona returned empty-handed and wet from a foray into the hills.

Of Donnchadh Bàn's humorous songs, 'Rainn Claidhimh' and 'Marbhrann Coilich' are of particular interest in the present context. At the very end of 'Rainn Claidhimh', we find a clear reference to Fionn mac Cumhail's *fian* and Diarmaid Ó Duibhne, alluding to the notion that Diarmaid was one of the ancestors of the Campbells (Gillies 1987: 60–3). The reference here is to the sword that Donnchadh Bàn received: 'Bha e tamall aig na Fiannaibh, / Daoine fiadhaich anns na blàraibh; / 'S rinneadh e 'n toiseach do Dhiarmaid, / 'S ann aig sliochd Dhiarmaid a thà e' (MacLeod 1952: 364). The fact that Donnchadh Bàn has made Andrea Ferrara, to whom the manufacture of the sword is attributed ('S a rinneadh le Andra Faràra'; ibid.: 364), an anachronistic contemporary of Diarmaid adds to the humorous effect of the poem. 'Marbhrann Coilich' shares the genre-identification in the title with 'Marbhrann do Chù', although it is possible that titles were given by editors rather than by the poet himself. In 'Marbhrann Coilich', a certain Patrick is named as the ringleader of the would-be hunters, with a broad hint at his incompetence: 'Chual' iad 's a h-uil' àite / Am breamas a rinn Pàraig' (ibid.: 150). Whether this is the same Patrick who is named in 'Marbhrann do Chù' is a matter of conjecture; however, both share a fondness for hunting and a degree of ineptitude (if it is reasonable to suggest that this played a part in allowing the dog of 'Marbhrann do Chù' onto the ice in the first place). 'Marbhrann Coilich' also contains a stanza in praise of the cockerel, although there are no close

[1] Donnchadh Bàn's famous song in praise of his gun ('Òran do Ghunna dh' an Ainm Nic Coiseim'; MacLeod 1952: 226–9) is not a humorous song in the strict sense and, therefore, is not considered here.

stylistic parallels between this and the passage praising the dog in 'Marbhrann do Chù'. What both poems have further in common is the poet's skilful handling of the subject-matter, especially in the telling of the underlying tale which is mainly by means of humorous allusion combined with descriptive detail.

Donnchadh Bàn's most recent editor, Angus MacLeod, appears somewhat at a loss in interpreting 'Marbhrann do Chù'. He writes:

> The last line seems to indicate personal interest in a recent incident; but the verse reads like a tale of former days, before guns were used in the chase, when the royal forest of Glen Artney was the scene of great hunts. It may be that the poet is retelling an old story, but whether it refers to the *Pàdraig* of Beinn Dòbhrain … or to some other famous hunter it is impossible to say. (ibid.: 549)

With a degree of reservation, I would go along with MacLeod's remark about the last line ('Is muladach sin leam an nochd'). His observation on the absence of gun-imagery goes in the right direction too. What Angus MacLeod has not picked up on is a number of allusions to heroic ballads. He does, however, sense the poem's close relationship to the distinctive narrative style of the ballads when he describes it as 'like a tale of former days'. The language of the poem is heroic (or at least mock-heroic) and of the two metres, *rannaigheacht mhór* and *rannaigheacht bheag mhór*, the former in particular is employed frequently in heroic ballads in its *óglách*as forms. Among well-known ballads, 'Cath Rìgh na Sorcha' is in *rannaigheacht mhór* (Campbell 1872: 129–35) and 'Bàs Gharaidh' is in *rannaigheacht bheag mhór*, although in the case of the latter ballad the characteristics of the metre have been eroded considerably in transmission (ibid.: 177–9).

Ballads were an integral part of the literary fabric in Donnchadh Bàn's day, and so he could expect his allusions to the ballads to be understood immediately by his audience. The state of the ballad tradition in his part of the Highlands, western Perthshire and Argyll, is well-documented in a number of contemporary collections. Of these, a few are particularly useful here. One collection was made by the Rev. Donald MacNicol around 1755; the original is now lost but the ballad texts are reproduced in *Leabhar na Féinne* (ibid.: v, xv–

xvi). MacNicol knew Donnchadh Bàn and was involved in taking down some of the latter's own poetry from the poet's recitation (MacLeod 1952: xxvii). In 1786 the so-called 'Gillies Collection', an anthology of Gaelic poetry which includes a substantial number of heroic ballads, was published. Another of the important collectors of Gaelic poetry of the eighteenth century, the Rev. James McLagan, was associated with the production of the Gillies Collection (Thomson 1958: 180). Some of Donnchadh Bàn's poetry is present in the McLagan Collection which is housed in Glasgow University Library.[2] Archibald Fletcher, a younger contemporary of Donnchadh Bàn's, is the source of a collection of ballads recorded from Fletcher's own recitation around the year 1801; Fletcher was born in Glenlyon but moved to Achallader in later life and thus had been exposed to the literary traditions of two districts (Gunderloch 2000: 104).[3] The final collection of significance to us was made by the Rev. Alexander Irvine at the beginning of the nineteenth century, mainly between Rannoch and Dunkeld (Campbell 1872: xxv–xxvi).[4] No doubt there were other versions current in the district in Donnchadh Bàn's day which went unrecorded.

Possible allusions to five or six ballads can be identified in 'Marbhrann do Chù' (see Appendix). All were clearly current in Donnchadh Bàn's district in his day as their presence in the above-mentioned collections indicates:[5]

Ballad	Collection
Teanntachd Mhór na Féinne	MacNicol, Fletcher, Gillies, Irvine, 7 versions in McLagan
Bàs Gharaidh	Irvine, Fletcher
Mar a Chaidh Bran a Mharbhadh	Fletcher, 2 in McLagan, MacNicol, Gillies, Irvine

[2] Glasgow University Library, MS Gen. 1042. 'Moladh Choire Cheathaich' is contained in MS 32, 'Iain Caimbeul a' Bhanca' in MS 41, 'Cumha Iarla Bhràghaid-Albann' in MS 121, and 'Moladh Beinn Dòbhrain' in MS 184.

[3] The manuscript of Fletcher's ballads is extant and housed in the National Library of Scotland (NLS Advocates' MS 73.1.24).

[4] The original manuscript is held in Edinburgh University Library (MacKinnon Collection, La III 475).

[5] The first collection named in the list is the one which has been used as the primary text for comparison.

Laoidh Fhraoich	Gillies, 2 in McLagan, MacNicol
Bàs Oscair (''S muladach …')	MacNicol, McLagan, Irvine
Caoidh Oisein air Oscar ('Mór a-nochd …')	McLagan

Of course, there is no complete certainty that the specific ballads indicated here are relevant to Donnchadh Bàn's poem; the nature of the ballad tradition is such that certain openings and settings are found in closely related forms in different ballads. In an oral setting, such conventional features are important in creating the framework that enables poets to communicate their intent to the audience (Foley 1995: 6–7, 52–3). At the same time, different versions of the same ballad demonstrate the adaptability and creative potential of the genre (Meek 1987: 136, 145–6). The evidence is such that one can confidently suggest that Donnchadh Bàn was well-acquainted with the tradition. Indeed, I would argue that 'Marbhrann do Chù' can be viewed as a parody of the style and idiom of the ballads. The beginning and end, for example, mimic the common ballad convention of framing a text in an Oisean-Patrick setting, often with a dialogue between saint and hero (ibid.: 133); the ending, an expression of sadness, resembles those frequently put into Oisean's mouth in the ballads, as in the concluding quatrain of 'An Ionmhuinn' in McLagan MS 112: ''S bhriste mo chride mun Fheinn' (Cameron 1892: 303). In this instance, however, Patrick is not the saint but seemingly the owner of an unfortunate dog. One wonders, if the poem is based on an actual incident, whether the personal name was one of the factors which put the idea of a ballad parody into Donnchadh Bàn's head.[6] The first line sets the tone of the poem. 'Latha do ...' is a commonplace opening phrase. An example here is 'La ga 'n raibh Padric na Mhùr' from MacNicol's 'Teanntachd Mhór na Féinne' (Campbell 1872: 96). An explicit or implicit hunt-setting, a frequently occurring opening device in the ballads, is present in 'La chaidh Fionn a shealg

[6] MacLeod (1952: 549) speculates that this Patrick may have been the grandson of the first Earl of Breadalbane, who is described as hunting on Beinn Dòbhrain (ibid.: 198, 490, note). As the present poem is clearly located in Glen Artney, south of Loch Earn, MacLeod's identification would seem rather far-fetched. The poem suggests that Patrick and Donnchadh Bàn were on familiar and equal terms which casts further doubt on MacLeod's suggestion.

le Fhiannaibh' from Irvine's 'Bàs Gharaidh' (ibid.: 178–9),[7] and 'Sgriob a chaidh Fionn le Fhiannaibh' from Fletcher's 'Bàs Gharaidh' (ibid.: 176–7). Perhaps both of these ballads served as the model for the opening of the poem; 'Teanntachd Mhór na Féinne' because of the Patrick-setting and 'Bàs Gharaidh' to provide the backdrop of the hunt. The poem diverges from ballad usage, however, even in its initial line 'La do Phàdraig a' sealg': in Gaelic ballads the saint is never engaged in hunting – this activity is traditionally reserved for Fionn and his companions. The poem goes on to elaborate the reference to Pàdraig being out hunting. The identification of a specific location is also common in the ballads, as in the second line of 'Bàs Gharaidh': Irvine gives 'Gu strath Ghuirme an Inse-fail' while Fletcher has 'Thair sruibheadh Glasa Innse fail' (ibid.: 176–7, 178–9). If the incident described in the poem was contemporary, then the location (Glen Artney), combined with the personal name, would have been sufficient to alert audiences to the events underlying the piece. Following this line of reasoning, within the first four lines, Donnchadh Bàn has established his poem as a humorous comment on a recent event in the heroic style of the ballads. Donnchadh Bàn employed a similar device in 'Òran do Bhlàr na h-Eaglaise Brice' in a much more sophisticated manner by alluding to the initial line of 'Duan na Ceàrdaich'. Certain themes of the 'Duan' – running, the gaining of swords – re-appear in the 'Òran' and are used to make political points (Gunderloch 2000: 107–9).

The extended praise passage which follows the opening of 'Marbhrann do Chù' is close in tone and imagery to sections of ballads in praise of heroes. The elegy element is treated very briefly in Donnchadh Bàn's poem, however, probably because the intended effect of the poem is primarily comic. The phrase 'curaidh bu gharg 'sa' charraid' is a variant of a type of stock description that is present in different manifestations in many ballads. For example, '[a]n gaisgeach bu mhor treis is brigh' appears in a version of 'Cath Rìgh na Sorcha' in McLagan MS 69 (Cameron 1892: 336), while '[a]ir an laoch gun eagal comhraig' and '[a]ir a mhìli shochar suil ghorm' are both to be found in a text of 'Dàn an Deirg' in McLagan MS 113 (Cameron 1892: 346). Another obvious thematic ballad connection

[7] This was recorded from Charles Robertson in 1808.

is made in the last line of the first verse, 'Ach Bran a bh' aig rìgh nam Fiann'. Fionn's famous dog, Bran, appears as a protagonist in 'Mar a Chaidh Bran a Mharbhadh' and in 'Laoidh a' Choin Duibh'; the latter ballad, although popular, does not appear to be reflected in the poem. The collections made by MacNicol and Fletcher have versions of both ballads (Campbell 1872: 91–2, 148–9). Both collections come from the literary environment that Donnchadh Bàn operated in and it is likely that he was familiar either with these versions or with closely related ones. The praise passage has a short descriptive sequence and emphasises the dog's hunting prowess. There is only one instance of approximate overlap in wording with 'Mar a Chaidh Bran a Mharbhadh': the fourth line of verse 3 (''S ann air a bha buaidh nam broc') and Fletcher 14c ('B' fhearr Bran a mharbha' na brochd'). Other themes touched on in both texts are the hunting deer (verses 2 and 3: Fletcher 13cd, 15cd), and the letting loose of the dog (verse 1: Fletcher 15a). The death of the dog is another shared theme on a superficial level but here the poem diverges from the ballad. Instead, there is a clear textual allusion to another ballad, 'Laoidh Fhraoich', which provides a thematic link in that Fraoch, the hero of the ballad, dies fighting a monster in a loch. The dog dies by drowning, with a hare in his mouth, and the poem comments: 'Thuit iad le chéil ann an sloc / Bha iad bàite bonn ri bonn' (verse 3). The ballad parallel to this runs: 'Gun do thuit iad bonn ri bonn' (Gillies' version, 23a: Campbell 1872: 31–2), referring to the fact that the monster that killed Fraoch was in turn killed by him. The ballad also contains the line ''S tursach do thuitim le beist' (25c). In the above lines, we observe the closest textual parallels between a ballad and this poem and it appears that Donnchadh Bàn is here exploiting the comic effect of the suggestion that the hare in the dog's mouth – a rather unheroic creature which was probably dead by then anyway – caused his death in a way comparable to Fraoch's encounter with the more dangerous monster. There may also be a connection here with one of Aesop's fables, where a dog with a bone in its mouth sees its reflection in the water and, trying to get this bone as well, loses the one he has already.[8] The fable was clearly known to Sìleas na Ceapaich who

[8] I am grateful to Donald E. Meek for suggesting this connection.

refers to it in 'Do dh'Arm Rìgh Sheumais' (Ó Baoill 1972: 46, 155).

Donnchadh Bàn's poem ends with the line 'Is muladach sin leam an nochd' in which the speaker appears to adopt the persona of Oisean. This may be a reference to a version of 'Bàs Oscair'. MacNicol's version of this ballad begins ''S mulladich mi 'n deigh Chaoilte' (Campbell 1872: 184) and the speaker is Oisean. The line may also point towards another version of 'Bàs Oscair', beginning 'Mór a-nochd mo chumha féin', of which a text is found in MS 69 of the McLagan collection (Cameron 1892: 329–32).

In conclusion, in the composition of 'Marbhrann do Chù' Donnchadh Bàn seems to have drawn on the Gaelic ballad tradition to construct a comic, mock-heroic piece on the death of a dog. Such a method would be successful only if the audience was as familiar with the genre and its conventions as the poet was. The use of typical ballad style, vocabulary, and idiom highlights both the poet's own familiarity with the tradition of heroic ballads and his confidence in his audience's ability as literary receptors.

Appendix: Correspondences in Ballad Material

In this comparison of 'Marbhrann do Chù' with the ballads, the latter are indicated by the abbreviations given in the list below. Bold print in the text of the poem indicates verbal correspondence with one or other of the ballads on a small but significant scale; underlining highlights phrases that clearly indicate a more broadly thematic link.

Ballad		Collection
TMF	Teanntachd Mhór na Féinne	MacNicol
BG	Bàs Gharaidh	Irvine, Fletcher
MCB	Mar a Chaidh Bran a Mharbhadh	Fletcher
LF	Laoidh Fhraoich	Gillies
BO	Bàs Oscair	MacNicol
CO	Caoidh Oisein air Oscar	McLagan 69

‘Marbhrann do Chù’	Correspondences in Ballad Material
Latha do **Phàdraig** a’ **sealg**	*TMF* La ga ’n raibh **Padric** na Mhùr (Campbell 1872: 96–7)
	BG La chaidh Fionn a **shealg** le Fhiannaibh (ibid.: 178–9)
Am fireach nan learg air sliabh	
Thug e Ghleann Artanaig **sgrìob**,	**Sgriob** a chaidh Fionn le Fhiannaibh (ibid.: 176–7)
	Gu strath Ghuirme an Inse-fail (ibid.: 178–9)
	Thair sruibheadh Glasa Innse fail (ibid.: 176–7)
’S ann thachair e ’m frìth nam fiadh;	
Leig e ’na shiubhal an cù	*MCB* A cheud **leigeadh** a fhuair **Bran** riamh (ibid.: 148–9)
A bha luath làidir lùthmhor dian;	
Cha robh a leithid riamh ’san tìr	
Ach **Bran** a bh’ aig rìgh nam Fiann.	
Gadhar bu gharg calg is fionnadh,	
Cruaidh colgarra sùil is mala	
Bu mhath dreach is dealbh is cumachd	
A’ churaidh bu gharg ’sa’ charraid	
Bheireadh e ’m **fiadh** dearg a mullach	Cha’n fhacas a niar na’ n oir
	Lorg **feidh** an deigh fhagalach (ibid.: 148–9)
’S am boc-earb’ a dlùths a’ bharraich;	
B’e fhasan a bhith triall do ’n mhunadh	
’S cha tàin’ e dhachaigh riamh falamh.	
Culaidh leagadh nan damh donn	
Air mullach nan tom ’s nan cnoc;	
Nàmhaid nam biast dubh is ruadh,	
’S ann air a bha buaidh nam broc;	B’ fhearr Bran a mharbha’ na brochd (ibid.: 148–9)[9]
Bha maigheach tarsainn ’na bheul,	
Thuit iad le chéil ann an sloc;	*LF* ’S tursach do **thuitim** le beist (ibid.: 31–2)
Bha iad bàite **bonn ri bonn**,	Gun do **thuit** iad **bonn ri bonn** (ibid.: 31–2)
Is **muladach** sin leam an nochd.	*BO* S **mulladich** mi ’n deigh Chaoilte (ibid.: 183–5)
	CO Is mor a nochd mo chumha fein (Cameron 1892: 329–32)

[9] The same line occurs, with orthographic variation, in MacNicol’s text where it runs: ‘Gum bear Bran a mharaigh broc’ (12c; Campbell 1872: 148–9).

Tracing Medieval Scotland's Lost History

Benjamin Hudson

While engaged on his reworking of John of Fordun's *Chronica gentis Scotorum*, Walter Bower faced a familiar editorial problem: missing material. He complains that he had to compile his own list of the kings of Dál Riata because he could not find the one used by his exemplar (Watt 1987–98: II, 6). A generation later Hector Boece prefaced his *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium episcoporum vitae* with the blunt statement that his task had been made difficult because of the loss of older materials (Boece 1521: ii).

What traces remain of Scotland's lost medieval historical writings? There are references to now-missing texts throughout surviving historical materials in Latin, Scots, and Gaelic. The refrain 'as chronicles/histories say' in medieval narratives is vague and frequent; the first book of the *Chronica gentis Scotorum* has ten references to unnamed chronicles. Occasionally, there is notice of oral traditions whose importance in the Middle Ages can be gauged by Fionnlagh Ruadh's poem 'Fhuaras mo rogha theach mhór', when he praises a house where ancient songs are heard (Watson 1937: 156). Loss is not unexpected, especially since many texts written during the Middle Ages existed only in a unique copy. The topic of lost Scottish histories is vast and complex. This essay will offer only a few observations on historical materials. It is indebted to Colm Ó Baoill's pioneering work in establishing a methodology for the identification of medieval Scots Gaelic works.

There was a long tradition of scholarly writing in what is now Scotland (Hudson 1991 and 2002; Clancy and Márkus 1995; Broun 1999b; Clancy 2000a). A *scriptorium* at Iona was active from the sixth century. Adomnán, in his *Life of Columba*, claims that a priest named Iógenán had a hymnal written by Columba himself (Anderson and Anderson 1961: 345). The miraculous properties of the volume were revealed when it was retrieved unharmed after being submerged in a river. To the east,

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among the Picts, there must have been at least one *scriptorium*. Bede states that the Pictish king Nechtan ordered that a letter concerning the correct calculation for Easter, received from Abbot Ceolfrid of Wearmouth/Jarrow, be copied and circulated throughout his kingdom (Plummer 1896: I, 346). There might have been other writing-centres, perhaps one at Abernethy. Walter Bower's chronological precision about the foundation of the church of Abernethy by the Pictish monarch Garnard (together with his grant of rights and properties) 226 years, 9 months and 6 days before the church at Dunkeld suggests a written source, possibly an annotated ecclesiastical calendar (Watt 1987–98: II, 302).

Why did texts disappear? Hector Boece had no doubts about the reason when he blamed Edward I of England for the destruction of Scottish records (Boece 1521: ii). The *Chronicle of Melsa* claims that there was an archive at Scone in the late thirteenth century and that it disappeared during the removal of Scots records by Edward (Bond 1866–68: II, 252; Stones and Simpson 1978: 148). Human agency is probably the reason for the loss of the Great Register of St Andrews, which has been missing since the late seventeenth century (Bruce 1841: xi).

Sometimes texts could be allowed to go missing, or to decay, after an 'improved' version had been made. Jocelyn of Furness expresses his shock at the barbarism of his exemplar in the introduction to the *vita* of Kentigern. So he made it more palatable with 'Roman salt', a polite way of saying that the style, and also some possibly heretical passages, needed to be reworked (Forbes 1874: 160).[1] Ailred of Rievaulx gives a similar explanation for his rewriting of the life of Ninian of Whithorn (ibid.: 138).[2] Among his materials might have been a text written in the Northumbrian dialect of Old English.

There were other, more mundane villains. One was time. Over hundreds of years even the best-constructed volumes suffered the ravages of damp, rodents and constant handling. The grant of Bolgny, given to the Celí Dé of Loch Leven by King Mac bethad

[1] For an additional discussion, see Jackson 1958: 273–357.

[2] For speculation on Ailred's sources, see Levison 1940: 281–91; Daniel 1950: xcviii–xcix.

mac Findláech (Macbeth) and his queen Gruoch, survives in the Register of the Priory of St Andrews in an instrument of process that was made because the original document was so frail (Bruce 1841: 13). Fire was another danger. The *Annals of Ulster* note a conflagration at Dunkeld in 1027 which might explain why so few records survive from that church. One Dunkeld production, the *Scottish Chronicle*, is extant in a transcription made for an eastern church, probably St Andrews, while only fragments survive of a Dunkeld liturgy (Haddan and Stubbs 1869–78: II, 278–85; Hudson 1998: 135). A postscript to that blaze could be the visit to Britain in 1034 by Macnia Ua hUctáin, the head of the monastic school at Kells, Dunkeld's Irish sister-house. According to the *Annals of Ulster,* when he drowned in the North Channel on his return home, the *cuilebad* (a liturgical fan) of Columba and three reliquaries were lost with Macnia. Were they payment for restocking a library?

Historical information appeared in unexpected places, such as inscriptions. Bower cites some lines of verse copied onto wood in the old church at St Andrews for information about three twelfth-century bishops (Watt 1987–98: III, 372). The inscription might have been painted rather than carved, like those on the ceiling beams at Crathes Castle in northeast Aberdeenshire. William Camden claimed that evidence of the Romans in the Mearns came from an inscription of a company of the XXth Legion found at Dunnottar Castle which was gilted on the orders of the Earl Marschel (Camden 1607: 711–12). Particularly noteworthy are the remembrances of a silver Gospel cover that was still on view at St Andrews cathedral in the fifteenth century. A twelfth-century history of the church of St Andrews gives a transcription of it, as do both Andrew of Wyntoun and Walter Bower (Skene 1867: 190; Laing 1872: II, 92; Watt 1987–98: III, 344).[3] The transcriptions vary slightly, but they clearly refer to the same text. Both the St Andrews history and Wyntoun comment on the style of the script; the former notes that it was an ancient script, while the latter describes it as *wyth Scottis hand gravyn* ('written

[3] There are three recensions of the metrical chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun; the middle version edited by Laing represents the author's mature version.

in a Scots hand'), his usual reference to Gaelic. If the script were a tenth-century insular hand, a forerunner of the *corr-litir* ('peaked letter'), it would have been more distinctive than a late eleventh-century hand and more likely to call for comment from a twelfth-century reader.

Attributions of authorship provide ground for speculation. For example, the inscription on the St Andrews gospel cover stated that it was made on the instructions of Bishop Fothad. There were two Bishop Fothads of St Andrews: Fothad mac Brain who died c.963 and is described as bishop of the Hebrides and a scribe in the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*; and Fothad mac Máel Michél who died in 1093 (Anderson 1922: I, 471, and II, 49). The comments on the style of the inscription suggest a connection with the earlier Fothad. He might be the subject of another lost work known only from its title *Longes Fothaid* ('The Exile of Fothad') in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster (Best and others 1954–83: IV, 835). *Longes Fothaid* could be the source for claims made by Wyntoun and Bower that King Idulf mac Causantín (954–62) had banished Fothad from St Andrews, together with Bower's statement that he lived eight years in exile. This might also have been the source of information about his feast (June 4) in the *Kalendar* of David Camerarius and Thomas Dempster's *Menologium Scotium* (Forbes 1872: 202, 239).[4]

Other individuals are associated with specific texts that are now lost. Two sixteenth-century histories mention a history written by Veremond among their sources. In his *Scotorum historiae a prima gentis origine* Hector Boece claims that Veremond, whom he describes as archdeacon of St Andrews, wrote a history of the Scots kings to the reign of Máel Coluim mac Donnchada (Malcolm III 'Canmore', 1058–1093) (Boece 1527: 132). Slightly later, David Chambers cites Veremond as one of the most useful sources consulted for his *Histoire abrégée de tous les roys de France, Angleterre et Escosse*, and he specifically refers to

[4] Dempster believed that the earlier Fothad was responsible for the inscription, which he claimed to have found in a transcription of Fordun's chronicle by Magnus MacCullom (Forbes 1872: xl).

Veremond's history in the episode of confrontation between the Pictish king Angus and the English king AEthelstan (Chambres 1579: 94). In the course of his argument that John of Fordun had used the history of Veremondus, Skene drew attention to the similarity of names with Richard Vairement who was at St Andrews in the mid-thirteenth century (Skene 1871–72: I, xxxviii; see also Innes 1879: 130–51, 171–6).

Other authors of missing works are less obscure. In an aside on the marriage connections of the Stewart family with King Robert I, Andrew of Wyntoun mentions that John Barbour, author of *The Bruce*, wrote a metrical genealogy called *Stewartis Originall* (Laing 1872: II, 320; see also McDiarmid and Stevenson 1980–85: I, 18; Lyall 1989: 33–47). Walter Bower used a biography of Bishop John Scot of Dunkeld (1183–1203) that was written by William Bening at Newbattle (Watt 1987–98: III, 392). William probably brought this to Coupar Angus where he was abbot (1243–58). John was a controversial figure, who had been elected bishop of St Andrews in 1178, without the chapter consulting King William the Lion (1165–1214); in consequence, John spent several years in exile, before the matter was resolved in 1183 with his transfer to Dunkeld.

Stories about powerful individuals were always popular. In an ancient little book (*in antiquo libello*), Bower found information about Robert of Nostell, one of the pioneers of the reformed monastic movement in Scotland. He was the prior of the Augustinian house at Scone during the reign of King Alexander I (1107–24) and later bishop of St Andrews (1123x24–1159) (Watt 1987–98: III, 108). Andrew of Wyntoun might have used the same work for his lengthy discourse on the circumstances of Robert's election as bishop of St Andrews (Laing 1872: II, 181–3). Another Prior Robert of St Andrews, who held office in the twelfth century under Bishop Robert of Nostell, was the subject of a 'book of stories' (*liber relacionum*) according to Bower (Watt 1987–98: III, 416).

Hagiography was very popular, and stories about saintly individuals were told at the royal court as well as more modest venues. Laurence of Durham claimed that the great Irish reformer

St Malachy and other Irish clerics told King David I (1124–1153) that the Northumbrian St Cuthbert had been born in Ireland (Hudson 1995: 161). This might have led to the writing of 'Scottish books' (as distinct from a history *Hybernensium*) that were used in the anonymous *vita* now preserved in a fourteenth-century York manuscript (Raine 1838: 64).[5]

There were also now-lost versions of existing saints' lives. A *vita* of St 'Brandan' had, according to Fordun, information about the origins of the Scots and a list of the places in Scotland supposedly visited by the saint, including place-name lore (*dindsenchus*) for the Isle of Bute, supposedly named after a hut (*bothe* (sic)) built by the saint on the island (Skene 1871–72: I, 9, 16, 25). 'Brandan' is the Irish St Brendan the Navigator, but no extant version of his legend has the Scottish information. Fordun's contemporary Thomas Gray also refers to a *vie de Saint Brandane* in his *Scalachronica*; and there is speculation that it was included in the lost Great Register of St Andrews (ibid.: I, xxxv–xl).

Fordun also refers to a now-lost version of the *vita* of Comgall (whom he called 'Congal') of Bangor, a contemporary of Columba who sent missions to the Hebrides. This was his source for two legends: the adventure of the Irish chieftain *Smonbricht*, a garbled form of Middle Irish *Simon brec* ('freckled Simon'), and the *adventu Scottorum* in Britain, led by a Fergus son of Ferchard (Skene 1871–72: I, 22–23, 45). Behind the latter account could be the lost tale *Tochmolud Dáil Riatai i nAlbain* ('Advance of Dál Riata into Britain') found in the Book of Leinster's list of learned tales (Best and others 1954–83: IV, 837). Bower refers to a *vita* of Duthac as his source for information about the Irish education of Máel Brigte, a late tenth-century bishop of St Andrews (Watt 1987–98: III, 344). The vita of Duthac preserved in the *Breviary of Aberdeen* does not mention Máel Brigte, which suggests that Bower used a now-missing annotated text from St Andrews, possibly discarded when the cult-centre of Duthac was moved to Tain.

[5] Walter Bower used a version of this work (Watt 1987–98: VII, 268).

Intriguing, but elusive, are popular pseudo-histories. Ailred of Rievaulx confessed in his *Speculum caritatis* that he neglected his chores at the Scottish court to listen to the tales of 'I know not which Arthur' (Migne 1844–55: cxcv, 565c). Although he cautions that they were a suspect source of information because of their obscurity and symbolism, Fordun quotes a prophecy attributed to the sixth-century British writer Gildas on the death of Alexander III (1249–86) (Skene 1871–72: I, 107–8). Wyntoun mentions a 'Scottis Laye', with an eighth-century king of Dál Riata named Áed Find who was known in English as Hed Qwhyt (Laing 1872: II, 77). The *Scottish Chronicle* notes that a raid by Máel Coluim I mac Donnchada (943–54) into Northumbria in 949 was popularly called the 'Raid of the White Ridges' (Hudson 1998: 150–1). Since the chronicle ends c. 973, the story seems to have been in popular circulation within a quarter century of the event. Both Fordun and Wyntoun give a summary of a tale, which Wyntoun describes as a story, about the death of Cináed mac Máel Choluim (Kenneth II, 971–995) at the hands of Finnella, daughter of the *mormaer* of Mearns (Skene 1871–72: I, 175; Laing 1872: II, 94). Cináed had ordered the execution of her son, so Finnella kills him with an arrow fired from a machine disguised as a statue of an archer.

Occasional mention is made of the written source of a tale. Andrew of Wyntoun has a legend about the murder of a son of King David I by his uncle, Donald Ban: 'Wryttyn I fand in a story, the story of Donald Ban's killing a son of David' (Laing 1872: II, 193–4). Bower took two moral tales from a work titled *De apibus* ('Concerning Bees') written by Barbason or Barbantinus. The first is about a priest who neglected his parish, and the other tells of a canon who refused to be made a bishop (Watt 1987–98: II, 104–6, and III, 348).

Sometimes a now-missing story had both a written and oral form. Fordun noted that the tale of a ninth-century Pictish king named Angus who defeats and slays an English invader named AEthelstan was preserved in writing and in the mouths of the people to his own day (Skene 1871–72: I, 155–6). The written text might have been the story of the invasion of Scotland in

934 by the English king AEthelstan from the legend of St John of Beverly, with which it has several points of contact (Anderson 1908: 68–9). A similar duality might be true for a ballad mentioned in a list attached to the late medieval *Complaynt of Scotland*, the 'Tail of Syr Valtir the bald Leslie'. Apparently, this refers to the fourteenth-century crusader and earl of Ross, Sir Walter Leslie (Stewart 1979: 50; Lyall 1989: 41).

Folklore could be behind Bower's claim that King Alexander I founded the monastery of Inchcolm in thanksgiving for St Columba's aid to his parents, Máel Coluim III and Margaret, when they wished to have children (Watt 1987–98: III, 110). Wyntoun refers to now-lost tales about irregular parentage for the eleventh-century Scots princes Máel Coluim III and Mac bethad. For the former there is reference to a tale claiming that Máel Coluim was the offspring from a tryst between King Duncan I and the daughter of the miller of Forteviot (Laing 1872: II, 119–20). This story may have provided the name Suthen for his mother found in King List I, which looks like a shortened version of Gaelic Suithcern (Hudson 1990: 100–20). A more sinister origin is claimed for the latter. Mac bethad's diabolical parentage is introduced 'Bot as we fynd be sum storys', and he is the product of a casual liaison between his mother and a handsome man who was the Devil (Laing 1872: II, 129–30; Chadwick 1949: 189–211, and 1951: 1–25).

Sometimes lost historical tales were preserved outwith the kingdom for which there is no evidence that they were known in Scotland by the late Middle Ages. The list of learned tales in the Book of Leinster includes *Argain Sratha Cluada* ('Destruction of Strathclyde') and *Braflung Scoine* ('Pit-fall of Scone') (Best and others 1954–83: IV, 836–7). An eleventh-century Irish compilation known as the *Fragmentary Annals* preserves a brief synopsis of the former. A ninth-century Viking siege of Dumbarton succeeds when the well within the fortress failed (Radner 1978: 142). *Braflung Scoine* is mentioned in the eleventh-century *Prophecy of Berchán* for the reign of Cináed mac Ailpín (Kenneth I, 842–58) when the fools in east, i.e. the Picts, are trapped in a fatal pit (Hudson 1996: 42). Gerald of

Wales elaborates on this story in his *Mirror for Princes*, where the Scots invite the Pictish nobility to a feast and then remove the bench pins in order to slaughter them (Brewer, Dimock and Warner 1861–91: VIII, 97–8; Mac Cana 1980: 142–5). These two tales seem to have passed from Scotland to Ireland in the late eleventh century or early twelfth century, possibly in 1105 when the *Annals of Inisfallen* note that the Irish monarch Muirchertach Ua Briain received the gift of a camel from the *rí Alban*.

There are indications that the historical tradition in medieval Scotland was not mere antiquarianism, but evolved both under the influence of contacts throughout Europe and through contemporary political events. Two examples from Fordun illustrate this suggestion (Skene 1871–72: I, 109, 146–7). Cináed mac Alpín covered his robes with luminescent fish scales and appeared to his drowsy nobles as though he were an angel in order to rouse them to fight the Picts. This particular exploit is first found in an Italian story (Thompson 1955–58: K 1821.1). Fordun also gave a unique version of the Arthurian legend by declaring that not Arthur, but the children of his sister Anna, had the true right to the throne of Britain, to which was added an admiring passage on Modred. By Fordun's day the Arthurian legend was well-set, with Modred reduced almost to a caricature of evil. The insistence on the fitness of a daughter's right to inherit looks suspiciously like Fordun is reworking Arthurian material in light of the Anglo-Scottish conflict.

The topic of lost literature is not always an exercise in despair. Vague references in medieval works present the possibility that a text survives under a different name. An example is Bower's source of information about Ninian, now known to be the *vita* of Ninian composed in the twelfth century by Ailred of Rievaulx (Watt 1987–98: II, 24). His 'old chronicle' with its location of the death of Causantín mac Cináeda (Constantine I, 862–76) might have been the document today known as King List I (Watt 1987–98: II, 464). Perhaps future research will identify the books that Andrew of Wyntoun claims King Alexander I donated to St Andrews (Laing 1872: II, 175).

This essay has left many questions unasked and offered

more suggestions than solutions. Nonetheless, even a very brief survey of a handful of texts gives some idea of the rich historical literature circulating among the medieval Scots. Medieval writers used folklore, popular legends and devotional works as well as historical materials. Particularly intriguing is the possibility that many of the lost texts ultimately have a source in Gaelic materials, as suggested by the speculation on tale titles from the Book of Leinster. Whether the survival is a title or a synopsis, the remnants reveal that medieval Scotland had a flourishing tradition of historical writing.

Reconstructed Heroes? The Profile of the 'Virtues' in the Panegyric Verse of Rob Donn

Donald MacAulay

Rob Donn Mackay was born in 1714 in Strathmore, Sutherland, and died there in 1778. The first collection of his poems, prepared with a biographical introduction by the Rev. Mackintosh Mackay, was published in 1829 (a new version appeared in 1871). Two other editions, one by Hew Morrison and one by Adam Gunn and Malcolm MacFarlane, were published in 1899. The 1829 text is used in this article, with some orthographic emendations.

The first thing to appreciate about Rob Donn is that he is a highly gifted poet; a skilled verse-maker with immediacy of communication and the gifts of wit and eloquence. Commentators have sometimes, for their own reasons, been reluctant to recognise this (see, for example, Mackenzie 1841: 187; cited and refuted in MacLeod 1971), but it is the secure basis from which all the other aspects of his importance as a figure in Gaelic cultural tradition derive.

The function of the traditional poet is to 'celebrate' the culture of his community. It is, perhaps, at root the function of all poets, although at times (such as our own) 'community' may be difficult to define, and we resort to terms like 'constituency', 'attenuation' and 'alienation' to explain the poet's relationship with his 'context'. For traditional poets, community is a simpler matter, or at least more definable, although that must not be taken to imply that either the community or the poet's relationship with it is uncomplex. When we say that the poet 'celebrates' the culture of his community, we mean that he presents the community to itself in terms in which it can recognise itself. In a sense, he tells it what it wants to hear, but the telling is not passive or necessarily acquiescent. More profoundly, the poetry speaks the truths that the community knows about itself. It is the recognition of this that gives the poetry its power and the poet his status and his freedom to speak out.

The community to which the poetry speaks may extend both in space and time beyond the one that is the poet's immediate concern. For example, no one nurtured in the community that I was brought

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up in (Bernera, Lewis, in the 1930s and 1940s), and coming into contact with Rob Donn's verse, could fail to recognise in it a deep similarity to their own experience of poetry, both in its content and in its style. The objects of approval and disapproval, the social awareness, the speaking out, the wit, the hilarity and the piety are all recognisable and speak to the truths that that community knows about itself. I am sure that that would be true for other Gaelic communities also. This is a function of the continuity of cultural tradition that maintains a recognisable common core even as it undergoes change over time.

As surely as Rob Donn's poetry speaks to more recent times, so features of his work reveal roots that go deep into the Gaelic past. This is the case with the special concern of this paper, the delineation of the 'virtues'. As is well known, a prime function of the *file* of the Early Modern period was to eulogise his patron. This was not simply to praise or flatter him or to elicit reward. Eulogy entailed a profound social responsibility: the confronting of the patron with a 'mirror of perfection' – an image of himself embodying the virtues appropriate to his place and function, an ideal model reminding him of his duty of care, his duty to be strong in order to defend his dependents, to be courageous, to be just, to be true, to defend his reputation (always), to be pious (at least sometimes) (MacInnes 1979). These were traditional core virtues, and the Gaelic community continued to subscribe to them, modified as social structures changed and as the priorities of each community demanded. The evidence of Rob Donn's poetry illustrates that his community was no exception.

This community was situated in the far north west of Scotland (Grimble 1979: passim). It was sufficiently remote in Rob Donn's lifetime not to suffer direct incursion during the belligerent confrontations of the times – a welcome change from the turbulence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Furthermore, the community emerged on the winning side after the Forty-Five, the Mackay leadership having supported the Hanoverians, and that enabled the area to continue to prosper economically. It was a traditional community but one with an outward-looking leadership, and there is plenty of evidence of

intercourse with the outside world, as Grimble (1979) makes clear. This contact was not confined to trade and economic adjustment: it also involved social exchange and embraced ideas and moral and cultural expectations. The values produced from this social tension are those presented and commented on by Rob Donn; they also largely inform his stance.

In order to establish what that stance is, we will look at some of his elegies as representative examples of his panegyric verse (see also MacLeod 1971; Thomson 1989: 194–204). At first reading at least, Rob Donn's use of the panegyric mode seems very traditional. For example, the elegy on Iain MacAoidh of Oldany, the third of the sons of Robert Tutor of Farr to die, contains the following lines:

> Fear flathail, 's fear faoilidh,
> Fear tionail, 's fear sgaoilidh
> Tha na luidhe san Fhaoilinn, 's bu bheud ...
> Gasan gealltanach, faidhreil,
> Gnìomh gaisgich 's gnùis maighdinn;
> 'S mairg a phlanndaich sa choill thu, 's tu 'd ghèig
> (Mackay 1829: 104)

Here Iain MacAoidh is described as possessing the traditional virtues of nobility, hospitality, effectiveness in acquisition, generosity in disposal, manly promise, presentability, valour in deeds and modesty of demeanor. These 'virtues' are those of the panegyric tradition and Rob Donn has not jettisoned them. However, alongside these core traditional expectations, we see other virtues given prominence also and we can discern a difference of emphasis. In Iain MacAoidh's elegy we find:

> C'àit an cualas riamh aon neach
> Dh'earb riut 's a dh'fhalbh diombach?
> Bha do chomhairl is d' impidh gu feum ...
> Ann an cuideachdaibh dìomhair
> Gheibhteadh dealbh an fhìr Chrìosdaidh
> Ort, an smuaintibh, an gnìomhraibh 's am beus
> (ibid.: 104)

These social and spiritual considerations are also mentioned in the earliest of Rob Donn's major elegies, that on Uistean MacAoidh, brother of Iain, who died in 1746 (the year mentioned in the final stanza of the poem):

> Fhir bha gealltainn le d' chomas
> Bhith don fhollaiseachd feumail,
> Bha thu treun ann am pearsa
> 'S na bu treas' ann an reusan ...
> Fhuair thu comain bhon Ard-Rìgh
> Air nach d'ràinig na ceudan,
> On latha dh'fheuch iad Am Brod duit
> Cha robh stad ann ad fhoghlaim ...
> Cha do shuidh e mu bhòrd
> Nach tug fhoghlam gu mios e;
> Bha e na ghaisgeach neo-spòrsail
> Is na phòitear neo-mhisgeach ...
> Fhir a shiorcadh na dh'earbadh,
> Fhir a dhearbhadh na theireadh (ibid.: 1–2)

The themes of sense and balance, understanding, fulfilment of duty, humanity and charity develop and become central in Rob Donn's elegies. This is clear in the elegy to Donald, the fourth Lord Reay (†1761), for example. Donald is praised for his lack of arrogance, his ready forgiveness, the pleasure he derives from doing good, his readiness to annul debts:

> Cha d'at do mhoraireachd d'àrdan,
> 'S cha leag càirdeas do spèis ...
> Gun robh do mhaitheanas ullamh
> Don neach a mhealladh thu an dè ...
> Chuireadh buileachadh d' fhàbhair
> Uiread fàilt ann do ghnùis
> 'S bhiodh air na fir gionach
> An am cur sgilling ri crùn …
> Ach bha thu cunntadh do dhaonnachd
> Mar stoc a shaor thu dhuit fhèin ...
> 'S ann leat a b'annsa gu mòr

Iomhaigh Dhè air bochd aoidheil
Na ìomhaigh 'n rìgh air an òr (ibid.: 297)

This poem not only delineates the earl's particular virtues, it seeks to place them in a wider context. It contains more general moral statements and conclusions about social and religious probity:

Ge math eòlas na fìrinn
Ni mòran bruidhinn gun stuaim;
'S soilleir comharr 'n deagh Chrìosdaidh
Do 'n nòs bhith gnìomhach gun fhuaim.
Seallaidh Athair na caomhachd
Air fear na daonnachd gum ghruaim
Nuair their e ri crìon-fhear,
"Bidh-s' gu sìorraidh dol uam!" (ibid.: 299)

These same criteria inform what is probably the best, and certainly the most revealing, elegy that Rob Donn has left us. This is the well-known 'Marbhrann do Iain Mac Eachainn'. Iain Mac Eachainn was tacksman in Strathmore, the man into whose household Rob Donn was taken as a precocious boy, who was his employer and mentor, and with whom, as Derick Thomson (1993: 117) puts it, Rob Donn shared 'a love of hunting, poetry and humanity' and who remained his friend and patron until Mac Eachainn's death in 1757.

There is a warmth and affection to be found in this elegy that is more marked than that in any other elegy by the poet, but the poem maintains a remarkable emotional poise and operates within the bounds of a due formality that reflects the poet's instinctive command of the form and his sophisticated exploitation of it. Iain Mac Eachainn is the model of a good superior and of a good man (and Rob Donn's clear conviction is that the former derives from the latter). He was wise and supportive, he was considerate, he was compassionate and acted on his compassion:

Fhir nach d'ith mìr le taitneas
Nam b'eòl duit acrach san t-saoghal;
Fhir a chitheadh am feumach

Gun an èigh aige chluinntinn;
B'fheàrr leat punnd de do chuid uait
Na unnsa cudthroim air d' inntinn (ibid.: 320)

The poet says he now sees a parade of the indigent – the impoverished nobleman unable to stand his hand in the tavern, the poor widow full of tears, the beggar full of hunger, the orphan stripped naked – and he ends the list:

Chì mi an ceòl-fhear gun mhios air
Call a ghibht do chion cleachdaidh;
Chì mi feumnach na comhairl',
A' call a ghnothaich 's a thapadh (ibid.: 320)

Asked the reason for their sorry state, they all answer, with one voice:

"Och!, nach d'eug Iain Mac Eachainn" (ibid.: 321)

The subject's worth is also demonstrated indirectly, by contrast with some of his contemporaries, who are concerned only with business and profit, and have no time for charity. They may follow the law to the letter and be meticulous in paying their debts, but:

Tha an sporan 's an sùilean
Cheart cho dùint air an fheumnach (ibid.: 319)

Of such men, Rob Donn says that after their death all that will be said about them is:

"Seall am fearann a shaor iad!" (ibid.: 318)

Of Iain Mac Eachainn, however, Rob Donn says that his life is to be held up as an example:

Ach nam b'urrainn mi, dhùraichdinn
Do chliù-s' chur an òrdugh
Ann an litrichibh soilleir
Air chor 's gum beir na daoin' òg air,
Oir tha t' iomradh-s' cho feumail
Don neach a thèid ann do ròidibh
'S a bha do chuid, fhad 's bu mhaireann,
Don neach bu ghainne an stòras (ibid.: 319)

Their value as example is the case Rob Donn makes for composing his elegies. He did not, generally, compose eulogies for the living (all his serious eulogies are, in fact, elegies), but the elegies have eulogistic function, in the terms we have mentioned above. They present a set of attributes – 'virtues' – as a template for living, targetted in these instances not at the eulogised (who are beyond that) but at those who might benefit from their example, such as *na daoine òga* and particularly at anyone of those who is to follow in their footsteps. The presentation has to fulfill certain conditions, however: it has to be *gun fhàbhar gun fhoill*, and the subject of praise must be *moltach*.

All of this ties in with Rob Donn's understanding of his responsibility as a poet, and the seriousness with which he takes that role. In 'Marbhrann (Do Mhr. Murchadh)' he says:

> Fìor mhasgall chionn pàighidh
> No stad gealtach le gàbhadh
> Bhrìgh mo bheachd-s' ann an dànaibh
> 'S mi nach deànadh 's nach d'rinn (ibid.: 322)

and in 'Marbhrann do Iain MacEachainn' he says:

> Cha do luaidh mi mun duine-s'
> Ach buaidh a chunnaic mo shùil air (ibid.: 321)

There are two other sources in particular where this attitude is spelt out. The first of these is 'Pilleadh a' Mholaidh Mhasgallaich', which is not an elegy and is satire rather than encomium. It begins:

> Gu bheil cuid de na bàrdaibh
> Aig am measa tha cheàrd na an sealbh,
> Cuid nach amais air firinn,
> Agus cuid dhiubh a dh'innseas i searbh
> Moladh bheartaich tha làthair
> Is a' cuimhneachadh chàirdean tha marbh;
> 'S luaith' an teanga na maistreadh
> A' cur faobhar a' mhasgaill air falbh (ibid.: 291)

This is demeaning to the perpetrators – and not good news for responsible poets either! It must be said that the motivation in this poem appears to be complex; but its skill and thrust is remarkable:

Ged a shèidinn fear t' onair-s'
Tha mi geur ann am barail nach peac ...
Ach dheanainn moladh nach b'fhiach thu
Chionn's gum maitheadh tu 'm bliadhna dhomh 'm prac! …
'S beag orm fèin am fear-dàna
Bhiodh gam shèideadh nuair dh'fhàsadh mo staid ...
As an stoc cha tig unnsa
Nach bi leanntain ris punnd den a' bhleid (ibid.: 291–3)

So it is not good for patrons either! They might let it go to their heads, with dire consequences: 'importuning praise' can lead to 'fialaidheachd àrdanach' (ibid.: 292) and encourage the sin of pride in 'inntinnibh gòrach gun cheill' (ibid.: 293):

Bharabra nighean Iain, cia àrd thu,
Cha do shaoil leam gun d'fhàs thu cho baoth
'S gum biodh bleideareachd mholaidh
Togail t' aigneadh on talamh le gaoth (ibid.: 292)

The second source, 'Marbhrann don Iarla Chatach', reveals the traditional origins of Rob Donn's sense of the poet's responsibility. He laments his old age and says he has given up poetry as his powers are failing, but nevertheless:

Ach chan fhuilngeadh mo nàdur
Dhomh bhith nam thàmh air an adhbhar-s' –
Ceannard teaghlaich Dhùn Robin
Na luidhe 'n Abaid Dhùn Eideann
Gun aon fhocal aig filidh
Dèant' na shiorramhachd fèin da (ibid.: 294)

His understanding of what he sees as appropriate behaviour compels him to set aside his infirmity, in order to fulfil this commemorative duty of the *filidh*.

The elegy that best compares with that on Iain Mac Eachainn (discussed above) is 'Marbhrann (Do Mhr. Murchadh)' (ibid.: 321–6). This commemorates the death of the minister of Durness parish, who had also been a friend and mentor to Rob Donn, and for whom he composed, at the request of his son Patrick, a lament in addition to the elegy. Both exhibit genuine respect and affection. The

minister is praised for wisdom, understanding, willingness to forgive, spiritual efficacy, advice coupled always with support, kindness to the needy, breadth of interest, openess to reason, piety, lack of religiosity, firmness in confounding the wrongdoer. Like Iain Mac Eachainn, he is a very paragon of the virtues, both secular and divine – but with a rather greater emphasis on the latter in this case. It is clear that Rob Donn sees no conflict between the two spheres.

Not all the clergy pass muster, however. 'Oran na Clèire' exposes their religious and social shortcomings:

> Fhuair sinn fir mar luchd prèisgidh
> Tha oilbheumach nan cleachdadh
> 'S nach eil crìoch ac' nas àirde
> Na uiread chràbhaidh 's a phasas ...
> Ma ghabhas tu beachd orr'
> Do rèir an cleachdaidhean sanntach (ibid.: 6)

They are like the mussels gathered on the beach:

> Gheibh thu fichead dhiubh falamh
> Mu 'n aon sam bith neamhnaid (ibid.: 7)

Sharing their company and conversation, one would find in them the makings of a merchant or sailor or drover or factor, a prudent farmer or a tight-fisted steward:

> 'S a-mach on cheàrd air 'n do mhionnaich iad,
> Tha na h-uile nì gasd ac' (ibid.: 6)

Some are seen to lack commitment, some appropriate humility; some are grasping and lack compassion; one is inconsistent in doctrine, and fanciful in presentation (prompting Rob Donn to produce one of his most striking and most scathing images):

> Bheir e iteagan àrda
> 'S ni e màgaran ìosal,
> 'S o nach eun e 's nach luchag,
> Ni e trusdar de dh'ialtag (ibid.: 8)

Their negative qualities and inappropriate behaviour are clearly the obverse of Maighstir Murchadh's virtues.

The question in our title of whether the 'heroes' presented in

Rob Donn's verse are 'reconstructed' must, I think, on the evidence we have examined be answered positively. This is not because the earlier 'virtues' are abandoned: they remain part of the panegyric vocabulary, retaining the verse's traditional connections, but they are no longer ranked in the same order of importance. Together with this redistribution there have been modifications of sense arising from the new contextualisation. These modifications are not arbitrary but derive from differences of ethos. Rob Donn is reporting from within his own community, from the privileged position of poet, constrained by the obligation that he understands that position to entail in its panegyric function, to present the truths of that community. These are his agendas, and his heroes reflect the virtues that that community recognises.

The virtues in Rob Donn's panegyric verse are essentially social virtues, highlighting the centrality of human interaction and assigning to charitableness, obligation, humaneness – of attitude and deed – the prime value within this interaction. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Rob Donn does not have consuming political or religious agendas. He does not, for example, produce impassioned political rhetoric for or against Jacobitism or Hanoverianism, such as the Jacobite songs collected by Campbell (1933), nor does he produce prototypes of the Christian hero, such as that of 'An Gaisgeach' (modelled on and largely borrowed directly from English spiritual writings) by his near-contemporary Dùghall Bochanan (Meek 1989). He does give his forthright verdict on political overbearance and on the requirements of the spiritual life, but they are both subsumed in his wider concern and passion for humanity. This particular passion, together with his courage to express his convictions and his exceptional poetic gifts, make his a commanding voice. They make him a powerful witness to the nature of his community and, even more importantly, provide us with a specific insight into an enduring aspect of the Gaelic poetic tradition.

'Marbhrann Mhic Dhùghaill Lathurna'

Terence McCaughey

The following elegy on the death in 1737 of Iain Ciar Dhùn Ollaidh, the MacDougall chief, survives in only one manuscript copy: Glasgow University Library, MS Gen. 1042/76 (d). This copy was made by James McLagan, presumably sometime in the latter part of the eighteenth century (Mackechnie 1973: I, 412–3, 425). In it the elegy is attributed to 'Donull Mac an tSaoir o thaobh Loch-eitidh' whom it has so far proved impossible to identify more closely. He was probably a bard from somewhere on the shores of Loch Etive near Ardchattan Priory where the chiefs of MacDougall were usually buried.

The poem has previously appeared in print three times: (a) in the Eigg Collection (Macdomhnuill 1776: 26–7); (b) in the second edition of the Eigg Collection (Macdomhnuill 1809: 40–1), and (c) in the Stewart Collection (Stewart and Stewart 1804: 213–5). In what follows the text of the manuscript is printed with a few unarguable emendations made *metri gratia*. In stanza 6b the absence of any rhyme for *fuasgailteach* (manuscript copy and both editions of the Eigg Collection) prompted the suggestion *fosgarra*. Stanza 11b reads in the manuscript 'A Chlanna Mhac sin am Blagh 'sam Prìs'. The corresponding line in the Stewart Collection is 'Do chlann mhac bhi 'm bladh 'sam prìs'. For stanza 11c, the manuscript has 'Beannachd leis an tsaoi rinn triall uainn' – in order to reduce the number of syllables to seven and to preserve rhyme, *uainn* has been omitted.

In terms of metre, this is a piece of vernacular *dàn*. Each line of the first three quatrains has eight syllables. Quatrains 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 11 have seven syllables in each line, while quatrains 7 and 10 are patterned thus: lines a and c have eight syllables, lines b and d have seven syllables.

Marbhrann Mhic Dhùghaill Lathurna d'am bu chomh-ainm 'Iain Ciar', le Domhnall Mac an tSaoir o thaobh Loch Éite

1 'S mór easbhuidh Lathurn' am bliadhna
caoidh mu'n sgial air nach tig mùthadh,
Iain Ciar is a cheann gu h-ìosal,
's léir do'n tìr dh'a dìth Mac Dhùghaill.

Fil súil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: a Festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill
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2 Tha smal air uaislibh do thaighe,
gun luaidh air aighear no sùgradh
on dh'fhàgadh thu 'n Cille Bhrìde
's nach dèan sgal pìoba do dhùsgadh.

3 Fhuair maithean nan Gàidheal bristeadh
on a chaidh thu 'n ciste dhùinte,
's laigide Gàidheil gu h-uile
nach fhaicear tuille 'san Dùn thu.

4 'S iomadh mac a chaochail nial
re linn do'n triath dol fo leac;
ge minig a ghin a chlann
b'annamh do shamhla 'nam measg.

5 Chaochail na sìontan 'n tràth dh'eug,
bha 'n speur a' sileadh gu tric,
chaidh toradh na coill' ar chall,
a cnuasachd a blàth 's a mios.

6 Bha thu truacanta ri bochd,
bha thu gu fosgarra glic;
tuigse nàduir le sàirbheachd
fhuair thu gu saidhbhir mar ghibht.

7 Bha thu treunmhor le deagh-choltas
mar a bha Osgar 'san Fhéinn,
fear fial gun fhiaradh gun mheatachd,
cha léir dhomh neach mar thu féin.

8 Bha thu sìobhalta ri mhài
's bha thu dàna dhol an trod,
bha thu gu misneachail garg
an uair ghluaiseadh fearg ad chorp.

9 Bha thu math a dhìoladh duais,
's bha thu cruaidh 'n am dol an strì;

seirc is eineach iùil is buaidh –
do chliù buan an iomadh tìr.

10 Thugamaid umhlachd don Àirdrì
nach d'fhàg an làrach gun sìol;
's math Alasdair a bhith 'n làthair
ge cràiteach na bheil dh'ar dìth.

11 Bitheamaid subhaltach ait
chlann-mhacsan bhith 'm bladh 's am prìs.
Beannachd leis an t-saoi rinn triall –
's ann o Dhia thig gach mór-chìs.

's mór easbhuidh 7rl.

Textual notes

2c *on dh'fhàgadh thu 'n Cille Bhrìde*: The original intention had been to inter Iain Ciar at the Priory of Ardchattan, the ancient burial-place of the MacDougalls, but a storm made it impossible to cross Connel Ferry and, after waiting for three days on the southern shore in the hope that it would abate, the funeral procession had to turn back. The interment finally took place in Kilbride, the native place of Iain Ciar's mother's people, the Maclachlans, within sight of the house she was reared in and in which he had himself been born (Grant 1925: 73).

5a–b *Chaochail na sìontan 'n tràth dh'eug, / bha 'n speur a' sileadh gu tric*: Presumably, these lines refer to the actual inclement weather that halted the funeral procession and are not simply an example of the 'pathetic fallacy' which is characteristic of Gaelic elegy.

10c and 11a–b *'s math Alasdair a bhith 'n làthair* and *Bitheamaid subhaltach ait / chlann-mhacsan bhith 'm bladh 's am prìs*: Reference to the heir or some lines addressed to him towards the end of an elegy are quite common in Gaelic verse. Sometimes (as here) they are expressed in the third person singular, and sometimes – as in Eachann Bacach's 'A Chnò Shamhna' (see Ó Baoill 1979: 269–75) – they are addressed directly to the heir in the second person singular. Iain Lom included such an address to Colla mac Ghilla Easpaig na Ceapaich at the end of an elegy on his father:

A Cholla, cuimhnich 's gach gnìomh
Cliù do shinnsir o chian
Seas do Rìgh agus Dia 'sa' chòir
(Mackenzie 1964: 2058–60)

The reference or address to the successor perhaps presupposes the situation described in the Bannatyne manuscript, quoted by J. L. Macleod:

> After the funeral of the late chief, all the clan present sat down to a funeral feast. At this feast it was the duty of the bards to rehearse the genealogy of the deceased, to praise his achievements and to lament his loss.
>
> It was then their duty to give an exordium on the qualities of his successor, and express the hopes of the clan as to his valour and other virtues. This done, the new chief then rose in his place, and demanded his predecessor's sword. This was always placed in his right hand by the first man of the clan, and then the new chief was hailed by acclamation of all present as the leader of the clan. (Macleod 1927: I, xiv)

Some elegies lament the fact that there is no heir. For example, in an elegy on Lord Macdonell, Iain Lom commented:

Oirnne thàinig an t-earchall,
Chaill sinn Mormhair Chlann Dòmhnaill.

'S e mo chreach-sa mar dh'fhàg sibh,
'S gun am bàrr chumail còmhnard'
(Mackenzie 1964: 2012–5)

There is a similar statement in the opening triplet of another *marbhrann* on the same man (ibid.: 2016–8).

The reference at stanza 10c of the elegy is to Alasdair Dubh, son and successor of Iain Ciar, who did not openly support the Prince in 1745 and was restored to his hereditary rights in 1747. It is hoped soon to publish the traditions concerning him and his father, Iain Ciar, which survive in the Dewar Manuscripts, NLS MS 50.2.20 (see Mackechnie 1964), together with material relevant to the lives of the two men and those associated with them in official documents. A summary and/or translations into English of oral traditions concerning Alasdair Dubh and Iain Ciar have been published already in Campbell 1885: 157ff.; Grant 1925: 68–73.

George Campbell Hay's Translations from Italian Poetry

J. Derrick McClure

One of the most notable contrasts between the Scots and the Scottish Gaelic literary traditions is the relative importance of poetic translation. In Scots, one of the greatest single works in the entire canon is a translation, Gavin Douglas's *Eneados* of 1513 (Coldwell 1957–64). Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the court poetry of the reign of James VI abounded in translations and adaptations from earlier and contemporary poetry, predominantly but not exclusively from French and Italian. In the Lowland contribution to the twentieth-century Scottish Renaissance, poetic translation has been even more important. Sensitive and imaginative translations form part of the *oeuvre* of almost every one of the great Scots makars of this period – MacDiarmid, Soutar, Young, Garioch, Goodsir Smith, Mackie and the two Scotts; Alexander Gray's lasting reputation rests almost entirely on his Scots renderings from German and Danish ballad poetry; Edwin Morgan's experiments with Scots are found exclusively among his translations; lesser figures such as J. K. Annand have been known to achieve their highest distinction in translated works.[1] In Gaelic, however, the poetic field is notably lacking in translations: Ewen MacLachlan's rendering of the first seven books of the *Iliad* (first published in 1813; reprinted in MacDonald 1937) may well have justified Neil MacAlpine's praise as 'the best Gaelic translation in existence' (MacAlpine 1929: vi) but in the nineteenth century the competition was decidedly sparse. Since the Scottish Renaissance was a programme in which the two sides of the national civilisation participated with equal vigour and since a primary aim was to restore Scottish culture to its old cosmopolitan status, it is noteworthy that only one Gaelic poet in the morning-tide of the Renaissance made translation an integral part of his poetic programme: George Campbell Hay.

Like his friend, collaborator and co-idealist Douglas Young, Hay was a polyglot of wide-ranging literary experience, and his *oeuvre*, like

[1] Two excellent scholarly works on the subject are Corbett 1999 and Findlay 2004.

Fil súil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: a Festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill
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Young's, includes translation from a variety of languages, principally Arabic, Greek and Italian. The present paper will consider Hay's Gaelic, Scots and English renderings from classical Italian poetry and from *Poeti Croati moderni a cura di Luigi Salvini*, an anthology of Italian translations of modern Croatian poetry (Salvini 1942).[2] The two sets form a marked contrast. Whatever diversity exists among the original Croatian poems and whatever degree of poetic merit they possess, the Italian versions uniformly read like straightforward, unambitious translations, presumably conveying with accuracy the literal meaning of the originals,[3] but making no pretensions to the status of carefully wrought poetry in Italian. The Renaissance sonnets of Petrarch and Cecco Angiolieri, on the other hand, clearly represent poetic craftsmanship of a high (some perhaps of the highest) order, setting a challenge of a different kind and degree of magnitude to a translator.

In his translations from *Poeti Croati moderni*, Hay's method recalls that of William Soutar in his renderings of English versions of Russian poetry in *Theme and Variation*: that of using his model not as a text for translation in the simple sense, but as inspiration for a poem on the same theme and using the same imagery (for further discussion, see McClure 2000). In both Hay's Gaelic and his English versions, this results in carefully measured and balanced lyrics, with regular rhythmic cadences and (in some cases) rhyme, attaining, as the Italian translations do not, to the status of distinguished poetry. The first of the seven translations in *Wind on Loch Fyne*, 'The Cloud' ('Nube'), provides a clear and attractive illustration of his method (Hay 1948: 57). The Italian version shows only stanza divisions, but Hay's poem is in consistent tetrameter lines, the even-numbered ones rhyming. To achieve this, he has made several additions:[4] 'and drifted there aglow', 'jostling', 'to sell and buy' have no equivalents in the Italian; 'si fermò' is expanded to 'hung and rested' and 'per il suo

[2] I am greatly indebted to Michel Byrne for providing me with the relevant poems from this book.

[3] Not having a word of Croatian, I am unable to pronounce on this point; but as Hay's translations were made with reference solely to the Italian versions, it need not be raised again.

[4] Italics in the English- and Scots-language quotations below are added for the purpose of this paper.

cielo' to 'through the *quiet* sky' respectively; 'andava per la propria via' is translated twice:

> Jostling each one *went his way*
> to power, bread, wealth, to sell and buy;
> the cloud in bloodred loveliness
> *went its way* through the quiet sky.

Hay's expansions are uniformly in keeping with the tone of the original; and to the extent that they elaborate on the Italian model they do so with grace and tact, fitting effortlessly into the poetic structure. An unobtrusive alteration to the grammar may present an image with greater delicacy ('insanguinando la bellezza' becoming 'in bloodred loveliness'); a tiny variation in successive translations of the same phrase ('Il vento delle altezze la cullava' giving 'High up the breezes dandled it' in the second stanza and 'cradled it' in the fourth) may redeem a suspicion of laziness or lack of imagination to which the original is open.

In his Gaelic translations from the same anthology in *O na Ceithir Airdean*, the alterations made to the originals adapt them with equal skill to the poetic conventions of a very different language. As short and simple a poem as 'Na Caoraich' ('Le pecore') exemplifies this in several details (Hay 1952: 62). End-rhyme does not appear, but patterns of vowel harmony are conspicuous, such as the dominance of *u* and *ù* in the first two lines and of *o* and *ò* in the second stanza; the sense of 'Spalanca la nostra breve porta' is reinforced in 'Fosgail an dorus sgaoilte, farsuing'; the commonplace word 'sonnolento' becomes much more emotive when rendered as 'làn dùsail' with the noun's overtones of gloom and dullness, as well as of sleep, and the weighty effect of two successive syllables with long vowels; the choice of 'deur' to translate 'grano' (which never means 'tear') adds a melancholy touch which is effectively countered by 'lainnir', corresponding to nothing in the Italian, sounding the final note.

The other translations from *Poeti Croati moderni* provide many further examples of Hay's skill in giving poetic life to prosaic models. Patterns of alliteration or vowel harmony abound: 'the silent swallows steer' ('Landscape'; Hay 1948: 59), 'and aye their anchors quiet fathoms lie' ('The Dead Harbour'; ibid.: 58). The literal translation of 'Oltre il monte vanno i quieti sentieri' as 'Over the mountains go

the quiet pathways' establishes a rhythmic pattern which is repeated exactly in the following line ('Paths Over the Mountain'; ibid.: 59). Words with no equivalent in the Italian texts may form semantic or auditory links between lines or stanzas: 'windless … windward' (the same poem), 'starred … barred' ('Landscape'). A word or phrase may be expanded ('il tramonto' giving 'evening's dying rays' in 'Forgetfulness' (ibid.: 61), 'lo sgocciolio dei giorni' rendered 'days that drip like water' in 'Paths Over the Mountain'), strengthened ('felicità' to 'blessing' in 'The Dead Harbour') or made more precise ('cantare il martello' to 'the ring of hammers' in 'The Dead Harbour'). An image present, if at all, only by implication may be overtly suggested: 'se il nostro amore fu violento o puro' becomes 'whether our love *ran* pure or *turbid*, *brawling*' ('Forgetfulness'). Likewise in the Gaelic versions, the skipping rhythm of 'a chuireas cuir dheth' ('Neul is Cridhe'; Hay 1952: 62) is surely appropriate to a line about a lamb, the recurring *à* in the rhymes of 'Rainn a Sgriobh E' (ibid.: 63) serves to unite the three stanzas, and the cluster of *ao*-words in the third and fourth lines of 'Tiamhachd an Fheasgair' (ibid.: 64) links the cry of grief inexorably to its comfortless rejoinder. The expansion of 'saltando' to 'ri leum ruideis' reinforces the playful tone of one passage ('Neul is Cridhe') as the interpolation of the adjective, collocating ironically (and fortuitously alliterating) with its noun, in 'dùin an Bìobull balbh' ('chiudi la Scrittura') does the grim pessimism of another ('Rainn a Sgriobh E'). The unremarkable 'Le bianche suore sgranano il rosario' suggests the visually intense and precisely focused 'Meuran geala mìne air paidrean dubh le dìchioll' ('Tiamhachd an Fheasgair'), and the apposite use of a Gaelic idiom renders the paradox in 'noi siamo morti, ma senza morire' more delicately as 'tha sinn marbh ged nach d'fhuair sinn bàs' ('Rainn a Sgriobh E').

In what is by far the finest poem in this set, 'Soldiers' Graveyard' ('Cimitero di soldati'; Hay 1948: 60–1), lines are expanded rhythmically and the emotive force of ideas or images augmented by carefully chosen words: 'L'alte erbe sussurrano' giving 'Soft whispering the tall grass lifts and bows'; 'Mi commuove la sconfitta di antiche battaglie' rendered 'I grieve from the dim defeats in battles of days long gone'. Proportional weighting of elements is radically altered: the first half of the line 'Il cielo è divina presenza, ma essi non

hanno nome' is expanded to 'The sky they sleep beneath is radiant as God's face' and the second reduced to the single word 'nameless'. An emphasis may be subtly altered by a change in syntax: 'essi entreranno nel canto, e qui dormiranno ignoti' giving 'and their hearts still beat in songs, *while* here they sleep unknown'; 'Penso ai millenni e alle osse seminate' rendered 'What ages have sown the earth with the bones of our wandered kind'. Yet, although the wording of the original is treated very freely, scarcely a thought or an image is altered, and the result is as powerful and moving a lyric as any in Hay's *oeuvre*.

The one poem which is translated into both languages, 'Ogni nostra speranza' ('Despair' in *Wind on Loch Fyne* (Hay 1948: 58), 'An t-Eudòchas' in *O na Ceithir Airdean* (Hay 1952: 63)), provides interesting points of comparison between the two versions. It can hardly be doubted that the English is the more successful. 'Despair' is in tetrameter and 'An t-Eudòchas' in pentameter lines: correspondingly, the former shows a degree of compression and the latter expansion from the original. This can operate for good or ill. If the poetic force of 'sul cielo più non ardono le stelle' is strengthened by its becoming more active and more concentrated as 'The stars go out across the skies', so too could it be said to be, though in a contrasting manner, by the greater abstraction and semantic indeterminacy of ''Nar speur cha n-fhaicear tuile dril nan reul'; and although 'dall' and 'air cleith nan àird' are not in the source text they serve to reinforce the same sensory impression. On the other hand, 'uile … uile' in the first line and 'riamh … o ám am breith' in the second suggest padding; the interpolated 'gun Chreideas is gun Fhios' is doubtfully in keeping with the original; 'air chrith fo luchd ar là' suffices to translate 'sotto il peso dei giorni tremiamo' (as does 'trembling beneath our load of days') and 'ceann air uchd' adds little (except an internal rhyme) to the sense of the line. The verb *cruccia* has been allowed to suggest the image of crucifixion in both versions (despite what might be assumed, it has no such association in Italian, but means simply 'torments'), but the bold interpolation of 'nailed' in the English poem, the semantic force of 'hurricane-buffeted' and the overt continuation of the cross image into this line by 'it sways' ensure that this version far excels the Gaelic in power. Conceivably, Hay wrote the Gaelic translation with the intention of differentiating it as far as possible from the English; the

verdict must be, however, that the earlier version is the more inspired.

Whereas the individual voices in the Croatian poems are largely subsumed in the uniformly plain and unadventurous language of the Italian renderings, the thirteenth-century sonneteer Cecco Angiolieri is at the other end of the scale in this respect: his exuberant, at times almost frenetic fulminations on love in all its aspects, and his fiery attacks on targets ranging from Dante to his own parents, make his poetic persona one of the most individual and fascinating in medieval literature. Scots is Hay's medium for the four translations from his sonnets which appear in *Wind on Loch Fyne*: as with Villon (a plebeian Angiolieri in many respects) whom Tom Scott recreated brilliantly in Scots (Scott 1953; reprinted with minor revisions in Scott 1963 and 1993), the sheer *virr* of the originals almost necessitates the force and pungency of the mither-tongue for an adequate translation. Hay's method is uniformly to retain the sonnet form, the thought sequences and the rhetorical structures of his models; but the medieval Italian poet is fully naturalised as a modern Scot by the use of a realistic register abounding in familiar idioms and expressions, particularly appropriate since an ironically colloquial tone is also part of Angiolieri's own stock-in-trade; and the force of the original is often augmented by a neat and appropriate embellishment of word or image.

'What luck is waur than mine' (Angiolieri's 'Sonnet II') illustrates Hay's masterly interweaving of literal translation and free paraphrase into a seamless tapestry, resulting in a poem which attains to the highest standards of transcreation (Hay 1948: 62–3). 'She maks me sweit wi anguish nicht an' day' could hardly be more obvious as a translation of '… notte e dia [che] de l'angoscia mi fa sì sudare'; but Hay's previous line 'She chills me wi her glances norlan-snell' highlights it by the contrasting implications of 'sweit' (immediately developed in 'm'arde l'anima' and Hay's still more vivid 'sets ma sawl ableeze') and the image of cold, not even hinted at in the original (but unobtrusively introduced earlier by Hay in the phrase 'cauld hater'). This inspired interpolation is reprised in the penultimate line, where Hay adds a striking metaphor 'I luik tae Luve tae flooer her frozen braes' to Angiolieri's much more modest 'attendo / ch'Amor alcuna cosa la rimova'. The characteristic tension between lamentation and self-mockery in Angiolieri's poem is conveyed by the Scots words with a vigour and an immediacy which

no English rendering could achieve: for example, the expansion of 'trasamo' to 'daft wi looan, wycer ne'er a hait', the more explicit 'I ken the bruckle waveran o their ways' for ''ntendo / che tutte son di così mala pruova'. The prosodic as well as the semantic characteristics of Scots are brought into service: if Hay's opening rhetorical question 'What luck is waur than mine' has no word as weighty as Angiolieri's 'pistolenza', the iambic whip-crack of the monosyllables grabs the reader's attention from the outset. Other poems in this set show similar felicities: the decisive hammer-blows of 'Luve liggs deid' (ibid.: 64), the reinforcement of 'Te ne 'nganna Amore' to 'Doitit, luve-blint ye are' (ibid.: 63), and the ingenuity with which Hay, rendering 'non vals' una paglia' in the obvious way as 'wasna worth a docken' (ibid.: 64), integrates the last word into his rhyme scheme by changing 'un colpo a la sgaraglia' to 'mony a dizzy cloor an' reuchlik rockan' (ibid.).

Angiolieri's most famous sonnet, 'S'i' fosse foco', again inspired Hay to a Scots and a Gaelic translation: 'Gin I war eld' (with an interesting use of a fishermen's taboo word for 'fire') in *Wind on Loch Fyne* (ibid.: 62) and 'Na'm bu teine mi' in *Fuaran Sléibh* (Hay [1947]: 60). Here again Hay makes notable use of Scots monosyllables contrasting with Italian polysyllables, 'manderei l'en profondo', for example, giving 'doon throu the luft I'd ding it'. The far-reaching prosodic dissimilarity between the languages ensures that any translator from Italian into Scots, if s/he endeavours to retain the metrical format of the original, will be faced with the difficulty of filling up the lines. Hay not only confronts but augments this challenge by reducing Angiolieri's syllable-consuming anaphoras ('S'i' fosse foco … S'i' fosse vento … S'i' fosse acqua …' becoming 'Gin I war eld … gin wund … gin watter …'). This enables him to intensify the extravagance of Angiolieri's statements by rapid sequences of potent Scots words: 'lo tempesterei' is rendered 'I'd scraich an' rant an' birle 't aroond', 'fuggirei da lui' 'I'd rin lik stoor an' jink the knave'; and to interpolate phrases which embroider the sense of the original such as 'sae lown an' wae' and 'Baith are steive an' soor'. The Gaelic version in this respect departs much less radically from the original; but if the characteristic semantic power in the language is the feature which Hay principally exploits in the Scots translation, in the Gaelic 'Na'm bu teine mi' it is the range of sound effects: vowel and consonant harmonies ('loisginn an domhan, ghabhainn na mnathan');

the presence of *à* in most of the lines where it does not occur in the end-rhyme; the cross-line linkage of 'ghaoth' – 'maoim', 'eudail' (almost the only word which is not even suggested by anything in the Italian, and seemingly brought in for this purpose) – 'treudan'. His sequence of rhyme words with *à* turns a minor difficulty to his advantage: the fact that Angiolieri's easy rhyme of 'padre' with 'madre' was not available to Hay in either language is accommodated in the Scots by simply leaving both 'faither' and 'mither' out of the rhyme-scheme altogether, but in the Gaelic he associates 'màthair' with 'spàirn', 'bàthadh' and 'Bàs'. Angiolieri would surely have appreciated this!

In the Gaelic version, unlike the Scots, Hay assumes a greater degree of syntactic variability than his model by shifting the position within the lines of the repeated 'na'm bu …' clauses. In contrast, subtle but pointed syntactic parallels are visible at several places in the poem: 'chuirinn le stoirm gu spàirn – dhòirtinn le maoim … 'ga bhàthadh' (both expanded paraphrases of ideas which Angiolieri has expressed by a single polysyllable, 'lo tempesterei' and 'l'annegherei'), the sequences of euphemistic and dysphemistic adjectives coming at the ends of the penultimate and final lines, and (best of all) the principal clauses in

> Chuirinn an ruaig air m'athair, na'm bu Bhàs mi,
> is na'm bu Bheatha, ghabhainn an ruaig roimhe –

where the prepositional pronoun states the contrast far more forcibly than Angiolieri's somewhat bathetic 'fuggirei da lui'.[5] In these two translations, Hay has exploited with outstanding skill the idiosyncratic features of the two target languages, producing versions which, although as mutually dissimilar as the languages themselves, re-state the content of the original poem in thoroughly naturalised form and with at least equal power and exuberance.

If Angiolieri's lasting reputation outwith his homeland is largely restricted to scholars, Petrarch is universally known, at least by name and reputation, as one of the greatest and most influential figures in European literary history. He rarely inspired Hay to Scots translation, although one fine example is the sonnet 'Amor con sue promesse lusignando', which becomes 'Luve wiled me back, promisan nocht but

[5] Perhaps not as bad as James VI's use of 'visited by him' to end a sonnet, but not far from it.

weel'.[6] Here, as in the Angiolieri sonnets, Hay's idiomatic Scots falls into place with seemingly effortless ease. Familiar conversational turns of phrase ('kent o auld', 'I didna see his drift'), expressive words ('Wha sees me *swaiver* by sae *gash* an' pale'), and alliterations and rhymes appearing with perfect naturalness to underline key words or punctuate the argument ('Noo, fechtan aye an' feart / but wha will lippen tae me, thoch I sweir't' – the latter line an almost literal translation of 'chi 'l crederà perché giurando i' 'l dica?') combine in a complete linguistic and cultural naturalisation of the original.

Hay's largest set of Gaelic translations from a single Italian source, however, comprises his versions of Petrarch's sonnets, of which seven appear in *O na Ceithir Airdean* and two in *Fuaran Sléibh*. As a 'set' they are linked only by the fact of Hay's selection (in Petrarch's *Rime* they are numbers 294, 101, 35, 189, 156, 99, 124; 235 and 402), but collectively they illustrate Hay's characteristic combination of a confidently independent approach to his models and an unerring skill in re-stating the original message in a highly dissimilar medium. Gaelic, as compared to Italian, has a much larger and more complex phonological system, a metrical tradition based on stress-timing rather than syllable-counting and much less influenced than English or Scots verse by the latter, a more subtle and more flexible syntax and a greater tendency to abstract rather than concrete expressions; and Hay has, in the finest spirit of poetic translation, concentrated on exploiting these resources of the language rather than closely following his original. He is not concerned to replicate Petrarch's specific poetic figures (a triple anaphora on 'Gu firinneach' (Hay 1952: 47) corresponding to the original 'veramente' is the only certain example; in one sonnet where the Italian poet makes a word ('mezzo') rhyme with itself Hay rhymes 'bhristeach' with 'briseadh' (ibid.: 50), but this hardly suggests imitation of the device): Hay's versions are his own poems with figures appropriate to the Gaelic language and tradition. Often a firmly-stated grammatical pattern may be delicately varied: e.g. 'Di sospir, di speranze e di disio' gives 'osnaich is dòchas is cuairtghaoith mhiann 'gan spìonadh' (ibid.: 48). A paradoxical or otherwise striking statement may be rendered with more subtle lexemes and an arresting syntactic arrangement:

[6] Published in *Scottish International*, February 1972 (I am indebted to Lizzie McGregor for this reference); also in France and Glen 1989: 55.

e.g. 'Tal che di rimembrar mi giova e dole' giving 'is tlachdmhor uair a chuimhne, uair is cràiteach' (ibid.: 49), 'Cantai, or piango' giving 'Ged chaidh mo cheòl 'na dheòir' (Hay [1947]: 62). An unimportant repeated pattern may be elaborated: 'disarmata di vele e di governo' becoming 'gun seòl ri slait, gun stiùir ri sàil' (ibid.: 61). The order of elements in a line may be adjusted to bring a key word into the rhyming position: 'ma pur di male in peggio quel ch'avanza' giving 'mo shùil s mo cheum o "dona" gu "na's miosa"' (Hay 1952: 50). Even when Hay follows Petrarch most closely, as in 'Sheasadh i uair 'nam chridhe gu beò bòidheach' (ibid.: 47), his translator's initiative produces individual touches: the addition of a third item to 'polvere et ombra' – 'duslach, sgàile, ceò'; the compression and strengthening of 'non pur mortal, ma morto' to 'marbhan beò' (ironically echoing the 'beò' in the first line) and the more concretely visual presentation of 'Amor de la sua luce ignudo' as 'mhùch e lòchran geal mo ghràidh'.

Hay is one of the outstanding figures of the Scottish Renaissance. The mere fact of his writing memorable poetry in all three of the national languages (and others too) would guarantee him at least some reputation; but his total trilingualism – ability to write with equal and indistinguishable ease and skill in all three languages, and to write verse derived from and relating to their very different literary traditions – makes him unique. A full assessment of the place which his translations should hold in his entire output remains to be made; as always in such cases, the poems must be judged not only on their intrinsic merit but on their relationship – measured by much deeper and more far-reaching criteria than the simplistic one of literal translational accuracy – to their originals. This brief discussion has shown that his work in this field is characterised by an intimate understanding of the tone and spirit of his models, enabling him to produce renderings in exact harmony with the original works, in potent combination with a full recognition and acceptance of the fact that a translator's responsibility to his source is not fulfilled by simply following the words and phrases of the original text. Whether translating classics of European poetry or undistinguished prose renderings of unknown originals, he transmutes his models, freely using the poetic resources of Gaelic, Scots or English, into home-grown works of literary creation. In his translations, as in his original poetry, Hay is a master of his art.

Ìomhaigh Gàidhealtachd na h-Albann ann am Bàrdachd Èireannach Linn nan Seumasach: Eòlas, Aineolas agus Breug-Eòlas

Wilson McLeod

A dh'aindeoin a' chaidreibh agus a' chàirdeis eadar Alba agus Èirinn a mhair tro na linntean, tha e coltach gu robh Alba a-riamh air iomall aire agus mac-meanmna nan Èireannach. A rèir Choilm Uí Bhaoill, bha Alba a' nochdadh mar dhùthaich fògraidh agus fuadaich ann an litreachas an linn ro-Normannaich (Ó Baoill 1976), agus a rèir Alan Bruford nach maireann, ann an romansaichean nam Meadhan Aoisean 'Scotland is traditionally treated as a home of magic and adventure, like other foreign countries' (Bruford 1969: 17, n. 1). Is ann glè ainneamh a bhiodh filidhean Èireannach an linn Chlasaigich a' toirt iomradh sam bith air Alba anns na dàin aca, ach a-mhàin nuair a bha iad a' moladh thriathan Albannach, agus tha e follaiseach nach robh mòran ùidh aca ann an eachdraidh, dualchas no dreach na h-Albann (McLeod 2004: caibidil 3). Ann am bàrdachd Ghaeilge linn nan Seumasach (1688–1788), chithear measgachadh annasach de dh'eòlas, aineolas agus breug-eòlas air Alba. Rud ùidheil is e gu bheil Alba nas faicsinniche agus nas suaicheinte anns an litreachas seo na bha i riamh roimhe; bha tachartasan ann an Albainn, gu h-àraidh Ar-a-mach 1715 agus Ar-a-mach 1745–46, gu mòr air aire nam bàrd Èireannach. A dh'aindeoin sin, tha e follaiseach nach robh mòran fiosrachadh dualchasach aig bàird Sheumasach na h-Èireann mu Ghàidhealtachd na h-Albann, agus gur ann à tobraichean agus tuigsean saoghal na Beurla (pàipearan-naidheachd agus òrain nan daoine gu sònraichte) a fhuair iad a' mhòr-chuid de na bha aca mun ghnothach. Mar a mhìnichear gu h-ìosal, b' e creutairean neònach, coimheach a bha ann an Gàidheil na h-Albann – *lucht bláthbhoinéad* (abairt aig Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill) no *macs is clans* (Donnchadh Caoch Ó Mathghamhna; faic Ó Buachalla 1996: 308) – agus iad a' fuireach anns na *Híelans*, seach anns a' Ghàidhealtachd.

Gun teagamh sam bith b' iad na Domhnallaich (gu h-àraidh

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fine Aontrama) an teaghlach as 'Albannaiche' ann an Èirinn; b' iad an aon teaghlach Èireannach a bhathas a' cur san àireamh anns na liostaichean fada de chàirdean agus de luchd-taice a tha cho nochdaidh ann am bàrdachd Ghàidhlig an t-seachdamh linn deug agus an ochdamh linn deug (MacInnes 1979: 448–9, 465–6; McLeod 2004: caibidil 4). Ach is e glè bheag de 'Albannachas' a chithear ann an saothar bàird Dhomhnallach na h-Èireann anns an ochdamh linn deug mar Raghnall Dall Mac Domhnaill agus Toirdhealbhach Ruadh Mac Domhnaill à Oirghialla no an Corcaigheach Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill (Ua Duinnín 1908; Ó Foghludha 1934; Ó Muirgheasa 1934: 28–31, 59–61, 120–1). Air an aon dòigh, anns na dàin molaidh a rinneadh do thriathan Domhnallach anns an linn seo, an dà chuid ann an Ulaidh agus anns a' Mhumhan, is e glè bheag a bha aig na bàird ri ràdh mu dhualchas agus eachdraidh Gàidhealtachd na h-Albann. Mar eisimpleir, rinn Aodh Buidhe Mac Cruitín, Seán Ó hAthairne, Seán Ó hÓrrdha agus Seán Lluid dòrlach dhàn molaidh do Dhomhnallaich Chill Caoi agus Chill Eoin (Co. an Chláir) eadar 1718 agus 1773. Bhiodh iad tric a' cur a' bhuadhair *ard* an cois *Alba* air sgàth uaim, ach cha robh mòran a bharrachd aca ri ràdh mun dùthaich, no mu eachdraidh no dhualchas Chloinn Domhnaill.[1]

Dàn inntinneach, neo-àbhaisteach is e 'Tuireamh Shomhairle Mhic Dhomhnaill' le Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta: cumha do Shomhairle Mac Domhnaill, saighdear ainmeil a bhuineadh do Dhomhnallaich Aontrama agus a mharbhadh aig Blàr Eachroma anns an Iuchar 1691, far an do sgriosadh feachdan Sheumais II (VII). Tha an Dall Mac Cuarta a' taisbeanadh eòlas mu dhualchas nan Domhnallach, agus e a' toirt iomradh air traidisean ainmeil an fhine a tha cumanta anns a' bhàrdachd Albannaich: 'Leith Alban ba ceart dhóibh is Baile tré chródhacht' (Ó Gallchóir 1971: 63–9; faic Matheson 1938: 287–8; MacInnes 1981: 154). A rèir a' bhàird, b' e Somhairle 'oidhre na dtalta (= 'nan talamhan') ó Dhún Breatan go bóchna', ràiteas nach eil furasta

[1] Faic, mar eisimpleir, 'A ghéis ghasta ghléigiol, a bhéith mhaiseach bhéasach' (Aodh Buidhe Mac Cruitín, 1718), §4; 'Is léir-sgriosda daor-ghonta duairc / An sgéal úd do chualadh idir tháint' (Seaghan Ó hÓrrdha, 1773), §4; 'Monuar an cás, truadhamhuil tlás' (Seaghan Lluid, 1750x58), §§2d, 6g–h (O' Looney 1863: 2, 50, 58).

a thuigsinn, oir chan eil ceangal ga dhèanamh eadar Clann Domhnaill agus Dùn Breatann anns na prìomh-chùnntasan eachdraidheil air a' chinnidh a thàinig a-nuas thugainn (Leabhar Chloinn Raghnaill agus eachdraidh Uisdein Dhomhnallaich, mar eisimpleir). Is dòcha gu robh ceangal air choireigin, a rèir teagasg nan seanchaidhean, eadar na trì Collaidhean (Colla Uais, bun-sinnsear nan Domhnallach, agus a dhithis bhràithrean) agus Dùn Breatann, cathair chumhachdach agus ainmeil ann an eachdraidh àrsaidh na h-Albann;[2] ach ma tha am mìneachadh seo ceart, tha e gu math inntinneach gu robh an Dall Mac Cuarta eòlach air an t-seann cheangal seo, agus am fiosrachadh seo, a rèir coltais, air dol à cuimhne ann an Albainn fhèin.

Anns a' chumantas, is ann tro sgrìobhaidhean Beurla a dh'ionnsaich bàird Èireannach linn nan Seumasach mun t-saoghal a-muigh – ged a bha ceanglaichean aig Seumasaich na h-Èireann ris an luchd-taice air Mòr-roinn na h-Eòrpa (faic Ó Ciardha 2002: 318). Is e ainmean-àite Beurla a chleachd iad anns a' bhàrdachd aca seach ainmean dùthchasach no Gàidhealaichte. Ann an 'Éistighidh lem ghlórtha, a mhórshliocht Mhilésius' le Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill (c. 1742), is e 'Babharia' a tha aig a' bhàrd seach *Bayern*, 'Bhienna' seach *Wien*, 'Prussia' seach *Preussen*, 'Silésia' seach *Schlesien*, 'Mantua' seach *Mantova*, 'Naples' seach *Napoli*, agus mar sin air adhart (Ua Duinnín 1908: 10–12; Ó Foghludha 1934: 54–5). Tha e inntinneach gu bheil an aon chleachdadh ri fhaicinn a thaobh ainmean àiteachan agus dhaoine ann an Gàidhealtachd na h-Albann: chithear 'Campbells' an àite *Caimbeulaich* no *Duibhnich*, 'Falkirk' an àite *An Eaglais Bhreac*, agus 'Culloden' an àite *Cùil Lodair* (Ó Foghludha 1952: 205, §4c–d; de Rís 1969: 14, §3b; Bruen 1996: 113, §4c–d; Ó Buachalla 1996: 420).[3] Tha

[2] Tha iomradh car doilleir air Dùn Breatann ann an dàn a rinneadh do Eoin, rìgh Innse Gall (†1503), leis an fhilidh Ultach Domhnall mac Briain Uí Uiginn, 'Meisde nach éadmhor Éire' (RIA LS 23 F 16, 178; Leabharlann Bhreatainn LS Egerton 111, 50, rannan 27–28).

[3] Is fhiach a shònrachadh gu bheil an t-ainm-àite *An Eaglais Bhreac* gu math aithnichte am measg Gàidheil na h-Albann, rud nach eil idir fior a thaobh ainmean-àite na Galldachd anns an fharsaingeachd (MacInnes 1989: 91). Is e *An Eaglais Bhreac* a bhiodh bàird Ghàidhlig linn nan Seumasach a' cleachdadh gu cunbhalach.

e coltach nach robh anns na h-ainmean a chleachd iad ach faclan coimheach a dh'ionnsaich na bàird bho phàipearan-naidheachd Beurla, agus nach robh caidreabh no conaltradh gu leòr a' dol eadar Alba agus Èirinn a bheireadh na h-ainmean Gàidhlig do dh'aire nan Seumasach ann an Èirinn.

Tha an tuigse seo soilleir ann an dàn eile aig Seán Clárach, 'A shaoi ghlain de phríomhscoth na sáirfhear saor', a rinneadh tràth anns a' bhliadhna 1745, nuair a bha dòchas agus fiùghair aig Seumasaich na h-Èireann. Tha am bàrd a' fàisneachadh buaidh is àgh do na Gàidheil: lasar teinntean, gheibh bàird is sagairtean an àite dlìgheil, cuiridh Rìgh Louis na Frainge a chabhlach air a' chuan, agus 'sgeinnfid ó Híelans lucht bláthbhoinéad / a shínfeas an rí ceart le Gráinne Maol' ('thig luchd blàth-bhoineid nan sgeinneadh (.i. deann-ionnsaigh) agus builichidh iad an rìgh ceart air Èirinn') (Ó Foghludha 1934: 85–7, §5c–d). Am 'bláth' a tha a' comharrachadh nan creutairean seo is e suaicheantas ainmeil nan Seumasach, an 'White Cockade', a thug ainm do phort ainmeil a rinneadh air Galldachd na h-Albann a bha anabarrach measail aig Seumasaich na h-Èireann.[4] An rud as annasaiche, ged-tà, is e gun do chleachd Seán Clárach an t-ainm *Híelans* seach ainm dùthchasach (*Gaedhealtacht* no *Garbhchríocha*, can); b' e *Hielans* (seach *Highlands*, le fuaim dhà-fhoghrach na Beurla Shasannaich) am fuaimneachadh àbhaisteach am measg Goill na h-Albann aig an àm agus is cinnteach gun cuala am bàrd am facal agus am fuaimneachadh seo ann an òra(i)n S(h)eumasach à Galldachd na h-Albann.

Chan eil fianais againn gu robh òrain à Gàidhealtachd na h-Albann idir cumanta ann an Èirinn rè linn nan Seumasach, ach is cinnteach gu robh buaidh gu math làidir aig cultar Galldachd na h-Albann air Èirinn aig an àm, òrain Sheumasach na measg. Bha luchd-taice nan Seumasach a' sgaoileadh sgrìobhaidhean is òrain Bheurla fad is farsaing, gu h-àraidh ann an taighean-seinnse (Pittock 1994), agus bha pailteas cheanglaichean cultarach eadar Galldachd na h-Albann agus Còigeamh Uladh gu sònraichte. Tha

[4] Is e feart cumanta ann am bàrdachd na Gàidhlig (agus na Beurla) a bhith a' dèanamh ceangal eadar Gàidheil Alba agus boineidean, ach mar as trice is an dath a tha orra – gorm – a tha gan sònrachadh.

dà òran eile aig Seán Clárach a' sealltainn mar a bha na cultaran a' measgachadh: 'Comhracann mo mhacaomh is canann chómh binn' (Ua Duinnín 1908: 14–16; Ó Foghludha 1934: 59–60) a tha na eadar-theangachadh air an òran Ghallda 'Bonnie Black Laddie' ('My laddie can fight and my laddie can sing'), a rinneadh ann an 1720 mar chomharra air co-là-breith Sheumais Fhrangain Eideird Stiùbhairt, an *Old Pretender* (faic Mac Craith 1994: 61–2), agus 'Bímse buan air buairt gach ló' (c. 1746) (Ua Duinnín 1908: 1–3; Ó Foghludha 1934: 45–7) a sheinneadh air fonn 'The White Cockade' agus a bha 'in the vein of many [Lowland] Scotch ballads of the period' a rèir an Athar Ó Duinnín, a rinn a' chiad dheasachadh air bàrdachd Sheáin Chláraigh (Ua Duinnín 1908: 66). Rud a tha inntinneach dha-rìribh is e gur e 'mo ghille mear' am far-ainm a chuir Seán Clárach air a' Phrionnsa Teàrlach ann am 'Bímse buan air buairt gach ló'; chan eil am facal *gille* (no eadhon *giolla*) idir bitheanta ann an cainnt làitheil na h-Èireann, agus tha e coltach gu robh am bàrd a' feuchainn ri blas 'Albannach' a chur air an òran. Chan eil iomradh sam bith air Alba anns an òran fhèin, ach ann an grunn làmh-sgrìobhainnean tha tiotal sàr inntinneach air, .i. 'Caoineadh na mná Albanaigh ar a grádh .i. Jenny Cameron'. Ged a b' e bana-Ghàidheal ainmeil a bha ann an 'Jenny Cameron' – nighean Chamshron Ghleann Deas-àirigh a bha gu mòr an sàs ann an iomairt a' Phrionnsa – is cinnteach gun d'fhuair i cliù is urram ann an Èirinn mar thoradh air cunntasan a nochd ann an leabhrain phoilitigeach Shasannach agus air òrain Ghallda leithid 'Ye'll a' hae heard tell o' bonnie Jeanie Cameron' (Craig 1997: 42–50). Is cinnteach cuideachd nach aithnicheadh luchd a dùthcha i fon ainm 'Jenny Cameron', seach far-ainm Gàidhlig cleas 'Seonag nighean Fhir Ghleann Deas-àirigh' no eadhon 'Seonag Chamshron'.

Tha sealladh car diofraichte ri fhaicinn ann an òran ainmeil aig Peadar Ó Doirnín (à Co. Lú), 'Tá bearad i Londain' (c. 1746) (Ó Tuathail 1923: 36–7; de Rís 1969: 13–14). Tha am bàrd a' bruidhinn gu h-ìoranach air an fheadhainn a bha a' strì airson crùn Bhreatainn – ach chan eil ann ach 'bearad' ('ceap') suarach a rèir Uí Dhoirnín. Nam measg tha Gàidheil na h-Albann, no 'lucht boinéad' agus 'lucht breacán' mar a tha aig a' bhàrd orra:

Creideann lucht boinéad gur cumadh do Chathal é,
is iombó![5] . . .

Deirid lucht breacán go ngearrfaidh siad cnámha
is nach scoirid dá racán go gcuirid ar Chathal é,
is iombó!

Is cróga do sheasaigh an breacán an báire
ar na slóite ó Loch Abar go Barraic is go Falkirk . . .

Adeir Eoghann is Eachann is Gill'Easbuig Mac Raghnaill
nach bhfuil boinéad no bearad no hata dubh lása
nó giolla breá fearúil dár cailleadh an lá sin
nach n-íocfaidh Sir Wully go huile le Cathal iad,
is iombó! (de Rís 1969: 13–14, §§1d, 2c–d, 3a–b)

(Tha luchd boineid a' creidsinn gun do rinneadh do Theàrlach e, is iombó! . . .

Their luchd breacain gun geàrr iad cnàmhan agus nach sguir iad den racaid aca gus an cuir iad air Teàrlach e, is iombó!

Is ann gu cròdha a sheas am breacan an strì air na slòigh bho Loch Abar gu Bearaig is chun na h-Eaglaise Brice . . .

Their Eoghann is Eachann is Gill'Easbuig Mac Raghnaill nach eil boinead no ceap no ad dubh làsa, no gille brèagha fearail de na chailleadh air an là sin, nach pàigh Sir Wully Tèarlach gu h-iomlan air an son, is iombó!)

Ged a tha cuid de sgoilearan air cur an cèill gur e ceannardan Seumasach a tha ann an 'Eòghann is Eachann is Gill'Easbuig Mac Raghnaill', .i. caractaran eachdraidheil, tha e coltach gu bheil am mìneachadh ceart aig an neach-dheasachaidh Seán de Rís. Tha esan den bheachd nach eil anns na h-ainmean seo ach ainmean ro-dhualach, èibhinn coltach ri 'Pierre', 'Ivan' no 'Fritz'

[5] Chan eil ciall an fhacail *iombó* (a tha cumanta ann an òrain) buileach soilleir an seo, ach tha e coltach gu bheil tomhas de thàir is de tharcais na lùib.

(de Rís 1969: 112).[6] Ma tha seo ceart, bhiodh sin a' ciallachadh gu robh Ó Doirnín (agus an luchd-èisteachd a bha fa-near dha) a' tuigsinn nan Gàidheal Albannach mar shluagh 'coimheach' aig an robh ainmean 'coimheach' nach robh idir cumanta ann an Èirinn. Ach chaidh am bàrd ceàrr le bhith a' taghadh an t-sloinnidh Mac Raghnaill (> '(Mc)Reynolds' no 'McRannall' anns a' Bheurla, mar as trice) anns an dòigh seo, oir chan eil an sloinneadh seo ach tearc air Gàidhealtachd na h-Albann; is ann ann an Èirinn a-mhàin a fhreumhaich e, ged a b' ann le 'gallóglaigh' de bhunadh Albannach a thugadh do dh'Èirinn e an toiseach (Black 1946: 561; de Bhulbh 1997: 102–3, 292).

Tha na far-ainmean *lucht breacán* agus *lucht boinéad(aibh)* rim faicinn cuideachd anns an dàn èibhinn 'Iomáin Áth' na gCasán', le bàrd eile à Co. Lú, Pádraig Ó Cearbhaill (fl. 1750?): seo tuairisgeul ait, samhlachail air gèama ball-coise,[7] a' tachairt de dh'oidhche, anns a bheil 'na mílte de lucht breacain ... is lucht boinéadaibh ó Aberdín' an sàs (Ó Muirgheasa 1915: 37–40, §1e–f). Chan eil am bàrd a-mach air poileataigs idir; tha an *lucht breacán* agus an *lucht boinéad(aibh)* seo os-nàdarra, uirsgeulach, rud beag coltach ri sìthean (cf. Briggs 1978: 175–80). A-rithist, tha e inntinneach gun do chleachd an Cearbhallach cruth Beurla an ainm 'Aberdeen' seach *Obar Dheathain* mar a chanar ris anns a' Ghàidhlig, agus gu dearbh gun do cheangail e an 'luchd breacan' ri baile dubh-Ghallda. Tha e follaiseach nach robh doimhneachd eòlais aige air Alba.

Aig an aon àm, feumar cuimhneachadh gu bheil abairtean leithid 'luchd nam breacan' glè chumanta ann am bàrdachd

[6] Is ann leam fhìn a tha an litreachadh 'Eoghann is Eachann is Gill'Easbuig Mac Raghnaill'; is e 'Aodhán is Eachain is Gilleaspaic Mac Raghnaill' a bha aig Seán de Rís (de Rís 1969: 14) agus 'Eoghan is Eachann is Gilleasbuig Mhac Raghnaill' a bha aig Éamonn Ó Tuathail, neach-deasachaidh eile (Ó Tuathail 1923: 37). Ann an tuairisgeul air òrain Sheumasach na h-Èireann (Vallely 1999: 362), sgrìobh Colm Ó Baoill 'Iain' an àite 'Eoghann/Aodhán/Eoghan': dhèanadh seo a' chùis glè mhath oir tha an t-ainm 'Iain' fior chumanta ann an Albainn ach chan eileas ga chleachdadh ann an Èirinn idir.

[7] A rèir neach-deasachaidh an dàin, Énrí Ó Muirgheasa (1915: 208), is e ball-coise Gàidhealach a bha fa-near don bhàrd seach camanachd oir cha robh camanachd idir bitheanta ann an Còigeamh Uladh aig an àm.

Albannach bho linn nan Seumasach. Gu ìre, tha am breacan ga chleachdadh mar shuaicheantas fèin-aithne agus fèin-chomharrachaidh airson nan Gàidheal Albannach – ann an 'Òran Nuadh' agus 'Am Breacan Uallach' le Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair (Campbell 1984: 62–71, 154–62), mar eisimpleir. Ach tha diofar mòr eadar an innleachd seo agus cleas nam bàrd Èireannach: anns na h-òrain Albannach tha e na chomharra buinteanais, ga fhaicinn bhon taobh a-staigh, mar gum biodh, ach anns na h-òrain Èireannach tha e na chomharra coimheachais, ga fhaicinn bhon taobh a-muigh. Is e cnag na cùise nach robh bàird Èireannach linn nan Seumasach a' nochdadh buinteanas no co-fhaireachdainn ri Gàidhealtachd na h-Albann: gu ìre mhòir bha i na dùthaich aineoil dhaibh.

Traidisiún an Phróis agus na Véarsaíochta in *Immram Curaig Ua Corra*: Cúig Dhán*

Séamus Mac Mathúna

1. Intreoir

Tagann *Immram Curaig Ua Corra* anuas chugainn i dtrí cinn de leaganacha (Mac Mathúna 1997: go speisialta 71–3). Tá an leagan is luaithe ar fáil i Leabhar Fhear Maighe (F), lámhscríbhinn de chuid an 15ú haois atá ar marthain in Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann (ARÉ MS 23 E 29) (O'Rahilly agus araile 1926–70: 3091–125 agus go speisialta 3113–4; Mac Mathúna 1997: 73). Leagan próis is ea é seo. Tá leagan próis a bhfuil cló níos nua-aimseartha air ná sin ar marthain in ARÉ MS 23 H 28 (H), in ARÉ MS 23 M 40 (M) agus i lámhscríbhinní eile chomh maith (Mac Mathúna 1997: 74–5). Ba é Domhnall Ua Téinn a chóipeáil H i 1712–13 agus ba é an scríobhaí agus an fear léinn Séaghan Ua Murchúghadh na Ráithíneach a chóipeáil M sa bhliain 1744. Dealraíonn sé gur cóip de théacs H is ea M agus gur chóipeáil Ó Téinn é as Leabhar an Leasa Mhóir, lámhscríbhinn eile de chuid an 15ú haois (Ó Cuív 1983: 269–92; Breatnach 2003: 91–107).[1]

* Tá de phléisiúr agam an saothar seo a thairiscint in ómós don Ollamh Colm Ó Baoill. Is cinnte go bhfuil sé breá eolach ní hamháin ar sheanscéal Ua gCorra ach, macasamhail chuid mhór daoine eile de mhuintir Thuaisceart na hÉreann a chaith sealanna i nGaeltacht Thír Chonaill, bheadh sé eolach fosta ar na stacaí amuigh san fharraige a dtugtar Na Mic Ó gCorra orthu agus ar na scéalta a mhaireann i mbéal na ndaoine fá dtaobh díobh. Ar ndóigh, tá sé féin ar a oilithreacht in Albain le fada an lá, agus seans go bhfuil litríocht seo na n-iomramha mar sin, lena dtagairtí iomadúla d'oilithrigh, in aice lena chroí. Tá mé buíoch de na hOllúna Gearóid Mac Eoin, Pádraig Ó Riain agus Gregory Toner, agus den Dr Sharon Arbuthnot, as a gcúnamh agus an saothar seo á chur le chéile agam. Muna dtugtar a mhalairt le fios, mé féin amháin atá freagrach as na tuairimí a chuirtear chun cinn ann.

[1] Is ionann H agus M ar an mórgcóir agus i m'eagrán de IUC thug mé le fios go raibh H bunaithe ar M. Ní raibh mion-staidéar déanta agam ag an am ar an ghaol idir an dá lámhscríbhinn agus ní raibh a fhios agam go raibh Ó Cuív tar éis a thaispeáint gur a mhalairt a bhí fíor, is é sin, go bhfuil M bunaithe ar H. Tá cuid mhór de na téacsanna céanna in H agus M agus is é is dóichí go bhfuil an ceart aige go dtéann siad beirt siar go Leabhar an Leasa Mhóir, lámhscríbhinn de chuid an 15ú haois a bhfuil na téacsanna céanna seo inti chomh maith. Tá corr-rud in H freisin a thugann le fios nach bhfuil sé ag brath ar M. Aontaíonn H agus F le chéile

Fil súil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: a Festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill
ed. by S. Arbuthnot and K. Hollo, Ceann Drochaid: Clann Tuirc, 2007, 105–42

An tríú leagan, an ceann a bhfuil idir phrós agus fhilíocht ann (UC3), tá sin ar marthain i lámhscríbhinní de chuid an 18ú agus an 19ú haois agus tugtar *Eachtra Chlainne Ua gCorra* nó *Clann Ua gCorra* mar theideal air seo i mbunús na lámhscríbhinní. Chuir Whitley Stokes leagan F in eagar sa bhliain 1893, agus chuir A. G. Van Hamel téacs normálta den leagan céanna ar fáil sa bhliain 1941 (Stokes 1893: 22–69; Van Hamel 1941: 99–111, 139–41).[2] Tá codanna de F nach bhfuil inléite, agus bhain na heagarthóirí úsáid as M leis na bearnaí a líonadh. Tá eagrán den leagan próis agus filíochta in eagar ag Mac Mathúna maraon le téacs iomlán M (Mac Mathúna 1997: 83–120).

Téann F agus HM siar go dtí téacs Meán-Ghaeilge a rinneadh, is cosúil, am éigin sa dara leath den 12ú céad.[3] Ó thaobh na teangan de, is é F is gaire don bhuntéacs seo. Tá an litriú agus foirmeacha éagsúla briathartha agus araile tugtha suas chun dáta in HM. Tá sin amhlaidh faoi phrós UC3 chomh maith, ach amháin go bhfuil sé níos nua-aimseartha fós ná HM. Tá an fhilíocht an-spéisiúil ar fad. Ní hé amháin go bhfuil dánta fiúntacha ann ó thaobh ábhair de, tá cuid acu snoite le chéile go foirfe agus léirítear idir théamaí agus mhothúcháin iontu amanta a théann i bhfeidhm go mór ar an léitheoir. Is léir freisin go raibh cur amach maith ag an údar ar theanga na Gaeilge Clasaicí.

Is é a chuirim romham mar aidhm sa pháipéar seo cur síos a dhéanamh ar thraidisiún an phróis agus na véarsaíochta go ginearálta mar aon le heagrán a chur ar fáil de chúig dhán chun léargas a thabhairt ar éifeacht, ar ábhar agus ar theanga na véarsaíochta. Déantar anailís ar sheachadadh agus ar ábhar an scéil ar dtús agus ansin déantar scrúdú ar chuid den ábhar breise in UC3. Seachas na dánta a d'aistrigh mé

in éadan M i gcorr-áit. Mar shampla, féach Stokes 1893: §29; Mac Mathúna 1997: §18. Ina dhiaidh sin, is cóip níos soiléire M ná H in áiteanna agus ó tharla an dá chóip a bheith mar a chéile go bunúsach, leanaim M anseo. Tugann an t-eolas breise seo tuilleadh beachtaíochta dúinn maidir le cúlra leagan HM.

[2] Chuir Van Hamel caighdeán na Sean-Ghaeilge ar chuid mhór foirmeacha, rud a chuireann as a riocht cló an scéil mar a tháinig sé anuas chugainn. Féach na Nótaí Teanga thíos, agus Breatnach 2003: 92–3.

[3] Cheap Stokes agus Van Hamel gur cumadh an bunleagan san 11ú céad (ach féach anois Breatnach 2003: 107; agus an tráchtaireacht thíos sa tríú cuid den alt seo). Is dóigh leis an Bhreatnach nach mbaineann an chéad chuid den téacs (§§1–32) leis an bhunscéal ó cheart agus go bhféadfaí gur cumadh é i ndiaidh 1152 nó go fiú suas le céad bliain ina dhiaidh sin.

go Béarla cheana féin ón leagan seo (Mac Mathúna 2002: 151–68), níor aistríodh aon rud eile uaidh. Mar sin, tá aistriúchán Béarla agus nótaí téacsúla ag dul leis an chuid seo den obair. Sa cheathrú roinn, déantar anailís ar ghnéithe áirithe teangan sa véarsaíocht agus sna leaganacha éagsúla próis. Tá anailís ar fáil anseo chan amháin ar na foirmeacha sa chúig dhán ach ar fhoirmeacha eile chomh maith.

2. Cúlra agus struchtúr na véarsaíochta agus an phróis

Seo é go hachomair a leanas éirim scéal *Immram Curaig Ua gCorra*. Fear saibhir ba ea Conall Derg Ua gCorra Fhinn, flaithbhrughaidh céadach as Cúige Chonnacht, agus bhí sé pósta ar iníon airchinneach Chlochair, bean dárbh ainm Caordherg.[4] Bhí gach rud de réir a dtola acu ach amháin nach raibh clann mhac ná clann iníonacha acu. Shocraigh siad mar sin ar chonradh a dhéanamh leis an Diabhal sa tslí go n-éireodh an bhean torrach agus go bhfaighfidís clann. Rugadh trírín dóibh, triúr mac, mar atá, Lóchán, Énna agus Silvester, san aon oíche amháin, agus baisteadh iad 'do réir an bhaisteadh geintlighe … i seilbh an Diabhail', is é sin, baisteadh iad de réir nós na pagántachta (Mac Mathúna 1997: §§4, 5). Nuair a tháinig na buachaillí i méadaíocht, chuir siad rompu féin gnó an Diabhail a dhéanamh ó tharla gurbh eisean ba thriath nó ba thighearna dóibh, is é sin, chinn siad ar chléirigh a mharú agus ar mhainistreacha a loscadh agus a mhilleadh. Tar éis bliain a chaitheamh ar an dóigh seo, bheartaigh siad mainistir a sean-athair, airchinneach Chlochair, a loscadh agus a chreachadh agus an cléireach féin a mharú. An oíche ar bhain siad an áit amach, thug an t-airchinneach rogha gach bia agus togha gach

[4] Maidir le Conall Derg, tugtar le fios i bhfoinsí éagsúla gurbh é sin an t-ainm a bhí ar athair Naomh Énna agus deirtear i *Félire Óengusso* gurbh é Cairech Dergain, deirfiúr Énna, a iníon (féach Stokes 1905: 70–3). I mBeatha Laidine Naomh Laisrén (Molaisse), cuirtear Conall Derg, athair Énna, i láthair mar *regulus crvdelis et impius diabolico spiritu instigatus* ('rí crúálach aindiaga atá á shaighdeadh ag spiorad diabhlaí'), rud a chuireann i gcuimhne dúinn an conradh a dhéanann Conall Derg agus a bhean leis an Diabhal in IUC (féach Plummer 1910: II, 134, §14). I mBeatha Énna féin, deirtear go bhfuil athair an naoimh, Conall Derg, in Ifreann, agus caitheann Énna féin saol mailíseach ag an tús go dtí go n-iompaíonn sé chuig Dia (ibid.: II, 60–75). Sa tráchtaireacht ar *Félire Óengusso*, déantar ceiliúradh ar na naoimh Lóchán, Énna agus Silvester sa véarsaíocht ar an 31ú Nollaig (féach Stokes 1905: 255). Seans maith gur bhain údar IUC úsáid as foinsí éagsúla dá mhacasamhail seo chun an chuid seo den scéal a chruthú (féach Breatnach 2003: 102–5).

dí dóibh sa tslí gur tháinig meisce orthu agus gur thit siad ina gcnap codlata ('ro thit a dtoirc[h]im suain agus síorchodlata ortha'; ibid.: §9). Agus é ina chodladh, bhí fís ag an duine is sine díobh, Lóchán, agus chonaic sé iontais nimhe agus uaféis ifrinn. I ngeall air sin, d'athraigh na deartháireacha a slí iompair, agus cheistigh siad a seanathair faoi cé acu an nglacfadh an Tighearna aithreachas uathu sna mórolca a bhí déanta acu. Dúirt seisean go nglacfadh agus, i ndiaidh dóibh bliain a chaitheamh ag foghlaim faoi 'mic teagaisc / eagailse' ag Naomh Finnian Chluain Ioraird, leagadh orthu na mainistreacha uile a bhí millte acu a leasú. Chuaigh siad amach a leasú na mainistreacha agus nuair a bhí deireadh déanta acu agus iad i gCinn Mhara cois na farraige chonaic siad an ghrian ag dul faoi agus rinne siad cinneadh a dhul a chuartú iontais an domhain ar an aigéan. Fuair siad saor le curach tréchabhlach a dhéanamh dóibh, agus ba é an luach saothair a d'iarr sé ar a shon sin a dhul in éineacht leo.

De réir an scéil, naonúr ar fad a chuaigh ar an turas, an triúr deartháir, triúr cléireach (easpag, sagart agus deochan), an saor adhmaid, crosán agus giolla. Ar an turas farraige, tagann siad go dtí a lán oileán íontachta agus feiceann siad cuid mhór peacach agus iad ag fulaingt i ngeall ar a gcuid droch-ghníomhartha. Na pionóis a fhulaingíonn siad, tá siad ag teacht leis na peacaí a rinne siad ar an saol seo. Cuid mhaith acu, bhris siad riail an Domhnaigh trí obair a dhéanamh ar lá an Tighearna. I rith an turais, faigheann an crosán bás agus é ar bord an churaigh (Stokes 1893: §46; Mac Mathúna 1997: §28) agus caillteár beirt eile ar oileáin éagsúla a dtugann na taistealaithe cuairt orthu. Fanann duine amháin díobh ar oileán na gcaointeoirí (Stokes 1893: §44; Mac Mathúna 1997: §27) agus fanann duine eile díobh ar oileán na gceithre ghrúpa agus lucht na ngáirí (Stokes 1893: §48; Mac Mathúna 1997: §30). Deirtear go bhfanfaidh an giolla sa Bhreatain agus go bhfaighidh sé bás ansin (Stokes 1893: §75; Mac Mathúna 1997: §52). Sna *hImmrama* eile, tá daoine breise a thig ar an turas freisin agus caillteár iad siúd chomh maith.[5] Is léir gur téama é seo atá fite fuaite go dlúth leis na scéalta seo agus go bhfuil baint aige le daoine breise a thig go déanach ar

[5] Tá cuid mhór scríofa ar an ábhar seo. Féach, mar shampla, Zimmer 1889: 176–7, 199–200; Orlandi 1968: 64–6; Carp 1984: 127–42; Mac Mathúna 1994: 251–7.

bord, daoine nár tugadh cead dóibh sin a dhéanamh nó ar glacadh ar bord iad go neamhthoilteannach. In IUC is duine déanach breise ('latecomer') é an crosán agus is duine é an saor adhmaid a d'iarr cead speisialta a dhul ar an turas freisin, rud a chuireann in iúl gurb é is dóichí nach bhfuil fáilte ceart rompu. Tig an bheirt seo chun cinn i scéalta eile ar nós an *Vita Brendani* agus tá géar-chosúlachtaí idir eachtra an chrosáin sa dá théacs.[6]

Is é an téama lárnach atá in IUC ná an chaoi a dtiontaíonn príomhphearsain an scéil ó shaol an uilc chun maithiúnas a fháil ina gcuid peacaí. Is díbheargaigh (UC3) / ladrainn (HM), mic Diabhail nó mic báis, iad na Mic Ua gCorra agus tá damnú síoraí i ndán dóibh go dtí go socraíonn siad ar aithreachas a dhéanamh agus a gcuid béasaí a athrú agus fónamh do Dhia agus fuath a thabhairt don Diabhal.[7] Sa mhéid go ndéanann siad aithrí, sábháiltear a gcuid anamacha. Is é an turas farraige turas a n-oilithreachta, agus is léir gur cumadh an scéal chun ceacht a theagasc, go bhfuil maithiúnas i ndán do gach duine, do chreachadóirí, dúnmharfóirí agus lucht an Diabhail ar nós na Mic Ua gCorra, agus go fiú don duine is suaraí agus is ísle ar an saol seo (an crosán), a fhad is go ndéanann siad aithrí ina gcuid peacaí.[8]

[6] Féach *Vita prima Sancti Brendani abbatis de Cluain Ferta*, Plummer 1910: I, 136–7; Stokes 1890: 111–2. Féach freisin Nagy 1999: 126 srl.; Clancy 2000b: 209–12.

[7] I sean-téacsanna eaglasta agus dlí de chuid an 7ú agus an 8ú céad, ar nós na *Canones Hibernensis*, *Bretha Crólige*, *Córus Bésgnai* agus Téacsanna Aithrí (Penitentials), liostáiltear amanta *díberga*/*fiana* 'marauders, members of warrior-bands' agus *praecones*/*crosáin* 'satirists' le chéile in éineacht le *draoithe*/*magi* 'druids, wizards', *geinti* 'non-Christians, heathens', *drúith* 'professional jesters, buffoons' srl. i measc na ndaoine a chleachtaíonn na peacaí is measa ar fad. Is *maic báis* 'sons of death' iad na *fiana* nó na *díberga* atá *cen aithrigi*, ní hionann agus na *maic bethad* 'sons of life' (féach, mar shampla, Hull 1968: §§22–25, 30). Daoine a thiontaíonn ó olcas an domhain agus a dhéanann aithreachas, caitheann siad a n-airm uathu nó/agus déanann cranna/lorga dá gcuid sleánna. Sin é a dhéanann na Mic Ua gCorra (i bprós UC3 iarrtar orthu a gcuid sleánna a ghearradh. Mac Mathúna 1997: §§11, 14). Féach Sharpe 1979: 89, a thugann sliocht a bhaineann leis an ghnás seo as *Penitential of Finnian*. Féach freisin faoin ábhar seo go ginearálta McCone 1986: 1–22.

[8] Féach an rud a deirtear sa dá leagan Gaeilge de Bheatha Naomh Bhréanainn, mar shampla, *Betha Brénainn* i Leabhar an Leasa Mhóir (Stokes 1890: 3754–6): 'As follus indsin coinircle in Coimdedh tresan pecthach tainic fadeoigh dochum na luinge, dó dochum nimhe for tus' ('And it is manifest herein the kindness of

Os a choinne sin, iad siúd nach ndéanann aithrí, tá pianta síoraí in Ifreann i ndán dóibh.

Tá easpa áirithe leanúnachais ag baint le scéal IUC mar atá sé tagtha anuas chugainn agus dealraíonn sé gur cuireadh eachtraí agus scéilíní éagsúla le chéile chun é a chruthú (féach Mac Mathúna 1996: 247–62; féach freisin an plé thíos anseo agus a bhfuil le rá i nóta 4). Bhí eolas ar na Mic Ua gCorra chomh fada siar leis an 9ú céad mar go bhfuil tagairt ann dóibh san *Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints* – 'Trí Huí Corra cona mórfeissiur per Iesum' ('na trí Ua Corra i dteannta a seachtair per Iesum') (Plummer 1925: 44).[9] Ach is deacair anois an leagan bunaidh den scéal a oibriú amach. De réir an Liodáin, is cosúil gur deichiúr ar fad a bhí san fhoireann báid ar an turas, chan naonúr mar atá sa scéal a tháinig anuas chugainn. Ach ní cóir a bheith ag súil leis go mbeidh gach rud de réir a chéile sa scéal seo agus i scéalta eile dá macasamhail mar is é rud é go bhfuil an t-údar ag piocadh eachtraí as tobair éagsúla agus as foinsí éagsúla, idir fhoinsí scríofa agus fhoinsí béil, chun a scéal féin a chruthú.

An chéad chuid de IUC, mar shampla, baineann sé leis an chonradh a dhéantar leis an Diabhal agus tá na dearthóireacha Ua gCorra i gcroí-lár na hinsinte. Sa dara cuid den scéal, is é sin, an turas farraige nó an t-iomramh é féin, tá ról níos lárnaí ag na cléirigh nó ag an *sruith* agus ag na *sruithe* seachas mar atá ag na dearthóireacha Ua gCorra, rud a chuireann ar scoláirí a cheapadh, i measc rudaí eile, nár bhain an chéad chuid leis na leaganacha is luaithe den scéal, is é sin le rá gur scéal cónasctha is ea é. Mheas Heinrich Zimmer (1889: 129–220, 257–338), mar shampla, go raibh sean-scéal ann faoi na Mic Ua gCorra a bhfuil cuid de ar marthain fós sa chéad chuid den scéal a tháinig anuas chugainn ón Mheán-Ghaeilge, agus tá plé déanta agam féin ar an ghaol idir leaganacha den scéilín atá ar fáil sa traidisiún béil agus an chéad chuid seo den scéal (Mac Mathúna 1996: 260–1). Measann Caoimhín Breatnach (2003: 105) freisin go bhfuil IUC comhdhéanta de réamhscéal a bhaineann leis na Mic Ua

the Lord, that the sinner who came last to the ship should be chosen to go first to Heaven'). Leanann an Dara Leagan Gaeilge ar aghaidh chun a rá gurb é an duine deireannach a thagann isteach san Eaglais is túisce a rachas ar neamh (Plummer 1922: I, §51, 5–7).

[9] Féach freisin, i dtaca le dáta an téacs agus rudaí eile, Hughes 1959: 305–31. Is dóigh le Sarah Sanderlin gur cumadh é c. 900. Féach Sanderlin 1975: 251–62.

gCorra (Stokes 1893: §§1–32; Mac Mathúna 1997: §§1–20), agus le scéal an iomraimh é féin (Stokes 1893: §§33–76; Mac Mathúna 1997: §§21–53).[10] Dáiríre, baineann §§1–20 (= Mac Mathúna 1997; cf. Stokes 1893: §§33–41) leis na hullmhúcháin agus tosaíonn an t-iomramh ó cheart le §25 (= Mac Mathúna 1997; cf. Stokes 1893: §42; Van Hamel 1941: §1). Is léir i gcás ar bith gur scéal cónasctha é agus go bhfuil dhá phríomh-chuid sa scéal. Tá sé deacair a chruthú go cinnte nár bhain an chéad chuid le bun-scéal an iomraimh ón tús. Tá an tús seo ar marthain i leaganacha HM agus F mar a tháinig siad anuas chugainn, agus seachas an tagairt sa Liodán, ní fios cad é a bhí sa scéal sa Luath-Ghaeilge. Ach sa mhéid gur scéal cónasctha é, d'fhéadfadh sé a bheith amhlaidh gur scéilín neamhspleách a bhí sa chéad chuid ó cheart.

Ní miste sa chomhthéacs seo struchtúr an scéil – struchtúr UC3 go speisialta – agus rólanna na bpríomh-phearsan sa dá chuid den scéal a scrúdú níos mine. Maidir le struchtúr UC3, stopann cuid mhór de na lámhscríbhinní a bhfuil an leagan seo iontu go tobann i lár líne sa phrós – 'ad-chonairc fós mo bhreith' (Mac Mathúna 1997: §10, lch. 86) – agus tosaíonn siad ina dhiaidh sin leis an véarsaíocht (féach an plé ar an cheist seo, ibid.: lgh. 80–2). Is cosúil gur i ndiaidh deireadh §10 a bheith caillte a cuireadh an véarsaíocht isteach. Chuir sinsear UC3 véarsaíocht isteach a bhí ar fáil i bhfoinse éigin roimh ré agus a bhí bunaithe ar théacs macasamhail F agus HM. I dtaca le tús an phróis a cailleadh, dealraíonn sé gur chuir scríobhaí UC3 leagan eile den tús in éineacht le cóip chiorraithe den dara cuid de UC3.[11]

[10] Sna leaganacha béil den scéilín faoi na Mic Ua gCorra, deirtear gur aistríodh ina gcarraigeacha iad nuair a cuireadh faoi gheasa iad tráth a raibh draoithe agus draíocht i réim sa tír. Na carraigeacha atá ann amuigh san fharraige in aice le hOileán Uaighe agus le hÁrainn Mhóir, crochann siad seolta gach seachtú bliain agus déanann siad a mbealach ionnsar oileán Thoraigh chun é a dhó agus a chreachadh. Is léir go bhfuil cosúlachtaí idir na leaganacha béil agus an chéad chuid den scéal sa leagan Mheán-Ghaeilge. Le haghaidh tuilleadh plé ar an cheist seo, féach Mac Mathúna 1996: 260–1.

[11] Nuair a dúirt mé roimhe seo (Mac Mathúna 1997: 82) gur éirigh eagarthóir UC3 as an phrós i lár an líne i §10 chun an fhilíocht a chur isteach, is é a bhí i gceist agam gur chuir sé an fhilíocht isteach as foinse eile tar éis do na línte deireannacha sa phrós a bheith caillte. B'fhéidir gurbh eisean freisin a cheangail an leagan easnamhach den phrós (leagan easnamhach de HM, b'fhéidir) a fhad leis an líne 'ad-chonairc fós mo bhreith' i §10 leis an fhilíocht agus leis an dara cuid den phrós. Tá mé buíoch den Ollamh Gearóid Mac Eoin as an cheist seo a phlé liom.

Léiríonn comparáid idir HM agus UC3 go bhfuil siad anghar dá chéile agus seans gur cóip easnamhach de leagan HM atá sa chuid seo de UC3 (Mac Mathúna 1997: 78; Breatnach 2003: 91, 99, 105, 107). Taispeánann an fhilíocht in UC3 i ndiaidh §10 go raibh leagan próis cosúil le HM agus F os comhair an údair mar go bhfuil rudaí san fhilíocht nach bhfuil i bprós UC3 mar atá sé ar marthain faoi láthair ach atá i bprós HM agus / nó i bprós F.[12] Níl aon cheist ach go bhfuil scríobhaí UC3 ag giorrú an phróis sna cásanna seo. Mar atá curtha in iúl agam cheana féin, is léir ón chomparáid idir na leaganacha éagsúla ar fad nach bhfuil UC3 bunaithe ar leagan macasamhail HM amháin ach go luíonn sé áit éigin idir HM agus F (Mac Mathúna 1997: 77). Go fiú má líonadh an chéad chuid de phrós UC3 le cóip de leagan HM, mar sin, níl an dara cuid de UC3 bunaithe ar an leagan seo.

Is féidir a mhaíomh go bhfuil an tús ag teacht go maith leis an phríomh-théama, is é sin, tiontó ó shaol an uilc trí aithrí a dhéanamh agus maithiúnas a fháil sna peacaí. Dáiríre, tá na deartháireacha tar éis aithreachas a dhéanamh sula dtosaíonn siad amach ar an turas farraige. Agus i dtaca le cuspóir an turais, bíodh go bhfuil fiosracht i gceist maidir le heolas a fháil ar ghluaiseacht na gréine agus ar na háiteanna a dtéid an ghrian i ndiaidh di dul faoi, rud atá ag teacht le spiorad na cuartaíochta agus na turasóireachta a thig chun cinn i scéalta déanacha ar nós *Maundeville's Travels* agus *The Travels of Marco Polo*, is cúiseanna anama agus oilithreachta a spreagann na deartháireacha chomh maith, mar atá ráite go soiléir sula dtosaíonn siad amach ar an turas. Mar a deir UC3: '… is í comhairle do-rinneadar dol d'fhéachaint an aigéin agus do chuardughadh an mhír mhórthonnach ghuirmmhuire *óir is uirthe téid cách dá n-oilithre*' (ibid.: §21; liomsa an cló iodáileach). Tá na cuspóirí gabhlacha – fiosracht agus oilithreacht – ag teacht go maith le chéile.

Tá maíte freisin go bhfuil easpa éigin san insint i dtaca leis an réasúnaíocht taobh thiar den iomramh sa mhéid nach n-insíonn duine ar bith de na cléirigh do na Mic Ua gCorra a dhul ar thuras farraige (Breatnach 2003: 102). Deir Naomh Finnian leo gur chóir

[12] Féach, mar shampla, an fhilíocht i bparagraf 10, an paragraf ina mbriseann UC3 ón phrós. Tá an fhilíocht anseo ag teacht cuid mhaith leis an phrós in HM. Mar an gcéanna i §§20, 23, 24, 25 agus araile.

dóibh breithiúnas Naomh Chamáin a leanstan, ach níl aon rian den bhreithiúnas sin sa scéal. Is dóiche, áfach, gur féidir glacadh leis go bhfuil an breithiúnas sin iontuigthe, is é sin gur chóir dóibh a dhul ar a n-oilithreacht san fharraige mhór. Is féidir a áiteamh dáiríre go bhfuil dhá oilithreacht sa scéal seo: oilithreacht inmheánach in Éirinn i mainistir Fhinnian tar éis do na deartháireacha a mbéasa a athrú agus aithreachas a dhéanamh, agus oilithreacht seachtrach taobh amuigh d'Éirinn, an t-*iomramh*. Ar aon nós, tá sé do-dhéanta a dhéanamh amach cad iad na heachtraí agus na scéilíní uile a bhain le h*immram* na Mic Ua gCorra san ochtú nó sa naoú céad.

Chun pilleadh ar cheist ról na Mic Ua gCorra agus ról na gcléireach nó na *sruithe*; tugann Breatnach (ibid.: 99) faoi ndeara nach bhfuil ach tagairt amháin do Lóchán, an deartháir is sine de na mic Ua gCorra, sa dara cuid, mar atá i bparagraf 34 de FHM (= Mac Mathúna 1997; cf. Stokes 1893: §51). Ach tá na 'Ua gCorra' luaite i §35 de phrós HM (= Mac Mathúna 1997; cf. Stokes 1893: §52) agus san fhilíocht i §§39, 42, 43, 45, 48 (scéal Iúdais atá i §48, scéal nach bhfuil le fail in FHM), mar aon leis an fhilíocht ag an deireadh sna leaganacha uile (= Mac Mathúna 1997: §53; cf. Stokes 1893: §76). Luaitear iad freisin i bprós UC3 amháin i §§37, 45, agus 47. Is é rud é mar sin go bhfuil ról níos lárnaí acu san fhilíocht agus i bprós UC3 seachas mar atá in FHM.

Is fíor ina dhiaidh sin gurb iad na cléirigh nó na *sruithe* atá chun tosaigh sa phrós go ginearálta – UC3 san áireamh – sa dara cuid den scéal (féach freisin §§40, 44, 46, 51–2). Dealraíonn sé gurb é údar na filíochta agus údar phrós UC3 a d'athraigh rólanna na gcarachtar chun go mbeadh leanúnachas níos fearr sa scéal, ach tá tuilleadh staidéir ag teastáil ar an cheist chun é a chinntiú. Ar aon nós, níl gach rud de réir a chéile sna leaganacha a tháinig anuas chugainn mar go bhfuilthear ag fí scéil le chéile as foinsí éagsúla agus ní bhactar lena chinntiú i gcónaí go bhfuil gach rud mar is ceart i dtaca le hord agus le réasúnaíocht de fud fad na hinsinte. Mar shampla, seans go n-imríonn na cléirigh nó na *sruithe* – an t-easpag, an sagart, agus an deochan – ról níos lárnaí anseo i ngeall ar thionchar an *Navigatio Brendani* agus an *Vita Brendani*.

Sa *Navigatio*, mar shampla, i measc ainmneacha eile ar nós *uir Dei*/*uenerabilis pater*/*pius pater* (Selmer 1959: §§5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 …/15,

16, 17, 18, 20/7, 10, 11 …), tugtar *senex/uenerabilis senex* (ibid.: §§16/15, 16) ar Naomh Breandán, agus tugtar *senior* agus *senex* go minic ar na *sruithe* a chastar ar an lucht taistil sa scéal céanna (ibid.: §§12, 26). Agus faoi mar a labhrann an t-éan le Breandán, an *(uenerabilis) senex*, ar Oileán na nÉan sa *Navigatio* (ibid.: §§11, 15), labhrann éan leis an 'sruith' (UC3) nó leis an 'fear fa sinne donna sruithibh' (HM) in IUC (Stokes 1893: §55–59; Mac Mathúna 1997: §40). Is teachtaire ó Dhia/ón Tríonóid é an t-éan freisin sa dá théacs. Tugtar ainmneacha éagsúla ar Bhreandán freisin sa *Vita prima Sancti Brendani*, leithéidí *uir Dei/homo Dei/pius pater* agus *senior* (Plummer 1910: I, §68, lch. 135). Na díthreabhaigh a chastar ar an lucht taistil sa *Vita* agus sna h*Immrama*, tugtar *senex* nó *sruith/senóir* orthu freisin (*Vita*: ibid.: §75, lch. 138; *Betha*: Stokes 1890: 3790, 3791, srl.; IUC: Mac Mathúna 1997: §§50–52). Ní hé amháin go dtugtar *uir Dei/homo Dei/pius pater* ar Bhreandán sa *Vita prima Sancti Brendani*, tugtar *senior* air freisin (Plummer 1910: I, §68, lch. 135). Ina theannta sin, is ionann a bheag nó a mhór tús an iomraimh in IUC (Mac Mathúna 1997: §§25, 26; cf. Stokes 1893: §§42, 43; Van Hamel 1941: §1) agus sa *Navigatio* (Selmer 1959: §6), agus ní mó ná go raibh cur amach ag údar IUC ar scéal mór Bhreandáin, nó ar chodanna den scéal, i bhfoirm scríofa agus/nó i leagan béil. Ar ndóigh, tá cléirigh agus *sruith/sruithe* sa chéad chuid de IUC chomh maith (Naomh Finnian srl.).

Bíodh go bhfuil na leaganacha atá ar marthain de IUC mórán mór mar a chéile, tá difríochtaí eatarthu freisin mar atá le feiceáil go soiléir sna breisí atá in UC3 agus san ionramhaíl a dhéantar ar an ábhar san fhilíocht. Chomh maith leis sin, mar a chonaic muid romhainn, tá cuid mhór scéilíní as foinsí éagsúla sna leaganacha uile agus tá an chosúlacht air go raibh tábhacht nach beag leis an traidisiún béil sa phróiseas cumadóireachta a bhfuil claonadh aige móitífeanna agus scéilíní a charnadh ar a chéile go han-tapa agus gan ach nasc scaoilte a bheith eatarthu go minic.

Dealraíonn sé gur achoimre ar leagan sinsearach phrós UC3 (an dara cuid) is ea an véarsaíocht don chuid is mó, ach go bhfágtar rudaí ar lár amanta agus go gcuirtear rannta breise isteach a bhfuil ábhar iontu nach bhfaightear sa phrós. Ní athruithe bunúsacha iad seo de ghnáth ar ábhar an phróis. Tá breisí de chineál eile ann, áfach, i bprós agus i

véarsaíocht UC3 nár bhain ó cheart, is cosúil, leis an scéal mar atá sé i leaganacha F agus HM. Más ábhar breise é seo in UC3 nár bhain ó cheart leis an bhunleagan, léiríonn sé an cur chuige a bhí ag teaglamaí agus údar UC3. Léiríonn an leagan seo an chaoi inar cuireadh leis an scéal de réir a chéile thar na blianta. I measc na mbreisí sin tá iomlán §33 (Mac Mathúna 1997: línte próis 360–63, línte filíochta 364–73), cuid de §34 (línte próis 379–84; rann filíochta 404–07) agus iomlán §48 (línte próis 752–58 agus línte filíochta 759–78).

2.2 Na hailt bhreise in UC3

2.3 §33 An t-oiléan thuas

Insítear i §33 gur thángthas ar oileán álainn ina raibh muintir an oileáin agus a gcuid tithe os cionn na dtaistealaithe. Bhí na daoine chomh dubh le gual gobhann, agus deirtear sa véarsaíocht gur thóg muintir an oileáin duine de na taistealaithe as, an té atá ag insint an scéil – 'dubh an dream rom-ghabh' (Mac Mathúna 1997: §33, lch. 99). Tá an chosúlacht air gur meascán atá san eachtra seo d'eachtraí éagsúla atá ar fáil i scéalta eile. Tá baint aige le *Navigatio Brendani* (Selmer 1959: §24) – *the fiery mountain* – áit a gcuirtear síos ar chailliúint an tríú duine breise a tháinig ar an turas. Feiceann na taistealaithe sliabh san fharraige a bhfuil a chuid taobhanna chomh hard le balla agus a bhfuil toit ag éirí as a bharr. Léimeann duine den triúr a tháinig go mall chuig an bhád amach as. Breathnaíonn sé siar agus deireann sé go bhfuil sé á thógáil as agus nach dtig leis teacht ar ais. Deamhain atá á thabhairt ar shiúl. Fágann Bréanainn ansin é agus imíonn sé leis. Tá tagairt i *Vita Brendani* chomh maith d'oileán lán de dheamhain. Sa leagan Gaeilge, *Betha Brénainn*, deirtear go raibh siad chomh dubh le gual: '… líntar an port forru do demnaibh i ndealbhbhuibh abhac 7 luchrapan, 7 a ngnuisi comdhubh fria gual' (Stokes 1890: 3775–6; Plummer 1910: I, §74, lch. 137).[13] Ina theannta sin, tá cosúlachtaí aige freisin le hoileán na gcaointeorí in IUC (Stokes 1893: §§44–45; Mac Mathúna 1997: §27) agus *Immram Curaig Máele Dúin* (IMD) (Stokes 1888–89: §15), mar a bhfanann duine den fhoireann.

[13] Tá sampla réasúnta luath againn anseo sa *Betha Brénainn* de na focail *abhai(c)c* 'dwarfs' agus *luc(h)orpáin* 'Little People, leprechauns'. Le haghaidh plé ar an ábhar seo, féach Gillies 2005: 53 (agus nóta 9).

2.4 §34 An colún airgid

Tar éis cur síos a dhéanamh ar cholún iontach airgid agus ar líon éisc san fharraige, deirtear i UC3 go bhfaca Máel Dúin an ní céanna. Tá an tagairt seo do Mháel Dúin le fáil in F comh maith, ach níl sé in MH. Bíodh nach dtig a bheith cinnte mar sin go raibh sé sa bhunleagan den scéal, caithfidh go raibh eolas ag sinsear F agus UC3 ar scéal Mháel Dúin.[14] Tá sliocht breise ina dhiaidh sin in UC3 nach bhfuil i gceachtar de F ná HM. Deirtear go raibh na taistealaithe trí lá agus trí oíche ar an fharraige agus go bhfaca siad 'nuimhir doáirmhighthe bradán ar sileadh as gach mogall don líon sin agus ba méadidhthior re colba bliaghna gach bradán ball chorcra biotháluinn agus gach maighre mórshroithe mhilis bhlasda na ngabhadaois as an lion áluinn faghartha ris an rae sin' (Mac Mathúna 1997: §34). Cé gur cosúil gur aguisín é seo in UC3, tabhair faoi deara sa fhrása *gach maighre … na ngabhadaois* go bhfuil urú san áit a mbeadh sé sa SeanGhaeilge, nuair is cuspóir an réamhtheachtaí.

2.5 §48 Scéal Iúdais

Sliocht breise an-spéisiúil is ea §48. Insítear sa sliocht seo go bhfaca na taistealaithe carraig mhór san fharraige agus duine an-mhór ina shuí ar a mullach a raibh tonnta na farraige ag teacht thairis. Bhí brat éadaigh in aice leis, ach ní fhéadfadh lámha an fhir é a shroisint. Chuir muintir Ua gCorra ceist air cérbh é féin agus cad chuige nár uime a bhí a bhrat. D'inis sé dóibh go raibh sé go maith as tráth den saol, ach nár thug sé uaidh ach an t-aon déirc amháin, mar atá, a bhrat a thabhairt do chlaimhseach, do bhanchlaimh. Ina ainneoin sin is uile, ní shroichfeadh a lámha é.

Is léir gurb é atá sa chuntas seo leagan de scéal Iúdais a bhfuil leaganacha éagsúla de ar marthain i bhfoinsí eile meánaoiseacha. Is é an leagan i *Navigatio Brendani* (Selmer 1959: §25) an ceann is clúití díobh seo ar fad (féach freisin Baum 1923: 168–82). Tá leaganacha eile i *Vita Brendani*, i *Dá Apstol Décc na hÉrenn* (scéal eile a bhaineann le Naomh Bréanainn), agus i bhfoinsí eile freisin (féach Plummer 1910: I, 147, §97; Plummer 1922: I, 100–2). Is cóngaraí an leagan in UC3

[14] Is léir na cosúlachtaí atá idir IMD agus IUC, agus b'fhéidir go bhfuil cuid de IUC bunaithe ar IMD. Ar ndóigh, scéal ann féin is ea IUC a bhfuil foinsí éagsúla taobh thiar de. Féach Mac Mathúna 1996: 260–1.

don leagan sa *Navigatio* ná do na leaganacha eile. Sa *Navigatio* feiceann na taistealaithe rud éigin ina shuí ar charraig i lár na farraige. Caitheann na tonnta anonn agus anall é. Measann cuid acu gur duine atá ann, cuid eile díobh, síleann siad gur bád nó gur éan é. Nuair a thagann siad níos gaire don charraig, feiceann siad gur fear atá ann a bhfuil cuma anghránna air. Bhí brat éadaigh in aice leis a bhí ceapaithe in airde ar dhá ghabhal iarainn. Is amhlaidh a bhí an fear ag fulaingt idir na tonnta; amanta, bhíodh an brat á bhuaileadh san aghaidh, amanta eile, shéidtí an brat ar shiúl ón charraig. D'fhiafraigh Bréanainn de cad chuige a raibh sé á chrá mar a bhí, agus chuir sé ceist air cérbh é féin. Dúirt an fear gurbh é an droch-cheannaí Iúdas é agus gur thug sé an brat éadaigh do chlaimh nuair a bhí sé ina sheomratóir ag an Tighearna.

Tá tuilleadh ábhair i gcuntas an *Navigatio* nach bhfuil i bprós ná i bhfilíocht UC3. Ina dhiaidh sin, áfach, leagan den scéilín céanna atá sa dá chuntas go bunúsach, agus léiríonn an eachtra breise seo i leagan déanach IUC mar ar cuireadh leis an bhun-scéal le scéilíní eile a raibh cosúlachtaí téamúla acu leis. Tá béim an-láidir ar scéalta samplacha a bhaineann leis an Domhnach in IUC agus is é is dóichí gur cuireadh scéal Iúdais le IUC mar go raibh baint aige leis an litríocht shabóideach sa *Navigatio* agus i bhfoinsí eile. An seal a chaitheann Iúdas ar an charraig i lár na farraige, is scíste Domhnaigh é ón chrá síoraí in Ifreann a fhulaingíonn sé de ghnáth. Is i ngeall ar dhea-ghníomh a rinne sé tráth dá shaol a thug Dia an briseadh seo dó. Tá sé pas íorónach mar sin go bhfágtar an tagairt don Domhnach ar lár anseo in UC3.

3. Na dánta

Cúig dhán ar fad atá in eagar anseo, mar atá, (1) 'Ad-chím inis tíar ós tuinn', (2) 'Ad-chím sruth mór ós an muir', (3) 'A ghiolla, is gléigeal do shliocht', (4) 'Scéala aidhbhle an oileáin ghlain', agus (5) 'Éanlaith ós ár gcionn'. Dánta gairide is ea (1), (2) agus (3). Trí rann atá i (1), ceithre cinn i (2) agus (3) araon. Dánta fada is ea (4) agus (5) a bhfuil dhá rann déag agus seacht rann déag faoi seach iontu. Ní hé amháin é go bhfuil na dánta fada seo spéisiúil i dtaca le hábhar agus teanga de, is píosaí cumadóireachta breátha iad chomh maith.

3.2 An modh eagarthóireachta

Is é an modh eagarthóireachta céanna a leantar anseo, a bheag nó a

mhór, agus atá i *Téada Dúchais* (Mac Mathúna 2002), is é sin, tugtar leagan níos nua-aimseartha ar litriú na lámhscríbhinní atá níos fóirsteanaí do léitheoirí Gaeilge an lae inniu.[15] Os a choinne sin, ní chuirtear foirmeacha as a riocht, agus tá an téacs a sholáthraítear anghar do théacs na lámhscríbhinní. Má tá athruithe suntasacha déanta ar fhoirmeacha na lámhscríbhinní, tugtar sin le fios sna Nótaí Téacsúla. Foirmeacha na lámhscríbhinní don chuid is mó de a thugtar sa phlé a dhéantar ar chúrsaí teanga sa dara cuid den alt. Tá codanna áirithe de na dánta atá in eagar anseo truaillithe. Amanta, is féidir na leaganacha bunaidh a oibriú amach, amanta eile, níl sin indéanta. Déantar plé ar na deacrachtaí seo sna Nótaí.

3.3 Téacsanna agus aistriúcháin

1
Ad-chím inis tíar ós tuinn

1 Ad-chím inis tíar ós tuinn,
a haonchos féin ros-fulluing;
inis nach ionnsaigh aighe,
drong nach fuillingid anbhain(n)e.

2 Inis aonchoise ar an muir,
a Choimhdhe, créad um a bhfuil;
mór an mhuintir, mór an mhuirn,
gach a gcluinid, ní chluinim.

3 Nocha n'fhaicim dealbh duine
do neach fuil isan suidhe;
cia fad bhiad ná an bheatha bhí,
nochan mó ná'n Coimhdhe ad-chí.

1 I see an island in the west above the sea
supported by its own single leg;

[15] Tá eagar á dhéanamh agam ar na dánta uile in UC3 faoi láthair mar aon le haistriúcháin Bhéarla.

an island into which death does not attain,
a people who do not suffer weakness.

2 An island on one leg in the sea,
O Lord, how can this be;
great the community, great the noise (jollity/mirth),
all that they hear, I do not hear.

3 I do not see human shape
on anyone in the land;
no matter how long I live or what the length of the living world will be,
it is not greater than the Lord who sees.

2
Ad-chím sruth mór ós an muir

1 Ad-chím sruth mór ós an muir
mar stuaigh nimhe neamhadhbhail;
atá cruth nua nimhe an neoil
sa sruth uaithne an aeidheoir.

2 Bain(n)e as ní thuit ar tuinn
as sru[i]th an aeidhir éadruim;
ní loiteann tuile ná tráigh
go dtuiteann uile d'aonláimh.

3 Ó nóin an tSathruin, sliocht buan,
go tráth na teirte sin Luan,
sruth ad-chím 'na stuaigh ghuirm ghil
bídh fo thuinn fhuair gan fheicsin.

4 Ar an uisce bhfionnghlas bhfuar
bídh choíche deaghbhlas deaghbhuan;
nocha teachta ón rígh do ráidh,
a fhearta ad-chím, ní chríonaid[h].

1 I see a great stream above the sea
like a vast heavenly rainbow;
the bright heavenly shape of the cloud
is in the greeny-blue stream of the sky.

2 Not a drop falls on the sea
from the stream of the airy-light sky;
neither flood nor ebb destroy it
until it falls all together.

3 From noon on Saturday, bless the mark,
until terce on Monday,
the stream which I see as a clear blue arc
is invisible under the cold sea.

4 On the cold clear-blue water
is always a good and lasting taste;
it is not messengers from the king who has said it,
His mysteries which I see, they do not fade away.

3
A ghiolla, is gléigeal do shliocht

1 A ghiolla, is gléigeal do shliocht,
is saoth liom do bheith in aimhriocht;
atá do mhac mór Muire
ag móradh do mhíorbhuile.

2 Ad-lochur do Dhia mar tú,
nocha gcaraim brat ná bú;
ar scothaibh milse méad gclár
ar lár inse im aonarán.

3 Do na fíréanachaibh iar mbráth,
coiméadaim-sa soilsi an ráth;

Deaghamh, giolla Aindrias mé,
do dhearmadas m'iairmhéirghe.

4 Go dtigh siad aingil chugad,
is dearbh liom mórsad cadad;
go dtigh siad fiaghain nimhe
sunn id ghrian bhrátha, a ghiolla.

1 O servant, your path is pure and white,
your plight troubles me;
the great son of Mary
praises your miracle.

2 I thank God as I am,
I love neither clothing nor cattle,
among fragrant flowers the size of tables
in the middle of an island on my own.

3 For the righteous after Judgement,
I guard the lights of the fort;
I am Deaghamh, the servant of Andrew,
I forgot my nocturns.

4 Until the angels come to you,
I am sure they have praised your ascetism (?);
until the heavenly witnesses come
here into your land of judgement, O servant.

4
Scéala aidhbhle an oileáin ghlain

1 Scéala aidhbhle an oileáin ghlain,
fearrde go mór a marthain;
a dhream cháir mar chair domhan
madh áil libh allsughadh.

2 D'fhágbhamair ár gcurach crom
for tráigh mara mórthrom;
a graigh re lár 'na luighe
gan ló uain dá ionghaire.

3 Triallamaoid dula don dún ghlan
go gcualamar ceol iongnadh;
feasta for tráigh ainolinn air
ba gáir taidhiúir téadbhinn.

4 Fuaim an lín fríoth sonnach slán,
binne ná téada tiompán;
rug sinn ar soláimh ár séad,
dar linn ba foghair fainn téad.

5 Codladh orainne, géar bh'annamh,
tug an ceol ad-chualamar;
ro chuir i socht re biothráidh,
gan olc, gan éad, gan anbhfáith.

6 Éirgheam as ár gcodladh cóir
a haithle an treas laoi lánchóir,
ag dul dúine níor mhill
seach luim na tráigh[e] tirim.

7 Táinig aoinbhean ann dár bhfios
ón ndún agus ón ndeighlios,
gan imdheargadh um rún riamh,
do-rad dúinn digh is deighbhiadh.

8 Suairc a coimhleadh gan clú laig
ar bhúrthoingea na tiobraid,
ciolairn umha is easgair ghlan
aice 'na láimh dá líonadh.

9 An bhean leis nár bh'áil asdar
as a láimh do líonasdar;

do-rad dúinn go moch amuith
bia amhail bláith do mhaothail.

10 Do-rad dúine féin gach ndigh
fíoruisge i n-easgair aoinghil,
tug blas maith dár mhian le neach,
tug dúinn bia darsam buidheach.

11 'Fágbhaidh an baile go beacht,'
do-rá(i)dh linn géag na bhfionnchleacht,
'chéin go bráth gurab réidh
bhúr n-anadh i n-éinchéim.

12 'Nocha bia, a chlann Corra, a bhfus
eiséirighe oruibh ná árus,
gurab teann bhur luach gan léan,
A dhream leis nach fuath fíorscéal.'

1 The remarkable tidings of the pure island,
better by far that they should be preserved;
…
…

2 We left our curved coracle
on the strand of the great and powerful sea;
horses were lying there on the strand
and we spent not a day guarding them (?).

3 We went toward the splendid fortress
where we heard wonderful music;
…
it was the plaintive call of melodious strings.

4 The sound of the net on the perfect palisade
was sweeter than the strings of tympanums;
it brought us forthwith on our way,
we thought it was the gentle sounds of strings.

5 The music which we heard caused
us to fall asleep, an unusual occurrence;
it silenced the continuous chattering,
causing no evil, jealousy, or fear.

6 Let us arise from our just sleep
after the third fully favourable day,
and go to the unspoiled fort (?)
across the smooth plain of the dry strand (?).

7 A single solitary woman came to us
from the fort and the lovely dwelling,
without any embarrassment whatsoever,
she gave us drink and good food.

8 Her demeanour was pleasant and very dignified
…
in her hand, she had a brass pitcher
and a polished drinking cup which she was filling.

9 The woman who did not want trouble
filled these from her hand;
she gave us early in the open
food like smooth beestings.

10 She gave us every drink of fresh water
in an exquisitely shining drinking-cup,
it had the good taste desired by each,
she gave us food for which I was grateful.

11 'Leave the place quickly,'
said the maiden of the fair-plaited hair,
'however long, may your stay
be peaceful in every way.

12 'Your resurrection and residence will not
be here, O clann Corra,

may your reward be secure and free from sorrow,
O people who do not find the honest truth abhorrent.'

5

Éanlaith ós ár gcionn

1 Éanlaith ós ár gcionn
cía comhreisid go luinde;
an curach do-chinnsam réim
tig éan bearach ar broine.

2 Éirgheam suas is rádham ris,
do feadh uair ba éan fis;
'Mochean againn, a éoin.'
'Mise teacht do thabairt scéoil.'

3 Tré glór duine do rádh riom
aitheasc beag is róbhinn liom:
'gion gur dhuine ar dheilbh ná ar dhath,
nocha móide bheith dár mbrath.

4 'Isum anam,' ar an t-éan,
'ná déanaidh sceinm rem scéal,
nocha dtiucfuinn go tuinn lir
acht dot agallaimh, a fhir.

5 'Chéin ro-bhádhas ar bith cé
duitse ro badh maincheas mé;
óro fhás clúimh ar mo chneas,
is mar éan tánag réd leas.'

6 Annsin adubhartsa risan éan
do bhí ag beathughadh na scéal:
'innis dúine gan béad
cá leith bhéaras sinn ar séad.'

7 ‘Fán céad olc do rinnseabhair riamh
béarthar sibh i dtír na bpian,
gion go dtiagthuighe ar chlaochchló cuirp,
tiagthuighe go hiofrionn aidhbhle uilc.

8 ‘Trí srotha friothroisc is fíor
ad-chiadhthuighe ar an rían fo-ríor;
cidh dus-rala for séad sin,
nocha daoine acht Dia do-bheir.

9 ‘Sruth na n-eascon aidhbhle é,
sruth na n-eala is dorcha a ngné,
sruth na ndobharchon fá dheoigh,
cuirid éin na dtonn dá dtreoir.

10 ‘I riocht na bpiast bíd for snámh
na deamhna i gcorpaibh dá gcrádh;
na hanmna bíd go bocht
i reachtaibh éan éadruim olc.

11 ‘Osclaigidh gach piast a béal
ag dul i ndiaidh na n-éan;
na héoin ag scréachaigh ’s ag gul
ar teitheadh na ndeamhan ndubh.

12 ‘Do bhí i bhfainne an fear ’ga mbá,
diasam duine fo dheilbh mná,
fá beag do-rónas dá réir,
do théighinn ar cuardaibh i gcéin.

13 ‘Trí sreabha geala for m’ucht
taitnid amhail géis do ghuirt,
mura ndearnainn aimhréir an fhir,
do bhéinn uile fo ghné gil.

14 ‘Níor leanas lánamhnas cóir,
do-rinneas neithe nár chóir,

fuaireas ann doirtheas is duadh,
aire sin adúsa ruadh.'

15 'Na héoin uile,' ar an sruith,
'anamna do claochlódh cruith,
a n-anmanna d'éis a gcorp,
nocha bhfághaid uile acht olc.'

16 'Fá Domhnach dáilid an sluaigh
a fodhoimhnibh ifrainn fhuair,
biadsa 'na meadhón go mbrón,
ba holc mo bheatha rem ló.

17 'Nocha n-éadaim anadh sunn,
do dheoin an Choimdhe rom-chum,
nídom úain re faisnéis scéil,
ciodhum anam, isam éan.'

1 Birds overhead
although they rush together fiercely;
a beaked bird comes aboard
the coracle which …

2 Let us arise and tell it,
…
'Welcome to us, O bird.'
'I have come to bring tidings.'

3 In a human voice it delivered
a short speech which I found very pleasing:
'even though I am a person in neither form nor in colour,
I should nonetheless be taken notice of.

4 'I am a soul,' said the bird,
'do not take fright at my story,
I would only come to the wave of the sea
to speak to you, O man.

5 ‘While I was in this world,
I was a nun under your direction,
since feathers have grown on my skin,
I have come in the shape of a bird for your benefit.’

6 Then I said to the bird
who was the bearer of the news:
‘tell us without further ado
where our road will take us.’

7 ‘Because of the hundreds of wrongs you have ever done
you will be taken to the land of pains,
although your body will not be transformed,
you will come to hell, vile and vast.

8 ‘You will see three streams
on the road, alas!
although they are on that road,
it is not people but God who brings them.

9 ‘The stream of the great eels,
the stream of swans of the dark looks,
the stream of otters finally,
they put the birds of the waves off-course.

10 ‘In the form of animals floating,
the devils in bodily form tormenting them,
the poor souls are in the shape
of light birds in a sorry plight.

11 ‘Each animal opens its mouth
as it pursues the birds;
the birds are screaming and crying,
fleeing the black devils.

12 ‘The man with whom I was lay ill,
for whom I was a person in the shape of a woman,

I did little that he wished,
I went on visits far away.

13 'Three white stripes on my breast
glitter like a shining swan,
had I not opposed the will of the man,
my colour would be entirely white.

14 'I did not fulfil the laws of marriage,
I did things I should not have done,
misfortune and trouble were my reward,
on that account I am red in colour.'

15 'All the birds,' said the elder,
'are souls whose shapes have been transformed,
their souls, having departed their bodies,
get nothing but bad times.'

16 'On Sunday, the hosts stream out
from the depths of cold hell,
I will be among them in sadness,
my life will be forever difficult.

17 'I cannot remain here,
by the will of the Lord who created me,
I do not have the time to explain the circumstances,
although I am a soul, I am a bird.'

3.4 Nótaí téascúla

3.5 Giorrúcháin agus noda

Tagrann M agus UC3 do na línte agus/nó do na paragraif in eagrán Mhic Mhathúna (1997). Tagrann F do na paragraif in eagrán Stokes (1893) don chuid is mó. Ní hionann na paragraif sa dá eagrán agus, mar sin, faightear dhá pharagraf éagsúla luaite go minic agus iad ag

tagairt don rud céanna. Amanta déantar tagairt don pharagraf in eagrán Mhic Mhathúna chun M agus F a chlúdach. Ní tharlaíonn sin go minic agus is féidir an tagairt d'eagrán Stokes a fháil i Mac Mathúna 1997. Déantar tagairt d'eagrán Van Hamel (1941) ó am go chéile chomh maith. Athraíonn Van Hamel léamha na lámhscríbhinní go minic, áfach, agus ní thig a bheith ag brath go hiomlán ar na foirmeacha atá aige gan iad a sheiceáil. Is ionann an téacs M agus H mura dtugtar a mhalairt le fios (féach Breatnach 2003: 93). Maidir leis na *sigla* eile, féach Mac Mathúna 1997: 71–3.

1

Mac Mathúna §31: 327–38. Féach freisin Stokes §49, Van Hamel §6

1.1b *ros-fulluing*: *sic* A *rosfullang* NE. Sampla den fhorainm iontáite 3 pearsa uatha bain. is ea an *-s-* i *ros* mar aon leis an 3 uatha aimsir chaite den bhriathar simplí *fulaingim* a dhíorthaítear ón bhriathar comhshuite SeanGhaeilge *fo-loing* 'supports'. I bprós UC3 baintear úsáid as an ainm briathartha: 'innis iongantach oile *dá fullang féin* air aonchois uas an muir' ('another wonderful island supporting itself on one leg above the sea'). Tá 'inis eile agus aonchos fúithe *agus sí ar fulang* as an muir moir go hard' ag M (agus an léamh céanna in F a bheag nó a mhór). Maidir leis an oileán aon-choise, féach an nóta ar 1.2d thíos.

Níl sampla ar bith den struchtúr *agus sí* / *agus sé* / *agus siad* sa véarsaíocht ná i bprós UC3, ach tig sé chun tosaigh i bprós F agus M in áiteanna eile sa téacs chomh maith: 7 *si for [la]sadh* F §61 / 7 *sí air dearglasadh* M §42; 7 *se cetharochair* F §51 / 7 *se ceathair eochair* M §34; 7 *siat ag gul* 7 *ag eighiumh* 7 *ag dubha* F §64 / 7 *siad ag gul* 7 *ag eibhe* M §46; 7 *si lan do mil* F §67 / 7 *sí lán do mhil* M §49; 7 *se ailghean* F §67; 7 *si buaiderthe*, 7 *si glan solusta* F §68. Samplaí gan *s-* i UC3 amháin: 7 *iad ag síorgháire* 288/89; 7 *iad féin fútha shíos* 362; 7 *í lán do cheannaibh* 659/60.

Le haghaidh samplaí eile den fhorainm iontáite sa véarsaíocht agus sa phrós, féach na Nótaí Teanga thíos.

1.2c *mhuirn*: *mhuirnn* E *mhuirinn* N *mhuinntir* A. Tá an guta

cúnta *i* idir *r* agus *n* i lámhscríbhinn N chun comhardadh a dhéanamh le *chluinim* i líne d.

1.2d *gach a gcluinid, ní chluinim*: Tá léamh an phróis athraithe sa leagan filíochta anseo. Is ciallmhaire i bhfad an prós, áit a bhfaightear 'nocluintis nuall mor 7 imagalluim na ndaine fuirri tuas, 7 ni roichtis a bhfaicsin' F / 'no-chluinidís nuall móra 7 iomagallaimh na ndaoine uirthe thuas 7 ní roithdís a bhfaicsin' M ('they heard above them a great cry and the converse of the people, and they could not see them'). Cé go bhfuil léamh an phróis in UC3 níos giorra ná mar atá sé in FM, is ionann an chiall a bheag ná a mhór: 'ró-chluinidís nuailldhúbha aiste 7 ní riochtach leo a bhfeicsint'. Tá léamh na lámhscríbhinní san fhilíocht anseo athraithe agam beagáinín – 'gach a ccluinfidh ní chluinim' atá in NE.

Tá eachtra cosúil leis an cheann seo le fail i *Vita Brendani* / *Betha Brénainn* (Stokes 1890: 3691–706; Plummer 1910: I, §69, 135) agus in *Immram Curaig Máele Dúin* (Stokes 1888–89: §27). Sa *Vita*, tagann na taistealaithe ar oileán a bhfuil taobhanna an-ard aige. Ní thig leo bealach isteach a aimsiú, ach cluineann siad glórtha ag moladh an Tighearna cé nach bhfeiceann siad na daoine atá ag déanamh an cheoil. Tá trácht chomh maith ar oileán ceithre-chosach sa *Vita* (féach Moran 1872: §26; Plummer 1910: I, 99). In *Immram Máel Dúin* (§27) tagann an lucht seoil ar oileán aon-choise. Ar ais arís anseo, ní thig leo ar dtús bealach isteach a aimsiú, ach tagann siad ar dhoras ag bun chos an oileáin agus is léir gurb é seo an bealach iontrála. Ní fheiceann siad aon daoine, ní labhraíonn siad le duine ar bith agus ní labhraíonn duine ar bith leosan. Is spéisiúil an ní é go ndeirtear i véarsa 3 den dán in UC3 freisin nach bhfeictear 'dealbh duine / do neach fil isan suidhe'.

1.3a/d *nocha n'fhaicim* / *nochan mó*: Tá an fhoirm dhiúltach *nocha* an-choitianta sa véarsaíocht. Tá 20 sampla ann ar fad, 6 cinn díobh i gclásáil chopaileacha, an chuid eile i gcomhthéacsanna eile. Féach Nótaí Teanga thíos.

1.3a *dealbh duine*: Roghnaítear an fhoirm uatha *duine* anseo atá i lámhscríbhinn E seachas an iolra *daine* / *daoine* i lámhscríbhinní NA i ngeall ar go ndéanann sé comhardadh le *suidhe* i líne b.

2

Mac Mathúna §32: 344–59. Féach freisin Stokes §50, Van Hamel §7

2.4b *bídh*: Lsí. *bí*.

2.4d *ní chríonaid[h]*: *ní chríonaidh* / *chríonáidh* sna lámhscríbhinní chun comhardadh a dhéanamh le *do ráidh*. Ceartaigh Mac Mathúna 1997: 125 ó '3 sg.' go '3 pl.'. Féach na Ceartúcháin thíos.

3

Mac Mathúna §35: 416–31. Féach freisin Stokes §52, Van Hamel §9

3.1b *in aimhriocht*: Ceartaigh *i níamhriocht* (Mac Mathúna 1997: 417) go *in aimhriocht*. Féach na Ceartúcháin thíos.

3.2a *ad-lochur*: Féach Forainmneacha Iontáite sna Nótaí Teanga thíos.

3.2b *nocha gcaraim*: Féach na Nótaí Teanga thíos.

3.2c *méad gclár*: Tá an léamh seo i bprós UC3 (*go méid cláir*, Mac Mathúna 1997: 409) agus in F (*met clar*); *scotha caomha cenn-corcra innte* atá in M. Féach an plé ar an ghaol idir na leaganacha éagsúla i Mac Mathúna 1997.

3.3d *do dhearmadas*: Féach an nóta ar *d'fhágbhamair* thíos, 4.2a.

3.4a/c *go dtigh siad*: Glacaim leis gur forainm neamhspleách ag feidhmiú mar ainmní is ea *siad*. Le haghaidh samplaí eile sa véarsaíocht agus sa phrós, féach Nótaí Teanga thíos. Faightear an forainm treisitheach ag feidhmiú go minic mar chomhartha toipiciúlachta freisin.

3.4b *mórsad cadad*: *mórsad cadad* N *mórsad cadad* E *mórsat cadad* A. B'fhéidir gurb é an dara focal atá anseo ná *cotut* 'severity, ascetism' (le /d/ ag deireadh an fhocail) ón aidiacht *cotut* 'hard, severe', féach *DIL* s.v. *cotut*. Seans freisin go bhfuil meascán idir *cotut* agus *cáttu*: *cáttu* (*cataid* / *cataidh* / *cátaidh*, níos moille), 'dignity, honour, esteem'. Féach *DIL* s.v. *cáttu*: 'for cech noen mórfas cadus 7 cháttaid na hedpartu' ('respect and veneration for this grant'). Maidir le *mórsad*, tá an chosúlacht air gur 3 iol. *s*-caite atá ann (Mac Mathúna 1997: 127).

4

Mac Mathúna §39: 492–539. Féach freisin Stokes §54, Van Hamel §11

4.1c/d *a dhream cháir mar chair domhan / madh áil libh allsughadh*: Ní thuigim i gceart ciall na línte seo agus b'fhéidir go bhfuil siad truaillithe. 'O just people … if you wish …'? D'fhéadfadh gur *allsad* (Sean-Nordais *halsa*) 'slackening of sail' an focal deireannach i líne d.

4.2a *d'fhágbhamuir*: Báitear an guta sa mhír dhearfach *do* roimh ghutaí agus roimh *fh* in UC3 go minic san aimsir chaite den bhriathar. Sampla eile sa véarsaíocht is ea *d'órduigh* (Mac Mathúna 1997: 853). Féach freisin, ón phrós, *d'fhágbhadar* 108 (*rofhacsat* F §22), *d'iar* 163 (*ro iarasdar* MF §33), *d'fhaomhsad* 177 (*rófhaobhsad* M, *roaemhsat* F §37). Maidir le húsáid na míre *do*, féach Nótaí Teanga thíos.

4.3a *triallamaoid dula don dún ghlan*: *do-lodar féin don bhaile* UC3 (prós), *lodar d'ionnsuighe dúna robhí san insi* M, *lotar d'innsaigid an dunaid* F. Tabhair faoi ndeara gin. uatha *dúna* in M anseo taobh leis an fhoirm *dúine* sa véarsaíocht i rann 6c thíos. Is cosúil gur gin. uatha *dúine* freisin, ach tá an líne a bhfuil sé ann truaillithe.

4.3c *feasta for tráigh ainolinn air*: *sic* NE. Tá an chuma air go bhfuil an líne seo truaillithe. Is cosúil go bhfreagraíonn sé don phrós: '… rochualutar ceol na gaeithi frisin lin' F §54 / '… chualadar fuaim na gaoithe fris an lion' UC3 / '… rochualadar ceol 7 foghar na gaoithe ris an lion' M. Cheapas, b'fhéidir, gur 'feasta for tráigh an oileáin air' (féach Mac Mathúna 1997: 104) a ba chóir a bheith ann, ach tá deacrachtaí comhréire ag baint leis seo agus dealraíonn sé chomh maith go bhfuil baint ag *ainolinn* leis an fhocal *lionn* sa phrós.

4.5a *codladh orainne, géar bh'annamh* …: *colla* is ea an fhoirm sna lámhscríbhinní le haghaidh 'codladh'. Tá foirmeacha éagsúla den bhriathar *do-tuit* le fáil sna leaganacha próis: tá an sean-*ro*-preitiríteach in M ag feidhmiú mar chaite simplí: 'dorochair a dtoiricim suain 7 siorchodalta' M / 'focertat i suan' F / 'gur thuit a ttorcaim suain agus codlata' i bprós UC3.

4.5c *biothráidh*: *biothrádh* sna lámhscríbhinní.

4.6c *ag dul dúine níor mhill*: Dealraíonn sé go bhfuil an líne seo pas truaillithe. Ní thuigim an chomhréir mar atá, agus níl ach sé siollaí ann. Féach an nóta ar 4.3a thuas.

4.8b *ar bhúrthoingea na tiobraid*. Tá an líne seo truaillithe. Féach Mac Mathúna 1997: 105.

4.9a *leis nár bh'áil asdar*: Tá an coibhneasta tar éis réamhfhocail réasúnta coitianta i véarsaíocht UC3. Féach, mar shampla, *fó na fil* 307 (léigh *fó na filleann*), *ar na bíd* 297, *air ná saoilim* 314, *leis nach sámh* 319, *leis nach fuath* 539. Samplaí ón phrós is ea *ag ná raibh* 106, *iarna bia* 129 (*ar nach bia* M, *ar nach bid* F).

4.10d *darsam buidheach*: Lsí. *dursum buidheach*. Tá roinnt samplaí den fhoirm phearsanta den chopail sa chéad phearsa sa véarsaíocht. Glacaim leis gurb é atá anseo *dia* / *do* in éineacht leis an *ro*-preitiríteach, 1 phearsa uatha – *diarsam* / *darsam* (Mac Mathúna 1997: 132, le ceartú dá réir). Féach freisin na samplaí i ndán 5 thíos: *isum* 5.4a:573, 5.17d:628, *diasam* 5.12b:606, *nídom* 5.17c:627, *ciodhum* 5.17d:628.

5

Mac Mathúna §40: 561–628. Féach freisin Stokes §§55–59, Van Hamel §12

5.1a Níl ach cúig siollaí sa líne seo.

5.1c *do-chinnsam réim: chiousam resm* N *chíunsam réim* E *ciomsum reim* A. Tá léamh na lámhscríbhinní truaillithe anseo.

5.2b *do feadh uair ba éan fis*: Lsí. *henfis* NE. Níl ach sé siollaí sa líne seo. Ní thuigim i gceart é. Tá an chuma air go bhfuil sé truaillithe.

5.4a *isum*: Féach nóta ar 4.9d thuas.

5.5a *ro-bhádhas*: 1 uatha preitiríteach le *ro*. Sa véarsaíocht anseo faightear an *s*-preitiríteach a tháinig chun cinn i ré na Meán-Ghaeilge taobh leis an sean-phreitiríteach gan iarmhír, *bá* / *-bá* féach 12a thíos 'do bhí i bhfainne an fear go *mbá*'. Tá an dá fhoirm le fáil sa Mheán-Ghaeilge agus sa NuaGhaeilge Mhoch.

5.8c *dus-rala*: Féach Forainmneacha Iontáite sna Nótaí Teanga thíos.

5.12b *diasam*: *diusum* NE. Féach nóta ar 4.9d thuas.

5.14a *níor leanas*: *nir lenus* F §40. Tá cuid mhór samplaí de bhá guta *ro* roimh fhoirmeacha spleácha den bhriathar sna leaganacha

uile, rud a bhí coitianta sa MheánGhaeilge agus sa NuaGhaeilge Mhoch.

5.17c *nídom úain*: *uaim* atá sna lámhscríbhinní. Is léir nár thuig na scríobhaithe an leagan *nídom úain* 'I do not have time', is é sin, *nídom*, 1 uatha den fhoirm phearsanta den chopail, agus an focal *úain*. Féach *DIL* s.v. 2 *úain* le haghaidh samplaí eile den leagan céanna.

4. Nótaí teanga ar an phrós agus ar an véarsaíocht[16]

4.2 Forainmneacha iontáite

Tá cuid mhór samplaí den fhorainm iontáite sa véarsaíocht in UC3 agus gan sampla ar bith sa phrós. Níl ach 4 shampla i bprós M. Os a choinne sin, tá 15 sampla i bprós F.

Is é *ro* an réimír is coitianta leis na forainmneacha sa véarsaíocht: 10 gcinn de shamplaí ar fad atá ann. Gnó feidhmiúil i gclásail fhoshuiteacha agus i gclásail choibhneasta atá i gcuid mhór de na samplaí seo.

Véarsaíocht

Uatha 1 *rom-ghabh* (*dubh an dream rom-ghabh*) 366; *rom-shaora* (*rom-shaora ar muir slat na séad*) 406, (*rom-shaora oruinne*, *a chaomh-chlann*) 677; *rom-chum* 5.17b (*do dheoin an Choimhdhe rom-chum*) 626; *rom-bheirigh* (*rom-bheirigh as do loch lir*) 656; *rom-chabhra (rom-chabhra amhlaigh, a fhir*) 658; 3 coibhneasta *rod-fia* (*in gábhadh rod-fia na fir*) 224; 3 bain. *ros-fullaing* 1.1b (*a haonchos féin ros-fullaing*) 328; *ros-thuig* (*ros-thuig gan Críost dá dhearbhughadh / an té do bhíodh dá bheathúghadh*) 887; 3 *s* gun bhrí *dos-rala* 5.8c (*cidh*

[16] Ní hionann an anailís seo agus í siúd i Mac Mathúna 1997. Déantar plé i bhfad níos mine anseo ar chuid de fhoirmeacha teanga na leaganacha éagsúla ná mar a dhéantar san eagrán sin. Féach freisin anois Breatnach 2003: 105–7. Ceapann Breatnach go bhfuil fianaise ann a threisíonn lena thuairim go bhfuil difir idir an chéad chuid den téacs (§§1–32) agus an chuid eile, mar shampla, nach bhfuil aon fhorainmneacha iontáite sa chéad chuid. Ní mór mionscagadh iomlán a dhéanamh ar theanga na leaganacha éagsúla ina gceann agus ina gceann, faoi mar atá idir lámha agam faoi láthair, sula dtig sin a rá go cinnte agus sula dtig a bheith níos beaichte maidir le ceisteanna dátaithe.

dos-rala for séad sinn) 591; Iolra 3 *dus-rala* (*inis iongna oileán mara dia dus-rala*) 240; dealraíonn sé go bhfuil an forainm ag feidhmiú mar chomhartha coibhneasta i *crosán beag do bhí 'nár bhfail/ros-tairig ég i n-aithrigh* 266. Féach freisin *nos-bheir* (*nos-bheir leis ionna thragh thall*) 883.

Prós F

Uatha 1 *nom-fostfa-sa* §35, *rom-cuired* §52, *conam-tarla* §74 (Van Hamel 1941: §24:496); 2 *rod-bera* §75 (ibid.: §24:517, *not-béra*); 3 fir. *nos-facbuit* §45 (maraon le forainm neamhspleách: *nos-facbuit annsin he*), *rus-ticead* §65; 3 bain. *coros leic* §67; Iol. 3 *nos-tocbat* §42 (réamhthagartha: *nos-tocbat na ramhada cucu*), *nos-idhbratar* §42 (maraon le forainm neamhspeách: *nos-idhbratar iat fein*), *nos-bera* §70 (Mac Mathúna 1997: §50; Van Hamel 1941: §21:460), *dusticc* §72 (Van Hamel 1941: §23:484). Féach chomh maith *daber … luth 7 nert céit in gach fer acuibh* §28, *daronus marcachas Domhnuigh uirre* §66, *rachomhruiced gach cenn fri araile dibh* §66, *dus-fuil* §77.

Na ceithre samplaí atá ar fáil in M, tá siad in F chomh maith: *nom-fhosdfa-sa* §22 (F §35), *nós-togbhuid na ramhadha chuctha* §25 (F §42) agus *nos-iodhbradar iad fein* §25 (F §42), agus *dus-fil ann fáth fiarfuidhe* §53 (F §77).

Cheana féin in F, tá athruithe ar chóras na Sean-Ghaeilge. Tá *-s-* gan srónaíl tar éis leathadh amach thar a chuid teorainneacha in *nos-facbuit* (F §45) agus *rus-ticead* (F §65). Níl ach sampla amháin de Aicme C ann, mar atá, *conam tarla* (F §74), agus is foirmeacha siocaithe neodracha iad mórchuid na bhfoirmeacha de chuid Aicme B. Tagann siad sin chun cinn go neamhspleách agus i gclásail choibhneasta araon. Seo roinnt samplaí. Neamhspleách: *atconnarcsa*, *atconnarc* F §14; *adconncatar* (dhá uair) F §34; *atciat* F §§57, 68; *at(bertatar)* F §27. (Féach chomh maith sa véarsaíocht *ad-lochur* 3.2a thuas.) Coibhneasta: *an ni* ***atciam*** F §43; *7 enlaith* ***atchithisi*** *anmanna daine … iat* F §52; *na henlaithe* ***atchithisi*** F §56; *na rechta-so* ***atcithi***, *daig na heoin atcithi* F §57; *in tan* ***atbera*** *in sruith fribh* F §68. Tá an fhoirm *ad-b(h)eart* an-choitianta in M, áit a bhfuil 8 sampla; tá sampla amháin in UC3 agus trí cinn in F. Baintear úsáid as *ro-* in áit *no-* chun an forainm a iontáthú in *rod-bera comarba* F (§50; athraithe ag Van Hamel go *not-béra*). Tá *ro-beara* ag M gan an forainm iontáite.

4.3 Forainmneacha neamhspléacha

4.3.1 Forainmneacha neamhspléacha ainmní leis an fhaí chéasta

Véarsaíocht

Sampla amháin: *béarthar sibh* 5.7b (§40:586).

Prós F

2 shampla: *robaisteadh … iat* (§5; féach freisin Stokes 1893: 23), agus *sasad iat* (§47).

Prós M/H

3 shampla: an dá cheann atá i F mar aon le *ro hoileadh agus ro hard-leasuigheadh iad* (§4).

Prós UC3

5 shampla: *robaisdeadh … iad* (§4:24–25), *ro hoileadh agus ro hard-leasuigheadh iad* (§4:26), *do cuireadh … é* (§21:161–62), *do leagadh fón bhfairige é* (§47:736). Tá an forainm neamhspleách le fail freisin i *cuireadh isin aigéin seo mé* (§35:413), áit a bhfuil an leagan luath le forainm iontáite in F: *rom-cuired in oilithri isin oicen* (§52).

4.3.2 Forainmneacha neamhspléacha chun ainmní briathair ghníomhaigh a chur in iúl

De réir an chuntais atá déanta agam, tá 18 sampla den fhorainm suibiachtúil le briathra gníomhacha in UC3 (an véarsaíocht san áireamh), 15 sampla in M. Foirmeacha táite amháin atá le fail in F.

Véarsaíocht

go dtigh siad 3.4a/c (§35:428, 430), *do staon sé* 323, *do ghnídh sibh* 843.

Prós UC3 agus prós M

Sna deismireachtaí seo thíos, más foirmeacha táite atá in M, tugtar na foirmeacha sin idir lúibíní. Má tá an fhoirm le fáil in F, tugtar sin idir lúibíní freisin: *do rinn siad* UC3 20, 39, 116 (*doronnsad* atá ag M sna samplaí seo uile), *do rin siad* M §24 (*doronsad* F §41), *ro ghabh*

siad M UC3 37, *ro airg siad* M UC3 38, *ro loisg siad* M UC3 38, *dár fhoghluim nó dar fhoghin sinn(e)* M UC3 65 (*dar' fhognumar* F §14), *do chinn siad* M §12 (note *ro chinnsam* M / *rochinnsem* F §53), *is beart siad* M 121 (*adubhradar* UC3, *atb(ertatar)* F), *gach ar mheill siad* UC3 131, *gach nídh dar mhill siad* UC3 132 (*ro mhillsead* M, *romillset* F §29), *ó théid sí* UC3 142, *ro fhiarfuigh siad* M §22, *nach bearfadh tu* M §22, *ro leig siad* M §22, *ca ráidh tu* M §22, *do chaith siad* UC3 275 (*rothomuilset* F §47), *d'ibh siad* / *ro ibh siad* UC3 / M 275 (*atibhset* F §47), *dá mbeadh sé* UC3 559, *ro imthigh siad* M §42 (*roim[th]igsit* F §61), *ní ráinig sé* UC3 758, *d'ibh siad* UC3 818, *ro déach siad* UC3 819.

ro chrom siad M §53 (*ro chromsat* F; Van Hamel 1941: §25) sa véarsaíocht ag deireadh an scéil.

4.3.3 Forainmneacha neamhspléacha chun cuspóir briathair ghníomhaigh a chur in iúl

Tá líon mór samplaí d'fhorainmneacha neamhspleácha oibiachtúla in UC3, 12 in M agus 15 cinn in F.

Véarsaíocht

cá leith bhéaras sinn ár séad 5.6d, *do-bheir sibh* 262, *do-bheir sinn* 264.

Prós M, F, UC3

dá ccluineadh nó dá bhfeicfeadh iad UC3 29 / *dá gcluineadh ná dha bhfaiceadh iad* M §4 29, *dochuir … aíbinn iat* F §12 (Van Hamel 1941: l. 70) / *rochuir a ngrianán taobháluinn … iad* M §8 UC3 56–57, *comhairleochaidh sinn* M §11, *rofacsat a aenur he* F §22, *do leigeadar ara nglúinibh iad fein* UC3 120, *déanaige é* UC3 127, *fuilngid í* F §30 / *fuilingidh í* M §19 / *déanaidh í* UC3 138, *ad-chonncadar … é* UC3 176, *aithnim-se iat* F §34 / *aithnim-si iad* M §22, *rolecsit uadaib (e)* F §35 / *ro leig siad uatha é* M §22, *ro chuir gaeth mor iatsamh* F §43 / *ro chuir an ghaoth iad* M §25, *an leth a mbera in gaeth sin* F §42 / *an leath no a mbéara an ghaoth sin* M §25 / *an leith bearus an ghaoth sinn* UC3 215, *nos-idhbratar iat fein* F §42 / *nos-iodhbradar iad fein* M §25 / *d'iobradar iad féin* UC3 216; *ionnar threoirthigh séide na sianghaoithe iad* UC3

220–21, *fágbhaid-sin acu é* UC3 237 / *ro fhagbhuid ann sin é* M §27, *d'fhág iat* UC3 473, *an bhfeicí-se iat* UC3 550, *do eisdeacht na hénlaithe thú* M §40, *na tabrad i mbron sibhsi na rechta-so* F §57 / *ná tabhradh sibh-si a mbron … na reachta so* M §40 584, *cidh bheir … tú* / *ciodh do-bheir … tú* UC3 M §45, *ní roicheadh a lámha é* UC3 754, *do ghabh eagla rómhór iadsin* UC3 782, *ro-leiged-sumh e fein* F §65 / *ró leigeadh-sumh é féin* M §47, *na tabrad a snímh sibsi sin* F §66 / *na tabhradh sin sibh-si a sniodh ná a dtoirsi* M §43, *dafacthi isin lo hi* F §69, *focert a suan cotalta iat* F §70, *ca hait a facaduis esidhe* F §73 / *ga háit a bhfácadhes eisidh* M §52, *beruit sin leo sibh* F §75 / *berid leo sibh* UC3 912 / *bearfuid-sin leó sibh* M 912 §52, *ro-imgabus he* F §73 / *ro imghabhas é* M §52, *ro-indis-side iatt* F §77 / *ro innis iad* M §53.

4.4 An fhoirm dhiúltach *nocha(r)*

Bíonn urú ar an fhocal a leanann é má thosaíonn sé le guta nó le *f* séimhithe, mar shampla: *nocha n-éadaim* 5.17a, 625; *nocha bhfaghaid* 5.15d, 620. Féach freisin *nocha n-aoibhinn bhúr n-oireacht* 724; *nocha n-agaim* 657. Déantar briathra neamh-chopaileacha a thosaíonn le *t-* agus *c-* a urú chomh maith: *nocha ttucfuinn* 5.4c, 575; *nocha ccaruim* 3.2b, 421. Samplaí eile: *nocha dtaighigh* 281, *nocha ttarga* 402, *nocha cclaonfa* 676. Ní uraítear *b-* agus *m-*, *r-*, ná *l-*: *nocha bia* 5.12a, *nocha móide* 5.3d, 572 / *nocha mó* 694, *nocha rithin* 280, *nocho leor* M §16 / *nocha lór* F §28. Ní uraítear *d-* agus *t-* i gclásail chopaileacha: *nocha teachta ón rígh do ráidh* 2.4c, 358; *nocha daoine acht Dia do-bheir* 5.8d, 592. Féach freisin *nocha tearc innte iongnadh* 295. Séimhítear tar éis *nochar i nochar bhlaiseadar* 800.

4.5 Na míreanna briathartha *do* agus *ro*

Tá an mhír bhriathartha *do*, an ghnáth-fhoirm sa NuaGhaeilge Mhoch, an-choitianta i UC3, sa phrós agus san fhilíocht araon. Seo thíos roinnt samplaí:

Véarsaíocht

do dhearmadas 3.3c:427, *do líonasdar* 4.9a:525, *do bhí* 5.13a:605, *do théighinn* 5.13d:608, *do bhéin* 5.14d:612. Féach freisin *do staon sé* 323, *do rádh* 533, 569, 846, *do threitid* 670, *do-ghabhas* 708, *do chuir* 901 (le hais *ro chuir* 5d thíos).

Prós
do theitheadar 108 (*rotheithsead* M *rotheithsit* F §22), *do leigeadar* 120 (*ro shléachtsad* M *rolaigset* F §27), *do loisgiom* 123 (*ro loiscsam* M *ro loiscsem* F §28), *do leasuíghdior* 131 (*ro-ghabhsad* M *rogabsat* F §29), *do leasuíghdior* 139 (*ro leasaighsead* M *rolesaigsit* F §31).

Mar is léir óna samplaí thuas, is í an mhír bhriathartha *ro*, an *ro*-preitiríteach, an fhoirm a mbaintear úsáid as de ghnáth in F agus M. Faightear *ro* in UC3 chomh maith, mar shampla, *ro ghabh siad* 37 (*sic* M), *ro mhothaigh* 55 (*sic* M), *ro chuir* 56 (*sic* M; san fhilíocht freisin: 510:5d), *ro mhusgail* 61 (*ró mhúsgail* M). Tá corr-shampla de *do* chomh maith in M, mar shampla, *do chinn siad* M §12; *do mharbhair* M §17 / *ro marbsabar* F §20; *dothoillsium* M §40 / *rotuillsium* F §56; *do bághadh* M §28.

I dtaca le bá an ghuta sa *ro*-preitiríteach, tá samplaí le fáil sa véarsaíocht agus sa phrós araon. Samplaí sa véarsaíocht is ea *níor leanas* 5.14a, *níor sgar* 245, *gur éirig* 798, *ór ling sí* (leg. *ór lingse*) 801; agus sa phrós: *gur mhill siad* UC3 / *gur mhillsead* M, *nír' comairleicead* F §58 / *nior chomhairleigheadh* M §40, *cur sasad iat* F §47 / *gur sásadh iad* M §29, *conar airgs(et)* F.

Ní bháitear an guta i *ro* amanta in F, M agus i véarsaíocht UC3. Samplaí sa véarsaíocht is ea *óro fhás* 5.5c agus *o ro chumhdaighsium* 196. Tá an dara foirm seo le fail i bprós M §23 agus F §39 chomh maith. Samplaí eile ón phrós is ea *cor rolegsat* F §26 (*gur léigheadar* UC3 / *gur leig siad* M §15), *go ro choisgeadh* M §24, *coro hetromuigter* F §61 / *go ro eadtromaighthear* M §42, *corro élódus* F (Van Hamel 1941: §24) / *go ro elodhas* M §52.

4.6 An mhir bhriathartha *no*

Tá cuid mhór samplaí de *do* in áit *no* in UC3, go háirithe i gclásail choibhneasta: *do rachadadaois* 215 (*noraghdais* F *no-raighdis* M); *do ghluaiseadh* 273 (*no-ghluaiseadh* M); *do thógbhudh* 646 (*no togbhudh* F *no-thógbhadh* M); *do thigeadh* 732 (*no-thigeadh* M; fágtar *no* ar lár in F, *ticeadh*, rud atá coitianta leis an bhriathar seo sa Mheán-Ghaeilge agus le briathra eile san fhilíocht chomh maith), *do bheireadh* 737 (*no imarchainn* F *no-iomarchoinn* M). Tá samplaí de *ro* seachas *no* le fáil in M agus F chomh maith: *rochanadh* F §60 / *ró canadh* M §41; *rolasadh* F §65 M §47; *roleiged-sumh e fein* F §65 M §47; *roberadh amus* F

§67 / *no-bhéaradh* M §49; *ro-beara* M §52 *rodbera* F (athraithe ag Van Hamel go *not-béra* §24, l. 517).

5. Críoch

Léiríonn UC3, leagan an phróis agus na véarsaíochta, gur cumadh é am éigin i ré na Nua-Ghaeilge Moiche agus go raibh cur amach maith ag an údar ar dheismireachtaí teanga a bhí coitianta i ré na Gaeilge Clasaicí. Dealraíonn sé go raibh an leagan seo ann comh fada siar leis an 15ú céad, b'fhéidir níos luaithe ná sin. Mar a chonaic muid romhainn, tá eachtraí breise sa leagan próis de UC3 nach bhfuil ann i gceachtar den dá leagan eile, F agus HM. Tugann siad sin le fios an chaoi inar cuireadh leis an scéal thar na blianta. Is dócha freisin gur cailleadh an chéad chuid den phrós in UC3 agus gur baineadh úsáid as leagan ciorraithe de leagan HM chun an bhearna a líonadh. Is cinnte, mar sin féin, nach bhfuil UC3 ag brath ar leagan HM nó F don dara cuid den scéal. Cé gurb é is dóichí nárbh ionann scéal IUC san naoú céad agus an scéal a tháinig anuas chugainn, tá sé an-deacair a rá cad é go díreach a bhí ann ag an am sin. Ní mó ná go raibh scéilíní, eachtraí agus téamaí a bhí mórán mór mar an gcéanna ann sa traidisiún scríofa agus sa traidisiún béil ar bhain na húdair a chum na h*Iomramha* úsáid astu chun a scéalta sainiúla féin a chumadh agus a chur le chéile. Ina dhiaidh sin is uile, ceapaim gur féidir a áiteamh go ndeachaigh an traidisiún béil i bhfeidhm ar an údar. Ina theannta sin, is cosúil gur bhain teaglamaí agus údar UC3 úsáid as tús an *Navigatio* agus as eachtraí eile sa scéal sin agus as eachtraí sa *Vita Brendani* chun a scéal féin a chur le chéile. Déarfainn go bhfuil an chuid sin den saothar a bhaineann leis an ullmhúchán don iomramh bunaithe ar leaganacha scríofa agus ar leaganacha béil den dá scéal sin, ar an *Vita* go háirithe (an saor adhmaid, an crosán agus araile), go bhfuil cuid den chur síos ar oileáin éagsúla bunaithe orthu, agus go bhfuil tionchar na saothar sin le feiceáil freisin sna tagairtí do na cléirigh, don *sruith* agus do na *sruithe*. Bhí tionchar ag *Immram Máele Dúin* air chomh maith cé nach cinnte go raibh an tagairt do Mháel Dúin ann sa leagan is túisce den scéal. Maidir le dáta an phróis, léiríonn mion-scagadh ar an teanga gurb é is dóichí gur cumadh é am éigin sa 12ú céad. Sa mhéid go dtugtar tús áite i measc eaglaisí Chonnacht do Thuaim Dá Gualann sa chéad chuid den phrós, dealraíonn sé

gur cumadh é am éigin i ndiaidh 1152 nuair a bhí an eaglais sin ina phríomh-eaglais easpagóideach sa Chúige. Imríonn Tuaim Dá Gualann páirt thábhachtach sa *Vita Brendani* freisin agus is dócha gur i dtrátha an ama céanna a cumadh an leagan Gaeilge den scéal sin, an *Betha Brénainn* (féach Mac Mathúna 2006: 155–8).

Ceartúcháin

Tugaim ceartúcháin anseo thíos ar eagrán Mhic Mhathúna 1997 agus ar eagrán na ndánta i Mac Mathúna 2002: In áit *síor*, léigh *siar* (1997: lch. 93, líne 202; 2002: lch. 157); in áit *is do staon sé*, léigh *'s do staonse* (1997: lch. 97, líne 323; 2002: lch. 162); in áit *fóna fil*, léigh *fó na filleann* (1997: lch. 97, líne 307; 2002: lch. 161); in áit *duine*, léigh *daine* (1997: lch. 98, líne 335); in áit *i niamhriocht*, léigh *in aimhriocht* (1997: lch. 101, líne 417); botún is ea *fo chéada* sa ls. faoi choinne *fo-cheardad* M / *foceirtitis* F (1997: lch. 102, líne 440); in áit *a ngníomhrad*, léigh *an gníomhradh* (1997: lch. 102, líne 448); níl *do chiion-sumh remh[e]* sásúil, tá an léamh truaillithe (1997: lch. 106, líne 563); in áit *ní dom* (1997: lch. 108, líne 627), léigh *nídom*, 1 uatha diúltach den chopail (le cur le foirmeacha na copaile ar lch. 131); in áit *ní rabhas-[s]a* in M §40, léigh *ní rabha-sa* (1997: lch. 108); in áit *ní raibh*, léigh *ní raibh[e]* (1997: lch. 115); in áit *or ling-si*, léigh *or lingse* (1997: lch. 115, líne 801); in áit *ni raibh*, léigh *ni raibh[e]* (1997: lch. 116); in áit *eirghid*, léigh *eirgid[h]* (1997: lch. 117, line 881). Linguistic Analysis, lch. 125: in áit 'present 3 sg. dependent *ní chríonaidh*', léigh 'present 3 pl. dependent *ní chríonaid*'; lch. 125: in áit *nach ionnsaig* 321, léigh *nach ionnsaig* 329; lch. 128: in áit 'pass. fut. *teicemait* F (= *tegeomhaidh* M)', léigh 'future 3 pl.'; lch. 132: in áit 'future 3 sg. *-tiobhra* M', léigh 'conditional 3 sg. *-tiobhra[dh]*?'; lch. 132: scrios amach 'with 1 pl. inflex.' i gcás *dursum*, 1 uatha atá ann, féach an nóta air thuas 4.9d; lch. 133: níl an fhoirm *nos-b[era]* le fáil in F, is é Van Hamel a shocraigh an fhoirm seo as a stuaim féin mar go bhfuil oibiacht 3 iol. iontuigthe (ní gá, áfach, gur forainm iontáite a bhí sa phrós ó cheart).

'Craobh-Sgaoileadh a' Bhìobaill agus an t-Soisgeil': A Gaelic Song on the Nineteenth-Century Christian Missionary Movement*

Donald E. Meek

Introduction

The Scottish Highlands are important in offering an insight into the foundations of modern Protestant missionary activity. The Highland experience of such mission – operating through societies, schools, churches and itinerant evangelists – goes back to 1709 when the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) was established. This society was extremely hostile to Gaelic in the first half of the eighteenth century. Then, in the mid-1750s, it changed tack and began to accommodate the Gaelic language as a viable medium for evangelisation. Indeed, the SSPCK was responsible for the translation of the Bible into Scottish Gaelic. The New Testament in Scottish Gaelic was published through its patronage in 1767 and the Gaelic translation of the Old Testament was completed in 1801. The Gaelic Bible, distributed liberally by the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) from 1807, aided a second wave of missionary outreach to the Highlands. This phase of missionary endeavour was reinforced powerfully in 1810 when the first Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools was established in Edinburgh. This society (and others which followed its example) aimed to make Highlanders sufficiently literate to read the Gaelic Bible for themselves (Durkacz 1983: 96–153).

*I am grateful to the Librarians at Special Libraries, King's College, University of Aberdeen, and New College, University of Edinburgh, for their assistance in obtaining different editions of MacGregor's volume. My greatest debt is, however, to Professor Colm Ó Baoill, my close and genial colleague at Aberdeen during my nine years there as Professor of Celtic (1993–2001). On many occasions, Colm and I discussed the Gaelic Bibles of Scotland and Ireland, their language(s), texts and influence. As one who likes to find the embarrassing exception, he will understand – I hope – why I have chosen this piece to thank him for his wonderful support, good humour and friendship.

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Missionary enterprise in the Highlands shaped strategy at home in Scotland and abroad. It helped to support the wider cause of mission, but it also laid down some markers for the ways in which native cultures and indigenous languages were approached by missionary bodies operating beyond the Highlands in what can be termed broadly 'foreign' contexts. The Highlands were also invoked from time to time as a shining example of the pacification of 'wild' peoples and the eradication of 'barbarism' by means of the Gospel. This held out the hope that other 'barbarians' could be tamed in like manner.

Influences operated in the other direction too. The Highlands were by no means isolated from the thought-processes which influenced the wider world. The decade 1810–20 witnessed the growth of missionary societies and Bible societies in Scotland generally (Roxborogh 2000). Gradually, external perspectives were indigenised and given expression in Gaelic. The surviving evidence allows us to consider Gaelic-speaking evangelists' perceptions of global mission and the place of the Highlands within it. The source of the evidence is Gaelic religious verse composed by poets in the Highlands and Nova Scotia in the first half of the nineteenth century. The foundational specimens of such verse come from Nova Scotia and were composed by Highlanders who had emigrated to the so-called 'New World'. In Nova Scotia, evangelical ministers found themselves in a context which was, to their eyes, largely unevangelised and which lacked the ecclesiastical infrastructures to which they had been accustomed in their homeland. As a consequence, they had to practise what they preached by putting their missionary ideas into effect in a manner which complemented, and was an extension of, the contemporary evangelical movement in the Highlands. At the same time, they were acutely aware of their 'foreign' environment, and this forced them to reflect deeply on the relationship of their endeavours to those being pursued within the wider global context. 'Home' and 'foreign' perspectives were particularly close to one another in the minds of the Nova Scotian religious poets.

Chief among the Nova Scotian religious poets who expressed their views on contemporary missionary endeavour is the Rev.

James MacGregor of Pictou. MacGregor (1759–1830), a native of Portmore, near St Fillans, Perthshire, became an Antiburgher minister. After emigrating in 1786, he was a force to be reckoned with in his denomination in Nova Scotia. His song, 'Craobh-Sgaoileadh a' Bhìobaill agus an t-Soisgeil' ('The Promulgation of the Bible and the Gospel'), first published in 1819, embodies a fascinating range of perceptions, embracing the older clan society of the Scottish Highlands, expanding to include other nations, and concluding with a resounding application of the 'Highland model' to the wider world. It is particularly valuable to have this Gaelic snapshot of missionary activity in the early nineteenth century which so obviously cuts across what has become the 'politically correct' treatment of the Highlands and world mission in our own time (see, for example, Pettifer and Bradley 1990). Accustomed, as we now are, to broadly negative views of missionary activity and to pluralist approaches to other cultures and world religions, we may be taken aback by MacGregor's bold, assertive and 'triumphalist' brand of Christian evangelism.

MacGregor has a joyful tale to tell which, he states, is blessedly different from the traditional narratives of Highland heroes and warrior clans. Far from lamenting their disempowerment, he bids good riddance to their violent lifestyle and depicts the victory of the Gospel. As he presents an ever-widening sphere of missionary endeavour with the Bible at its heart, he offers what we may regard as caricatures of other 'barbarous', 'ignorant' and 'rude' peoples, although he is careful to stress the particularly barbaric and ignorant nature of Highland society itself before the arrival of the civilising Gospel.

The song demonstrates how the range of traditional secular genres of Gaelic verse was extended and adapted in the spiritual, evangelical sphere. The Gaels and their clans, and the MacGregors first and foremost, are subjected to a controlled form of *aoir* ('satire') which is not without a wry touch. So too, for similar reasons, are South Seas islanders. The new 'clans' worthy of the poet's *moladh* ('eulogy') are the Bible societies and missionary bodies. His new heroes are missionaries 'with unceasing limbs' and Bible promoters. The *fine* ('kin') of the Stewarts is extolled, not without

irony, for producing the Revs. James and John Stewart, translators of the Gaelic Bible. A strong note of *brosnachadh* ('incitement') emerges as the societies are encouraged in their labours.

To judge by the surviving literary evidence, MacGregor's song was well received by his contemporaries. Indeed, it may have helped to stimulate a small cycle of optimistic 'proclamation / promulgation poems' by other religious poets in the Scottish Highlands and in Nova Scotia. The Rev. Peter Grant (†1867), pastor of the Baptist church at Grantown on Spey, composed at least two songs, evidently in the 1820s, which embody such perspectives. These are 'Gearan nan Gàidheal' ('The Gaels' Complaint'), which contrasts the arrival of 'Gospel light' with the darkness of earlier Highland society, and 'Oran nam Misionairidh' ('Song on the Missionaries'), in which young Highlanders pledge themselves to go forth with the Christian message to the tundras of the north (Meek 2002). Although the themes and *topoi* are similar, there is no evidence of direct influence from MacGregor's verse. Such influence is, however, very clear in the work of John MacLean who emigrated from Caolas, Tiree, to Barney's River, Nova Scotia, in 1819. MacLean composed a spiritual song, 'Craobh-Sgaoileadh an t-Soisgeil san Tìr Seo' ('The Proclamation of the Gospel in this Land') in the late 1820s. In it he portrays Nova Scotia as a God-given refuge for oppressed Highlanders. Its originally wild condition, with its forests, moose and Indians, has been subjugated, and a Christian college has been established at Pictou. MacLean pays particular tribute to the Rev. James MacGregor himself for traversing his territory in snow-shoes, proclaiming the Christian message and thereby helping to civilise the wilds of Nova Scotia (Meek 2003: 72–9). MacGregor, like the missionaries in his own poem, thus becomes one of the new spiritual warriors of Gaelic religious tradition. MacLean also echoes MacGregor's song in other poems, notably 'Grian na Fìrinteachd' ('The Sun of Righteousness') (Mac-Gilleain 1880: 37–40).

MacGregor's song interacted not only with the work of other poets, but also with that of prose-writers. The Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod, 'Caraid nan Gàidheal', was the most important writer of Gaelic prose in the nineteenth century, producing the first

journals in Gaelic and frequently writing on both sacred and secular themes. His volume *Leabhar nan Cnoc* (MacLeòid 1834: 176–91) contains, *inter alia*, a sequence of short essays on the work of religious societies which have brought benefits to the Scottish Highlands. Each essay is followed by a section of Mac Gregor's poem, and the sections are presented as individual, free-standing units or poems in the following order: lines 1–32, 137–52, 121–8, 41–104, 153–92. The introductory lines on the societies, and the lines on the SSPCK and the achievement of the Stewarts, together with the more eulogistic verse on the BFBS (lines 105–20, 129–36, 145–52), are omitted. As was his custom in the presentation of verse, MacLeod did not ascribe the material to the original author.

In sum, then, MacGregor's song is significant at two levels: firstly, it provides an illuminating glimpse into the 'missionary mind' of the early nineteenth century, especially in relation to Gaelic culture; secondly, it has been an important catalyst in the production of Gaelic songs and prose writings on missionary themes. However, MacGregor's song has been lost to general awareness and, when reproduced beyond the volume to which it originally belonged, it has been represented in a misleading manner, devoid of explanatory material. The present article presents the song afresh, setting it in its wider contextual frame and providing a new edition, with English translation, for the benefit of missiologists worldwide who explore the theme of Gospel and culture and of those scholars who study the impact of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century evangelical movement on Gaelic culture.

Edition

This song was probably composed close to 1819, the year of first publication. The edition is based on MacGrhiogair 1819: 82–7, 1825: 84–9 and on MacGriogair 1847: 99–105, where it is stated that the song is to be sung to the tune of 'Fhuair Mi Naidheachd As Ùr'. The new edition modernises the Gaelic spelling to conform broadly to that recommended in the Scottish Qualifications Authority's *Gaelic Orthographic Conventions*.

The Promulgation of the Bible and the Gospel

Joy is filling my heart,
And my body's peace does not ebb;
There is a sweeter tale in the land
Than my memory has ever heard;
It is not a tale of Ossian of the Fianns,
Or of a hero who was ever in a troop;
It is not a tale of hunting the deer,
Or of carrying home their skins.

It is not a tale of spoiling of Lowlanders
By the strong men of the glens and hills,
Or even of traversing the bens
In attire that would not tie the knee;
It is not a tale of Gaels' prowess
Or of the noble heroism of blades,
Knocking their enemies to the ground,
Or chopping their bones and their heads.

It is not a tale of clans that are brave
Who would fight without yielding alive –
Clan Gregor, ignorant but astute,
Who were seldom aligned to right;
Or Clan Donald who rejoiced in the red hand,
Or Clan Cameron who were brave without sense,
And likewise each clan of best name,
And each chief whose wildness excelled.

But the story of the Gospel of grace
Spreading in all directions around,
And the Bible with salvation's word
Reaching all parts with effect,
Causing people to change their views,
Quietening them like lambs to peace,
Conquering all pomp and all pride,
And imposing control on each vice.

Craobh-Sgaoileadh a' Bhìobaill agus an t-Soisgeil

Tha aoibhneas a' lìonadh mo chrìdh',
'S cha tràghadh do shìth mo chuim;
Tha naidheachd nas taitnich' san tìr
Na chualas ri linn mo chuimhn';
Cha naidheachd air Oisean nam Fiann,
No gaisgeach bha riamh am feachd;
Cha naidheachd air sealgaireachd fhiadh,
No giùlan am bian gu teach.

Cha naidheachd air creachadh nan Gall
Le ceathairn nan gleann 's nan stùc,
No idir air siubhal nam beann
An èideadh nach ceangladh glùn;
Cha naidheachd air tapadh nan Gàidheal
No treubhantas àrd nan lann,
A' leagadh an nàimhdean gu làr,
No sgoltadh an cnàmh 's an ceann.

Cha naidheachd air fineachaibh treun'
A chogadh 's nach gèilleadh beò –
Clann Ghriogair bha aineolach, gleusd',
'S nach tric a bha rèidh ri còir;
Clann Dòmhnaill lem b' aiteas làmh dhearg,
Clann Chamshroin bha calm' gun chèill,
'S mar sin gach clann eil' a b' fheàrr ainm,
'S gach ceannard bu ghairg' na chèil'.

Ach naidheachd air Soisgeul nan gràs
Bhith sgaoileadh 's gach àird mun cuairt,
'S am Bìoball le facal na slàint'
Bhith ruigheachd gach àit' le buaidh,
Toirt caochladh air inntinn an t-sluaigh,
Gan ciùineach' mar uain gu sìth,
A' claoidheadh gach àrdain is uaill,
'S a' cur gach droch bhuaidh fo chìs.

Providence is working with effect;
With charity the land has moved
To raise funds for the Gospel's support
In each place where people lack it;
Zealous missionaries, who are not slow,
Will travel with unceasing limbs
To show to poor souls who are blind
The straight road that leads to rest.

Bibles will be printed in abundance
In the languages of every race;
Foreign languages of various kinds,
Of which we have never heard tell;
The Scripture will travel quickly to the north
To Russians, gloomy and uncivilised,
To Scandinavians and cold Laplanders,
And to Tartars who are quick to draw blades.

The truth will soon make them tame,
And their heart will be filled with grace;
They will not remain strangers to love,
Or to the warm practices of peace;
For they will leave their innate barbarism,
And follow the meekness of Christ;
Faith will come to them from heaven,
Which will beautify their nature forever.

Although great Asia is wide,
And its population large beyond count,
Though their tongues and ways are many,
And luxury abounds among them;
Though their hearts are firmly tied
To the worship of idols without speech,
Scripture will reach all of their land,
And bear them away at one sweep.

Tha 'm Freasdal ag obair le buaidh;
Le carthannachd ghluais an tìr
Chum cosg air an t-Soisgeul chur suas
'S gach àit' a bheil sluagh ga dhìth;
Bidh teachdairean eudmhor nach mall
A' siubhal 's gach ball gun chlos,
A nochdadh do thruaghanaibh dall
Na slighe nach cam gu fois.

Càirear Bìobaill am pailteas an clò
An cainntibh nan slògh gu lèir;
Cainntean coimheach a dh'iomadach seòrs',
Mu nach cuala sinn sgleò no sgeul;
Thèid an Sgriobtar gu grad don taobh tuath
Gu Ruiseanaich ghruamach, bhorb,
Gu Lochlannaich 's Laplannaich fhuar',
Is Tartaraich luath gu colg.

Nì 'n fhìrinn iad callda gun dàil,
Is lìonar le gràs an crìdh';
Cha mhair iad nan coimhich air gràdh,
No cleachdannaibh blàth na sìth';
Oir trèigidh iad buirbeachd an gnè,
Is leanaidh iad sèimheachd Chrìosd;
Thig creideamh gan ionnsaigh o nèamh,
Chuireas mais' air am mèinn gu sìor.

Ge farsaing tha Aisia mhòr,
Ge lìonmhor a slògh thar meas,
Ge h-iomadh an cànain 's an dòigh,
'S ge pailt tha gach sògh nam measg;
Ge daingeann tha ceangal an crìdh'
Ri adhradh nan iodhal balbh,
Ruigidh 'n Sgriobtar gach ceàrna dan tìr,
'S bheir e leis iad le sgrìob air falbh.

The dun and black people of the south
In Africa beneath the sun's heat,
Although they were booty and slaves
To those without love or sense,
The Bible and the Gospel will free them,
And they will be heroes for Christ;
Their souls will accept his truth and love,
And his spirit will give them true holiness.

The Gospel with its light like the sun
Will move to the west and surround
America, and timid Indians,
And the remote Islanders of the sea;
They are ignorant, wild, without sense,
They are contentious, untamed, corrupt,
They are dogged, vengeful, headlong,
Unrestrained, proud, surly and rude.

A fine opportunity for salvation's Gospel
And for the power of grace in Christ,
Which will speedily give them pardon,
And faith which will be strong and true;
Which impartially will cleanse the heart
From corruption, horrid and vile,
Which will mould them to God with love,
With holiness in their desire and mode.

Every confession and faith will be as one,
Without wandering or going off course;
The Papists will come to us freely,
In the bonds of love and of peace;
Arabs and Turks will both come,
And Mohammed will be summoned down;
Jews will follow in their track with goodwill
To give obedience and honour to Christ.

Daoin' odhar 's dubh an taobh deas
An Afric' fo theas na grèin',
Ged bha iad nan tràillibh 's nan creich
Aig muinntir gun seirc, gun chèill,
Nì 'm Bìoball 's an Soisgeul iad saor,
'S bidh iad nan laoich aig Crìosd;
Gabhaidh 'n anama ra fhìrinn 's ra ghaol,
'S bheir a spiorad dhaibh naomhachd fhìor.

Thèid an Soisgeul le sholas mar ghrèin
A dh'ionnsaigh an iar mun cuairt
Ameireaga, 's Innseanaich fhiat',
Is Eileanaich cian' a' chuain;
Tàid aineolach, allaidh, gun chiall,
Tàid buaireasach, fiadhaich, coirbt',
Tàid dìorrasach, dìoghaltach, dian,
Bras, àrdanach, iargalt', borb.

Sàr chothrom do Shoisgeul na slàint'
'S do chumhachd nan gràs aig Crìosd,
Bheir maitheanas saor dhaibh gun dàil,
'S creideamh bhios làidir, fìor;
A ghlanas an cridhe gun chàird
On truaillidheachd ghràineil, bhreun,
A cho-chumas ri Dia iad le gràdh,
'S le naomhachd nan càil 's nan gleus.

Bidh gach aidmheil 's creideamh nan aon,
Gun seachran, gun aomadh clì;
Thig na Pàpanaich thugainn gu saor,
An ceanglaichibh gaoil is sìth;
Thig Arabaich 's Turcaich le chèil',
'S thèid Mahomet èigheach sìos;
Thig na h-Iùdhaich le dùrachd nan dèidh
Thoirt ùmhlachd 's gèill do Chrìosd.

No country or kingdom under the sun,
No race, tribe, or kin will there be,
On which the Gospel will not easily shine,
Before this festival comes to an end;
What joyful work for people it is
To spread the Bible abroad,
And employ their diligence and wealth
To proclaim the means of love!

How laudable are the good societies
Of kindest and finest sort,
That Providence contrived to promote
That matter of loveliest hue!
They rouse the people to be generous,
To give hundreds and thousands away;
They spend every penny with sense
To send the Bible to east and west.

May that first gentle Society have joy
Which prepared it by their effort for us,
In the language which we have loved,
And no other could we understand;
The Stewarts were the splendid kin,
Who well earned all generations' love,
And who employed their high learning
To turn it into felicitous Gaelic.

Long life to the noblest Society
That was honoured, and had effect, beyond the rest,
Which will meet in crowded London
When May next comes around;
That was a society that arose in our distress
To send over an abundance of Bibles,
That will suffice for all our poor folk,
And will fill every strath and glen.

Cha bhi dùthaich no rìoghachd fon ghrèin,
No fine, no treubh, no clann,
Air nach soillsich an Soisgeul gu rèidh,
Mun dìobair an fhèill a th' ann;
Nach aoibhinn an obair do dhaoin'
Am Bìoball a sgaoileadh an cèin,
Bhith gnàthach' an dìchill 's am maoin
Chur innleachdan gaoil an cèill.

Cia cliùiteach na cuideachdan còir,
As seirceil 's as òirdheirc gnè,
Ghabh Freasdal na làimh chur air dòigh
A' ghnothaich ud as bòidhche sgèimh!
Tàid dùsgadh an t-sluaigh gu bhith fial,
Thoirt mhìltean 's cheudan seach;
Tàid caitheadh gach peighinn le ciall
Chur a' Bhìobaill an iar 's an ear.

Guma sona don chiad Chuideachd chaoin
A dh'ullaich len saothair e dhuinn,
Anns a' chànain dan tug sinn ar gaol,
'S nach tuigte a caochladh leinn;
B' iad Stiùbhardaich fine an àigh,
'S math choisinn iad gràdh gach linn,
A ghnàthaich an ionnsachadh àrd
Ga thionndadh gu Gàidhlig ghrinn.

Guma maireann don Chuideachd as uails'
Fhuair urram is buaidh thar chàch,
Bhios cruinn ann an Lunnainn an t-sluaigh
'N àm tighinn mun cuairt don Mhàigh;
Siud cuideachd a dh'èirich nar n-airc
Chur Bhìoball am pailteas nall,
Na dhìolas ar bochdan air fad,
'S na lìonas gach srath is gach gleann.

That society continues to grow
With no weakening of zeal, untired;
Their work is spreading abroad,
The length and breadth of each land;
King, how many tens of thousands
Have received the Bible from them!
I trust that their revenue will not cease
While any single person has need.

That other Society has a place in my tale
Which assembles in Edinburgh town,
And plucks every instrument and chord
To instruct us in how to read;
They gather silver and gold
From sober folk who are well-disposed,
And spend it with the greatest concern
To erect schools in an orderly way;

So that both young and old can obtain
Good teaching and kind education,
In order to read the proper counsels
That God gave us to direct us above;
For though there were Bibles enough
Among the small and the adult folk,
If they did not know how to read them aright,
They would get no knowledge from them.

The Gaels were very ignorant and blind,
Learning was scarce among them;
Their knowledge was so shallow and slow
That they could not assess their lack;
No benefit or value would they perceive
In high scholarship for their young,
Though they could see every day
That it had pulled the Lowlanders up.

Tha chuideachd ud sìor dhol am meud
Gun laigse dan eud, no sgìos;
Tha 'n obair a' sgaoileadh an cèin,
Air fad is air leud gach tìr;
Rìgh, gur iomadach mìl' is deich mìle
Dan tug iad am Bìoball seach!
'S e m' earbsa nach teirig dhaibh cìs
Fhads a bhitheas e dhìth air neach.

Bithidh Chuideachd ud eile am sgeul
Tha 'm baile Dhùn Eideann cruinn,
Tha tarraing gach inneil is teud
A dh'ionnsachadh leughaidh dhuinn;
Tàid cruinneachadh airgid 's òir
O dhaoin' ta còire, stuam,
'S ga chaitheamh le cùram ro-mhòr
Chur sgoilean gu h-òrdail suas;

Los gum faighear le sean agus òg
Deagh theagasg is foghlam suairc,
'S gun leugh iad na comhairlean còir
Thug Dia dhuinn gar seòladh suas;
Oir ged a bhiodh Bìobaill gu leòr
Aig big is aig mòr' an t-sluaigh,
Mur b' aithne dhaibh 'n leughadh air chòir,
Chan fhaigheadh iad eòlas uap'.

Bha na Gàidheil ro-aineolach, dall,
Bha ionnsachadh gann nam measg;
Bha 'n eòlas cho tana 's cho mall,
'S nach b' aithne dhaibh 'n call a mheas;
Cha chreideadh iad buannachd no stàth
Bhith 'n sgoilearachd àrd dan cloinn,
Ged fhaodadh iad fhaicinn gach là
Gur i thog on làr na Goill.

But their silver and gold they preferred
To spend on silly and pitiful things,
On foolishness, songs and drink,
On weddings and tunes for their ear;
It is no wonder they had no desire
For the word of salvation from God,
Or that the enemy won their esteem,
And that they should grant him his wish.

But all ignorance will now leave the land,
And each practice, crooked and bent,
And we will enjoy happiness and peace,
Without envy or strife on our soil;
Schools will be erected in each place,
Gaelic books will be in plentiful supply,
Knowledge and godliness will grow,
And each person will prosper well.

'Now the Gaels will raise their heads,
And they will not be in a fank any more;'
They'll have Lowlanders' high learning,
And quick comprehension beside;
Methods and works will be set up,
To bring plentiful wealth to our land;
The weak will be as strong as a hero,
And the poor will no longer have lack.

Those ages will surely transpire
That the Scripture foretells for us,
In which Satan will be firmly bound,
And, by falsehood, will not deceive folk;
Truth and peace and love
Will bind humanity together;
No wicked, unholy one will be seen;
Evil and harm will depart from the world.

Ach b' annsa leo an airgead 's an òr
A chaitheamh gu gòrach, truagh,
Ri amaideachd, òranaibh 's òl,
Ri bainnsean 's ri ceòl dan cluais;
Chan ioghnadh ged bha iad gun chàil
Do fhacal na slàint' aig Dia,
Ged choisinn an nàmhaid an gràdh,
'S ged bha iad toirt da a mhiann.

Ach thèid gach aineolas nis às an tìr,
'S gach cleachdadh neo-dhìreach, crom,
'S mealaidh sinn sonas is sìth,
Gun fharmad no strì nar fonn;
Thèid sgoilean chur suas anns gach ceàrn,
Bidh leabhraichean Gàidhlig pailt,
Bidh eòlas is diadhachd a' fàs,
Thig gach duine gu stàth 's gu rath.

'Nis togaidh na Gàidheil an ceann,
'S cha bhi iad am fang nas mò;'
Bidh aca àrd fhoghlam nan Gall,
'S tuigse neo-mhall na chòir;
Thèid innleachdan 's oibrean air bonn,
Chuireas saidhbhreas nar fonn gu pailt;
Bithidh 'n dìblidh cho làidir ri sonn,
'S am bochd cha bhi lom le airc.

Thig na linntean gu cinnteach mun cuairt
Tha an Sgriobtar a' luaidh a thig oirnn,
San tèid an Sàtan a cheangal gu cruaidh,
'S nach meall e an sluagh le sgleò;
Bidh firinn is sìochaint is gaol
A' ceangal chloinn-daoine ri chèil';
Chan fhaicear fear dona, mì-naomh;
Thèid olc às an t-saoghal is beud.

Textual notes

Title – MacGrhiogair 1819: 82 and 1825: 84 have 'Craobh-Sgaoileadh a' Bhìobaill agus an t-Soisgeil' ('The Promulgation of the Bible and the Gospel'). MacGriogair 1847: 99 omits 'a' Bhìobaill agus'.

5 *Oisean nam Fiann*: An element of rivalry between the Christian faith and the cycle of tales and ballads about Fionn, Oisean and the Fianna is apparent as early as 1567, in John Carswell's Epistle to the Reader in his translation of the *Book of Common Order* (Meek 1998: 47–51). MacGregor's allusion indicates that the Fionn tales remained very popular in the Highlands, following the publication of James Macpherson's 'Ossian' (1760–63) and the subsequent controversy (Gaskill 1996).

19 *Clann Ghriogair*: The MacGregors were 'put to the horn' after the battle of Glen Fruin in 1603 when they were outlawed by statute and their name was proscribed. The Campbells, who began to dispossess the MacGregors as early as 1432, acquired their lands by charter. The period of proscription lasted until 1774 (Grimble 2000: 106–23).

21 *Clann Dòmhnaill*: The Clan Donald were forfeited of the lands associated with the Lordship of the Isles in 1493 and 1497. They were on the Jacobite side in the 1745 rebellion and fought at Culloden. The 'red hand' was part of their coat of arms.

22 *Clann Chamshroin*: The Camerons were strongly royalist and pro-Jacobite. Donald Cameron of Lochiel was well-known for his part in the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. After Culloden, he lived briefly in Lochaber and was visited by Prince Charles whom he accompanied to France where he died in 1748 (Watson 1959: 287; Grimble 2000: 239–40).

46 *Ruiseanaich*: A Russian Bible Society was founded in 1813 (Neill 1990: 370), and the New Testament had been translated into Russian by 1819. The Edinburgh Missionary Society (founded 1796) had a particular interest in Russia.

47 Moravian missionaries were active in Greenland and Labrador by 1733, and interest in the polar regions was well-maintaintained after 1810 (ibid.: 202; Roxborogh 2000: 182). Scottish Highlanders appear to have had considerable fellow-feeling for these northern peoples because of the similarity in their societies and their cold environments (Meek 2002: 140–1, 157).

48 *Tartaraich*: Now known as Tatars, although the form 'Tartar' is still found, particularly in its pejorative use to describe quick-tempered

persons. It was hoped that missionary work in the Russian Empire would have a beneficial effect on the Muslim Tatars (Walls 1993: 590).

57 *Aisia mhòr*: MacGregor is probably thinking particularly of India, while acknowledging the enormity of the challenge in reaching the entire continent. The missions in India, including that of William Carey in Bengal who established Serampore College in 1819, made very slow progress. Missionaries were greatly disturbed by the Hindus' devotion to images (Hiney 2002: 204–70).

65–72 The allusion to the former condition of Africans as slaves and their liberation through the Gospel suggests that MacGregor was thinking primarily of Sierra Leone which was set up in 1787 as a province for freed slaves. One of its early governors, Zachary Macaulay (father of the historian, Thomas B. Macaulay), had strong Highland connections (Neill 1990: 258).

75 *Innseanaich*: Presumably 'Red Indians' who were already the long-standing objects of missionary attention, notably through the work of David Brainerd who was supported by the SSPCK. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (founded 1810) was working among Cherokees in Georgia in 1817 and among Choctaws in Mississippi in 1818 (Benedetto 1992: 5).

76 *Eileanaich*: Presumably inhabitants of islands in the southern Pacific Ocean. The London Missionary Society turned its attention to the islands of the South Seas in September 1796, and its first missionaries were stationed in Tahiti and Tonga (Neill 1990: 296–7). The Society sent two clergymen on a long tour of these islands and other missionary stations in 1821–29 (Hiney 2001).

77–80 It is noteworthy that MacGregor's strongest invective, which follows traditional Gaelic satire in deploying a bombardment of vituperative adjectives, is prompted by his reference to the North American Indians and Pacific islanders. The latter appear to be his primary target. He evidently believed that they were in an even more barbarous condition than Scottish Highlanders, probably because of their association with cannibalism. Lest we think that MacGregor is merely reflecting the prejudices of his time, and arbitrarily equating great distance from the 'centre' with extreme barbarism, it is salutary to note that a twentieth-century authority on mission, Bishop Stephen Neill (1990: 251), writes of these South Seas islanders in terms not so very far removed from MacGregor's:

> But [despite their physical beauty] there were deep shadows on their life – ignorance, fear and hatred, and a cruelty which regularly reached maniacal depths of bestiality. War was incessant and brutal. Cannibalism was almost universal. In most cases a cannibal feast was the outcome of a successful battle.

Bishop Neill's comments may, of course, be rooted in enduring prejudices of much the same kind as those of MacGregor.

113 *[a'] chiad Chuideachd chaoin*: The SSPCK (see Introduction).

117 *Stiùbhardaich*: The Rev. James Stewart (1700–89), minister of Killin, translator of the Gaelic New Testament, and his son, the Rev. John Stewart (1743–1821), minister of Luss, one of the main translators of the Gaelic Old Testament (see Introduction).

121 *[a'] Chuideachd as uails*': The BFBS founded in 1804 (see Introduction). This was the model for other Bible Societies such as the American Bible Society founded in 1816.

129–36 'From its foundation in 1804 till 1828 the [British and Foreign] Bible Society printed, in whole and in part, and promoted directly or indirectly, editions of the Scriptures in 143 languages, including Icelandic, Armenian and Eskimo. Within the British Isles the Bible Society had, by 1810, printed 40,000 Gaelic Bibles and New Testaments. A further edition of 10,000 New Testaments, produced by the S.S.P.C.K. in 1810, provided a substantial basis in print for the growth of Gaelic literacy. By 1819 the Bible Society had financed no less than 143,000 Welsh Bibles, 20,000 Irish Bibles and 7,250 Bibles and New Testaments in Manx' (Durkacz 1983: 107).

137 *Chuideachd ud eile*: The Edinburgh Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools (see Introduction).

179–80 The contrasting of ignorant, dim-witted Gaels with learned and quick-witted Lowlanders provides a fascinating glimpse into the mind-set of a minister who was brought up in the southern *Gaidhealtachd* where he would have been keenly aware of the interplay of Gaelic and Lowland Scots cultures.

185–92 These lines reflect the post-Millennial understanding at the heart of early nineteenth-century missionary endeavour. It was thought that the proclamation of the Gospel throughout the globe would usher in the Millennium when Satan would be bound and harmony would be restored throughout the world. Christ would reign with his saints, and the final judgement would take place at the end of the thousand years (see, for example, Murray 1975).

Metaphor and Metonymy in the Poetry of Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh

Máire Ní Annracháin

This paper examines the use of figurative language in the poetry of Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh[1] and is based on the distinction between metaphor and metonymy, which in contemporary poetics is widely considered to constitute a fundamental faultline in human signifying practices. By way of introduction, it may be helpful to sketch a brief outline of that distinction and of its implications for the study of Gaelic literature.

Structuralist poetics has drawn a sharp, although not absolute, distinction between the symbolising impulses of metaphor, which is founded on similarity, and metonymy, which is founded on contiguity or association.[2] These two symbolising options are pervasive, if not universal, and reach as far as the working of the unconscious, as analysed by Freud.[3]

Within the former field, distinctions between metaphor proper, simile, analogy and literal comparison are the subject of ongoing debate,[4] but for the purposes of this paper they will be considered to form a single unit, the foundation of which is to compare on the

[1] Tradition holds that Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, who is tentatively dated c. 1615–c. 1705, was born and buried in Harris and served as nurse to the children of the MacLeods of Dunvegan. Although she is believed to have come to poetry quite late in life, her undisputedly canonical position in Scottish Gaelic literature is earned by her vernacular verse, much of which is panegyric. For further information on her life, see Watson 1965: xi–xix.

[2] Although the terms 'metaphor' and 'metonymy' have been in use in poetics since classical times, the modern understanding referred to here derives from Jakobson (1956). For readers unfamiliar with the topic, Lodge (1977) provides an accessible account of Jacobson's theory, although its application to literature in English is necessarily of limited value when reading pre-revival Gaelic texts in general and the poetry of Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh in particular. Jakobsonian theory is widely, although not universally, accepted in the torrent of analysis that has been produced in the past forty years.

[3] Tzvetan Todorov (1977: 316) argues that it can been seen from Freud's seminal *The Interpretation of Dreams* that Freud was close to the realisation that he was describing all symbolising processes and not just those which were unconscious.

[4] See, for example, Mikulić 1996.

Fil súil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: a Festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill
ed. by S. Arbuthnot and K. Hollo, Ceann Drochaid: Clann Tuirc, 2007, 163–74

basis of similarity. The field of metonymy includes synecdoche, i.e. *pars pro toto*,[5] which may well be the most widespread trope in post-Classical, and possibly Classical, Gaelic poetry in Ireland. Synecdoche, by means of which the poet lists at great length the various attributes, moral and physical, of the hero, the admired woman, or the place, is the fundamental building block of the tradition of praise poetry.

The significance of the metaphor-metonymy divide for students of the pre-modern sections of Gaelic literature is two-fold. Firstly, it could shed light on a decided preference for either metaphor or metonymy in the work of a single poet, genre or even in an entire canonical corpus. Such a preference would be worthy of acknowledgement as a defining stylistic feature both for its own sake and also as a prerequisite to an appropriate aesthetic response to the text. An awareness of the symbolising practices of pre-modern texts could refresh the appreciation of modern readers, whose aesthetic development has come under intense pressure from romantic ideologies and whose tastes tend to veer towards the imaginative leap of 'original' metaphor.

The second angle from which to approach the significance of the symbolising practices of an individual poet or a body of poetry is that of values that are at least partly social and cultural. To understand metonymy properly requires a prior understanding on the part of the listener or reader of the connection between the literal and figurative meanings of the trope. In the absence of such an understanding, the trope is often incomprehensible. For instance, there is no obvious similarity between a ship and the warriors it holds; if, therefore, a given ship is said to be terrifying, the terror cannot be understood unless one already knows that it contains an enemy or a threat which is the real source of terror. Metaphor, on the other hand, invites the reader or listener to fresh insight, ideally to see the world in a new way through the perception of hitherto unnoticed similarities. Thus, metonymy is arguably the literary equivalent of a closely-knit social structure where individuality, as opposed to connectedness, is not overly promoted and where the poet's role is to remain more or less

[5] Although 'synecdoche' is widely used for *pars pro toto*, in the sense of a part of a thing standing for the whole, not all branches of scholarship accept this usage. Some prefer to retain its use to describe one member of a class standing for the whole class. Further to this, see Seto 1999.

within the status quo, rehearsing in persuasive and polished ways versions of the familiar.[6]

Metonymy can, in principle, involve statements which breach literal truth. Such statements are rare in the poetry of Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, although occasional examples can be found such as her identification through synecdoche of Sir Tormod Mac Leòid's son Iain with his blood: 'Fìor bhoinne geal suairc thu' (Watson 1965: line 1043). Màiri resorts to this type of metonymy so seldom that when she attributes *rìoghalachd* to the blood in the case of Mac Dhomhnaill ('O ghrunnd na fala firinnich / D'am b'fhasan riamh an rìoghalachd'; ibid.: lines 929–30), one might question Watson's translation of *rìoghalachd* as 'loyalty', which is a moral attribute not literally attributable to blood, rather than as 'royalty' which is understood literally to derive from blood. Within Gaelic poetry, metonymy in general and synecdoche in particular (probably the most commonly used trope of all) usually do not involve the repudiation of the literal meaning. When, for example, generosity, wealth, beauty, hunting and sexual prowess are praised, and together can be taken as a synecdochic praise of the indispensable qualities of the ideal hero, each of the individual aspects referred to is also praiseworthy both literally and individually. Thus, synecdoche, insofar as it lies on the border between figurative and literal language, supports the closeness to the familiar mentioned above.

The centrality of metaphor was axiomatic for most western students of literature since the nineteenth century. This had considerable implications. For instance, many Irish undergraduates, including those of my generation, received their first intimation of a shared literary tradition in Ireland and Scotland via Rachel Bromwich's comparison of the metaphor used by Eibhlín Dubh Ní Chonaill in her 'Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire' with that of Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh in her lament for Sir Tormod Mac Leòid. (Bromwich 1945–47 [1948]). Bromwich compares 'Ní scaipfidh ar mo chumha / Atá i lár mo chroí á bhrú / Dúnta suas go dlúth / Mar a bheadh glas a bheadh ar thrúnc / 'S go raghadh an eochair amú' ('There will be no easing of my grief which

[6] How this is valorised depends on individual preference and the prevailing socio-cultural context. A continuum exists between a suffocating conformity and the comfort of a well-established community tied by bonds of loyalty and affiliation.

is shut away tightly, deep in my heart, like a locked trunk whose key has been lost') (Ó Tuama 1961: 45) with 'Chaill mi iuchair mo chùil' (Watson 1965: line 1075). She argues that the similarity between the two suggests the presence of a common women's poetic tradition with a set of images and metaphors, which must have been in existence before the downfall of the bardic order in Ireland. Leaving aside the ambiguity of Màiri's metaphor,[7] Bromwich's view that the existence of a single shared metaphor points to a common literary tradition was in any case premature, and it was even more premature to extrapolate a tradition specific to women. More importantly, however, to single out any metaphor for emphasis in the poetry of either Eibhlín Dubh or Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh in order to clarify important features of their compositional style is to fasten on a poetic device which is of only minimal importance to them as individual poets. It may also be shown to be of very limited significance in early post-Classical Gaelic poetry in Scotland, as is the case with the post-Classical Irish poetic tradition in general.

This is not to suggest that no shared tradition exists between these two poets – rather that pointers to it must be sought elsewhere. Indeed, it is not improbable that the very scarcity of metaphor in Màiri's poetry is itself a surer indicator of a common tradition. Note that the locked trunk metaphor is arguably the only metaphor in Eibhlín's entire poem.[8] Màiri uses few metaphors, and there is clear indication of the predominance of metonymy and, specifically, of

[7] The image *iuchair mo chùil* is unclear. Watson (1965: 139) suggests that *iuchair* may mean not 'key' but 'keystone', and that *cùil* may not be a form of *cùl* 'support' but might be taken as genitive of '*cùil*, nook, secret place, pantry, in the sense of store-house, treasure-house, by confusion with *cuile* of that meaning' or indeed that we might read here *chiuil* as in 'the key of my music', a usage which has continued until modern times, with Somhairle MacGill-Eain (1989: 270) referring, in his lament for his brother Calum, to a tradition-bearer from Barra as 'bial an àigh, / Iuchair a' chiùil is miar na h-ealain'. The meaning 'support' is sufficiently attested (see the compact disk *Corpas na Gaeilge 1600–1882*) and would seem to be preferable in this instance. Ó Baoill (1997: 11, 64) edits 'Thàinig iuchair a' ghaisgidh / Fo ghlasaibh an tìr' but also cites 'Bu tu iuchair nan Gàidheal / Ann an gàradh 's an dainginn'.

[8] Three hundred and ninety lines have been compiled by Ó Tuama (1961), approximately three quarters of which are ascribed to Eibhlín Dubh. Tradition holds that the remainder were the product of Art's sister (who is credited with up to eighty-eight lines) and his father (who is allowed just fourteen).

synecdoche as her trope of choice. When she does use metaphors they are often unoriginal, lacking development, and she frequently constructs them in ways that subtly undermine them, by resisting the concept of identification or even comparison.

Nonetheless, such metaphors as Màiri does employ receive disproportionate attention. Somhairle MacGill-Eain pays particular tribute to the 'startling freshness' (MacGill-Eain 1985: 93) of two of the lines from 'Marbhrann do Iain Garbh Mac Ghille Chaluim Ratharsaidh' which metaphorically personify the sea, saying it yells and leaps: 'Muir beucach mór / Ag leum mu d' bhòrd' (Watson 1965: lines 334–5). Part of the reason for the startling freshness is that such metaphoric forays are relatively rare in Gaelic poetry. While it will cause no surprise that a reader of Somhairle MacGill-Eain's sensitivity might respond to the exceptional and the rare, it would be unfortunate if his analysis were to be read with a kind of relief that something deemed central to poetry was after all to be found in Gaelic poems, rather than with a recognition of the marginality of the metaphorical in the tradition and a corresponding recognition that the greatness of Gaelic poetry was to be found elsewhere.[9] There is no great distance between Somhairle MacGill-Eain's highlighting of an exceptional feature and Derick Thomson's (1948–49) criticism of Màiri's lack of originality. J. Carmichael Watson, her editor, took a slightly different tack, describing her most common metaphors rather less censoriously as 'classical' (Watson 1965: xxv). This should be read within Gaelic aesthetics as a euphemism for 'conventional', although readers with a more romantic aesthetic might agree with Thomson that by certain non-Gaelic standards they are unoriginal. Instances of, for example, *fiùran* 'sapling', which occurs five times (ibid.: lines 155, 771, 816, 881, 961) can scarcely be considered live metaphors because they are so commonly encountered in Gaelic poetry.[10] Equally, although hair like the strings of a fiddle (ibid.: lines 152, 1046) or the plundered nest (ibid.: line 623) may not have

[9] Ronald Black (2001: xix) has taken issue with those who fault Gaelic poetry for its perceived lack of originality: 'In my view, this is to criticise an elegy for tolling like a funeral bell, or a war-song for beating out rhythms like a drum.'

[10] The preference for conventional metaphors in Gaelic poetry has tended to inspire discussion of them within the category of motifs. For a comprehensive account, see MacInnes 1979.

lost their metaphoric quality, they are nonetheless regular features of Gaelic poetry and hardly invite fresh appreciation.[11] The fruit or fruit-tree image is Màiri's most frequently used metaphor – she produces many beautiful and artistic variants – and it too is found widely and conventionally throughout the tradition. When Watson claims to offer 'an example of one kind' of Màiri's metaphors in the 'classical' style, he refers to all instances of her *ubhall* 'apple' metaphors (ibid.: xxv). This conceals the fact that the apple or fruit-tree metaphor is the only metaphor to which she returns repeatedly. This is not to disparage its usage in any way or pass negative literary judgment on her metaphor-light corpus; it is a simple reminder that Màiri's literary talents shone forth in other ways. To suggest that her use of metaphor is crucial does an injustice to the specificity of her poetry and deflects the reader whose search for other developed examples would fail to yield fruit.

However rare are the instances where Màiri expresses a metaphoric impulse, many of those which do exist are internally undermined by her simultaneous intention to reject the possibility of comparison. When, in 'Pòsadh Mhic Leòid', she asks 'Càite a bheil / A h-aon riut coltach, / O nach maireann / Fionn no Oisean, / Diarmaid donn no / Goll no Osgar?' (ibid.: lines 55–60), I read these comparisons as instances of a metaphoric impulse which Màiri simultaneously affirms (by implying that dead Fenian heroes would be comparable to Mac Leòid) and subverts. The subversion is not a result of her use of *coltach* (which merely renders what might have been a metaphor a simile) but of her implication that latter-day comparisons would have to fail by virtue of Mac Leòid's superiority. Comparable expressions are seen in 'Càite am faca mi féin / Aon duine fo'n ghréin / A dhèanadh riut euchd flathasach?' (ibid.: lines 305–7) and 'Càite an robh e ri fhaotainn / Air an taobh-s' an Roinn Eòrpa?' (ibid.: lines 637–8). Here again she undermines the possibility of comparison by stating the superiority of the object of her poems: 'Thug barrachd an gliocas / Air gach Ridir bha an Albainn / Ann an cogadh 's an sìothshaimh, /

[11] The plundered hive, which may be understood as a variant of the plundered nest, is encountered less frequently in the tradition and is used to good effect by Màiri: 'Mar ghàir sheilean am bruaich / An déidh na meala thoirt uath' (Watson 1965: lines 233–4).

Is ann an dìoladh an airgid' (ibid.: lines 423–6); 'Gur lìonmhoire a chùrs / Na'n dealt air an driùchd' (ibid.: lines 508–9); 'Is milis an sgeul, / Is binne na gleus orghan' (ibid.: lines 742–3).

There are two instances where Màiri embarks upon a list of metaphors that show some signs of the rhythmic, litanic rehearsal of short epithets that are a common feature of Gaelic poetry from earliest times. The first example is from 'Pòsadh Mhic Leòid' where the metaphoric impulse is given a short lease: 'Is tù mo mhire / Is mo cheòl sùgraidh: / Is tù mo phaidirean, / Mo chìr-chùil thu: / Mo ghàradh mheas / Am bi na h-ùbhlan' (ibid.: lines 49–54). This follows on from a more metonymic listing of pipes, swords and targes; it contains the most unexceptional of metaphors, that of the fruit-garden, and it is in turn followed by the lines quoted above where Màiri claims, conventionally, that all comparison with Ruairidh is impossible since the Fianna are long gone. It thus leans towards, but simultaneously undermines, metaphor.

The second example of rhythmic litany is from 'Do Mhac Dhomhnaill': 'Mo ghibhte phrìseil uasal thu, / Mo leug bu lìonmhar buadhan thu / … Tha tasgaidh ann an dìomhaireachd / … Cha b'airgiod glas 's cha b'iarann e / Ach Ridire … / Bu chuid mhór de m'araichdean thu, / Mo phreasan snuadhach dealbhach thu, / Mo long bu lìonmhar seanchas ort … / O's craobh de'n abhall phrìseil thu, / De'n mheas bu ghasda …' (ibid.: lines 909–28). Watson (ibid.: 134) alludes to the 'somewhat curious wording of the poem', although he does not elaborate on precisely why he considers it curious. In his note on this poem he cites others stanzas attributed to Màiri which are very similar to the lines from which these metaphors are taken. He relates the traditional belief around Loch Ness, albeit unknown in Skye or Harris, that these stanzas are part of a 'composition by Màiri … when she discovered, pretty well advanced in years, that she was the daughter not of one Alexander MacLeod but of a distinguished MacDonald of the time' (ibid.: 133–4). From the perspective of this paper, it is perhaps not surprising that this kind of confusion should have grown up around one of the rare instances of metaphoric composition in poems ascribed to Màiri.

Finally, a small number of apparent metaphors should perhaps be read as metonyms based on the conventional belief in the sympathetic

response of nature to events in a leader's life. Within the Gaelic tradition, the cheerless land ('Is e dh'fhàg silteach mo shùil / Faicinn t'fhearainn gun sùrd'; ibid.: lines 327–8) can be read in two different ways. The first of these sees the emotional response as part of a metaphoric personification of the land. Even in this case, it is heavily weighted with the metonymic charge of the Gaelic version of the pathetic fallacy whereby nature weeps or rejoices, as appropriate, in response to the hero's death or achievements. The alternative figurative interpretation of the land that the tradition might support is as a metonym for its inhabitants. The tradition validates both these interpretations and they can be held to co-exist within this poem.

Màiri's employs two other metaphors that can bear metonymic interpretation, either simultaneously or as alternatives. These are the images of destruction of the ship and of the house. Poetic syntax allows these to be understood as either metaphors for the death of the hero or as descriptions of the aftermath. The image of the loss of the ship is in 'Marbhrann do Shir Tormod Mac Leòid': 'Is i fhras nach ciuin / A thàinig as ùr, / A shrac ar siuil / Is a bhrist ar stiuir / Is ar cairt mhaith iuil / Is ar taice cùil / Is ar caidreabh ciuil / Bhiodh againn 'nad thùr éibhinn' (ibid.: lines 1172–9).

'An Talla am Bu Ghnàth le Mac Leòid' is a provisional, experimental poem composed before the subject's death, at the request of the man it purports to lament, with the result that the death it laments is hypothetical, as it were. There is no obvious reason to believe that its provisionality might have affected the image in question here, namely that of the destroyed house: 'Tigh mór macnasach meadhrach / Nam macaomh 's nam maighdean, / Far am bu tartarach gleadhraich nan còrn. / Tha do thalla mór prìseil / Gun fhasgadh gun dìon ann, / Far am faca mi am fion bhith 'ga òl. / Och mo dhìobhail mar thachair, / Thàinig dìle air an aitribh: / Is ann is cianail leam tachairt 'na còir' (ibid.: lines 240–8). This image anticipates stylistically the ship image quoted above from 'Marbhrann do Shir Tormod Mac Leòid'. There are three components in this version: the storm, the roof and the house. Death is figured by the storm, the chief by either the roof itself or the roofless house, and the people by the house. This allows two metaphoric readings, namely that the chief's death has left him as a destroyed house or that his death has left his house unprotected. Two

metonymic interpretations are also possible, firstly that the house is a metonym for the people and secondly that there is an imagined metonymic storm-response from nature. These possibilities are all supported by the text, although an impressionistic response might well give precedence to the metaphoric interpretation, i.e. that the death of Sir Tormod had an effect on his people like that of a storm removing the roof from his house.

While Màiri's metaphors are relatively unremarkable, her entire corpus is, by contrast, charged with her facility with metonymy, and we have already noticed that even her metaphors often bear a heavy weight of metonymy. A single example should suffice to illustrate this ubiquitous aspect of her poetic technique. In 'Luinneag Mhic Leòid' (ibid.: lines 387–498), after an initial description of her misery in exile, she sends greeting to Sir Tormod Mac Leòid and praises him in predominantly metonymic terms. She puts together a synecdochic list of his characteristics – *ciall*, *gliocas*, *misneach*, *meanma*, *cruadal*, *gaisge*, and so on. She refers to his lineage and his blood connections with Irish and Scottish nobles (*folachd* and *uaisle*), and then gives a shorter list of his father's virtues which were the source of his own – wisdom and liberality. Next comes grief at the sundering of connection but rejoicing in the one connection which remains. She then praises his physical form, which, although another example of the synecdochic list, does lean briefly to metaphor, in however conventional a manner – *sùil mar dhearcaig*, *gruaidh mar mhucaig*. Following this comes a long description of the military, or at least hunting, capacity of his house, described by a list of its components: powder-horn, shot-horn, swords, rifles, bows, arrows. These last are themselves praised metonymically in terms of their raw material and their provenance: 'O iteach an fhìreoin / Is o shìoda na Gailbhinn' (ibid.: 475–6). Finally, we have the description of his hunting adventures, equally metonymic, composed of a series of quick glimpses: hunting in the peaks, joy in the hunt, dealing with young and old hounds, blood flowing on deer flanks and mantles, the company of nobles.

The expression of the heroic code in these terms, and of which this is such a typical example, is familiar to all readers of Gaelic poetry, and it is this very typicality that is to be stressed. It is theoretically possible to praise a valiant hero in many ways, metaphoric as well as

metonymic. What is distinctive in the Gaelic tradition is the extent to which it prefers to express praise in a manner which is metonymic both in its subject matter (connections with others through warfare, generosity, bloodline or sexual attractiveness) and in its technique, which is primarily the use of synecdoche.

This is so pervasive throughout Màiri's poetry that more examples might be superfluous. However, two instances of metonymy deserve special mention. The first is from 'Crònan an Taibh' where Màiri praises Sir Tormod as 'Tuigsear nan teud, / Purpais gach sgéil, / Susbaint gach céill nàduir' (ibid.: lines 550–2). Certain readers – friends of metaphor – might well lament this as an example of an unrealised metaphor; Màiri could have referred to Sir Tormod metaphorically, albeit hyperbolically, as 'the theme of every tale, the pith of all natural sense' (Watson's translation) rather than as one who merely understood these challenging topics. She did not do so, however, and it is revealing to notice how she remained confined within the bounds of metonymy.

The second instance of particular interest relates to the nuances of the colour images in 'Luinneag Mhic Leòid'. The tradition of drawing attention to red and white in the appearance of the beloved or the hero is well-established in Gaelic tradition and is generally interpreted metonymically as an image of beauty. In more general terms, it can often be a mistake to interpret colour references as live metaphors, when it would be more appropriate to see them as simple assertions, like 'cream' or 'violet' in English. The following is part of Màiri's description of Sir Tormod Mac Leòid: 'Cridhe farsaing fial fearail, / Is maith thig geal agus dearg ort. / Sùil ghorm as glan sealladh / Mar dhearcaig na talmhainn, / Làmh ri gruaidh ruitich / Mar mhucaig na fearradhris' (ibid.: lines 445–50). The last two lines can easily be seen as taking up her initial reference to red; it is less clear, although not out of the question, that *geal* is an imaginative antecedent for the clear eye as blue as blaeberry. If, however, *geal* in the second line should more properly be understood as white, then it is intriguing to see Màiri return to a red and white image later in the poem, this time in reference to the deer ('O luchd nan céir geala / Is nam falluingean dearga'; ibid.: lines 489–90) because this would set up a rich metaphoric colour correspondence between the

subject of the poem and the deer. It points, furthermore, to the need for reflection on the implications for Gaelic figuration of the well-established celebration of the former hunting prowess of one who, in many laments, has become the hunted.

The most obvious question which arises from this brief analysis of the poetry of Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh concerns the degree to which her practice is representative of Scottish Gaelic vernacular verse, either in general or specific to women. A preliminary examination of the work of Sìleas na Ceapaich certainly suggests that she, too, largely eschewed metaphor in favour of verse replete with synecdoche and other types of metonymy. Her celebrated passage in near-ecstatic praise of Alasdair of Glengarry is both litanic in its list of metaphors and unique within her corpus:

> Bu tu 'n lasair dhearg 'gan losgadh,
> Bu tu sgoltadh iad gu 'n sàiltibh,
> Bu tu curaidh cur a' chatha,
> Bu tu 'n laoch gun athadh làimhe;
> Bu tu 'm bradan anns an fhìor-uisg,
> Fìreun air eunlaith 's àirde,
> Bu tu 'n leómhann thar gach beathach,
> Bu tu damh leathan na cràice.
>
> Bu tu 'n loch nach fhaoidte thaomadh,
> Bu tu tobar faoilidh na slàinte,
> Bu tu Beinn Nibheis thar gach aonach,
> Bu tu chreag nach fhaoidte theàrnadh;
> Bu tu clach uachdair a' chaisteil,
> Bu tu leac leathan na sràide,
> Bu tu leug lòghmhor nam buadhan,
> Bu tu clach uasal an fhàinne.
>
> Bu tu 'n t-iubhar thar gach coillidh,
> Bu tu 'n darach daingean làidir,
> Bu tu 'n cuileann 's bu tu 'n draigheann,
> Bu tu 'n t-abhall molach blàthmhor
> ...
>
> (Ó Baoill 1972: lines 832–50)

The striking and, if one may say so, affecting nature of this passage should not be allowed to mask its unrepresentative quality – just as the *ubhall* metaphor singled out by Watson as illustrative of Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh's style is misleading and should not be taken to indicate widespread use of metaphor on her part.

Within Màiri's tropology there is no evidence to support the contemporary structuralist view, which can trace its genealogy back at least to Aristotle, that metaphor is the cornerstone of poetry.[12] In order to appreciate the imagination at work in Màiri's poetry, we need a poetics which recognises the flow of metonymy and which does not resort to reducing the value of her work, or that of other Gaelic poets, to the strength of feeling which many regard as emanating from an apparently literal use of language. This is but one aspect of the need for a nuanced analysis of the development of figurative language in the Gaelic poetic tradition which might initially focus on the boundary, if such a boundary exists, between traditional kennings and a more individualistic cultivation of metaphor.

I close with a word of caution concerning the negative consequences of a failure to recognise the power of metonymy and the subsequent tendency to read the language of Gaelic poetry as veering close to the simply literal. It can be all too easily assumed that such poetic language is transparent and, in the case of poems which deal with social or political themes, akin to polemic or journalistic reportage. This would be to impose a reductive hermeneutic on texts which are richly imaginative, and while such a caution may present fresh challenges to historians, students of literature may rejoice.

[12] Gérard Gennette (1970: 165) refers to what he terms the reductive process through which metaphor has become '"trope de tropes" (Sojcher), "figure des figures" (Deguy), le noyau, le coeur et finalement l'essence et presque e tout de la rhétorique'.

Gaelic *sliabh* Revisited

W. F. H. Nicolaisen

Genesis

On 1 December 1961, over forty years ago, I read a paper entitled 'The Distribution of Certain Gaelic Mountain-Names' to the Gaelic Society of Inverness, which was subsequently published in Volume 45 of the Society's *Transactions* (Nicolaisen 1969a). I had two reasons for selecting this particular topic: (a) the work of the Scottish Place-Name Survey in the School of Scottish Studies had by then progressed far enough to allow us to make distributional studies involving certain elements, especially if these elements appear as the first parts of compound names, and (b) of all the important geographical features which have names on our maps, the mountains and hills had perhaps been more neglected than any other (ibid.: 113). Thus, the paper discussed, and the accompanying maps depicted, the spatial distribution of major elements such as *beinn*, *cnoc*, *druim*, *maol*, *meall* and *torr*. A seventh generic element, *sliabh*, although discussed briefly in that paper (ibid.: 123–4), received special, separate treatment in an extended note in the journal *Scottish Studies* (Nicolaisen 1965). The generics *tulach* and *barr* similarly were the topics of a separate, although linked, article in the same journal (Nicolaisen 1969b). In a wider context, this group of studies formed part of a larger project which included the investigation of the geographical distribution of a wide variety of Scottish place-name elements, coined by speakers of various languages, its main aim being to make visible, for the first time, the spatial scatter of these elements as a reliable basis for future research. The main source for all these studies was the collection of name-forms in the archives of the Place-Name Survey of the School of Scottish Studies, as extracted from the one-inch maps of the Ordnance Survey. The resulting series of distribution maps was regarded not so much as a product in itself (although it was that, too, of course), but as a basic tool to be used in future assessments, analyses and interpretations.

Distribution

While the maps were primarily designed to put particular toponymic types in spatial contexts, it was almost inevitable to think of the resulting

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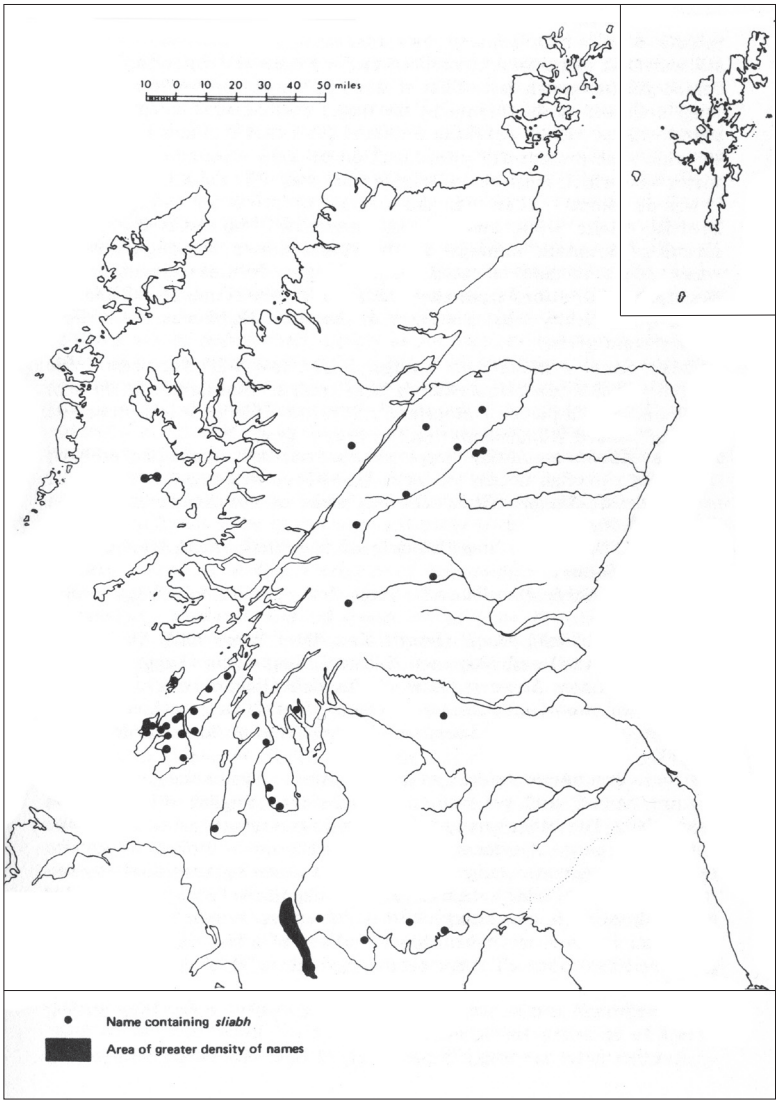
The Distribution of Gaelic *sliabh*



Reproduced from Nicolaisen 1976: 43 (2001: 56)

patterns as being also useful in the reconstruction of temporal sequences and chronological stratifications. From the beginning, therefore, they invited and received comments which looked upon them in this light, not least from the present author himself who ultimately structured most of his book on *Scottish Place-Names: Their Study and Significance* (Nicolaisen 1976 and 2001) around the utilisation of this translation, this metaphorisation of maps of space into maps of time. However, what was, in the Sixties and early Seventies, recognised as a welcome, innovative strategy, brought with it – like all innovations – problems which arose whenever the maps in question became the subject of attempts at interpretation, beyond mere description. It was relatively easy to compare and contrast distribution patterns of names coined in different languages (Scots, English, Gaelic, Norse, Pictish, Cumbric) and, in some instances, to separate out earlier distributions from later ones (see Nicolaisen 2001: 88–108). However, it proved, on the whole, to be a very delicate and sometimes even impossible operation to establish substrata within the same linguistic stratum. Such procedures were made even more difficult by the inexperience, if not to say, naïveté, of the present writer who, among other flawed assumptions, tended to equate generally more limited distributions with earlier strata and wider scatters with later ones. While such an equation is, indeed, justified in certain instances, as I have learned since then, it cannot be applied as an over-arching principle. In more recent articles, therefore, I have outlined some of the fundamental difficulties and pitfalls encountered when trying to interpret spatial maps in temporal terms, and I have warned against oversimplified conclusions (Nicolaisen 1987 and 1991). I have also drawn attention to that problem in the Preface to the new edition of my book (Nicolaisen 2001: xvi–xviii). In many respects, these discussions predate the criticism offered in this regard by other scholars, but as the two essays appeared in North American and Swedish publications respectively, they are likely to have been unknown to some critics. I wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to restate some of the arguments advanced and to bring my own position up to date as regards one particular feature, the presence and chronological implications of the element *sliabh* in Scottish toponymy.

Scottish Gaelic *sliabh*

The element *sliabh* was singled out and given special treatment in my

survey of Scottish Gaelic mountain-nomenclature because of what seemed to be its significant distribution; this significance, in comparison with the other elements examined, appeared to lie in both its restricted scatter and the actual locations in which it had been toponymically productive. As an important incentive in the scrutiny of several toponymic elements had been the search for so-far-elusive pre-Norse Gaelic reflexes in the name-inventory of the part of Scotland in which both cultures had been, singly or simultaneously, at one time dominant, the distribution of *sliabh* looked highly promising in this quest. Consequently, the conclusion reached at the end of its investigation was the result of genuine conviction, with an admixture of wishful thinking. This is the offending wording in which that conclusion was expressed in my book:

> The distribution of *sliabh* in Scottish place-names, mostly hill-names but secondarily also settlement-names, reflects the geographical extent to which Gaelic was spoken in Scotland a few centuries after the Dalriadic settlement, mainly in Galloway, Argyll (with special emphasis on Islay and Jura) and in the upper reaches of Tay and Spey. The exact point in time at which *sliabh* ceased to be productive toponymically is, of course, impossible to determine but it should be put well before the ninth century, when Gaels and Norsemen confronted each other in the Hebrides and Caithness, and when Gaelic had already begun to infiltrate Pictland. *Sliabh* is conspicuously absent from all these areas, and the seventh century might well be considered as the end of the use of this element in place-names, at least in the northern areas of its geographical scatter. (Nicolaisen 1976: 122–3; 2001: 158)

Let me say straightaway that I would not put it like that anymore. As I pointed out in the Preface to the new edition of my book (Nicolaisen 2001: xviii), 'the statement on p. 58 regarding the productivity of *sliabh* has to be revised'. There are several reasons for such a revision. Some of them are embedded in the critical comments the quoted statement has received, especially regarding the more extensive spread of names containing this element than I had envisaged in the early Sixties, as a result of the advances in data collecting and recording in the last three or four decades. What convinced me of a need for revision was a consideration not taken into account in the boldness of the earlier, sweeping summary of my findings: the distinct possibility of a restricted geographical distribution caused by an element which may well have early origins but which also

continues to be productive in the formation of place-names in the same limited area, as part of what I have elsewhere called an 'onomastic dialect' (Nicolaisen 1980). The recognition of such a possibility – and I have observed it in other contexts – leaves the door open for *sliabh* as an early place-name element in Scotland without claiming that all, or even most, of its occurrences are necessarily, or likely to be, early also.

Such a general redefinition of my previous pronouncement does, of course, require particular justification as far as *sliabh* is concerned.

Early evidence

Is there any reason to assume that at least some of the *sliabh*-names in Scotland belong to the earliest stratum of Gaelic place-names in Scotland? The main argument in support of an affirmative answer is still their geographical distribution with its emphasis, on the one hand, on Argyll, Arran and the southern Hebrides from where they fan out in a northerly and north-easterly direction, and, on the other, on the Rinns of Galloway. We will consider these two core areas separately, taking it for granted that *sliabh*, both as a lexical item and as a toponymic element, arrived in Scotland from Ireland. What encourages the thought that *sliabh*, together with other elements, was part of the toponymic baggage transported to Scottish Dalriada from Ireland as part of the earliest settlement movement is not only the fact that 'a large proportion of the *sliabh* names for all-Ireland is supplied by the peaks in the Mournes', but also that 'there is no getting away from *sliabh* in some very early names: twice *Sliabh Mis* (Antrim and Kerry), *Sliabh na mBan* near Cashel, *Sliabh Betha* between Tyrone, Monaghan, Fermanagh, *Sliabh Troim*, now renamed, in Tyrone, plus *Sliabh Sláinge*/Donard in Down. Another early name *Sliabh Fuait* in south Armagh, also obsolete now, clearly referred to a large area of upland, not any particular peak' (personal communication from Dr Kay Muhr, 19 October 2001).

This attribution of *sliabh* to an early toponymic stratum in Ireland is corroborated by Liam Mac Mathúna. His study of 'Old Irish Heights and Word-Field Potential' (Mac Mathúna 1984–88) concentrates on Old Irish *slíab* 'mountain, mountain range, moor' and *tulach* 'hill' in the *Milan Glosses* and *Bethu Phátraic*: *The Tripartite Life of St Patrick* as lexical items, but also includes references to toponymic usage like *Slíab Calland*, *hí Sleib Cise*, *do Sleib Mis*, *co Slíab Miss*, *hi tóeb Sléibi Sláinge* in the *Tripartite Life*

(ibid.: 49) and Irish renderings of Mount Sion, Mount Sinai and Mount Hermon. There is, therefore, plenty of evidence that *sliabh* is more than likely to have been available as a designation for some kind of height, not only in the lexicon but also in the onomasticon/toponymicon of the earliest settlers from Ireland. This evidence, combined with the preponderance of *sliabh* in the mountain-nomenclature of north-east Ireland – Taylor (2002: 51) refers to 'around 100' of such names in Northern Ireland – suggests that this element may well have been a preferred toponymic item in the early naming of 'heights' on the Scottish side of the North Channel and in the islands closest to Ireland. Therefore, the probability is strong that, in the imitative extension of northern Irish naming habits, *sliabh* flowered into early productivity and can be regarded as one of the earliest Gaelic toponymic elements in Scotland, although in its new heartland it is probably impossible to isolate early examples from later ones. That such early usage is not always the fate of elements available to newcomers to an area is shown by the Scottish distribution of the other lexical item which Mac Mathúna studied, *tulach*; this possibly did not become fully productive in the naming of hills until Gaelic speakers reached former Pictish territory. Although largely complementary, the distribution maps of *sliabh* and *tulach* do, however, overlap somewhat (Nicolaisen 1969b; 2001: 189–91; 2002).

Meaning

I have sometimes been taken to task for attaching only the meaning 'mountain' to *sliabh*, and I confess that, when offered on its own, this translation is likely to be misleading. In my defence, I want to point out that, both in my original article (Nicolaisen 1965: 103) and in the relevant passage in my book (Nicolaisen 2001: 58), I have also listed such other dictionary definitions as 'extended heath, alpine plain, moorish ground, extensive tract of dry moorland, mountain grass/moor bent grass, face of a hill', and their regional variations. As we have already seen, Mac Mathúna (1989–90: 155), when not using 'mountain' by itself, offers us the choices 'mountain, mountain range, moor' for the occurrence of *sliab* in Old and Middle Irish texts (Mac Mathúna 1984–88: 45), while nevertheless pointing out that 'etymological insights allow us to derive *sliab* … from an earlier sense of 'slope' (Mac Mathúna 1989–90: 154).

The question of meaning has an impact on distributional consider-

ations. Ian A. Fraser conducted an extended survey of the Scottish *sliabh*-names and, as a result, divided them into four major groupings: the Galloway group (about which more below), the Central group, the Highland group and the Island group (Fraser 1998: 124), highlighting their respective semantic characteristics. His detailed scrutiny provides him with the opportunity to trace 'the way in which *sliabh* has progressed and altered in meaning' (ibid.: 125), as the result of existing in a number of different topographical contexts:

1) A name applied to individual mountains in Ireland and to some extent in Scottish Dalriada.
2) A term applied to tracts of flat or gently sloping moorland, both in Ireland and Scotland, usually in grazing areas.
3) A term used for rough grazing attached to a crofting township or to an arable farm (Tiree, Iona).
4) A term for mountain grass or moor bent grass.

In general, 'the distribution of *sliabh* leads [him] to the conclusion that it loses currency north of the Great Glen in its primary meaning' (ibid.: 125). It is worth adding that the loss of its 'primary' meaning has occurred in those areas in which *sliabh*-names are much less densely distributed than in, let us say, Islay, Jura, Kintyre, and Arran. This suggests that the element had simultaneously become less productive as a toponymic generic. Fraser, whose additional examples, on the whole, create greater densities in those parts of Scotland in which *sliabh*-names had previously been found, extended the scatter of known instances further into Perthshire, the Lennox, Inverness-shire, Moray and Banff (one example each), and into Fife (two potential examples). This development has certainly enlarged the range of areas in which *sliabh* was, though sometimes only sporadically, a productive place-name element.

On Simon Taylor's map (Taylor 2002: 50) that range is extended even further, for he includes, among others, eleven names in Aberdeenshire. In order to assess this notable expansion properly, we will have to await Taylor's promised article in which he intends to deal with the element *sliabh* in Scottish place-names more fully (ibid.: 52). The Aberdeenshire section will presumably contain *Sleach*, *Slewdrum*, *Sliabh Fhearchair*, *Sliabh Muileann Duinidh*, *An Sliabh Gorm*, *Slioch*

(3), *Sluie* and *Sluievannachie*.[1] Most of these names occur on Upper Deeside or the most westerly end of Aberdeenshire.

In light of the evidence presented by Fraser and Taylor, there is no doubt that Gaelic *sliabh* was known in a much wider area than my original map claimed. If, however, we look at the components in this distribution a little more closely, a number of limiting factors become apparent. Firstly, let us remember that the original *sliabh*-map (Nicolaisen 1965: 101) represented names in which this element occurs as a toponymic *generic* (*Sliabh Fuar*, *Sliabh nan Dearc*, *Sliabh Beinn Tighe*, *Sliabh*), i.e. as a basic name-forming element, whereas it did not include names in which it is a *specific* (*Cnoc an t-Sleibh*, *Rubha an t-Sleibhe*, *Dun an t-Sleibh*, *Coire Sliabh*, *Glac Sleibhe*) or in which *sliabh* is augmented by the adjectival ending *-ach* as, for instance, in *Sliach* and *Sleach*. As a lexical item, *sliabhach* means 'mountainous, abounding in extensive heaths, abounding in mountain-grass' (Dwelly s.v. *sliabhach*, *-aiche*); as the toponymic item, it has the corresponding sense of 'mountainous place, place abounding in heaths or mountain-grass'. Undoubtedly, both the use of *sliabh* as a toponymic specific (and this applies also to *Kinsleith* in Fife) and in its adjectival or locational derivative *sliabhach* witness to the existence of the term as a lexical item in the Gaelic dialect of the places where it occurs, in one or other of the meanings listed, but not necessarily to its productive usage as a toponymic generic. This is particularly obvious in Wester Ross place-names such as *Coire an t-Slèibhe*, *Coire Sliabh* and *Glac Sleibhe*, or *Coire Sliabhach* in Easter Ross, all of which are likely to refer to 'mountain-grass' rather than a topographic feature like a moor (Taylor 2002: 52). As I have tried to show in a very different context, lexical and toponymic dialects are not necessarily congruent (Nicolaisen 1980), and in the case of *sliabh* its isogloss encompasses a larger area than its equivalent isonym. The distribution of Scottish Gaelic *sliabh* as a toponymic generic (and that includes outliers like *Sliabh Bainneach* in Moray, *Sliabhnagarn* in Banffshire, *Sliabh Fhearchair* in Aberdeenshire, and the now obsolete *Slebhgarmont* in Fife) can be said to be a classic example of an element showing toponymic productivity in its area of first usage in Scotland but tapering off on its (later?) fringes,

[1] These are listed in a draft version kindly made available to me by Taylor of a paper entitled 'A Re-Assessment of *sliabh* Place-Names in Scotland', read at the Maynooth Medievalists' Conference on 29 June 2001.

even in parts of the Highlands in which it continues to be employed as a lexical item. Taylor's citing of the phrase 'etar sliab acus achad' 'both moor and field' in the Book of Deer, in its reflection of a probable distinction between unenclosed and enclosed land, seems to support this (Taylor 2002: 51). The Irish evidence and the close proximity of the area of its greatest productivity are likely to point to *some* of the examples of *sliabh* in Scottish mountain-, hill- or moor-names being among the earliest Gaelic topographic names in Scotland, in a kind of continuum of usage spreading from the Irish north-east. Others may well be considerably later. In this discussion, it is worth bearing in mind Watson's suggestion, in connection with the name *Slamannan* (*Slefmanyn* 1275), that Gaelic *sliabh* may sometimes be a translation of Welsh *mynnydd* (Watson 1926: 103), although it would be preferable to substitute British, or even Pictish, *minid*.

Rinns of Galloway

In spite of Watson's curious statement that *sliabh* 'does not seem to occur in Dumfries and Galloway' (ibid.: 184), scholars have not doubted its existence in the Scottish south-west and have identified about forty examples, usually in the Anglicised form *Slew-*, as in *Slewcairn*, *Slewfad*, *Slewlea*, *Slewsmirroch*, practically all of them in the Rinns of Galloway (Nicolaisen 1965: 94–5). There has been considerable controversy, however, over the age of this cluster of names. Confirming the results of his previous studies (MacQueen 1955; 1956; 1961), John MacQueen, in his recent account of Galloway place-names, links at least some of the *Slew-*names in the Rinns to the early settlements of speakers of Irish Gaelic 'in Argyll and the islands to the west of Kintyre peninsula, and on the Isle of Arran' (MacQueen 2002: 34), thus coming to the same conclusion as the one above reached on the basis of the distribution of *sliabh*-names in that part of Scotland.

This is a position which I too have taken since the mid-Sixties, although I would again stress that, from my revised perspective, I am not claiming anymore that all of them are so old. There seems to be no reason why early settlements of Irish Gaelic speakers should not have arisen in the Rinns of Galloway, just across the North Channel. I feel encouraged in this view by a statement by the eminent archaeologist Charles Thomas:

> No special historical sources describe what now looks like another early Irish colony here [in the Rinns] – possibly of the sixth century. But isolated archaeological finds from Galloway, the spread of a type of early ecclesiastical site (the enclosed developed cemetery) which may be regarded as Irish-inspired, and several minor pointers in the same direction, are amounting to reliable evidence for a separate settlement in this south-western area. (Thomas 1971: 57)

As place-name scholars so often follow archaeologists in their interpretations, it is of interest to note that the roles have been reversed in this case. Neither the 'isolated archaeological finds' nor the earliest stratum of *sliabh*-names points to any *major* settlement but, when seen together, they nevertheless appear to point to continuing movement across the North Channel from about 500 A.D. onwards.

This view is not shared by everybody, however. To a certain extent, scholars' perspectives on the age of certain *sliabh*-names in Galloway are closely linked with basic attitudes to the *sliabh*-names further north. If any of the *sliabh*-names in Kintyre and the adjacent islands can be accepted as early, then the same is true in the Rinns of Galloway, and vice versa. The sceptical viewpoint has been expressed most recently by Taylor who sums up his discussion by concluding that he 'would argue that place-name evidence, above all that supplied by the element *sliabh*, cannot be used to support the hypothesis that there was very early (A.D. 400–600) Irish (Gaelic) settlement in the Rhinns of Galloway' (Taylor 2002: 52). Taylor's chief arguments in coming to this negative conclusion are as follows: (a) in the evidence for my general distribution map, only those names beginning with *sliabh* were picked up whereas modern technology and a wider range of tools have made sophisticated searches possible; in addition more detailed local research has become available, (b) my sources were uneven since I used the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps for my general distribution maps and the six-inch maps for the Rinns of Galloway, (c) I claimed as an 'important plank' (Taylor 2002: 50) of my argument for very early *sliabh*-names in the Rinns that in the Galloway names *sliabh* had the Irish meaning of 'hill', whereas its Scottish meaning is 'moor', and in the process I relied too much on the Ordnance Survey name-books, and (d) the distribution of *sliabh* in Ireland favours contact in the (later) Middle Ages with the Isle of Man and northern Ireland.

I hope that, in the foregoing, I have attended to these arguments,

either directly or in passing, but it may be helpful to respond to each of them in turn briefly once more: (a) it is undoubtedly true that my map contained only names in which *sliabh* is in word-initial position. This is, however, not a drawback in Gaelic place-name studies because the net catches mostly generics rather than specifics and, therefore, makes the drawing of truly toponymic dialect maps possible. 'Modern technology', 'a greater range of tools' and 'local research' have undoubtedly added names to my inventory and to the resulting map (Taylor 2002: 50), especially on its fringes, but they have not produced any dramatic changes in its patterns if one accepts my proposition that this inventory, for the reasons cited, can be expected to include some very early names. Names in which *sliabh* occurs as a specific, particularly in the meaning 'moor-grass' and in an 'adjectival' form, do not have the same force as generic witnesses for a toponymic dialect, speaking rather to a lexical dialect; this also applies to the twelfth-century quotation from the Book of Deer. (b) The unevenness of the sources used has not distorted the conclusions. In my original paper, I included two separate maps, one for the Rinns of Galloway and one for the whole of Scotland (with a small insert for the Rinns). (c) The uniform use of 'hill' for the meaning of the *Slew*-names in the Rinns was naïvely derived from the Ordnance Survey name-books and was not intended to make the names in the Rinns look 'Irish' rather than 'Scottish'. It was certainly not an 'important plank' in my argument for an early age of some of the names. (d) Since *sliabh* occurs in some of the early Irish mountain-names and is particularly common in the Irish north-east, there is no reason why some of the *sliabh*-names should not have been copied in Scotland, both in Argyll and in the Rinns, some time before 600 A.D. My fundamental error in the Sixties was that I did not differentiate properly the 'substrata' within the 'stratum' when I interpreted the *sliabh*-map in temporal terms. I had, however, already drawn attention to this error on several occasions, especially in the 'Preface to the John Donald Edition' of my book (Nicolaisen 2001: xvii–xviii) where it is explicitly stated that '[t]he statement on p. 58 regarding the productivity of *sliabh* has to be revised'.

Having to revisit my earlier interpretation of the *sliabh*-maps has been a healthy, although sometimes humbling, exercise. Among other insights, it has alerted me to the risks taken in isolating one place-name element from its neighbours. While each distribution map has its own

significance, it is only when several relevant ones are studied in relation to each other that it becomes possible to discern discrete strata. Above all, I have learned that the distribution of *sliabh* is not a very good device for learning something about pre-Norse Gaelic Scotland, and that is very disappointing. It is, however, a problem with much greater ramifications which have to be explored in a much wider context.

In his Maynooth lecture, Taylor referred to my use of *sliabh* as my 'flagship example' for the use of place-name evidence in the elucidation of settlement history and expressed his belief that 'it is holed below the water-line', and therefore likely to sink. I hope to have been able to show that the damage has not been as great as he imagined and that some expert repairs in dry-dock have restored its floatability, although by no means as a 'flagship'.

Postscript

Since this article was written, the final volume of George Broderick's *Place Names of the Isle of Man* (2005) has appeared, which includes an extensive discussion (ibid.: 343–52) of Manx Gaelic *slieau*, in conjunction with a summary of the distribution of *sliabh* in Scotland and Ireland. Comparing the relevant evidence for Ulster (*slew*), the Rinns of Galloway (*slew*) and the Isle of Man (*slieau*) in a table and demonstrating the similarities, he comes to the conclusion that 'the introduction of *sliabh* into Galloway and Man is early and simultaneous' (ibid.: 344–5). He also points out that otherwise 'a large percentage of the [Scottish] distribution [of *sliabh*] coincides remarkably with the early settlement of Dalriada from the mid-fifth century onwards (ibid.: 346) and that '... the application of *sliabh* (*slieau*) in Man may have taken place around the same time as its application in Scotland, i.e. during the early phase of Goidelic settlement in Dalriada and possibly Galloway, and remained productive in Man until the 18th/19th centuries' (ibid.: 352), and that anyhow 'any later distribution of *sliabh* does not necessarily invalidate any early use' (ibid.: note 15). Broderick lists forty examples of Manx names containing *slieau* (*Slieau Corr*, *Slieau Ruy*, *Slieau Beg* etc.), four of which contain Scandinavian or post-Scandinavian personal or place-names (*Slieau Earystane*, *Slieau Vearey* etc.) (ibid.: 350–1). In Man *slieau* is the normal generic for 'mountain'. It is undoubtedly fruitful to take the Manx evidence into account when evaluating Scottish (and Irish) *sliabh*.

Murchadh Ó Briain ar Seachrán

Cathal Ó Háinle

Tá roinnt mhaith spéise á cur le blianta beaga anuas sna macallaí a bhain filí an dáin dhírigh as saothar na bhfilí a chuaigh rompu. Tá scagadh an-bhreá déanta ag Pádraig A. Breatnach ar iarrachtaí den chineál sin ina aiste 'Traidisiún na hAithrise Liteartha i bhFilíocht Chlasaiceach na Gaeilge' (1997: 1–63), agus tá samplaí spéisiúla tugtha ar aird aige. Admhaíonn sé go bhfuil sé an-deacair a bheith cinnte gur aithris chomhfhiosach atá á déanamh ag file amháin ar dhán le file eile nuair nach bhfuil i gceist ach friotal na ndánta, toisc gur dócha go raibh mórán d'fhilíocht na bhfilí a chuaigh rompu curtha de ghlanmheabhair ag na filí agus iad oilte ar fhoclaíocht fheiliúnach thraidisiúnta a tharraingt chucu le freastal ar riachtanais na meadarachta ina gcumadóireacht féin. I ngeall ar an lé sin a bhí ag na filí 'le cainteanna agus meafair thraidisiúnta a úsáid' (ibid.: 49), tá deacracht ar leith ag baint leis an rud a bhfuil cuma na haithrise air nuair atá dánta i gceist atá ag plé leis an réimse céanna ábhair, agus tá sé sin amhlaidh i dtaca leis an dán gearr, nó an blúire de dhán, ba mhaith liom a chur i láthair san aiste seo .i. 'Murchadh Ó Briain ó Chinn Choradh' (Ó Floinn 1953). Go bhfios dom níor tugadh faoi deara cheana na cosúlachtaí atá idir an téacs sin agus dán de chuid Eochaidh Uí Eódhusa, 'Bíodh aire ag Ultaibh ar Aodh' (Mac Cionnaith 1938: 236–40).

Thart ar 1592 a chum Ó hEódhusa 'Bíodh aire ag Ultaibh ar Aodh', ba dhóigh liom (Ó Háinle 1978: 52, 60 n. 31). Bhí sé ag cur comhairle ar Aodh Mág Uidhir scor den chogaíocht, mar, tar éis go raibh an ceart á dhéanamh aige nuair a d'éirigh sé amach, ba 'amadán' é mar nach raibh na taoisigh eile sásta comhghuaillíocht a dhéanamh leis (r. 18ab), rud a d'fhág go raibh sé ''n-a aon i n-aghaidh phobuil' (r. 16b) agus go raibh Éire agus eisean mar 'glac i n-aighidh ordóige' (r. 17).

Beagán le cois leathchéad bliain níos deireanaí a cumadh an dán faoi Mhurchadh Ó Briain .i. Murchadh na dTóiteán (1614–74) a bhí ina shéú Barún Inse Uí Chuinn agus ar bhronn Séarlas

Fil súil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: a Festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill
ed. by S. Arbuthnot and K. Hollo, Ceann Drochaid: Clann Tuirc, 2007, 187–96

II Iarlacht Inse Uí Chuinn air sa bhliain 1654.[1] Tá sé ar cheann de sheacht ndán do Mhurchadh nó faoi atá le fáil sna lámhscríbhinní,[2] agus is á cháineadh atá an file faoi mar a rinneadh i ndán amháin eile de na seacht gcinn, 'A Mhurchadh Uí Bhriain tá 'fiadhach ar Ghaodhlaibh', a leagtar ar Sheadhan Mac Riagáin i LS MN M107 (Ó Fiannachta 1967: 25–6).

Duine guagach go maith ab ea Murchadh. Baisteadh ina Chaitliceach é, ach nuair a bhí sé ceithre bliana déag d'aois rinneadh coimircí cúirte de, tógadh mar Phrotastúnach é feasta agus cuireadh ar a shúile dó go gcaithfeadh sé a bheith ina Phrotastúnach má bhí i ndán go dtiocfadh sé i seilbh oidhreacht a athar.

Phós sé sa bhliain 1635 agus an bhliain dár gcionn cuireadh go dtí an Spáinn é le go bhfaigheadh sé oiliúint saighdiúra agus bhí sé ansiúd ar feadh trí bliana le linn chogadh barbartha an tríocha bliain (1618–48). Ní foláir go bhfaca sé cuid de bhrúidiúlacht an chogaidh sin, bailte á ndó agus sléacht á dhéanamh ar shibhialtaigh. D'fhill sé ar Éirinn sa bhliain 1639 agus nuair a thosaigh éirí amach na bliana 1641 chuaigh Murchadh i mbun troda ar son an Rí, rud ba dhual dó, mar ríogaí ó nádúr ab ea é. B'éifeachtach an saighdiúir is an ceannaire airm é, ach thuill a chuid brúidiúlachta an leasainm Murchadh na dTóiteán dó. In 1642 ceapadh é mar Leasuachtarán ar an Mumhain agus mar Ardcheannaire ar fhórsaí an rialtais sa Mhumhain. Mheas sé féin, áfach, gur chóir dó a bheith ina Uachtarán ar an Mumhain, agus ba é a mhíshásamh faoi nár cheap Séarlas I san uachtaránacht é a d'fhág, i bhfad na haimsire, gur thréig sé an Rí agus go ndeachaigh sé ar thaobh na Parlaiminte sa bhliain 1644. Cúpla mí ina dhiaidh sin ceapadh ina Uachtarán ar an Mumhain é. Mhínigh sé dhá bhliain ina dhiaidh sin gur thréig sé an Rí le dul ar thaobh na Parlaiminte mar go raibh faitíos air go ndéanfadh an Rí conradh le Caitlicigh na hÉireann a dhéanfadh aimhleas na bProtastúnach.

Lena linn sin ceapadh Iarla Chuan an Chaisleáin (the Earl of Castlehaven) ina cheannaire ar fhórsaí Chomhdháil Chill Chainnigh

[1] Tá an cuntas i mo dhiaidh anseo ar stair Mhurchaidh agus ar imeachtaí a linne bunaithe ar Murphy 1967; Corish 1976; O'Brien 1991.

[2] Ceann de na dánta sin, níl ar fáil anois ach aistriúchán air, 'Aebiel, Aeviel Arrayed by Borom's Stream', LS ARÉ 1116 (19ú céad).

i gCuige Uladh faoi Nollaig 1643. Ba é siúd James Tuchet, Sasanach a bhí ina Chaitliceach. Bhí fórsaí na Comhdhála sa pháirc le linn shamhradh na bliana 1644, ach níor troideadh aon chath agus tharraing Iarla Chuan an Chaisleáin aduaidh as Ulaidh mí Dheireadh Fómhair, agus ansin in earrach na bliana dár gcionn d'ionsaigh sé an Mhumhain agus d'éirigh go maith lena fheachtas míleata ar feadh tamaill.

Bhí Murchadh Ó Briain teanntaithe ar chósta theas na Mumhan go fóill ach faoi earrach na bliana 1647 bhí cead a chinn aige, ghabh sé bailte i gCo. Phort Láirge, agus san fhómhar ghabh sé An Chathair i gCo. Thiobraid Árainn agus d'ionsaigh sé Caiseal agus d'imir ár ansiúd. Tháinig arm mór de chuid na Comhdhála ina choinne agus chloígh sé go treascrach iad ag Cnoc na nOs taobh thoir de Cheann Toirc i gCo. Chorcaí, mí na Samhna.[3] Bhí Cúige Mumhan faoina smacht go hiomlán anois ag Murchadh. Go luath an bhliain dár gcionn (1648) ghabh sé Carraig na Siúire i gCo. Thiobraid Árann agus Callainn i gCo. Chill Chainnigh agus bhí ag bagairt ar Phort Láirge agus ar Chill Chainnigh féin. Chuir an Pharlaimint a buíochas in iúl dó. Ach bhí Murchadh ag éirigh míshásta lena laghad tacaíochta dáiríre a bhí sé a fháil ón bParlaimint. Thuig sé i gcónaí nach raibh lánmhuinín ag an bParlaimint as toisc gur Ghael é. Bhí an Pharlaimint tar éis an Rí a chur i bpríosún agus bhí antoiscthigh ag éileamh go gcuirfí ar a thriail é. Chomh maith leis sin bhí na Piúratánaigh ag fáil an cheannsmachta ar an bParlaimint, rud nár thaitnigh le Murchadh ón uair gur thaobhaigh sé le hAnglacánachas measartha Eaglais na hÉireann. I mí Aibreáin 1648 chuaigh sé ar ais ar thaobh an Rí. San fhómhar tháinig Iarla Urmhumhan ar ais go hÉirinn agus in éindí leis bhí Iarla Chuan an Chaisleáin a bhí tar éis dul d'aon taobh le Murchadh agus le hUrmhumhan, is é sin ar thaobh an Rí.

Is dóigh liom gur le linn na tréimhse sin idir earrach na bliana 1645, nuair a d'ionsaigh Iarla Chuan an Chaisleáin an Mhumhain, agus fómhar na bliana 1648 a d'fhéadfaí a rá le ceart go raibh

> Geinearál Gallda ar armáil Ghaeulaig,
> armáil Ghallda ag geinearál Gaeulach,

[3] An dán a luadh i nóta 2 romham, ceiliúrtar bua sin Mhurchaidh ann. Leagtar an dán sin ar Thadhg mac Dáire Mac Bruaideadha.

faoi mar a dúirt Seán Ó Conaill sa dán fada 'Tuireamh na hÉireann' a chum sé idir 1655 agus 1659 (O'Rahilly 1952: 75, línte 361–2, agus lch. 54). Ba é Iarla Chuan an Chaisleáin an ginearál Gallda ar arm Gaelach agus ba é Murchadh Ó Briain an ginearál Gaelach a raibh arm Gallda aige. Cuntas i ndiaidh an bhirt a bhí á thabhairt ag Seán Ó Conaill. Os a choinne sin thall, dán a tháinig as lár theas an chogaidh is ea 'Murchadh Ó Briain ó Chinn Choradh', mar a deir Donnchadh Ó Floinn (1953: 19), dán ina nochtann an file an ghráin a chuireann iompar Mhurchaidh air, agus ina n-áitíonn sé air dul i gcomhar leis na Gaeil mar ba chóir dó. Labhraíonn sé faoi Mhurchadh sna sé rann tosaigh agus labhraíonn sé leis sa rann deiridh.

In iarsma bocht batráilte de lámhscríbhinn, MN C59 (Ó Fiannachta 1968a: 102–3; 1968b: 166; 1984: 163) a scríobh Seán Galldubh (thart ar 1645, is cosúil), atá na rainn seo faoi Mhurchadh Ó Briain ar fáil. Fágann sé sin, dar liom, gur breacadh an chóip seo de na rainn seo go luath tar éis a gcumtha agus gurbh fhéidir gurb í seo an chóip bhunaidh. Ar fhóilió 65v (= lch. 30) den lámhscríbhinn atá an téacs, agus é i ndúch níos éadroime ná atá an t-ábhar a ghabhann roimhe, ach gurb í an lámh chéanna a scríobh. Ghlac Eoghan Ó Comhraí leis nach raibh an dán ar fad tar éis teacht slán agus scríobh 'I wish I may get the remainder' faoi na rainn seo thíos (Ó Floinn 1953: 20; Ó Fiannachta 1968a: 103). Is é ba bhun lena bharúil, ní foláir, nach bhfuil dúnadh ag deireadh r. 7 agus go bhfuil duilleog ar iarraidh i ndiaidh an chinn ar a bhfuil na rainn seo. Ghlac Donnchadh Ó Floinn (1953: 19), a chuir na rainn seo in eagar, leis freisin nach bhfuil an dán iomlán sa lámhscríbhinn sin agus dúirt nach raibh aon chóip eile feicthe aige. Níor aimsigh mise aon chóip eile go fóill ach oiread.

An téacs

Ón uair nach bhfuil fáil go réidh anois ar *Irisleabhar Muighe Nuadhat* 1953 mar ar fhoilsigh Donnchadh Ó Floinn a eagrán den téacs seo, sílim nach miste cóip den téacs a sholáthar anseo arís. Ón uair nár léirigh seisean scaoileadh na nod agus nár sholáthair sé léamha na lámhscríbhinne, déanaim é sin anseo anois, ach ní bhacaim le sínte fada atá de bharraíocht nó ar iarraidh sa lámhscríbhinn a thuairisciú.

1 Murch*adh* Ó Briain ó Chinn Chor*adh*,
fear da*r* chóir cosna*mh* Gaoidheal,
ag cur 'na n-aghaidh tha*r*la:
ní ham[h]l*aidh* sin do síleadh.

2 Sluagh Gall ag an mba*r*ún mBrianach –
seachrán srianach dá ríribh! –
ag*us* Ia*r*l*a* Cuain an Chaisleáin
ag gabháil le clan*n*a Míl*idh*.

3 Cócai*r*e ag goid na feola
uaidh féin, ní móide a tha*r*bha –
dála Murch*aidh* fón Mumhain:
nír chubh*aidh* d'fhior [a] anma.

4 Ag cur i n-aghaidh f*ear* nÉirion[n]
do Mhurch*adh* chéibhf[h]ion*n* chúl-chas,
'na aon i n-aghaidh phobail
dó nír obair dhúchais.

5 Do b'f[h]*earr* a gcur re chéile
's na meoir shéim[h]e do shíne[adh] –
ordóg i n-aghaidh glaice
mar atá is maicne Míl*idh*.

6 [Iarr]aim ar an aon-Dia fíre,
ó 'sé do-ríne a*r* saoradh,
[go] dtuga sé do Mhurch*adh*
leas a anma do dhéanamh.

7 [A Mhu]rch*aidh*, fiafraigh d'Aoibhioll,
ban-fháidh fíre do shlea*cht*a,
[an] mbiaid Goill díleas díbhsi
ag cur críche a*r* b[h]*ur* n-ea*cht*ra.

1a: Muruch*adh* (agus **4b**, **6c**); **1c**: na naigh*idh*; **2c**: Chaisleaáin; **3c**: Muruch*aidh*, Mumhuin; **4a**: anaigh*idh*; **4c**: anaigh*idh*, phobuil; **4d**:

obuir; **5a**: ccur; **5c**: anaigh*idh*; **5d**: mur; **6a**: Iarr- *ar iarraidh de bharr imeall an leathanaigh a bheith scriosta*,[4] *faoi mar atá* **6c**: go, **7a**: A Mhu- *agus* **7c**: an *freisin*; **6b**: a*r*; **6c**: ttuga; **7a**: -ruch*aidh*, fiafruidh d'Íobhioll; **7c**: dílios.

Trách taireacht

Ógláchas rannaigheachta bige ($7^2 + 7^2$) is meadaracht do na rainn sin agus é an-scaoilte ar fad i dtaca le líon na siollaí sa líne, le huaim is le comhardadh. Gheobhfar cuntas cruinn ar an meadaracht sin in Knott (1957: 14–15).

1a *ó Chinn Choradh*: Leis an tagairt seo do dhún Bhriain Bhórú, meabhraíonn an file do Mhurchadh gur chóir dó cuimhneamh ar an té óna raibh sé síolraithe. A fhearacht siúd ba chóir dó bheith ag cosaint na nGael (r. 1b), ach ina áit sin is amhlaidh atá sé ag cur ina n-aghaidh (r. 1c), rud nach mbeifí ag súil leis (r. 1d), rud nach cuí d'fhear a ainm (r. 3d), rud nach obair dhúchais dó (r. 4d). Is suntasach agus is éifeachtach an leas a bhaintear as *in aghaidh* mar bhuafhocal síos tríd an dán (rr. 1c, 4a, 4c, 5c).

2 Murchadh[5] a bheith i gceannas ar arm Gallda agus Iarla Chuan an Chaisleáin a bheith i gceannas ar arm Gaelach, is 'seachrán srianach dá ríribh' é sin. Is é is brí le *seachrán srianach* dar le Donnchadh Ó Floinn (1953: 20) 'a chain puzzle' .i. áilleagán nó cluiche ina bhfuil deacracht ag baint le lúba a scaoileadh óna chéile. Ní léir dom cén bhaint a bheadh le hábhar ag meafar a bheadh bunaithe ar a leithéid. B'fhéidir gur dearmad é *srianach* agus gur *sraonach* ba chóir a bheith ann. Leagan cainte ag scríbhneoirí na Gaeilge clasaicí, leithéidí Dhonnchaidh Mhóir Uí Dhálaigh is Shéathrúin Kéitinn, is ea *ar sraon is ar seachrán* (Bergin 1931: 80, líne 2523; Mac Cionnaith 1938: 88, r. 18b), 'astray'. Is ionann *sraon* agus

[4] Chonacthas do Dhonnchadh Ó Floinn (1953: 20) nach raibh inléite ach an litir *-v-* .i. *-u-*. Ach tá *-vim* (le *-i-* foscríofa) .i. *-uim* inléite. Ar imeall deas an leathanaigh, bhreac Eoghan Ó Comhraí moltaí i dtaobh líonadh na mbearnaí i dtús línte 6a, 6c, 7a agus 7c, agus thug mar roghanna i gcás 6a 'siri*m* or ailim'. I ngeall ar an nguta leathan i bhfoirceann an bhriathair, áfach, is léir gur sásúla réiteach Dhonnchaidh Uí Fhloinn.

[5] Tugtar a theideal ceart, Barún, ar Mhurchadh. Mar atá luaite agam cheana, níor bronnadh an Iarlacht air go dtí 1654.

raon (féach *DIL* s.v. *sraon*), agus tá an fhoirm aidiachtach *raonach* ann, a bhfuil 'pertaining to a rout, disastrous' mar fhobhrí aige (féach *DIL* s.v. *róenach*). Shamhlóinn go bhféadfadh an aidiacht **sraonach* a bheith ann freisin, siúd is nach bhfuil aon fhianaise agam leis, agus sa chás sin go gciallódh *seachrán sraonach* 'a disastrous aberration', caint a bheadh ina chur síos cruinn go maith ar an tslí a bhfuil na cúrsaí atá á lua sa rann seo.

3ab *Cócaire ag goid na feola* / *uaidh féin*: Is léir gur gníomh gan tairbhe don chócaire é feoil a ghoid uaidh féin; gníomh amaideach a bheadh ann i ndáiríre. Tá brí na cainte soiléir agus tá cuma an tseanrá air, ach níor éirigh liom fós é a aimsiú in aon fhoinse Gaeilge, Béarla ná Laidine.

4c Is cinnte gur seanrá é an meafar go bhfuil duine *ina aon in aghaidh phobail*. Ní hé amháin go bhfuil sé ina dhán 'Bíodh aire ag Ultaibh ar Aodh' ag Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, ach tá sé i gceann de na dánta grá mar a ndeir an cainteoir ''s mé an t-aon i n-aghaidh phubail' (Ó Rathile 1926: 78, r. 24d) agus i ndán le hAodh Ó Domhnaill ar cuid d'*Iomarbhádh na bhFileadh* é, 'Measa do thagrais, a Thaidhg' mar a ndeir an file 'Tú it aon i n-aghaidh pobuil' (McKenna 1918: I, 136, r. 7a). Tá leaganacha eile den seanrá seo le fáil thall is abhus: 'Ná bí 't aon i n-aghaidh cháich' atá le fáil sa tsraith de chomhairlí ar a dtugtar 'An teagasg ríogh' (O'Rahilly 1921: 39, r. 185d; lgh. 88, 84–85; O'Rahilly 1922: 140, uimh. 404) agus '[Tú] it aon i n-aghaidh mór-shluaigh' atá ag Roibeard Mac Artuir i ndán eile de chuid *Iomarbhádh na bhFileadh*, 'Éiligh sonna an mbreith ndaortha' (McKenna 1918: I, 152, r. 45b). Arís tá brí na cainte soiléir: tá an duine atá i gceist ina chadhain aonair agus é ag cur i gcoinne an phobail go léir; is údar náire dó é sin scaití (McKenna 1918: I, 136, r. 7a) agus is amhlaidh atá anseo sa dán seo againne.

5 Téama coitianta i bhfilíocht pholaitiúil an seachtú céad déag is ea é gur briseadh ar na Gaeil mar nach raibh siad aontaithe le chéile: 'gan úmhla ag dís don bhuín dá chéile / ná d'fhear ba thaca chum seasaimh do dhéanamh' a dúirt Donnchadh Mac an Chaoilfhiaclaigh thart ar an mbliain 1640 (O'Rahilly 1952: 10, línte 151–52; lch. 3); 'Ní raibh a nglaca i nglacaibh a chéile. / Ní raibh an tuath go fuaighte d'aontoil / is ní raibh an chliar

ariamh acht réabtha' a dúirt an té a chum 'An síogaí Rómhánach' thart ar an mbliain 1650 agus ghuigh sé seo Dia is na naoimh 'go ndaingnighid sin Gaoil dá chéile' (O'Rahilly 1952: 28, línte 239–41; 32, líne 310). Ar an gcaoi chéanna is 'ordóg i n-aghaidh glaice / mar atá [Murchadh Ó Briain] is maicne Mílidh' (r. 5cd) agus molann an file gurbh fhearr dóibh teacht chun réitigh le chéile agus lámh a chroitheadh le chéile: 'Do b'fhearr a gcur re chéile / 's na meoir shéimhe do shíneadh' (r. 5ab). Seanrá eile is ea *ordóg i n-aghaidh glaice*: is é Murchadh an ordóg agus is iad muintir na hÉireann an ghlac. Ar an gcaoi chéanna sa leagan atá ag Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa den rá sin, *glac i n-aighidh ordóige*, is í Éire an ghlac agus is é Aodh Mág Uidhir an ordóg. Tá an meafar céanna i ndán de chuid Sheáin Uí Chléirigh, 'Éisdidh a éigse Banbha', in *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh* (McKenna 1918: II, 238, r. 60d) agus i ndán de chuid Mhathghamhain Uí Uiginn, 'San Mhumhain as fhearr Ultaigh' sa lámhscríbhinn ARÉ 3, 47 (r. 28d). Scaití, mar shampla ag Seán Ó Cléirigh, níl i gceist leis an meafar ach codarsnacht; ach ag Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa agus sa dán seo againne, tá freasúra agus coinbhleacht i gceist. Molann an file anseo do Mhurchadh agus do na Gaeil teacht chun réitigh agus cur le chéile (r. 5ab). Ainneoin go bhfuil na rainn seo sách maolscríobach i dtaca le cúrsaí meadarachta de, tá grástúlacht leochaileach phictiúir de chuid Fra Angelico ag baint leis an gcaint sa dara líne den rann seo, 'na meoir shéimhe do shíneadh'.

6 Sa rann deiridh seo den chuid seo den dán tugann an file le fios nach é amháin go bhfuil iompar Mhurchaidh místuama ach go bhfuil sé mímhorálta freisin. Ní mór dó aithrí a dhéanamh agus 'leas a anma do dhéanamh'.

7 Agus é anois ag labhairt le Murchadh, molann an file dó dul chun cainte le hAoibheall na Creige Léithe agus a iarraidh uirthi a thairngreacht dó an mbeidh na Sasanaigh dílis dó go dtí an deireadh. Bhí a fhios aige, ba dhóigh leat, go raibh a fhios a Murchadh go raibh na Sasanaigh amhrasach faoi i gcónaí,[6] agus is cosúil gur ag spochadh as atá sé nuair a mheabhraíonn sé do gurb amhlaidh a bhí.

[6] Féach lch. 189 anseo romham.

Dán breá cumasach is ea dán Eochaidh Uí Eódhusa, 'Bíodh aire ag Ultaibh ar Aodh'. Tacaíonn an file leis an gcomhairle atá á cur aige ar Aodh Mág Uidhir le hapalóg an tríocha fealsamh a insíonn sé go slachtmhar éifeachtach (rr. 20–35). Tá blas breá íorónach ar an dán freisin, mar, bíodh go gceapfaí go bhfuil Aodh á cháineadh ag Eochaidh faoi bheith 'ag síorbhuaidreadh fear Éireann' (r. 16d) agus go bhfuil sé á mhaslú aige faoi bheith ina amadán (r. 18a), is amhlaidh i ndáiríre gurb iad fir na hÉireann atá neamhghlic (r. 18d), meata ('Do léigsead díobh déanamh cean'; r. 15a). Is í a meatacht siúd a fhágann go bhfuil Aodh ''n-a aon i n-aghaidh phobuil' (r. 16b) agus go bhfuil Éire agus Aodh mar 'glac in aighidh ordóige' (r. 17d). Faraor, a deir Eochaidh le seanbhlas, caithfidh Aodh a bheith 'go céillidh comhnuidheach' (r. 15d) le bheith ar aon dul leis an gcuid eile d'fhir Éireann; iadsan atá ag déanamh amadáin de (r. 18a), ach i ndáiríre is é Aodh an laoch (rr. 4–9), agus molann Eochaidh go cranna na spéire é tríd an dán síos agus críochnaíonn sé an dán le sraith de mheafair á mholadh (rr. 44–46). Fós féin tá an oiread sin imní ar Eochaidh faoi Aodh go molann sé dó glacadh le dearcadh na dtaoiseach eile agus gan éirí amach nuair nach bhfuil aon duine eile sásta éirí amach in éindí leis: 'Go bhfagha aoinneach éigin / chuirfeas leis … bíodh mar chách 'n-a chomhnuidhe' (r. 37abd).

Dán i bhfad níos simplí ná dán Eochaidh is ea an dán seo againne agus in áit a bheith ag moladh Mhurchaidh Uí Bhriain is á cháineadh go géar atá an file. Mar sin féin is é an teagasc céanna atá á thabhairt ag an bhfile do Mhurchadh is a thug Eochaidh d'Aodh Mág Uidhir, gur chóir dó bheith ag aontú leis na Gaeil in áit a bheith ag cur ina n-aghaidh; agus faoi mar a mhol Eochaidh d'Aodh Mág Uidhir fanacht le héirí amach go dtí go bhfaigheadh sé duine éigin a chuirfeadh leis, moltar do Mhurchadh Ó Briain is do na Gaeil cur le chéile. Leis an teagasc sin a chur i gcion úsáideann sé an dá sheanrá céanna a d'úsáid Eochaidh: tá Murchadh ''na aon i n-aghaidh phobail' (r. 4c) agus 'ordóg i n-aghaidh glaice' (r. 5c) is ea é. Leis an tríú seanrá faoin gcócaire ag goid na feola uaidh féin, áitíonn sé gur amadán é Murchadh, ach ní go híoróineach mar a rinne Eochaidh ach go lom dáiríre. Sílim nach miste a cheapadh, agus a bhfuil de chosúlachtaí idir an dá théacs, go raibh dán Eochaidh ag cur anála faoin bhfile a chum na rainn faoi Mhurchadh Ó Briain.

Focal scoir

Ar ndóigh ní fios ar chuala Murchadh Ó Briain na rainn seo á reic riamh. Agus ní fios, má chuala, ar imir siad tionchar ar bith air. Ach pé ní ina thaobh sin, ba dhóigh liom go mbeadh an file sásta go ndearna Murchadh leas a anama i bhfad na haimsire – agus thug léiriú eile ar a ghuagaí a bhí sé! Tar éis fheachtas Chromail sa tír seo in 1649–50 agus fheachtas fhear céile a iníne, an Ginearál Ireton, sa bhliain 1650, ba léir go raibh teipthe glan ar Iarla Urmhumhan agus ar Mhurchadh Ó Briain Éire a choinneáil i seilbh an Rí agus d'fhág siad Éire agus chuaigh go dtí an Fhrainc mar a raibh Séarlas II ar deoraíocht. Le linn do Mhurchadh a bheith ansin d'iompaigh sé ar ais ina Chaitliceach. Scríobh John A. Murphy (1967: 63) ina thaobh sin:

> It must have seemed incredible to his Catholic contemporaries that Murrough of the Burnings, a man 'stained with the blood of priests', a man already passing into tradition as the archetype of renegade persecutors of Irish Catholicism, should have, a decade after the bloody scenes at Cashel, re-embraced the ancestral Faith.

Ar a laghad ar bith, ní foláir gur thuig Murchadh é féin gurb amhlaidh a bheadh. Dúirt sé sa bhliain 1660 agus é i ngéibheann ag foghlaithe mara Ailgéireacha: 'No punishment is severe enough for such a persecutor of the Church as I have been' (Murphy 1967: 63).

D'éirigh le Murchadh filleadh ar Éirinn ar deireadh thiar sa bhliain 1665 agus é ina Iarla ón mbliain 1654, chuaigh i seilbh na dtailte fairsinge a bhí aige i gcontaethe an Chláir, Luimnigh, Thiobraid Árann agus Chorcaí agus chaith deich mbliana go ciúin ansiúd nó go bhfuair sé bás i Meán Fómhair na bliana 1674.

Buíochas

Tá mé buíoch de Leabharlannaí Choláiste Phádraig, Maigh Nuad, as ucht cead a thabhairt dom an t-ábhar sin as lámhscríbhinn atá i seilbh an Choláiste a fhoilsiú.

A 'Sept and Family of the Irishrie' of Armagh: The Meic Giolla Mhura

Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín

The Inquisition taken at Armagh on 12 August 1609 before the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, and others was primarily concerned with establishing the ownership of lands in County Armagh, particularly the ecclesiastical lands pertaining to the Archbishop of Armagh and other officials of the church, which were to be distinguished from those in the possession of the crown by virtue of the attainder of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, who had fled to the Continent in 1607.[1] The jurors, 'good and lawful men of the said County of Armagh', testified that 'certain septs and families of the Irishrie … possessed and inherited, according to the Irish Custom, certain towns and parcels of land' lying within the bounds of the Manor of Armagh, for which they paid the archbishop certain rents and duties which the jurors proceeded to specify. Listed among these 'septs and families of the Irishrie' was the 'sept of Mc. Gillemurris' (var. 'Mc. Gillwora', 'Mc. Gillewory').[2] This paper endeavours to assemble the various pieces of evidence which can be gleaned as to the origin of this sept, the extent of its territory, and its prominence in the Archbishopric of Armagh in the late Middle Ages and down to the end of the seventeenth century.

The registers of the archbishops of Armagh and the Antiphonary of Armagh

The registers of the medieval archbishops of Armagh are among the primary sources for establishing the relations between the local

[1] I will be referring in this paper to the copy of this document which is published in Hardiman 1829 (Appendix I. Armagh). It is also published in *CPR Jas I*, 374–5, and in Glancy 1954–57: 67–100.

[2] Throughout this paper, references to individual bearers of the name in this and other Latin and English sources will be cited as transcribed in these sources. This is also the case for Irish spellings of the name in Irish-language sources. In other more general references, the orthography employed for Irish names is that of Early Modern Irish as it is to this period that the subject of this paper largely relates.

Fil súil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: a Festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill
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Irish septs and the archbishopric in the later Middle Ages.[3] The registers of the following archbishops have survived among the papers of the Armagh Diocesan Registry Archive now housed in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI DIO/4): Milo Sweteman (1361–80),[4] Nicholas Fleming (1404–16), John Swayne (1418–39), John Prene (1439–43), John Mey (1443–56), Octavian de Palatio (1478–1513), George Cromer (1521–43), and George Dowdall (1543–58).[5] However, the earliest reference to members of our family in the registers predates the beginning of the tenure of Archbishop Sweteman by almost one hundred years: the grant in 1264 to Rory Mcgillamuru, 'clerk', witnessed by Maurice Macgillamuru, among others, preserved in the register of Archbishop Fleming (see further below). Other contemporary references in these earliest registers confirm the role of the sept as officials of the archbishop. In or around the year 1367, the register of Archbishop Sweteman records the theft of various items from servants of the archbishop and his officials by Donald son of Malachy Ohanloyn, 'king of Erthyr', and one Gylchalmyn Mcrory Mcgingussa. These servants of the archbishop and his officials include a 'servant of Mcgillamura' (*de garsione Mcgillamor*) from whom had been stolen a belt, a knife and a pair of shoes (Smith 1996: §100). The archbishopric and its officials were not only vulnerable to the depredations of the O'Hanlon kings of Oirthir; from the fourteenth century, in particular, they came under enormous pressure from the O'Neills of Tír Eóghain who were encroaching on the archbishop's lands to the east of the Blackwater in north-west Armagh (Simms 1974: 40–1). At the beginning of the fifteenth century, for example, we find Arthur, son of Catholicus Oneyll, in the monastery of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Armagh swearing an oath 'that he would restore to the archbishop, the citizens of Armagh, and the archbishop's airchinnigh the lands of Omartenan [and] Ocophi, the

[3] For more information on the registers and their importance as an historical resource, see Cosgrave 1987–88.

[4] The dates in brackets are the dates of the tenure of each archbishop.

[5] The original register of Archbishop Dowdall, unlike the other registers, has not been preserved. It survives in a transcript of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Another register, that of Archbishop Bole (1457–71), has been reassembled from documents preserved in the other registers by Lynch (1992).

lands of the sons of Mcgillamur, and other portions' (Smith 2003: §44, A.D. 1407?).[6]

The *airchinneach* (anglicised 'erenagh' and 'herenagh') in our period has been described as 'a hereditary tenant of Church-lands' who 'enjoyed a quasi-clerical status' (Nicholls 2003: 224). We have already witnessed the Meic Giolla Mhura holding lands from the archbishop and acting in the role of clerk; other references in the registers point up more pastoral functions: Sir Rory Mcgyllamura, late rector of 'the plebs of Clandcharnaych inferior, alias Gartywych' in 1406 (Smith 2003: §24),[7] for example, and Nicholaus Mcgillamura, 'vicar of Onellan(e)', in 1440 and 1455 (Quigley and Roberts 1972: §§11, 27, 320).[8] Patricius Mcgillamura, cited on four occasions in the register of Archbishop Octavian de Palatio (Sughi 1999: §§205, 345, 416, 471),[9] evidently had a particularly prominent role in the affairs of the archbishopric, being variously described as 'chaplain', 'subdeacon', 'the archbishop's proctor at the Roman court' (*capellanus, dudum procurator memorati reverendissimi patris ad curiam Romanam*), and 'master of the fabric of the cathedral church and guardian of the archbishop's palace at Armagh' (*capellani nostri magistri fabrice et custodis palacii nostri supradicti [i.e. palacio no[s?]tro Armachano]*). The 'master of the fabric of the cathedral church' would appear to

[6] The 'lands of Omartenan [and] Ocophi' are to be connected with the modern townlands of Ballymartrim, in the parish of Eglish, and Ballycoffey in Lisnadill. Further to this, see Ó Mainnín (forthcoming).

[7] This register also alludes to Magnellus Mcgylmor, 'vicar of Achdyryg', in 1413 (Smith 2003: §210). As the parish of Aghaderg is located in County Down, however, it is probable that Magnellus belonged to the Co. Down sept the Meic Giolla Mhuire. The reference in the register of Archbishop Swayne to Karolus Mcgylmorry, 'captain of his nation', who – together with Owen Mcgylmorry – had stolen cattle belonging to the vicar of Donaghcloney in Co. Down in 1427 (Chart 1935: 82), is also likely to refer to these Meic Giolla Mhuire. As regards the name 'Clandcharnaych', this is Clann Chearnaigh, an obsolete name for a district in the centre of Co. Armagh (Muhr 2001: 301).

[8] The name 'Onellan(e)' survives as the name of the barony of Oneilland and the vicarage presumably refers to the church of Loughgall in the heart of the ancient territory of the Uí Nialláin from which the barony name derives (see Muhr 2001: 308). I cannot confirm whether the Mcgillamura, 'captain of his nation', in the same entry in the register is another member of the family, but it seems likely. Note also the reference to Walterus Mckyllamura 'de Bewlewe' (Beaulieu in Co. Louth) in 1444 (Quigley and Roberts 1972: §102).

[9] The entry in §205 in the register is dated 1492.

be the same office as the *maigistir saoithir Ardmacha* 'master of the works of Armagh'; the latter is attached to Eoin Mac Gillmura, one of three witnesses to an indenture in Irish, dating to 1555, between Conn Bacach Ó Néill and Archbishop Dowdall which relates to lands pertaining to the archbishopric in north-west Armagh.[10] This document is preserved in the Antiphonary of Armagh, now in Trinity College, Dublin (TCD MS B.1.1). Gwynn (1945: 1) has defined the antiphonary as 'a collection of those parts of the liturgy which are chanted in public, with their musical notations' and argues that this particular manuscript, which was formerly the property of Armagh Cathedral, was compiled for use in that cathedral during the first half of the sixteenth century.

The most ancient part of the cathedral establishment at Armagh in the late Middle Ages was the community of *céileadha Dé*, or culdees, whose special function according to Reeves was 'the maintenance of divine service, and, in particular, the practice of choral worship' (Reeves 1896–98: 213; cf. Scott 1896). Not surprisingly, therefore, in view of the content and function of the manuscript, the series of eleven Latin and Irish obits entered in the Antiphonary of Armagh between 1549 and 1596 (Gwynn 1945: 11–12) includes four obits relating to the culdees. It is extremely interesting that three of these culdees are Meic Giolla Mhura and that the earliest of the three obits is concerned with the death in 1556 of Johannes McGillamhura (*magister operum ac collideus huius metropolitane ecclesie Ardmachane*), the Eoin Mac Gillmura who was witness to the indenture between the primate and O'Neill preserved elsewhere in the manuscript as we have noted. The second obit concerns the death in 1570 of Rolandus McGillamhura 'bachelor of theology and preacher in theology' who, like Eoin, also combined the post of culdee with other roles, in the latter case as rector of Clonmore and vicar of Ardee. The third culdee, Nicholas McGillamhura, died in 1574; he shares with Eoin Mac Gillmura the description of 'master of the works'. The last member of the family recorded among the obits is Gehannes McGillamhura,

[10] This indenture has been transcribed from the manuscript and published with a translation by Myles Ronan (1937: 239–40). A Latin copy of the indenture is preserved in Dowdall's register (Murray 1925–32: §99) where, as pointed out by Ronan, it is mistakenly dated to 1515. I am currently preparing a new edition of the Irish document.

'*machanus* of the city of Armagh' (*civitatis Ardmachane machanus*), who died in 1576. The precise nature of his role as 'machanus' is unclear, but it may be somehow connected with the role of 'master of the works' which, as Gwynn (1946: 95) notes, was concerned with the maintenance of the fabric of the cathedral church.[11] The clear conclusion to be drawn from all of this is that the Meic Giolla Mhura had a close association with the life of the cathedral both as masters of the works and, especially, as culdees.[12] This association stretches back into the fifteenth century at least; we have already seen that Patricius Mcgillamura is recorded as 'master of the works' in Octavian's register but it should also be noted that the Nicholaus Mcgillamura who is on record as vicar of Onellan(e) in 1440 and 1455 was a member of the culdees (Quigley and Roberts 1972: §129, p. 120). As regards the compilation of the Antiphonary of Armagh, from which we have gleaned much valuable information regarding the Meic Giolla Mhura, Gwynn (1945: 4, 8) has suggested that the manuscript was 'held in custody by members of this family during the years of confusion which followed the exile of Primate Dowdall in 1550', and that Eoin Mac Gillmura himself may have been responsible for copying into the manuscript, sometime in the period 1555–56, the text of the indenture to which he bore witness.

Ballymackilmurry and the lands of Mac Giolla Mhura

The prominence of the Meic Giolla Mhura in the later Middle Ages in Armagh is reflected in the records of the lands possessed by the sept which begin in the thirteenth century. We have already noted that the earliest reference to the sept is the 1264 grant to Rory Mcgillamuru;

[11] Gwynn (1945: 5) translates the word as 'mechanic' but, as this word appears to be otherwise unattested in medieval Latin sources (see Howlett and others 2001; Latham 1965: 1975), it may be a corruption influenced by the presence in the text immediately before it of an oblique form of *Ardmachanus*, the Latinised form of the name Ard Macha (Armagh). Katharine Simms has suggested to me that *machanus* could just as easily be interpreted as 'mason' which would fit particularly well with the office of 'master of the works' at the cathedral.

[12] For this reason, it seems to me that the John McIllerory, who is described as a member of the Armagh culdees in the early sixteenth-century register of Archbishop Cromer (Murray 1929–44: §36, p. 340), is possibly another Mac Giolla Mhura; I have not come across the surname 'McIllerory' elsewhere in these sources and it could well be a mistranscription of 'McIllemory'.

this grant by Archbishop Maol Phádraig Ó Scannail (1261–70) delineates the bounds of the lands granted as follows:

> He is granted, with unanimous assent of the dean and chapter, the land of Tolach clochran, and the land of Oulltan, extending in length from … Ath […]mugi to Lom lena churrin and to Osta Thribinun, and in breadth, from … Ath murriaid fakolych to Ath kamogi and from Ath kamogi … to Tolach-clochran and Kylle-Oulltan, together with their … areas in the city of Armagh, viz: the area of Oulltan, and all the areas which lie between the areas of Mec moelfedyr and Mec brigdiu, and the areas which lie between the areas of Okomnoel and Mec konsciach, at a rent of 3s. a year payable at 1 November and 1 May.[13] (Smith 2003: §29)

Remarkably, a second grant in 1278 from Primate Nicholas Mac Maoil Íosa (1272–1303) to Rory Mcgyllamura (var. 'Makillamura') immediately follows the 1264 grant in Archbishop Fleming's register. This records the remission of:

> 28d. of rent for a certain meadow and pasture lying under the archbishop's lake of Lochchaclisseth near Makillamura's land of Tulachowyr …, until out of land valued at that rent meadow and pasture are provided for him. (Smith 2003: §30)

Passing reference is also made to the 'land of Mcgillamura' (*de terra Mcgillamura*) in a fragmentary and undated schedule of rents in the fourteenth-century register of Archbishop Sweteman (Smith 1996: §155) and to 'the lands of the sons of Mcgillamur' (*terras filiorum Mcgillamur*) c. 1407 in the register of Archbishop Fleming (Smith 2003: §44). Neither of these references is accompanied by further details of the kind preserved in the records of 1264 and 1278. We have to wait until 1609 before we can locate with certainty any of the lands possessed by the Meic Giolla Mhura.

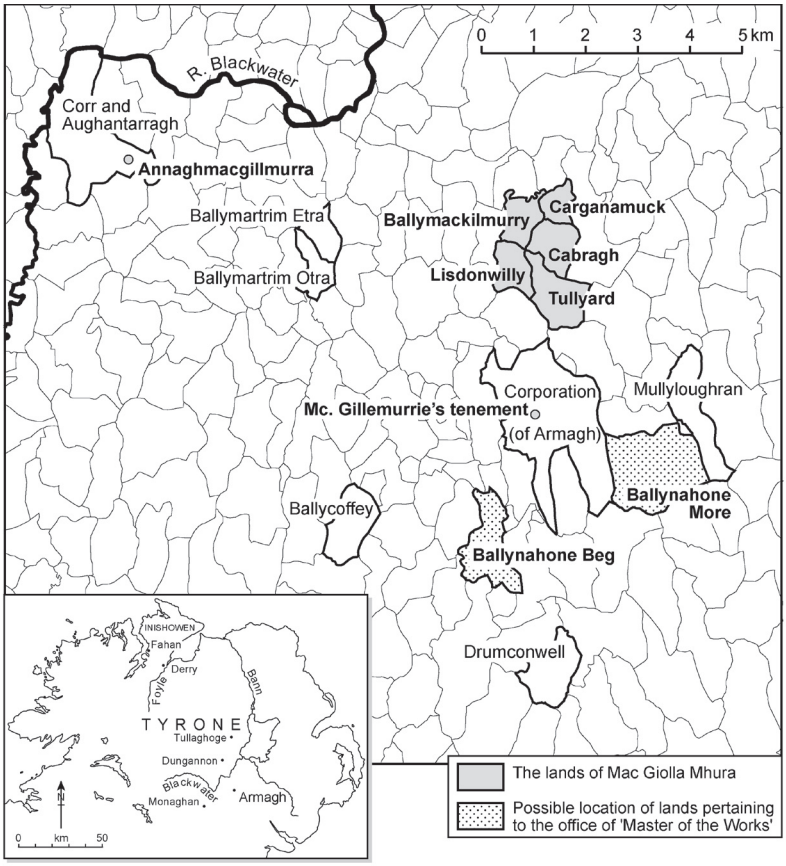
[13] The English summaries in Smith's edition of this register are based on the summaries provided by Lawlor (1912) in his calendar (Smith 2003: xiv). However, as the spellings of the place-names in the original Latin text have sometimes been emended by Lawlor, without citing any authority, the original spellings have been restored by me here (and in the following extract). I have also omitted some items in parentheses in the summary. As regards the identification of the place-names, these are now obsolete but *Tolach-clochran* and *Okomnoel* may be connected with the modern townlands of Mullyloughran in the parish of Armagh and Drumconwell in neighbouring Lisnadill.

The three references to lands held by the sept are recorded in the 1609 Inquisition as follows:

> the sept of Patrick Mc. Gillwora, and their auncestors tyme out of mynde, have bene seised of and in Brynanelamackeylye, contayninge in all three acres, payinge thereout yerelie to the lord archbushopp of Armagh, three shillings and twoe pence ...
>
> the sept of Neale Mc. Coddan and Patrick Mc. Gillewory, and their auncestors, tyme out of mynde, have bene seised of Balli Mc. Gilliwora, conteyninge one town: the said Neale Mc. Coddan, payinge thereout yerely, for his parte, unto the lord archbushopp of Armagh for the tyme beinge, eight shillings; and the said Patricke Mc. Gillewora for his parte [ ] ...
>
> the sept of Mc. Gillemurris, and their auncestors tyme out of mynde, have bene seised of and in the towne and lands of Bally mc gillemmurrie Itragh, with th[e] appurtenances in the said barony of Onellane, and held the same of the lord archbushopp of Armagh, for the tyme beinge, but by what rents, dueties, or services, the said jurors knowe not. (Hardiman 1829: Appendix I. Armagh)

The tiny portion of *Brynanelamackeylye*, 'contayninge in all three acres', has not been identified,[14] but it bears comparison with *Mc. Gillemurrie's tenement* and *Owen Mc. Gillimurrye's tenement* – presumably one and the same – which was located within the bounds of the city of Armagh according to a slightly later Inquisition dating to 1614 (Hardiman 1829: §4 Jac. I; cf. also *CPR Jas I*: 534a, 1620). The reference to a tenement in the possession of the Meic Giolla Mhura in the city recalls the reference to lands in the city in the 1264 grant quoted above, and the possession of such a tenement may be connected with the prominent role the family had in the affairs of the cathedral. Certainly, the office of master of the works had its own remuneration from the archbishopric: 'the half towne of Ballenehawona', according to the

[14] There are a further two references to this place in grants to the archbishop in 1615 and 1620: *Brynanelamckeylie* (*CPR Jas I* 273b) and *Brynanela McKaylie* (*CPR Jas I* 478a). Glancy (1954–57: 340) tentatively identifies the latter with *Aghibreenan*, recorded as a subdenomination of Ballynahone More in the 1633 Inquisition (Hardiman 1829: §20 Car. I).



The lands of Mac Giolla Mhura and other locations mentioned in the text

1609 Inquisition (Hardiman 1829: Appendix I. Armagh).[15] As regards *Balli Mc. Gilliwora* (and *Bally mc gillemmurrie Itragh*) in the Inquisition, this name survives as the name of the townland of Ballymackilmurry just north of the city in the civil parish of Grange. However, it is clear from details contained in the 1633 Inquisition of lands belonging to the Archbishop of Armagh, in particular, that medieval Ballymackilmurry extended far beyond the bounds of the present townland:

[15] This half-townland is to be identified with either Ballynahone More in the parish of Armagh or Ballynahone Beg, just south of the city in the neighbouring parish of Lisnadill.

> Ballymacgillmurraeatragh conteyning in it severall parcells following, Corshannekey, Tullymore, Faighworragh and Carrickeneemicke; also of Ballymacgillmurrabolskan conteyning these parcells, Liskanmullye, Knockneehawla, Cabragh, Aghileyshane, Cargin and Browaghinsheemore; also of Ballymacgillmurro-outragh alias Tullyard conteyning the severall parcells following, Tullylogh, Tullyinkirr, Tireomullpatrick, Aghowlan, Shankill, Obberla, Gillargan and Gillicane. (Hardiman 1829: §20 Car. I)

The Ballymackilmurry of the late Middle Ages, therefore, was a large tract of territory which was subdivided into three divisions: 'lower' (*íochtarach*), 'upper' (*uachtarach*) and 'middle' (*boilsceannach*). The presence of *Carrickeneemicke*, *Liskanmullye*, *Cabragh* and *Tullyard* among the names of the subdenominations of these divisions in the 1633 document indicates that this tract of territory extended east and south of the modern townland of Ballymackilmurry to include the area encompassed by the modern townlands of Carganamuck, Lisdonwilly, Cabragh and Tullyard (see map). Furthermore, *Annaghmacgillmurra* (Ir. *Eanach Mhic Giolla Mhura*), a subdenomination recorded only in the 1633 Inquisition, points to the location of bogland in the possession of the sept further west in the townland of Corr (now amalgamated with the neighbouring townland of Aughantarragh) in the parish of Eglish. To return to the medieval extent of Ballymackilmurry itself, although the Meic Giolla Mhura are not recorded among the tenants of these lands in the rental of 1703,[16] a Nicholas McElmurry and a Pat McElmurry appear in a list of sub-tenants in Cabragh and Tullyard respectively in 1714 (Glancy 1954–57: 338). The 1703 rental does, however, record the possession of a tenement in the city of Armagh by the Widdow McElmurrey (*Rental 1703*: 54) and this recalls the *Mc. Gillemurrie's tenement*

[16] The tenants and sub-tenants recorded in 1703 are Capt Molineux, John Dicke and Capt Dawson in *Ballemaclemurreoughtra als Lisdenwalley & Cabragh*; Hen: Laggan, John Andrew, John McDowell, John Woods and Capt Dawson in *Ballemaclemurreeightra*; Thomas McComb, Owen O Gribbin, James McDowell in *Carricknamuck*; and Capt Walter Dawson, Wm Hobbs, John and Joseph Moss in Tullyard (*Rental 1703*: 4).

alluded to in the 1614 Inquisition above.[17] A clue to the location of this tenement may be provided by the reference in a rental of 1618 to Pat Oge McGilmoory who, jointly with Bryan Ro. McYnellon, held 'two creetes together, a forked one, a copled house, backside and garden' in what is described as the 'North Side' of 'Mill Street' in the city (Glancy 1955: 122).[18] In the period between this rental and the rental of 1703, the Meic Giolla Mhura continued to hold a tenement in the city; note the references to David McGilmurre and Thos. McGilmurre in rentals of the period 1660–76 (Glancy 1955: 136). Further evidence of the continuing prominence of the sept in Co. Armagh in the seventeenth century is provided by the Census of c. 1659 where the name McImurry/McIlmorry is stated to be among the 'principal Irish names' in the baronies of Armagh and Tiranny in north-west Armagh (Pender 1939: 27, 29).[19]

The derivation and origin of Mac Giolla Mhura

The final question to be considered in this paper is the evidence for the origin of the Meic Giolla Mhura in the period before their first appearance in the records of the archbishops of Armagh in 1264. A crucial aspect of this is the derivation and interpretation of the name Mcgillamuru et var. in the registers which has been

[17] It also alludes to a Patrick Mackellmurry who was consulted by Ashe as to names of places in the obsolete townland of Knockiamell (*Rental 1703*: 5). It is possible that this Patrick is to be identified with the Pat McElmurry of the 1714 rental.

[18] The term 'creete' is used in this rental to describe the houses of the majority of inhabitants of the city. Most of these 'creetes' were of beehive shape but some were rectangular, gabled structures in which the roof was supported by 'forked' props. The walls of these houses were either wattled or cobbled, hence the reference to 'a copled house'. Further to this, see Glancy 1955: 125–6; O'Conor 1998: 95–6. As to the location in Armagh city of the now-obsolete 'Mill Street', this seems most likely to have referred to a part of what is now Callan Street. See Ó Mainnín (forthcoming).

[19] There are references elsewhere in seventeenth-century documentation to what may be members of this family; note, for example, Neece McGillmurry (*CPR Jas I* 299a, 1616) and Patrick McGill-Murr, 'yeoman', on record in the Depositions of 1641 (Paterson 1957: 319). The Franciscan petition lists of 1670–71 record four McGillmurys (et var.) in the parish of Derrynoose, located south-west of Armagh city: Bryan and James McGillmury; Aeneas Mc Illmurry, 'vicarius de Duirenuise'; and Artt Macgiollamuire, 'Parrochus' (Campbell 1992: 190, 194, 205). A Murtagh McGillmor appears in a list of petitioners from the parish of Killevy in south Armagh (Campbell 1992: 196).

taken by me to represent an Irish form Mac Giolla Mhura (earlier Mac Gilla Muru).[20] This is despite the fact that some of the editors of these registers have interpreted the name differently, namely as representing Irish Mac Giolla Mhuire (Lawlor 1912: 181; Smith 1996: 270, and 2003: 295; Sughi 1999: II, 833). The personal name Giolla Mhuire 'servant of Mary' certainly appears with great frequency in the genealogies; in Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Great Book of Genealogies*, for example, there are numerous references to individual bearers of the name Giolla Mhuire, while there are none at all to Giolla Mhura 'servant of Mura (Muru)' (Ó Muraíle 2003–04: V, 403). Some of these references are to individuals belonging to the tribes and population groups who held sway in our area in the medieval period, namely the Uí Eachach and Uí Néill an Tuaiscirt. In the ecclesiastical sphere, Arthurs (1956–57: 35) notes a Gilla Muire who died an anchorite in Armagh in 1159 A.D.; however, it is to Mael Muire, bishop of Kilmore, that the *Annals of Ulster* refer under that date (Hennessy and MacCarthy 1998) and 1159 is presumably a mistake for 1059 when the death of one 'Gilla-Muire mac Airechtaig, muire Clainne-Sinaigh' is recorded in the same source (ibid.: s.a.). As regards the family of Mac Giolla Mhuire (anglicised Gilmore) in Co. Down, they are variously known to history as kings of Lecale in the south of the county and Uí Derca Chéin further north (see O'Donovan 1990: s.aa. 1276, 1391, 1407, 1408). The evidence of the place-name Clankilvoragh (Clann Ghiolla Mhuire) located in the Co. Armagh portion of the predominantly Co. Down parish of Magheralin (Muhr 1996: 228–9) brings the evidence closer to home, while to the west of Armagh MacLysaght (1985: 98) derives the surname MacElmurray in Tyrone and Fermanagh from Mac Giolla Mhuire.[21] Of the five references to what may be members of our family in the Franciscan petition lists of 1670–71 (see above), one is strikingly different to the others in that the form of the surname recorded

[20] This is suggested not only by the spellings of the surname in the registers but also by the earliest anglicisations of the place-name Ballymackilmurry, for discussion of which see Ó Mainnín (forthcoming).

[21] MacLysaght does not cite any evidence for this interpretation, however, and it is possible in the light of what follows here that this surname, particularly in east Tyrone, is derived from Irish Mac Giolla Mhura rather than Mac Giolla Mhuire.

('macgiollamuire') is consistent with Irish orthographic conventions and supports the interpretation of our family name as Irish Mac Giolla Mhuire rather than Mac Giolla Mhura.[22] As against all of this, however, is the evidence of the Antiphonary of Armagh. Here the evidence is unambiguous; our surname is consistently transcribed in Irish script as *Mcgillamhura* in all four obits in the manuscript which relate to members of the family, whereas the rest of the text of these obits is Latin and the script non-Gaelic, usually Italic (Gwynn 1945: 4, 5).[23] Clearly the name was understood in Irish as Mac Giolla Mhura, therefore, and may even have been transcribed in the Antiphonary by members of the family themselves in view of their strong associations with the manuscript as discussed above.

Personal names containing the element Giolla 'servant' are commonly attested in Ireland from the close of the tenth century (see *DIL* s.v. *gilla*) and are frequently dedicatory in nature, being compounded with the names of the primary figures of the church – e.g. Giolla Dhé, Giolla Chríost/Íosa, Giolla Mhuire – and with its saints, e.g. Giolla Phádraig, Giolla Choluim, Giolla Bhríde. Saint Muru, son of Feradach son of Rónán (Ó Riain 1985: §20; Ó Muraíle 2003–04: §701.8),[24] was of the Ceinéal Eóghain branch of the Uí Néill and is credited with the foundation of the principal

[22] While it is conceivable that this 'Artt macgiollamuire' is of Co. Down origin, I think that unlikely in a parish so close to the city of Armagh. The adoption of the spelling 'macgiollamuire' in one of possibly five attestations of our family name in this late seventeenth-century document may be explained as due to the influence of the well-known Co. Down surname and the transparent and common personal name Giolla Mhuire from which it derives.

[23] It should be noted that of these four obits, only two appear to have been written in the same hand (see Gwynn 1945: 4).

[24] The fact that Muru m. Fearadaig is given an alternative Dál Fiatach, rather than Ceinéal Eóghain, pedigree in one genealogical source (Ó Riain 1985: §557), and that elsewhere he appears with a different father as Muru m. Deaga (ibid.: §658), may possibly suggest that our Muru was confused in some of this material with a second distinct Muru. It is also interesting, in view of the Dál Fiatach pedigree, that Muru Othna is stated to be a sibling of three saints with Co. Down associations elsewhere in the genealogical corpus – Domungart (Slieve Donard), Mochumma Dromma Bó (Drumbo) and Cillean Achaid Chail i lLeith Chathail (Lecale). It is tempting to see this as possibly constituting some further evidence for a second Muru with east Ulster connections.

monastery of Ceinéal Eóghain at Othain in Inis Eóghain (Fahan in Inishowen) in the seventh century (see Ó Floinn 1995: 111; Mac Giolla Easpaig 1995: 169). His obit is not recorded in the annals but he flourished at the close of the sixth and early seventh centuries and Reeves (1853: 271), on the basis of the genealogical evidence and obits of his relatives, has approximated his death at c. 645 A.D. A fragment of a 'proper office' (*officium proprium*) for this saint, in which were contained some of his 'signs and miracles' (*signa & virtutes*), was still extant in the seventeenth century according to Colgan (1645: 587b), who records his festival at the twelfth of March, as were fragments of a metrical account of the Life of St Colum Cille (Colgan 1645: 587a), some of which survive in the *Irish Life of Colum Cille* where they are credited to Saint Mura (O'Kelleher and Schoepperle 1918: §§50, 53, 54, 159). Colgan also refers to the reliques of the saint extant in his day, particularly the *Bachull-Mura*, or 'Baculus Murani', 'by which many miracles were wrought, and through which, as the avenger of falsehood … the pious people, and chiefs, and especially the members of the O'Neill family, were wont to swear' (Colgan 1645: 587a/b; Reeves 1853: 272).[25] Among the other relics and artefacts associated with the saint are St Mura's bell (Ó Floinn 1995: 109–16) and St Mura's Cross: 'one of the outstanding Early Christian monuments in Donegal' (Lanigan-Wood and Verling 1995: 63).

It is clear, therefore, that Mura was an illustrious saint of northern provenance who, by virtue of his associations with Ceinéal Eóghain and their later descendants, the O'Neills, might well be commemorated in the personal name Giolla Mhura.[26] Mac Airt, in view of the prominence of this saint, suggested that the Armagh surname Mac Giolla Mhura may be 'of Donegal origin' (Arthurs 1956–57: 35). However, if this were the case we might expect some

[25] There is some doubt as to the identification of the surviving crozier which is known by the name of Bachall Mhura. There is evidence to suggest that this is not the crozier associated with St Mura and described by Colgan (Ó Floinn 1995: 113).

[26] Note also the cognate name Maél Muru which is attested as a woman's name, i.e. 'Maél Muru, Dufgal's daughter', on an inscription in the Isle of Man (Olsen, cited in Ó Cróinín 1995: 263), and as that of the *righfiled Erenn* 'chief poet of Ireland' whose death is recorded in the annals in 887 (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983). It is possible that this name may also be connected with Mura of Fahan.

record of the family in Donegal – and especially, perhaps, among the names of erenagh families located in Inishowen and associated with the monastery of Fahan (cf. Ó Gallachair 1960) – but this does not appear to be the case. The septs of Donnell McNeale O'Donnell, Murtagh O'Donell and the Mounterheiles are recorded as 'auncient herenaghs' in 1609 (Hardiman 1829: Appendix V. Donagall), the latter quite possibly identifiable with the Meic Céile who, according to Bonner (1987: 25), were erenaghs in the Middle Ages. Members of the Uí Cheallaigh, Uí Thomhrair and others are recorded as erenaghs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; note, for instance, Fergal H*ua* Laidhgnen, Ruaidhri H*ua* Tomrair and Robhartach Ua Ceallaigh, whose deaths are noted in the annals in 1070, 1119 and 1136 respectively (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983: s.aa 1070, 1119; O'Donovan 1990: s.a. 1136).

Rather than arguing for a direct 'Donegal origin' for the Meic Giolla Mhura of Armagh, therefore, it seems more plausible to search for the eponymous Giolla Mhura among the Ceinéal Eóghain of a period later than the seventh century, particularly the period of their expansion southeastwards from north Donegal into what was to become Tír Eóghain in the later medieval period.[27] There are two references in the annals in the eleventh century to a Gilla Mura son of Ócán, the first dating to 1024 when he is stated to have killed Domnall son of Aed, 'heir designate of Ailech' (*ridomna Ailigh*), and the second, the record of his own death, in 1056 (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983: s.aa.). The second reference describes him as 'steward of Tulach Óg' (*rechtaire Tealcha Óg*). Gilla Mura's father Ócán is probably the *Ōcān mac Cināeda* who is recorded in the genealogy of the Ceinéal Fearghusa branch of Ceinéal Eóghain (O'Brien 1962: 146b22),

[27] It is of great interest in the present context that, in tandem with this expansion, we find evidence for the extension of the cult of Saint Mura to Tír Eóghain. The Inquisition taken at Dungannon in 1609 records in connection with 'the chappell and sixe balliboes of the erenagh land of Stuckane alias Dromchile' that 'the herenagh … was to mainteyne the said chapell in honor of St Marogh' (Hardiman 1829: Appendix II. Tyrone). The place-name survives as Stughan, a townland located in the parish of Tullyniskan in east Tyrone and, significantly as we shall see, a short distance from Tullaghoge in the neighbouring parish of Desertcreat; Ó Doibhlin (1971a: 10) is undoubtedly correct, therefore, in identifying this 'St Marogh' with Mura of Fahan.

particularly as he is stated to be the ancestor of the Uí Ágáin in Mac Firbhisigh's *Great Book of Genealogies*.[28] The description of Gilla Mura as *rechtaire Tealcha Óg* and Mac Fhirbhisigh's connection of the Uí Ágáin (O'Hagans) with this Ócán is conclusive in the identification of Tulach Óg with Tullaghoge in Tyrone, a site synonymous with the overkings of Ceinéal Eóghain from the eleventh century and where the later O'Neill kings of Tír Eóghain continued to be inaugurated until the end of the sixteenth century, significantly by the O'Hagans who resided in this area (see Byrne 2001: 27, 125; McCann 1982: 6–8, 154–7). Gilla Mura, as *rechtaire*, was clearly a man of some importance within Ceinéal Eóghain; indeed, it has been suggested that he may have been 'the first of his line' to hold the position of *rechtaire* of Tulach Óg rather than Aileach and that his slaying of Domnall 'heir designate of Ailech' may be significant in the context of the contemporary struggle for the headship of Ceinéal Eóghain and the transfer of the dynastic centre from Aileach to Tulach Óg (Ó Doibhlin 1971a: 7–8). A second, possibly less illustrious, candidate for eponymous ancestor of the Meic Giolla Mhura is provided by the descendants of Ócán in the person of Giolla Mura Ua hÓgáin who was killed by the 'son of Niall, grandson of Lochlainn' in 1136.[29]

Whether the Meic Giolla Mhura derived their name from Gilla Mura mac Ócáin (†1056), Giolla Mura Ua hÓgáin (†1136) or, indeed, from some other unrecorded bearer of the name, may never

[28] 'Giolla Easbuig Eoghain m. Ógáin, no Ágáin, o ttaid Uí Agáin' 'Giolla Easbuig Eóghain s. Ógán, or Ágán, from whom are Uí Ágáin' (Ó Muraíle 2003–04: §144.6). Ó Doibhlin (1971a: 8) suggests that the Giolla Easbuig Eoghain alluded to here may actually be identifiable with our Gilla Mura rather than being his sibling.
[29] 'Giollamúra Ua hOgáin do mharbhadh lá mac Néill mic mic Lochlainn' (O'Donovan 1990: s.a.).
[30] The name Giolla Mhura may be attested elsewhere in the sphere of influence of Ceinéal Eóghain. Further north, approximately halfway between Tulach Óg and the monastery of Fahan in the Inis Eóghain homeland of Ceinéal Eóghain, is located the parish of Learmont in Co. Derry. Intriguingly, the townland of Tamnagh in this parish is recorded as *Tomlagh Mc Gilmura* in the Civil Survey of c. 1655 (Simington 1937: 237) and *Taunagh McIlmurry* in the Census of c. 1659 (Pender 1939: 132). However, the much earlier and stronger evidence, which connects the name Giolla Mhura with Ócán and the Uí Ágáin of Tulach Óg, is of more direct relevance to the Meic Giolla Mhura on the other side of the Blackwater in Armagh.

be established with certainty.[30] What is clear is that the evidence of the personal name, and the saint which it is likely to commemorate, points strongly to a connection with Ceinéal Eóghain and the extension of its influence southwards to the Blackwater and beyond in our period. If I am right in this, the political supremacy of Ceinéal Eóghain – and the role of the descendants of Ócán as stewards of their dynastic centre at Tulach Óg – would certainly have facilitated the advancement of the Meic Giolla Mhura in the ecclesiastical sphere, particularly as Tulach Óg was also a deanery of considerable importance constituting at least half of the diocese of Armagh (Ó Doibhlin 1971b: 141, 154–5; McCann 1982: 11). Unfortunately, there is no evidence to trace the origins of the Meic Giolla Mhura as clerics, church officials or erenaghs either within or beyond the deanery of Tulach Óg in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as far as I am aware. However, when they do emerge from the shadows in the thirteenth century, we find them located at the heart of the metropolitan church in the city of Armagh and its vicinity, and in close association with the archbishop. It is as an ecclesiastical family which had tied itself to the archbishopric of Armagh, rather than as an offshoot of Ceinéal Eóghain, that the Meic Giolla Mhura consolidated their position in later centuries. We have seen the consequences of this in the entry of c. 1407 in the register of Archbishop Fleming, for example: the Meic Giolla Mhura, erenaghs of the archbishop, struggling to hold their lands in the face of the aggressive agenda of their Ceinéal Eóghain kinsmen, the O'Neills of Tír Eóghain.

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Péisteoigín itheas éadach: The Significance of *leaghmhan* 'moth'

Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh

Professor Colm Ó Baoill has made a vast contribution to Gaelic Studies in the areas of language, literature and history. In his contribution to Gaelic language studies his pan-Goedelic approach set him apart from many of his contemporaries. His doctoral thesis, completed under the supervision of Professor Heinrich Wagner at Queen's University, Belfast, was published in 1978 under the title *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*. This is a lexical, semantic and phonetic study of 'the extent to which northern Irish, especially Ulster Irish, and Scottish Gaelic are in agreement, and of the extent to which southern Scottish Gaelic and Irish are in agreement' (Ó Baoill 1978: v). Professor Ó Baoill hoped that 'these contributions' would encourage readers to provide 'further information concerning the items given' (ibid.: vii). The section dealing with features common to Scotland, Ulster and north Connacht includes a discussion of *léamann* ('moth') (ibid.: 290–301), the synchronic forms of which differ significantly from related southern Irish forms. It is not perhaps unfitting in this volume dedicated to Professor Ó Baoill that this subject be resumed and the moths be taken from the cupboard once again. It may also be appropriate to present one or two ideas from my own doctoral thesis, for which Professor Ó Baoill acted as one of the External Examiners.

In Gaelic sources the 'moth' is frequently described as a small creature that eats or destroys materials, especially cloth, e.g. Ó Beaglaoich and Mac Cuirtin, in their 1732 dictionary, translate 'moth' as 'pēisteoigín itheas éadach' ('grub that eats cloth'). A number of different words for 'moth' besides *léamann* and related forms exist, or existed until recently, in Gaelic, some of which refer to the flying insect or to the larva (and in some instances both), e.g. *féileacán oíche* in Irish,[1] and *míol críon* in

[1] See, for example, de Bhaldraithe s.v. *moth*; Ó Dónaill s.v. *féileacán*. Mc Cionnaith (1935: s.v. *moth*) records *Philib an Gheitire*; for 'magpie moth' he has *dallán Dé* and *dealán Dé*, which in many areas refer to 'butterfly'. Wagner notes *fionógaí* as a possible word for 'moth' (*LASID* III, q. 809, point 59); cf. Ó Dónaill s.v. *fionóg*, *fineog* ('mite'). Hamp (1975: 174) tentatively suggests that the proper name *Feimhean* (earlier *Femen*) may be a cognate to Welsh *gwyfyn* ('moth').

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both Irish and Scottish Gaelic sources.[2] The vocabulary compiled by the Rev. Robert Kirk and appended to his edition of the Irish Old and New Testaments, published in 1690, glosses *leōman* as '*péist*, *míaltōg*, *gadmuin*, *míolcrīon*, a moth' (s.v. *leōman*).[3] Michael O'Clery's 1643 Irish glossary records the form *canna*, which is glossed as '.i. cúfhionna .i. leadhmann, mar atá beathadhach bhios a bfionnfadh an édaigh' (Miller 1880: s.v. *canna*). It would appear that O'Clery's source for the word was Cormac's tenth-century glossary where '*caunna*' is glossed as 'cū finda .i. ar a mēt loites in n-étach' (*DIL* s.v. *ca(u)nna*). Both Risteard Pluincéad,

[2] See, for example, Pluincéad 1662: s.v. *blatta*, *teredo* (where *crínmhíol* also occurs); Ó Neachtain 1739: s.v. *droch* (note that Ó Neachtain glosses the headword *mīol críon* with '*iar*', '*iaróg*', meaning some type of small animal, perhaps 'a weasel'); O'Brien 1768: s.v. *mîol crìon*; Shaw 1780: s.v. *mīol-crīon*, Armstrong 1825: s.v. *mial crion*; Highland Society of Scotland 1828: s.v. *mial*; Foley 1855: s.v. *moth*; Ó Dónaill s.v. *míol*; Dwelly s.v. *mial-chrìon*. *Míol críon* was recorded by Lhuyd in 1707 in his Irish-English dictionary (s.v. *miol crion*). It also occurs in Philip O'Sullivan Beare's *Zoilomastix*, composed in the 1620s (see de Bhaldraithe 1960: s.v. *míl crín*). For a modern list of Irish words referring to the different types of moths, see An Roinn Oideachais 1978: 156. William Bedel's translation of the Old Testament has both *léamann* and *míol críon*; Uilliam Ó Domhnaill's translation of the New Testament has both *léoghan* and *míol críon*. Scottish Gaelic Bibles exhibit variation between *leòmann*, *reudan*, *mìol crìon*: see, for instance, the 1807 edition printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society (for references, see n. 3). *Míol críon* often means 'wood-louse' in Modern Irish (see Ó Dónaill s.v. *míol*: *LASID* II–IV, q. 807) but can mean 'ear-wig' also (see *LASID* III, q. 807, point 62).

[3] This glossary, edited by Stokes (1907), also occurs in an eighteenth-century Cork manuscript (Egerton 158). Stokes (1907) and Flower (1926: 225) were apparently unaware of the ultimate origin of the glossary (see now Ó Baoill 1986). Given the Rev. Kirk's objective of explaining difficult 'Irish' words in the Bible to the Gaels of Scotland, it is most curious that he chose the form *leoman* as the headword for 'moth' in this vocabulary despite the fact that he did not replace the 'Irish' forms with *leoman* in the texts of Bedel's Old Testament or in Ó Domhnaill's New Testament. The following 'Irish' forms occur: *míol críon(n)* (Job 4.19, 27.18; Matthew 6.20; Luke 12.33), *mhíoluibh críona* (Epistle of James 5.2), *léamann* (Isaiah 50.9, 51.8; Hosea 5.12), *léamuinn* (Job 13.28), *léaman* (Psalms 39.11), *léoghan* (Matthew 6.19). One can only assume that he intended to write Irish *léaman(n)* in the vocabulary but produced his vernacular Scottish form by mistake. If this interpretation is correct, it would suggest that the form *leòman*/*leóman* may have been current (or at least known) in his native locality of Aberfoyle in south-west Perthshire. *Leòman* does not occur in what has been referred to as 'the earliest printed Scottish Gaelic word-list', also compiled by the Rev. Kirk, and published posthumously in 1702 (see Campbell 1942).

in his 1662 Latin-Irish dictionary (s.v. *tinea*),[4] and Edward Lhuyd, in his 1707 Irish-English dictionary (s.v. *cana*, *canna*), reproduced the form *canna* – Lhuyd adding the variant *cana*.[5] Later lexicographers took these forms (sometimes also including O'Clery's gloss) from Lhuyd, e.g. Ó Neachtain (1739: s.v. *cana*), O'Brien (1768: s.v. *cana*, *cù*), Shaw (1780: s.v. *cana*, *canna*), O'Reilly (1817: s.v. *canda*, *canna*, *cū-finda*), Highland Society of Scotland (1828: s.v. *canna*), Forbes (1905: 411), Dwelly (s.v. *canna*, *cù-fionn*), O'Neill Lane (1921: s.v. *moth*) etc. O'Brien (1768: s.v. *cù*) glosses *cù fhionna* as 'a fur dog', thus suggesting a connection with *fionna* ('hair'; see *DIL* s.v. *finna*).[6] The word *conach* is attested in legal commentaries among the infectious diseases of cattle. 'In the later language *conach* is also applied to other ailments of cattle, and is often loosely translated "murrain" ... The term *conach* may also be used of the caterpillar of the elephant hawk-moth (*Deilephila elpenor*), which was believed to sting cattle in the muzzle' (Kelly 1997: 199).[7]

Lhuyd also recorded the form *fòrlan*, otherwise apparently unattested, from an Argyllshire informant (Campbell and Thomson 1963: 140).[8]

[4] In addition, Pluincéad also notes the following forms: *léamann*, *león* (s.v. *blatta*); *crínmhíol*, *míol críon*, *léamann* (s.v. *teredo*); *crínmhíol*, *míol críon* (s.v. *thrips*); *leadhm*, *leadhmann*, *león* (s.v. *tinea*). I am grateful to Dr Seán Ua Súilleabháin for providing me with transcriptions of the relevant parts of Pluincéad's dictionary. The preponderance of northern *-m-* forms and the occurrence of northern *léamann* before southern *león* in the gloss on Latin *blatta*, agrees with many other northern dialectal features of Pluincéad's dictionary. De Bhaldraithe (1987: 22–3) describes the dialect forms as 'Ulster' features but in a slightly later publication (de Bhaldraithe 1990: 8), he associates these features with 'an eastern area'. Seán Ua Súilleabháin (2002: 173) describes Pluincéad's Irish as 'Gaeilge Oirdheisceart Chúige Uladh' ('South-East Ulster Irish').

[5] Lhuyd records the forms 'kana', 'kú fiona' in his 'Comparative Vocabulary of the Original Languages of Britain and Ireland' (Lhuyd 1707: s.v. *tinea*).

[6] One also thinks of *fionn* ('small'): see *DIL* s.v. 5 *finn*.

[7] See Ó Dónaill s.v. *conach* 'hawk-moth, leech, murrain'; Dwelly s.v. 1 *conach* 'murrain in cattle'; cf. Mc Cionnaith 1935: s.v. *moth*, where 'elephant moth' is translated as *conach*.

[8] For Manx, Lhuyd recorded *lemi*[*n*?] (see Ifans and Thomson 1980: 137; Thomson 1999: 394, 400). Lhuyd (c. 1700) does not appear to have recorded a word for 'moth' from an Irish informant in his questionnaire based on John Ray's English-Latin-Greek vocabulary *Dictionariolum Trilingue* (1675) (see Ó Dubhthaigh 1974: 593) but he does record the following forms in his Irish-English dictionary, published in 1707: *leamann* (s.v.), *leadhm*, *leadhman* (s.v. *leadhm*). The southern form *leamhan* is recorded in an Appendix (Lhuyd 1707: 431), where it is glossed as 'a moth; any

Campbell and Thomson (ibid.: 141, n. 27) interpret Lhuyd's form, *fôrlan*, as *fòrlan*, and add 'FÒRLAN is not in the dictionaries'. *Fôrlan* may, however, represent *feòirlinn*, a variant of *feòirling*, meaning 'farthing, mite', in which case the form may indicate the informant's confusion between 'moth' and 'mite'. It may be significant that 'mite' is the immediately preceding word in the list used by Lhuyd, and it is possible that *fôrlan* was noted by Lhuyd as a translation of 'mite' in its secondary sense of 'a coin of small value, a farthing'. On the other hand it may represent a genuine metaphorical extension of *feòirling*: we might compare *cainneag* 'mote, small matter', which Forbes (1905) notes with the meaning of 'small moth' (Dwelly s.v.), and the possible variant *caineag*, which Dwelly (s.v.) notes with the meaning 'farthing'. On the possible relationship between these forms and the singulative *cáithne* 'chaff, husks', see O'Rahilly (1929: 68). An unpublished early eighteenth-century English-Gaelic vocabulary by William Gordon translates 'mite' as *feoirlin* and *feoirlig* (NLS MS Dep. 314/22, p. 35; see note 41 below). Alternatively, *fôrlan* could conceivably represent a Scottish Gaelic formation based on Scots *whurl* ('whorl'), which has the early sixteenth-century variant *forl* (see *CSD* 792, s.v. *whurl*; for the semantics, compare the Arran form *a' chuibhle mhòr* ('the big wheel') discussed in note 10 below).

Forbes (1905), drawing on Irish and Scottish Gaelic sources, lists the following words, some of which require further comment:[9] *bogus* (cf. Dwelly s.v. *bògus* 'timber moth'), *cainneag*, *can*, *canda*, *canna*, *a' chuibhle mhōr* [Arran],[10] *cnuimh* (cf. Dwelly s.v. *cruimheag*), *cū*, *cū-fhind* (*-finda*, *-fhionna*, *-fionn*; cf. Dwelly s.v. *cù*, *cù-fhind*, *cù-fionn*), *deadhman(n)*, *deadhmon*, *droch*,[11] *dūradan* (cf. Dwelly s.v. *dùradan*

sort of night butterfly'. Furthermore, *leadhm*, *leadhman*, *leon* are recorded in his 'Comparative Vocabulary of the Original Languages of Britain and Ireland' (ibid.: s.v. *tinea*), most of which he took directly or indirectly from Pluincéad (1662).

[9] Also *leadhmann*, *leamhan*, *leoghan*, *leoman(n)*, *leon* discussed further below.

[10] One might suspect that Forbes's '*a*['] *chuibhle mhōr*' represents a translation into Scottish Gaelic of 'coach-wheel', perhaps partly resulting from a conflation of *droch* ('moth' found in wood or cloth; e.g. O'Reilly 1817: s.v.) and *droch* ('coach-wheel'; e.g. Shaw 1780: s.v.). Forbes (1905: 412) records it for Arran and explains it as a metaphorical name: 'In the Scottish island of Arran, the moth is called "a chuibhle-mhor", or the great wheel, from its habit of going round the light'.

[11] Also attested in Ó Neachtain 1739: s.v. Cf. perhaps **droch* ('wooden') in Stokes 1901: 469.

(Ardnamurchan)), *mial-chrīon*, *raod*, *raodan*, *reud*, *reudan*.[12] The Highland Society Scottish Gaelic dictionary, published in 1828, is the earliest source in which I have noted the form *bògus* (s.v.). I have not noted it in Irish sources. MacBain (1896: s.v.) derives it from English 'bug', Scots 'bōg'. The latter seems more likely (see *SND* s.v. 1 *bog*).[13] *Deadhman(n)*/*deadhmon* appears to be related in one way or another to *leaghmann* (which Forbes spells as *leadhmann*). De Bhaldraithe (1989: 134, 143) suggests that *deadhmann* is a ghost word, attested for the first time in print in Lhuyd's 1707 Irish-English dictionary, and lists it among other ghost words which are to be traced either to a printer's error or an error in the transcription of Pluincéad's dictionary which was made for Lhuyd sometime before 1707. We are fortunate that this manuscript copy of Pluincéad's dictionary has come down to us and is housed in Trinity College Dublin, MS 1320 (H.3.1). The evidence of this manuscript confirms that de Bhaldraithe was correct: the second word in the entry s.v. *tinea* in that source is *deadhmann*, where a *d* has been superimposed on an initial *l* or vice versa. Lhuyd copied the mistake in his Irish-English dictionary (s.v. *deadhmann*) and in this he was followed by many lexicographers after him. It follows that *deadhmann* in all subsequent Irish and Scottish Gaelic dictionaries and glossaries is indeed a ghost word: see Ó Neachtain (1739: s.v. *deadhmon*), O'Brien (1768: s.v. *deadhmann*), Shaw (1780: s.v. *deadhmann*), O'Reilly (1817: s.v. *deadhmann*, *deadhmon*) etc.[14]

[12] Cf. *riadan* ('a timber moth'; *RobPER* 14). Malcolm M'Pharson's unpublished 'A New Vocabulary of English and Gailic', compiled in 1812, translates 'moth' as *redan* (see NLS Adv. MS 73.2.6, p. 61). The Rev. Charles M. Robertson, in an unpublished note-book, makes the following observation: 'Reudan "a timber moth" in Arran "rìodainn", in East Perth "riadan" or rather "riaodan" (ao long) is here [i.e. Strontian, North Argyll] "reodan" with eo exactly as in "meog"' (NLS MS 417.B, p. 31). Robertson also notes *rùdan* ('a timber moth') for Islay (NLS MS 419, p. 59). Cf. *riadan* ('woodworm'; *EPG* s.v. *riadan*). All of these forms must derive from *rétán* (= *réadán*), a derivative of *rét* (= *réad* > *rud* 'thing'): see *DIL* s.v. *rét*, *rétán*.

[13] The ending *-us* may represent a Scots plural. Cf. also the Scots loan *muchais* ('moths') discussed below.

[14] Sir James Foulis of Colinton (1714–91) appears to have taken the mistake a step further when he lists *deamhan* for 'moth' in his dictionary (NLS MS 72.2.16, p. 53, s.v.), which is partly based on Lhuyd 1707, Ó Beaglaoich 1732 and O'Brien 1768. This appears to be a cross between *deadhman(n)* and *leamhan*. He also lists the curious form *leadbhan* ('a moth'; ibid., p. 79, s.v.), apparently partly based on *leadhm(h)an(n)*.

Forbes's form *dùradan* ('moth') appears to be supported by Dwelly's dictionary (s.v.), which cites the form from 'AH' (i.e. Alex. Henderson, Ardnamurchan), although one wonders if this is not a mistake for 'AF' (i.e. Forbes 1905). MacBain (1896: s.v.) claimed *dùradan*/*durradan* ('an atom, mote') contained the element *dúr* ('hard') and compared Irish *dúrdán* (*recte dúradán*). However, a derivation from *dubhrudán* (i.e. *dubh* + *rudán*, lit. 'a small black thing') seems preferable (see *DIL* s.v. *dubrudan*). The Highland Society dictionary (1828: s.v.) glosses *dùradan* as 'a mote, atom, black spot particle of flying dust'. Similarly, Dinneen (s.v.) glosses *dubhradán* as 'a black mote or atom, a small particle such as gets into the eye'. Armstrong (1825: s.v. *dùrdan*) conflates *dùrdan* and *dùradan* when he glosses the former as 'murmur, cooing' and also 'bit of dust, mote' (cf. also O'Reilly 1817: s.v. *durdán*). On the development in the case of *dùradan* from 'mote' to 'moth', we may compare the similar semantic development in Scottish English, where 'mote' is attested with the meaning 'a small moth, such as a clothes moth' (*SND* s.v. 3 *mote*). We may also note Tadhg Ó Neachtain's confusion of English 'moth' and 'mote', when he glosses *dúracan* [*sic*] as 'a thing as that of a moth in the eye' (1739: s.v. *dúracan*).

The plural form *muchais* is recorded by Dwelly from a Caithness informant, apparently a loan from Scots *moch* (see *SND* s.v.). Wentworth recorded the following forms for Wester Ross, where day- and night-flying butterflies/moths are not distinguished:[15] *tormachan*, *tormachan-dé*, *torman-dé*,[16] *dealan-dé*, *salman-dé* (*GWR* s.v. *moth*). The dialect of Point in Lewis distinguishes between *laghmainn* ('clothes-eating moths') and *sglapaid* [sgʟɑʰp̪aḍ̥ʹ] *oidhche* ('night moth').[17] In Scalpay, Harris, *laghmann* refers to 'the grub' and *cuileag laghmainn* is used to refer to 'moth'.[18] Dr. John Shaw informs me that *cailleach-oidhche*, a common word in Scottish Gaelic for 'owl', means 'moth' in Glencoe, Inverness County, Cape Breton.[19]

[15] However, the clothes-eating moth is always referred to as *laghmainn* (pl.).

[16] Cf. Carmichael 1928: 368, s.v. *tarman*, *torman*; *tarmach-dé*, *tarmachan-dé*.

[17] I am grateful to Dr Anna Frater, Lews Castle College, for this information. Cf. *sglaipeid* 'a heavy mucous spit, a large drop of liquid soot' from Bernera, Lewis (MacDonald 1946: 40).

[18] I am grateful to Morag Macleod, Scalpay, for this information.

[19] This semantic development can be partially explained by the fact that *comhachag* is used for 'owl' in these dialects. On the distribution of *cailleach-oidhche* and

The original word in Gaelic for 'a clothes-eating moth, i.e. the larva' appears to have been *legam* (with lenited *gh* and *mh*; see *DIL* s.v.), reflexes of which still exist in the modern dialects. Although *legam* itself is not attested in Old Irish texts, the derivative *legamnach* (*DIL* s.v.), oblique forms such as *leaghmanaibh*, *leadhmain* (*DIL* s.v. *lémann*), and modern dialectal forms strongly suggest that it was originally an *n*-stem noun. Indeed, Kuno Meyer (1917: 33), followed by Watkins (1962: 184) and Stüber (1998: 156), derives *legam* from the verbal root *leg-* ('melt, dissolve, destroy') and the agentive suffix *-am* (< **-amon-*), thus meaning something like 'dissolver, destroyer'. Meyer compares *sirem* 'another word of the same formation' which 'seems to be the name for some parasite animal, perhaps a kind of louse' (1917: 33).[20] In other words, *legam* contains the same agentive suffix as OI *brithem* ('judge'), *airem* ('ploughman'), *dálem* ('distributor'), *flaithem* ('ruler'), *dúlem* ('creator'), *luam* ('helmsman') etc. (*GOI* 172); cf. also *glaídem* ('wolf, howler') (*DIL* s.v.). *Legam*, like *talamh*, differs from the majority of agentives in *-am* in that it regularly syncopates its second syllable when suffixes are added. Syncope is in fact the historically expected pattern for agentives in *-am* generally, hence *leagh†manaibh*, *leadh†main* etc.,[21] and *tal†main*, *tal†man*, *tal†mana*, *tal†manib* (*DIL* s.v. *talam*).[22] However, contrary to our expectations, the majority of agentives such as *ollamh* > *ollaman* etc. do not syncopate when suffixes are added. Marstrander (1916: 373) has argued persuasively that agentives in *-am* (< **-amon-*), where syncope of *-a-* in the second syllable is expected, do not syncopate by analogy with *-em* agentives (< **-i̯amon-*), where syncope of the third syllable would not be expected historically. The

comhachag in Cape Breton, see Grannd 1998: 122–3. We have already noted the northern Scottish Gaelic word *muchais* ('moths'): it is not clear what relation, if any, this word has to *mucha* ('owl'): see Forbes 1905: 306; Dwelly s.v.; NLS MS 72.2.16, p. 85, s.v. = Sir James Foulis's (1714–91) dictionary.

[20] We may have a reflex of this word in modern ScG *sireamh* ('disease'; Dwelly s.v. *sireamh*). On the possible semantic relation between a type of 'parasite animal' and 'disease', we may compare the semantic range of *conach*, referred to above, which in modern Irish means 'hawk-moth, leech' and also 'murrain'. Cf. certain metaphorical uses of Irish *creabhar* (Ó Dónaill s.v.); cf. also *fíbín* (Ó Dónaill s.v.; Ó Máille 1974: s.v.).

[21] The derivative, *legamnach*, attested in the Yellow Book of Lecan and the Book of Ballymote, is exceptional (see *DIL* s.v.).

[22] The symbol † indicates syncope.

analogy did not spread to the likes of *legam* and *talam*, presumably because they were not synchronically felt to be agent nouns (see Marstrander 1916: 373; Stüber 1998: 148, 157).

It is unclear whether inflected forms such as *leaghmanaibh*, *leadhmain* etc. (*DIL* s.v. *lémann*) reflect an underlying nominative *leagham(h)* or *leaghm(h)an* in specific instances. What is clear, however, is that the majority of modern dialectal forms in both Ireland and Scotland derive from *leaghm(h)an*,[23] which must in origin be a back-formation based on inflected forms containing the stem *-n-*. Indeed, the extraction of a new masculine *o*-stem *leaghm(h)an* from dative and accusative plural forms (*leaghm(h)anaibh*, **leaghm(h)ana*) is not surprising given the frequent use of this word in the plural (see Stüber 1998: 157).

The present contribution is concerned mainly with the modern reflexes of *leaghm(h)an* in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic, and seeks to consider the broader phonological contexts in which such reflexes have developed. In particular, there are four aspects of the history of the word which need to be examined, namely (1) the initial elements, i.e. the quality of the initial *l* (in Scottish Gaelic only), prosthetic *f* in certain Donegal dialects, and the pretonic vowel in some Munster dialects; the development of (2) the sequence *eagh*, (3) *mh*, and (4) the final syllable *-an*. Before we discuss each of these aspects in turn, it will be instructive to review and discuss briefly the various modern dialectal realisations.

LASID provides much valuable information on the Irish (and to a lesser extent the Scottish Gaelic) forms and their geographical distribution.[24] This is supplemented by Ó Baoill's (1978: 291) discussion and by a number of other sources. Our knowledge of the geographical distribution of Scottish Gaelic forms is, as we shall see, less extensive. The various forms and their geographical distribution may be described as follows:[25]

[23] Some Mayo dialects show no trace of final *n* in singular or plural forms, e.g. *leáma*, *leámaí*, *leámóg*. Similarly, East Sutherland Gaelic has *laom*.

[24] The Irish forms are given in *LASID* I, 209; the Scottish Gaelic forms are published in *LASID* IV, Appendix I, 198, no. 209.

[25] Forms quoted for Irish are from *LASID* I, 209, unless otherwise stated. Dinneen (s.v.) lists the main Irish dialectal forms, i.e. *leadhmann*, *léadhmán*, *leomann*, *leámainn*, *leamhan*.

Scottish Gaelic

Lewis

laghmainn (sg.) [lɤ̃ːmɪnʲ] (*GL* 349),
[lɵːmɪnʲʰ] (collective, *LASID* IV, 198, item 209, point (e))

Wester Ross

laghmann (sg.) [lɤːmən] (*DR* 77, 138)
laghmainn (pl.) [lɤːmənʲ] (Ternes 1973: 135; *GWR*; cf. *laomainn RobWR* 330)
laomannan (pl.) [lɯːmənən] (*LASID* IV, 198, item 209, point (f))

Scalpay (Harris)[26]

laghma(i)nn (sg.) [lɤːmən], [lɤːmənʲ]

Sutherland

laomainnean (pl.) [lɯːmïnʲən] (*LASID* IV, 198, item 209, point (g))
laom /ɬəːm/ (*ESG* 166)

Skye, Raasay

laghmann (sg.) [lɤːmən] (*DS* 24)
laghmainn (pl.) [lɤːmɪnʲ][27]

Glengarry

laghmann (sg.) [lɤːmən] (Dieckhoff 1932: s.v. *laomann*)

Glenuig (Moidart)

laghman (sg.) [lɤːman][28]

Acharacle (Ardnamurchan)

leóman (sg.) [lʲoːman] (possibly [lʲoːmən])[29]

[26] Information from Morag MacLeod. MacAskill (1966: 66) records '*Leómain* in Barra but *laomain* in Lewis, Harris and Uists', both spelled with *-ain* [*sic*].
[27] Information from Peigi NicLeòid.
[28] Information from Ailean Domhnallach and Iain MacMhaighstir. The latter's parents from Knoydart had the same form.
[29] Information from Ailean MacColla. Maceachen, a native of Arisaig, does not record the form *leómann* in the first edition of his Gaelic-English dictionary (Maceachen [1842]). However, later editions, revised and enlarged by Alexander MacBain and John Whyte, do include *leómann*: see, for instance, Maceachen 1922: 269, s.v.

North Argyll (Strontian)
leómann [eo][30]

North Uist
laghmann [lɤːmən][31]

Benbecula
leaghmainn [lˊɤːmɪnˊ] (*LASID* IV, 198, item 209, point (d))
laghmainn [lɤːmɪnˊ][32]

South Uist
leòmainn [lˊɛɔmɪnˊ][33]

Eriskay
leòmainn (sg.) /lˊɔːmənˊ/ (Campbell 1958: 162)
laghmainn (sg.) [lɤːmɪnˊ] (Campbell 1958: 162)[34]

Tiree
leómann (sg.) [oː]
leómainn (pl.) [oː][35]

Islay
leaghmann (sg.) [lˊɔːmənˊ][36] (MacAlpine 1973: 162, s.v. *leomann*)

Arran
léaman(n) [lˊyːmən] (*LASID* IV, 198, item 209, point (a); cf. *léamann RobWR* 330)

Aberfoyle, South-west Perthshire (?)
leoman (Kirk 1690)

[30] Phonetics indicate stressed vowel. See NLS MS 417.B, p. 31, compiled by the Rev. Charles M. Robertson (cf. n. 12 above).
[31] Information from Eairdsidh MacGillEathain (Solas, North Uist).
[32] Information from Angela NicEachainn, who informs me that one would never say '*Dh'ith na laghmainn an t-aodach*' but rather '*Tha an t-aodach air a ithe aig na laghmainn*'. We may compare Alexander Maclaurin's translation of 'moth-eaten' as *air itheadh le leoman*[*n*] (second *n* added later) in his English and Gaelic dictionary, compiled in 1807–10 (see NLS MS 72.2.24, p. 177, s.v. *moth*).
[33] Information for Cille Bhrìde from Dr Gillian Munro, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig.
[34] 'Both forms known and second used occasionally' (Campbell 1958: 162). I have heard the former /lˊɔːmənˊ/ from Theresa Mackinnon.
[35] Information from Professor Donald Meek.
[36] My phonetic transcription is based on that of MacAlpine.

Manx

lhemeen (sg.?)	[lˊjï ˈmin] (?)
lemi[*n*?]	(Ifans and Thomson 1980: 137; Thomson 1999: 394, 400)

Irish

Donegal

léamáin (pl.)	[lˊeːmɑnˊ], [lˊiəmɑnˊ]
léamann (sg.)	[lˊeːməɴ], [lˊi(ː)əməɴ]; [lˊɛ(ə)ːməɴ] (*DT* 147)
léamain(n) (pl.)	[lˊeːmïɴˊ], [lˊiəmïɴˊ], [lˊiəmïnˊ]
fléamán (sg.)	[fˊlˊeːmɑn]
fléamáin(n) (pl.)	[fˊlˊeːmɑɴˊ]
fléamain(n) (pl.)	[fˊlˊeːmïɴˊ], [fˊlˊeːmɪnˊ]

Cavan

leóman (sg.)	(Ó Baoill 1978: 291)

Meath

lēamonn (sg.)	(Ó Baoill 1978: 291)
lēimoinn (pl.)	(Ó Baoill 1978: 291)[37]

Mayo

leáma (sg.)	[lˊɑːmə]
leáman (sg.)	[lˊɑːmən]
leámaí (pl.)	[lˊɑːmɪ]; /lˊaːmiː/ (*IE* 16, 42)
leámóg	[lˊaːmoːg] (*LASID* III, 367, point 62, Appendix, s.v. *féileacán*)
leámaillí (pl.)	[lˊɑːməlˊiː] ((*LASID* III, 368, point 62, Appendix, s.v.)
léamain (pl.)	[lˊeːmɑnˊ][38]

[37] Beckett's interpretation of the manuscript readings is bewildering. For the sg. form (*leamonn*) he edits as *leáman* and the plural form (*leimoinn*) as *leamhain* (1967: §§14, 77). The pl. form, however, strongly suggests an underlying long *é* sound [e:], which in turn suggests MS *ea* in the sg. form should be read also as a long *é*. Cf. *léamann* (Pluincéad 1662: s.v. *blatta*).

[38] The final syllable is not marked long at *LASID* I, 209, points 53, 54: cf. *seangán*, which is marked long at these points (ibid.).

léamún (sg.)	[ʟˊeːmuːn]
léamainn, *léamúin*? (pl.)	[ʟˊèːməɴˊ]; [ʟˊèːməɴˊ], [ʟˊẹːə̆munˊ] (*IAM* 375)[39]

Galway

león (sg.)	[ʟˊoːn], [ʟˊoːən]
liún (sg.)	[ʟˊuːn]
leán (sg.)	[ʟˊɑːn]
leóin (pl)	[ʟˊoːnˊ], [ʟˊõːnˊ], [ʟˊoːʲnˊ]

Clare

leónta (pl.)	[ʟˊoːntə]
leóin (pl.)	[ʟˊoːʲnˊ]

Kerry

leamhain (pl.)	[lˊɑunˊ], [lˊeunˊ]
leamhain (pl.)	[lˊeuɪnˊ]
liúin (pl.)	[lˊuːnˊ]
leóin (pl.)	[lˊoːnˊ]
ileáin (pl.)	[ɪ ˈlˊɑːnˊ]

Cork

leóin (pl.)	[lˊoːnˊ]
ileán (sg.)	[ɪ ˈlˊɑːn]
ileáin (pl.)	[ɪ ˈlˊɑːnˊ], [ə ˈlˊɑːnˊ]

Waterford

león (sg.)	[lˊoːn]
leónanna (pl.)	[lˊoːnənə]

A number of clear patterns emerge, the most important of which have been noted by Ó Baoill (1978: 290–301). These are as follows: an important isogloss separates Scotland, Ulster, north Connacht, north Leinster and Man from southern Connacht and Munster, whereby

[39] *Leaghmainn* refers to 'ear-wig' in this dialect.

northern dialects have unlenited *m* and southern dialects derive from forms with lenited *mh* (to be discussed further below). Another isogloss separates Irish, south-western Scottish Gaelic dialects and Manx from northern Scottish Gaelic dialects: southern dialects have initial palatal *l* and northern Scottish Gaelic dialects have broad *l*: the western limit of this isogloss appears to be centred around Eriskay and Benbecula where both palatal and non-palatal *l* have been recorded. The development *-an* > *-ann* (to be discussed below) clearly occurred in northern Irish and in Scottish Gaelic dialects; it is argued below that this change did not occur in southern Irish dialects.

1. The initial segment[40]

The earliest Scottish Gaelic source in which I have noted non-palatal initial *l* is William Gordon's unpublished English-Gaelic dictionary, compiled in the 1720s, where 'moth' is translated as '*miol chrion*' and '*ladhmin*' (s.v. *moth*).[41] The change from palatal to non-palatal *l* in northern Scottish Gaelic dialects is most probably due to the quality of the following vowel which, as Ó Baoill (1978: 291) notes, is usually a 'retracted long vowel' in the range [ɤː] to [ɯː]. The development may be seen to be phonotactic in nature whereby the uncommon and therefore marked sequence [lʲɤː] is replaced by the unmarked sequence [lɤː] – back unround vowels normally being preceded by non-palatals in Scottish Gaelic;[42] it can be seen as a change involving assimilation of the 'dark' back quality of the vowel to the preceding consonant *l*. However, it may be, as Professor Máirtín Ó Murchú points out (personal communication), that *laghmann* belongs to a class of words in Scottish Gaelic which do not show initial palatalisation because the following stressed vowel had shifted to a central or back position during a period when initial palatalisation was still an

[40] On the ghost word *deadhman(n)*, *deadhmon*, see discussion above.

[41] This dictionary was part of the Countess of Sutherland's library and is now housed in the National Library of Scotland: NLS MS Dep. 314/22.

[42] This development may have been reinforced by the existence of the proper name *Laghman(n)* in Scottish Gaelic, a borrowing from Norse *lǫgmaðr* ('lawman, lawyer'). The name survives in the surname MacLaomainn, more properly spelled MacLaghmainn. Against this suggestion, however, is the fact that the name seems to have been chiefly associated with southern areas such as Argyll and Cowal. See MacBain 1896: 403, s.v. *Lamond*; Black 1946: 413, s.v. *Lamond*.

allophonic variant occurring before front vowels: cf. *aodach* (< *éadach*), *aodann* (< *éadan*), *aog* (< *éag*), *faod* (< *féad*), *saod* (< *séad*), *taod* (< *téad*) (see O'Rahilly 1932: 32).[43]

The development of prosthetic *f* in certain Donegal dialects is most likely due to the influence of *féileacán* (*LASID* I, 212); here we may note the occasional use of *féileacán* as the generic word for 'moth' in some Irish dialects, e.g. *LASID* II, 367, point 62 (east Mayo), s.v. *féileacán*. The Munster forms with pretonic vowel, which we may spell as *ileán* for convenience, can be explained as follows. In Munster dialects particularly, a second syllable containing a long vowel attracts the main stress, thus frequently weakening a short vowel in the preceding first syllable. In some words whose second syllable begins with either of the sonorants *l* or *r* the pretonic vowel may be lost, e.g. *coláiste* > *cláiste*, *an t-arán* > *an trán* etc. (*IWM* 105; see also O'Rahilly 1932: 86, 93; Ó Sé 1984). However, the pretonic vowel can also be retained, particularly in slow speech, thus yielding variation between forms with and without pretonic vowels. Variation in the likes of *oileán* ('island') between /i ˈl´aːn/ and /l´aːn/ must have led to variation between expected /l´aːn/ and ahistorical /i ˈl´aːn/ in reflexes of *leaghmhan* in some Munster dialects. A similar development is witnessed in *sleaghán* /ʃlaːn/ > *sileán* /ʃi ˈl´aːn/ and *isleán* /i ˈʃl´aːn/ in these and neighbouring dialects (see *LASID* II, q. 562, points 3, 5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21; *IWM* 106).

2a. The sequence *eagh* in northern dialects

It is convenient to treat separately the development in northern and southern dialects as the development in southern Irish dialects is more complex (for a more detailed account of the historical development

[43] However, it is unlikely to be purely coincidental that the change *é* > *ao* in Scottish Gaelic is confined to words with initial *éa-* and *f-*, *s-*, *t-*. The development in the case of *féad* > *faod* clearly represents a subclass of initial *éa-* given the lenition product of *f-*. Lenition of both *s-* and *t-* yields *h-* which is phonemically neutral with regard to palatalisation. The retraction of original *é* in certain words with initial *f-*, *s-* and *t-* in Scottish Gaelic may have first occurred in lenited variants *fh-*, *sh-*, *th-*, and the loss of initial palatal quality may have been due to hypercorrection in much the same way that non-palatal initial *s-* and *t-* in some Irish dialects have been replaced by palatal *s-*, and *t-* in certain *CiC´* sequences, e.g. *saoil* > *síl*, *tuit* > *tit* etc. (Ó Maolalaigh 1997: 378).

of *(e)agh* sequences in Irish and Scottish Gaelic, see Ó Maolalaigh 2006). Vocalisation of the gutteral fricative *gh* following originally short vowels invariably results in compensatory lengthening of one kind or another, e.g.

Irish

leadhb, *meadhg* /əi/ (*IWM*, *IR*, *ICF*, *IT*), /eː/ (*DD*, *TY*)
breaghdha /aː/ (*IWM*, *IR*, *ICF*, *IT*, *IE*), /eː/ (*DD*, *TY*)

Scottish Gaelic

meadhg [iuː] (*DOH*), [ɛuː] ~ [iuː] (*DS*), [eː], [ɛɤː] (*DR*), [ɤː] (*EPG*)
teaghlach [eː], [ɛɤː] (*DR*), [eː] (*GK*), [eː] ~ [øː] (*GA*), [ɤː] (*ESG*, *EPG*)
breaghdha /ia/ (*GL*, *DOH*, *EPG*),[44] /aː/ (*GA*)

This accounts satisfactorily for the long vocalism in the majority of Scottish Gaelic dialects (i.e. for [ɤː], [ɯː], [öː], [eː]) and [eː] in Donegal, parts of Mayo, and in Meath. I take instances of [iə] in reflexes of *leaghmhan* in Donegal (and Mayo) to represent the breaking of *é* from [eː] to [eə] > [iə] (see *DD* 62–63), although perhaps influence from the adjective *liath* should not be ruled out.

The occasional development of back round vowels in northern dialects (e.g. in Eriskay, South Uist, Tiree, parts of south-western mainland Scottish Gaelic and in Cavan) represents a well-attested minor development in *C´eagh* sequences (particularly in Scottish Gaelic), possibly due to a type of dissimilation with the preceding palatal consonant,[45] e.g. ScG *feadhainn* (*SGDS* 404), *déidh* (< *deaghaidh*, *SGDS* 305), *meadhg* (*SGDS* 607), *teaghlach* (*SGDS* 832), *teadhair* (*DOH* 144). Significantly, round back vowels are also attested in reflexes of *leaghadh* ('melting', *SGDS* 571), including dialects adjacent to Eriskay where the reflex of *leaghmhan* is *leòmainn*. We

[44] The development to /ia/ in Scottish Gaelic represents a secondary development of /eː/. See, for instance, Ó Murchú 1989a: 145; Ó Maolalaigh 2006: 66.

[45] Contrast the development in *Cagh*/*dh* sequences, e.g. *aghaidh* (*SGDS* 9), *ladhran* (*SGDS* 540), *tadhal* (*SGDS* 819), where back round vowels do not seem to develop (*C* represents a non-palatal consonant and *C´* represents a palatal consonant). A similar contrastive development occurs in Irish *Cagh*/*dha* and *C´eagh*/*dha* sequences, where /əi/ is the norm in the former but where /aː/ develops more regularly than /əi/ in the latter. See Ó Maolalaigh 2006 for further discussion.

may compare the variation between *é* and *ó*/*ò* in Irish and Scottish Gaelic dialects in reflexes of Irish *leadhbán* and ScG *leadhbag* (< *leadhbóg*), where perhaps significantly the vocalised velar fricative also occurred before a labial element: Ó Baoill (1994: 179) draws attention to the similarities of development in reflexes of *leaghman* and *leadhbán*/*leadhbag*.

We have seen that *leòma(i)nn* is geographically restricted to certain southern, especially south-western, Scottish Gaelic dialects. Despite this, the spelling *leòmann*/*leòman* is commonly used in modern Scottish Gaelic dictionaries as the generic form (see Dwelly s.v. *leòmann*; MacBain 1896: 228, s.v. *leómann*; Thomson 1986: s.v. *leòman*; Cox 1991: s.v. *leòman*; Watson 2001: s.v. *leòman*; Mark 2003: s.v. *leòman*; cf. also *RobWR* 330), and is even used to represent reflexes with non-round vowels (e.g. MacAlpine 1973: s.v. *leomann*; MacLennan 1925: s.v. *leòmann*, which is based on MacAlpine). *Leòmann* is the most frequently occurring form in all forms of the Scottish Gaelic Bible, excluding Kirk's 1690 edition, although, as we have earlier noted, *leoman* is the headword Kirk used in his appended glossary.[46] The first and only Gaelic professor of the Highland Society of Scotland, Robert MacFarlan (see Black 1986a: 8), also lists *leòman* as a headword in his *Nuadh Fhoclair Gaidhlig agus Beurla*, published in Edinburgh in the year 1795. It seems quite certain that the modern propensity towards *leòmann* in modern Scottish Gaelic lexicographical sources is due to the strong literary influence of the Scottish Gaelic Bible.[47] The literary status of dialectally restricted

[46] This includes the most recent edition of the Scottish Gaelic Bible, prepared by Professor Donald Meek for Comann-Bhìoball na h-Alba in the year 2000. This edition has *leòmann* regularly throughout except at Luke 12.33, where *reudan* has been retained from earlier editions: cf. the 1807 edition prepared by the British and Foreign Bible Society and the 1953 edition prepared by the National Bible Society of Scotland which both have *reudan* (Luke 12.33); however, the 1924 edition prepared by Comunn-Bhìobull Dùthchail na h-Alba has *leòmann* here (Luke 12.33); the corresponding passage has *míol críon* in earlier Irish translations. See n. 3 above for references.

[47] Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair MacDonald (from Moidart) in his *A Galick and English Vocabulary*, published in Edinburgh in 1741, has the form *léumuinn* for 'a moth' (p. 70). The spelling might represent [lʼɤːmɪnʼ], although initial non-palatal *l* would be expected as his local form; this form seems more likely to represent [lʼeːmɪnʼ], possibly representing an 'Irish' literary/biblical form.

leòmann is paralleled quite nicely by the Irish literary form *leamhan* (representative of some southern Irish dialects only and discussed further below) – a form, which in the most recent translation into Irish of the Bible, replaced all earlier forms such as *míol críon*, *léamann*, *léoghan*;[48] de Bhaldraithe's *English Irish Dictionary* (s.v. *moth*) cites only *leamhan*; Ó Dónaill's *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (s.v. *leáman*, *léaman*, *leamhan*), while it lists the variants *leáman*, *léaman* [*sic*], has *leamhan* as the main headword.

The Mayo development to *á* requires further comment. It most likely represents a straightforward case of compensatory lengthening due to the vocalisation of preconsonantal *gh*, i.e. a reflex of the sequence *-eaghm-* similar to the development evidenced in *adhbhar*, *adhmad* /aː/ in most northern Irish dialects (*ICF*, *IT*, *IE*, *DD*, *TY*; for *adhmad*, see also *LASID* I, 176). The development of /aː/ rather than /əi/ (or possibly /eː/) in *aghm* sequences (compare, for instance, *Tadhg* /əi/ (*IE*), *meadhg* (*LASID* II, III, IV, q. 67) suggests that, unlike *(e)adhg* sequences, an epenthetic vowel may not have developed in non-final *ghm* sequences in these dialects (see Ó Maolalaigh 1997: 185, and further below). On the other hand, it is just possible that long *á* may represent a regular development of the original nominative *leagham(h)*: compare long *á* in *bleaghan*, *feadhan*, *leaghadh*, *meadhachan* (e.g. *IE*).

Karin Stüber claims, in her recent book on *n*-stems in Celtic, that 'the Modern Irish form *leamhan* "clothes-moth" shows that spellings with a long vowel such as acc. sg. *lémann* ..., nom. pl. *léamuinn* ... must be hypercorrect' (1998: 157). Although it is not at all clear what type of hypercorrection she has in mind, our discussion shows that the development of long vowels is in fact the expected development in modern Gaelic dialects. Stüber has most likely been mislead by the modern orthographic standard literary form *leamhan*, which satisfactorily, although misleadingly, represents reflexes of *leaghmhan* only in a small number of Munster dialects, to which we now turn our attention.

2b. The sequence *eagh* in southern Irish dialects

The derivation of Munster and south Connacht forms is not straightforward. The normal form in south Connacht is *leon* /lʹoːn/ (with

[48] See Ó Fiannachta 1981: passim; for references see n. 3 above.

plural *leoin* /lʹoːnʹ/, although [lʹɑːn] and [lʹuːn] have also been reported (*LASID* I, 209, points 47 and 49 respectively)). Connacht [lʹɑːn] can be explained in the same manner as Mayo *á* forms unless it represents phonemic or reinterpreted underlying *ó*. Similarly, the norm in Munster dialects is *león*. However, *u*-gliding diphthongs occur in west Kerry (*LASID* I, 209, points 18, 20, 21) and *ileá(i)n* (with pretonic *i*-) occurs in south-west Cork and nearby southern Kerry (*LASID* I, 209, points 11–14); its precursor, *leán*, can be dated to the early seventeenth century when Philip O'Sullivan Beare (c. 1590–c. 1659) recorded the form '*lleain*' (for /lʹaːn/) for 'moth' in his *Zoilomastix*, composed in the 1620s. De Bhaldraithe misleadingly interpreted O'Sullivan's local form as *leamhán* (1960: xlix); cf. *leogán* (Ó Beaglaoich and Mac Cuirtin 1732: s.v. *moth*). *Liún* also occurs in west Kerry (*LASID* I, 209, point 19). Most of these forms are usually presented as deriving from *leamhan* (see, for instance, Ó Cuív 1988: 214). This is, however, quite misleading from an historical point of view since the sequence *(e)amh* normally yields *u*-gliding diphthongs in these southern dialects, and consequently a derivation from *leamhan* would work only for certain west Kerry dialects. Such a derivation clearly does not account for *á*, *ó* or *ú* forms in southern dialects. The majority of Munster and all south Connacht forms clearly require a different derivation. This rules out the possibility of the development *leaghmhan* > *leamhan* with reduction of the cluster *ghmh* to *mh* (or possibly *ghbh* to *bh*) or, as we shall see, the shortening of *á* to *a* in *leámhan* > *leamhan*, for the majority of southern Irish dialects.[49]

I claim that all Munster and south Connacht forms can ultimately be derived from an intermediate *leámhan* form with compensatory lengthened *á*. Indeed, the development of historical *ámh* sequences to *ó*, *ú*, *au*, *á* can be paralleled by similar developments in Munster dialects in the case of words such as *námhaid*, *lámhach*, *lámhann*, *lámhannán*, *lámhacán*, *rámhann*, *snámhaire*, which are discussed by O'Rahilly (1942a). O'Rahilly (1942a: 132–4) suggested as a regular

[49] We may compare the apparent reduction of the cluster *dhbh* > *bh* in *adhbhar* > *abhar*, *saidhbhir* > *saibhir*, *Meadhbh* > *Meabh*, *Sadhbh* > *Sabh*, and *dhmh* > *mh* in *claidhmhe* > *claimhe* (O'Rahilly 1932: 183). On the possible development *leaghmhan* > **leaghbhan*, see Ó Maolalaigh 2003 which discusses the development *mh* > *bh* in double nasal environments.

development in certain Munster dialects that *á* was shortened to *a* in the sequence *ámh*. His evidence for this was the similar reflexes of *amh* and *ámh* sequences in some Munster dialects, e.g. *u*-gliding diphthongs in *námhaid* /au/ (west Munster), *lámhach* /au/ (west Kerry), *lámhannán* /au/ (south and west Kerry), *lámhacán* /au/ (south and west Kerry), *rámhan* /au/ (north, west and south Kerry), *lámhann* /ũ:/ (Clare), *lámhannán* /ũ:/ (Clare), *rámhan* /ũ:/ (Clare). With these we may compare the regular development of *amh* in, e.g. *sleamhain*, which is /ũ:/ in Clare and /au/ otherwise in Munster.[50] This parallel development of *amh* and *ámh* in some Munster dialects led O'Rahilly to claim the shortening of *á* to *a* in *ámh* > *amh* as a valid phonological development in Munster dialects. O'Rahilly (ibid.: 132) suggested as a possible explanation of this change that the apparently regular shortening of *á* in the plural form *náimhde* > *naimhde* led by analogy to the creation of a new singular form *namhaid* and that variation between *námhaid* and *namhaid* led to the formation of similar doublets in words containing original *ámha*. A phonetic explanation may also be ventured. It has been reported by various phoneticians that nasal vowels 'are typically longer than their oral counterparts' (for references, see Sampson 1999: 10). This fact may have led some speakers to associate the feature of length in long nasal *á* in *ámh* sequences as a concomitant feature of nasality, thus allowing them to hypercorrect and replace *ámh* with *amh*. However, to suggest a development *ámh* > *amh* may represent too facile an interpretation of the evidence, and I hope to deal elsewhere with O'Rahilly's hypothesis of vowel shortening before certain clusters containing fricatives.

A general development *ámh* > *amh* is contradicted by the frequent development of *ámh* to *á* (with vocalic length retained) in Munster dialects. The development *ámha* > *á* occurs far more frequently and over a larger geographical area than alleged *ámh* > *amh*: see *rámhan*, *lámhach* (*LASID* I, 181, 59). O'Rahilly himself referred to *námhaid* /nãːdʹ/ (eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Munster verse), *lámhach* /lãːx/ (south Kerry, West Muskerry, Waterford), *lámhannán* /lãːnãːn/ (West

[50] Ó Curnáin (*IA*) also notes shortening in Iorras Aithneach in (*maide*) *rámha* [aw], *námhaid* [ãv], *rámhaillí* [aw], *sámhnas* [av]. These forms may represent a Munsterism in these dialects; on possible Munsterisms in south Connacht Irish, see Ó Curnáin ibid.

Muskerry, Waterford), *lámhacán* /lãːkãːn/ (Beare, West Muskerry etc.), *rámhann* /rãːn/ (West Muskerry, Waterford, south Kerry). Moreover, the development of *u*-gliding diphthongs in *ámh* sequences in certain Munster dialects does not necessarily imply as a prerequisite that long *á* was shortened to *a*. I would suggest that *ámh* sequences may have developed as follows in Munster. The labial fricative was weakened to a labial glide *w* and subsequently to vocalic *u*. I claim that one of two developments occurred following the weakening of the labial fricative: (a) the labial element was elided altogether, hence the development to *ámh* > *á* in *námhaid*, *lámhach* etc.; (b) the 'sequences' *áw*/*áu* were reanalysed as members of a diphthongal phoneme *au*, with rightward movement of the nucleus stress, hence the eventual 'merger' of original *ámh* and *amh* sequences – *au* being the regular reflex of *amh* sequences. We may note that a similar shortening before labial semivowels/glides, before *u*, and in hiatus, all deriving from *mh*, is also attested in Scottish Gaelic. For instance, *làmhan* ('hands') is variously realised in Scottish Gaelic [ʟãːvən], [ʟãu̯ən], [ʟãũən], [ʟã-ən] etc. (*SGDS* 554); cf. also *nàmhaid*, *sàmhach* (*SGDS* 649, 733); it is interesting to note that development (a) is also attested in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. [ʟãː-ən]. The regular phonetic development *ámh* > *au* in some West Munster dialects, resulting in merger with reflexes of original *amh*, may in turn have led to the hyperdialectism *ámh* > *amh* in neighbouring south Connacht dialects (see n. 50 above). In other words, rather than viewing the change *ámh* > *amh* in south Connacht as an imported Munsterism, it may in fact be a Connacht hyperdialectism based on a localised Munsterism (on the close affinity of south Connacht dialects with certain Munster dialects, see Ó Curnáin (*IA*) and Ó Sé 2003.)

I have claimed above that all Munster and south Connacht forms can be derived from an intermediate form *leámhan*, with compensatory lengthened *á* as a direct consequence of the vocalisation of *gh* in the form *leaghmhan*. This is, of course, supported by *(i)leán* forms. The development of *leámhan* – which must have occurred only after *e* was lowered to *a* before *gh* – is paralleled by the development of *adhbhar*, which yielded *ábhar* in most Irish dialects (e.g. *IWM*, *ICF*, *IT*, *IE*, *DD*, *TY*);[51] we might also compare the

[51] Note *ábhar* (< *adhbhar*) develops in some Munster dialects meaning 'amount' and contrasts with /aur/ meaning 'matter, cause' (also from *adhbhar*): see *IWM* 113.

development *breaghdha* > *breá* in southern dialects (e.g. *IWM*, *IR*, *ICF*, *IT*, *IE*). While the development of *eaghmh* to *ámh* agrees with the development *adhbhar* > *ábhar* generally and *adhmad* > *ámad* in southern Connacht dialects, the development of *i*-gliding diphthongs in *adhmad* /əiməd/ in Munster dialects contrasts sharply with the proposed Munster development of *eaghmh* in *leaghmhann* to *ámh*. These differences in development suggest that *(e)aghmh* sequences may have developed differently to *(e)adh*/*ghm* sequences in Munster. In particular, a svarabhakti vowel must have developed in the case of *adhmad* (hence the parallel development with the likes of *adharc* /əirk/ and *Tadhg* > *Tadhag* /təig/). It is less certain whether or not a svarabhakti vowel developed in *eaghmh* (or *aghmh*) sequences, since the sequence *C´eagh*/*dha* fairly regularly yields /aː/ rather than /əi/ in these dialects, e.g. *cneadha*, *feadha*, *feadhain*, *meadhadh*, *sleagha* etc. (On the relevance of the quality of the preceding consonant (*C* / *C´*) and the bimorphemic structure *eagh+a* in the development *eagh* > /aː/, see Ó Maolalaigh 2006). In the absence of *i*-gliding diphthongs in reflexes of *leaghmhan*, we can be quite certain that *leámhan* /lʲ´aːṽən/ was the regular intermediate reflex of *leaghmhan* in southern Irish dialects.

An underlying form *leámhan* satisfactorily accounts for *u*-gliding diphthongal reflexes in west Kerry and for *á* forms (i.e. *ileán* with pretonic *i*-) in south-west Cork and neighbouring south Kerry. A comparison with reflexes of *rámhan* in the following table confirms this:[52]

	(generally) Munster	Clare	S. Connacht	SW Cork	W. Kerry
leaghmhan	ó	ó	ó	á	au >> ú
rámhan	á	ú	*[ãːw̃][53]	á	ou, au
rómhar	ú, ó	ú, ó	[õːw̃], [ũːw̃]	ó	ó
sleamhain	au	ú	au	au	au

[52] See *LASID* I, 209, 181, 65, 63.

[53] *Rámhan* does not occur in south Connacht, *láighe* being the preferred etymon. However, *ámha* is usually realised as [ãːw̃ə] in these dialects: see (*maidí*) *rámha* (*LASID* I, 272).

If intermediate *leámhan* satisfactorily accounts for certain south-west Munster forms and if, as we have claimed, *leámhan* is what we would naturally expect in southern Irish dialects, it seems reasonable to suggest that the majority Munster and south Connacht form *león* also derives from the intermediate form *leámhan*. However, the contrast between reflexes of *leaghmhan* and *rámhann* in Munster and south Connacht dialects might seem to argue against an intermediate form *leámhan* in these dialects, since we might have expected it to yield *leán* generally in Munster, *liún* in Clare and *leámhan* (with *mh* retained) in south Connacht. The simplest solution to this apparent conundrum is to suggest that *á* in *leámhan* must have been raised to *ó*, i.e. *leómhan* in the majority of Munster and south Connacht dialects. This raising could be explained in phonological terms. Raising of *á* to *ó* in a nasal environment does occur in such dialects but is admittedly infrequent. O'Rahilly (1942a: 133) posited the raising of *á* in *námhaid* > *nómhaid* for Waterford, and *lámhach* > *lómhach* for Clare. Ó Curnáin (*IA*) notes a similar though infrequent raising of *á* to [õː] in *mháthair*. We might also cite the occasional development of *adhmad* to *úmad* [ũːməd], *ómad* [õːməd] in some south-east Galway dialects (*LASID* I, 176, points 37, 38). Nasality alone may be insufficient to explain raising in the case of *leámhan* > *leómhan*. It may be that the high quality of the preceding patalal *l*, in addition to the heavily nasal environment, may have acted as a further catalyst conducive to the raising of *á* to *ó* in this word. It may also be worth noting that the sequence [lʹ] + [ãː] + [ṽ] (i.e. *leámh*) was an uncommon one in the language, and one that was only introduced following the vocalisation of *gh* in *leaghmhan*. On the other hand the sequence *leómh* was of old standing, for instance, in the Latin loanword *leómhan* ('lion'; see *DIL* s.v. *léo*). Indeed, it seems quite likely that the realisation of *leámhan* has been contaminated by *leómhan* ('lion'). In this context, it is worth noting that *leaghmhan* ('moth') and *leómhan* ('lion') are homophonous in many, if not all, southern Irish dialects (see, for example, *ICF* 13).

In Munster a postulated *leómhan* would yield *león* and/or *liún*, both of which are attested, although only marginally so in the case of the latter. In south Connacht *leómhan* and/or *liúmhan* with intervocalic *mh* retained would be expected (cf. *rómhar* in the above

table). In order to account satisfactorily for Connacht *león* forms, an intermediate *leóbhan* could be postulated with regular dissimilation of nasality in a double nasal environment (see Ó Maolalaigh 2003 for details and further discussion). An intermediate form *leóbhan* would partially account for the Clare form *león* and the absence of *liún* forms in these dialects. Indeed, *leóbhan* may also have characterised a number of other Munster dialects. Unfortunately, however, due to lack of attestation the regular development of the (monomorphemic) sequence *óbha* in Connacht cannot be confirmed.

Alternatively, the vocalisation of *mh* in Munster (and Connacht?) dialects may have had the exceptional effect of raising and rounding the preceding *á* to *ó*.[54]

3. *MH* > *M*

Legam, an older *n*-stem, almost certainly contained an original final lenited *mh* as we have argued above. Clearly, *mh* has become *m* in northern dialects in a large contiguous area ranging from north Connacht in Ireland to the north of Scotland. The wide geographical area involved suggests that the development may be quite an old one, perhaps even older than the reduction of long unstressed vowels, which occurred in a similar, though somewhat smaller northern geographical area. This word, or more properly, its derivatives belong to one of two groups of words which exhibit the development *mh* > *m*, referred to variously by scholars as 'reclosure' (*DT* 153) and 'delenition' (O'Rahilly 1942a: 131). The first group consists of words where the development is only sporadically and irregularly attested: approximately fifty words from modern dialect sources can be associated with this group. The second group consists of a much smaller group of words where the development occurs far more regularly and over large contiguous dialect areas. The former 'sporadic' group includes Irish *cluimhneach*, *cuimhne(ach)*, *deachmhadh*, *deimheas*, *láimh*, *lámhaí*, *leamhnacht*, *líomhán*, *neimhneach*, *scamhóg*, *tréimhse*, *uimhir*; and ScG *clamhan*, *gaineamh*, *ollamh*, *sgamhan*, *sleamhain*, *tamhail(t)*. The latter 'consistent' set

[54] On the 'exceptional' vocalisation of *mh* following a long vowel in Connacht, see *clúmhach* [kʟuːx] (*ICF* 99; *IT* 108, § 407.14; [klũːx] *IE* 153).

includes *coimhéad* > *coiméad*, *coimeád* (Irish), *dearmhad* > *dearmad* (Irish and Scottish Gaelic) and possibly *eachmhairt* > *eachmairt* (Irish) (for references and further discussion of the development *mh* > *m*, see Ó Maolalaigh 2003). *Leaghmhan(n)* clearly belongs to the second group. The development *mh* > *m* occurs in a double nasal environment in almost 40% of words belonging to the first group and can be seen as a type of assimilation (or hypocorrection [*sic*]), whereby *mh* is made more nasal and more sonorant due to another neighbouring nasal segment (see Ó Maolalaigh 2003). The double nasal environment in *leaghmhan(n)* (and earlier oblique forms of original *legam*) may therefore account for the development of *mh* > *m* in northern dialects (i.e. north Connacht, Ulster and Scottish Gaelic). However, since the development *mh* > *m* is so sporadic in most other examples in a double nasal environment, such a phonological explanation cannot be conclusively adduced for *mh* > *m* in the case of *leaghmhan(n)* > *leaghman(n)*. Other explanations can be suggested. It is possible that original *legam*, with lenited final *mh*, developed by-forms with unlenited *m*, by analogy with other *n*-stems, many of which contained unlenited *m*, e.g. *céimm*, *menm(a)e*, *senim*. With this we may compare Stüber's explanation of unlenited *m* in OI *anaimm* ('soul') for expected lenited *mh* (cf. Middle Breton and Cornish *enef*) (Stüber 1998: 149). The change *mh* > *m* would have been possible once *-amh* had lost its agentive force in this word. One may also speculate whether the development could have been influenced by similar words for insects and small beasts containing the suffix *-mann*, e.g. *gadmunn* ('hair insect, nit'; Dwelly s.v. *gadmunn*), *dadmann* ('mite, very small insect'; Dwelly s.v. *dadmunn*); cf. Irish *ruamann na gcoinneal* ('daddy-long-legs'; Ó Dónaill s.v.).[55]

The development *mh* > *m* generally may be related to the fact

[55] On the other hand, it is possible that the suffix in *leaghmann* may have affected *gadmann*, *dadmann* etc. MacBain (1896: s.v. *gadmunn*) offers no etymology for *gadmann*. It is interesting to speculate whether the first element represents the root *gad*, which O'Rahilly (1942b: 168–9) claimed had the original meaning of 'spearing, piercing', in which case *gadmann* may originally have referred to 'the piercing one/thing'. If correct it could imply the existence of an earlier unattested agentive *n*-stem **gatam* (= **gadamh*) akin to *legam* and *sirem*, whose final syllable developed along similar lines to that of *legam*/*leaghmhan*.

that it is difficult for aerodynamic reasons to produce detectable amounts of friction in voiced fricatives which are accompanied by velic opening (i.e. in nasalised voiced fricatives) (see, for example, Ohala 1975: 300). This difficulty may have been compounded in the double fricative cluster *ghmh*. The desire to retain nasalisation may have led to the simplification of the cluster *ghmh* to *ghm*. One further (non-phonological) factor may also be relevant in this case. It is possible that *mh* to *m* occurred in northern dialects as a means of differentiating the word for 'moth' from the word for 'lion', namely *leomhan(n)* (a borrowing from Latin; see *DIL* s.v. *léo*; Stüber 1998: 191), with which it seems to have been confused in Munster and south Connacht dialects. Alternatively, it is possible that the development *mh* > *m* in northern Irish dialects may have developed as a reaction against the apparent merger of *leomhan* and *leaghmhan* in southern dialects as /l′o:n/. Whatever the motivation for the change *mh* > *m* may have been, the wide geographical distribution of the development *mh* > *m* in *leaghmhan(n)* in northern Gaelic dialects generally suggests that the change *mh* > *m* is quite an old development which preceded the vocalisation of *gh* in *leaghmhan(n)*.[56]

4. The final syllable *-an*

The final syllable of reflexes of *leaghmhan* is usually realised with unlenited *nn* in Scottish Gaelic although *-an* [an] with clear vowel is recorded from some dialects (e.g. Arran). In Donegal unlenited *nn* appears to be the norm although forms with clear vowels and lenited *n* also occur. It follows that original lenited *n* has been replaced with unlenited *nn* in northern dialects in both Ireland and Scotland (although the final *-ann* syllable has been assimilated to the diminutive ending *-án* in some northern Irish dialects, perhaps by analogy with *féileacán*).[57] The south-west Mayo form *léamún*

[56] I deem it more likely that the development of *mh* > *m* over such a wide geographical area occurred either (a) in word final position (i.e. *legam*[*h*] > *leagham*) or (b) in the cluster *ghmh* rather than in the intervocalic position after *gh* had been vocalised.

[57] Similarly, instances of *-an* with clear *a* and lenited *n* in Scottish Gaelic may be due to the influence of forms such as *raodan*, *reudan* etc. Here we may compare the Manx form, which appears to contain the diminutive *-een* (cf. Irish *-ín*).

(*LASID* I, 209, point 52; cf. [ʟ´ẹːə̆mun´] *IAM* 375) may represent a mixed form based on northern *léaman(n)* and southern *liún*/*león*.

It is not immediately obvious whether or not the change *n* > *nn* occurred in southern Irish dialects. Wagner records 'lenited' *n* ([ən] and [an´]) in Mayo. His forms with lenited *n* [*n*] in most southern dialects (especially Galway and Munster) are difficult to interpret historically because of the merger of unlenited and lenited non-palatal *n* in these dialects and because of Wagner's problematic transcription (see de Bhaldraithe 1959a: 17; Ó Curnáin (*IA*)). However, the plural forms in southern Connacht dialects provide a vital and crucial clue as to the original value of the final nasal consonant in these dialects. The occurrence of the phoneme /n´/ rather than /ɴ´/ in plural forms such as *lóin* /ʟ´oːn´/ (*LASID* I, 209) in south Connacht in dialects, which still contrast lenited and unlenited palatal *n* (i.e. /n´/ ~ /ɴ´/), suggests very strongly that the underlying (uninflected) form in these dialects contained lenited non-palatal *n*, i.e. /n/ and not unlenited *nn* /ɴ/. Contrast *domhan* /dauɴ/ (/ɴ/ deriving from original lenited /n/) → *domhain* /daun´/ (gen. sg.), *glan* /gʟaɴ/ (/ɴ/ deriving from original lenited /n/) → *glain* /gʟan´/ (gen. sg.) with *ceann* /k´aːɴ/ → *cinn* /k´iːɴ´/, (pl.) *crann* /kraːɴ/ → *croinn* /kriːɴ´/ (pl.) (*ICF* 18–19). It follows, therefore, that the most likely underlying nominative form in these dialects was *leaghmhan* with final lenited *n*. Lenited and unlenited palatal (and non-palatal) *n* have merged in the more southerly dialects of Munster and it is consequently difficult to predict, based on the synchronic evidence of such dialects, whether the underlying form contained lenited *n* or unlenited *nn*. However, it may be reasonably inferred from the Connacht evidence that Munster forms also derive from an original form with lenited *n*.

It follows that the development *n* > *nn* shares a fairly similar northern geographical distribution to the development *mh* > *m*. Indeed, it is possible that both developments may ultimately be related (see further below). The development *n* > *nn* can, like *mh* > *m*, be seen as a form of assimilation whereby the sonorancy of the final nasal is increased due the presence of the sonorant *m* (< *mh*): if correct, this might suggest that the change *mh* > *m* preceded the development of *n* > *nn*. However, the development *n* > *nn* cannot

be disassociated with the general development of unmarked broad *n* > *nn* in final unstressed position in Scottish Gaelic (compare, e.g. *buidhean* > *buidheann* etc.).[58] On the other hand *n* > *nn* may be analogical as Stüber (1998: 157, n. 211) suggests.

It is unclear what relevance MacNeill's Law may have for the development *n* > *nn* in the case of *leaghmhan*. Ó Buachalla (1988: 45) questioned the validity of Thurneysen's reformulation of MacNeill's Law to include unlenited *m*, which stated that 'after short vowels *l* and *n* are … delenited at the end of unstressed syllables beginning with *r, l, n* or unlenited *m*' (*GOI* 89). Ó Buachalla's reformulation has recently been questioned by Stüber (1998: 39–44 (40–42)), who cites some evidence in favour of the inclusion of *m* in the rule. MacNeill's Law may have operated facultatively as a synchronic rule over a long period of time (Stüber 1998: 42), and if *m* is to be included, it is possible that MacNeill's law applied to *leaghmhan* once the change *mh* > *m* had occurred, representing a northern innovation, which as we have suggested, may be of some antiquity. If the development *n* > *nn* did occur due to the operation of MacNeill's Law, it follows that *n* > *nn* did not develop in southern Irish dialects since it would not be expected in an unstressed syllable whose coda began with lenited *mh*. It is thus possible that earlier *legam* developed two early by-forms, namely *leaghmann* in northern dialects (including Scottish Gaelic) and *leaghmhan* in southern dialects. Here we may compare a similar geographical pattern exhibited by northern *dearmad* (including Scottish Gaelic) and southern *dearmhad* (see *LASID* I, 163), both deriving from underlying *dearmhad* with lenited *mh*.

Conclusion

We have outlined the development of OI *legam* to *leaghmhan* and described the various phonological developments which have given

[58] The development of broad *n* > *nn* in unstressed position in Scottish Gaelic remains to be fully investigated. Ó Buachalla (1988: 42) seems to imply that both palatal and non-palatal lenited *n* have developed similarly in unstressed syllables in Scottish Gaelic. I suspect that further analysis may show that the development of palatal and non-palatal *n* may have occurred along slightly different lines: for discussion of the development of palatal lenited *n*, see Ó Maolalaigh 2001: 16–19.

rise to the wide variety of synchronic forms witnessed in the modern Gaelic dialects. Our discussion has shown that each of the six 'original' segments *l*, *e*, *gh*, *mh*, *a*, *n* has been liable to change, albeit to varying degrees in different dialects. In chronological terms, the first discernable phonological change – the primary change – appears to have been *mh* > *m*, which clearly occurred in northern dialects only. The modern dialectal distribution shows that this development reflects the single most important linguistic divide in Gaelic dialects, i.e. between northern and southern dialects (cf. Ó Buachalla 2002), a divide that did not always coincide with the geographical boundaries of Ireland and Scotland as Professor Ó Baoill had earlier established in his 1978 study. I am prepared to believe that the change *mh* > *m* in this word could be as old as the Old or Middle Irish period, and as such, that *legam*/*leaghm(h)an* could represent an early phonetico-lexical feature of dialectal differentiation in Gaelic dialects. We have also suggested that this development may have dictated to a large extent the subsequent development of final *-n* in this word. The vocalisation of *gh* served to further differentiate northern and southern forms, largely due to the fact that original *e* had earlier been lowered to *a* in southern Irish dialects – a development which did not generally occur in northern Gaelic in the position before *gh*. Compensatory lengthening to a back unround vowel in Scottish Gaelic in turn triggered the change from initial palatal *l* to non-palatal *l* in northern dialects. Despite much dialectal variation we have also drawn attention to the adoption of geographically restricted (southern) forms, *leamhan* and *leòmann*, as prestige literary spellings in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic respectively.

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I am grateful to Dr Brian Ó Curnáin and Professor Máirtín Ó Murchú who read and commented on this article, and whose thought-provoking comments enabled me to clarify my thinking on some of the topics discussed here. It goes without saying that I alone am responsible for any imperfections which remain.

Capital Tales or Burghead Bull?

Richard Oram

Burghead is a rocky promontory that projects northwest into the Moray Firth at the west end of the coastal ridge between Lossiemouth and Roseisle in Moray. It is an exposed location, open to every wind but providing a viewpoint from which the coastline from Moray west to the entries to the Beauly and Cromarty Firths and north to Noss Head in Caithness can be seen. Modern Burghead has developed from a nineteenth-century planned village, but at the extremity of the headland decayed and grass-grown ramparts indicate a greater antiquity. Until 1805–09, an extensive fortified complex extended over the ground now occupied by the village. At the highest point of the site there was an inner 'citadel', a quadrangular enclosure measuring some 90m x 150m, within a rampart that stood up to 6m high. To its north, the ground slopes steeply to a broad terrace protected to seaward by a massive rampart. To the east, a further three parallel rows of ramparts, fronted by an outer ditch, provided over 100m of additional defensive depth. Even in their ruinous condition, these are impressive remains. Consequently, for over four hundred and fifty years, they have been subjected to antiquarian and archaeological enquiry and speculation, from which numerous myths and apocryphal tales have arisen.

It is the scale of its fortifications that sets apart Burghead from all other early historic sites in Scotland. By a factor of three, this is the most extensive of the recognised fortified power-centres of early Scotland (Foster 1996: 43). That statement requires some qualification, for when the outer defences of the site are removed from the equation, the inner 'citadel' area is closer in scale to other important regional centres of Dark Age power, such as Craig Phadraig at Inverness (Shepherd 1993: 78–9; Small and Cottam 1972). It was the overall scale and apparent sophistication of the defences at Burghead, however, that first sparked interest in them and they remain the chief attraction for would-be investigators.

Fil súil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: a Festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill
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Early historiography and 'Danish' Burghead

Despite its physical scale, Burghead is a site that casts no certain shadow in early medieval documents. Archaeology and analogy have now demonstrated clearly, however, that it is a late Iron Age Celtic structure in origin, its main development falling within the Pictish period in the history of northern Scotland (c. 500 A.D. – c. 850 A.D.). In an age before the benefits of the archaeological sciences, its Celtic credentials were rarely considered in a search for evidence as to who its builders were. There is no early documentary source that can be shown without doubt to refer to Burghead – despite numerous claims to the contrary (Macdonald 1860–62: 321–69) – and, when we enter the better-documented later Middle Ages, it remains unattested. Whatever its political, economic and cultural significance in the Pictish era, all such importance evidently disappeared long before the emergence of the political structures which developed in Moray after c. 900 and which formed the basis upon which the later earldom and diocese of Moray was built.

It is not until the sixteenth century that Burghead enters the historical record. The largely fictitious account of an early eleventh-century conflict between Scots and Danes in Moray, offered by Hector Boece in his 1527 *History of Scotland*, labels the Danes' stronghold *Narmin* and mentions its subsequent renaming by locals as *The Burg*. The firm identification of *Narmin* and *The Burg* with modern Burghead is only made in the late sixteenth century, in the topographical notes and maps of Timothy Pont, who fixes the *Old Brugh* firmly on the Moray coast (http://www.nls.uk/pont/specialist/pont08.html).

It is an irony of the general dearth of solid documentary evidence for Burghead that, since the sixteenth century, it has developed a pseudo-history of great extent and complexity. The historiography of this tradition was first explored by the Elgin antiquarian James Macdonald in the 1860s (Macdonald 1860–62: 321–69). He identified a strand, originating in Boece's fantastical elaborations of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century accounts of John of Fordun and Walter Bower, and given greater currency as a result of John Bellenden's 1531 translation of Boece from Latin into Scots (Seton, Chambers, Batho and Husbands 1938–41). Bellenden's translation,

riddled with errors that compounded many of Boece's fantasies, was the most widely distributed of the sixteenth-century histories and ensured that *Narmin* became embedded in both the popular and the academic consciousness, not only in Scotland but also amongst antiquarians south of the Border (Macdonald 1860–62: 323–5, 328–30). By the later sixteenth century, Boece's narrative, as embellished by Bellenden, was being rehearsed almost verbatim in the writings of Thomas Holinshed, Bishop John Lesley and George Buchanan (Aikman 1827–29; Cody 1888). By the period 1583–1601, when Timothy Pont was amassing the topographical data for the maps completed by Robert Gordon of Straloch and published in Holland in 1653 in Blaeu's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Blaeu 1654), the equation of Burghead with the semi-mythical 'Danish *Narmin*' was universally accepted.

The eighteenth century brought further reinforcement of this 'Danish' fort thesis through the works of Lachlan Shaw, minister of Elgin from 1734 to 1774. In his *History of the Province of Moray*, first published in 1775, Shaw identified Burghead as the stronghold settled in the eleventh century by a force of Danes (Shaw 1882: III, 108–9). Shaw had possibly earlier provided Thomas Pennant with information on Morayshire, including a discussion of Burghead that Pennant incorporated in his 1769 *Tour of Scotland* (Pennant 1790: III, 169; Macdonald 1860–62: 331).[1] Together, Shaw and Pennant ensured that Burghead became essential viewing in the itineraries of most tourists passing through Moray. One of the most detailed accounts by such a visitor was that offered in 1776 by Charles Cordiner, minister of Banff (Cordiner 1780), who accepted the Danish origin of the fortifications but added his own view that they had been reoccupied at a later date and owed their destruction to the violent upheavals in Moray in the early thirteenth century. It was a perceptive observation, but it made no impact on the evolving pseudo-history of Moray (Macdonald 1860–62: 332). Instead, it was from the antiquarian circles of southern England that the first serious assault on the 'Danish fort' thesis was mounted.

[1] Unfortunately, this account has not been included in the more generally available 2000 edition (Pennant 2000).

'Roman' Burghead

The impetus for a new interpretation came in the late 1750s with the publication of a text attributed to a fourteenth-century Benedictine monk of Westminster known as Richard of Circencester (Rivet and Smith 1979: 182–4). This document, styled *De situ Britanniae*, comprised a Latin text itinerary and a map which showed the political structure and settlements of Britain in the later Roman period, expanding on the evidence contained in the early second-century Greek *Geography* of Ptolemy and the so-called *Antonine Itinerary* of the early third century. It was embraced enthusiastically by antiquaries because of the answers that it appeared to offer to many of the questions in contemporary studies of Roman Britain. For nearly a century, until its recognition as a forgery, it was central to all discussions of 'Celtic' Scotland. *De situ Britanniae* listed one site, *Ptorotone*, which sent Scottish antiquaries to scour the modern landscape in search of its physical remains.

The 'discoverer' of *Ptorotone*'s identity was Major-General William Roy (1726–90) who between 1747 and 1752 was employed in surveying northern Scotland for the development of the military road network. He was an enthusiastic student of *De situ Britanniae* and incorporated his interpretation of its 'evidence' into his last major work, the posthumously published *Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain* (1793), copies of which had been circulated privately from the early 1780s (Roy 1793: 131, plates 33 and 34). Combining his interpretations of both *De situ* and Ptolemy with his personal knowledge of Scottish antiquities, he identified Burghead, 'surrounded with a strong rampart, 20ft high, which had been built with old planks, cased with stone and lime' (ibid.) as the remains of this lost Roman fortress.

Ptolemy located a *polis* in the territory of the Vacomagi tribe – the believed inhabitants of Moray (Rivet and Smith 1979: 484–5) – and named it Πτερωτον Στρατοπεδον, derived from the Latin *Pinnata Castra*. It is clear from Ptolemy's placement of this settlement that it lay west of the Spey (identified as Tuessis), somewhere near the Moray coast. Recent interpretations of the names translate the Latin as meaning 'winged camp' and suggest that the reference is to an abundance of *pinnae* (pearl-bearing fan-mussels) in nearby waters or

to an unusual number of birds (ibid.: 440). The attraction to Roy of identifying *Ptorotone* with Burghead is clear, for if the substantial fortifications at this Vacomagian site could be attributed to Roman occupation and reconstruction of the native settlement it would have both vindicated the enthusiastic scholars of 'Richard of Cirencester' and also greatly extended the range of known Roman penetration of northern Scotland. It is important to add, however, that Roy did not reject a Scandinavian occupation of Burghead; he simply saw them as secondary users of the site.

The impact of Roy's theory became apparent only in the 1800s, possibly because it was published too late to influence the contributors to the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. At the time of the *Statistical Account*'s publication, between 1790 and 1798, the pseudo-history of Burghead had crystallised into its definitive Danish storyline and the historical outline offered in the report on the Parish of Duffus is effectively a regurgitation of Shaw (*Statistical Account of Scotland* 1790–98: XVI, 497–8). Within a decade, however, that interpretation had been challenged by a new generation of antiquarians, the main assault coming from George Chalmers, native of Fochabers, London-based lawyer and, between 1807 and 1824, compiler of the monumental *Caledonia*. In 1810 Chalmers published his second volume in the work. It contained material relating to Moray, originally completed in 1807, in which he accepted Roy's thesis that the Romans built Burghead on the site of a 'town' of the Vacomagi and that the Danes simply re-occupied and refurbished the old defences (Chalmers 1807–24: I, 63, 129–30). A nod was given to pre-Roman origins for a settlement on the site, but according to Chalmers the visible remains had to be those of the Roman station that had superseded it. His account gained immediate acceptance and, down to the 1860s, informed the central narrative of subsequent histories such as Isaac Forsyth's *A Manual of the Antiquities, Distinguished Buildings and Natural Curiosities of Moray* (Forsyth 1823). There, Burghead was unqualifiedly identified as *Ptorotone*, built by the Romans and abandoned intact on their withdrawal, to be re-occupied by the Danes (ibid.: 3). This dual thesis gained increased currency in the 1840s, when the account of the parish of Duffus in the *New Statistical Account* endorsed the view wholeheartedly (*New Statistical*

Account 1845: XIII, 36–7). Arguments in favour of Roman origins appeared to have been clinched by the discovery, in 1809, of a rock-cut well or cistern dug into the promontory (Chalmers 1807–24: I, viii). In the words of the *New Statistical Account*, this was 'built with a regularity and elegance seemingly beyond the attainment of a rude people like the Danes' (*New Statistical Account* 1845: XIII, 36–7). Only the Romans, it was reasoned, could construct so fine a structure, the Danes were mere squatters amongst the achievements of their technologically superior precursors.

Scandinavian Burghead re-born: *Torfness*

Dissension with the dual thesis was not entirely silenced. In 1839, for example, the Edinburgh antiquarian William Rhind questioned the likelihood that the Romans ever established themselves in Moray for long enough to build such a powerful fortification (Rhind 1839: 66). Then, in 1862, with the publication of James Macdonald's systematic re-appraisal of the historiography and the known archaeology, a significant challenge was mounted to the Roman hypothesis. Macdonald's work carries its own dangers, for he was an enthusiastic supporter of the Scandinavian tradition and was able to use contemporary advances in the study of Norse sagas to propound a powerful argument in favour of his alternative view (Macdonald 1860–62: 321–69). This saga-based approach was already present by the second half of the eighteenth century: Cordiner, for example, drew extensively on the texts now known as *Orkneyinga saga* and *Thorfinnsdrápa* to illustrate his 1776 account.

It was not until the nineteenth century that significant advances were made in the analysis of the sources that related to northern Scottish history with W. F. Skene's translation of a portion of *Orkneyinga saga* (Skene 1839). The section in question is that much-discussed chapter describing warfare between Thorfinn Sigurdarson, jarl of Orkney, and a Scottish king referred to as 'Karl Hundason'. For Macdonald, the saga's record of a sea-battle at a place labelled *Torfness*, off Durness in Sutherland – which later editors prefer to identify as Deerness in the east of Orkney mainland (Taylor 1938; Pálsson and Edwards 1978: 51–2, 54) – followed by a second battle located south of *Ekkialsbaki* or, alternatively, *Breiðafjorðr* – identified

as the Kyles of Sutherland and the Moray Firth – provided compelling corroboration of the garbled accounts offered by Boece. *Orkneyinga saga*'s *Torfness* was, in Macdonald's view, most likely to be the same as the *Narmin* of Boece. Departing from his sceptical approach to other authorities, he commented glowingly that:

> Looking … at the account of Thorfinn's expedition to Moray as a whole, and taking into account the central position of Burghead, and its capabilities as a seaport, it will perhaps be admitted that there is no point on the southern sea-board of the Moray Firth, at or near which he was so likely to establish his headquarters … It follows, therefore, since no other of Boece's Danish battles except Kinloss can possibly be identified with that between Thorfinn and [Karl], that Torfness and Kinloss are probably different names for the same engagement and that Narmin or Burghead, and Torfness, are almost certainly the same promontory. (Macdonald 1860–62: 327)

Macdonald did not claim that Thorfinn built Burghead, indeed he was at pains to stress its Celtic or, more specifically, Pictish origins, but he planted a seed that others nurtured and developed (ibid.: 360–6). In seeking to overturn one shibboleth, Macdonald set up another in its place. Despite a further century and a half of scholarly endeavour, the seductive image of Burghead as the fortress of *Torfness* from which the incorrigible Viking Thorfinn planned his conquests has proven a difficult ghost to lay.

Current scholarly opinion favours the equation of *Torfness* not with Burghead but with Tarbatness in Easter Ross (Crawford 1987: 72). There is, however, no secure basis for that identification. The sole reference to *Torfness* is found in *Thorfinnsdrápa* which was probably composed in the third quarter of the eleventh century as a eulogy for Thorfinn by his court poet, Arnor Jarlaskalda, who would have been personally familiar with the political geography of the northern mainland. Arnor quite simply states that a battle occurred at *Torfness*, which lay south of *Ekkial* (Whaley 1998: 125). Modern editors and translators, such as Pálsson and Edwards have chosen to interpret this as *immediately* beyond the frontier – hence Tarbatness's attractions – and they have made the unqualified equation of the saga's *Torfness* with the modern Tarbatness, but nothing in the wordings indicates

that such precision was intended (Pálsson and Edwards 1978: 54). South of *Ekkialsbaki* could mean anywhere south of the border.

The name *Torfness* is also deeply problematic. Popular local oral tradition has interpreted this as a contraction of Thorfinn's Ness, a false but deceptive etymology that has produced its own raft of myths. The saga aetiology, however, is equally unsatisfactory. Its proffered link between the name and Jarl Torf Einar and his late ninth-century peat-cutting activities is impossible (ibid.: 29). The most likely etymology lies in a derivation of the specific of the place-name from the Gaelic *tarb*, or Brythonic *tarw*, meaning a bull, the element present in Thurso. So, where is this putative 'bull-headland'? There is the suggestive *Tarvedunum* in Ptolemy, probably to be identified with the fort on Dunnet Head (Rivet and Smith 1979: 469), but this must be dismissed on grounds of simple geography, unless Arnorr had meant to say *Pettlandsfjórðr* instead of *Ekkialsbaki*. The most commonly offered alternative is Burghead and, while there is no trace of a *tarb*-name in the local landscape, there is the much more tangible evidence of the series of Pictish bull carvings for which the site is most famous. Were these carvings the inspiration behind the name?

It has to be said that, sculpture apart, there are as many problems with this identification as with Tarbatness. The most obvious is that, nowadays, Burghead is not a *nes* in the Norse sense of the word, which describes an extended finger of land. The local topography, however, has changed profoundly since the eleventh century when Burghead proper was a promontory at the western end of a long, narrow ridge separated from the mainland by the now-drained lochs of Spynie and Roseisle. The second problem is that Arnorr is clearly describing a geographical feature, not a fortification. The idea that *Torfness* was a fortified site is an intrusion into the narrative that stems from the separate comment in *Orkneyinga saga* that the ninth-century Jarl Sigurðr built a fortress 'south in Moray' (Pálsson and Edwards 1978: 27). The argument that this fort was the later *Torfness* and, therefore, Burghead, is cyclical and unsupported by any independent evidence. Quite simply, the 'Danish' associations with Burghead understandably led to the suggestion that it was Sigurd's fort, in turn leading back to the identification with *Torfness*.

To some extent, Burghead's twentieth-century historiography

was characterised by trench warfare between strongly opposed perspectives. The Roman thesis reappeared, taking Barri Jones's results at sites between Boyndie in Banffshire and Tarradale in the Black Isle as vindication of the fort's imperial origins (Jones, Keillar and Maude 1993: 65–70). This view at least is founded on archaeological results which, taken with the remarkable discoveries at Deskford and Birnie (Hunter 2000 and 2002: 22–8), do establish that there was a first-century Roman military presence in the southern littoral of the Moray Firth and continuing influence and cultural interchange into the late Roman era.

Other theses are based on less solid foundations. The current resurgence in popularity for the Scandinavian/Thorfinn/*Torfness* model, for example, is based on the late Nigel Tranter's historical fantasy *Macbeth the King* rather than on the eleventh-century sources discussed above. Tranter went so far as to have Macbeth, whom he housed on a crannog known as the Rose Isle in the Loch of Spynie, visiting his cousin, Thorfinn, at Burghead for supper and a sauna. Tranter claimed historical authority for his scenario, but it is an authority evidently known only to him. Despite the tenuous nature of the novel's relation to the historical record, Tranter was consulted in the 1990s as an expert on the history of Burghead when plans for its development as a tourist attraction were first seriously mooted.

Antiquarians and archaeologists

So much for the historians' endeavours. What light can the physical remains throw on this debate? In many ways, the archaeological reports are as fanciful as the pre-1860 historical tradition, but the physical record offers a tangible resource that can – to an extent – be re-analysed in a manner that the parchment record cannot. Only 'to an extent' because, of course, most of the complex recorded by Roy has been obliterated since his time. As a result, we are dependent on the accuracy of his plan and on observations made during the destruction of the outer defences in 1805–09. This operation preceded construction of the planned village and harbour, whose building also required the removal of a substantial portion of the southern edge of the promontory's western end. Correspondence relating to these works describes the excavation of thousands of

tons of debris for use as landfill along the southern flank of the headland. This project, the work of Burghead's proprietor, William Young, has been condemned as wanton vandalism, but Young was an 'improving' landlord pursuing the development of property that previously afforded little economic return. We can wring our hands at the destruction of a unique site, but such sentiments carried little weight in the Age of Improvement.

'… a bull, very well executed …'

The clearance did have some positive results. The best-known of the finds from Young's demolition were the bull sculptures mentioned above. The exact find-spots and number of sculptures found remains open to question. Near-contemporary correspondence speaks of visitors being permitted to remove objects from the site and, at present, only six sculptures from a possible 1805–09 total of 25–30 can now be located (Shepherd 1986: 133).[2]

Due to the imprecision surrounding where the bull sculptures were unearthed, there is disagreement as to their function. Professor Stuart of Aberdeen University, who visited the site in 1809, spoke of:

> the most various materials, viz, masses of stone with lime, cement, pieces of pottery and baked bricks and tiles, half-burnt beams of wood, broken cornices and mouldings of well-cut freestone … On some pieces of freestone are seen remains of mouldings and carved figures, particularly of a bull, very well executed. (Macdonald 1860–62: 347)

This description has led to suggestions that the sculptures formed a symbolic or totemic frieze set high in the ramparts on either side of the fort's entrance (Shepherd 1986: 133; Ritchie and Ritchie 1991: 190). It was Macdonald's view, however, that none of the slabs had been built into a wall (Macdonald 1860–62: 355–6). Graham and Anna Ritchie proposed that they had been carved at Burghead and stockpiled for future use as territorial markers (Ritchie and Ritchie 1991: 162). An alternative view is that they were votive offerings associated with a Celtic fertility cult (Foster 1996: 44). Similar slabs

[2] Two of the Bull slabs are now on display in Burghead and two are in Elgin Museum. The National Museum in Edinburgh and the British Museum in London have one each.

have been found at sites ranging from Gurness in Orkney, Dinnacair near Stonehaven, to the fort on the East Lomond in Fife (which also carried a bull or ox symbol) (ibid.: 43–4), but at no other place are they known in such numbers.

In 1862 the whereabouts of only four slabs was known, the most recent discovery being made in that year in the course of laying rails at the harbour. The stone lay amongst the rubble infill of the pier and narrowly avoided destruction at the hands of a navvy by the quick intervention of an observant bystander. This find points to the likely resting-place of the bulk of the sculptures noticed in 1809. A fifth slab was recovered in 1867 during the demolition of 'an old cottage' that stood on the south quay, again pointing to re-use of these sandstone blocks as building materials by Young's workmen.

Well, baptistery or shrine?

The second major discovery from the early nineteenth-century construction work has proven even more contentious. In 1809 a depression in the slope at the east end of the lower ward, reputed to be a well, was cleared in the hope of providing a good water-supply for the village. The clearance revealed a flight of rock-cut steps that led into a roughly rectangular semi-subterranean chamber, into the floor of which was cut a rectangular, spring-fed tank. There was a paved walk around the edge of the chamber, with a step down into the tank midway along the northern side, a curved pedestal set into the south-east angle of the chamber and a stone basin in the north-west angle. The rock walls of the chamber converge slightly as they rise, and their upper portion forms a band or frieze about 1m deep which was said to have been coated with plaster at the time of discovery. Of this arrangement, only the chamber walls, pedestal and basin are now original, as the rock-hewn steps were re-cut, modern lintels were placed over the deepest portion of the approach, an archway was built over the entrance and a stone barrel vault was built over the tank. Inside the chamber, the paving on the walk around the tank was lifted, its edges were chiselled down and the bed of the tank was blasted with explosives to increase its depth for use as a cistern – for which it proved useless. Despite this mutilation, the Burghead Well remains an impressive monument. It is, moreover, unique in form but not altogether without parallel.

The scale and sophistication of the well, together with the contemporary belief in the Roman nature of the site, saw its immediate description as a work of Roman engineering. To Chalmers, in whose *Caledonia* the discovery was first reported, it was either the water-supply of a Roman fort or its bath (Chalmers 1807–24: I, Preface, viii). By the 1850s, the descriptions of the remains as discovered in 1809 had acquired all sorts of elaboration, most usually that the plasterwork on the frieze had been painted deep red (Macdonald 1860–62: 353). From the 1860s, the story changed through the identification of the bull carvings as Pictish and the recognition later in the century of sculpted fragments from the village as the remains of an Early Christian corner-post shrine (Shepherd 1993: 79).[3] This Christian evidence led to the re-labelling of the well as a baptistery, but still probably of Roman influence (HMSO [n.d.]: 4). Some accounts mistakenly link the well with the cult of St Aethan through confusion with St Aethan's Well, a spring which lay on the lower slopes of Clarkly Hill on the mainland ridge (Laing and Laing 1993: 23, 84).

More recently, the interpretation of the well has changed again, from baptistery to pagan Celtic water-shrine (ibid.: 23). This view was encouraged by the reporting to Inverness Museum in the late 1980s of a previously unrecorded sandstone slab bearing a carving of a head in late Celtic style, said to have been obtained from Burghead at the time of the 1809 work at the well (Shepherd 1993: 78; Foster 1996: 44). The discovery led to speculation that the well was a water-shrine where votive offerings were made and where human sacrifices were offered to pagan deities (Ritchie 1989: 15). Similar wells have been found under several excavated northern power-centres, ranging from Midhowe broch on Rousay in Orkney down to Crosskirk broch in Caithness (Shepherd 1993: 78). In all cases, the well-structures were unusually sophisticated and elaborate for mere water-supply purposes, and that at Harray was also the find-spot of a fine plaque bearing an eagle carving. The implication is that there was a ritual, rather than a purely utilitarian, function for these structures, a view followed by most recent authorities (Foster 1996: 44).

[3] A ninth-century date has now been postulated for this sculpture rather than the late seventh- to early eighth-century date noted in Shepherd.

The defences

Amongst the excitement caused by the bull sculptures and the well, it is easy to lose sight of the dominant piece of evidence for Burghead's importance, the fortifications. The earliest description of these defences is in an account of Duffus parish dated 1725, which is preserved amongst the geographical papers of the early eighteenth-century antiquary, Walter Macfarlane. This account recorded the presence amongst the rubble of large oak timbers (Mitchell and Clark 1906–08: I, 235). Half a century later, Lachlan Shaw reported that the ramparts enclosing the citadel were formed of 'oaken logs, laid deep in the earth, of which some pieces are as yet digged up, and the burnt remains appear in the earth' (Shaw 1882: III, 108). Cordiner offered a different description, in which the ramparts were 'an immense mound of earth and stones' and 'the top had been defended by logs of oak piled on one another' (Cordiner 1780: 58). He agreed with Shaw, however, on the evidence for burning. By the 1790s, the *Statistical Account* reported that the citadel was 'surrounded with piles of large oak trees, drove deep into the earth, forming a kind of rampart. Pieces of these piles are yet to be found among the rubbish when digged into, and appear to have been destroyed by fire' (*Statistical Account* 1799: XVI, 506–7). James Grant's *Survey of the Province of Moray* of 1798 differed again, describing the upper rampart as twenty feet high, built of stone and lime and with some oak planks through it (Grant 1798: 53). All accounts agreed on the presence of oaken timbers and the evidence of burning.

William Young's onslaught on the site after 1805 brought fresh observations. Chalmers published descriptions of the upper and lower ramparts. The former is a re-working of Grant's 1798 account, but the latter speaks only of stone with no timberwork (Chalmers 1807–24: I, 130–1 and notes). This offers the first suggestion that the construction technique varied between the lines of fortification – possible evidence for different phases of building work. There has been a recent suggestion that the outer works date to the earlier Iron Age (Ritchie 1989: 14), but one feature, considered below, may rule that out.

The first attempt at a controlled and recorded investigation of the ramparts was undertaken by James Macdonald in the early

1860s (Macdonald 1860–62: 347–51). He cut sections through the northern ramparts of the citadel and lower ward, and opened imprecisely located trenches over the outer defences. The work on the citadel brought no satisfactory results, as the whole had been thoroughly ransacked for building stone after 1809. Nevertheless, Macdonald did identify masses of charcoal and fire-reddened stone. He enjoyed greater success in the lower ward where he uncovered the lower inner face of the rampart sealed within tumbled debris. He recorded a skin of unmortared and undressed stones revetting a rubble core, with the additional reinforcement of oak beams set horizontally and running both lengthwise to the wall and transversely (ibid.: 349–50). Exciting though that discovery was, his excavation of the innermost of the three outer defences hints at the depth of surviving archaeology on parts of the site. In a trench 'immediately behind one row of houses' (ibid.: 348), about 2m below the present ground surface, his workmen came down on top of a wall. This was rubble-built and retained on its outer face by a single skin of rough blocks set in staged courses. The wall itself survived 1.8m high. Although the recording of his work is unsatisfactory, Macdonald's excavation confirmed the differing character of the two sets of defences and established that significant archaeology survived beneath the 1800s levelling – something that the most recent excavations at the site, commencing in 2003, have confirmed.

Thirty years after Macdonald's work, local antiquarian Hugh W. Young cut sections through the remaining defences. This work added further significant information on construction method. It confirmed that the wall was up to 8m thick between well-constructed sandstone revetments and that the rubble-core was stabilised by framework of oak timbers, representing a continued use of the timber-lacing technique that emerged in the late Bronze Age. Young, however, identified a new feature, 20cm-long iron nails driven through the timbers to secure the joins between the horizontal beams (Young 1890–91: 436–47; Young 1892–93: 86–91). This technique was similar to that identified by Leslie Alcock at Dundurn in the 1970s and securely dated there to the late seventh or early eighth century (Alcock, Alcock and Driscoll 1989: 202). If any re-affirmation of the sophistication and status of the defences was necessary, this

new discovery settled the issue. The investment in time, labour and materials – the volume of iron involved if all the joins were treated in this way is huge – points towards the fort being a power-centre of the highest status (Ralston and Inglis 1984: 24). This advance was significant but, in those pre-C14 days, Young's excavations failed to settle the question of date and the early twentieth century saw the continued attribution of Burghead's construction and use to a range of builders and time periods.

In 1969, the late Alan Small published a brief report on some exploratory work that he had undertaken at the site (Small 1969: 61–8). In it, for the first time, Small cut through the Gordian knot of myth around Burghead and proposed that it was a Pictish site. His proposition was supported on three C14 dates obtained from timbers recovered from a section through the fort ramparts. These placed construction in a time frame of 350 A.D.±120 years to 650 A.D.±105 years, i.e. firmly within the early Pictish period. The spread of dates, he argued, pointed to the careful maintenance of the defences over a period of centuries, continuing up to its probably violent destruction in the ninth century.

Small's excavations pointed to a hiatus in occupation in at least the citadel area. He suggested that the fort had been burned in the ninth century and, as accumulation of sand behind its derelict ramparts indicated, subsequently ceased to hold any significance as a centre of power. In the twelfth or early thirteenth century, there was some re-occupation at the site, indicated by areas of cobbling and fragments of medieval green-glazed wares. As this settlement makes no impact in the medieval documentation for the area, it was presumably of low status, possibly the forerunner of the fisher-toun that had developed on the headland by the eighteenth century.

In 1976 Kevin Edwards and Ian Ralston undertook a non-excavational examination of the western defences, where Small had dug his sections in 1966. They identified two organic layers underlying tumbled debris from the wall and rich deposits of charcoal amongst fire-reddened wall-rubble, which they believed to be lying in situ (Edwards and Ralston 1977–78: 202–10). Their investigation offered some refinement of Small's interpretation, confirming the early Pictish date for the rampart construction – which they placed

in the mid to later third century A.D. (around a century in advance of Small's fourth-century date) – and supported Small's view that the rampart had been well maintained and repaired over the centuries (ibid.: 207–8). There has been criticism of both the sampling techniques used by Edwards and Ralston and the long chronology for the defences that they proposed (Alcock 1984: 21) but, as Ralston argued subsequently, these charges do not weaken the overall findings (Ralston 1987). Their most significant new detail, a C14 date that pushed the burning of the fort forward to around 900 A.D. (Edwards and Ralston 1977–78: 208), remains unchallenged. Small made much of an unstratified fragment of steatite bowl found in his excavation (steatite is a material associated with Scandinavian colonists in the northern British Isles) and of the early nineteenth-century find of a fragment of what was believed to be a Scandinavian silver blast-horn mount (shortly thereafter shown to be ninth-century Anglo-Saxon work). On the basis of these, he suggested that the destruction of the fort was probably the work of Norse raiders (Small 1969: 61, 67; Graham-Campbell 1973: 43–51). Edwards and Ralston, however, were more cautious, stating that 'present information remains insufficient to associate the destruction of the site with Viking activity' (Edwards and Ralston 1977–78: 208).

The chapel

There is one other component in this archaeological complex. On Roy's plan, in a levelled area south of the entrance causeway through the outer defences, lying on the line of the second rampart, there is a quadrangular enclosure. From Roy, it appears that the rampart respects this enclosure, which may offer a clue to the relative chronology of both features. This quadrangle is the 'Chapel-yard', a small burial ground on the north side of Grant Street whose boundaries were regularised to bring it into line with the 1805–09 street grid. The site is first mentioned in 1725 (Mitchell and Clark 1906–08: I, 293–4) and Cordiner described it, and what may be fragments of early sculpture, in his 1776 account (Cordiner 1780: 59). Roy showed no evidence for structures within the enclosure but Macdonald mentioned local reports that, down to the 1800s, stone footings of a building could be traced. Certainly, in 1798 it was recorded that there had been a chapel there dependent on the parish church of Duffus (Forsyth 1823: 125). According to

Macdonald, local tradition averred that stones from a ruined chapel had been used c. 1800 to build a new mill on the Outlet Burn, a now-vanished stream that drained from the Loch of Roseisle into Burghead Bay about one mile south of the village (Macdonald 1860–62: 355). On this evidence alone, it seems likely that the building whose stone was plundered would have been a medieval chapel-of-ease constructed to serve an outlying community at the western extremity of the parish. Additional finds, however, reveal a much greater antiquity.

In his account of the sculptural remains from Burghead, Macdonald highlighted four fragments apparently from the Chapel-yard, while a fifth – a fragment of cross-shaft – came from somewhere in the citadel area (Macdonald 1860–62: 356–7). These were the components of a corner-post shrine (Shepherd 1993: 79). A shrine speaks of a cult centre of more significance than a rural chapel. Macdonald clearly recognised their importance – he drew attention also to the nearby St Aethan's Well – but, exercising a caution that sets him apart from his contemporaries, he referred only to an 'ecclesiastical site' (Macdonald 1860–62: 361–2). Subsequent generations of scholars have been altogether more adventurous and, by the 1970s, Macdonald's ecclesiastical site had turned in to a full-blown monastery, some interpreters again re-branding the well as a baptistery associated with this religious centre (Shepherd 1993: 79).

Discussion and conclusions

Taken together, what does the above evidence tell us? The answer is, surprisingly, quite a lot, although much is inference from negative evidence. Firstly, it is clear that the Roman fort thesis has no substance behind it. There is evidence of activity at the site in the Roman period – one probably fourth-century bronze coin, a piece of handle from a glass bottle and a blue melon bead (Ralston and Inglis 1984: 24) – but it is native Celtic and civil rather than Roman and military.[4] Here, indeed, is most surely the evidence for Ptolemy's Vacomagi *polis*.

Radiocarbon dates imply that there was occupation on the headland in the fourth century, prior to the construction of the timber-laced

[4] The melon bead introduced yet another exotic element into the pseudo-history of the site when Hugh Young identified it as Phoenician in origin (Elgin Museum, Gordon Letters 93.25, dated 31 May 1893).

rampart of the citadel and lower ward shortly before 400 A.D. The radiocarbon dates, construction technique and sculptural evidence all support the argument that this site evolved as a Pictish fortification, built and maintained over a period of centuries down to c. 850–900. Probably between c. 650 and c. 700, an evidently important Christian centre was established near the gates of the fort. There is no evidence that this Christian centre was still functioning by the tenth century when Burghead appears to have been sacked and burned. Following that destruction, the headland site evidently lay derelict and there is no unequivocal evidence for occupation on the promontory again until the twelfth or thirteenth century. From that date, Burghead began to evolve as we know it, a minor fishing village and port on the Moray coast.

The above is a 'bare bones' narrative, but more can be built around this framework. Firstly, from the outset, this was clearly a major site (Shepherd 1993: 78–9), not just for Moray but for much of the northern part of mainland Scotland. What, however, was its function? Whilst it is going too far to claim that Burghead was the fortress of that 'most powerful king of Picts', Bridei mac Maelcon, visited by St Columba in 560 and which Adamnán located 'near to the river Ness' in his life of the saint (Sharpe 1991: II, 33–5), the consensus view is that it was a secular centre, the seat of some great, probably monarchical power. The historical record for the northern part of Scotland before the twelfth century does not permit any categorical statements to be made concerning the nature of the political structures of the region. Nevertheless, the scale of the defences at Burghead point to this place having been a power-centre of more than just local significance and its location within the settlement hierarchy of Moray indicates that it stood at the apex of the political and economic structures of a zone extending from east of the Spey and stretching almost to Inverness. Recent local tradition has seen it labelled the 'Pictish Capital' (to be seen most clearly in the bold declaration of its status carved into the sandstone monoliths which flank the main road entrance to the village); while that labelling carries a wholly inappropriate raft of modern socio-economic and political connotations, in Dark Age terms it is perhaps not so wide of the mark. Its scale and the sophistication of the construction

techniques employed in the building of its defences point towards a concentration of the resources of wealth at this location capable of attracting and employing craftsmen and providing adequate labour to build and maintain the works. Clearly, whatever the nature of the authority based at Burghead, it commanded access to the economic resources of an extensive hinterland and had the ability to marshal and direct those resources to its own ends.

The dearth of early narrative sources for most of northern Scotland prevents us from identifying the powers who ruled from Burghead between the fourth and ninth centuries. Through analogy with royal sites elsewhere in Early Historic Britain, however, it has been depicted as a place where a Pictish potentate held court over his warband and dependents – in Ian Shepherd's words, a place of 'feasting, the telling of heroic tales, law-giving and divination' (Shepherd [n.d.]). That power, Shepherd argued, commanded a military and naval authority commensurate with the scale of the fortifications. Burghead, he went on to suggest, was a 'home port' for the Pictish navy. This suggestion betrays misunderstanding of the nature of Dark Age sea-power and the mechanisms by which fleets were assembled and maintained in that period. Modern notions of state power and resource management have been projected onto the past.

Nevertheless, the basic identification of the fortifications with temporal power holds good, and we can probably assume that Burghead was the seat of a predatory power which sustained itself on plunder and tribute. Alongside that dimension, we need to recognise that the power of such a site would have lain also in a role as a centre of production and consumption. It would surely have commanded substantial resources in the form of tribute from the population of its agricultural hinterland in Moray, from which it would have been possible to support the skilled craftsmen – smiths, wrights and leather-workers, for example – who catered for the material trappings of power in early medieval society. Burghead, therefore, should be seen as the equivalent in the north-east of Dumbarton for the Britons of Strathclyde, Bamburgh and York for Northumbria, or Winchester for the West Saxons.

The central role which such a site would have held in the social,

political and economic life of its region would have made it an obvious candidate for attack by enemies. Amongst the predatory cultures of northern Europe, such nodes of wealth represented the power and prestige of an enemy in abstract terms as well as constituting their actual economic hearts. Burghead may have grown larger, more powerful, and above all wealthier, on the military successes of its now forgotten rulers, but that scale in all aspects would have increased its attraction to would-be challengers for supremacy in northern Scotland. The evidence for the sudden and dramatic end to Burghead's primacy – indeed, its disappearance as a seat of population and pre-eminent regional political and economic centre – indicates an overthrow of power as profound as that which occurred in the kingdom of Strathclyde in west central Scotland following the capture and sack of its chief seat at Dumbarton by Vikings in 870.

The kingdom based around Dumbarton rock took decades to recover from the sack of their citadel and their power seems to have contracted to a narrow core in the Clyde valley, based on a new and smaller centre of royal power at Cadzow. Although Dumbarton may not have been entirely abandoned after 870 – fragments of two tenth-century recumbent cross-slabs suggest some ecclesiastical activity on or near the rock – it no longer seems to have been a royal stronghold, probably because of its continued exposure to Scandinavian attack (Alcock and Alcock 1990: 99, 117). This shift in the kingdom's internal dynamics may have encouraged its later (tenth-century) expansion into the river valleys that feed into the head of the Solway. In the late ninth century, however, the Dumbarton-based kingdom of Strathclyde was effectively removed from the reckoning in the political re-ordering of northern mainland Britain. The parallels with the conjectural scenario for the disappearance of Burghead are striking.

Who destroyed Burghead? The main inference in most modern accounts is that, like Dumbarton, it was a victim of the intensification of Norse activity on the Scottish mainland in the ninth century (Laing 1975: 68; Ritchie 1993: 33; Shepherd 1993: 79). *Orkneyinga saga*, of course, preserves a record of prolonged conflict between Gaelic and Norse powers that contended for control over the country between the Moray and Pentland Firths, including that tantalising reference

to a fort built 'south in Moray' in the time of Sigurðr. Viking raids along the southern coast of the Moray Firth are attested in other accounts as continuing through the tenth century. Raids on Buchan are recorded in the reign of King Idulb mac Causantín, with the king himself perishing at the hands of Norsemen in 962 at Cullen (Anderson 1922: I, 469–70), and in the early eleventh century the rulers of Moray and the jarls of Orkney continued to clash in their efforts to dominate the northern mainland. Burghead may well have been a victim of this seemingly relentless pressure from the north, but there is one significant alternative to the Norse. The dates offered for the demise of the site coincide with the emergence of a new power in the Scottish mainland, the successor to the powerful Pictish monarchy of the late eighth and early ninth centuries which had been crippled by the Norse in 839 (ibid.: 268). The kingdom built by Cináed mac Ailpín and his successors from the ruined Pictish state was not founded on peaceful integration but on ruthless elimination of the remaining vestiges of Pictish authority (Wormald 1996: 131–53; Bannerman 1997). John Bannerman proposed that Cináed's conquest of Pictish territory was completed in 848/9 by his defeat and slaughter of the last Pictish royalty, the record of whom survives only in a list of names of short-lived kings (Bannerman 1997: 39–40). Bannerman suggested that Cináed's final victory occurred in Moray and that the remarkable sculpture of Sueno's Stone at Forres, with its depiction of warfare and its bloody aftermath on one face, coupled with its inauguration scene on the other, commemorated the event and the resultant securing by the conqueror of the kingship of all Pictland (ibid.: 40).[5] It is possible that the successful meic Ailpín takeover of northern Pictland around this date saw the destruction of the symbols of native royal authority in the north. Burghead, clearly the major seat of such authority, may have been one more victim of the meic Ailpín conquest of north-eastern Scotland.

That suggestion is just one more piece of conjecture to add to the four centuries of accumulated theorizing which surrounds the site. In common with all the other theories, short of finding an

[5] For a discussion of the inauguration scene on Sueno's Stone, see Sellar 1993: 107–10.

inscription which records the destruction of Burghead on the orders of Cináed mac Ailpín, it is effectively unprovable but runs the risk of incorporation into the canon of 'fact' which envelopes it, just as the identification of *Torfness* with Tarbatness has shifted from conjecture to possibility to firm equation.

In this essay, I have attempted to explore how this process has influenced past interpreters of Burghead, who have subtly shifted and adapted their theories to accommodate new fragments of evidence and ideas as they have emerged. When the hunt for Roman antiquities was the vogue, then Burghead acquired a Roman label. When Vikings and sagas became the new fashion, so, chameleon-like, it shifted its colouring to suit. Archaeology enables us to dismiss firmly these older myths and hand responsibility for the construction of this truly remarkable site back to the Picts and their ancestors, but even this solid attribution has acquired a new litany of pseudo-history and myth embroidered from the insubstantial fragments of documented fact, and its 'rediscovery' as the power-centre of a northern Pictish kingdom has provided leverage for particular local and regional political agendas. Such is the fate of obscure historical symbols, to be dusted down and re-branded as circumstance or necessity demands.

Carl Marstrander's Encounter with the Great Blasket

Jan Erik Rekdal

Carl Marstrander was born in Kristiansand on 26 November 1883 to Fredrik Marstrander, headmaster of a sixth-form college, and Christiane Henriette Brodtkorp Sverdrup (Sommerfelt 1940; Rekdal 1999). He came to Christiania (later Oslo) as a student in 1902 and here he studied Classical philology and Indo-European under Sophus Bugge and Alf Torp. Inspired by Bugge in particular, he soon became interested in Celtic Studies. Bugge's approach to Celtic Studies was of the spirit of the time in that he wished to trace in the former Norwegian colonies anything that might strengthen Norway's self-esteem as a nation after four hundred years under Danish rule and almost one hundred years under Swedish rule. This was still the spirit of the time in the three-year-old state of Norway when Marstrander left for Ireland on a university scholarship in 1907. In the following year, he was awarded a scholarship at the University of Oslo to work on comparative linguistics, and in 1909 he was called to a chair at the School of Irish Learning in Dublin. He remained in Ireland until 1913 when the Norwegian Parliament created a chair in Celtic languages for him.

While Marstrander was in essence a Classicist, a Germanist and an Indo-Europeanist, as well as a Celticist with an historical approach, he also took to the field to study the vernaculars. His first visit into the field was in Ireland. In the summer of 1907, he went to County Kerry to learn to speak Irish. He arrived in the little village of Ballyferriter, situated on the Dingle peninsula, but soon afterwards left to go out to the Great Blasket where he stayed for some months, studying the dialect of the island. After the Blaskets, it was not until 1919, when he stayed for three years in Brittany, that he undertook fieldwork again. It was some ten years later that he visited the Isle of Man for a similar purpose.[1]

[1] It has been commonly held that Marstrander visited Man for the first time in 1929. Professor Oftedal argues, however, that there are reasons to assume that he visited the island a year or two before that date (Oftedal 1989: 15).

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Marstrander also encouraged his students to undertake studies in the field and, from very early on in his career, he pointed to the need for the immediate, extensive collection of folktales in Ireland, as well as for the creation of a chair of folklore at the new National University (Marstrander 1912: 372). Clearly, then, Marstrander did not underestimate the need for research in the modern languages or linguistics. Indeed, as Sommerfelt commented, Marstander was fully aware that 'without a knowledge of living Celtic speech it is impossible to achieve a real understanding of the history of the Celtic languages' (Sommerfelt 1940: 98). This can be interpreted as meaning that, for Marstrander, knowledge of the spoken tongue was first and foremost instrumental and not an aim in itself. Whatever the case may be, in each of the three places in which he undertook fieldwork, Marstander assembled a substantial amount of linguistic notes and observations.[2] However, although he published extensively on Norse language and on runes in Norway, Ireland and the Isle of Man, Marstrander never made available any of the linguistic material which emanated from his fieldwork.

Despite the fact that he did not publish a dialect study, one should not assume that in Marstrander the historical scholar had the better of the modern linguist. It is beyond doubt that his intention when he vistied Kerry in 1907 was to learn Irish. This is evident from his letters and notes and also from the fact that, as he claims in a letter of 15 September from the Blasket islands to Richard Best, he found Ballyferriter unacceptable because of the amount of English permeating the local Irish dialect (Ó Lúing 1982). In the same letter he adds:

> I go amongst the people as one of themselves and that is the best way for a person who has come to them to learn the language he wants. I do not mind saying that I am making fair progress in it. I am now already able to express anything I want in Irish, and I am pleased at that, because I had practically not a word when I left Dublin.[3] (ibid.)

[2] More than one hundred notebooks from Brittany are now in the Department of Manuscripts at the University of Oslo. The material collected in Man was donated to the Manx Museum some years ago.

[3] The original was published by Ó Lúing (1981: 265–6). A draft of this letter

Immediately after his departure from Ballyferriter to the Blaskets, Marstrander commented in a postcard to Best that the 'dialect seems very interesting' (Ó Lúing 1984: 109). His letter mentioned above also shows his zest for other aspects of the Blasket culture:

> But I must say that the finest thing I have heard and seen in Ireland has been the Irish language, the Irish music, the Irish song and the Irish dancing, which I found amongst the very poor people here.[4] (Ó Lúing 1982)

Similar enthusiam is expressed in the report Marstrander wrote after his return to Norway (Marstrander 1908–09: 134–5). Here his description of the daily *céilidh* in *an ríogh*'s cottage,[5] where Marstrander stayed, reveals how taken he was by the traditions he encountered on the island. He regrets the disappearance of traditional tales among the younger generation and calls for a systematic collection of them before it is too late. At the same time, he is delighted to observe that the young show such a keen interest in the traditional songs.

Until recently the impression has been that Marstrander's notes on the dialect of the Blaskets were sparce compared to the material he left behind from his time in Brittany and Man (Oftedal 1989; see also n. 2 above). The Blasket material, however, is now supplemented by a recently discovered manuscript of about eighty pages in Marstrander's hand. The cover reads, *Fra Blasket: (Nedtegninger under et ophold paa Great Blasket Isl. sommeren 1907)* ('From the Blaskets: (Notes taken down from a stay in the Great Blasket summer 1907)'). The majority of the contents are neatly written in black ink on expensive paper bearing the watermark of Browne & Nolan, Dublin. The young scholar lists

was found among Marstrander's *Nachlass* held in the Department of Linguistics, University of Oslo (for a photocopy, see Mac Conghail 1987: 101).

[4] The original reads: 'Ach caithfead a rádh leat gurab é an rud is breághtha a chuala agus do chonnac i n-Éirin an teanga Éireannach, an ceol Éireannach, [an t-amhrán Éireannach] agus an rinnce Éireannach, do fuaras i measc na ndaoine anabhocht annso' (Ó Lúing 1981: 265; the correction is based on the draft of the letter in the Department of Linguistics, University of Oslo).

[5] The leader of the island community, who at the time was Pádraig Ó Catháin, was termed *an ríogh* 'the king'.

all the words under 'A' from Dinneen's Irish-English dictionary of 1904, up to *aimhréidhe*.[6] The Blasket pronunciation of each word (or of the Blasket synonym of each word) is given, and in some cases idioms are also supplied. Entries frequently contain historical commentaries, some of which amount to small treatises. The language of the mansucript is the written standard of Norway of the time which was almost identical to that of Denmark.[7]

This manuscript, together with occasional sheets of phonetic transcriptions of songs and of portions of tales, may indicate that in 1907 Marstrander had the intention of producing a description of the dialect. The Donegal dialect had already been treated by E. C. Quiggin's description, published the year before Marstrander's arrival in Ireland (Quiggin 1906), and Conamara had been covered by F. N. Finck's study of the Inis Mór dialect seven years earlier (Finck 1899). Munster Irish, on the other hand, had not yet been touched upon, and this fact may have influenced Marstrander's choice of where to learn Irish.

New tasks given to him probably turned Marstrander's attention away from the Blaskets. By the time he left Kerry, sometime before Christmas 1907, he had already been given a research fellowship in comparative linguistics for the following year, and the year after that he was made a professor at the School of Irish Learning. His professorial obligations and his eagerness to explore new areas of research in Celtic would not have left Marstrander much time to finish a study of the Blasket dialect.

Although Marstrander never published a dialectal study, he certainly saw to it that such studies were undertaken. Alf Sommerfelt, an early student of Marstrander's, was sent to Ireland and stayed in Donegal from July 1915 until February 1916. His study of the dialect of Torr in Donegal was the first instigated by Marstrander and is dedicated to him (*Carl Marstrander i taknemlig*

[6] It is interesting to note that Marstrander followed the same procedure when he started writing notes on Manx. In the first volume of his Manx notebooks, he works through the letter 'A' in Cregeen's dictionary with pronunciations, exemplary phrases and comments (Oftedal 1989: 18).

[7] Mads Haga has transcribed the MS in his Master's thesis, 'Liosta Focal ón mBlascaod agus a Údar, Carl Marstrander', Dept of Linguistics, University of Oslo, 2005.

hengivenhet: Sommerfelt 1922). Fourteen years later, another student of Marstrander's, Carl Hjalmar Borgstrøm, submitted a study of the Hebridean dialect of Barra for his Master of Arts thesis in Celtic philology at the University of Oslo (Borgstrøm 1937). Four years prior to this, Borgstrøm had taken up a lecturing post in comparative philology at Trinity College, Dublin, and from his recording of a tale from Peig Sayers in 1932,[8] we know that he visited the Blaskets as soon as he arrived in Ireland. His knowledge of the Blasket dialect is revealed by his cautious but detailed review of Marie Sjoestedt-Jonval's study of the Dunquin dialect, *Description du'n parler irlandais de Kerry* (Borgstrøm 1939). In this work, Borgstrøm refers to his notes based on his own observations from his stay on the Great Blasket (ibid.: 272–6). Nothing further seems to have come from Borgstrøm's interest in the Blaskets, however, and it must have been during his years in Dublin that he began to visit Barra and study its dialect. Other of Marstrander's students who made major contributions to dialect study include Nils Holmer (1938) and Magne Oftedal (1956).[9] Before the Second World War, Marstrander organized *A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland* – which contained important and extensive studies by Borgstrøm and Oftedal (Borgstrøm 1940 and 1941; Oftedal 1956) – in order to record as much as possible of one of the Celtic languages, all of which he saw as dying.[10]

In sum, then, from what remains of Marstrander's *Nachlass*, it is evident that he made an effort to describe the spoken language during his stay in the Blaskets. The recently discovered manuscript reveals how he embedded the modern word and its dialectal pronunciation into an historical context. In addition to Dinneen's dictionary and Finck's dialectal study, the bibliography contains

[8] This is now held in the archives of the Department of Irish Folklore, University College, Dublin.

[9] Another student of Marstrander's, Håkon Melberg, stayed in An Rinn in the 1930s. This may also have been with the intention of describing the dialect, but it would seem that no published work or notes resulted from Melberg's visit to the area.

[10] Marstrander is quoted as saying: 'The Celtic family of languages is slowly but surely nearing its extinction. No national bombast nor Celtic Congresses can conceal this truth' (Borgstrøm 1940: 5).

Old Irish glosses and texts and Robert Atkinson's vocabulary to his *Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (Atkinson 1887). In effect, the manuscript treats words both synchronically and diachronically and represents the first steps towards what could have been a most desirable dictionary.

The Identity of the 'Prisoner of Roxburgh': Malcolm son of Alexander or Malcolm MacHeth?

Alasdair Ross

Between c. 1130 and c. 1230, there are numerous references in written sources to political opponents of kings of Scotia. Some of these 'rebels' were MacWilliams, a segment of the royal dynasty descended from William fitz Duncan, son of King Donnchad mac Máel Coluim (Duncan II, 1094), who was himself the eldest son of King Máel Coluim mac Donnchada (Malcolm III, 1058–93). In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historical works, the MacWilliam line was often relegated to the position of an annoyance in the inevitable 'progress' of the kingdom of Scotia, probably because they were not descended from St Margaret, but from the first wife of King Máel Coluim mac Donnchada, Queen Ingebjorg (Dalrymple 1776: 87). In contrast to the MacWilliams, much less is known about the identity of a man now commonly identified as either Malcolm MacHeth or the 'prisoner of Roxburgh',[1] who was clearly an ally of Oengus of Moray when both men fought against representatives of King David I (1124–53) at the battle of Stracathro in 1130 (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983: 1130.4).

During the last three hundred years, a number of theories have been advanced in an attempt to explain the ancestry of this Malcolm. These range from him being a brother of Oengus of Moray (Hume Brown 1911: 60), to an illegitimate son of King Alexander I (1107–24) (Skene 1876–80: I, 460), to the son of an early *mormaer* of the province of either Moray or Ross (Barrow 1981: 51). Of these propositions, the last has become the most popular in recent historical works, particularly in the work of R. Andrew McDonald. This is for two reasons: firstly, since an individual called Malcolm MacHeth had been reconciled with King Malcolm IV before 1157 and died holding the earldom of Ross, it has been suggested that he and the Malcolm of the battle of Stracathro are one and the same (McDonald 1999: 172); secondly, a witness to two of King David I's charters, an Earl Eð, or

[1] The phrase 'the prisoner of Roxburgh' seems to have been coined by Alex Woolf in reference to Malcolm's place of imprisonment.

Fil súil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: a Festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill
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Head, has been associated with the provinces of Moray and Ross, since the holders of all the other earldoms in Scotland during this period are known (Duncan 1975: 166). This has lead to the further suggestion that Malcolm MacHeth was Earl Eð's son. However, during the last few years doubts have been raised about with this identification. Both Archie Duncan and Alex Woolf have argued that Malcolm, the 'prisoner of Roxburgh', and Malcolm mac Eth were two different people (Duncan 2002: 65; Woolf 2003: 171–81); neither, however, has supported their arguments in any detail.

As far as medieval Scottish chroniclers were concerned, the identity of the 'prisoner of Roxburgh' was not in question. One of the earliest identifiable Scottish sources, the thirteenth-century *Gesta annalia* I, called him 'Malcolm son of MacHeth' (Skene 1871–72: I, 254).[2] This identification was accepted by Walter Bower and it was not seriously questioned until the sixteenth century when George Buchanan argued that Malcolm's real name was actually Wimund. According to Buchanan's version of events, the people of Ross blinded and castrated Malcolm/Wimund in the mid-1130s before handing him over to the king, who then imprisoned him in Roxburgh castle (Aikman 1827–29: I, 352). It is now clear that Buchanan's description of the events of the mid-1130s confuses and/or conflates various people and events. In the most recent contribution to the debate about the identity of Wimund, Alex Woolf has argued that he claimed to be a member of the MacWilliam kindred (Woolf 2003: 171–81).

If the text of *Gesta annalia* I, which may have been based on a slightly earlier (c. 1250) Dunfermline source (Broun 1999a: 20), is examined more closely, a completely different picture emerges:

> Primo quoque anno regni, regulus Argadiae Sumerledus,
> et sui nepotes, filii, scilicet, Malcolmi MacHeth, associatis

[2] The text of *Chronica gentis Scotorum* has recently been re-examined by Dauvit Broun (Broun 1999a: 9–30). In this article Broun convincingly demonstrates that the text of the work known as *Chronica gentis Scotorum* also preserves two earlier texts that Broun calls *Gesta annalia* I (completed before April 1285 but probably based on an earlier Dunfermline work) and *Gesta annalia* II (completed by 1363). In fact, only the first five books, together with the unfinished sixth book, of *Chronica gentis Scotorum* are likely to have been Fordun's work, completed sometime between 1371 and the mid-1380s. Accordingly, I have chosen to use *Gesta annalia* I when referring to *Chronica gentis Scotorum*.

> sibi plurimis, insurrexerunt in regem suum Malcolmum, et Scociam magna parte perturbantes inquietaverunt. Erat enim ille Malcolmus filius MacHeth, sed menciendo dicebat, se esse filium Angusii, comitis Moraviae, qui, tempore felicis memoriae regis David, patriam depraedando apud Strucathroch a Scotis cum tota gente sua interfectus est. Quo mortuo, idem Malcolmus MacHeth contra regem David, quasi filius mortem patris vindicaturus, assurgit, et regiones Scociae circumjacentes rapinis et praedis afficiens, tandem capitur, et ab eodem rege David in turre castri de Marchemond arcta custodia truditur. Continuante autem civilia bella Sumerledo, nepos ejus unus filiorum Malcolmi MacHeth, Dovenaldus nomine, per quosdam regis Malcolmi fideles apud Withterne comprehenditur, et in eadem turre de Marchmond cum patre suo incarceratur. Post cujus captionem, anno sequenti Malcolmus, pater ejus, cum rege pacificatus est, Sumerledo nequiter adhuc suam nequitiam in populo exercente. (Skene 1871–72: I, 254–5)

> Now in the first year of his reign Somerled the under-king of Argyll and his nephews, that is the sons of Malcolm MacHeth, gathering to themselves a very large following, rose in rebellion against King Malcolm and threw a large area of Scotland into turmoil. That Malcolm was the son of MacHeth, but he used to assert untruthfully that he was the son of Angus earl of Moray. Angus with all his people was killed by the Scots at Stracathro while laying waste his own locality in the time of King David of blessed memory. After his death the aforesaid Malcolm MacHeth rose in rebellion against King David under the pretence of a son intending to avenge the death of a father. After looting and laying waste the adjoining areas of Scotland, he was finally captured, and was confined in close custody by the aforesaid King David in the tower of the castle of Marchmont. Meanwhile, as Somerled was continuing to stir up civil strife, his nephew, one of the sons of Malcolm MacHeth called Donald, was captured by some of King Malcolm's loyal followers at Whithorn, and was imprisoned in the same tower of Marchmont as his father. After his capture, his father Malcolm made his peace with the king in the following year, but Somerled still continued to work his wicked ways among the people. (Watt 1987–98: IV, 253)

Although this statement seems perfectly straightforward, it is possible that the author of *Gesta annalia* I (or his source) mistakenly

associated one individual called Malcolm with another person known as Malcolm MacHeth because the *Melrose Chronicle* and the *Holyrood Chronicle* were consulted in the preparation of the work. If the *Holyrood Chronicle* and *Gesta annalia* I are examined together, it is obvious where the author of the latter acquired the information that formed the basis for his identification of Malcolm MacHeth.

In the *Holyrood Chronicle* the year entry for 1156 states: 'Dofnaldus filius Malcolm apud Witerne captus est, et cum patre suo incarceratus' ('Donald son of Malcolm was captured at Whithorn and imprisoned with his father') (Anderson 1938: 128). The next entry in the chronicle (under 1157) begins: 'Malcolm Mabeth cum rege Scottorum pacificatus est' ('Malcolm MacHeth was reconciled with the king of the Scots') (ibid.: 129–30). *Gesta annalia* I (cited above) states: 'Post cujus captionem, anno sequenti Malcolmus, pater ejus, cum rege pacificatus est' ('After his (Donald's) capture, his father Malcolm (MacHeth) made his peace with the king in the following year'). Looking at these three extracts, it seems obvious that the author of *Gesta annalia* I ran the two Holyrood extracts together and assumed that the Malcolm MacHeth of 1157 was the father of Donald son of Malcolm who had been mentioned in the preceding entry. Also, as Duncan has already remarked, the patronymic 'mac Heth' must have been deliberately given to the 1157 Malcolm to distinguish him from the Malcolm of 1130 (and 1156) (Duncan 2002: 71–2).

The suggestion that the compiler of *Gesta annalia* I combined two different entries about two different people from the *Holyrood Chronicle* and applied all the information to Malcolm MacHeth is further strengthened by another extract from the same passage of *Gesta annalia* I. This named the father of the earlier (1130) Malcolm as Oengus of Moray (Skene 1871–72: I, 254–5). This extract concerning the paternity of Malcolm, and the fact that he wished to avenge the death of his father (Oengus), are very reminiscent of a passage in the *Chronicle of William of Newburgh* (c. 1135–98) regarding Bishop Wimund:

> Denique congregans viros inopes et audaces, judicium veritatis non veritas, proposuit se esse filium comitis Muraviensis, hæreditate patrum suorum a rege Scottorum spoliatum, cordi sibi esse non solum jus suum prosequi, sed etiam ulcisci injurias, illos se velle habere periculi et fortunæ

> consortes, rem quidem esse aliquanti laboris et periculi, sed magnæ claritatis, et plurimi emolumenti.
>
> At last he collected men needy and daring, and, respecting not the judgement of truth, announced that he was the son of the earl of Moray, despoiled by the king of Scots of the patrimony of his fathers; and that he was minded not only to prosecute his right but also to avenge his wrongs: that he wished to have them as sharers of his peril and fortune; that while the affair was one of considerable labour and danger, yet it was one of great distinction and of the highest gain. (Howlett 1884–89: I, 73–6)

That the passages in the *Chronicle of William of Newburgh* and *Gesta annalia* I are both concerned with men who claimed to be sons of Oengus of Moray, and that both men wished to avenge the death of their father, might indicate either that the chroniclers shared a common source, or that one was based on the other. Even though the words used are not identical, it is the gist of the passage that is important in this instance. This casts further doubt upon the reliability of the identification in *Gesta annalia* I of Malcolm MacHeth as the Malcolm of 1130 who was allied to Oengus of Moray.

More importantly, later Scottish attempts to equate Malcolm of 1130 with Malcolm MacHeth are not supported by twelfth-century foreign chroniclers. Under the year-date 1124 Orderic Vitalis stated:

> Anno ab incarnatione Domine MCXXV Alexander rex Scottorum uita exuit, et Dauid frater eius regni gubernacula suscepit. Melcofus autem nothus Alexandri filius regnum patruo preripere affectauit, eique duo bella satis acerrima instaurauit; sed Dauid qui sensu et potentia diuitiisque sullimior erat illium cum suis superauit.
>
> In the year of our Lord 1125 [recte 1124] Alexander, king of Scotland, died, and his brother David took up the government of the kingdom. Malcolm, a bastard son of Alexander, made a bid for his father's kingdom, and instigated two bitter wars against him; but David, being wiser, more powerful and wealthier, defeated him and his supporters.[3] (Chibnall 1968–80: IV, 276)

[3] In both passages, 1124 and 1130, Chibnall inserted the name 'MacHeth' into her translation of the original Latin. She was quite clearly wrong to do so because MacHeth, or its Latin equivalent, does not occur in the original Latin passages. This practice seems to have started with A. O. Anderson (1922: II, 183).

This passage describes a man known as Malcolm son of King Alexander I. Orderic Vitalis seems to be referring to the same man under the year-date 1130:

> Anno ab incarnatione Domine MCXXX dum Dauid rex in curia Henrici regis caute iudicium indagaret, et de reatu perfidiae quam Goisfredus de Clintonia ut dicunt contra regem agitauerat diligenter discuteret; Aragois comes Morafiae cum Melcolfo et quinque milibus armatorum Scotiam intrauit, totamque regionem sibi subigere studuit. Porro Eduardus Siwardi filius qui sub Eduardo rege tribunus Merciorum fuit, princeps militiae et consobrinus Dauid regis exercitum aggregauit; et hostili repente exercitui obuiauit. Tandem facta congressione Aragois consulem occidit; eiusque turmas prostrauit, cepit atque fugauit. Deinde cum cohortibus suis iam triumpho elatis fugientes auide insecutus est; et Morafiam defensore dominoque uacantem ingressus est, totumque regionis spaciosae ductatem Deo auxiliante nactus est. Sic Dauid aucta potestate super antecessores suos exaltus est; studioque eius religionis et eruditis personis regio Scottorum decorata est. En causa Scottorum qui ab antiquis temporibus adheserunt catholicae fidei, et christianae gratanter seruierunt simplicitati; inceptam epanalempsim aliquantulum protelaui, sed nune ad propositum nitor opus de nostris regredi.
>
> In the year of our Lord 1130, while King David was carefully investigating a case in the court of King Henry, and meticulously examining a charge of treason which Geoffrey of Clinton was said to have committed against the king, Angus earl of Moray and Malcolm entered Scotland with five thousand armed men, attempting to gain control of the kingdom. Then Edward, son of Siward who had been a thane of Mercia in King Edward's time, himself a constable and a kinsman of King David, mustered the army and fell without warning on the enemy forces. In the course of the conflict he killed the earl of Moray and shattered his troops, killing some and putting the rest to flight. He and his forces, triumphant at their victory, hotly pursued the fugitives into the territory of Moray which no longer had a lord and defender, and with God's aid conquered the whole of that extensive duchy. In this way David grew more powerful than his predecessors, and the kingdom of Scotland became famous for its religious zeal and learning. This is why I have somewhat prolonged this digression on the Scots, who have

> adhered to the catholic faith from ancient times, and have had great regard for the Christian religion. Now however I propose to return to my intended work on our own people. (Chibnall 1968–80: IV, 276–8)

Robert de Torigni, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel between 1154 and 1186, also gave a version of the events of 1130 in his continuation to the *World Chronicle*:

> Eodem anno Aragois, comes Morafiae, cum Melcolmo notho filio Alexandri fratris regis David, qui ante eum regnaverat, et cum quinque milibus armatorum, Scotiam intravit, totamque regionem sibi subjicere voluit. David rex tunc curiae regis Anglorum interat; sed Edwardus, consobrinus ejus et princeps militiae, cum exercitu illis obviavit, et Aragois consulem occidit, ejusque turmas prostravit, cepit, atque fugavit. Deinde Morafiam defensore dominoque vacantem ingressus est, totiusque regionis spatiosae ducatus, Deo auxiliante, per Edwardum extunc David regi religioso subditus est.
>
> In the same year Angus, earl of Moray, with Malcolm, illegitimate son of Alexander, who was brother of King David and had reigned before him, and with five thousand armed men entered Scotland, and wished to reduce the whole region to himself. At that time David was present in the court of the king of the English; but Edward, his kinsman and leader of his knighthood, went against them with an army and slew Angus, and overthrew, captured and routed his troops. Then he entered Moray, which lacked a defender and a lord; and control of the whole spacious region was, with God's help, through Edward made subject thenceforth to the religious King David. (Howlett 1884–89: IV, 118)

Even though these last two accounts appear to be closely related, the information contained within them cannot be ignored in favour of a much later source (*Gesta annalia*). Two near-contemporary sources, Orderic Vitalis and Robert de Torigni, call the Malcolm of 1124 and 1130 'Malcolm son of Alexander'. Accordingly, Malcolm would have been a member of the royal kindred, a son of King Alexander I and grandson of King Máel Coluim mac Donnchada and Queen Margaret.

There might, however, be a problem with such an identification. Orderic Vitalis also stated:

> Vltor itaque et successor fratris aliquot annis Alexander regnauit, et filiam Henrici regis Anglorum ex concubina uxorem duxit, moriensque sine liberis Dauid fratri suo regnum dimisit.
>
> Alexander reigned for some years, the successor and avenger of his brother; he married a natural daughter of King Henry of England and, dying without children, left the kingdom to his brother David. (Chibnall 1968–80: IV, 274–5)

This second passage by Orderic Vitalis would seem to indicate that King Alexander did not have any children. This is something of a problem because Orderic Vitalis has contradicted himself. A solution to this contradiction may lie in the suggestion that Vitalis had miscopied his information about King Alexander's lack of progeny from an earlier work by William of Malmesbury (c. 1095–1143). William stated that:

> Edgaro fatali sorte occumbente, Alexandrum successorem Henricus affinitate detinuit, data ei in coniugium filia notha, de qua ille uiua nec sobolem, quod scian, tulit.
>
> Edgar in his turn having died, Henry bound his successor Alexander by ties of relationship, giving him his own illegitimate daughter in marriage, during her lifetime, however, he had no children by her. (Mynors and Thomson 1998–99: I, 725–7)

This last statement is a far cry from the assertion that King Alexander I had no children at all. However, even if Orderic Vitalis did not borrow his information from William of Malmesbury, it is still possible that his passage has been slightly mistranslated. The key lies in the use of the noun *liberi*. Although *liberi* ('children') has been correctly translated by the most recent editor of Vitalis, it also carries a strong connotation of legitimacy (Lewis and Short 1966). Consequently, Orderic Vitalis may well have been referring to King Alexander's lack of legitimate children with Queen Sybilla when he said that the king died *sine liberis*.

So, the contemporary evidence strongly indicates that the Malcolm of 1124 and 1130 was a son of King Alexander I. This perception is strengthened by the timing of Malcolm's first 'revolt' in 1124. It is probably no coincidence that 1124 was the same year that King David I was inaugurated. It is thus possible that David I's accession

to the kingship of Scotia in that year was challenged by another member of the royal kindred, his nephew Malcolm son of Alexander. In order to challenge for the kingship of Scotia, Malcolm presumably possessed the necessary resources and support to mount his own bid for inauguration. It might also be presumed that the new king did not consider Malcolm's challenge in 1124 serious enough to warrant either imprisonment or disfiguration, as Malcolm was at large to challenge the king again in 1130.

It also seems fairly clear that Malcolm son of Alexander was not captured in the aftermath of the battle of Stracathro in 1130. In the entry for 1134, the *Chronicle of Melrose* states: 'Melcolmus capitur et in arcta ponitur in turre rokesburg custodia' ('Malcolm was taken, and placed in close custody in the keep of Roxburgh') (Anderson and Anderson 1936: 33). This is a frustratingly brief statement. Fortunately, Ailred of Rievaulx, in his work *Relatio de Standardo*, probably written between 1155 and 1157, provided more detail:

> Recole præterito anno cum adversus Malcolmum, paterni odii et persecutionis hæredem, Anglorum auxilium flagitares, quam læti, quam alaxres, quam ad auxilium prompti, quam proni ad periculum Walterus Espec aliique quam plures Anglorum proceres tibi apud Carleolum occurrerint, quot paraverint naves, quæ arma intulerint, qua juventute munierint, quomodo omnes tuos terruerint hostes, donec ipsum Malcolmum proditum caperent, captum vincirent, vinctum traderent. Ita terror noster ipsius quidem membra, sed magis Scottorum animos, vinxit, omnique spe præficiendi frustrata, audaciam abstulit rebellandi. (Howlett 1884–89: III, 193)
>
> Remember when in a previous year you asked for the help of the English against Malcolm, the heir of his fathers' hatred and persecution, how joyful, how eager, how willing to help, how ready for danger Walter Espec and many other English nobles hastened to meet you at Carlisle, how many ships they prepared, how they waged war, how they built defenses, how they terrified all your enemies until they captured Malcolm himself betrayed; captured, they bound him; bound, they delivered him. Thus the fear of us bound his limbs, but bound even more the courage of the Scots, and having quenched all hope of success, removed the audacity to rebel.[4]

[4] This is my own translation of this passage.

Even though this passage belongs to a dramatic speech allegedly made by Robert de Brus before the battle of the Standard (1138), it is possible that the sheer scale of the military expedition outlined in the passage is accurate. There are hints in another source that the campaign of 1130 and the battle of Stracathro were not as decisive a victory for David I as is sometimes imagined. The *Annals of Ulster* recorded that one thousand men of Alba fell in a counter-attack after the battle (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983: 1030.4). It is difficult to reconcile this information with the statement by Orderic Vitalis that the victorious Edward son of Siward rushed into Moray immediately after the battle and took it for King David (Chibnall 1968–80: IV, 276–8).

If the *Annals of Ulster* are correct, it would seem that Malcolm son of Alexander still possessed considerable resources and support from somewhere either within, or close to, Scotia in order to press the fight against his uncle immediately after Stracathro. Interestingly, according to both the skeleton itinerary of David I and his surviving charters, there is no indication of the king travelling north of the Forth-Clyde line, or even being in Scotland, between 1130 and 1134 (Barrow 1999: 33–8). Accordingly, it is possible that the battle of Stracathro in 1130 was not a decisive victory for King David I and that it took a further four years, together with a second major military campaign, at least part of which was conducted in the Western Sea, for Malcolm son of Alexander to be betrayed and captured by his own supporters before they handed him over to King David's forces.

Even this second campaign, however, cannot have been straightforward. The reference to the king's forces making defences before 1134 implies that they either expected, or were subjected to, counter-attacks. This would again imply that between 1130 and 1134 a number of people still thought that Malcolm son of Alexander had a better right to be king than King David I, and they were prepared to support the alternative claimant.

This continued resistance to King David I raises two further issues concerning the events of 1130. The first is that of the nature of the alliance between Oengus and Malcolm. Oengus of Moray is always named before Malcolm in the primary sources, possibly implying that he was the senior of the two allies. Both men belonged to the royal kindred of Scotia, Clann Custantín meic Cináeda. Malcolm was

the son of King Alexander I, Oengus the grandson of King Lulach. Obviously, even if they had defeated King David's forces, only one of the men could have been inaugurated. Therefore, an agreement must have been reached between the two regarding the seniority of their respective claims to the kingdom, perhaps mirrored in the sequence in which their names appear in the records. If there was a pact between the two men, it could have been broadly similar to the arrangement between Domnall Bán and Edgar after November 1094, when Edgar may have been King Donald's designated successor since Donald had no son (Duncan 1975: 125).[5] Secondly, if Edward son of Siward did enter Moray after Stracathro, the ability of Malcolm son of Alexander to continue to pursue his claim for kingship after the death of Oengus strongly suggests that Malcolm's resources and supporters were based outwith Moray.

The next occurrence of the name Malcolm in Scottish chronicles, soon after the death of King David I in 1153, provides the first clue as to where that support might have come from. The *Holyrood Chronicle* noted:

> Stephanus rex Anglie cum Henrico nobilissimo comite Andegavie pacem et fidem perpetuam, in die festo sancti Leonardi abbatis, iniit. Eo die apud Scotiam Sumerlede et nepotes sui, filii scilicet Malcolmi, associatis sibi plurimis, insurrexerunt in regem Malcolm, et Scotiam in magna parte perturbantes inquietaverunt.
>
> Stephen king of England made peace and a lasting agreement with Henry, the most noble count of Anjou, on the festival of St Leonard the abbot [6 Nov]. On that day, in Scotland, Somerled and his nephews, the sons of Malcolm, allied with themselves very many men, and rebelled against King Malcolm (IV), and disturbed and disquieted Scotland to a great extent. (Anderson 1938: 124–5)

This is shortly followed by a related entry in the same chronicle for 1156: 'Dofnaldus filius Malcolm apud Witerne captus est, et cum patre suo incarceratus' ('Donald son of Malcolm was captured at Whithorn, and imprisoned with his father') (ibid.: 128). The *Chronicle of Melrose* provides slightly more information: 'Dovenaldus filius

[5] My thanks to Dauvit Broun for this point.

malcol apud Witerne captus est et incarceratus in turre de rokesburg cum patre suo' ('Donald son of Malcolm was captured at Whithorn and imprisoned in the keep of Roxburgh with his father') (Anderson and Anderson 1936: 35). Although there is no direct evidence for a family connection between the Donald son of Malcolm of 1153 and Malcolm son of Alexander (1130), it is likely that the two men were actually son and father. This connection can be suggested for two reasons: firstly, because Roxburgh castle was the place of imprisonment of both men and also the place where Malcolm son of Alexander had been incarcerated in 1134; secondly, because the timing of Donald's first 'revolt' of 1153 occurred shortly after the death of one king (David I) and the inauguration of another, Malcolm IV, King David I's grandson (Watt 1987–98: IV, 251; Duncan 2002: 71).[6] Donald son of Malcolm may well have thought that he had a good right to be considered for inauguration.

The *Holyrood Chronicle* records that Donald had allies in 1153. If there was a connection between this 'revolt' and the inauguration of Malcolm IV, presumably these allies were people who also thought that Donald had a good rival claim to the kingship of Scotia. Being a grandson of King Alexander I and a member of the royal kindred would certainly count as such a claim. The three entries cited above also make it clear that Malcolm son of Alexander married a sister of Somerled of Argyll, probably before 1134 (since it is unlikely that Malcolm would have been allowed to marry and procreate while imprisoned in Roxburgh castle). If both Malcolm and his son Donald were members of the royal kindred, Somerled too could claim such a connection. Some historians have cast the events of 1153 as Celtic conservatives fighting against the alienation and suppression of Gaelic culture by new feudal influences (Barrow 1981: 48; McDonald 1997: 62–3). In the light of the evidence represented above, Somerled can rather be seen to be supporting his nephews while they were trying to claim the kingship of Scotia for their own segment of the royal kindred.

One final entry that may relate to a member of the segment of the

[6] David I died on 24 May 1153 and his body was then brought from Carlisle to be buried at Dunfermline. Malcolm IV may have been inaugurated before the old king's burial.

royal kindred descended from King Alexander I occurs in the *Holyrood Chronicle* under 17 November 1186, when the earl of Atholl violated the sanctuary of Coupar Angus church to kill an outlaw:

> In subsequenti hyeme, scilicet xv kal. Decembris, pervim Malcolmi comitis Aetholie violata est pax sancte ecclesie apud Cupro; quia Adam, cognomento et filius Duvenaldi, captus est, qui uthlagus regis fuit; et quidam sociorum, [scilicet nepos] ejus, ante altare decollatus; ceteri vero, numero quinquaginta octo, in abbatis hospicio exusti et occisi fuerunt.
>
> In the following winter, on the fifteenth before the kalends of December, the peace of holy church was broken at Coupar through the violence of Malcolm earl of Atholl. For Adam, surnamed also Donald's son, who was the king's outlaw, was captured; and one of his companions, [his nephew], was beheaded before the altar; and the others, numbering fifty-eight, were burned and put to death in the abbot's guest-house. (Anderson 1938: 170–1)

It is likely, given the length of this entry, that Adam, although an outlaw, was somebody important in Scotia. Modern historians usually refer to him as a grandson of Malcolm MacHeth (Duncan 1975: 194), although this identification depends on shifting an interlinear gloss – *scilicet nepos* – so that the phrase relates to Adam's relationship to Malcolm, earl of Atholl, and not to a member of Adam's entourage (Barrow 1971: 24, n. 47).[7] If this identification is discarded, the patronymic 'Donald's son' could instead refer to either Donald MacWilliam or Donald son of Malcolm son of Alexander. Both tried to assert their own rights to the kingdom during the twelfth century. However, the place where Adam was captured (Coupar) seems to favour the theory that Adam's father was Donald son of Malcolm son of Alexander, rather than Donald MacWilliam. Coupar was one of the four royal estates that comprised the province of Gowrie. Bower states that Alexander's uncle, the earl of Gowrie, had granted him lands in the Gowrie as a baptismal gift (Watt 1987–98: III, 105). While this is admittedly rather shaky evidence on which to base a

[7] It is also noted by Barrow that Adam's Gaelic name may have been Áed. If so, the Kenneth mac Eth who was allied to Donald Bán MacWilliam in 1215 could have been the son of Adam, rather than the son of Malcolm mac Heth, earl of Ross. My thanks to Dauvit Broun for raising this point.

claim that Adam son of Donald was the grandson of King Alexander I, the scenario is possible.

The quite extraordinary events that took place in Coupar that day perhaps strengthen the argument that Adam was someone important in Scotia and a member of the royal kindred. A man was slain in front of the high altar and a part of the monastic establishment was destroyed by forces that must have been loyal to King William since Adam was specifically designated *uthlagus regis* ('the king's outlaw'). We have no way of knowing what the repercussions of these acts were. We could perhaps use the example of Robert Bruce in 1306, after he had killed John Comyn of Badenoch, to gauge what the papal reaction might have been to the events of 1186 and to the mass-murder of men within an ecclesiastic environment. That Earl Malcolm of Atholl was willing to risk potential papal displeasure to kill Adam and his supporters could be an indication both of Adam's importance and of how desperate the crown was to get rid of him.

If I have identified all three of these men correctly (Malcolm, Donald and Adam), they were all members of one segment of the royal kindred of Scotia descended from King Alexander I. At least two of these men, Malcolm and Donald, were able to muster sufficient economic resources and military support to present a credible threat to the ruling segment of the royal kindred, King David I and his descendants, over a long period of time. The arguments presented above, if acceptable, should also allow for a complete re-appraisal of the career of Somerled during the twelfth century. Instead of casting him as some kind of Gaelic traditionalist, reacting to and rebelling in the face of new European influences, we should perhaps be looking at Somerled in a different light – as someone who acted as both king-breaker and king-maker in Man, and who was equally determined to advance the claims of his nephews to be considered for inauguration as kings of Scotia.

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Some Early Loan-Words in Manx

†R. L. Thomson

Since Manx is known to us as a written language in continuous text – as distinct from isolated names of places and people – only from the early sixteenth century, the description 'early' must be understood in that context. Even so, the earliest Manx text (the so-called 'Traditionary Ballad') exists only in manuscripts of the second half of the eighteenth century, and these manuscripts vary so much in their readings that we may be sure that the text was transmitted orally for much of its life, and therefore was open to modernisation (Thomson 1962–63: 87). During the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Rev. James McLagan (1728–1805), chaplain to the Black Watch and himself a collector of oral tradition in Scotland, was stationed in Man. During his time on the island, McLagan stimulated interest in Manx oral tradition amongst those clergy engaged in the translation of the Manx Bible and rescued for us the Manx Traditionary Ballad and other fragments. The extant text of the ballad exhibits a clear kinship with one on the same subject in English prose, The Supposed True Chronicle, which is found prefixed to the Statute book and is of uncertain date (Parr 1866 [1867]: 6–9).

In the Traditionary Ballad we find some archaisms (by Manx standards) which are the grounds for the early sixteenth-century date, as well as some Gaelic words which do not occur in the later language, and some obscure ones. By the sixteenth century we expect (in addition to Latin) loan-words from Old / Middle English, from Norse (these are not always distinguishable), and from Romance by various routes, chiefly varieties of French, especially Norman French, most probably via Middle English. As the ballad is not a long one, fifty-five quatrains at the most, we can quote all the loan-words. In the lists below, numbers refer to verses in the published edition (Thomson 1960–61 and 1962–63).

From English and Norse

bhow 4 'bow'; **mayll** 6 'rent'; **buitch**, **crout** 10 'witch', 'craft'; **skeerey** 18 'parish'; **gioot** 43 'gift'; **ruggerey**, **reejerey** 51 'knight'; **cribble** 51 'Garter'; **gymman** 51 'yeoman'

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From Romance

troailt 4 'travel, (travail)'; **peeley** 16 'fortress'; **shartan** 18 '(a) certain', later *shiartanse*; **braew** 27 'brave, splendid'; **spooilley** 35 '(de)spoil', cf. Scots *spuilzie*

The second Manx continuous text is the translation of the Book of Common Prayer (1604 version), including the whole of the Psalms, which Bishop John Phillips, a Welshman, finished in 1610, with the assistance of Hugh Cannell, later vicar of Kirk Michael. The work was not printed in Phillips' lifetime, but the text survives in a copy written about 1630 (Moore and Rhys 1893–94). The total number of loan-words in the text, exclusive of derivatives, from all sources, is about 350. From this total we can deduct two classes of word: (a) those concerned with religion, because they entered the language too early to fall into the class we are concerned with, and (b) those which may well have been borrowed in the right period but show every sign of being unassimilated loan-words, especially those which were forced on the translators by their presence in the Biblical text they were translating. These, one assumes, the reader must have explained to the congregation as they occurred. Such are *alabaster*, *brimstone*, *chariot*, *doctor*, *emerald*, *frankincense*, *gall*, *hypocrite*, *ivory*, *jasper*, *legion*, *manna*, *pharisee*, *proselyte*, *quail*, *sardine* (precious stone), *stork* and *timbrel*. By disregarding the above classes of word the total is reduced greatly.

On the whole, there is no need to divide the remainding loan-words in the Manx translation of the Book of Common Prayer according to their separate linguistic origins since by the period we are discussing it can be assumed that practically all these words were introduced by English speakers of one kind of another. The words are listed here under the standard Manx othography, but the spelling of the original is also quoted where this varies.

aash, *aashagh* 'ease; easy'; **abyl**, *ablys* 'able; ability'; **aght**, *aghtal* 'manner, way; adorned?'; **ammys**, *ammyssagh* 'worship; worshipper, obedient' (< homage, *ómós*); **ashoon**, *atiwn* 'nation' (with tmesis of *n-*)

baie 'haven'; **barganey** 'bargaining'; **barrant**, *cur b. er* 'lean on' (< *warrant*, *guarantee*; taken as lenited); **bendeil** 'bend' (the verbnoun

marker, variously *-al*, *-ail*, *-eil* < Irish *-áil*, is freely attached to both English and Romance loan-words; cf. *bial*); **bial**, *biallagh* 'obey; obedient' (with loss of unstressed initial *o-*); **boayrd** 'table' (supplied with *o*-stem plural *buird* so probably very early); **boteil** 'bottle'

cabbane 'tent', *kaban eglwish* 'tabernacle (Old Testament)'; **cloagey** 'cloak'; **coardail** 'agreement' (cf. *bendeil* and *bial*, but with loss of *ac-*); **coau** 'chaff' (from English dialect *caf*, with vocalisation of *f*/*v*); **coontey** 'reckon; account' (with loss of *ac-*); **coorse**, *kws* 'course' (with loss of *-r-* in *-rs*); **cooyrt** 'court'; **corneil** 'corner'; **costal** 'cost' (cf. *bial*); **couyral** 'cover, recover' (with loss of *re-*); **cramp** 'pestilence'; **knapp** (with *kn-* becoming *cr-*, and the *-a-* becoming a nasal vowel, as *cronk* from *cnoc*); **crout**, *croutagh* 'fraud, craftiness; crafty' (with vocalisation of *f*/*v* as in *coau*); **cubbyl** 'couple, pair', *queig ghuppyl* 'five yoke (of oxen)'; **cumbaasal** '(en)compass'; **cumrail** '(en)cumber'; **cursey**, *kussey* 'curse' (with *-rs-* > *-ss-*)

daunsin 'dance'; **debtor**, *jetteryn* 'debtors'; **dellal** 'dealing'; **deputy**, *debiti* 'deputy' (reference to Pilate and local title); **dooble**, *dwbyl* 'double'; **dooyt** 'doubt'

eash 'age'; **eirey**, *eiraght*, *eirys* 'heir; inheritence, possession'

failleil 'fail'; **farling**, *fyrling* 'farthing'; **farrail** 'fare (well or ill)'; **fendeil**, *fendeilagh* 'defend; defence; protector' (with loss of *de-*); **foalsey** 'false'; **foayr**, *foayrail*, *foayroil* 'favour; to favour; favourable' (with vocalisation of *-v-*, twice in adjective *fabh(a)ramhail*); **foutyn** 'faults'; **frourtagh**, *frourtys* 'froward; -ness', i.e. contrary, perverse

giat 'date'; **gioot** 'gift' (with vocalisation); **glutteraght** 'gluttony'; **groyt** 'groat'; **grunt** 'ground', **gruntit** 'grounded, based'; **gurneil** 'govern' (with vocalisation of *-v-*)

jaggad, *jaked* 'coat'; **jeeig** 'ditch, pit'; **jinnair** 'dinner'; **junt** 'joint'; **jurnah** 'journey'

kip 'whip, scourage' (with delenition from dialectal *chwip*)

leeideil, *liidjeer* 'lead, guide' (the [iː] pronounciation of *lead* seems rather advanced at this date, but see also *meanal*, *(ap)pearal*); **leigh** 'law' (with palatalisation of the final [ɣ] in *lagh* in monosyllables); **livery** 'deliver' (with loss of *de-*); **londeyr** 'lantern'; 1. **lowal** 'lawful' < *laghamhail*; 2. **lowal** 'allow, accept, admit' (with loss of *al-*)

maarderys 'fornication'; **mai(n)shter**, *meistyr* 'master', *meistyryght* 'mastery'; **margey** 'market' (genitive *ynyd y vargi* 'the market-place'); **mayl** 'tribute' (as in the Traditionary Ballad); **meanal**, *minell* 'to mean'; **moidjyn** 'maid, virgin'

naboo 'neighbour' (< Old Norse *nábúi*)

oardagh, *oardaghey* 'ordinance; ordain, appoint'; **oardyr**, *oardrail* 'order; to order'; **okyr** 'usury'; **onnor**, *onery*, *oneragh*, *oneroil* 'honour; to honour; honest; honourable'; **oural**, *ourallaght* 'offer, sacrifice; offertory' (with vocalisation of *-f-*)

paart 'some'; **parteeas** 'partner'; **pastyr** 'pasture'; **pearal**, *pirell* 'appear' (with loss of *ap-*, see also *leeideil*); **peesh**, plural *pisyn* 'piece of money' (no sign of palatal *-s-*); **persoon**, *pesson* 'person' (all examples show assimilation of *-rs-* to *-ss-*); **ping** 'penny'; **pibban**, *pipanyn* 'pipes'; **piyr** 'pair'; **plaase** 'palace' (with syncope in the first syllable); **plain** 'plain', i.e. clear, easily understood; **poagey**, *poky* 'scrip, wallet, bag?'; **pointeil** 'appoint' (with loss of *ap-*); **pooar**, *pwer* 'power'; **pott**, plural *puit* 'pots', genitive plural *fer ny bott* 'potter'; **poyll**, plural *puill* 'pools'; **prayal** 'pray'; **preacheil**, *precheer* 'preach; -er'; **price**, *priceil* 'price; value'; **prowal** 'prove, try, i.e. put to the test'; **prysoon** 'prison'; **punt** 'pound'; **purple**, *purpyl* 'purple' (later *gorrym-jiarg*, literally 'blue-red'); **pyshoon**, *puishun*; *pyshoonagh* 'poison; deadly, venomous'

queeyl 'wheel' (taking the English as if lenited); **quiver** 'quiver' (later *bolg-side*, literally 'arrow-bag')

raad 'way, highway'; **ransom**, *ransun* 'redemption'; **recoyrt(ys)** 'record, witness, testimony'; **reill** 'rule, dominion, reign'; **resoonagh**

'reasonable'; **roast**, *royssit* 'broiled'; **ronsaghey** 'search' (< Old Norse *rannsaka*); **room**, *ruym* 'room, i.e. space', *rummuil* 'large'

safe, *vaghey gysæf* 'dwell in safety'; **salet** 'helmet'; **sambyl** 'example' (with loss of *ec-*); **sauail**, *saualagh*; *saual(t)agh*; *saual(t)ys* 'save; saving; saviour; salvation'; **scammylt**, *scammyltagh* (< *scandal*, with excrescent *-t*); **sceabey** 'sweep'; **scoillar**, plural *skoleryn* 'disciples'; **scollag**, *skallyg ayg* 'a young man' (a doublet); **scriptyr**, *skryptur* (rarely *skriutyr*) 'scripture' (spelling implies ultimate stress, headword is the later penultimate); seal, *sheley* 'seal' and (later) verbal noun *sealal* (palatal *s-* throughout is earlier form); **shamyr**, *shambyr*, plural *shiameryn* 'chamber'; *shiambrygh*t 'chambering' Rom. 13.13; **sharmane** 'sermon'; **sharvaant** 'servant'; **sheshey** 'fellow, partner, companion'; **shiartanse**, *shertayn(s)* 'a certain (unspecified)'; **shibber**, *shypper* 'supper'; **shickyr**, *sickyraghey* 'sure, (stead)fast; confirm, stablish, certify' (non-palatal *s-* throughout in this text and syncopated verb); **shirveish** 'service; serve, administer', *shirveishagh* 'minister, Levite'; **shout** 'beam' (< *shaft*, with vocalisation of *-f-*); **sinkeil** 'sink'; **skeerey** 'parish'; **soar** 'odour, savour', *soyr millys* 'incense', *soar(agh)ey* 'smell'; **sobreeaght** 'temperance'; **soorid** 'leaven'; **soyliy** 'absolve' (< *(as)soil*, a doublet of *absolve*); **spiytoil**, *speituyl* '(de)spiteful'; **spyrryd** 'spirit', *spyrrydoil* 'spiritual', *boghylyn spyrydalty* 'spiritual pastors'; **stampey** 'tread'; **stappal** 'stop'; **stayd** 'state, vocation, degree'; **sterrym** 'storm, tempest' (with glide vowel in the second syllable), *sterrymagh* 'stormy'; **stiurt** 'steward', *stiurtys* 'stewardship'; **stoyl coshey** 'footstool'; **streeu**, *striu*, *strif* 'strife; strive' (usually with vocalisation later, but here predominantly with *-f*, = [v], remaining unvocalised when palatal, cf. *tarru*, plural *terryf*); **streng**, *strein*, plural *strengyn* 'string (of the tongue, of an instrument)'; **stroie**, *strui*, *struiel* 'destroy, consume, devour' (with loss of *de-*); **stuckanyn**, only plural, 'pieces' (the plural *stuckaghyn* belongs to *stuggey* – of which this is a diminutive unrecorded at this date – which has much the same meaning); **surranse**, *syrrel*, *surrail* 'suffer, endure; patience' (< *suffer-ance*, with vocalisation of *-ff-*)

tack 'tribute'; **thousane**, *tusayn* 'thousand' (supplanting native *meeilley*, *mily*, plural *miilaghyn*); **tooilleil** 'trouble' (< *toil*, in the early sense 'strife, turmoil', later in the current sense); **torchaghey**, *torshiaghy*

'torment, vex'; **torrity**, *toriti* 'authority' (with loss of *au-*, and [t] for [θ] or perhaps delenition); **traitoor**, *traitur* 'traitor'; **treishteil** 'trust, hope; confidence, hope'; **troailt**, *trauelt* 'travail', once 'travel'

voalley, once 'ball', plural *volaghyn* 'walls'; **vondeish**, *vondeishagh* 'advantage, profit; profitable' (< *(ad)vantage*); **voylt** 'hem' (< sixteenth-century sense of *welt*)

wardoon, *warduni ny killiy* 'churchwardens' (cf. Anglo-Norman *wardein*)

Iasg no Eun? *Giúrann*, *giùran*, *diùraide* etc. ann an Dualchainntean na Gàidhlig

†Roy G. Wentworth

’S e an t-Àrd-Ollamh Ó Baoill a chuir air shùilean dhuinn, ma tha a liuthad iasg neònach ri fhaighinn sa mhuir, gum faighear gu tric a liuthad toinneamh sna h-ainmean a tha orra ann an dualchainntean na Gàidhlig, a thaobh an co-roinne is am freumh-eòlais[a], le iasad eadar faclairean, troimhe-chèile eadar dualchainntean na h-Èireann is na h-Alba, agus faclan-brèige[b] a bhith gan deilbh (faic m.e. Ó Baoill 1978: §§14,17, 14,18; 1991; 1992a; 1992b; 1994). Bu mhath leam feuchainn an seo ri beagan rèitich a dhèanamh air eachdraidh aon ainm den t-seòrsa ud.

Ann an dualchainnt Gheàrrloch, Ros an Iar, far an do choinnich an sgrìobhadair ris a’ bhriathar seo an toiseach, ’s e /tˊuːritˊɤ/ *diùraide* ainr. boir., iol. /tˊuːritˊɤn/ *diùraidean*, a gheibhear mar ainm air a’ chrùstach chirripedach[c] *Lepas anatifera*, Beurla ‘goose barnacle’. Air an làimh eile ’s e an dà riochd *giodhran* (seo leis an dà chèill ‘Barnacle (fish)’ agus ‘Barnacle goose’) agus *giùran* (‘prov[incial] for giodhran’) a gheibhear ann an Dwelly s.vv., agus ’s e [ɡ̊ʲi̯uːran] (ag eadar-theangachadh nan samhlaidhean), gu fòineimeach */kˊi̯uːrɑn/ no */kˊuːrɑn/, a chuala Dieckhoff (1932: s.v. *giuran*), leis a’ chèill ‘the gills of a fish, also a barnacle’, ann an Gleann Garadh. ’S e an NGE bun-tomhasach air *Lepas anatifera*, *giúrann* (*Ainm.* àir. 1435, td. 91). Gheibhear MG *gigrann*, *giugrann*, nas fhadalaiche *gighra*, ach ’s ann leis a’ chèill ‘a wild goose, a barnacle goose’ (i.e. an gèadh *Branta leucopsis*), ann an *DIL* s.v. *gigrann*.

Is dòcha gu bheil an riochd *giùran* a gheibhear ann an cuid de dhualchainntean NGA a’ bunachadh ann an seann **giugrán*, oir bhite an dùil ri cinneachadh de leithid **giugrán* > **giúrán* (le fadachadh co-leasachail den **u* an dèidh call an **g*) > NGA /kˊuːrɑn/ *giùran*. Air an làimh eile, a rèir coltais tha an t-iar-riochd[d] a chluinnear an Geàrrloch a’ dol air ais gu **giugrait*, le riochd iomlaideach[e] san lide gun bheum. Tha iomlaid[f] eadar **-ait* agus **-án* ann an lidean gun bheum dearbhte[g]: an dà chuid san fharsaingeachd, m.e. MG *slucait*

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(*DIL* s.v.), NGE *slogaideach* ('gullet': Dinneen s.v.), NGA *slugaid* ('Slough, … Throat': Dwelly s.v.) ~ NGE *slogán* ('the throat': Dinneen s.v.), NGA *slugan* ('Orifice of the gullet … Deep pool': Dwelly s.v.); agus gu sònraichte an Geàrrloch, far an cluinnear m.e. an dà riochd /[ɑu]ʟtʰ ɤ ˈsʟukitˊ/ *Allt a' Slugaid* agus /[ɑu]ʟtʰ ɤ ˈdʰʟukɑɴˊ/ *Allt an t-Slugain* mar ainm air allt air aodann a deas na beinne an Liathach an Toirbheartan (aig comharradh-clèithe NG903564, MSO 'Allt Slugach'). Agus tha an t-atharrachadh pleasgach vèilearach palataichteʰ gu pleasgach deudachⁱ palataichte (/kˊ-/ > /tˊ-/) aig toiseach facail ri fhaighinn, is dòcha, ann am facal eile an Geàrrloch, viz. /tˆeˈ.ụ/ *deubhann* ainr. (Beurla 'fetter, hobble', air casan-toisich eich), am beachd Henderson (1903–04: 507) a' co-fhreagairt ri NGE *géibheann*, faic SG *gébend* 'a fetter, a bond' (*DIL* s.v.).

Ma nithear coimeas air na h-iar-riochdan a gheibhear ann an Èirinn is an Alba air MG *gigrann*, *giugrann* chithear gu bheil riochdan le pleasgach deudach aig toiseach facail rim faighinn ann an Còigeadh Mumhan, an Connachta (an Co. Mhaigh Eo), ann an Leòdhas agus an Geàrrloch, ged as e am pleasgach vèilearach as cumanta gu mòr. Bheirear an aire cuideachd gu bheil tomhas mòr de neo-sheasmhachd san riochd a gheibhear air an lide (no air na lidean) gun bheum san fhacal. Chithear anns na leanas cuid de riochdan a fhuaras air an fhacal (le pàirt de na samhlaidhean air an eadar-theangachadh; tha an samhla [ˈ] sealltainn ìre bheag de phalatachadh); thèid comharrachadh mur e *Lepas anatifera* as ciall dhaibh:

Riochdan le pleasgach vèilearan palataichte (no meadhan-phatalach) aig toiseach facail

(a) leis an lide gun bheum stèidhichte, a rèir coltais, air seann *-án*, *-én*

LASID puing:

40 (Co. na Gaillimhe)
[gˊʲuːrʟˊinˊɤxɤ] *giúirlíneacha* iol.

44
[gˊʲʊːrɪnˊ] *giúrain*

46
[gˊuːrɪnˊ] *giúrain*
[gˊuːrənˊəxi] *giúraineachaí* iol.

69 (Fánaid an Tír Chonaill)
[gˊeirˀənˊ] *gioghrain* iol.
(no [gˊögrɑn] le [g] gu ìre suathach)

71 (Ros Goill)
[gˊeirɑnˊʰ] *gioghrain* iol.

74 (Gort an Choirce)
[gˊəɯʸranˊ] *gioghrain* iol.

74a (Mín an Chladaigh)
[gˊeɯriɴˊ] *gioghrain* iol.

75 (Eilean Toraigh)
[gˊöɣˤrɪnˊ] *gioghrain* iol.

77 (Loch an Iúir)
[gˊəɯrənˊ] *gioghrain* iol.

78 (Rann na Feirste)
[gˊəɣrən] *gioghran* (no [gˊʲuːrən]), iol. [-ənˊ]
[ə jəɯʸrən] 'the barnacle'

79 (Arainn Mhór)
[gˊeirˊɪnˊ] *gioghrain* iol.

86 (Teileann, san taobh a deas)
[gˊeɢrənˊ] *gioghrain* iol.

Lh. IX 1A, td. 131 (Earra-Ghaidheal, 1700)
Gwyran (*B. leucopsis*)

Dieckhoff 1932: s.v. *giuran* (Gleann Gharadh)
[g̊ʲi̯uːran] *giùran*

B.Gh. sr. 1017, td. 38 (Uibhist, c. 1800)
giùrain iol. (: *cùl*)

GWE: 140 (Uibhist a Deas)
giùran

LASID leabhar 4, td. 238 (Beinn a Bhaoghla)
[gˊʲuːrˈˈənˊ] *giùrain* iol.

Lane 1921 s.v. 'Barnacle' (gun fhios cò às)
giodhrán

Shaw 1780 s.v. 'Barnacle' (gun fhios cò às)
giodhran

Forbes 1905: 352 (gun fhios cò às)
gidhrean, *giodhran*, *giodhrnan*, *giodhrsian*, *giuran*

(b) leis an lide gun bheum stèidhichte air seann *-óc*

LASID puing:

52 (Co. Mhaigh Eo)
[gˊʲʊːroːgɪ] *giúrógái* iol.

53, 55a
[gˊʲuːroːgɪ] *giúrógái* iol.

54
[gˆˈuːrogi] *giúrógái* iol.

57
[gˊʲuːroːgi] *giúrógái* iol.

56
[gˊʲuːrọːg] *giúiróg*
[gˊʲʊːrɪ] *giúraí* iol.

58
[gˊʲöːroːgɪ] *giaorógaí* iol.

Lane 1921 s.v. 'Barnacle' (gun fhios cò às)
giughdóg (leis a' chèill 'Shell of the barnacle')

Lúcás 1986: 24
giúróg, *geabhróg*, *tern* (?*Sterna pp*.)

(c) leis an lide gun bheum stèidhichte air seann *-ait*

LASID leabhar 4, td. 257 (Leòdhas)
[gˊʲûːrɪḍˊ] *giùraid*
[gˊʲûːridˊən] *Giùraidean* iol.

(d) rochdan eile air an lide gun bheum

LASID puing:

41 (Co. na Gaillimhe)
[gˊʲuːrɴˊəx] *giúirneach*
[gˊʲuːrɴˊəxi] *giúirneachaí* iol.

42
[gˊʲuːrɴˊəxɪː] *giúirneachaí* iol.

43a
[gˊʲuːrˊɴˊəxɪː] *giúirneachaí* iol.

43
[gˊʲoːrɴˊəxiː] *geoirneachaí* iol.

50
[gˊʲoːrnˊəxiː] *geoirneachaí* iol.

48
[gˊʲuːrɪˑ] *giúraí* iol.

86a (Gleann Cholm Cille)
[gˊo̤grăɴ] *gioghrann*

Dinneen s.v. *giúghrann* (Árainn na h-Èireann)
giuirneach

Lane 1921 s.v. 'Barnacle' (Connachta)
giùrainn

Dinneen s.v. *giúghrann* (Dún na nGall)
gighring

MacBain s.v. *giodhran* (Arainn na h-Alba)
giúraing [sic *-ú-*] (leis a' chèill 'a shell fish that bores holes in wreckage')

Grant 1987 (Ìle)
[cuːriɲ] *giùrainn*

Riochdan le pleasgach deudach aig toiseach facail

Zoil.: XLVI (Còigeadh Mumhan, c. 1625)
duirridini(?) (*B. leucopsis*)

LASID puing

1 (Co. Phort Láirge)
[d$^{(ʲ)}$ʊːrɪkʲ] *diúraic* no [dʲuːrəkʲi] *diúraici*

10 (Co. Chorcaí)
[duːrʲəkʲiːnʲ] *dúiricín*

11 (Co. Chorcaí)
[duːrəkʲiːnʲ] *dúraicín*

41 (Co. na Gaillimhe)
[dʲ^{ʒj}uːlʲikʲiːnʲiː] *diúilicíní*

Stockman 1974
diúrógaí

Geàrrloch
/tʲuːritʲɤ/ *diùraide*
/tʲuːritʲɤn/ *diùraidean* iol.

Riochdan le toiseach facail eile

Zoil.: XLVII (Còigeadh Mumhan, c. 1625)
fiodhrinn

A thaobh nan riochdan le pleasgach deudach aig toiseach facail, tha coltas air an fhear aig *LASID* puing 1, *diúraic*, gur ann mar thoradh air eadar-chàradh < **giùraid* a tha e. Dh'fhaodadh e a bhith gu bheil an riochd aig puing 2 stèidhichte air *diúraic* le eadar-charadh air feart a' phalatachaidh[j] aig ionnsaigh[k] is coda an lide le beum, còmhla ris an iar-leasachan mheanbhanach *-ín*; tha puing 11 a' sealltainn dì-phalatachaidh den *r* mheadhanail.

Tha e iongantach gur e an riochd as fhaisge air na chluinnear an Geàrrloch an latha an diugh, *duirridini(?)* ann an *Zoil.*: XLVI, riochd a tha a' buntainn ri Còigeadh Mumhan sa chiad earrainn den t-seachdamh linn deug.

Tha e soilleir, mar sin, gu bheil cruth an fhacail ris a bheil sin a' dèiligeadh an seo gu math caochlaideach. Ach tha brìgh an fhacail cuideachd neo-sheasmhach oir, mar a chunnacas, gheibhear aig diofar àiteachan is amannan dà phrìomh chèill aige: an crùstach *Lepas anatifera* agus an gèadh *Branta leucopsis*. A thaobh freumh-eòlais, tha a h-uile coltas gur e gnè de ghèadh a bu chiall thùsail dha. Mar eisimpleir, gheibhear ann am Buck 1949 aig §3.56 'Goose', td. 177:

> Ir[ish] *gēd*, … fr[om] **gegdā*- or the like: Lith[uanian] *gageti* 'quack', M[iddle] H[igh] G[erman] *gāgen* 'quack', etc., all of imitative origin.
>
> Ir[ish] *giugrann*, likewise of imitative orig[in], either with the preceding or with Lat[in] *gingrīre* 'quack', etc.

Tha Pokorny (1959: 407) cuideachd a' coimeas MG *giugrann* etc. ris an fhreumh-fhacal[l] **ghans*- 'gèadh' aig a bheil bunachadh aithriseach[m] ('Lautnachahmung für Gackern, Schnattern' 'aithriseach airson gogadaich, gàgail'), agus tha e a' sealltainn bun-riochd **gigur*- a dh'fhaodadh a bhith ann dha.

Tuigear bhon seo gu bheil atharrachadh ann an tar-iomraiche[n] an fhacail air tachairt sna cànain Ghàidhlig, agus sin bho *Branta leucopsis* gu *Lepas anatifera*. Tha fios math ann gu bheil a' cheart dà chèill seo aig an fhacal 'barnacle' sa Bheurla: 's e seo an deimhneid[o] air a gheibhear ann an *NED* s.v. 'barnacle … sb.2':

> 1. A species of wild goose ([*Branta*] *leucopsis*) nearly allied to the Brent Goose, found in the arctic seas (where alone it breeds), and visiting the British coasts in winter.
>
> 'This bird, of which the breeding place was long unknown, was formerly believed to be produced out of the fruit of a tree growing by the sea-shore …, or to be produced out of a shell which grew upon this tree …
>
> b. In this sense now often Bernacle Goose, to distinguish it from sense 2 …
>
> 2. English name of the pedunculate genus of Cirripedes, which attach themselves to objects floating in the water,

> especially to the bottoms of ships, by a long fleshy foot-stalk …
>
> '(This was the 'shell-fish' out of which the Barnacle Goose was supposed to be produced, the long feathery cirri protruded from the valves suggesting the notion of plumage.)'[1]

Agus mar a tha Kirke Swann (1913: 12, s.v. 'Barnacle-Goose') a' cur an cèill:

> Dr. Murray [ann an *NED*] … remarks that the Cirriped took its name from the bird and not the bird from the Cirriped, which of course leaves the derivation of the bird's name still a moot point.

Gu mì-fhortanach dh'fhairtich orm Gàidhlig fhaighinn air *Branta leucopsis* ann an Geàrrloch; ach a rèir coltais 's e *cathan* as trice a gheibhear an NGA air a' ghèadh seo; 's e sin a tha aig Fergusson (1885–86: 72–3, s.v. 'Bernicle Goose'; seo am bun aig Dwelly s.v. *cathan*), còmhla ri 'Cath-ian Leadan'; ann an *GWE* 's e 'wild goose' a bheirear mar chèill do *cathan* (s.v.); agus 's e *cathan* a roghnaich Cunningham (1990: 54). Gheibhear *an cathan* cuideachd aig Mackenzie s.v. 'barnacle'; agus ann an Shaw chithear 'A wild goose, barnacle' s.v. *cadhan*, agus 'A wild goose with a black bill' s.v. *cathan* ('s e an dara cuid *Branta leucopsis* no *B. bernicla*, Beurla 'brent goose', a dh'fhaodadh a bhith seo). Ach bidh e coltach gun cluinnte *giùran*, *vel sim*., mar ainm air an eun cuideachd: ann an *DSC* s.v. 'barnacle' tha an dà chuid *giùran* agus *cathan* againn (mar ainm air 'a bird like a goose, fabulously supposed to grow on trees'); s.vv. *giodhran* agus *giùran* gheibhear 'A barnacle, bird'. Ann am MacBain chì sinn 'a barnacle (bird)' s.v. *giodhran* agus 'barnacle goose' s.v. *giùran*, còmhla ri 'wild goose, barnacle goose' s.v. *cadhan*. Ann am Forbes cuideachd (1905: 276, s.v. 'Goose') gheibhear *cadhan*, *giodhran*, *giugran*, *giuran*, *giurnan*, agus *leadan* mar Ghàidhlig air 'barnacle'. (Chan eil am bunachadh[P] aig leadan a gheibhear ann am Fergusson 1885–86 agus ann am Forbes 1905 soilleir dhomh.) Ann am *Bith-Eòlas* (MacLeòid 1976: 135) 's e *cathan* a gheibhear mar Ghàidhlig

[1] Is e seo as coireach ris an ainm specific *anatifera* (bha *Branta leucopsis* roimhe air a chur sa ghenus *Anas*).

air *Semibalanus balanoides* (Beurla 'acorn shell' no 'acorn barnacle'), ach bidh e coltach gur ann mar thoradh air seòrsa de mhì-thuigsinn dhùbailt a tha seo, stèidhichte air leithid an clàradh *an cathan* ann am Mackenzie s.v. 'barnacle' (oir chan e an cirriped ach an t-eun as ciall don fhacal Bheurla 'barnacle' sa chlàradh seo, agus co-dhiù 's e an cirriped peaduncalach[q] *Lepas anatifera*, agus chan e an seòrsa seiseil[r] *Semibalanus balanoides* a bu phrìomh chiall don fhacal Bheurla; faic *SOED* s.v. 'barnacle').

Ann an NGE 's e *gé ghiúrainn* a gheibhear gu bun-tomhasach air *B. leucopsis* (de Bhaldraithe 1959: s.v. 'barnacle', *Ainm*. àirn. 800, 1663). Tha 'Barnacle (goose)' aig Ó Dónaill mar thè de na ciallan Beurla air *giúrann* (s.v.), agus tha 'barnacle goose' aige mar Bheurla air *gé ghiúrainn* (s.v. *gé*[1]); ach s.v. *cadhan* chì sinn '(a) Pale breasted brent goose [i.e. *B. bernicla hrota*]. (b) Barnacle goose'. Ann an Dinneen cuideachd s.v. *giúghrann* gheibhear *gé ghiúghrainn*, *éan giúghrainn*, no gu sìmplidh *giúghrann* leis a' chèill 'a barnacle goose'; ach s.v. *cadhan* chì sinn 'a wild goose, a barnacle-goose', còmhla ris a' mheanbhanach *cadhnóg*. Agus 's e *cadhan* a tha aig Lane 1921: s.v. 'Barnacle or Bernicle goose'. Bidh e coltach gu bheil an t-ainmeachadh dùbailt seo air an eun a' dol air ais co-dhiù chun a' chiad leth don t-seachdamh linn deug, oir gheibhear ann an gluais Uí Chléirigh *gioghrann .i. cadhan* (*DIL* s.v. *gigrann*).

A bharrachd air an troimhe-chèile sheimeantach[s] a tha againn eadar an t-eun agus an cirriped mar chèill don fhacal *giùran* ann an NGA, cluinnear e, no facal a tha homanaimeach ris, mar ainm air ball na riosparaid[t] ann an ainmhidhean a tha ag analachadh san uisge (Beurla 'gills'). 'S e *giùran* a gheibhear mar eisimpleir s.v. 'gill' ann an Thomson 1994; gheibhear e cuideachd ann an *DSC* (san earrainn Gàidhlig gu Beurla leis a' chèill 'The gills of a salmon', agus san earrainn Beurla gu Gàidhlig); ann an Armstrong 1825 (san dà earrainn Gàidhlig gu Beurla agus Beurla gu Gàidhlig); ann an Shaw agus ann am MacDomhnuill 1741 (mar *Giuran* agus *An Giuran* fa leth); agus 's e *Giwran* a sgrìobh Lhuyd (*Lh*. VII 4, td. 123) an Earra-Ghaidheal mu 1700. Mar a chunnacas shuas, 's e [ɡ̊ʲiu̯ːran] *giùran* cuideachd a chuala Dieckhoff, leis a' chèill 'the gills of a fish', ann an Gleann Garadh. Ann an NGE 's e *geolbhach* (*éisc*) a gheibhear ann an de Bhaldraithe s.v. 'gill[1]', agus chì sinn seo ann an Ó Dónaill s.v.

leis a' chèill 'Gill(s) (of fish)'. Tha a' chiall seo aig an fhacal *geolbhach* ann an Dinneen cuideachd; ach s.v. *giúrán* gheibhear a-rithist 'the gill of a fish' aige mar Bheurla air.

Tha MacBain a' sealltainn *giùran* leis a' chèill 'gills of a fish', agus tha e a' tairgse '**gober*-, root of *gob*?', le comharradh-ceist, mar fhreumh-eòlas air. 'S e 'the gills of a fish' a tha aige cuideachd mar Bheurla air *garbhan*, comharraichte mar fhacal a bhuineas do dhualchainntean ceann a tuath na Gaidhealtachd (bidh e coltach gu bheil seo a' dol air ais gu *DSC*, far am faighear s.v. *Garbhan*: 'the gills of a fish … N[orth] H[ighlands]'), agus tha am facal *garbhan* ri fhaighinn leis a' chèill seo an Dwelly (gun not air càite an d' fhuaradh e).[2] 'S e /kɾaɾaɾvan/ *garbhan* cuideachd a chluinnear ann an Geàrrloch mar ainm air a' bhall riosparaideach sna h-èisg, agus mar sin chan eil troimhe-chèile sam bith, san dualchainnt seo co-dhiù, eadar am facal sin agus an riochd *diùraide* a gheibhear air *Lepas anatifera*.

Briathrachas

[a] *a thaobh an co-roinne is am freumh-eòlais* 'as regards their distribution and etymology'
[b] *faclan-brèige* 'ghost words'
[c] *ainm air a' chrùstach chirripedach* 'a name for the cirriped crustacean'
[d] *an t-iar-riochd* 'the reflex'
[e] *riochd iomlaideach* 'an alternant form'
[f] *iomlaid* 'alternation'
[g] *dearbhte* 'attested'
[h] *pleasgach vèilearach palataiche* 'palatalised velar plosive'
[i] *deudach* 'dental'
[j] *eadar-charadh air feart a' phalatachaidh* 'metathesis of the feature of palatalisation'
[k] *ionnsaigh* 'onset'
[l] *ris an fhreumh-fhacal* 'to the etymon'
[m] *bunachadh aithriseach* 'imitative origin'
[n] *tar-iomraiche* 'referent'
[o] *an deimhneid* 'the definition'
[p] *am bunachadh* 'the derivation'
[q] *an cirriped peaduncalach* 'the pedunculate cirriped'
[r] *seiseil* 'sessile'
[s] *an troimhe-chèile sheimeantach* 'semantic confusion'
[t] *ball na riosparaid* 'the organ of respiration'

[2] Cha tèid dèiligeadh an seo ris na briathran eile a gheibhear air 'gills' a leithid *ochras*, *eochrach*, *breanc* (faic Dwelly, Dinneen, Lane).

The Cult of Moluag, the See of Mortlach and Church Organisation in Northern Scotland in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Alex Woolf

The *Annals of Ulster* record the death of Lugaid of Lis Mór in 592 (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983). The *Annals of Tigernach*, surviving in a twelfth-century recension, also record the death of Lugaid but add the gloss *.i. mo Luóc* (Stokes 1993: s.a. 591). These entries have generally been taken to relate to the saint widely venerated in Scotland as Moluag or Moluóc, a hypocoristic form of Lugaid, and his place of death is identified with the island of Lismore in Loch Linne which was, from the late twelfth century, home to the see of Argyll (Watt 1969: 26). Moluóc was also, as 'Lupus' or 'Malew', the original dedicatee of the Manx monastery of Rushen, granted to the Sauvignac order in 1134 and incorporated into the Cistercian order in 1148 (Atkinson 1886–1919: II, 708–9). It is probably this Manx-Cistercian link that accounts for the prominence given to Moluóc among the disciples of Comgall of Bangor in St Bernard's *Life of Malachy* (Lawlor 1920). Outwith Lismore, Moluag's Scottish cult is strongest in the north east and it is with this region that I shall be principally concerned in this paper.

By the end of the Middle Ages Moluag's body was believed to lie at Rosemarkie, the original seat of the bishops of Ross, and an account of the saint's death and burial there are contained both in the *Aberdeen Breviary* and in Hector Boece's *Histories of the Scots* (Blew and Laing 1854; Seton and others 1938–41: I, 392–4). Rosemarkie's principal association was, however, with Curadán, rather oddly identified, by the later Middle Ages, with pope Boniface IV (MacDonald 1992: 10–30). This saint appears in origin to be the Curetán *epscop* ('bishop') who is listed amongst the guarantors of *Cáin Adomnáin* and thus can be supposed to have flourished in the years around 697 (Ní Dhonnchada 1982: 191). In the Scottish legendary material he is associated with a Pictish king, Nechtan, presumably Naiton son of Derile who ruled from

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c. 706 to 728/9 (MacDonald 1992: 45–6). Isabel Henderson has suggested that Curetán may have been from a monastic centre within Moluag's *familia* and that the presence of a cult of Moluag at Rosemarkie may stem from this link (Henderson 1990); Aidan MacDonald, wisely in my view, offered the alternative hypothesis that the prominence of the cult in the north east may owe its origins to the establishment there, in the course of the Viking Age, of a dynasty claiming its origins amongst the Cenél Loairn in whose territory Lismore, Moluag's place of death, lay (MacDonald 1992: 29; Woolf 2000: 145–64).

A third centre, also in the north east of Scotland, has a special place amongst the Moluag dedications. This is Mortlach, now located on the periphery of Dufftown in Banffshire. John of Fordun, a priest of the diocese of Aberdeen in the late fourteenth century, included an account of the establishment of an episcopal see at Mortlach in his *Chronicle*, which in turn formed the core of Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*. Fordun ascribed the foundation of Mortlach to Máel Coluim mac Cináeda, King of Alba, 'with oppsition', between 1005 and his death in 1034. The foundation was said to have been made to commemorate a victory over the Norwegians at the beginning of his reign and to have taken place in his seventh year (1011–12) (Skene 1871–72: I, 182–3). Fordun's narrative may have been based in part upon the foundation charter for Mortlach preserved in the *Aberdeen Register* which reads as follows:

> Malcolmus Rex Scottorum, omnibus probis hominibus suis tam clericis quam laicis Salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac Carta mea confirmasse deo et beatae marie et omnibus sanctis, et Episcopo Beyn de morthelach, ecclesiam de morthelach ut ibidem construatur sedes episcopalis / cum terries meis de morthelach Ecclesiam de Cloueth cum terra Ecclesiam de Dulmech cum terra Ita libere sicut eas tenui et in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Teste meipso apud Forfare octauo die mensis Octobris Anno regni mei sexto. (Innes 1845: I, 3)
>
> Malcolm King of Scots, to all his good men both clerics and laymen greetings. Know that I give and by this my charter I confirm to God and the blessed Mary and to all the saints, and to the Bishop Beyn of Morthelach, the

> church of Morthelach that there will be constructed an episcopal seat with my lands of Morthelach, the church of Cloueth with [its] lands, the church of Dulmech with [its] lands; to hold them as freely as [missing] and in pure and perpetual alms. Witnessed by myself at Forfar on the eighth day of the month of October in the sixth year of my reign.

While the table of contents of the late fourteenth-century recension of the *Aberdeen Register*, the 'Registrum Album', identfies the founder as the son of 'Kenneth', it also contains references to Queen Margaret, the wife not of Máel Coluim mac Cináeda but of his great grandson King Máel Coluim mac Donnchada (1058–93), suggesting that there had been some confusion in Aberdeen as to which King Máel Coluim was the patron (Innes 1845: I, xi–xix). It should also be noted that the 'Registrum Album' identifies the date of foundation as the sixth year of Máel Coluim's reign while Fordun ascribes it to the seventh (Skene 1871–72: I, 182–3). This may suggest that Fordun had access to an independent source for this date.

The information concerning the foundation of an episcopal see at Mortlach has been preserved because later ecclesiastics based in Aberdeen claimed that their see had been transferred to Aberdeen from Mortlach. According to these churchmen, the diocese had been in continuous existence since King Máel Coluim's time even though the precise location of the bishop's seat had been moved. The first bishop to have his cathedral at Aberdeen appears to have been Nechtan whose earliest appearance in the record seems to be in the year extending from April 1131 (Barrow 1999: 80). The names of three earlier bishops are recorded, Beyn (Beóán?), Deniortius (Domangart?) and Cormac (Innes 1845: II, 246–7). While no dates are available for these bishops, the likelihood that their three reigns, together perhaps with a portion of Nechtan's, would take us back to 1011/12 (the sixth or seventh year of King Máel Coluim mac Cináeda) seems relatively slim. Taken together the evidence would seem to indicate that the king in the Mortlach foundation story was originally intended to be Máel Coluim mac Donnchada. If, however, we accept the other details of the account, then we may be able to reconstruct an interesting

contextual narrative concerning the raising of Mortlach to episcopal status.

The sixth year of the kingship of Máel Coluim mac Donnchada ran from 1064 to 1065. If the battle with the Norwegians, referred to in Fordun's *Chronicle*, happened at the very beginning of his reign, it may have been connected with the expedition to the West undertaken by Magnus, the oldest son of the Norwegian king, Haraldr Sigurðarson, in 1058 (Williams 1860: text B, s.a. 1056; Stokes 1993: s.a. 1058; Etchingham 2001: 152–6). It is worth noting, however, that Mortlach lies only about a dozen kilometres or so from Essie in Strathbogie where Máel Coluim slew his predecessor King Lulach in his bid to gain the kingship (Anderson 1980: 268–84). Are we dealing with one or two battles here? If only one, is Magnus more likely to have been supporting the incumbent Lulach or the insurgent Máel Coluim? The plausibility of the latter interpretation is strengthened when we recall that Máel Coluim's first wife, according to the *Orkneyinga saga*, Ingibjorg Finnsdottir, was the first cousin of Magnus' mother, Thora, her father Thorberg being the brother of Finn Arnason (Guðmundsson 1965: 84–6). However, this reading of events – in which Máel Coluim wrested the kingdom from King Lulach mac Gilla Comgáin with the help of the Norwegians – seems, at first sight, irreconcilable with Fordun's account, which speaks of a victory over the Norwegians. This difficulty can be overcome if we suppose that when Fordun's *Chronicle* (or its source) was composed at some point in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, a dynastic-historical commemoration of the victory which marked the beginning of Máel Coluim's reign was conflated with a local tradition that the battle commemorated was one between the Scots and the Norwegians. What may have been lost sight of was the possibility that the apical figure of the Scottish dynasty and the actual founder of Mortlach had been fighting on the Norwegian side.[1]

[1] If the claim made by *Orkneyinga saga* (Guðmundsson 1965: 81), that Earl Thorfinnr Sigurðarson ruled nine Scottish earldoms at the time of his death, 'in the last days of Haraldr Sigurðarson [†1066]' (ibid.: 82), is anything more than bluster, it may indicate that he saw Máel Coluim as his client.

Regardless of what we may speculate about the battle between the Scots and Norwegians, Mortlach's episcopal status is worthy of examination. Founding a monastery in gratitude for a victory was relatively common in medieval Europe, but the elevation of a site to episcopal status requires further comment. The nature of the Scottish episcopacy in the immediate pre-Norman period is extremely obscure. Almost certainly, the diocesan map of Scotland as it existed in the later Middle Ages is largely a product of the twelfth century, but the extent to which it represented a revolutionary rather than an evolutionary transformation is less clear (Barrow 1981: 63–8). The increase in the number of episcopal sees in the course of the twelfth century may, to some extent, reflect a genuine concern regarding the provision of pastoral care, but it must also be seen as part of the campaign to ensure the independence of the Scottish Church from the claims of superiority made by the metropolitans of York and occasionally Canterbury (Broun 2001: 33).

There is some evidence to suggest that the kingdom of Alba (Scotia proper north of the Forth) at times had only one regular bishop. Certainly, under Northumbrian domination in the seventh century the Pictish Church seems to have been administered from a single see located at Abercorn in Lothian and Curetán appears to have been the only Pictish bishop to have added his name to the guarantor list of *Cáin Adomnáin* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: IV, 26; Ní Dhonnchada 1982: 191). In the fifteenth century, Walter Bower claimed that there had been a time when there was only one bishop in Scotland and that three elections for that post had occurred at Abernethy in Perthshire (Watt 1987–98: II, 302). Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Bower is commenting on the early part of the lists of bishops of Scotia/St Andrews that he provides (which would take us back to the late ninth or tenth centuries) or to some unspecified earlier period. The *Annals of Ulster* note the death of Tuathal mac Artgusso, *prímepscop Fortrenn*, 'chief-bishop of Fortriu', in 865 and it has been pointed out that this title implies that Fortriu must have had more than one bishop (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983: 865.6; MacQuarrie 1992: 121). These two positions are

not irreconcilable. The situation which can be inferred from a variety of pre-Viking-Age English and Irish sources is that there was an expectation in the Insular World that episcopal *regna* coincided with secular kingdoms, the bishop being perceived as the spiritual counterpart of the king (Etchingham 1999: 130–48). However, diocesan or territorial bishops may not have been the only ecclesiastics exercising functions generally reserved for those in episcopal orders. There were certainly instances of *chorepiscopi* in the Insular World (Etchingham 1999: 138, 154–5). Originating in the Greek East in early Christian times and increasingly frowned-upon in mainstream ecclesiastical circles, *chorepiscopi*, about whom little is known, seem to have operated somewhat like a cross between the suffragans and archdeacons of a later age. They had no independent jurisdiction but could perform episcopal functions on behalf of their diocesan. They were, in effect, deputies. Explicit use of *chorepiscopi* disappeared from the West in the course of the Gregorian reform movement but many of their functions continued to be performed, at times, by titular or nominal bishops consecrated for sees which they rarely, if ever, visited. In Scotland, the ubiquity of bishop Andrew of Caithness in the witness lists for the royal charters issued between the late 1140s and his death in 1184 suggests that he was excluded from his see (in which *de facto* authority probably lay with the bishops of Orkney) and the grant to him of the church of the Holy Trinity in Dunkeld by King David seems to suggest that he functioned as a 'spare bishop' within the Scottish kingdom (Barrow 1999: 166).

An alternative, or complementary, model explaining the paradox of single and multiple bishops co-existing can also be constructed. The diocesan pattern that emerged in Scotland in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries does not produce a neat map suggestive of a theoretical model being imposed upon a blank page. In Professor Barrow's words:

> these dioceses are characterized by an extraordinary intermingling of territories and a profusion of detached portions often remote from their mother church. Had the twelfth-century kings been starting from scratch it

> is inconceivable that they would have produced such complexity. (Barrow 1981: 67)

This map, in which dioceses have territorial cores but also frequently have dispersed parishes outwith the core territories, is suggestive of an earlier stage of ecclesiastical organisation in which monastic *familia* played a major role. In the early Irish Church the fact that many monastic foundations owed obedience to mother-houses located in distant kingdoms (Iona's authority over the Columban *familia* is the classic example) was clearly at odds with the territorial pairing of kings and bishops. It seems that the likely solution to this problem was the creation of bishops within the mother-houses who were responsible for the ordination of priests and other episcopal functions within the monasteries of the *familia* and who themselves were monks of the *familia* and thus subject to the abbatial authority of the *comarb*. Such bishops, however, like the 'mitred abbots' of a later age, probably did not have any jurisdiction outside the monasteries and estates of the *familia*. This situation would create a patch-work of episcopal authorities that cut across the regular territorial dioceses of the secular clergy. In Scotland, the elevation of monastic mother-churches to the status of diocesan sees in the age of Gregorian reform may well account for the extraordinary number of detached parishes that characterise the Scottish Church (McNeill and MacQueen 1996: 348–60). The new dioceses would be granted a territory around their centre, but if that centre was the home of a *comarb* of a dispersed *familia* it might also maintain jurisdiction over its dispersed territories. This seems, for example, very likely to have be explanation of the extraordinary map of the diocese of Dunkeld (Etchingham 1999: 105–71).

Returning to Mortlach and Moluag, we must ask this question: was this the establishment of a new episcopal authority, or was it simply the transfer of an episcopal see? The probability that the territorial dioceses of pre-Norman Scotland were established on the basis of one bishop per kingdom, as in Ireland and early Anglo-Saxon England, brings us back to the the issue of whether the lands north of the Mounth were regarded as a separate

kingdom, which I have termed elsewhere the 'Moray Question' (Woolf 2000). Both Bede and the Iona chroniclers seem to have considered that the Picts could be regarded as being divided into two fundamental groupings divided by the Mounth, although by the eighth and ninth centuries a single kingship, or over-kingship, seems to have been established (Plummer 1896: 133). In the eleventh century, from at least the time of Máel Coluim mac Cináeda, rival kings ruled in Moray and, in the case of Macbethad and Lulach, sometimes exerted their authority in the south (Woolf 2000: 145–64). Whether as a continuation of the bipartite structure of Pictavia or as a result of the particular political circumstances of the eleventh century, it is possible that, even within the minimalist model of one bishop *per regnum*, the north of Scotland may have already formed a distinct diocese before the foundation of Mortlach by King Máel Coluim mac Donnchada. Had such a northern bishop existed, would any church suggest itself as his principal seat? Of the three sees in the area that we know of, we have Mortlach which, as we have seen, seems to have been founded c. 1065, and that of the diocese of Moray, which took some time to settle on Elgin as its established centre suggesting that the episcopal household was not bound too closely to a particular site by tradition (Watt 1969: 218).

The third see, Rosemarkie, we have encountered already. Closely connected with Curetán and, in the twelfth century, providing the name of the diocese ('Ross' may or may not derive its name from Chanonry Point which gives us both the *ros* of *Ros*emarkie and that of Fort*ros*e), Rosemarkie is certainly a site which exudes antiquity (ibid.: 266). Rosemarkie was also the alleged burial place of Moluag, and it is likely that, just as Dunkeld became the home of the *comarb* of Colum Cille in the ninth century, so the *comarb* of Moluag may have moved here from Lismore (see above). The distribution of dedications to Moluag and the location of his own monastery, at Lismore, intimately connects the saint with Cenél Loairn and with the kindred of Lulach who, rightly or wrongly, claimed descent from them. The first bishop who we can be certain had his see at Rosemarkie was Macbethad, who makes his first appearance in

the historical record witnessing a grant of land to Dunfermline Abbey by King David I (1124–53) at some point in the years 1127x31 (Barrow 1999: no. 33). This same charter provides the first *certain* appearance of Gregory, the first bishop of Moray.[2]

The pairing of the names Gregory and Macbethad also occurs in another text dating to the last years of the eleventh or first years of the twelfth century. This is version 'A' of the St Andrews origin legend, which is currently being edited for publication by Dauvit Broun. This text, which principally relates the arrival of the relics of St Andrew at the site of the present town in the days of a Pictish king named 'Hungus', concludes by asserting the primacy of the church of St Andrews within Scotland:

> This is the city of cities of Scotia, to which Our Lord gave these supports to help: that is, archiepiscopus Giric, Macbethad and Gregoir with other brothers of theirs.[3] (Broun 2001: 33)

Giric's episcopacy is not well-recorded, but seems to have fallen somewhere between the death of Bishop Fothad II, in 1093, and the election of Turgot, in 1107 (Broun 2000: 108–14). Giric's archiepiscopal status indicated here might have been a precocious claim to metropolitan status, but it may, like its Gaelic equivalent *prímepscop*, simply designate seniority with regard to other bishops. It is clear that the writer of this text identified Macbethad and Gregoir as members of the *familia* of Andrew, but since they, unlike the 'other brothers', are named, they must have held some senior dignity or office. It is extremely tempting to imagine that these two are *chorepiscopi* of Giric's, and that his title, *archiepiscopus*, marks him out as the 'proper bishop' of the three. Is there any possibility that these men could be the

[2] Gregory also appears as a witness to two charters purporting to have been issued in favour of Scone by King Alexander I between 1107 and 1124 (Bannatyne Club 1843: nos. 1 and 4). However, Lawrie expressed doubt over the authenticity of the Scone charters, and in particular the witness lists, believing that while Alexander was responsible for establishing the Augustinian rule there, the surviving diplomatic record was concocted at some date subsequent to 1164 (Lawrie 1905: 279–88). Barrow briefly questioned Lawrie's judgement (Barrow 1960: 36–7) and Duncan has recently been working on a more detailed rebuttal of Lawrie's position.

[3] My thanks to Dauvit Broun for this translation.

same as the two northern bishops (noted in the Dunfermline land-grant) who held Rosemarkie and Moray by 1131?

The first reliable appearance of a third bishop, Cormac of Dunkeld, is as witness to the Dunfermline charter in which Macbethad of Rosemarkie makes his debut (Bannatyne Club 1843: nos. 1 and 4). It will be remembered that Cormac was also the name of the third bishop to have his seat at Mortlach. While it is beyond proof at present, it is perhaps worth considering that we are seeing the reform of the Scottish episcopacy in action here. At the beginning of the twelfth century we may have had a bishop of Scotia or Alba, assisted by *chorepiscopi* (located probably by this time at St Andrews but perhaps recently having been peripatetic), together with a second bishop located north of the Mounth, serving those areas that traditionally had been within the orbit of the rulers of Moray. At some point, not too long before 1131 (the latest possible date for the Dunfermline charter), Cormac of Mortlach may have been translated from Mortlach to Dunkeld, the centre of the cult of Colum Cille and St Andrews' real rival for ecclesiastical seniority within the kingdom of Alba. At the same time, the St Andrews *chorepiscopi*, irregular and unacceptable in the present climate, were given full episcopal status as diocesans in the north. Could it be as part of the same process that Nechtan was given his see at Aberdeen? His place of origin is nowhere made explicit, but the fact that Aberdeen held onto Mortlach and its immediate *parochia* may indicate that he hailed from there. All three northern sees would have formed portions of the old see that Cormac had administered from Mortlach. Dunkeld kept its pride, receiving a full bishop, and not being 'fobbed off' with a *chorepiscopus*, and the north was supplied with experienced men from the heart of the kingdom whose loyalty could be relied upon by the crown.

The apparent appearance of the new bishops at some point between 1127 and 1131 immediately suggests some connection with the rebellion of Angus of Moray, the son of Lulach's daughter, that was suppressed at Stracathro by Edward the Constable in 1130 (Anderson 1991: 166–7). Whether we see this as part of a subsequent settlement of the north, following the rebellion,

or whether we choose to see Angus' rebellion as a reaction to what he may have perceived as too much royal intervention, including this episcopal reform, is a moot point. In either case, the division of a great diocese of the north into three fulfilled the double function of placing reliable royal agents throughout a traditionally hostile region, while at the same time bolstering the claims being made by the bishops of St Andrews that they should be given metropolitan status (Broun 2001: 1–35). Alternatively, the innovation may have been instigated by Robert, the first foreign-born bishop of St Andrews (1124/8–59) to settle in the see, who may have enforced continental practice on his own house with the consequences that we have seen. If, however, the presence of Gregory of Moray on the witness list to the Scone charter proves to be reliable, then we must push back the reform to the reign of King Alexander I (1107–24). Interestingly, Walter Bower claims that Alexander founded the Augustinian house at Scone in thanks for a victory over the Moravians (Watt 1987–98: III, 107). Perhaps a poorly documented subjugation of Moray occurred during Alexander's time and instigated reorganistion.

Having examined the evidence for the see of Mortlach, is there anything more that can be said about its location? If we are to believe the origin legend, it was located near the site of a famous battle. If this was the battle of Essie, then we might have expected the king to found his new see in Strathbogie rather than the watershed of the Spey. It is also very unlikely, as we have seen, that Mortlach was originally intended to serve the diocese of Aberdeen, since it is extremely isolated within the diocese. It seems more likely that the foundation of King Máel Coluim mac Donnchada was intended to provide an episcopal centre for Muréb (Moray), the territory that had been dominated by Clann Ruaídrí, Lulach's kindred,[4] that was easier to control and nearer his own centres of power. Máel Coluim may have established a bishopric at Mortlach just as the Bernicians had attempted to set up a Pictish ecclesiastical centre at Abercorn in Lothian

[4] It is often assumed that Angus was a member of Clann Ruaídrí but as the son of Lulach's *daughter* he most certainly was not. His father may even have been the beneficiary of royal intervention in the region.

and as the Scots were later to do when they established the see of Caithness at Dornoch, barely beyond the frontiers of Ross. Such 'colonial' bishoprics were a common feature of this age. One wonders, however, whether the connection with the cult of Moluag reflects a perception that the see was transferred to Mortlach from Rosemarkie. If so, did the body of the saint travel with it? Do the Moluag dedications around Mortlach reflect the eastern edge of an ancient *parochia*, or are they relics of a brief period when the *comarba Moluaig* resided at Mortlach between c.1065 and 1130?

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