

**Fís Mheirlíno:  
a diplomatic edition  
with introduction and notes**

Ciarán Hegarty, B.A. Hons (Ulster 2011)

Faculty of Arts of Ulster University

A thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

April 2018

*I confirm that the word count of this thesis is less than 100,000 words.*

## Table of contents

1.	Descriptor of Edition	6
2.	A Theory concerning authorship of <i>FMh</i>	7
3.	Synopsis of <i>FMh</i>	19
4.	Textual analysis with a view to establishing authorship	21
5.	Previous editions	73
6.	The Manuscripts	75
7.	Relationship of manuscripts	79
8.	Editorial method	90
9.	Notes on translation	115
10.	Language of text	117
11.	Historical and literary context	118
12.	Text and Translation	122
13.	Textual notes	162
14.	Linguistic analysis	182
	Appendix 1 – Bibliography	277
	Appendix 2 – List of MSS. in which <i>FMh</i> is found	292
	Appendix 3 – Diplomatic transcription of <i>FMh</i> from MSS.	296
	Appendix 4 – Glossary	313

## BUÍOCHAS

Ba mhaith liom mo bhuíochas a chur in iúl don Dochtúir Nioclás Mac Cathmhaoil a bhí mar stiúrthóir orm sa tionscadal seo. Eisean a d'aithin agus a chothaigh an tsuim a bhí agam i léann téacsúla agus i litríocht chraifeach na Nua-Gaeilge luaithe agus a mhol an t-ábhar agus mé ag tabhairt faoi thaighde dochtúireachta. Tá mé faoi chomaoin mhór aige as na huaireanta fada a chaith sé ag cuidiú liom teacht isteach ar theanga agus litríocht na 17ú agus 18ú aois.

Is mór an tacaíocht a fuair mé ó bhail fhoirne agus ó mhic léinn araon in Ollscoil Uladh agus in institiúidí eile ó chuir mé tús leis an saothar seo. Ba mhaith liom aitheantas a thabhairt don Dochtúir Malachy Ó Néill agus don Dochtúir Fionntan de Brún as an tsuim a léirigh siad i mo chuid oibre agus as an mhisneach a thug siad dom.

Tá aitheantas ar leith tuillte ag an Dochtuir Art Hughes as téacs agus aistriúchán *Fís Mheirlíno* a léamh agus as na moltaí a rinne sé ina thaobh seo agus don Dochtúir Peadar Mac Gabhann as an chomhairle a thug sé dom a chuidigh go mór liom an tionscadal a thabhairt chun críche.

Tá mé buíoch fosta de mo theaghlach agus de mo chairde as éisteacht go fial foighneach le sonraí faoi Mheirlíno agus faoin domhan teangeolaíoch agus diagachta inar tháinig sé ar an tsaol.

Mar fhocal scoir ba mhaith liom focal buíochais faoi leith a rá faoin Athair Pádraig Mac an Bheatha nach maireann, sagart nár chaill riamh an tsuim a bhí aige sa Ghaeilge ó chuaigh sé i mbun staidéir uirthi in Ollscoil na Banríona, Béal Feirste, sna 1940í agus a raibh spéis mhór i gcónaí aige san iarracht agam féin chun nasc a léiriú idir an scéal agus sagart deoiseach eile ón 17ú aois. Suaimhneas síoraí ar a anam uasal.

Is mé féin amháin, áfach, atá freagrach as cár bith locht atá fágtha ar an saothar seo.

## ABSTRACT

Despite a proliferation of ninety-five transcriptions between the years 1679 and 1895 and two edited versions executed by R.A.S. Macalister in 1903 and 1905 little information has been uncovered to date concerning the origins and authorship of the Modern Irish late vision tale *Fís Mheirlíno (FMh)*. This thesis seeks to redress this state of affairs through the execution of a diplomatic edition of the earliest known instance of the tale – MS. TCD 1399 – which predates Macalister’s primary source MS. by thirty-four years. This project is envisaged as a preliminary step towards the eventual creation of a critical edition of *FMh*.

A rigorous examination of this primitive version sheds light on its possible origins and authorship by furnishing a profile of an author of considerable literary and theological skill who appears to have fused elements from well-known early seventeenth century Irish devotional texts with material of his own composition to create *FMh*. That this author might be identified as Owen O’Donnelly is argued on the basis of scholarly hypotheses that a figure of this name may have been the scribe of MS. TCD 1399 and the author of the contemporary satirical tale *Comhairle Mhic Clamha*. This argument is supported by the seemingly deliberate juxtaposition of the poem *Aluinn Dún Mhic Muire*, by ‘Eog[h]an Ó Donnaoile’ with *FMh* in a section of this MS. apparently dedicated to prose material alone.

By way of contextualisation a diplomatic edition and translation of this transcription are preceded by consideration of previous editions, the manuscripts consulted and their relationship, along with an account of the process of transcription and the editorial method. The text is complemented by textual notes, an analysis of the language used as well as by appendices covering bibliography, a list of all MSS. containing the tale, the diplomatic transcription of the version found in MS. TCD 1399 and a glossary.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>acc.</i> = accusative	<i>interrog.</i> = interrogative
<i>adj.</i> = adjective	<i>m.</i> = masculine, masculine noun
<i>adv.</i> = adverb	<i>n.</i> = noun
<i>attrib.</i> = attributive	<i>neg.</i> = negative
<i>auton.</i> = autonomous	<i>neut.</i> = neutral
<i>coll.</i> = collective noun	<i>nom.</i> = nominative
<i>compar.</i> = comparative	<i>obj.</i> = object
<i>compd.</i> = compound	<i>pass.</i> = passive
<i>cond.</i> = conditional	<i>phr. v.</i> = phrasal verb
<i>conj.</i> = conjunction	<i>pl.</i> = plural
<i>cop.</i> = copula	<i>poss.</i> = possessive
<i>dat.</i> = dative	<i>pp.</i> = past participle
<i>defect.</i> = defective	<i>prep.</i> = prepositional
<i>dem.</i> = demonstrative	<i>prep. pron.</i> = prepositional pronoun
<i>f.</i> = feminine, feminine noun	<i>pres.</i> = present
<i>f., ff.</i> = folio, folios	<i>pron.</i> = pronoun
<i>fut.</i> = future	<i>rel.</i> = relative
<i>gen.</i> = genitive	<i>sg.</i> = singular
<i>impv.</i> = imperative	<i>subj.</i> = subjunctive
<i>imperf.</i> = imperfect	<i>v.</i> = verb
<i>indef.</i> = indefinite	<i>vn.</i> = verbal noun
<i>indic.</i> = indicative	<i>voc.</i> = vocative

## 1. DESCRIPTOR OF EDITION

The primary aim of this project is to provide a conservative diplomatic edition of the early modern prose-tale *Fís Mheirlíno (FMh)* readily comprehensible to an academic readership familiar with Ulster Irish. This might be seen as a preparatory step towards the eventual creation of a critical edition of the tale. After consideration of the most relevant source material it was determined that this present edition be based on a single transcription of the tale namely that found in manuscript (MS.) TCD 1399 (H 5 28) held in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.<sup>1</sup> This choice was made on the grounds that, dated 1679, it is the earliest known instance of the tale. This selection was potentially problematic since the two folios containing the ending are missing but for the existence of two transcriptions for which MS. TCD 1399 was indisputably the source. Since these copies were palpably faithful to their source the reconstruction of the ending as it would in all likelihood have appeared in the earliest version was possible.

Given the decision to present a form of the tale in a form which remains faithful to that which it took in the source MSS. the editorial interventions are restricted to the following:

1. Capitalisation.
2. Differentiation.
3. Punctuation.
4. Expansion of scribal abbreviations.
5. Supplying marks of vocalic lengths where necessary.
6. Some orthographic regularisation.

---

<sup>1</sup> As regards this MS. see Abbott & Gwynn 1921: 263, Flower 1926: 338. The dates “5 July 1679” and “an 21 la do Mhí August 1679” were written at the conclusion of the prose-tales *Ballan Congail* and *An MadraMaol* respectively (folios 18a and 39a) while the date “20. Sep. 1679” is found at the beginning of *Tóruigheacht Gruaidhe Griansholus* (f. 61a).

## 2. AUTHORSHIP

### *Opening remarks*

The frequency with which *FMh* has been copied over the course of two centuries is reason enough to excite curiosity in its regard. As far as my research indicates, ninety-five hand-written transcriptions are extant.<sup>1</sup> As indicated above, the earliest known version is dated 1679 while the latest known is found in UCC MS. T1 the date of transcription of which is given as 1893-95.<sup>2</sup> The tale was also made available in print by R.A.S. Macalister who published an edition of the tale in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* as ‘The Vision of Merlino’ (*VM I*) in 1903<sup>3</sup> and then in revised form as the book, *Fís Mherlino, The Vision of Merlino: an Irish allegory* (*VM II*) two years after that.<sup>4</sup>

Despite this proliferation, however, it is the case that to date virtually nothing has been established as regards the origins or authorship of the text. In the preface of *VM I*, for instance, Macalister simply states: “The immediate origin of the present tale is not known to me” (*VM I*: 394) followed by the suggestion that the name Meirlíno might possibly indicate that the tale originated in Italy and a brief consideration of a few figures from classical and medieval literature to whom this character might perhaps correspond.<sup>5</sup>

Robin Flower, too, seems to have delved no deeper than the exotic names and placenames found in the text. In his description of the second transcription of the earliest known version of the tale – MS. TCD 1399 – in MS. Egerton 106 he

---

<sup>1</sup> See appendix 2.

<sup>2</sup> Tadhg Ua Donnchudha is recorded as being the scribe of this MS.

<sup>3</sup> ‘The vision of Merlino.’ *ZCP IV*, 394-455 (*VM I*). As regards this version Macalister states: “A. In my own collection, 26pp. 8 ins. x 6 ins., a fragment of a larger volume (paged 191-216), written by a man calling himself *Seón mac Solaidhe* at Stackallen, Co. Meath, in the year 1718. This is the best and oldest MS. known to me, and I have used it as a standard text.” (*VM I*: 396). It is evident from MS. RIA 24 C 55 (ff. 193, 216) that Macalister was wrong about this date and that it was transcribed in 1713 rather than 1718.

<sup>4</sup> *Fís Mherlino: an Irish allegory = The vision of Merlino*. Dublin: Gill (*VM II*). “Those who wish for information as to the manuscripts on which this version is based and their numerous but not very interesting divergencies of reading, may be referred to the *Zeitschrift* edition, where these details are set out.” (*VM II*: 3).

<sup>5</sup> *VM I*: 394-395.

suggests that these features which appear to indicate a connection with Italy and Bohemia, “might seem to suggest an origin in the Irish Franciscan circles of Rome and Prague in the 17th cent.” (Flower 1926: 338)

Incidental mention is made of *FMh* in relation to texts which are thematically similar such as *Visio Sancti Pauli* (*VSP*) and *Agallamh idir an anam agus an corp* (*AgallAC*). The Anglican antiquarian St John Drelincourt Seymour, for instance, points to the “several points of connexion” which exist between *FMh* in relation to content and phraseology and a version of *VSP* published by Douglas Hyde in *Religious Songs of Connacht*.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, in the preface to Seán Pádraig Ó Domhnaill’s edition of *AgallAC* Hyde himself refers to the influence of *VSP* on *FMh*.

Tá trí sgríbhinní Gaedhilge gur féidir a bhfréamhacha do lorg siar go dtí an Visio Pauli .i. an ceann do chuir an Craoibhín i gcló fa thiodal “críochoa déigheannacha an duine ag a mbí droch-bheatha” agus an sgéal air a dtugtar Fís Mherlíno Maligno, agus an treas ceann an tseanmóir Mheadhon-Ghaedhilge ar sgaramhain an Chuirp agus an Anama. (ibid. 42)

The connection between these three texts is also acknowledged by Ó Domhnaill in the footnotes to his edition: “This description of hell... has many expressions similar to ones occurring in “Merlino Maligno” and in the Irish version of the “Visio Pauli””. (76) In like manner he highlights the coincidence of certain turns of phrase in both *AgallAC* and *FMh* so that concerning *ag frithóladh na bpíán tintidh* and *a ttellach tinnte na bpíán* he notes, “[t]hese two phrases occur in “Merlino Maligno and in the “Visio Pauli”, (77) and similarly notes in

---

<sup>1</sup> “The popularity of Dr Hyde's version is also shewn by the use made of it in a later document, the *Vision of Merlino*, which has been edited and translated by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister... There are several points of connexion between both, viz. the classification of the seven deadly sins, the punishments for gluttony and sloth, and the inclusion of a list of the epithets of Hell. The phraseology, too, is similar: in Hyde's *Paul* the expression 'the fiery hearth of pains' occurs several times : it is found once in *Merlino*, which last has, however, a corresponding phrase, 'the dwelling of pains'. Seymour 1922: 57. and see Hyde 1906: 319-349.



relation to *'na mheall tinntidh* he affirms “[t]his phrase occurs also in “Merlino Maligno” and in the “Visio Pauli”. (84)

Finally, *FMh* is included in the overview of Irish literature, *Traidisiún Liteartha na nGael*, although what is said amounts to no more than a restatement of Flower’s opinion on the origins of the tale along with a reference to Macalister’s edition as the primary source for the text itself. (Williams et. al., 2001: 143) This in itself serves to emphasise the point at hand, namely, that almost nothing is known concerning the origins and authorship of the tale which was evidently highly esteemed over a period of 150 years from the mid-seventeenth century until the end of the nineteenth century. It is among the primary aims of this study to remedy this state of affairs by making a close examination of a faithful diplomatic edition of the tale in its earliest known form – MS. TCD 1399 – as well as of its environment within this MS in order to identify whatever clues these might hold in relation to the origins and possible authorship of the tale.

*b. O’Rahilly’s theory on the possible identity of the scribe*

In the introduction to her edition of *Toruiigheacht Gruaidhe grían-sholus* for which MS. TCD 1399 constituted the source material Cecile O’Rahilly – in spite of an absence of any evidence concerning the identity of the scribe – offers a hypothesis in this regard. Accordingly she draws attention to the connection between this MS. and John O’Donovan as well as to a possible link with Eugene O’Curry. Concerning the former she refers to a misconception on his part that it was to MS. TCD 1399 that the scholar Edward O’Reilly was referring when he mentioned in a memorandum a MS. which he had purchased from John Clery and which had been transcribed by “Michael O’Clery, or one

of his co-labourers”.<sup>1</sup> O’Rahilly argues that this could not have been the case since O’Reilly would never have been convinced that a MS. dated 1679 could have originated from the O’Clery school and so that the memorandum must have concerned another work. Whatever about this, it is beyond dispute that O’Donovan was acquainted with MS. TCD 1399 as well as its linguistic value in that it was one of the MSS. from which he drew examples in order to illustrate particular points of note in his 1845 grammar:

It is right to say a few words here respecting certain manuscript authorities frequently referred to, for examples of grammatical forms and inflexions, in the following work... The Irish manuscript transcribed in Ulster, in 1679, quoted as authority for the Ulster dialect of that period, and the extracts from the Book of Fermoy, the original of which is not now in Dublin, were also the property of the Author, and are deposited in the Library of Trinity College (H. 5. 28). (O’Donovan 1845: lxxxvii-lxxxviii)<sup>2</sup>

In relation to the possible link between MS. TCD 1399 and Eugene O’Curry, O’Rahilly mentions the reference in *Lectures on the manuscript materials of ancient Irish history*, to a collection of early 18<sup>th</sup> century paper MSS. in Trinity College library amongst which is found “a volume written about the year 1690, by Owen O’Donnelly (an excellent Gaedhlic scholar)”. (O’Curry 1861: 195) While acknowledging the difficulty of being sure that MS. TCD 1399 was the MS. to which O’Curry was referring O’Rahilly speculates that since two poems

---

<sup>1</sup> O’Rahilly refers to a note written by John O’Donovan and which is found in a case containing certain papers related to O’Donovan – MS. TCD 1398 (H 5 27) which reads as follows: “On looking over some papers in the handwriting of Edward O’Reilly, I found the following memorandum, written in bad Irish, which appears to me to prove that he bought the MS. (H.5.28) from, John Clery which the latter denies.” O’Reilly’s memorandum reads as follows: “This little book was written by Michael O’Clery or one of his co-labourers (for I know the handwriting) in the house of the friars of St. Francis at Donegal, for it was from a man of the race of this friar O’Clery’s family that I bought the book for a pound and a half of money.” *TGG*: vii.

<sup>2</sup> The linguistic value of this MS. has been recognised more recently in that examples drawn from it are cited in Thomas F. O’Rahilly’s *Irish Dialects Past and Present (IDPP)*: “In an E. Ulster text of 1679 the usage after *nach* resembles that of Carswell, viz. eclipsis of *f-*, *t-*, *c-*, otherwise non-mutation; but there are a few exception like *nach fillfead*. (41; also 214, 227) O’Rahilly’s familiarity with MS. TCD 1399 was, in all likelihood, due the fact that his sister Cecile was the editor of *TGG* and because he himself provided the glossary for *DSA* which was edited by Máire Mhac an tSaoi. Likewise Breandán Ó Buachalla draws examples from MS. TCD 1399 in the article ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge an tuaiscirt I’: “6.6 *Ní + Láith. ag feidhmiú mar Fháist. Oirialla gidh be fheachfus an tuisge úd ní bhfuighe bás tre shaoghal na shaoghal & ní bhíonn tart no ocras no easbaidh air bioth air go bráth agus ní luighionn aois no urchra fair, TCD H.5.28 (1679)...” (302)*

ascribed to ‘Eoghan Ó Donnaoile’– ‘Áluinn dún Mic Muire’ (*ADMM*)<sup>1</sup> and ‘Tuirseach dhamh ag éirghe lae’ – are found in this document “it seems not unlikely that he was referring to the present MS.” (*TGG*: viii)<sup>2</sup>

It is possible to identify a certain weakness in O’Rahilly’s theory as regards the dating of the sources which she cites. To begin with it should be pointed out that the first six folios of this MS. along with any information they contain concerning its place of origin and the identity are missing. Now O’Donovan’s grammar is dated 1845 and in the quotation cited above no reference is made to the identity of the scribe of MS. H. 5. 28 (MS. TCD 1399). Given then that O’Donovan does furnish precise details concerning the other MSS. from which he draws examples it seems reasonable to assume then that the folios from MS. TCD 1399 which may have contained information on its scribe and point of origin were already missing by the time it came into his hands. *Lectures on the manuscript materials of ancient Irish history*, however, was published in 1861 and it is evident that at the time of going to press O’Curry was confident in identifying Owen O’Donnelly as the scribe of the MS. to which he was referring. How, one wonders, can, O’Donovan fail to identify the scribe in 1845 while O’Curry does so in 1861? It may have been the case that O’Curry had access to this MS. before it came into O’Donovan’s possession and prior to the loss of its folios or, indeed, that he may have been familiar with O’Donnelly’s handwriting. Such issues remain to be explored. What is at issue here, however, is the weakness of O’Rahilly’s hypothesis that Owen O’Donnelly was the scribe of MS. TCD 1399 if it depends upon these citations alone.

---

<sup>1</sup> MS. TCD 1399, ff. 127a-128b.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that this theory is repeated unquestioned by Máire Ní Mhuireasa and Máire Mhac an tSaoi in the introductions to their editions of *BEED* and *EMO* respectively. Cf. *Trí Bruidhne*: xiv, *DSA*: vii-viii.

Despite this particular weakness, however, it could be argued that by drawing attention to this figure O’Rahilly may have inadvertently drawn attention to a more substantial connection between O’Donnelly and *FMh*. As was mentioned above, in her theory as to the identity of this scribe O’Rahilly has cited the occurrence in this MS. of two poems ascribed to O’Donnelly or more precisely, to Eog[h]an O Donnaoile.<sup>1</sup> As it happens the contents of MS. TCD 1399 are seemingly arranged according to the principle of prose tales first – of which there are six – followed by twenty-five items of poetry. However, a twenty-sixth item of poetry – *ADMM* – is to be found not in the poetry section but immediately following *FMh* in which case it would appear to have been incorrectly positioned.<sup>2</sup> However, the fact that this poem has so much in common both thematically and linguistically with *FMh* suggests that its situation immediately after the tale was intentional rather than anomalous.<sup>3</sup> The presence, moreover, of an almost indecipherable colophon in cursive script immediately below the conclusion of the poem (f. 128b) in which the word ‘vison’ (sic.) is clearly visible hints at the fact that at least one person was aware

---

<sup>1</sup> Given that a variety of forms of this name appear in the sources mentioned below – Owen O’Donnelly, Owen O Donnelly, Owen Donnelly, Eoghan Ó Donnghaile as well as Eog[h]an O Donnaoile – it is proposed that these variations will only be retained where they occur in quotations. In general terms the form ‘Owen O’Donnelly’ will be used unless in relation to the ascribed author of the version of *ADMM* taken from MS. TCD 1399 where the form ‘Eog[h]an O Donnaoile’ will be found. Duffy describes this insertion of this name ‘Eog[h]an O Donnaoile’ above *ADMM* on f. 127a as “the earliest dated signature of Owen O Donnelly” as is clear from the fact that in the footnote given in support of this point refers the reader to the *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Library of Trinity College*, page 263” in which the place of *FMh* and *Aluinn Dún Mhic Muire* in MS. TCD 1399 are described. *Comhairle*: 42. As regards this spelling of the poet’s name it is noteworthy that it is put “Éógan o Dhonnaoile” in relation to the poem, ‘*Náir an sgéalsa tiacht do thigh*’, *Rel. Celt*, Vol. 2, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> As was mentioned above, MS. TCD 1399 is comprised of 6 prose tales and 26 items of poetry the former being grouped together at the beginning of the MS. with 25 of the 26 items of poetry grouped together after the final prose tale.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that, if this juxtaposition was a deliberate choice on the part of the scribe, it was a point that was lost on every scribe who dealt with *FMh* from then on in that according to the list of extant transcriptions of *FMh* made for this study, it is only in MS. TCD 1399 that both pieces are found together.<sup>3</sup> Neither does Énrí Ó Muirgheasa mention *FMh* in the notes he appends to the version of *ADMM* which he published in *Dánta Diadhla Uladh* in 1936. (Ó Muirgheasa, 1936: 216) To the sins of William Lynch we can perhaps add his failure to see any reason to copy *ADMM* after he transcribed *FMh* in MSS. TCD 1335 using MS. TCD 1399 as his source which surely contributed to the fact that these two works would be kept apart in the course of their transmission history.

of a link between the these two works.<sup>1</sup> The possibility of such a relationship is, of course, significant in that for the first time a connection is implied between a recognised literary figure of a particular period and a tale about whose origins so little has been established to date. With this in mind it is now apposite to set forth what is known about this Owen O'Donnelly.

*c. Owen O'Donnelly – Priest, Poet?*

In relation to the period which concerns us one encounters two significant strands of information regarding the name Owen O'Donnelly. First, an 'Owen Donnelly' who is listed as being a priest of the Archdiocese of Armagh in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Under the terms of the Registration Act of 1704 this figure, at that point ministering in the parish of Armagh, was registered as a member of the Popish Clergy in Lurgan on the 10<sup>th</sup> July 1704. He is recorded as being 55 years old at this point and as having been ordained in 1672 by the Archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunkett, at Ballybarrack just southwest of Dundalk.<sup>2</sup> (Ó Fiaich 1971: 60-61) Other written records reveal that he served in the parish of Ballymoyer in 1680, (Ó Fiaich 1958: 70, *Comhairle*: 33) and that by 1683 he had become the "pastor of [the parish of] Armagh".<sup>3</sup> (Duffy 1965: 313)

Duffy suggests two probabilities concerning the training O'Donnelly would have undergone in preparation for priesthood . First, he points to the likelihood that he would have attended the college set up in 1670 by Archbishop Plunkett in Drogheda.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, on account of Plunkett's practice of preparing certain

---

<sup>1</sup> Only the random words 'my' and 'vison' as well as the date '16 on 23 June 1682' as well as the name 'Seagnn Ua Riaghaún' written in Gaelic script in another hand are legible. It is interesting that between the colophon and this name a large ink blot is evident which gives the impression of being a deliberate attempt to obscure whatever information – presumably a name – which lay beneath.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also "Owen Donnelly aged 57 years, ordained in 1672 at Ballibark by Dr. Plunkett. Surety, Terence Murphy of Lurgan, yeoman, £50." Ó Muirgheasa 1936: 216.

<sup>3</sup> "The next parish priest of Armagh on record is John O'Neill and he was appointed in 1724" *Comhairle*: 34.

<sup>4</sup> "In a letter to the Sacred College of Propaganda Fide of 26 April 1671, Saint Oliver Plunkett gives a brief account of this school. The first teachers were three Jesuits, one of whom, Father Browne, attended solely to

priests for leadership roles by sending them for further studies in continental colleges and since O'Donnelly had been appointed parish priest of Armagh in 1683 – a senior appointment in the diocese – he proposes that he might also have spent some time after ordination furthering his education on the continent.<sup>1</sup>

A character of the same name, however, is also associated with literary or scholarly activity in relation to the Irish language. Reference has been made above to O'Curry's description of an Owen O'Donnelly who was an "excellent Gaedhlic scholar" who had been responsible around the year 1690 for the transcription of a MS. which, according to O'Rahilly, may have been MS. TCD 1399. (O'Curry 1861: 195) Likewise in his *Dictionary of Irish Writers* O'Reilly mentions a poet of this name who had been active around the year 1690:

At this time also flourished OWEN O'DONNELLY, an Ulster Bard... He was author of the following poems... Trom na gairthasa a Leith Chuin... Tuirseach damh aig eirghe lae... Is nár an sgeulsa teachd da thig. (O'Reilly 1820: 293)

In addition to these works, Duffy draws our attention to two more poems attributed to O'Donnelly, namely, 'Mochion do theacht Fhéidhlime' and *ADMM*.<sup>2</sup>

That this poet might also have been a writer of prose is considered by Duffy in his hypothesis on the authorship of the late seventeenth-century satire, *Comhairle Mhic Clamha (Comhairle)*. The first of the variety of factors upon which he bases this claim concerns O'Donnelly's motive for composing such a satirical piece. In this respect attention is drawn to the possible relationship

---

clerics, another to the Rhetoricians, and the third taught Grammar and Syntax to the younger boys. In 1671 there were 150 boys and 25 clerics attending the school. The latter, some of whom were priests, were instructed in cases of morality and in the matter of preaching and catechizing. On feast days and vacation days they were given a course in ceremonies and in administering the Sacraments." (*Comhairle*: 32-33)

<sup>1</sup> In this regard he mentions a near contemporary and namesake of Owen Donnelly, Patrick O'Donnelly, who was ordained by Plunkett in 1673 and is known to have engaged in post-ordination studies in Paris. He later became Bishop of Dromore in 1697. (*Comhairle*, 28, 32-33)

<sup>2</sup> Duffy, 1965: 312, *Comhairle*: 25, 29; Duffy, 1965: 313, 314, *Comhairle*: 12, 34.

between the poet and Archbishop Plunkett. It is well known that in the 1670s this prelate was engaged in a drive to reform the Church both in Armagh and further afield, an endeavour which was welcomed by some but was met with serious opposition from others:

The clerical scene in Armagh, as indeed throughout the whole of Ireland in the 1670's was dominated by the reforming zeal of Oliver Plunkett. A group of clergy from several dioceses of the north were severely critical of the Primate's administration. Some of them had been removed from office for neglect of duty; others failed to get the promotion or recognition they felt they deserved. (*Comhairle*: 33)

As regards the position that O'Donnelly may have taken in relation to this reform Duffy asserts:

We cannot account for Owen's movements during these years, but all the indications are that... he remained loyal to the Primate. (*ibid.* 33)

Although he does not specify what these indications are it seems likely that Duffy is referring to O'Donnelly's association with Plunkett as his ordaining bishop and the sponsor of his clerical education alongside the assumption that, as a well educated clergyman, he would have supported the Archbishop's efforts to ensure the provision of a clergy which was intellectually able. Being thus disposed, it is implied, would have been motive enough for O'Donnelly to compose a work attacking a clergy which was boorish and ill-educated and one which was aimed specifically at an associate of those priests who were complicit in the condemnation and execution of Plunkett, namely, "John Mac Clave, one-time parish priest of Aughnamullen in the diocese of Clogher." (Duffy 1965: 310)

Duffy also argues that O'Donnelly would also have had the skill necessary to compose such a satirical work. Specifically he points to the cynical and mocking approach evident in the poems 'Náir an sgealsa tiacht do thigh' and 'Mochion do theacht Fhéidhlime' which was entirely consonant with a satirical

piece such as *Comhairle*. (ibid. 312) ‘Náir an sgéalsa tiacht do thigh’<sup>1</sup> was O’Donnelly’s contribution to a poetic contention focused on the question as to which clan the emblem of the Red Hand of Ulster legitimately belonged. The style of this poem is significant, Duffy relates, on account of the poet’s “method of reducing his opponent [Diarmuid Mac Award] to ridicule by overstating his case...”

Is nár an sgéal so teacht do thigh,  
do chluinim uaibh, a mhic Laoisigh,  
tagradh na Láimhe nach dual ó cheart,  
do chlannaibh Róigh na ró-bheart. (*Comhairle*: 36-37)

Likewise, the poet’s strategy in the eulogy ‘Mochion do theacht Fhéidhlime’ is curious in that, rather than praising the harper in question in simple positive terms, he employs a kind of *via negativa* describing the defects the harper does not have rather than the positive virtues which he might possibly have had:

Ní tú Eoghan is olc innioll  
ag a mbí an fhidioll mhaosgain ;  
ní hionad a bhíos an bhocfach  
's ní bhíonn smotfach an do smaosan. (ibid. 29-32)

Finally, Duffy appeals to the presence of a particular colophon in the earliest manuscripts in which the name ‘O Donnghaile’ is discernible from the following riddle:

*giolla na léise maosgain nach ndéan daosgain no gaosáil in aoncháil,*  
which may be translated : « the fellow of the blubbering satire, who does not write a D,O and two Ns, or a G,O and two Ls, in one piece (i.e. DONNGOLL) ». (*Comhairle*: 25)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rel. Celt* 2: 293-294. O’Reilly refers to this poem as ‘Is nár an sgeulsa teachd da thig’. (O’Reilly, 1820: 293)

<sup>2</sup> “In the earliest manuscripts there is a colophon at the end of the text which gives us a valuable clue to the real identity of the author. He describes himself here as *giolla na léise maosgain nach ndéan daosgain no gaosáil in aoncháil*, which may be translated : « the fellow of the blubbering satire, who does not write a D,O and two Ns, or a G,O and two Ls, in one piece (i.e. DONNGOLL) ». This translation suggests the surname O Donnghaile or O Donnelly, an Armagh family who became prominent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in both poetic and clerical circles.” (*Comhairle*: 25) Cf. also Duffy, 1965: 312.



Presumably by way of countering the possible objection that such a means of surreptitiously signalling the identity of the author might simply be a matter of fancy Duffy offers the following justification:

Riddles of this sort were particularly common in *dánta grá* and indeed were often much more extravagantly conceived than this one. (1965: 312)

In the context of this hypothesis then Duffy suggests that Owen O'Donnelly the poet and Owen Donnelly the priest may well have been the same person. (Duffy 1965: 308, *Comhairle*: 12) In support of this theory he draws attention to the poem 'Nar léim choisnes tu clu chuinn' (*Rel. Celt* 2: 297-299) which is Niall Mac Murray's response to 'Náir an sgéalsa tiacht do thigh' in the above-mentioned poetic contention. The twelfth verse Mac Murray's poem reads:

A mhic semuis go noige óig  
duit o nach leis na lom róid  
biadh ábhráin róimh mar roghain  
ni glór abhloir ealadhain (ibid. 298)

Duffy proposes 'O virginal son of James Oge' as a likely translation of the first line of this verse in which MacMurray directly addresses his opponent.<sup>1</sup> This is significant since records exist which show that a certain 'James Oge O Donnelly' did rent and improve a property in what is now Irish Street in Armagh between the years 1618 and 1660 and that he had been a manor court juror in 1627.<sup>2</sup> Thus, it is possible that the poet addressed by McMurray in 'Nar léim choisnes tu clu chuinn' was both the priest who had been born around 1649

---

<sup>1</sup> This translation appears to be valid in that the element representing the adjective virginal – *go noige* – does correspond the use of the adjective *óg* as a substantive in conjunction with the preposition *go* (eclipsing). cf. eDIL s.v. *óg*: "(f) exceptionally as subst. f. in abstract sense, chastity, purity: easpog go n-óigh n-intinne 'virginal in mind', Arch. Hib. i 98 § ii..."

<sup>2</sup> "The unusual fact is that we know more about the movements of James Oge, the poet's father, than we do about his son. He appears in 1618 for the first time in the rent rolls in possession of a "cople" house, back house and garden in what is today Irish St., Armagh, for which he paid an annual rent of 15/- which was relatively high for urban tenants. In 1627 he was a manor court juror and was described as a gentleman as distinct from a yeoman. In 1620 and again in 1631 James Oge increased his premises and finally in 1660 he was paying 26/8 rent which was the highest in the street. Presumably he died shortly after 1660 as he disappears from the records then and his holding passed to a planter, Robert Gray." Duffy, 1965: 313. Glancy 1955: 120, 134- 35. Patterson 1957: 309.

– being 55 years old in 1704 – and the son of the James Oge O Donnelly who is known to have lived in Armagh in the early to mid-seventeenth century. (*Comhairle*: 42, Duffy 1965: 313) This possibility is important in that it identifies a figure who was accomplished in literary endeavours but also both schooled in theology and experienced in pastoral terms and who, therefore, would have been suitably equipped to compose a popular devotional tale such as *FMh*.

As it happens, an appreciation of the factors which Duffy highlights in his hypothesis that *Comhairle* was the work of a priest gives some idea of how a similar theory might also be constructed in relation to *FMh*.

All we can say of the author of *Comhairle Mhic Clamha* is that it explains much of his preoccupations and acquaintance with clerical affairs if we take it he was a cleric himself. The same may be said of the poem cited above, “Aluinn dun mhic Muire” which smacks of a moral theology manual. (Duffy 1965: 314)

In the case of a theory built around *FMh*, however, *ADMM* proves to be much more significant on account of the many thematic similarities which these two works have in common as is evident the description Duffy gives of it.

**Aluinn dún mhic Mhuire** (Beautiful the fortress of Mary’s son), [is] a long religious poem of 140 lines on the subject of heaven and hell and the seven deadly sins. With deceptive simplicity the poem condenses in a few verses a whole range of catholic theology. (*Comhairle*: 34)

In an effort to explore this possibility an analysis of the contents of *FMh* is apposite beginning with a brief summary of the contents of the tale as it appears in the earliest known version MS. TCD 1399.

### 3. SYNOPSIS OF FMH

The main character in *FMh* is a ruthless and blood-thirsty bandit – *meirleach* – called Merlino Maligno who lives in isolation cut off from God and humanity. One day intent on plying his ungodly trade he is compelled to listen to a sermon telling of the rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell. He is profoundly troubled by what he learns about the fate of bandits like himself so that a desire grows within him to gain certainty as to the existence of hell by actually seeing it for himself.

He then meets his accomplice Uríno at a place termed ‘the parting of the two ways’ with a view to perpetrating further misdeeds and just as these are about to set off on a robbing spree they encounter a band of magnificently attired people travelling a smooth and broad road. They decide to follow these to a feast in the palace of an earl called Plutando at which point they intend to rob them. On their way they encounter a group of poor and shoddily clad people with whom the rich people refuse to share the road and who are compelled to take an alternative route which is harsh and troublesome.

Meirlíno and Uríno remain with the wealthy band and follow them into the palace. They find not a sumptuous feast but rather a terrifying scenario which turns out to be hell. Uríno then reveals his true identity as a spirit-guide sent by God to reveal to Meirlíno that which he had hitherto desired to see, namely, hell and the punishments suffered therein.

There follows a series of vignettes in which Meirlíno is shown the physical suffering endured by those who have died in each of the seven deadly sins – pride, lust, avarice, envy, gluttony, anger and sloth. Emphasising the retributive nature of each mode of punishment the spirit-guide explains how what these souls suffer has been determined by whichever sin they committed.

Meirlíno then overhears a dialogue between two souls in which one soul yearns for an opportunity to repent of his sins only to be reminded by his fellow that he had every chance to repent when alive but failed to do so and is thus condemned to suffer this pain forever. Accordingly Meirlíno realises that being alive still he still has time to repent and the spirit-guide affirms that this is indeed so.

The spirit-guide then informs Meirlíno of the existence of more dreadful suffering than those physical tortures already encountered. This is set forth in a series of discourses which focus on the mental anguish felt by the damned soul such as the envy and anger experienced when they become aware of the eternal bliss they have forfeited as well as the knowledge that the punishment they suffer in hell will never come to an end.

There follows a section in which a series of random points of information concerning hell and the suffering encountered there are set forth in the context of questions put to the spirit-guide by Meirlíno. Specifically this concerns the differing degrees of punishment endured in hell, which devils hold authority there, the regions into which it is divided as well as the duty imposed on individual devils of tempting souls to commit certain sins.

Having announced that his mission – to show Meirlíno the torments of hell – has been accomplished the spirit-guide leads him to Purgatory. As far as Meirlíno can tell this place is indistinguishable from hell but learns that Purgatory is different in that the souls there know that their sufferings will end while it is also the case that that these sufferings can be lessened by the prayer, fasting and goodworks of the faithful on earth. Lest this be seen as an easy option, however, the segment ends by affirming that purgatorial suffering is so severe that one who has endured it for less than five days feels as if they have been doing so for five thousand years.

Meirlíno is next led to a city and a palace of indescribable beauty and light built of precious stones inhabited by a throng of bejewelled kings and princes as well as a vast number of lustrous maidens and infants of angelic countenance. Not yet aware of what he is seeing he seeks clarity from the spirit-guide to be told that what he sees is paradise where the righteous enjoy eternal bliss. Indeed the kings and princes are identified as the poor folk who were ejected from the broad and smooth road by the rich earlier in the tale. So moved is he by all this that Meirlíno expresses a profound longing to spend even one day in this place but is informed that only that which is pure and just can abide therein.

Once more announcing that he has completed his mission the spirit-guide brings his charge back to his mortal existence instructing him that his fate now rests in his own hands. Enveloped by a great mist Meirlíno finds himself where he first met the spirit, now styled 'the meeting of the two ways'. He reflects on his sinful past and on all he has just seen and for a certain period performs certain severe acts of repentance. After some time the spirit-guide returns announcing that God has granted him forgiveness. Meirlíno, he relates, must travel far and wide making known to people what he has seen in his vision. This he does faithfully until death.

#### 4. TEXTUAL ANALYSIS WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING AUTHORSHIP

##### a. *Possible sources*

A cursory examination of *FMh* suggests that it was not written as an organic whole by a single author but was made up of an underlying conversion narrative in which a range of theological material concerned with hell, purgatory and heaven was incorporated. Indeed the variety and distinctiveness of these composite parts alone stresses the probability that that they were not the work of one person but were drawn rather from other sources and worked into the story.

It seems evident then that the story of Meirlíno's conversion is, in fact, a vehicle by which a series of theological teachings is disseminated. With this in mind the following analysis involves a deconstruction of the text with a view to identifying those elements which might be considered to be the work of the author and those which might have been drawn by him from other sources for inclusion in the narrative. Where possible the sources from which such material may have been drawn will be identified.

In this latter regard, two sources in particular seem likely to have had a significant influence on the text, namely, *Visio Sancti Pauli* (*VSP*) and *Scáthán shacramuinte na hAithridhe* (*SSA*). *VSP* is an apocryphal text which, as J.E. Caerwyn Williams points out, "was composed originally sometime before the middle of the third century." (1949: 127) Initially written in Greek, it later appeared in altered form in three Latin versions. (*ibid.*) The late Middle Ages saw the proliferation of a number of redactions of the text, many of which were translated into several European vernaculars including Irish. Two versions of this text are cited by way of illustrating its influence on *FMh*. The first is one edited by Caerwyn Williams and published in an article entitled 'Irish Translations of Visio Sancti Pauli' in *Éigse* in 1949. (*ibid.* 128) It is found in MS. RIA 24 P 25, was transcribed by Ciothruadh Mag Fhionnghaill and is dated 1513-14.<sup>1</sup> It was, according to Caerwyn Williams, possibly based on the fourth of the eight redactions of *VSP* which were identified by Theodore Silverstein and in what follows will be referred to as *Mag Fhionnghaill*.<sup>2</sup> The second version is the relevant section of the text mentioned above which was published by Hyde in *Religious Songs of Connacht* under the title 'Críocha déigheannacha an duine ag a mbí droch-bheatha'.<sup>3</sup> The first part of this document bears much

---

<sup>1</sup> This version is presented in this article alongside an earlier but incomplete instance of the same work taken from the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* which is described as "a fifteenth century copy of a fourteenth century MS". Caerwyn Williams, 1949: 129.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Visio Sancti Pauli* (Studies and Documents, ed. By Kirsopp and Silva Lake) London: 1935. pp. 131-147.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hyde, 1906: 319-349.

similarity to *AgallAC* in terms of its focus on the process of the death and prospective judgement of the sinful soul whereas the second part deals with hell and the punishments suffered there.<sup>1</sup> It will be referred to below as *Críocha déigheannacha*.

*SSA* is a text dating from 1618 which was a significant element of what Breandán Ó Doibhlin refers to as

feachtas Caitliceach, sraith de chaiticiosmaí agus d’ábhar léitheoireachta crábhaidh, a chuir sagairt ar fáil i dtús an 17ú haois a raibh léann agus dúthracht an Athleasaithe Chaitlicigh síute isteach acu in ollscoileanna na dtíortha a bhí fanta Caitliceach, an Spáinn, an Flóndras Spáinneach, an Fhrainc agus an Iodáil. Trí mheán na bhfoilseacháin agus na lámhscríbhinní a cóipeáladh uathu, mhair teagmháil agus comhbhá chultúrtha idir pobal teanntaithe na Gaeilge, scoite amach leo féin i dtuaisceart Protastúnach na hEorpa, agus an domhan Caitliceach. (2008: 278-279)

This material, Ó Doibhlin points out, is comprised of two kinds of religious material, namely, a series of catechisms<sup>2</sup> and works of a pastoral character designed to complement these catechetical texts.<sup>3</sup>

Le cois caiticiosmaí, ar chuspóir dóibh bundamhnaí an chreidimh Chaitlicigh a shoiléiriú agus a theagasc, scríobhadh saothair phastúireachta a thug faoin bhuneolas sin a shaibhriú agus na fíréin Chaitliceacha a bhrostú chun a gcreideamh a chur i ngníomh ina gcleachtadh pearsanta agus sa saol corrach a raibh siad ag maireachtáil ann ag an am. (ibid. 279-280)

As its title suggests, the contribution of *SSA* to this pastoral drive is focused upon the sacrament of penance. The version of the text cited below is that edited by Canice Mooney (1952).

<sup>1</sup> The section involving St Paul’s vision of Hell begins on p. 334 and begins as follows: “Do bhí Pól easball a’ feitheamh gach nidh dhiobhtha sin, do bhrigh gur ab é Dia do chuir A theachtaire chuige...”

<sup>2</sup> Such as *An Teagasc Críostaí* by Giolla Bhríde Ó Heosa (1611), The ‘Catechismus’ of Theobald Stapleton Galldubh (1639), *Parthas an Anama* (1645), and *Lochrann na gCreidmheach* (1676). (Ó Doibhlin, 2008: 279)

<sup>3</sup> Ó Doibhlin mentions the following texts in this regard: “*Scáthán an Chrábhaidh*, le Flaithrí Ó Maoil Chonaire; *Scáthán Shacramint na hAithrí*, le hAodh Mac Cathmhaoil; agus an dá leabhar ag Séathrún Céitinn: *Eochairsciath an Aifrinn* agus *Trí Bhiorga an Bháis*. (ibid. 280)

b. *Textual analysis*

The initial part of the story takes the form of a simple narrative told in the third-person in which the author introduces his main character and describes how he happened to have been subject to this supernatural experience. It is worth noting in passing that the introduction of Meirlíno's character contained therein bears a certain resemblance in terms of structure and vocabulary to the beginning of *Críocha déigheannacha*:

Thárla Pól Easball i n-am áiridhe i gcáthair dar ba ainm Smirná i gcrích na Siria, agus is amhla do bhí Pól ag eadarghuidhe Dé uile-chúmhaigh... (Hyde, 1906: 318-319)

Do bhaoi ann feacht n-aill i ríoghacht na Boihéime duine áirighe darbh ainm Meirlíno Maligno agus is amhlaidh do bhaoi an t-óglach sin... (ll. 2-3)

The religious character of the tale becomes clear in the ensuing description of Meirlíno as an inveterate sinner – a ruthless and blood-thirsty bandit – whose conscience is not in the least bit disturbed by his so being:

ní roibh cádhas aige do chill nó do thuaith do chara no do namhad acht [do bhí] ag slad agus ag brad agus ag marbhadh daoine ar a leapthaibh agus ag déanamh gach uile oilc. (ll. 4-6)

The first step in his conversion process then involves the awakening of his conscience which happens when he chances upon a sermon to which he listens only to avoid drawing attention to himself.

As the subject matter of the sermon is laid bare one of the fundamental themes of the entire text becomes apparent, namely, the theological proposition that eternal bliss lies in store for the righteous while eternal punishment awaits evil-doers. This same point, incidentally, is central to *VSP* as is evident in the following citations from *Mag Fhionnghaill*:



...ata droichet ar an tsruth sin ar a tecuid na hanmanna firencha gan tuisil. Ocus gach anum da teid trid, atait aiti imda aca do reir a n-oibrigte fein annsein... (Caerwyn Williams 1949: 130)

Ocus ataid drochteghdaisi imda eile and arna n-ullmugad dona pecachaib dá loscad... (ibid.)

Do reir a oibrigte fein teid gach neach trid an droichet sin ata ar an sruth... (ibid.)

Creid 7 tuic, a Poil, co fuighe gach enduine do reir a oibrigthi fein ina and sud. (ibid. 132)

Understandably Meirlíno becomes greatly disturbed especially when he hears what lies for those who sin after his own fashion:

tug Meirlíno dá aire go mór an méad do labhair an seanmóraidh in aghaidh lucht na gadaidheacht agus lucht bhriste an dlighidh agus shantaidhe choda a gcomharsan, agus olcas na háiteadh do bhí dá hullmhú fána n-urchomhair. (ll. 23-27)

Thus he attempts to rationalize and dismiss what he has heard as typically exploitative and scare-mongering tactics on the part of the Church. His anxiety persists, however, and grows to intolerable proportions until he finally muses that he would give anything to find out whether or not what the preacher said was true. A single glimpse of hell, he reflects, would be enough to settle the matter and dispel his anxiety.

This motif of a desire to see the punishments of hell is found also in *VSP*. In *Mag Fhionnghaill* St Paul's presence in hell is presented as resulting from God's desire that he would see first-hand the punishments of hell:

docuatar d'fechain ifrinn, uair dob ail le Dia go faiced Pol pianu ifrinn... (Caerwyn Williams, op. cit, 129)

In *Críocha déigheannacha*, however, it is Michael the Archangel who offers St Paul the opportunity:

Ann sin d'fhiafruigh an teachtaire do Phól, ar mhian leis amharc fhághail ar phian an anam úd agus na n-anamann eile damanta. “Budh mhian liom,” ar Pól, “dá mbudh toil le Dia é.” (Hyde, 1906: 334)

Underpinning this entire section is a sense of realism in terms of the awakening of Meirlíno's conscience and the subsequent turmoil and struggle he undergoes. While it is important not to read too much into such features it is equally important not to be too hasty in discount their significance as possibly indicative of a familiarity – on the part of the author – with how a sinner might reasonably react upon being met with such harrowing news. This, along with an obvious knowledge of moral theology, raises the possibility of an author who, as well as having some theological training, may have been acquainted with pastoral activity in the Church. Such a scenario is significant, of course, in relation to the hypothesis that the poet-priest Owen O'Donnely was the author of *FMh*.

#### *Uríno and the road to Plutando's palace*

Three important elements are introduced into the story in this passage which relates how the as yet unrepentant Meirlíno sets out to plan further mischief. The first is the introduction of his partner-in-crime, Uríno. In terms of evaluating the role this figure plays in the narrative it is worth pointing out that since Meirlíno was originally depicted as an isolated loner he seems to have had no intrinsic need of an accomplice. Even if the true function of this new character – as Meirlíno's spirit-guide – is not yet apparent it should be noted that even under the guise of a criminal accomplice he still functions as a guide since it is he who reveals the identity and the destination of the rich people on the smooth road and because it is due to his contrivance that they end up at Plutando's palace where the vision proper will begin.

The presence of a spirit-guide in *FMh* is one of the features which underscore the influence of the vision literature genre on the tale. Indeed, when

considering this genre it is difficult not to think of the figure of Virgil who shepherded Dante through his otherworld journey in *The Divine Comedy* and it is perhaps not insignificant that this example *par excellence* too was heavily influenced by *VSP*. (Reynolds, 2013: 105-106)

In terms, then, of the possible influence of *VSP* on *FMh*, one encounters the figure of the archangel Michael whose role it was to explain and elaborate upon what St Paul saw in the course of a similar vision of hell as is evident in the following lines from *Mag Fhionnghaill*, “do cuir Dia Michel arcaingel maille le Pol co foillsiged do pianu ifrinn.” (Caerwyn Williams, op cit. 129-130). Likewise, in *Críocha déigheannacha* it is stated: “Do bhí Pól easball a’ feitheamh gach nidh dhíobhtha sin, do bhrigh gur ab é Dia do chuir A theachtair chuire.” (Hyde, op. cit. 334) It was by means of Meirlíno’s partner-in-crime Uríno, then, that this guide figure – corresponding to the archangel Michael of *VSP* as well as to Virgil in *The Divine Comedy* – was introduced into the text of *FMh*.

The second element of note in this passage concerns the rendez-vous point at which Meirlíno is to meet with his accomplice, Uríno, *the parting of two ways*. To begin with, the motif of *the two ways* is one which is deeply rooted in Christian morality as representing one’s choice to live either a righteous or a sinful life. Its use at this point then signals the eschatological option facing Meirlíno, that is, to be saved by repenting and changing his ways or to be damned by persisting in his wickedness. The ensuing visions of hell, purgatory and heaven will help him make his choice. By naming the meeting place ‘the parting of two ways’ the author is creating the context for this choice and for these visions. Indeed, concerning the visions it is important to draw attention to a certain peculiarity as regards this place which only becomes apparent towards the end of the tale. In the account of Meirlíno’s return to ordinary life when his vision has come to an end it is stated:

Agus leis sin tig ceo mór i dtimcheall Meirlíno, agus ar scaoileadh don gceo do gheibh é féin 'na sheasamh ar an áit ina dtáinic an spiorad chuige .i. *i gcomhrac an dá bhealach*. (ll. 516-518)

It is asserted, then, that he has re-entered normal existence at the same place but which is referred to as ‘the meeting’ – as opposed to ‘the parting’ – ‘of the two ways’. Assuming that this was intentional it seems probable that, since the combined use of the terms *eadarscaradh* and *comhrac* has connotations of ‘opening’ then ‘closing’, the author is inferring a breach of ordinary time in order that Meirlíno might enter the supernatural realm of the vision as well as its repair when he returns to his mundane existence. With this in mind it becomes clear that Meirlíno’s supernatural experience begins, not when he enters hell, but when, at this location, he meets with Uríno who will subsequently become his spirit guide.

The third element introduced into the story in this segment also concerns the motif of the two ways as Meirlíno’s progress towards his vision is interrupted by the introduction of two groups of people. First, there is the band of rich people who are travelling in great comfort and merriment along a wide and smooth road followed by a band of poor people who are forced to take a second uneven and difficult road in great privation and hardship.

Through the introduction of these groups the author skilfully maps out the choice that lies before Meirlíno. In keeping with the fact that he remains an inveterate sinner he and Uríno opt to join the rich people on their untroubled path to the sumptuous banquet. The folly of such a choice becomes apparent when it is revealed that this road leads, not to a joyful feast, but to eternal punishment and indeed that this very band of rich folk is destined to suffer dreadful pain in hell because they died guilty of the sin of pride. Likewise, it is revealed in the vision of heaven that the uneven and difficult path taken by the band of poor people leads not to pain or destruction but to eternal bliss in

paradise as this band is identified as the kings and princes encountered in paradise. As was the case with the introduction of Uríno, the author is making use of the motif of things not being what they initially appear to be.

In broader theological terms this section also expresses that inversion of values central to Christian spirituality according to which that which is most highly prized in this world is revealed to be that which leads to perdition while that which is most scorned turns out to be most beneficial for the soul. The measured and skilled incorporation of these various elements in this section suggests, then, an author who is at ease with story-telling and is well-versed in the rudiments of Christian morality.

#### *The entry into the Palace of Plutando*

It was noted above how the author injected a note of realism into his account of the awakening of Meirlíno's conscience which could be indicative of an acquaintance with the pastoral care of souls. This is evident also in the description of the entry into Plutando's palace with the reference to Meirlíno's villainous impulse to make off immediately with the chattels left behind by the rich as they entered into the palace. Faithful to his true mission as guide, Uríno counters this proposal and suggests that they follow the rich people into Plutando's palace.

The motif of things not being as they seem re-emerges in a dramatic and arresting subversion of expectation. This is contrived in terms of a vivid description of the beauty and opulence of the exterior and environs of the palace which stands in marked contrast to the terrors found within. The profound impact that this has on Meirlíno is accentuated by the rhythmic, alliterative and assonant contrast between what he expected to see and what he did find:

Agus an áit inar shaoil Meirlíno ól agus aoibhneas, ceol agus cuideachta, áineas agus ollghairdeas d'fhagháil, is eadh do fuair an ní fa hiongnadh agus fa huafás leis ann .i. tinte agus teannála, oird agus orlaigheacht, gártha agus géarghol... (ll. 110-113)

A further injection of realism is evident in Meirlíno's reaction to this as he questions Uríno as to their whereabouts and the possibility that he – Uríno – has tricked him by luring him here. This occasions the disclosure of his companion's true identity as divinely appointed spirit-guide sent in answer to Meirlíno's desire to see the sufferings of hell first-hand. Yet again a note of pastoral realism is sounded in the description of Meirlíno's reaction to this in that he is seized with an awareness of his own guilt and, bereft of any hope of redemption, believes it impossible that he could ever be permitted to escape this accursed place: “do chím anois go gcaithfe mé fuireach i measc na droinge damanta so go síorthaidhe.” (ll. 132-134) The spirit-guide counters this with the assurance that he will be returned to his normal existence when he has seen all that he had wished to see thereby revealing this present predicament to be the answer to his desire to know whether or not hell exists by seeing it for himself.

### *The punishment of the senses*

The theological acumen of the author is evident in the subsequent section in terms of the accurate use made of the distinction between the two types of pain suffered in hell, that is, the punishment of the senses – *pian na gcéadfaí* – and the pain of loss – *pian na díobhála*. Although this distinction is found in *SSA*<sup>1</sup> one finds a more comprehensive explanation of this distinction in another of the devotional texts emerging from the Irish Franciscans on continental Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, namely, *Parrthas an Anma (PA)*. In this work in answer to the question “[c]réud an phian bhíos orra [in ifreann]?” it is stated: “Bíd dā ghnē phéne orra, dā ngoirid na diadhaireadha pian na ccéudfadh pian na díoghbhāla.”

---

<sup>1</sup> “Pian; bí 2 ghné dhi a n-ifrionn, pian na ccédfadh agus pian na díoghbhāla...” (*SSA*: 210)

(188) The present section of *FMh* – set out according to the framework of the seven deadly sins – is concerned with the punishment of the senses which *PA* describes in the following terms:

Losgadh na bpeacthach a tteinidh shīordhuidhe atā comhghéur coimhnemhneach sin nach fuil achd sūgradh a tteinidh shaoghalta dā teinntighe 'na fochair. Os a chionn so, bíd piana fō leith ar gach céudfaidh do réir a sóláis san saoghal-sa; óir bíd na súile mailíseacha aga bpianadh lé radharc duaibhseach na ndeamhan, 7 na clúasa urchóideacha aga līonadh d'uailleartaigh éugsamhail na druinge damanta. Bíd fós piana sbesialta, nach éidir lé hinntleachd dhaonna do smuaineadh, ar na balluibh oile, .i. ar na lámhuibh do-righne an ghoid, an ghlaicreachd thruaillidhthe, ar sgōrnaigh na bpótaireadh, &c. (188-189)

In this section of *FMh* then the author affirms that one of the consequences of dying unrepentant is that one is condemned to suffer immense corporeal agony in hell. That he conveys this theological proposition without using the term *pian na gcéadfaí* could be taken to say something about the audience or readership he had in mind. Had his words been directed at those with some degree of competence in theology – as was the case with *SSA* and *PA* – one presumes that he would have had no hesitation in using such terminology. That this important point was described but not technically defined suggests that the author had in mind a work which would be as accessible to non-theologians as it would have been to those trained in such matters.

The hypothesis was mentioned above that *FMh* is fundamentally a conversion narrative functioning as a vehicle for a series of theological points and is therefore fragmentary by nature rather than an organic whole. In support of this there are several indications in this section which suggest that it is clearly distinguishable from the material which precedes it. To begin with, the action appears not to flow organically from the previous narrative signalling that we are concerned with a new and distinct section. This is made clear by a shift in focus from where Meirlíno was going to what he sees which is evident in the

absence of any reference to the movement of the main characters<sup>1</sup> and on account of the proliferation of verbs pertaining to sight – *do connairc*, *do chí*, *féachas*. Meirlíno, then, has assumed the role of a static observer. Now even if such a change of emphasis in itself does not constitute incontrovertible proof that this section is derived from a separate source what ought to be taken into account is the degree to which this shift of emphasis corresponds with the format of *VSP*.

In both versions under consideration in this study St Paul too is a static observer and the action progresses not through movement on his part but in terms of a series of scenes in which various aspects of the punishments suffered in hell are described. The progression from one scene to the next is effected by phrases such as *as a haithli sin*, *ina deagaid sin*, *ina degaid sin*, *ina diaid sin*, *iarsin*, *annsin*, *andsin* in *Mag Fhionnghaill* and by the phrase *Do chonnairc Pól drong eile...* in *Críocha déigheannacha*. Similarly in *FMh* the phrases *iar sin*,<sup>2</sup> *as a haithle sin*,<sup>3</sup> *haithle...*,<sup>4</sup> and *féachas Meirlíno seachad agus do chí...*<sup>5</sup> perform this same function.

Some sense of the topography of hell is evident in the two versions of *VSP* and in *FMh* in terms of the use of specific placenames as well as of reference to certain areas in which punishment is inflicted on the damned. Thus in *Mag Fhionnghaill* one gets an appreciation of hell as a place through the references to specific features such as *doruis ifrinn*, *uaim tenead* and *cuithe aduathmar*. (Caerwyn Williams, *op. cit.*, 130-131) These, however, bear no relation to

---

<sup>1</sup> That Meirlíno remains static in this section is highlighted by the report of how on three occasions certain groups of sinners moved towards him from *adhbha na bpian*. “Do chí Meirlíno, as a haithle sin, sluagh ábhalmhór de mhnáibh dubha diabhláí dathghrána chuige as adhbhaidh na bpian”, l. 177, “do chí Meirlíno drong eile d’anmannaibh damhanta dá ionsaí as adhbhaidh na bpian”, l. 209, “Do chí Meirlíno sluagh ábhalmhór eile chuige as adhbhaidh na bpian”, l. 225.

<sup>2</sup> l.140.

<sup>3</sup> l. 176, 236.

<sup>4</sup> l. 88.

<sup>5</sup> l. 236, 258, 273.



features such as *an loch nimhe* and *loch mór*,<sup>1</sup> and *seomraibh dubha daordhorcha*,<sup>2</sup> which occur in *FMh*. The idea of hell as having at least one space specifically set aside for the punishment of lost souls is evident in *Críocha déigheannacha* in terms of its repeated use of the term *teallach tinntidhe na bpian*.<sup>3</sup> This same term is found twice in *FMh*<sup>4</sup> as are references to similar areas as *adhbha na bpian* and *urlár na bpian*.<sup>5</sup>

*Críocha déigheannacha* appears to be close to *FMh* in terms of the delineation of the sins for which the various groups of damned souls are being punished. While in *Mag Fhionnghaill* St Paul is described as witnessing successive groups of sinners suffering on account of a large variety of sins,<sup>6</sup> in *Críocha déigheannacha* – as also in *FMh* – these punishments are considered according to the much simpler framework of the seven deadly sins and, incidentally, in the same order: pride, lust, avarice, envy, gluttony, anger and sloth.

Likewise, *Críocha déigheannacha* shows itself to be closer to *FMh* than *Mag Fhionnghaill* in terms of its use of the compound preposition *in éiric* to express the notion of retributive justice whereby the punishment suffered is shown to be appropriate to the sin committed.

agus béid [mar sin] re saoghal na saoghal, i n-éiric na gcionnta sin.  
(Hyde, *op. cit.* 340)

agus i n-éiric na n-éadaigh dath áluinn dathamhla do chuiridís orra.  
(*ibid.*)

---

<sup>1</sup> ll. 149, 236 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> l. 273.

<sup>3</sup> Hyde, *op. cit.*, 340; see also *ar theallach tinntidhe na bpian*, (*ibid.*, 336, 340, 342) *ar theallach na bpian tinntidhe*, (*ibid.*, 342, 344), and *ar theallach na bpian*, (*ibid.*, 344). Note also the use of *a tteallach tinnte na bpian*, *AgallAC*: 76.

<sup>4</sup> l. 185, 259.

<sup>5</sup> *adhbha na bpian*: ll. 150, 177, 209, 225, 296, 407; *urlár na bpian*: ll. 262, 270, 290.

<sup>6</sup> The sins in question were as follows: adultery, theft, unrighteousness; idle talk, gossip; talking in church and not listening to God's word; glorying in the misfortune of their neighbours; usury; unchastity, incest and infanticide (attributed to women alone); insulting and humiliating the widow and the poor; failure to fast; failure to belief doctrinal truths about Christ, not being baptized and not attending communion.

agus i n-éiric sin béid da gcrádh amhlaidh súd go síorruidhe.” (ibid. 342)

This same compound preposition occurs 15 times in this section of *FMh* while it makes no appearance at all in *Mag Fhionnghaill*.

Arguably the most significant point of correspondence between *VSP* and *FMh* concerns the underlying structural pattern according to which the description of what is seen in hell is interpreted by the spirit-guide. Here again *Críocha déigheannacha* is more akin to *FMh* than is *Mag Fhionnghaill*. In the case of the latter St Paul, upon witnessing the suffering of various groups of sinners, asks St Michael for an explanation and receives an answer after the following fashion:

“Cia hiat sut connice a ngluinib a n-implenduib isna pianuib ud?” Do frecair in t-aingel dó adubairt gurab iat do bi connice a ngluinib ann in drong do níd glor dímain athimrad a comarsand... (Caerwyn Williams, op. cit. 130)<sup>1</sup>

In *Críocha déigheannacha* – and in relation to the first three of the seven deadly sins in *FMh* – a different pattern is found as it is the guide who asks the visionary whether he knows what he looking at:

“An fios duit,” ar an t-aingel, “a Phóil, cia h-iaid a phiantar mar súd.”? “Ní fios dam,” ar Pól, “acht is orra tá an dochar nach féidir [a] aireamh ná fhaisneis.” “Súd í,” ar an t-aingel, “lucht an díomuis agus an uabhair... (Hyde, op. cit. 338)

“An bhfidir tú,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “cúi hiad an drong úd do chí tú dá bpianadh mar súd?” “Ní fhidir,” ar Meirlíno, “acht rofhidir gur mór na pianta atá ortha.” “Atá pianta is mó ná bhfaiceann tusa ortha,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh. “Agus ag súd,” ar sé, “na ríthe agus na prionnsadh agus na hiarladh do connaire tú ó chianaibh... (ll. 153-158)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also, “Cia hiat sud? ...Adubairt Michel”, “Cia hiat na doine do bi mar sin? ...adubairt Michel”, “Cia hiat so?”, “Cia do bi mar sud? ...Adubairt Michel”, “Cia do bi mar sin?”, op. cit., 131. “Cia cuitir andsut? ...Adubairt Michel”, op. cit., 132.

<sup>2</sup> “An bhfidir tú... créad um a bhfuil an drong úd dá bpianadh mar súd?” (l. 187) “An bhfidir tú an drong úd?” (217)

The author of *FMh*, of course, in the case of the other four deadly sins makes use of a different pattern as the spirit-guide's explanation is set forth in terms of a simple declaration:

“Ag súd,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “an drong fuair bás i bpeacadh an tnútha”. (l. 231)

However, what ought not to be overlooked concerning the possible borrowing of this pre-existent *vision-interpretation* pattern from *VSP* is that it occurs not only in *FMh*'s description of hell but is also in its account of purgatory and heaven. This is important in that it shows that the author has extended the use of this pattern from those parts of the story apparently influenced by *VSP* to other sections with which no such link exists. This being so, then, it could be claimed that *VSP* has not only directly influenced what *FMh* has to say about hell but has also indirectly shaped what it says about purgatory and heaven.

An internal distinction is evident in this section of the tale between the material treating of the first of the seven deadly sins – the sin of pride – and that considering the remaining six. In the case of this latter six, for instance, verses are included in which the predicaments of the sinners in question are summarised. After each of these then the spirit-guide begins his explanation in almost formulaic fashion with the phrase, *ag súd... an drong fuair bás i bpeacadh...*<sup>1</sup> It is worth pointing out that these features are not found in the section dealing with the sin of pride nor indeed in *Mag Fhionnghaill* or *Críocha déigheannacha*.

---

<sup>1</sup> In the case of five of these six, the verse is said to be spoken by the sinners themselves – *Agus ag so na briathara do bhíodh i mbéal gach aoin díobh. In éiric pheacadh na drúise...* (ll. 203-205) – while those who died in the sin of avarice are said to be reading the verse from books in which it is inscribed – *agus ag so na briathara do léighdís as na leabhraibh sin. Is iad so na pianta ábhal...* (ll. 213-215). Note the section ‘Sompladha dhiadha a n-aghuidh na muinntire chuireas an aithríge ar cáirde, go mórmhór go ham an bháis’ in *SSA*, in which reference is made to two books, one of which records a person's good deeds and the other the evil deeds. (40-44)

This internal distinction is evident also in terms of a link between the section on the sin of pride and the preceding narrative which does not exist in relation to the rest of the seven deadly sins. Specifically this concerns the revelation that this first group of sinners which Meirlíno encounters in hell are in fact the rich people who travelled the smooth road to the palace of Plutando. The material dealing with the rest of these seven sins contains no reference to anything which has occurred in the introductory narrative. This apparent link between the introductory narrative and the subsequent vision of hell offers a possible insight into the work of an author engaging in the process of incorporating elements derived from different sources into his own narrative. Indeed, further indications of such incorporation are found throughout this section as is evident in the following examples which show that certain significant elements in *FMh* were found in earlier texts which predated it such as *Mag Fhionnghaill*, *Críocha déigheannacha* and *SSA*:

The motif of lost souls crying in vain for death as an escape from their torment:

Is iat do bi san uamaid sin anmunda na pecthach nach dearna aitrige sa saoghal .i. drong dib ac gul 7 ac égem 7 ac osnadhagh 7 drong ac iaraid bais 7 ní faghait uair ni teid anum coithci. (*Mag Fhionnghaill*, 131)<sup>1</sup>

Agus do bhí fosloch adhfuar oighreata lán do nimh in a léimidís na hanmanna damanta ag iarraidh fionnfhuaradh agus furtacht ó gheurghreadughadh na teine. Gidheadh, ní túisge do théidis do'n loch 'ná léimidís as arís san teine, le méad an fhuacht agus an geur-nimh do bhí san uisge, agus ag so na briathra déarfadh cuid díobhtha: “A Dhia uilechúmhachtaigh... cá h-áit a bhfuil bás nach dtig chugainn dá'r geuir ar neimh-nidh, ionnus go bhfuighmís suan le bheith marbh dúinn?” (*Críocha déigheannacha*, 336-338)

---

<sup>1</sup> This same point is also found in the earlier version of *VSP* from *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* published in the same article by Caerwyn Williams: “Ocus annsin curtar anmanna na peacach nach dein aitrighi da pianadh, 7 dogeib gach neach annsin a pianadh do reir a n-oibrighthead saeghalta .i. dream dib a[c] cai, 7 dream ele ag osnadhaidh 7 a[c] cneadaidh 7 ag iarraidh an bais 7 ni fadhaid, 7 dream eile aga losgadh 7 bit ag iarrai[dh] in bais 7 idir<sup>1</sup> he.” *Ibid.*, 134.

agus na dronga damhanta sin a[g] gárthaibh agus a[g] géarghol agus ag síorscairtigh ar an mbás agus an bás ag teitheadh rompa. (*FMh*, ll. 151-152)

The motif of the loathsome apparel with which some of the damned are said to be clad:

doconuic Pol ina eli ina raibi maigdena duba 7 eduige duba umpa do pic 7 do [s]ulpair tentighe”. (*Mag Fhionnghaill*, 130)

Iar sin do connairc Meirlíno sluagh líonmhar de dhaoineibh móra personda dá ionsaigh agus éadaighe dubha daoldhathacha dathghránna forra agus go madh glonmhaire an t-éadach soin ná éadach mná tair éis atuismidh. (*FMh*, ll. 140-143)

The motif of certain sinners being beset by hideous beasts:

doconuic Pol ina eli ina raibi maigdena duba... 7 nathracha 7 loiscind 7 ilpiasta grana imma mbraigidib 7 ceitri diabail ina timcell ar a raibi adarca tentige aga pianad. (Caerwyn Williams, op. cit. 130)

Do chonnairc Pól drong eile ar teallach tinnidhe na bpian, an iomad do dhaol-phéistibh gránamhail agus do aithre nimhe ag creim agus ag cnámh-ghearradh gach baill díobhtha, cuid do na péistibh dul isteach in a mbeólaibh, agus in a mbráighidibh, agus a’ tigheacht amach as a gcluasaibh... (Hyde, op. cit. 340)

Do chí Meirlíno, as a haithle sin, sluagh ábhalmhór de mhnáibh dubha diabhlaidhe dathghránna chuige as adhbhaidh na bpian agus péist dhubh dhiabhlaidhe, ar a roibhe mong chíordhubh, agus go madh rinnidhe gach aon ruainne den mhoing sin ná rinn snáthaite caoile, casta fá bhrághaid agus mhuinéal gach aoin díobh. Agus dhá dhiabhal chráinteacha chreimneach chíordhubha ag súgh agus ag diúl cíoch agus ochta gach aon mhná dhíobh agus a súile ar luathlasadh ina gceann agus uibhir dho-áirmhe de dheamhnaibh damnta ’na dtimcheall agus sciúrsa teintighe i láimh gach deamhan díobh agus iad ag sciúradh agus [ag] súisteadh agus ag greadadh agus ag gothradh na mban sin ar teallach teintighe na bpian. (*FMh*, ll. 176-186)

This latter quotation from *FMh* concerns the fate of the lustful and it is worth drawing attention to the striking similarity it bears with material found in the

article *Don mhuinntir cheilios tré náire cuid dá bpeacadhuibh san fhaoisin* in *SSA*. This article contains the story of two itinerant brothers in religion who chanced upon a castle in which resided a noble-woman who had been committing adultery for eleven years. She made her confession to one of the brothers but, out of shame, neglected to mention her adulterous behaviour. Dying soon afterwards, her fate was revealed to the brothers:

Do taisbēnadh an treas lá an bhean sin ag marcuidheachd ar dragún thinntidhe, dá nathair nimhe uathbhásacha timchioll a brághad agus ag diúl a cīoch, dhá thód ag ithi a dá súl, lasair adhuathmhar roimpe as beól agus as a sróin, dá shaighid thineadh tréna cluasuibh, dā mhadradh allta ag crinn a dá lámh, agus iomad d'ílphasdaibh nimhe fa a ceann. (*SSA*: 84)

In the following section her confessor asks her to explain the meaning of her various afflictions:

‘Atáid’, ar si, ‘na hilphiasta nimhe si ar mo cheann a ndíol gach deisi agus gach bréghdhachda bhréigi dár chuirios air. Atáid an dá thód so ag ithi mo shúil a n-éiric na n-amharc cclaon mailíseach. Atáid na saighde tineadh so trém chluasuibh a n-éiric an chiúil cheóllaidhe do-chluiminn, na mbriathar neamhghlan adeirinn, agus an ithiomrāidh do éisdinn. Atáid an dá nathair nimhe si ar mo chīochuibh a n-éiric an ghlacaidh thruaillidhe do léiginn do dhēnamh orra. Atá an dearglasair ghránna so as mo bhéal fám bhrēguibh agus fám bhriathruibh barbardha. Atáid na madaidh si ag creinn mo lámh fám ghlacaireachd thruaillidhe ar dhaoineibh eile, do bhrígh nár shíneas mo lamha do na bochduibh, achd, an ní bá cóir dhamh do thabha[i]rt dhóibh, go ttugas é dom fhearuibh suirghi. Bíad ar an ndragún tteinntidhe si go síorruidhe atá ag losgadh mo chos agus ball n-immheadhónach mo chuirp uile lér chuirios a ngníomh mo thruaillidheachd.’ (*SSA*: 84-85)

Whereas this material is by no means an exact copy of the section in question as it appears in *FMh* it does contain certain points of striking similarity. Both sources have the same lurid intensity as they describe in step-by-step detail the horrible fate suffered by those guilty of sins of the flesh. Likewise, they are both underpinned by the notion that the nature of one’s sin determines the form

of one's punishment in hell and the compound preposition *in éiric* is used in both to highlight the role that jewellery<sup>1</sup> and the eyes<sup>2</sup> play in lustful behaviour. Finally, they both describe venomous serpents as sucking the breasts of these women in retribution for their immodest touching,<sup>3</sup> and affirm the eternal nature of all of this punishment.<sup>4</sup>

The idea the sin of avarice as involving the ill-use of one's neighbour and of the disadvantaged is evident in both *Críocha déigheannacha* and *FMh*:

“Súd,” ar an t-aingeal, “lucht na sainte, dream do bhíodh a’ tacar agus a’ tiomsughadh cuid na gcómharsain go neimhdhlisdinnidh, nach ndéanadh truaighe, déirce, ná daonacht do na bochtaibh, [agus] do dhéanadh leathrom ar an bhfann.” (Hyde, *op. cit.*, 342)

“Ag súd... an drong fuair bás i bpeacadh na sainte, mar atá, an lucht dlighe do thagraidh cás na héagóra mar gheall ar ór agus ar ionnmhas agus gach duine nó gach drong ainmhianach eile do shantadh cuid a gcomharsan agus do nigheadh leatrom na n-anbhann agus na ndíleachtadh agus na ndeoradh mar gheall ar shaibhreas bréagach diombuan an tsaoghail do tharraing ortha féin,” ar sé. (ll. 219-224)

The scenario whereby souls are being presented with food which they cannot taste occurs also in the two versions of *VSP* both of which also contain reference to bodies of water. In the case of *Mag Fhionnghaill*, however, the souls tortured thus are placed beside the water rather than in it:

Ocus asa haithli sin doconnairc fir 7 mna ar bruach uisci a n-ítain 7 a n-ocurus 7 toirthi imda aipci ina fiaghnuissi 7 nir fêdadar a fromad, (Caerwyn Williams, *op. cit.*, 131)

<sup>1</sup>“tá an athair nimhe úd do chí tú casta fá brághaid gach aoin díobh in éiric na scaball agus na slabhradh agus na n-órasc do chuidís fána mbrághaid agus fána muinéal do mhealladh fhear na mban pósta agus na bhfear coil”, ll. 193-196.

<sup>2</sup> “agus an lasair úd do chí [tú] as asúilibh, atá in éiric na n-amharc claon agus mailíseach do bheirdís ar na fearaibh neampósta”, ll. 196-197.

<sup>3</sup> “Agus na diabhail chreimneacha úd do chí tú ag súgh agus ag déol a gcíoch atáid in éiric na glacaireachta truaillí do fhuilngidís do dhéanamh ar a gcorp agus ar a gcroiceann”, ll. 198-200.

<sup>4</sup> “biad dá bpianadh amhlaidh súd an feadh bhias Dia ina shíoraidheacht” ll. 202-203.

Once more *Críocha déigheannacha* bears a closer resemblance to *FMh* in that it has the afflicted souls submerged in the water up to their chins:

Do chonnaire Pól dream eile ar theallach na bpian tinntidhe, go nuige a smige in uisge ath-fhuar siocaignthe ar dhath a' ghuail. Ba bhréine an t-uisge sin ná conabhlach marbh tar éis morrgaidh. An iomad de phéistibh a' snámh in a bhfiadhnuise san uisge, iad dá gcrádh do ghorta agus do thart, a mbeóil osgailte, a' gártha ar bhiadh agus ar dhigh-é os a gcómhair, agus gan ar a gcumas a bhlas. Óir gach minice bheireadh amus air, go n-imthigheadh níos faide uatha. (Hyde, *op. cit.*, 343)

The idea that souls who died in the sin of anger are condemned to perpetually assault each other is also found in *Críocha déigheannacha*:

iad a' tarraing a chéile, a' leadrughadh a chéile, mar bheith leómhain lán-ghortach[a]. (344)

agus iad féin ag tuargain agus ag tarraing agus ag treaghdadh a chéile sa tinidh sin. (ll. 262-263)

Likewise, the idea that fate of those who died in the sin of sloth endure their punishment while fastened on narrow, constricting beds in a malodorous environment is also found in both these texts.

Do chonnaire Pól drong eile ath-fhuar, chomh-dhorcha ar theallach na bpian, cheangailte le slabhra[ibh], ar leaptha chaol chúmhaing, dá mbruith agus dá ngreadadh agus dá ndaor-theannadh ag na slabhra[ibh] sin, lán do bhréantas agus do dhrochbholadh gránamhail agus gach pian nach féidir a smuaineadh. (346)

Féachas Meirlíno seachad agus do chí drong eile i seomraibh dubha daordhorcha 'na luí inn aleapthaibh caola cruachumhann agus géibheann agus glasa agus cruadhchuibhreach ortha agus na leapa sin ar dearglasadh 'na dtimcheall agus fútha. Agus go mba bréine na seomraí sin ná coirp mharbha tair éis morgaidh re teas gréine lán de aithreachaibh nimhe agus de phiastaibh gráineamhla ag creim agus ag crinn na droinge damanta sin do bhí sna glasaibh teintighe... (ll. 273-279)



There is also a striking correspondence between how these particular sinners are described by St Michael in *Críocha déigheannacha* and by the spirit-guide in *FMh*:

“Súd,” ar an t-aingeal, “lucht na leisge, d’fhanadh ó Aifrionn, ó sheanmóir, agus ó sheirbhís Dé. Le leisg do ghnidís faillighe agus neamh-shuim do na deagh-ghníomha...” (346)

“Ag so,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “an drong fuair bás i bpeacadh na leisce, agus do fhanadh ó aifreann agus ó sheanmóradh agus ó sheirbhís Dé agus do ghabhadh leisc re maithghníomh ar bioth do dhéanamh. (ll. 283-285)

Finally, the point is made repeatedly in all of these texts that this punishment – of the senses – is eternal. In *FMh* then one finds phrases such as

atáid na diabhail úd... re haghaidh a bheith [ag] friothólamh na bpian ndofhulaing ortha tré shaoghal na saoghal. (ll. 171-174)<sup>1</sup>

This same point is echoed variously in the earlier texts under consideration:

is uime sin fuilnges siat na pianu diairmidhe ud co la na breithe. (Caerwyn Williams, op. cit. 130)

Táid na diabhail úd da gcomhthuargant, agus a’ frithólamh na bpian síorruidhe orra, agus béid [mar sin] re saoghal na saoghal. (Hyde, op. cit. 340)

táid na diabhail úd dá gcreim agus dá gcosgairt agus dá gcnámh-ghearradh go síorruidhe. (340)

béid da gcrádh amhlaidh súd go síorruidhe. (342)

béid amhlaidh saoghal na saoghal. (344)

bíad isna píantoibh si do-chí sibh an feadh bhías Dia ag caitheamh na glóire. (SSA: 84)

beid araon ann sin maille risan muinntir leanfas a lorg ’gá bpíanadh an feadh bhías Dia ag caitheamh na glóire síorrdhuidhe. (162)

<sup>1</sup> See also ll. 199-202, 232-234, 254-256, 268-271, 285-288. It is worth noting that such assertions occur in *FMh* in the case of six of the seven sins, the sin of avarice being the exception.

Indeed, the threefold use of the phrase *an feadh bhias Dia ag caitheamh na glóire* in *FMh* is worth highlighting as possibly indicative of the influence of *SSA* on its composition:

na héadaighe dubha diabhlaidhe úd ortha bhias dá gcúradh agus dá ngreadadh agus dá ngnáthphianadh *an feadh bhias Dia ag caitheamh na glóire*. (ll. 167-169)

atáid na diabhail úd sáighte ina súilibh dá ngéarphianadh *an feadh bhias Dia ag caitheamh na glóire*, maille re gach cinéal péine eile dá bhfuil ortha. (ll. 233-235)

biad sna glasaibh agus sna géibheannaibh agus sna cuibhríbh úd dá loscadh agus dá ngreadadh *an feadh bhias Dia ag caitheamh na glóire síoraidhte* gan dúil re fuascladh ná re furtacht d'fhagháil astabh go bráth. (ll. 286-289)

As the foregoing examples indicate, then, many of the elements found in *FMh* are found also in *Mag Fhionnghaill*, *Críocha déigheannacha* and *SSA*. It is important, however, to distinguish between the possibilities or probabilities and any certainties which may arise from this. One might assert, for instance, that these examples give grounds for inferring that the author may have drawn from this source or that in the course of his work. Even though this is likely it should also be acknowledged that the evidence necessary for certainty in this regard is absent. What we can be sure of, however, is that many of the themes, motifs, incidents and details of the story are found in pre-existing texts so that it is highly probable that the author drew upon and adapted some such earlier material for inclusion in his own work.

If this was the case weight is added to the aforementioned theory that *FMh* is not a seamless narrative but rather a composite piece. Indeed attention is also drawn to the fragmentary nature of the text by the fact that the entire section on the seven deadly sins comes to an obvious if understated conclusion in the simple lack of continuity between the description of the fate of those who died

in the sin of sloth and the section which follows it – in which Meirlíno overhears a dialogue between two souls on *urlár na bpian*.

*Pivotal message: the importance of repentance in good time*

As well as by the introduction of these two new characters this material is distinguished from that which precedes it by a shift in focus from *what is seen* to *what is heard*. The theological proposition at the heart of this section is that condemnation to hell can only be avoided by repentance before death, a point also affirmed in *Mag Fhionnghaill* and in *Críocha déigheannacha*:

Is iat do bi san uamaid sin anmunda na pecthach nach dearna aithrige sa saoghal... (132)

uair in drong nach cretí do 7 nach dingne aithrige isna pectaib donid siat, cuirfigther isna pianaib adubramur iat. (133)

Óir ar stáid dhamanta gan aithrige fuair an peacach so bás. (Hyde, *op. cit.*, 322)

nach bhfuil cumas agad-sa ó fhíor-cheart do dhiadhacht, agus ó líonmhaire mo dhroch-ghníomha an uair nach ndearna mé aithrige luath ná mall ionnta, gan breith dhamanta thabhairt orm anois. (322)

Agus farraoir! do chím anois, deacair, dith, agus díobhbhála na faillighe do rinne me, an aithrige a chur ar cáirde. (332)

dá ndéantá aithrige fhíreannach ód' chroidhe ionnta, do dhéanfainn-se chomh glan leis an ghrian thu. (332)

Central to the dialogue in which this proposition is set forth in *FMh* is the claim by the first lost soul that had he a quarter of an hour's more of life he would repent so fervently that God would forgive him his sins. The mention of a quarter of an hour is significant in that it is echoed in a story about a certain

thief which occurs in a section of *SSA* which likewise treats of the necessity of timely repentance:<sup>1</sup>

Do bhí fear bratuidhe āiridhe ann ’ga raibhe beatha neamhghlan, gé go roibhe foghlomtha. Do-bheirdís a chairdi iomad comhairleadh air ag iarraidh a fhilleadh ón olc, agus así freagra do-bheireadh orra (do bhí ’na mhac léighin[n]) go bhfoighéonadh *aoinceathramh[a] uaire* dhó dochum é féin do réidhiughadh lé Dia. As amhluigh thárla dhó, ag dēunamh a dhínnéra maille ré comhluadar neamchosmhuil risan dá easbal x, ag cor ghreama dochum a bhéoil, an t-anam do bhíodhg dá fhágbháil, agus as deimhin go ndeacha san áit ’nar thuill a ghníomha a chur, agus ní himheastha gur deagháit sin.” (*SSA*: 33)<sup>2</sup>

Recalling the possibility stated above that by avoiding the use of specialised terminology – such as *pian na gcéadfaí* and (later) *pian na díobhála* – the author was tailoring his work to those who were not schooled in theology it is worth drawing attention to one instance in the section at hand in which a more theologically nuanced phrase was left in the text:

óir ní iarronn Dia acht aithreachas fírinneach *maille re rún seasmhach gan tuiteam sa bpeacadh go bráth arís.* (ll. 312-314)

Given the importance of a firm purpose of amendment as a prerequisite of genuine repentance it is to be expected that this was a point which the author would have been eager to make. That it is more the language of the trained theologian than of the a storyteller is evident when one takes account of its use in *SSA*:

As é as doilgheas ann grain agus fuath, tuirsi agus dobrón, dod ghlacadh fán bpeacadh do-rínis, *maille re rún gan a dhēanamh arís.*” (7)

An cédchomhartha, an té ar a bhfuil an doilgheas do ghlacadh inntinne 7 *rúin lāidir chuigi gan na peacuidh do dhénamh arís*, iondus gomadh férr leis olc mór d’fhulang iná peacadh marbhtha do dhénamh. (49)

<sup>1</sup> ‘Gurab gnāth an bás ag teachd dochum na seanpheacach go hobann nó an uair nách smuainid air’. *SSA*: 31-34.

<sup>2</sup> My italics.

Do réir mar sgr̄obhuid na naomhaithre, as í as aithrighi fhírindeach ann, peacuidh na haimsire do-chuaidh thort do chaoineadh 7 gan a ndéanamh arís. Ní hé as mian leó a rádh nách bíonn foghnamh ar an aithrighi a ccás gobfhillfitheá dochum na bpeacadh arís, ór as deimhin, má tá aithrighi dá-ríribh aníodh agad, gur sgr̄ios do pheacadha uile uait gé go ttuitfitheá amárach na peacuidh do-rínis do chaoineadh achd *rún daingean do ghlacadh gan a ndéanamh arís*. (68).

Finally, drawing attention away from the possible influence of other texts on this material it is important to note that this section is crucial in terms of the story of Meirlíno’s conversion in that it contains his pivotal realisation that he still has the time and the opportunity to repent. Indeed, taking into account the theory that it was the author’s aim to use Meirlíno’s story as a vehicle for the propagation of a range of theological propositions it seems evident that the idea of the importance of repentance in good time is the central message that he wished to impart. With the spirit-guide’s affirmation that Meirlíno’s realisation is indeed valid this crucial section comes to an end.

### *The punishment of deprivation*<sup>1</sup>

The focus of the story then shifts to consideration of the aspect of infernal suffering known as the punishment of deprivation – *pian na díobhála* which, according to *PA*, entails:

Bheith sgartha ré caidreabh na náomh 7 na n-aingeal, 7 gan gnúis Dé d’fhaicsin tré bhíoth síor, ní as mō chráidheas an drong dhamanta ināid uile phiana na ccéudfadh. (189)

As was the case in this citation, the spirit-guide in *FMh* affirms that this is the most intense form of punishment in hell:

“An mór leat na pianta so do chí [tú] ar an droing dhamanta so?” (l. 315)  
 “Máiseadh... tá pian is mó ná bhfaiceann tú ar gach aon díobh.” (ll. 320-321)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. eDIL s.v. dígbál, (b) loss, privation, want: “pían na dígbála (techn. term in theology): pían na díoghála .i. do beith derbhtha nách faicfe tú go brath gnúis Dé (part of punishment of Hell, opp. to p. na gcédfadh *tortures*), *Mac Aingil* 27. Cf. dha sort peine .i. pian na gcédfadh 7 na díoghbhála, *Luc. Fid.* 178.”

This same notion of an as yet unencountered degree of punishment<sup>1</sup> is evident also in *Mag Fhionnghaill* as is apparent in the following question put by St Michael to St Paul who laments that it would be better for such sinners never to have been born:

“Is truag dona pechachaibh a ngeneamuin ar an saogal-so.” Ocus adubairt Michel re Pol, “Cred ma caiend tu, uair ni facadaiss na piana is mo a n-ifrenn.” (131)

This section takes the form of a series of discourses by the spirit-guide precipitated by a question/answer dialogue between this character and Meirlíno. The most significant feature of these discourses is the presence of certain techniques or devices which one might associate with preaching or apologetics. First, the author makes a theological point and then uses a concrete example by way of illustration. The point at stake concerns the rage and jealousy experienced by a damned soul upon witnessing, at his judgement, his family and loved ones entering the heavenly glory which he himself has forfeited while seeing simultaneously a band of devils restlessly waiting to take him to his eternal punishment in hell. By way of reiteration this scenario is then restated in concrete terms in a description of the rage and jealousy which the deposed attendant of a king would feel when, from prison, he sees others enjoying the favour which he once had but had lost through bad behaviour.

The second instance of a predicated approach evident in this section concerns the mental agony felt by a damned soul on account of his awareness that his punishment is endless. In the first instance this point is made using an allegory according to which nature of eternity is explored in which it is likened to the turning of a wheel or a ring which, when it has fully rotated, has not reached an end but instead simply finds itself still to be at the beginning. This point of this

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also in this section, “an féidir go dtáinic le Dia piana is mó ná mar do chím do chur ortha?” l. 291, “atá piana eile nach bhfaiceann tú ar muintir ifrinn is mó ná gach piana”, l. 320 and in the section dealing with the sin of pride, “Atá piana is mó ná bhfaiceann tusa ortha”, l. 139.

allegory, too, is accompanied by an illustration as the spirit-guide invites Meirlíno to consider the amount of time it would take for a tiny bird to empty the sea of its water at the rate of one beakful a year and then tells him that if the damned in hell were assured of gaining relief from their sufferings after such an immense period of time they would have some cause for optimism. As it is, however, they do cannot claim even such a tiny sliver of hope.

The third predicatory technique also concerns the infinite nature of infernal punishment . Here it is asserted that souls condemned to hell can never expect to receive relief from their sufferings on the grounds of God's goodness since, by virtue of divine foresight, God determined at creation that no one in heaven would ever be aware of the sufferings endured in Hell. What is at stake here, therefore, is the anticipation of the possible objection that a merciful God could never allow anyone to endure such agony without at some point relenting and showing mercy. That this objection is thus effectively forestalled by the author hints at a degree of familiarity with the need to counteract such reasonable arguments against the proposition that the damned in hell will never benefit from divine mercy. One trained in theology, one would imagine, would not be unaware of such a need.

As was the case with the material dealing with the punishment of the senses, this section too contains features found in earlier texts. For instance the motif of the condemned soul at judgement catching sight of demons poised to drag him or her to Hell is found also in *Mag Fhionnghaill*:

ᵱ doconnuic anum pecthaig itir shect ndiablaib an la rucad asa corp hi...  
 Ocus do gabatar na diabail cuca hi ᵱ do cuiretar isna drochtegdhuisib dob  
 faide uatha an ifrenn hí. (132)

Likewise this same motif of seeing the righteous at the time of judgement entering heaven and the damned falling to hell occurs also in a section of *SSA* in

which Mac Aingil, in an effort to move his readers to repentance, warns them of the prospect of their one day being among the sinners to Christ's left hand at the final judgement as it is described in chapter 25 of the Gospel of St Matthew:

Do-chíthfe tú iad [the righteous] dá ttógbháil suas a measg aingiol 7 archaingiol, abstol 7 soisgéaluidheadh, mairtíreadh 7 confessōireadh, ōgh 7 banógh, áit a mbia biothbhuan gnúisi na Tríonnóide aca... Do-chíthfe tú thú féin sluidh deamhan 7 drochdhaoine ag tuitim san bpríosūn ndubh n[d]orcha n-iolphiaistach ina mbía sibh ag caitheamh na bpian an feadh bhias Dia ag caitheamh a ghlóire. (15)

The numeric term 'thousand million' which occurs in the aforementioned allegory of the wheel in *FMh* (ll. 357-359) is found also in the description in *SSA* of the nature of the punishment of the senses and punishment of deprivation (*pian na gcéadfaí* and *pian na díobhála*):

Beid dá phéin shíordhuidhe ort san phríosún sa, dá ngoirid na diadhuireadha pían na díoghbhála, .i. do bheith dearbhtha nách faicfe [tú] go bráth gnúis nDé, 7 pían na ccédfadh, .i. an teine shíordhuidhe bhias dod shíorlosgadh idir anam 7 chorp ar mhodh nách sguirfe go bráth dá síorlasair chíordhuibh 7 nach lúgha bhias ré a losgadh aici tar éis *mille milleōin do bhliadhnuibh* iná anos, ór, gé go mbía na peacuigh mur choinnigh gcrín ar lasair, ní sgarfa aoinní dá substaint ríu achd beid go bráth ar aondrochsdaid, d'eagla go ttiocfadh críoch ar a bpéin. (15-16)

Similarly, the idea that infernal punishment would be in some wise bearable if the damned were assured of relief, albeit after an immense period of time such as that necessary for a tiny bird to empty the ocean of its water, is found also in *PA* in the material given in answer to the question "Ga fad bhīd na hainbhfiréin a n-ifrionn?":

óir as beag narbh ionann leō 7 bheith slānaighthe, dā mbeith a fhios aca go mbiadh furthachd 'na ccionn d'éis mhilliōin do bhliadhnuibh; gidheadh, mar do-chíd go mbeid is na pianuibh céudna go síordhuidhe, gan chrīch, gan fhoircheann, gan dāil cabhra, brisdtear a ccroidhthe lé doilgheas. (*PA*: 189)



As was the case with the previous sections of the tale, there is no formal ending to this segment with its conclusion being signalled simply by the progression into a section in which the information offered by the spirit-guide is precipitated by two questions put by Meirlíno.

### *Meirlíno's questions*

Having been concerned up to this point with a consideration of hell as it impacts upon souls consigned there, in this section attention is focused on details of a more general nature in its regard. The first of Meirlíno's queries is, "an bhfuil sochar pianta ag duine in ifreann seacha duine eile?" (ll. 382-383) This precipitates an affirmation concerning the degree of culpability for sin in that he learns that Christians suffer most in hell since they were most advantageously equipped to live righteously having full knowledge of the law and the commandments but still failed to do so.

The second question concerns the governance of hell: "an bhfuil cumhachta nó impí ag diabhal ar dhiabhal eile in ifreann?" (ll. 392-393) In reply the spirit-guide identifies *Lúsifeir* and *Belsébúb* as 'kings' each of whom rules over five of the ten immense kingdoms which make up hell. In doing so, the author is tapping into a Christian tradition the roots of which can be traced back to scripture according to which these figures are described as having authority over other devils and are sometimes given the the regal title of prince.<sup>1</sup>

But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, "It is only by Beelzebul, the ruler of the demons, that this fellow casts out the demons." (Matt 12:24 NRSV)

A list of these regions follows, the Latin name of each of which is given – apart from the Hebrew derivative *Gehenna* – accompanied by an Irish form. Most of

---

<sup>1</sup> See also Luke 11:15, But some of them said, "He casts out demons by Beelzebul, the ruler of the demons", (NRSV), Isaiah 14:12-15, 28:12-15.

these seem to have been drawn from scriptural references to Hell: *terra tenebrosa* (Job 10:21), *terra oblivionis* (Ps 88:12), *stagnum ignis* (Rev 20:10, 14, 15) *Infernus* (Rev. 20:13) *Gehenna* Mark 9:43-48 and variously through the Old and New Testaments; *Barathrum* (Judges 5:15) and *Casma* (Luke 16:26). *Tartarus* and *Orcus*, however, are derived from classical Greek and Roman mythology respectively.

As was the case in relation to certain locations in hell such as *teallach tinntidhe na bpian*, *adhbha na bpian*, and *urlár na bpian* as well as *an loch nimhe*, *loch mór* and *seomraí dubha daordhorcha*, with this list the author seems concerned simply with displaying an awareness of the topography of hell. Indeed it is noteworthy that in this section Meirlíno remains a static observer and there is no mention made of his having traversed any of these regions.

The notion of *Lúsifeir* and *Belsébúb* as having power is revisited in the assertion that, in an effort to subvert the kingdom of God, this pair require subordinate devils to tempt specific souls to commit particular sins. This notion of diabolical authority too has a scriptural basis:

You were dead through the trespasses and sins in which you once lived, following the course of this world, following the ruler of the power of the air, the spirit that is now at work among those who are disobedient. (Ephesians 2:1-2, NRSV)

I will no longer talk much with you, for the ruler of this world is coming. He has no power over me. (John 14:30, NRSV)

What, then, does the inclusion of this range of facts in the story reveal? As regards the question of who suffers the greatest torment in hell it should be acknowledged that such a thought could so easily occupy the mind of the average Christian who is interested in or serious about their faith. That said, the specificity of the spirit-guide's reply would point to the likelihood that this assertion was the work of someone schooled in Christian morality. Likewise

the information concerning the authority of *Lúsifeir* and *Belsébúb* hints at an author familiar with biblical references to the power which these exercise while the inclusion of the topographical details in relation to hell points to a possible awareness of devotional works – such as vision literature – in which such information is fundamental. The obvious conclusion is that the originator of this material is steeped in a world in which knowledge of such points is an inevitability.

One final observation is apposite. Even though such material is not incongruous in a text which to a great extent treats of hell it should be acknowledged that neither is it integral to the tale. Indeed the story would function just as well had this series of apparently randomly selected facts about hell been omitted. Their inclusion, however, may reveal something about the intention of the author in the course of composition, namely, that his primary motive was catechetical rather than literary. Accordingly, one might with good reason hypothesise that in the course of composing the enthralling story of Meirlíno's conversion as a means of propagating certain religious ideas the author became progressively more excited about its potential in this regard and decided to squeeze as much information about hell into the text as he could.

The conclusion of this section – which brings Meirlíno's vision of hell to an end – differs from the ending of the other sections of the tale in that it is formally written as an ending in terms of the following statement by the spirit-guide:

Anois... do connuirc tú an ní do badh maith leat .i. amharc ar phíantaibh, agus air thoirmintibh ifrinn, agus anois air sé lean misi go mbeirinn as anáitsi thú amhail mar do gheall mé (ll. 418-420).

This neatly contextualises all that Meirlíno has seen in terms of his original desire to see hell first-hand and the spirit-guide's promise to bring him back to his natural existence:

“Agus is eadh do smuanaigh, dá mba é toil Dé, go mba fearr leis ná maitheas na talmhan aon amharc amhain d’fhaicsin ar ifreann...” (ll. 41-43)

“óir do bhéra mise dochum an tsaoghail thú arís acht go dtaispéanaid cuid de phiantaibh ifrinn agus na droinge damanta dhuit. (ll. 137-139)

This being so it seems evident that the story could and should have ended at this point. This, however, is not the case as Meirlíno has more to see.

### *Purgatory*

The following section – brief and all as it is – is similarly revealing in terms of the author’s fundamental aim of using Meirlíno’s story as a vehicle for propagating doctrinal propositions. As the narrative flow continues and one remains engaged with Meirlíno’s vision – continuing to see what he sees – one also becomes acquainted with the rudiments of the Catholic teaching on purgatory.

The motif of movement, not encountered since Meirlíno’s entry into Plutando’s palace, re-emerges at this point: “Do ghluais an Spiorad agus Meirlíno ’na dhiaidh...” (l. 422) The first point of theological significance is that purgatory is distinct from hell which is indicated, it appears, by the allusion to the immense wall which Meirlíno sees to his right hand side. That sights and sounds of agony akin to those encountered in hell are also heard there, however, identifies it as a place of suffering too. On account of this Meirlíno believes himself still to be in hell but becomes confused when he hears an incongruous note of hope of relief in the cries of some souls in purgatory and others calling for help from the faithful on earth. (ll. 426-427; 429-430) This occasions an explanation from the spirit-guide that these souls are hopeful because they know that their suffering is finite while their castigation of the faithful on earth communicates the proposition that acts of prayer, fasting and good works

shorten the time that souls spend in purgatory.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the author has successfully taken points which would appear as dry and dull in the pages of a catechism and present them in such a way as to render them more captivating and more accessible to the listener.

This same approach is evident in the final part of this section which – again using the motif of confusion – addresses a significant misconception about purgatory, namely, that the suffering encountered there is negligible relative to that endured in hell. One corollary of such a misconception which pastors would have been eager to counter was the tendency to defer atonement for one’s sins until after death so that it might be made out in purgatory. This pastoral concern is evident in the title of this article from *SSA*: “Sompladha diadha fa gan an lóirghníomh do léigean go purgadóir”. (117) As it happens this article contains a passage which employs the same motif found in this part of *FMh*, namely, the notion that the suffering endured in purgatory is so intense as to distort a soul’s perception of the length of time it has spent there. This piece tells of a righteous man who prays for death as a release from the pain he is suffering through illness to be informed by an angel that he can choose to endure this pain for one year or to die immediately and spend three days in purgatory. He opts for the latter declaring that he is willing to spend not just three days there but as long as God wills. When, after a day, the angel asks him how he now views his choice the man exclaims: “Ó a Dhia! ... as truagh mar do mealladh riot mé. Do ghealluis dhamh nách béin[n] ann so achd trí lá, ⁊ atáim ann lé hiomad mbliadhan.” The angel then replies in the following terms:

‘Má do mealladh thú,’ ar an t-aingiol, ‘ní a bhfad na haimsire atá an mealladh, ór ní fhoili ann so achd aonlá amháin fós do na trí laithibh, ⁊ as é nimh ⁊ géire na bpian atā ort chuirios d’fhiachuibh ort a mheas go bhfuili an feadh soin d’aimsir ann so ’s gan tú ann achd aonlá. (117-118)

---

<sup>1</sup> Thus the use of *vision-explanation* pattern which, in all likelihood, is influenced by *VSP* is used by the author outside the context of hell.

The correspondence between this and the reference in *FMh* to the soul who believes himself to have spent five thousand years in purgatory while he has in fact been there for less than five days is striking. Assuming that the author of *FMh* borrowed this idea from *SSA* or some similar source, he is to be admired for his skill in selecting and adapting such material for his own literary and pastoral purposes.

### *Heaven*

The beginning of the following section is signalled by another reference to movement: “Haithle an chomhráidh sin do ghluais an Spiorad roimhe as thuathaibh ifrinn agus purgadóra agus do lean Meirlíno é...” (ll. 457-458) The *vision-explanation* pattern is used again in the account given of Meirlíno’s vision of heaven. As Macalister has pointed out, this material is significantly influenced by the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in chapters 21 and 22 of the book of Revelation:<sup>1</sup>

is amhlaidh ro bhaoi múr agus balladh na caitheacha soin, arna ndéanamh de chríostal agus de *chrísolít* agus de *thófás* agus den *ónix* agus de *mhargaríot* agus de *iasper* agus den *emeráld* agus den *diamond* agus den uile chineál péarladh agus cloch uasal archeana ionnas go mba lór de fhlaithneas agus d’aoibhneas le duine nó re haingeal dar chruthaigh Dia ariamh bheith ag féachain an lonraidh agus an deallraidh do bhí ag teacht ó múr agus ó bhalladhaibh agus ó chlochaibh na cathracha soin. (ll. 461-468)

And the city has no need of sun or moon to shine on it, for the glory of God is its light, and its lamp is the Lamb. (Rev 21:23, NRSV)

And there will be no more night; they need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light, and they will reign forever and ever. (Rev 22:5, NRSV)

---

<sup>1</sup> Note the following allusion by Macalister: “The Vision of Heaven is a charming description of a Land of Pleasure, partly adapted from the Apocalypse...” (*VM I*: 395)

The wall is built of jasper, while the city is pure gold, clear as glass. The foundations of the wall of the city are adorned with every jewel; the first was jasper, the second sapphire, the third agate, the fourth emerald, the fifth onyx, the sixth carnelian, the seventh chrysolite, the eighth beryl, the ninth topaz, the tenth chrysoprase, the eleventh jacinth, the twelfth amethyst. And the twelve gates are twelve pearls, each of the gates is a single pearl, and the street of the city is pure gold, transparent as glass. (Rev 21:18-21, NRSV)

Likewise, as regards the interior of the city:

Féachas Meirlíno tair bhallaibh na cathracha isteach agus do chí srutha fíoráilne fíoruisece agus go mba samhailta re fíon uasal gan trualladh an boltanas do bhí ag teacht de na sruthaibh soin agus an iomad de chrannaibh áille éagsamhla idir na sruthaibh sin agus go mba lór d'aoibhneas agus d'urghairdiú bheith ag féachain na dtórtha agus na mblátha do bhaoi ar na crannaibh sin... (ll. 469-474)

Then the angel showed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the street of the city. On either side of the river is the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, producing its fruit each month; and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations. (Rev 22:1-2, NRSV)

Let anyone who wishes take the water of life as a gift. (Rev 22:17, NRSV)

The correspondence with the book of Revelation then concerns the description of heaven as a place. In terms of the account of the inhabitants of this heavenly city, however, it seems that only the the angelic choir praising God unceasingly – seen by Meirlíno as magnificent birds singing in the trees – may have been borrowed from the biblical text.<sup>1</sup> It seems evident that the inclusion of the kings, princes and those in colourful raiment was precipitated by the author's need to complete the contradistinction begun in the introductory narrative when the rich who took the easy path in life were shown to have ended up in hell so

---

<sup>1</sup> Rev 5:11: Then I looked, and I heard the voice of many angels surrounding the throne and the living creatures and the elders; they numbered myriads of myriads and thousands of thousands, singing with full voice, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slaughtered to receive power and wealth and wisdom and might and honour and glory and blessing!" (NRSV)

that the band of poor people who took the punishing and arduous path re-emerge transfigured as the inhabitants of the heavenly city. This same dynamic may in turn have influenced the reference to the rosy-cheeked maidens revealed to be women who lived their lives in chastity as a possible counterpoint to the women who suffered horrendously in hell because they died in the sin of lust. The reference to infants of angelic countenance identified as those who died after baptism but before they committed any sins infers an awareness of the longstanding belief that unbaptised infants remain tainted with original sin and so cannot enter heaven and suggests that the author was at pains to present an accurate account of those who might be expected to be found in heaven. Such a familiarity again characterises the author as being well-versed in such mainstream Christian beliefs. Finally, the probable influence of the book of Revelation is also evident in the response of the spirit-guide to Meirlíno's reaction to this vision:

“Is truagh,” ar Meirlíno, “nach roibhe mé aon uair amháin de ló istigh annsúd.”

“Ní féidir dhuit sin,” ar an Spiorad, “an feadh bhias colann daonna ort óir ní théid aon ní isteach annsúd acht gloine agus fírinne.” (ll. 509-512)

But nothing unclean will enter it, nor anyone who practices abomination or falsehood, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life. (Rev 21:27, NRSV)

As was the case with the vision of hell the author brings the vision of heaven as well as the vision as a whole to a very obvious conclusion by means of a declaration reminiscent of that which followed the vision of hell that Meirlíno has now seen all that he wished to see:

*Anois... do connuirc tú an ní do badh maith leat .i. amharc ar phiantaibh, agus air thoirmintibh ifrinn, agus anois air sé lean misi go mbeirinn as anáitsi thú amhail mar do gheall mé. (ll. 418-420)*



Agus anois... *do connairc tú an ní ba maith leat*. Agus fúigfeadsa thú anois agus atá tú ar an tsaoghal... agus déana mar is toil leat ó so amach. (ll. 513-515)

In relation to what might be behind such a formulaic repetition it should be noted that in the first of these the spirit-guide alludes to a promise made when Meirlíno realised that he was in fact in hell: “óir *do bhéara* mise dochum an tsaoghail thú arís acht go dtaispéanaid cuid de phiantaibh ifrinn agus na droinge damanta dhuit.” (ll. 137-139) The use of the verb *do bheirim* in this case then seems to correspond to the use of the imperative in the declaration following the vision of hell: “lean misi *go mbeirinn* as anáitsi thú amhail mar do gheall mé...” (l. 420) implying that the spirit-guide has fulfilled his duty. That said it could be argued that the assertion “fúigfeadsa thú anois agus atá tú *ar an tsaoghal*...” (l. 514) in the declaration following the vision of heaven also hearkens back to the aforementioned promise in ll. 137-139.

It should be borne in mind, however, that only a vision of hell was proposed in the original promise – “...acht go dtaispéanaid cuid de phiantaibh ifrinn agus na droinge damanta dhuit” (ll. 138-139) – which would suggest that the author had initially intended that Meirlíno’s vision would only involve hell.<sup>1</sup> The second ‘attempt’ to bring the vision to a close, however, raises the possibility that at some point in the course of composition he has reconsidered this and decided to present a more comprehensive eschatological picture by including visions of purgatory and heaven as well. This dovetails neatly with the point made earlier in relation to the inclusion of the details concerning the topography and governance of hell, namely, the possibility that the author in the course of composition came to recognise the potential of the story as a means of catechesis and so elected to cram into the text as much material about hell as he could. Such apparent rethinking of the scope of Meirlíno’s vision in order to

---

<sup>1</sup> This possibility squares with the hypothesis that the Irish versions of *VSP* – which were primarily focused on hell – may have had a considerable influence upon the composition of *FMh*.

cover more eschatological ground might also have been precipitated by a similar recognition which reinforces the theory that the story was first and foremost a vehicle for the catechesis which was the author's primary concern.

Whatever about this, with this Meirlíno's vision has come to an end as is signalled by the affirmation: "fúigfeadsa thú anois agus atá tú ar an tsaoghal... agus déana mar is toil leat ó so amach." (ll. 514-515)<sup>1</sup> The latter element of this statement – 'let you do as you please henceforth' – is catechetically significant in that it implicitly stresses the primacy of free will in the moral life of a Christian. The vision therefore should be understood as a matter of divine favour through which Meirlíno is shown what he must do in order to be saved while – in keeping with orthodox Christian morality – he is left to determine which of the two paths he will take.

### *Repentance*

The transition from the vision back to reality is effected by the appearance of a great mist which surrounds Meirlíno who, when this has cleared, finds himself back where the spirit – Uríno – first came to him. According to the rationale offered above, the fact that this place is now termed *the meeting of the two ways* implies that the breach in ordinary time which made Meirlíno's vision possible is now repaired. Indeed the recurrence of the theme of *the two ways* at this point reinforces the eschatological choice facing Meirlíno, namely, the choice of righteous living as the path to salvation or of continued sinfulness as the path to damnation. He has therefore arrived at the point of decision.

Now for all the supernatural content of the tale up to this point it is striking that Meirlíno's repentance is an entirely mundane affair. Indeed it is reasonable to

---

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting a similar example of leave-taking in *Críocha déigheannacha*: "Ann sin do rug an t-aingeal Pól leis ó amharc na glóire agus d'fhág é san áit a bhfuair é ó thus, d'fhág beannacht aige, agus d'imthigh go flaithis." (348)

infer that the simple step-by-step fashion in which this is detailed hints at an author well acquainted with the practical aspects of repentance. It is the case then that even if the otherworldly visions of hell, purgatory and heaven were given to Meirlíno alone the fundamental steps he took to amend his life – extreme and all as some of these were – could be imitated by anyone.

A certain peculiarity is evident, however, in respect of the theory that the story was intended to be a vehicle for Catholic catechesis, namely, the absence of any mention of a priest or sacramental confession in the account of Meirlíno's repentance. Even though a church besides which a river flows is identified as the location for his repentance there is no mention of a priest playing any role in his return to righteousness. It could be argued, of course, that certain aspects of the sacrament of penance are implied in this section. The reference, for instance, to Meirlíno's repentance as beginning with an unspecified period of reflection on the misdeeds of his past in the light of all he has seen could be interpreted as an implicit allusion to an examination of conscience,<sup>1</sup> while that his decision to repent was signalled the casting away of the tools of his violent past might also be taken as an expression in dramatic terms of a firm purpose of amendment which the spirit-guide had previously identified as one of the fundamental prerequisites for God's mercy.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the acts of mortification to which he subjected himself as he cried for forgiveness could be understood as expressions of genuine contrition while the news he received of God's forgiveness could represent the granting of absolution. Finally, the duty imposed upon him of revealing the details of his vision in an effort to encourage others to repent could be loosely interpreted as the penance which is imposed on him when he receives this absolution.

---

<sup>1</sup> "Agus annsin do smuain ar a drochbheatha féin, agus ar gach taispeánadh dá bhfaicis sé..." (ll. 518-519)

<sup>2</sup> "...óir ní iarronn Dia acht aithreachas fírinneach *maille re rún seasmhach gan tuiteam sa bpeacadh go bráth arís.*" (ll. 312-314)

Whatever about such possible inferences, the absence of any explicit reference to the sacrament or to a priest in a text of Catholic provenance remains curious especially in view of the fact that *SSA* – the probable influence of which on *FMh* seems obvious – so clearly affirms the necessity of sacramental confession as an integral part of the process of repentance.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the fact that at least one subsequent transcription of *FMh* contains an interpolation which alludes to this necessity – the version transcribed by Micheál o hÓunreacháine found in RIA 23 K 17 (1830) – suggests that its omission in the tale did not go entirely unnoticed:

As as é leighios bo coir do dheanamh ar sin: an tan do mhothaid duine an t-anam creachtaighte, an lot do thasbaint do cara an anama; is é sin an t-oide faoisidine. (*VM I*, 452)

Agus is é leigheas ba coir do dhéanamh ar sin, an tan do mhothóchadh duine an t-anam creachtuighthe: an lot do thaisbeánadh d’oide an anama; is é sin an t-oide faoistine. (*VM II*, 32)

The precise nature of the duty Meirlíno was to carry out is, of course, significant in terms of the entire story in that its fulfillment constitutes a neat conclusion as the bandit whose conversion was precipitated by the sermonizing of a *sweet-voiced preacher* ends up by being transformed into a *sweet-voiced clarion*:

do bhí ag éisteacht ris an tseanmóntaidh binnghlórach... (ll. 17-18)

Agus gurb eadh do dhéanais tú... imtheacht ar feadh na bpoibleach dá dteagasc agus do fhoilsiú dhóibh gacha a bhfaicis. (ll. 535-537)

---

<sup>1</sup> “As follus gurab iad na leagha san a habstoil 7 na sagairt thig ar a lorg ré a ndubhairt Críost ag trial do dhéanamh na deasgabhála dhó: ‘Glacuidh chugaibh an Spiorad Naomh. Gibé dá maithfigh sibh a pheacuidh, béid maithhe; agus, gibé dá nách maithfigh iad, ní bhíad maithhe aca.’ As na briathraibh si agus iomod eile don sgrioptúir do thuig ar naomhmháthair an eaglas go bhfuil ríamh do riachdanas ar an uile Chríostuidhe ó dhligheadh Dé faoisidin iomlán a pheacadh marbhtha do dhéanamh; ór as ionann cumas sgaoilte agus ceanguil peacadh do thabhairt do na sagartuibh tig ar lorg na n-apstol agus atá fá bhíocáire Chríost agus breitheamhuin do dhéanamh dhíobh ós cionn na bpeacach dochum a sgaoilti nó a neamhsgaoilte óna bpeacadhuibh agus dochum péine dlisdeanuighe do chor orra mar lóirghníomh ar a son.” (*SSA*, 59-60)

agus do bhaoi 'na bhuabhall bhinnghlórach ag teagasc agus ag tarraing na gCríostaidhe dochum Dé uilechumhachta agus nó go bhfuair bás naofa beannaidh. (ll. 537-539)

It should be noted that the motif of the visionary bearing witness to what he has witnessed is evident also in *Críocha déigheannacha*:

Do bhí Pól ar feadh a bheatha ag teagasg agus ag seanmóir dona puiblibh, agus do no cinidheachaibh, ar ghlóir fhlaithreas agus ar phiantaibh ifrinn. (Hyde, *op. cit.*, 348)

By way of summary then it is evident that the tale shows how Meirlíno, faced with the eschatological choice, has opted to take the path of righteousness. His story then is offered by the author – or catechesis – as an encouragement to his audience/readership to do likewise.

### *c. Conclusions*

#### *Literary skill of the author*

By means of this analysis of the content of *FMh* certain features have been brought to light which indicate that it is well within the bounds of probability that Owen O'Donnely the poet-priest – if such he was – was the author of the tale.

To begin with it is evident that the author of *FMh* was possessed of considerable literary ability in his creation of an engaging narrative as the vehicle for the propagation of an extensive range of theological material. The structure of the story, for instance, reveals the author's primary focus, namely, the transformation of the main character as as indicated in these statements from the beginning and the conclusion:

is amhlaidh do bhaoi an t-óglach sin, ba duine millteanach mallaidh é. (ll. 3-4)

Do rinne Meirlíno amhlaidh sin, agus do bhaoi 'na bhuabhall bhinnghlórach ag teagasc agus ag tarraing na gCríostaidhe dochum Dé uilechumhachta agus nó go bhfuair bás naofa beannaidh. (ll. 537-539)

With this rudimentary structure in mind it is also worth acknowledging the possibility of other such pairings occurring at certain points from the beginning and then towards the end of the tale:

*do leig ar a ghlúinibh* fear mar chách é agus do éist an tseanmóir ó thús go deireadh (ll. 16-17)

téid san abhainn agus *do leig ar a ghlúinibh* inte é (l. 522)

ag éisteacht ris an tseanmóntaidh binnghlórach *ag foilsíú* agus ag faisnéis (ll. 17-18)

Agus gurb eadh do dhéanais tú... imtheacht ar feadh na bpoibleach dá dteagasc agus *do fhoilsíú* dhóibh gacha a bhfaicis. (ll. 535-537)

do fuair *an ní fa hiongnadh* agus fa huafás *leis* ann .i. tinte agus teannála... (ll. 111-112)

do connairc Meirlíno an ní fa hiongnadh leis .i. cathair ábhal aibhseach... (459-460)

If such a chiasitic structure was intentionally built into the structure of *FMh* it seems evident that its centre point would have been the pivotal account of Meirlíno's realisation that for him it is not too late to repent:

ciodh dhamhsa nach déanainn aithreachas atá um cholainn daonna fós agus nach dtugadh [Dia] breatheamhnas damanta orm dá mbeinn ar an tsaoghal arís? (ll. 309-311)

This point is central in that it amounts to the primary message of the entire story – how it is necessary to repent during one's lifetime – and pivotal because it is then that the previously despondent Meirlíno acknowledges the possibility of his own salvation which is the first stage in his journey of repentance.

Whatever the author's initial plan may have been, it has been shown above that this plan may very well have been subject to alteration given his two 'attempts' to bring Meirlíno's vision to a conclusion alongside his decision to include visions of purgatory and heaven and sundry details in relation to the topography and governance of hell. Such attempts to make optimum use of the tale as a medium for catechesis, if such they were, suggest that the author's intention was to educate as well as to entertain which in turn suggests some type of pastoral interest in the mission of the Church.

It has also been shown above that the story contains significant portions of material which is close in form and content to material found in *VSP* and *SSA* and which is incorporated into the text by means of relatively simple literary devices. Accordingly, the section dealing with the punishment of the senses contains material which has much in common with certain features of *VSP* while material which is markedly similar to portions of *SSA* is found in the following section on the importance of timely repentance. The transition from the first of these sections to the next is effected by the simple device of having Meirlíno overhear a dialogue between two new characters. While acknowledging that this simple transition fulfils its basic function in the text, it is also worth recognising that the author could easily have created a better sense of continuity with what precedes it by simply placing the dialogue in question in the mouths of two of the slothful souls shackled on the red-hot beds. For whatever reason he opted not to do so. In a similar vein, the material concerning the punishment of deprivation as well as that dealing with the governance and topography of hell – which is also evident in external sources – is incorporated in the text by means of nothing more complicated than a series of question/answer dialogues between Meirlíno and the spirit-guide. One is left with the impression of an author – to use contemporary ideas – cutting and pasting pre-existing material for use in his own narrative. That said, even if the

transition between certain sections can be said to lack finesse the author has shown considerable literary acumen in successfully fusing this pre-existing devotional material into what is presumably his own material in order to create the story of Meirlíno.

*Theological skill of the author*

It is apparent from the range of theological material found in *FMh* that its author is well-informed in terms of Catholic Christian theology. It is clear also that his primary motive in the use of this material is pastoral in that it is all arranged so as to make the central point that it is necessary to repent before death. With this in mind then, through Meirlíno's story readers and listeners are acquainted with the fact that they, like the main character, must repent. Like him too they are faced with the choice of taking one of two ways and are informed of hell as the consequence of sinfulness and unrepentance, of heaven as the reward for repentance and righteousness and that purgatory awaits anyone who defers atonement.

In service of this plan, as has been pointed out, the author has made use of elements which are strikingly similar to material found in certain works of Irish provenance which pre-date *FMh*. The utilisation of a range of features found also in *VSP* – in whichever version quoted – hints at an author familiar with this longstanding local literary and devotional tradition while the various points of coincidence with *SSA* suggest an acquaintance with more contemporary material composed in an effort to facilitate and encourage the living of the Christian life in the difficult circumstances of 17<sup>th</sup> century Ireland. The inclusion of material, moreover, which seems clearly to have been influenced by certain passages from the book of Revelation likewise betrays an ease and familiarity with scripture. Taking all of this into account one can only conclude that the author was not only well-versed in religious matters but that his interest



was scholarly rather than simply devotional and that he appears to have received some formal training in theology.

If all of this does point to the author as someone trained in theology – as a priest for instance would have been – it should also be recalled that a close reading of the text reveals certain features which are somewhat out of step with the approach of the professional theologian. Attention has already been drawn, for instance, to the lack of reference to the sacrament of penance in the account of Meirlíno’s repentance. Alongside this it is worth highlighting that the manner in which the author refers to God lacks the precision one might expect in the work of someone trained in theology. God, of course, plays a significant background role in the narrative and features forty-three times in the text as either *Dia* or *Dé*. In contrast to this the more theologically nuanced term Trinity is used only once while nothing at all is said about the persons of the Trinity, Jesus, or the Holy Spirit. That said, given the doctrinal accuracy which pervades the entire text, such deficiencies could be justifiably interpreted as the corollary of author’s attempt to balance his role of theologian with that of being a storyteller so that he did not always achieve the degree of theological specificity which he would have done had he been solely concerned with writing an avowedly religious text.

#### *Pastoral sensibility of the author*

When speaking about the pastoral sensibility of the author it is important to bear in mind that this term is subject to two distinct interpretations. The term ‘pastoral’ then can be used of that body of knowledge concerning the Church’s activity in assisting the faithful in fulfilling their Christian obligations and which is set forth in works such as *SSA*. (Ó Doibhlin, op. cit. 280) Likewise it can also be applied to the activity of those who work directly with the faithful on the ground towards this same end. Scrutiny of *FMh* suggests that the author

was engaged in this latter type of pastoral activity while being capable of drawing from and using the intellectual fruit of the former type, at times making an obvious appeal to this body of pastoral knowledge while at others displaying a marked awareness of the condition and reactions of those souls in their care.

To begin with then, the very selection of material from a variety of sources – apocryphal and pastoral – and its incorporation in an engaging narrative to make it accessible to as wide an audience as possible implies a connection with the aforementioned body of pastoral knowledge. Indeed, the inclusion of specific passages as a corrective to certain misconceptions – such as the belief that purgatorial suffering is negligible – hints at an author eagerly drawing from this body of pastoral knowledge in order to set his audience right on this particular point.

Clues also exist, however, which suggest that the author was conscious of those who would have been exposed to his work. The decision to avoid the use of the technical terms ‘punishment of the senses’ and ‘punishment of loss’, for instance, suggests an appreciation of the need to communicate in simple terms rather than in terms potentially incomprehensible to his audience. Similarly, the apparent broadening of the parameters of the story to include material concerning purgatory and heaven and on the governance and topography of hell implies awareness of an audience in pressing need of catechesis in an era where the opportunities for such were strictly limited.

The author’s consciousness of his audience – born, one would suppose, of actual pastoral experience – is also evident in the sense of realism which informs Meirlíno’s reactions as certain points are made known to him. His attempt to rationalise and then dismiss what the preacher said about the fate of the unrepentant in hell, for instance, could very feasibly have been based upon a criticism with which an active pastor would have encountered in the field:

is eadh do thrácht ina mheanmain nárbh fhéidir gurbh fhírinneach é ar aon chor agus nach roibhe ina méad adeireadh an eaglas dá thaoibh sin, acht cluain agus mealladh agus milseacht do chum uamhain do chur ar na Críostaidhaibh agus beatha na heaglaise do bhuaibh díobh. (ll. 34-38)

This same sense of realism is evident also in the account of Meirlíno's repentance which, despite being precipitated by the supernatural phenomenon of the vision, is presented not as an instantaneous and magical affair but rather in mundane terms as a series of steps which lead from sinfulness to righteousness to which all of his audience could relate.

Some clue as to the pastoral standpoint of the author might also be derived from the occurrence of those techniques commonly used in preaching or apologetics. Even if the accurate and apposite use of the subject matter in question implies a pastor drawing from the body of theoretical pastoral knowledge it should be borne in mind that *FMh* differs from such material – such as *SSA* – in that it is not a straightforward exposition of certain aspects of pastoral theology but rather seeks to propagate these ideas in a form that is accessible and indeed palatable to the faithful. This in itself chimes with that basic function of the preacher to – as St Augustine would have it – ‘break the word’. In this sense the author of *FMh* might be understood as performing the role of the preacher as the interpreter of theological material for the benefit of an untrained audience. The occurrence of techniques associated with preaching then would appear to strengthen the probability that the text was less the work of the pastoral theoretician than of the practising pastor.

#### *Place and time of composition*

It has already been noted that both Macalister and Flower have pointed to the occurrence of exotic names and placenames in *FMh* as possibly indicating that the tale originated outside of Ireland. The fact that the text contains so many echoes of material found in earlier Irish texts – *VSP* and *SSA* – goes some way

to undermining this theory. The question remains, however, as to why names such as *Meirlíno*, *Uríno* and *Plutando* as well as the place-names Bohemia and Pragansa are found in the text. In this regard it is worth taking stock of how in the article following that in which he described the transcription of *FMh* in MS. BL Egerton 106 Flower offers an explanation for the presence of similarly exotic names in the prose tale *Eachtra Mhelora agus Orlando (EMO)*:

The names of the characters: Orlando son of Gustavus, Melora, Levander, Uranus, etc., are of a type familiar in English romances of the 17th cent. The early MS. tradition of the text is the same as for art. 22, [*FMh*] the earliest MS. recorded being T. C. D., H. 5. 28, written in 1679. It is therefore probably a 17th-cent. composition by some Irishman acquainted at first or second-hand with the Orlando Furioso. (Flower op. cit. 339)

Thus while acknowledging – in relation to article 23 (*EMO*) – that Irish authors habitually imported exotic names from foreign literature Flower fails to consider the possibility when it comes to article 22 (*FMh*) where it is at least plausible that the occurrence of this type of name in *FMh* might be due to this same phenomenon.

The possibility that the tale originated in Ireland is likewise strengthened by the many instances of features bearing a strong likeness to material found in pre-existing Irish texts. Indeed those elements which echo certain passages in *SSA* might also be of some in the dating of the tale. By way of sketching the parameters for this it is worth noting that *SSA* was published in 1618 (xxxii) while the version of *FMh* which appears in MS. TCD 1399 was most likely completed in 1680.<sup>1</sup> If then *SSA* was used as source material for *FMh* it follows

---

<sup>1</sup> The scribe appended dates in relation to three of the prose stories in the MS. so that “5 July 1679” is found on f. 18a at the end of transcription of *Ballan Congail*, “an 21 la do Mhí August 1679” on folio 39a at the end of *An Madra Maol* and “20. Sep. 1679” on f. 61a at the beginning of *Toruigheacht Gruaidhe grían-sholus* which follows immediately upon *Bruighean Eochaidh beig dheirg*. These dates indicate that the 42 folios comprising *An Madra Maol* were transcribed over 47 days – a rate of 0.9 folios per day. The 43 folios comprising *Bruighean Eochaidh beig dheirg* were transcribed over 30 – a rate of 1.4 folios per day. On the basis of these figures the scribe completed an average 1.15 folios per day so that we can estimate that he transcribed the 102 pages of *Toruigheacht Gruaidhe grían-sholus* in 89 days and could have finished on the 17 December 1679 and that he transcribed the 52 pages of *FMh* in 45 days, finishing around the end of January 1680.

that the tale was composed at some point between these two dates. Mac Aingil's work was already recognised as having a significant pastoral impact in Ireland by the mid-seventeenth century as is clear from Mooney's reference to a contemporary report:

San tuarascáil ar staid na hÉireann a scríobh sé le haghaidh an Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 5 Márta 1658, thug an tAthair Risteard Ó Fearghail an-mholadh don *Scáthán* agus do dhá leabhar eile as Lobbhain mar gheall ar an méid a rinneadar ar son oideachais na ndaoine agus leis an nGaeilge a choinneáil beo. (*SSA*: xi)

Taking this level of popularity at this time into account might allow for a narrowing of the parameters concerning dating so that it might be presumed that *FMh* would have been composed at some point between the mid-seventeenth century and 1680.

Another clue as to the possible time of origin of the story concerns the reference to a city called *Pragansa* (l. 54) which seems not to correspond to an actual place. By way of explaining how and why the author may have come up with such a place-name certain probabilities present themselves. To begin with it is to be expected that a Catholic writer in Ireland at this time would have been acquainted with the existence of the Irish Franciscan College in Prague which had been established in 1631. Similarly it seems likely that one as well-informed as to be capable of composing such a story would have been aware that the wife of the current monarch Charles II, who reigned from 1660-1685, was Catherine of Braganza of the Royal House of Portugal who notably was herself a Catholic. With these points in mind and given the apparent creativity of the author in relation to the nomenclature of the story it seems plausible that *Pragansa* is a conflation of the place-names Prague and Braganza which gives reason to narrow the parameters for the date of composition of *FMh* to some

point between 1660 and 1680.<sup>1</sup> This being so implies that the version of *FMh* found in MS. TCD 1399 was transcribed quite soon after the tale's point of origin.

*Fís Mheirlíno and 'Áluinn dún Mic Muire'*

According to this analysis of the text there are grounds for supposing that *FMh* was the work of an author of considerable literary ability – in terms of both prose and poetry – who had received some formal training in theology. In addition the manner in which certain points are couched hints at a desire to convey this material in a manner which is both palatable and accessible to the target audience which in turn suggests the probability of the author's pastoral engagement with the faithful. Finally those references to the Mass and purgatory make it clear that the author was a Catholic. All in all then we have in hand a profile which the aforementioned – and admittedly hypothetical – poet/priest Owen O'Donnely seems to fit.

The theory that O'Donnely was the author of *FMh* is further strengthened by the fact that the version found in MS. TCD 1399 is – as was pointed out above – immediately and apparently intentionally followed by the poem *ADMM* which has much in common with *FMh* in terms of language, structure and theme.

As regards language one encounters incidences in both of certain:

1. Words:

*nouns*: ádhbhadh, aoibhnios, aóidhche, criostal, domblas áe, ghlasaibh, million, palás, uathmhain; *verbal nouns*: cantain, chrádh, cúradh, foillsiugh, greadadh, gul, losgadh, sgúradh, thoireamh; *adjectives*: bréine, chinte, cumhann, nuáidhe, taitnimhach; *adverb*: cháoidh.

---

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that the form *Pragansa* is found in both of Lynch's transcription (MSS. TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106) but that Mac Sólaídh alters it to *Bragansa*. (MS. RIA 24 C 55, f. 196)

## 2. Turns of phrase:

do theilgion ann so arís *do mheall teintighe tineadh* (ll. 295-296)  
aig eirghe mar *mheallaibh tineadh* (v. 33)

is oruinn atá *méad gach deacair* (l. 216)  
sann ta *méad gach dochair* (v. 24), Is ortha tá *méad gach dochair* (v. 30)

is *tinte fúinn ar lasadh* (l. 281)  
is *tinte fútha air lasadh* (v. 31)

*tinte agus teannála* (l. 112)  
*tinte agus teannala* (v. 22)

## 3. Morphological and orthographical features:

*morphology*: gníomha, milltigh, nimhe, pérladh, phiantaibh, phiánaibh, rígh, tineadh, troisge; *orthography*: cruitheadh, mallaidh, foillsiugh.

## 4. Similar verses:

Féch air lucht an lán chraóis. nach gnáitheadh denamh troisge.  
*gorta is ióta* is amhgar. *sgach ball díobh da losgadh*. (v. 32)

In éiric an bhídh nár locas. is olcas do nighinn *troscadh*.  
Tá *gorta mór is iota*. is biam chaoidhche *dár loscadh*. (ll. 246-247)

As regards the general structure of the poem it is worth taking account of the correspondence between certain groupings of verses and particular sections of *FMh*.

1. Verses 7-10 and ll. 474-484, 494-509 of *FMh* – description of the inhabitants of heaven.
2. verses 12-19 and ll. 459-474, 487-494 of *FMh* – make-up and character of heaven
3. verses 21-34 and ll. 140-289 of *FMh* – characteristics of hell and the seven deadly sins.

To remain with the question of structure it is worth recognising that *ADMM* involves a layered complexity according to which as well as holding forth on

“the subject of heaven and hell and the seven deadly sins” (*Comhairle*: 34) it also features an account of an eye-witness who has actually seen these things.<sup>1</sup> This is significant in that it raises the possibility that *ADMM* could have been a poetic articulation of Meirlíno’s duty to make manifest his supernatural experience. If valid, such an interpretation would add much force to the argument that one author was responsible for the two texts. Whatever about this, however, behind both *FMh* and *ADMM* lies a creative skill whereby theological content is conveyed in the context of distinct literary frameworks. In *FMh* such content is set forth in the narrative of Meirlíno’s conversion while in *ADMM* it is presented as the testimony of a witness reporting what he has seen. Such skill is redolent of the kind of sophistication which Rainey attributes to the author of *Comhairle*:

The **Comhairle** may safely be read at various levels. On the basic level, it is a story within a story; the advice of Mac Clave merely forms a framework for the anecdote about the farmer’s son and the bishop, which, as Douglas Hyde’s translation shows, can stand on its own. (1981: 99)

The similarities between these two works, while not constituting incontrovertible evidence of common authorship and consequently that Owen O’Donnelly was the author of *FMh*, does go some way to strengthen the probability that this may very well have been the case. What is clear is that these texts are related even if the precise nature of this relationship has not yet been established. It can be stated with certainty, however, that they come across as variations on a theme in that while each has its own distinct form both seem to have been created using the same linguistic, thematic and theological palette. Again the probability that they were both the work of a well-educated and erudite Irish priest engaged in ‘breaking the word’ for his flock seems likely and indeed that Owen O’Donnelly may have been their author seems at least within the bounds of probability.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vv. 11, 20, 28-34 and 36 of *ADMM* as it appears in MS. TCD 1399, ff. 127a-128b.



## 5. PREVIOUS EDITIONS

As was stated above only two editions of *FMh* exist and both of these by the same editor, R.A.S. Macalister. The first – *VM I* – was published in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* in 1903 while a revised version appeared as the book *VM II* two years later. In *VM I* one finds a more scholarly approach in that it contains a rudimentary editorial policy and gives a more perspicuous account the variations found in the sources on which this edition was based. *VM II* seems merely to have been an attempt to make a more readable story available without any details as to the methodology employed by the editor.<sup>1</sup>

In relation to *VM I* Macalister states that he made use of fourteen manuscripts of varying quality which he lists alphabetically **A-Q**.<sup>2</sup> By way of highlighting his less than fastidious approach to this aspect of his work, it is worth noting that Macalister omits the letters **I** and **O** from his list of sources and that even though **N** does appear in the list it is not found amongst those he examined in relation to his primary source nor among those which he simply read through. (*VM I*: 396-397) The primary source in question is MS. RIA 24 C 55 which was transcribed by Seón Mac Solaidhe [Seán Mac Solaidh henceforth] in 1713,<sup>3</sup> with which Macalister made a word for word comparison with MSS. **B, G, H, K, L** and **Q**. In addition to this he relates that he read through MSS. **C, D, E, F, M** and **P** and recorded the most important variations. He gives no indication as to how he viewed textual variations. What he had to say concerning MS. **A**, MS. RIA 24 C 55 [Mac Solaidh henceforth] in this regard is ambivalent at best: “This is the *best* and *oldest* MS. known to me, and I have used it as a standard

<sup>1</sup> “Those who wish for information as to the manuscripts on which this version is based and their numerous but not very interesting divergencies of reading, may be referred to the *Zeitschrift* edition, where these details are set out.” (*VM II*: 3).

<sup>2</sup> **A** = RIA 24 C 55, **B** = RIA 23 A 45, **C** = RIA 23 L 24, **D** = RIA 23 C 5, **E** = RIA 23 L 29, **F** = RIA 23 L 12, **G** = RIA 23 M 21, **H** = RIA 23 Q 18, **K** = RIA 23 B 8, **L** = RIA 23 K 17, **M** = RIA 23 A 44, **N** = RIA 23 M 41, **P** = RIA 23 B 25, **Q** = B.M. [BL] Eg. 140.

<sup>3</sup> The date quoted above – 1713 – is that which appears in the manuscript itself (f. 216) while Macalister erroneously dates this transcription as 1718. *VM I*: 396.

text.” (396)<sup>1</sup> His use of the superlative ‘best’ in this case might be taken to suggest that were a later but better manuscript available he may have selected it as his primary source even if it had, to some extent, departed “from the form impressed upon it by its original author”. (Sutherland, *op. cit.* 44) The use of the superlative ‘oldest’, however, could also be taken as an indication that he appreciated the importance of a source with a close connection to its author and which was, therefore, as free as possible from variations.

In both editions Maclister remains by and large faithful to the text as he found it in Mac Solaidh and his other source material apart from one notable exception. In this case an editorial intervention is found which betrays a desire to create a degree of uniformity missing from his sources. Specifically this concerns his fashioning out of prose a verse to offset the absence – already pointed out – of a verse in which the punishment in store for those who died in the sin of pride is summarised. Accordingly in Mac Solaidh he finds “a neiric anardaighidh, agus an leatrom, na masla agus an mhimeas do bhi aca ar dáoinibh uirisle”. (ff. 200-201) which he renders:

I n-eiric an árd-aignidh Is an leathrom na masla  
Is an mhí-mheas do bhí aca Ar daoinibh uirisle (*VM I*: 414)

I n-eiric a n-árd-aignidh  
Is an leathruim, na masla  
Is an mhí-mheasa do bhí  
aca ar daoinibh uiríse (*VM II*: 13)

Whatever about the reason for this intervention the following statement reveals that he did not intend to conceal it from his reader: “this stanza is given as prose in all MSS. and variously corrupted.” (*VM I*: 414)

---

<sup>1</sup> My italics.

When all is said and done, however, perhaps the most pertinent factor concerning Macalister's editing of *FMh* is the fact that he did not use the earliest known version of the tale, that is, the version which would have been closest in form to the tale as it left the hands of its author. This is crucial when one considers the status his editions have enjoyed since their publication, recognised as they were as the primary point of access for anyone interested in *FMh*. Those who turned thus to Macalister then would miss data peculiar to earlier transcriptions which would have something to say about authorship and origins such, for instance, as the significance of the tale's juxtaposition with *ADMM* in MS. TCD 1399. Similarly, being based primarily on Mac Solaidh which itself appears to have been based – either directly or indirectly – on the scribal efforts of William Lynch – reference to whom will follow – means that any errors on Lynch's part have become embedded in Macalister's editions as the following table shows.

TCD 1399	RIA 24 C 55	<i>VM I</i>	<i>VM II</i>
ionnus go mbíadh dearbtha nar bhíóir no <b>nar bheadh, gach</b> andubairt an diadhgaire	ionnus go ma fíor dó <b>an breagach andubhart</b> an diadhaire	ionnus go mba fios do <b>an bréagach a ndubhairt</b> an diadhaire (402)	ionnas go mbadh fios dó <b>an bréagach a ndubhairt</b> an diadhaire (7)
air mbeith air an <b>ccomhradh</b> sin daibh	ar mbheadh ar an <b>ccomhairle</b> sin dóibh	Ar mbeith ar an <b>gcómhairle</b> sin dhoibh (402)	Iar mbeith ar an <b>gcomhairle</b> sin dóibh (8)

## 6. THE MANUSCRIPTS

In an effort to offset the impact of such deficiencies this present edition will be based on the three extant versions of the tale which predate Macalister's primary source.

*MS. TCD 1399*: DUBLIN, TRINITY COLLEGE MS. H. 5. 28. (#1399), fols. 112a-125b, the scribe responsible for which is unknown. This version although dated

1679 is unlikely to have been transcribed until 1680 at the earliest.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, incomplete in that the folio containing the ending – fol. 126 – is missing. This MS. is in paper book form and measures 20cm (7¾ inches) by 15cm (6 inches). The original catalogue number – H 5 28 – is embossed horizontally in gold leaf on the spine. It was donated to Trinity College library by John O’Donovan in 1845 and contains 189 folios, recto and verso. Reference has already been made to the fact that the first six of these are missing as also are two other folios from the body of the work, namely, ff. 126 and 184. (Abbott & Gwynn 1921: 263-265) Alongside the fact, as was also stated above, that the absence of ff. 1-6 is significant since these may have held information concerning the scribe and the place of transcription, the absence of f. 126 is arguably even moreso given that it contained the conclusion of *FMh* and possibly also information concerning the author and the origins of the tale.

In terms of content MS. TCD 1399 is comprised of six prose tales and twenty-six poems. The six tales are *Ballan Congail (BC)* the beginning of which is missing, *An Madra Maol (MM)*, *Bruighean Eochaidh beig dheirg (BEBD)*, *Toruigheacht Gruaidhe grían-sholus (TGG)*, *Story of Merlino Maligno (FMh)*, and *Adventures of Melora and Orlando (EMO)*. (ibid. 263) Once more, as was alluded to above, twenty-five of the twenty-six poems are grouped together in the MS. after *EMO* while the remaining poem ‘Aluinn dún mhic Muire’ ascribed to “Eogan O’Donnelly” has been grouped among the prose stories between *FMh* and *EMO*. (ibid.)

---

<sup>1</sup> The scribe appended dates in relation to three of the prose stories in the MS. so that “5 July 1679” is found on f. 18a at the end of transcription of *Ballan Congail*, “an 21 la do Mhí August 1679” on folio 39a at the end of *An Madra Maol* and “20. Sep. 1679” on f. 61a at the beginning of *Toruigheacht Gruaidhe grían-sholus* which follows immediately upon *Bruighean Eochaidh beig dheirg*. These dates indicate that the 42 folios comprising *An Madra Maol* were transcribed over 47 days – a rate of 0.9 folios per day. The 43 folios comprising *Bruighean Eochaidh beig dheirg* were transcribed over 30 – a rate of 1.4 folios per day. On the basis of these figures the scribe completed an average 1.15 folios per day so that we can estimate that he transcribed the 102 pages of *Toruigheacht Gruaidhe grían-sholus* in 89 days and could have finished on the 17 December 1679 and that he transcribed the 52 pages of *FMh* in 45 days, finishing around the end of January 1680.

It is worth noting that this MS. is not insignificant in relation to 17<sup>th</sup> century Irish literature in that it contains the earliest known instances of *BEED*, *TGG* and *EMO*, all of which were used as the primary sources for the printed editions of these pieces executed by Máire Ní Mhuireasa, Cecile O’Rahilly, A.M. Draak and Máire Mhac an tSaoi respectively.<sup>1</sup> Similarly it contains “the oldest version of one of the three distinct types into which [Eachtra an Mhadra Mhaoil] ...evolved after almost two centuries.” (*OM*: 4)

**MS. TCD 1335:** DUBLIN, TRINITY COLLEGE MS. H. 3. 16. (#1335), fols. 1-23, written by William O’Linchy – the William Lynch mentioned above – and dated 1697. This transcription which has clearly been based on MS. TCD 1399 is complete. As with MS. TCD 1399 it is followed by *EMO* (‘Adventures of Orlando, son of the king of Thessaly, and Melora, daughter of Arthur, king of the world’) although lacking *ADMM* between them.<sup>2</sup>

**MS. BL EGERTON 106:** LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS. Egerton 106, fols. 134-142, written by William Lynch. This is a composite manuscript dated 1715-1717 and “[w]ritten in cos. Dublin and Meath by William Lynch, Richard Tipper, Seón Mac Solaimh and Edward O’Reilly”. (Flower, op. cit. 329) Concerning the date of this transcription of *FMh* Flower asserts: “The present copy is probably, like that by the same scribe in T. C. D., H. 3. 16, to be dated in the late 17th cent.” (ibid. 338) This transcription is incomplete in that it lacks the beginning of the tale as it appears MS. TCD 1399 – fols. 112a and 112b – as well as the folio, verso and recto, containing that portion of the story beginning the spirit-guide’s assurance that he would bring Meirlíno back to life and ending

---

<sup>1</sup> Ní Shéaghda, Nessa, and Máire Ní Mhuirgheasa (eagí). 1941, *Trí bruidhne*, Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, O’Rahilly, Cecile. eag. 1924. *Tóruigheacht Gruaidhe Griansholus: The Pursuit of Gruaidh Ghriansholus*. London, Pub. for the Irish Texts Society by Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, Draak, A.M.E. eag. 1946. “Orlando agus Melora.” *Béaloideas* 16. 3-48, Mhac an tSaoi, Máire. eag. 1946. *Dhá sgéal Artúraíochta: mar atá Eachtra Mhelóra agus Orlando agus Céilidhe Iosgaide Léithe*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

<sup>2</sup> Abbott & Gwynn, op. cit.125.

with the description of his vision of the women who died in the sin of lust.<sup>1</sup> Like MS. TCD 1335 it also contains the ending of the tale which is lacking in MS. TCD 1399.

**MAC SOLAIDH:** DUBLIN, RIA MS. 24 C 55, fols. 193-216, written by Seón Mac Solaidh in Harmanstown in the parish of Stackallan, Co. Meath in 1713. Given Mac Solaidh's association with the Ó Neachtain circle of scribes and specifically with Richard Tipper it seems likely that MS. BL Egerton 106 may have been his immediate source for this transcription of *FMh* since this composite MS. contains the work of Tipper,<sup>2</sup> Mac Solaidh,<sup>3</sup> as well as the aforementioned copies of *FMh* and *EMO* by Lynch.<sup>4</sup> Although it was not used as a source for this present edition that it was Macalister's primary source rendered it valuable as a yardstick according to which the distinction between this and the more primitive version in MSS. TCD 1339, 1335 and BL Egerton 106 could be quantified.

#### LATER COPIES

In order to ascertain whether more than one type of the tale exists a cursory examination of the following representative sample of witnesses from various stages in the transmission history was undertaken:

BELFAST, MS. Bryson MacAdam XI, pages 1-23, 28-32 written by Laurence Mac Daniel in 1714.

DUBLIN, RIA MS. 23 D 32, pages 46-71 written by Lucás Ó Dubhthuigh in 1717.

---

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that the numbering of the folios of MS. BL Egerton 106 does not take account of this absent material which would have appeared between f. 135b and f. 136a. This material is found between the end of folio 115b and a few lines into folio 117a in MS. TCD 1399.

<sup>2</sup> Flower 1926: 329-341, articles 1-19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, articles 20-21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, articles 22-24.

GALWAY, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, Hyde MS. 7, pages 221-230, 233-254, written by Charles Byrne in County Leix in 1735.

DUBLIN, RIA MS. 23 A 45, pages 29-38 written by Muiris Mac Gorman in 1745.

DUBLIN, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, Franciscan MS. A 39, pages 345-379 written by Pattrig Ua Cathalan in 1790.

DUBLIN, ST PATRICK'S COLLEGE, DRUMCONDRA MS. 1, pages 179-204 written in 1798 by Micheál Ó Briain.

DUBLIN, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, Franciscan MS. A 40, pages 36-58 written by Sylvester Gibney in 1819

DUBLIN, RIA MS. 24 B 32 , fols. 85-109 written, it is believed, in Cork by the sons of Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in 1843.

## 7. RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS

By way of establishing the most appropriate sources to be used towards the eventual creation of a critical edition of *FMh* and in order to provide a corrective to Macalister's failure to use the earliest known source of *FMh* an attempt was made to try to trace the most likely steps back in the transmission progress from his primary source – Mac Solaidh – to MS. TCD 1399. In this way the difference between this most primitive version c. 1680 and MS. RIA 24 C 55 which appeared some thirty-three years later. In addition attention was focused on the question of whether there was any evidence in the available source material that more than one type of the story exists.<sup>1</sup> In the case of *FMh*, however, scrutiny of the above-listed MSS. revealed that the variations which crop up from version to version amount to nothing more significant than

---

<sup>1</sup> See the overviews in Fraistat, Flanders: 2013.

differences in spelling, attempts to improve how the text reads, the occurrence of errors and so forth, all of which are to be expected in this particular form of transmission. They do not, however, suggest the occurrence of anything that which would alter the basic form of the story thereby implying that separate types of the story exist.

*Relationship between MS. TCD 1399, MSS. TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106 and Mac Solaidh*

The task of tracing the steps between MS. TCD 1399 and Mac Solaidh is, as it happens, a simple one in that it involves only consideration of two MSS. – TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106. The starting point for exploration of the relationship between these concerns the penmanship of the scribe of MS. TCD 1399. The following description by A.M. Draak of the transcription of the contiguous work *EMO* makes it clear that this scribe was an accomplished copyist:

The anonymous scribe of H 5. 28 wrote an attractive and legible hand, flowing with a pleasing rhythm and beautifully spaced. He had a thorough knowledge of Irish, and he did not write mechanically, with his mind elsewhere: the errors and corrections in (this part of) the MS. are not numerous. (*OM*: 14-15).

Such proficiency stands in marked contrast to the scribal activity of William Lynch who was responsible for the transcription from MS. TCD 1399 of *FMh* and *Eachtra Mhelora agus Orlando* in MS. TCD 1335 which in turn was the source for a further copy of these two pieces in MS. BL Egerton 106. These transcriptions are crucial, of course, to this present inquiry as they contain the ending of the story missing from MS. TCD 1399 and so make possible the reconstruction of the tale's ending. Their utility in this respect is strengthened in view of Lynch's particular *modus operandi* as a scribe which is described as follows by Draak:



Now about Lynch and the way in which he copied *Orlando agus Melora* we can detect quite a lot. He was a thorough conservative as to the subject-matter of the story, he wrote like a type-setter (i.e. only seeing words, not reading their sequence), and he was in a great hurry-on both occasions. Moreover, at all times, he must have been a bad speller. (*OM*: 15)

Such traits, as will become clear below, are evident also in his transcription of *FMh*. Now the fact that Lynch's work is peppered with inaccuracies and errors – whether due to a limited command of the language or because he was in a hurry – means that it is to be expected that the form that many individual words take will not correspond to the form they took in in MS. TCD 1399. That said, his tendency to reproduce his source material more or less word for word means that one can be fairly confident that what has been reproduced in MSS. TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106 will be an accurate representation of what appeared in the original text in terms of its general shape, vocabulary and content. This being so the reconstruction of the ending of *FMh* can be realised using Lynch's transcriptions as source albeit alongside the correction of any obvious errors. By way of highlighting what this latter task will entail, the following table shows that the flaws highlighted by Draak in relation to Lynch's transcriptions of *EMO* were evident also in the copies he made of *FMh* while also giving an indication of the major types of weakness involved.

### 1. Omission of certain words or phrases

MS. TCD 1399	andiamhraibh coillteach <b>agus currach</b> aít... f.112a
MS. TCD 1335	an diamhraibh coilltach, aít... f.1
MS. TCD 1399	agus díabhal <b>duth dathghranna na shuidhe air gualainn gach aoindíobh</b> agus sgiúrsa teintighe ina láimh f.116a
MS. TCD 1335	agus díabhal ^ agus sgiúrsa teintidhe ina láimh f. 7 <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The insertion of the circumflex at this point in MS. TCD 1335 suggests that the scribe was aware of his omission and perhaps marked the text with a view to inserting the missing words at some future point.

## 2. Insertion of incorrect word

MS. TCD 1399	re <b>trosgadh</b> agus re deirc f.125b
MS. TCD 1335	re <b>tsaoghal</b> , agus re deirc f. 21
MS. BL Egerton 106	re <b>tsaoghal</b> , agus re deirc f. 142a

## 3. Change of word order

MS. TCD 1399	<b>do táinic</b> go deimin air an Spiorad f.120b
MS. TCD 1335	go deimhin ar an spioraid <b>do thainic</b> f.14
MS. BL Egerton 106	Go deimhin (ar an spiorad) <b>do thainic</b> f.138b

## 4. Duplication of errors <sup>1</sup>

MS. TCD 1399	<b>maallaidh</b> f.112a
MS. TCD 1335	<b>maalltach</b> f.16
MS. BL Egerton 106	-
MS. TCD 1399	<b>anglauibh</b> = <i>i nglasaibh</i> f.113a
MS. TCD 1335	<b>anglauibh</b> f.12
MS. BL Egerton 106	<b>anglauibh</b> f.137b

## 5. Inaccurate expansion of scribal contractions <sup>2</sup>

MS. TCD 1399	<b>amhlaidh</b> f.112a
MS. TCD 1335	<b>amhlath</b> f.1
MS. BL Egerton 106	-
MS. TCD 1399	<b>corróine</b> f.112b
MS. TCD 1335	<b>coiroíne</b> f.2
MS. BL Egerton 106	-
MS. TCD 1399	do <b>ghabail</b> f.114a
MS. TCD 1335	do <b>ghabhaim</b> f.4

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted, however, that Lynch did manage to correct at least some of these errors he encountered: i.e.

MS. TCD 1399	MS. TCD 1335	MS. BL Egerton 106
anifrionn f.123a	anifrionn f.17	anifrionn f.140a
rioght f.123a	rioghacht f.17	rioghacht f.140a

<sup>2</sup> It is worth mentioning also that the scribe of MS. TCD 1399 was liberal in his use of scribal contractions as he went about his task. Referring to his version of *TGG* found in this MS., Cecile O’Rahilly judges it to be “highly contracted” (*TGG*: xxviii). The expansion of these contractions was one area which Lynch would find particularly challenging.

MS. BL Egerton 106	<i>doghabhaim</i> , f.135a
<b>MS. TCD 1399</b>	<i>ngearngreadadh</i> f.119a
MS. TCD 1335	<i>ngeirngreadach</i> f.12
MS. BL Egerton 106	<i>ngeirngreadach</i> f.137b

6. *Tendency to leave spaces when doubtful as to the correct expansion of contractions*

<b>MS. TCD 1399</b>	<i>qg</i> = <i>chuige</i> f.118a
MS. TCD 1335	'___' f.10
MS. BL Egerton 106	∅ f.136a
<b>MS. TCD 1399</b>	<i>amus</i> f.118b
MS. TCD 1335	'___' f.11
MS. BL Egerton 106	∅ f.137a
<b>MS. TCD 1399</b>	<i>tug</i> = t surmounted by 'cc' f.125b
MS. TCD 1335	'___' f.21
MS. BL Egerton 106	do <i>thug</i> f.142a

7. *Erroneous spelling*

<b>MS. TCD 1399</b>	a <i>bfhlaithios</i> dé f.122a
MS. TCD 1335	a <i>bhfuilidhis</i> dé f.16
MS. BL Egerton 106	a <i>bhfhuilidhis</i> dé f.139b
<b>MS. TCD 1399</b>	do <i>bhadar</i> f.113a
MS. TCD 1335	do <i>bháidher</i> f.3
MS. BL Egerton 106	-
<b>MS. TCD 1399</b>	<i>lánmaiseacha</i> f.113b
MS. TCD 1335	-
MS. BL Egerton 106	<i>lanmaisathach</i> f.4

As regards the reconstruction of the missing portion of the tale defective elements will be corrected silently on the basis of a familiarity with the

language used in the tale as it appears in MS. TCD 1399 as well as with the idiom of the early modern Irish period in general.

*Mac Solaidh MS. RIA 24 C 55*

It seems clear that Mac Solaidh's transcription is related to Lynch's work in that he repeats two of the flaws found in MSS. TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106 as the following table shows.<sup>1</sup>

TCD 1399	TCD 1335	BL Eg. 106	RIA 24 C 55
ionnus go mbíadh dearbtha nar bhíór no <b>nar bheadh, gach</b> andubairt an diadhgaire	ionnas go mbíadh dearbtha, nar bhfíór no <b>nar bhreagach</b> a ndubhairt an diadhghuire	ionnas go mbíadh dearbtha, nar bhfíór no <b>nar bhreagach</b> a ndubhairt an diadhghuire	ionnus go ma fíor dó <b>an breagach andubhart</b> an diadhgaire
air mbeith air an <b>ccomhradh</b> sin daibh	air mbéidh ar an <b>ccomhairle</b> sin dáibh	air mbéidh ar an <b>ccomhairle</b> sin dáibh	ar mbheadh ar an <b>ccomhairle</b> sin dóibh

An examination of Mac Solaidh's scribal endeavour reveals that his mode of transcription differed from that of Lynch in that he did not simply duplicate his source material word for word. and that his work contains the types of variations which one would expect in such manual transmission, namely, minor points concerning spelling, grammar and dialect. The text, moreover, has been altered to a certain degree through the rewriting and correction of certain elements as well by the introduction of larger passages, alternative words, phrases or sentences which did not appear in the three preceding transcriptions. Accordingly, it is in this version that one encounters the first appreciable departure from the form of the story as it appeared in the earliest version even if, it should be stressed, the fundamental structure remains unchanged. Since

<sup>1</sup> These variations are found in all the manuscript forms of the tale which I examined which would suggest that Mac Sólaigh's version had a significant influence on the transmission of the story over the years. They are also retained in both of Macalister's editions: "...ionnus go mba fios do an bréagach a ndubhart an dhiadhgaire..." (VM I: 402), "...ionnas go mbadh fios do an mbréagach a ndubhairt an diadhgaire..." (VM II: 7); "Ar mbeith ar an gcómhairle sin dhoibh..." (VM I: 402), "Iar mbeith ar an gcomhairle sin dóibh..." (VM II: 8)

the variations found therein would achieve a definite prominence due to being embedded in Macalister's editions some analysis of Mac Solaidh's scribal practice is apposite.

If Lynch did approach his task in the manner of a type-setter it might be claimed that Mac Solaidh approached his as an editor with the confidence to make such changes into the text as would enhance, correct or clarify it. This is evident, for instance, in the passage concerning the rage and jealousy suffered by the damned at their judgement. In MS. TCD 1399 it is reported that these feelings are evoked by the sight of family and neighbours entering into the eternal bliss which they – the damned – have forfeited. In MS. RIA 24 C 55, however, a description of approximately 560 words is inserted into this passage which relates how these souls also see the three persons of the Holy Trinity enthroned in the heavenly court while being adored by angels, prophets and apostles and then see their family and neighbours entering glory.<sup>1</sup> Again, the insertion of this passage, however, does not affect the fundamental structure and form of this part of the story but simply embellishes what appears in more rudimentary terms in MS. TCD 1399.

Similarly, in the report of the affirmation that God will be merciful to anyone who truly repents, MS. TCD 1399 reads:

de bhrígh nach bhfuil Dia ag iarraidh ar an bpeacach acht aithreachas fírinneach as doimhneach a chraoidhe, dá mhéad peacadh do dhéanadh sé. (ll. 299-301)

This same point is made In MS. RIA 24 C 55 but is embellished as follows:

do bhrígh nach bfuil Dia diárraidh ar an bpeacach acht aithrígh fhírinneach, agus is deimhin da mhéad peacadh dhá bfuil ar dhuine ar bith, madh iarrann (madh iarrann) trócuire go bhfuighidh se trócaire. (f. 206)

---

<sup>1</sup> MS. RIA 24 C 55, ff. 207-208.

A further example of textual enhancement involves the duty imposed on Meirlíno of making known what he saw in order to bring souls back to God. In MS. TCD 1399 this is reported as follows:

Do rinne Meirlíno amhlaidh sin, agus do bhaoi 'na bhuabhall bhinnghlórach ag teagasc agus ag tarraing na gCríostaidhe dochum Dé uilechumhachta agus nó go bhfuair bás naofa beannaidh. (ll. 536-538)

MS. RIA 24 C 55, however, does not mention his death and refers to God in trinitarian terms as the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit:

is ann sin deirigh Merlino amhail daithnigh an spiorad eolach dho, agus do bhí ó sin amach (ar feadh abheatha) na bhuabhall bhinn ghlórach, ag teagasg, agus ag tarraing na ccriosduighthe don athair, don mac, agus don spiorad naomh. (f. 216)

It is self-evident that such variations introduce changes into the text which begs the question, should such alterations be viewed positively or negatively. Accordingly, if one places value on that version of the text most closely linked with the author and which presumably best communicates authorial intention then variations found in subsequent versions would be viewed negatively as undermining the purity of the earlier text and obscuring these intentions. (Lernout, 2013: 66-67) On the other hand, however, if one understands the text as a “living organism” which develops as it is transmitted from version to version then variations will be seen as positive developments which improve or even complete the text.<sup>1</sup>

One might explore this question further in relation to *FMh* with reference to those two passages of significant length which occur in that later version of the tale which was written by Micheál o hÓunreacháine in 1830 – MS. RIA 23 K 17. Both passages are found in Macalister’s editions although Macalister did

---

<sup>1</sup> Sutherland quotes W.W. Greg’s pronouncement that a text is “a living organism which in its descent through the ages, while it departs more and more from the form impressed upon it by its original author, exerts, through its imperfections as much as through its perfections, its own influence upon its surroundings”. Sutherland 2013: 44-45.

take care to distinguish them from the remainder of the text by including them as appendices in *VM I* (448-455) and placing them within square brackets in *VM II* (4, 20-21, 31-33). This along with his description of this material as “full of interpolations and strange readings” show that thought it necessary to distinguish these from the the story proper.<sup>1</sup>

The first concerns the dialogue between the two souls in which the necessity of repentance before death is pointed out. In MS. TCD 1399 this point is made in a simple dialogue where the hope of one soul – that he would repent and be forgiven were he alive for a quarter of an hour – is dashed by his companion’s reminder him that repentance is only possible in one’s lifetime. In MS. RIA 23 K 17 the second soul’s riposte is augmented by an elaborate description of how they were both responsible for their present predicament since they knew that what they did was wrong but chose to sin anyway. Similarly reference is made to the role the devil’s deception played in their damnation especially his enticing them not to confess their sins in the sacrament of penance.

The second passage concerns the exchange between Meirlíno and the spirit-guide when they came back to the meeting of the two ways at the end of the story. Whereas in MS. TCD 1399 the spirit-guide simply informs Meirlíno that his fate is now in his own hands, in MS. RIA 23 K 17 he offers advice to Meirlíno – in terms redolent of a spiritual director – pointing to the need to repent as soon as possible. The spiritual wound that sin inflicts on the soul is likened to the impact of a physical wound on the body with the implication that just as a physical wound should be treated as soon as possible lest deterioration or death occur, so also with a spiritual wound. The spiritual treatment proposed

---

<sup>1</sup> “This text is full of peculiar readings and interpolations, and the orthography is very bad.” (*VM I*: 397) “Two lengthy passsages (in Sections 17, 25) which occur in one manuscript only - a manuscript full of interpolations and strange readings have been retained, as they contain some words and grammatical constructions not otherwise illustrated in the text... .” (*VM II*: 3)

in this case is the sacramental confession of one's sins at the earliest opportunity.

The final part of this excerpt involves the reworking of the affirmation that the rehabilitated Meirlíno would draw people to God through publicly testifying to his supernatural experience. While in MS. TCD 1399 this was introduced as a duty imposed upon Meirlíno when he received the tidings that God had forgiven him in MS. RIA 23 K 17 it is expressed as a spontaneous desire which rose with him in response to this news. The spirit-guide then affirms that thus it would be for Meirlíno but declares that those who heard this testimony would then have to decide whether or not they would accept and act upon it.

To return to the question posed above, should these questions be viewed negatively as corrupting the original story or positively as improving a deficient narrative? To begin with, even if Macalister thought them to be 'strange' and 'peculiar' these interpolations are not incompatible with a tale centred on the notion of repentance. That they both emphasize the importance of sacramental confession in the process of repentance could be taken as an indication that their originator considered the story he received to be less explicit on this subject than it should have been. Likewise, the reframing of Meirlíno's testimony as a spontaneous desire – rather than a duty imposed – could reflect a similar judgement that true repentance should result in a desire to witness to one's return to righteousness for the benefit of others. In these respects then it is plausible that these variations could be interpreted positively as improving a story which may have been considered to be theologically flimsy. The same could be said of the type of variation found in Mac Solaidh. An argument might be made for the retention of such variations in the creation of a critical edition of *FMh* on the grounds that they make for a text which is more explicit and confessionally complete – as with the more comprehensive picture of the heavenly court in Mac Solaidh and the material stressing the importance of



sacramental confession in MS. RIA 23 K 17. This present project, however, is focused on properly contextualising such a critical edition by determining the more primitive form of the story which provides the framework around and into which future variations were placed.

In three instances, however, use is made of Mac Solaidh's transcription in order to solve certain difficulties which occur in MS. TCD 1399, namely, (i) the replacement of *féidir* with *éigean* in the following examples – “do bhádar mórán de dhaoibh bochta uiríseal táinic sa ród sin darbh *éigean* an bealach do sheachna”, (ll. 78-78)<sup>1</sup> “Dá bhrígh sin, *dob'éigean* dona daoibh uiríseal so bealach eile... do ghabháil”, (ll. 83-85)<sup>2</sup> and (ii) the insertion of *is truagh* to make sense of the obvious omission in “och adhía na mbreath bhírinneach air se, **nach bhfuilim** *phfeín ceathromh* na huairse um cholainn daonnuidhe” (f. 119b) > “Och, a Dhia na mbreath bhírinneach,” ar sé, *is truagh* nach bhfuilim féin ceathramh na huairse im' cholainn daonnuidhe ar an tsaoghal arís.” (ll. 291-292)<sup>3</sup> In these cases the elements drawn from Mac Solaidh are set forth in italics.

---

<sup>1</sup> MS. RIA 24 C 55, f. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. f. 206.

## 8. EDITORIAL METHOD

### a. *Transcription from MS. TCD 1399*

The fundamental principle underpinning the creation of the diplomatic copy of *FMh* from MSS. TCD 1399, TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106 is that this copy should convey as accurately as possible the text as it appears in these MSS. That Cecile O’Rahilly makes a point of mentioning that MS. TCD 1399 was “highly contracted” (*TGG*, xiii) indicates that the task facing an editor working with this source is perhaps more demanding than would be considered typical. This is because even though the MS. contains many scribal contractions for which the correct expansion is immediately obvious it also contains many which might be expanded in a variety of ways. Since no distinction between these two types of contraction was made by any of the editors of *BEED*, *TGG* and *EMO*<sup>1</sup> – for which MS. TCD 1399 was also the primary source – and because these only offered very general information as to how they handled the relevant manuscripts it was determined that a comprehensive and exhaustive outline concerning the expansion of every contraction in the text be made available.

### *Creation of Diplomatic Copy*

The diplomatic copy was executed according to the conventional system according to which regular type is used to signify letters which are written out in full while scribal contractions are signified by means of italicised type.

---

<sup>1</sup> The most informative account was that of Ní Mhuirgheasa who gave some details concerning the expansion of contractions in *BEED* while also drawing the reader’s attention to the specifications outlined by Ní Sheághdha in relation to the transcription of *Bruidhean Bheag na hAlmhan* in the same volume. (*Trí Bruidhne* xvii, xi-xii) The other editors – Cecile O’Rahilly, A.M. Draak and Máire Mhac an tSaoi – simply expanded scribal contractions silently and highlighted any contentious points by means of footnotes, italics or parenthesis. (*TGG* xxviii-xxix, *DSA* xiii, *OM* 17)










### Long marks

On account of the scribe's mode of writing, long marks are often erroneously placed in the MS. In this transcription no attempt is made to correct such errors except where such a mark is placed over a consonant in which case the long mark is placed above the vowel closest to it.

### Scribal contractions – unambiguous

#### Alphabetic symbols

#### Examples

'q' + stroke through descender		expanded as	<i>ar</i>	<i>nar</i> bhféidir 112b, <i>darbhainm</i> 113a.
'q' + superscript 'i' + stroke through descender		expanded as	<i>air</i>	<i>air</i> 112a <i>fair</i> 112a a lathair 112a
			<i>iar</i>	<i>iar</i> 112a <sup>1</sup>
'c' reversed		expanded as	<i>con</i>	do <i>connuirc</i> 113a <i>conuir</i> 113a <i>contabhairt</i> 120a
			<i>coin</i>	<i>coinne</i> 113a
'q'		expanded as	<i>c(h)u</i>	<i>acu</i> 114a <i>cumas</i> 118b <i>cumhachtach</i> 121a <i>chuc</i> 121a
			<i>cui</i>	<i>cuideachta</i> 115a
numeral '2'		expanded as	<i>d(h)a</i>	<i>da</i> 116b <i>dhamh</i> 124a <i>neamhdha</i>
'e' large		expanded as	<i>ea</i>	<i>imtheacht</i> 112a <i>eisdeacht</i> 112a <i>tteacht</i> 112a
			<i>ei</i>	<i>leith</i> 114b
numeral '7'		expanded as	<i>ead</i>	<i>ccéadna</i> 112b
'x'		expanded as	<i>gs</i>	<i>egsamhla</i> 113b <i>egsamlacht</i> 113b
numeral '9'		expanded as	<i>naoi</i>	<i>mnaoi</i> 114b,

<sup>1</sup> In order to distinguish between the prepositions *iar* and *air* it was decided that this contraction ('q' + superscript 'i' + stroke through descender) would be expanded in both ways as appropriated even though the scribe seems to have written it as *air*, *air mbeith air an ccomhradh sin daibh.* (113b)

*Alphabetic symbols*

				<i>Examples</i>
'i' + stroke through descender		expanded as	<i>ir</i>	<i>tsheanmoir</i> 112a <i>choirm</i> 114b <i>abpurgadoir</i> 124a
numeral '6'		expanded as	<i>sé</i>	<i>sé</i> 113b <i>et passim.</i>

*Superscript symbols*



				<i>Examples</i>
vertical tilde (flame)		expanded as	<i>ear</i>	<i>fear</i> 112a
			<i>eir</i>	<i>géar nimhe</i> 116a
vertical tilde (flame)		expanded as	<i>ir</i>	<i>nar bhféidir</i> 112b
superscript dot <sup>1</sup>		expanded as	<i>h</i>	
'm' stroke		expanded as	<i>m</i>	<i>do chum</i> 113a <i>denamh</i> 113a <i>comhairle</i> 113a
'm' stroke + loop		expanded as	<i>om</i>	<i>ceathrom</i> 120a
superscript 'i' round		expanded as	<i>ri</i>	<i>ccriochnughadh</i> 112b <i>grianda</i> 112b <i>grianghlan</i> 112b <i>hifrionn</i> 123a

*Superscript letters*

				<i>Examples</i>
superscript digraph 'cc'		expanded as	<i>g</i>	<i>tug</i> 125b
superscript 'e'		expanded as	<i>re</i>	<i>bhreithaire</i> 112b <i>freastal</i> 115a <i>cread</i> 115a <i>tre</i> 116b
			<i>ra</i>	<i>thracht</i> 112b <i>ghraineamail</i> 115b <i>craos</i> 117b
superscript 'n'		expanded as	<i>r</i>	<i>crinn</i> 119b

<sup>1</sup> Note that when 'f' is subject to eclipsis in the MS. – 'bhf' – the dot is for the most part placed above 'f' rather than 'b' (*abfhochair* 113a, *go bhfuighdís* 133b, *et passim.*). This was left as 'bfh' in the diplomatic copy. Occasionally the dot is found to the left of the 'b' rather than above it, e.g. *An bhfidir tú* 117a.



*Superscript letters**Examples*

superscript ‘o’		expanded as	<i>o(i)r</i>	go <i>mor</i> 112b sean <i>mo</i> ra 112b tshean <i>moir</i> 112a t <i>toir</i> meinte 112b
			<i>ro</i>	<i>drong</i> 116a <i>trom</i> 116b <i>droch</i> gníomh 125b
superscript ‘v’		expanded as	<i>ru</i>	na <i>druinge</i> 112b <i>Truágh</i> 115b <i>tru</i> aillidhi 117a
			<i>u(i)r</i>	do <i>chuir</i> dís 117a


*Superscript consonants signifying absent vowel(s)*

The consonants which follow the absent vowel(s) are placed above the consonants which precede them	<i>ch</i> over <i>n</i> signifying <i>a</i>	milltion <i>ach</i> 112a
	<i>c</i> over <i>f</i> signifying <i>ai</i>	df <i>ai</i> csin 113a
	<i>ch</i> over <i>t</i> signifying <i>ea</i>	coill <i>te</i> ach 112a
	<i>th</i> over <i>bh</i> signifying <i>ei</i>	<i>bheith</i> 116b
	<i>c</i> over <i>r</i> signifying <i>i</i>	aneir <i>i</i> c 117a
	<i>ch</i> over <i>f</i> signifying <i>o</i>	abfo <i>ch</i> air 125b



*Suspension strokes**Examples*

insular ‘s’ surmounted by suspension stroke		expanded as	<i>cht</i>	arioghe <i>acht</i> 112a <i>acht</i> 112a imthe <i>acht</i> 112a <i>lucht</i> 112a
roman ‘s’ surmounted by suspension stroke		expanded as	<i>cht</i>	trao <i>cht</i> 112b






*Subscript**Examples*

subscript ‘i’		expanded as	<i>i</i>	aoidh <i>che</i> 113a fein 114b <i>tru</i> aillidhi aobhneas 115a féid <i>ir</i> 120b aingl <i>idhi</i> 125a
---------------	---	-------------	----------	---










*Subscript*

			<i>Examples</i>
subscript 'i' round		expanded as	<i>i</i>
punctum delens		to indicate material to be deleted from the text	<i>liúithe</i> 124b (coisg) 114b (gan) 114b (ar) 114b

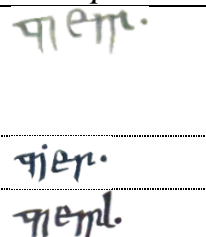





*Ligatures*

				<i>Examples</i>
ligature 'xp' surmounted by suspension stroke and dot indicating lenition		expanded as	<i>críost</i>	<i>criostaidh</i> 122b <i>chríostaidh</i> 122b
ligature 'ea'		expanded as	<i>ea</i>	<i>asteach</i> 114b <i>peacadh</i> 120a
ligature 'et'		expanded as	<i>et</i>	<i>agus</i>
			<i>eit</i>	<i>mbeith</i> 113b <sup>1</sup>
			<i>ead</i>	<i>méad</i> 112b <i>háiteadh</i> 112b
ligature 'rr'		expanded as	<i>rr</i>	<i>diarraidh</i> 112a <i>corróine</i> 112b
ligature 'ui'		expanded as	<i>ui</i>	<i>ghnúis</i> 112a <i>siorruidhthe</i> 112b

*Critical marks*

			<i>Examples</i>	
enclosing dots		placed either side of certain characters to signify certain words or elements of words		<i>ceathrom</i> 120a
				<i>cúig</i> 124a
				<i>deich</i> 121b
				<i>Meirlíno</i> 119a et <i>passim</i>
				<i>oile</i> 117b et <i>passim</i>
				<i>dhóibh</i> 114a
				<i>huaire</i> 120a
				<i>airse</i> 125b

<sup>1</sup> This expansion attested in: *iar mbeith dhóibh*. (114a)

<i>Critical marks</i>			<i>Examples</i>
single dot		placed after certain characters to express the name 'Meirlíno'	 116b 117a 121b 113a 120b
		placed under the letter 'd' in the combination 'spd' to express the term 'Spiorad' in relation to 'an Spiorad éoluigh'	 117a <i>et passim</i>
		used at the end of a word to indicate a quotation	 iseadh adubairt. aspioraid dhiabhlaidh dhamanta 120a
	used to indicate the end of a line of poetry	 Aneiric pheacadh na drúise. ina bfhaghmís dúil is taitneamh.	
	tilde		used to fill the space between the final word and end of the page
hyphen		used to indicate words split at the end of lines	nach roibhe briathartha an tshean-moruidh 113a


### *Scribal contractions – ambiguous*

#### *Suspension stroke signifying absent syllable*

suspension stroke over final written consonant or extending from ascender in the letters 'b', 'h' and 'l' to signify syllables ending in 'l', 'n' or 'r' <sup>1</sup>	-ail	ghabail 114a tshaogail 112b amhail 115a
	-áil	ccongbáil 119a
	-ain	mheanmain 115a
	-ainn	agcolainn 120a

<sup>1</sup> "Líne nó puncanna ag ciallú siolla nó roinnt shiollaí (cló iodáileach ar an siolla, nó ar na siollaí go léir), mar shampla: *inghean*, *adubhairt*). (*Trí Bruidhne*: xi).

*Suspension stroke signifying absent syllable*

	-air	andub <b>airt</b> 112b
	-al	pub <b>al</b> 112a shiub <b>al</b> 114a saog <b>al</b> 116b
	-an	mhean <b>an</b> 112b deam <b>han</b> 117a
	-ean	chean <b>a</b> 112b dhaing <b>ean</b> 121a
	-in	deim <b>in</b> 114a eig <b>in</b> 122a alaid <b>in</b> 122b
	-ioll	ttimci <b>oll</b> 113b
	-ion	ardaig <b>iontacha</b> 114a
	-n	an 113b
	-uil	b <b>fuil</b> 113b b <b>fuilid</b> 121b
	-uin	mu <b>intir</b> 115a
Note the following uncommon use of the suspension stroke		
suspension stroke over 'ag'	-us	 agus 121b

*Suspension stroke over specific letters signifying certain commonly occurring words*

'cp' surmounted by suspension stroke	corp 117a <i>et passim</i>
'dne' surmounted by suspension stroke	du <b>ine</b> 115a <i>et passim</i>
'tic' surmounted by suspension stroke	tá <b>in</b> ic 122a, 124a

*Suspension stroke surmounted by punctum delens (lenition) signifying absent syllable*

Suspension stroke surmounted by dot indicating lenition over final written consonant or extending from ascender in the letters 'b', 'h' and 'l' to signify syllables ending in a lenited consonant. <sup>1</sup>	-ach	an togl <b>ach</b> 112a g <b>acha</b> 112a eol <b>ach</b> 113b
--	------	--

<sup>1</sup> "Líne nó puncanna ag ciallú siolla nó roinnt shiollaí (cló iodáileach ar an siolla, nó ar na siollaí go léir), mar shampla: *inghean*, *adubhairt*). (*Trí Bruidhne*: xi).



*Suspension stroke surmounted by punctum delens (lenition) signifying absent syllable*

-adh	mar <b>badh</b> 112a meall <b>adh</b> 113a bhall <b>adhuibh</b> 124b phear <b>ladhaibh</b> 125a
-aibh	gár <b>thaibh</b> 124a bhalla <b>aibh</b> 124b
-aidh	maall <b>aidh</b> 112a anagh <b>aidh</b> 112b diarr <b>aidh</b> 113b accomh <b>naidh</b> 115b
-aigh	tath <b>aigh</b> 112a do chruth <b>aigh</b> 112a urnaig <b>he</b> 124a
-aimh	dealr <b>aimh</b> 124b
-aith	flait <b>eamhnus</b> 112a flait <b>ios</b> 124a dealr <b>aithigh</b> 125a
-eadh	deire <b>adh</b> 112a ise <b>adh</b> 112b adeire <b>adh</b> 112b
-iadha	bli <b>adhan</b> 121b
-ibh	aghluin <b>ibh</b> 112a dhaoin <b>ibh</b> 114a, anguaill <b>ibh</b> 116b ccaird <b>ibh</b> 124a
-idh	tein <b>idh</b> 116a sgairt <b>idh</b> 116a truail <b>idhi</b> 117a
-igh	airig <b>he</b> 112a teintig <b>he</b> 115b
-uaith	thu <b>uath</b> 112a
-uath	lu <b>uath</b> 117a
-ugh	dheall <b>ughradhach</b> 125a
-uidh	tsheanmor <b>uidh</b> 113a
-uigh	eólu <b>igh</b> 116a síorthuig <b>he</b> 120b slánuig <b>h[e]</b> 123b

*Suspension stroke surmounted by punctum over specific letters signifying certain commonly occurring words*

extending from the ascender on the ‘h’ of ‘ch’	<i>chuidh</i> 112b <i>et passim</i>
extending from the ascender on the ‘l’ of ‘bl’	<i>bliadhain</i> 115a <i>et passim</i> <sup>1</sup>
over the letters ‘re’	<i>roibhe</i> 122a, 124a <sup>2</sup>

It is worth drawing attention to the use of this contraction  $\overset{\circ}{\text{h}}$   $\text{t}\overset{\circ}{\text{h}}$  in noun *slánuigh* 123b, and in the adjectives *maallaidh* 112a, *mallaidh* 118a, *mhallaidh* 118a, and *drocheadaigh* 114a. These forms are noteworthy in that, taking this contraction to indicate the presence of a lenited consonant, they deviate from the spelling norms of the period.

MS. TCD 1399

GRAMMATICAL CONTEXT

CONVENTIONAL  
SPELLING

<i>slánuigh</i> 123b	genitive form of the noun ‘slánughadh’	‘slánuighthe’ <sup>3</sup>
<i>maallaidh</i> 112a <i>mallaidh</i> 118a	nominative form of the past participle of ‘malluighim’ <sup>4</sup>	‘malluighthe’ <sup>5</sup>

MS. TCD 1399

GRAMMATICAL CONTEXT

CONVENTIONAL  
SPELLING

<i>mhallaidh</i> 118a	genitive form of the past participle of ‘malluighim’	
-----------------------	--	--

That this ending was intended by the scribe is evident from the use of the form *sásuigh* 123b, in which the ending is written out in full where one would expect *sásuighthe* < *sásughadh*.<sup>6</sup> It seems evident that the use of this ending gives an indication that these forms would have been sounded as [i:] in the dialect of the scribe.

<sup>1</sup> The sole example of this noun written out in full occurs in *BEED*. f. .

<sup>2</sup> The expansion *oibh* was used in the case of this verb since the form *roibh* written out in its entirety (*roibh*, *roiph*, *roibhios*, *roibheadur*) occurred more frequently in the prose stories in MS. TCD 1399 than did *aibh* (*raibh* nó *raibheadur*). The form *roibhe* written out in full is found in *BC*, f. 11b.

<sup>3</sup> See *TBB*, *Dinn.*, s.v. *slánughadh*.

<sup>4</sup> See *Dinn.*, s.v. *malluighim*.

<sup>5</sup> See *TBB*, s.v. *malluighthe*.

<sup>6</sup> See *TBB*, *Dinn.*, s.v. *sásughadh*.

Finally, in his use of this contraction the scribe frequently omits the insertion of a final *e* where this would be expected according to the spelling conventions of the period as in the case of *comhnaidh* (f. 115b) where *TBB* has *comhnaidhe*. In such cases the final *e* was inserted in italicised and bold text: *i gcomhnaidhe* (l. 127)

*ur* superscript wavy  $\tilde{\text{Q}}$  and  $\text{‡}$  representing neutral sounds ending with *r* and *s*

A degree of variation exists in relation to how the *ur* superscript wavy  $\tilde{\text{Q}}$  – as opposed to superscript *v*  $\tilde{\text{Q}}$  mentioned above – and the ‘us’ symbol  $\text{‡}$  are expanded. In relation to the former Máire Mhac an tSaoi makes the following distinction. “San áit ’na bhfuil *v* ós cionn litreach, sgríobhaim *ur* i siollaibh aiceanta agus i bhfoclaibh éintshiolla, *ar* i siollaibh neamh-aiceanta.” (*DSA*: xiii) Examination of the text of *EMO* in MS. TCD 1399 indicates that the superscript *v* is only found above accented syllables which suggests that Mhac an tSaoi made no distinction between this and the *ur* superscript wavy  $\tilde{\text{Q}}$ . She does, however, suggest a possible method of determining the most appropriate expansion of this contraction which involves ascertaining whether it occurs over accented syllables, mono-syllabic words and non-accented syllables.

‘UR’ SUPERScript WAVY  $\tilde{\text{Q}}$

when surmounting unaccented syllables expanded as	<i>a(i)r</i>	sgáoi <b>edar</b> 112b <sup>1</sup> adubh <b>amar</b> 114b cealg <b>aireacht</b> 115b glorm <b>aire</b> 112b uath <b>mar</b> a 119a <sup>2</sup> iom <b>char</b> 121a
---	--------------	---

<sup>1</sup> This expansion as regards 3<sup>rd</sup> plural synthetic form of past tense validated by rang**adar** 114a although note also ndearn**ador** 117b.

<sup>2</sup> This expansion concerning adjectival forms ending in ‘-mhar’ validated by use of the contraction  $\text{‡}$  in líon**mhar** 115b.

‘UR’ SUPERScript WAVY  $\overset{\sim}{\text{U}}$ 

	<i>ur</i>	<i>turas</i> 113a <i>ccur</i> 122a <i>furtacht</i> 123b <i>purgadóir</i> 123b <i>turasaibh</i> 125b
	<i>ar</i>	<i>mar</i> 112a <i>et passim</i> <sup>1</sup>
	<i>ur</i>	<i>gur</i> 112b <i>et passim</i>

The following table illustrates how the expansion of the ‘us’ symbol  $\text{𐌆}$  was determined by cross-referencing the words in question with examples written in full in MS. TCD 1399 and with the glossary appended to *Trí Bior-ghaoithe an Bháis (TBB)* or *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla (Dinn.)* examples from this latter marked \*.

‘US’ SYMBOL $\text{𐌆}$		<i>FMh</i>	<i>Cross Ref.</i>
expanded variously as	-a(i)s	<i>aithreachas</i> 120a	<i>aithreachas</i> *
		<i>baltanas</i> 124b	<i>boltanas</i> *
		<i>breatheamhnas</i> 120a, 120b	<i>breitheamhnas</i>
		<i>cádhas</i> 112a	<i>cádhas</i>
		<i>fheallais</i> 115a	-ais
		<i>ocras</i> 125a	<i>ocras</i> 54b
		<i>párthasa</i> 125a	<i>parrthas</i>
		<i>phiánas</i> 121a, 122a	<i>pianas</i> *
		<i>Teághais</i> 125a	<i>teaghdhais</i>
	-eas	<i>maitheas</i> 113a	<i>maitheas</i>
-ios	<i>aoibhnios</i> 114a <sup>2</sup>	<i>áuibhnios</i> 120b	

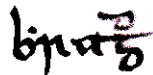
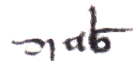
<sup>1</sup> Mhac an tSaoi seems not to have taken account of the fact that ‘mar’ in its entirety occurs on f. 154a and that the alphabetic symbol ‘ar’ is used as regards the same word on ff. 134a, 138b. See also *BEED*, f. 58a.

<sup>2</sup> Note the occurrence of *aoibhneas* 115a.

'US' SYMBOL ʹ		<i>FMh</i>	<i>Cross Ref.</i>
	-us	amus 118b	amus 46a
		cionnus 120b	cionnus 102b
		chumus 115a	cumus
		eolus 115a	eólus 52a, 139a, 139b
		fárus 112a	árus
		féchus 118a <i>et</i> <i>passim</i>	fechus 124b <sup>1</sup>
		ionnus 113a	ionnus

*Obscuration of lenition and length marks by scribal contractions*



As noted above the incidence of lenition was for the most part indicated by the insertion of a punctum delens (lenition) above the consonant in question.<sup>2</sup> There were many cases where the lenition of certain consonants was effectively masked due to the use of scribal contractions. Since there was no explicit sign denoting lenition on the page it was determined that in such examples lenition would not appear in the diplomatic copy. The following table shows the scribal contractions responsible for this obscuration and contains instances of the same or similar words from the MS. written in full by way of illustrating the scribe's understanding that these consonants were lenited.

CONTRACTION	DIPLOMATIC COPY	WRITTEN IN FULL
Superscript consonant used to indicate the omission of vowel(s)	bhraguid 116b 	mbraghuid 116a
Suspension stroke	diabail 117a 	diabhail 119a <sup>3</sup>


<sup>1</sup> By analogy with fechus 124b written in full the expansion 'us' was selected in the case of the following verbal forms: *conncus* 125b, *fheallus* 115a, *rachus* 121b.

<sup>2</sup> In a few cases lenition was also signalled by the use of the letter 'h', e.g. *aghaidh* 112b, *chuidh* 112b, *thuathaibh* 124a.

<sup>3</sup> The punctum delens was most likely omitted to avoid confusion between this contraction and that involving a suspension stroke surmounted by a punctum delens (lenition) which would have suggested that the word ended with an aspirated consonant.

CONTRACTION	DIPLOMATIC COPY	WRITTEN IN FULL
Supension stroke surmounted by a punctum delens (lenition)	adh <b>uidh</b> 116b 	ád <b>hb</b> uidh 116a
<i>ur</i> superscript wavy	uath <b>mar</b> a 119a 	líon <b>mh</b> ar 115b ghlór <b>mh</b> ar 125b

The following example indicates how length marks were similarly obscured.

CONTRACTION	DIPLOMATIC COPY	WRITTEN IN FULL
Length mark	<i>mor</i> 112b 	mór 112a

### b. Editorial Policy

The fundamental aim underpinning this edition of the prose tale *FMh* as it is found in MSS. TCD 1399, TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106 is that a clear and readily comprehensible version of the tale be made available to the reader acquainted with Ulster Irish. Given that a conservative diplomatic edition is proposed one might suppose minimal editorial intervention yet the “highly contracted” form of the language in the MS. dictates otherwise.

The approach taken by Seosamh Watson as regards the editing of *Mac na Míchomhairle* (*SMM*) was adopted as a guide to identifying those changes which could be profitably made on the grounds that he was dealing with another prose tale from the same period and from the same area as *FMh*.<sup>1</sup> His

<sup>1</sup> Considering *SMM* in the context of other parodies and romance stories (including *TGG*, *EMO*, and *Comhairle*) Watson asserts that it was composed in the last quarter of the seventeenth-century. (*SMM*: 110-111). As regards its place of origin he has the following to say in relation to the dialect in which *SMM* was written: “Fágann sin gur canúint de chuid oirthear Chúige Uladh sa chiall is leithne atá againn anseo...” (*SMM*: 170-171).

breakdown of the many steps involved in the editorial process of this document provides an orderly and clear template for impressing a more coherent and intelligible form on the material found in the MS. There were, however, many points concerning which Watson's editorial policy had little or nothing to say and in these instances guidance was sought in the introductions of other works pertaining to the period to which *FMh* belongs such as *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe (TC)*, *SSA*, *TBB*, *PA* and *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn (TD I)*.

By way of orthographical regularisation for the sake of comprehensibility the standard of spelling found in *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla (FGB)* was adhered to where possible. Appeal was also made, however, to other orthographical registers in order to preserve words pertaining to period and dialect in a legitimate form. Of particular note in this regard is the glossary accompanying Bergin's edition of *TBB* by Geoffrey Keating in that this gives an extensive account of vocabulary specific to Christian theology in the early seventeenth century. (*TBB*: 359-492) Profitable use was also made in this regard of the glossaries appended to other such pious works of the same period as well as of *Dinn*.

## I. SPELLING

The editor is responsible for the division of the text into paragraph etc.

Scribal contractions in the manuscript are expanded silently except in the case of .i. = eadhon.

Contemporary spelling conditions were adhered as regards:

- (i.) Punctuation;
- (ii.) Capital letters;

- (iii.) Differentiation of words, e.g., *anéntshlighe* > *in aon tshlighe*, *nar bhfeidir* > *nár**bh** fhéidir*, *gur bhírinneach* > *gurbh fhírinneach*;
- (iv.) Hyphens, e.g., *naill* > *n-aill*, *na nanmann* > *na n-anmann*;
- (v.) Apostrophes, e.g., *diarraidh* > *d'iarraidh*, *na ndiáidh* > *'na ndiaidh*.

#### INITIAL MUTATIONS

The manner in which initial mutations were realised in the MSS. was retained except in the following cases:

- (i.) Eclipsis written as *gc-* where *cc-* was found in the MSS., e.g. *accoinne* > *i gcoinne*, *na ccrann* > *na gcrann*, *accosa* > *a gcosa*.
- (ii.) Eclipsis written as *bhf-* where *bhf-* was found in the MSS., e.g. *bhfhochair* > *bhfochair*, *bfhidir* > *bhfidir*, *bhfhuighmís* > *bhfuighmís*; where *bf-* was found in the MSS., e.g., *bfuil* > *bhfuil*, *bfaicsin* > *bhfaicsin*, *bfeair* > *bhfeair*; where *bhfh-* was found in the MSS., e.g., *bhfhfaicis* > *bhfaicis*, *bhfhfuil* > *bhfuil*.
- (iii.) Eclipsis written as *bp-* where *bph-* or *b-* was found in the MSS., e.g. *nabhfián* > *na bpian*, *bphianadh* > *bpianadh*, *abpeine* > *a bpéine*, *bián* > *bpian*.
- (iv.) Eclipsis written as *dt-* where *tt-* was found in the MSS., e.g. *air tteacht* > *ar dteacht*, *na ttimcioll* > *'na dtimcheall*, *attús* > *i dtús*.
- (v.) *f* lenited written as *fh-* where *f-* or  $\emptyset$  was found in the MSS., e.g. *dfaicsin* > *d'fhaicsin*, *dféacháin* > *d'fhéacháin*,  $\emptyset$  *idir* > *fhidir*.
- (vi.) *f-* written where *phf-* was found in the MSS., e.g., *phféin* > *féin*.
- (vii.) *ts-* written where *tsh-* was found in the MSS., e.g. *tshaogail* > *tsaoghail*, *tsheanmóir* > *tseanmóir*, *tshlighe* > *tshlighe*.
- (viii.) *ts-* written where *thsh-* was found in the MSS., e.g. *thshaoghail* > *tsaoghail*.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *accomhthsheinm* > *icomhsheinm*



- (ix.) *s-* written where *sh-* was found in the MSS., e.g. na *shaogal* > na *saoghal*.

#### LENGTH ACCENTS

Length accents were inserted, removed or repositioned in accordance with contemporary spelling norms, e.g.

- (i.) De > *Dé*, no > *nó*, seanmoir > *seanmóir*;  
 (ii.) daoíne > *daoine*, uaír > *uair*, bpián > *bpián*;  
 (iii.) aít > *áit*, náire > *náire*, tsheanmoír > *tseanmóir*.

#### LENITION

Lenition was applied to

- (i.) unlenited medial consonants, typically lenited according to contemporary spelling norms, e.g., namaid > *namhaid*, glormaire > *glórmhaire*, deimin > *deimhin*, osluigthe > *oslaighthe*.  
 (ii.) unlenited final consonants, typically lenited according to contemporary spelling norms, e.g., dhénam > *dhéanamh*, ceathrom > *ceathramh*, dhiád > *dhiaidh*.  
 (iii.) the forms *gurbh* and *nárbh* of the past tense and conditional mood of the copula + *fh-* according to contemporary spelling norms, e.g., *gurbhírinneach* > *gurbh fhírinneach*, *nar bhéidir*, *nar bhéidir* > *nárbh fhéidir*, *nar bhíór* > *nárbh fhíor*, *nar bhearr* > *nárbh fhearr*.  
 (iv.) in square brackets to the initial consonants of words where the correctly lenited form was found elsewhere in the MS. as with *da bhrighsin* > *Dá bhrígh sin* (l. 83) and *dá brigh sin* > *dá b[h]rígh sin* (l. 335)

## SINGLE/DOUBLE L, N, R

Single or double *l/ll*, *n/nn* or *r/rr* were adjusted in order to conform with contemporary spelling norms, e.g.

*ulgairdis* > *ollghairdis*, *sgabal* > *scaball*, *foillsiughadh* > *foilsíú*, *millseacht* > *milseacht*; *cinte* > *cinnnte*, *mbeín* > *mbeinn*, *inntinne* > *intinne*, *thinntibh* > *thintibh*; *fhairge* > *fhairrge*, *corróine* > *coróine*, *shíórruidheacht* > *shíoraidheacht*, *orrtha* > *ortha*.

## BROAD AND SLENDER CONSONANTS

Broad or slender consonants were adjusted

- (i.) in order that the correct accent in relation to a word might be evident, e.g. *mhairbha* > *mharbha*, *ghlunibh* > *ghlúinibh*.
- (ii.) in order to conform with contemporary spelling norms – including compound words, e.g. *ccoimhlíonfadh* > *gcomhlíonfadh*, *adorchaiduis* > *a' dorchadais*, *dénamh* > *déanamh*, *dímúis* > *díomais*, *anmhianach* > *ainmhianach*, *Táimid* > *Táimid*, *abprísún* > *i bpríosún*, *sícháin* > *síocháin*, *thairring* > *tharraing*.

## VOWELS

Vowels were removed

- (i.) where their insertion was erroneous according to contemporary spelling norms, e.g. *maallaidh* > *mallaidh*, *aniofrionn* > *in ifreann*.
- (ii.) where their insertion was superfluous according to contemporary spelling norms, e.g. *oram* > *orm*, *anioliomad* > *an iliomad*, *mair* > *mar*, *ccoimhlíonfadh* > *gcomhlíonfadh*, *aircheana* > *archeana*.

Vowels were inserted

- (i.) where their omission was due to simple error or as a result of obscuration due to scribal contraction, e.g. *tshogal* > *tshaoghal*, *anénrioghcht* > *in aon rioghacht*, *ag* > *agam*, *a nomad* > *an iomad*, *chuc* > *chuca*.
- (ii.) where their omission indicated a lack of conformity with contemporary spelling norms, e.g. **á** > **ai:** *dhiád* > *dhiaidh*, **á** > **ái:** *támid* > *táimid*, *ttáinic* > *dtáinic*, **e** > **ea:** *fher* > *fhear*, *choisregha* > *choisreagha*, **e** > **éa:** *heccóra* > *héagcóra*, *denuinn* > *déanainn*, *dénamh* > *déanamh*, *édail* > *éadáil*, *bfhíren* > *bhfíreán*, **é** > **eá:** *cinél* > *cineál*, **é** > **éi:** *éric* > *éiric*, *lér* > *léir*, **i** > **io:** *tharring* > *tharraing*, *snathite* > *snáthaite*, **i** > **io:** *fritholamh* > *fríothólamh*, **i** > **ío:** *dimúis* > *díomais*, *trinoíde* > *tríonóide*, **í** > **ío:** *abprísún* > *i bpríosún*, *síchaín* > *síocháin*, **o** > **ói:** *or* > *óir*, **u** > **úi:** *ghlunibh* > *ghlúinibh*.

Historical forms of vowels found in accented syllables were replaced with those conforming to contemporary spelling norms, e.g.

**é** > **ao:** *én* > *aon*, **ei** > **i:** *neimh* > *nimh*,<sup>1</sup> *ttoirmeinte* > *toirminte*, **eú** > **éa**, **eú** > **éa:** *eúda* > *éada*, *eúd* > *éad*, **o** > **a:** *thort* > *thart*, *heasumhlocht* > *heasumhlacht*, *ceathromh* > *ceathramh*, **o** > **u:** *srotha* > *srutha*, *srothaibh* > *sruthaibh*, **ó** > **ú:** *millión* > *milliún*, **oi** > **ai:** *foill* > *faill*, **oi** > **ei:** *oile* > *eile*, **oi** > **ui:** *mhoirn* > *mhuirn*, **u** > **o:** *gul* > *gol*, *chur* > *chor*, *pubal* < *pobal*, *currach* > *corrach*, *chumairc* > *chomairc*.

<sup>1</sup> *ei* was retained in the case of *teintighe* and *teinte* on the ground that *teint-* is classified as a variant of *tint-* in *FGB*. See *FGB* s.v. *teint-*.

Historical forms of vowels found in unaccented syllables were replaced with those conforming to contemporary spelling norms, e.g.

**eu** > **eá**, *taisbeunadh* > *taispeánadh*, **i** > **e**: *misi* > *mise*, *taisi* > *taise*, **io** > **ea**: *milltionach* > *millteanach*, *flaithios* > *flaitheas*, *ifrionn* > *ifreann*, **oigh** > **aigh**: *ionnsoigh* > *ionsaigh*, *neamhceannsoigheacht* > *neamhcheansaigheacht*, **u** > **a**: *theagusg* > *theagasc*, *friotholumh* > *friothólamh*, *easumplaír* > *easampláir*, *comhnuidh* > *cónaí*, **u** > **i**: *um* > *im*, **ui** > **ai**: *machuireadh* > *machaireadh*, *bhfiaghnuise* > *bhfiaghnaise*, *chuguinn* > *chugainn*, **ui** > **oi**: *ananleathtruim* > *an leathtroim*, **uibh** > **aibh**: *criostaidhuibh* > *críostaidhaibh*, *chlochuibh* > *chlochaibh*, *lasrachuibh* > *lasrachaibh*, **uidh** > **aidh**: *ghradhuidh* > *ghrádhaidh*, *gaduidheacht* > *gadaidheacht*, *anmhiánuidh* > *ainmhianaidh*, **uigh** > **aigh**: *eóluigh* > *eolaiigh*, *eadhúigh* > *éadaigh*, **us** > **as**: *eaglus* > *eaglas*, *ionnus* > *ionnas*, *olcus* > *olcas*.

## CONSONANTS

Consonants were removed

- (i.) where their insertion was erroneous according to contemporary spelling norms, e.g., *iffriinn* > *ifrinn*.
- (ii.) where their insertion was superfluous according to contemporary spelling norms, e.g., *go**th**readh* > *goradh*, *ananle**ath**truim* > *an leatroim*.

Consonants were inserted where their omission was due to simple error, e.g.

*seamóruidh* > *seanmóraidh*, *anglauibh* > *inglasaibh*.

Consonants which were erroneously used were replaced with those conforming to contemporary spelling norms, e.g.

*iomhcar* > *iomchar*, *duth* > *dubh*, *naidheantadh* > *n-aitheantadh*, *connuirt* > *connairc*.

Historical forms of consonants were replaced with those conforming to contemporary spelling norms, e.g.

**nd** > **n**: *da ndionnsoigh* > *dá n-ionsaí*, **nd** > **nn**: *dháonda* > *dhaonna*, *dathghránda* > *dathghrána*, **p** > **b**: *dhaóiniph* > *dhaoinibh*, **sb** > **sp**: *thaisbeanadh* > *thaispeánadh*, *easbaidh* > *easpaidh*, **sd** > **st**: *aisde* > *aiste*, *eisdeacht* > *éisteacht*, *ceisd* > *ceist*, *peísd* > *péist*, *phiasdaibh* > *phiasaibh*, *ambaisdidh* > *a mbaistidh*, **sg** > **sc**: *ameasg* > *i measc*, *eadarsgaradh* > *eadarscaradh*, *fuasgladh* > *fuascladh*.

Historical forms of consonants were abbreviated in order that they might conform to contemporary spelling norms, e.g.

**bhth**, **mhth**, **thbh**, **thmh** > **f**: *dearbhtha* > *dearfa*, *naomhtha* > *naofa*, *huathbhás* > *huafás*, *fúathmhair* > *fuafair*; **cc** > **c**: *easccaoín* > *eascaoin*; **cc** > **g**: *heccóra* > *heagóra*; **dhbh** > **bh**: *saidhbhrios* > *saibhreas*, *adhbhal* > *ábhal*; **dhth**, **ghth** > **th**: *beadhtha* > *beatha*, *ríghthe* > *ríthe*, *dúblaighthe* > *dúblaíthe*, *airighthe* > *áirithe*; **dh** > **g**: *diadhairaoibh* > *diagairibh*, *díadhachta* > *diagachta*; **dhg** > **g**: *diadhgaire* > *diagaire*; **ghdh** > **g**: *lioghdha* > *líoga*; **ghth** > **th**: *righthe* > *ríthe*; **thmh** > **mh**: *uathmhain* > *uamhain*.

The historical or dialectical spelling was retained as regards the following words:

cia, cinél > *cinéal*, *cruachumhann*, *eadarsgaradh* > *eadarscaradh*, *fárus* > *fáras*, *fhoircheann*, *gidheadh* > *gidh eadh*, *muinél* > *muinéal*, *shaoil*, *siór sgairtigh* > *síorscairtigh*, *do smuaín* > *do smuain*, *tuiteam*.

Semi-phonetic spelling forms were normalised as follows:

ort, hort > *thart*, hana > *cheana*.

The placename ‘Bohemia’ was normalised as follows:

na bohem**ia** > *na Boihéime*, san mbohem**ía** > *san mBoihéim*.

The form taken by the various proper names in the text are as follows:

Belsebúb, Lúsifeir, Meirlíno, Plútando, Uríno.

The following words of foreign origin retained the form they took in the MSS. and are set forth in italic text:

*chrísolít* > *chrísolít*, *diamond* > *diamond*, *emeráld* > *emeráld*, *iasper* > *de iasper*, *instruminte* > *instruminte*, *mhargariót* > *mhargariót*, *ónix* > *ónix*, *thófás* > *thófás*, *ttoirmeinte* > *dtoirmeinte*, *thoirmintibh* > *thoirmintibh*.

## II. ACCIDENCE

The accidence of the MSS. was adhered to for the most part although amendments were made in the followings cases.

## NOUNS

- (i.) Contemporary spelling norms were applied as regards *o(i)* in the genitive and dative singular and in the plural where *o* and *u* were found in the nominative singular, e.g., *gen. sg. na druinge > na droinge, aghuib > a ghoib; dat. sg. air an druing > ar an droing; nom. pl., cuirp > coirp.*
- (ii.) The genitive form of the verbal noun *loscadh* was normalised as follows: *ghearloisge > ghéarloiscthe.*
- (iii.) Verbal noun endings in *-ughadh*, and *-ugh* were retained as they occurred in the MSS.
- (iv.) Where an accurate inflexion was found elsewhere in the text instances of inaccuracy were amended by insertion of the missing element in square brackets: *i bpeacadh an díomais (l. 165) > lucht an díoma[i]s (l. 174)*

## ADJECTIVES

- (i.) Due to the variety of forms it took in the MSS. the adjective *síoraí* was normalised as follows: *siorruidhthe, síorraighthe > síoraidhthe, síoraighthe; síorthuighe, síorrtuighe > síorthaighe.*
- (ii.) The emphatic suffix *-si* was normalised to *-se*, e.g. *ationnsuighsi > at'ionsaidhse.*
- (iii.) The demonstrative adjectives *-sa* and *-si* were normalised to *-so* and *-se*, e.g. *don chursa > don chor so, na cúirtesi > na cúirte se, siorruidhthesi > síoraidhthe se, as an aítisi > as an áit se.*
- (iv.) The singular form of the definite article was normalised to *an*, e.g. *in feadh > an feadh, in tshiorruigheacht > an tsíoraigheacht, in tshlighe > an an tslí, in locha > an locha.*

## PRONOUNS AND PREPOSITIONS

- (i.) A distinction was made between the prepositions *de* and *do* since only *do* was found in the MS.
- (ii.) *do* was inserted it where it was omitted in the MS. e.g.  $\emptyset$  *bhlasadh* > ***do*** (=a) *bhlasadh*.
- (iii.) *a* was inserted it where it was omitted in the MS. e.g.  $\emptyset$  *casadh* > ***a*** *casadh*.
- (iv.) The following forms of simple prepositions were retained: *aig*, *aga*, *aige* > *ag*, *aige*; *air* > *ar*; *air* (= *iar*) > *ar*; *fa*, *fo* > *fá*; *a(n)* > *i(n)*, + definite article sg., *ann sa*, *isin*, *san*, pl., *is na*, *ann sna*.
- (v.) The following forms of prepositional pronouns were retained: *ag*, 2.sg. *agad*, 3.pl. *aca*; *ar*, 3.sg. fem. *urtha* 3.pl. *ortha*; *as*, 3.sg. fem. *aiste*, 3.pl. *astabh*; *chuig*, 3.pl. *chuca*; *do*, 3.pl., *dáibh*, *d(h)óibh*; *faoi*, 3.pl. *fútha*; *for* (= *ar*), 3.pl. *forra*; *fre* (= *fara*), 3.pl. *friú*; *i*, 3.sg. fem. *inte*, 3.pl. *ionta*; *ó*, 3.sg. *roimh*, 3.pl. *rompa*.

## VERBS

- (i.) In an effort to avoid confusion the endings *-idh* and *-igh* of the following conditional mood, autonomous, verbs were normalised as *-í*, e.g., *do líonfaidh* > *do líonfaí*, *go mbeártuidh* > *go mbéarthaí*, *da roinntigh* > *dá roinntí*.
- (ii.) The following form of the copula was retained: *present tense*, ***as*** > ***is***.

## ADVERBS

The following forms of adverbs were retained: ***asteach***, ***asteach*** > ***isteach***, ***astigh*** > ***istigh***.



## CONJUNCTIONS

The distinction between *nó* and *ná* which was not observed in the MSS. was implemented: *i.* no, nó, na, ina > *ná*, no > *nó*.

## III SYNTAX

The syntax of the MSS. was followed.

## EDITORIAL POLICY AS REGARDS MSS. TCD 1335 AND BL EGERTON 106

On account of the aforementioned deficiencies of the scribal endeavours of William Lynch in his transcriptions of *FMh* in MSS. TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106 the use of a further editorial strategy was deemed necessary. This involved the replacement of any of Lynch's words which were manifestly erroneous or at least incompatible with the language found in MS. TCD 1399. By way of selecting the replacements attempts were made to locate the word in question in MS. TCD 1399 or, failing that, in some contemporaneous work. The results of such searches were then inserted into the text. The changes made on the basis of this method are listed below. (MS. TCD 1335 = ‡, MS. BL Egerton 106 = ††)

The following examples contain errors caused by incorrect expansion of suspension stroke surmounted by punctum delens (lenition) signifying absent syllable.

EXAMPLE	AMENDED FORM	SUBSTANTIATION
<i>airghthe</i> ‡	<i>airighe</i>	<i>FMh</i> 112a <i>et passim</i> .
<i>airghthe</i> ††		
<i>amhlath</i> ‡ ††	<i>amhlaidh</i>	<i>FMh</i> 112a <i>et passim</i> .
<i>amhladh</i> ‡ ††		
<i>beathuigh</i> ‡	<i>beannaidh</i>	<i>Gallagher</i> <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 96, l. 120 "Nar leigi Dia, a Chairde, go bhfuil Judaigh Salach, no Judas Mallaidh bhur measgsa, rachamh brath no ceasamh Chriosd ansa naimsir bheannuidh na casg so?"

andeabheathuigh †† <sup>1</sup>		
ciontache †	<i>ciontaighe</i>	<i>grádhaighe</i> <sup>2</sup>
ciontaché ††		
eairimh † ††	<i>earradh</i>	<i>BC 14b</i> <i>BEBD 48b</i> <i>TGG 66b, 85a</i> <i>EMO 133a</i>
peacachaoibh † ††	<i>peacadhaoibh</i>	<i>peacadhaibh, TBB</i>
píanuibh † ††	<i>pianadh</i>	<i>FMh 115a</i>
uath † ††	<i>uaidh</i>	<i>TBB</i>

In this example a medial *-dh-* is written instead of a medial *-th-*.

imdheacht † †† <sup>3</sup>	<i>imtheacht</i>	<i>FMh 112a</i>
-----------------------------	------------------	-----------------

In this case it appears that the initial *t-* has been subject to eclipsis:

go ttrathnóna † ††	<i>go tráthnóna</i>	<i>ESA</i> <sup>4</sup>
--------------------	---------------------	-------------------------

In the following Lynch has omitted words in the transcription of MS. TCD 1355 and has attempted to complete the sentence in MS. BL. Egerton 106.

an t[...] ag siocair †	<i>an t-aer a' fearthain</i>	<i>MM 21a, aieir (gen. sg.);</i>
an táer afeartain agus	<i>agus ag sioc air</i>	<i>BEBD 41b, aiér</i>
ag siocair ††		<i>(dat.sg.), 57b, aieir</i>
		<i>(gen.sg.),</i>
		<i>TGG (dat. sg.)104a, aiér,</i>
		<i>105b, naíeór, aidhéor</i>
		<i>107b, 71a, aidhéir (gen.</i>
		<i>sg.), 95b, aidheír ,</i>
		<i>aidheoir 104b.</i>

Some elements of the following words were omitted.

geiraithreach †	<i>géaraithreachais</i>	<i>aithreachais, SSA</i> <sup>5</sup>
géarr aithreach ††		
uilechuacht ††	<i>uilechumhachta</i>	<i>uile chumachta FMh</i>
		<i>115a, 125a</i>

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be an attempt by Lynch to correct *beathuigh* as found in MS. TCD 1335.

<sup>2</sup> 'Dánta de chuid Uladh.' *An tUltach*, 30, 4. p.5.

<sup>3</sup> Note that the correct form 'imtheacht' is found in MS. TCD 1335, f. 23 and MS. BL Eg. 106, f. 142b.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ESA*, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *SSA*, p. 146. Note also 'géar-aithreachas' in *Dánta, amhráin is caointe Sheathrúin Céitinn*, p.36.

This example is interesting for the contraction which Lynch employed, namely, the numeral 9 followed by the letter *c*. This use is not substantiated in MS. TCD 1399. Context indicates that it is the noun ‘aoidhche’ preceded by the singular form of the definite article so the form attested in MS. TCD 1339 was inserted.

isin <i>naoic</i> † ††	<i>san aoidhche</i>	<i>BEED</i> 49a, <i>TGG</i> 63b, 81b, 110b, <i>EMO</i> 129a, 130a
------------------------	---------------------	---

It is unclear what Lynch had in mind in the following case. Context would suggest that Mac Solaidh’s reading in MS. RIA 24 C 55 is correct.

EXAMPLE	AMENDED FORM	SUBSTANTIATION
<i>réadh</i> † ††	<i>re do</i>	<i>red</i> ’ MS. RIA 24 C 55 216

## 9. NOTES ON TRANSLATION

It was determined that an English version of the text of *FMh* as it appears in MS. TCD 1399 be made available which remains faithful to the source text and is couched in terms of language which is simple, clear and readily comprehensible. Where appropriate, however, certain antiquated English forms of expression were used in an effort to convey some sense of the antiquity of the text at hand. In an effort to overcome the inevitable semantic differences between Irish and English the following decisions were necessary:

### *Semantic repetition*

The author has made liberal use of semantic repetition throughout the text. In those cases where a significant difference was not evident between the

meanings of the two words in question only one word was employed by way of translation, e.g.,

ag *súgh* agus ag *diúl cíoch* agus *ochta* gach aon mhná dhíobh (l. 181) >  
*sucking* the *breasts* of each one of these women

Where it was possible, however, to interpret each element of such pairings in a different way or when the repetition added a certain sense of emphasis to the reading the second word was retained in the translation, e.g.,

múr agus *balladh* na caithreacha soin (ll. 461-462) > the *rampart* and *walls* of that city.

is annsin ba husa dhúinn *faill* agus *am* d'fhagháil agus ár dtoil féin do dhéanamh (ll. 107-108) > then it will be easier for us to get the *occasion* and *opportunity* to do as we please.

### *The narrative or historic present tense*

This device occurs sparingly in the text and primarily in relation to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, masculine of the verb, *do-chím*<sup>1</sup> although the use of the verbal form *féachas* should also be noted in this regard.<sup>2</sup> This form precedes *do chí* in a formulaic fashion in four of the eight examples where it is found and is identified by Macalister as the historic present. (VM II: 82).<sup>3</sup> Whatever about this particular form, what is of greatest significance as regards the use of the

<sup>1</sup> Do chí Meirlíno, as a haithle sin 173, Haithle na droinge sin do chí Meirlíno 204, Do chí Meirlíno sluagh ábhalmhór eile, 221, féachas Meirlíno seachad agus do chí loch mór 232, Féachas Meirlíno seachad agus do chí dronga 254, Féachas Meirlíno seachad agus do chí drong eile 269, do chí Meirlíno ar a láimh dheis 417, Féachas Meirlíno tair bhallaibh na cathracha isteach agus do chí 465.

<sup>2</sup> It is also used twice in the final sentence of the tale as it appears in MS. TCD 1399: **tig cheo mór** attimchioll Meirlíno, agus air sgaoileadh don cceo **do gheibh** eifein na sheasamh air... (f. 125b)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *TBB*: xv. According to Bergin, the ending *as* only concerns the present tense in relative forms. A slender ending in *s* in the preterite tense was, however, common in storytelling. Except for the ending in broad *s*, this *féachas* resembles closely the examples which Bergin gives (*sgreadais, tuitis, buailis, tairrngis, siris, beiris, cuiris, fillis, freagrais, gabhais, léigis, tógbhais*) in that it is not preceded by the verbal particle *do* and is not aspirated.

historic present is that when it does occur the author immediately reverts to use of the past tense as he continues his narrative, e.g.

*féachas* Meirlíno seachad agus *do chí* loch mór ina *roibh* uisce ar dhath an domblais ae (ll. 232-233)

For this reason it was decided that the past tense should be used in the translation, e.g.

Merlino *looked* aside and *saw* a great lake which *contained* bile-coloured water.

#### *Augmentation and alteration of text*

Any augmentation of the text in an effort to improve the clarity of the narrative is signalled by the situation of the extra material within square brackets, e.g.

dúblaíthe ar an diabhal sin iad maille rena roibhe air hana. (ll. 411-412)  
these are doubled unto that devil himself [and added to] those that he was already suffering.

On occasion it was felt that a minor departure from the literal translation of certain elements was merited, e.g.,

do ghealladh dhamh an uair táinic mé go purgadóir nach biann *ann* acht cúig lá agus is amhlaidh mar atá, atáim re cúig mhíle bliadhain *ann*. (ll. 448-449)

I was promised when I came to purgatory that I would only be *there* five days, but the fact of the matter is, I have been five thousand years *here*.

Such changes – which were few in number – were made silently.

## 10. LANGUAGE OF TEXT

The evidence of the language of the text contains many features which indicate that it was composed in the Early Modern Irish period in that whereas it has

been influenced to a great extent to that literary form of the language known as classical Irish it also contains a number of features indicative of how the language was spoken by the author and/or scribe. Such dialectal traits as are found in the text point to its having originated in south east Ulster or north Meath. In addition the tale contains certain peculiarities which are antiquated and therefore indicative of an attempt to give a false impression of the antiquity of the piece. The reasons for these assertions are set forth in the linguistic analysis.

## 11. HISTORICAL AND LITERARY CONTEXT OF *FMH*

The date 1679 indicates that *FMh* belongs to that period known as the Early Modern Irish era which is generally held to have begun around the year 1200 AD.<sup>1</sup> Arguably, the most significant phenomenon which occurred in this period was the rise of Classical Modern Irish, that is, a standardised form of the language which was used for the composition of the *Dán Díreach* mode of poetry. (McManus 1994: 335) On account of this strictly literary *raison d'être*, however, this linguistic form would only be used by those trained in its use and was significantly removed from popular spoken language so as to be effectively incomprehensible to the ordinary person. Its importance in relation to a prose work like *FMh* lies in the fact that it did not just concern the composition of poetry between 1200 and 1650 AD but also had some degree of influence on the form of Irish used in prose works in Irish during this same period. (ibid. 335)

In relation to the kind of language found in such prose works McManus states:

Ní raibh an stádas liteartha céanna ag an bprós mar mheán agus níor caitheadh dua ag cothú foirm ar leith teanga dó mar a rinneadh leis an bhfilíocht, cé gur tháinig borradh faoi scríbhneoireacht an phróis i dtreo

---

<sup>1</sup> The consensus of opinion as to the dating of Early Modern-Irish has changed over the years. Breatnach states that the Middle-Irish period – that which immediately precedes Early Modern-Irish – is taken these days as dating from 900 to 1200 AD whereas some earlier scholars understood it as beginning later around 1000 -1100 AD and ending around 1400 and 1600 AD. Breatnach, 1994: 221-222.

dheireadh na tréimhse, sa litríocht chráifeach go háirithe, agus tá *tionchar na srianta a bhain le hoiliúint sa teanga chlasaiceach le feiceáil anseo*. (1994, 336)<sup>1</sup>

In addition, McManus identifies two groups of prose texts from the Classical Modern Irish period – A and B. To group A belongs the devotional works he mentions above whose authors – some of whom were trained in the literary language – were more concerned with communicating their religious ideas as simply and as clearly as possible rather than composing works which were highly stylised in linguistic terms.<sup>2</sup> For that reason, their writings contained many instances of spelling, grammar and syntax which did not adhere to the Classical norm. Group B contained works in which the language was peppered with antiquated forms more redolent of texts of the Middle Irish period. McManus terms such forms which were common in works pertaining to history as *bréagársaiócht*, that is, false archaism.<sup>3</sup>

### *Emergence of Dialectal traits*

The Battle of Kinsale is acknowledged as the watershed moment in the demise of the Gaelic order. One of the many consequences of this was the gradual appearance of dialectal traits in written Irish texts where Classical Irish had up to that point been the norm. Williams states that the earliest examples of such changes were no more than slips of the pen on the part of authors who were well-trained in the literary form of the language.<sup>4</sup> Their frequency, however, would increase from the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century on with the appearance of

---

<sup>1</sup> Italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> “Na húdair a bhí ag saothrú na Gaeilge sa chéad leath den 17ú haois, Ó Cianáin, Ó Maolchonaire, Mac Aingil, Ó hEodhasa, Uilliam Ó Domhnaill agus an Céitinneach, cuir i gcás, fuair siad uile oiliúint sa teanga liteartha”. Williams, 1994: 447.

<sup>3</sup> McManus, 1994: 335-336. It is worth noting that Bruford acknowledges the prevalence of this phenomenon in the MS. source of romance tales of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. “The conscious use of archaic words seems actually to have increased in the seventeenth century, as the Irish learned class contracted... Other seventeenth century tales (TGG, TTT) use a style which seems deliberately burlesque: its accumulation of alliterative adjectives, archaisms, and extravagant boasts by the heroes can hardly be intended to be taken seriously.” Bruford, 1969: 48-49.

<sup>4</sup> In this regard Williams cites Tadhg Ó Cianáin, Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, Aodh Mac Aingil, Bonaventura Ó hEodhasa, Uilliam Ó Domhnaill, agus Seathrún Céitinn. Williams, 1994: 447.

texts in which a more simple and comprehensible form of the language was found. Devotional works which were becoming more and more common from this period onwards would play a strong role in this increase. Above all else, the authors of such material were concerned that the religious teaching that they sought to impart would be set forth in terms that were readily comprehensible. It was natural then that the language they wrote was heavily influenced by the language as they spoke it – and which would be easily understood – so that a significant number of dialectal traits slipped into their works. A further increase of such traits in Irish literature would occur in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century with texts which Williams describes as “leabhair chomhrá”.<sup>1</sup>

### *The continuing influence of Classical Irish*

The importance of this development, however, should not be overstated in that it is only relatively recently that dialectal traits have got the upper hand on Classical Irish in Irish literature. As Williams reminds us:

[B]a choimeádach an dream iad scríobhaithe na Gaeilge agus is díol suntais a dhlúithe agus a chloígh a bhformhór leis an bhfriotal liteartha anuas go dtí lár an 19ú haois agus ní b’fhaide fós. (1994: 447)

Accordingly, it is noteworthy that Ahlqvist names *Dinn*. – the last edition of which was published in 1927 – as the source for classical spelling in the table he has created to identify the various significant steps in the development of Irish orthography:

Sa tríú colún tá an sampla céanna i litriú ‘*clasaiceach*’ an Duinnínigh. (1994: 57)<sup>2</sup>

Tríd is tríd, thug obair fhoclóireachta an Duinnínigh cruth ‘*clasaiceach*’ deimhneach do litriú na Gaeilge. (ibid. 44)

<sup>1</sup> In this regard Williams cites Aodh Ó Dálaigh, Muiris Ó Gormáin, William Neilson, and Aodh Mac Domhnaill. (1994: 447).

<sup>2</sup> Italics are mine.



Thus the influence of classical Irish on works of Irish literature would persist until the standardisation of the language in the mid-twentieth century so that the occurrence of dialectal traits in literary texts from the 17<sup>th</sup> century on would be limited in relative terms. Since, as was noted above, *FMh* was composed at some time in the mid- to late seventeenth century it is to be expected that the language used in this version will exhibit some dialectal traits but also will be strongly shaped by the influence of classical Irish. For the sake of clarity then the language as it occurs in prose material – influenced as it was by the language used for the composition of *Dán Díreach* – will be referred to as ‘classical Irish’ (note the use of the lower-case initial) as opposed to ‘Classical Irish’ which is used on the rare occasion when this poetic language itself is under discussion.

#### *Linguistic influences on FMh*

As a story focused on theological matters it seems evident that *FMh* belongs to group A, that is, the first of the two groups which McManus identified as regards the prose works of the Early Modern Irish period. It is important to remember, however, that the religious teaching at the heart of the tale are expressed using a narrative more akin to a romance story and is found in a MS. in which other such stories are found. This points to the probability that it also contains some examples of *bréagársáíocht* so that the text will exhibit indications of classical Irish, dialectal traits and *bréagársáíocht*.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> “Níor chóras seasta é córas litrithe na Nua-Ghaeilge Moiche ar a lán slite... mhair eolas áirithe ar nósanna litrithe na Sean-Ghaeilge, ionas gur minic a rinneadh iarrachtaí aithris a dhéanamh orthu, go háirithe i lámhscríbhinní a raibh seantéacsanna iontu. Uaireanta, áfach, chuaigh na scríobhaithe thar fóir le hobair den chineál sin, agus bréagársáíochtaí á gcur isteach ina dtéacsanna acu. (Ahlqvist, 1994: 40)

## 12. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

### FÍS MHEIRLÍNO

112a In ainm Dé

Do bhaoi ann feacht n-aill i ríoghacht na Boihéime duine áirighe darbh ainm Meirlíno Maligno agus is amhlaidh do bhaoi an t-óglach sin, ba duine millteanach mallaidh é, óir ní roibh cádhas aige do chill nó do  
5 thuaith do chara nó do namhaid acht [do bhí ] ag slad agus ag brad agus ag marbhadh daoine ar a leapthaibh agus ag déanamh gach uile oilc. Agus do bhí áitreabh agus fáras aige i ndiamhraibh coillteach agus corrach, áit nach bíodh tathaigh nó imtheacht ag lucht stiúrtha dlighidh Dé nó an tsaoghail air.

10 Tarla dhó uair áirighe – agus é ag siubhal d’iarraidh díbheirge rena dhéanamh – go háite ina roibhe pobal mór daoine cruinn ag éisteacht re seanmóir do bhí diaghairne agus duine rónaofa do dhéanamh dhóibh. Agus iar dteacht i measc cháich dhó níor léig an ghnúis náire dhó an tseanmóir do sheachna agus fós d’eagla aithne do bhreith fair nó go  
15 mbéarthaí i láthair an dlighe é agus ar na hadhbharaibh soin – agus ní ar ghrádh bhréithire Dé – do leig ar a ghlúinibh fear mar chách é agus do éist an tseanmóir ó thús go deireadh agus do bhí ag éisteacht ris an

112b tseanmóntaidh binnghlórach ag foilsíughadh / agus ag faisnéis aoibhnis agus ollghairdis na glóire suthaine agus na coróine glórmhaire do bhí  
20 ullamh ag Dia i gcoinne na droinge do nigheadh a thoil agus toil na heaglaise agus leas a gcomharsan. Agus mar an gcéadna na pianta síoraidhthe do bhí ullamh i gcoinne lucht na mallacht agus na míghníomh agus i gcoinne lucht an uabhair agus na hantola. Acht cheana tug Meirlíno dá aire go mór an méad do labhair an seanmóraidh in aghaidh  
25 lucht na gadaidheacht agus lucht bhriste an dlighidh agus shantaidhe choda a gcomharsan, agus olcas na háiteadh do bhí dá hullmhughadh fána n-urchoimhair. Ciodh tráocht iar gcríochnughadh na seanmóra don

## THE VISION OF MEIRLÍNO

In the name of God

There was once a certain man in the kingdom of Bohemia named Merlino Maligno, and this is the kind of young man he was; a destructive and accursed being he was for he respected neither clergy or laity, friend or  
5 foe, but did plunder and pillage and slaughter people in their beds and did commit every evil deed. And he was wont to inhabit unvisited places, wooded and rugged, which were not frequented by those who direct the law of God and the world.

On a certain occasion when he was out roaming and intent upon engaging  
10 in pillage, he happened upon a place where a great crowd of people had gathered and was listening to a sermon which a theologian and most holy man was preaching to them. And having found himself in their midst, his shamefacedness, alongside his fear of being recognised and brought before the law, prevented him from avoiding the sermon. So for  
15 those reasons – and not out of love of the word of God – he fell to his knees like all the rest and heard the sermon from beginning to end. He listened to the eloquent preacher setting forth and explaining the bliss and the jubilation of eternal glory, and the glorious crown which God had prepared for those who might follow the will of God and the Church and  
20 do good by their neighbours; and likewise he heard of the eternal punishments prepared for the accursed and for evil-doers, for the proud and the lustful. Merlino, however, took particular heed of what the preacher said against thieves, law-breakers and those who covet their neighbours' goods, and of the wretchedness of the place which was being  
25 prepared for them. In any case, after the theologian had finished the

diagaire agus iar scrúdadh bhréithaire Dé go grianda grianghlan, agus iar  
 nochtadh na bpian agus na *dtoirminte* do bhí fá chomhair lucht na  
 30 mallacht dhó, do scaoileadar cách go coitcheann agus do chuaidh gach  
 aon díobh dá bhaile féin.

Dála Meirlíno annso, iar n-éirghe ón tseanmóir dhó, do smuain ann féin  
 narbh fhéidir gurbh fhírinneach gacha a ndubhairt an seanmóraidh nó  
 nárbh eadh. Acht cheana is eadh do thrácht ina mheanmain nárbh fhéidir  
 35 gurbh fhírinneach é ar aon chor agus nach roibhe in[s]a méad adeireadh  
 113a an eaglas / dá thaoibh sin, acht cluain agus mealladh agus milseacht  
 dochum uamhain do chur ar na Críostaidhaibh agus beatha na heaglaise  
 do bhuaibh díobh.

Gan fhéachain dó sin, ní roibhe lá nó aoidhche ó sin amach nach roibhe  
 40 briathartha an tseanmóraidh [ag] tiecht ina cheann agus ina chuimhne  
 agus [ag] buaidhreadh a intinne go mór. Agus is eadh do smuanaigh, dá  
 madh é toil Dé, go madh fearr leis ná maitheas na talmhan aon amharc  
 amhain d'fhaicsin ar ifreann, ionnas go mbiadh dearfa narbh fhíor nó  
 nárbh eadh, gach a ndubhairt an diagaire lá na seanmóra agus do bhí an  
 45 smuaineadh sin [ag] teacht de shíorghnáth ina cheann agus ag  
 comhbuaidhreadh a intinne go mór.

Lá dh'áirighe 'na dhiaidh sin, do rinne Meirlíno ionadh coinne re  
 compánach do bhaoi aige darb ainm Uríno, do bhíodh ag cuidiugh leis  
 goid agus greis do dhéanamh. Agus is é áit ina ndearnadar ionadh coinne  
 50 ag eadarscaradh dhá bhealach agus is é Meirlíno is taosca táinic ann, agus  
 ní fada do bhaoi ann an tan do connairc Uríno dá ionsaigh. Agus iar  
 dteacht de láthair dhó do shuidh i bhfochair Mheirlíno agus do bhádar ag  
 tráchtadh ar an turas do bhí rompa agus ag déanamh comhairle cá conair a  
 113b ngéabhdís. Agus is air do chinneadh / leo dul go cathair atá san  
 55 mBoihéim darb ainm Pragansa, mar a roibhe aonach mór ag cruinniugh  
 agus go bhfuighdís éadail agus adhairp lena dhéanamh ann.

sermon – brilliantly scrutinising the word of God with luminous clarity, and laying bare the punishments and torments in store for the accursed – most of the crowd dispersed, each going to his own home.

Now as regards Merlino, when he had risen from the sermon he wondered  
30 to himself whether it was possible that all the preacher said was true or not. He convinced himself, however, that there could be no truth to it, and that what the Church said in that regard was nothing but deception, beguilement and flattery intended to frighten Christians and to elicit the upkeep of the Church from them. Nevertheless, there was neither a day  
35 or night from then on when the preacher's words did not come into his head and his mind and seriously unsettle his disposition. And so he thought, if it were God's pleasure, he would prefer more than the wealth of the world to get one single glimpse of hell so that he could be sure whether all that the theologian said on the day of the sermon was true or  
40 not. And that thought came persistently into his mind disturbing his spirit immensely.

On a certain day soon afterwards Merlino arranged a rendezvous with a companion of his whose name was Urino and who was his accomplice in acts of theft and violence. And the place where they rallied was at the  
45 parting of two ways, and although Merlino got there first, he was not long there when he saw Urino approaching him. When he had arrived on the scene he sat alongside Merlino and they discussed the journey which lay ahead of them and deliberated upon which path they would take. And they decided that they would go to a city in Bohemia called Pragansa  
50 where a great assembly was gathering, and that they would find spoils and exploit to do there.

Iar mbeith ar an gcomhrádh sin dáibh is eadh do connadar dá n-ionsoigh sa ród an iomad de mharcshluagh mhear mheanmnach mhóraigeantach agus de chóistibh agus de charbadaibh, agus d'eachaibh

60 áille éagsamhla agus éadaigh líoghdha lánmhaiseacha lán den ór agus den airgead agus de phéarlaidhibh ortha agus éagsamhlacht gacha ceoil dá chantain rompu agus 'na ndiaidh agus ar gach taoibh dhíobh.

“A chompánaigh ghrádhaidh,” ar Meirlíno, “an bhfidir tú cúi hiad an marcshluagh so chugainn,” ar sé.

65 “Ro fhidir sin,” ar Uríno, “.i. iarla mór atá sa gcrí se darb ainm Plútando agus do rinne coirm mhór i gcoinne an rígh agus thighearnadh na ríoghacht so agus ag súd cuid dhíobh ag dul ar cuireadh go baile an Iarla,” ar sé.

“Máiseadh,” ar Meirlíno, “cá fios nárbh fhearr dhúinne áit ina rachmís

70 d'iarraidh éadála ná 'na measc súd, óir do cím go bhfuil saibhreas agus ionnmhas mór 'na dtimcheall? Agus an eolach thusa go baile an iarla?” ar sé.

114a “Is eolach go deimhin,” ar Uríno “agus déanmid 'na measc / agus bíam ag éisteacht ris an gceol agus ris an móraobhneas úd acu nó go ndeacham go

75 baile [an] iarla.”

Do críochnaidheadh an chomhairle sin leo agus do gluaiseadar i measc na n-uasal agus do bhádar lán d'aoibhneas 'na measc nó go rángadar baile an iarla. Ciodh trácht do bhádar mórán de dhaoineibh bochta uiríseal táinic sa ród sin darbh *éigean* an bealach do sheachna, óir níor fhuiling na

80 cóisteadh agus an eachraidh mhearualacha agus na daoine uaisle ardaigeantacha dhóibh siubhal 'na measc óir fa masla mór leo ortha féin daoine comh uiríseal droch-éadaigh leo sin do shiubhal in aon tslighe leo.

Dá bhrígh sin, *dob'éigean* dona daoinibh uiríseal so bealach eile, do bhí lán de chlochaibh círghéara agus do dhreasaibh cogantacha creimneacha

85 agus den uile dhochar do ghabháil, ar mhodh go roibhe a gcosa agus a

While they were engaged in that conversation they saw many sprightly, bold and highly-spirited bands of horsemen, a great number of coaches and chariots and all kinds of splendid horses approaching them on the  
55 road. They were clad in lustrous, highly decorated garments full of gold and silver and pearls while a variety of all kinds of songs was being sung before, after and all around them.

“My dear friend,” said Merlino, “knowest thou who are these horsemen who approach us?”

60 “I do indeed,” said Urino, “to wit, there is a great Earl called Plutando in this land and he has organised a great ale-feast for the king and princes of this kingdom and these here are some of them who go as invited guests to the court of the Earl,” he said.

“If it be so,” said Merlino, perhaps there would be no better place for us  
65 to make spoils than amongst them for I see that they are surrounded by riches and great wealth. But do you know the way to the court of the Earl?”

“Certainly I do ,” said Urino, “so let us join them and listen to their music and great festivity until we reach the Earl’s homestead”.

70 Thus ended their discussion and they proceeded among the nobles and participated wholeheartedly in the merriment surrounding them until they reached the homestead of the Earl.

There were, however, many poor and humble people who came along that road but *who were forced* to yield the way since the coaches and the  
75 highly-restless team of horses and high-spirited nobles did not suffer them to travel in their midst, for they considered it a great disgrace to travel on the same path as people as ignoble and poorly-clad as these. Because of that, these lowly ones *were compelled* to take another path, one full of sharp-ridged stones and clawing, biting brambles and every  
80 misery so that their feet and their skin had been cut and wounded and

gcroithcheann arna ngearradh agus arna gcréachtnughadh agus go roibheadar lán de chor agus de thart agus de ghorta agus de gach mór-imshníomh [as] haithle na conaire athtuirsigh sin dob *éigean* dhóibh do ghabháil.

- 90 Dála Meirlíno agus a chomhpánaigh, iar mbeith dhóibh i gcuideachta na  
*114b* n-usal sa tslighe réidh / rófhairsing sin, tángadar go baile an iarlo agus fa hálainn uraoibhinn i dtimcheall an bhaile sin don leith amuigh óir fa hiomdhaidh magh mínálainn mínscothach ann, lán de luibhibh agus de bhláthaibh agus de thorthaibh taitneamhacha agus de ghreadhaibh agus de  
 95 ghroidhibh agus de gach uile ní fa taitnimeach re súil dhaonna d’fhaicsin. Agus fós fuaradar cóisteadh agus carbait, eachraidh agus ionnmhas na dtighearnadh agus na n-usal so adubhramar ar feadh na machaireadh sin gan aird, gan araidh, gan aon neach ar a n-amharc nó dá gcumhdach agus na huaisle féin uile idir fhear agus mnaoi agus ghiolla agus leacaidh agus  
 100 iar ndul isteach sa bpalás sin Phlútando.

Do labhair Meirlíno agus is eadh adubhairt: “Dar liom féin, a chomhpánaigh,” ar sé, “ní bhfuighmís am badh fearr ná so ar ní do breith linn óir do chím eachraidh agus ionnmhas na n-usal annso gan aon neach dá gcumhdach nó dá gcoimhead.”

- 105 “Ní hamhlaidh atá,” ar Uríno, “acht tiaghmuid isteach i measc cháich acht go bhfaghmuid ár gcuid den choirm agus go ndeachaid na huaisle fá dhigh agus fá chomhól agus is annsin ba husa dhúinn faille agus am  
*115a* d’fhagháil agus ár dtoil féin / do dhéanamh.

Do críochnaidheadh an chomhairle sin leo agus tiaghaid isteach sa gcúirt.

- 110 Agus an áit inar shaoil Meirlíno ól agus aoibhneas, ceol agus cuideachta, áineas agus ollghairdeas d’fhagháil, is eadh do fuair an ní fa hiongnadh agus fa huafás leis ann .i. tinte agus teannála, oird agus orlaigheacht, gártha agus géarghol, greadadh agus cúradh, loscadh agus dódhadh, mallacht agus eascaoin, sciúradh agus pianadh agus searbghártha



they were full of fatigue and thirst and hunger and of every kind of anxiety after that wearisome path they had been compelled to take.

As regards Merlino and his companion, after having been in the company of the nobles on that smooth, broad path they came to the court of the  
85 Earl. And the surroundings of that homestead were so lovely and pleasant on the outside there being many fine and beautiful smooth and flowery plains there full of splendid plants, blossoms and fruits and of steeds and horses and all that would please a man's eye. And they also found the coaches, chariots, horses and riches of these aforementioned  
90 lords and nobles all over those plains, unheeded and without attendant, with no one able to see or protect them when all the nobles themselves – man, woman, page and lackey alike – had gone into that Palace of Plutando.

Merlino spoke, saying: "It seems to me, my friend," said he, "that we  
95 may not get a better opportunity than this to carry something off with us for I see the horses and the riches of the nobles here with no one to protect or watch over them."

"Not so," said Urino, "but let us first join all the others until we get our share of the ale and until the nobles are in their cups for then it  
100 will be easier for us to get the occasion and opportunity to do as we please."

Thus ended their parley and they then went into the palace. But where Merlino expected to find carousing and festivity, music and merrymaking, enjoyment and rejoicing, he found instead that which  
105 astonished and horrified him, namely, fires and flames, sledge-hammers and sledging, shouts and bitter weeping, lashing and beating, burning and roasting, cursing and malediction, scourging and punishing, and the rancorous and resonant cries of damned souls; and the loathsomeness and terrifying appearance of the hideously-coloured devils and demons

115 siansánacha na n-anmann ndamanta; agus urghráin agus uamhan na  
ndiabhal agus na ndeamhan ndathghránna ag freastal agus ag friothólamh  
na bpian n-ábhal ndofhuiling do na hanmannaibh damhanta sin go  
comhchoitcheanna.

Arna fhaicsin sin do Mheirlíno iseadh adubhairt, “a chompánaigh  
120 ghrádhaidh,” ar sé, “créad is ciall don áit se ina dtángamar? Agus má do  
bhí eolas agatsa urtha, is cosmhail gur fheallais ormsa tré mo tharraing  
ann agus dair liom nach biadh ar mo chumas dul thair m’ais amach aiste  
go bráth.”

“Do bhí eolas agam annso,” ar an compánach, “agus ní mé do  
125 chompánach amhail mar shaoil tusa, acht spiorad de muintir Dé  
uilechumhachta do chuir sé at’ionsaigh-se do thaispeánadh an neithe do  
115b bhí ann do mheanmain / i gcomhnaidhe dhuit .i. amharc d’fhaicsin ar  
ifreann agus ar na piantaibh atá fá chomhair lucht na mallacht agus ag so  
ifreann,” ar sé.

130 “Truagh sin,” ar Meirlíno, “ag sin an ní nár chreid mise ariamh agus anois  
agus do shaoil mé nach roibh acht cealgaireacht ag na diagairibh agus  
aige na seanmóntaoibh do bhí dá theagasc sin dhúinn. Agus do chím  
anois go gcaithfe mé fuireach i measc na droinge damanta so go  
síorthaighe, uair ní mó do thuill aon duine annso pianta d’fhagháil ná  
135 mise, de bhrígh nach dearna mé aon ní de réir thoile Dé ariamh acht gach  
aon ní in aghaidh a thoile.”

“Ní fhuireachair den chor so,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “óir do bhéara mise  
dochum an tsaoghail thú arís acht go dtaispeánaid cuid de phiantaibh  
ifrinne agus na droinge damanta dhuit.”

140 Iar sin do connairc Meirlíno sluaigh líonmhar de dhaoine móra  
pearsanta dá ionsaigh agus éadaighe dubha daoldhathacha dathghránna  
forra agus go madh glonmhaire an t-éadach soin ná éadach mná tair éis a

110 meting out immense and unbearable punishments to those damned souls  
in general.

Having seen that, Merlino spoke thus: “My beloved friend,” he said,  
“what is the meaning of this place to which we have come? And if you  
had knowledge of it, it seems you have deceived me by luring me here  
115 and, methinks, it will never be within my power to leave it.”

“I did know of it,” said the companion, “except I am not the comrade you  
supposed me to be, but a spirit of the disciples of God almighty whom he  
sent to you to show you that which you were ever wont to ponder,  
namely, to behold hell and the punishments awaiting the accursed, and  
120 this,” said he, “is hell”.

“Alas,” said Merlino, “for that is something I never believed until now  
but supposed only to be deception by the theologians and preachers who  
had taught it to us. I realize now that I must forever remain here amongst  
this throng of the damned since no one here has deserved to suffer  
125 punishment more than I, because I never acted according to the will of  
God but rather did everything to the contrary.

“You will not remain here on this occasion,” said the Spirit guide, “for I  
will bring you back to the world again as soon as I have shown you some  
of the punishments of hell and of the damned throng.”

130 After that Merlino saw an abundant host of most imposing people  
approaching him, wearing black, chafer-hued and hideously-coloured  
garments and more repugnant was that raiment than the clothing of a

- tuismidh; agus dragún teintighe mar each faoi gach duine dhíobh agus
- 116a coróin teintighe ar ceann gach aoin díobh agus lasair gháibheach
- 145 ghráineamhail as / a mbéal agus a mbrághaid amach; agus diabhal dubh dathghrána 'na shuidhe ar gualainn gach aoin díobh agus sciúrsa teintighe ina láimh agus iad [ag] sciúradh agus [ag] súisteadh na droinge damhanta sin tríd thintibh agus lasrachaibh greadacha géarnimhe, agus seal dá ruagadh gus an loch nimhe do bhí ar béalaibh na tineadh agus ón
- 150 loch gus an teinidh arís agus go hadhbhaidh na bpian marfach mbásamhail agus na dronga damhanta sin a[g] gárthaibh agus a[g] géarghol agus ag síorscairtigh ar an mbás agus an bás ag teitheadh rompa. “An bhfidir tú,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “cúí hiad an drong úd do chí tú dá bpianadh mar súd?”
- 155 “Ní fhidir,” ar Meirlíno, “acht ro-fhidir gur mór na pianta atá ortha.” “Atá pianta is mó ná [a] bhfaiceann tusa ortha,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh. “Agus ag súd,” ar sé, “na ríthe agus na prionnsadh agus na hiarladh do connairc tú ó chianaibh sna cóistibh agus ann sna carbataibh agus lán de mhuirn agus d’uail an tsaoghail. Agus na magha áille do connairc tú i
- 160 dtimcheall na cúirte se amuigh, ag sin an saoghal cealgach mealltach meabhlach do mheall an muintir úd,” ar sé. Agus na neithe rér mealladh iad, mar atá, ór agus airgead agus ionnmhas agus na heich áilne do chí tú,
- 116b gur fhágbhadar ar an tsaoghal féin iad ag daoibh eile agus gan aon ní / dhá dtarbha aca féin anois acht pianta síoraidhthe ar an adhbhar go
- 165 bhfuaradar féin bás i bpeacadh an díomais agus in éiric na n-éadach líoga lánmhaiseach do bhíodh ortha as a ndearnadar uail agus anuabhar atá na héadaighe dubha diabhlaidhe úd ortha bhias dá gcúradh agus dá ngreadadh agus dá ngnáthphianadh an feadh bhias Dia ag caitheamh na glóire. Agus in éiric an ardaignidh agus an leatroim agus an mhasla agus

woman after childbirth. And 'neath every one of them was a fiery dragon like a horse, each with a fiery crown upon their heads and a terrible, 135 dreadful flame issuing from their mouths and gullets. Upon each of their shoulders there sat a vile, ill-hued devil – each with a fiery scourge in his hand – who were scourging and thrashing that damned throng through scorching and agonising fires and blazes, driving them, first towards the lake of venom opposite the fire, from the lake to the fire again and then 140 on to the abode of deadly, mortal punishments, while that damned multitude wailed and wept bitterly and cried constantly for a death that ever eluded them.

“Do you know,” said the Spirit guide, “who those are whom you see being punished in that manner?”

145 “I do not,” said Merlino, “but I do know that they are suffering immense punishments.”

“They are suffering greater punishments than you see,” said the Spirit guide, “for those are the kings and the princes and the earls whom you saw just now in the coaches and chariots full of exuberance and worldly 150 pride. The beautiful plains you saw outside around this palace that is the deceitful, false and delusive world which beguiled the aforementioned band of people. The things by which they were seduced, namely, gold and silver and wealth and the splendid horses you see, these they have left in the world in the possession of other people with nothing now to show 155 for them but eternal punishments, since they themselves died in the sin of pride. In return for the lustrous, highly decorated clothing which they were wont to wear and of which they were so excessively proud, they now wear those dark devilish garments which will beat and lash and ever afflict them for as long as God enjoys heavenly bliss. In return for 160 the haughtiness and oppression and insult and contempt with which they treated the lowly and those who poured themselves out for God, they

170 an mhímheasa do bhíodh aca ar dhaoineibh uirísle agus ar an muintir do  
 dhoirteadh iad féin do Dhia atáid na diabhair úd do chí tú ar a nguailibh  
 comhtrom re sliabh ar a muin dá mbrughadh agus dá mórmhaslughadh,  
 agus re haghaidh a bheith [ag] friothólamh na bpian ndofhulaing ortha tré  
 shaoghal na saoghal; agus ag sin críoch lucht an díoma[i]s agus an  
 175 anuabhair,” ar sé.

Do chí Meirlíno, as a haithle sin, sluagh ábhalmhór de mhnáibh dubha  
 diabhlaidhe dathghrána chuige as adhbhaidh na bpian agus péist dhubh  
 dhiabhlaidhe, ar a roibhe mong chíordhubh – agus go madh rinnidhe gach  
 aon ruainne den mhoing sin ná rinn snáthaite caoile – casta fá

180 bhrághaid agus mhuinéal gach aoin díobh. Agus dhá dhiabhal  
 chráinteacha chreimneach chíordhubha ag súgh agus ag diúl cíoch agus  
 117a ochta gach aon mhná dhíobh / agus a súile ar luathlasadh ina gceann agus  
 uibhir dho-áirmhe de dheamhnaibh damnta ’na dtimcheall agus sciúrsa  
 teintighe i láimh gach deamhan díobh agus iad ag sciúradh agus [ag]  
 185 súisteadh agus ag greadadh agus ag gothradh na mban sin ar teallach  
 teintighe na bpian.

“An bhfidir tú,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “créad um a bhfuil an drong úd dá  
 bpianadh mar súd?”

“Ní fhidir,” ar Meirlíno, “acht níor chreid mé ariamh gur chruithidh Dia  
 190 in ifreann uile oirid pian agus do chím ar aon anam amháin aca súd,” ar  
 sé.

“Ag súd,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “an drong fuair bás i bpeacadh na drúise  
 agus tá an athair nimhe úd do chí tú casta fá brághaid gach aoin díobh in  
 éiric na scaball agus na slabhradh agus na n-órnasc do chuidís fána

195 mbrághaid agus fána muinéal do mhealladh fhear na mban pósta agus na  
 bhfear coil agus an lasair úd do chí [tú] as a súilibh, atá in éiric na n-  
 amharc claon agus mailíseach do bheidís ar na fearaibh neamhpósta.  
 Agus na diabhair chreimneacha úd do chí tú ag súgh agus ag deol a

have those devils you see on their shoulders – as heavy as a mountain –  
oppressing and reviling them, in order to mete out unendurable  
165 punishments on them for ever. And that,” he said, “is the lot of the proud  
and the arrogant.”

After that Merlino sees a vast host of black, devilish, and ill-hued women  
coming towards him from the house of punishments. Twisted around the  
throat of every of one these was a black, devilish beast, each of which had  
170 a jet-black mane; and every single hair in that mane was more sharply-  
pointed than the tip of a fine needle. There were two gnawing and biting  
jet-black devils sucking on the breasts of each of these women. Their  
eyes burned quickly in their heads and there was an myriad number of  
wicked demons surrounding them who were scourging, thrashing, lashing  
175 and roasting them on the fiery hearth of suffering.

“Do you know,” said the Spirit guide, “why yonder multitude is being  
punished in that manner?”

“I do not,” said Merlino, “but I never believed that God created in all of  
hell as many punishments as I see on even one of those souls.”

180 “Behold,” said the Spirit guide, “those who died in the sin of lust. The  
venomous serpent you see twisted around each of their throats is in return  
for the necklets and neck-chains and gold clasps which they used to put  
around their throats and their necks to entice married or sinful men. That  
flame which you see issuing from their eyes is in return for the iniquitous  
185 and malignant looks they used to steal of unmarried men; the two  
gnawing devils whom you see sucking their breasts are in return for the

gcíoch atáid in éiric na glacaireachta truailidhi do fhuilngidís do  
 200 dhéanamh ar a gcorp agus ar a gcroiceann agus na diabhail úd do chí  
 117b tú dá sciúradh / agus ag friothólamh na bpian dáibh atáid in éiric na  
 droinge lena ndearnador na peacaidh ghráineamhla agus biad dá bpianadh  
 amhlaidh súd an feadh bhias Dia ina shíoraidheacht. Agus ag so na  
 briathara do bhíodh i mbéal gach aoin díobh.

205 In éiric pheacadh na drúise . ina bhfaghmís dúil is taitneamh,  
 Tá diabhail dhubha mar dhaolaibh . ag creim ár dtaoibh 's ár  
 gcreata.

Haithle na droinge sin do chí Meirlíno drong eile d'anmannaibh  
 damhanta dá ionsaigh as adhbhaidh na bpian, agus craos gach aoin aca  
 210 oslaighthe agus lasair ghráineamhail as béal agus as sróin agus as súilibh  
 gach aoin díobh, agus an iomad de phiastaibh dubha dathghrána [ag]  
 tiecht amach agus isteach tríd an lasair sin ina mbéal. Agus [bhí] leabhar i  
 láimh gach aoin aca agus línte dubha scríofa ionta, agus ag so na briathara  
 do léighdís as na leabhraibh sin.

215 Is iadso na pianta ábhal . do bheir na gártha cinnte.

Is orainn atá méad gach deacair . toradh pheacadh na sainte.

“An bhfidir tú an drong úd?” ar an Spiorad eolaigh.

“Ní fhidir,” ar Meirlíno, “acht is ortha ’tá na pianta dofhuiling.”

“Ag súd,” ar an Spiorad, “an drong fuair bás i bpeacadh na sainte, mar

220 atá, an lucht dlighe do thagradh cás na héagóra mar gheall ar ór agus ar

118a ionnmhas agus gach / duine nó gach drong ainmhianach eile do shantadh  
 cuid a gcomharsan agus do nigheadh leatrom na n-anbhann agus na  
 ndíleachtadh agus na ndeoradh mar gheall ar shaibhreas bréagach  
 diombuan an tsaoghail do tharraing ortha féin,” ar sé.

225 Do chí Meirlíno sluagh ábhalmhór eile chuige as adhbhaidh na bpian



immodest touching they did suffer to do on their bodies. The devils you see scourging and meting out punishments on them are in return for those with whom they committed shameful sins. In these ways will they be  
 190 punished for as long as God abides in his eternity. These are the words which are in each of their mouths:

In requital for the sin of lust, where we did find desire and pleasing  
 There are devils black like beetles, gnawing our flank and our  
 ribcage.

195 After that multitude Merlino sees yet another band of condemned souls approaching him from the house of punishment, and each of their gullets lay open and a dreadful flame issued from the mouths and noses and eyes of each them and there was a great number of black, ill-hued beasts coming out and in through that flame in their mouths. In their  
 200 hands they each held a book in which black lines were written and these are the words which they read from those books:

Immense the punishments these, that cause incessant crying  
 We suffer the utmost hardships, the fruit of the sin of avarice.

“Do you know that multitude?” said the Spirit guide.

205 “I do not,” said Merlino, “but intolerable are the punishments they suffer.”

“Behold those,” said the Spirit, “who died in the sin of avarice, namely, litigators who pleaded cases of injustice in return for gold and wealth, and every lustful person or crowd who coveted their neighbours goods and  
 210 who acted unfairly towards the weak, the orphaned and outcasts so to draw the false and transitory wealth of the world to themselves.”

Merlino [then] sees another vast host approach him from the abode of punishments and twisted beneath the nose of each one of them were two poisonous snakes and each of these had a scorching dart of fire thrust into  
 215 each of their eyes. And those are the words they recited:

agus dhá athair nimhneach nimhe casta fá bhun sróna gach aoin díobh agus gath teintighe tineadh ag gach athair aca sáithe ina gach súil dá súilibh. Agus ag so na briathara do chandís.

Ag so na súile mallaidh . ina bhfuil lasair nimhe.

230 Ag so súil na tnútha . do bheir dár gcúradh sinne.

“Ag súd,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “an drong fuair bás i bpeacadh an tnútha agus in éiric an amhairc mhallaidh iomthnúithtigh do bheirdís ar chuid a gcomharsan, atáid na diabhair úd sáighte ina súilibh dá ngéarphianadh an feadh bhias Dia ag caitheamh na glóire, maille re gach cinéal péine eile dá bhfuil ortha.”

As a haithle sin féachas Meirlíno seachad agus do chí loch mór ina roibh uisce ar dhath an domblais ae. Agus is é dob ainm dhó Loch na Nimhe óir an méad do chruthaigh Dia ar droim domhain do mhuirfeadh aon  
118b bhraon / amháin d’uisce an locha sin iad tré rómhéad a fhuachta, agus  
240 morán de dhaoineibh ’na suí ann go nuige a smeach agus an iliomad de bhiadhaibh taitneamhach [ag] snámh ar an uisce ina bhfiaghnaise agus gan ar cumas dáibhsean an biadh soin d’fhéachain nó bhlasadh óir do bhádar a gcosa agus a lámha creapailte i ghlasaibh na bpian agus iad ag tairgsin amas do thabhairt ar an mbiadh sin rena mbéal agus gan tarbha  
245 dhóibh ann. Agus ag so na briathara chandís.

In éiric an bhídh nár locas . is [a] olcas do nighinn troscadh.

Tá gorta mór is íota . is biam chaoidhche dár loscadh.

“Ag súd,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “an drong fuair bás i bpeacadh an chraois agus in éiric na mbiadh mblasta milis agus bhriseadh an troisce agus na  
250 hantola tugadar don cholainn cholach ainmhianaidh ar an tsaoghal atáid na biadha úd do chí tú ’na bhfiaghnaise agus gan ar cumas dáibh a mblasadh go bráth. Agus is eadh is deoch dhóibh in éiric na póite agus na meisce agus na hantola, domblas ae agus mormónta. Agus in éiric na leaptha sásta agus a laghad do bheirdís de chrádh troisce nó urnaighe dá

Accursèd are these eyes, where's found a virulent flame,  
 Covetous eyes they are, which bring us to our chastisement.

“Behold those,” said the Spirit guide, “who died in the sin of envy and in return for the detestible envious glances which they stole of their  
 220 neighbour's goods those devils are thrust into their eyes and will sorely afflict them for as long as God will be enjoying heavenly bliss, and likewise for every other kind of punishment which they suffer.”

After that, Merlino looked aside and saw a great lake which contained bile-coloured water. It was named the Lake of Venom since one single  
 225 drop of its water would kill all that God has created on the face of the earth on account of the magnitude of its coldness. He saw, moreover, many people sitting chin-deep in [this water] and there was a great abundance of pleasing foods floating before them on the water. They were unable to try or to taste it, however, since their limbs were bound in  
 230 fetters of punishment. They attempted to grab it with their mouths but this did them no good. These are the words they recited:

For the food that I did not refuse and for how poorly I did fast,  
 There's great hunger and devouring thirst, and us forever burning.

“Behold those,” said the Spirit guide, “who died in the sin of gluttony,  
 235 and in return for the tasty sweet foods, for the breaking of the fast, and for their sating their sinful lustful bodies throughout life, they are faced with those foods you see that they will never be able to taste. What they have for drink, in return for excessive drinking and drunkenness and lack of restraint, is bile and wormwood. In return for the comfortable bed and  
 240 for their meagre efforts at tormenting their bodies with prayer and fasting,

255 gcorpaibh biaidh an t-uisce úd do chí tú dá gcúradh / agus dá ngreadadh  
 119a re nimh ghéarloisc[th]e an fhuachta agus anróidh an feadh bhias Dia ina  
 shíoraidheacht gan fhaoiseamh, gan fhurtacht, gan fhóirighin.  
 Féachas Meirlíno seachad agus do chí dronga dí-áirmhe de anmannaibh  
 damanta ar teallach teintighe na bpian agus tinte greadach

260 géarnimhneacha ar buanlasadh 'na dtimcheall agus sluagh ábhalmhór de  
 diabhlaihb uafara aigmhéile ag fadógh agus ag friothólamh na dteinteadh  
 sin friú agus dá gcongbháil ar urlár na bpian agus iad féin ag tuargain  
 agus ag tarraing agus ag treaghdadh a chéile sa tinidh sin. Agus ag so na  
 briathara do chandís.

265 In éiric na feirge fuafair . an phéist lér truailleadh sinne.

Ní fhaicfeam Dia go cinnte . dár bpianadh i dteintibh nimhe.

“Ag súd,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “an drong fuair bás i bpeacadh na feirge,  
 agus in éiric dhásaicht na feirge agus neamhcheansaigheacht na hintinne  
 agus na heasumhlacht agus na heasurrama biaidh an drong úd dá gcúradh  
 270 agus dá ngéarnngreadadh ar urlár na bpian agus na diabhail úd ag  
 friothólamh na bpian ortha gan chríoch gan fhoircheann tré shaoghal na  
 saoghal.”

Féachas Meirlíno seachad agus do chí drong eile i seomraibh dubha  
 119b daordhorcha 'na luidhe ina leapthaibh caola cruachumhann agus  
 275 géibheann agus glasa / agus cruadhchuibhreach ortha agus na leapa sin  
 ar dearglasadh 'na dtimcheall agus fútha. Agus go mba bréine na  
 seomradh sin ná coirp mharbha tair éis morgaidh re teas gréine lán de  
 aithreachaibh nimhe agus de phiastaibh gráineamhla ag creim agus ag  
 crinn na droinge damanta sin do bhí sna glasaibh teintighe agus ag so na  
 280 briathara do chandís.

In éiric an leisce leonta . 's ó Aifreann Domhnaigh [a] casadh.

Táimid i nglasaibh cinnte . is tinte fúinn ar lasadh.

“Ag so,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “an drong fuair bás i bpeacadh na leisce,

that water you see will beat and lash them with agonising bitter coldness and hardship without relief, without aid or succour for as long as God in eternity will abide.

Merlino looked aside and saw countless bands of lost souls on the fiery  
 245 hearth of punishments where scorching agonising fires were burning perpetually around them. There was, to wit, a vast host of horrible, fierce devils kindling and attending those fires for them and keeping them on the floor of punishments, while they themselves were battering and tearing and wounding each other in that fire. And these are the words  
 250 they did spake:

In requital for odious anger, the beast that did corrupt us,

For sure we'll never see God, being chastised in virulent fires.

“Behold,” said the Spirit guide, “those who died in the sin of anger; and in return for the harshness of anger and for irascibility, disobedience and  
 255 disrespect that multitude will be beaten and thrashed viciously on the floor of punishments with those devils meting out punishments on them without stop or stay for ever and ever.”

Merlino looked aside and saw another multitude in intensely dark, gloomy rooms lying in their narrow and painfully constrictive beds  
 260 constrained by fetters, locks and cruel manacles. Those beds were, moreover, all aflame below and to their sides and those chambers stank more than do dead bodies after corruption in the heat of the sun. They were full of poisonous snakes and dreadful beasts gnawing and gnashing that condemned multitude which was clad in fiery fetters. These are the  
 265 words they recited:

In requital for pernicious sloth, and from Sunday Mass a' turning,

In fetters fixed we are, the blaze of fires beneath us.

“Behold,” said the Spirit guide, “those who died in the sin of sloth and

agus do fhanadh ó aifreann agus ó sheanmóradh agus ó sheirbhís Dé agus  
 285 do ghabhadh leisc re maithghníomh ar bioth do dhéanamh. Agus mar  
 éiric annsin biad sna glasaibh agus sna géibheannaibh agus sna  
 cuibhrighibh úd dá loscadh agus dá ngreadadh an feadh bhias Dia ag  
 caitheamh na glóire síoraidhthe gan dúil re fuascladh ná re furtacht  
 d’fhagháil astabh go bráth.

290 Adubhairt fear dá roibh dá bpianadh ar urlár na bpian:

“Och, a Dhia na mbreath bhfirinneach,” ar sé, “*is truagh* nach bhfuilim  
 féin ceathramh na huaire im’ cholainn daonnaidhe ar an tsaoghal arís.”

120a Do fhreagair spiorad damanta eile agus is eadh adubhairt: /

295 “A spioraid dhiabhlaidh dhamanta,” ar sé, “créad an sochar do bheith  
 ceathramh na huaire ar an tsaoghal agus do theilgean annso arís do mheall  
 teintighe tineadh go hadhbhaidh na bpian gan taise gan trocáire?”

“Ní hamhlaidh atá,” ar an spiorad damanta. “Dá mbeinn im’ cholainn  
 daonna arís de b[h]rígh go bhfuil *scán* agam ó na piantaibh síoraidhthe se  
 do dhoirtfinn mé féin comh mór agus sin do Dhia nach beith contabhairt  
 300 agam nó go bhfuighinn trócaire, de bhrígh nach bhfuil Dia ag iarraidh ar  
 an bpeacach acht aithreachas fírinneach as doimhneach a chraoidhe dá  
 mhéad peacadh do dhéanadh sé.”

“Máiseadh,” ar an dara fear, “ní mar sin tarla dhuit; acht mar nach  
 dearnais an t-aithreachas an feadh do bhí an t-am agat biair dot’ loscadh  
 305 annso tré shaoghal na saoghal gan fhurtacht gan fhóirighin.”

Do labhair Meirlíno ris an Spiorad eolaigh agus is eadh adubhairt:

“Má atá dúil ag an spiorad damanta,” ar sé, “dá mbiadh sé i gcolainn  
 daonna arís go ndiognadh sé aithreachas agus go bhfuigheadh trócaire,  
 ciodh dhamhsa nach déanainn aithreachas atá im’ cholainn daonna fós  
 310 agus nach dtugadh [Dia] breatheamhnas damanta orm dá mbeinn ar an  
 tsaoghal arís?”

“Ní bhfuil contabhairt annsin,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “óir ní iarrann Dia

who shirked Mass, sermons and Church services and who were loath to  
270 do any good deed. In return for that they will be in those locks and fetters  
and chains, being burned and scorched and without any hope of release or  
relief for as long as God rejoices in eternal heavenly bliss.

Said one of those being punished of the floor of punishments:

“O God of truthful judgements,” said he, “oh, would that I were back  
275 in the world for one more quarter hour!”

Another soul replied and said this:

“O devilish damned soul,” said he, “what is the good of being alive for a  
quarter hour and then to be cast back here again without compassion or  
mercy to the abode of punishments to a scorching and fiery destruction?”  
280 “Not so,” said the damned soul. “Were I alive again, since I would have  
had *a break* from these eternal punishments, I would devote myself to  
God so much that I would be sure that I would be granted mercy, because  
God only asks of the sinner true repentance from the depths of his heart  
no matter how many sins he may have committed.”

285 “Nevertheless,” said the second man, “that is not how it was for you, and  
since you did not repent while you had the time you will be being  
consumed by fire here for ever without aid or relief.”

Merlino spoke to the Spirit guide and this he said:

“If the damned soul,” said he, “hopes that – were he alive again – he  
290 would repent and would receive mercy, why should I – who am still alive  
– not repent so that a judgement of condemnation might not be passed  
upon me were I once more amongst the living?”

“Of that there is no doubt,” said the Spirit guide, “for God seeks only true

- 120b acht aithreachas fírinneach maille / re rún seasmhach gan tuiteam sa  
bpeacadh go bráth arís.”
- 315 “An mór leat na pianta so do chí [tú] ar an droing dhamanta so?” ar an  
Spiorad eolaigh.”  
“Do chím,” ar Meirlíno, “nach féidir le teangaidh a thuireamh nó le peann  
a scríobhadh nó le craoidhe daonna a smuanadh an céadabh cuid dá  
bhfuil de phiantaibh ar an tí is lugha pianta.”
- 320 “Máiseadh,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “tá pian is mó ná ’bhfaiceann tú ar  
gach aon díobh.”  
“Cionnas is féidir sin?” ar Meirlíno. “Nó an féidir go dtáinic le Dia pianta  
is mó ná mar do chím do chur ortha?”  
“Do táinic go deimhin,” ar an Spiorad, “.i. racht an éada agus na feirge dá  
325 dtachtadh agus dá gcomhbhrughadh go síorthaighe suthain,” ar sé.  
“Créad an fáth éada dob fhéidir leo do b[h]eith acu in ifreann,” ar  
Meirlíno, “an tan nach bhfaghann aon neach sochar ná fuarugh ann go  
bráth?”  
“Atá,” ar an Spiorad, “an tan do bheirtheair breatheamhnas damanta ar an  
330 duine, beirtheair ar amharc flaitheis Dé é agus taispéantar an ghlóir agus an  
t-aoibhneas síorthaighe do chaill sé re haon pheacadh amháin marfa dhó  
121a agus / taispéantar a chlann agus a chairde agus athair agus a mhathair dhó  
lán de ghlóir agus d’aoibhneas síorthaidhe agus, mar an gcéadna, sluagh  
dubh diabhlaidhe ar an lámh eile réidh dochum a fhuadach leo do  
335 caitheamh na bpian síorthaidhe. Agus, dá b[h]rígh sin, gabhaid racht  
agus éad chuca reis an droing sin do chíid lán de ghlóir agus d’aoibhneas  
ionnas gur mó phianas an racht sin – iad ag síorsmuaineadh ar an ghlóir  
do chailleadar tré aon pheacadh amháin – ná a bhfuil de phiantaibh eile  
ortha gidh ábhal iad.”
- 340 “Agus do bhéir easampláir dhuit air sin,” ar an Spiorad:



295 repentance together with a firm intention never to fall into sin again.”  
“Do you consider great the punishments you see this damned multitude  
suffering?” said the Spirit guide.  
“I realise,” said Merlino, “that tongue cannot tell, nor pen record, nor  
human heart contemplate the hundredth part of all of the punishments  
300 suffered by the person least punished [in hell].”  
“Nevertheless,” said the Spirit guide, “each one of them is suffering  
greater torment than you see.”  
“How is that possible?” said Merlino. “Or can it be that God can impose  
upon them greater punishments than I can see?”  
305 “Assuredly he can,” said the Spirit, “to wit, the fit of jealousy and anger  
which perpetually chokes and oppresses them.”  
“What cause for jealousy could they possibly have in hell,” said Merlino,  
“when no one ever gets ease or assuagement there?”  
“Indeed,” said the Spirit guide, “when a judgement of damnation is  
310 passed on the person, he is brought within sight of the kingdom of God so  
that the eternal glory and bliss he lost through one single mortal sin are  
shown to him; and [on one hand] he is shown his family and friends, his  
father and mother, full of glory and eternal bliss and, on the other hand, a  
black, unholy host ready to seize him and drag him off to suffer eternal  
315 punishments. Because of this they are seized with fury with and jealousy  
of those whom they see full of eternal glory and bliss to the extent that  
the pain of that frenzy – their constant recollection of the the glory they  
lost through one single sin – is greater than all the other punishments they  
suffer, however great these are.”  
310 “And I will give you an illustration of that,” said the Spirit.

“Dá mbeith rí cumhachtach ann,” ar sé, “agus go mbeith duine uasal aige, lán de mhuirn agus d’onóir, agus go mbeith ar láimh agus ar leabaidh ag an rí tair gach aon eile; agus go dtaigeomhadh don duine uasal sin cáir ghráineamhail do dhéanamh in aghaidh an rí agus go dteabhradh an rí fá  
 345 deara a theilgean i bpríosún dhaingean dhorcha agus glsrach agus géibheann do chur air agus go nglacfadh duine eile ina áit; agus go bhfaicfeadh an príosúnach an duine sin eile sa muirn agus san onóir do bhí aige féin agus do fhéadfadh sé do bheith aige muna beith a  
 121b dhrochíomchair féin. / Do líonfaí de racht agus d’fheirg ris fein annsin  
 350 [é], ionnas go madh mó an dochar do bhiadh ’na chraoidhe ó nimh na feirge ná ón ghéibheann agus ón ghlscrach do bhiadh air. Agus is mar sin táid na dronga damanta iar bhfaicsin na glóire do chaill siad agus gan dúil aca re síocháin an rígh neamhdha d’fhagháil go bráth.”

“Agus gidh hábhal na pianta so,” ar an Spiorad, “atá pianta eile nach  
 355 bhfaiceann tú ar muintir ifrinn is mó ná gach pianta,” ar sé.

“Créad na pianta sin?” ar Meirlíno.

“Atá,” ar an Spiorad, “réimhfhéachain na síoraigheacht. Óir is amhlaidh atá an tsíoraigheacht” ar sé, “mar bheith rotha cóiste nó cartacha. Óir amhail mar tá an rotha gan chrích gan fhoircheann acht an chuid do  
 360 chuaidh thart dhe [ag] tiecht [tha]rt go nuaidh arís, is amhlaidh sin atá an tsíoraigheacht,” ar sé. “Óir an tan do théid deich míle milliún bliadhain thart,” ar sé, “ní bhfuilid acht i dtús a bpian annsin agus an uair rachas deich míle milliún eile thart, ní bhfuilid acht i dtús a bpéine de bhrígh go  
 122a mbíonn an aimsir do chuaidh thart ag teacht ortha amhail fáinne nó rotha  
 365 agus mar sin / go bhfuilid pianta ifrinn agus glóir flaitheamhnas gan chrích gan fhoircheann.”

Óir dá dtigeadh éan beag i gceann gach bliadhana nó chéile agus lán a ghoib do bhreith as an fhairrge, dá mbeith dúil ag muintir ifrinn go

“Imagine a powerful king,” he said, “who had a nobleman, full of favour and honour, who had plighted his troth to the king above all others.

Suppose that nobleman should chance to grimace hatefully at the king, and the king order that he be thrown into a strong dark prison, that clasps  
315 and fetters be put on him and that another person be taken in his place; that prisoner would then see that other person enjoying the favour and respect he himself once had, and could still have had were it not for his own bad behaviour. He would then be filled with fury and anger with himself so that the hurt in his heart from the virulence of this anger would  
320 be greater than that caused by the clasps and fetters in which he would be shackled. Since the damned throngs have no hope of ever obtaining the peace of the heavenly king, that is how they feel when they behold the glory they have lost.”

“Yet immense as these punishments are,” said the Spirit, “the people of  
325 hell suffer other punishments you do not see which are greater than any [of these] torments.”

“What are those punishments?” said Merlino.

“Verily,” said the Spirit, “the foresight of eternity. For eternity,” said he, “is like a coach or a chariot-wheel.

330 For just as the wheel does not come to an end when that part of it which has passed by comes back round again, so also with eternity. For when ten thousand million years pass by,” he said, “[lost souls] are only then at the start of their punishments, and when another thousand million pass by they are still only at the start of their punishment, because the time which  
335 has passed by comes back to them again, in the manner of a ring or a wheel. And that is how the punishments of hell and the glory of heaven know no end or termination.

Were a little bird to come and take the full of its beak [of water] out of the sea every year or so and if the people of hell expected that they

- bhfuighdís furtacht an uair do thiormóchadh an fhairrge ris sin, ní bhiadh
- 370 cás nó ceist leo ann sna piantaibh atá ortha acht is amhlaidh mar atá, ní táinic agus ní thiocfaidh an uair ina bhfuighid furtacht ná fuascladh; de bhrígh an uair do chruthaigh Dia ifreann d’eagla go ngéabhadh taise nó truaighe é, ar mhoill nó ar luas, trócaire do dhéanamh ar an droing dhamanta, do ordaigh annsin tré cheannradharc na diagachta gan gol nó
- 375 gártha nó pianta nó dochar dá bhfuil in ifreann do chluinstin nó d’éisteacht nó d’fhaicsin i bhflaitheas Dé go bráth. Óir dá bhfaiceadh Dia méad a ndochair ní bhíodh cumas aige, ó mhéad agus ó líonmhaireacht a thrócaire, gan taise do ghabháil leo uair éigin agus trócaire do dhéanamh ortha. Acht is eadh do rinne a gcur as a chuimhne go síorthaidhe suthain.
- 380 Agus mar atáid muintir ifrinn dearfa dhe sin, is mó phianas réimhfhéachain na síoraidheacht iad ná méad a ndochair den taoibh eile.”
- 122b “Truaighe an scéal innseas tú ná gach scéal,” ar Meirlíno, / “agus an bhfuil sochar pianta ag duine in ifreann seacha duine eile?” ar sé.
- “An tí is lugha pianta in ifreann,” ar an Spiorad, “atá dóchain ar
- 385 chruthaigh Dia ariamh air, dá roinntí ortha é. Gidheadh is mó pian an Chríostaidhe ann go mór ná pian an pháánaigh ná an ainchríostaidhe de bhrígh go roibh fios a[n] dlighidh agus na n-aitheantadh ag an gCríostaidhe agus gur bhris iad agus nach roibh a bhfios ag an bpágánach agus dá mbeith go gcomhlíonfadh iad níos fearr ná mar do rinne an
- 390 Críostaidhe agus dá bhrígh sin is mó pianta an Chríostaidhe ná an pháánaigh.”
- “Innis damh,” ar Meirlíno, “an bhfuil cumhachta nó impidhe ag diabhal ar dhiabhal eile in ifreann?”

- 340 would get relief as soon as the sea would dry up as a result of that, then  
the punishments they are suffering [now] would cause them no difficulty  
or anxiety. But the fact of the matter is, the hour when they will obtain  
succour or release has not come and will never arrive; because as soon as  
God created hell – lest tenderness or compassion should move him sooner  
345 or later to have mercy on the damned – he ordained through the far-  
sightedness of divinity not to hear or to hearken to or to see in the  
kingdom of God the weeping or cries or the misery of all those in hell.  
For were God to see the extent of their misery, on account of the  
magnitude and abundance of his mercy, he could not but be seized with  
350 compassion for them at some point and have mercy on them. What he  
did instead, however, was to put them out of his memory for ever and  
ever. And since the people of hell are certain of this, they consider the  
pain of this eternal foresight to be greater than [any] other aspect of their  
misery.”
- 355 “This tale you tell is more distressing than any other,” said Merlino, “but  
do some people rather than others get relief from pain in hell?”  
“The person least punished in hell,” said the Spirit, “suffers as if all the  
pain God ever created had been apportioned unto them. Although the  
punishment of the Christian is very much greater than the punishment of  
360 the pagan or heathen since the Christian knew the law and the  
commandments but broke them. The pagan, however, did not know of  
them; had he done, he would have kept them better than did the Christian  
and because of that the punishments of the Christian are greater than  
those of the pagan.”
- 365 “Tell me,” said Merlino, “does any devil in hell have authority or power  
over another devil?”

“Tá go deimhin,” ar an Spiorad, óir atáid dhá rí in ifreann ag a bhfuil  
 395 impidhe agus cumhachta ar na diabhlaihb eile go coitcheann .i. Lúsifeir  
 agus Belsebúb, agus atáid deich ríghachtadh in ifreann agus ag so a  
 n-anmannadh i Laidin agus i Ghaidheilig.

Terra tenebrosa .i. Tír a[n] Dorchadais.

Terra oblivionis .i. Tír an Dearmaid.

400 Stagnum ignis .i. Corrach na Tineadh.

123a Lacus mortis .i. Loch a[n] Bháis. /

Infernus .i. Ifreann Íochtarach.

Tartarus .i. Tír an Uamhain.

Orcus .i. an Lag nach líontar.

405 Gehenna .i. an Tine Nimhe.

Barathrum .i. Tír an Amhgair.

Casma .i. Adhbha na bPian.”

“Agus is amhlaidh atáid na ríoghachtadh so: dá mbeitheá dá siubhal go  
 bráth ní bhfuightheá críoch ná foircheann aon ríoghachta díobh. Agus ní  
 410 bhfuil pian ná dochar in aon ríoghacht aca nach bhfuil ar gach aon nduine  
 in ifreann. Agus atá cúig ríoghachtadh dhíobh so fá cumhachtaibh  
 Lúsifeir agus na cúig ríghachtadh eile fá Bhelsébúb,” ar sé. “Agus cuirid  
 diabhal os coinne gach aon ghné pheacaidh do mhealladh an Chríostaidh  
 ar an tsaoghal agus do chur caithigh air. Agus muna dtí don diabhal sin  
 415 an duine do mhealladh agus do tharraing go hifreann, na pianta do bhaoi i  
 gcoinne an duine, dúblaighthe ar an diabhal sin iad maille rena roibhe  
 air cheana.”

“Anois,” ar an Spiorad eolaigh, “do connairc tú an ní do badh maith leat .i.  
 amharc ar phiantaibh agus ar *thoirmintibh* ifrinn. Agus anois,” ar sé,  
 420 “lean mise go mbeirinn as an áit se thú amhail mar do gheall mé. Agus  
 ná bean re haon ní dá bhfaice tú nó go ndeachair as so.”

“Yes indeed,” said the Spirit, “for there are two kings in hell who have power and authority over all the other devils, namely, Lucifer and Beelzebub, and there are ten kingdoms in Hell and these are their names  
370 in Latin and in Irish:

*Terra Tenebrosa*, that is, the Land of Darkness.

*Terra Oblivionis*, that is, the Land of Forgetfulness.

*Stagnum Ignis*, that is, the Marsh of Fire.

*Lacus mortis*, that is, the Lake of Death.

375 *Infernus*, that is, Lowest Hell.

*Tartarus*, that is, the Land of Dread.

*Orcus*, that is, the Unfilled Pit.

*Gehenna*, that is, the Venomous Fire.

*Barathrum*, that is, the Land of Hardship.

380 *Casma*, that is, the Abode of Punishments.

This is what these kingdoms are like: were you to traverse them until the day of doom you would never reach the limit or end of any of them.

There is not, moreover, a punishment or misery in any one of them that is not suffered by every single person in hell. Five of these kingdoms are  
385 under the authority of Lucifer and the other five kingdoms are under Beelzebub,” he said.

“They appoint a devil for every single type of sin to entice the Christian in the world and to tempt him, and if that devil does not manage to entice and draw that person to hell, the punishments which were appointed for  
390 him, these are doubled unto that devil himself [and added to] those that he was already suffering.”

“Now,” said the Spirit guide, “you have seen what you wished to see, namely a sight of the punishments and torments of hell. Now,” he said, “follow me that I might take you out of this place as I promised, but touch  
395 not aught you see until you leave here.”

Do ghluais an Spiorad agus Meirlíno 'na dhiaidh agus do chí Meirlíno ar  
 123b a láimh dheis / múr nó balla ábhal aibhseach, agus gártha agus gola agus  
 pianta agus dochair mór ann, amhail mar do connairc i ngach áit eile ar  
 425 feadh ifrinn roimhe sin. Agus cuid dá roibh dá bpianadh ann ag a rádh:  
 “A Thighearna agus a Dhia na trócaire, cá fad bhiam ann sna piantaibh  
 so?”

Agus cuid eile dhíobh dá rádh:

“A chairde grádach atá ar an tsaoghal, is truagh an mhainneachtaidh do  
 430 ní sibh fá ghuibhe agus fá urnaighe agus fá dhéirc do dhéanamh renár  
 n-anaimne ionnas go bhfuighmís furtacht ó na piantaibh ina bhfuil[m]id.

Do labhair Meirlíno annsin agus is eadh adubhairt:

“Nach dubhairt tú liom,” ar sé, “nach bhfuil dúil ag muintir ifrinn re  
 furtacht ná re fóirighin go bruinne mbráth agus mbeatha? Agus créad  
 435 um a bhfuilid an drong dhamhanta so ag gárthaibh ar Dhia nó ar a  
 gcairdibh amhlaidh súd?”

“Ní de muintir ifrinn iad,” ar an Spiorad. “Acht ag súd purgadóir,” ar sé,  
 “agus an drong do gheibh bás ar shlighe slánaigh tiaghaid go purgadóir  
 do thabhairt díolaigheachta agus sásaigh do Dhia i ngach ní nach  
 440 dearnadar lórghníomh ann ar an tsaoghal. Agus táid pianta purgadóra  
 124a comhcosmhail re piantaibh ifrinn acht amháin go / bhfuilid an muintir  
 bhíos i bpurgadóir dearfa go bhfuighid trócaire agus fuascladh as a  
 bpiantaibh uair éigin, agus fós go dtugann guibhe agus urnaighe agus  
 troscadh agus maithghníomha a gcairdeach agus na bhfíreán ar an  
 445 tsaoghal aithghiorrugh pianta dhaibh. Agus is uime sin atáid ag gárthaibh  
 ar a gcairdibh,” ar sé.

Adubhairt fear den muintir sin do bhaoi i bpurgadóir:

“Do shaoil mé féin,” ar sé, “nach dearna Dia bréag ariamh gus anois. Óir  
 do ghealladh dhamh an uair táinic mé go purgadóir nach biann ann acht  
 450 cúig lá agus is amhlaidh mar atá, atáim re cúig mhíle bliadhain ann.”



The Spirit set out with Merlino following after him, and on his right-hand side Merlino saw a great immense rampart or wall and there were shouts and tears and punishments and miseries there like those he had seen already everywhere else throughout hell.

400 Some of those who were being punished were saying:

“O Lord and God of mercy, how long will we be in these pains?”

Some others were saying:

“O beloved friends who are in the world, alas for your negligence in performing acts of prayer, entreaty and charity for our souls that we

405 might get relief from the punishments we are suffering.”

Merlino spoke then and this he said:

“Did you not say to me,” he said, “that till the day of doom, the people of hell have no expectation of relief or succour? Why then is this damned multitude calling to God or to their friends in that fashion?”

410 “These are not of the inhabitants of hell,” said the Spirit. “But that is purgatory,” he said, “and those who die in the way of salvation go there to make restitution and satisfaction to God for everything for which they did not make atonement in life. And the punishments of purgatory are identical to the punishments of hell except that the people who are in

415 purgatory are assured that they will get mercy and release from their punishments in time, and furthermore, that the prayer, intercession, fasting and good deeds of their friends and of the faithful in life shortens their punishments. That,” he said, “is why they are calling on their friends.”

420 Said one of that party which was in purgatory:

“Until now I myself had imagined,” said he, “that God did not lie. For I was promised when I came to purgatory that I would only be there five days, but the fact of the matter is, I have been five thousand years here.”

“Créad um a ndearna Dia bréag ris an bhfear úd?” ar Meirlíno.

“Ní dhearna Dia bréag ariamh,” ar an Spiorad. “Acht atá de mhéad dochair agus dofhulaing, cúradh agus greadadh na bpian atá air go saoiléann go bhfuil re cúig mhíle bliadhain ann agus ní bhfuil sé re cúig lá  
455 ann fós. Óir an uair thioctas na cúig lá isteach rachaidh go flaitheas Dé gan mhoill, gan chairde.”

Haithle an chomhráidh sin do ghluais an Spiorad roimhe as thuathaibh ifrinn agus purgadóra agus do lean Meirlíno é agus iar dteacht amach dhóibh do connairc Meirlíno an ní fa hiongnadh leis .i. cathair  
460 ábhal aibhseach agus pálás álainn iongantach dob áille agus dob aoibhne  
124b darbh fhéidir d’fhaicsin nó d’fhéachain. Óir is amhlaidh ro / bhaoi múr agus balladh na caithreacha soin arna ndéanamh de chriostal agus de *chrísolít* agus de *thófás* agus den *ónix* agus de *mhargariót* agus de *iasper* agus den *emeráld* agus den *diamond* agus den uile chineál péarladh agus  
465 cloch uasal archeana ionnas go madh lór de fhlaitheas agus d’aoibhneas le duine nó re haingeal dar chruthaigh Dia ariamh bheith ag féachain an lonraidh agus an deallraidh do bhí ag teacht ó m[h]úr agus ó bhalladhaibh agus ó chlochaibh na cathracha soin.

Féachas Meirlíno tair bhallaibh na cathracha isteach agus do chí srutha  
470 fíoráilne fíoruisce agus go madh samhanta re fíon uasal gan trualladh an baltanas do bhí ag teacht de na sruthaibh soin agus an iomad de chrannaibh áille éagsamhla idir na sruthaibh sin agus go madh lór d’aoibhneas agus d’urghairdiugh bheith ag féachain na dtórtha agus na mblátha do bhaoi ar na crannaibh sin, agus eoin áille éadrochta i mbarra  
475 na gcrann soin ag cantain ciuil agus oirfide, agus liúithe agus orgáin agus instruminte ciuil na cruinne do chur i gcomhsheim go madh binne guth agus glóir aon éin amháin aca sin. Agus mar an gcéadna do connairc an iomad de ríogaibh agus de phrionsaighibh agus de dhaoinibh ar a roibh

“Why did God lie to that man?” said Merlino.

425 “God has never lied,” said the Spirit, “but so great is the misery and the intolerable pain, the beating and lashing of the punishments which he suffers that he imagines that he has been there for five thousand years but he has not yet spent five days there. As soon as the five days have come to pass, he will go to the kingdom of God without hindrance or delay.”

430 After that conversation, the Spirit set out from the environs of hell and purgatory and Merlino followed him. When they had come out of these, Merlino saw something which astonished him, namely, a great and immense city and a lovely and wonderful palace more beautiful and delightful than any that could be seen or beheld. For thus it was that the  
435 rampart and walls of that city had been made of of crystal and chrysolite, topaz and onyx, margaret, jasper, emerald and diamond, and of all kinds of pearls and precious stones besides, so that any person or angel ever created by God would consider it heaven and bliss enough to behold the brightness and the brilliance which emanated from the rampart and walls  
440 and stones of that city.

Merlino looked in over the walls of that city and he saw the most beauteous streams of fresh water, the fragrance of which was comparable to fine untainted wine. And he also saw a great number of incomparably beautiful trees amongst those streams and it was sufficiently blissful  
445 merely to behold the fruits and the blossoms of those trees. He saw, moreover, beautiful, bright-white birds on the upper branches of those trees making music and melody, and the sound of just one of these birds was more melodious than all the lutes and organs and musical instruments of the world playing together in harmony. Likewise he saw a  
450 great number of kings, princes and people who were wearing kingly

125a éadaighe ríogha / agus coróin dhealladhradhach lán de phéarladaibh  
 480 agus de gheamhaibh ar ceann gach duine dhíobh agus go mba  
 deallraithighe ná an ghrian ghartha an lonradh agus an ruithe do bhí ag  
 teacht dho ghnúis agus d'aghaidh gach aoin díobh. Agus fós an iomad de  
 maighdeanaibh gruadhchorcra gealghnúiseach agus de leanbánaibh óga  
 ag a roibh gnúis agus deilbh ainglidhi ortha.

485 “Mo chomairc ort,” ar Meirlíno. “Agus innis damh, cia an áit aoibhinn  
 so,” ar sé, “atá comhgar agus so do ríoghacht ifrinn?”  
 “Ní hamhlaidh atá,” ar an Spiorad. “Is fada ó rígeacht ifrinn í, gidh nach  
 saoiléann tusa é, agus ag so,” ar an Spiorad, “teaghais de *thigheadhaisibh*  
 parthasa neamhdha, áit a mbíid lucht na mbocht agus dhéanta thoile Dé in  
 490 aoibhneas shíorthaighe. Agus na srutha fíoráilne úd do connairc tú,” ar  
 sé, “ag súd uisce na beatha agus gidhbé fhéachfas an t-uisce úd ní  
 bhfuighe bás tré shaoghal na saoghal agus ní bhíonn tart ná ocras ná  
 easbhaidh ar bioth air go bráth agus ní luigheann aois ná urchra fair acht a  
 bheadh lán den uile aoibhneas go síoraighthe suthain. Agus na heoin do  
 495 chuala tú ag cantain an cheoil, ag súd aingil nimhe bhíos de ghnáth ag  
 síormholadh Dé uilechumhachta. Agus na ríthe agus na prionsadh do  
 125b connairc tú, ag súd na daoine / bochta uirísle do connairc tú ag seachna an  
 bhealaigh ina roibheadar na cóisteadh agus na carbait agus daoine  
 diomsacha an tsaoghail agus do ghabh an tslighe ina roibhe an dochar  
 500 agus an doilgheas. i. an drong do chuir crádh agus cuing ar a gcorpaibh re  
 troscadh agus re déirc agus re hurnaighe agus re turasaibh. Atá coróin  
 ghlórmhar ar gach aon díobh anois ina éiric sin lán de gach uile aoibhneas  
 i bhfochair na Tríonóide an feadh bhias Dia 'na Dhia. Agus na  
 maighdeanadh gruadhchorcra ad conncais, is iad sin an drong do bhí  
 505 geannmaidh agus tug a mbeatha i dtír in óghacht agus in ord pósta gan

garments, each of whom wore a brightly-shining crown full of pearls and gems on his head, and the radiance which emanated from the countenance of each of these was more effulgent than the shining sun. He saw, moreover, a great number of rosy-cheeked, fair-faced virgins and pure  
455 infants of angelic countenance and appearance.

“I implore you,” said Merlino, “tell me what is this delightful place which is so near to the kingdom of hell?”

“Not so,” said the Spirit. “It is far from the kingdom of hell even if you think not. Behold,” he said, “one of the *dwelling places* of heavenly  
460 paradise where the poor and those who do God’s will abide in bliss eternal. And those truly splendid streams you saw,” he said, “that is the water of life, and whoever tastes that water will never die nor suffer any thirst, hunger or want and will not suffer old age or decay but will be full of every delight for ever and ever. And the birds whom you  
465 heard making music, those are the heavenly angels who are always and forever praising almighty God. And the kings and the princes you saw, those are the poor humble people whom you saw shunning the road on which the coaches and the chariots and the proud and worldly people travelled, and who took the path where hurt and hardship prevailed, that  
470 is, those who tormented and burdened their bodies with fasting, charity, prayer and pilgrimages. As a reward for all that, each one of them now wears a glorious crown and is suffused with all delight in the presence of the Trinity for as long as God will abide. The rosy-cheeked virgins whom you saw are those who were pure and spent their lives in virginity

truailleadh gan drochgníomh. Agus na leinibh do connairc tú air a bhfuil an ghnúis ainglidhí ag súd na leinibh fuair bás tair éis a mbaistidh agus nachar rugh ar pheacadh do dhéanamh,” ar sé.

510 “Is truagh,” ar Meirlíno, “nach roibhe mé aon uair amháin de ló istigh annsúd.”

“Ní féidir dhuit sin,” ar an Spiorad, “an feadh bhias colann daonna ort óir ní théid aon. ní isteach annsúd acht gloine agus fírinne,” ar sé. “Agus anois,” ar an Spiorad, “do connairc tú an ní badh m[h]aith leat. Agus fúigfeadsa thú anois agus atá tú ar an tsaoghal,” ar sé, “agus déana mar is 515 toil leat ó so amach.”

Agus leis sin tig ceo mór i dtimcheall Meirlíno, agus ar scaoileadh don gceo do gheibh é féin ’na sheasamh ar // <sup>1</sup> an áit ina dtáinic an spiorad chuige .i. i gcomhrac an dá bhealach. Agus annsin do smuain ar a d[h]rochbheatha féin, agus ar gach / <sup>2</sup> taispeánadh dá bhfaicis sé, agus is 520 eadh do rinne a arm agus a earradh do theilgean uath agus imtheacht go háit a roibhe *teampall coisreactha*.<sup>3</sup> Agus do bhí abhainn láimh ris an teampaill agus téid san abhainn agus do leig ar a ghlúinibh inte é. Agus do bhí an t-uisce ag éirghe fána ucht agus fána bruinne fair agus do bhí ann mar sin go tráthnóna, agus an t-aer a[g] fearthain agus ag sioc air. 525 Agus iar teacht na haoidhche téid don teampaill, agus nochtais a chorp agus luigheas ar an talamh lomnocta, agus do bhaoi ag gárthaibh agus ag géarghuidhe ar Dhia amhlaidh sin. Agus do bhíodh ar a ghlúinibh san abhainn ar léas lae, agus ’na luidhe ar an talamh lomnoctaidh san aoidhche re headh aimsire áirighe ag pianadh na colla colaighe ciontaighe 530 agus ag déanamh géaraitheach[ais] nó go dtáinic fá dheiridh an Spiorad

<sup>1</sup> Transcription of *FMh* from MS. TCD 1399 concludes at this point. The remaining text is based on MSS. TCD 1335.( ff.22-23) and MS. BL Egerton 106 (ff.142a-142b).

<sup>2</sup> MS. BL Egerton 106, f. 142b begins at this point.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *teampuill choisregha*.

- 475 and in the married state free of impurity or ill-deed. The infants of  
angelic countenance whom you saw, those are the babes who died after  
their baptism and who did not live to commit sins,” he said.  
“How sad it is,” said Merlino, “that I could not abide in yonder for even a  
single hour of the day”.
- 480 “That is not possible,” said the Spirit, “while you are clothed in human  
flesh for only that which is pure and righteous enters thither. And now,”  
said the Spirit, “you have seen what you wished to see. I will leave you  
now for you are back in the world of mortals and let you do as you please  
from now on.”
- 485 Whereupon a great mist surrounded Merlino and when the mist had  
scattered he found himself standing at the place where the Spirit first  
came to him, that is, at the meeting of the two ways. There he reflected  
on his own wicked life and on all the visions he had seen and so divested  
himself of his weapons and armour, and made his way to a place in which  
490 was a consecrated church. There was a river beside the church which he  
entered and fell to his knees so that the water rose up around his chest and  
he stayed there until evening while the sky sent rain and frost down upon  
him. When evening came he went to the church and bared his body, lay  
naked on the ground and beseeched and called upon God in that state.
- 495 For a certain period of time he did kneel in the river in the day-time while  
at night-time he lay on the ground naked, chastising his wicked guilty  
flesh and repenting fervently until at last the Spirit approached him and  
said:

dá ionsaigh / <sup>1</sup> agus go ndubhairt:

“A Mheirlíno,” ar sé, “do éist Dia red’ ghuí. Agus de bhrígh go bhfuil aithridhe ort fána ndearnais d’olcaibh go nuige so agus go bhfuil rún fírinneach agat gan teagmháil sa peacadhaibh nísá mhó, do chonaichas  
535 do Dhia trócaire do dhéanamh ort. Agus gurb eadh do dhéanais tú,” ar sé, “imtheacht ar feadh na bpoibleach dá dteagasc agus do fhoilsiughadh dhóibh gacha a bhfaicis.” Do rinne Meirlíno amhlaidh sin, agus do bhaoi ’na bhuabhall bhinnghlórach ag teagasc agus ag tarraing na gCríostaidhe dochum Dé uilechumhachta agus nó go bhfuair bás naofa beannaidh.

---

<sup>1</sup> MS. TCD 1335, f. 23 begins at this point.



“Merlino,” he said, “God has listened to your prayer, and since you are repentant about all the evil deeds you have done up to now, and sincerely  
500 intend never again to fall into sin, it has pleased God to have mercy on you. What you shall do [now] is journey all through the people, teaching them and making known to them all that you have seen.”

This is what Merlino did and a sweet-voiced herald he was, instructing  
490 and drawing Christians to almighty God, until he died a holy and a blessed death.

## TEXTUAL NOTES

**2.1.** *Do bhaoi ann feacht n-aill*: The noun *feacht* meaning ‘time, occasion’ was historically neutral and causes eclipsis of the qualifying adjective *aill* ‘eile’. It is defined as “another time, another occasion” (*eDIL* s.v. *fecht*) much like *feacht n-aon*, “once upon a time, on one occasion”.

**2.2** *i ríoghacht na Boihéime*: The setting of the tale in Bohemia – in the absence of any further concrete allusions concerning which – hints at an awareness of this region on account of the founding of the Irish Franciscan College in Prague in 1631.

**3.** *Meirlíno Maligno*: The use of the term *Maligno* – either as a surname or as an attributive adjective – is appropriate to such an allegorical tale and echoes a similar tactic in *Desid.* in which Desiderius encounters such characters as *Grádh Dé* (*Desid*: 12), *Neamhshuim a nEinnī* and *an Ghlōir Dhōmhaoin*. (*ibid.*, 17). It is noteworthy that among the characters in *EMO* is the figure of *Meirlín*, a magician in the service of King Arthur, (*EMO* f. 129b) whose name in one instance is put as ‘Meirlíno’. (f. 153a) It is also worth noting that *Meirlíno* has the same root as the noun *meirleach* which Bergin defines as ‘rebel, villain’ (*TBB* s.v. *meirleach*) and *FGB* as ‘thief, robber; bandit, outlaw; malefactor’ (*FGB* s.v. *meirleach*) along with the possibility that the author may have created a diminutive of sorts as the name for the bandit at the heart of his story.

**7.** *do bhí áitreabh agus fáras aige*. Note the use of a similar phrase in *Desid.*: “agus mar sin a aitreabh agus a áras”. (202, l. 18)

**8.** *áit nach bíodh tathaigh nó imtheacht ag lucht stiúrtha dlighidh Dé nó an tsaoghail air*: *Dinn.* has *tathaighe* as a variant of the palatalised *taithighe*, “act of frequenting, haunting...” (*Dinn.* s.v. *taithighe*) In this instance *imtheacht* has a sense of contact or association.

**9.** *lucht stiúrtha dlighidh Dé nó an tsaoghail air*: Given the prevalence and significance of the noun *saoghal* throughout the text it is worth noting how it

refers to life in this world “as opposed to [that of] heaven or to the relig. life”. (*eDIL* s.v. *saegul*)

**11.** *pobal mór daoine*: In this instance the word *pobal* means a congregation or gathering.

**18.** *ris an tseanmóntaidh binnghlórach*: The use of the root form *seanmónt-* for preacher is not attested in *Dinn.* or *FGB*. It seems to have been common in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and is found in various forms as follows: *seanmóntaidh* is found in “Cín Lae Ó Mealláin” (12), *seanmóntaidh* in *Buaidh* (61), *seanmonthuigh* in *Bedel* (*Ecclesiastes* 1:1), *seanmóntuidhe* in *SSA* (4).

**21.1** *na pianta síoraidhthe*: Given the prevalence and significance of the noun *pian* and its associated forms throughout the text it is worth noting the definition found in *eDIL*: “Punishment; pain, torment (nearly always of retributive suffering; in early rel. lit. generally of punishment hereafter, often nearly equivalent to hell)”. (s.v. *pían*)

**21.2.** *na pianta síoraidhthe*: The historical variation in relation to the adjective *síordhaidhe* ‘síoraí’ (*eDIL* s.v. *síraide*, *sírdaide*, *sírraide*) possibly accounts for the variety of spellings found in the text – *síoraidhthe*, *síorthaidhe*, and *síorthaighe*. It is not apparent why the author or scribe made no attempt to homogenize its spelling.

**25.** *lucht... shantaidhe choda a gcomharsan*: those who covet their neighbour’s goods.

**26.** *na háiteadh do bhí dá hullmhú fána n-urchomhair*: The substantive *urchomhair* in this case is, along with the preposition *fá* < *fo*, an element in a compound preposition meaning “[i]n preparation for, readiness for”. (*eDIL* s.v. *airchomair*)

**28.** *iar scrúdadh bhréithaire Dé go grianda grianghlan*: The alliterative phrase *go grianda grianghlan* in combining the adverbial form *go grianda* ‘pertaining to the sun; brilliantly’ and the compound *grianghlan* where the noun *grian*

seems to refer in general terms to the notion of refulgence rather than specifically to the sun denotes the idea of intense perspicacity.

**32.1.** *Dála Meirlíno annso*: The form *dála* is a preposition derived from the historical form *fo dáil/fo dála* meaning ‘as regards, concerning’. (*eDIL* s.v. 2 *dál*)

**32.2.** *do smuain ann féin*: It is worth recalling the variation in the text of the same 3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine past tense form of the verb *smuainim*, namely, *do smuain* and *do smuanaigh*. It is tempting to speculate that this reflects the difference in meaning between *do smuain* (> *smúainid*) which could be taken to refer to thinking in a more ordinary sense while *do smuanaigh* (> *smúainigid*) implies thinking in the sense of reflection. The first two instances – *do smuain ann féin narbh fhéidir gurbh fhírinneach gacha a ndubhairt an seanmóraidh* (l. 32) and *is eadh do smuanaigh, dá mba é toil Dé* (l. 41) – would appear to fit this pattern. The final example – *do smuain ar a d[h]rochbheatha féin* (l. 518) – however, has clear connotations of reflection which weakens this theory.

**39.** *gan fhéachain dó sin*: nevertheless.

**41.** *is eadh do smuanaigh*: See note 32.2.

**46.** *comhbuaidhreadh*: This *vn.* – meaning to disturb, trouble, confuse – is not found in *Dinn.* or *FGB.* (*eDIL* s.v. *combúaidred*, *TBB* s.v. *combuaireadh*)

**48.** *compánach do bhaoi aige darbh ainm Uríno*: The meaning of this name has not been identified. Macalister has *Verino* in *VM I* and *Uerino* in *VM II* although both Lynch (MSS. TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106) and Mac Sólaidh retain *Uríno*. Keeping in mind the theory that the name *Meirlíno* may have resulted from a play on the word *meirleach* (see note 3) it is possible at the very least that – in keeping with the persona of the character – the name *Uríno* may have been based on the noun *úr* meaning “evil, an evil thing”. (*eDIL* s.v. ? 7 *úr*)

**50.** *is é Meirlíno is taosca táinic ann*: *Dinn.* gives *taosca* as a variant form of the comparative and superlative form *túisce*, “sooner (-nest), rather, first, as soon as”. (*Dinn.* s.v. *túisce*)

**56.** *go bhfuighdís éadáil agus adhairp lena dhéanamh ann*: The form *adhairp* is possibly related to the Scottish Gaelic *oidhirp* meaning ‘attempt, endeavour, undertaking, trial’. (*Dwelly* s.v. *oidhirp*)

**63.** *cúi hiad an marcshluagh so chugainn*: The interrogative pronoun *cúi* is close in form to *cuith* which is cited in *IGT* (Intro. § 16). The form *cuihé* is found elsewhere in MS. TCD 1399. (*BEED* f. 40b, *TGG* f. 100b) See note 153.

**66.** *iarla mór atá sa gcrí se darb ainm Plútando*: The name *Plútando* is congruent with the possible naming of *Meirlíno Maligno* and *Uríno* in relation to their function within the narrative. (See notes 3 and 48) It seems evident that it was chosen because of its origins in Classical mythology in that it, like *Orcus* (see note 399), it was an alternative name for the Greek deity *Hades*. It derives from *Plouton* meaning ‘the rich one’ which took the form *Plutus* in Latin who was so called because he was “[t]he god of wealth, originally the wealth and fortune, both vegetable and mineral, that springs from the earth.” (March, 1998: 324) Keeping in mind the crossover in Classical mythology whereby *Hades* came to refer to the underworld region in which malefactors were held and punished after death as well as to the deity itself it is noteworthy that the author of *FMh* has *Meirlíno* journey to the palace of the rich one only to find himself in hell. The use of this name serves to emphasise the theme of the two ways which is central to the entire story. The form in which the name appears in the text – *Plútando* – is distinguished from the name of *Plutus* the deity on account of its ending in *-ando* which, incidentally, is identical to the ending of a 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation Latin gerund.

**71.** *an eolach thusa go baile an iarla?*: The adjective *eolach* is used with the copula and the preposition *go* with the meaning ‘know the way to’.

**79.** *darbh éigean an bealach do sheachna*: The use of *éigean* in this case is drawn from *Mac Solaidh* as a replacement for *féidir* which is found in the MS. but is problematic in terms of sense. That *féidir* is the form found in the MS. is evident from the fact that apart from the point indicating lenition the word is

written in its entirety and is apparently erroneously repeated: ‘*dar bhféidir dar bhféidir*’. (f. 114a) One might speculate that this repetition perhaps indicates a pause in the scribe’s labour as he searched for the correct term although even if this could be proved the fact remains that *féidir* is used in the same puzzling sense in line 83. In MSS. TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106 Lynch remains faithful to what he encounters in MS. TCD 1399 – *dar bhféidir, dob fheidir* (ff. 4; 134b, 135a) while in MS. RIA 24 C 55 Mac Sólaídh seems to have altered the text for the sake of meaning ‘*dhar bhéigean, ‘do eigean*’. (f. 197) It has been translated as ‘who were forced to’ and ‘were compelled to’ in view of its context.

**81.** *ardaigeantacha*: *adj.* ‘ardaigeanta’, haughty. See note for l.167 below.

**82.** *daoine comh uiríseal drochéadaigh leo sin*: *dróchéadaigh* is an example of a genitive singular form functioning as an attributive adjective meaning “poorly-, ill-clad”. (*eDIL* s.v. 1 droch).

**83.** *dob ‘éigean*: See note 79.

**84.** *lán de chlochaibh círhéara*: *círhéar* is a compound adjective comprised of the noun *cíor*, (comb, crest) and the adjective *gear* (sharp) and meaning sharp-crested or sharp-edged.

**86.** *arna gcréachtnughadh*: the verbal noun *créachtnughadh* is equivalent in meaning to *créachtú*, *vn.* act of wounding. (*eDIL* s.v. créchnugud, *TBB* s.v. créachtnughadh)

**94/95.** *de ghreadhaibh agus de ghroidhibh*: A sample of alliterative semantic repetition involves different forms of identical origin. The dative plural form *greadhaibh* is attested in *eDIL* as “‘horses’, *coll. n.* – *gredhaibh.*” (s.v. graig) The form *groidhibh* is closer in form to *groigh* of which ‘gráí’ is the modern form again meaning ‘horses’, *coll. n.* It is a possible example of pseudo-archaism.

**105.** *ní hamhlaidh atá*: *Atá* in such a case does not derive from the verb *atáim* but is an affirmative particle which took the historical form *ate* and means “truly, indeed, nay; well”. (*eDIL* s.v. *ate*) See also 329 and 357.

**112.** *tinte agus teannála*: *tinte agus teannála*, ‘fires and flames’ occurs at various points in *MM* (ff. 19b, 23b, 29a, 33b and *TGG* (ff. 94a, 106b, 109b).

**114.1.** *sciúradh agus pianadh*: Given the violent connotations surrounding it in the text it is tempting to read the verbal noun *sciúradh* as a variant form of *sciúrsad* (*eDIL* s.v. *sciúrsad*), *sciúirseadh*, *sciúrsadh* (*Dinn.* s.v. *sciúirseadh*) meaning scourging, whipping or lashing. The form *sciúradh*, however, refers first to “the act of scouring, cleansing, purging, purifying... [but then] using violently, trouncing”. (*Dinn.* s.v. *sciúradh*) Its use may reflect an awareness in the author of the notion of after-life purgation as well as punishment. That the noun *sciúrsa* – scourge – is also used (l. 143) indicates an awareness on the part of the scribe of the distinction between the roots, *sciúrs-* and *sciúr*.

**114.2.** *searbghártha*: A compound of the adjectival prefix *searbh* and the nominative plural form of *gáir*, cry, shout, call, translated as ‘rancorous cries’.

**116.** *ag friothólamh na bpian n-ábhal ndofhuiling*: See note 173.1.

**117.** *ag freastal agus ag friothólamh na bpian n-ábhal ndofhuiling*: Both *freastal* and *friothólamh* are concerned with the fundamental notion of service or attendance to needs. Its use in relation to punishment implies that in this case, as with the instances of *friothólamh* on ll. 173, 201 and 271, it has the sense of ‘meting out’ or ‘doling out’.

**122.** *dul thair m’ais amach aiste*: Note that *Dinn.* has “tagaim tar n-ais (or tar m’ais), I come back” (s.v. *tar* (*thar*))

**126.** *spiorad de muintir Dé uilechumhachta*: It is noteworthy that this adjective *uilechumhachta* does not adhere to the usual genitive form *uilechumhachtaigh*. It may have been the case that the common form *uilechumhachtach* was retained since no definite article was involved with the noun *Dia* and that the terminal *ch* was lost due to the Ulster provenance of the author/scribe’s dialect.

**132.** *ag na seanmóntaibh do bhí dá theagasc sin*: See note 18.

**140.1.** *de dhaoine móra pearsanta*: The adjective *pearsanta* takes the form *personda* in the MS. *Dinn.* has the equivalent form *pearsantach* as meaning “personable, imposing” and renders the example *daoine mór-phearsantacha* as “very imposing-looking people”. It has been translated in the text as ‘most imposing people’. (s.v. *pearsantach*)

**141.** *éadaighe dubha daoldhathacha*: *daoldhathach*, an adjective derived from the noun *daoldath* meaning “Beetle-colour, jet”. (*FGB* s.v. *daoldath*)

**144.** *lasair gháibheach ghráineamhail*: The adjective *gáibheach* ‘gáifeach’ was historically *gáibitheach* so that the consonantal cluster *bhth* was modernised as *f*. It was left unedited since the medial *bh* suggests the author would have pronounced it as /v/ rather than /f’/.

**145.** *agus lasair gháibheach ghráineamhail as a mbéal agus a mbrághaid amach*: The outward motion of this flame in this case is conveyed through the use of the adverb *amach* rather than a verb.

**147.** *[ag] sciúradh agus [ag] súisteadh*: See note 114.1.

**150.** *go hadhbhaidh na bpian*: The phrase *adbha na bpian* appears to refer to a specific location in which lost souls suffer torment (as also *teallach teintighe na bpian* and *urlár na bpian*). See also, *as adhbhaidh na bpian* (ll. 176, 209, 225), *go hadhbhaidh na bpian* (l. 296), *Adhbha na bPian* (l. 407). Note the allusion to a similar place in *SSA*. “...do imthigh go háras na bpian ina mbia 'gá /pianadh an feadh bhias Dia a nglóir”. (83)

**151.** *a[g] gárthaibh agus a[g] géarghol*: The verbal noun *gárthaibh*, ‘gárthach’ – shouting, clamouring – is unattested as a verbal noun apart from *aig gárthaibh* and *aig tromghárthaibh* in *TGG* (f. 93b and f. 108a respectively). Cecile O’Rahilly notes, “*aig gárthaibh*... which is evidently dat. of a fem. *gárthach*. Possibly *-aibh* and *-aigh* represented an identical sound to the scribe.” (*TGG*: 146)

**153.** *cúi hiad an drong úd*: See note 63.



**168.** *ag caitheamh na glóire*: Note the positive connotation of this use of the *vn. caitheamh* describing the spending of time (*Dinn.* s.v. *caitheamh*) and therefore translated as ‘enjoying’.

**169.** *in éiric an ardaignidh*: *Dinn.*’s definition of *árd-aighe* as “a lofty mind” has positive connotations whereas the context of this phrase indisputably implies a short-coming (*Dinn.* s.v. *árd-aighe*. Taking into account the definition found in *eDIL* (s.v. 1 *aicned*, (c)) which defines *aicned* as “disposition, character, behaviour” it was judged more likely that the author would have had the notion of *haughtiness* in mind.

**173. 1.** [*ag*] *friothólamh na bpian*: See note 116.

**173. 2.** [*ag*] *friothólamh na bpian ndofhulaing*: In this case *dofhulaing* ‘dífhulaing’ (unbearable, unendurable, intolerable) is a genitive singular noun form functioning as an attributive adjective. (*FGB* s.v. *dífhulaing*)

**180.** *dhá dhiabhal chráinteacha*: the adjective *cráinteach* is not represented in *Dinn.* or *FGB*. It is equivalent in meaning to *creimneach*, *adj.* gnawing, corrosive. In the form *críntech* it is found in *Bedel.* (*eDIL* s.v. *críntech*)

**182.** *ar luathlasadh*: compound of the adjectival prefix *luath-*, burning quickly, fiercely.

**184.** *ag sciúradh agus [ag] súisteadh*: See note 114.1.

**185.** *teallach teintighe na bpian*: This term seems to refer to a particular forum set aside for the punishment of lost souls. It is possibly borrowed from *Agallamh* where it is described in detail in the context of a question put by the body to the soul as to the nature and extent of infernal punishment. As part of the response the soul answers:

“[A]gus beidh tu mar sin lán d’eirc agus d’éigean, lán d’ainis agus d’amhgar, lán do bhochtaine agus do dhaibhreas, lán do thinneas agus do thrioblóide agus d’esláinte, attellach tinnte na bpían, mar bhfuil pláighe agus ocus, comharc oisnidh agus dortadh deór agus bualadh bas; mar bhfuil síansán truagh tursach na ndeamhan agus na ndiabhal níata, naimdech, n-athgharbh, ag fresdal agus ag frithóladh na bpían tintide

dofhaisnéis do na daoine damanta réir méid agus misúir a bpeacaidh.”  
(*Agallamh*: 76)

It is worth noting the occurrence of a similar form in *BEED*: ‘*beanas* Conán teallach teintigh umach’. (f. 42a)

**195.** *do mhealladh... na bhfear coil*: *coil*, is the genitive form of *col*, *m.* wicked deed and in this case is used as an attributive adjective meaning sinful or wicked.

**200.** *in éiric na glacaireachta truaillidhi*: The use of the adjective *truaillidhi* meaning ‘corrupt, contaminated, defiled, base, vile...’ (*FGB* s.v. *truaillí*) along with the noun *glacaireacht* is used variously in contemporary religious texts and denotes “immodest touching”. (*Dinn.* s.v. *glacaireacht*)

**201.** *na diabhail úd do chí tú dá sciúradh*: See note 114.1.

**200.** *ag friothólamh na bpian dáibh*: See note 117.

**206.** *ag creim ár dtaoibh ’s ár gcreata*: The verbal noun *creim* (gnawing, chewing, gnashing) is not attested in *Dinn.* and *FGB* and is an earlier form of *creimeadh*. (*eDIL* s.v. *creimm*) See also 278.

**218.** *is ortha ’tá na pianta dofhuiling*: See note 173. 2.

**220.** *an lucht dlighe do thagradh cás na héagóra*: The form *tagradh* is not attested in *Dinn.* or *FGB* although the former does have *tagra* for “the act of pleading”. (*Dinn.* s.v. *tagra*). It is derived from *do-accair* (*eDIL* s.v. *do-accair*) and is equivalent to *agairt*.

**222.** *cuid a gcomharsan*: See note 25.

**223.** *mar gheall ar shaibhreas bréagach diombuan an tsaoghail do tharraing ortha féin*: *mar gheall ar* in this case seems to imply purpose so that it is rendered ‘in order to’.

**230.** *Ag so súil na tnútha*: That *tnútha* is set forth as feminine in this case and then as masculine in the following line, *i bpeacadh an tnútha*, perhaps reflects the fact that historically it was treated as both masculine and feminine. (*IGT*, Decl. §§ 39, 45, 46).

**232.1.** *in éiric an amhairc mhallaidh iomthnúithtigh*: The adjectival form *iomthnúithtigh* appears to be the genitive singular masculine of an adjective *iomthnuithteach* related to the noun *i(o)mthnúth*, great envy, covetousness (*Dinn.* s.v. *iomthnúth*), exceeding covetousness, envy (*FGB* s.v. *imthnúth*).

**232.2.** *cuid a gcomharsan*: See note 25.

**234.** *ag caitheamh na glóire*: See note 168.

**243.** *agus a lámha creapailte*: *creapailte* seems to be a palatalised form of the variant past participle *creapalta* which *FGB* has as the past participle of the verb *creapail*, a variant form of *craplaigh*, “fettered, cripple”. (s.v. *creapail*, s.v. *craplaigh*) *eDIL* has the historical form *crapail(l)te*. (s.v. *crapail(l)te*)

**246.** *In éiric an bhídh nár locas*: The palatalised ending found in the MS. *locuis* suggests that this is 2<sup>nd</sup> singular ending. The only clearly definable verbal form in this verse is *nighinn* (1<sup>st</sup> singular). For that reason *locuis* was amended to *locas*.

**247.** *is biam chaoidhche dár loscadh*: See note 242. *biam* conforms to the 1<sup>st</sup> plural future dependent form of *atáim* (-biam, *TBB*: xix). That it is used independently indicates the possibility that it is a non-palatalised form of the 1<sup>st</sup> singular form of the present habitual form *bím*.

**253.** *domblas ae agus mormónta*: The use of the term *mormónta*, ‘wormwood’ has clear biblical associations. (Deuteronomy 29:18, Jeremiah 9:15, Revelation 8:11)

**259.** *ar teallach teintighe na bpian*: See note 185.

**260.** *ar buanlasadh*: compound of the adjectival prefix *buan*, perpetual, and the phrase *ar lasadh*, alight, meaning burning perpetually.

**261.** *aighmhéile*: ‘áibhéil’, vast, terrible. Note Cecile O’Rahilly’s comment in this regard: “The form *aighmhéil* (Dinneen, *aidhbhéil*, adj. and noun) may have been influenced by *ádhbhal*.” (*TGG*: 147)

**262. 1.** *dá gcongbháil ar urlár na bpian*: The phrase *urlár na bpian* suggests a forum dedicated to the punishment of lost souls (as also *teallach teintighe na*

*bpian* and *adhbha na bpian*). Note also, *dá ngéarngreaddadh ar urlár na bpian*, (1.270) and *fear dá roibh dá bpianadh ar urlár na bpian*. (1.290)

**262. 2.** *ag tuargain agus ag tarraing agus ag treaghdadh a chéile*: It is noteworthy that various alliterative sequences of the verbal nouns *tuargain*, *treaghdadh* and *tolladh* (and associated forms) are found elsewhere in MS. TCD 1399: ‘aig tuargain agus aig treadghadh aig tolladh agus aig tairring...’ (*TGG* f. 79b) and ‘agus iád aig tuargain agus ag treaghdhadh a chéile’. (*EMO* f. 133b). Also *BEBD* (ff. 58a, 59a), *TGG* (ff. 75a, 78b, 81a, 85a, 85b, 107b).

**268.1** *in éiric dhásaicht na feirge*: According to *IGT* (ii 25) two genitive forms are permissible for the noun *dásacht* (meaning ‘madness, fury’), namely, *dásaicht* and *dásachta*. The historical palatised form has been retained in this case.

**268.2** *neamhcheansaigheacht na hintinne*: This form is unattested as an abstract noun although the adjective *neamhcheansaithe* is found in *FGB* meaning “untamed, controlled; unpacified”. (s.v. *neamhcheansaithe*) Its use in conjunction with *intinn* and in relation to those who died in the sin of anger has connotations of a state of unrestrained recklessness or fury.

**271.** *ag friothólamh na bpian*: See note 117.

**273.** *seomraibh dubha daordhorcha*: *Dinn.* has *daor-*, *daoir-* as a prefix used in compounds meaning “slavish, mean; dear; condemnatory; often insensitive”. (s.v. *daor-*, *daoir-*) In this context with the adjective *dorcha* it can be taken to mean ‘intensely dark’.

**274.** *leapthaibh caola cruachumhann*: The compound adjective *cruachumhann* is unattested in any contemporaneous sources. *Dinn.* has *cruaidh-* and *cruadh-* as a prefix found in compound with the meaning “stern, hard, loud, strong, cruel”. (s.v. *cruaidh-*, *cruadh-*) so that this has been rendered ‘painfully constrictive’.

**275.** *géibheann agus glasa agus cruadhchuibhreach ortha*: Reference to the compound noun *cruadh-chuibhreach* is found in *TBB*. (197) In the glossary

Bergin defines it as “harsh, bondage” in which the use of the comma appears to be erroneous. In terms of context the definition ‘harsh bondage’ seems appropriate to this use in *FMh*.

**275.** *ar dearglasadh*: compound of the adjective *dearg*, red, glowing, lit, and the phrase *ar lasadh*, alight, translated as ‘all aflame’.

**278.** *ag creim agus ag crinn*: Concerning *creim* see note for 206.

**279.** *ag creim agus ag crinn*: The verbal noun *crinn* is not attested in *Dinn.* and *FGB* and seems to be an historical form of *creimeadh*, gnawing, chewing, gnashing which is derived from the earlier form *creinn*. (*eDIL* s.v. *creinn*) Note its occurrence in *SSA*: “féach, dá mhadradh allta ag crinn a dá lámh”. (84)

**281.** *In éiric an leisce leonta*: The use of the genitive singular masculine form of the article *an* in this case would seem to correspond to *leonta*, the genitive form of *leonadh* – act of injuring, damaging, wounding – rather than *leisce* (l. 283) with the genitive singular feminine form *na*, *i bpeacadh na leisce*. In this case a genitive form functions as an attributive adjective, ‘In requital for pernicious sloth’.

**287.** *ag caitheamh na glóire*: See note 168.

**298.** *Dá mbeinn im’ cholainn daonna arís de brígh go bhfuil scán agam ó na piantaibh síoraidhte se*: The noun *scán* is a tentative guess. That the way in which it appears in MS. TCD 1399 – *sga* with a suspension stroke over *ga* (typically denoting *l*, *n* or *r*) – is not immediately clear is evident from the fact that Mac Sólaidh seems to have felt the need to rewrite the sentence in MS. 24 C 55: “da mbéinn ann mo cholainn daonna arís, fuaisgeoltaidh ona pianta forra so mé”. (f. 206) This same abbreviation, incidentally, is also found in *EMO* (ff. 131a, 153b) and is expanded as *sgéala*. The context of its use in l. 297, however, precludes such an interpretation. It has been expanded as *scán* which is a form of the noun *scáine*, ‘*scáineadh*’, “a crack, fissure, rift or flaw (in glass, etc.)” which is associated with Armagh. (*Dinn.* s.v. *scáine*) It is worth noting the use of a related term with the preposition *ó* in *EMO*: “an torann agus toírneach

do rinne an *charraic air sgáineadh o chéile dhi*, the noise and thunder”. (f. 152b.) It has been understood, therefore, as suggesting a separation from punishment which would allow for the living of a righteous life.

**310.** *nach dtugadh [Dia]breatheamhnas damanta orm*: The editorial insertion was made since the autonomous form of the verb *tugthaoi* would have been required for the sake of meaning otherwise. Lynch expands the terminal contraction thus ‘ttugach’, (MSS. TCD 1335, f. 13, MS. BL Egerton 106, f. 138a) while Mac Sólaidh attempts to supply for the deficiency he is faced with: ‘nach ttabhair Dia breith dhamanta oram’. (MS RIA 24 C 55, f. 207)

**317.** *nach féidir... le craoidhe daonna a smuanadh*: The non-palatalised form *smuanadh* ‘smaoineamh’ which is unattested elsewhere was retained in order to distinguish it from the palatalised form of the noun *smuaineadh*, ‘smaoineamh’. (l. 45)

**327.** *sochar ná fuarugh*: The use of the verbal noun *fuarugh* ‘fuarú’ denoting cooling has connotation of relief or refreshment and is very probably derived from the Latin notion of *refrigerium* which is rooted in the notion of the thirst suffered in Hell as enunciated in the story of Lazarus and Dives. (Luke 16: 19-26, Goff, 1984: 42-43)

**329.** “*Atá,*” *ar an Spiorad*: See note 105 above.

**331.** *an t-aoibhneas síorthaighe do chaill sé*: In *eDIL* s.v. *oíbnus* it is affirmed that “[i]n relig. texts freq. of the bliss of Heaven”. This stands in contrast with the indulgent *aoibhneas* of the rich people on the road to Plutando’s palace: *bíam ag éisteacht ris an gceol agus ris an móraoibhneas úd acu...* (l. 73)

**335.** *do caitheamh na bpian síorthaidhe*: Note the negative connotation of this use of the *vn.* *caitheamh* describing the spending of time (*Dinn.* s.v. *caitheamh*) and therefore translated as ‘suffering’.

**342.** *ar láimh agus ar leabaidh* : this formation concerns the notion of a pledge of loyalty or love and in this case is translated as ‘he had plighted his troth to the king’. (*eDIL* s.v. *lám* II (e))

**343.1.** *go dtaigeomhadh don duine uasal sin*: The spelling of the verbal form *taigeomhadh*, ‘teagmhódh’ is distinctive for the following reasons. According to the *Corpas* database, the spelling *taig-* as opposed to *teig-* is only found in MS. TCD 1399 in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and only occasionally thereafter. The example found in *FMh* is distinctive too since it is *-eomh-* rather than *-eobh-* that is employed for the creation of the conditional mood form. The *-eobh-* formation is found elsewhere in MS. TCD 1399 (*ttaigeobhadh*, *BEBD*, f. 43a, *ttaigeobhadh*, *EMO*, f. 135a).

**343.2.** *cáir ghráineamhail do dhéanamh in aghaidh an rí*, to make a horrible face at the king. This appears to be an earlier form than that which uses the verb *cuirim*, “chuir sé carr air féin”, (*Dinn.* s.v. carr) “carr a chur ort féin le duine, to make a mouth, a grimace, at s.o.” (*FGB* s.v. cár)

**344.** *go dteabhradh an rí fá deara a theilgean i bpríosún*: The use of the compound preposition *fá deara* with the verb *do-bheirim* has a causative sense, in this case relating that the king caused the nobleman to be imprisoned.

**345.** *glasrach agus géibheann*: The term *glasrach* does not correspond to any attested form of the noun *glas*. It is noteworthy that the alliterative form it takes in *FMh* – as well as in *TGG* ff. 108b, 109a – mirrors the phrase *glais agus géibheann*, “bolts and chains”. (*FGB* s.v. géibheann) That *glais* is a plural form suggests that *glasrach* too is plural.

**351.** *ón ghéibheann agus ón ghlasrach do bhiadh air*: See note 344.

**357.** “*Atá,*” *ar an Spiorad*: See note 105 above.

**358.** *mar bheith rotha cóiste*: The noun *rotha* is an alternative Early Modern Irish form of *roth*, *m.* wheel. (*eDIL* s.v. 1 roth) See also ll. 358, 363.

**367.** *i gceann gach bliadhana nó chéile*: In this formation – *conj. nó* with (*a*) *chéile* – a counterpart is indicated thereby rendering the meaning, ‘at the end of every year or so’.

**398.** *Terra tenebrosa .i. Tír a[n] Dorchadais*: The term *terra tenebrosa* – accurately translated as *Tír a[n] Dorchadais* – is found in the Book of Job:

“antequam vadam, et non revertar, ad terram tenebrosam, et opertam mortis caligine: terram miseriae et tenebrarum, ubi umbra mortis et nullus ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitat” (Job 10:22)<sup>1</sup> “Before I go, and return no more, to a land that is dark and covered with the mist of death: A land of misery and darkness, where the shadow of death, and no order, but everlasting horror dwelleth”. (Douay-Rheims) Le Goff notes that this darkness is characteristic of “*Sheol*, the Hebrew word for the infernal underworld... [which] occurs frequently in the Old Testament.” (Le Goff, *op. cit.* 26)

**399. *Terra oblivionis .i. Tír an Dearmaid*:** The most obvious source of the term *terra oblivionis* seems to be Psalm 88: 12: “Numquid cognoscentur in tenebris mirabilia tua? et justitia tua in terra oblivionis?” (Ps. 87: 12)<sup>2</sup> “Are your wonders known in the darkness, or your saving help in the land of forgetfulness?” (NRSV) In this context it is considered alongside other allusions to the underworld – “my life draws near to Sheol”, (88:3) “I am counted among those who go down to the Pit”, (88:4) “You have put me in the depths of the Pit, in the regions dark and deep”. (88:6) The notion of forgetfulness, however, implies a loss of memory which would undermine personhood rather than imply punishment. It is worth noting its similarity to the Lethe, the river of forgetfulness of Classical mythology from which the dead drank and forgot their earthly existence. (March, *op. cit.* 234) Its coupling with *Tír an Dearmaid* reflects its original meaning.

**400. *Stagnum ignis .i. Corrach na Tineadh*:** *Stagnum ignis* is the term used in chapters 19, 20 and 21 of the Book of Revelation as it appears in the Vulgate. Being cast into this lake constitutes a punishment imposed variously on the beast and his false prophet (19:20), the devil (20:10), Death and Hades (20:14-15) and a variety of sinners (21:8). “Vivi missi sunt hi duo in stagnum ignis ardentis sulphure.” “These two [the beast and his false prophet] were thrown

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/vul/job010.htm#022>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/vul/psa087.htm#012>



alive into the lake of fire that burns with sulphur.” (Rev. 19:20 NRSV)<sup>1</sup> The translation *Corrach na Tineadh* might be taken as an indication of the author’s competence in Latin in that it reflects the definition of *stagnum* not as ‘lake’ but as “standing water, a pool, pond, marsh, swamp”. (*Cassell* s.v. *stagnum*).

**401.** *Lacus mortis* .i. *Loch a’ Bháis*: An exact allusion to *Lacus mortis* – accurately translated as *Loch a’ Bháis* – has not been identified. Its inclusion may have been informed by the biblical reference to *Stagnum ignis* (l. 395) or by *Loch na Nimhe* in the text. (l.236)

**402.** *Infernus* .i. *Ifreann Íochtarach*: The term *Ifreann Íochtarach* implies a distinction between a place where the unrighteous are punished eternally and an upper hell in which lacks such finality but which in the course of the development of this idea signifies a place to which souls go prior to their judgement by God or as the place where they are purged of their sins in preparation for the beatific vision. This idea would eventually be developed into the doctrine of Purgatory. (Le Goff, *op. cit.* 35-37, 41, 89-90, 138, 145-6, 192, 253)

**403.** *Tartarus* .i. *Tír an Uamhain*: The notion of *Tartarus* derives from Classical mythology and has a certain range of meaning in that in Hesiod’s *Theogony* it refers to both to one of the primal entities involved in creation and to the subterranean location in which malefactors would be held and punished after death and idea which would have some influence on the Christian understanding of hell. It features in the *Aeneid* (book vi), the *Odyssey* (book xi) and *Metamorphosis* (book iv). (Le Goff, *op. cit.* 21-23, March, *op. cit.* 367, Zimmerman, 1971: 253)

**404.** *Orcus* .i. *an Lag nach líontar*: *Orcus* is a Roman name for Hades the king of the underworld whose domain was called after him. This is described as “a chill and sunless place, watered by five rivers... in which souls lived a shadowy existence”. (March, *op. cit.* 175-176; also Zimmerman, *op. cit.* 184) The

---

<sup>1</sup> (<http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/vul/rev.htm>)

translation *an Lag nach líontar* has connotations of insurmountable depth redolent of the notion of ‘the Pit’ as referred to in Ps. 88:4, 6. See note 398.

**405.** *Gehenna .i. an Tine Nimhe*: Gehenna is a term which can be traced back to the Old Testament but which by the time of Jesus had come to signify a place of punishment involving an unquenchable fire (Mark 9:43) which one enters (Matt 5:22, 5:30) and to which one can be sentenced (Matt 23:33), cast (Matt 5:29, 18:9, Mark 9:45, 9:47, Luke 12:5) and destroyed (Matthew 10:28). According to Rabbinical sources in the early Christian era it is located below the earth and is vast which point is redolent of ll.407-408: “dá mbeitheá dá siubhal go bráth ní bhfuightheá críoch ná foircheann aon ríoghachta díobh”. Its translation as *an Tine Nimhe* is perhaps informed by Mark 9:43. (Le Goff, *op. cit.* 39)

**406.** *Barathrum .i. Tír an Amhgair*: *Barathrum* (βάραθρον) meaning pit or abyss with connotations of the lower world (*Cassell* s.v. *barathrum*). The precise correspondence between this and *Tír an Amhgair* is not apparent.

**407.** *Casma .i. Adhbha na bPian*: The term *casma* may be drawn from the occurrence of the noun χάσμα in Luke 16:26 in the story of Lazarus and the rich man. It refers not to a place – as the translation *Adhbha na bPian* suggests – but to the unbridgeable gap which exists between these two characters in their after-life existence. It is possible that the author’s use of this term as denoting a place was informed by the connotations evoked by its association with depth through such synonyms as gorge or ravine which, in turn, are consonant with the notion of ‘the Pit’ as referred to in Ps. 88:4, 6. See note 398.

**434.** *go bruinne mbráth agus mbeatha*: till the day of doom. This phrase occurs frequently in MS. TCD 1399 – *MM*, ff. 21a, 34b, 38b; *TGG*, ff. 64a, 80a, 106a, 110b, *EMO*, ff. 137a, 137b, 156a. Note also the occurrence in *Lebor na hUidre*, “co bruinni mbratha ḡ betha”, (196).

**435.** *ag gárthaibh*: See note 151.

**438.** *ar shlighe slánaigh*: In *FMh* the form *slánaigh* is equivalent to *slánuighthe*, the genitive form of the noun *slánughadh*. Note that *Dinn.* has “*an dream fuair*

*bás i slighidh a slánuighthe*, those who died in the way of salvation”. (s.v. slánughadh)

**439.** *do thabhairt díolaigheachta agus sásaigh*: Both *díolaigheachta* and *sásaigh* have religious connotations of atonement. *Sásaigh* takes a form equivalent to the genitive form of the verbal noun *sásughadh*, *sásuighthe*. (TBB s.v. sásughadh)

**445.** *ag gárthaibh*: See note 151.

**452.** *atá de mhéad dochair agus dofhulaing*: *dofhulaing* in this case functions as a substantive as described in *eDIL* (s.v. dofulang) as intolerable pain. The form *dofhulaing* would seem to correspond to the genitive form of this substantive.

**469.** *tair bhallaibh na cathracha isteach*: The use of the adverb *isteach* with the preposition *tair* denotes the notion of action directed inwards from without.

**470.** *re fíon uasal gan trualladh*: The non-palatalised form *trualladh* ‘truailliú’ which is unattested elsewhere was retained in order to distinguish it from the palatalised form of the noun *truailleadh*. (l. 505)

**475.** *agus liúithe agus orgáin agus instruminte ciuil na cruinne do chur i gcomhsheinm*: Note that *comhsheinm* denotes the playing of music together so that this phrase means ‘all the lutes and organs and musical instruments of the world playing together in harmony’. (*eDIL* s.v. comseinm, *Dinn.* s.v. cóimhsheinm)

**481.** *ná an ghrian ghartha*: In this case the past participle *gartha* ‘gortha’ meaning ‘warm, glowing, radiant’ is used adjectivally and is translated as ‘than the shining sun’.

**483.** *maighdeanaibh gruadhchorcra gealghnúiseach*: *eDIL* has the compound form *gelgnúis* as ‘fair-faced’. (s.v. 1 gel)

**486.** *comhgar agus so do ríoghacht ifrinn*: *comhgar* follows the use as specified by O’Rahilly as *Desid.* “‘So’ or ‘as’ followed by an adjective or adverb is expressed by *comh-*, which forms a compound with the following word.” (251) Therefore this is translated as ‘so near to the kingdom of hell’.

**488.** *teaghais de thigheadhaisibh parthasa neamhdha*: The dative plural form *tigheadhaisibh* appears to involve the noun *tigheadhais* < *tigedas*, “house-keeping, husbandry, provision, household goods”. (*eDIL* s.v. *tigedas*, *Dinn.* s.v. *tigheas*, *FGB* s.v. *tíos*). *eDIL* also points out that *tigedas* may have been influenced by *tegdais*. *Bedel* has “luchd tigheadhuis” (2 Chronicles 26:10) which has been rendered as ‘husbandmen’ in the King James Version. The dative plural form in *FMh*, however, gives no reason to translate it as similarly referring to a group of people. The possibility that it was an error on the part of the scribe is evident in view of the occurrence of a similar form in *EMO*: ‘attíaghuis éigin do thiaghuisaibh ifrinn’. (f. 136a) This has informed the tentative translation, ‘one of the dwelling places’.

**492.** *ní bhíonn tart ná ocras ná easbhaidh ar bioth air*: Where **easbaidh** ‘easpa’ was found in MS. TCD 1399 it was edited as *easbhaidh* given that it is a form associated with Ulster (*Dinn.* s.v. *easbaidh*). This same editorial decision was made in *Trí Bruidhne* (61, 90) and *TGG*. (38 and 48)

**495.** *ag síormholadh Dé uilechumhachta*: See also note 126.

**500.** *do chuir crádh agus cuing ar a gcorpaibh*: Where the noun *cuing* means yoke or burden, its use in this case has a religious connotation akin to mortification.

**501.** *re déirc*: It is noteworthy that *eDIL* defines this as a “Christian cpd. of 2 dia + sercc” thereby identifying it as connoting the biblically mandated love of God and neighbour. (s.v. *deercc*)

**505.** *an drong... tug a mbeatha i dtír in óghacht*: It is worth noting that in this case the notion of *do bheatha a thabhairt i dtír* means to spend or live one’s life.

**508.** *nachar rugh ar pheacadh do dhéanamh*: As regards this use of the verb *beirim* with the preposition *ar*, Bergin translates “sul do bhéardaois ar an gcreideamh... do dhealughadh riú, [as] ‘before they should live to be separated from the truth’. (*TBB* s.v. *beirim*) This has informed the translation as ‘...who

did not live to commit sins’. This form of the verb in which the terminal *g* is lenited is attested also in *Bedel*: “agus rugh sé búaidh orra”. (2 Chronicles 27:5)

**513.** *do smuain ar a drochbheatha féin*: See note 32.2.

**520.** *teampall coisreactha*: *coisreactha* is a form of the verbal adjective of the verb *coisric*, consecrate, dedicate. In MSS. TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106 it takes the form *choisreagha*. The edited form *choisreactha* is based on the same word as it occurs in *BC* in MS. TCD 1399, uisge coisreaca. (f. 15b)

**526.** *ag gárthaibh*: See note 151.

**528.** *'na luí ar an talamh lomnochtaidh*: Lynch has ‘lomnochtaidh’ in MSS. TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106. It is feasible that this word took the form ‘lomnochtaidh’ in MS. TCD 1399. Bergin has the noun *lom-nochtaighe*, ‘utter nakedness’. (*TBB* s.v. lom-nochtaighe) *TórChríosta* has ‘air mbeith do mo Chorp lomnochtuighthe’ (290) which raises the possibility that the scribe of MS. TCD 1399 altered the ending *-aighthe* to *-aidh* thus furnishing the translation ‘utterly, stark naked’.

**529.** *re headh aimsire áirighe*: The compound preposition *re headh* is comprised of the preposition *re* (> *fri*) and the old neuter form *eadh* and implies the notion of duration of time, therefore, ‘for a time; while, during, at the hour of’. (*eDIL* s.v. 2 ed, *Dinn.* s.v. eadh) It is translated in this instance as ‘over a certain period of time’.

**533.** *de bhrígh go bhfuil aithrí ort fána ndearnais d’olcaibh*: The use of the dative plural form *olcaibh* is attested in the Irish rendering of the Acts of the Apostles in *TN*: *ó bhur nolcaibh*, ‘from your wicked ways’ and *a mhéud dolcaibh dho rinne sé*, ‘how much evil he has done’. (Trs. NRSV) This has informed the translation ‘evil deeds’.

**539.1.** *dochum Dé uilechumhachta*: See also note 126.

**539.2.** *nó go bhfuair bás naofa beannaidh*: Note “Agus fuair an tí sin bás beannaighthe san aibíd chēanna sin.” (*BSF*: 42)

## 14. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

*Establishing a suitable reference point*

In order to provide an assessment of the language used in *FMh* a yardstick is necessary and by way of establishing such account must be taken of the linguistic context of the tale. As a starting point a recourse to McManus's aforementioned identification of two types of prose literature in the Classical Modern Irish period, namely, A and B is apposite. Accordingly, since the author of *FMh* was primarily involved in the communication of religious ideas as simply and clearly as possible it is evident that the language he used was the classical Irish associated with group A. Since, however, no single comprehensive resource exists against which this particular form of the language can be assessed it is necessary to do so by turning to contemporaneous texts, material concerning Classical Irish and relevant lexicographical works.

Of particular importance in this regard is the version of *TBB* by Geoffrey Keating edited by Osborn Bergin since its subject matter coincides in general terms with that of *FMh* and because it contains an extensive glossary in which definitions of much of the vocabulary of *FMh* are readily accessible.<sup>1</sup> Alongside this other devotional works of the period were consulted such as *An Teagas Críosaíde (TC)* by Bonaventura Ó hEodhasa, *Desiderius (Des.)* by Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, *Eochair-sgiath an aifrinn (ESA)* by Keating, *Scáthán shacramuinte na hAithridhe (SSA)* by Aodh Mac Aingil and *Parrthas an Anma (PA)* by Antoin Gearnon. In terms of getting a general overview of how frequently certain forms occurred in particular periods and dialects the database

---

<sup>1</sup> *Trí Bior-ghaoithe an Bháis le Seathrún Céitinn D.D.* Bergin, O. ead. 1992 (1931). Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Bergin has this to say in the preface to this edition: "Keating writes in the standard dialect of the Early Modern period... It is essentially the dialect taught and practised in the bardic schools, less strict indeed in morphology, less archaic in diction, but almost as free from provincialisms, *TBB*, xiii. The fact that Keating had some training in the standardised form of Modern Irish with which the Grammatical Tracts are concerned is evident in his prose works in terms of forms, grammar and syntax. See also McManus 1994, 335-336, Williams 1994, 447, Cunningham 2000, 21-23.

accompanying *Corpas na Gaeilge 1600-1882 (Corpas)* also proved to be useful. Works such as ‘Irish Grammatical Tracts’ (*IGT*) and *Bardic syntactical tracts (BST)* were informative in relation to the Classical standard, the internet resource *eDIL* shed much light on older aspects of the language while the dictionaries *Dinn.* and *FGB* were useful in general terms.

### *Methodology*

Since this linguistic analysis is concerned with the language of that transcription found in MS. TCD 1399 examples drawn from this source retain the form they take in the diplomatic copy without any editorial intervention apart from the following minor alterations which render the information under discussion more accessible.

First, the initial letters in any example is given using lower case type even if they were capitalised in the MS. e.g.

Act *cheana* > act *cheana*, Ro *fhidir* > ro *fhidir*.

Secondly, spaces are inserted between words where these did not occur in the MS. e.g.

*othús* > o *thús*, *adhroch iomchair* > a *dhroch iomchair*.

In those few cases in which a particular form in the diplomatic copy is so dissimilar to the modern standardised equivalent that it may prove difficult to recognise this modern form is included in parenthesis after the examples in question, e.g.

dar *bfhéidir*, dar *bfhéidir (darbh)*, nar *bheadh (narbh eadh)*.

The guiding principle of this analysis is the clear presentation of all relevant information about the linguistic elements under scrutiny. To this end a format

based on comparison is used in order to draw attention to any features which might be considered noteworthy or uncommon in relation to the classical prose language of the period.<sup>1</sup> Such comparisons are set forth as follows: cháich > *cháich*. The first of these is the example attested in the this classical prose language while the second element is the form taken in MS. TCD 1399. Given that the first element in the above example (cháich) was taken from *TBB* – which in this analysis should be considered as the default reference point – it is left without annotation. Where this first example is drawn from another source the work in question is given in parenthesis – bhaoi (*Desid.*) → *bhaoi* – or where the title in question is considered to unwieldy for inclusion in a table it is found in a footnote. In the case that it is drawn from from *Dinn.* it is simply marked with an asterisk ‘\*’. Where a particular form is found only in MS. TCD 1399 the following symbol is used , ‘†’. On the rare occasion when the word is simply set forth on its own it can be assumed that no counterpart to the term in question has been found.

As a means of drawing attention to differences between the form found in MS. TCD 1399 and the classical prose language of the period bold type will be used in the following manner: ní fhidir (*Desid.*) → **ní idir**. In the case of long marks only those vowels under scrutiny will be given in bold type, e.g. áois (*TN*) → **aóis**.

Finally, in cases where certain inflexions are at issue, the grammatical context of the word is made clear by the inclusion of any other relevant words, e.g., athtuirsighe\* → na *conuire* **athtuirsigh**.

---

<sup>1</sup> Following Watson 1979, 156. It should be noted that this methodology of comparison will not be used in relation to initial mutations because the degree of variation is often more subjective than indicative of significant points.



## ORTHOGRAPHY

In terms of an analysis of the spelling of the language used in this transcription Ahlqvist's work on the development of Irish orthography through the various periods of the history of the language was taken as a guide in an effort to determine the extent to which the spelling in this MS. adheres to the fundamental characteristics of Early Modern Irish orthography. (Ahlqvist, 1994: 23-59) This is followed by a consideration of certain notable words which differ significantly from the form they took in the the classical prose language of the period.

### *Adherence to major spelling characteristics of Early Modern Irish*

Much of Ahlqvist's focus rests upon the ways – over time – in which the Latin alphabet came to be used in the spelling of certain characteristic traits which occur in Irish. This presented a challenge, of course, since although both languages had many sounds in common there were no counterparts in Latin for these aforementioned characteristic traits of Irish. The features in question were initial mutations, slender and broad consonants, long and short vowels and the stable orthographical representation of the sound /ə/.<sup>1</sup>

Ahlqvist relates that a solution to the first of these problems – the question of how long vowels might be represented orthographically – was solved in the era of Old Irish. It was not until the Early Modern period that satisfactory ways were found of expressing initial mutations, slender and broad consonants, and short vowels and, it should be noted, there was a lack of inconsistency in application of these solutions in the written works of the period. As regards a positive orthographical representation of the sound /ə/, however, no such solution has been settled upon to date. The following section gives an

---

<sup>1</sup> “I bprionsabal, tig linn a rá go bhfuil na bunfhoghair chéanna i gceist le litreacha na Sean-Ghaeilge agus a bhí le litreacha na Laidine. Ahlqvist, 1994: 27.

indication of the extent to which the language in *FMh* adheres to these conventions as they stood in Early Modern Irish period.

## (I) INITIAL MUTATIONS

Is i ré na Nua-Ghaeilge Moiche a fuarthas réiteach ar an gcuid is mó de na príomhlaigí a bhí ar litriú na Gaeilge ó thús a ré. Mar sin, bhí bealach ann feasta leis na hathruithe tosaigh ar fad a thaispeáint gan na bunlitreacha ná na foghair féin a chailliúint. (Ahlqvist, 1994: 33)

### 1. LENITION

(i) *Expressed by punctum delens (lenition) placed above consonant in question:*

bhaoi (*Desid.*) > bhaoi.

cháich > cháich.

dhó > dhó.

fhéachain > fheachain.

ghnúis > ghnúis.

mheanmain > mheanmain.

phérlaighibh > phérlaidhibh.

sheachna > sheachna.

thrácht (*ESA*) > thracht.

(ii) *Expressed by insertion of the letter h:*

aghaidh > aghaidh.

ar-cheana > aircheana.

cheana > cheana.

chruthuigh > chruthaigh.

chuaidh (*ESA*) > chuaidh.

luath > luath.

tathaighidh > tathaigh.

thiormochadh > thiormochadh.

thuaith (*TC*) > thuaith.

thuathaibh (*ARÉ*) > *thuathaibh*.

(iii) *Example where  $\emptyset$  occurs in the case of *f* lenited:*

ní fhidir (*Desid.*) > **ní idir**.

(iv) *Lenition absent:*

bhrághaid > **braguid**.

**neamhceannsoigheacht**.

gártha (*SSA*) > **gárta**.

neamhphósda (*SSA*) > **neamhpósda**.

uathmhara > **uathmara**.

seasmhach (*SSA*) > **seasmach**.

(v) *Lenition atypical (medial):*

**d > dh:** éaduigh (*Desid.*) > **eadhúigh**.

**m > mh:** geamaibh (*CMT*) > **gheamhaibh**<sup>†</sup>.

**t > th:** liúiteanna (*FGB*) > **liúithe**.

(vi) *Lenition atypical (terminal):*

g > gh: rugh (*Bedel*) > **rugh**.

(vii) *Cases in which lenition is atypical only in certain examples:*

compánach (*Desid.*), chompánaigh (*ESA*) > *companach*, *chompanaigh*,  
**chomhpanaigh**; damanta > *damanta*, **damhanta**.

(viii) *Lenition of *p* eclipsed *bp*:*

bphacadhaibh (*TC*)<sup>1</sup> > **bphían**, **bphianadh**.

(ix) *Lenition of *s* after the genitive plural form of the article *na*:*

na **shaogal**.

---

<sup>1</sup> This combination of *bph* is found in the version of *TC* published in Antwerp in 1611. (*TC*: 4)

(x) *Lenition of s preceded by t:*

tshaoghal (TC) > tshaoghal.

tshaoghail (TN) > tshaogail.

tsheanmóir (SSA) > tsheanmóir.

tsheanmóntaidh (SCU) > tsheanmontaidh.

tseanmóraigh (BSF) > tsheanmoruidh.

tshiorruigheacht.

tshlighe (TC) > tshlighe.

(xi) *Lenition of initial consonant s and the preceding t:*

thshaoghal (TC) > **thshaoghail**.

(xii) *Lenition of medial consonant s and the preceding t:*

cóimhsheinm\* **accomhthsheinm**.

## 2. ECLIPSIS

(i) *Expressed as follows:*

**b > mb:** mbearthaóí (*Bedel*) > mbeártuidh.

**c > cc:** ccoinne (TC) > ccoinne.

**c > gc:** gcolainn > gcolainn.

**d > nd:** ndiamhraibh (*ESA*) > ndiamhraibh.

**f > bhf:** bhfidir (*BCF*) > bhfidir.

**f > bfh:** bfhochair (*Desid.*) > bfhochair.<sup>1</sup>

**f > bf:** bfuighe (*BNnÉ*) > bfuighe.

**g > ng:** ngearradh (TN) > ngearradh.

**p > bp:** bpian > bpián.<sup>2</sup>

**t > tt:** tteacht (*Desid.*) > tteacht.

<sup>1</sup> Note that Knott refers to the spellings *bfh* and *bf* → *bhf*. (1922: xcv). Apart from *Desid.* in which *bfhuil* is the most common spelling there are only a few examples of this form, namely, *TN*, Luke 15:4, *RSF*, 93, *PCT* 5, 5, 7 *LF*, 158, *Sechrán na Banimpire*, 194.

<sup>2</sup> Note **bphián** in the section dealing with superfluous lenition.

**guta** > **n** + **guta**: n-aill (*Fl.Earls*) > naill, neirghe (*BNnÉ*) > neirghe, n-urchomhair (*Desid.*) > núrcomhair.

**guta** > **nd** + **guta**: ndionnsoigh.

(ii) *Example of eclipsis where the initial consonant is lost:*

**p** > **b**: **bían**.<sup>1</sup>

(iii) *Example of eclipsis in a compound word:*

**mb**: dhiombuan > diombuan.

**cc**: esccaoín (*BNnÉ*) > easccaoín.

**c** > **gc**: éagcóra > eccóra.

The foregoing indicates, therefore, that the orthographical representation of initial mutations conforms to what might be expected in a text of this era alongside certain occurrences in which the spelling reflects the sound of the words in question such as **ní idir** and **bían**.

## (II) VOWELS

### 1. STRESSED VOWELS:

Maidir leis na [gutaí] a, e, i, o agus u, léirítear an chodarsnacht fhoinéimiúil idir gearr agus fada iontu seo trí shíneadh fada a scríobh os cionn na gceann fada. Maireann an nós seo fós sa Ghaeilge... Tuigtear nach go rialta a bhreactar an síneadh fada sna lámhscríbhinní. (Ahlqvist, 1994: 27)

A close examination of the penmanship of the scribe indicates that it was his custom to write the letters of a word first and then add the long marks. This is evident from the obvious difference in breadth of line and darkness of ink between the letters and the long marks as well as from the frequent occurrence

---

<sup>1</sup> In this case the consonant *p* which is subject to eclipsis is missing. Ahlqvist draws attention to other examples of this phenomenon such as “*i Gonnachta agus gu dánic.*” Ahlqvist, 1994: 33-24.

of long marks above vowels – and occasionally consonants – one or two places removed from the correct position.

(i.) *Long marks displaced due to the penmanship of the scribe:*

á: déana > dená, dhéanamh > dhenámh.

ái: amháin > amháin, náire > naíre.

éa: cineál > chínél, éaduigh (*Desid.*) > eáduigh.

éi: féidir (*TN*) > bfheídir.

ía: díabhail (*TN*) > diabháil.

íó: dhíomuis (*ESA*) > dimúis.

ó: seanmóra (*TN*) > seanmorá.

óí: glóire > gloíre.

(ii.) *Scribal tendency to place long marks over the digraph **ao** and the diphthongs **ia** and **ua**:*

**ao** > **áo**: áoibhneas (*TN*) > áoibhnios; áois (*TN*) > **áois**; aón (*Beath.A.R.*)

> aón; báoi (*Fl.Earls*) > bháoi, bhaói; braon > bhraón; caoile (*SSA*) >

cáoile; caol (*ESA*) > cáola; cláon (*TN*) > claón; dáoine (*TN*) > **daóine**,

**daoíne**; dáonda (*TN*) > dháonda; dáor (*TN*) > dáor; easgcaoin >

eascca**oín**, fáoi (*TN*) > fáoi; sgaoileadar (*TN*) > sg**á**oileadar; shaoil (*TN*)

> sh**á**oil; táoibh (*TN*) > táoibh.

**ia** > **ía**: beid > **biád**; mbíadh (*TN*) > mbíadh, bhiádh; bíaidh (*TN*) >

bíaidh; bia<sup>1</sup> > **biaír**; bhías (*TN*) > bhías, bhiás; bríathra (*TN*) > bríatará;

cianaibh (*ESA*) > **chiánuibh**; Dia (*CCD*) > **día**, **diá**; díabhal (*TN*) >

díabhal; díaidh (*TN*) > dhiáidh; diadhachta > **díadhachta**; ghrían (*TN*) >

griághlan; íad (*CCD*) > iád; iarla (*Beath.A.R.*) > iarla, iárla; phían

(*CCD*) > bpían, pián; phíanadh (*TN*) > bpíanadh; piastaibh (*BNnÉ*) >

ph**í**astaibh; síad (*TN*) > siád; siansánach\* > **siánsanacha** .

<sup>1</sup> McManus, 1994: 416.

**ua > úa:** mbúain (*CCD*) > bhuáin; clúain (*TN*) > cluaín;  
 comhbuaidhreadh (*AFM*) > comhbúaidhreadh; cúala (*BNNÉ*) > chúala;  
 fúadach (*TN*) > fhuadách; fúair (*TN*) > fúair; fúaradar (*TN*) > fuáradar;  
 fúaradh (*TN*) > fuárriugh; fúasgladh (*CCD*) > fúasgladh; fuathmhar >  
 fúathmhair; ghluáis (*TN*) > ghluáis; gruadh (*SSA*) > gruádh; lúas (*BNNÉ*)  
 > lúas; marcshlúagh (*TN*) > marcshluágh, mharcshluágh; nuáidh (*TN*) >  
 nuáidh; slúagh (*TN*) > sluágh; do smuáin (*TN*) > smuaín; smúaineadh  
 (*TN*) > smúanaigh†, smúanadh, smuáineadh; trúagh (*TN*) > truágh;  
 trúaghe (*TN*) > truáighe; úabhar (*TN*) > úabhair, úabhar; úair > úair,  
 uaír; úasal (*LUCC*) > uásal.

(iii.) *Scribal inconsistency concerning insertion of long marks:*

**á/a:** adhbhal > ádhbhal/adhbhal; atá > atá/ata.

**é/e:** Dé > dé/de.

**éa/ea:** bréag > bréag/breag, breagach.

**éi/ei:** mbeinn (*TC*) > mbeín/mbeinn; éiric (*SSA*) > éiric/éiric/eiric

**éó/eó/eo:** eólach > éolach/eolach; eólaighe > éoluigh/eóluigh/  
 eoluigh.

**í/i:** míle > míle/mile.

**íó/io:** díobh, dhíobh > díobh/diobh/dhiobh.

**íú/iu:** sgiúradh (*BnN*) > sgiúradh/sgiuradh.

**ó/o:** dofhulaing > ndófhulaing/dofhulaing.

**óí/oi:** gcóisteadha (*Gall.*) > cóisteadh/coisteadh; gcóistibh >  
 cóistibh/choistibh; purgadóir > purgadóir/bpurgadoir; seanmóir >  
 tsheanmoír/seanmoir.

**ú/u:** cúradh\* > ccúradh/curadh; súghadh > súgh/sugh.

**úí/úi:** gnúis > gnúis/gealghnuiseach.

(iv.) *Anomalous placing of long marks on stressed vowels:*

a > á: ae > áe; fagháil > fhágháil.

ai > ái: cairde > **cháirde**.

ai > aí: aird > **aírd**.

ea > éa: deara > **déara**; teaghdhais > **teághuis**.

eo > éo: ceól > **céol**; deóradh > **ndéoradh**.

o > ó: ord > **órd**; toirthe > **ttóirthe**; thoirtheibh > **thóirtheibh**.

u > ú: tusa > **túsa**.

ui > úi: cuid > **cuíd**.

(v.) *Anomalous absence of long marks from stressed vowels:*

**á** > **a**: blátha > **mblatha**; bláthaibh > **bhlathaibh**; dá > **da**; dár > **dar**; dathghrána > **dathghranna**; fá > **fa**; láthair > **lathair**, nár > **nar**; pálás > **palás**; snáthaide > **snathite**; tángadar > **tangadar**; tángamar (SSA) **ttangamar**; trácht > **tracht**; tráchtadh > **trachtadh**.

**ái** > **ai**: áilne > **ailne**; cáir\* > **cair**; dháibh (*Desid.*) > **daibh**; fáinne (*TN*) > **fainne**; mnáibh > **mhnaibh**; sgáin\* > **sgain**.

**é** > **e**: é > **e fein**; tré > **tre**.

**éa** > **ea**: droich-éadach > **drocheadaigh**; féachain > **fheachain**; géabhadh > **ngeabadh**.

**éi** > **ei**: bréithre > **bhreithre**; chéile > **cheile**; déirc > **deirc**; éigin > **eigin**; géibheann > **geibhionn**; péine > **peine**; réidh > **reidh**.

**í** > **i**: fírinneach > **firinneach**; rígh > **righ**.

**íó** > **io**: bíonn (*SSA*) > **mbíonn**; críoch > **crioch**; críochnughadh > **ccríochnughadh**; íochtarach > **iochtarach**; maithghníomhartha > **maithghníomha**; scríobhadh > **sgríobadh**; sgríobhtha (*TC*) > **sgríobhtha**.

**ó** > **o**: glórmhaire (*Fl.Earls*) > **glormaire**; ó > **o**; ón > **on**.

**óí** > **oi**: glóire > **gloire**; óir > **oir**.

**ú** > **u**: fútha > **futha**; sgrúdadh (*TC*) > **sgrudadh**; tú > **tu**; úd > **ud**.

**úi** > **ui**: cúig > **cui**; dúinn > **dhuinn**, **dhuinne**; glúinibh (*SSA*) > **ghluinibh**.



(vi.) *Anomalous absence of long marks from historically unstressed vowels:*

**á** > **a**: compánach (TC) > *chompanaigh, chumpanach, companach*;  
teannáil > *teannala*.

**ái** > **ai**: chomhráidh > *chomhraidh*.

**eá** > **ea**: beitheá (*Desid.*) > *mbeithea*.

**ó** > **o**: mormóna (TN) > *mormonta*; seanmóra (TC) > *seanmora*;  
seanmóraidhe (ESA) > *seanmoruidh*.

Although the foregoing examples indicate that the scribe was not as careful about the insertion of long marks as he could have been it was not the case that he took a completely haphazard approach in this regard. The recognisable pattern of long marks being one or two places out of position make it clear that he had a good idea of where they should have been and one might reasonably suppose that he would have assumed that his readership was sufficiently competent in the language to know what was intended even if the accents were sometimes incorrectly positioned. The consistent occurrence of long marks over the digraph *ao* and the diphthongs *ia* agus *ua* it should be noted corresponds to the spelling found in *IGT* which suggests the influence of Classical Irish on this aspect of the orthography of the document.

## 2. SIGNIFICANT VOCALIC USAGE IN STRESSED VOWELS:

(i.) *Stressed vowels indicative of classical spelling conventions*

**ao**: *dol* > *ndol*.

**u**: *gul* > *gul*, *ulghairdeas* (*Gall.*) > *ulghairdeas*, *urlaidheacht*\* > *urlaigheacht*.

**ui**: *druim* > *druim*, *uiread* > *uirid*.

(ii) *Stressed vowels which deviate from classical spelling*

**á** > **ao**: *trácht* > *traocht*.

**a > o:** thart (*TN.*) > thort.

**ai > oi:** faille > foill, -raibhe > roibhe.

**ea > ei:** teacht, toidheacht > tiecht.

**éi > é:** éiric (*SSA*) > éric.

**io > ia:** pionús (*TN*) > phiánus.

**io/iu > ea:** -tiobharadh, -tiubhradh > tteabhradh.†

**io > iu:** tiocfaidh > thiucfaidh; thioctas > thiucfus.

**o > a:** boltanas (*Desid.*) > baltanus.

**o > u:** comairce (*BNnÉ*) > chumairc; corrach > currach; pobal > pubal;

ollamh > ullamh, ollmhughadh > ullmughadh.

**oi > aoi:** oidhche > aoidhche; choidhche > cháoidhche; croidhe > craoidhe.

**oi > ui:** goid > guid.

**u > o:** ucht > ochta.

*Examples in which both éa- and -éu occur:*

éadach/éadaigh > éadach/eáduigh/eadhúigh/eáduighe/

eáduigh; drochéaduighe (*PCT*) > drocheadaigh; éud (*TN*) > eúd,

éada\*/éuda (*EU*) > éada/eúda.

*Examples in which both -ei- and -i- occur:*

teine > tine, teineadh > tineadh, teinidh > teinidh/tinidh, teinte

(*Beath.A.R.*) > tinnte, teintibh > teintibh/thinntibh.

*Examples in which both -o- and -u- occur:*

compánach (*Desid.*) > compánach/companach/chumpanach, chor

(*ESA*) > chor/chur, rompa > rompa/rumpa.

*Examples in which both -oi- and -ui- occur:*

muirne > mhoirn/muirn.

## 2. SHORT UNSTRESSED VOWELS:

In relation to short unaccented vowels in Old Irish Ahlqvist states:

Ar a lán slite, tá na gutaí gearra gan bhéim an-éagsúil go deo ó na cinn faoi bhéim [sa] agus aithnítear seo go soiléir ina litriú. (Ahlqvist, 1994: 27)

The following passage, moreover, indicates that by the time *FMh* had been transcribed in MS. TCD 1399 little had changed in this regard:

I ngraiméar Gaeilge lámhscríofa (ón seachtú haois déag) de chuid Thuileagna Uí Mhaolchonaire, ...faightear a leithéid seo a leanas de fhoirmle chun malartú na ngutaí gan bhéim a shoiléiriú:

<b><i>ai</i></b>		<b><i>ea</i></b>		<b><i>ai</i></b>	
<b><i>oi</i></b>	gh	<b><i>io</i></b>	m	<b><i>oi</i></b>	r
<b><i>ui</i></b>				<b><i>ui</i></b>	

” (*Ibid.*, 39) <sup>1</sup>

Ahlqvist draws attention to the two factors influencing the spelling of such short vowels (a.) the phonemes which they signify and (b.) whether the consonants beside and between which they are positioned are broad or slender.<sup>2</sup>

(i.) *Variations in the spelling of the phoneme /ə/ in unstressed position*

- a. *Short vowel preceding stress-point before a broad consonant:*  
*/ə/* spelt as ***a:*** anois → anois, isteach > ***asteach***, istigh > ***astigh***.  
*/ə/* spelt as ***io:*** iomthnúithtigh\*<sup>3</sup> > iomthnuithtigh.
  
- b. *Short vowel preceding stress-point before a slender consonant:*  
*/ə/* spelt as ***i:*** imtheacht → imtheacht.
  
- c. *Short vowel following stress-point between two broad consonants:*  
*/ə/* spelt as ***a:*** adhbhal > adhbhal; adhbhar > ádhbhar; bréagach > breagach; comharsan > ccomharsan; cumhachtach > cumhachtach;  
 cumhang > cruachumhann; damanta > damanta; diabhal > diabhal;

<sup>1</sup> Bold and italic font are mine.

<sup>2</sup> Ahlqvist refers to Thurneysen’s basic rule as regards this type of vowel, “braitheann litriú an ghuta go hiomlán ar na consain atá timpeall air.” (Ahlqvist, 1994: 28). “The quality of unstressed short vowels in the interior of words is altogether dependent on that of the flanking consonants.” *GOI*, 63.

<sup>3</sup> Note *iomthnúthach* in *Stair an Bhíobla II*, 131, 7, *Stair an Bhíobla IV*, 129, 15 & 192, 21.

dochar > *dochar*; éadach > *eádach*; bhfaghann > *bhfaghann*; bhfuaradar > *bhfhuáradar*; furtacht > *fhurtacht*; greadach\* > *greadach*; iliomad > *ioliomad*; meabhlach > *meabhlach*; pubal (*TN*) > *pubal*; saoghal > *shaoghal*; seachad (*BCF*) > *seachad*; sgabal\* > *sgabal*; siubhal > *siubhal*; sochar > *sochar*.

/ə/ spelt as **o**: ceathramh (*PA*) > *ceathromh*; ndearnadar (*TC*) > *ndearnador*; easumhlacht\* > *easumhlocht*; mallacht > *mallocht*.

/ə/ spelt as **u**: eaglus (*SSA*) > *eaglus*; fhágbhadar > *fhágbhudar*; teagusg (*SSA*) > *theagusg*.

d. *Short vowel following stress-point between two slender consonants:*

/ə/ spelt as **ei**: *ttoirmeinte*.

/ə/ spelt as **i**: *aoibhnis (TN)* > *aoibhnis*; *bréithir* > *bhreithire*†;<sup>1</sup> *cantain (Beath.A.R.)* > *caintin*†; *cóistibh\** > *choistibh*; *éidir* > *bfheídir*, *fírinneach* > *bhfírinneach*; *bhfuighid (TN)* > *bfuighid*; *súilibh* > *súilibh*; *thoirmintibh*.

e. *Short vowel following stress-point between broad then slender consonants:*

/ə/ spelt as **ai**: *ádhbharuibh (SSA)* > *adhbharaibh*; *aithreachaibh (TN)* > *aithreachaibh*; *anmannaibh* > *anmannaibh*; *básamhail (DBM)* > *mbásamhail*; *biadhaibh* > *bhiádhaibh*; *comhair* > *chomair*; *daolaibh\** > *dhaolaibh*; *ndeachaid (Beatha.A.R.)* > *ndeachaid*; *deamhnaibh* > *dheamhnaibh*; *diabhail* > *diabhail*; *diabhlaibh (TN)* > *díabhlaibh*; *diadhaire* > *diaghaire*; *diamhraibh (ESA)* > *diamhraibh*; *do-fhulaing* > *ndófhulaing*; *domblais* > *domblais*; *éadail* > *édail*; *eaglaise (ESA)* > *eaglaise*; *féachain* > *féachain*; *fearaibh* > *fearaibh*; *gárthaibh\** > *gárthaibh*†; *greadhaibh (IomarFil I)* > *ghreadhaibh*; *gualainn* > *gualainn*;

---

<sup>1</sup> Note also *bhreithaire*.

lasair > lasair; leabhraibh > leabhraibh; leanbánaibh\* > leanbanaibh;  
 piastaibh (*BNNÉ*) > *phíastaibh*, *phiasdaibh*; seomradhaibh (*FFÉ*) >  
 seomraibh; suthain > suthain; tuargain > tuargain; turasaibh\* > *turasaibh*;  
 uathmhain > *uathmhain†*; urchomhair (*Desid.*) > *úrchomhair*.  
 /ə/ spelt as **ui**: áluinn (*Desid.*) > *áluinn*; balluibh (*SSA*) > *bhalladhuibh*;  
 brághuid (*TC*) > *braghuid*; chianuibh (*SSA*) > *chiánuibh*; conair > **conuir**;  
 connairc > **connuirc†**; corpuibh (*SSA*) > *ccorpuibh*; creapailte (*EU*) >  
**creapuillte†**; chuguinn (*SSA*) > *chuguinn*; cumhachtuibh (*Desid.*) >  
*cumhachtuibh*; déanuinn (*Desid.*) > *denuinn*; dearmuid (*Desid.*) >  
*dearmuid*; dearnuis (*SSA*) > *dearnuis*; dorchaduis (*TN*) > *dorchaiduis*;  
 eagluise (*Desid.*) > *eagluise*; do fhreaguir (*TN*) > *fhreaguir*; bhfiaghnuise  
 (*Desid.*) > *bfhiaghnuise*; gabhuid (*SSA*) > *gabhuid*; géibhionnaibh  
 (*Desid.*) > **geibhionnuibh**, glasaibh (*Desid.*) > **ghlasuibh**; lasrachuibh  
 (*BC*) > *lasrachuibh*; leathtruim (*FFÉ II*) > *leathtruim*; locais (*SSA*) >  
**locuis**; machaireadh (*Bedel*) > *machuireadh*; oruinn (*Desid.*) > *oruinn*;  
 ríoghuibh (*Desid.*) > *ríoghuibh*; tarruing (*Desid.*) > *tarruing*; thabhuirt  
 (*SSA*) > *thabhuirt*; teaghdhaisibh > **thíghtheadhuisuibh**; thiaghmuid  
 (*Desid.*) → *tíaghmuid*, *thiaghuid* (*Desid.*) *tiaghuid*.

*Examples in which both -ai- and -ui- were found:*

clochaibh/clochuibh (*SSA*) > *chlochaibh/chlochuibh*; colainn/coluinn  
 (*Desid.*) > *cholainn/choluinn*.

- f. *Short vowel following stress-point between slender then broad  
 consonants:*

/ə/ spelt as **ui**: críostaidhibh > **criostaidhuibh**; prionnsadhaibh (*SSA*) >  
**phrionnsaighuibh**; groidhibh (*Beath.A.R.*) > **ghroidhuibh**,

/ə/ spelt as **ea**: coitcheann > *coitcheann*; crínteach (*Bedel*) > *chrainteacha*;  
 croiceann > *ccroiceann*; fírinneach > *bfhírinneach*; mailíseach >

mailíseach; ríoghdhacht > **riogheacht**<sup>†</sup>; thuiteam<sup>1</sup> > tuiteam; uiríseal (TN) > uiríseal; ulghairdeas\* > ulghairdeas; urlaidheacht > urlaigheacht. /ə/ spelt as **io**: aifrionn (ESA) > aifrionn; aigeantach<sup>2</sup> > **aigiontach**; aoibhnios (EU) > áoibhnios; dóibhsion (Desid.) > daibhsion; bhfaicfiom (Bedel) > fhaicfiom; faicionn (Desid.) > bfaicionn; flaitios (Desid.) > flaitios; géibhionn (Buaidh) > geibhionn; ifrionn (TC) > ifrionn; innseas (ESA) > **innsios**; luighionn (SSA) > luighionn; millteanach\* > **milltionach**<sup>†</sup>; theilgion (Salt.Mh.) > theilgion; timchioll (Desid.) > ttimchioll; saidhbhrios (Desid.) > saidhbhrios.

*Example in which both -ea- and -io- were found:*

/ə/ spelt as **ea/io**: saoiléann > saoiléann/saoilíonn.

g. *Short post-stress vowel at the end of a word:*

/ə/ spelt as **a**: chara > chara; céadna > ccéadna; cumhachta > cumachta; eagla > eagla; naomhtha > naomhtha; roth > **rotha**; sheachna > sheachna; stiúrtha (AFM) > stiúrtha; tárla > tárla, urtha (AFM) > urtha.

/ə/ spelt as **e**: áirithe > airighe; aisde (TN) > aisde; aithne > aithne; aoidhche<sup>3</sup> > aoidhche; coróine > corróine, diadhair > diaghair, díbhfeirge (FFÉ) > díbheirge, duine > duine, eaglaise (ESA) > eaglaise, glóire > gloire, náire > naire, oirfideadh > **oirfide**; roibhe (TN) > roibhe; suthaine > suthaine.

/ə/ spelt as **i**: misi (TN) > misi.

*Example in which both -a and -u- were found:*

/ə/ spelt as **a/u**: rompa/rompu (BNnÉ) > rumpa/rompu.

*Example in which both -e and -i- were both found:*

/ə/ spelt as **e/i**: taise/taisi (Fl.Earls) > taise/taisi.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Mac an Bhaire’s Elegy on the Ulster Lords’, 166, 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Duanaire Finn II* (1626-27), 258, 6.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Cin Lae Ó Mealláin’ (1641-47), 5, 4.

Example in which final *-e* = /ə/ is missing:

comairce (BNnÉ) > **chumairc**.

h. The phoneme /ə/ signifying the preposition *i*:

/ə/ spelt as **a**: *i* > **a** ríogheacht, **a** tionnsuighsi.

/ə/ spelt as **u**: *im* > **um** cholainn.

(ii.) Variations in the spelling of the phoneme /i/ in unstressed position:

- a. /i/ spelt as **-(a)idh**: aghaidh > aghaidh; ardaignidh\* > aignidh; amhlaidh > amhlaidh; ainchríostaidhe\* > anchriostaidh; araidh\* > araidh; baistidhe > **mbaisdidh**; chomhráidh > chomhraidh; críostaidhe > **ccriostaidh**; chruthuigh > **chruithidh**; do-chuaidh > chuaidh; dealraidh (BNnÉ.) > dealraidh; diabhluidhe > **diabhlaidh**; diaidh > dhiáidh; easbaidh > easbaidh; geannmaidh > geannmaidh; grádhaigh (PA) > **ghradhuidh**; gidh > gidh; mhainneachtmaidhe (TC) > **mhainneachtaidh**; iarraidh > iarraidh; impidhe > **impidh**; leabaidh > leabaidh; leacaidhe\* > **leacaidh**; líonfuidhe (Stap.) > **líonfuidh**; lonnraidh (FFÉ I) > lonnraidh; malluighthe (SSA) > **mallaidh**; morgaidh\* > morgaidh; nuaidhe > **nuáidh**; peacaidh > peacaidh; rachaidh > rachaidh; rinnighe\* > **rinnidh**, sgairtidh, sgairtigh (SCU) > sgairtidh; seanmóraidhe (ESA) > **seamóruidh**; seanmóntuidhe (SSA) > **tsheanmontaidh**; do shuidh > do shuidh; teangaidh > teangaidh; teinidh > teinidh/teinidh; tiocfaidh > thiucfaidh, thuismidh > tuismidh.
- b. /i/ spelt as **-(a)idhe**: diabhlaidhe (Desid.) diabhluidhe (SSA) > diabhlaidhe.
- c. /i/ spelt as **-(a)idhi**: truailidhe > **truailidhi**.
- d. /i/ spelt as **-(a)igh**: astigh (Desid.) > astigh; athtuirsígh<sup>1</sup> > athtuirsigh; bhealaigh (ARÉ) > bhealaigh; bhríogh > **bhrigh**; cathuighthe > **caithigh**;

<sup>1</sup> Amhráin Shéamais Mhic Chuarta (1695), 79.

chompánaigh > *chompanaigh*; ndéalraigthaigh > (*Fl.Earls*) > **dealraithigh**; dhigh > *dhigh*; domhnaigh (*TC*) > *domhnaigh*; neamh-urchóidigh <sup>1</sup> > *iomthnuithigh*; ordaigh (*TC*) > *ordaigh*; páganaigh (*ESA*) > *pháganaigh*; roinntí (*FFÉ I*) > **roinntigh**; smuainigh (*SMM*) > **smúanaigh**†; tathaighidh > **tathaigh**.

e. /i/ = **spelt as -(a)ighe**: áirithe > **airighe**; tslighe > *tshlighe*; síordhaidhe > **siortuighe/siórrtuighe**; teintidhe > **teintighe**; truaighe > *truáighe*.

f. /i/ spelt as **aoi**: croidhe > **craoidhe**; diadhairibh (*SSA*) > **diadhairaoibh**; seanmónaibh > **seanmontaibh**.

g. /i/ spelt as **-oigh**: ionnsaighidh > **ionnsoigh**.<sup>2</sup>

h. /i/ spelt as **-(u)idh**: adhbhaidh > **ádhbhuidh**; ainmhianach > **anmhiánuidh**; comhnaidhe > **ccomhnuidh**.

i. /i/ = spelt as **-(u)idhe**: daonnuidhe (*Desid.*) > *daonnuidhe*; luighe > **luidhe**, sanntuighthe\* > **shantuidhe**; shuidhe > *shuidhe*.

j. /i/ = spelt as **-(u)igh**: amuigh > *amuigh*; dhrochéaduighe (*PCT*) > **drocheaduigh**; éoluigh (*SSA*) > *eóluigh*; sásuighthe > **sásuigh**; slánuighthe\* > **slánuigh**.

k. /i/ = spelt as **-(u)ighe**:

*Example in which /i/ is spelt both -idh and -idhe:*

*impidhe* > **impidh**/*impidhe*.

*Example in which /i/ is spelt both -idh and -idhi:*

*ainglidh (Beath.Dhia.)/ainglidhi (Fl.Earls)* > *ainglidh/ainglidhi*.

*Examples in which /i/ is spelt both -idhe and -igh:*

*éaduigh (Desid.)* > *eáduigh/eáduighe*; *urnaigh (Bedel.)*, *urnaighe (BNnÉ)* > *urnaigh/urnaighe*.

*Example in which the endings -uidhthe and -aighthe both occur:*

*síordhaidhe* > **siórraighthe/siorruidhthe**.

<sup>1</sup> *Gen. sg. m. form of adj., ESA, 34.*

<sup>2</sup> Note also the medial **-oigh in** *ceannsaigheacht (Beath.Dhia.)* > **neamhceannsoigheacht**;



(iii.) *Variations in the spelling of the phoneme /u/*a. *Endings in –(e)abh:*

/u/ spelt as **(e)abh**: áitreabh (TN) > **áitreabh**; asta > **asdabh**, céadadh\* > **céadabh**.

b. *Endings in –(e)adh:*

/u/ spelt as **(e)adh**: anmann > **anmannadh**; blasadh > **bhblasadh**; comhbhrughadh > **ccomhbrugadh**; comhbuaidhreadh (AFM) > **comhbúaidhreadh**; díleachtadh (SCU) > **ndíleachtadh**; goradh > **gothreadh**; ionadh > **ionadh**; nochtadh > **nochtadh**, prionnsadh (TC) > **prionnsadh**; rioghachtadh (Bedel) > **righeachtadh**; ruagadh > **ruagadh**; sgrúdughadh > **sgrudadh**; tachtadh > **ttachtadh**; teaghdhaisibh > **thíghtheadhuisuibh**.

*Example in which the endings -adh and -eadh both occur:*

smuaineadh > **smúanadh**/smuáineadh.

c. *Endings in –(e)amh:*

/u/ spelt as **(e)amh**: caitheamh > **caitheamh**; damh > **damh**; faoiseamh (DántaKeat) > **fhaoiseamh**; gráineamhla > **graineamhla**; sheasamh > **sheasamh**; taitneamh > **taitleamh**; taitneamhach > **taitleamhach**; thuireamh (D.Dána) > **thuireamh**; ullamh (TC) > **ullamh**.

d. *Endings in -omh:*

/u/ spelt as **omh**: ceathramhadh > **ceathromh**.

*Examples in which the endings -amh and -umh both occur:*

/u/ > amh/umh: fritheolamh (BNnÉ) > **friotholamh**/  
**friotholamh**/**friotholumh**.

e. *Endings in -ugh:*

/u/ spelt as **ugh**: cruinniughadh > **cruinniugh**; cuidiughadh > **cuidiugh**; fuaradh > **fuárriugh**; giorrughadh (SSA) > **aithghiorrugh**; síor-smúaintiughadh (*Im.Ghen.*) > **siór smuaníugh**†, súghadh > **sugh**, **súgh**; urghairdiughadh > **úrghairdiugh**.

f. *Endings in -ughadh:*

/u/ spelt as **ughadh**: créachtnughadh > *creachtnughadh*; maslughadh (*Desid.*) > *mor mhaslugadh*.

As is to be expected in a document of this period this transcription exhibits inconsistency as regards the use of short unstressed vowels. Of particular note concerning the scribe's practice in this regard is the inclination towards the use of *o(i)* rather than *a(i)* or *u(i)* – *ceathromh*, *ndearnador*, *easumhloch*, *ionnsoigh*, *milliún*, *malloch*, *neamhceannsoigheacht*; the occasional use of *aoi* instead of *ai* or *ui* in the dative plural endings *diadhairaoibh* and *seanmontaoibh*; the frequent shortening of the verbal noun ending *-ughadh* to *-ugh*, perhaps indicating the influence of the scribe's mode of speech on his spelling.

## 3. THE EPENTHETIC VOWEL:

An unseen epenthetic vowel might be expected to have occurred as follows:

**l-b**: *dheilbh* > *deilbh*.

**l-g**: *cealgach* > *cealgach*, *cealgaireacht\** > *cealgaireacht*, *theilgion* (*Salt.Mh.*) > *theilgion*.

**n-m**: *meanmain* > *mheanmain*, *seanmóir* > *tsheanmóir*, *seanmóra* (*TC*) > *seanmorá*, *seanmóraidhe* (*ESA*) > *seanmoruidh*.

**r-b**: *carbadaibh* (*Bedel*) > *charbadaibh*/*carbataibh*, *carbait* (*StBhíobla I*) > *carbait*, *darb* (*BNnÉ*) > *darb*, *darbh* > *darbh*, *dearbhta* > *dearbhta*, *marbha* > *mhairbha*, *marbhtach* > *marbhtach*, *nar bh* (*TN*) > *nar*

*bheadh/nar bfharr/nar bfhiór*, *searbh* > *searbhghártha* †, *seirbhís* (*Desid.*)  
> *sheirbhís*, *tarbha* > *ttarbha*.

**r-ch:** *dorcha* > *dhorcha*, *dorchadais* > *dorchaiduis*.

**r-g:** *airgead* > *airgead*, *dhearg* > *dearg*, *fairrge* > *fhairge*, *fheirg* > *fheirg*,  
*feirge* > *feirge*, *tairgsin* (*TC*) > *tairgsin*.

**r-m:** *cuirm\** > *coirm*, *dearmaid* > *dearmuid*, *diáirmhe* (*Fl.Earls*) >  
*diairmhe*, *do-áirmhe* > *dhoáirmhe*.

In the case of the prepositional pronoun *orm*, however, the epenthetic vowel was visible:

**ram:** *orm*, *oram* > *oramsa*.

The occurrence of the vowels *i* and *a* in the genitive singular and nominative plural of the noun *briathar* would suggest the presence of an extra phoneme – probably due to the influence of the dialect of the scribe – which seems to have functioned in the manner of an epenthetic vowel:

/ə/ = **a:** *briathra* > *briathara*.

/ə/ = **ai, i:** *bréithre* > *bhreithaire*, *bhreithire*.

### (III) CONSONANTS

#### 1. SLENDER AND BROAD CONSONANTS:

Chonacthas... gur minic a chuirte a, o, nó u timpeall ar chonsan leathan agus e nó i timpeall ar chonsan caol fiú i ré na Sean-Ghaeilge. Tosaítear ar fheidhm chomhsheasmhach a bhaint as an mbealach sin le consain chaola a idirdhealú go soiléir ar chonsain leathana i litriú na Nua-Ghaeilge Moiche. (Ahlqvist, 1994: 39)

(i) *Examples showing lack of adherence to ‘broad to broad, slender to slender’ rule*

**a** > **ai:** *prionnsadhaibh* > ***phrionnsaighuibh***.

**a** > **ea:** *goradh* > ***gothreadh***; *rioghdhacht* > ***riogheacht***/

**riogheachtadh/riogheachta.**

**ai > a:** áirithe > **arighe**; smuaintiughadh > **smuaníugh**.

**ai > i:** atámaid > **támid**; tarraing > **tharring**; snáthaide > **snathite**.

**a > iu:** fuaradh > **fuárriugh**.

**éa > é:** do-bhéar > **bhéara**; -déanadh > **dhénadh**; déanamh > **dénamh**;

déanmaoid (*Desid.*) > **dénmid**; déanta > **dhénta**; éadail > **édail**; éadála >

**édala**; éadrocht (*Dinn.*) > **édrochta**; éagcóra > **eccóra**; féachaim >

**féchus**, **fhécfus**, **reimhfhéchuin**; fíreán > **bfhíren**; pérla (*IGT*) >

**pérladh/phérlaidhibh**.

**i > ai:** luibhibh > **luibhaibh**.

**io > i:** ioná > **ina**.

**íó > í:** bríogh > **bhrigh**; díomas > **dímus**; díomais (*TC*) > **dimúis**; ríogh >

**rígh**; síoth-cháin > **sícháin**; Tríonóide > **trinoíde**.

**i > ui:** groighibh (*AFM*) > **ghroidhuibh**.

*Examples of adherence to and deviation from the rule 'broad to broad, slender to slender'*

cathrach > cathracha/**caithreacha**; cruthuighim > chruthaigh/

**chruithidh**; do-fhulaing > dofhulaing/dofhuiling/ **ndofhuling**; mar >

mar/**mair**; príosún > príosúnach, **prísún**; tarraing > tharring/**thairring**;

truailleadh > **trualladh/truailleadh**.

(ii) *'Broad to broad, slender to slender' in compound words*

**ai > a:** ainchríostaidhe\* > **anchriostaidh**; ainmhianach > **anmhianach**, **anmhiánuidh**.

**i > io:** iliomad\* > **ioliomad**.

**oi > o:** gcoimhliónfadh (*TN*) > ccoimhliónfadh; cóimhsheim\* >

**ccomhthsheim**; droich-éadach > **drocheadaigh**; dhroichghníomh (*TN*)

> **drochgníomh**; droich-iomchair (*TórChríosta*) > **dhroch iomchair**.

óí > ó: lóir-ghníomh > **lóirghníomh**.

(iii) *Depalatisation of consonants according to classical norm:*

eaglus (SSA) > eaglus; ruagadh > *ruagadh*; tarbha > *ttarbha*, *tarbha*.

(iv) *Depalatisation of consonants contrary to classical norm:*

cairteacha\* > **cartacha**; coimirce > **chumairc**; eisiompláir > **easumpláir**;  
friothóileamh > **friotholamh**, **friotholumh**; toirthibh > **thórthaibh**.

(v) *Palatisation of consonants contrary to classical norm:*

cathuighthe > **caithigh**; iomthnúthach (*StBhíobla II*) > *iomthnuithtigh*;  
taitneamhach > **taitnimeach**; uiread > **uirid**.

(vi) *Adherence to antiquated spelling forms:*

cinéal > **cinél**, fear > **pher**, muinéal (*PCT*) > **muinél**.

## 2. SIGNIFICANT CONSONANTAL VARIATIONS:

(i) *Simplification of consonantal clusters:*

**bhf** > **f**: muirbhfeadh > **mhuirfeadh**.

**bhth** > **bh**: gáibhtheach > **ghaibheach**.

**dhbh** > **bh**: aidhbhseach > **aibhseach**.

**gth** > **g**: troisgthe > **troisge**.

**ghdh** > **gh**: ríoghdha > **riogha**; ríoghdhacht > **riogheacht**, **riogheachta**,  
teaghdhais > **teághuis**.

**ghth** > **dh**: deallruightheach > **dhealladhradhach**.

**ghth** > **th**: deallruightheach > **dealraithigh**.

**ghthe** > **gh**: cathuighthe > **caithigh**; sásuighthe > **sásuigh**; urnaighthe >  
**urnaigh**, **urnaighe**.

(ii) *Insertion of consonantal clusters:*

**mh** > **thmh**: uamhan > **uáthmhan**, uamhain > **uathmhain**†.

**r > thr:** goradh > **gothreadh**.

**th > dhth:** beatha > **beadhtha**.

**c > thch:** croiceann > ccroiceann, **ccroithcheann**.

(iii) *Consonantal interchange:*

**bh > th:** dubh > **duth**.

**dh > bh:** céadadh\* > **céadabh**, guidhe > **guibhe**.

**dh > gh:** díolaidheacht > **díoluigheachta**; fadódh > **fadógh**; fiadhnaise > **bfhiaghnuise**; prionnsadhaibh > **phrionnsaighuibh**; teintidhe > **teintighe**; urlaidheacht\* > **urlaigheacht**.

**gh > dh:** anróigh\* > **anróidh**; críochnuigheadh > **criochnuideadh**; dóghadh\* > **dódhadh**; gadaigheachta (*Gall.*) > **gaduidheacht**; luighe > **luidhe**.

**mh > bh:** uimhir > **uibhir**.

**th > ch:** dóthain\* > **dóchain**.

**th > dh:** aitheantadh > **aidheantadh**.

**th > gh:** áirithe > **airighe**; fóirithin > **fhoírighín**.

*Examples in which a variety of forms are found*

diadhaire > **diagaire/diaghair/diadhgaire**.<sup>1</sup>

sáithte\* > **saighe/saithte**.

síordhaidhe > **siórraighthe/siorruidhthe/síortuighe/siórrtuighe**.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) *Voicing and devoicing of consonants:*

a. *Devoicing of medial consonants*

**g > c:** carbadaibh (*Bedel*) > **carbataibh**; faigsin > **faicsin**.

b. *Devoicing of terminal consonants*

**d > t:** carbad > **carbait**; snáthaide > **snathite**.

**g > c:** táinig > **táinic**.

<sup>1</sup> Note also diadhairaoibh corresponding to diadhairibh (SSA).

<sup>2</sup> Note also siorruigheacht > síordhaidheacht.

**p > b:** daoinibh > **dhaóiniph**.

*c. Exclusive preference for sg over sc:*

eadarscartha (*FFÉ II*), eadarsgaradh (*ImDáNón*) > eadarsgaradh;  
 fuascladh,<sup>1</sup> fuasgladh (*TN*) > fuasgladh; fíoruisce (*FFÉ II*), fíoruisge  
 (*Desid.*) > fíoruisge; loisce (*Bedel*) > ghearloisce; leisc,<sup>2</sup> leisg (*TN*) >  
 leisg; loscadh (*ARÉ I-II*), losgadh (*TN*) > losgadh; measc (*Desid.*), measg  
 (*CCD*) > measg; meisce (*ARÉ I-II*), meisge (*TN*) > meisge; órnasc (*FFÉ II*),  
 órnasg (*BEBD*) > órnasg; scairtidh (*Gall*), sgairtidh (*SCU*) >  
 sgairtidh; scabal<sup>3</sup>, sgabal (*ImDáNón*) > sgabal; sgan; scaoileadh (*ARÉ I-II*),  
 sgaoileadh (*TN*) > sgaoileadh; scaoileadar (*Bedel*), sgaoileadar (*DSA*)  
 > sgáoileadar; scéal (*BCF*), sgéal (*Desid.*) > sgéal; sciúradh<sup>4</sup>, sgiúradh  
 (*BN*) > sgiúradh; sciúrsa,<sup>5</sup> sgiúrsa (*TN*) > sgiúrsa; scothach,<sup>6</sup> sgothach  
 (*Duan.F*) > sgothach; scríobhadh (*TN*), sgríobhadh (*TN*) > sgriobadh;  
 scríobhtha (*FFÉ I*), sgríobhtha (*TN*) > sgríobhtha; scrúdadh (*Fl.Earls*),  
 sgrúdadh (*TC*) > sgrudadh; taosca (*Salt.Mh.*), taosga (*TN*) > taosga;  
 teagusc (*Fl.Earls*), teagusg (*TN*) > theagusg; troisce (*CCD*), troisge  
 (*CCD*) > troisge, troscadh (*Fl.Earls*); trosgadh (*CCD*) > trosgadh; uisce  
 (*CCD*), uisge (*CCD*) > uisge.

*d. Example in which scc is used to express sg*

easccaoine (*ARÉ III-IV*) > easccaoín.

*e. sd rather than st*

aisde (*TN*), aiste > aisde; asda (*TN*), asta > asdabh; bhaisdidh (*TN*),

baistidh (*ESA*) > baisdidh; ceisd (*TN*), ceist > ceisd; éisd (*TN*), éist > éisd.

<sup>1</sup> “An Irish Harrowing of Hell”.

<sup>2</sup> Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta.

<sup>3</sup> Dánta Mhuiris Mhic Dháibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt.

<sup>4</sup> An Barántas.

<sup>5</sup> “The Penitential Psalms in Irish Verse”.

<sup>6</sup> Dánta Mhuiris Mhic Dháibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt.

f. *st* rather than *sd*

ainchríostaidhe (*IomarFil I*), ainchríosdaidhe (*TC*) > anchríostaidh;  
 asdeach (*TN*) > asteach (*TN*) > asteach; asdigh (*TN*), astigh (*TN*) > astigh;  
 blasda (*TN*), blasta (*ESA*) > mblasta; brisde (*TN*), briste > bhriste; chasda  
 (*TN*), casta (*Fl.Earls*) > casta; ccluisdin (*ImDáNón*), chluistin (*EólDomh*)  
 > chluistin; cóisde (*StBhíobla IV*), cóiste (*Fl.Earls*) > cóiste; cóistibh  
 (*A.Midhe*) > cóistibh; cóisteadha (*Trompa*) > cóisteadh; Críosdaidhe  
 (*CCD*), críostaidhe > ccriostaidh; Críosdaidhibh (*TC*), Críostaidhibh (*TC*)  
 > criostaidhuibh; criosdal (*TC*), chriostal (*BNnÉ*) > chriostal; freasdal  
 (*BNnÉ*), freastal > freastal; sásda (*BNnÉ*), sásta > sásta; sdiúrtha (*SSA*),  
 stiúrtha (*AFM*) > stiúrtha; súisdeadh (*CMT*), súisteadha (*PCT*) >  
 súisteadh.

g. *Examples containing both sd and st*

éisdeacht (*Desid.*)/éisteacht > éisdeacht/eísteacht; neamhphósda  
 (*SSA*)/neamhphósta > neamhphósda/pósta; péisd (*TN*)/ péist (*SSA*) >  
 peísd/phéist; piastaibh (*BNnÉ*) > phiasdaibh/phíastaibh.

(v) *Loss of terminal consonant:*

**ch** > **ø**: crích > **ccrí**.

(vi) *Combined consonants:*

**ng** > **nn**: cumhaing > **cruachumhann**.

(vii) *Doubling of consonants:*

**f** > **ff**: ifrinn > **iffrinn**.

**l** > **ll**: milseacht (*Desid.*) > **millseacht**.

**n** > **nn**: intinn > **inntinne**; teinteadh > **tinnte**; teintibh > **thinntibh**.



**r > rr:** coróin > **corróine**; fuaradh > **fuárriugh**; síordhaidhe > **siorruidhthe/siórraiththe/siórrtuighe**; síordhaidheacht > **siorruiigheacht**.

*Examples in which both r and rr are found*

ortha > ortha, **orrtha**.

(viii) *Reduction of doubled consonants:*

**ll > l:** dílleacht > **ndíleachtadh**; deallradh > **dealraidh**; deallruightheach > **dealraithigh**.

**nn > n:** sainnt > **sainte**.

**rr > r:** fairrge > **fhairge**; parrthas > **párthusa**.

*Examples in which both n and nn are found*

beinn (TC) > **mbeín**, mbeinn; cinnte > **cinte**, cinnte.

(IV) MISCELLANEOUS ORTHOGRAPHICAL TRAITS

(i) *Semi-phonetic spellings:*

**a > o:** thart (TN) > **hort**.

**ea > a:** cheana > **hana**.

(ii) *Bilabial f*

**f > phf:** féin > **phfeín**.

(iii) *Prosthetic f*

**∅ > f:** áras (Desid.) > **fárus**.

(iv) *Loss of f*

anbhfann > **anhann**.

(v) *Loss of s*

sgiúrsadh > **sgiúradh**.

(vi) *Occurrence of extra phoneme*

balluibh (SSA)/balladhaibh (B.A.R.) > *bhallaibh/bhalladhuibh*; bréithre > *bhreithaire/ bhreithire*; briathra > *briathara*; deallruightheach > *dhealladhradhach*.

(vii) *Loss of phoneme*

damanta > **damnta**.

## GRAMMAR

## 1. INITIAL MUTATIONS

## 1. LENITION

## NOUNS

*The initial consonant of a noun is lenited:*

## (i) When preceded by a simple preposition:

**ar:** *air ghradh, air dhaoinibh, air shaidhbhrios; exceptions, air cuireadh, air gualainn, air béalaibh.*

**as:** *as thuathaibh ifrinn.*

**do = de:** *do mharcshluágh, do choistibh, do phérlaidhibh, do dhaoinibh; exceptions, do diabhlaidibh, do brigh, do muintir, do maighdeanaibh.*

**do:** *do chill, do thuaith, do dhiá.*

**fa:** *fa dhigh, fa bhun, fa ghuibhe; exceptions, fa braghuid, fa cumhachtuibh.*

**fo:** *fo bhraghuid agus mhuinél; exception, fo déara.*

**gan:** *gan fheachain, gan chríoch, gan mhoill; exception, gán gul; before d, t, s: gan dúil, gan drochgníomh, gan tarbha, gan taise, gan trocáire, gan truailleadh, gan tuiteam.*

**idir:** idir *fhear agus...* *ghiolla*; *exception*, idir... *mnaoi*.

**mar:** mar *chách*, mar *dhaolaibh*, mar *gheall*.

**ó:** o *thús*, o *chiánuibh*, o *sheanmoradh*, o *mhéad*; *exceptions*, o sin, o múr, o so.

**tair:** tair *bhallaibh*.

**tré:** tre *shaoghal*, tre *cheannradharc*.

(ii) When preceded by a compound preposition:

a measg *chách*.

(iii) When preceded by a compound preposition in a definite genitival phrase:

a ccoinne an righ agus *thighearnadh* na ríogheacht so; a néiric *dhásaicht* na feirge.

(iv) When preceded by the adjectives *uile*, *aon* = *én* and *d(h)á*:

do nuile *dhochar*, don uile *chínél*; *air én chor*, *ochta gach én mhná dhíobh*; *dhá bhealach*, *dhá dhiabhal*; *exception when d follows n*: *aón duine*.

(v) When preceded by possessive adjectives *mo*, *do*, *a* (3<sup>rd</sup> masc. sg.) or by their pronominal forms:

*mo tharring*, *mo chumus*, *mo chumairc*; *do chumpanach*, *do mheanmain*; *a cháirde*, *a dhroch iomchar*, *a fhuachta*; *um cholainn*, *air na fhaicsin*, *ina cheann*, *ina mheanmain*, *le na dhenámh*, *re na dhenamh*.

(vi) When preceded by the vocative particle *a*:

*a chompanaigh*, *a thighearna*, *a dhiá*, *a chairde*.

(vii) When governed by the dative singular form of masculine and feminine nouns:

*air ghradh bhreithire de*, *air sgrudadh bhreithaire de*; *re súil dháonda*.

- (viii) When governed by the genitive singular form of masculine nouns:  
 os coinne *gach* én *ghné pheacaidh*.
- (ix) When nominative singular feminine preceded by the definite article *an*:  
 an *ghnúis*, an *chomhairle*, an *phéist*, *exception when d follows n*: an *drong*.
- (x) When genitive singular masculine preceded by the definite article *an*:  
 an *bhaile*, an *mhasla*, an *mhímheasa*, an *chraois*; *exception when d follows n*: an *dealraimh*, an *dearmuid*, an *dimúis*, *dímus*, an *dlighe*, an *domblais áe*, an *duine*.
- (xi) When masculine or feminine and preceded by a simple preposition and the definite article:  
*air an ghloír*, as an *fhairge*, don [= den] *choirm*, don *mhoing*, *excepting don muintir*; don *cholainn*, don *chursa*, ón *gheibhionn*, on *ghlasrach*;  
*exception when d follows n*: *air an diabal*, *air an duine*, *air an druing*, *reis an druing*.
- (xii) When it begins with *sl* or *s + vowel* prefixed by *t*:  
*Nom. sg. fem.* in *tshlighe*, an *tsheanmóir*, an *tshiorruigheacht*.  
*Dat. sg. masc.* *air an tshaoghal*, *ris an tsheanmontaidh*.  
*Dat. sg. fem.* an én *tshlighe*, on *tsheanmoír*.  
*Gen. sg. masc.* an *tshaogail*, an *thshaoghail*; an *tsheanmoruidh*.
- (xiii) When it is a definite noun functioning as a genitive:  
 anaghaidh... lucht *bhriste* an *dligidh agus shantuidhe choda accomharsan*, *toradh pheacadh* na *sainte*, os coinne lucht na *mbocht agus dhénta thoile dé*.

(xiv) When it is a proper noun governed by a definite noun:

isin bpalás sin **Ph**lútando.

(xv) In the case of **céile** after **a** or **nó** (= 'na < chun a):

a **cheile**, no **cheile**.

(xvi) In the case of **méad** after **dá**:

da **mhéad** peacadh.

(xvii) In the case of the substantive **féidir** after the past tense form of the copula **dob**:

dob **fheidir**, do **bfheidir** (*dob*)

(xviii) In the case of the substantive **féidir** after the negative past tense form of the copula **nárbh**:

*nar* **bfhéidir** (*nárbh*)

(xix) When it comprises the second element of a compound word:

mor **mhaslughadh**, **cruadhch**uibhreach; *exceptions*, **shiór gnath**,  
neamhceannsoigheacht.

## ADJECTIVES

*The initial consonant of an adjective is lenited:*

(i) When preceded by the simple preposition **do** (= **de**):

do **shiór gnath**.

(ii) When preceded by a nominative singular feminine noun:

coirm **mh**or, lasair **gh**aibheach **gh**raineamail, peísd **dh**ubh **dhi**abhlaidh;  
*exceptions*, magh mín alainn mínsgothach, coróin teintighe, sgiúrsa  
teintighe, colann daonna.

(iii) When preceded by a vocative singular masculine noun:

a *chompanaigh ghradhuidh*, a *chompanaigh ghradhuidh*, a spioraid *dhiabhlaidh dhamanta*.

(iv) When preceded by a dative singular masculine noun:

do mharcshluágh *mhear mheanmnach mhór aigiontach*, a bprísún *dhaingean dhorcha*; *exceptions*, *air shaidhbhríos breagach diombuan*, *air teallach teintighe*.

(v) When preceded by a dative singular feminine noun:

don cholainn *cholach*, *air an druing dhamanta*, *air a láimh dheís*, re nimh *ghearloisge*.

(vi) When preceded by a genitive singular masculine noun:

an amhairc *mhallaidh*.

(vii) When preceded by a nominative plural masculine noun:

na diabail *chreimneacha*, díabhail *dhubha*, na peacaidh *ghraineamhla*, cuirp *mhairbha*.

(viii) When preceded by a noun following *dhá*:

*dhá dhiabhal chrainteacha chreimneach chiórdhubha*.

(ix) When preceded by past tense forms of the copula *gurbh*, *nárbh*:

*gur bhírinneach (gurbh)*, *nar bhíór*, *nar bhéarr (nárbh)*.

(x) When it comprises the second element of a compound word:

*griánghlan*, *cirgheara*, *dathghranna*, *lán mhaiseach*; *exceptions*, *binn glorach*, *lánmaiseacha*, *neamhpósda*, *gruádh corcra*.

## NUMERALS

(i) The initial consonant of the cardinal number *dhá* is lenited:

*dhá* bhealach, *dhá* dhiabhal, *dhá* athair nimhneach nimhe, *dhá* rí.

(ii) The initial consonant of the cardinal number *míle* is lenited when preceded by the cardinal number *cúig*:

cuig *mhíle* bliadhan, cúig *mhíle* bliadhan.

## PRONOUNS

(i) The initial consonant of the pronoun *tú* is lenited when it is the object of a verb:

an eolach *thusa*, do bhéra misí do *chum* an *thshaoghail thú*, go mbeirinn as an aítí *thú*, fuígfeadsa *thú*.

(ii) The initial consonant of the following prepositional pronouns are lenited:

*chuige, chuige, chuguinn; dhe, dhíobh, dhiobh; exception, aón ríogheachta diobh;*<sup>1</sup> *dhamhsa, dhamh, dhuit, dhó, dho, dhuinne, dhuinn, dhóibh, dhoibh; exceptions, damh, daibh, daibhsion.*

## VERBS

*The initial consonant of a verb is lenited:*

(i) When preceded by the negative verbal particle *ní*:

*ní fhuireachair, ní bhíadh, ní thiucfaidh; exception, ní táinic.*

---

<sup>1</sup> *díobh* was not lenited when it follows a word ending in *n*, e.g., do *bhuáin díobh, gach aoín díobh, gach deaman díobh.*

- (ii) When preceded by the past tense verbal particles *do*, *ro*, *dar*, *gur*, *níor*, *nár*:  
do *bh*ádar, do *fh*reaguir, *exceptions*, do *con*nuirc, do *con*ncadar, do  
táinic; ro *fh*idir; dar *ch*ruthaigh; *gur* *bh*ris, *gur* *ch*ruithidh, *gur*  
*fh*ágbhudar, *gur* *fh*eallus; níor *ch*reid, níor *fh*uiling; *nar* *ch*reid.
- (iii) When it is past tense autonomous preceded by the verbal particle *do*:  
do *ch*inneadh, do *g*healladh.
- (iv) When it is conditional mood preceded by the verbal particle *do*:  
do *m*huirfeadh, do *dh*óirtfinn.
- (v) When the future tense forms of *beirim* are preceded by the verbal particle  
*do*:  
do *bh*éra misi, do *bh*éir.
- (vi) When the following present tense forms are preceded by the relative  
particle *do*:  
do *bh*eir, do *ch*ím, do *th*eíd.
- (vii) When the following imperfect tense forms are preceded by the relative  
particle *do*:  
do *bh*eirdís, do *bh*íodh, do *bh*íódh, do *bh*iodh, do *ch*andís.
- (viii) When the following past tense forms are preceded by the relative particle  
*do*:  
do *bh*aoi, do *ch*aill sé, do *g*habh, do *m*heall; *exception*, do *con*nuirc.
- (ix) When the past tense form of *cruthuighim* is preceded by the relative particle  
*ar*:  
ata dóchain *air* *ch*ruthaigh d'á ariamh.



(x) When the following conditional mood forms are preceded by the relative particle *do*:

do **bh**íadh, do **fh**éadfadh, do **thi**ormochadh.

(xi) When the past tense form of *atáim* is preceded by the relative particle *ro*:

ro **bh**aóí.

(xii) When the conditional mood form of *atáim* is preceded by the relative particle *a*:

a **bh**eadh.

(xiii) When the following relative forms were not preceded by a relative particle:

*atáim*, present habitual:  $\emptyset$  **bh**íos.

*canaim*, imperfect:  $\emptyset$  **ch**andís.

*saoilim*, past:  $\emptyset$  **sh**aoil túsa; *exception*,  $\emptyset$  **tug**.

*atáim*, *féachaim*, *tigim*, future:  $\emptyset$  **bh**íám,  $\emptyset$  **bh**ías,  $\emptyset$  **fh**écfus,  $\emptyset$  **thi**ucfus.

*atáim*, past subjunctive:  $\emptyset$  **bh**eith.

## ECLIPSIS:

### NOUNS

*The initial consonant of a noun is eclipsed:*

(i) When preceded by the simple preposition *iar*:

air **m**eith, iar **cc**riochnughadh, iar **nd**ol.

(ii) When preceded by the simple preposition *i*:

a **m**béal, a **c**ceann, a **g**colainn, a **nd**iamhraibh, a **bh**laithios, a **b**peacadh,  
a **tt**imchioll, a **tt**imcioll, a **tt**imcioll; *exceptions*, a **gh**lasuibh, a  
**gh**aoidheilg.

(iii) When preceded by the possessive adjectives *ár, a* (3<sup>rd</sup> pl.):

*air ccuid, ar ttoil, dar ccúradh, dar bpíanadh, re ar nanuimne; a mbéal, a ccairdeach, a ndochair, a bhíos, a nguailibh, a bpeine, a n amharc, a n anmannadh, da mbrughadh, ina mbeál, ina cceann, ina bhfiaghnuise, rena mbéal.*

(iv) When preceded by one of the prepositions listed below followed by the definite article *an*:

*aig: aig an ccriostaidh, aig an bpagánach.*

*ar: air an mbás, air an mbiadh, air an ccomhradh, air an bpeacach; exception, air an ghloír.*

*do: don cceo.*

*i: ann sa bpeacadh, isin ccríse, isin ccúirt, isin bpalás, san mbohemía.*

*re: ris an cceol, ris an bfear.*

(v) When it is genitive plural preceded by the definite article *na*:

*na mban, na ccrann, na ndiabhal, na ndeamhan, na bhfhear, na bpían, na ttighearnadh, na n aidheantadh.*

(vi) In the case of *céanna* preceded by the preposition *mar* and the definite article *an*:

*mar an ccéadna.*

(vii) In the case of the verbal noun *greadadh* preceded by the adjectival prefix *gear* in the following compound word:

*da ngearngreadadh.*

(viii) In the case of *duine* preceded by the adjectives *gach aon*:

*air gach en nduine.*

(ix) In the case of the nouns *bráth* and *beatha* preceded by the noun *bruinne*:  
 go *bruinne mbrath agus mbeatha*.

#### ADJECTIVES

*The initial consonants of an adjective is eclipsed:*

(i) When preceded by a noun in its genitive plural form:

na bpían *marbthach mbásamhail*, aneíric na mbíadh *mblasta*, na nanmann *ndamanta*, na ndeamhan *ndathghránda*, na bphián *nádhbhal ndofhuling*, na bpían *ndófhulaing*, na mbreath *bfhírinneach*; *exceptions*, na namharc *claón*, na mban pósta, na *bfhear cuil*.

(ii) In the case of the historical form *aill* preceded by the noun *feacht*:  
*feacht naill*.

#### VERBS

*The initial consonant of a verb is eclipsed:*

(i) When preceded by the relative particle *a*:

ca *conuir a ngeabhdís*, aít a *mbíid*.

(ii) When preceded by the relative particle *a* expressing totality:

a *bfuil do phíantaibh oile orrtha*, *gacha a ndubhairt*, *gach a ndubairt*.

(iii) When preceded by the preposition *do* conjoined with the relative particle *a* expressing totality:

na bean re hén ní da *bfaice tú*, *gach cinél péine oile da bfuil orrtha*.

(iv) When preceded by the conjunction *ná* conjoined with the relative particle *a* expressing totality:

ata pianta is mó ina *bfaicionn tusa*, tá pián is mó na *bfaicionn tú*.

(v) When preceded by one of the prepositions listed below followed by the relative particle *a*:

*ag*: ag a **bfuil**.

*ar*: air a **bfuil**.

*as*: as a **ndearnadar**.

*i*: ina **ndearnadar**, ina **bfh**aghmís, ina **bfhu**ighid, ina **bfhuil**, ina **bfuilid**, ina **ttangamar**.

*le*: le na **ndearnador**.

*um*: créad uma **bfuilid** (*relative particle absent, cread um bfuil*).

(vi) When the verb begins with *f* or *t* and is preceded by the relative particle *nach*:

*nach bfh*aghann, *nach bfuil*, *nach ttugadh*.

(vii) When preceded by the positive conjunction *go*:

go **mbeártuidh**, go **mbeirinn**, go **ccaithfe**, go **ccoimhliónfadh**, go **ndeachaid**, go **ndeachair**, go **ngeabadh**, go **nglacfadh**, go **bfh**aghmuid, go **bfuil**, go **ttaigeomhadh**, go **ttáinic**.

(viii) When preceded by the positive interrogative adverb *an*:

an **bfh**idir, an **bfhidir**, an **bfuil**.

(ix) When preceded by the positive conditional conjunction *dá*:

da **bfh**aiceadh, da **mbeinn**.

(x) When preceded by the negative conditional conjunction *muna*:

muna **ttí**; *exception*, muna beith.

PREFIX *t*- BEFORE VOWELS AND *s*:

## NOUNS

*The prefix t- is affixed to a noun:*

(i) When a nominative singular masculine form begins with a vowel and is preceded by the definite article *an*:

an *taithreachus*, an *teádach*, an *tóglach*, an *tuisge*.

(ii) When a nominative singular masculine form begins with *sl* or *s* and is followed by a vowel and is preceded by the definite article *an*:

an *tsheanmóir*, in *tshiorruigheacht*, an *tshiorruigheacht*, in *tshlighe*.

(iii) When a dative singular masculine form begins with *s* and is followed by a vowel is preceded by a preposition and the definite article *an*:

*air* an *tshaoghal*.

(iv) When a dative singular feminine form begins with *s* and is followed by a vowel is preceded by a preposition and the definite article *an*:

on *tsheanmoír*, *isin tshlighe*, *ris an tsheanmontaidh*.

(v) When a genitive singular masculine form begins with *s* followed by a vowel and is preceded by the definite article *an*:

an *tshaogail*, an *tsheanmoruidh*.

PREFIX *h-* BEFORE VOWELS

## NOUNS

*The prefix **h-** is affixed to a noun beginning with a vowel:*

(i) When a genitive singular feminine form is preceded by the definite article **na**:

na **háiteadh**, toil na **heaglaise**, na **heasumhloch**t, na **heasurr**ama, na **hinntinne**, na **huaire**.

(ii) When a nominative plural form is preceded by the definite article **na**:

na **huaisle**, na **hiárladh**, na **heich**, na **heóin**, na **heúduigh**.

(iii) When a dative plural form is preceded by a preposition and the definite article **na**:

*air* na **hadhbharaibh**, dona **hanmannaibh**.

(iv) When preceded by the prepositions **go** and **re**:

go **háite**, go **hád**hbhuidh, go **hifrionn**; re **haghaidh**, re **haingiol**, re **hén**, re **hurnaigh**.

(v) In the case of the substantive **aithle** preceded by the possessive adjective **a** (3<sup>rd</sup> fem. sg.):

a **haithle**; *note the following omission of the possessive adjective **a**, **haithle** na conuire athtuirsig*h sin.

(vi) When functioning as a verbal noun and preceded by the preposition **do** conjoined with the possessive adjective **a** (3<sup>rd</sup> fem. sg.) = **dá**:

da **hullmughadh**.

(vii) When preceded by the past tense form of the copula **fa**:

fa **hiongnadh**, fa **huathbhás**.

## ADJECTIVES

The prefix ***h-*** is affixed to an adjective beginning with a vowel:

(i) When preceded by the past tense form of the copula ***fa***:

fa ***h***áluinn, fa ***h***iomdadh.

(ii) When preceded by the future tense form of the copula ***ba*** (< *budh*):

***ba*** husa *dhuinn*.

(iii) When preceded by the conjunction *gidh*:

*gidh* ***h***ád***h***bhal.

## ADVERBS

The prefix ***h-*** is affixed to the adverb ***amhlaidh*** when preceded by the negative form, present tense of the copula ***ní***:

Ní ***h***amhlaidh.

## PRONOUN

The prefix ***h-*** is affixed to the pronoun *iad* when preceded by the interrogative pronoun *cúí* (> *cia*):

*cúí* ***h***iád.

## 2. ACCIDENCE

## NOUNS

(i) Dative singular instead of nominative singular:

dealbh > ***deilbh***.

## (ii) Dative singular inflexions:

adhbhaidh > ádhbhuidh; brághaid > braghuid; colainn > colainn; digh > dhigh; druing > druing; feirg (*Desid.*) > fheirg; gaoidheilg (*Desid.*) > ghaoidheilg; greis\* > greis; gualainn > gualainn; láimh > láimh; meanmain > mheanmain; mnaoi > mnaoi; muing > **mhoing**; sróin > sróin; taoibh > taoibh; teangaidh > teangaidh; teinidh > teinidh, tinidh.

## (iii) Nominative singular instead of dative singular form:

fior > **fhear**.

## (iv) Nominative dual inflexions:

dhá dhiabhail, dhá athair.

## (v) Genitive singular inflexions:

aignidh > ard aignidh; áite > **áiteadh**; aoibhnis (*TC*) > aoibhnis; baistidhe > **mbaisdidh**; brátha > **mbrath**; cartacha (*ARÉ*) > cartacha; cathuighthe > **caithhigh**; dásachta (*FFÉ I*) > **dhásaicht**; deacra > **deacair**; easumhlachda (*TC*) > **easumhloch**; easurrama\* > easurrama; eóin (*IGT*) > **eín**; gadaidheachta (*Dinn.*) > **gaduidheacht**; leaptha > leaptha; loisgthe (*SSA*) > **ghearloisge**; mallachta (*FFÉ*) > **mallacht/mallocht**; neamhcheannsaigheachta\* > **neamhceannsoigheacht**; neith > **neithe**; parrthais > **párthusa**; rachta (*Dinn.*) > **racht**; ríogh > **rígh**; sanntuighthe > **shantuidhe**; síordhaidheachta > **siorruigheacht/siorruidheacht**; sróna<sup>1</sup> > sróna; teineadh > tineadh; troisgthe > **troisge**; uamhan > **uathmhain**; gáirdis\* > ulgairdis.

*Examples in which two genitive singular forms of the same noun are found:*

bréithre > **bhreithire/bhreithaire**; cathrach > **caithreacha/**

<sup>1</sup> *IGT*, Decl. § 149.



**cathracha**; ciúil (*TN.*), ceóil > ciúil/*chéoil*; dlighidh > *dlighidh/dlighe*; díomais (*TC*) > **dímus**/dimúis.

*Examples in which an interchange of gender is evident:*

na tnútha ,<sup>1</sup> an tnútha .<sup>2</sup>

(vi) Nominative plural inflexions:

aingil > aingil; anmanna > **anmannadh**; balladha (*ARÉ*) > **balladh**;  
 carbaid\* > carbait; cóistí\* > **coisteadh**; cosa > cosa; creata<sup>3</sup> > ccreata;  
 cuirp<sup>4</sup> > cuirp; daoine > daoine; diabhail > díabhail; dronga > dronga;  
 eich > eich; eóin (*ARÉ*) > eoín; gártha (*SSA*) > gártha; glasa\* > glasa;  
 gníomha > maithghníomha; guil > **gola**; iarladha (*BARUD*) > **iárladh**;  
 lámha > lámha; leinibh > leinibh; maighdeana (*Desid.*) > **maighdeanadh**;  
 moighe > **magha**; neithe > neithe; piana > **piánta**; prionnsadha >  
**prionnsadh**; rígh, ríghthe > ríghthe; ríoghdhachda (*TC*) >  
**riogheachtadh**; seomradha (*Bedel*) > **seomradh**; srotha > srotha; súile >  
 súile; uird > uird.

*Examples in which two nominative plural forms of the same noun are found:*

briathra > **briathartha/briathara**; éadaighe > éadúighe/  
**éúduigh/eadhúigh**; teinte (*BARUD*) > teinte/**tinnte**.

*Nominative plural forms of loan words:*

instruminte, liúithe, orgáin (*Desid.*) > orgáin.

<sup>1</sup> *IGT Decl.* §§ 39, 45.

<sup>2</sup> *IGT Decl.*, §46.

<sup>3</sup> *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair I.*

<sup>4</sup> *IGT*, decl. §67.

## (vii) Dative plural inflexions:

adbharaibh > adhbharaibh; aithreachaibh (*ESA*) > aithreachaibh; anmaibh > **anuim**; anmannaibh > anmannaibh; barraibh (*BNnÉ*) > **mbarra**;  
 béalaibh > béalaibh; biadhaibh > bhiádhaibh; bláthaibh > bhlaithaibh;  
 cairdibh (*TC*) > ccairdibh; carbhadaibh (*Bedel*) > charbadaibh; cianaibh (*ESA*) > chiánuibh; cóistibh (*A.Midhe*) > cóistibh; corpaibh > ccorpuibh;  
 crannaibh > crannaibh; críostaidhibh (*BC*) > **criostaidhuibh**;  
 cuibhrighibh (*TN*) > cuibhrighibh; cumhachtaibh > cumhachtuibh;  
 daoibh > daoínibh; daolaibh\* > dhaolaibh; deamhnaibh > dheamhnaibh; diabhlaidhibh (*TC*) > diabhlaidhibh; diadhairibh (*SSA*) > **diadhairaoibh**; diamhraibh (*ESA*) > diamhraibh; dreasaibh > dhreasaibh;  
 eachaibh (*Fl.Earls*) > eachaibh; fearaibh > fearaibh; geamaibh\* > gheamaibh; géibhionnuibh (*Desid.*) > geibhionnuibh; glasaibh > glasaibh; glúinibh (*ESA*) > ghluinibh; greadhaibh (*Iomarbhágh*) > ghreadhaibh; groidhibh (*BARUD*) > **ghroidhuibh**; guailibh (*TN*) > guailibh; lasrachaibh > lasrachuibh; leanbánaibh\* > leanbanaibh;  
 leabhraibh > leabhraibh; luibhibh (*BNnÉ*) > **luibhaibh**; maighdeanaibh (*ESA*) > maighdeanaibh; mnáibh > mhnaibh; pianaibh > **piántaibh**;  
 piasdaibh (*TN*)/piastaibh (*BNnÉ*) > phiasdaibh/phíastaibh; prionnsadhaibh > **phrionnsaighuibh**; ríoghuibh (*Desid.*) > ríoghuibh; seanmontuibh (*Buaidh*) > **seanmontaibh**; seomradhaibh (*FFÉ*) > **seomraibh**;  
 srothaibh > srothaibh; súilibh > súilibh; teaghdhaisibh > **thíghtheadhuisuibh**; teintibh > tteintibh/thinntibh; torthaibh (*TN*) > thórtlaibh; tuathaibh (*Beath.A.R.*) > thuathaibh; turasaibh\* > turasaibh.

*Examples in which two dative plural forms of the same noun are found:*

balladhuibh (*LF*) > bhalladhuibh, **bhallaibh**; clochaibh > chlochaibh/chlochuibh; pearladhaibh (*Im.Ghen.*) > phearladaibh/**phérlaidhibh**.

## (viii) Genitive plural inflexions:

aitheantadh > *aidheantadh*; biadha > **mbíadh**; blátha > *mblatha*; breatha > **mbreath**; carad > **ccairdeach**; deóradh (*Fl.Earls*) > *ndéoradh*;  
 dilleachdadh (*Bedel*) > *ndíleachtadh*; geibheann > **geibhionn**; **glasrach**†;  
 machaireadh (*Bedel*) > *machuireadh*; gníomha > **míghníomh**; ochta  
 (*ESA*) > *ochta*; pérladh (*Bedel*) > *pérladh*; pian > *bpian*; slabhradh (*CMT*)  
 > *slabradh*; teinteadh > *tteinteadh*; tighearnadh (*Desid.*) > *ttighearnadh*;  
 tortha (*PA*) > *ttórtha*.

*Genitive plural forms of loan words:*

*ttoirmeinte.*

## ADJECTIVES

## (i) Vocative singular masculine inflexion:

*gradhaigh (PA) > a chompanaigh ghradhuidh.*

## (ii) Dative singular feminine inflexions:

*colach (SSA), ainmhianaigh\* > don cholainn cholach anmhiánuidh;*  
*deis > air aláimh dheís.*

## (iii) Genitive singular masculine inflexions:

*iomthnúitigh\* > anamhairc mhallaidh iomthnuithigh.*

## (iv) Genitive singular feminine inflexions:

*athtuirsighe\* > na conuire athtuirsigh; caoile (SSA) > rinn snathite*  
*cáoile; fuathmhaire\* > na feirge fúathmhair; glórmhaire (PA) > na*  
*corróine glormaire; suthaine > na gloíre suthaine.*

## (v) Nominative plural inflexions:

*adhbhaile/aidhbhle\* > na piánta adhbhal; áille (Fl.Earls) > na magha*  
*aille, eóin aille; áillne (EU), fíoráilne (SMM) > na heich aillne, srotha*

fíoráilne; bochta (*AFM*), > na daoíne bochta; creimneacha\* > na diabail *chreimneacha*; dubha (*SSA*), daoldhathacha\* > eadhúigh dubha daoldhathacha; diomsacha (*BnÉ*) > daóine diomsacha; greadacha\*, géarnimhneacha (*Trompa*) > teinte **greadach** *géarnimhneacha*; gráineamhla > na peacaidh *ghraineamhla*; líoghdha (*FFÉ*), lánmhaiseacha > eáduigh líoghdha lánmaiseacha; mharbha (*TC*) > cuirp **mhairbha**; uaisle (*Desid.*), ardaigiontacha\* > na daoine uáisle ardaigiontacha; uirísle (*Buaidh*) > na daoíne bochta uirísle.

(vi) Dual inflexion (nominative):

cráinteach, creimneacha\*, cíordhubha (*Trí Br.*) > dhá dhiabhal *chrainteacha* **chreimneach** chíordhubha.

(vii) Collective noun inflexion (nominative):

mearuallach† > an eachraidh **mhearuallacha**.

(viii) Vocative plural inflexion:

a chairde ghrádhacha (*SSA*) > a chairde **grádhach**.

(ix) Dative plural inflexions:

áille (*Fl.Earls*) > deachaibh aille; bochta > do dhaoinibh bochta; caola\*, cumhainge<sup>1</sup> > inn aleapthaibh cáola **crúachumhann**; círgheara\* > do chlochuibh círgheara; cogantacha\*, creimneacha\* > do dhreasaibh cogantacha *creimneacha*; dubha > do mhnaibh dubha, do phiasdaibh dubha; éagsamhla > deachaibh aille egsamhla; gráineamhla > do phíastaibh graineamhla; greadacha (*SMN II*) > lasrachuibh greadacha; guadhchorcra\*, gealghnúiseacha\* > do maighdeanaibh *gruádh* corcra **gealghnúiseach**; móra > do dhaoinibh mora; óga > do leanbanaibh óga; taitneamhacha (*Bedel*) > do thórthaibh taitneamhacha, do bhiádhaibh

---

<sup>1</sup> *Dánta Phiarais Feiritéir.*

**taitneamhach**; uathmhara (*EU*) > do diabhlaihbh uathmara; uirísle (*Desid.*) > air dhaoinibh uirísle, do dhaoinibh bochta **uiríseal**.

(x) Genitive plural inflexions:

adhbhal (*EU*), do-fhulaing > na bphián nádhbhal **ndofhuling**, na bpían ndófhulaing; blasta (*SSA*), milis\* > na mbíadh mblasta milis; claon\*, mailíseach\* > na namharc claón agus mailíseach; dathghránda\* > na ndeamhan ndathghránda; fírinneach\* > na mbreath bfhírinneach; lánmhaiseach\* > na neádach lioghdha lán mhaiseach; marbthach\*, básamhail\* > na bpían marbthach mbásamhail; síordhaidhe\* > na bphián síórrtuighe.

(xi) Inflexions of the comparative degree of adjectives:

áille > dob áille; aoibhne (*Desid.*) > dob aoibhne; binne (*SSA*) > go madh binne; bréine (*Desid.*) > go madh bréine; deallruighthighe\* > go madh **dealraithigh**; fearr > go madh fearr, badh fearr, níos fearr; glonnmhaire (*TórChríosta*) > go madh glonnmhaire; mó > is mó, gur mó, go madh mó, ní mo; rinnighe\* > go madh **rinnidh**; usa > ba husa.

(xii) Inflexion of the superlative degree of adjectives:

lughá > is lughá.

## VERBS

### A. REGULAR VERBS

(i) Present tense inflexions:

**2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**

nach saoiléann tú (*TN*) > nach saoiléann tusa; (*rel.*) dhóirtios tú (*SSA*) > innsios tú.

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

go saoiléann > go saoilíonn; nach iarrann (SSA) > ní **iarronn**; go luigheann > ní luighíonn.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

cuirid > cuirid.

**Autonomous**

líontar > nach líontar;

taisbeántar > taisbéntar.

## (ii) Imperfect tense inflexions:

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

do fhanadh\* > (rel.) do fhanadh; do shanntuigheadh > (rel.) do **shantadh**;  
do dhoirteadh\* > (rel.) do dhoirteadh.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

do chandaois (FFÉ) > (rel.) **do chandís, chandís**; bhfuilngidís (SSA) > (rel.) do fhuilngidís; léighdís\* > (rel.) do léighdís.

**Autonomous**

roinntí\* > da **roinntigh**.

## (iii) Past tense inflexions:

**1<sup>st</sup> sg.**

'nar locais (SSA) > (rel.) **nar locuis**; níor chreid mé\* > níor chreid mé,  
nar chreid misi; do gheall mé\* > do gheall mé;  
do shaoil mé\* > do sháoil mé.

**2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**

níor fheallais<sup>1</sup> > gur fheallais; do shaoil tú\* > mar shaoil túsa.

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Sonas na bPeacach agus Mí-ádh na bhFíoraen'.

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

gur bhris\* > *gur bhris*; do chaill sí > do *chaill sé (rel.)*; do chruthaigh (TC) > do *chruthaigh, (rel.) dar chruthaigh, gur chruithidh; (rel.) do chuir > do chuir, (rel.) do chuir sé*; do éist\* > do *éisd*; do fhreagair > do *fhreaguir*; do ghluais (*Desid.*) > do *ghluáis*; do labhair > do *labhair > (rel.) do labhair*; do lean > do *lean*; do léig > do *leig*; ní léig (*Desid.*) > níór léig; do mheall > (*rel.*) do *mheall*; gur orduigh > do *ordaigh*; do shaoil > (*rel.*) *inar shaoil*; do smuain > do *smuaín, (rel.) do smúanaigh*; do shuidh\* > do *shuidh*; do thuill > (*rel.*) do *thuill*.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

do chailleadar (*Stapleton.*) > do *chailleadar (rel.)*, do ghluaiseadar (*AFM*) > do *gluaiseadar*, do scaoileadar\* > do *sgáoileadar*.  
 (*subj. = n.*) gur fhuiling > níór fhuiling; do ghluais\* > do *ghluáis*.  
 (*subj. = pron.*) do chaill siad > (*rel.*) do *chaill siád* .

**Autonomous**

do chinneadh > (*rel.*) do **chinneadh**; do chríochnuigheadh > do *criochnuideadh*; do gealladh > do **ghealladh**; léir mealladh > (*rel.*) *rér mealladh*; truailleadh\* > (*rel.*) *leír truailleadh*.

(iv) Future tense *f* inflexions:**1<sup>st</sup> sg.**

taisbéanfadh (*Desid.*) > **go ttaisbénuid**; go caithe mé (*PA*) > go *ccaithe* me.

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

fhécfus (*SSA*) > (*rel.*) *fhécfus* .

**Autonomous**

árdaighthear (*Desid.*) > *dúblaighthear*.

(v) Future tense *e* inflexion:

*2<sup>nd</sup> sg.*

fuireochair (*BNnÉ*) > **ní fhuireachair**.

(vi) Conditional mood *f* inflexions:

*1<sup>st</sup> sg.* do chuirfinn (*TN*) > do dhóirtfinn.

*3<sup>rd</sup> sg.* coimhlíonfadh (*BNnÉ*) > go ccoimhliónfadh; go nglacfadh > go nglacfadh; do mhuirfeadh (*ESA*) > do mhuirfeadh; (*subj. = pron.*) do fhéadfadh > (*rel.*) do fhéadfadh sé.

**Autonomous**

líonfaidhe\* > **do líonfaidh**.

(vii) Conditional mood *e* inflexions:

*3<sup>rd</sup> sg.*

tteigeómhadh (*SSA*) > **go ttaigeomadh**; tiormóchadh\* > (*rel.*) do thormochadh .

(viii) Imperative mood inflexions:

*2<sup>nd</sup> sg.*

ná bean (*SSA*) > na bean; innis (*Desid.*) > innis; lean (*TN*) > lean.

## 2. IRREGULAR VERBS

(i) The substantive verb

a. *Present tense inflexions:*

*1<sup>st</sup> sg.*

atáim > ataím; go bhfuilim > nach bhfuilim.

*2<sup>nd</sup> sg.*

ata tú (*CCD*) > ata tú.



**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

atá > atá, ata, tá, ta; (*rel.*) atá > atá, ata; mar atá, mar tá > *mar atá*<sup>1</sup>; má tá > **má atá**; ní fhuil > **ní bfuil**, go bhfuil > go bfuil, nach fuil > **nach bfuil**, an bhfuil > an bfuil, dá bhfuil > da bfuil, ar a bhfuil (*SSA*) > *air a bfuil*, > ina bhfuil (*Desid.*) > ina bhfuil, créad uma bhfuil\* > *cread um a bfuil*.

**1<sup>st</sup> pl.**

atámaid > **táimid**, ar a bhfuilmid > ina bfuilid.<sup>2</sup>

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

ataíd > ataíd; (*rel.*) ataíd, ataíd, **taíd**; (*analytic form, subj. = n.*) **atá, ata**<sup>3</sup>; (*rel., subj. = n.*) atá, ata, **ta**; (*subj. =  $\emptyset$ , n.*) ní fhuilid (*CCD*) > **ní bfuilid**, go bhfuilid > créad uma bhfuilid > *créad uma bfuilid*; (*analytic form, subj. = n.*) a bhfuil (*Desid.*) > a bfuil, ag a bhfuil (*Desid.*) > ag a bfuil, dá bhfuil (*SSA*) > da bfuil.

**b. Present habitual tense inflexions:****3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

ní bhí > **ní bhíonn**, go mbí > **go mbíonn**;<sup>4</sup> (*rel., subj. = n.*) bhíos > *bhíos*.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.** (*subj. = n.*) a mbíd > **a mbíid**; (*rel., subj. = n.*) bhíos > *bhíos*.

**c. Imperfect tense inflexions:****3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*rel., subj. = n.*) do bhíodh > do bhíodh, *nach bíodh*.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

(*rel., subj. = n.*) do bhíodh > do bhíodh.

<sup>1</sup> “Is cuid éigeantach den aimsir láithreach an *a-* ach amháin i ndiaidh *mar* (i. *mar tá* nó *mar a-tá*)”, McManus 1994: 416.

<sup>2</sup> This form taken to be an error and edited as ‘bhfuil[m]id’.

<sup>3</sup> No precedent found as regards the use of *atá* + noun as regards 3<sup>rd</sup> plural form of *atáim*.

<sup>4</sup> Féach *ní bhíonn* ag *SSA*, 32, agus *go mbíonn* ag *ESA*, 107. “[N]í clasaiceach an fhoirm *-bíonn TD 22.12b*”, McManus 1994: 416.

d. *Past tense inflexions:**1<sup>st</sup> sg.*

-raibhe > nach **roibhe** me.<sup>1</sup>

*3<sup>rd</sup> sg.*

(*subj.* =  $\emptyset$ , *n.*) do bhaoi\* > do bhaoi, do bhí > do bhí, má do bhí (SSA) > ma do bhí; (*rel.*, *subj.* =  $\emptyset$ , *n.*) do bhaoi > do bhaoi, do bhí > do bhí; (*subj.* = *n.*) ní raibhe > ní **roibh**, go raibh > go **roibh**, nach raibhe > nach **roibh**, ar a raibhe > air a roibhe, dá raibhe > da **roibh**, 'na raibhe > ina roibhe, ina **roibh**, mar a raibhe > mar a roibhe.

*3<sup>rd</sup> pl.*

do bhádar > do bhádar; (*subj.* = *n.*) do bhádar > do bhádar;  
 (*analytic form*, *subj.* = *n.*) do bhí > do bhí; (*rel.*, *subj.* = *n.*) do bhaoi > do bhaói, do bhí > do bhí, ro baoi (*Desid.*) > **ro bhaói**; go rabhadar\* > go **roibheadar**; (*subj.* = *n.*) 'na rabhadar\* > ina **roibeadar**; (*subj.* = *n.*) go raibhe > go roibhe, agá raibhe > aíga **roibh**, 'na raibhe\* > ina **roibhe**, ré a raibhe\* > re na **roibhe**.

e. *Future tense inflexions:**2<sup>nd</sup> sg.*

bia<sup>2</sup> > **biaír**.

*3<sup>rd</sup> sg.*

nach bia > nach **biádh**; (*subj.* = *n.*) biaidh > **bíaidh**; (*rel.*, *subj.* = *n.*) bhias > bhías.

*1<sup>st</sup> pl.*

an mbiam > biám, bhiám.

*3<sup>rd</sup> pl.*

beid > **bíad**; (*rel.*, *subj.* = *n.*) bhiaid > **bhiás**.

<sup>1</sup> Tugann McManus “-raibhe/-rabha/-roibhe/-robha” mar fhoirmeacha Clasaiceacha don 3ú phearsa uatha den aimsir chaite, *ibid.*, 416.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. McManus, 1994: 416.

f. *Conditional mood inflexions:***1<sup>st</sup> sg.**

-beinn (*Desid.*) > da mbeinn, nach **biann**.

**2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**

da mbeitha (*SSA*) > da mbeitha.

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*subj. = n.*) ní bhiadh (*TC*) > ní bhíadh, ni **bhíodh**; (*subj. = ∅*) go mbiadh > go mbíadh; (*rel., subj. = ∅*) do bhiadh\* > a **bheadh**; (*rel., subj. = n.*) do bhiadh > do bhíadh.

g. *Subjunctive mood, past tense inflexions:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*subj. = ∅, noun*) go mbeith > go mbeith; nách beith (*Desid.*) > nach beith, dá mbeith > da mbeith.

h. *Imperative mood inflexion:***1<sup>st</sup> pl.**

bíom (*Desid.*) > **biám**.

(ii) *The Copula*a. *Present tense:*

is, as (*TC*) > is, as; ní > ní; an > an; gur > gur; nach > nach; (*rel.*) is > is; (*with prep. do*) darab > **darb**; (*comparative*) níos (*ESA*) > níos, is mó > is mó; (*superlative*) is lugha > is lugha.

b. *Past tense:*

ba (*Desid.*) > ba, fá > fa, dob' > dob'; gurbh > *gurbh*<sup>1</sup>, nárbh > *nárbh*<sup>2</sup>;  
 (rel.) budh > *badh*, dobudh > do *badh*; (*with prep. do*) darbh > *darbh*<sup>3</sup>;  
 (*comparative*) go madh > go madh.

c. *Future tense:*

budh h- > ba husa.

d. *Conditional mood:*

gomadh > go madh fearr leis; nárbh > *narbh*<sup>4</sup>; (rel.) dob' > *dob'*<sup>5</sup>;  
 (*comparative*) budh fearr > *badh fearr*.

e. *Subjunctive mood, past tense:*

gomadh > go madh, dámadh > da madh.

## (iii) Adeirim

a. *Imperfect tense inflexion:*

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(rel., subj. = n.) adeireadh > *adeireadh*.

b. *Past tense inflexions:*

**2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**

nach dubhairt tú\* > *nach dubairt tú*.

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(subj. = n.) adubhairt > *adubairt*; (rel., subj. =  $\emptyset$ ) adubhairt > *adubairt*,  
 gach ní dá ndubhairt > *gacha a ndubairt*.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *gur bhírinneach*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *nar bheadh, nar bhéidir, nar bhíór*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *darbh ainm, dar bhéidir*.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *nár bhfearr*.

<sup>5</sup> MS. *créad an fáth éuda do bhéidir léo*.

**1<sup>st</sup> pl.**

adubhramar > adubhramar.

(iv) Beirim

a. *Past tense inflexion:*

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

(*rel., subj. = n.*) nachar rug\* > nach ar **rugh**.

b. *Future tense inflexion:*

béaraidh mé > **do bhéra misi**.<sup>1</sup>

c. *Conditonal mood inflexion:*

**Autonomous**

bhéarthaí (*Dinn.*) > **go mbeártuidh**.<sup>2</sup>

d. *Subjunctive mood, past tense inflexions:*

**1<sup>st</sup> pl.**

go mbeirinn (*FFÉ*) > go mbeirinn.

(v) Do bheirim

a. *Present tense inflexions:*

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*rel., subj. = n.*) do-bheir > do bheir.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

(*subj. = n.*) go dtugann > go ttugann; (*rel., subj. = n.*) do-bheir > do bheir.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. “béra mé”, *Bedel*, “ní bhéra mé mo thrócaire uadh”, NRSV “I will not take my steadfast love from him.” 1 Chronicles 17:13

<sup>2</sup> On the basis of the use of the occurrence of a suspension stroke surmounted by punctum delens (lenition) it was decided to represent the word thus. This contraction may also have been responsible for the obscuration of lenition of the medial ‘t’. It is possible that the scribe’s inclination towards representing the phoneme /i/ by means of an ending in a lenited consonant – in this case *-dh* – led to this spelling form as opposed to the more correct *-aoi*.

*Autonomous*

beirthear > beirthear; (*rel.*) bheirthear > do bheirthear.

b. *Imperfect tense inflexion:*

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

go mbeirdís > do bheirdís.

c. *Past tense inflexions:*

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*subj.* = *n.*) tug > tug.

(*rel.*, *subj.* = *n.*) tug > tug.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

(*rel.*, *subj.* = *n.*) tugadar > tugadar.

d. *Future tense inflexion:*

**1<sup>st</sup> sg.**

do bhéar (*Desid.*) > **do bhéir.**

e. *Conditional mood inflexion:*

(*subj.* = *n.*)

go dtiobradh, go dtiubradh > **go tteabhradh.**

f. *Subjunctive mood, past tense inflexion:*

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*subj.* =  $\emptyset$ ) tugadh > nach ttugadh.

## (vi) Do-chím

a. *Present tense inflexions:*

**1<sup>st</sup> sg.**

do-chím > do chím; (*rel.*) do chím.

**2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**

(*subj.* =  $\emptyset$ ) do *chí*;<sup>1</sup> má *chí* tú (*SSA*) > do *chi* tú; nach faice (*Desid.*) > **da bfaice tú**; -faiceann > *bfaicionn tusa*, *bfaicionn tú*.

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*subj.* =  $\emptyset$ , *n.*) do-*chí* > do *chí*.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

ad-*chíd* > **do *chúid***.

b. *Past tense inflexions:***2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**

do chonn(ar)cais<sup>2</sup> > **ad *conncais***; do chonnaire tú > do *connuire* tú; (*rel.*) do *connuire* tú.

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*subj.* =  $\emptyset$ , *n.*) do chonnaire (*Desid.*) > do *connuire*.

**1<sup>st</sup> pl.**

go bhfaicfeam > ní ***fhaicfíom***.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

do chonncadar > do *conncadar*.

c. *Conditional mood inflexion:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*subj.* = *n.*) go bhfaiceadh (*SSA*) > go bfaicfeadh.

d. *Subjunctive mood, past tense inflexion:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

go bhfaiceadh (*TC*) > (*rel.*, *subj.* = *n.*) da bhfaicfeadh.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly a scribal error (MS. TCD 1399 ‘an lasair úd do *chí* as *asúilibh*’) which Mac Sólaídh corrects in MS RIA 24 C 55, ‘an lasair úd do *chí tú* as *asuilibh*’.

<sup>2</sup> do chonn(ar)cais affirmed by McManus, 1994: 413. N.B. *ad-chonncais* in *An Leabhar Branach*, 244, 21.

## (vii) Do-chluinim

*Past tense inflexion:***2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**nach cualaidh tú (*BNnÉ I*)<sup>1</sup> > (*rel.*) **do chúala tú.**

## (viii) Do-gheibhim

a. *Present tense inflexions:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**(subj. =  $\emptyset$ ) do gheibh > do gheibh; (*rel.*, subj. = n.) do gheibh (*RSC*) > do gheibh; nach faghann > nach **bfhaghann.****1<sup>st</sup> pl.**-faghmaoid (*TC*) > go **bfhaghmuid.**b. *Imperfect tense inflexion:*go bfhaghmaois (*PCT*) > ina **bfhaghmís.**c. *Past tense inflexions:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**(rel., subj. =  $\emptyset$ , n.) do fuair (*ARÉ*), fuair > do fuair, fuair.**1<sup>st</sup> pl.**go bfhaghmaois > (*rel.*) **ina bfhaghmís.****3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

furarad &gt; fuáradar, go bfhuáradar.

d. *Future tense inflexions:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**(subj. =  $\emptyset$ ) ní bhfuighe (*TN*) > ní bfuighe.

---

<sup>1</sup> McManus gives *do-chualadhais* as a classical form. *ibid.*, 414.



**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

-fuihid (PA) > go bfuighid, ina bfuighid.

e. *Conditional mood inflexions:*

**1<sup>st</sup> sg.**

go bhfuighinn (TN) > go bfuighinn.

**2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**

nach bhfuitheá (SSA) > ní bfuighthea.

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(subj. =  $\emptyset$ ) go bhfuigheadh (TN) > go bfuigheadh.

**1<sup>st</sup> pl.**

a bhfuighmís (TC) > go bfuighmis.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

go bhfuighdís (TN) > go bfuighdís.

(ix) Do-ním

a. *Present tense inflexion:*

**2<sup>nd</sup> pl.**

(rel.) do ní sibhse (TN) > do ní sibh.

b. *Imperfect tense inflexion:*

**1<sup>st</sup> sg.**

(rel.) do nighinn\* > do nighinn.

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(rel.) do-níodh > **do nigheadh.**

c. *Past tense inflexions:*

**1<sup>st</sup> sg.**

nách dearna meisi (TN) > nach dearna mé.

**2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**

ní dhearnais (*SSA*) > *nach dearnuis*.

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*subj. = n.*) do rinne > do rinne; -dearna > *nach dearna*, creád um a ndearna; (*rel. subj. =  $\emptyset$ , n.*) do rinne > do rinne.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

-dearnadar > (*rel.*) *nach dearnadar*, as a ndearnadar, ina ndearnadar, le na **ndearnador**.

d. *Conditional mood inflexion:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

-diongnadh > go **ndiognadh sé**.<sup>1</sup>

e. *Subjunctive mood, past tense inflexions:***1<sup>st</sup> sg.**

ní déanainn (*CCU*) > **nach denuinn**.<sup>2</sup>

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

-déanadh > do dhénadh sé.

e. *Imperative mood:***2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**

déana > dená.

**1<sup>st</sup> pl.**

déanam > **dénmid**.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N.B. ‘-diongnadh’ in ‘Cín Lae Ó Mealláin’, 40.

<sup>2</sup> *dearn-* is given as the past subjunctive stem in *Desid.* (xxxiii) while *TBB* has *go ndearnainn* for 1<sup>st</sup> sg. form, 61.

<sup>3</sup> N.B. “**Déanmaoid**, dá bhrígh so uile, deithneas do chum na haithrihi, agus bíodh do shíor uair an bháis 'nar meabhair”, *Desid.* 146, 12.

## (x) Fágbhaim

a. *Past tense inflexion:***3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**do fhágbhadar > gur **fhágbhudar**.b. *Future tense inflexion:***1<sup>st</sup> sg.**fúigfead (*DBM*) > fuígfead.

## (xi) -feadar

*Present tense inflexions:***1<sup>st</sup> sg.**ro fhidir (*BNnÉ*), ní fhidir (*Desid.*) > ro *fhidir*, ní *fhidir*.**2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**an bhfidir tusa (*BCF*) > an *bfhidir* tú.

## (xii) Gabhaim

a. *Present tense inflexion:***3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**(subj. = n.) gabhaid > *gabhuid*.b. *Imperfect tense inflexion:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**(rel. subj. = n.) do ghabhadh (*Desid.*) > do *ghabadh*.c. *Past tense inflexion:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**(rel. subj. = n.) do ghabh > do *ghabh*.

d. *Conditional mood inflexions:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(subj. = n.) nach géabhadh &gt; go ngeabadh.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**(rel.) a ngéabhdaois > a **ngeabhdís**.

## (xiii) Rigim

*Past tense inflexion:***3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**go rángadar (*FFÉ*) > go rangadar.

## (xiv) Téighim

a. *Present tense inflexion:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**(subj. = n.) ní théid > ní *theíd*.**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**tiaghaid > tiaghuid, (subj. = n.) do théid\* > do *theíd*.b. *Past tense inflexions:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**(subj. = n.) do-chuaidh > do *chuidh*; (rel., subj. = n.) do-chuaidh > do *chuidh*.c. *Future tense inflexions:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**(subj. =  $\emptyset$ ) rachaidh > rachaidh.**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

(rel., subj. = n.) rachas &gt; rachus.

d. *Conditional mood inflexion:***1<sup>st</sup> pl.**rachmaois (*Duan.F*) > (*rel.*) ina **rachmís**.e. *Subjunctive mood, present tense inflexions:***2<sup>nd</sup> sg.**

dá ndeachair &gt; go ndeachair.

**1<sup>st</sup> pl.**

go ndeacham &gt; go ndeacham.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**(*subj. = n.*) da ndeachaid (*BNnÉ*) > go ndeachaid.f. *Imperative mood inflexion:*tiacchmaoid (*BSF*) > **tíaghmuid**.

## (xv) Tigim

a. *Present tense inflexion:***3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**(*subj. = n.*) tig > tig.b. *Past tense inflexions:***1<sup>st</sup> sg.**(*rel.*) tháinic mé (*TN*) > **táinic me**.**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**táinig > **do táinic, go ttáinic**; (*subj. = n.*) ní tháinig > **ní táinic**; (*rel.*)táinig > **táinic**.**1<sup>st</sup> pl.**tángamar (*SSA*) > (*rel.*) ina ttangamar.**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**tángadar > tangadar; (*rel., subj. = n.*) táinig (*SSA*) > **tainic**.

c. *Future tense inflexions:*

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

(*subj. = n.*) ní thiocfaidh > ni thiucfaidh.

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**

(*rel., subj. = n.*) thiocfas > thiucfus.

d. *Subjunctive mood, present tense inflexion:*

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

dá dtí > muna ttí.

e. *Subjunctive mood, past tense inflexion:*

**3<sup>rd</sup> sg.**

dá dtigeadh > (*subj. = n.*) da ttigeadh.

PREPOSITIONS

(i) *Ag*

a. *Prepositional pronouns:*

**2<sup>nd</sup> sg.** agat > **agad.**

**3<sup>rd</sup> pl.**aca > aca.

b. *Simple prepositions:*

ag > ag, **aig, aige.**

c. *Preceding verbal nouns:*

ag beartughadh > ag slad, **aig** brad.

aige teachda (TN) > **aige** greadadh.

a' géarghol<sup>1</sup> > **agárthaibh, agear** ghul .

(*with possessive adjective a*) agá rádh > aga radh.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Five seventeenth-century political poems*, 48.

(ii) *Ar*a. *Prepositional pronouns:*

1<sup>st</sup> *sg.* orm, oram > orm, oram.

2<sup>nd</sup> *sg.* ort > ort.

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. masc.* air > air.

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. fem.* uirre > **urtha**.

1<sup>st</sup> *pl.* orainn, oirn > oruinn

3<sup>rd</sup> *pl.* orra, ortha > ortha.

b. *Simple prepositions:*

ar > ar, **air**.

With 3<sup>rd</sup> *pl. possessive adjective a*, ar a n-amharc\* > **air a n** amharc.

With 3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. masc. possessive adjective a*, arna fhaigsin > **air na** fhaicsin.

With 3<sup>rd</sup> *pl. possessive adjective a*, arna ndéanamh > **air na** ngearradh.

(iii) *As*a. *Prepositional pronouns:*

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. masc.* as > as.

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. fem.* aisti > **aisde**.

3<sup>rd</sup> *pl.* asta > **asdabh**.

b. *Simple prepositions:*

as > as béal, as ádhbhuidh.

(iv) *De*a. *Prepositional pronouns:*

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. masc.* de > dhe.

3<sup>rd</sup> *pl.* díobh > díobh, dhíobh.

b. *Simple prepositions:*

do > do *shiór gnáth*.

d'uaille, d'uisge > duáill, duisge.

d'fhuacht > dfheirg.

With 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. masc. possessive adjective **a**, dá tharbha (*IomarFil I*) > **dha** ttarbha.

(v) *Do*

a. *Prepositional pronouns:*

1<sup>st</sup> sg. damh > damh, dhamh.

2<sup>nd</sup> sg. duit > dhuit.

3<sup>rd</sup> sg. masc. dó > dhó.

1<sup>st</sup> pl. dúinn > dhuinn.

3<sup>rd</sup> pl. dóibh > dhóibh, **daibh**.

b. *Simple prepositions:*

do > do *dhiá*.

With 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. masc. possessive adjective **a**, dá dhúthaigh féin, dá ionnsaighidh > da bhaile, da ionnsoigh.

With 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. possessive adjective **a**, dá gcorpaibh, dá n-ionnsoighidh (TC) > da ccorpuibh, da ndionnsoigh.

c. *Preceding verbal nouns:*

**do** = prep. **a** with verbal noun:

do dhéanamh > do *bhi* diaghaire agus duine ró naomhtha do dhéanam dhóibh.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *FGB* s.v. do<sup>3</sup>, 6(b); a<sup>4</sup>, 1(b).



*do* = *prep. a* denoting purpose:<sup>1</sup>

do tabhairt > tiaghuid go *purgadóir do thabairt* díoluigheachta;

d'iarraidh > aig siubhal *diarraidh* díbheirge re na *dhenamh*;

d'fhaigsin > gán gul nó garta no pianta no dochar da *bfuil* anifrionn...

**dfaicsin.**

*do* + 3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. masc. poss. adj. a* + *verbal noun*. denoting passive form:

dá dhéanamh (*ESA*) > egsamlacht *gacha* céoil da *chantain* rompu.

*do* + 3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. fem. poss. adj. a* + *verbal noun*. denoting passive form:

dá haithfhriotal > olcus na háiteadh do *bhi* da hullmughadh.

*do* + 2<sup>nd</sup> *sg. poss. adj. t* < *do* denoting object of *verbal noun*:

dot thréigion (*Desid.*) > biaír **dot** losgadh.

*do* + 3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. poss. adj. a* denoting object of *verbal noun*:

dá theagasg > do *bhi da* theagusg sin dhuinn.

*do* + 1<sup>st</sup> *sg. poss. adj. ár* denoting object of *verbal noun*:

dár dteagasg > biám *cháoidhche dar* losgadh.

*dá* = *á* = *poss. a*, 3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. m.* denoting object of *vn*:<sup>2</sup>

dá rádh (*SSA*) > agus cuid eile dhiobh **da rádh** achairde.

(vi) *Fa* < *fo*

a. *Prepositional pronouns*:

1<sup>st</sup> *pl.* fúinn > fúinn.

3<sup>rd</sup> *pl.* fútha > futha.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *FGB* s.v. *do*<sup>3</sup>, 6(b); *a*<sup>4</sup>, 1(c).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *FGB* s.v. *á*<sup>1</sup>, 2.

b. *Simple prepositions:*

fá chomhair > fa chomair.

fá bhrámaid > fo bhraghuid.

With 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. poss. adj. *a*,

fána > fana n úrchomhair

fo na (*Fl.Earls*) > fo na mbraghuid, fo na muinél.

(vii) *For = ar*

*Prepositional pronouns:*

3<sup>rd</sup> sg. fair (*Fl.Earls*) > fair.

3<sup>rd</sup> pl. forra (*Fl.Earls*) > forra.

(viii) *Fré*

*Prepositional pronoun:*

3<sup>rd</sup> pl. friú (*CCD*) > friú.

(ix) *Go*

a. *Prepositional pronouns:*

3<sup>rd</sup> sg. masc. chuige > chuige.

1<sup>st</sup> pl. chugainn > chuguinn.

3<sup>rd</sup> pl. chuca > chuca.

b. *Simple prepositions:*

go cathair > go cathair.

go háit > go háit.

With *def. art. sg.*

gus an > gus an.

*With verbal adj.*

gus anois (*Salt.Mh.*) > gus anois.

(x) I

a. *Prepositional pronouns:*

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. masc. ann* > *ann*.

3<sup>rd</sup> *pl. ionnta* > **ionta**.

b. *Simple prepositions:*

i gcoinne > a ccoinne.

*With def. art. sg.*

san > san mbohemía.

anssa > *ann sa bpeacadh*.

isin (*Fl.Earls*) > isin ccríse, isin onoír.

**ina** méad.

*With def. art. pl.*

isna (*TC*) > is na cóistibh.

annsna (*BNnÉ*) > *ann sna carbataibh*.

*With 1<sup>st</sup> sg. poss. adj.*

im chliabh > *um cholainn*.

*With 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. poss. adj.*

it anam > at ionnsuighsi; ann do croidhe (*BNnÉ I*) → *ann do mheanmain*.

*With 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. masc. poss. adj.*

'na mheanmain > *ina mheanmain*.

*With 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. poss. adj.*

'na ndiaidh (*SSA*) > *na ndiáidh*.

(xi) *Le*a. *Prepositional pronouns:*

1<sup>st</sup> *sg.* liom, leam > liom.

2<sup>nd</sup> *sg.* leat > leat.

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. masc.* leis > leis.

1<sup>st</sup> *pl.* linn > linn.

3<sup>rd</sup> *pl.* leo > leo.

b. *Simple prepositions:*

lé > le teangaidh.

With 3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. masc. poss. adj. + vn.*

lena dhénamh (*RSC*) > le na dhenámh

(xii) *Iar**Simple prepositions:*

ar ndol dó isteagh > **air** ndol asteach.

iar n-éirghe... dhó > **air** neirghe... dhó.

(xiii) *Ó**Simple prepositions:*

ó thús > o thus.

With *def. art. sg.*

ón pheacadh > ón gheibhionn.

(xiv) *Re*a. *Prepositional pronoun:*

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg.* ris fein.

b. *Simple prepositions:*

ré > re seanmoir.

*With def. art. sg.*

ris an > ris an tsheanmontaidh, **reis** an druing sin.

*With 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. poss. adj. + n.*

ré a > **rena** mbéal.

*With 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. poss. adj. + vn.*

réna fhuasgladh > re na dhenamh.

*With rel. particle a + verb.*

ré a raibhe > **re na** roibhe.

(xv) *Roimh*a. *Prepositional pronouns:*

3<sup>rd</sup> sg. roimhe > roimhe.

3<sup>rd</sup> pl. rompa > rompa, **rompu**, **rumpa**.

(xvi) *Tar**Simple preposition:*

tar > **tair** gach aón oile.

(xvii) *Tré**Simple prepositions:*

tré > tre; tríd (CCD) > tríd *thinntibh*.

*With def. art. sg. tríd in (CCD) > tríd an lasair.*

(xviii) *Um*

a. *Prepositional pronoun:*

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg.* uime > uime.

*Simple prepositions:*

*With rel. particle a + verb.*

creád uma n-abra (*IomarFil I*) > cread um a bfuil, creád uma bfuilid,  
creád uma ndearna.

## PERSONAL PRONOUNS

1<sup>st</sup> *sg.* mé, mise > me, **misí.**

2<sup>nd</sup> *sg.* tú, thú, tusa, thusa > tú, thú, tusa, *thusa.*

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. masc.* sé, é > sé, é.

3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. neut.* eadh > eadh.

1<sup>st</sup> *pl.* sinne > sinne.

2<sup>nd</sup> *pl.* sibh > sibh.

3<sup>rd</sup> *pl.* siad, iad > siád, iád.

## 3. SYNTAX

### *Nouns*

(i) *Use of the nominative form instead the genitive:*

a. *In relation to nouns ending in -cht:*

lucht na **mallacht**, lucht na **mallocht**, lucht na **gaduidheacht**,  
anéiric dhásaicht na feirge agus **neamhceannsoigheacht** na  
hinntinne agus na **heasumhlocht**, phiánas an **racht** sin,  
reimhfhéchuin na **siorruigheacht**; *exceptions*, anéiric na

glacaireachta, cheannradharc na díadhachta, do thabairt díolúigheachta.

b. *In cases where the noun is genitive in function but is nominative in form:*

*lucht stiúrtha dlighidh* dé; *air ghradh bhreithire* de; aig faisnéis *aoibhnis agus ulgairdis* na gloíre suthaine; *accoinne lucht* na mallacht; *accoinne lucht* an úabhair; an aghaidh *lucht* na gaduidheacht; *lucht bhriste* an dlighidh agus *shantuidhe choda* a ccomharsan; fa chomair *lucht* na mallochta; *accoinne an righ agus thighearnadh* na riogheachtso; do reír *thoile* dé.

(ii) *Plural form of the noun:*

A degree of variation is evident concerning whether a noun takes a singular or plural form after certain cardinal numerals:

a. *After the following cardinal numerals the singular form of the noun qualified is used:*

*dhá dhiabhal; dhá athair; eadarsgaradh dhá bhealach, dhá rí; na cúig lá; cuig lá; ré cuig lá; cuig mhíle bliadhain; deich míle milliún bliadhain.*

b. *in these instances after cúig and deich the plural form of the noun:*

*ríoghdhacht 'ríocht' is taken: atá cuig ríogheachtadh dhíobh so; ataíd deich ríogheachtadh.*

(iii) *Genitive plural inflexion of nouns functioning as object of verbal noun:*

*go tteabhradh an rí fo déara... agus glasrach agus geibhionn do chur air. (Williams, 1994: 463)*

## ADJECTIVES

*Use of the adjective **lán** with the preposition **do** = **de** followed by noun:*

*lán don ór agus don airgead, et passim.*

In this regard O’Rahilly contrasts this historical practice with the later Northern tendency according to which ‘lán’ is followed simply by the genitive form of the noun. (*IDPP*: 228)

## VERBS

*(i) Agreement of 3<sup>rd</sup> plural form of verb and subject:*

There is a degree of variation in the MS. in terms of the agreement of the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural form of the verb and its subject in the following cases: (*IDPP*: 230)

a. *Where the subject is the plural form of a noun:*

i. **taíd** piánta purgadóra; go **bfuilid** piánta ifrinn; go **ndeachaid** na huaisle.

ii. **Ata** pianta is mó ina bfaicionn tusa ortha; **ata** pianta oile nach bfaicionn tú.

b. *Where a relative clause is involved and the subject is the plural form of a noun:*

i. is mar sin **taíd** na dronga damanta.

ii. na piántaibh **atá** fa chomhair; na piánta **ata** ortha; sna piantaibh **ata** ortha; is ortha **ta** na pianta; **ata** na heúduigh dubha diabhlaidhe úd ortha; na piánta **do bhaói** a ccoinne an duine; is amhlaidh **ro bhaói** múr agus balladh.

c. *Where the subject is comprised of a sequence of singular nouns:*

i. **gabhuid** racht agus eúd chuc.



ii. **do bhí** áitreabh agus fárus aige; **niór fhuiling** na cóisteadh agus aneachraidh; **go roibhe** accosa agus a ccroithcheann; **go ttugann** guibhe agus urnaighe. **Do ghluáis** an Spiorad agus Meirlíno.

Note use of the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural form of the verb with the collective noun ‘muintir’:

**go bfuilid** an muintir.

(ii) *Negative clauses in which present tense verbal forms have a future meaning:*

gidhbe fhécfus an tuisge úd ní bfuighe bás tre shaogal na shaogal agus **ní bhionn** tart nó ocrus no easbaidh air bioth air go bráth agus **ní luighionn** aóis no urchra fair.

This usage is asserted by Ó Buachalla to be associated with Ulster. (1976: 301-302)

(iii) *Indirect relative expressed through use of a preposition along with the relative particle a:*

ag a **bfuil**, aíga **roibh**; air a **bfuil**; as a **ndearnadar**; ina **ndearnadar**, ina **bfhaghmís**, ina **bfhuighid**, ina **bfhuil**, ina **bfuilid**, ina **ttangamar**. (Williams 1994: 464)

(iv) *Use of the conjunction **acht go** with present tense denoting ‘in order that’:*

This evident in the following sentence:

*acht tíghmuid asteach ameasg cháich **acht go** bfhaghmuid air ccuid don choir.*<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ó Buachalla, 1972: 155.

## TRAITS INDICATIVE OF EARLY MODERN CLASSICAL IRISH

*Spelling**Occurrence of **ui** instead of **oi**:*

**uilc**, **guid**, **ghuib**, **druing**, **druim**, **cuil**, **cuirp**, **bpuibleach**.

*Initial mutations**(i) Eclipsis of adjectives following the definite article **na** and the genitive plural of a noun:<sup>1</sup>*

na bpían marbhthach **mbásamhail**, aneíric na mbíadh **mblasta**, na nanmann **ndamanta**, na ndeamhan **ndathghránda**, na bphián **nádhbhal ndofhuling**, na bpían **ndófhulaing**, na mbreath **bfhírinneach**; *exceptions*, na namharc **claón**, na mban **pósta**, na **bfhear cuil**.

*(ii) Occurrence of the prefix **t** before **sh-**:*

McManus refers to this as a Classical feature according to which **tsh-** is found in the dative and genitive cases of masculine nouns and in the nominative and dative cases of feminine nouns: (1994: 360)

ris an **tsh**eanmontaidh, air an **tsh**aogal, an **tsh**aogail, an **tsh**eanmoruidh; an **tsh**eanmóir, in **tsh**iorruigheacht, in **tsh**lighe, on **tsh**eanmoír, an én **tsh**lighe.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McManus *op. cit.* 359.

## ACCIDENCE

## NOUNS

(i) *Dative singular form of **gol**:*

**gul**. (Williams 1994: 450, SSA: xxiii)

(ii) *Nominative plural of **éan**:*

**eoín**.

(iii) *Genitive plural ending **-(e)ach**:*

**glasrach**; **ccairdeach**.<sup>1</sup>

(iv) *Genitive plural ending **-(e)ann**:*

**geibheann** (*FFÉ I*) > **geibhionn**. (Williams 1994: 451-452)

## VERBS

*Use of the special future form of the copula **budh**:*

**ba husa**. (ibid. 459)

## VOCABULARY

*Use of the verbal noun of the verb **do-chím**, **faicsin**:*

**faicsin**. (ibid. 457)

---

<sup>1</sup> “Bhí ginideach iolra faoi leith acu sin sa Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach: *-(e)adh, -(e)adh, -(e)ann*.” Williams, 1994: 451-452. It is worth noting the genitive plural form ‘na bpuibleach’ in MSS. TCD 1399 and BL Egerton 106 whereas *Dinn* has *poibleacha* as a plural form.

## MISCELLANEOUS FEATURES

(i) *Proclivity for the use of the preposition re (< fri) in favour of le:*

Williams notes that these prepositions were used interchangeably in Early Modern Irish although in the passage of time *re* would give way to *le*. (1994: 462)

(ii) *Use of the conjunction ioná > ina ‘ná’:*

go madh dealra  
ithigh **ina** an ghrían.

(iii) *Use of certain forms of prepositional pronouns:*

damh, dáibh > daibh. (McManus, *op. cit.* 435)

(iv) *Use of the interrogative adverb cionnas:*

Cionnus is feidir sin.<sup>1</sup>

(v) *Use of t’ to denote the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular form of the possessive adjective:*

dot losgadh.

In this regard McManus refers to the practice of rendering *d’ < do* as *t’* in Classical Irish while O’Rahilly points to the later Northern practice of rendering this as *d’* which is not evident in the text.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Furthermore one finds words like *bóthar* ‘road,’ *cionnas*, ‘how,’ which are now either little used or not at all in N. Ir., but which nevertheless appear to have been well known in that dialect until recently.” *IDPP*: 245.

<sup>2</sup> McManus, 1944, 431, *IDPP*: 216.

## TRAITS INDICATIVE OF DIALECTAL DEVELOPMENT

*Spelling**Tendency towards simplification of verbal noun endings in -ughadh:*

aithghiorrugh, cruinniugh, cuidiugh, foillsiugh, úrghairdiugh but note also the retention of mbrugadh, ccomhbrugadh, ccreachtnughadh, ccricheughadh, foillsiughadh, mor mhaslugadh, ullmughadh.

*Initial mutations**(i) Eclipsis of verbs following the particle nach:*

a. *Eclipsis of verbs beginning with f- and t-:* nach **bfh**aghann, nach **bfa**icionn, nach **bfi**uil, nach **bfi**uilim, nach **ttu**gadh.

b. *Non-eclipsis of verbs beginning with b- and d-:* nach **bí**odh, nach **bí**ádh, nach **be**ith, nach **d**earna, nach **d**earnadar, nach **d**earnuis, nach **d**enuinn, nach **d**ubairt.

In this regard O’Rahilly points to the gradual emergence in Northern Irish of eclipsis of verbs following this particle referring to *Desid.* and *SSA* as works in which this was rare. Without naming it he cites MS. TCD 1399 as a 1679 document which eclipsis had come to be found after *c-* and *f-* and *t-*. (*IDPP*: 41)

*(ii) Apparent eclipsis of dependent form of the present tense of atáim and future tense and conditional mood of do-gheibhim:*

ní **bfi**uil, ní **bfi**uilid, ní **bfi**uighe, ní **bfi**uighmís, ní **bfi**uighthea.

In this regard O’Rahilly notes:

In origin the *bhf-* (= *bh*) here is not eclipsis in the ordinary sense, but a glide developed between the *í* of *ní* and the following *u*. (*IDPP*: 44)

He affirms that this phenomenon occurs in a limited number of works from the seventeenth and early eighteenth century including his “S.E. Ulster MS. of 1679” i.e., MS. TCD 1399. (*ibid.* 44)

(iii) *Lack of consistency as regards lenition or eclipsis of nouns followed by a simple preposition and the definite article:*

*air an ghloír*;<sup>1</sup> *air an mbás*, *air an mbiadh*, *air an ccomhradh*, *air an bpeacach*; *don [= den] choirm*, *don mhoing*, *don cholainn*, *don chursa*; *don cceo*, *don muintir*.<sup>2</sup>

## ACCIDENCE

### NOUNS

(i) *Addition of -a to termination in non-palatal consonant:*

This evident in relation to the nouns ‘*cartacha*’<sup>3</sup> and ‘*na cathracha*’ in respect of which inflexion Rahilly states:

When a gen. sing. ends historically in a non-palatal consonant, the tendency of Ulster Irish is to add *-a* to it, e.g. *athara*, *mathara*, *Éireanna*, *gualanna*, *talúna* (for *talún*, g. of *talamh*), *cathracha*. All the foregoing, with the exception of *Éireanna*, are already attested in a S. E. Ulster text of 1679. (1988, 214)<sup>4</sup>

(ii) *Non-inflexion of nouns ending in (e)acht in the genitive singular: (SpR: li)*

*lucht na mallacht*, *lucht na mallocht*, *lucht na gaduidheacht*,  
*anáiric dhásaicht na feirge agus neamhceannsoigheacht na*

<sup>1</sup> See section ‘*Substitution of gh for ng*’ below.

<sup>2</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 463. The other examples in this regard are as follows: *aig an ccriostaidh*, *aig an bpagánach*; *air an diabal*, *air an duine*, *air an druing*; *as an fhairge*; *ann sa bpeacadh*, *isin ccríse*, *isin ccúirt*, *isin bpalás*, *san mbohemía*; *ón gheibhionn*, *on ghlasrach*; *ris an cceol*, *ris an bfear*, *reis an druing*.

<sup>3</sup> *FGB* gives *cairteach* as a variant genitive singular of *cairt*, *cart*. (*FGB* s.v. *cairt*<sup>2</sup>)

<sup>4</sup> The S. E. Ulster text is MS. TCD 1399. Cf. Williams, 1994: 452.

hinntinne agus na **heasumhlocht**, *phiánas an racht* sin, reimhfhéchuin na **siorruigheacht**; *exceptions*, anéiric na glacaireachta, *cheannradharc* na díadhachta, do thabairt díoluigheachta.

(iii) *Proclivity for plurals in -(e)adh*:

This evident in the following examples (in the earliest of which are this ending is written in full and then followed by those in which scribal contractions were used:

*Nom. pl.* anmanna > anmann**adh**, prionnsadha > prionns**adh**, ríoghdhachda (*TC*) > ríogheacht**adh**; balladha (*ARÉ*) > balladh, cóistí\* > coisteadh, iarladha (*BARUD*) > iárladh, maighdeana (*Desid.*) > maighdeanadh, seomradha (*Bedel*) > seomradh.

*Gen. pl.* biadha > mbí**adh**, dilleachdadh (*Bedel*) > ndíleacht**adh**; aitheantadh > aidheantadh, deóradh (*Fl.Earls*) > ndéoradh, machaireadh (*Bedel*) > machuireadh, pérladh (*Bedel*) > pérladh, slabhradh (*CMT*) > slabradh, teinteadh > tteinteadh, tighearnadh (*Desid.*) > ttighearnadh.

By way of explaining this feature Williams affirms:

Is dócha gurb é *-(e)adh* an foirceann den ghinideach iolra is coitianta sa Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach. In oirthear Uladh leathnaítear amach go dtí an tainmneach (*sic.*) /áinsíoch féin é. (1994: 452)

#### ADJECTIVES

*Lack of consistency as regards agreement of the dative plural form of nouns and qualifying adjectives:*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Is gnách lena lán údar sa tréimhse 1600-1850 gan aidiachtaí in *-ach* a infhilleadh ar chor ar bith san uimhir iolra.” *Ibid.* 453.

**Agreement:** do dhreasaibh cogantacha creimneacha, do thórthaibh taitneamhacha, air dhaoinibh uirísle, do leanbanaibh óga.

**Lack of agreement:** a ndiamhraibh coillteach agus currach, do bhiádhaibh taitneamhach, do maighdeanaibh gruádh corcra gealghnuiseach.

**Agreement and lack of agreement:** do dhaoinibh bochta uiríseal; dhá dhiabhail chrainteacha chreimneach chiórdhubha; aleapthaibh cáola cruachumhann.

#### VERBAL PARTICLES

(i) *Use of the interrogative particle of the copula nar = ar:*

do smuaín ann féin **nar** bfhéidir gur bhírinneach gacha andubairt an seamóruidh no nar bheadh.

iseadh do thracht ina mheanmain **nar** bfhéidir gur bhírinneach é... ionnus go mbíadh dearbtha **nar** bfhiór no nar bheadh.

Commenting on the occurrence of this phenomenon in *TGG* Cecile O’Rahilly notes:

[T]he *nar* [in question] is not the negative interrogative [*nár, nár bh*] but rather a common Northern form for *ar* [*ar bh*, i.e., the positive interrogative].” (*TGG*: xxviii)

(ii) *Variation in the use of a particle in direct relative clause:*

In some cases the Classical practice whereby no direct relative particle was used is observed both in terms of present and future verbs with the relative ending *-s* and the past tense verbs: *bhías,*

*bhiós, fhécfus, innsios tú, rachus; táinic, tug.*



In the case of the past tense of *do-gheibhim* both *fuair* and *do fuair* are found. The use of the particle *do* was widespread: *do bháoi*, *do nigheadh*, *et passim*. There is one example of the particle *a*: *a bheadh*. (McManus, *op. cit.* 422, Williams *op. cit.* 461)

## PRONUNCIATION

### 1. VOCALLIC SOUNDS

#### (i) Pronunciation of *aoi* as /I:/ :

This is evident in the spelling of ‘*íobhnios*’ ‘*aoibhneas*’ where elsewhere it had been ‘*aoibhneas*’ and ‘*áobhnios*’.(*IDPP*: 36-37) This same phenomenon is evident also in a later example of Ulster Irish:

That Gallagher (Donegal, 1736) pronounced *aoi* as *I*: is to be inferred from his spelling *aoibhneas* as *ibhneas* and *chorraigheadh* as *choraoibh*. (*IDPP*: 36-37)<sup>1</sup>

It is reasonable then to suppose that the occurrence of *aoi* instead of *oi* in *aoidhche*, *cháoidhche*, and *craoidhe* and instead of *ai* in *seanmontaoibh* and *diadhairaoibh* might indicate that the elements in question were pronounced /I:/ and /I/ respectively. Among the areas identified by O’Rahilly as being associated with /I:/ as a means of sounding *ao* are N.W. Cavan and in N. Meath and *aoi* in Meath. The alternative to this was /Á:/ which, he relates, would have been the pronunciation more commonly found in S.E. Ulster.

#### (ii) Pronunciation of *-ighth*e as /i/ :

This is evident due to the occurrence of endings in *-idh* or *-igh* where *-ighth*e might be expected:

---

<sup>1</sup> Note Ó Tuathail’s affirmation in *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*: “The written *ao*, *aoi* are pronounced *í*...”, xiii.

cathuighthe > caith**igh**, malluighthe > mall**aidh**, sásuighthe > sásu**igh**, slánuighthe > slánu**igh**.

Accordingly O’Rahilly notes:

[I]n N. Ir. MSS. from the sixteenth century *-ighthe* is frequently spelled *-ighe* or *-idhe*, which in most cases doubtless represents a spoken  $\bar{i}$ . (*IDPP*: 207-208)<sup>1</sup>

It seems likely that the occurrence of *gh* rather than *dh* in the adjective *teintighe* > *teintighe* and *th* in the adjective *áirithe* > *airighe* and in the noun *fóirithin* > *fhóirighín* also denotes the use of /i/.<sup>2</sup>

(iii) *Loss of /ə/ in the second syllable of damanta:*

damanta > damnta.

In respect of this phenomenon it is worth recalling Sommerfelt’s observation as regards the tendency in South Armagh for the loss of /ə/ in the second syllable of trisyllabic words.<sup>3</sup> It may also be explained as an example of primary stress pull whereby an exaggeration of stress on the first syllable diminishes the strength of stress on the second so that it is effectively lost in speech.

(iv) *Addition of ə to monosyllabic noun:*

tárla dhó uaír airighe... go háit e.

In the MS. the *e* occurs close to – but is not obviously joined with – the noun *áit*. In the absence of any accidental or syntactical explanation, however, it is worth bearing in mind Sommerfelt’s reference to the tendency in South

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Ó Tuathail, 1934: xxiii. “A few verbs of the first conjugation have past participles ending in –(a)í, e.g. *báistí*, ‘baptized... Some verbs in –ighim have participles ending in –(u)í, e.g. *ceannuí* ‘bought...’”

<sup>2</sup> There are no instances of *teintighe* being written in full in *FMh* although the ending is expanded in *TGG* as *theintighe* (ff. 65a, 79a, 106b and 110a).

<sup>3</sup> Sommerfelt, 1929: 141.

Armagh to add *ə* to certain monosyllabic words.<sup>1</sup> This form might also reflect the use in East Ulster of the form ‘áitidh’ rather than ‘áit’.<sup>2</sup>

(v) *Substitution of stressed o with a:*

**baltanas.**

O’Rahilly identifies this as a feature of Northern Irish although it should be noted that the spelling *craiceann* which he offers as another example of such a change is not found in MS. TCD 1399 in which the historical forms ‘ccroiceann’ or ‘ccroithcheann’ are retained.<sup>3</sup>

(vi) *ó sound in roibh:*

*roibh, et passim.*

## 2. CONSONANTAL SOUNDS

(i) *Devoicing of consonans b in terminal position:*

**daoinibh > dhaóiniph.**

Cecile O’Rahilly identifies this feature as being typical of scribes of the O’Clery school.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) *Devoicing of consonants g and d in terminal position:*

**táinig → táinic; carbad → carbait, carbataibh, snáthaide → snathite.**

Sommerfelt notes the occurrence of this feature in South Armagh.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sommerfelt, 1929: 137.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Dánta: Art Mac Cumhaigh*: 108.

<sup>3</sup> O’Rahilly, 1988: 192-193.

<sup>4</sup> “The use of *ph* for *bh* in such words as *cléibh* (g. of *cliabh*) and in the ending of the dative plural (a characteristic, by the way, of the O’Clery school of scribes) occurs a few times.” *TGG*, xxix

<sup>5</sup> Sommerfelt, 1929: 137. Ó Tuathail, 1934: xxi.

(iii) *Loss of terminal palatal **ch**:*

This is evident as regards the noun **crí** ‘crích’ although note the same noun is written out in full elsewhere: *gan chrích*.<sup>1</sup>

(iv) *Substitution of non-palatal **ch** for **th**:*

This evident in respect of *dó**th**ain* → ‘dó**ch**ain’ and seems, according to O’Rahilly to be attributable to

a weakening of non-palatal *ch* [which] is characteristic of the Irish of Ulster and N. Meath... [where] it is pronounced faintly, with little friction, in medial and final position, and tends to be reduced to *h*. (O’Rahilly, 1988: 210)

Accordingly, no essential difference in sound would occur between *ch* and *th* which could account for the aforementioned spelling.<sup>2</sup>

(v) *Loss of terminal palatal **igh**:*

Occurs in the case of the genitive form of the adjective ***uilechumhachtach***: *mórdhacht Dé uilechumhach**taigh*** (*Desid.*), *sochar Dé uilechumhachta* (*Beath.Dhia.*) > *muintir dé uile chumach**ta***, *ag síor mholadh dé uile chumhach**ta***.

(vi) *Depalatisation of **s** preceded by **r**:*

*sciúirse* > *sgiúrsa*.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> O’Rahilly, 1988: 207.

<sup>2</sup> The form *dó**ch**ain* linked with Ulster and North Meath in *Dinn*. s.v. *dóthain*.

<sup>3</sup> “In the group *rs* preceded by a palatal vowel the *r*, as we have seen, is depalitized, e.g. in *fairsing*, *tuirse*, *Seoirse*. Northern Irish, as a rule, goes further and depalitizes the *s* too, so that these words become *farsainn*, *tursa...*” *IDPP*: 206.

(vii) *Medial consonant erosion:*

chompánaigh > chom**h**panaigh, damanta > dam**h**anta, éaduigh  
(*Desid.*) > eadhúigh, geamaibh\* > gheam**h**aibh, liút\* > liúithe.

(viii) *Substitution of gh for ng:*

-*diongnadh* > ndiogh**n**adh;

a **gh**lasuibh, a **gh**aoidheilg.

In respect of this phenomenon O’Rahilly notes:

In the greater part of Ulster outside Donegal intervocalic or final *ng* after a stressed vowel became *gh* with nasalization of the preceding vowel... (*IDPP*: 183)

Thus while ndiogh**n**adh amounts to a clear example of O’Rahilly’s explanation, the occurrence of ‘a **gh**lasuibh’ and ‘a **gh**aoidheilg’ indicate that the scribe of MS. TCD 1399 effected this substitution in relation to an initial *g* thereby giving the impression that the preposition *i* > *a* had brought about its lenition rather than its eclipsis.<sup>1</sup> It is at least worth raising the possibility that this substitution may have influenced the ‘lenition’ of the initial consonant, *air an ghloir*, where elsewhere in the text the occurrence of the preposition *ar* followed by the definite article *an* causes eclipsis: *air an mbás*, *air an mbiadh*, *air an ccomhradh*, *air an bpeacach*.

It is noteworthy that Cecile O’Rahilly identifies this same phenomenon in *TGG* in situations in which eclipsis of *g* would be expected, that is, following the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural possessive adjective, *air aghuailibh* f.84a (*TGG*: 64); following the preposition *i*, *ingean úr aghealtaidheacht* f.95b (*TGG*: 96); following the

<sup>1</sup> Note that this same form is found also in *ADMM*, ‘biád go cinte aghlasaibh’, f. 128a, while the typical form ‘a ngla[s]uibh’ is found elsewhere in *FMh*, f. 119b. Cf. also Ó Tuathail, 1934: xxi.

genitive plural form of the definite article, *na, ingean úr na ghruadh ndearg* f.100b (*TGG*: 110), do *choimhlionadh na ghniomh* f.101a (*TGG*: 112). She puts these occurrences down to scribal error. The frequency of their occurrence, however, serves to undermine rather than support the theory that they can simply be attributed to a slip of the pen. (*TGG*: 144)

#### VOCABULARY ASSOCIATED WITH ULSTER IRISH:

##### (i) *Nouns*

amharc.

cair = cáir (*IDPP*: 244)

guibhe as opposed to guidhe.<sup>1</sup>

adhairp = Scottish Gaelic *oidhirp*.

##### (ii) *Adjectives*

*cumhang* > *cruachumhann*. (*IDPP*: 184, Sommerfelt, 1929: 161)

##### (iii) *Prepositions*

a. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. m. form of *ag* as a simple preposition.

*aige* na seanmontaibh, *aige* greadadh. (*SpR*: lxvi)

b. The form *ina* of the preposition *i*:

*ina gach súil*.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ó Tuathail, 1934: xviii. “O. Ir. medial and final (dh) gives bh(v) in a few words; e.g. *guibh*, ‘pray’ (impv.), M.Ir. *guid*; *guibhim*.”

(iv) *Verbs*

a. *Historical 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. form of téighim and tígim:*

ní theíd, tíg.

In this respect Williams notes that both forms remained common in Oirialla and Ulster.<sup>1</sup>

b. do dhóirtfinn as opposed to doirt.<sup>2</sup>

## VERBAL NOUNS

*Occurrence of the following forms:*

sgairtidh as opposed to glaoch or blaoch. (IDPP: 242)

chluistin. (Williams *op. cit.* 458)

tuiteam as opposed to the palatalized ending tuitim.

## VARIA

(i) *Apparent inclusion of epenthetic vowel:*

briathartha, briathara;<sup>3</sup> bhreithire, bhreithaire.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) *Particular form of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. f. of the preposition ar:*

urtha.

<sup>1</sup> Williams, 1994: 456, 457.

<sup>2</sup> O'Rahilly, 1988: 240. Cf. Ó Tuathail, 1934: "Long *o* is heard in *dóirte* 'shed' (of blood).

<sup>3</sup> This form found also in *TGG*, 114, 130, *Stair an Bhíobla VI*, 109, *SCU*, 47, 107 and *Tóraidheacht na bhFíreun air Lorg Chríosta*, 4 *et passim*.

<sup>4</sup> This found only in *BEED*.

The use of this form in the MS. corresponds to the feminine noun ‘áit’: créad is ciall don áit se ina dtángamar? Agus má do bhí eolas agatsa urtha... O’Rahilly interprets it likewise in two instances in *TGG*.<sup>1</sup> One might interpret its use in a third example in relation to the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. form although it is possible that the semantic repetition of two feminine nouns *iomdha* and *árdleabadh* – both feminine nouns – implies reference to one object thereby necessitating the use of the feminine singular.<sup>2</sup>

(iii) *Verbal noun form, tiecht:*

The text contains two forms of this verbal noun, namely, *teacht* and *tiecht*. Historically *teacht* is the verbal noun of *téighim* while *tiacht* was in Middle-Irish the verbal noun of *tigim*. (Williams *op. cit.* 457) According to the database accompanying *Corpas* the form *tiecht* is found only in *EMO* while five instances of *tiacht* are found in *TGG*. It is probable that this influenced the spelling of *tiecht* in *FMh* and *EMO*.

(iv) *Medial eclipsis in the compound ngearngreadadh.*

## INTERPRETATION

On the evidence of the language of the text it is beyond dispute that the primary linguistic medium through which this tale was told was the classical prose Irish which McManus associated with devotional works in which the desire to communicate confessional ideas took precedence over highly stylised language. (op. cit. 335-336) In general terms then the language used conformed to a great

<sup>1</sup> “Air gclos na sgéal sin dom’ inghin-si... do ghabh taisi truaighi mhór lé... agus do chuir éadach liogha lánmhaiseach *urtha*”, “When my daughter heard this tale... she was filled with great pity for [*her*]... and clothed *her* in shining beautiful garments”. (96-97) “óir is amhlaidh atá an *áit* sin .i. *cathair* atá air oileán mara, agus an fhairge atá ’na *timchioll* ’n-a h-aon-lasair teintighe, agus ní théid long nó arthurach *urtha*”, “For thus is that *place*. It is a *city* in an island, and the sea which surrounds *it* is one fiery blaze, and ship or vessel cannot sail *it*”. (124-125)

<sup>2</sup> “Agus do chóirigh *iomdha* agus *árdleabadh*... agus do chuir an curadh créachtghonach crólinteach *urtha*”, “And he arranged a couch and bed... and he placed the wounded, bloody hero on them.” (*TGG*: 74-75)



degree to the Classical Irish which was normative in poetic works as was evident on account of the chosen methodology of highlighting deviations from this norm by giving them in bold type. A cursory perusal of the analysis reveals that the majority of the contents of its content was inserted in normal type. In more specific terms it is worth drawing attention to some of the more salient markers of this form of the language such as particular spelling forms (**ui** instead of **oi**), certain peculiarities as regards initial mutations (na bpíán **ndófhulaing**, ris an **tsheanmontaidh**), particular accidental forms (eoín instead of éin), the use of the special future form of the copula (**ba husa**), the occurrence of the preposition **re** (rather than **le**), the conjunction **ina** (< ioná) and the interrogative adverb **cionnas**.

Having established this classical prose form as the linguistic substratum of the transcription it is worth noting the occurrence of certain features which predate this form of the language such as the use of ad *conncus*, the 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. past tense form of **do-chím**, the pre-verbal particles **ro** and **nachar** (**ro bhaói**, *nach ar rugh*), the interrogative pronoun **cúí**, ‘cia’ (**cúí** hiád) as well as the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural prepositional pronouns of **for** and **fri** (*forra* and *friú* respectively). What is noteworthy about this phenomenon is that in virtually every case the sporadic appearance of these anachronistic instances stands alongside the consistent use of forms appropriate to Early Modern Irish (*do connuirc tú*, *do bháoi*, *cia*) which might identify them as stylistic embellishments intended to give the impression of antiquity.

Much more prolific, however, in terms of deviation from the classical substratum of the text is the occurrence of phenomena indicative of dialectal development. It is only possible to identify the majority of these features in general terms as being indicative of Northern Irish although there are some which can be associated with more specific locations. The most salient traits of this Northern form are the eclipsis after *nach* in verbs beginning with **f-** and **t-**

(nach **bfhaghann**) but not **b-** and **d-** (nach **bíodh**), the addition of **-a** to the genitive singular form of nouns which would normally end in a non-palatal consonant (**cartacha**) and the interrogative past tense/conditional mood form of the copula **nar** instead of **ar**. Likewise the pronunciation of **-ighthé** as /i/ (**caithigh**, **mallaidh**, **sásuigh**, **slánuigh**), the substitution of stressed **o** with **a** (**baltanas**) as well as the devoicing of **b** in terminal position (**dhaóiniph**) are also markers of Northern dialectal development as are the loss of terminal palatal **ch** (**crí**) and the substitution of non-palatal **ch** for **th** (**dóchain**) and of **gh** for **ng** (**-dioghnadh**, a **ghlasuibh**, a **ghaoidheilg**). The use of certain vocabulary, moreover, such as the continued use of the historical 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. forms of the verbs **téighim** and **tigim** (**ní theíd**, **tig**), the nouns **cair** (= **cáir**) and **guibhe**, the verbal nouns **amharc**, **sgairtidh**, **chluistin** and **tuiteam** all point to this same provenance while, finally, the presence of the noun **adhairp** which is possibly related to the Scottish Gaelic form **oidhirp** would be consonant with an document originating in this area.

In more specific terms, however, this transcription features phenomena associated with the East Ulster Irish of the period such as the tendency for plurals to end in **-(e)adh** (**anmannadh**, **mbíadh**), the non-inflexion of nouns ending in **-(e)acht** in the gen. sg. (**lucht na mallacht**) and the use of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. m. form of the preposition **ag** as a simple preposition (**aige na seanmontaobh**, **aige greadadh**). Similarly, the spelling of **aoibhneas** as **íobhnios** points to the probability that the scribe pronounced **aoi** as /I:/ which is a feature associated with N.W. Cavan and Meath, the devoicing of **g** and **d** in terminal position (**táinic**, **carbait**) which is associated with both South Armagh and Cavan as well as the addition of **ə** to monosyllabic words (**áit e**) and the occurrence of the termination **-nn** both of which are also found in South Armagh.

With the above variations accounted for a word must be said about the occurrence of certain idiosyncratic features of the MS. which seem to have been

the issue of scribal habit rather than any recognised linguistic development. Specifically this concerns phenomena such as the interchange of the lenited consonants *dh*, *gh* and *th* throughout the text whereby, for instance, the vocative singular form of the adjective *grádhach* is seen to be inflected as *ghradhuidh* rather than *ghrádhaigh*, the derivatives of the verbs *críochnuighim* and *cruthuighim* are given as *criochnuid[h]eadh* and *chruithidh* respectively while the historical form of the verbal nouns *luighe* gives way to *luidhe*. Likewise, one encounters the use of *gh* as opposed to the historical *dh* in the case of the verbal noun *fadódh* which takes the form *fadógh* as well as in the adjective *teintidhe* which – as attested in its full form in *TGG* – is given as *teintighe*. One further example involves the interchange of *gh* and *dh* so that the historical form *áirithe* is given as *arighe*. Mention should also be made of other orthographic peculiarities such as the tendency to palatalise 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> plural endings conjoined with non-palatalised stems as exemplified in the cases of *rachmís* (< *rachmaois*) and *-geabhdís* (< *-géabhdaois*) as well as the tendency towards the simplification of *verbal noun endings in -ughadh* (*aithghiorrugh*). Also worthy of comment are certain apparently idiosyncratic features such as the apparent inclusion of an epenthetic vowel in the case of *briathartha*, *briathara*; *bhreithire*, *bhreithaire*, the occurrence of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. f. form of the preposition *ar*, *urtha*, as well as curiosities such as the verbal noun form *tiecht* and the eclipsis in the compound *ngearngreadadh*.

As was stated above it is the case that this MS. is well attested by those who have consulted it for editorial and scholarly purposes to be of particular value as an exemplar of Ulster Irish of the period in question. This foregoing analysis of the version of *FMh* which it contains serves to endorse this Northern Provenance even if it cannot be any more specific as regards a place of origin. The frequency with which the terms South-East Ulster and Oirialla are used in relation to some of its notable features offers an approximate linguistic context

and this in turn is supported by the identification of traits associated with particular locales within this general area – such as South Armagh and North Meath.

Alongside this bleeding into the text of those features which give an indication of the Irish as the scribe would have spoken it are found a few instances of archaisms which would point to an attempt by the author to make the document appear older than it actually was. Whatever the motives behind such a policy, that the author had the wherewithal to select and utilise these features correctly in the text suggests that he was possessed of a considerable awareness of the language as it appeared through certain phases of its development. When this is taken into account alongside the creativity displayed in the composition of the tale it is evident that he was an able and competent wordsmith.

APPENDIX 1  
BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUES

Abbott, T.K. & Gwynn, E.J. 1921. *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*. Dublin: Hodges and Figgis.

De Brún, Pádraig. 1967. *Clár lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Ollscoile Chorcaí: Cnuasach Thorna*. Baile Átha Cliath: Choláiste Ollscoile Chorcaí.

De Brún, Pádraig. 1988. *Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge: treoirliosta*. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Ard-Léinn.

De Brún, P., & Herbert, M. 1986. *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Cambridge Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dillon, Miles et. al. 1969. *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Franciscan Library Killiney*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Flower, Robin. 1926. *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. 2*. London, British Museum.

Ó Cuiv, Brian. 2001. *Catalogue of Irish language manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford college libraries*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Ó Macháin, Pádraig. 1991. *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in Mount Melleray Abbey, Co. Waterford*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Royal Irish Academy. 1926-70. *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy – Fasciculi I-IXX*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

St Patrick's College, Maynooth. 1943-1972. *Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Phádraig Má Nuad, Fascúl I-VI*. Má Nuad: Cuallacht Cholm Cille.

Various. 1967-1996: *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland, Fasciculus I-XIII*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

SOURCES

**AFM:** *Annals of the kingdom of Ireland : from the earliest period to the year 1616*. O'Donovan, J. ed. 1856. Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co.

**AgallAC.:** ‘Agallamh idir an anam agus an corp’. Ó Domhnaill, Seán Pádraig. ed. in *Lia Fáil* 3. 1930. 37-86.

**A.Midhe:** *Amhráin na Midhe*. Ó Muirgheasa, Énrí. ed. 1934. Baile Átha Cliath: Cómhlucht Oideachais na hÉireann.

**BCF:** *Bás Cearbhall agus Farbhlaidhe*. Ní Laoire, Siobhán. ed. 1986. Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar.

**Beath.A.R.:** *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh ui Dhomhnaill*. O’Clery, Lughaidh; Walsh, Paul, ed. 1948. Dublin: Irish Texts Society.

**Beath.Dhia.:** *An Bheatha Dhiadha nó an tSlighe Ríoghdha*. Ó Fachtna, Anselm. ed. 1967. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Ardléinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

**BEED:** ‘Bruidhean Eochaidh Bhig Dheirg’. Ní Mhuirgheasa, Máire. ed. in *Trí Bruidhne*. 1941. Ní Shéaghdha, Nessa, Ní Mhuirgheasa, Máire. eds. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair.

**Bedel:** *Leabhair na Seintiomna*, Bedell, William *et al.* 1685. London.

**BnÉ:** *Bethada Náem nÉrenn: Lives of Irish Saints*. Plummer, C. ed. 1922. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

**BSF:** *Beatha San Froinsias*. Bonaventure, Saint Cardinal; Ó Súilleabháin, Pádraig. ed. 1957. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

**Buaidh:** *Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*. Savonarola, Girolamo; Ó Súilleabháin, Pádraig. ed. 1972. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Ardléinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

**Cassell:** *Cassell’s Latin-English, English-Latin dictionary*. Simpson, D.P. ed. 1991 (1959). London: Cassell Publishers Limited.

**CCD:** ‘Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire’s Catechism of Christian Doctrine’. Ó Cuív, B. ed. in *Celtica* 1(2) 1950. 161–206.

**CCU:** *Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh*. Ó Muirgheasa, Énrí. ed. 1915. Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son Ltd.

**CMT:** *Cath muighe tuireadh*. Ó Cuív, Brian. ed. 1945. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

**Comhairle:** *Comhairle Mhic Clamha ó Achadh Na Muileann: The Advice of Mac Clave from Aughnamullen*. Ó Dufaigh, Seosamh, Rainey, Brian. eds. 1981. Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille.

**Corpas:** *Corpas na Gaeilge 1600-1882: foclóir na nua-Ghaeilge*. Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann. 2004. Baile Átha Cliath: Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann.

**DántaKeat:** *Dánta amhráin is caointe Sheathrúin Céitinn*. Keating, Geoffrey; McErlean, John. ed. 1900. Baile Átha Cliath: Connradh na Gaedhilge,

**DBM:** *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr I*. Mag Cráith, C. ed. 1967. Baile Átha Cliath: Instiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

**Desid:** *Desiderius*. Ó Maolchonaire, F. Ó Ráthaille, T.F. ed. 1941. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

**D.Dána:** *Díoghluim Dána*. McKenna, Lambert. ed. 1938. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair.

**DSA:** *Dhá sgéal Artúraíochta: mar atá Eachtra Mhelóra agus Orlando agus Céilidhe Iosgaide Léithe*. Mhac an tSaoi, Máire. ed. 1946. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

**Dinn:** *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*. Dinneen, P.S. ed. 1996 (1927). Dublin: Irish Texts Society.

**Duan.F:** *Duanaire Finn: The Book of the lays of Finn (II)*. Mac Neill, E. ed. 1953. London: Irish Texts Society.

**Dwelly:** *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*. Dwelly, E. ed. 1977. Glasgow: Cairn.

**eDIL:** *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language*. <http://http://edil.qub.ac.uk/>

**EóIDomh:** *Eólas ar an domhan*. Ó Neachtain, Tadhg; Ní Chléirigh, Meadhbh. ed. 1944. Oifig an tSoláthair: Baile Átha Cliath.

**ESA:** *Eochair-sgiath an aifrinn: An explanatory defence of the mass*. Keating, G; Halliday, W. ed. 1898. Dublin: P. O'Brien.

**EU:** *Eachtra Uilliam: An Irish version of William of Palerne*. O'Rahilly, Cecile. ed. 1949. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

**FFÉ I:** *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn D.D. Vol. I*. Comyn, David. ed. 1902. London: Irish Texts Society.

**FFÉ II:** *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn D.D. Vol. II*. Dinneen, Patrick S. ed. 1908. London: Irish Texts Society.

**FFÉ III:** *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn D.D. Vol. III.* Dinneen, Patrick S. ed. 1908. London: Irish Texts Society.

**FFÉ IV:** *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn D.D. Vol. IV.* Dinneen, Patrick S. ed. 1913. London: Irish Texts Society.

**FGB:** *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla.* Ó Dónaill, N. ed. 1991 (1977). BÁC: Oifig Dhíolta Foilseachán Rialtais.

**Fl.Earls:** *The Flight of the Earls.* Walsh, P. ed. 1916. Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son Ltd.

**ImDáNón:** *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar agus Tóraigheacht Taise Taoibhghile.* Ní Mhuirgheasa, Máire. ed. 1954. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair.

**Im.Ghen.:** ‘Do imtheachta Ghenerodeis’. Ó Fiannachta, Pádraig. ed. in *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1987. 187-235.

**IomarFil I:** *Iomarbhágh na bhfileadh I.* McKenna, Lambert. ed. 1918. London: Irish Texts Society.

**IDPP:** *Irish Dialects Past and Present.* O’Rahilly, T. 1988 (1932). Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

**LF:** *Lucerna Fidelium,* Ó Maolmhuaidh, Froinsias, Ó Súilleabháin, Pádraig, ed. 1962. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

**LUCC:** *Leabhar na nurnaightheadh gcomhchoidchiond agus mheinisdraldachda na Sacrameinteadh, maille le gnathaighthibh agus le hordaighthibh oile, do réir eagalse na Sagsan.* Ó Domhnaill, Uilliam. 1608. Dublin.

**O’Gallagher:** *Seventeen Irish sermons: in an easy and familiar style, on useful and necessary subjects; in English characters as being more familiar to the generality of the clergy; in which is included a sermon on the joys of heaven.* O’Gallagher, J; O’Reilly, E. ed. 1819. Dublin: W. Pickering.

**OM:** ‘Orlando agus Melora’. Draak, A.M.E. ed. 1946. in *Béaloideas* 16. 3-48.

**Parrthas:** *Parrthas an Anna.* Gearnon, A; Ó Fachtna, A. ed. 1953. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

**PCT:** *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis.* Williams, N. J. A. ed. 1981. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.



**PPN:** ‘Purgadóir Phádraig Naomhtha’. Condún, Treasa. ed. 1924. in *Lia Fáil* 1. 1924. 1-48.

**Rel. Celt 2:** *Reliquiae Celticae, Texts Papers and Studies in Gaelic Literature and Philology*, vol. 2. Mac Bain, Alexander, Kennedy, John, eds. 1894. Inverness: The Northern Counties newspaper and printing and publishing company limited.

**Rialachas:** *Rialachas San Froinsias*. Ó Suilleabháin, Pádraig. ed. 1953. BÁC: Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

**RSC:** ‘An Irish Seventeenth-Century Translation of the Rule of St. Clare’. Knott, Eleanor. ed. in *Ériu* 15. 1948. 1-187.

**RSF:** *Rialachas San Froinsias*. O Suilleabhain, Padraig. ed. 1953. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

**Salt.Mh.:** *Saltair Mhuire: 150 téacs i gcomhair an 150 Fáilte an Aingil sa Choróin Mhuire*. Ó Céirín, Cyril. ed. 1989. Baile Átha Cliath :Foilseacháin Ábhair Spioradálta.

**SCU:** *Seanmónta Chúige Uladh*. Ó Maonaigh, Cainneach. ed. 1965. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

**SMN II:** *Seanmóirí Muighe Nuadhad II*. Connradh Chuilm Naomhtha. ed. Baile Átha Cliath: M.H. Gill & Son Ltd.

**SMM:** *Mac na Míchomhairle*. Watson, Seosamh. ed. 1979. Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Tta.

**SpR:** *The Spiritual Rose*. McKenna, Malachy. ed. 2001. Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies.

**SSA:** *Scáthán shacramuinte na hAithridhe*. Mac Aingil, A; Mooney, C. ed. 1952. BÁC: Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

**StBhíobla I:** *Stair an bhíobla 1*. Ó Ceallaigh, Uáitéar; Ní Mhuirgheasa, Máire. ed. 1941. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair.

**StBhíobla II:** *Stair an bhíobla 2*: Ó Ceallaigh, Uáitéar; Ní Mhuirgheasa, Máire. ed. 1942. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair.

**StBhíobla IV:** *Stair an bhíobla 4*: Ó Ceallaigh, Uáitéar; Ní Mhuirgheasa, Máire. ed. 1945. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair.

- Stapleton:** Stapleton, Theobald. 1945. *The “Catechismus” of Theobald Stapleton*. Dublin: Stationary Office.
- TBB:** *Trí bior-ghaoithe an bháis le Seathrún Céitinn* D.D. Bergin, O. ed. 1992 (1931). Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- TC:** *An Teagas Críosaíde*. Ó hEodhasa, B; Mac Raghnaill, F. ed. 1976. BÁC: Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.
- TD I, II:** *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn*. Knott, E. ed. 1996 (1922, 26). London: Irish Texts Society.
- TGG:** *Tóruigheacht Gruaidhe Griansholus: The Pursuit of Gruaidh Ghriansholus*. O’Rahilly, Cecile. ed. 1924. London: Pub. for the Irish Texts Society by Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent.
- Thurn:** Thurneysen, Rudolf. 1970 (1946). *A Grammar of Old Irish: revised and enlarged edition translated from the German by D.A. Binchy and Osborn Bergin*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- TN:** *An Tiomna Nuadh ar dtighearna agus ar Slanuightheora Iosa Críosaíde*. O’Domhnuill, Huilliam. 1830. Dublin: Goodwin, Son & Nethercott.
- TórChríosta:** *Tóraidheacht na bhfireun ar lorg Chríosta*. Ua Tuathail, Domhnall. ed. 1915. Baile Átha Cliath: M.H. Mac Gill agus a mhac.
- Trí Br.:** *Trí bruidhne*. Ní Shéaghdha, Nessa, Ní Mhuirgheasa, Máire. eds. 1941. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair.
- Trompa:** *Trompa na bhFlaitheas*. O’Rahilly, Cecile. ed. 1955. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- VM I:** ‘The vision of Merlino’. Macalister, Robert A. Stewart. ed. in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 4. 1903. 394-455.
- VM II:** Macalister, Robert A. Stewart. ed. 1905. *Fis Mherlino: an Irish allegory: The vision of Merlino*. Dublin: Gill.
- GENERAL
- Ahlqvist, Anders. 1994: ‘Litriú na Gaeilge’, in McCone et. al., eds. *Stair na Gaeilge: in ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta*. Maigh Nuad: Roinn na Sean-Ghaeilge, Coláiste Phádraig. 23-59.

- Bédé, Jean Albert, and William B. Edgerton. 1980. *Columbia dictionary of modern European literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bergin, Osborn. 1916. 'Irish Grammatical Tracts.' *Ériu*, Vol. 8, Supplement: Irish Grammatical Tracts. i-60.
- Bergin, Osborn. 1921/1923. 'Irish Grammatical Tracts (Continued).' *Ériu*, Vol. 9, Supplement: Irish Grammatical Tracts. 61-124.
- Bergin, Osborn. 1926/1928. 'Irish Grammatical Tracts (Continued).' *Ériu*, Vol. 10, Supplement: Irish Grammatical Tracts. 124-166.
- Bergin, Osborn. 1946. 'Irish Grammatical Tracts III and IV.' *Ériu*, Vol. 14, Supplement: Irish Grammatical Tracts. 165-257.
- Bergin, Osborn. 1955. 'Irish Grammatical Tracts V.' *Ériu*, Vol. 17, Supplement: Irish Grammatical Tracts. 259-293.
- Bloomfield, Morton W. 1952. *The seven deadly sins; an introduction to the history of a religious concept, with special reference to medieval English literature*. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press.
- Boswell, Charles Stuart, and Adamnan. 1908. *An Irish precursor of Dante; a study on the Vision of heaven and hell, ascribed to the eighth-century Irish saint, Adamnán*. London: D. Nutt.
- Boyle, Elizabeth. 2010. 'Eschatological Justice in Scéla Laí Brátha.' *Cambrian Medieval Studies* 59. 39-54.
- Breatnach, Liam. 1989. 'The first third of *Bretha Nemed Toísech*', *Ériu* 40, 1-40.
- Breatnach, Liam. 1994. 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', in McCone et. al., eds. *Stair na Gaeilge: in ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta*. Maigh Nuad: Roinn na Sean-Ghaeilge, Coláiste Phádraig. 221-333.
- Bruford, Alan. 1969. *Gaelic folk-tales and mediaeval romances. A study of the Early Modern Irish 'Romantic tales' and their oral derivatives*. Dublin: Folklore of Ireland Society.
- Caerwyn Williams, J.E. 1949. 'Irish Translations of Visio Sancti Pauli'. *Éigse* 6. 127-134.
- Caerwyn Williams, J.E. 1960. 'An Irish Harrowing of Hell'. *Études Celtiques* 9. 44-78.

- Carey, John. 1989. 'Visio Sancti Pauli and the Saltair's Hell'. *Éigse* 23. 39-44.
- Carey, John. 1986. 'The Heavenly City in Saltair na Rann.' *Celtica* 18. 86-104.
- Carey, John. 2006. 'The Location of the Otherworld in Irish Tradition.' in Jonathon M. Wooding. ed. *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature: An Anthology of Criticism*. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 113-119.
- Carey, John, Nic Cárthaigh, Emma, Ó Dochartaigh, Cáitríona. eds. 2014. *The End and Beyond: Medieval Irish Eschatology, Celtic Studies Publications XVII*. Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications.
- Cunningham, Bernadette. 2000. *The world of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth, and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Dillon, Charles. 2007. 'Catalóg Leabharlann na bProinsiasach i bPrág: Ábhar agus téamaí.' *Léann* 1. 63-76.
- Dillon, Charles. 2006. 'Irish translation in continental Europe, 1630-60', in O'Connor, Thomas, Lyons, Mary Ann. eds. *Irish Communities in early modern Europe*. Dublin, Four Courts Press. 383-394.
- Doyle, Aidan, Ní Laoire, Siobhán. eds. 2006. *Aistí ar an Nua-Ghaeilge in ómós do Bhreandán Ó Buachalla*. Baile Átha Cliath: Cois Life.
- Duffy, Joseph. ed. 1965. 'Comhairle mhic Clamha ó Achadh na muilleann'. *Clogher Record*, 5(3). 307-347.
- Dunleavy, Gareth W. 1974. *Douglas Hyde*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press.
- Fenning, Hugh. 1976/1977. 'The Library of a Preacher of Drogheda: John Donnelly, O.P. (d. 1748)'. *Collectanea Hibernica* 18/19. 72-104.
- Fraistat, Neil. Flanders, Julia. eds. 2013. *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fulton, Helen. 2009. *A companion to Arthurian literature*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Gardiner, Eileen. 1989. *Visions of heaven and hell before Dante*. New York: Italica Press.
- Gardiner, Eileen. 1993. *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: a Sourcebook*. New York: Garland.

- Gillies, William. 1980. 'An early modern Irish "Harrowing of Hell"'. *Celtica* 13. 32-55.
- Glancy, Michael. 1955. 'The Incidence of the Plantation on the City of Armagh'. *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 1(2). 120, 134- 35.
- Goodrich, Peter, and Raymond H. Thompson. 2003. *Merlin: a casebook*. New York: Routledge.
- Le Goff, Jacques. 1984. *The Birth of Purgatory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Greetham, David. 2013. 'A history of textual scholarship', in Fraistat, Neil, Flanders, Julia. eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 16-41.
- Gregg, Joan Young. 1997. *Devils, women, and Jews: reflections of the other in medieval sermon stories*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Herbert, Máire, McNamara, Martin J. 1989. *Irish Biblical Apocrypha: Selected Texts in Translation*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Hickey, Raymond. 2011. *The dialects of Irish: study of a changing landscape*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Hillhorst, A. 2007. 'The *Apocalypse of Paul*: Previous History and Afterlife', in Bremmer, J.N., Czachesz, I. eds. *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*. Leuven: Peeters. 1-22.
- Hyde, Douglas. 1906. *Abhráin diadha Chúige Connacht. Cuid II*. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son Ltd.
- Knott, Eleanor. 1948. 'Glossorial index to "An Irish Seventeenth-Century Translation of the Rule of St. Clare"'. *Ériu*, 15 (Supplement). 1-110.
- Lernout, Geert. 2013. 'Continental editorial theory', in Fraistat, Neil, Flanders, Julia. eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 61-78.
- Lewis, H.A. 1994. *The Otherworld in Popular Medieval Spanish Literature, with Celtic Analogues*, D.Phil., University of Oxford, United Kingdom.
- Mac Airt, S. 1951. *The Annals of Inisfallen*. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

- Mac Aogáin, Parthalán. 1968. *Graiméir Ghaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr*. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Ard-Léinn.
- Mac Craith, Mícheál, Worthington, David. 2003. 'Aspects of the literary activity of the Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1620-1786', in O'Connor, Thomas, Lyons, Mary Ann. eds. *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602-1820*. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 118-34.
- Mac Craith, Mícheál. 2007/2008. 'Beathaíonn na Bráithre na Briathra: The Louvain Achievement'. *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 21(2), 22(1). 86-123.
- Mac Cuarta, Seamas Dall; O Gallchoir, Sean. ed. 1971. *Danta*. Baile Atha Cliath: An Clóchomhar.
- Mac Phóil, Donnchadh. 1959. 'The Clergy of Blessed Oliver Plunkett (Part III): Biographical Dictionary of Secular Clergy'. *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 3(2). 268-282.
- Mac Niocaill, Gearóid, Nic Énrí, Úna. 1971. 'The Second Recension of the *Evernew Tongue*'. *Celtica*, 9. 1-6.
- March, Jennifer R. 1998. *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*. London: Cassell.
- McGinness, Frederick J. 2014. *Right thinking and sacred oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- McKenna, Lambert. 1944. *Bardic syntactical tracts*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- McManus, Damian. 1994. 'An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach', in McCone et. al., eds. *Stair na Gaeilge: in ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta*. Maigh Nuad: Roinn na Sean-Ghaeilge, Coláiste Phádraig. 335-445.
- McNamara, Martin. 1975. *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- McNamara, Martin. 1988. 'The Bird *hiruath* of the Ever-new tongue and *Hirodius* of the Gloss on Ps. 103:17 in Vatican Codex Pal. lat. 68'. *Ériu*, 39. 87-94.
- Mhac an tSaoi, Máire. 1942. 'Briarthra is Ionráidhte ar nDul asteach don tSéipéal'. *Éigse*, 3. 203-204.

Moran, Patrick Francis, Plunket, Oliver. 1861. *Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland: who suffered death for the Catholic faith in the year 1681*. Dublin: J. Duffy.

Nagy, Joseph Falaky. 2009. 'Arthur and the Irish', in Fulton, Helen. ed. *A companion to Arthurian literature*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. 117-127.

Nic Cárthaigh, Emma. 2004. 'Tadhg Ó Neachtuin: a man of lists', in Carey, John, Herbert, Máire, Murray, Kevin. eds. *Cín Chille Cúile: Texts, Saints and Places. Essays in Honour of Pádraig Ó Riain*. Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications. 208-224.

Ní Úrdail, Meidhbhín. 2011. ed. *Cath Cluana Tarbh*. London: Irish Texts Society.

Ó Buachalla, Breandán. ed. 1962. 'Imthiacht Dheirdre la Naoise agus Oidhe Chloinne Uisneach'. *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 29. 114-154.

Ó Buachalla, Breandán. 1962. 'The relative particle *do*'. *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 29. 106-113.

Ó Buachalla, Breandán. 1972. 'Stair an Chónaisc Acht Go'. *Ériu*, 23. 143-161.

Ó Buachalla, Breandán. 1976. 'Nótaí ar Ghaeilge an tuaiscirt I'. *Éigse*, 16(4). 285-316.

Ó Buachalla, Breandán. 1979. 'Art Mac Bionaid scríobhaí'. *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 9. 338-349.

Ó Buachalla, Breandán. 1983: 'The prepositional relative clause in SE-Ulster Irish'. *Celtica*, 15. 69-77.

Ó Cléirigh, Tomás. 1940. 'Leaves from a Dublin Manuscript'. *Éigse*, 1. 196-209.

O'Connell, Patricia. 1997. *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares, 1649-1785*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

O'Connell, Patricia. 2001. *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Ó Cuív, Brian. 1951. *Irish dialects and Irish speaking districts: three lectures*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Ó Cuív, Brian. 1955. 'The Penitential Psalms in Irish Verse'. *Éigse*, 8. 43-69.

- O'Curry, Eugene, Sullivan, W. K. 1873. *On the manners and customs of the ancient Irish: a series of lectures*. London: Williams and Norgate.
- O'Curry, Eugene. 1861. *Lectures on the manuscript materials of ancient Irish history*. Dublin: J. Duffy.
- Ó Dochartaigh, Cathair. 1987. *Dialects of Ulster Irish*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast.
- Ó Doibhlin, Breandán. 2008. 'Cultúr agus creideamh sa 17ú haois'. *Léachtaí Cholm Cille*, 38. 261-294.
- Ó Doirnín, Peadar, de Rís, Seán. ed. 1969. *Peadar Ó Doirnín: a bheatha agus a shaothar*. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair 1969.
- Ó Donnchadha, Tadhg. ed. 1931. 'Cín lae Ó Meallain'. *Analecta Hibernica*, 3. 1-61.
- O'Donovan, John. 1845. *A grammar of the Irish language, pub. for the use of the senior classes in the College of St. Columbia*. Dublin: Hodges and Smith.
- Ó Dufaigh, Seosamh. ed. 1981. *Comhairle Mhic Clamha ó Achadh na Muilleann*. Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille.
- Ó Fiaich, Tomás. ed. 1973. *Dánta: Art Mac Cumhaigh*. Baile Átha Cliath: An Cóchomhar.
- Ó Fiaich, Tomás. 1958. 'The Fall and Return of John Mac Moyer'. *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 3(1). 51-86.
- Ó Fiaich, Tomás. 1970. 'The political and social background of the Ulster poets'. *Léachtaí Cholm Cille*, 1(3). 23-33.
- Ó Fiaich, Tomás. 1971. 'The Registration of the Clergy in 1704'. *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 6(1). 46-69.
- Ó Fiannachta, Pádraig. ed. 1978. *An Barántas*. Má Nuad: An Sagart.
- Ó'Foghludha, Risteárd. ed. 1944. 'Sonas na bpeacach agus mí-ádh na bhfíoraen. (Text of a sermon by Rev. Maurice Power in 1832-6)'. *The Irish ecclesiastical record*, 5(LXIV). 378-39.
- Ó Laoghaire, Diarmuid. 1953. 'Léirmheas, An tAithríoch Ríoga'. *Comhar*, 12(3). 21-22.



- Ó Mainnín, Mícheál B. 2007. “‘Goidé mar 's tá na fearaibh?’”: gnéithe de leathnú agus de fhuaimniú fhoirceann an tabharthaigh iolra sa Nua-Ghaeilge.’ *Celtica*, 25. 195–224.
- Ó Maolalaigh, Roibeard, 2006. ‘Coibhneas idir consan (*dh / gh*) agus guta i stair na Gaeilge’, in Doyle, Aidan, Ní Laoire, Siobhán. ed. *Aistí ar an Nua-Ghaeilge in ómós do Bhreandán Ó Buachalla*. Baile Átha Cliath: Cois Life. 41-78.
- Ó Muirgheasa, Énri. 1936. *Dánta diadha Uladh*. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtais.
- Ó Murchú, Pól. 2013. *A Grammar of Modern Irish*. Baile Átha Cliath: Teangaleanga.
- Oppitz-Trotman, Gesine. 2011. ‘Penance, Mercy, and Saintly Authority in the Miracles of St Thomas Becket’, in Clarke, Peter D., Claydon, Tony. eds. *Saints and sanctity*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press. 136-147.
- O’Rahilly, Cecile. ed. 1952. *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- O’Reilly, Edward. 1820. *A chronological account of nearly four hundred Irish writers: commencing with the earliest account of Irish history, and carried down to the year of our Lord 1750 ; with a descriptive catalogue of such of their works as are still extant in verse or prose, consisting of upwards of one thousand separate tracts*. Dublin: A. O’Neil.
- O’Reilly, Mary. 1996. ‘Seventeenth-Century Irish Catechisms: European or Not?’ *Archivium Hibernicum*, 50. 102-112.
- Ó Tuathail, Éamonn. ed. 1934. *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Béaloideas Éireann.
- Ó Tuathail, Éamonn. ed. 1943. ‘Aisling na Binne Buirbe – Eóghan Ó Donnaoile c̄c.’ *Éigse*, 4. 112-7.
- Ó Tuathail, Éamonn. ed. 1955. ‘Dánta de chuid Uladh’. *An tUltach*, 31 (1) 5, 9-10, (2) 5-6.
- Ó Siochfhradha, Pádraig. 1934. ‘Mairbhne Eithne nó Mairbhne Phádraig’. *Béaloideas*, 4(3). 264-276.
- Patterson, T. G. F. 1957. ‘The Armagh Manor Court Rolls, 1625-1627’. *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 12(2). 309.

- Rainey, Brian E. 1981. 'Comhairle Mhic Clamha and the European Satirical Tradition', in Ó Dufaigh, Seosamh. ed. *Comhairle Mhic Clamha ó Achadh Na Muileann: The Advice of Mac Clave from Aughnamullen*. Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille. 95-112.
- Reynolds, Barbara. 2013 (2006). *Dante: the poet, the thinker, the man*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.
- Ryan, Salvador. 2004. 'Bonaventura Ó hEoghusa's "An Teagasg Críosdaidhe" (1611/1614): A Reassessment of Its Audience and Use'. *Archivium Hibernicum*, 58. 259-267.
- Ryan, Salvador. 2007. "'New wine in old bottles": implementing Trent in early modern Ireland', in Herron, Thomas, Potterton, Michael. eds. *Ireland in the Renaissance, c. 1540-1660*. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 122-137.
- Ryan, Salvador. 2009. 'A wooden key to open heaven's door: lessons in practical Catholicism from St Anthony's College, Louvain', in Bhreatnach, Edel, McMahon, Joseph, McCafferty, John. eds. *The Irish Franciscans, 1540-1990*. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 221-232.
- Ryan, Salvador. 2009. 'Fixing the eschatological scales: judgement of the soul in late medieval and early modern Irish tradition', in *The Church, the afterlife and the fate of the soul: Studies in Church History* 45. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.
- Seymour, St. John D. 1922. 'Irish Versions of the *Vision of St. Paul*'. *Journal of Theological Studies*, 24. 54-59.
- Seymour, St. John D. 1923. 'The Seven Heavens in Irish Literature'. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 14. 18-30.
- Seymour, St. John D. 1923. 'The Eschatology of the Early Irish Church'. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 14. 179-211.
- Seymour, St. John D. 1924-7. 'Notes on Apocrypha in Ireland'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 37 (C), 107-117.
- Seymour, St. John D. 1930. *Irish visions of the other world; a contribution to the study of mediæval visions*. London: Society for promoting Christian knowledge.
- Sommerfelt, Alf. 1929. 'South Armagh Irish.' *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, 2. 107-191.

- Sutherland, Kathryn. 2013. 'Anglo-American editorial theory', in Fraistat, Neil, Flanders, Julia. eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 42-60.
- Tubach, F. C. 1969. *Index exemplorum; a handbook of medieval religious tales*. Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Ua Muireadhaigh, Lorcán. ed. 1925. *Amhráin Shéamais Mhic Chuarta*. Dún Dealgan: Preas Dhún Dealgan.
- Wagner, Heinrich, O'Boyle, Colm. 1982. *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects. Vol. IV, The dialects of Ulster and the Isle of Man. Specimens of Scottish Gaelic dialects. Phonetic texts of East Ulster Irish*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Watson, Seosamh. 1991. 'Filíocht Shéamais Daill Mhic Cuarta – Nótaí Teanga'. *Eighteenth Century Ireland: Iris an dá chultúr*, 6. 77-91.
- Williams, J.E. Caerwyn. 1949. 'Irish Translations of the Visio Sancti Pauli'. *Eígse*, 6. 127-143.
- Williams, J.E. Caerwyn, Ní Mhuiríosa, Máirín. 2001 (1979). *Traidisiún Liteartha na nGael*. Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Tta.
- Williams, Nicholas. ed. 1979. *Dánta Mhuiris mhic Dháibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt*. Baile Átha Cliath: Clóchomhar.
- Williams, Nicholas. 1994. 'Na canúintí a theacht chun solais', in McCone et. al., eds. *Stair na Gaeilge: in ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta*. Maigh Nuad: Roinn na Sean-Ghaeilge, Coláiste Phádraig. 447-478.
- Zumthor, Paul. 2003. 'Merlin: Prophet and Magician', in Goodrich, Peter, Thompson, Raymond H. eds. *Merlin: a casebook*. New York: Routledge. 131-161.
- Zimmerman, J.E. 1971. *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, New York: Bantam.

## APPENDIX 2

List of MSS. in which *FMh* is found

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Scribe</i>	<i>Library/Cat. no.</i>
1679	-	-	TCD 1399
1697	Dublin [?]	William O'Linchy	TCD 1335
c. 1700	-	William Lynch	BL Egerton 106
1713	-	Seón Mac Solaidh	RIA 24 C 55
1714	-	Laurence Mac Daniel	BF M. XI
1717	-	Lucás Ó Dubhthaigh (Lucas Duffy)	RIA 23 D 32
1720	Dublin [?]	Diarmaid Ó Conchubhair	BL Egerton 133
1724- 1740	-	Matha Ó Troidhthe	NLI G 140
1725	-	Patrick Deal	RIA 24 I 23
1735	County Leix	Charles Byrne	UCG G 7
1740	-	Philib Ua Giobúin (Philip Gibbon)	RIA 23 D 8
1742	-	Roland Swiney (Rolonda MacSuibhne)	Franciscan A 41
1744- 1745	-	Sea(a)n Macat(s)ao(i)r (John 'Johannes' Carpenter)	NLI G 82
1745	-	Muiris Mac Gorman	RIA 23 A 45
1748	-	Patrick O'Canin	TCD 1432
1750	-	Peadar Ó Hógáin	MN M 109
1758	-	Seán Ua Murchúgha na Raithíneach	RIA 24 L 11
1758	-	Donnchadh Ruadh Mac Conmara	MN M 85
1759- 1760	-	Bhatear Ó hEaslinnan	Liverpool Mayer Collection, MS. 12065 M
1764	-	Seaghan Ó Finúcan	MN M 111
1764	-	Díarmuid Ó Mulchaoinne	ML 3 222
1766	-	James Carney	BL Egerton 140
1766- 1769	-	Diarmuid Ó Mulchaoinne	RIA L 24
1767	-	Seaghan Ó Conuill	RIA 23 C 5
1767- 1768	-	Diarmuid Ó Mulchaoinne	RIA 23 C 16

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Scribe</i>	<i>Library/Cat. no.</i>
1767- 1769	Waterford	Uilliam Criostamhar (William Christopher)	RIA 23 L 29
1771- 1790	Tullachmhuine Tipperary [?]	Ruisdeard Cais	NLI G 363
1772	-	James Nolty (Seamus Mac a Nolltaidhe)	RIA 12 E 25
1772	Waterford	Riobárd Dúmhnai	NLI G 647
1772- 1773	-	Eamon Ó Cradane (Edmond Coridan)	RIA 23 O 51
1772- 1778	-	Brían Ó Ferraghail	RIA 23 O 35
1777	Kerry	Uilliam Ó Lionáin	Mackinnon (1924) 10A, Edinburgh University Library
1777	-	Seaghan Ó Caomh	NLI G 108
1777	-	Labras O Thárann	TCD 1412
1777- 1781	-	Liam de Roisde	TCD 1413
1778- 1782	-	Roger Reynolds (Righrí Mac Rághnaill)	Irish College, Rome, CG 1
1779	-	-	Sheff. U.L. Gaelic Ms. 2
1779- 1780	-	'Mary White' [?]	MN M 54
1788	-	Henri Mac an tSaoir*	RIA F v 3
1788	-	Pattruig Mac Laoighre	RIA 23 D 23
1789- 1818	-	Édhmonn Ó Shorrochadh/ Séamus Ó Fearroill	RIA 23 Q 18 (f. 253, ff., f. 393, ff.)
1790	-	Diarmuid Ó Bridhen	RIA 3 C 15 (ff. 32-34, ff. 38, ff.)
1790	-	Pattrig Ua Cathalan	Franciscan A 39
1792	-	Tomás Ó Conchubhair	NLI G 233
1793	Limerick	Doncha Ó Gormáin (Denis Gorman)	NLI G 641
1796	-	Fearghal Ó Raghallaigh	BL Egerton 155
1796- 1800	Waterford	Uilliam Criostamhar (William Christopher)	RIA 23 L 29
1796- 1800	Waterford	Pádraig Den	RIA 23 L 12

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Scribe</i>	<i>Library/Cat. no.</i>
1798	Waterford	-	St Patrick's College, Drumcondra, MS. 1
18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> century	-	-	BL Egerton 134
	-	-	RIA 23 M 41
	-	Brian Callan, (Brain Mac Art Uí Chathaláin)	Franciscan Library, Multyfarnham
1801- 1809	Cork	Seaghan Ó Réagáin (John Reagan)	NLI G 432
1810	-	Michael Bennett	St Patrick's College, Armagh, Don 3 1
1811	Limerick	Séamus Ó Glasáin	RIA 23 M 21
1812	-	James Neville	NLI G 185
1812	Cork	Tomás Ua Suilliobháinn	UCC 59
1813- 1817	-	Domhnall Ó Suilleabháin Seán Ó Dreada	UCC Gaelic Ms. 123
1813- 1822	Cork	Denis Murray (Donochadh Ó Muirihig)	St Colman's College, Fermoy, CF 29
1816	Cork	Seághan Ó Mulláin	NLI G 468
1817	-	Seághan Ó Muláin	MN M 42
1817	Louth	Matthew Kennedy	Oxford. Bod. Ir. e. 4
1817	-	Eoghan Caomhanach	RIA 23 A 44
1817- 1822	-	Tomás Pláoiman (Thomas Fleming)	RIA 23 L 9
1818	-	Michtheal Ó Ciosáin	RIA 24 L 23
1818- 1819	-	Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin	RIA 23 M 7
1819	Cluain Meala	Tomás Ó hIcdeadha	MN M 108
1819	Meath/Cavan	Sylvester Gibney	Franciscan A 40
1819- 1821	Cork	Domhnall Mhacarha (Daniel McCarthy)	NLI G 366
1820	-	Séamus Seán Nicláis	RIA 23 I 32
1820- 1823	-	Padraig Mhac Gashan	RIA 24 L 31
1821	-	Eóin Cruig (Jn*. Craige)	RIA 23 B 8
1821	-	Eamon Ó Shorrochodh (Edmund Hoare)	Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Ir. 23
1822- 1823	Ballyfiecárda	Seadhan Paor	RIA 23 M 8

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Scribe</i>	<i>Library/Cat. no.</i>
1823- 1824	-	Séamus mac Donnchadha Úa Caoindealbháin (James Quinlivan)	RIA 24 B 31 (f. 87, ff., f. 257, ff.)
1823- 1828	Leitrim	Séamus Ó Fighuillidh (Ó Feellidh)	NLI G 436
1824- 1825	-	Seán Ó Cléirigh	RIA 23 O 1
1824- 1826	-	Peadar Ua Gealacan	RIA 24 P 20
1825- 1826	Ballyshannon Co. Donegal	Eadhmonn O Chuinn (Edward Quinn)	NLI G 355
1825- 1828 (?)	-	Mícheál Ó Raghallaigh	MN R 66
1826- 1827	Lickoran, Waterford	John O'Daly	RIA 23 L 6
1827	Cork	Tádhg Ó Conaill	MN M 73
1830	-	Míachael Ua Hounreacháine (Michael Hanrahan)	RIA 23 K 17
1831	-	Corridan [?]	RIA 23 O 51
1832	Cill Rois, Co. Clare	Míachaél (Óg) Úa hÁnnracháin (Michael Hanrahan)	UCC Ms 19
1839- 1841	-	Miceal Brunn	NLI G 365
c. 1843	-	The sons of Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin	RIA 24 B 32
1845	-	Denny O'Sullivan	Camb Add. 6566
1846- 1852	Cork	Micheal Ua Heallaighthe (Michael Healy)	NLI G 422
1847	-	Dáibhidh do Barra	St Colman's College, Fermoy, PB 1
1893- 1895	-	Tadhg Ua Donnchudha	UCC MS. T1
19 <sup>th</sup>	-	-	NLI G 342
century	-	-	BL Egerton 113
Unknown	-	-	RIA 23 B 25

## Appendix 3

Diplomatic transcription of *FMh* from in MS. TCD 1399

with conclusion supplied by MSS. TCD 1335 and BL Egerton 106

[f.112a] Anainm De

Do bhaoi *ann* feacht naill ariogheacht na bohemia duine airighe darbh ainm Meirlíno Maligno agus is amhlaidh do bháoi an tóglach sin, ba duine milltionach maallaidh é oir ní roibh cádhais aige do chill no do thuaith do chara no do namaid acht agslad agus aig brad agus aig marbhadh daoíne air a leapthaibh agus aig dénamh gach uile uilc. Agus do bhí áitreabh agus fárus aige andiamhraibh coillteach agus currach aít nach bíodh tathaigh no imtheacht aig lucht stiúrtha dlighidh dé no an tshaogail air. Tárta dhó uaír airighe agus é aig siubhal diarraidh díbheirge re na dhenamh go háit e ina roibhe pubal mór daoíne cruinn aig eisdeacht re seanmoir do bhi diaghaire agus duine ró naomhtha do dhénam dhóibh. Agus iar tteacht amearg cháich dhó níor leig an ghnúis náire dhó an tsheanmóir do (scaa) sheachna agus fós deagla aithne do bhreith fair no go mbeartuidh a lathair an dlighe é agus air na hadhbharaibh soin agus ni air ghradh bhreithire de do leig air aghluinibh fear mar chách é agus do eisd an tsheanmoir othús go deireadh agus do bhí aig eisteacht ris an tsheanmontaidh binn glorach aig foillsiughadh [f.112b] foillsiugh agus aig faisnéis aoibhnis agus ulgairdis na gloíre suthaine agus na corróine glormaire do bhí ullamh aig dia accoinne na druinge do nigheadh athoil agus toil na heaglaise agus leas a ccomharsan. Agus mar an ccéadna na piánta siorruidhthe do bhí ullamh accoinne lucht na mallacht agus na míghniomh agus accoinne lucht anúabhair agus na hantola. Act cheana tug Merlíno da aire go mor an méad do labhair an seanmuidh anaghaidh lucht na gaduidheacht agus lucht bhriste an dlighidh agus shantuidhe choda accomharsan agus olcus na háiteadh do bhi da hullmughadh fananúrchoimhair. Ciodhtraocht air ccriciochnughadh na seanmora don diagaire agus air sgrudadh bhreithaire de go grianda griánghlan, agus air



nochtadh na bpián agus na ttoirmeinte do bhi fa chomair lucht na mallochth dhó, do sgáioileadar cách go coitcheann agus do chuaidh gach aón diobh da bhaile féin. Dala Merlino annso iar neirghe on tsheanmoír dhó, do smuaín ann féin nar bfheidir gur bhírinneach gacha andubhairt an seamóruidh no nar bheadh. Act cheana iseadh do thracht ina mheanmain nar bfheidir gur bhírinneach é air én chor agus nach roibhe ina méad adeireadh an eaglus [f.113a] eaglus dathaoibh sin, acht cluaín, agus mealladh agus millseacht do chum uathmhain do chur air na criostaidhuibh agus beadhtha na heagluise do bhuáin díobh. Gan fheachain do sin ni roibhe la nó aoidhche osin amach nach roibhe briathartha an tsheanmoruidh tiecht ina cheann agus ina chuimhne agus buaidhreadh a inntinne go mor, agus iseadh do smúanaigh, da madh é toil dé go madh fearr leis no maithios na talman én amharc amhaín dfaicsin air ifrionn, ionnus go mbíadh dearbtha nar bhíór no nar bheadh, gach andubairt an diadhgaire lá na seanmorá agus do bhi an smuáineadh sin teacht do shiór gnath ina cheann agus aig comhbúaidhreadh ainntinne go mór. La dharighe na dhiáidh sin do rinne Meirlino ionadh coinne re compánach do bháoi aige darbhainm uríno, do bhiodh aig cuidiugh leis guid agus greis do dhenamh, agus is é aít ina ndearnadar ionadh coinne aig eadarsgaradh dhá bhealach agus isé Merlino istaosga táinic ann, agus ni fada do bhaoi ann an tan do connuirc uríno da ionnsoigh agus iar tteacht do lathair dho do shuidh abfhochair Mherlino agus do bhadar ag trachtadh air an turas do bhi rumpa agus aig denamh comhairle ca conuir angeabhdís agus as air do chinneadh [f.113b] cinneadh leo dul go cathair ata san mbohemía darb ainm Pragansa, mar a roibhe aonach mor aig cruinniugh agus go bfhuighdís édail agus adhairple na dhenámh ann. Air mbeith air an ccomhradh sin daibh iseadh do conncadar da ndionnsoigh isin ród aniomad do mharcshluágh mhear mheanmnach mhór aigiontach agus do choistibh agus do charbadaibh, agus deachaibh aille egsamhla agus éaduigh lióghdha lánmaiseacha lán don ór agus don airgead agus do phérlaidhibh ortha. agus egsamlacht gacha céoil da chantain rompu agus na ndiáidh agus air gach

taoibh dhíobh. A chompanaigh ghradhuidh air Merlínó anbfhidir tú cúí hiád an marcshlúagh so chuguinn air sé. Ro fhidir sin air Uríno .i. iarla mor ata isin ccríse darb ainm Plutando agus do rinne coirm mhor accoinne an righ agus thighearnadh na ríogheachtso agus aig sud cúid dhíobh aig dul air cuireadh go baile an iarla air sé. Maiseadh air Merlínó cá fios nar bfhearr dhuinne aít ina rachmís diarraidh édala na, na measg súd, oir do cím go bfuil saidhbhrios agus ionnmhus mor na ttimcioll, agus an eolach thusa go baile an iarla air sé. Is éolach go deimin air Uríno agus dénmid na measg [f.114a] measg agus biám aig éisteacht ris an cceol agus ris an mor aoibhnios ud acu no go ndeacham go baile iarla. Do criochnuideadh an chomhairle sin leo agus do gluaiseadar ameasg na núasal agus do bhadar lán díobhnios na measg no go rangadar baile an iarla. Ciodhtracht do bhadar morán do dhaoinibh bochta uiríseal táinic isin ród sin dar bfheidir dar bfheidir an bealach do sheachna, oir níór fhuiling na cóisteadh agus aneachraidh mhearualacha agus na daoine uáisle ardaigíontacha dhoibh siubhal na measg oir fa masla mor leó ortha féin daoine comhuiríseal drocheadaigh leo sin do shiubhal anéntshtlighe leo da bhrighsin dob fheidir dona daoinibh uirisealso, bealach oile do bhi lán do chlochuibh cirgheara agus do dhreasaibh congantacha creimneacha agus do nuile dhochar do ghabail, ar mhodh go roibhe accosa agus a ccroithcheann air na ngearradh agus air na ccreachtnughadh agus go roibheadar lán do chur agus do thart agus do ghorta agus do gach mor imshníomh haithle na conuire athtuirisigh sin dob fheidir dhóibh do ghabail. Dála Merlínó agus a chompanaigh iar mbeith dhóibh accuideachta na nuasal isin tshlighe réidh [f.114b] réidh rofhairsing sin tangadar go baile an iarlo agus fa háluinn uraoibhinn attimcioll an bhaile sin don leith amuigh or fa hiomdaidh magh mín alainn mínsgothachann lán do luibhaibh agus do bhlaithaibh agus do thórthaibh taitneamhacha agus do ghreadhaibh agus do ghroidhuibh agus do gach uile ní fa taitnimheach re súil dháonda dfhaicsin. Agus fós fuáradar (coisg) coisteadh agus carbait eachraidh agus ionnmhus na ttighearnadh agus na nuasalso adubhramar air feadh na

*machuireadh sin gan áird gan araidh gan én neach air an amharc no da ccumhdach agus na huaisle fein uile idir fhear agus mnaoi agus ghiolla agus leacaidh iar ndol asteach isin bphalás sin Phlútando. Do labhair Merlino agus iseadh adubairt darliom féin achomhpanaigh air sé, ní bhfuighmís am badh fearr ina so air ni do breith linn oír do chím eachraidh agus ionnmus na nuasal (gan) annso gan én neach da ccumhdach no do ccoimhéad. Ní hamhlaidh ata air Uríno acht tíaghmuid asteach ameach cháich acht go bhfaghmuid air ccuid don choirn agus go ndeachaid na huaisle fa dhigh agus fa chomhól agus is ann sin ba husa dhuinn (ar) foill agus am dfhagháil agus ar ttoil féin [f.115a] ar ttoil féin do dhénamh. Do críochnuidheadh an chomhairle sin léo agus tiaghuid asteach isin ccúirt. Agus an aít inar shaoil Merlinó, ól agus aoibhneas, céol agus cuideachta, aíneas agus ulghairdeas dfhagháil, iseadh do fuair an ní fa hiongnadh agus fa huathbhás leis ann .i. tinte agus teannala uird agus urlaigheacht gártha agus gearghul, greadadh agus cúradh losgadh agus dódhadh, mallacht agus easccaoín, sgiuradh agus pianadh agus searbghártha siánsanacha na nanmann ndamanta agus urghraín agus uáthmhan na ndiabhal agus na ndeamhan ndathghránda aig freastal agus aig friotholumh na bphián nádhbhal ndofhuling dona hanmannaibh damhanta sin go comhchoitcheanna. Air na fhaicsin sin do Mherlino, iseadh adubhairt. achompanaigh ghraduidh air sé, cread is ciall don aít so ina ttangamar agus ma do bhí eolus agadsa urtha, is cosmhuil gur fhealluis oramsa tre mo tharring ann agus dair liom nach biádh air mo chumus dol thair mais amach aisde go brath. Do bhí eólus agam annso air an companach, agus ní me do chumpanach amhail mar shaoil túsa, acht spiorad do muintir dé uile chumachta do chuir sé ationnsuighsi do thaisbeanadh an neithe do bhi ann do mheanmain [f.115b] meanmain accomhnaidh dhuit .i. amharc dfhaicsin air ifrionn agus air na piántaibh atá fa chomhair lucht na mallacht agus aig so ifrionn air se. Truágh sin air Merlino, aigsin an ní nar chreid misi ariamh gus anois agus do sháoil mé nach roibh acht cealgaireacht aig na diadhairaoibh agus aige na seanmontaoibh do bhi datheagusg sin dhuinn*

*agus do chí*m anois go ccaithfe me fuireach ameach na druinge damanta so go siórthuighe, uair ni mo do thuill aón duine ann so pianta dfhaghail no misi, do bhrigh nach dearna mé én ní do reír thoile dé ariamh acht gach én ní anaghaidh a thoile. Ní fhuireachair don chursa air an Spiorad eóluigh, oir do bhéra misi do chum an tshaoghail thú arís acht go ttaisbénuid cuid do phiántaibh iffrinn agus na druinge damanta dhuit. Iar sin do connuirc Merlino slugh líónmhar do dhaoineibh mora personda da ionnsoigh agus eadhúigh dubha daoldhathacha dathghránda forra agus go madh glonnmaire an teádach soin, no eádach mná tair eís atuismidh. agus dragún teintighe mar each fáoi gach duine dhíobh agus coroín teintighe air ceadn gach aoín díobh agus lasair ghaibheach ghraíneamail as [f.116a] ghraíneamail as ambéal agus ambraghuid amach agus díabhal duth dathghranna na shuidhe air gualainn gach aoindíobh agus sgiúrsa teintighe ina láimh agus iád sgiúradh agus súisteadh na druinge damhanta sin tríd thinntibh agus lasrachuibh greadacha géir nimhe, agus seal da ruagadh gus an loch nimhe do bhí air béalaibh na tineadh agus on loch gus an teinidh arís agus go hádhbhuidh na bpían marbhthach mbásamhail agus na dronga damhanta sín, agárthaibh agus agear ghul agus aig siór sgairtidh air an mbás agus an bás aig teitheadh rompa. An bhidir tú air an Spiorad eóluigh cúí hiád an drong úd do chí tú da bpíanadh mar súd. Ni fhidir air Meirlino, acht rofhidir gur mor na piánta ata ortha. Ata pianta is mó ina bfaicionn tusa ortha air an Spiorad eoluigh, agus aig súd air sé, na righthe agus na prionnsadh agus na hiárladh do connuirc tú o chíanuibh is na cóistibh agus ann sna carbataibh agus lán do mhoirn agus duáill an tshaoigail. agus na magha aille do connuirc tú a ttimcioll na cuírtesi amuigh aig sin an saoghal cealgach mealltach meabhlach do mheall an muintir úd air sé agus na neithe rér mealladh iád mar ata ór agus airgead agus ionnmhus agus na heich aillne do chí tú gur fhágbhudar air an tshaogal féin iád, aig daoínibh oile agus gan en ní [f.116b] ní dha ttabha aca féin anois acht piánta siorruidhthe air an ádhbhar go bhfuáradar féin bás abpeacadh an dimúis agus aneíric na neádach lioghdha lán mhaiseach do bhíodh ortha, as a

ndearnadar uaille agus an úabhar ata na heúduigh dubha diabhlaidhe úd ortha bhiás dá ccúradh agus da ngreadadh agus da ngnáth phianadh an feadh bhias dia aig caitheamh na gloíre. Agus an éiric anard aignidh agus ananleathtruim agus an mhasla agus an mhímheasa do bhiódh aca air dhaoibh uirisle agus air an muintir do dhoirteadh iád féin do dhiá ataíd na díabhail úd do chí tú air anguailibh comhtrom re sliabh air amuin, da mbrughadh agus da mor mhaslughadh, agus re haghaidh a bheith friotholamh na bpían ndófhulaing ortha tre shaoghal na saoghal agus aig sin crióch lucht an dímus agus ananuabhair air sé. Do chí (M sluagh) Meirlíno as a haithle sin sluagh adhbhal mhor do mhnaibh dubha diabhlaidh dathghranna chuige as adhbhuidh nabphián agus peisd dhubh dhiabhlaidh air a roibhe mong chiórdhubh agus go madh rinnidh gach aón ruainne don mhoing sin, no rinn snathite cáoile, casta fo bhraghuid, agus mhuinéil gach aoin diobh agus dhá dhiabhal chrainteacha chreimneach chiórdhubha ag sugh, agus aig diúl cíoch agus ochta gach én mhná dhíobh [f.117a] mhná dhíobh agus asúile air luath lasadh ina cceann agus uibhir dhoáirmhe do dheamhnaibh damnta na ttimcioll agus sgiúrsa teintighe a láimh gach deaman diobh agus iád aig sgiuradh agus súisteadh agus aige greadadh agus aig gothreadh na mbán sin air teallach teintighe na bphián An bhfidir tú air an Spiorad eoluigh cread um bfuil an drong úd da bpianadh mar súd. Ní fhidir air Meirlíno acht níor chreid mé ariamh gur chruithidh día anifrionn uile, uirid pián agus do chí air aón anam amhaín aca súd air sé. Aig súd air an Spiorad eoluigh an drong fuair bás abpeacadh na drúise agus ta an athair nimhe úd do chí tú casta fa braghuid gach aoin diobh aneiric na sgabal agus na slabradh agus na nórnasg do chuidís fo na mbraghuid agus fo na muinéil, do mhealladh fher na mban pósta agus na bhear cuil agus an lasair úd do chí as asúilibh, atá anéiric na namharc claón agus mailíseach do bheidís air na fearaibh neamhpósda. Agus na diabail chreimneacha úd do chí tú ag súgh agus ag déol a ccíoch ataíd anéiric na glacaireachta truailidhi do fhuilngidís do dhéanamh air accorp agus air a ccroiceann agus na diabail úd do chí tú da

sgíuradh [f.117b] sgíuradh agus aig friotholamh na bpián daibh ataíd anéiric na druinge le na ndearnador na peacaidh ghraineamhla agus bíad da bphianadh amhlaidh súd in feadh bhías dia ina shióruidheacht. Agus aig so na briathara do bhíodh ambéal gach aoín diobh.

Aneiric pheacadh na drúise. ina bhfaghmís dúil is taitneamh.

Ta díabhail dhubha mar dhaolaibh. aig creim ar ttaoibh sar (creaita) ccreata. Haithle na druinge sin do chí Meirlíno drong oile do anmannaibh damhanta da ionnsoigh as ádhbhuidh na bián, agus craos gach aoín aca osluigthe agus lasair ghráineamail as béal, agus as sroín agus as súilibh gach aoín díobh, agus aniomad do phiasdaibh dubha dathghranna tiecht amach agus asteach tríd an lasair sin ina mbeál. agus leabhar aláimh gach aoín aca, agus línte dubha sgriobhtha ionta. agus aig so na briathara do léighdís as na leabhraibh sin. Is iadso na piánta adhbhal. do bheir na gárta cinnte.

Is oruinn ata méad gach deacair. Toradh pheacadh na sainte.

An bhidir tu an drong úd air an Spiorad eoluigh. Ní idir air Meirlíno, acht is ortha ta na pianta dofhuiling aig súd air an Spiorad an drong fúair bás abpeacadh na sainte mar ata an lucht dlighe, do thagradh cás na heccóra mar gheall air ór agus air ionnmhus agus gach [f.118a] gach duine, no gach drong amhianach oile do shantadh cuid a ccomharsan agus do nigheadh leathtrom na nanbhann agus na ndíleachtadh agus na ndéoradh mar gheall air shaidhbhrios breagach diombuan an tshaogail do thairring orrtha féin air sé. Do chí Meirlíno sluágh adhbhal mor oile chuige as adhbhuidh na bpián agus dhá athair nimhneach nimhe casta fa bhun sróna gach aoin diobh agus gath teintighe tineadh aige gach athair aca saithe ina gach (suilibh) súil da súilibh agus aig so na briathara do chandís.

Aig so na súile mallaidh. ina bhfuil lasair nimhe.

Aig so súil na tnútha. do bheir dar ccúradh sinne.

Aig súd air an Spiorad éoluigh an drong fuair bás a bpeacadh antnútha, agus anéiric anamhairc mhallaidh iomthnuithtigh do bheirdís air chuid accomharsan,

ataíd na diabháil úd saighte ina súilibh da ngearphianadh an feadh bhías día ag caitheamh na gloíre, maille re gach cinél peíne oile da bfuil orrtha. As a haithle sin féchus Meirlíno seachad agus do chí loch mor ina roibh uisge air dhath an domblais áe agus is é dob ainm dhó loch na nimhe oir an méad do chruthaigh diá air druim domhain do mhuirfeadh aon bhraón a – [f.118b] bhraón amhaín duisge in locha sin iád tre ro mhéad a fhuachta, agus morán do dhaóiniph na suidhe ann go nuige asmeach agus anioliomad do bhiádhaibh taitneamhach snámh air anuisge ina bfhiaghnuise agus gan air cumas daibhsion an biadh soin dfheachain no bhlasadh or do bhádar accosa agus alámha creapuillte aghlasuibh na bpián agus iád aig tairgsin amus do thabhuirt air an mbiadh sin rena mbéal agus gan tarbha dhoibh ann agus ag so na bríatara chandís.

A neíríc an bhídh nar locuis. is olcus do nighinn trosgadh.

Ta górta mor is ióta. is biám cháoidhche dar losgadh.

Aig súd air an Spiorad eoluigh an drong fuair bás a bpeacadh an chraois, agus aneíríc na mbíadh mblasta milis agus bhriseadh an troisge, agus na hantola tugadar don cholainn cholach anmhiánuidh air an tshaogal, atáid na bíadha úd do chí tú na bfhiaghnuise agus gan air cumas daibh amblasadh go bráth. Agus iseadh is deoch dhóibh aneíríc na poíte agus na meisge agus na hantola, domblas áe, agus mormonta agus an eiric na leaptha sásta agus alaghad do bheirdís do chrádh troisge no urnaigh da ccorpuibh bíaidh an tuisge úd do chí tú da ccuradh [f.119a] ccúradh agus da ngreadadh re nimh ghearloisge agus an róidh an feadh bhías día ina shiorruidheacht, gan fhaoiseamh gan fhurtacht gan fhoírighín. Feáchus Meirlino seachad agus do chí dronga diairmhe do anmannaibh damanta air teallach teintighe na bphián agus teinte greadach géarnimhneacha air buanlasadh na timcioll agus sluagh ádhbhalmhór do diabhlaibh uathmara aigmhéile aig fadógh agus aig fritholamh na tteinteadh sin friú agus da ccongabháil air urlár nabpián, agus iád feín aig tuargain, agus ag tarruing agus ag treaghdadh acheile isin tinidh sin. Agus aig so na briatara do chandís.

An éiric na feirge fúathmhair. an phéist leír truailleadh sinne.

Ní fhaicfiom día go cinte. dar bpíanadh atteintibh nimhe.

Aig súd air an Spiorad éoluigh an drong fuair bás abpeacadh na feirge, agus anéiric dhásaicht na feirge agus neamhceannsoigheacht na hinntinne agus na heasumhloch ag na heasurrama bíaidh an drong úd da ccúradh agus da ngearnreadadh air urlár na bpián agus na diabhail úd ag fritholamh na bpián ortha gan chríoch gan fhoircheann tre shaoghal na saogal. Fechus Meirlíno seachad agus do chí drong oile aseomraibh dubha dáor(cha)dhorcha na luidhe inn aleapthaibh cáola cruachumhann agus geibhionn, agus glasa [119b] glasa agus cruadhchuibhreach ortha agus na leapa sin air dearglasadh na ttimchioll agus futha agus go madh bréine na seomradh sin, no cuirp mhairbha tair éis morgaidh re teas greiné lán do aithreachaibh nimhe agus do phástaibh graineamhla ag creim agus aig crinn na druinge damanta sin do bhi is na glasuibh teintighe agus aig so na briatara do chandís.

An éiric an leisce leóna. So aifrionn domhnaigh casadh.

Támid anglauibh cinnte. Is tinnte fúinn air lasadh.

Aig so air an Spiorad eoluigh an drong fuair bás abpeacadh na leisce, agus do fhanadh oafrionn agus osheanmoradh agus o sheirbhís dé agus do ghabadh leisg re maithghniomh air bioth do dhenamh. Agus mar éiric ann sin biád is na glasuibh agus is na geibhionnuibh agus is na cuibhrighibh úd da losgadh agus da ngreadadh in feadh bhiás diá aig caitheamh na gloíre siorruidhthe, gan dúil re fuasgladh no re furtacht dfhágháil asdabh go bráth. Adubairt fear da roibh da bpianadh air urlár na bpián och adhía na mbreath bhírinneach air se, nach bfhuilim phfeín ceathromh na huairé um cholainn daonnuidhe air an tshaoghal arís. Do fhreaguir spiorad damanta oile agus iseadh adubairt [f.120a] adubairt. aspioraid dhiabhlaidh dhamanta air sé, cread an sochar do bheith ceathrom na huairé air an tshaogal agus do theilgion ann so arís do mheall teintighe tineadh go hádhbhuidh na bpián gan taise gan trocáire. Ni hamhlaidh ata air an spiorad damanta da mbeín um cholainn daonna arís do brigh go bfuil sgan agam ona



piántaibh siorruidhthesi do dhóirtfinn mé féin comh mór agus sin do dhía, nach  
 beith contabairt agam no go bhfuighinn trocaire, do bhrigh nach bfuil día  
 aigiarraidh air an bpeacach acht aithreachus firinneach as doimhneach  
 achraoidhe, da mhéad peacadh do dhénadh sé. Maiseadh air an dara fear ní  
 mair sin tarla dhuit acht mar nach dearnuis an taithreachus an feadh do bhí an  
 tam agad biaír dotlosgadh ann so tre shaogal na saogal gan fhurtacht gan  
 fhóirighín. Do labhair Meirlíno ris an spiorad éoluigh agus iseadh adubhairt.  
 ma atá dúil aig an Spiorad damanta air sé, da mbiádh sé agcolainn daonna arís  
 go ndioghnaidh sé aithreachus agus go bfuigheadh trócaire, ciodh dhamhsa  
 nach denuinn aithreachus ata um cholainn daonna fós agus nach ttugadh  
 breatheamhnus damanta orm (fós) da mbeinn air an tshogal arís. Ni bfuil  
 contabairt ann sin air an Spiorad eoluigh, oir ní iarronn día acht aithreachus  
 firinneach maille [f.120b] maille re rún seasmhach gan tuiteam ann sa bpeacadh  
 go brath arís. An mór leat na piánta so do chí air an druing dhamantasó air an  
 Spiorad eoluigh. do chím air Meirlíno nach féidir le teangaidh athuireamh, no  
 le peann asgriobadh no le craoidhe daonna a smúanadh an céadabh cuid da  
 bfuil do phiantaibh air antí is lugha pianta. Maiseadh air an Spiorad eoluigh, tá  
 pián is mó nabfaicionn tú air gach aón díobh. Cionnus is feidir sin air  
 Meirlínó, no an féidir go ttáinic le día piánta is mó, no mar do chím do chur  
 orrtha do táinic go deimin air an Spiorad .i. racht anéada agus na feirge da  
 ttachtadh agus da ccomhbrughadh go síortuighe suthain air sé. Creád an fáth  
 eúda do bfheidir leó do beith acu an(a)ifrionn air Meirlíno antan nach  
 bhaghann aon neach sochar no fuárriugh ann go brath. Ata air an Spiorad an  
 tan do bheirtheair breatheamhnus damanta air an duine, beirtheair air amharc  
 flaithis de é agus taisbéntar an ghloír agus an táoibhnios síórrtuighe do chaill sé  
 re hén pheacadh amhaín marbhtha dhó agus [f.121a] Agus taisbéntar a chlann  
 agus a cháirde agus athair agus a mhathair dhó lán do ghloír agus dáoibhnios  
 síórrtuighe agus mar an ccéadna sluágh dubh diabhlaidh air an laímh eile reidh  
 do chum a fhuadách leo do caitheamh na bphián síórrtuighe. Agus dá brigh sin

gabhuid racht agus eúd chuca reis an druing sin do chíd lán do ghloír agus daoibhnios ionnus gur mó phiánas an racht sin iád aig siór smuanúgh air an ghloír do chailleadar tre én pheacadh amhaín, no abfuil do phíantaibh oile orrtha gidh ádhbhal iád. Agus do bhéir easumplaír dhuit air sin air an Spiorad. da mbeith rí cumhachtach ann air sé agus go mbeith duine uásal aige lán do mhuirn agus donóir agus go mbeith air laímh agus air leabaidh aig an rí tair gach aón oile agus go ttaigeomhadh don duine uásal sin cair ghráineamhail do dhenamh anaghaidh an rí agus go tteabhradh an rí fo déara atheilgion abprísún dhaingean dhorcha agus glastrach agus geibhionn do chur air agus go nglacfadh duine eile ina aít agus go bfaicfeadh an príosúnach an duine sin oile isin muirn agus isin onoír do bhi aige feín agus do fhéadfadh sé do bheith aige muna beith adhroch iomchair feín [f.121b] dhroch iomhair feín. Do líonfaidh do racht agus dfheirg ris fein ann sin, ionnus go madh (mor) mó an dochar do bhíadh na chraoidhe ó neimh na feirge, no, ón gheibhionn agus on ghlasrach do bhíadh air, agus is mar sin taíd na dronga damanta air bfaicsin na gloire do chaill siád agus gan dúil aca re síchaín an rígh neamhdha dfhagáil go brath. Agus gidh hádhbhal na piánta so air an Spiorad ata pianta oile nach bfaicionn tú air muintir ifrinn, is mó no gach piánta air sé. Cread na pianta sin air Meirlíno. Ata air an Spiorad reimhfhéchuin na siorruigheacht. Oir is amhlaidh ata in tshiorruigheacht air sé, mar bheith rotha cóiste no cartacha (air sé). Oir amail mar ta an rotha gan chrích gan fhoircheann acht an chuid do chuaidh thort dhe tiecht ort go nuáidh arís, is amhlaidh sin ata an tshiorruigheacht air se. Oir in tan do theíd deich míle milliún bliadhan hort air sé, ní bfuilid acht (acht) attús a bphían ann sin, agus anuaír rachus deich mile milliún oile hort, ni bfuilid acht attús abpeine do bhrigh go mbionn anaimsir do chuaidh thort ag teacht ortha amail fainne no rotha, agus mar sin [f.122a] mar sin go bfuilid piánta ifrinn agus gloír flaitheamhnus gan chrích gan fhoircheann. Oir da ttigeadh én beag acceann gach bliadhana no cheile agus lán aghuib do bhreith as an fhairge da mbeith dúil aig muintir ifrinn go bhfuigdis furtacht anuaí do thiomochadh an

*fhairge ris sin, ní bhíadh cás no ceisd leó ann sna piantaibh ata ortha acht is amhlaidh mar ata, ní táinic agus nithiucfaidh anuair ina bhfuighid furtacht no fúasgladh. Do bhrígh anuair do chruthaigh dia ifrionn deagla go ngeabadh taisi no truáighe é air mhoill no air lúas trocaire do dhenamh air an druing dhamanta, do ordaigh ann sin tre cheannradharc na díadhachta gán gul nó garta no pianta no dochar da bfuil anifrionn do chluistin no deísdeacht no dfaicsin a bhflaithios dé go bráth oir dabfhaiceadh dia méad andochair ni bhíodh cumas aige o mhéad agus o líonmaireacht athrocaire gan taise do ghabhail leo uair eígin agus trocaire do dhenamh ortha. Acht iseadh do rinne accur as a chuimne go siórtuighe suthain. Agus mar ataíd muintir ifrinn dearbhtha dhe sin, is mo phiánas réimhfhéchain na siorruidheacht iád no mead a ndochair don táoibh oile. Truaighe an sgéal innsios tú no gach sgéal air Meirlino [f.122b] Meirlino, agus an bfuil sochar pianta aig duine an ifrinn seacha duine oile air sé. An tí is lugha piánta anifrionn air an spiorad. Ata dóchain air chruthaigh dia ariamh air da roinntigh ortha é. Gidheadh is mo pián an chríostaidh ann go mór, no pián an pháganaigh no ananchríostaidh do bhrígh go roibh fios adlighidh agus na naidheantadh aig an ccríostaidh agus gur bhris iád agus nach roibh abfhios aig an bpagánach agus da mbeith go ccoimhliónfadh iád níos fearr no mar do rinne an críostaidh agus da bhrígh sin is mó piánta an chríostaidh no an pháganaigh. Innis damh air Meirlino an bfuil cumhachta no impidh ag diabhal air dhiabal oile anifrionn. Tá go deimin air an Spiorad. Oir ataíd dhá rí anifrionn ag abfuil impidhe agus cumachta air na díabhlaibh oile go coitcheann .i. Lúsifeir agus Belsebúb, agus ataíd deich righeachtadh anifrionn agus aig so an anmannadh alaidin agus aghaoidheilg.*

Terra tenebrosa .i. tír adorchaiduis

Terra oblivionis .i. tír andearmuid.

Stagnum ignis .i. currach na tineadh.

Lacus mortis .i. loch abhaís [f.123a]

Infernus .i. ifrionn iochtarach.

Tartarus .i. tír an uathmhain.

Orcus .i. an lag nach líontar.

Gehenna .i. an tine nimhe.

Baratheum .i. tír an amgair.

Casma .i. adhbha na bpián.

Agus is amhlaidh ataíd na riogheachtadh so, dambeithea da siubhal go bráth ní bhfuighthea crioche no foircheann aón riogheachta diobh agus ní bfuil pián no dochar anénríogacht aca nach bfuil air gach en nduine aniofrionn. Agus atá cuíg riogheachtadh dhíobhso fa cumhachtuibh Lúsifeir agus na cuíg righeachtadh oile fa Bhelsébúb air sé, agus cuirid diabal os coinne gach én ghné pheacaidh do mhealladh an Chríostaidh air an tshaogal agus do chur caithigh air, agus muna tí don diabal sin an duine do mhealladh agus do tharring go hifrionn, na piánta do bhaói a ccoinne an duine dúblaightheair air an diabal sin iád maille re na roibhe air hana. Anois air an Spiorad Eoluigh do connuirc tú an ní do badh maith leat .i. amarc air phiántaibh agus air thoirmintibh ifrinn agus anois air sé lean misi go mbeirinn as an aítisi thú amail mar do gheall mé agus na bean re hén ní dabfaice tú no go ndeachair as so. Do ghluáis an Spiorad agus Meirlíno na dhiád agus do chí Meirlíno air aláimh dheís [f.123b] dheis, mur no balla adhbhal aibhseach agus gártha agus gola agus piánta agus dochair mor ann, amail mar do connuirc in gach aít oile air feadh ifrinn roimhe sin. Agus cuid da roibh da bpíanadh ann aga radh.

Athighearna agus adhiá na trocaire ca fad bhiám ann (so) sna piantaibh so agus cuid eile dhíobh da rádh achairde grádach ata air an tshaogal is truagh an mhainneachtaidh do ní sibh fa ghuibhe agus fa urnaighe agus fa dheirc do dhenamh re ar nanuimne ionnus go bhfuighmís furtacht ona piantaibh ina bfuilid. Do labhair Meirlíno ann sin agus iseadh adubairt. Nach dubairt tú

liom *air se, nach* bfuil dúil ag muintir ifrinn re *furtacht* no re foirighín go bruinne mbrath agus mbeatha, agus créad uma bfuilid an drong dhamhantaso ag gárthaibh *air dhiá* no *air a ccairdibh amhlaidh súd*. Ní do muintir ifrinn iád *air* an Spiorad. Acht aíg súd purgadóir *air sé* agus an drong do gheibh bás *air shlighe slánuigh* tiaghuid go purgadóir do thabairt díoluigheachta agus sásuigh do dhiá in *gach ní nach dearnadar lórghníomh ann air* an tshaogal. Agus taíd piánta purgadóra comh cosmail re piántaibh ifrinn acht amain go **[f.124a]** amhaín go bfuilid an muintir bhiós abpurgadóir dearbtha go bfuighid trocaire agus fuasgladh as abpiantaibh úair eigin, agus fós go ttugann guibhe agus urnaighe agus trosgadh agus maithghníomha accairdeach agus na bhfírén *air* an tshaogal aithghiorrugh piánta dhaibh agus as uime sin ataíd ag gárthaibh *air* a ccairdibh *air sé*. Adubairt fear don muintir sin do bháoi abpurgadoir. Do sháoil me féin *air sé* nach dearna diá breag ariamh gus anois, oir do ghealladh dhamh anuair táinic me go purgadóir nach biann ann acht cuig lá agus is amhlaidh mar atá, ataím re cuig mhíle bliadhan ann. Créad uma ndearna diá bréag ris an bfear úd *air Meirlíno*. Ni dhearna diá bréag ariamh *air* an Spiorad. Acht ata do mhéad dochair agus dofhulaing curadh agus greadadh na bpian atá *air* go saoilonn go bfuil re cuig mhíle bliadhan ann agus ní bfuil se ré cuig lá ann fós oir anúair thiucfus na cúig lá asteach rachaidh go flaitios dé gan mhoill gan cháirde. Haithle an chomhraidh sin do ghluáis an Spiorad. roimhe as thuathaibh ifrinn agus purgadorá agus do lean Meirlíno é agus *air* tteacht amach dhoibh do connuirc Meirlíno an ní fa hiongnadh leis .i. cathair ádhbhal aibhseach agus palás alúinn iongantach dob áille agus dob aoibhne dar bhéidir dfaicsin no dféacháin. Óir is amhlaidh ro **[f.124b]** ro bhaói múr agus balladh na caithreacha soin, *air* na ndénamh do chriostal agus do chrísolít agus do thófás agus don ónix agus do mhargariót agus do iasper agus don emeráld agus don diamond agus don uile chínél pérladh agus cloch uásal aircheana ionnus go madh lór do fhlaithios agus dáoibhnios le duine no re haingiol dar chruthaigh dia ariamh bheith aig féachain an lonnraidh agus an dealraidh do bhí ag teacht

omúr agus o bhalladhuibh agus o chlochaibh na cathracha soin. Fechus Meirlíno tair bhallaibh na cathracha asteach agus do chí srotha fíoráilne fíoruisge agus go madh samhailta re fíón uasal gan trualladh an baltanus do bhi aig teacht dona srothaibh soin agus a nomad do chrannaibh aille egsamla idir na srothaibh sin agus go madh lór dáoibhnios agus dúrghairdiugh bheith ag féchain na ttórtha agus na mblatha do bháoi air na crannaibh sin, agus eoín aille édrochta ambarra na ccrann soin aig caintin ciuil agus oirfide agus liúithe agus orgaín agus instruminte ciuil na cruinne do chur accomhthsheim go madh binne guth agus glóir en eín amhaín aca sin. Agus mar an ccéadna do connuirc a niomad do ríoghuibh agus do phrionnsaighuibh agus do dhaóinibh air a roibh eáduighe riogha [f.125a] riogha agus coróin dhealladhradhach lán do phearladaibh agus do gheamhaibh air ceann gach duine dhíobh agus go madh dealraithigh ina an ghrián gharrtha an lonnradh agus an ruithne do bhi aig teacht dho ghnúis agus daghaidh gach aóin diobh. Agus fós aniomad do maighdeanaibh gruádh corcra gealghnuiseach agus do leanbanaibh óga aíga roibh gnúis agus deilbh ainglidhi ortha. Mo chumairc ort air Meirlínó agus innis damh cia an aít aoibhinn so air sé ata comhghar agus so do ríoghacht ifrinn. Ni hamhlaidh ata air an Spiorad. Is fada origheacht ifrinn í gidh nach saoiléann tusa é, agus aig so air an Spiorad. Teághais do thígheadhuisuibh párthasa neamhdha, aít ambíid lucht na mbocht agus dhénta thoile dé anáoibhnios shiórtaighe. Agus na srotha fíorailne úd do connuirc tú air sé. aig súd uisge na beatha agus gidhbe fhécfus an tuisge úd ní bfuighe bás tre shaogal na shaogal agus ní bhionn tart nó ocrus no easbaidh air bioth air go bráth agus ní luighionn aóis no urchra fair acht abheadh lán don uile aoibhnios go siórruighthe suthain. Agus na heóin do chúala tú aig cantain an chéoil, aig súd aingil nimhe bhíos do ghnáth ag siór mholadh dé uile chumhachta agus na ríghthe agus na prionnsadh do connuirt tú, aig súd na daoíne [f.125b] daoíne bochta uirisle do connuirc tú aig seachna an bhealaigh ina roibeadar na coisteadh agus na carbait agus daóine diomsacha an tshaogail agus do ghabh in

*tshlighe ina roibhe an dochar agus an doilghios .i. an drong do chuir crádh agus cuing air a ccorpuibh re trosgadh agus re deirc agus re hurnaigh agus re truasaibh ata coroín ghlórmhar air gach aon diobh anois ina éric sin lán do gach uile aoibhnios abfochair na trinoíde an feadh bhiás diá na dhiá. Agus na maighdeanadh gruadh chorra ad conncais is iád sin an drong do bhi geanmnaidh agus tug ambeatha attír anoghacht agus anórd pósta gan truailleadh (gach) gan drochgníomh agus na leinibh do connuirc tú air abfuil in ghnúis ainglidh aig súd na léinibh fuair bás tair eís ambaisdidh agus nach ar rugh air pheacadh do dhénamh ·airse· Is truagh air Meirlíno nach roibhe me aón úair amhaín do ló astigh ann súd. Ní féidir dhuit sin air an Spiorad. (oir) an feadh bhiás colann daonna ort oir ní theíd én ní asteach ann súd acht gloine agus fírinne air sé. Agus anois air an Spiorad. do connuirc tú an ní badh maith leat agus fuígfedsa thú anois agus ata tú air an tshaoghal air se agus dená mar is toil leat oso amach agus leis sin tig cheo mór attimchioll Meirlíno, agus air sgaoileadh don cceo do gheibh efein na sheasamh air*

*Folios 126a, 126b from MS. TCD 1399 missing. The following is taken from MSS. TCD 1335. and BL Egerton 106. Words found in bold type are obscure or missing in MS TCD 1335 and are supplied from MS. BL Egerton 106.*

**[f.22/f. 142a]** an ait ina ttánic an spiorad chuige .i. a ccomhrac an da bhealach agus ann sin do smúain air a drochbheatha fein, agus air gach taisbeunadh da **[f. 142a]** bhfaicis sé, agus iseadh do rinne a arm, agus a eairimh do theilgion uath, agus imdheacht co háit aroibhe teampuill choisregha, agus do bhí abhann laimh ris an teampuill, agus teíd isin abhainn, agus do leig **air** a ghlúinibh inte é, agus do bhí an tuisge aig eirghe fo na ucht, agus fo na bruinne fair, agus do bhi ann mar sin go ttrathnóna, agus an **táer afeartain agus** ag siocair, agus air teacht na haoidhche téid don teampuill, agus nochtuis a chorp agus luigheas air an talamh lomnocta, agus do bhaói ag gárthaibh agus ag geirghuidhe air dhía amhlath sin agus do bhíodh air a ghlunibh isin abhainn air lér láe, agus na luidhe air an talamh lomnoctaidh isin naoic re headh aimsire airighthe aig

píanuibh na colla colaigh ciontache agus ag deanamh geiraitheach no go ttainic fa dheiridh an Spiorad da ionnsoigh [f.23] soigh agus go ndubairt, a Meirlíno air se, do eist día réadh ghuidhe, agus do bhrigh go bhfuil aithridhe ort fona ndearnuis dolcuibh go nuige so, agus go bhfuil rún fírinnach agad gan teagmháil isin peacachaoibh nísá mhó do chonaichas do dhía trocaire do dhéanamh ort, agus gur beadh do dhéanuis tú ar se, imtheacht ar feadh na bpuitableach da tteagasg, agus do fhoillsuighadh dhóibh gacha a bfaicuis. Do rinne Meirlíno amhladh sin, agus do bhaoi na bhuabhall bhinnghlorach aig teagusg, agus aig tarring na ccriostuidhe do chum dé uilechuacht, agus no go bhfhuair bás naomhtha **andeabheathuigh**.



## APPENDIX 4 – GLOSSARY

**acht**, *conj.* but, **5** *et passim*; *acht amháin* (go), except, **440**; *rel. acht a bheadh lán...*, but he would be full..., **492**; *acht cheana*, however, but anyhow, **23, 34**; *after neg. form of v.*, only, **300** *et passim*; *with vn. acht an chuid do chuaidh thart dhe [ag] tiecht ort go nuaidh arís*, when that part of it which has passed by comes back round again, **358**; *with conj. go and v.* (i) *acht go dtaispéanaid cuid de phiantaibh ifrinn*, as soon as I show you some of the punishments of hell, **138**; (ii) until; *acht go bhfaghmuid ár gcuid den choirm*, until we get our share of the ale, **105**.

**ábhal**, *adj.* great, immense, mighty, **117**, *et passim*.

**ábhalmhór**, *adj.* vast **176**, *et passim*.

**adhbha**, *f.* abode, dwelling place, **406**; *dat. sg. adhbhaidh*, **150**, *et passim*.

**aer**, *m.* sky, atmosphere, **523**.

**ag**, *prep.* with demonstrative adjective **so**, **sin**, **súd**, here is/are, there is/are, behold; equivalent of Latin *ecce* and French *voici/voilà* (*eDIL* s.v. oc); **ag sin**, **130** *et passim*; **ag so**, **128** *et passim*; **ag súd**, **67** *et passim*.

**aghaidh**, *in compd. prep. re haghaidh*, expressing purpose; *re haghaidh a bheith [ag] friothólamh na bpian ndofhulaing ortha*, in order to mete out unendurable punishments on them, **173**.

**aibhseach**, *adj.* great, immense, vast **421, 459**.

**aigmhéil**, ‘áibhéil’, *adj.*, fierce, dangerous, terrible, *dat. pl. aigmhéile*, **260**.

**aill**, ‘eile’, ‘oile’, *adj.* other, one of two, second, **2**; see **feacht**.

**ainchríostaidh**, ‘ainchríostaí’, *n. masc.* non-christian, heathen, **385**.

**ainmhianach**, *adj.* intensely desirous, lustful, greedy, **220**; *dat. sg. ainmhianaidh*, **249**.

**aire**, *f.* notice, heed, attention; *tug Meirlíno dá aire go mór*, Merlino... paid particular attention (to), **24**.

**aithghiorrú** ‘aithghearradh’ (*Dinn.*) *m.* act of abridging, cutting short, **444**.

**aithle**, *subst.* (in phrases) (*a*) *haithle* followed by *gen. noun.*, *haithle na conaire*, **88**, *haithle na droinge sin*, **207**, *haithle an chomhráidh sin*, **456**; as a *haithle sin*, after that, **176**, **235**.

**áitreabh**, *m.* dwelling, habitation, **7**.

**álainn**, *adj.* beautiful, lovely, fine, splendid, **92**; *pl.* **áille** **60** *et passim*, **áilne**, **162**; *comp.* **áille**, *dob áille*, **459**.

**am**, *m.* time, opportunity, chance, **102**, **107**.

**amharc**, *m.* sight, look; *gen. sg.* **amhairc**, **231**; *gen. pl.* in *éiric na n-amharc*, **196**; *amharc d'fhaicsin ar*, to catch sight of, **42**, **127**; preceded by *prep. ar*, in sight of, within sight of, *gan én neach ar a n-amharc*, no one within sight of them, **98**, *beirthear ar amharc flaithis Dé é*, he is brought within sight of the kingdom of God, **329**.

**amas**, *m.* grab; *amas do thabhairt ar...* to grab, **243**.

**amhgar**, ‘angar’, *m.* hardship, misfortune, want, distress; *gen.* *amhgair*, **405**.

**amhail**, *prep.* like, **363**; with *prep. mar*; *amhail mar*, as, just as, like, **125** *et passim*.

**amuigh**, *adv.* outside; *don leith amuigh*, on the outside, **92**.

**anam**, *m.* soul, **189**, *dat. pl.* *anaim*, **430**.

**anbhann**, *subst.* weak person, *gen. pl.* ~ , **221** (*Dinn.* s.v. *anbhann*).

**anróidh**, *m.* genitive form of *anrógh* (*Dinn.*) ‘anró’, **255**.

**antoil**, *f.* great desire, self-will, evil disposition; *gen. sg.* **antola**, **23**, **249**, **252**.

**anuabhar**, *m.* excessive pride, arrogance; *as a ndearnadar uail agus anuabhar*, of which they were so excessively proud, **166**; *gen.* **anuabhair**, the arrogant, **175**.

**aoibhneas**, *m.* bliss, delight, festivity, **77** *et passim*; *gen. sg.* **aoibhnis**, **18**.

**aonach**, *m.* reunion, popular assembly or gathering, **55**.

**araidh**, *m.* dative form of *ara* (*Dinn.*) ‘ara’, attendant, **98**.

**archeana**, *adv.* besides, as well, **464**.

**ardaigeantach**, *adj.* lofty-minded, haughty, **81**.

- ardaigneadh**, *m.* haughtiness, high-mindedness; *gen. sg.* **ardaignidh**, 169.
- athair**,<sup>1</sup> ‘nathair’, *f.* serpent, snake, 192, 225, 226; *dat. pl.* **aithreachaibh**, 277.
- athair**,<sup>2</sup> *m.* father, 331.
- athtuirsigh**, *adj.* genitive singular feminine form of **athtuirseach**, ‘atuirseach, very weary, sad, dejected, 88.
- baile**, *m.* in relation to nobility, court, 67, 71, 91.
- baistidh**, ‘baistí’, *m.* genitive form of **baisteadh**, baptism, 506.
- barra**, dative plural form of **barr**, *m.* top branching portion of trees, branch, 473.
- baltanas**, ‘boltanas’, *m.* smell, scent, fragrance, 470.
- béalaibh**, dative plural form of **béal**, *m.* mouth; *ar béalaibh*, opposite, in front of, 149.
- bean re**, ‘bain le’, *phr. v.* touch, 420.
- binnghlórach**, *adj.* sweet-voiced, eloquent, 18, 537.
- brad**, (bradú), *vn.* act of plundering, robbing, robbing with violence, 5.
- brághaid**, dative singular form of **brágha** (*Dinn.*) ‘bráid’, *f.* neck, throat, 145, 179, 192, 194.
- bráth**, genitive form of **bráth**, *m.* doomsday, the last judgment, 433.
- breath**, genitive plural form of **breath**, ‘breith’, *f.* judgement, 290.
- briathar**, *m.* word; *nom. pl.* **briathara**, 203, 212, 227, 244, 263, 279, **briathartha**, 40; *gen. sg.* **bréithire**, 16, **bréithaire**, 28.
- bruinne** ‘broinne’, *m.* brink, verge, 431.
- buabhall**, *m.* clarion, bugle-horn, 537.
- buain de**, ‘baint de’, *vn. with prep. de*, take from, extract, elicit, 38.
- cá**, *interrog. pron.* what, how; (i) **cá conair a ngéabhdís**, what path they would take, 53; **cá fad bhiam ann sna piantaibh so**, how long will we be in these pains, 425; (ii) **cá fios with negative clause**, **cá fios nárbh fhearr dhúinne áit...**, perhaps there would be no better place for us..., 69.
- cáir**, *f.* ‘cár’, mouth showing teeth, face, grimace, 342.

**cairdeach**, genitive plural form of **cara**, friend, **443**.

**cairde**, *m.* delay, respite, **455**.

**caithigh**, genitive form of **cathughadh** ‘cathú’, *vn.* fighting, temptation, trial, **413**.

**cartacha**, genitive singular form of **cairt**, *f.* cart, **357**.

**cádhas**, ‘cás’, *f.* honour, reverence, **4**.

**cás**, *m.* concern, trouble, distress, bother; *ní bhiadh cáis nó ceist leo*, would cause them no concern or anxiety, **369**.

**ceannradharc**, *m.* vision, longsightedness, **373**.

**cia an**, ‘cén’ *interrog. pron. with def. art.* what, **484**.

**cianaibh**, dative plural form of **cian**, *f.* length of time; *ó chianaibh*, just now, a while ago, **158**.

**cill**, *f.* clergy (as distinct from laity, **tuath**), **4**.

**ciodh**, ‘cé’, *conj.* (i) *ciodhtrácht*, however, in any case, **78**, *ciodhtráocht*, **27**; (ii) *with preposition do and negative form of verb*, why should not...?; *ciodh dhamhsa nach déanainn aithreachas*, why should I... not repent, **308**.

**ciordhubh**, ‘ciardhubh’, *adj.* jet-black, sable, **178**, **181**.

**cionnas**, ‘conas’ *interrog. adv.* how, **321**.

**cluain**, *f.* deceit, deception, **36**.

**coinne**, *in compd. prep. i gcoinne*, ‘faoi choinne’, (awaiting, prepared) for, **20**, **22**, **23**, **66**, **415**.

**coirm**, *f.* ale-feast, **66**, **106**.

**coitcheann**, ‘coiteann’, *adj.* common, general; *go coitcheann*, in general, all, **30**, **394**.

**colaigh**, genitive singular feminine form of **colach**, *adj.* wicked, sinful, **528**.

**colann**, ‘colainn’, *f.* body, flesh, the flesh; *nom. sg.* **colann**, *an feadh bhias colann daonna ort*, while you are clothed in human flesh, **510**; *dat. sg.* **colainn**, *i gcolainn daonna*, **306**, *im’ cholainn daonna* alive, **308**; *gen. sg.* **colla**, *ag pianadh na colla colaigh ciontaighe*, chastising the wicked guilty flesh, **528**.

- comaire**, ‘coimirce’ *f.* protection; *mo chomairc ort*, I implore you. **484**.
- comhair**, *compd. prep.* **fá chomhair**, in preparation for, awaiting, **29, 128**.
- go comhchoitcheanna**, *adv.* in general, **118**.
- comhcosmhail** ‘comhchosúil’ *adj.* exactly similar (*with prep. re*) to, **440**.
- comhól**, *m.* drinking (together), carousing, revelry (*Dinn.*), **107**.
- comhrac**, *f.* meeting, confluence, **517**.
- conair**, *f.* way, road, path, passage, **53**; *gen. pl.* conaire, **88**.
- congabháil**, ‘coinneáil’, *vn.* contain, keep, hold, **261**.
- contabhairt**, ‘contúirt’, *f.* doubt, uncertainty, **298, 311**.
- cor**,<sup>1</sup> *m.* time, occasion; **den chor so**, at this time, on this occasion, for now, **137**.
- cor**,<sup>2</sup> *f.* tiredness, exhaustion, **87**.
- corrach**,<sup>1</sup> *aid.* (of terrain) rough, uneven, **8**.
- corrach**,<sup>2</sup> *m.* bog, marsh, **399**.
- corp**, *m.* body; *nom. pl.* **coirp**, **276**; *dat. pl.* **corpaibh**, **255, 499**; *ar a gcorp*, **199**.
- crádh**, ‘crá’ *vn.* act of tormenting, **253, 499**.
- craoidhe**, ‘croí’, *f.* heart (as locus of soul, emotions), **300, 317, 349**.
- craos**, *m.* mouth, gullet, gluttony, greed, **208**; *gen. sg.* **craois**, *i bpeacadh an chraois*, in the sin of gluttony, **247**.
- créad**, *interrog. pron.* what, **120 et passim**; *with prep. um* and dependent form of verb, why, **186 et passim**.
- creata**, *m.* frame, body, trunk; *gen. sg.* **creata**, **206**.
- creimneach**, *adj.* gnawing, damaging, **84, 181, 196**.
- críoch**, *f.* end, limit, **174, 270, 408**, *dat. sg.* **crích** **358, 365**; region, territory, *dat. sg.* **crí**, **66**.
- crísolít**, ‘crisilít’ *f.* chrysolite, **462**.
- cuireadh**, *m.* invitation; **ag dul ar cuireadh**, going as guests, **67**.
- cúradh**, *vn.* act beating, chastising; chastisement, **113 et passim**.

- daolaibh**, dative plural form of **daol**, *m.* beetle, **205**.
- dathghrána**, *adj.* ‘dath-ghrána’ (*Dinn.* s.v. dáth-, daith-, -dhath) “ill-complexioned”, hideously-coloured, hued, **116 et passim**.
- deallraidh**, genitive form of **deallradh**, ‘dealramh’, *m.* brilliance, sheen, **466**.
- dealladhradhach** ‘dealraitheach’, *adj.* bright, shining, resplendent **478**; *compar.* **deallraithigh**, **481**.
- deol**, ‘diúl’, *vn.* act of sucking, **197**.
- dí-áirmhe**, ‘dí-áirithe’, *adj.* countless, innumerable, myriad, **257**.
- diamhraibh**, dative plural form of **diamhair**, *f.* remote, unvisited place(s), **7**.
- díbhheirge**, genitive form of **díbhheirg**, *f.* marauding, pillage, strife, **10**.
- díolaigheachta**, genitive form of **díolaigheacht**, ‘díolaíocht’, *f.* payment, recompense, reparation, **438**.
- diombuan**, ‘díomuan’, *adj.* transitory, short-lived, **223**.
- diomsach**, ‘díomasach’, *adj.* proud, haughty, arrogant, **498**.
- diúl**, *vn.* act of sucking, **181**.
- do-áirmhe**, ‘do-áirithe’, *adj.* countless, innumerable, myriad, **182**.
- dóchain**, ‘dóthain’, *f.* sufficiency, enough, **383**.
- dochar**, *m.* hurt, misery, **85 et passim**; *gen. sg.* **dochair**, **376 et passim**; *nom. pl.* **dochair**, **423**.
- dochum**, ‘chun’, *prep.* to, towards, **138, 536**; *with vn.* in order to, **37, 333**.
- dódhadh**, *dó*, *vn.* burning, **113**.
- doilgheas** ‘doilíos’, *m.* hardship, **499**.
- domblas**, ‘domlas’, *m.* **domblas ae**, bile, **252**, **domblais ae**, **236**.
- drochiomchair**, ‘drochiompar’, *m.* bad behaviour, misbehaviour, **348**.
- drong**, *f.* multitude, band, crowd, throng, **153 et passim**; *gen. sg.* **20 et passim**; *nom. pl.* **151 et passim**; when used with a direct relative clause, those who, **191 et passim**.
- dúblaighthear**, present autonomous form of **dúblaigh**, ‘dúbail’, *v.* double, increase, **415**.

**eachraidh**, *f.* ‘eachra’ *m. coll.* horses, team of horses, **80, 96, 103.**

**éadáil**, *f.* spoil, **56**; *gen. sg.* **éadála**, **70.**

**eadarscaradh**, ‘idirscaradh’, *m.* separation, parting; eadarscaradh dhá bhealach, the parting of two ways, **50.**

**éadrochta**, plural form of **éadrocht**, ‘éadracht’, *adj.* bright, shining, **473.**

**éan**, *m.* bird; *gen. sg.* **éin**, **475**; *nom. pl.* **eoin**, **473, 493.**

**earradh**, ‘earra’ *m.* armour, accoutrements, **519.**

**easampláir**, ‘eiseamláir’ *f.* example, illustration, **339.**

**eascaoin**, ‘eascainí’ *f.* (act of) cursing, **114.**

**easumhlacht**, ‘easumhlaíocht’, *f.* disobedience, **268.**

**éiric**, *f.* compensation, repayment for a negative action; *compd prep. with prep. i*, in éiric, in return for, in requital for, **165 et passim.**

**eolach**, ‘eolaí’, guide, learned, educated person; *gen. form used as attrib. adj.*

**an Spiorad eolaigh**, the Spirit guide, **137 et passim.**

**fá**, *prep.* ‘faoi’ **29 et passim.**

**fadógh**, ‘fadú’, *vn.* act of kindling, lighting, **260.**

**fairrge**, ‘farraige’, *f.* sea, **367.**

**faisnéis**, *vn.* explaining, relating, **18.**

**fáras**, ‘áras’, *f.* abode, dwelling, residence, **7.**

**feadh**, *m.* distance, interval between two points of space or time; *with def. article followed by dir. rel. clause*, for as long as, while, **168 et passim**; *in compd. prep.* **ar feadh**, throughout, all through, all over, **97 et passim.**

**fiaghnaise**, ‘fianaise’, *in compd. prep.* **i bhfiaghnaise**, in the presence of, before, **250**, **ina bhfiaghnaise**, **240.**

**fidir**, ‘feadair’, *defect. v.* know, be aware of. See linguistic analysis.

**flaitheamhnas**, ‘flaithiúnas’, *m. gen. pl. ~*, **364.**

**fochair**, *in compd. prep.* **i bhfochair**, along with, alongside, in the presence of, **52, 502.**

**foircheann**, ‘foirceann’, *m.* end, term, limit, **270 et passim.**

**fóirighin**, ‘fóirithint’, *f.* help, succour, relief, **256** *et passim*.

**for**, *prep.* on, upon, over (= **ar**); *prep. pron.* 3<sup>rd</sup> *sg. m.* **fair**, **14**, **492**, **522**; 3<sup>rd</sup> *pl.*

**forra**, **142**.

**fri**, *prep.* with, against, towards (= **re**); 3<sup>rd</sup> *pl.* **friú**, **262**.

**fuascladh**, ‘fuascailt’ (*Dinn. s.v. fuascailt*), *f.* release, deliverance, **287**, **370**, **441**.

**furtacht**, ‘fortacht’ *f.* help, succour, aid, relief, **287** *et passim*.

**gártha**, nominative plural form of **gáir**, *f.* cry, shout, call, **113** *et passim*.

**gath**, *m.* spear, dart, **226**.

**geamhaibh**, dative plural form of **geam**, *m.* gem, precious stone, **479**.

**géar-**, *prefix in compds*, sharp, keen, well-defined, dire, stern (*Dinn. s.v. géar-, géir-*); **géaraitheach[ais]**, *m.* earnest repentance, **529**; **géarghol**, *vn.* bitter weeping, **113**, **152**; **géarnreadadh**, *vn.* viciously thrashing, **269**; **géarghuí**, *vn.* beseeching, **526**; **géalloiscthe**, *genitive form of géarloscadh*, *m.* scorching, scalding, **255**; **géarnimhe**, *genitive form of géarnimh*, *f.* intense virulence (?), **148**; **géarnimhneach**, *adj.* agonising, **259**; **géalphianadh**, *vn.* punishing scathingly, **232**.

**gidh**, ‘cé’, *conj.* however, **gidh ábhal iad**, however great they are, **335**; **gidh hábhal iad**, **353**; *in rel. clause*, although, even if; **gidh nach saoiléann tusa é**, even if you do not think so, **486**.

**gidhbé**, ‘cibé’, *indef. pron.* whoever; **gidhbé fhéachfas an t-uisce úd**, whoever tastes that water, **490**.

**gidheadh**, *conj.* although, **384**.

**gloine**, ‘glaine’, *f.* purity, cleanness, **511**.

**glonmhaire**, comparative form of **glonmhar**, *adj.* disgusting, **142**.

**gol**, *m.* weeping, crying, lamentation, **373**; **gola**, **422**.

**gothradh**, ‘goradh’, *vn.* heating, warming, burning, roasting, **185**.

**gráineamhail**, ‘gráiniúil’, *adj.* horrible, dreadful, shameful, abominable, **145**, **209**, **343**; *pl.* **gráineamhla**, **201**, **277**.



**grádhaidh**, vocative singular form of **grádhach** ‘grách’, *adj.* loving, beloved, **63, 120**; vocative plural, **428**.

**greadach**, ‘greadánach’, *adj.* scorching, stinging (?), **148, 258**.

**greadadh**, *vn.* scorching, lashing, thrashing, **113 et passim**.

**greis**, ‘greas’, *f.* attack, pillage, plunder, **49**.

**gruadhchorcra**, *adj.* rosy-cheeked, **482, 503**.

**guibhe**, ‘guí’, (*Dinn. s.v. guidhe*), *f.* prayer, praying, **429, 442**.

**iar**, *prep.* after; *with vn. and prep. do*, after, having, while, *iar dteacht i measc cháich dhó*, and having found himself in their midst, **13 et passim**.

**iasper**, ‘seaspar’, *m.* jasper, **462**.

**iomad**, *subst.* many, a great number, **58 et passim**.

**iomdhaidh**, ‘iomaí’, *adj.* many, **93**.

**ionadh**, ‘ionad’, *m.* place; ionadh coinne, meeting-point, rendezvous, **47, 49**.

**iongantach**, ‘iontach’, *adj.* wonderful, **459**.

**iongnadh**, ‘ionadh’, *m.* wonder, surprise, **111, 458**.

**ionnas**, ‘ionas’, *subst. as adv.* **ionnas go**, so that, **43 et passim**.

**ionnmhas**, ‘ionnús’, *m.* wealth, riches, goods, **71 et passim**.

**íota**, *f.* great thirst, **246**.

**lag**, *f.* lowness, hollow, pit, **403**.

**lámh**, *in compd. prep.* **láimh re**, beside, *láimh ris an teampaill*, beside the church **520**.

**lámhaiseach**, *adj.* highly decorated, **60, 166**.

**lasadh**, *m.* **ar lasadh**, alight, ablaze, burning, **281**.

**lasair**, **b.** flame, blaze, **144 et passim**; *dat. pl.* **lasrachaibh**, blaze, **148**.

**láthair**, *in compd. prep.* **de láthair**, (*Dinn. s.v. láthair*) in the presence of, before, **52**.

**leaba**, *f.* bed; *dat. sg.* **leabaidh**, **341**; *nom. pl.* **leapa**, **274**; *dat. pl.* **leapthaibh**, **6, 273**; *gen. pl.* **leaptha**, **254**.

**leacaí**, *m.* lackey, attendant, **99**.

- leanbánaibh**, dative plural form of **leanbán**, *m.* baby, infant, **481**.
- leinibh**, dative plural form of **leanbh**, *m.* infant, babe, child, **505**.
- léas**, *m.* light of the day, of the sky, *ar léas lae*, by day, **527**.
- leatrom**, *m.* injustice, oppression, **221**; *gen. sg.* **leatroim**, **169**.
- leisc**, ‘leisce’, *f.* laziness, (the sin of) sloth), reluctance, disinclination, unwillingness, **284**; *gen. sg.* **leisce**, **280, 282**.
- líoghdha**, ‘líoga’, *adj.* beautiful, coloured, lustrous, **60, 165**.
- ló**, dative singular form of **lá**, day, **508**.
- lomnochta**, (*Smaointe B. Chr.* s.v. lomnochta), ‘lomnocht’, naked, stark naked, **525**.
- lór**, (*leor*), *adj.* enough, plentiful, sufficient, **464, 471**.
- lórghníomh**, (*leorghníomh*), atonement, (penitential) satisfaction, **439**.
- liúithe**, nominative plural of **liúit**, *f.* lute, **474**.
- mallaidh**, (*mallaighthe, mallaithe*), *past part.* cursed, accursed, **4, 228, 230**.
- mainneachtaidh**, (*mainneachtain*), *f.* negligence, remissness, **428**.
- marbhadh**, (*marú*), *vn.* act of killing, slaughter, **6**.
- marcshluagh**, (*marcshlua*), *f.* body of horsemen, cavalcade, **58, 64**.
- marfa**, *adj.* mortal, **peacadh marfa**, mortal sin, **330**.
- marfach**, *adj.* deadly, mortal, cruel, distressing, **150**.
- margaríot**, (*margréit*), *f.* margarita, *Lat.* pearl. **462**.
- meabhlach**, *adj.* deceptive, delusive, illusory, **161**.
- meall**, *m.* destruction, *do mheall teintighe tineadh*, to a scorching fiery destruction, **294**.
- meanmain**, dative singular form of **meanma**, *f.* mind, thought, **34, 127**.
- meanmnach**, *adj.* spirited, lively, **58**.
- mear**, *adj.* lively, spirited, mad, crazy, **58**.
- mearuallach**, *adj.* wild, flighty, (*Dinn.* s.v. **mear-**) **80**.
- milseacht**, *f.* sweetness, smoothness, flattery, **36**.
- mínálainn**, *adj.* gentle and beautiful, (*Dinn.* s.v. **mín-**, **mion-**) **93**.

**mínscothach**, *adj.* soft-flowering, (*eDIL* s.v. mín) gentle-flowered, (*Dinn.* s.v. mín-, mion-) **93**.

**mong**, (*mong*), *f.* thick growth of hair, mane, **178**; *dat. sg.* **moing**, **179**.

**mór-**, *prefix in compds*, big, great, all, many (*Dinn.* s.v. mór-, móir-);

**móraigeantach**, *adj.* most highly-spirited, **58**; **móraoibhneas**, *m.* great festivity, **74**; **mór-imshníomh**, *m.* great anxiety, unease, **87**; **mórmhaslughadh**, *vn.* abusing, reviling, **172**.

**morgaidh**, genitive singular form of **morgadh**, corruption, decomposition, putrefaction, **276**.

**mormónta**, *m.* wormwood **252**.

**muintir**, *f.* household, family, people, **125 et passim**; when used with a direct relative clause, those who, **170 et passim**.

**muirn**, *f.* favour, respect, esteem, **341, 346**; **muirn an tsaoghail**, love of the world, **159**.

**neamhdha**, (*neamhaí*), *adj.* heavenly, celestial, **352, 488**.

**nimhe**, genitive form of **neamh**, *f.* heaven used as an attributive adjective, *aingil nimhe*, heavenly angels, **494**.

**nimh**, *f.* poison; venom, virulence, bitterness, **255, 349**; *gen. sg.* used as *attrib. adj.* **nimhe**, **146 et passim**.

**nimhneach**, *adj.* poisonous, venomous, **225**.

**go nuaidh**, *adverbial form of nuaidh*, (*nua*), *adj.* anew, again, **359**.

**ochta**, genitive plural form of **ocht**, (*ucht*), *f.* breast, bosom, **181**.

**óga**, dative plural form of **óg**, *adj.* young, unsullied, pure, **482**.

**óghacht**, (*ócht*), *f.* chastity, virginity, **504**.

**oirfide**, *m.* entertainment, minstrelsy, music, **474**.

**ollghairdeas**, *m.* rejoicing, **111**.

**ónix**, (*oinisc*), *f.* onyx, **462**.

**oir**, nominative plural form of **ord**, *m.* sledge-hammer, **112**.

**ord**, *m.* order, state, *in ord pósta*, in a married state, **504**.

- orlaigheacht**, (orlaíocht), *f.* act of sledging, hammering, **112**.
- órnasc**, *m.* gold clasp, **193**.
- oslaithe** < **osluighthe**, past participle of **osluighim**, (oscail), *v.* open, **209**.
- parthasa**, genitive singular form of **parthas**, *m.* paradise, **488**.
- peacadh**, (peaca), *m.* sin, **165 et passim**; *gen. sg.* **peacaidh**, **412**; *nom. pl.* **peacaidh**, **201**; *dat. pl.* **peacadhaibh**, **533**; *gen. pl.* **peacadh**, **301**.
- péist**, *f.* beast, monster, **177, 264**; *dat. pl.* **piastaibh**, **210, 277**.
- pian**, *f.* punishment, pain, torment, usually in regard to retributive suffering, **319 et passim**; *gen. sg.* **péine**, **233, 362**; *nom. pl.* **pianta**, **21 et passim**; *dat. pl.* **piantaibh**, **128 et passim**; *gen. pl.* **pian**, **29 et passim**.
- pianadh**, *vn.* act of torturing, tormenting, distressing, punishing, **114 et passim**.
- pianta**, past participle of **pianaim**, torture, torment, distress, punish, **318, 383**.
- pianas**, ‘pionós’ (*Dinn. s.v. pianas*), pain, punishment, **336, 379**.
- pobal**, *m.* people (in general), folk, crowd; congregation **11**; *gen. pl.* **poibleach**, **535**.
- póite**, genitive singular form of **póit**, *f.* excessive drinking, **251**.
- racht**, *m.* violent emotion, fury, frenzy, fit, **323, 334, 336, 348**.
- réimhfhéachain**, ‘réimhfhéachain’, *f.* foresight, foreview, prospect; *réimhfhéachain na síoraigheacht*, **356, 380**. (*Dinn. s.v. réamh-, réimh-*)
- rinnidh**, comparative form of **rinneach**, *adj.* pointed, sharp, **178**.
- roinntí**, autonomous form of **roinn**, *v.* share, apportion, divide, **384**.
- saoghal**, *m.* life, world **160**; *dat. sg.* ~ , **saoghal**, *ar an tsaoghal*, in the world, in life, alive, **163 et passim**; *gen. sg.* **saoghail**, **9 et passim**; *gen. pl.* ~ , **174 et passim**.
- saoil**, ‘síl’, think, expect, imagine, suppose; **shaoil**, **110, 125, 131**; **saoileann**, **453, 487**.
- scaball**, *m.* collar, neck ornament, necklet, *gen. pl.* ~ , **193**.
- sciúrsa**, ‘sciúirse’, scourge, **146**.
- se**, ‘seo’, *dem. adj. used with slender vowel*, this, these; *sa gcrí se*, **65 et passim**.

**seacha**, ‘seach’, *prep.* beyond, more than, **382**.

**seachad**, *adv.* aside, away, **235, 257, 272**.

**seachna**, ‘seachaint’, *vn.* avoiding, evading, yielding, **14, 79, 496**.

**siansánach**, *adj.* resounding, resonant, **115**.

**síoraidhthe**, ‘síoraí’, *adj.* eternal, perpetual, **21, 164, 287, 296, 493**.

**síoraidheacht**, ‘síoraíocht’, *f.* **202, 256, 380, síoraigheacht, 357, 360**.

**síorthaidhe**, ‘síoraí’, *adj.* eternal, perpetual, **134, 330, 332, 334, 378, 489,**

**síorthaighe, 324**.

**síor-**, *prefix in compds*, long, enduring, habitual, continual, eternal, *al. intensive*.

(*Dinn. s.v. síor-, sír-*); **síorghnáth**, *as adv. with prep. de, de shíorghnáth*,

persistently, **45**; **síormholadh**, *vn.* forever praising, **495**; **síorscairtigh**, *vn.* for

ever calling, shouting constantly, **152**; **síorsmuaineadh**, ‘smaoineamh’, *vn.*

constantly thinking reflecting, **336**.

**slabhradh**, ‘slabhra’, *m.* chain, neck-chain, necklace, **193**.

**slad**, *vn.* plunder, pillage, **5**.

**smeach**, ‘smig’ *f.* chin, **239**.

**smuanadh**, ‘smaoineamh’ *vn.* thinking, reflecting, **317**.

**smuaineadh**, ‘smaoineamh’ *m.* thought, reflection, **45**.

**snáthaite**, genitive form of **snáthaid**, *f.* needle, **179**.

**so**, ‘seo’, *dem. adj. used with broad vowel*, this, these; *an marcshluagh so, 64 et passim*.

**súd**, ‘siúd’, *dem. adj.* **67 et passim**.

**súgh**, ‘sú’, *vn.* sucking, **181, 197**.

**súisteadh** (*Dinn. s.v. súisteadh*), ‘súisteáil’, *vn.* flailing, thrashing, beating, scourging, **147, 184**.

**tair**, ‘thar’, *prep.* over, across, more than, beyond, **142, 276, 342, 468, 506**.

**tairgsin**, ‘tairiscint’, *vn.* act of offering, attempting; *ag tairgsin amas do thabhairt ar an mbiadh sin*, attempting to grab that food, **243**.

**talmhan**, ‘talún’, genitive singular form of **talamh**, earth, the world, **42**.

**tan**, *conj.* time, occasion; **an tan**, when, whenever, **51, 326, 328, 360**.

**taobh**, *in compd. prep.* **do thaoibh**, regarding, in reference to, about; dá thaoibh sin, in that regard, **36**.

**tarbha**, ‘tairbhe’ *f.* benefit, profit, use, **243**; *in compd. prep.* **de tharbha**, in consequence of, on account of, **gan aon ní dhá dtarbha**, without anything to show for them, **164**.

**tigheadhaisibh**, dative plural (?) of **teaghais**, *f.* house, dwelling, chamber, **487**.

**teagmháil**, *vn.* with preposition **i**, to fall into, become involved with, **gan sa peacadhaibh nísa mhó**, never again to fall into sin, **533**.

**teintighe**, ‘tintí’, *adj.* fiery, fierce, wild, **143 et passim**.

**tí**, ‘té’, *indef. pers. pron.* **í** in relative clause, the person who, he who, whosoever, **an tí is lugha pianta**, he who is least pained, **318, 383**.

**tiecht**, ‘teacht’, *vn.* to come, **40, 211, 359**.

**tófás**, ‘tópás’, *m.* topaz, **462**.

**tráchtadh**, ‘trácht’, *vn.* with *prep.* **ar**, treating of, discussing, **53**.

**tré**, ‘trí’, *prep.* through, on account of, **121 et passim**.

**treaghdadh**, *vn.* act of piercing, stabbing, wounding, **262**. See textual note 261.2.

**truailleadh**, ‘truailiú’, *m.* corruption, defilement, **505**; **trualladh**, **469**; **truailleadh**, past autonomous form of **truailighim**, ‘truailigh’, *v.* corrupt, contaminate, defile, **264**.

**tuargain**, *vn.* act of pounding, battering, thumping, **261**. See textual note 261.2.

**tuath**, *f.* dative singular form of **tuath**, laity, **5**.

**tuireamh**, *vn.* act of recounting, telling, **316**.

**tuismidh**, genitive form of **tuismeadh**, *m.* childbirth, **143**.

**turasuibh**, dative plural form of **turas**, *m.* pilgrimage, **500**.

**uail**, *f.* pride, arrogance, **159**; **as a ndearnadar uail**, of which they were proud, **166**.

**uair**<sup>1</sup>, *f.* hour, **10 et passim**; **an uair**, ‘nuair’, when, **361 et passim**.

**uair**<sup>2</sup>, ‘óir’, *conj.* for, since, because, **134**.

**uraoibhinn**, (*Dinn.*), *adj.* pleasant, charming, delightful, **92**.

**uiríseal**, *aid.* lowly, humble, ignoble, **78, 82, 83**.

**urghairdiugh**, *f.* rejoicing, gladness, **472**.

**urghráin**, *f.* ugliness, loathsomeness, **115**.

**urchra**, ‘orchra’ *m.* perishing (of tissue or bone), decay, **492**.

**usa**, *compar.* of **furas ta**, *adj.* easy, **107**.