Aided Derbforgaill "The violent death of Derbforgaill"

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A critical edition with introduction, translation and textual notes

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Abstract
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This dissertation contains a critical edition of the early Irish tale *Aided Derbforgaill* "The violent death of Derbforgaill". It includes an introduction discussing the main thematic components of the tale as well as intertextuality, transmission and manuscript relationship. The edition is accompanied by transcripts from the three manuscript copies of the tale and textual notes.

Aided Derbforgaill is an Ulster Cycle tale and belongs to a category of tales describing the death of prominent heroes, rarely heroines, in early Irish literature. Arriving in the shape of a bird to mate with the greatest of all heroes, Cú Chulainn, Derbforgaill is refused by Cú Chulainn on account of him having sucked her blood. Forced to enter a urination competition between women, and upon winning this, Derbforgaill is mutilated by the other competitors. The tale ends with two poems lamenting the death of Derbforgaill. This very short tale is complex, not only in its subject matter, but in the elliptical language of the poetry. Thematically the tale is a combination of very common motifs found elsewhere in early Irish literature, such as the Otherworld, metamorphosis and the love of someone unseen, and some rare motifs that are almost unique to this tale, such as blood sucking and the urination competition. The text also has clear sexual overtones.

Keywords: Early Irish, Old Irish, Middle Irish, medieval Irish, *aideda*, death-tales, Derbforgaill, critical edition, manuscript, *Tochmarc Emire*, *Serglige Con Culainn*, medieval Irish literature

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Contents

CHAPTER ONE: Literary context

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1 Background and outline of study

Aided Derbforgaill (henceforth *AD*) belongs to the Ulster Cycle of tales and tells the story of how Derbforgaill, daughter of the king of *Lochlann*, comes in the shape of a bird to mate with Cú Chulainn, ends up marrying Lugaid Riab nDerg, enters a urination competition and upon winning this, is mutilated and killed by the other women in the tale. The death of Lugaid upon beholding his dead and disfigured wife, and Cú Chulainn's slaughter of the 150 queens responsible for mutilating Derbforgaill follows this, and leaves Cú Chulainn as the sole survivor of the tale. The tale then ends with two laments, one in the voice of Derbforgaill, the other in the voice of Cú Chulainn, that bewails the sorry fate of the characters of the tale and the tragic outcome of the events. *AD* is a tale of love, transformation, blood, sex, competition, jealousy, mutilation, violence, death, revenge and sorrow, all compressed into a very short but exquisitely shaped tale. The tale has survived in three complete manuscript copies, the earliest of which is *The Book of Leinster* (see 2.2).

AD has been edited once before, by Marstrander (1911a). For several reasons a new edition of *AD* is a desideratum. Marstrander does not discuss the relationship between the three manuscript copies of the tale, neither does he fully discuss the variant readings, nor provide a stemma. The readings from his main manuscript, LL, are carefully presented. However, the variant readings from the two remaining manuscripts are sometimes confused and unclear.[1] Whereas the prose of the tale is translated, Marstrander gives no textual notes to the prose text and although notes are given to the two poems, the poems are not translated. Although Marstrander dates the text, his dating criteria can be called into question (see 3.4.1). Furthermore, the textual affinities, especially *AD*'s connection with *Tochmarc Emire* (henceforth *TE*) and *Serglige Con Culainn* (henceforth *SCC*), demand an investigation in fuller detail than has previously been attempted. In addition to the internal reasons for preparing a new edition, *AD* is beginning to receive considerable attention by scholars, mainly due to its thematic content and the very evocative nature of the narrative - most persistently from the point of view of gender discourse. Although some scholars have used their own translation of the tale,[2] no one has presented a new edition. Thus, all discussions of *AD*, past and present, are based to some extent on either the diplomatic edition of LL or Marstrander's edition.[3] Furthermore, little or no attention has been paid to the linguistic aspects of the tale, nor to the manuscript tradition. It is my hope that this new edition will be advantageous to further discussion and study of this very complex tale.

My main concern in this thesis is thus to put *AD* in clear focus by providing a new edition of the tale as well as to present an analysis and a thorough discussion of its main aspects. Chapter one deals with the literary context of the tale, as well as the genre of *aideda*. It further discusses the sources for Lugaid Riab nDerg, the main literary themes and the textual affinities of the tale. Chapter two discusses the compilation of the tale. This consists of an account of the manuscript tradition and a discussion of the variant readings, leading up to a proposed stemma. Chapter three consists of a linguistic analysis where each linguistic feature of the tale is presented and analysed, followed by a discussion of the dating and the dating criteria used by previous scholars. Chapter four presents the edition proper, with complete transcripts from the three manuscripts as well as an edited text, followed by a translation and detailed textual notes.

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[1] For a description of the MSS, see 2.2.
[2] Dooley (1994, 2002), Bowen (1975), Burgess (2004).
[3] Apart from Zimmer's translation, which, as will be pointed out below, consists of a translation only.

When not referring to any specific source, the spellings Lugaid Riab nDerg and Derbforgaill will be used throughout this thesis, following the convention of the secondary sources. In the edited text, but not in the translation, the spelling Derb Fhorgaill, divided according to metrical requirements, will be used. When referring to a source with another spelling of these names, I will follow whatever spelling convention is used in the source under discussion. For a discussion of these names, see 4.5 (text note to ll. 1, 3). The three MSS, as well as the copies of *AD* in these MSS that contain the text of *AD*, will be called LL, D and H throughout this thesis.[4]

1.1.2 Previous work: editions, translations, textual and linguistic comments

The first translation of *AD* was made by Zimmer, using only the prose text from LL (1888: 216–219). Marstrander edited and translated the text from LL with variant readings from the two other manuscripts where the tale is found (1911a: 201–218). The two poems ending the tale are edited with notes but are not translated. The only complete translation published is made by Dooley (2002: 204–206). An unpublished translation of the tale has been made by Ford (2003).[5] A partial translation of *AD*, based on the text in LL, up to l. 21 of my edition, and a transcript of the LL version of *AD* was made by O' Grady (Cambridge University Library MS Add. 6538 p. 42 and Cambridge University Library MS Add. 6536 pp. 7–10). Burgess also provides a translation of *AD* in her unpublished Ph. D. thesis on Lugaid Riab nDerg, accompanied with some linguistic and textual discussion (2004: 275–324). A Russian translation has been published by Mikhailova (2004: 401–403) in a collection of translations from the Ulster Cycle. Thurneysen (1921: 426) gives a description of the tale, followed by a summary and a brief discussion of the tale and its affinities, including some commentary on language and dating. A brief commentary on a few words in the text is found in Hull (1949a: 136–137, 1955–1956b: 252–254, 1962–1964: 173–182).[6] Bowen (1975: 26–28) likewise discusses a few words in the text.[7] The prose and the poems of *AD* are referred to by the compilers of DIL, and certain lines of the poems have therefore been translated there. No major textual work, in form of linguistic analysis or discussion, has been published on either the prose text or the poems of *AD*.

1.1.3 Previous work: thematic discussions

On a thematic level several scholars have mentioned, or briefly discussed, either *AD* or Derbforgaill in various contexts. Most commonly, these discussions are concerned with either a Scandinavian connection, the urination theme, the bird-motif or other aspects relating to the thematic content of the tale, most notably from a gender point of view. Edel (1980: 56–60) discusses the relationship of *TE* and *SCC* and *AD* in her monograph on *TE*.[8] She further discusses the urination-episode in an article concerning bodily matters in early Irish literature (2006: 84–85, see further 1.3.7.3). Cormier, in an article on the love-hero in Irish literature, as well as in an article concerning Scandinavian influences in *TE*, discusses Derbforgaill as found in both *AD* and *TE* (1969: 65, 1975: 123, see also 1.3.6). Mac Cana (1962: 83) mentions *AD* as an example of Scandinavian influence on Irish literature. Interestingly enough the *ingen Rúad*-episode of *TE*, which occurs in the text of *TE* right before the episode with Derbforgaill, is mentioned here as another example of Scandinavian influence, although the similarities between *AD* and *TE* are not pointed out.[9] O'Connor retells the narrative of *AD*, and further refers to it as part of a much longer romance that he suspects once existed. According to O'Connor, this romance concerned the love affairs of Cú Chulainn and Lugaid with various women, of which he claims that only *TE* remains. He refers to a "now lost" version of *AD* (1967: 45), in which death by throwing oneself on a sword would have played a part. O'Connor does not give any further or more specific references to his sources, which

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[4] LL: The book of Leinster, D: RIA D.iv.2, H: TCD H.3.18.
[5] I would like to thank professor Ford for kindly providing me with a copy of his translation.
[6] -*chiúil/-thiúil* l. 39, *no-dam-ét* l. 41 and *do-rrumad* l. 106, see text notes to these lines.
[7] *congaib* and *ergaire*, see text notes to ll. 22–23.
[8] See further 1.3.6, 1.3.7.1, 1.4.1.1,.1.4.2, 1.4.4 and 3.4.1.
[9] See further 1.4.1.3.

makes it difficult to verify his theories. It seems likely that O'Connor inferred the "now lost" version of *AD* from the annals where death by sword is given as one reason for Lugaid's death.[10] In Bowen (1975: 26–28), the suggested sexual themes of the tale are explored and put into a mythological context.[11] Bowen provides his own translation of the latter part of the tale, as does Dooley (1994: 132–133) in her paper on women in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (henceforth *TBC*).[12] Bitel (1992: 188 n. 23, 1996: 162) discusses the sexual implications of the tale within the broader context of her work on women and sexuality in early Ireland.[13] Ní Bhrolcháin (1994: 116, 118) mentions Derbforgaill of *AD* in a discussion concerning the reversal of roles between men and women in early Irish society, as depicted in literature, and further mentions *AD* as an example of women turning on their own kind.[14] *AD* is mentioned in Findon's study of the role of Emer in *Aided Óenfhír Aife* in the context of female jealousy (1997: 67–68). O'Leary (1987a: 39) briefly discusses the implications of the urination-contest in *AD* in his article on the honour of women in early Irish literature. In a further article (1991a: 31–33), O'Leary uses Cú Chulainn's violent retaliation against the women who mutilated Derbforgaill as an example of a hero's violence against women.[15] Ross (1967: 239, 264) mentions *AD* in the context of the bird-motif and the shape changing that takes place, and further discusses *AD* in an article relating to Celtic chain-symbolism (1959: 48).[16] Greene (1992: 174, 195, 1995: 175) mentions *AD* several times, though briefly, in her discussions of bird-motifs in Celtic literature. A doctoral dissertation about Lugaid Riab nDerg was put forward by Burgess (2004). This includes a translation of the tale as well as a discussion of some of the thematic components in the framework of the tradition of Lugaid Riab nDerg. Condren has published an article on *AD* (1997a and b). In this article, the tale is treated as an archetype explaining the subjugation of women. The discussion is in several instances departing from the text to the extent that the conclusions both lack factual basis and scholarly credibility.[17]

1.2 *Aideda*

1.2.1 *Aideda* in early Irish literature

The *aideda*, or "death-tales", have a central role in early Irish literature, as in other heroic literatures, and are described by Mac Cana as perhaps the most representative genre of Irish literature (1980: 71). *AD* is not mentioned in either of the two major independent tale-lists that exist. These lists are a catalogue of titles of tales, or portions thereof, dividing them into various categories. Commonly called list A and B, they are found in several manuscripts, and are thought to be based on an older list, not extant but dated to the 10th c. (Mac Cana 1980: 66).[18] Although list A contains 14 *aideda*, list B does not list a single *aided*.[19] According to Mac Cana, the *aideda* seem not to have been a part of the aforementioned predecessor to list A and list B (1980: 71). Mac Cana infers from this that the *aideda* might have been too common to be practical to catalogue. Mac Cana further sees a peculiarity in list A, in that of the *aideda* listed, with a few exceptions, most are of relatively early date, and most of them appear as early as the 10th c. poem *Fianna Bátar i n-Emain,* (see 1.4.5.1.1). He further points out that if a title of a tale is only found in one of the tale-lists, or in neither, this fact in itself is not sufficient proof that the tale was not yet in existence at the

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[10] In addition to translating *coirthe* "pillar" as "snowman" (see text note to ll. 20–21), O' Connor further claims that Derbforgaill came to Ireland with two handmaids, not one (1967: 45–47).
[11] See further 1.3.7.3 and text note to ll. 22–23.
[12] See further 1.3.7.3 and 1.3.8.
[13] See further 1.3.7.3, 1.3.8 and 1.3.9.
[14] See further 1.3.9.
[15] O' Leary mentions Derbforgaill of *AD* and of *TE* in two different contexts (1991: 31, 43), but does not state a connection between the episodes concerning Derbforgaill in these two tales.
[16] See further 1.3.5 and 1.3.6.
[17] See for instance Condren's interpretation of political motivation, victimisation and non-volition in the beginning of the tale (1997: 421) in which Condren claims that Derbforgaill through the blood sucking incident (see 1.3.7.1) had become a member of the inner circle of Irish patriarchy. This work will not be referred to further in this thesis.
[18] List A is found in LL and TCD H.3.17. List B is found in RIA 23 N 10, Rawl. B 512, and Brit. Lib. Harl. 5280. Beside the two major lists there are fragments of minor lists in the Advocates library and Brit. Lib. Harl. 432 (Mac Cana 1980: 33).
[19] In the lists in Advocates library and Brit. Lib. Harl. 432, *aided* is listed as a genre but no titles are given. See also Backhaus (1990: 19–26) and Chadwin (1997: 67–75) for a discussion of the tales in these lists.

time the tale-lists, or their predecessor, were composed (1980: 66). In both list A and list B, Mac Cana sees a possible reference to the existence of further death-tales not listed (1980: 72). Toner (2000b: 88–120) gives a new analysis of the lists, showing that *aideda* indeed are part of the original list. The date of that list can only be said to be not later than the copy in LL. Thus, based on the fact that *AD* is not mentioned in the tale-lists, one cannot draw the conclusion that it was not in existence in the 10th c.

DIL's definition of *aided* (fem.) is "violent death", also "act of killing" and "in a more general sense (unpleasant) fate, plight" (s.v. *aided* 103: 74). This word is variously spelled *aiged*, *oided*, *oiged* and later *oide, oidhe*. As stated above, *aided*, pl. *aideda*, is also used to designate a category of tales in early Irish literature.[20] Mac Cana (1980: 73) translates this term as "death tale, violent death". Pedersen (1913: 514), followed by Vendryes (LEIA A-27, cf. Mac Cana 1980: 73) suggested that this might be the verbal noun of *ad-eth*,[21] "goes against, attacks". Mac Cana (1980: 73) also refers to Marstrander's conflicting view that this word could rather be related to Sanskrit *pádyate*, "falls, perishes" of the root **ped–* (Marstrander 1962: 206).[22] For a discussion of terms used for the concept of death in Old Irish, see Mikhailova and Nikolaeva (2003: 93–115). I disagree with the authors of this article regarding their view that the primary meaning of the term *aided* is not "death" but "ill fate, plight, fatum" (2003: 110), and in plural "fates" (2003: 111). In their article there is no discussion or conclusion as to why the primary meaning would be interpreted in this way. Furthermore, their conclusion "*aided* is something that comes suddenly, that differs from a certain standard and can be predicted, because, logically, only unnatural death is worth to be predicted" (2003: 111) seems both unfounded and rather illogical.

1.2.2 *Aideda* in the Ulster Cycle

Eleven tales with *aided* as part of the title are found in the Ulster Cycle.[23] In addition, various episodes of *TBC*[24] have *aided* in their title. In the Ulster Cycle, only two separate *aideda*, *AD* and *Aided Meidbe* (henceforth *AM*), as well as a short episode in *TBC*, *Aided Locha*, concern the death of a woman, all other examples of the category primarily concern the death of men. *Aided Locha* describes the death of Medb's handmaid Locha, whom Cú Chulainn mistook for Medb and pelted with a stone so that she died. It is merely four lines long and is only found in *TBC* Rec. I (O' Rahilly 1976: ll. 974–977). Descriptions of the death of women occur elsewhere, although not as separate tales of the category *aideda*. The only full discussion about themes and motivation in death tales is found in Melia (1978: 36–57). Using the *aideda* found in the LL tale list (see above), Melia discusses the manner of death found therein as constituting one of two primary motifs: woman-revenge or taboo-revenge, with most tales having a mixture of both. *AD* does not fit into this scheme. Whereas the blood sucking episode (see 1.3.7.1) can be seen as breaking a taboo, this is not the cause of Derbforgaill's death. The women turn on Derbforgaill out of jealousy and malice and indeed revenge, not for breaking a taboo, but because Derbforgaill is seen as better and more desirable than the rest of them. Although I agree with Melia that the primary theme of the *aideda* is that of death due to revenge, this in my view does not differ from the motivation for death in early Irish literature in general. Apart from various manners of death caused by violent emotion (shame, sorrow etc.), death due to revenge is a frequently found theme in early Irish literature, as one would expect from a heroic literature. Death motivated by revenge, therefore, is not confined to the category *aideda* alone.

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[20] The term "genre" as used by Mac Cana is quite misleading. This term implies a much clearer division between tales than Mac Cana intends, cf. "the system of classifying tales according to genres occludes the fact that few tales are a straightforward example of any one genre" (1980: 71). Ó Cathasaigh (1994: 86) uses the term "storytelling categories" which is a more accurate description.
[21] DIL cites the verb as *ad-etha* (s.v. *aided* 103: 81) and *at-etha* (s.v. *at-etha* 444: 85) rather than *ad-eth*.
[22] For the concept of dying as "going", see other expressions of the concept of dying in this text connected with "going": *dul ar cel* l. 91 and *dul i cían* l. 40, as well as *cen dul* l. 25 (in D and H only). See also the text note on *écaib* l. 31.
[23] See Meyer (1906) for the edition of five of these death tales.
[24] Since *TBC* occurs in three different recensions, a reference to *TBC* without a numeral refers to the tale in a general and non-specific way. When a specific recension is implied, this is given. In a reference from DIL, specific sources for *TBC* are given in the context of the list of sources for DIL.

1.2.3 *Aided Derbforgaill* as an example of the category *aideda*

LL does not give a title of the tale, although it is grouped together with two other *aideda*: *Aided Conchobuir* and *AM*, which may suggest that the compiler of LL considered *AD* to be an *aided*. In the diplomatic edition of LL, the editors have given the title [*Aided Derb Forgaill*]. In D the title is found in the beginning of the tale: *Incipit dOighedh Derb Forgaill*, "here begins the violent death of Derbforgaill", whereas in H the title is found at the end of the tale: *conid haided Lug. Rieb ndeirg 7 Derbforcaill innsin*. Thurneysen (1921: 426) takes the title from this and calls it *Aided Lugdach (Riab n-Derg ocus) Derbforgaill,* whereas Zimmer (1888: 216–219) does not give a title at all. Marstrander (1911a: 201), gives the title as [*Aided Lugdach occus Derbforgaille*] which has no manuscript support. In Best (1913: 87), the title is given as [*Aided Lugdach*]. All other sources referring to this tale that I am aware of refer to it as *Aided Derbforgaill* (see 1.1.2. and 1.1.3). This title is used throughout this thesis. The translation of the title has been given by Hull (1898: 83) as "the tragical death of Dervorgil", and in Baumgarten (1986: 243), as "The deaths of Lugaid and Derbforgaill". Burgess (2004: 331 n. 3) refers to the title in D and states:

> "*doighed* in the title of the Stowe MS means "pang" or "sharp pain" see the DIL s.v. *daig* II, and Dinneen 1927, s.v. *doigh*. I have translated the word as "torturing" as the sense seems to best suit the circumstances of the tale".[25]

However, Burgess' analysis seems wrong as the reading in D is most likely to be the shortened form of the preposition *do* followed by *oighed*, a Middle Irish spelling of *aided*.[26] I am not convinced by Burgess' suggestion regarding the translation of the title, or by Mikhailova and Nikolaeva's arguments regarding *aided* as "sudden death" so I have kept the translation of *AD* as "The violent death of Derbforgaill".

1.3 Thematic discussion

1.3.1 Introduction

Very few tales in early Irish literature are straightforward examples of one particular genre. By its title, *AD* is designated as an *aided* (see 1.2), although this does not exclude the relevance of other elements in this tale. Several set motifs are used, some of which are very common, such as the bird-motif and *grád écmaise*, though others, as the urination-motif, are almost unique. Below I will discuss the most important thematic components. The motifs will be discussed in the order they occur in the text.[27] This discussion is not meant to be exhaustive, but serves rather to put the various motifs of *AD* in the bigger framework of early Irish literature. However, a more detailed discussion about a few aspects has been included.

The narrative of *AD* is very short and the stylistic structure is very compact, with each emotionally charged theme building upon, and leading into, another, exploding in the end with what cannot be described as less than a massacre. Given the terseness of the text and the many emotionally charged subjects that are expressed in the very brief space, it follows that there is going to be any number of matters that are not clearly stated in the text, but that one may infer. This is what I refer to as the subtext. Based on the text itself I will discuss some views about the subtext of *AD* that have been put forward, with a specific emphasis on three examples: Hodges' (1927) treatment of the blood sucking motif, Dooley's (1994) use of the urination contest in a discussion about gender play, and Bitel's (1996) assumptions regarding the subversiveness of the women of the tale and Derbforgaill's death. Though other scholars have dealt with aspects of the subtext of this tale, it has been most extensively discussed by the aforementioned three scholars. Each of these examples are taken from a bigger context. In Hodges' case from a wider discussion about the blood covenant in Celtic literatures, in Dooley's case from a

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[25] The "Stowe MS" referred to by Burgess is the MS RIA D.iv.2.
[26] For the change *a>o* see SnaG (232 § 3.6).
[27] Apart from 1.3.10 "Competition and status" that will be discussed after 1.3.8 "The subversiveness of the women" and 1.3.9 "Suicide".

discussion about a possible reversal of gender roles in early Irish literature, and in Bitel's case from a larger discussion about women, sex and gender in early Ireland.

1.3.2 Characters

The three main characters of *AD* are Derbforgaill, daughter of the king of Lochlann, Cú Chulainn and Lugaid Riab nDerg. Cú Chulainn hardly needs an introduction, being the most prominent hero of the Ulster Cycle. Derbforgaill and Lugaid, on the other hand, merit some discussion.

Lugaid Riab nDerg, "Lugaid of the Red Stripes", is a character found in early Irish saga literature and poetry, as well as in annals and genealogies. The sources concerning Lugaid are often contradictory, with what appears to be different traditions interfering and integrating with one another. Two main strands of this tradition about Lugaid may be identified: one where Lugaid is referred to as having died at the hands of the three red-heads,[28] and where he is connected to the tradition of Eterscél[29] and Conaire Mór,[30] and one where Lugaid is referred to in connection with the Ulster Cycle.[31] He is found in various sources as early as the 9th c. as Cú Chulainn's fosterling,[32] as well as a legendary king of Tara,[33] the husband of Derbforgaill,[34] the son of the three Find Emna,[35] the slayer of Furbaide,[36] the son of Medb's sister Clothru in some sources,[37] the son of her sister Eithne in others.[38] His death is described as of grief, either by conceipt,[39] by throwing himself on his sword,[40] or on beholding his dead or dying wife,[41] or he is said to have died by the hand of the three red-heads.[42] The tradition of Lugaid Riab nDerg seems sometimes to

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[28] These are the three red monstrous creatures also figuring in *TBDD* (Knott 1936: ll. 287–293). They are also sometimes called "the three red wolves of Martine", cf. *Rennes Dinshenchas: Mag Luirg,* (Stokes 1894: 472–473).

[29] *CGH*, Leinster genealogies (O' Brien 1962: 21).

[30] *De shíl Chonairi Móir* (Gwynn 1912: 134, ll. 15–31), Annals of Tigernach (Stokes 1895b: 405), *Ériu ard inis na rrig* "On the early invasions and Kings of Ireland" (Best and O' Brien 1956–1957: 486, Ed. Mac Carthy 1892), *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (pt. 5, Macalister 1956: 264–265), *Andsu immarbáig ri Lagnib* "It is difficult contending with Leinstermen" (Best, Bergin and O' Brien 1954: 215, Ed. O'Curry 1861: 482.), *Cair (.i. comaircim) cia boi ind Eriu in flaith Conairi* (Meyer 1890c: 219).

[31] Cf. *AM* (Hull 1938: 41), *SCC* (Dillon 1953c: ll. 89, 258, 303, 308), *TE* (Van Hamel 1933: §84, see 1.4.1) and *Ferchuitred Medba* (Meyer 1913d: 17–22).

[32] *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (pt. 4, Macalister 1940: 174), *TE* (Van Hamel 1933: §84, see 1.4.1).

[33] *SCC* (Dillon 1953c: 258).

[34] *AD*, *Talland Étair* (Ó Dónaill 2005: l. 124), *TE* (Van Hamel 1933: § 84, see 1.4.1).

[35] Metrical *Dindshenchas* (Gwynn 1924: 42–53) and Prose *Dindshenchas* (Stokes 1895: 148–150) (*Druim Criaich*), *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (pt.4, Macalister 1940: 174).

[36] Metrical *Dindshenchas* (Gwynn 1924: 30–35) and Prose *Dindshenchas* (Stokes 1895a: 38–39) (*Cairn Furbaide*).

[37] *AM* (Hull 1938: 41), Metrical *Dindshenchas* (Gwynn 1924: 42–53) and Prose *Dindshenchas* (Stokes 1895a: 148–150) (*Druim Criaich*).

[38] Metrical *Dindshenchas* (Gwynn 1924: 30–35) and Prose *Dindshenchas* (Stokes 1895a: 38–39) (*Cairn Furbaide*).

[39] Annals of Clonmacnoise (Murphy 1896: 49). What the term "conceipt" means is obscure.

[40] Annals of Tigernach (Stokes 1895b: 405), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (Dinneen 1908: 232, ll. 3599–3624), *Do Flathiusaib Hérend* (LL 23a50).

[41] *AD*, *Banshenchas* (Dobbs 1932: 443), *A fhir thall triallus in scél* (Meyer 1919: 5). A further reference to Lugaid is found in the poem *Ériu ard inis na rríg* "On the early invasions and Kings of Ireland" ascribed to Gilla Caemáin, d. 1072, (Best and O' Brien 1956–1957: 486, Ed. Mac Carthy 1892: 198, str.3. cf. Thurneysen 1921: 427).

[42] Annals of Tigernach (Stokes 1895b: 405), as well as a number of poems. Two of these poems are ascribed to Orthanach hÚa Cáelláma Cuirrich, Bishop of Kildare, who died in 839 or 840:*A Chóicid Chóin Chairpri Crúaid* "On the kingdom of Leinster Battles from that of Cnámros" (Ed. O Daly 1961–1963: 177–197. In the MS copy of this poem found in Rawl. B 502 the poem is ascribed to Orthanach. According to O Daly, the statement in the dip. ed. of LL that this poem is elsewhere ascribed to Gilla na Náem Ó Duinn is most likely a confusion of the copyist of one of the manuscript containing this poem (1961–1963: 117)), and *Masu de chlaind Echdach aird* "On the exploits of Irish kings and heroes, notably of Leinster" (Ed. Meyer 1916–1917: 107–113). For both of these poems, cf. O' Rahilly (1946: 94). Lugaid is also mentioned in *Do chomramaib Laigen inso sis*, "Concerning the Victories of the Leinstermen" ascribed to Fland mac Maelmaedóc, d. 979 (Ed. Meyer 1910–1912a: 117–119), and in *Ríg Themra Dia Tesband Tnú*, "On the pre–Christian kings of Ireland from Eochu Feidlech to Nath Í", ascribed to Flaind Mainistrech, d. 1056 (Best and O' Brien 1957: 504. This poem seems not to have been edited outside the diplomatic edition of LL). Further sources for Lugaid's death by the the three red-heads are found in *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú* (Best and O' Brien 1957: 504–508), *Andsu immarbáig ri Lagnib* "It is difficult contending with Leinstermen" (Best, Bergin and O' Brien 1954: 215, Ed. O' Curry 1861: 482. This poem is ascribed to Dubthach hÚa Lugair by O'Curry, who gives his death as 430 A.D., which is rather improbable. However, this poem is described as "anonymous" in LL.), and in *Echta Lagen for Leth Cuind*, "On the exploits of the Leinstermen on Conn's half" (Best, Bergin and O' Brien 1954: 237, this poem seems not to have been edited outside the diplomatic edition of LL). Cf. Meyer (1910–1912a: 117 §§10–11) and O' Rahilly (1946: 94) for the last two poems. The scribe of LL seems to have been aware of conflicting traditions regarding the death of Lugaid. *Hoc tamen est* "But this is not true", is written in the margin of fo. 125b, beside the line describing Lugaid's death in *AD*.

have been combined and confused with that of other Lugaids, most notably that of Lugaid mac Conn,[43] and Lugaid mac Rói.[44] His name is given as Lugaid Réo Derg,[45] Sriab nDerg,[46] Ríab nDerg,[47] Trí Riab nDerg,[48] dá Ríab nDerc,[49] and in one source only as Lugaid *lonchor na lland*.[50] He has two lines circling his body,[51] in other sources three,[52] and he is associated with both Tara[53] and the Ulaid.[54] He is described as having seized or won the kingship in Tara and is the object of the *Bríathartecosc Con Culaind*, "the instruction of Cú Chulainn to a prince" in *SCC* (see 1.4.2), though in another source, *De shíl Chonairi Móir*, "On the race of Conaire Mór" (Gwynn 1912: 130–143) he failed the ordeal to become king of Tara.[55] It is remarkable that Lugaid, even though he is found in numerous sources, very rarely has a voice. Only three instances of Lugaid speaking can be found in all the sources about him. He only speaks twice in *AD*: *Dibairg na heonu*, "shoot down the birds" says Lugaid to Cú Chulainn (l. 5), and *Is i n-écaib atá-si didiu*, "she is dying then", also uttered to Cú Chulainn (l. 31). In addition, in *Fled Bricrenn Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait* Lugaid utters: *Cid ara-ndénam-ni ón?* "Why should we do that?" (Hollo 2005: § 6, l. 5, p. 53, 98).[56] In all other sources Lugaid is simply referred to as a name, a hero among other heroes, a king among other kings, a fosterling, companion, or a relative.

Lugaid is also remarkably absent in *AD*. The main dynamic relationship in the tale is between Derbforgaill and Cú Chulainn. The tale begins with Derbforgaill seeking Cú Chulainn, and when he rejects her, Cú Chulainn decides, and Derbforgaill concedes to, the future of both Derbforgaill and Lugaid:

> *"Is maith limsa ém", or sé, "dul duit-siu cosin mac as sóiriu fil in hÉrind .i. Lugaid Riab nDerg".*
> *"Maith lim", ol sí "acht con-dot-accur do grés". Luid iárum co Lugaid co rruc claind dó.*

> "Indeed I would like" said he "you to go with the noblest man in Ireland, that is, Lugaid of the Red Stripes". "That is fine with me" said she, "provided that I may always see you." She went then with Lugaid and bore a child to him" (*AD* ll. 16–19).[57]

Apart from walking with Cú Chulainn by the lake and giving the suggestion (or order) of having the birds shot down, which provides the opening of the tale, Lugaid takes no further active part. The remarks about Lugaid in *AD* are restricted to him being a non-participating figure and the interaction between Lugaid and Derbforgaill is only described in passing, as when it is stated that Derbforgaill went with Lugaid and bore his child (see above). There is no direct dialogue between Derbforgaill and Lugaid, as between Derbforgaill and Cú Chulainn. Lugaid's death is likewise described in a passive manner: *Asberat dano ba marb Lugaid a chétóir oca déscin* "They say then that Lugaid died immediately upon seeing her." (ll. 92–93). Lugaid is in the company of Cú Chulainn when they notice that there is snow on Derbforgaill's roof, and they do rush together to her house (ll. 30–32), but it is Cú Chulainn, not Lugaid, who takes vengeance on the women who mutilated Derbforgaill (ll. 93–95). A further indication of the

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[43] Prose *Dindshenchas* (Stokes 1895a: 38–39) (*Carn Furbaide*), Prose *Dindshenchas* (Stokes 1892a: 476–477) (*Eithne*).
[44] O' Rahilly (1946: 487) ultimately sees only one Lugaid, turning up in different pedigrees and contexts. Apart from Lugaid Riab nDerg, there is Lugaid mac Dáire, Lugaid mac Ítha and Lugaid mac Con of the pedigree of Corcu Lóigde – the latter also found in the list of kings of Ireland as successor to Art son of Conn –, Lugaid Láigne of the Eóganacht, Lugaid Lága son of Mug Nuadat in *Cath Crinna* and *Cath Maige Muccrama*. Further there is Lugaid mac Con Rói, Lugaid mac Trí Conn and several more. O' Rahilly notes that: "originally, as could be shown, this Lugaid Réoderg was no other than Cú Chulainn himself" (1946: 202). This conclusion, however, seems both dated and simplistic.
[45] *SCC* (Dillon 1953c: 89, 258), Annals in the Cotton MS (Freeman 1924: 26), Annals of Inisfallen (Mac Airt 1951: 32), Annals of Tigernach (Stokes 1895b: 405). As *Reo nderg* in: *De Shíl Chonairi Móir* (Gwynn 1912: 130–143), *Fled Bricrend 7 Loinges Mac n-Duil Dermait* (Hollo 2005).
[46] *Aided Con Culainn* (Van Hamel 1933: 72–133), *AD*, *AM*.
[47] *AD*, *AM* (Hull 1938: 52–61), *De Shíl Chonairi Móir* (Gwynn 1912: 130–143).
[48] *Cath Boinde* (O' Neill 1905: 174), Metrical *Dindshenchas* (Gwynn 1924: 30–35) (*Carn Furbaide*), *Senchus Síl hÉrimóin* (Laud. genealogies, Meyer 1910–1912b: 337–338).
[49] Metrical *Dindshenchas* (Gwynn 1924: 30–35) (*Carn Furbaide*).
[50] *A fhir thall tríallus in scél* (Meyer 1919: 5). For the aetological traditions about Lugaids name see also *Cóir Anmann* (Arbuthnot 2005, see also Arbuthnot 2001: 285–298 and Stokes 1897: 285–444, 557).
[51] Metrical *Dindshenchas* (Gwynn 1924: 30–35) (*Carn Furbaide*).
[52] *Cath Boinde* (O' Neill 1905), Metrical *Dindshenchas* (Gwynn 1924: 30–35) (*Carn Furbaide*), *Senchus Síl hÉrimóin* (Meyer 1910–1912b: 337–338).
[53] *SCC*, *Annála Rioghachta Éireann* (O' Donovan 1856).
[54] *AM*, *SCC*, *TE*.
[55] See also Smith (1927: 421 n. 4) who argues against Gwynn regarding Lugaid in this tale.
[56] See also Hollo (1992: 18–24 and 1994: 99–106) for a discussion of this tale.
[57] All translations from *AD* are from my edition, unless otherwise specified.

dominance of Cú Chulainn over Lugaid in *AD* is that of the two poems ending the tale, one is in Derbforgaill's voice and the other in Cú Chulainn's. This seems to me to echo Derbforgaill addressing Cú Chulainn, conceding to go with Lugaid: *acht con-dot-accur do grés* "provided that I may always see you" (l. 18). I interpret this line as indicating that Derbforgaill accepts that she cannot mate with Cú Chulainn and also accepts Cú Chulainn's choice of her mate, provided that a special relationship between her and Cú Chulainn is possible. This relationship is further alluded to in the poems (see below). The poem in Derbforgaill's voice is praising Cú Chulainn and Lugaid in equal terms. In seven of the eight quatrains that praise Cú Chulainn and Lugaid, Cú Chulainn is named first.[58] In the poem uttered by Derbforgaill the impression of the relationship between the three is that of a love-triangle, where both men are grieved in equal amounts and where it is explicit that Derbforgaill expresses the loss of the time they had together, exemplified in the following three quatrains:

In tan im-réidmis Emain,	When we used to drive around Emain,
a Temair nírbo drochband.	from Tara, it was not a bad exploit.
Cú Chulaind and ba subaid,	Cú Chulainn was joyful there,
7 Lugaid mac Clothrand.	and Lugaid son of Clothru.
Cú Chulaind dam acallaim,	Cú Chulainn conversing with me
co ngnímaib dánaib dubaib.	with deeds, daring, dark.
Iss ed ba slán lam chride	It is that which was the fullness of my heart,
7 lige la Lugaid.	and laying with Lugaid.
Ro scarsam fri ar n-amalla,	We have parted from our playing,
oca mbímmis fri cach sel.	at which we might have been forever.
Bés ní comairsem nach tan,	Perhaps we may not meet afterwards,
ro delbad dam dul ar cel.	I have been destined to go to my death
(*AD* ll. 80–91).	

1.3.3 Scandinavian influence

AD has often been said to be a prime example of Scandinavian influence on Irish literature. Most notably this seems to be due to the name *Lochlann* in both the prose and the poetry of the tale (*AD* ll. 1, 121), although other factors have also been mentioned. Marstrander, for example, claims that the shape changing that takes place is characteristically Germanic (1911a: 203). As will be discussed below (3.4.1), Marstrander ascribes the date of *AD* to the beginning of the 10th c., thus it is clear that he believes that the tale was composed during the Viking age. However, he does caution against using the shape changing as evidence that the tale was composed during the Viking age under Norse influence, as the shape changing motif can be found in Irish texts of earlier date. Marstrander further spends a substantial portion of his edition making a case for Germanic loanwords in early Irish, including in his discussion several examples of shape changing in Germanic literature. Zimmer on the other hand, was convinced that this tale was composed as a result of Norse influence, and saw the shape changing motif as originally Germanic (1888: 219). Mac Cana named *AD* as one of the earliest tales in which one can notice the influence of the Vikings on Irish literature (1962: 80). Mac Cana did not, however, point out what it is that he considered specifically Scandinavian in this tale. Considering that a substantial portion of early Irish literature is found in manuscript sources postdating the Viking era, it is of course difficult to state unequivocally what is and what is not Scandinavian influence on any portion of literature. However, in my view, there is nothing in the subject matter of this tale that points to any specific Scandinavian influence. It is stated in the opening of the tale that Derbforgaill is the daughter of the king of *Lochlann*. The formula "x daughter/son of the king of (foreign land)" is found in several places in early Irish literature, cf. for instance *ingen ríg ghréc* (O' Grady 1892: 413), and *ingen ríg Frainc* (LL 137b). Another daughter of the king of *Lochlann* is found in later tales in the Finn Cycle, for example *Caithréim Conghail Cláiringhnigh* (MacSweeney 1904, see also Murphy 1956: 45), and a son of the king of *Lochlann* is found in the tale *Aithed Emere* "The elopement of Emer with Tuir Glesta, son of the king of Norway" (Meyer 1884: 184–185). Furthermore, as will be discussed below, *Lochlann* need not be a reference to Scandinavia, but

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[58] See ll. 36, 44, 56, 61, 65, 82, 84, where Cú Chulainn is mentioned first, and ll. 48, 52 where Lugaid is mentioned first.

rather to Viking Scotland (Ó Corráin 1998) or to a place in Ireland (Ahlqvist 2005, see further 3.4.1). The name Derbforgaill is not a Scandinavian name, and it can be found in Irish sources as a woman's name most prominently in the 11th c. (see text note to l. 1). None of the set motifs (for which see below) are in any way specifically Scandinavian, and most of them can be found elsewhere in early Irish literature. Therefore, I suggest that the Scandinavian influences in *AD* have been exaggerated by previous scholars.

1.3.4 *Grád écmaise*

In *AD* it is stated that Derbforgaill has fallen in love with Cú Chulainn before ever meeting him. This concept of *grád écmaise* is commonly found in early Irish literature. It has been compared by Chadwick (Dillon and Chadwick 1974: 244, see also Chadwick 1958) with what in Sanskrit tradition is called the *adrst–akama* "passionate attachment to an object that has never been seen" (Monier-Williams 1889: 18).[59] Thus, when Derbforgaill comes to meet Cú Chulainn, she has already fallen in love with him from all the famous stories being told about him. This motif can also be found in many other early Irish tales, for instance in *TBC*: *"Ingen Búain ind ríg", or si. "Dodechad chucut-su. Rot charus ar th'airscélaib... "* (*TBC* Rec. I: ll. 1849–1850.) "I am the daughter of Búan the king, said she. I have come to you for I fell in love with you on hearing your fame..." (O' Rahilly 1976: 176), and *Carthai Findabair, ingen Ailella 7 Medba, ara irscélaib* (*TBF* ll. 10–11) "Findabair, daughter of Ailill and Medb, loved him for his famous stories". In Welsh literature this can be found for example in the tales *Pwyll Prince of Dyfed* and *Culhwch and Olwen* (Jones and Jones 1996: 10, 81).[60]

1.3.5 Bird symbolism

In early Irish literature a great variety of bird-symbolism in general is found, as well as supernatural beings in bird shapes, of both gender. This motif is not confined to either Celtic or Indo-European literatures, but can be found outside the Indo-European context as well, commonly called "the swan maiden-motif".[61] The birds in Irish literature are very often, though not always, swans, and are in any case most often described as aquatic. The specific motif of chained birds, as found in *AD,* has been interpreted in a wider context of bird-symbolism, particularly in connection with chains,[62] as a remnant of Celtic religious belief by Ross (1959: 39–59, 1967).[63] Ross claims that the chain is "a symbol of their [the birds'] enchantment or transformed state in literary contexts" (1959: 43 n. 11). In her discussion she distinguishes between the general motif of bird-metamorphosis, and the motif with chained birds in particular, which she sees as specifically connected to early Celtic religion (1959: 54). *Aislinge Oengusso,* a tale that probably goes back to the 8th c, is the earliest Irish tale in which this motif is found. Here love-sickness is induced by a girl who is in the shape of a human one year, and in the shape of a bird the next (Shaw 1934: 51). At the end of the story the couple turns into a couple of birds connected with silver chains (Shaw 1934: 62, Ross 1967: 237). In several other early Irish tales similar bird-themes can be found, cf. for example *Compert Con Culainn* (henceforth *CCC*),[64] *Tochmarc Étaine*[65] and *Snámh dá én*

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[59] A similar concept, *amor de lonh* "love from a distance", is found in medieval France. I want to thank Hanna Zdansky for pointing this out to me.

[60] See Carney (1955: 207, 215) for the same motif, as well as *Orgain Denda Ríg* (Stokes 1901a: 11), *Loinges Mac n-Uislenn* (Hull 1949b: 62–63), *Eachtra Airt Meic Cuind ocus Tochmarc Delbchaine Ingine Morgain* (Best 1907: 153), *TBDD* (Knott 1936: ll. 53–57), *Tochmarc Étaine* (Best and Bergin 1938: 137–196) among others.

[61] Thompson (1955–1958, No. 400). This motif is commonly found with a girl having a bird-cloak that she can take off and which a hero may steal, thus forcing her to remain in human shape. This particular part of the motif is not frequent in early Irish sources. It is found in *TBDD*: *Fo-fácbad na heóin a n-énchendcha* "the birds left their feathered hoods" (Knott 1936: ll. 136–147). The word *énchendach* may also mean "bird-head-dress". It is also found in *Aislinge Oengusso* (Shaw 1934: 51).

[62] The word used for chain is either *rond* or *slabrad*. DIL's definition of *rond* (masc. also *ronn*) is: "(woven or plaited) chain (of ornamental value)" (DIL s.v. *rond* 97: 20). Cf. *da én ...7 rond derc óir etorro* (*SCC* ll. 59–60 Dillon 1953c) "two birds...and a chain of red gold between them", (see 1.3.2), see also *7 rond argit eter cach dá én* "and a chain of silver between every two birds" (DIL s.v. *rond* 97: 24). In the many sources in early Irish literature where animals figure as connected with chains, *ronn* or *rond* and *slabraid* (fem-a-. DIL s.v. *slabraid* 256: 4), seem to be used indiscriminately.

[63] Note though that in the *Derbforgaill*-episode of *TE*, the birds are not described as being connected by chains (see 1.3.5).

[64] Van Hamel (1933: §§2, 4), Windisch (1880 §1), Meyer (1905 §1).

cid dia tá.[66] In this latter tale, the woman Eistiu has a lover, Bude, who comes with his foster-brother Luan in the shape of birds (*i rricht dá én,* see text note to l. 2) to visit her. She dies, and her husband, Nár, kills the two birds with one slingshot, after which he dies of grief for his wife (Marstrander 1911b: 221–222). This theme is very similar to the one found in *AD*. In the second part of the same tale, Remus and Cael, two sons of Medb and Ailill, come in the shape of birds to aid Cónan mac in Dagda in battle (Marstrander 1911b: 225). Examples of other animals connected with chains, either of silver or of gold are also found. In *Táin Bó Fraích* (ll. 31, 49),[67] hounds are connected by silver chains and in Stokes (1891: 191) an example is found of animals joined by bronze chains.

    CCC exists in two different versions, the first one dated to the beginning of the 8th c. and the second one[68] to "perhaps later eighth or ninth century" (Van Hamel 1933: 1).[69] Both versions of this tale begin with a description of a flock of marvellous birds, joined in pairs by silver chains, who graze and destroy a plain at Emain, and how the Ulstermen set out to hunt them. The birds lead the Ulstermen to a house with a man and a pregnant woman. In the first version it is stated that Conchobar's charioteer is Dechtine.[70] She is given a drink from which a magic creature jumps into her mouth. Lug then appears in her dream and explains that she has become pregnant by him and that the child will be Cú Chulainn. In the second version, however, it is specified that the birds are women, namely Dechtine and her fifty maidens. Ross interpreted the first version's bird flock to include Lug, although it is not stated in the text (1959: 47 n. 19).[71] In any case, the connection between the birds and the Otherworld is strong in both versions of the tale.

    Cú Chulainn hurling stones at birds is not a motif confined to *AD* and *TE*, but is also found for instance in *SCC*, as will be discussed below, as well as in *TBC* (*TBC* Rec. I: ll. 768, 1416 O' Rahilly 1976) and *Aithed Emere*,[72] among others. For the theme of hunting birds, apart from *CCC*, where it is stated: *Ar ba bés leusom forim én* (Van Hamel 1933: 3 § 1 ll. 5–6) "For it was their custom to chase birds", one can also find this motif in *Aided Óenfhir Aífe*, where Connla, Cú Chulainn's son, is hunting birds (Van Hamel 1933: 11 §2). The presence of birds is often, but not always, a sign of Otherworldly activity, as in *CCC*, which will be discussed below.

1.3.6 The Otherworld

    The Otherworldly aspect of Derbforgaill has been refuted by Edel (1980: 58), who claims that Derbforgaill, in both *AD* and *TE*, is not from the Otherworld and has no clear supernatural aspects. At the same time she claims that the chain connecting the two birds is of a supernatural character. In my view it is difficult to see where this supernatural character would stem from, if it were not from the Otherworld. It is of course possible that Edel infers a connection between the Otherworld and Scandinavia, as is common, i.e. that since Derbforgaill is from *Lochlann*, she has an automatic connection to the supernatural. Cormier (1975: 123), in discussing the Derbforgaill-episode of *TE*, claims that in this episode Derbforgaill is one of Cú Chulainn's "Otherworld mates", and further concludes that in rescuing the innocent girl "Cú Chulainn appears to be in some way associated with the Celtic otherworld". As Cú Chulainn is more often than not connected with the Otherworld, I deem his rescuing Derbforgaill as quite insignificant in establishing an Otherworld connection for Cú Chulainn, apart from giving further emphasis to the connection he already has. As the bird-motif is so clearly connected with the Otherworld, I would certainly suggest that Derbforgaill's connections to the Otherworld are indisputable, at least at the

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[65] Best and Bergin (1938: 184–185).
[66] Marstrander (1911b: 219–225).
[67] Meid (1967b).
[68] The second version has the title *Feis Tige Becfoltaig.*
[69] For a discussion of the manuscript tradition of both versions, cf. Ó Concheanainn (1990: 441–455). Whereas he does not put forward a new dating of the two versions, he concludes that the second version is a reworking of the first from the version in *LU*, which would give a *post ante quem* for the date of the second version to the early 12th c. (1990: 455).
[70] In the first version she is Conchobar's daughter, except in the text from *LU*. Van Hamel takes this as interference from the second version where she is Conchobar's sister (1933: 5 § 1 n. 5). See also Deane (2007: 61–84) for a discussion.
[71] If Lug is indeed one of the birds in *CCC* we can compare this theme with Conaire in *TBDD*, who is said to have had a taboo on shooting birds on the grounds of his father being a bird (Knott 1936: ll. 91–96).
[72] Meyer (1884: 184–185).

beginning of the tale, but as for the remainder of the tale, Derbforgaill's connections to the Otherworld are neither obvious nor particularly relevant. The only sign that she is in some way different than the other women is the fact that she is the woman who manages to urinate the farthest through the pillar, and in that way displaying the common feature of Otherwordly creatures, that of surpassing the humans, whether in quality, action or beauty. However, I do not deem this as a strong diagnostic for identifying a particular connection between Derbforgaill and the Otherworld in the second part of the tale.

The theme of shape changing is widespread in Irish literature. Metamorphosis is found both happening by will, as with the Morrígan in *TBC*,[73] by the effect of an action, as when the stone hits the bird in *AD*, or induced by magic, as in *Tochmarc Étaine*.[74] Particular animal metamorphosis is not restricted to birds, but can be found with other animals and creatures as well.[75] The Morrígan threatens to turn herself into an eel, a grey she-wolf and a hornless red heifer, unless Cú Chulainn sleeps with her.[76] Étaín is transformed into a pool of water, a worm and a fly.[77] Shape changing is also found in Welsh literature, as found for example in *Math vab Mathonwy* "Math son of Mathonwy" (Gruffydd 1928: 2–41), the last branch of *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* "The four branches of the Mabinogi". Ross (1967: 239), claims that the swan transformation plays an important part in determining the course of the story in *AD*. As a set motif it provides the means of the meeting between the girl, Cú Chulainn and Lugaid by the lake, although for the remainder of the tale the transformation is of little relevance. Marstrander compares the shape changing of Fann and Lí Ban in *SCC* with Derbforgaill and her handmaid in that they resume their shape on being struck by Cú Chulainn, in Marstrander's words: "his touch breaks the spell" (1911a: 203). Greene (1992: 195) also places some importance on the impact of the blow, in that she claims that it was the force of this that caused the transformation.[78] However, there is nothing in the text that invokes an interpretation that any presumed force of the stone's impact would have anything at all to do with the transformation.

1.3.7 Sexual themes

A striking aspect of *AD* is what can be interpreted as sexual connotations. These are suggested not only in certain parts of the narrative and its symbolism, but also, as will be seen below, in the language.

1.3.7.1 Blood

The episode in *Aided Derbforgaill* involving Cú Chulainn sucking Derbforgaill's blood is found in the beginning of the tale:

> *Ro shúgi íarum a tóeb na hingine in cloich co mbuí ina béolu cosin loim chró ro boí impe. "Is dot insaigid tánac-sa trá", or sí "Nathó a ingen", ol sé. "In tóeb ro shúgiu[s]-sa", or sé, "ní chomraiciub-sa friss". "Dom-béra-so dano do neoch bas maith let". "Is maith limsa ém", or se, "dul duit-siu cosin mac as sóiriu fil in hÉrind .i. Lugaid Riab nDerg". "Maith lim", ol sí, "acht con-dot-accur do grés.*

> "Then he sucked the stone out of the side of the girl, so that it was in his mouth with the gush of blood that was around it. "It is to seek you I have come", said she. "Not so, girl" said he. "The side that I have sucked", said he, "I will not mate with". "You will give me, then, to anyone you like". "Indeed I would like" said he "you to go with the noblest man in Ireland, that is, Lugaid of the Red Stripes". "That is fine with me" said she, "provided that I may always see you" (*AD* ll. 10–19).

In the episode above it is not directly stated that it is due to the fact that Cú Chulainn has drunk the blood of Derbforgaill that he cannot join with her. In the corresponding episode in *TE*, however, this is

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[73] *TBC* Rec. I (O' Rahilly 1976: ll. 955, 1845–1873, 2039–42).
[74] Best and Bergin (1938: 184–185).
[75] See also Bernhardt-House (2006: 54–64) for a discussion of sex-metamorphosis in Celtic literature.
[76] *TBC* Rec. I (O' Rahilly 1976: ll. 1845–1873). The Morrígan is also found in the shape of a bird (l. 955), and that of a crone (ll. 2039–2042). For a discussion of the sources of the Morrígan, see Herbert (1996: 141–151).
[77] Best and Bergin (1938: 152–153).
[78] See also Greene (1992: 190–192) for several more references of shape changing in Celtic literatures. Markale (1972: 115) refers to a tale from Brittany involving bird-to-woman metamorphosis, as well as several Welsh tales. Carey (1999: 12) gives references to a very interesting Irish *mirabilium* with a similar theme. See also *TBDD* (Knott 1936: ll. 136–147) for an example of bird-to-man metamorphosis.

stated thus: *Ní comraiciubsa festa frit, ol Cú Chulainn, ar atibus t'fuil.* (*TE* § 84, see 1.4.1) "I will not mate with you, now, because I drunk your blood". Hodges, in his article "The blood covenant among the Celts" (1927), was the first scholar to discuss the subject of blood brotherhood or consanguinity in early Irish literature at any length. He discussed eight separate episodes from Irish sources that he claims involve this motif, of which the blood sucking episode of *AD*, referred to above, is one (1927: 127–129). It seems that no significant work on consanguinity in early Irish has been published since.[79]

The episodes discussed by Hodges, apart from *AD*, can be divided into two groups: one group where it is stated or inferred that the drinking or mixing of blood is a means to form a brotherhood between two individuals, such as Columcille and Cormac (1927: 133–135) or Cú Chulainn and Fer Diad (1927: 117–125). The other group is where the supposed blood covenant is a means to make peace between two hostile factions, such as the Leinstermen and the Ulstermen in the *Boroma* (1927: 113–117), for example. Hodges further gives some examples taken from historical sources, one of which is Giraldus Cambrensis, as well as giving anthropological evidence from societies around the world (1927: 140, 147). He comments on Cú Chulainn's refusal to mate with Derbforgaill thus: "Cuchulainn did just what the primitive men of various other races would have done under the circumstances, for the blood covenant is a bar to marriage" (1927: 152). Thus he infers that a carnal union between Derbforgaill and Cú Chulainn would be seen as incestuous (the motif of incest will be discussed further below).

Looking at Hodges' examples, some important matters distinguishes the blood sucking episode of *AD* from the other episodes mentioned: first of all, in all other examples from Irish literature that Hodges uses the covenant or the drinking or mixing of blood is intentional. It has an expressed or inferred purpose, and both participants, whether it be two people or two population groups, are involved in the process by volition. In *AD*, the sucking of blood is purely accidental. Furthermore, in the other examples the exchanges of blood are mutual. In *AD*, Cú Chulainn is accidentally getting a sip of Derbforgaill's blood in his mouth, but it is nowhere stated or implied that she reciprocates. Thirdly, the episode in *AD* is the only one where it is stated that blood is sucked directly from somebody else's body, rather than being in a vat or a vessel, sometimes mixed with other substances.[80] Lastly, this is the only episode that involves a woman.

There is in Hodges' article a rather distinct lack of discussion of how the examples he draws from anthropological sources and literary sources are connected. Hodges seems to draw the conclusion that these episodes are straightforward reflections of reality and remnants of actual beliefs. Whether or not the episode from *AD* has anything to do with a presumed blood brotherhood or not, it is sufficiently different from the other sources where this motif is found to warrant attention, as Hodges himself points out, although he still maintains that there is evidence of a blood brotherhood ritual in this episode of *AD*. I believe that Hodges' reading of the subtext, i.e. that a bond between Derbforgaill and Cú Chulainn exists, has a basis in the text, and in several places at that (see 1.3.2). What I do not believe he proves though, is that the blood sucking episode in *AD* and a special bond between Derbforgaill and Cú Chulainn would be evidence for a blood brotherhood as a straightforward reflection of society. In reading Hodges we might like to remember that he did work at a time when it was perfectly acceptable to see literature as evidence for historical reality.

Edel (1980: 58) finds the blood sucking motif odd, and, like Hodges, suggests that this might be an old blood brother ritual or ceremony. She further claims that the blood sucking in *TE* has the function of an escape route for Cú Chulainn, for whom the connection with Derbforgaill is unwanted. This is certainly a valid explanation for the Derbforgaill-episode in *TE*, though not for *AD*, as the reason for Cú Chulainn's presumed reluctance is not given here. The blood sucking episode is briefly referred to by Ross (1959: 239), O' Connor (1967: 45), and Greene (1992: 174, 195, 1995: 175), all of whom draw the conclusion that this episode clearly concerns a taboo against incest. The theme of incest is in no way uncommon in the early Irish literature, and can be found for instance in *CCC*, where Dechtine is found either as

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[79]Hodges also briefly discusses this motif in an earlier article (Hodges 1921–1922). In addition to the examples given in Hodges, the romance of Mis and Dubh Ruis (Ó Cuív 1954: 325–333) also involves blood drinking. This tale is found in sources from the 18th c. but may be based on earlier material (Ó Cuív 1954: 326). Drinking the blood from the wounds of her father slain in battle causes the insanity of the woman Mis. Cf. also the late lament for Art O' Leary (Bromwich 1946–1947: 236–252) for this motif. See also Nic Craith 2007: 127–134 who discusses some instances of the drinking of blood to gain strength and/or to gain poetic knowledge. For further discussion on sucking as a means of forming a bond, see Maier (1999: 152–161) and for the concept of drinking in connection with death, see Nikolaeva (2001: 299–306).
[80] Either wine or milk (Hodges 1927: 115).

Conchobar's daughter or sister (see footnote 70). In both versions of *CCC* there are signs of incest, in the first version because the Ulstermen are suspicious that the child that Dechtine is expecting is actually Conchobar's as she used to sleep beside him, in the second version, the Otherworldly woman that Conchobar is spending the night with is Dechtine.[81] We also find this motif in *AM* where Lugaid Riab nDerg himself is depicted as the result of the intercourse between Clothru and her three brothers. According to *Flathiusa nÉrenn* (LL 23a), and other sources,[82] Lugaid also begot his son Crimthann with his mother Clothru.[83]

A taboo against incest is not incompatible with a heroic tradition as it commonly forms a part of the heroic biography-pattern.[84] However, whether this is the motif we find here is unclear. My conclusion as to the blood sucking episode in *AD* is rather that this is a literary motif, used skilfully to establish a bond between Cú Chulainn and Derbforgaill. This bond is then reinforced by Derbforgaill's willingness to be the wife of Lugaid provided that she may always see Cú Chulainn, as it is stated in the text. This bond between Cú Chulainn and Derbforgaill is further followed up in the two concluding poems, one in the voice of Derbforgaill, where she laments Cú Chulainn and Lugaid in roughly equal proportions, and one in the voice of Cú Chulainn, where he laments her death (see above 1.3.2 and ll. 36–91, 97–120).

As was discussed above, Cú Chulainn's refusal to mate with Derbforgaill has been seen as a reflection of a taboo against incest, which may well be a valid interpretation. However, it is difficult to interpret from the text as no reason apart from the aforementioned quotation in the voice of Cú Chulainn is given. In the corresponding episode of *TE*, it is specified that it is due to the fact that Cú Chulainn has drunk Derbforgaill's blood that he is unable to mate with her (see 1.3.7.1). As the reason for Cú Chulainn's unwillingness to mate with a woman whose *tóeb* he has sucked is not obvious from the text, it must be inferred.

1.3.7.2 *Tóeb*

It is stated in l. 6 of *AD* that the stone entered either between her ribs, as in LL and D, or between her wings as in H, and into her womb. The transformation from bird to woman follows this, and Cú Chulainn sucks the stone out:

> *Ro shúgi íarum a tóeb na hingine in cloich co mbuí ina béolu cosin loim chró ro boí impe.*
> "Then he sucked the stone out of the side of the girl, so that it was in his mouth with the gush of blood that was around it." (AD ll. 10–11) [85]

The fact that Cú Chulainn has sucked Derbforgaill's *tóeb* is given as the reason for him being unable to mate with her:

> *"In tóeb ro shúgiu[s]-sa", or sé, "ní chomraiciub-sa friss."*
> "The side that I have sucked," said he, "I will not mate with" (*AD* l. 14).

Tóeb/táeb means "side" (DIL s.v. *taeb* 12: 45), but also "Hence by metonymy the human body, form" (DIL s.v. *taeb* 12: 63–64, see also Murphy 1956: 300). It may be noted though that the difference between a use of this word to denote the whole body or a part of a body is difficult to assess, therefore in most contexts it will be difficult to determine that one meaning is used rather than another. In any case, *tóeb* is often used in the context of child bearing. Two specific episodes are found where *tóeb* is used in this context. The first is a violent "caesarean incision", found in *AM*: *As-berat-sum trá is Medb ros-marb-si et*

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[81] For another example of incest see the three sons of Conall Costamail, which "his own daughter had born to him" (Meyer 1910a: xi –xii).
[82] See 1.2.2.
[83] *Is _e in Lugaid Riab nDerg do r_onsat tr_i meic Echach Feidlech ra siair .i.re Clothraind; 7 dana dar_one in Lugaid sin mac ria mathair f_ein, .i. Crimthand mac Lugdech r_i h-Erenn* (*Lebor Gabála Érenn* pt. 5 Mac Alister 1956: 302–303, cf. also 304–305). Cf. further D'Arbois de Jubainville (1903: 206, 212).
[84] For a summary of the history and structure of this pattern, see Ó Cathasaigh (1977: 1–7).
[85] As the word *loim* does not actually mean "clot" but rather "sip, mouthful", (DIL s.v. *loim*), I would rather translate this as "spurt of blood" or "gush of blood". See text note to ll. 10–11, *SMMD* (Thurneysen 1935: l. 12), and *Fingal Rónáin* (Greene: 1955 l. 100, 269). See also Hodges (1927: 128).

is triana táib tucsat na claidib in Furbaide mac Conchobair (Hull 1938: 55)[86] "They say indeed that Medb killed her and that through her side the swords brought forth Furbaide mac Conchobair" (Hull 1938: 60). Furthermore, in an episode in the Book of Lecan (Stokes 1890: 40–45), Moncha, desperate to delay the birth of her son due to a prophecy, states: *Mina thi, ar si, trem thæb-sa, ni tharga in chonair choir co amairech* "unless" she saith, "he shall come through my side, he shall not go the proper way till the morrow" (Stokes 1890: 42–43). In the aforementioned two episodes, as well as in *AD*, the interpretation of *tóeb* "side of body" or "body" seem adequate, and in lieu of further details, difficult to specify further. However, in the translation of one of the two versions of *Noínden Ulad*, a specific sexual meaning has been chosen for this word: *Téit dano cách ina lepaid. Anaid-si dar éssi cáich et tálgedar in tenid et soíd for desiul 7 téit foa brat cucai-sem et do-beir láim fora thoíb.* "She remained after everyone else, slacked down (?) the fire, turned righthandwise, went to him under his covering, and laid a hand on his privy parts" (Hull 1968: §2, ll. 13–15). In l. 6 of *AD*, it is specified that Cú Chulainn hurled the stone so that it lodged in Derbforgaill's *broind*: *do-lléici Cú Chulaind cloich forru co ndechaid eter a hasna co mboí ina broind.* "Cú Chulainn hurls a stone at them, so that it went between her ribs and lodged in her womb." The word *brú* can also mean chest, but it has a specific meaning "womb". Thus, if Cú Chulainn is sucking the stone from Derbforgaill's body, presumably he would suck it out where it was lodged, that is, from her womb. Although it is difficult to find linguistic evidence for the word *tóeb* having a distinct sexual meaning, given the use of this word in the aforementioned contexts, I think this is reasonable to infer.

1.3.7.3 Urine

Further possible sexual connotations can be found in the episode where the women have a urination-contest, won by Derbforgaill. This episode is important for the tale in that the contest triggers off a chain of violence and deaths, beginning with the mutilation of Derbforgaill and the death of Lugaid upon beholding her, ending with Cú Chulainn's massacre of the 150 queens responsible for Derbforgaill's disfigurement and subsequent death. In *AD* the urination-contest is clearly used as a means of determining the status of the women:

> *In ben ó ría triit is í as fherr ergaire uainn.*
> "The woman from whom it will reach through, it is she that is the best match of us" (*AD* ll. 22–23).

In LL the word used is *congaib*, whereas D and H have *ergaire*. *Congaib* is translated by Marstrander as "to keep", though Bowen (1975: 27), would rather derive this word from a noun, related to the same verb but having the meaning of "gathering, host" and also "equipment". See DIL (s.v. *congab* 438: 7), which gives an example of emasculation involving this word and further gives this line from *AD* as an example following this, thus in the meaning of the word as "equipment" (s.v. *congab* 438: 41–43). This is then qualified with the remark "*in sensu obscoeno erghaire*" (s.v. *congab* 438: 43–44).[87] Bowen refers to *congaib* as having a sexual meaning, concluding that the meaning of the sentence would rather be "she has the best sexual equipment of us all", and that the sexual connotations of copious urination are thus established.[88] The word *ergaire* is found in the tale *Scéla Conchobair Maic Nessa* (Stokes 1910: 18), in a scene describing the size of Fergus's penis, and due to this the number of women it took to "curb" him. Stokes (1910: 35) describes the meaning in this use as obscure, but adds "in sensu obsceno?" as a note to the text (1910: 27). This word seems to be the verbal noun of the verb *ar-gair* "forbids, hinders, prevents" though the meaning also includes "being a match for". Bowen infers from the context and the translation of *ergaire* as "curb" that the meaning is clearly sexual. I have no major objection to Bowen's conclusions as to the meaning of these two words, or their sexual connotations. Even so, I would like to caution that the meanings of these two words are obscure, and that very little text material is found in which a clear sexual meaning of these words can be inferred, apart from the examples given above.

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[86] Text from LL. The tradition of the cutting out of Furbaide is found in several sources, for a discussion of this motif in all its sources, see Wong (1996: 233–241).
[87] *obscoeno* [sic!]
[88] The Welsh cognate *gafael* "grab" does not seem to have any sexual connotation, but *cydio*, usually "take hold", does (*Geriadur Prifysgol Cymru* s.v. *gafael, cydio*).

In l. 22 a reference to *úan* "foam" (DIL s.v. *úan* 27: 39) may possibly be found: *Tabram ar mún isin coirthe dús cia as sia regas ind. In ben ó ría triit is í as fherr ergaire uainn* "Let us make our urine into the pillar to ascertain who will make it go into it the furthest. The woman from whom it will reach through, it is she that is the best match of us". The reading of D, *uainn* and H, *uain*, mean "from us", the reading *úan* of LL could be interpreted as the same, although another interpretation is possible, as a word meaning "foam froth". This word is often found in the meaning of the froth of a wave and froth on ale, which could here possibly refer to the froth of the urine. I have chosen the reading of D and H in this line, to go with *ergaire* on account of the probability that *ergaire* is here the *lectio difficilior* (see text note to ll. 22–23). However, if the reading of LL is chosen, it may imply a sense "The woman from whom it will reach through, it is she that is the best carrier of foam". This foam may be the foam of the urine or indeed a reference to sperm, thus implying that the woman who would be able to urinate all the way to the ground would be the best to accommodate a man's sperm, and thus be the most desirable woman of all. This is rather speculative, although in light of the sexual content of this tale, not impossible.

The theme of urinating women is rare in Irish literature.[89] Of the few other references that I have found is the one from *TBC* Rec. II where Medb's profound urination and menstruation is described.[90]

> *And sain geibis Medb scíath díten dar éis fer nHérend.[91] Andsain faítte Medb in Dond Cúalnge co coíca dá shamascaib imbe & ochtor dá hechlachaib leiss timchell co Crúachain. Gipé reshossed, gipé né rossed, go rossed in Dond Cúalnge feib ra gell-si. Is and drecgais a fúal fola for Meidb [7 itbert: "Geib, a Fherguis," bar Medb] "scíathdíten dar éis fer nhÉrend[92] goro shíblur-sa m'fhúal úaim. "Dar ar cubus," ar Fergus "is olc in tráth 7 ní cóir a dénam." "Gid ed ní étaim-sea chena," bar Medb, "dáig nída beó-sa meni shíblur-sa m'fhúal-sa úaim." Tánic Fergus 7 gebid scíath díten dar éis fer nhÉrend[93]. Siblais Medb s fúal úathi co nderna trí tulchlassa móra de co taille munter in cach thurchlaiss. Conid Fúal Medba at berar friss.*

> "Then Medb covered the retreat of the men of Ireland and she sent the Donn Cúalnge around to Crúachu together with fifty of his heifers and eight of Medb´s messengers, so that whoever might reach Crúachu or whoever might not, at least the Donn Cúailnge would arrive there as she had promised. Then her issue of blood came upon her (and she said: "O Fergus, cover) the retreat of the men of Ireland that I may pass my water". "By my conscience" says Fergus "It is ill-timed and it is not right to do so." "Yet I cannot but do so" said Medb, "for I shall not live unless I do". Fergus came then and covered the retreat of the men of Ireland. Medb passed her water and it made three great trenches in each of which a household can fit. Hence the place is called Fúal Medba (*TBC* Rec. II: ll. 2820–2832, O' Rahilly 1967: 269).

There is another episode in *TBC* Rec. I where Medb is urinating inside her tent:

> *Is and dorala Medb ic scriblad a fúail for urlár in pupaill. "In cotlad do Ailill innosa?" ar Medb. "Nad ed ámh," ar Ailill. "In cluinedo c[h]liamain núa ac celebrad duit?" "An ed dogní-som ón?" ar Ailill. "Is ed écin," for Medb. "Acht luigim-sa a luigend mo t[h]úath ná tic arna cosaib cétna chucaib-si in fer dogní in celebrad út."*

> "Medb was urinating on the floor of the tent. "Is Ailill asleep now?" asked Medb. "No indeed," said Ailill. "Do you hear your new son-in-law bidding you farewell?" "Is that what he is doing?" asked Ailill. "It is indeed," said Medb. "But I swear my people's oath that he who is so bidding you farewell will not return to you on his own feet" (*TBC* Rec. I: ll. 2866–2872, O'Rahilly 1976: 202).

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[89] Apart from the women in *AD* and Medb in *TBC*, there are some references to men urinating. This is found in the Fer Diad-episode of *TBC* Rec. I (O' Rahilly 1976: 202, ll. 2860–2871), as well as in the short tale *Conall Corc and the Corco Luigdhe* (Ed. Meyer 1910b: 57–63, transl. Hull 1947: 937–950). The latter tale is interesting as it involves the urination of blood, a motif similar to the episode concerning Medb's urination and menstruation discussed above. In *FB* (Henderson 1899 § 20) is found a burlesque account of urination, although the urination here is only implied, and the main focus is on the competition of the women as they are trying to enter the house first. In addition, the foundation legends of two lakes, Lough Ree and Lough Neagh involve the copious urination of horses. See De Vries (2006) as well as the Prose *Dindshenchas* and the Metrical *Dindshenchas* for *Loch Echach* (Gwynn 1924: 62–68, Stokes 1894: 481–483) and *Loch Rib* (Gwynn 1913: 450–451, Stokes 1895a: 150–153, see also Stokes 1893: 474–475).

[90] This episode is discussed by Bowen (1975: 33) where he also discusses a scene in the late tale *Táin Bó Flidaise II* as also involving urination, cf. Mackinnon (1907–1908: 208). The episode is also discussed by Dooley (1994: 131–133) and Edel (2006: 84–85).

[91] The source has a *punctum delens* on the *n*.

[92] The source has a *punctum delens* on the *n*.

[93] The source has a *punctum delens* on the *n*.

This episode is not as humiliating for Medb, as the previously discussed one, and it does not involve her menstruating. The word play on *fúal* "urine" and *fola* "blood" is therefore not present.

One can look at the motif of urination in several ways. The urination-contest in *AD* has been discussed by Bowen, Dooley and Bitel, all of whom agree that this scene involves clear sexual implications. As discussed above, Bowen (1975: 28) discusses the variant readings on the words *ergaire* and *congaib*, interpreting them as having sexual connotations. He further discusses the measuring of a woman's sexual power by the capacity of her inner space, concluding that the bladder serves as an analogue for the vagina and uterus, as a female counterpart of the male potency myth, likewise concerned with size. In this he also interprets the episode as having mythological connotations (1975: 28).

According to Bitel (1992: 188), early medieval theories about women's bodies clearly indicate that very little distinction was made between the bladder, the uterus and the vagina. She claims that urination carries sexual connotations in many cultures, and further infers that even though the prowess of the urination would have been considered as impressive, the abundance would also have been threatening, both to the women and to the men of early Ireland. Bitel refers to Bowen's article, and further comments that a woman who can control urination clearly has well-developed vaginal muscles, and gives Derbforgaill as an example.

The most extensive discussion of the urination-competition in *AD* is found in Dooley (1994). Dooley's treatment of the urination contest in *AD* is found in conjunction with a discussion of gender play in early Irish literature. Her discussion refers to the following passage in *AD:*

> *Laa n-and didiu i nderiud gemrid, snectha mór and. Do-gníat ind fir corthe mór dint shnechtu. Lotar na mná forna corthe. Ba hé a tuscurnud. "Tabram ar mún isin coirthe dús cia as sia regas ind. In ben ó ría triit is í as fherr ergaire uainn".*

> "One day then, at the end of winter, there was heavy snow. The men make a big pillar from the snow. The women went on the pillars. This was their device. "Let us make our urine into the pillar to ascertain who will make it go into it the furthest. The woman from whom it will reach through, it is she that is the best match of us" " (*AD* ll. 20–23).

Dooley interprets the urination contest in the following way:

> "One might begin then with the proposition that the underlying game is one of male contestation– it is after all the men who first make the pillar and the women only play when the men have grown tired of the novelty" (1984: 132).

This is followed by the statement:

> "It is at least possible that one might interpret this in the most obvious way as a boys' pissing competition. If this is so, then the imitation game of the women makes more sense here. It is a case of women who will be boys and the possibility suggests itself that for Irish cultural discourse, gender itself can be viewed as a cultural possession which is available for manipulation in a number of ludic, even subversive and contestatory ways" (1994: 132).

Dooley's suggestion that the men had a pissing competition seems to be based on a variant reading found in the two later manuscript of *AD*, D and H, but not in the earliest, LL. As will be discussed in chapter 2, D and H are so close that I am presuming a common ancestor to these two manuscripts. They are problematic however, inasmuch as even though they both have evidence of later language, they also contain quite a number of readings that seem to be better, and sometimes earlier, than LL (see 2.3.3.2). Some of the readings shared between D and H but not with LL, are further elaborations of the text, which frequently consist of clarification of a verbal action (see 2.3.3.2). The variant reading that is used by Dooley to explain that the men have had a urination competition is of this kind and consists of the phrase *iar tain na bfer* "after the men".[94]

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[94] Reading from D, the reading from H is: *dar eisi na bfer*. The reading is found in D and H after the first full sentence of l. 21 in the present edition, see text note to ll. 20–21.

Thus in D and H it is stated that the women went up on the pillar after the men. That is all that we are told. The text does not state what the men were doing up there, whether or not they went down again, or if they are still up there while the women's urination competition takes place. We are simply not told. From the assumption that the men had a competition, Dooley suggests that the women's competition is a mimicry of this, and even further that it was only played out after the men tired of the game. From this then follows the suggestion that gender is a cultural possession that is available for manipulation.

This chain of assumptions is then explored even further by the mentioning of the idea, following Laquer,[95] that:

> "Early medieval societies had a one-body idea of sexuality; thus that the close mimicry of men's game here by women is enable by the concept of the unity of all bodily fluids and the homology between sexual parts. The violent rejection by the other women of Derbforgaill, the woman who can melt snow like a man, ultimately rests as much on the heat as the amount of urine. Thus galenic humour theories of heat as the prerogative of male bodies and moisture of women are confounded; Derbforgaill is dangerous, both as the woman from outside the group and also as the woman with the subversive body who might be capable of both giving and experiencing pleasures in sex in ways that usurp a long-standing male prerogative and disturb the standard of gender by which women themselves collectively orient their gender identity" (1994: 132–133).

That a presumed concept of all bodily fluids would enable the mimicry of men's games is still based on the presumption that the men had a competition that could be imitated in the first place. This is certainly a possible conjecture, but again it needs to be pointed out that this is an interpretation, and that nowhere in the text is it stated that such a competition took place.

Furthermore, the women's violent reaction of Derbforgaill's winning the competition is in Dooley explained as the result as much of the heat as the amount of the urine. However, all the text tells us about the urine is the statement that the women went up on the pillar to see from whom it would reach the furthest, and that when Derbforgaill enters the competition the urine slashed from her to the ground. Heat is not at all mentioned in the text, thus both this and the following statement that male heat and female moisture would have been confounded is stated without any foundation in the text. The fact that the urine from anyone's body, be it female or male, will melt snow, cannot have been a surprise to anyone in early Ireland. There is further nothing whatsoever in the text that states that the heat of the urine is the reason for the women's wrath. This whole chain of assumptions seems to be based on a variant reading in the two later manuscripts of this tale, which I suggest is not original, and which only provides the information that the women went up on the pillar after the men.

1.3.8 The subversiveness of the women

Dooley's suggestion above that the subversiveness of Derbforgaill, evident in her capacity to "melt snow like a man" (1994: 133) threatened the gender roles of early Irish society, and that this was also the reason for the violent repercussions of the contest, is further implied in a discussion by Ní Bhrolcháin. She states: "When women behave inappropriately and reverse the roles with men they may be killed and sacrificed or rehabilitated socially" (1994: 117). This argument is carried further in a discussion by Bitel (1996). Bitel states that it is clear that the women act in opposition to the men of the community and states:

> "The Ulsterwomen knew immediately that her powers would attract all their husbands and lovers; so they attacked and mutilated her, and drove her to suicide from shame. That they acted in opposition to the men of the community is clear from the vengeance taken on them. Their actions were nominally a protest against an Ulsterman's union with a foreigner and that alien beauty's allure, but the *bantracht* also rebelled against men's recasting the rules of courtship and sexual union" (1996: 162–163).

In fact the only two men that are expressively affected by Derbforgaill and the treatment of her in the text of *AD* are Cú Chulainn and Lugaid.

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[95] Laqueur (1990) *Making sex: Body and gender from the Greeks to Freud.* Cambridge Mass.

In *AD*, it is stated in the text that the woman who reaches through to the ground will be the best match for a man, and be the best loved woman of all:

> *"Tabram ar mún isin coirthe dús cia as sia regas ind. In ben ó ría triit is í as fherr ergaire uainn". Ní röacht didiu uadib. Con-gairther Der[b] F[h]orgaill uadib. Nírbo áill lea ór nírbo báeth. Téit araí forsin corthe. Ro selaig uade co talam. Dia fessatar trá ind fhir so nícon grádaigfider i fail na hoínmná.*

> "Let us make our urine into the pillar to ascertain who will make it go into it the furthest. The woman from whom it will reach through, it is she that is the best match of us." It did not reach through from them, however. Derbforgaill is summoned by them. She did not desire it, because she was not foolish. Nevertheless she goes on the pillar. It slashed from her to the ground. "If the men discover this then, no (one) will be loved in comparison with this woman" (*AD* ll. 22–26).

As can be seen in the extract above, there is no mention in the text that it was because Derbforgaill was an outsider that the women were angry, nor that they "were hanging around a gathering of Ulster heroes" (Bitel 1996: 162), although both these assumptions might be possible to make based on the text. However, there is no mention in the text that this was acting in opposition to the men as a group. The only men mentioned as actors in this tale are Cú Chulainn and Lugaid, both of whom were directly affected by Derbforgaill's death, therefore the vengeance taken upon the women is less likely to be seen as an attack on the women because they had overstepped the boundaries of gender, but because they had mutilated a loved one. Bitel further draws the conclusion that the women were jealous because Cú Chulainn had brought an outsider to be his lover (1996: 162). As it is Lugaid who is Derbforgaill's lover in this tale and not Cú Chulainn, this observation seemingly is not valid, but it may well be, as it is Cú Chulainn who is the main male character in this tale with Lugaid only acting as a shadow-figure. Whatever the case may be, the jealousy of the women in this tale is obvious. Overt references to the Ulster women's jealousy towards each other, as well as between Emer and Fand is also evident in *SCC* (Dillon 1953c: ll. 655–759). In the latter episode Emer and her company of 50 women are threatening to kill Fand because Cú Chulainn had fallen in love with Fand and threatened to leave Emer. Jealousy between women, on both an individual level, as between Fuamnach and Étaín in *Tochmarc Étaine* (Best and Bergin 1938: 152–153), and on a group level, as the episodes in *AD* and *SCC* show, are certainly frequently found in early Irish literature.

1.3.9 Suicide

Bitel claims that Derbforgaill's death is by suicide: "The Ulster women knew immediately that her powers would attract all their husbands and lovers; so they attacked and humiliated her and drove her to suicide from shame." (1996: 162). Bitel does not comment further upon this statement so it is not clear how she reached this conclusion. The text gives us the following information about Derbforgaill dying:

> *Tíagait for comlúath dochum in taige. Amal ro-chúala-si ón, dúnaid a tech furri. "Oslaic", ar Cú Chulaind. "Caín bláth forro scarsam", or sí.*

> "They rush with equal speed towards the house. When she heard that she shut the house on herself. "Open", said Cú Chulainn. "Lovely is the bloom under which we have parted", said she."
> (*AD* ll. 32–34).

After this, Derbforgaill utters the 14 quatrains that constitute the first of the two poems that conclude the tale.

In the scene in *AD* where Derbforgaill's dying is described, it is clear that she refuses to open the door, therefore presumably declines help from Cú Chulainn and Lugaid when they come to her aid. Whether or not this can be defined as suicide depends on what types of deaths we include in the definition "suicide". Whereas the most basic definition of suicide may be "the killing of oneself", this definition includes two types of self killing that can be found in early Irish sources but that would not necessarily be defined as

suicide per se. The accidental killing of oneself is technically speaking suicide in that a person is killing him or herself, although it lacks an element of premeditation that we would expect in a suicide.[96] I do not think an act of killing oneself by accident consist a suicide per se, but is more akin to accidents with unfortunate death ensuing. The second type of death that would not necessarily be defined as suicide is when a person is dying due to the refusal of accepting an act that would save their life. This is the type of death that is described in *AD*, where Derbforgaill potentially could have survived, had she opened the door and accepted the help of the men rushing to her aid.

I define suicide as an act of wilfully killing oneself, excluding the two types of self killing described above. The examples of death by wilfully killing oneself in early Irish literature can be grouped into examples where the protagonist is actively taking a decision to kill him or herself, by different means, and examples where the self killing is a necessary result of killing someone else. To the first group of these belong the examples of women smashing their heads against rocks,[97] drownings,[98] and the so called "classical suicide" in which death is by throwing oneself on one's sword (or knife).[99] To the second type of suicide belong the deaths of Fer Bachrach and Ferchertne in *Aided Con Rói*,[100] both of which choose death as a necessary means for killing in revenge. This type of suicide, while a wilful act of killing oneself, is more a motif of personal sacrifice, in which the protagonist is not actively seeking death for himself, but rather consider his own life insignificant in comparison with the revenge that is possible.

Bitel's statement that Derbforgaill committed suicide is lacking any explanation or elaboration of the context of this presumed suicide. The fact that through the act of refusing help Derbforgaill refuses to save her own life may lead to the suggestion that this would be considered a form of suicide. However, as Derbforgaill is at this point in the story horribly maimed it is equally plausible that she just simply dies from her wounds.[101] I do not consider the death of Derbforgaill to be a suicide as it is not a straightforward act of self killing but a passive act of refusing help.

1.3.10 Competition and status

One may interpret this part of the tale as Ní Bhrolcháin, Dooley and Bitel do, that the women are indeed reversing the male/female roles, and consequently are punished by death for doing this. That some sort of gender issue is being dealt with in this part of the tale is possible, and indeed likely, though in my view, an interpretation of this scene from a gender perspective is difficult to make without at the same time being highly speculative. I would sooner connect the urination contest as depicted in *AD* with other peculiar contests in early Irish literature, as for instance the incident found in *FB* where Fedelm, Lendabair and Emer all race to be the first woman to enter the house. In this episode, the three women are each egged on individually by Bricriu who praises the women and assures them that the first woman into

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[96] For this type of death, see Gwynn 1924: 174.
[97] Deirdre in *Loinges mac n-Uislenn* (Hull 1949b), Créd in *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin* (Binchy 1963: 19, ll. 508–509) and Buan in the *Dindshenchas* (*Úaig Búana*, Gwynn 1924: 294–295 and *Fích Búana*, Gwynn 1924: 180). It is to be noted that whereas it is commonly accepted that Deirdre's death is a form of suicide due to the repetitious action involved in her hitting her head on the rock, in the *Dindshenchas* episodes concerning the death of Buan which are very similar to the Deirdre-episode, the action is less straightforward and the action more open to interpretation. See Bruford (1969: 102) for a discussion of the variation of Deirdre's death in various sources.
[98] Fadat, Dachaech and Boand in the *Dindshenchas* (*Boand I*, Gwynn 1913: 30–31, cf. *Boand II*, Gwynn 1913: 36–37, in which the death is less straightforward,), *Ath Fadat I* (Gwynn 1913: 156–157), *Loch Dachaech* (Gwynn 1913: 186–187, cf. the Rennes *Dindshenchas* Stokes 1894: 432), and Aodh in *Tóitean Tighe Finn* (The burning of Finn's house, Gwynn (1904: 13–33), all drown themselves and the deaths are described as wilful acts. It is also possible that the description of the death of Gile (*Loch Gile* Gwynn 1924: 12–13) may be considered a suicide although it is not altogether clear from the text whether she sought to plunge her head in the water to sooth her shame or to kill herself.
[99] This type of suicide is found in the tradition of Lugaid (see 1.3.2) as well as in *Fingal Rónáin* (Greene 1955: 9, 11, ll. 194–196) and *Talland Étair* (Ó Donaill 2005: 49, 60, ll. 194–195).
[100] Best (1905: 26–27 § 9, 30–31 § 13–14).
[101] O Daly believed it likely that shame would have been the direct reason for Derbforgaill's death (1968: 106–107, see further 1.4.5.2). In many of the instances of suicide in early Irish literature the connection between suicide and shame is apparent and in some instances the death of shame in one version of a story can be found as suicide in another. For grief as motivation for suicide, compare also two instances found where suicide is considered but rejected: Ciabhán and Gruaid in *Tóruigheacht Gruaidhe Griansholus* (O' Rahilly 1924: 48–49). Even though this source is late, the suicide considered by Gruaid has a similar motivation as Deirdre's.

the hall will outshine all other women in Ulster. This is what Bricriu tells Fedelm: *Bá tú theis isa tech ar thus innocht, doroimle caidche áis banrígnacht úas bantrocht Ulad uli* (Henderson 1899: 18 l. 8) "If thou comest first into the hall to-night, the sovranty of queen-ship shalt thou enjoy for ever over all the ladies of Ulster" (Hendersson 1899: 19). The episode ends with the three women racing against each other, and as Cú Chulainn lifts up the side of the house so that she can enter first, Emer wins this competition. The episode from *SCC* describing the jealousy of the Ulsterwomen may also be valid for a comparison. The women not only disfigure themselves to resemble the man they love most, but also argue as to whom should have the lovely birds seen at the lake. Cú Chulainn then hunts the most beautiful birds for his wife in order for her to surpass the other women (Dillon 1953c: ll. 24–46). Whereas this latter episode is not a competition per se, it revolves around the issue of contention and jealousy amongst the Ulsterwomen, an issue also clearly seen in the urination contest of *AD*. I would thus suggest that the motivation for the urination contest in *AD* can be sought in the quest for status, permeating a large portion of early Irish literature as a reflection of a society with a strong emphasis on the hierarchy of social ranks.[102]

1.3.11 Conclusion

I have discussed the Scandinavian influences of *AD* and concluded that there is no overt connection to Scandinavia in this tale and that this connection has been exaggerated by previous scholars. Several set motifs are used in the tale, such as *grád écmaise*, the Otherworld and the bird-motif. These are all found widely in early Irish literature. Rarer motifs include the motif of blood sucking and the urination competition. I suggest that even though the sucking of blood in this tale may represent a taboo against incest, it is difficult to interpret and if this is connected to incest, it is not out of the ordinary in a heroic literary context. Further, the blood sucking seems to be used as a literary motif, to establish the bond between Cú Chulainn and Derbforgaill that is followed up in the ensuing poems. Rather than a urination contest based on a mimicry of men's play, I have chosen to put the competition in the context of other competitions between women in early Irish literature and suggest that this is theme firmly grounded in the competition of status. The blood sucking episode and the urination contest has clear sexual implications, based both in the language used and in the context of the tale. Whereas it can be suggested that Derbforgaill's death in this tale is a case of suicide, in comparison with other cases of suicide in early Irish literature and using a definition of suicide as "wilfully killing oneself", I have concluded that this is not a straightforward case of suicide. In discussing the motifs of jealousy and competition I have chosen to interpret these motifs in a stricter sense than previous scholars, as I can see no textual basis either for any particular emphasis on the subversiveness of the women or for gender issues being expressed.

A text as brief as *AD* leaves itself wide open for various interpretations as to the subtext, as we have seen from the examples discussed above. The arguments and interpretations presented by Hodges, Dooley and Bitel are speculations, and scholarly discussion would hardly progress without a certain degree of speculation. I am however wondering how these interpretations apply to the text. I believe that all discussions about the text must have some basis in the text. Hodges connection between the blood sucking-motif and anthropological evidence may be seen in the light of the time he was working. However, for the more modern discussions, if the material used to draw conclusions from is not actually in the text, (as Bitel's statement about a presumed suicide on Derbforgaill's part), or only vaguely referred to in the text (as Dooley's discussion on Derbforgaill's capacity to melt snow like a man), one may want to qualify the statement with a footnote, outlining how and why the text is departed from, and ultimately what the conclusions drawn are based on.

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[102] For further discussion of honour, status and competition in early Irish literature see Charles-Edwards (1978: 123–141) and O' Leary (1984: 115–127, 1986: 16–26, 1987a: 27–44, 1987b: 1–14, 1991a: 28:44).

1.4 Textual affinities

The fact that *AD* and *TE* share a portion of text has long been recognised (Thurneysen 1921, Edel 1980, Ó Concheanainn 1997), although this has not been the topic of a detailed discussion. It has also been suggested that *AD* betrays the explicit influence of *SCC* (Marstrander 1911a, Thurneysen 1921, Edel 1980), although again, no detailed discussion as to this presumed influence has been put forward.

Further textual affinities can be found between *AD* and a prose section in the *Dindshenchas* titled *Mag Mandachta*, (Gwynn 1924: 278–279), as well as in a verse in the genealogies from the MS Rawlinson B 512 (O'Brien: 1962, 121). These will be discussed in turn below. The phrase *leca Lugdach lis* will be discussed here due to its occurrence in other sources in addition to *AD*.

1.4.1 *Aided Derbforgaill* and *Tochmarc Emire*

1.4.1.1 Introduction

From the time when *AD* was first translated by Zimmer and edited by Marstrander, there seems to be comparatively little discussion of the very obvious textual parallel between *AD* and *TE*. Neither Zimmer nor Marstrander mention *TE* in conjunction with *AD*, whereas Thurneysen (1921: 393) claims that *TE* borrowed this particular episode from *AD*, although he does not go into detail as to why the borrowing would have gone in that direction. Hessen and O' Nolan (1912) discussed the various episodes from other sources used to expand and elaborate *TE*, although no mention is made of the episode corresponding to *AD*. Ó Concheanainn (1997: 51) states that *TE* borrowed this episode from *AD*, although he does not discuss this in detail. Edel (1980: 57), refers to Thurneysen's view but disagrees, her view is that on the contrary *AD* borrowed its first part from *TE*. The reason for this view seems to be that Edel (1980: 57) deems this part of *TE* to be typical of the Irish saga tradition, whereas she deems *AD* to be secondary. This seems to be a rather subjective view based on her appreciation of *AD* as a late text, a conclusion that she bases on the "revolting crudity" (*abstossende Rohheit*) of the subject matter of the tale. She also uses this as a dating criterion for *AD* and argues on these grounds that it seems unlikely that *AD* is older than the 12th c. As will be seen below (3.4.1), I question this as a dating criterion and as a criterion to make judgement as to the textual origin of this episode. Carney (1955: 240–242), following Thurneysen (1921: 329 n. 2), considered the whole episode with the *ingen Rúad* in *TE* as being an obvious borrowing from the legend of Perseus and Andromeda through the medium of the British Tristan legend. The reason for this he claims is both the geographical location of the incident (Scotland) but also the fact that one of Cú Chulainn's companions is Drust mac Seirb who, according to Carney, appears nowhere else in Irish literature. Edel (1980: 54) claims that the episode in *TE* uses the bird-motif with the aim of inserting the Drust-saga into the tale of Cú Chulainn's wife-quest. Considering that Drust mac Seirb is only mentioned in a list among the companions following Cú Chulainn on the expedition, and further as he is not mentioned at all in connection with the bird motif, I fail to see that this merits the importance Carney and Edel attach to it.

1.4.1.2 The manuscript tradition and dating of *Tochmarc Emire*

AD and *TE* share a rather substantial text portion (see below 1.4.1.3), so the manuscript tradition and dating of *TE* has a bearing upon the discussion about textual affinities between *AD* and *TE*. *TE* has a rather complicated manuscript history. It exists in two redactions, one short, traditionally presumed to be the older, and one long, presumed to be the younger. The relationship between both redactions is rather important for the present discussion as the portion of text that is similar to *AD* exists only in the long version. The short redaction exists in full only in one manuscript,[103] whereas the long version exists

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[103] Edited by Meyer, (1890a) from the MS Rawlinson B 512. Meyer also edited the long version from the MS Harley 5280 (1901).

complete in three different manuscript, with fragments found in three other manuscript. Complete texts of *TE* are found in the following three MSS: RIA D.iv.2, RIA 23.N.10 and British Museum Harley 5280. RIA 23.E.29 (*The Book of Fermoy*) contains two fragments that originally belonged to the same MS as a fragment in British Museum Egerton 92. In addition there is an incomplete copy of *TE* in *LU* which is the earliest manuscript copy of the long version of *TE*. A lacuna begins just after the first sentence of the paragraph that contains the portion comparable to *AD*, thus it is impossible to know if the *LU* version of *TE* would originally have included this episode. The manuscript situation of *TE* in *LU* is very complicated: it is in two different hands of writing, with glosses, erasings, as well as several lacunae.[104]

The long version of *TE* was edited by Van Hamel in 1933, who used the earliest complete manuscript of the long version, RIA D.iv.2, as the basis for his edition. The MS D.iv.2 also contains a copy of *AD*. These are, however, written by two different scribes. Furthermore, even though the three MSS copies of *AD* are very similar, the copy of *AD* in *LL* is closer to the version of the episode in *TE* in D.iv.2 than the copy of *AD* in D.iv.2 is to *TE* in D.iv.2.

The previous view has been that the long redaction is an expanded version of the short, with parts added from other Ulster Cycle tales, as well as other sources, (Meyer 1890a: 439, Hessen and O' Nolan 1912: 498, Thurneysen 1921: 377, Van Hamel 1933: 16, Mac Eoin 1982: 122, Toner 1998: 88).[105] It has been shown by Mac Eoin, (1982: 122) that the short version of *TE* is incorporated almost verbatim into the long version. Toner noted that the redactor of the long version preserved the language of the short version almost exactly, but that he expanded and clarified the text of his exemplar, using the short version as a framework onto which material from other sources was added. Toner deems the long version "a careful work of scholarship, in which the redactor has endeavoured to assemble all the available materials relating to Cú Chulainn's courtship of Emer and his training in arms to produce a lucid and compelling biography of the greatest of the Ulster heroes" (1998: 88).

The long version of *TE* has been dated to the 11th or 12th c. Meyer (1890a: 439, following Zimmer 1888: 239–240) saw the short redaction as a pre-Norse redaction and the long version as a post-Norse redaction of *TE*. Meyer dates the short version to the 8th c. and the long version to the 11th c. Thurneysen (1921: 377–395) distinguished three different versions of the long redaction of *TE*: Version I, a reworking of the short redaction which he dates to the first half of the 11th c., version II, a non-attested development of version I, dated to the first half of the 12th c., and version III, a reworking of versions I and II, dated to shortly after version II. Thurneysen's view is now rather dated and more recent discussions by Mac Mathúna (1985: 464–466), Toner (1998), and Ó Concheanainn (1996: 91–102, 1997: 27–91) conclude that Thurneysen's hypothetical version II is unnecessary. Ó Concheanainn has argued that rather than being an expanded and elaborated version of the short version, the long version is actually the oldest. He further argued that the short version is not an earlier redaction of *TE*, neither is it derived from a separate redaction, but it is rather a shorter and somewhat archaised abridgement of the long version as found in *LU*. Toner (1998: 80), in his article concerning the transmission of *TE*, has argued convincingly against Ó Concheanainn, not least on methodological grounds, stating that the long redaction of *TE* can indeed be proved to be an expanded version of the short redaction. Neither Ó Concheanainn nor Toner gives a more precise dating to the long version than to the Middle Irish period.

1.4.1.3 The "*ingen Rúad*- episode" and the "Derbforgaill-episode"

The episode in *TE* that is concerned with the *ingen Rúad* (§§ 80–83) is inserted at the point where Cú Chulainn is on his way home to Ireland from Scotland where he has been trained in arms. He and his company stop at the islands to pay their tributes. Cú Chulainn hears wailing from the fort and it is explained to him that it is the daughter of Rúad who is to be taken by the Fomori. Cú Chulainn kills the monsters, rescues the girl, and in return Rúad promises his daughter to Cú Chulainn. Cú Chulainn declines, but says that he will meet the girl in a year's time in Ireland. Cú Chulainn returns to Ireland and after a year he says to his companion, his charioteer Lóeg, that it is about this time they were to meet the daughter of Rúad, and that it had been foolish of them not to have agreed upon a meeting place. The

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[104] For a discussion of the version of *TE* in *LU* and the manuscript situation of this, see Ó Concheanainn (1973–1974: 277–288, 1984–1985: 212–225, 1988: 1–40, 1990: 441–455, 1996: 65–120, 1997:27–91).
[105] See also Baudis (1923: 98–107) for a discussion of *TE*.

episode that is comparable to the first part of *AD* follows directly upon this (§ 84). Former scholars have tended to treat this whole portion of *TE* as one episode, which leads to a comparison between *AD* and this whole text portion that need not be valid. In my view the episode in *TE* seems to be made up of two distinct parts.[106] The first I will call the "*ingen Rúad*-episode", covering §§ 81–83 in Van Hamel's edition, where Cú Chulainn encounters the wailing and nameless daughter of Rúad. The second, covering § 84, which corresponds to the first half of the prose found in *AD*, I will call the "Derbforgaill-episode".[107] There is nothing in the text nor in the subject matter of the "*ingen Rúad*-episode" that relates to *AD* and it is important to note that Rúad's daughter is not mentioned by name.[108] The connection between the episode in § 81–83 and the following episode of § 84 need not be original. Both are found only in the long version of *TE*, and are considered to have been interpolated, but there is nothing in these episodes that necessitates an interpretation of them both as stemming from the same ultimate source.

The correspondence between *AD* and *TE* can thus be reduced to only one paragraph of *TE*.

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[106] This has also been pointed out by Edel (1980: 56).

[107] I want to stress that these are my labels, used in order to clarify what I consider to be two rather separate passages.

[108] It is of course not unusual for a woman not to be named even though she is the main female character in a tale or episode. One example of this is Eochaid's daughter in *Fingal Rónáin* (Greene 1955: 3–16), who is never given a name even though she has a substantial role in that tale.

Aided Derbforgaill (LL)[109]	*Tochmarc Emire § 84 (RIA D.iv.2)*
1) Conaccatar na heonu	*Atcíat dá n-én forsin muir*
2) dibairg na heonu or Lugaid. *Dolleici Cu Chulainn cloich forru*	*Dobert Cú Chulainn cloich ina tailm* *7 nus diubraic na héonu*
3) Bátar da deilb duine issin tracht fochetóir	*Ó rancutar íat, is ed bátar and dá bandeilb* *is caime baí forsin mbith*
4) Olc robá rim ar ind ingen & is tu doroacht	*Is olc an gním dorónais, a Chú Chulainn ol sí*
5) ro shúgi íarum a tóeb na ingine in cloich co mbúi ina beolu cosin loim chró robói impe	*Súigis Cú Chulainn in cloich esti* *cona loim fola impi*
6) is dot insaigid tánacsa tra or si	*is dot insaigid táncamar*[110]
7) in tóeb roshúgiusa, or se, ní chomraiciubsa riss	*Ní comraiciubsa festa frit, ol Cú Chulainn, ar atibus t'fuil.*
8) dul duitsiu cosin mac as sóiriu fil in herind i. Lugaid Riab nDerg	*Dobér cena dom dalta sund..* *.i. Lugaid Reo nDerg*

As can be seen from these parallel sentence-pairs, these portions of *AD* and *TE* correspond so closely to each other that they cannot have developed independently. The language is similar, but not identical, and can be dated to the same broad period. The textual comparison above gives no clear indication however, as to which text has borrowed from the other, if indeed that was the case. Thus, to give a conclusive explanation as to how these short passages are connected and to identify which episode was borrowed from which source, or to establish whether they both derive from a third source, is impossible. However, I will tentatively put forward three arguments as to why *TE* might have borrowed this particular episode from *AD*.

As will be discussed in fuller detail below (3.4.4), *AD* can be dated to the 10th c. The text is quite short, thus making it difficult to arrive at a precise dating on linguistic grounds. As no reliable extra-textual criteria for a dating can be found, the dating of *AD* remains rather tentative. The long version of *TE* has been dated to the 11th or 12th c. Thus the first argument why it seems likely that *TE* borrowed the "Derbforgaill episode" from *AD* is that *AD* seems to be a slightly earlier text than *TE*. It must be remembered however, that a clear decision regarding which is the original can hardly be arrived at on linguistic grounds based on such sparse material as is contained in the text portions given above. The second argument is that the motivation of the episodes in *TE* is rather unclear: In § 83 of the "*ingen Rúad*-episode", Cú Chulainn returns to Ireland and mentions to his companion Lóeg that it had been foolish not to set a meeting place with Rúad's daughter. The following paragraph then begins with Cú Chulainn hunting birds, although as opposed to *AD*, no companion is mentioned. At the end of the same paragraph, Derbforgaill is asked to go off with a previously unmentioned Lugaid Réo nDerg.[111] In *AD*, Lugaid is the companion with whom Cú Chulainn is hunting birds, and it is with him Derbforgaill is asked to join. This inconsistency can well be explained if we look at the whole episode in *TE* as consisting of two parts from two different sources. The third argument is that the "Derbforgaill-episode" of *TE* is a recognized interpolation in a text attached to another portion of interpolated text, the "*ingen Rúad*-episode". In comparison *AD*, even though it falls into two parts, is a well-composed tale with no obvious inconsistencies or visible seams. Whereas it cannot be said to constitute exemplary methodology to judge this portion of *TE* as an obvious borrowing from a specific source - in this case *AD* - solely on the grounds that the portion of *TE* is a recognized interpolation, we can consider this fact in conjunction with the other suggestions above, which lends it added plausibility.

1.4.2 *Aided Derbforgaill* and *Serglige Con Culainn*

The extant version of *SCC* is considered to be a conflation of two different versions of the tale.[112] Whereas the notion that *SCC* is a composite tale is undisputed, scholars disagree as to how it was conflated.[113] Two episodes in this tale have a bearing on the discussion of a possible relationship with *AD*: what I call the "bird-scene" (*SCC* ll. 24–78 Dillon 1953c) and the *Bríatharthecosc Con Culaind* "Cú Chulainn's instruction to a prince" (*SCC* ll. 233–310 Dillon 1953c). In comparing *AD* with *SCC*, Marstrander claimed that there is a close resemblance between certain incidents in the two tales, and that the "bird-scene" in *AD* is drawn from, or modelled upon, the similar incident in *SCC*, which he deems to be the earlier tale: "Certain incidents in the present redaction of the legend bear a close resemblance to the Serglige Conculainn. We seem justified in suggesting that the incident of the coming of the birds has been drawn from that earlier story or modelled upon it" (1911a: 202). Marstrander makes no further comparisons between the two tales, and it seems that this episode is Marstrander's sole reason for the comparison. Thurneysen (1921: 426), claims that "*Die Erzählung ist deutlich durch Serglige ConCulainn*

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[111] The reading *Dobér cena dom daltu sund .i. do Lugaid Reo nDerg* "I will give you to my companion here, that is, Lugaid Reo nDerg" (*TE* §84 Van Hamel 1933: 62) implies that Lugaid was present when Cú Chulainn utters this statement. However, it does not alter the fact that this is the first time in the tale that Lugaid is mentioned. The list of companions accompanying Cú Chulainn on his adventures in Scotland (*TE* § 80) includes Lóeg, and also a certain Lugaid. However, this Lugaid is described thus: *Lugaid 7 Lúan, dá mac Lóich.* "Lugaid and Lúan, two sons of Lóech". This is unlikely to refer to Lugaid Réo Derg/Riab nDerg.
[112] The earliest manuscript source of *SCC* is *LU*, dated to c. 1106, in addition a copy is found in the MS TCD H.4.22, derived from *LU* (Dillon 1953b: xi).
[113] Cf. for example Dillon (1941–1942: 120–129), Thurneysen (1921: 413–426), and Carey (1994: 77–84).

(...) angeregt, aber mit äusserst roher Fantasie ausgestaltet".[114] Edel (1980: 58) follows Thurneysen and Marstrander and further claims that *AD* stands close to *SCC* in a number of small details. Edel gives the example of Derbforgaill in *AD* coming to Ireland of her own accord, as the birds in *SCC* do, as opposed to *TE* where the birds come invited (1980: 57–58). Further she notes the fact that the birds are connected by a gold chain in *AD* and in *SCC*, but not in *TE*. However, these details are so minor that I fail to see that they have any significance as to whether this part of *AD* was clearly influenced by *SCC* or not.

The "bird-scene" has a central role in the comparisons that have been made between *AD* and *SCC*. This scene in *SCC* consists of a description of how Cú Chulainn shoots down birds for the Ulster women. Having shot down the first flock of birds, another pair of birds arrive, connected with a gold chain. Cú Chulainn pursues the birds, but fails to shoot them down. He is then overcome by sleep and has a vision: two beautiful women approach, beat him with horsewhips until he is nearly dead, and then disappear. After this Cú Chulainn wakes up, but remains in his sickbed for a year. Here is found the first reference to Lugaid Réoderg, standing with Eithne, Conall and Fergus by Cú Chulainn's bed (*SCC* l. 89 Dillon 1953c), though it is important to note that this entry about Lugaid is not a part of the actual bird-scene. From the narrative that follows it is made clear that the two birds, having transformed themselves into two women, are Lí Ban and Fand of the Otherworld. Later in the tale, the election of a king of Ireland through the ritual of a *tarbfheis* is described, in which Lugaid Réoderg is chosen. The ensuing *Bríatharthecosc Con Culaind* consists of a set of instructions, given by Cú Chulainn to his fosterling on this event. This is considered to be an interpolation, though scholars disagree about this to some extent (*SCC* ll. 233–310 Dillon 1953c). Dillon suggests that Lugaid's appearance in *AD* can be explained by the *Bríatharthecosc* having once existed as a separate tale (1941–1942: 124 n. 9). Dillon further suggests that the *Bríatharthecosc* was interpolated into *SCC* in the 11th c., when he believes the conflation of the two redactions of *SCC* took place (1941–1942: 129); in this he takes issue with Thurneysen's view (1921: 416). Carey (1994: 79), in turn, challenges Dillon's view and suggests that this episode is not as independent as Dillon thought, even though he admits that it does not fit in with the narrative sequence of the tale.

None of the scholars who have drawn comparisons between *AD* and *SCC* have pointed to any textual similarities or discussed the matter in any thorough manner. Only two lines in *SCC* may be taken to be in any way textually similar to *AD*:

> *Níbo chían íarom co n-accatar dá én forsind loch 7 rond dercóir etorro.*
> "Not long afterwards they saw two birds over the lake and a red-gold chain between them"
> (*SCC* l. 59, Dillon 1953c).

This can be compared to:

> *Do-lluid anair i rricht da géise 7 a hinailt co mbátar for Loch Cuan 7 rond óir eturru. Amal ro boí dano Cú Chulaind 7 Lugaid a dalta .i. mac na Trí Find Emna, laa n-and la tóib ind locha co n-accatar na heonu.*
>
> "She and her handmaid came from the east in the guise of two swans until they reached Loch Cuan, a golden chain between them. One day as they were there by the side of the lake, Cú Chulainn and his fosterling Lugaid, that is, the son of the three Finn Emna, they saw the birds"
> (*AD* ll. 1–4)

Further: *Dosléci Cú Chulaind cloich foraib* (*SCC* ll. 65–66 Dillon 1953c), "Cú Chulaind cast a stone at them"[115] may be compared to the almost identical line: *Do-lleicí Cú Chulaind cloich forru* (*AD* l. 6). In my view, neither of these are obvious diagnostics of an undeniable relationship or direct borrowing between the texts, therefore we must consider the relationship between *AD* and *SCC* to be thematic rather than textual.

Otherworldly birds are in no way unique to *AD* and *SCC*. In several other early and Middle Irish tales similar bird motifs can be found (this has been discussed in section 1.3.5 above). It has been suggested by

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[114] "The narrative is clearly inspired by *Serglige Con Culainn*, but embellished with extremely coarse fantasy". Thanks to Esther Le Mair for the translation of this line.
[115] i.e. the birds.

Ó Concheanainn (1990: 443, following Thurneysen 1921: 418 n. 2) that the passage in *CCC* which involves magical birds may have influenced *SCC*. The *Dindshenchas* episode *Snámh dá én cid dia tá* (Marstrander 1911b), as discussed above, concerns a woman to whom a man and his fosterling come in the shape of birds. When the woman dies, the man dies of grief. This motif is very similar to the one found in *AD*, as was recognized by Marstrander. However, he only regarded this to be due to "the similarity of their folklore" (1911b: 219). Thus, whereas it is not impossible that *AD* may have been influenced by *SCC*, there are other sources that could equally have been used to model this scene in *AD*. The fact that Lugaid appears in a tale that also contains a scene with shape changing birds seems to have influenced Thurneysen's belief that *AD* drew on *SCC* for this episode. This fact alone is, in my view, not reason enough to draw the conclusion that the "bird-scene" in *AD* was clearly and unequivocally borrowed from or modelled upon *SCC*. In this I follow Dillon (1941–1942: 124 n. 9), where he refers to Thurneysen's view but expresses doubts as to the hypothesis that the "bird-scene" in *AD* is drawn from *SCC*, as he claims that this motif might well originate from folklore.

1.4.3 *Aided Derbforgaill* and the *Dindshenchas*

In two of the copies of *AD*, D and H, but not in the third, LL, is found the following *Dindshenchas*-type reference to "*Ath mBannslechta*".

> *IArsin lotar isin tech cuculainn 7 lugaid 7 in tan ran a hanum inntisi 7 ba marb lugaid facetoir ica dfhechsain si. luidh imorro cuculainn amach isin tech irabutar na mna 7 dorat in tech cetna forru uile connach terna ben a mbethaigh dib asin tigh sin acht beccan ro éla dibh fothuaigh co hath mbannslechta 7 luidh cuculainn ina ndiaigh 7 ronortá leis ann sin. undi. Dixerunt. ath mbannslecta. nominatur conid ann sin rochan cuculainn inlaid si sis.* (D, fo. 53 (55) col. a, ll. 30–38).[116]

> "They went then into the house, Cú Chulainn and Lugaid and they say that her soul was not in her and Lugaid dies immediately upon seeing her. Cú Chulainn went then into the house where the women were and knocked down the house over them all so that no woman escaped alive from the house but some fled to Ath mBannslechta and Cú Chulainn went after them and slayed them all. Thereafter it is called the ford of the woman-slaughter and it was there that Cú Chulainn sang this lay".

In a prose passage in the *Dindshenchas,* this place is referred to thus:

> *Magh Mandachta, cidh diatá? Ní ansa. Mand Muirisce mac Dáire brathair Damháin meic Dáire atorchair and la Coinculaind mac Sualtaigh for Táin Bó Cúailnge, conidh de raiter Magh Mandacht[a] .i. Mand-echta .i. écht Mainn and. Nó comadh ona mnaibh romarb Cúchulaind a cinta Derborgaill mná Lughdac sríabnderg, romarbsad-som tría formud, nóraite Magh Mandachta de .i. Magh in Bain-échta, 7 Áth Bannleachta forsin ath .i. o ban-lechtaibh ban Uladh ann.*

> "Mag Mandachta, whence the name? Not hard to say. Mand of Muiresc son of Dáire, brother of Damán son of Dáire, fell there by the hand of Cuchulainn son of Sualtam, at the Cattle–Raid of Cualnge, and hence is called Mag Mandachta, that is, Mand-echta, from the killing of Mand there.
> Or it may have been from the women whom Cuchulainn slew there, in revenge for Derb Forgaill, wife of Lugaid sríabnderg, whom they killed out of jealousy, that the plain was named Mag Mandachta, that is, the plain of the slaughter of women: and the ford may have been called Ath Banlechta, that is, from the graves of the women of the Ulaid who were buried there"
> (Gwynn 1924: 278–279).

This prose passage does not form a part of the metrical *Dindshenchas*, but was printed in the collection of the metrical *Dindshenchas* edited by Gwynn. It only exists in one MS, RIA MS D. ii. 2.[117] The dating of this MS is unclear, but it is written in a single hand with a colophon given by a scribe named Muiris O Clérig. Gwynn suggests that he may be identified with Muiris mac an Ghiolla riabhaigh ua Cléirigh who died in 1573 (Gwynn 1935: 7). The prose passage concerning *Mag Mandachta* is one of several supplementary *Dindshenchas* episodes that exist in this MS and in no other sources. Gwynn does not give

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[116] The reading in H is very close, cf. H, p. 730, ll. 18–25.
[117] Previously part of the Stowe collection.

a dating for these supplementary episodes, although they are likely to be later than the main body of the *Dindshenchas*.[118]

In my discussion of the manuscript relationship of *AD* (see 2.3), I argue that the two manuscripts D and H are not copies of LL, but have an intermediary ancestor copy, here called Y, and that this copy and LL independently stem from an archetype, here called X. I would suggest that the entry in the *Dindshenchas* could have been abstracted from the narrative of *AD* at a time when this tale did not yet have an entry about the slaughter of the women, i.e. before the supposed archetype Y was written, and used as an entry in the metrical *Dindshenchas*. I would further suggest that it is possible that this information was re-entered into *AD* in the form of the archetype Y, from the *Dindshenchas*, thus being present in the two manuscripts D and H, but not in LL. This is of course very speculative. It is possible that LL just left this information out, although in my view, it at least forms an interesting possibility that the material about the slaughter of the women could have been the subject of dual directionality in this way.

1.4.4 The verse in Rawl. B 502

Rawl. MS B 502, a Leinster MS dated to 1120 (Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1926–1970) or 1130 (Ó Riain 1980–1981: 161), contains a fragment of the *Annals of Tigernach*. These annals contain three references to Lugaid. As these entries have been used by Edel as a dating criterion, they will be discussed further in chapter three (see 3.4.1) One of these entries is found with the following prose introduction:

> *Lugaid Riab nderg[119] mac Tri Find nEmain rí hÉrenn .XXV bliadna corodleic fein moa chlaidiub ar chumaid Deirbi Forgaill ingine ríg Lochlainne de quibus Cúchulaind dicebat*
>
> "Lugaid Riab nDerg, son of the three Finns of Emna, king of Ireland for twenty five years, put his own sword through himself out of grief for Derb Forgaill daughter of the king of Lochlann about which Cúchulainn said:" (Ríg Érenn, 136 a *Corpus Genealogiarum Hibernae*, Vol. 1, M. A O'Brien 1962: 121).

The verse that follows this closely resembles a verse in one of the poems in *AD:*

Rawl. B 502	*AD* (ll. 101–104)
Fuilet sunna eter dá fert	*Ó ro boí eter da fhert*
dogní mert mo chridi chro:	*do-gní mert mo chride cró.*
gnúis Derb Forgaill illuc lergg	*Gnúis Derb Fhorgaill fo licce lerg*
Lugaid Riab ndergg dirsan dó.[120]	*Lugaid Riab nDerg dirsan dó.*

Marstrander (1911a: 202) suggests that this entry, due to its brevity, might have been an excerpt from a lost chronicle. This passage indeed seems to be an extract from something else, and it may well have been extracted from *AD* itself. It is interesting to note, however, that this entry states that Lugaid died by putting his sword through himself, although *AD* simply states that he died upon beholding her.

1.4.5 *Leca Lugdach lis*

The phrase *leca Lugdach lis* or *leca lis* (*Lugdach*) is found in three sources: ll. 51 and 52 of *AD*, and in the poems *Fianna Bátar i n-Emain* "On the deaths of some Irish heroes"[121] (henceforth *FE*) and *Úar in*

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[118] The main body of the *Dindshenchas* episodes, apart from the supplementary ones only existing in this MS, all belong to the second recension of the *Dindshenchas*. No fixed date can be assigned to this collection, although in his stemma for the second recension, Gwynn dates the immediate ancestor to the episodes in D. ii. 2. to "no later than the early fifteenth century" (1935: 55) and states that the immediate ancestor once removed from this "must have been in existence before the year 1394" (1935: 55). Although these dates give no indication as to the *terminus post quem* of the prose entry of *Mag Mandachta*, Gwynn's placement of this manuscript in his stemma indicates that he saw the other items in this MSS as a rather late version of the *Dindshenchas*.

[119] The source has a *punctum delens* on the *n*.

[120] *Ríg Érenn,*136a (*Corpus Genealogiarum Hibernae*, Vol. 1, ed. M. A. O' Brien 1962: 121).

lathe do Lum Luine (henceforth *UL*).[122] O' Curry briefly discussed the phrase *leca lis Lugdach*, as found in *FE* and *UL*,[123] but not in *AD*,[124] and stated: "Although these words are all intelligible in their direct and ordinary signification, yet it would be totally impossible for any one to discover, without some explanation, what connection they could have with the present text" (1861: 478). Indeed, this is the case with all references to this phrase, which is why it merits some further discussion. I will begin this discussion with a description of the contexts for the line in the various sources, followed by a discussion of the meaning of the words in the phrase and a conclusion.

1.4.5.1 Textual contexts

1.4.5.1.1 The context of *Fianna Bátar i n-Emain*

FE exists in three copies, LL, Laud 610 (15th c.) and Egerton 1782, (15th–16th c. henceforth Eg. 1782), and has been dated by Stokes to the 10th c. (1902: 303). The poem consists of 49 quatrains describing the deaths of various heroes.[125] Three of the verses in this poem concern the death of a person called Lugaid. This name is common in early Irish sources and wherever it occurs without an epithet or a clear context, confusion arises. A confusion particularly between Lugaid Riab nDerg and Lugaid Mac na trí Conn is evident in other places in the *Dindshenchas* and also in the expression under discussion.[126] The three verses that involve a Lugaid in *FE* are number 8, 10 and 12. Quatrain 8 describes how Lugaid Riab nDerg killed Furbaide, which is the tradition also found in *AM* and the *Dindshenchas* (see also 1.4.3):

FE Q. 8:

I Sléib Uillind imbid glend,	In Sliab Uilenn with abundance of glens
ro bíth [Furbaide] Ferbend,	Furbaide Ferbenn was smitten.
Lugaid Riab nderg[127] rod-bí and	Lugaid Riab nDerg smote him there
i ndigail Cruachna Clothrand.	in revenge for Clothru of Cruachain.
(Stokes 1902: 306–307)	

Quatrain 12 refers to Lugaid's grave. This certainly refers to Lugaid Mac na Trí Conn, as Lugaid's grave is described as being on the plain of Airgetros.

FE Q. 12:

Erc macc Corpri gáet i tress	Erc son of Carbre was slain in a fray
i cómair Themra fodess,	over against Tara on the south
atá lecht Lugdach cia thois	Lugaid's grave is, though silent (?),
fon charn i Maig Argetrois.	under the cairn in the Plain of Argetross.
(Stokes 1902: 306–307)	

This verse is a variation on the tradition found in *Aided Con Culainn*, where Lugaid Mac na trí Conn had his foot on a standing stone in the plain of Airgetros when Conall Cernach's javelin hit him, and the

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[121] Ed. and transl. Stokes (1902: 303–330).
[122] Ed. O' Curry (1861: 476–477), O Daly (1968: 99–108). As will be seen in the discussion, the latest editor, O Daly, used a source which has the spelling variation *Luigdech* for her edition. This spelling has been retained when discussing this particular line in this poem.
[123] Note that O' Curry does not state that this is a stanza from *UL*.
[124] It is interesting that O' Curry does not discuss the two lines of this phrase in the context of these two poems, given that his discussion of *AD* is found a mere two pages after the discussion of this phrase in *FB* and *UL*.
[125] This poem is part of a literary tradition concerning the deaths and burial places of various heroes. For a similar poem, see Dobbs (1954: 139–153).
[126] In the Dindshenchas episode *Carn Furbaide* (prose) one MS (Uí Maine) has Ludaig mc Con for Lugaid Riab/Sriab nDerg in the other two MSS. Lugaid Mac na trí Conn is in some sources called simply Lugaid Mac Conn which is especially confusing considering that there is another Lugaid Mac Conn in early Irish sources. Lugaid Mac na trí Conn is in some sources called simply Lugaid Mac Conn which is especially confusing considering that there is another Lugaid Mac Conn in early Irish sources.
[127] There is a *punctum delens* on the *n* in the source.

standing stone was then called *coirthe Lugdach*, but his grave was under *fertae Lugdach*, which in the text is some undisclosed distance away.[128]

Quatrain 10 is more ambiguous as the name Lugaid is used without an epithet. It begins by describing Cú Rói's grave, then moves on to the line under discussion.

FE Q. 10:

Lecht Con rúï i Sléib Mis,	Cú-rói's grave (is) on Sliab Mis:
lecht Lugdach fo lecaib lis,	Lugaid's grave under *leca lis*:
i nDún Binne bríg de rói	in Dún Binne might of the battlefield
ro bith Fíamain macc Forói.	Fiamain son of Foroi has been smitten.
(Stokes 1902: 306–307)	

In the tradition of Lugaid Mac na trí Conn, he is the son of Cú Rói.[129] It would thus seem reasonable to assume that the Lugaid following refers to Lugaid Mac na trí Conn. O'Curry in his discussion of the context of *FE* states that "there can be no doubt but that the *Lugaidh* mentioned here was Lugaidh-mac-na-tri-Con (...)" (1861: 479). Stokes, in the notes to his edition of *FE,* refers to this, but states that the Lugaid in quatrain 10 seems different from the Lugaid in quatrain 12 (1902: 334).[130]

Quatrain 10 is glossed in two of the three MSS:[131]

LL: lecht Lug*dach* fo lecaib lis   Lugaid's grave under *leca lis*[132]

Laud. 610: lecht Lugdach fo leccaib leis   glossed: .i. e féin ro marb hi cu*m*aid a mna .i. darat a claideb t*r*it fein[133]

Eg. 1782: lecht Lug*dach* fo lecaib lis   glossed:.iii. lecca liss Luig*dech* .i. gr*e*ss 7 ruicci 7 mebul.[134]

Stokes gives no information whether the glosses are in the same hand as the main scribe of each manuscript or not. As stated above, this line in LL contains no glosses. The line in Laud. 610 is glossed with a reference to Lugaid Riab nDerg's death in the tradition of *AD*, therefore at least this particular scribe thought the Lugaid of quatrain 10 is to be identified with Lugaid Riab nDerg. In Eg. 1782, the gloss qualifies *lecca liss Luigdech* with: *.i. gress 7 ruicci 7 mebul*, "insult, shame and disgrace". As both Lugaid Riab nDerg and Lugaid mac na trí Conn have several incidents in their respective tradition that can easily be connected with shame and disgrace,[135] the glosses on the text in Eg. 1782 cannot serve as a diagnostic as to which Lugaid this stanza refers to.

I believe that it is not possible to say which Lugaid is referred to in quatrain 10 of *FE*. It would be logical to assume that Lugaid Mac na trí Conn would follow Cú Rói on account of them being father and son, but logic does not always apply in these matters. It would not be extraordinary if this phrase here would refer to Lugaid Riab nDerg, or indeed any person called Lugaid. As the text in LL is not glossed, it gives no indication as to the identity of Lugaid, the glosses in Laud 610 refers to Lugaid Riab nDerg, and

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[128] Van Hamel (1933: 72–133), *magh nArgiodrois* p. 131.
[129] Stokes only gives a translation for the text from LL. O' Curry claims that he was the son of Cú Chulainn, Cú Rói and Conall Cernach, although in view of later scholarship, this can be disregarded (This view was shared by O' Rahilly 1946: 487).
[130] This is also discussed by Burgess 2004: 318–320, who concludes that the Lugaid in this verse is Lugaid Riab nDerg.
[131] The glosses discussed in this section all lie within the semantic field of "shame" and "insult": *Gres* (fem. -a) has the meaning "an attack on the honour, an insult to injury". *Ruccae* (masc. –io) is often found in later sources as *ruice*. DIL states: "Prob. from the same root as *ruad* (...); the orig. sense may be that of "blushing", "turning or making red"; hence shame, disgrace(...) (DIL s.v. *ruccae* 111: 57–59). This word is often found together with *mebal, mebul* (fem-a) with the meaning "a cause of shame, a disgrace" (see DIL s.v. *mebal* M 75: 4, see also 75: 22–23).
[132] Stokes (1902: 307).
[133] Stokes (1902: 319). *i. e féin ro marb hi cumaid a mna .i. darat a claideb trit fein* "That is he killed himself out of grief of his woman, that is he put his sword through himself".
[134] Stokes (1902: 324), *gress 7 ruicci 7 mebul* "insult, shame and disgrace".
[135] Lugaid Riab nDerg was the product of incest and further begot a son on his own mother. He also killed his mother's sister and cut out the unborn Furbaide from his mother's side (see 1.3.2). Lugaid mac na trí Conn killed Cú Chulainn (*Aided Con Culainn*, Van Hamel 1933: 69–133).

the glosses on Eg. 1782 specifies that there is something shameful involved, although there is again no specification of the Lugaid involved.

1.4.5.1.2 The context of *Úar in lathe do Lum Luine*

The phrase also appears in the poem *Úar in lathe do Lum Luine*. This poem is found in one copy only, in LL,[136] but a stray quatrain is found on p. 4 in the manuscript H.3.18,[137] and the same quatrain in Eg. 1782.[138] It has been dated by the editor to the 9th c. (O Daly 1968: 101). *UL* is a poem in dialogue between a man called Lom Laine and a woman called Tethna.[139] Subject wise, this poem is similar to the first poem in *AD*: "From our poem we may infer that "Tethna" and "Lum Laine" are in love but that there is some obstacle to their union, probably that "Tethna" is married already, and that any relationship between them is likely to lead to the death of both" (O Daly 1968: 100). The first half of the quatrain that contains this phrase is uttered by the woman Tethna, the second by Lum Laine:

> *A Luim, nacham lúaid*
> *nacham thaidlet meschoin múaid*
> *mainbad leca Luigdech lis*
> *eoin bic Baili rot betis*[140]

"O Flann of Line, urge me not onwards, that I be not deluded by a Meschoin Muaidh |were it not for Leca Lugdach Liss |Eóin Bic Baile would be in existence."
(O'Curry 1861: 477)

"O Lom , do not (seek to) sway me; let not the eyes of a jealous husband light on me; were it not for Leca Luigdech Lis you would have the little birds of Baile (or the little birds of Baile would beguile you (?))."
(O Daly 1968: 103)

These translations are quite different although neither translate the phrase *leca Luigdech lis.* This phrase is in the single quatrain in H.3.18 glossed *ruici ocus aithir,* translated by O' Curry as "blushes and disgrace" (1861: 478). This can be compared to the glosses found in the Eg. 1782 version of *FE,* discussed above: *gress 7 ruicci 7mebul.* The reference to the little birds of Baile is quite obscure. It is stated in the text that if it were not for *leca Luigdech lis*, either Tethna would have these birds, or they would beguile her. These birds are mentioned in the *Dindshenchas*, where the birds seem to be messengers from the Otherworld, luring people there. It is possible that this theme is similar to the one found in *SCC*, where the women want birds as gifts as proof of their status, see *SCC* (Dillon 1953c: ll. 24–46). Possibly this line is expressing something along the lines of: "were it not for *leca Luigdech lis*, all the glory of the Otherworld would be yours". Whatever the meaning of the birds of Baile, the phrase *mainbad leca Luigdech lis* seems here to be used to invoke a prohibition. This will be discussed further below.

1.4.5.1.3 The context of *Aided Derbforgaill*

As was stated above, *FE* and *UL* have been dated by their respective editors to the 10th and 9th c. *AD* can be dated to not later than the 10th c. (see 3.3.4). In *AD* this phrase is found in a *fidrad freccomail* (linking alliteration) between two verses.[141] It is uttered by Derbforgaill as she is dying and saying goodbye to her two companions, Lugaid Riab nDerg and Cú Chulainn:

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[136] LL 145b 13 (ll. 18171–18206).
[137] Edited by Meyer (1913c). A copy of *AD* is also found in H.3.18, although the individual parts of this composite MS have not been assessed or dated precisely. This verse is found in the main vellum section, whereas *AD* is found in one of the paper sections, therefore it is presumed that there is not any relationship between the sources.
[138] The verse is found in a grouping of miscellaneous verses, see catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library (Formerly British Museum): 281, item 35.
[139] O' Curry did not treat the poem as a dialogue. Both O' Curry and O Daly take these to be pseudonyms for Gráinne and Díarmait. The poem further contains a number of place-names.
[140] The verse is cited from O Daly's edited text.
[141] For this type of alliteration, see Carney 1980–1981: 251–262.

Comul scartha fri Riab nDerg,	The union which was broken with Riab nDerg.
is delg i cride cró cnis.	It is a thorn in the heart, blood of the breast.
Cú Chulaind do bith ingnis	Cú Chulainn is deprived,
dirsan menbad leca lis.	[unlucky if it was not (for) the sloping hillside of the enclosure?].
Menbad leca lis Lugdach,	If it were not (for) [the sloping hillside of the enclosure of Lugaid,
lasa rumnad cach nderba.	with which every obstruction was reddened?].
Ba ro moch ar n-étarba,	It was too soon our vain thing,
fri mac na Trí Find Emna .	with the son of the three Finn Emna's.
(*AD* ll. 48–55)[142]	

1.4.5.2 Construction and meaning

For a diagram describing the constructions of the phrase *leca lis Lugdach* in the sources, see below. The structure of the phrase is the same in *UL* and *AD* with a copula construction followed by the words *leca* and *lis*. In *FE* the construction is slightly different than the other sources as the phrase begins with the word *lecht*, "grave", followed by the preposition *fo*, "under", in turn followed by a noun in dative plural and a genitive.[143]

I will begin with the element *lis(s)*, as it is the least complicated. There exist several words *les*, however only the word designated 2 *les* in DIL has a gen. sg. form *lis*. This noun has the meaning "the space about a dwelling-house or houses enclosed by a bank or rampart" (DIL s.v. 2 *les* 115: 37) or "sometimes the bank or rampart itself" (DIL s.v. 2 *les* 115: 73). It seems that it is here used indicating the area or an enclosure or rampart around Lugaid's grave or his house.

lecc has the meaning "flat slab of rock, stone" (DIL s.v. *lecc* 67: 26–27), also "tombstone" (DIL s.v. *lecc* 67: 69). However, in DIL it it also found with the comment "meaning obscure", under which is cited this line from all the sources described above except the stray quatrain of *UL* from Eg. 1782 (DIL s.v. *lecc* 68: 20–30).

In *AD* and *UL* the phrase is preceded by a form of the copula with the LL text of *UL* and the stray quatrain in Eg. 1782 having a 3 pl. past subj. form followed by the plural form *lecca*, which, as *lecc* is a feminine a-stem, is grammatically correct. However, it is important to note that the line of *UL* in LL is hypermetrical (nine syllables, see diagram below). In *AD* and the stray quatrain of *UL* found in H.3.18, the form of the copula is *menbad, minbad, manbad,* which ought to be followed by a singular, as was also noted by both O Daly (1968: 106), who emended this in her edition, as well as Burgess (2004: 320). If this is to be taken as the singular, *lecca* has to be another word, presumably *lecca*, "cheek" which in connection with toponomy is used for "side or slope of a hill" (DIL s.v. *lecca* 68: 69). The forms in *FE* cannot be this word as *lecca* is a neuter n-stem, thus the dative plural would be *lecnib* or *lecnaib*. Neither can it be the word in *UL* from LL and Eg. 1782, as the expected nominative plural would be *leicne* or *lecna*. If we consider the glosses on this line that all lie within the semantic field of shame, and compare *lecca* "cheek" with *enech* "face", we might suggest that this word is used to connotate shame. The connection of *lecca* with shame was suggested by O Daly (1968: 107) and again by Burgess (2004: 320). Furthermore, *lecc*, *lecca* and *liss* are all common place-name elements, therefore it seems fairly obvious that what is referred to in this line is either a place, or a shameful event, or both.

The form in *FE* differs from the other sources not only because it has another grammatical structure, but also because it refers to Lugaid's grave under this *lecca liss*. In this line, the element *lecca* must mean stone. If *lecc* "stone" is used, as all examples from *FE* and the line from *UL* in LL and Eg. 1782 imply, the meaning would be "the stones of Lugaid's enclosure" or similar. This translation is neither obscure or complicated, which leads me to believe that the examples that use *lecca* "cheek" or "hillside", found in the line from *UL* in H.3.18 and in both lines from *AD*, give the original meaning of this phrase, which was then at some point reinterpreted in other sources. If the application "hillside" is chosen, the phrase is

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[142] For these lines the translation is rather tentative, cf. the text notes to ll. 48–55.
[143] Although the phrase in *FE* has the dative plural: *leccaib*, the gloss on Eg. 1782 has *lecca* (see diagram below).

again utterly explainable, we can simply translate it the "sloping hillside of Lugaid's enclosure" or similar. However, if we want to account for the glossed explanations on this line all implying shame, a translation "the shame of Lugaid's enclosure" may be suggested. O' Curry did not translate this phrase in his edition of *UL*, although in his notes he translated it "the Flag-stones of Lugaid's Fort" (1861: 478 n. 18). Stokes, O Daly and Burgess left *leca lis* untranslated.[144] Dooley translated this line: "unless revenge attends to it| unless Lugaid's shaming be avenged" (2002: 205). The word *lecca* in itself need not be translated shame, although it is rather obvious that shame is implied in the phrase. I have chosen to translate this phrase as straightforward as possible: "If it were not (for) the sloping hillside of the enclosure of Lugaid."

O Daly (1968: 107) thought that the shame implied referred to Derbforgaill's mutilated state,[145] whereas Burgess seems to imply that it referred to Lugaid's suicide (2004: 320). Both interpretations are of course possible, although I do not believe that it is possible to either pinpoint the original source of the shame, nor which Lugaid this phrase originally referred to. That the phrase was brought into various contexts is evident from the sources just discussed. That the phrase was used in contexts where a Lugaid was not previously mentioned is evident from the presence of this phrase in *UL*. It is possible that *mani betis* in LL and Eg. 1782 is a hypercorrection to harmonise the plural of *lecc*, and in the process of this, making the line hypermetrical. However, I also believe is not possible to determine whether the original form was *lecc* "stone" or *lecca* "cheek" or "hillside", with a possible connotation "shame", except that in order to have a metrically correct line, we need a singular copula with *lecca* and a plural with *lecc*.

The main importance of this line is the very strong sense of prohibition evident in the expression *mani betis* or *menbad* "were it not for". In these two poems, the phrase is uttered by a person being forced to part from her beloved(s), and used to express that if it were not for this *lecc* or *lecca* of Lugaid, they would not have to part. Therefore, whatever shameful thing that happened at a particular place referred to under this name, had repercussions for following events, and was seen to cause the separation of the lovers.

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[144] Stokes (1902: 307), O Daly (1968: 103), Burgess (2004: 311).
[145] "The meaning shame would suit the Aided Derb Fhorgaill text, Derb Fhorgaill implying that to part from Lugaid and Cú Chulainn would be unbearable sorrow were it not that the shame of living in her mutilated state would be more painful" (O Daly 1968: 106–107).

Construction

FE

LL:	lecht Lug*dach* fo lecaib lis,
Laud. 610:	lecht Lugdach fo leccaib leis,
	.i. e féin ro marb hi cu*m*aid a mna .i. darat a claideb t*r*it fein
Eg. 1782:	lecht Lug*dach* fo lecaib lis,
	iii. lecca liss Luig*dech* .i. g*r*ess 7 ruicci 7 mebul

UL

LL:	mani betis Leca Luigdech Lis
H.3.18:	mainbad leca Lugdach liss
	.i. ruici & athis
Eg. 1782:	conenptis[146] (leg. menptis) lecca luidgech liss

AD

l. 51:	dirsan m*en*bad leca lis
l. 52:	Menbad leca lis Lug*dach*

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[146] The inverted *c* in the source has here been represented by *con-*

1.4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the textual affinities between *AD* and *TE* are clear and unequivocal as the two tales share a portion of text that is too similar to have developed independently of each other, even though the relationship can be shown to be to a smaller portion of *TE* than has generally been assumed. Furthermore, whereas it seems possible to make a few tentative observations as to the direction of the borrowing of the common material, this does not represent a watertight conclusion. On the other hand, the relationship between *AD* and *SCC* involves no clear textual borrowings or textual similarities beyond some common phrases. The similarity between parts of these two texts is due rather to their thematic content. I have further argued that even though *AD* could have been influenced by *SCC*, given that the motif of Otherworldly birds is found both elsewhere and earlier in early Irish literature than *SCC*, my view is that this thematic similarity does not warrant the overwhelming claims of dependency of *AD* on *SCC* which previous scholars have maintained. I have suggested that the episode found in common between *AD* as found in the MSS D and H and the *Dindshenchas* is possibly originally from an earlier version of *AD*, borrowed back into the same tale via the *Dindshenchas*. The single quatrain found in the Annals of Tigernach in the MS Rawl. B 502 is likely to have been borrowed from *AD*, although I can provide no conclusive evidence thereof. Apart from the above mentioned textual correspondences, references to *leca Luigdach lis* is found in several sources in three different poems, one of which is in *AD*. I have suggested that the Lugaid in this expression need not necessarily have originally referred to Lugaid Riab nDerg. Whereas it seems that the expression may include a reference to a particular place, it is not possible to determine why this place has such clear connotations of shame and it seems that the main importance of the expression is a strong sense of prohibition, used in *UL* and *AD* to invoke a sense of inevitable separation.

CHAPTER TWO: The compilation of *Aided Derbforgaill*

2.1 Introduction

The present chapter will discuss the manuscript tradition of *AD*. This will include a description of the three MSS containing the tale and a discussion of the relationship between the three MSS copies. The most important differences between the MSS copies are described as well as what I consider to be the better readings from each MSS, leading up to a conclusion and proposed stemma.[147] The edited text (4.3) is presented without variant readings. For comparisons between the readings of the three MSS, the reader is referred to the textual notes where each line has been presented from each MS.

2.2 Manuscripts

LL

The Book of Leinster fo. 125a–b (TCD MS 1339). LL is most commonly believed to have been written around 1160. It was begun after 1151, and the work on it progressed until either 1201 or 1224 (Best 1954: xvii). It is therefore the oldest of the three extant copies of the tale. According to O' Sullivan (1966: 1–31) six hands worked on this manuscript. *AD* is written by O' Sullivan's scribe U, contemporary with the original scribe of the manuscript.

D

RIA D.iv.2 fo. 52 (54) V–53 (55) R, also numbered RIA MS 1223,[148] This is a vellum and paper manuscript. A colophon in the MS states that it was written "*i mainistir Chilli Cormaic*",[149] i.e. in the friary of Kilcormac in Co. Offaly. This friary was established in 1406 and flourished until around 1599 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970: 289–290). Three scribes are identified, Eoghan Ó Hachoideirn, Seáan Mac Aedacain, both identified by colophons, and a third unnamed hand. *AD* is positioned in a section written by Eoghan Ó Hachoideirn. No dating of the scribes is given in the manuscript catalogue except that Seáan Mac Aedacain is deemed either contemporary with or later than his fellow scribes. The manuscript catalogue remarks that the scribes "were all probably fellow-students" (Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy: 3298). Ó Concheanainn (1988: 11) identifies Seáan Mac Aedacain with Seán mac Conchobair, ollamh to Clann Riocaird, who died in 1487.[150] Consequently Ó Concheanainn dates this MS to the 15th c. This view is replacing the older views by Thurneysen (1921: 50), and by Van Hamel (1933: 17), who dated D to c. 1300 and to the 14th c. respectively. Van Hamel dismisses Thurneysen's view that this MS was to be dated to 1300 as this date was based on the fact that 1300 "has been rudely scribbled by a late hand on the cover of the MS" (Van Hamel 1933: 17). I take this to mean the marginal note mentioned below. Van Hamel does not, however, give any reason for his own dating of the MS to "probably from the fourteenth century" (Van Hamel 1933: 17). According to the manuscript catalogue, there is no date in the manuscript, and "a late marginal scribble, "MCCC", fo. 2 recto, and a faded "1479" (?) at the end of same folio may be ignored." If the first date is deemed as a later addition, presumably on palaeographical grounds, one would understand why this is dismissed, but no reason is given for the dismissal of the second date.

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[147] See 4.1.1 for the reasoning behind "better reading".
[148] Previously known as Stowe MS D.iv.2, and before that as Asherburn 998. The numbers within brackets refer to the previous pagination. In this thesis the current pagination is used, unless a secondary source refers to the earlier pagination, in which case both are used.
[149] This colophon is found on fo. 52 (54) vb. i. of the MS.
[150] Ó Concheanainn bases this on an entry in The Annals of the Four Masters: *Sean mac Conchobhair mec Aedaccain ollam Cloinne Riocaird (...)* (Ó Concheanainn 1985: 73 n. 4).

Among the other tales that this MS contains are *TBF,* version III of *TE,* as well as *Compert Con Culainn* and *TBDD. AD* is here grouped together with two other *aideda*: *Oidhedh Concubuir Meic Nessa,* as in LL, as well as *Oighedh na trí nAedh.*

H
TCD H.3.18, XXII, pp. 728–731 (TCD MS 1337). This manuscript consists of several independent vellum and paper sections of different dates. The dating 1700 refers to the binding of the manuscript, and is not applicable to the various parts of the MS (Cat. TCD: 359). This section is written on paper and in references to and comparisons with this manuscript and *AD* only this part is relevant. It consists mainly of material from Leinster, including a version of *SMMD* and of *FR.* Here *AD* is again grouped with an *aided*: *Aided Cet Mac Magach.* According to Ó Concheannain (1988: 9) both D and H have clear connections with Connacht, whereas LL, as its name implies, is a Leinster MS.

2.3 Manuscript relationship

2.3.1 Introduction

The three manuscript copies of this tale are very close, clearly indicating that all three copies of *AD* belong to the same redaction. This chapter will discuss the differences between the MSS, as well as the readings that lead up to a proposed stemma. The differences between the manuscripts will be discussed first, in order to show the similarities between D and H, which informs the proposal of an archetype common to these two MSS (2.3.2). Following this, the readings that informs the proposed stemma are discussed (2.3.3).

LL is the oldest text and preserves the largest number of better readings. Due to the chronology of the MSS it is impossible for LL to be a copy of D or H. It is further impossible for D to be a copy of H. As will be discussed below, D and H are closer together than either of them are to LL. They share a number of expansions not found in LL: one additional verse, a *Dindshenchas* episode, and additional information that serves to clarify the text. They also share examples of omissions, several instances of the use of a variant word as opposed to LL, common differences in sentence structure and differences of word order as well as some common better readings. Due to a larger number of better readings in H than in D, and a number of instances where the readings of H go together with LL, but where D has innovated, I presume that H is not a copy of D. This suggests an immediate ancestor copy common to D and H, hereafter called Y. An insertion of a *Dindshenchas* episode that seems to be later than the main body of the *Dindshenchas* is found in the text of D and H (see 1.4.3). Given the likelihood that this is an interpolation in Y postdating the date of LL, LL cannot be a copy of Y. Due to a number of better readings common to both D and H against LL, I presume that Y is not a copy of LL. The additional verse in D and H (2.3.2.1) as opposed to LL seems to be a case of omission on the part of LL, rather than an innovation in Y. This necessitates a postulation of an ancestor copy for LL and Y, hereafter called X. Due to a largely Old Irish text with a number of shared Middle Irish features, the date of X is presumed to be 10th c. (see 3.4.4). The features informing the conclusion given above will be discussed in detail below**.**

2.3.2 Differences between the manuscripts

The discussion of the differences between the MSS will begin with a description of the elaborations of the text in which D and H to an overwhelming degree go against LL. These elaborations can be major, with a significant portion of text added, or minor, with only a word or a simple phrase added (2.3.2.1). Following this is a discussion of lexical differences (2.3.2.2). These can be divided into instances with a major shift in meaning and instances where the different reading adds only a subtle shift of meaning. D and H show several instances of structural differences as opposed to LL, either by joining two sentences together to form a longer continuous sentence, or by changing the word order of the sentence (2.3.2.3).

2.3.2.1 Elaborations

Elaborations of the text common to D and H but not found in LL are quite numerous and are either major in that they add a significant passage, or minor, in that they add only a phrase or a single word. All of these can be seen as elaborations in DH rather than omission in LL.

Other later features of D and H include several instances where D and H, individually or together, seem to either reinterpret or rewrite the text in later language. The former is found in l. 8, where it seems that D and H have interpreted the clause as relative (LL: *olc ro bá* D: *olcc ro mbá* H: *olc ro mboi*). Further examples of later language in D and H are found in ll. 24–25, 101–102, and 114.

Only one major example can be found where material in DH, rather than later additions in these MSS, can be seen as an example of omission in LL. This is found in the second poem, which in D and H has one additional verse. This verse, found below (a) (ll. 105–108), begins with the line *ba hallud mór do Lugaidh*, as does the following verse (b) (ll. 109–112).[151]

	(D) H:	LL:
(a)	Ba hallud mo*r* do lugaid*h.*	
	ba mai*th* do *r*rumad o*r*cain*n*	
	is*ed* do *r*oigai lughaid	
	fom ru*m*aith oc derfo*r*caill	
(b)	Ba hallud mór do Lug*aid*	Ba hallud mo*r* di lug*aid*
	boí for a chrannaib glee	boi fo*r* a crandaib glee
	coíca cetguine cen dáil	caoca cetguini cen dail.
	la hannud cach ree.	la handad cach aree

A scribe copying an item twice by dittology is a phenomenon that occurs frequently enough in the scribal tradition. I would however suggest that in this case, the verse found in D and H but not in LL cannot be explained by the scribe of the archetype of D and H having entered the same line twice. As the verse found only in D and H stands before the verse that is common to all three manuscripts, the positioning of the quatrains in this poem makes a straightforward case of dittology rather impossible. I do subscribe to the view that the scribes certainly were able to compose, as opposed to just adding or subtracting a word in a text. However, it makes little sense to assume that the scribe responsible for Y, copying from a presumed archetype X, as LL, would have copied the line *ba hallud mór do Lugaid,* composed an additional three lines, then faithfully copied the quatrain following it. Therefore, my suggestion is rather that the scribe of LL simply missed a quatrain when copying this tale from the same presumed archetype as Y. In order for LL to have missed a quatrain, it must have been in the presumed archetype that LL copied from, that is, the archetype X inferred above.

Another example of a significant portion, found in D and H but not in LL, is found in the prose interlude between the two poems. The prose passage itself is found in LL as well, but is there shorter. In this portion of the text, D and H include a reference to "*ath mbanslechta*", also found in a prose passage in the *Dindshenchas* (see 1.4.3). It is likely that the passage in D and H was rewritten to fit this context. The first part of ll. 93–94 does not differ significantly between the three MSS, but the remaining prose does. In D and H the beginning of the sentence follows LL, but rather than *conna tudchid fer na ben* "so that not man nor woman came alive out of that house" we find *connad terna ben*:

LL: Luid im*morro* cu *chulaind* isa te*ch* cosna mná co t*ar*at a te*ch* fo*rt*hu <u>*con*</u>na tudc*h*id fer na ben im*beth*aid ass*in* tig si*n*

D: luid*h* i*morro* cucu*l*ainn amach is*in* i tech i rabut*ar* na mna 7 do rat i*n* tech cetna fo*r*ru uile <u>*con*</u>nach terna b*en* a mb*eth*aig*h* dib as*in* tig*h* si*n*

H: Luid im*morro* cu cu*l*ainn ama*ch* isin tech i rabator na mna oc*cus* in dech cetna fo*r*ru uili <u>*con*</u>ach terna ben i mbeth*aid* dib asin toig si*n*

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[151] I have not given the reading of D here as the reading of this is very close to H and both verses stand in the same order in the MSS. The readings have not been normalised. Cf. the edition and text notes to these lines.

–terna is 3 sg. pret. act. of *do-érni*, "gets away, escapes", thus the passages in D and H translate as "so that no woman escaped (alive from the house)". This difference may either be due to a scribe seeing no sense in a form *–terna* trying to make sense of the sentence, reading it as *fer na ben*, inserting a verb *tudchid*, or else a scribe who wanted to harmonize the following *Dindshenchas* episode with the narrative, using the verb "escape". The difference between *fer na ben* and *–terna*, is great in meaning but slight in writing. H is further missing a verb in order for the sentence to be complete (*do-rat* in D, see above).[152]

Minor additions in D and H as compared to LL are found throughout the text. Often these consist of just an added interjection, as *daigh* (ll. 7–8), *iarmotha* (ll. 12–14), *trá* or *trath* (l. 18), *dono* or *didiu* (ll. 26–27, 28), *iartain* (l. 27), and *dia fhis* (l. 32). These do not give any additional information to or explanation of the text. However, minor expansions of another kind are frequently found in DH, where the added word or phrase seems to explain or clarify the text. The added epithets for Cú Chulainn and for Lugaid (ll. 1, 3) are of this kind, but also the instances where information about who is speaking or being spoken to at a certain point is given (ll. 5, 8, 9, 12, 24–25). In several places, an action or a result of an action is clarified as in l. 1, where DH has the added information *do clostecht/di coistecht* "heard", clarifying that Derbforgaill had fallen in love with Cú Chulainn from all the famous stories that she had heard about him. Further instances of clarifications of this type in D and H are found in ll. 3–4, 21–22, 24–25, 25, 26, and 27. Clarifications of a specific element in the sentence is found in l. 25, where *mun* "urine" is added in D, and *triasin coirthi/corti* are added in D and H:[153]

LL: Teít *ar* ai *for*si*n* cort*h*e ro selaig uade co tala*m*
D: teid i*arum* *for*san coirt*h*i 7 ro siac*h*t <u>in mun</u> uaithi co tala*m* <u>t</u>riasin coirt*h*i
H: tet iar*om* forsi*n* corti oc*us* ro siecht uait*h*i co talom*h* <u>t</u>riasin corti

The minor expansions in LL as opposed to D and H consist for the most part of a single word and in no instance does the added or omitted word affect the meaning of the sentence. This is found in ll. 3, 10, 13 and 28.[154] Only in one place does LL follow one of the other two MSS in an expansion (excluding instances consisting of interjections, such as *dono*): in l. 8. *rim* LL is found as *frim* in H, but is missing in D. Rather than being an expansion, it is more likely that D omitted the word.

In a very few places it is LL that is the longer text. In l. 12 LL repeats the sentiment *IS dotinsaigid tá nacsa tra or si.* "it is to you I have come" that was expressed by the phrase in l. 8 with *& is tú doroacht*, meaning the same thing. This repetition is not found in D and H, and since the sentence is structured in a different manner in D and H, the ensuing *nathó* (*a ingen, or se*) (l. 13) is not found in D and H. Furthermore in ll. 15–17, LL has two sentences expressing the same thing as in the one shorter sentence in D and H.

2.3.2.2 Lexical differences

There are several instances of the use of different lexical items between LL on the one hand and DH on the other. There are a few important variants indicating a shift in meaning, rather than just a variant or synonym. This shift in meaning can be very subtle, or very explicit. Sometimes the shift in meaning is difficult to assess, as in l. 23, where D and H have *ergaire* for LL's *congaib*. These two words have been deemed "*in sensu obsceno*" by DIL, although as both these words are obscure, it is difficult to assess the reason for the different use in LL on the one hand and DH on the other. The same is true of l. 6, where H has the variant *eter a di heiti* "between her two wings" for *eter a da hasna* "between her two ribs" of LL and D. In l. 7, LL simply has *bátar* "(there) were, there appeared" as in "There appeared immediately two human forms on the strand", whereas D and H have *imsoeth/imdosoeth* "turned into", adding the subtle

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[152] A further example of an elaboration in DH is found in ll. 24–25: LL: Nir bo áill lea or nir bo baet*h* D: as b*er*t sid*h*e na rach*ad ar* ní bo espach et*er ar*aid*h*e nir g*h*absat uaithi ce*n* dul H: IS b*er*t si nach rach*ad ar* nir hesbach et*er*. Araide nir gabsat uait*h*e cen dul.
[153] A further example is found In ll. 7–8 where a location is specified in DH.
[154] l. 3: *a dalta*, specifying that Lugaid is Cú Chulainn's fosterling, l. 10: the interjection *íarum*, l. 13: *or se*, *nathó* is also added in LL but the sentence is structured differently between LL on the one hand and DH on the other (see 2.3.2.3), l. 28: *a pianad* specifies that her torture was done.

sense that the birds were transformed. A similar example is found in ll. 93–94, where LL has *isa tech cosna mná* "into the house to the women" for D and H's reading *isin tech i ra butar na mna* "in the house in which the women were". In l. 1 *rocharastar* "has loved" of LL is found in DH as a construction with *do-rat grad 7 serc* "gave love and love". In ll. 26–27, in describing Derbforgaill's mutilation, different body parts are used. LL has *súile* "eyes", *sróna* "nostrils", *da nó* "two ears" and *trilis* "locks". For this D and H have *súile* "eyes", *srón* "nose",[155] *folt* "hair" and *feoil a máss* "the flesh of her buttocks". The same shift of items in a listing is found in l. 121, where LL has *Ro lad a fert 7 a llia la coinculainn* "Her mound and her grave were raised by Cú Chulainn." for what is found in D: *rotoccbadh a fert 7 a leacht 7 a nguba 7 a lli a ndis la coin culainn*, and in H: *Rotoc bad a fert occus a llecht occus a nguba 7 illie a ndis la coin culainn* "The mound and the grave, and the mourning and the grave[156] were raised by Cú Chulainn". In the last example, the items used both in LL and in D and H are commonly found together in set phrases. In l. 53, *derba* of LL may mean "hindrance", or possibly "shame", whereas D and H has *dremna* "fury, madness". Both readings make the required rhyme to *Emna*, and no judgement as to which is the most fitting can be made as both readings make equally good sense. In l. 60, LL has *mo fhianchara* "my *Fian* friend" for *moenc(h)ara* "my only friend" in D and H. In l. 115 LL has the form *uabair* "pride, arrogance, vanity" where D has *ualaing,* the loss of *–f–* is possibly a hypercorrection of *fualaing* "frenzy distraction", found in H. The above examples do not significantly alter the text, but serve to very subtly alter the nuance of what is stated.

Minor differences, mostly concerning the use of a synonym of a word are frequently found between D and H on the one hand and LL on the other (ll. 7–8, 10–11, 15, 24–25, 27, 28–29, 32, 41, 54, and 77). This type of variant readings does not alter the meaning of the sentence or contribute to any significant difference between the MSS. All examples in the verbal system, except one, discussed below, concern the use of either a different tense of the same verb, or the same tense of different verbs.[157] Most often this makes little difference to the sense of the text. Instances of this are found in ll. 25, 26 (twice), 39, 56, 92–93, 93–94, 118, 121. Instances of a different use of infix can be found in ll. 15, 18, 37, 99. In l. 6 there is a rare occurrence where all three MSS use different verbs: *do-lléici* LL, *sreidigh* D and *dibraicid* H. All verbs have the same tense and mean the same thing: "hurls, throws". It is possible that this is due to some anomaly in the archetype. If this source had a lacuna or miscolouring in this line, the three MSS could have chosen three different verbs. The need for a verb of throwing or hurling is obvious from the context, and the verb form *dibraig* is found in all three MSS in the previous line.[158]

The examples given above which show only a variation in the use of words between DH on the one hand and LL on the other, may reflect the personal choice of the scribe as the meaning is either the same, in the case of the use of synonyms, or makes equally good sense, in the case of a completely different word used.

However, there are some examples where it seems that a variant word has been used due to confusion of the original. The use of *-terna* in D and H for *fer na ben* in LL (l. 94), discussed above, is one example of this. In l. 39, the reading of LL, *nachimchiúil*, is a *hapax legomenon*, whereas *nach amtiuil*, D, and *nacam thíuil*, H, seem to be a reduplicated *ro*–preterite of *tlenaid* "takes away". The reading of LL is most likely a scribal mistake, likely due to the confusion between *–ch–* and *–th–*. In l. 58, where LL has the reading *truag amar*, the readings of D and H are similar, D: *truagh namaradh* H: *truagh namar*, though D has an extra syllable, making the line hypermetrical. This could well have occured as a scribal mistake. In l. 103, LL has the reading *gnúis derbfhorgaill fo licce leirg* "Derbforgaill's face under a hill of stone". This sentence in D and H ends with *fo licc nderg/fo leic derg* "...under a red stone". Whereas the sentences make equally good sense, it seems that some confusion has been present in either LL or D and H.

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[155] The difference between *sróna* on the one hand and *srón* on the other is that the word *srón* when singular means "nose, nostril" and when plural "nostrils", cf. text note to l. 27.
[156] both *fert* and *lia* mean grave, *lia* can further have the meaning memorial stone.
[157] There is one instance where LL is expressing the same thing as D and H using a prepositional phrase rather than a verb as in DH, this is found in ll. 93–94.
[158] With minor spelling variations, see text note to l. 5.

2.3.2.3 Structural differences

Differences in sentence structuring are also found in a few places. In ll. 24–25, the rather simple statement in LL: *Nirboáill lea or nirbo bæth* "she did not desire it, because she was not foolish" is found in DH as: *IS bert si nach rachad arnir hesbach eter. Araide nirgabsat uaithe cen dul* "She said that she would not go because she was not wanton at all, nevertheless they did not go away from her without her going".[159]

There is a tendency for inverted word order in D and H against LL. The inversions are not numerous although they are complicated enough to warrant attention. The inversions are mostly of two words and even though this could have happened independently, D and H go together in all but one of the inversions (ll. 7, 10, 28, 28–29, 98, the one instance where D and H do not follow each other is found in ll. 1–2). The inversion of long strings of words is significant in that it is unlikely that D and H independently would have inverted the same elements from the same source. This occurs in ll. 92–93, where the phrases *a hanim inti si*, *in tan tancatar* and *isin tech* are reordered in the sentence between LL on the one hand and D and H on the other:

ll. 92–93 (M 92–93)
LL: IS*ed* atb*er*atsom níbái <u>a *hani*m *in*ti si</u> <u>in tan tancat*ar*som</u> <u>is tec*h* i*n*nund.</u>
D: IArsin lot*ar* <u>isi*n* tech</u> *cu*cul*ainn* 7lug*aid* 7 <u>in tan ra*n* cat*ar*</u> anun*n* ni raibi <u>ahanu*m* in*n*ti si</u>
H: IA*r* sin tr*a* lotor <u>isin tech</u> cucul*ainn* occ*us* lug*aid* oc*us* <u>in tan ran cator</u> indund ni raibe cucul*ainn* <u>a hanom inti si</u>

There is a higher instance of sentence connectors, either as a single word or a full phrase, in D and H as opposed to LL, creating longer, more continuous sentences in D and H (ll. 10, 12, 15, 22–23, 34, 92–95). Only in one instance does LL use a sentence connector while D and H do not (ll. 7–8). In this line, an example can be found where the use of a sentence connector is more complicated than just to connect two finite sentences together: *ar ind ingen* 7 ... in LL is in DH found as *daig(h)* "because of, for the sake of", which contributes to a switch from direct speech in LL to narrative report in D and H.

As is evident from the discussion above, the three MSS copies are very close, although there are a few important differences between them. D and H are closer together than either of them are to LL, and go together in several instances of elaborations and variant use of synonyms, syntax and word order. Whereas the elaborations in D and H can be seen as later additions, the additional verse cannot (see 2.2.2.1). The discussion below regarding the better readings in D and H, where H frequently has a better reading than D, will show that H cannot be a copy of D, and that the close relationship between D and H will have to be explained by these two MSS being copies of a common archetype.

2.3.3 Better readings

The better readings in LL will be discussed first as this MS contains the largest number of better readings and is the MS copy that the main body of readings in my edition has been chosen from. Following this, the instances where one of the MSS D or H goes against the other but with LL are discussed. This section is in turn followed by a discussion of the better readings in D and H, informing the archetypes Y and X, including the instances where the two MSS go against each other in a better reading.

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[159] Reading from H, for the similar reading in D, see text note to ll. 24–25.

2.3.3.1 Better readings in LL against D and H

LL shows an older form of verb or verbal construction in several instances. LL has *dibairg* (l. 5), where D and H have a metathesised form from the later simplex (D: *diubraig* H: *dibraic*). *Ní chomraiciub-sa* (l. 14) is found in LL for later forms with -*f*- in D and H (D: *ni conricfium* H: *ni conricfum*). *Dia fessatar* (l. 26) is found in D without an ending (*Dia fessat)*, which may be a mistake, and in H with metathesis (*Dia fesarat*). *Berair* (l. 28) is found without palatalisation in D and H (D: *berar* H: *beror*), signifying a confusion between palatal and non-palatal *r*. *Forro scarsam* (l. 34) is found in D and H with later deponent form (D: *fóarscaramar* H: *for scarsamair*). The context of l. 39 requires a relative. The perfect *dia tartus* in this line found in LL contains a relative suffix not found in the pres. subj. form *dia tabar* in D, *dia tabair* in H. In l. 74 *torbaigh* D and *torbuid* H could be the pres. ind. of the same verb found in the pret. in LL, *torbais*, although the forms seem to be from a later verb. The infix signifying the object is found in LL in *nimrumartsa* (l. 60), but is not found in D and H, although the form in D and H may be from another verb (D: *ni ro martsa*, H: *N i ru martsai*).

As in the verbal system, older forms or constructions are found frequently in the nominal system in LL. The context for *coirthe* (ll. 20, 21, 22, 25)[160] in all cases demands the use of the accusative, and LL is consistent in the use of acc. sg. and pl. of this noun. D and H, however, show confusion in the use of case and number endings. The adjective *lán* (l. 100) is found in LL following a dependent genitive, where D and H have the dat. sg. form (*lain*). U-infection is preserved in LL: (*dont shnechtu* ll. 20–21), but not in D and H (D: *dont snechta* H: *dint snechtai*). The O. Ir. dual form of the noun is found in LL in *da deilb duine* (l. 7), with replacement of the fem. form of the numeral. For this D and H have a dat. pl. form, following the preposition *i* (D: *delbaibh* H: *delbaib)*. Furthermore, after the 1 sg. infixed pron. lenition is found in LL: *menim thistais* (l. 43) for non-lenited forms in D and H: (D: *manim tisdais* H: *manim tistais*), and after the 1 sg. poss. pron. (l. 60 LL: *mo fhíanchara* D: *moencara* H: *moen chara*; this difference in lenition is also found in l. 67), as well as after the 3 sg. masc. poss. pron. *a* (l. 110 LL: *a chrannaib* D: *a crannaib* H: *a crandaib*). The correct O. Ir. form of the article is found in LL in several places where D and H show an innovation in the use of the article (ll. 26, 28 LL: *ind fhir* DH: *na fir*). It is further likely that the reading in LL *a tech* (l. 32), preserves the earlier form of the neuter article, for which D and H have the later from (D: *in teach* H: *in tech*). However, the LL form could be a 3 sg. fem. poss. pron. In l. 73 *nem nech* of LL seems a better reading than *né nech* of D and H, although this line is rather obscure (see text note to l. 73).

2.3.3.2 Better readings in D and H against LL

The nasalised relative clause in DH (l. 56) is a better reading than the pres. ind. found in LL (D: *nad nfhaci* H: *nad naiccighe* LL: *nach accim se*). In l. 90 *bés* is followed by a negative particle preceding the subjunctive verbal form in D and H (D: *ni chomarsem* H: *ni comairsem*). The same verbal form is found in LL (*no comairsem*), but the preceding particle *no* makes little sense. The verbal form in l. 39 (D: -*thiúil* H: *tiuil*) is better than the reading -*chiuil* in LL as this represents a confusion between *ch/th*. The verbal form in l. 37 (D: *doroacht* H: *domrocht*) has an older stem than *dom riacht* in LL, although this is problematic (see text note to l. 37). The stem *do-rign*- (l. 57) found in DH is earlier than the stem *do-ring*- in LL. The vocalism in *regas* (l. 22) is preserved in D and H but not in the form *ragas* in LL. H has a verbal form *nimad genair* (l. 76) the same form of which appears in the Milan glosses, realised in D as *Nimo genar* with lenited *d* before homorganic lenited *g,* whereas LL shows an innovative form (LL: *Nimda genair*). *Nicon* in D and H is an older form than the Mid. Ir. form *noco* in LL (l. 115). The forms *ba thum* in H, *bá sam* in D, against *bái dam* in LL (l. 71), seem to represent O. Ir. *bái-thium* "I had". The use of the form *carad* (l. 62) in D and H is a better reading than *caraid* in LL, as this is an imperfect with omission of *no* in verse. The copula form *manim* in DH is earlier than the form in LL *menim* (l. 43).

In the nominal system we find that the nasal in the idiom *laa n-and* (ll. 3, 20) is preserved in D and H, but not in LL, although D has an innovative form of the phrase (*laa naen* see DIL s.v. *lá* 11: 26). The nasalisation following the neuter *buaid* (l. 64) is not found in LL (LL: *gaile*, D: *ngaile*, H: *ngaili*). The O.

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[160] In l. 25, *Coirthe* occurs once in LL, but twice in D and H, see text note to l. 20.

Ir. prep. *fris* (l. 14) is preserved in DH where LL uses the Mid. Ir. form *riss*. The prepositional form *fri* in DH (l. 73) is better than the form *fris* in LL, as no context for the *-s* is evident. Similarly in l. 79, D and H have *fri h-uair* against *ri úair* (LL), which preserves the correct *h*-prefix. The prep. with poss. *dia* (l. 28) is a better reading than *da* in LL, although the same form may be implied. In l. 84 the preposition preceding a VN is entered twice in LL, both in full and in a contracted form, making the line hypermetrical, whereas the preposition is only used once in DH: (LL: *dam dacallaim* D: *domacallaim* H: *dom acallaimh*). The form *i ngnis* (D: *a ngnís*, l. 50) in DH is an independent dative where LL has an added preposition and is due to this hypersyllabic (LL: *in ingnais*). *Ergaire uainn* in DH (l. 23) seems to be the *lectio difficilior* against *congaib uán* in LL. In l. 85, the adjective found in D (*dubaibh*) and H (*dubaib*) fits the context better than the personal name found in LL (*dubhtaig*). In l. 90 *nach tan* makes better sense than *nach tai* in LL, where the latter may be a mistake for the first. The reading *cacha* (l. 112) in DH is better than *cach* of LL as the use of this form in LL makes the line hypometrical.

In a number of cases, LL and H go together in presenting a better reading than D. In the verbal system this can be found in l. 4, where LL and H have the O. Ir. form (LL: *conaccatar* H: *conacator*) whereas the form in D has an inorganic *-f-* (*confacatar*). In l. 26, LL and H go together in the same form (LL *nícon grádaigfider* H: *ní graidhaigfider*) where D uses an innovative form (*ni graidheochaid*). In l. 118 *do-ruid* of LL and H is from the verb *do-feid*, for this D has the late form *do-rinne* from *do-gní* .

In the nominal system, the correct acc. pl. form *na heonu* is found in LL and H in l. 5, for this D has a later form *na heoin*. LL and H show the correct u-infection in dat. sg. *i nderiud* against *an deired* in D (l. 20). The gemination after the prep. *i* is found in l. 2 (LL H: *i rricht*), this is not found in D (*a richt*). In l. 97, D treats *bruindghel* as a compound (LL: *bruinne gel* H: *bruindi gel*) and is due to this hypometrical. Furthermore in l. 55**,** D has acc. pl. *maccu* in the epithet of Lugaid which makes the line hypermetrical (LL H: *mac*), this is most likely a mistake on D's part. The same is probably the case in l. 45, where *úath* of LL and H is found as *nath* in D, and in l. 47, where *comol* is found as *coal* in D, the MS in the last example is probably lacking an m-stroke.

The readings in which H goes against both LL and D in a better reading supports not only that H is not a copy of D, but also that the ancestor copy Y, immediately preceding D and H, is not a copy of LL. This supports the notion of an ancestor copy X, from which both LL and Y independently stem, as discussed above (2.2.2 and 2.2.3). The class C infixed pron. in H (l. 18) is a better reading than the class A infixed pron. in LL and D, as the context requires a relative. The correct O. Ir. nom. pl. art. *ind fir* is found in l. 20, where LL and D have the later article *na*. The dat. sg. art. *dint* before lenited *s* is found in l. 20–21, where LL and D have *dont* (see text note to ll. 20–21). The O. Ir. prep. form *frim* (l. 8) is found in H but not in LL, where *rim* is found. No preposition is found in D in this instance. The noun *indbass* found in LL, and the form *ninnbas* in H (l. 70) are earlier forms of *indmas* than the form *immbas* found in D. In l. 58, where LL has the reading *truag amar*, the readings D: *truagh namaradh* and H: *truagh namar* preserve the nasal after the neuter *amar*. As D adds an extra syllable that makes the line hypermetrical, the reading of H is superior.

The better readings common to LL and D are far fewer than the better readings common to LL and H. The verb form *con dechaid* in LL and D is found in H as *cone dechaid*, (l. 6). Both LL and D have a gen. dual form (LL: *da géise* D: *da gheissi*) where H has innovative form *da geis* (l. 2). Apart from the above examples, there are no instances of LL and D together presenting a better reading than H. Only a few examples can be found where a reading in D is better than one in both LL and H. In l. 20 the form in H *dignet* seems to be from the later simplex against D: *do-gniat* and LL: *do-niat*, with the non-lenition in D being superior. In l. 57 I have deemed *dubaig* in D as a better reading than *dubach* in LL and H (see text note to l. 57).

2.4. Conclusion and stemma

D and H are so similar that it is impossible that they derive independently from the same ancestor copy as LL, unless one assumes that LL made changes in all places where D and H go together. Even though LL is commonly held to be a rather bad manuscript in many respects, this is not very likely. An archetype common to D and H, Y, has thus been presumed. As there is evidence of better language in D and H as opposed to LL, it is presumed Y is not a copy of LL. Furthermore, the additional verse in D and H, discussed above is most likely an omission in LL, rather than an invention of D and H. This strongly points to an ancestor copy immediate to D and H, not shared by LL, here called Y, and an ancestor copy common to Y and LL, here called X.

The stemma I propose for *AD* is as follows:
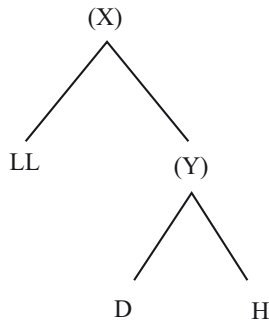
CHAPTER THREE: Language, metrics and dating

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will begin with a linguistic analysis of *AD*, with a description of phonology and orthography as well as the features of the nominal and verbal systems. A description of the metrics follows which includes a short discussion of the stylistics of the poems and the relationship between the poetry and the prose. The chapter concludes with a discussion of previous dating and dating criteria as well as my own dating of the tale.

3.2 Linguistic analysis

3.2.1 Phonology and orthography[161]

The O. Ir. u-infection of the dat. sg. is retained in *i nderiud* (l. 20), *dint shnechtu* (ll. 20–21), *co n-aithluch* (l. 46), and *co ngenus* (l. 114). The O. Ir. vocalism in *regas*, from *rigas, regas* is retained in l. 22 (see DIL s.v. *téit* 127: 30 and SnaG 319 § 12. 141). *Dom-rigne* (l. 57) contains the stem *do-rign–,* which developed into *do-ringn-*, although the earlier stem can also be found in Mid. Ir. (see SnaG 325 § 12. 197, 234 § 3. 14 and DIL s.v. *do-gní* 285: 52). Hiatus is retained in the verbal form *shöas* (rel. l. 78) and guaranteed by the metre. Four original disyllabic words occur in the text. Two of these, *laa* (ll. 3, 20) and *triit* (l. 22) occur in the prose. It is therefore not possible to assess whether the original disyllable is kept or if the spelling is merely an indication of length. The two examples *glëe* (l. 110) and *rëe* (l. 112) are guaranteed by the metre. There is one example of an older form of a noun: *indbass* (l. 70) "wealth, treasure, goods (as against landed property)" (masc.-u-, later -o-) is found in the earlier form of the word with *–b–*, (see DIL s.v. *indmas* 237: 66). The spellings *comol* (l. 47) and *comul* (l. 48), although coinciding with the earlier spelling of *comal*, are most likely used due to the rhyme with *omon* (l. 45). Innovative features in the nominal system include the adj. *trúag,* (ll. 58, 71), a Mid. Ir. form for O. Ir. *tróg* "wretched, pitiable, miserable, sad". Likewise, the Mid. Ir. form *úag* is used for the O. Ir. adj. *óg* "whole, entire, integral" (l. 70)*.

Confusion of unstressed final vowels is found in the nominal system in the following examples:[162] *dalta* for nom. sg. masc. *daltae* (l. 3), *asna* for acc. pl. masc. *asnu* (l. 6), *snechta* for nom. sg. masc. *snechtae* (ll. 20, 30), *corthe* for acc. pl. masc. *co(i)rthiu* (l. 21), *súile* for acc. pl. fem. *súili* (l. 26), *cride* for dat. sg. neut. *cridiu* (l. 49), *cride* for gen. sg. neut. *cridi* (l. 86), *mence* for acc./dat. sg. fem. *me(i)nci* (l. 78). In the verbal system this can be found in the following cases: *dom-béra-so*, (l. 15) which stands for O. Ir. *do-m-bérae-so*, the 2 sg. fut. of *do-beir* and in *ro-chúala-si* (l. 32), the 3 sg. pret. act. of *ro-cluinethar* "hears" which in O. Ir. would have been *-cúalae*.

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[161] Mutations will be discussed under each sub heading.
[162] For the form *da géise* (l. 2), and the change from the expected gen. du. form ending in *-eo, -ea*, see GOI (191 § 300, 62 §99). This change is found already in the Milan glosses and therefore is not diagnostic for the falling together of unstressed vowels in Mid. Ir.

3.2.2 The verbal system

3.2.2.1 The verbal system in tabular form

The verbal system is listed by tense, mood and person. The subjunctive, preterite, perfect and future tenses are arranged according to formation. The perfect forms are listed separately after the preterite forms. The passive and relative forms are found separately under each tense. The examples of the substantive verb and the copula are listed separately at the end of the list.

Imperative: 2 sg. *dibairg* 5, *oslaic* 33, **1 pl.** *tabram* 22.

Present indicative: 3 sg. *do-lléici* 6, *téit* 25, *dúnaid* 32, *celebraid* 36, *do-gní* 73, 102, *do-beir* 77, **3 sg. rel.** *shöas* 78, **3 pl.** *do-gníat* 20, *tíagait* 32, *at-berat-som* 92, *as-berat* 92, *co tarat* 94.

        Passive 3 sg. *con-gairther* 24, *do-gníther* 28, *berair* 28.

Imperfect indicative: 3 sg. *carad* 61, **1 pl.** *im-réidmis* 80.

Present subjunctive:

        a-[163]: **1 sg.** *con-dot-accur* 18, **3 sg.** *nícon rala* 115.

        s-: **1 pl.** *ní comairsem* 90, **3 pl.** *dia fessatar* 26.

        Passive 3 sg. rel.a-: *ferthar* 69, **3 pl.** *gatair* 26.

Past subjunctive

        a-: **3 sg.** *ro lad* 121, **1 pl.** *fo-gelmais* 119.

        s-: **3 pl.** *manim thístais* 43.

Preterite active:

        s-: **3 sg.** *ro-dn-aí* 65, *torbais* 74.

        t-: **3 sg.** *ním-rumart-sa* 60, *as-bert* 35, 96.

        suffixless**: 1 sg.** *tánac-sa* 12, **3 sg.** *do-lluid* 1–2, *luid* 19, 93, *ro selaig* 25, *ro-dam-ír* 99, **3. pl.** *co n-accatar* 4, *lotar* 21, *tancatar-som* 92.

        passive: **3 sg.** *scartha* 48, *no-dam-ét* 49, *lasa rumnad* 53, *do-rrumad* 106, *fom-rumaith* 108.

Perfect active:

        s-**1 sg.** *ro shúgiu[s]-sa* 14, *dia tartus* 39, **3 sg.** *ro charastar* 1, *ro shúgi* 10, *co rruc* 19, *ros-marb* 95, **1 pl.** *forro scarsam* 34, *ro scarsam* 88.

        t-: **1 sg.** *do-röacht* 8, 37, **3 sg.** *ní röacht* 24, *dom-röacht* 98.

        suffixless: **3. sg.** *co ndechaid* 6, *ro-chúala-si* 32, *nácham thíuil* 39, *dom-rigne* 57, *ní mad-génair* 76, *conná tudchid* 94, *do-roigai* 107, *do-ruid* 118.

        passive: **3 sg.** *ro delbad* 91.

Future:

        f-: **1 sg.** *ní chomraiciub-sa* 14.

        reduplicated: **1 sg.** *nad n-accigiu* 56.

        e-: **2. sg.** *dom-béra-so* 15.

        s-: **3 sg.** *ó ría* 22, **3 sg. rel.** *regas* 22.

        passive 3 sg. f-: *nícon grádaigfider* 26.

The substantive verb:

Present indicative: 3 sg. *atá-si* 31, **3 sg. rel.** *fil* 16.

Past subjunctive: 1 pl. *oca mbímmis* 89.

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[163] The long a- subjunctive will be denoted a-. Likewise the long e-future will be denoted e-.

Preterite and perfect active: 1 sg. *ro bá* 8, **3 sg.** *boí* 110, *ro boí* 3, 10, 101, *co mboí* 6, *co mbuí* 10, *baí-thium* 62, *ní baí* 92, **3 pl.** *co mbátar* 2, *bátar* 7, 28.

The copula:
Present indicative: 3 sg. *is* 9, 12, 16, 22, 30, 31, 35, 49, 86, 92, 96, 107, 118, *isim* 40, **3 sg. rel.** *as* 16, 22, *ní* 41, 73.
Past: 3 sg. *ba* 21, 54, 82, 86, 93, 99, 105, 106, 109, 120, *níba* 27, *nírbo* 24, 81.
Present subjunctive: 3 sg. *bas* 15, *cid* 75.
Past subjunctive: 3 sg. *níbad* 47, *menbad* 46, 51, 52.
Future: 3 sg. *bid* 43, 68, 70, 71.
The defective verb *ol/or/ar*: *ol*: 13, 18, *or*: 5, 12, 14, 16, 34, *ar*: 8, 9, 30, 31, 33.

3.2.2.2 Description of the verbal system

The verbal system is rather conservative with only a few instances of clear Middle Irish innovations. There are no instances of prototonic forms in independent position. There are no examples of simplification of compound verbs and no significant changes in the personal endings. The O. Ir. 1 sg. f-future ending in -*b* is found in *ní chomraiciub-sa* (l. 14). Furthermore, the s-preterite is not found outside verbs that originally used this formation. The spread of *ro*-perfect for the narrative preterite cannot be assessed as no unambiguous examples are found. Retention of O. Ir. deponent is found in l. 26 *dia fessatar*. The hiatus found in *shöas* (l. 78), from the O. Ir. verb *söid* is guaranteed by the metre. The defective verb "says, said" had in O. Ir. the form *ol* although two instances are found in the Milan glosses of *ar* (Quin 1960: 95, Mc Cone, 1985: 91). The Mid. Ir. forms include *ar, or, for* (Quin 1960: 95–102). In the text we find *ol* being used twice, while *or/ar* are used ten times.

Developments in the verbal system can be seen in a few instances. Lenition after a preverbal particle is found in *ro shúgi* (l. 10), *ro shúgiu[s]-sa* (l. 14) and in *ní chomraiciub-sa* (l. 14). The spread of deponent to original active verbs can be found in l. 1, where *ro charastar* has a Mid. Ir. deponent ending for O. Ir. *ro char* (see GOI 418 § 675, EIV 217 and SnaG 324 § 12. 194). For the confusion of unstressed final vowels, see above (3.2.1.)

3.2.2.3 Passive verbal forms

Nine passive forms are found in the text, however it is only possible to assess the case following the verbal form in one of these instances. In *dia fessatar trá ind fhir* (l. 26), the passive verbal form is followed by a nominative form. All other cases are either ambiguous or give no information about the case. There are no cases where a passive is obviously followed by an accusative form.

3.2.3 The nominal system

3.2.3.1 The definite article

There are a limited number of occurrences of the definite article, either alone or with prepositions (30 instances). The O. Ir. art *ind* was used before vowels and lenited f, l, n, r, in gen. sg. masc., and nom. pl. masc., fem. nom. sg. and gen. sg. neut. This is preserved in *ind fhir* (nom. pl. masc. ll. 20,[164] 26, 28.), *ind locha* (gen. sg. neut. l. 4) and *ind ingen* (nom. sg. fem. l. 8). The O. Ir. nom. and acc. sg. neut. article *a* is preserved in *isa tech* and *a tech* (ll. 93, 94). *Is* for *isa* is found in *is tech* l. 92. A further two instances where a neuter article may be implied is found in *a tech* (l. 32) and *a llí* (l. 75). In both of these examples *a* may either indicate a poss. pron. or a neut. article.[165] The instances of *in* likewise correspond to O. Ir.

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[164] The expected lenition is not found in l. 20.
[165] For a discussion of *lí* as possibly originally neuter cf. text note to l. 75.

usage (acc. sg. masc. *in tóeb* l. 14, nom. sg. fem. *in ben* l. 22, acc. sg. fem. *in cloich* l. 10, gen. sg. neut. *in taige* l. 32). The following examples of the article in combination with a preposition before a noun in the dative are found: *cosin mac* (dat. sg. masc. l. 16), *dint shnechtu* (dat. sg. neut. ll. 20–21), *is tilaig* (with *is* for *isin*, dat. sg. fem. l. 28) and *assin tig* (dat. sg. neut. l. 94). In combination with a preposition before a noun in the accusative the following forms conform to O. Ir. usage: *issin trácht* (acc. sg. masc. l. 7), *isin coirthe* (acc. sg. masc. l. 22), *forsin corthe* (acc. sg. masc. l. 25), *forna corthe* (acc. pl. masc. l. 21), *cosna mná* (acc. pl. fem. ll. 93–94).

There are some signs of developments of the definite article. There are no instances of the O. Ir. full form *inna*, the short form *na* being used in all instances: *na heonu* (acc. pl. masc. ll. 4, 5), *na mná* (nom. pl. fem. l. 21), *na hingine* (gen. sg. fem. l. 10), and *na hoínmná* (gen. sg. fem. l. 26). Since this was a permitted variant in later O. Ir, it is difficult to claim that it is Mid. Ir. feature, although the complete absence of any instance of *inna* would point to a later usage of the definite article (See SnaG: 259 § 7. 6). All other instances either conform to O. Ir usage, or are occurrences of *na*.

3.2.3.2 The neuter

Although 53 originally neuter nouns are found in the text, few diagnostics for determining the gender of the majority of these are found. All occurrences in the text where the article is followed by a original neuter noun conform to O. Ir. usage. Few contexts are found in the text where a nasalisation would have been shown, but the nasalisation following a neuter noun is found in two instances: *búaid ngaile* (nom. sg. l. 64) and *búaid ngaiscid* (nom. sg. l. 66). *Cach mbuaid* shows the nas. after *cach* before neut. *búaid* (nom. sg. l. 68). The preposed adjective nasalises the following noun in *trúag n-amar* (nom. sg. l. 58). The nasalisation following the numeral before acc. du. neut. is found in *a da n-ó* (l. 27). It seems that *ré* l. 112 (gen. sg.) is inflected as a feminine following *cacha* (gen. sg. fem.), thus being an innovation for earlier neuter.

3.2.3.3 The dual

Four instances of a dual form are found in the text. Of these, two instances correspond to O. Ir. usage: *i rricht da géise* (gen. du. fem. l. 2) and *a da n-ó* (acc. du. neut. l. 27). The other two instances show innovation. In *eter da fhert* (l. 101), the originally fem. noun *fert, fertae* shows masc. inflection. In *da deilb duine* (nom. du. fem. l. 7) the original fem. numeral *di* has been replaced with *da*.

3.2.3.4 Case and stem formation

The cases of nouns largely follow what is expected in O. Ir. It is possible that a replacement of the acc. for dat. is found in *co mbuí ina beolu* (l. 10), although the accusative may here refer back to the motion implied earlier in the sentence (see text note to l. 10). In *dul i cían* (l. 40), *cían* ought to have the form *i gcéin*, as this word as a noun is a fem. –a-stem[166] (see DIL s.v. *cían* 179: 70–78). However, it seems that the nom. sg. form is used for the acc./dat. sg.[167]

A few examples of a change of stem formation can be found. *Rígain* "queen" was in O. Ir. a fem. long i- stem, but was later inflected as a fem.-a- stem. The latter formation is found in *tri coícdaib rígan* (l. 95), for O. Ir. gen. pl. *rígnae*. The originally fem. noun *fert, fertae* shows masc. inflection in *eter da fhert* (l. 101).

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[166] Feminine long -a- stems will be denoted fem. -a- or -a- throughout this thesis.
[167] This is a highly problematic form, see text note to l. 40.

3.2.3.5 Pronouns

There are no examples of independent personal object pronouns being used after a verbal form. Eight clear examples of an infixed personal pronoun class A, indicating the object, are found: 1 sg. *dom-béra-so* (l. 15), *nácham thíuil* (l. 39), *manim thístais* (l. 43), *dom-rigne* (l. 57), *nim-rumart-sa* (l. 60), *dom-röacht* (l. 98), *fom-rumaith* (l. 108), 3 pl. *ros marb* (l. 95). In addition, a 3 sg. neut. infixed pron. class A may be present in *amal ro chúala-si ón* (l. 32), from O. Ir. *ra-chualae*, referring to the indeclinable neuter pronoun *ón*. One example of an infixed pronoun class B is found: *Is ed at-berat-som* (l. 92). In all these instances the infix used conforms to O. Ir. usage. Four instances of a class C infixed pron. are found: 1 sg. *no-dam-ét* (l. 41), 2 sg. *con-dot-accur* (l. 18), 1 pl. *ro-dn-aí* (l. 65), 3 pl. *ro-dam-ir* (l. 99). These also conform to O. Ir. usage. There are no instances where a class A infixed pronoun is used in stead of a class C pronoun, or the other way around.

There are two examples of a 3 sg. verbal form with a 1 sg. suff. pron., *isim*, l. 40 and *baí-thium* "I had" (l. 62).

The indeclinable neuter pronoun *ón* is found in l. 27 and l. 32, although in both instances it refers to an abstract "it" rather than a neuter object.

3.2.3.6 Prepositions

The cases and numbers after prepositions conform with a few exceptions to Old Irish usage. The preposition *fri* was gradually replaced by *ri, re,* in Middle Irish and in Early Modern Irish it sometimes became confused with the prep. *ré*, *ría* "before" (DIL s.v. *fri* 413: 67–68, 72–73, SnaG 327–328 § 13. 14, Mc Cone 1985: 88). Replacement of *ris* for O. Ir. *fris* is found in *ris na rom* (l. 45). The form *i cían* (l. 40) shows replacement of the expected dat. sg. form with a nom. sg. form (see above 3.2.3.4). *Forthu* (l. 94) is a late 3 pl. pers. pron. form. The Mid. Ir. form *amlaid* is found for O. Ir. *samlaid* (l. 28). Apart from the above mentioned examples, the expected forms of the prepositions, including personal and possessive forms which conform to the gender and number referred to, are as expected in Old Irish. The mutations after prepositions indicating case are found in: *in hÉrind* l. 16, *i nderiud* l. 20, *i ndáil* l. 28, *i n-écaib* 31, *fri húair ndochraite* l. 79, *i mbethaid* l. 94 and *i nEmain* l. 117.

3.2.3.7 Conjunctions

The conjunction *amal* is found twice, once as a temporal conjunction (l. 3) and once followed by a verb (l. 32, see 3.2.3.5). In O. Ir., *amal* could be followed by a nasalising relative clause, although this is not compulsory (see GOI 319 § 505). It is probable that the lenition here is due to an infixed neut. pers. pron. In l. 24 the clauses are separated by *ór*, a Mid. Ir. variant of *uair*, from O. Ir. *óre*, *uaire*, a coordinating conjunction "for because, since", see DIL (s.v. 4 *ór* 152: 3). In l. 18 an example of the conjunction *acht* followed by *co n* is found. GOI (559 § 904) states that "In later texts we find *acht co n*", which is the construction found here. However, as "later texts" is not defined in GOI, it is rather difficult to assess the significance of this occurrence in the text.

3.2.3.8 The adjective

The dat. pl. of the attributive adj., ending in *–b*, is preserved in *co ngnímaib dánaib dubaib* (l. 85). This was lost during the Middle Irish period in favour of the nom./acc. form (SnaG 252 § 6.3).

Developments in the adjectival system are found in the use of comparative forms for the O. Ir. superlative. Whereas only three examples of comparison of adjectives are found, in all three instances, a comparative form is used for the superlative (see SnaG 257 § 6.15, GOI 232 § 366): *mac as sóiriu* (l. 16), where *soiriu* is used for O. Ir. *soírem, cia as sia* (l. 22), where *sia* is used for O. Ir. *siam* and *is í as fherr* (l. 22), where *ferr* is used for O. Ir. *dech* (see DIL s.v. *maith* 44: 62).

3.3 The poems of *Aided Derbforgaill*

3.3.1 Metrical analysis

AD ends with two poems. The first poem is in the voice of Derbforgaill and consists of fourteen quatrains. The second poem is in the voice of Cú Chulainn and consists of six quatrains. Thirteen of these are variants of *rannaigecht*, with end rhyme bd. Nine verses are in *rannaigecht mór (*ll. 36–39, 40–43, 48–51, 64–67, 68–71, 72–75, 88–91, 97–100, 101–104) and ten in *rannaigecht bec* (ll. 44–47, 52–55, 56–59, 60–63, 80–83, 84–87, 105–108, 109–112, 113–116, 117–120). One quatrain only (ll. 76–79) is in *deibide* with end rhyme ab; cd. Apart from the metre, there is no reason to regard this verse as an interpolation. The end rhymes are all perfect with rhyming according to the O. Ir. rhyming classes. *Aicill* rhyme between the end of one line and the interior of another is found in twelve of the twenty quatrains (all except ll. 40–43, 52–55, 64–67, 97–100, 109–112, 113–116, 117–120 as well as ll. 76–79, which is in *deibide*). In all but two of these twelve quatrains, the aicill rhyme is between cd: ll. 48–51 has *aicill* rhyme between ab and in ll. 101–104 there is *aicill* rhyme both between ab as well as cd. The rhyme is perfect in all instances but one: the *aicill* rhyme found in ll. 44–47, *aithluch: aithrech*, with differing rhyming vowels which would not have rhymed in Old Irish, but rhyme in Middle Irish. The syllable count in all lines except one can be safely restored. *Gnúis Derb Fhorgaill fo licce lerg* (l. 103) is hypersyllabic, and an amendment of *licce* to *lecc* in order to restore seven syllables would create a grammatically incorrect sentence. The main ornamentation of the poem is alliteration. This is found in all quatrains except ll. 105–108. Alliteration is distributed evenly, with no concentration of the alliteration pattern to lines cd. Linking alliteration is found in ten of the twenty quatrains. (ll. 36–39, 48–51, 52–55, 56–59, 60–63, 64–67, 76–79, 97–100, 101–104, and 117–120). Only in three verses can the linking alliteration be seen as compensating for the lack of aicill rhyme (ll. 52–55, 76–79, 97–100).

The first poem has more ornamentation, both in terms of aicill rhyme and in alliteration, often linking alliteration (see above). The first poem is in the voice of Derbforgaill and is uttered as she is dying. Immediately after this is found an interlude which explains how Cú Chulainn slaughtered the women responsible for Derbforgaill's mutilation and subsequent death. It may be, although I have no conclusive evidence for this, that the first poem pre-existed the second poem, and that the second poem was composed at a later point in the voice of Cú Chulainn as a counterpart to the first poem. There are no specific linguistic features of the second poem that enables us to date it later than the first, this suggestion is therefore rather speculative as the lack of ornamentation cannot be seen as conclusive evidence for difference in composition dates.

3.3.2 Stylistic features of the poems

As described above, the main ornamentations of the poems are end rhyme, *aicill* rhyme and alliteration. Further ornamentation can be seen in the use of *fidrad freccomail* between ll. 51 and 52: *menbad leca lis: Menbad leca lis* (see 1.4.5). Repetitive use of *búaid* is used in ll. 64–67, the verse following, ll. 68–71, is using *cach* in the same rhythmic pattern. Parallelism between *búaid: dimbúaid* is found in line 68. Two consecutive verses begin with *Ba hallud mór do Lugaid* (ll. 105–108, 109–112) and there is parallelism between *do-rrumad* l. 106 and *fom-rumaith* in l. 108.

Apart from the ornamentation described above, a few stylistic features concerning the positioning and juxtapositioning of words can be found in both poems. The stylistic device of positioning two nouns or adjectives of the same or similar semantic value next to each other occurs frequently in these poems. The composition and collocation of synonyms in early Irish and Welsh has been discussed by Mac Cana (1995: 106–122). One construction described by Mac Cana is "the expressive linking of synonyms by a conjunction, either positive or negative" (1995: 112). This occurs with nouns, *úath na homon* (l. 45) and *genus 7 fhéle* (l. 114),[168] and with adjectives: *athber co n-aithluch* (l. 46). Mac Cana also discusses a

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[168] See also *grad 7 seirc* l. 1 (in DH only),

construction where two adjectives are juxtaposed without an intervening conjunction (1995: 114). This is found in *dérach dubaig* (l. 57), *trúag n-amar* (l. 58), *sóer subaid* (l. 62) and possibly in *dánaib dubaib* (l. 85). The reading of l. 97, (*bruinne*)*gel:bán*, may either be a compound of *bruinne+gel*, which would make the line hypermetrical, or we may read this as *bruinne* followed by two adjectives without a conjunction. A further construction discussed by Mac Cana is where two predicative adjectives are "resolved into two simple copular sentences by repetition of the copula and a linking conjunction" (1995: 114–115), an example of this is found in *bid trúag no bid trú* (l. 71).

3.4 Dating

3.4.1 Previous dating and dating criteria

Zimmer (1888: 216–219), gives no precise indication as to the dating of this tale, apart from considering it to be obviously composed after the Norse invasions. Marstrander has two main criteria for the dating of *AD*, and based on these he assigns the tale to the beginning of the 10th c. His first criterion is the occurrence of the name *Lochlann* in the text. Marstrander claims that *Lochlann* was not recognized as a name for Norway until the middle of the 9th c., and from this he infers that the tale could not have been composed before this date. The word *Lochlann* has been extensively discussed by Ó Corráin (1998: § 12),[169] where he gives references to the first known instances of this word in Irish, and concludes a date for these in the mid 9th c., with spellings *Lothlend* and *Laithlinn*. This term was then, according to Ó Corráin, not used as a name for Norway, but rather as a name for Viking Scotland (1998: § 13).[170] He states that the earliest dateable example of *Lochlann* as a designation for Norway occurs in a poem composed in 1072 (1998: § 23). Etchingham (2006) has argued extensively against Ó Corráin, both on grounds of the location of *Lochlainn* and the assumption that *Lochlainn* and *Laithlinn* are the same word. He concludes that *Lochlainn* clearly implies the 11th c. and later kingdom of Norway (2006: 24). Ahlqvist (2005) has argued that this place name refers to a place close to what is now Dublin. There is in my view nothing in the text of *AD* that necessitates the conclusion that *Lochlann* must mean Norway, as Marstrander claims it does, thus at what time this word became a designation for Norway is of no relevance for the dating of the tale. Marstrander's second criterion is the internal linguistic evidence, which he claims proves that both the prose and the poems of the tale belong to the Old Irish period (1911a: 201). As he does not discuss the linguistic aspect at all, apart from the word *Lochlann*, it is difficult to know what kind of internal linguistic evidence that Marstrander had in mind. Thurneysen at first deemed Marstrander's dating of *AD* as too early and assigned a date for the tale to the 11th c. Thurneysen's late dating is due to the reference to Lugaid in the poem *Fianna Bátar i n-Emain (*see 1.4.5.1.1). Thurneysen initially rejected the ascription of this poem to Cinaed Ua h-Artacáin, who died 975 A.D., on the grounds that the poem contains references to tales not thought to have been in existence before the 11th c. (1921: 20–21). Thurneysen further inferred from the difference in the manner of Lugaid's death in this and other early poems and *AD* that *AD* must be later than these poems (1921: 427).[171] Thurneysen later amended this date (see Schultz 1923: 306). The reason for his emendation seems to be that he reconsidered the ascribing of the poems to Cinaed Ua h-Artacáin, and following this that the occurrence of an episode of *Cath Étair* in the poem *Etar étan ri dílind* could be used as a dating criteria.[172] Since the poem mentioning *Cath Étair* can be firmly dated, and as Cath Étair has a reference to

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[169] The references to Ó Corráin will be given to the paragraphs of his article, following the wishes of the editors of the online edition of *Chronicon*.

[170] In this he takes issue with Marstrander, (1911c: 250), who claims that the various spelling of this word co-existed at the same time, and further derived it from a Norse place-name.

[171] Thurneysen, (1921: 427), quotes the poem *A chóicid chóin chairpri crúaid* by Orthanach (d. 840 A.D.), and further a reference to Lugaid's death in *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú* (Best and O' Brien 1957: 504–508, see 1.3.2). The manner of Lugaid's death in *AD*, as differing from earlier sources, has been interpreted by Marstrander and Thurneysen in two different ways. Marstrander sees this difference as proving that earlier versions of *AD* once existed, (1911a, 202), as opposed to Thurneysen's view as described above.

[172] Thurneysen uses the title *Cath Étair* for the tale that is also known as *Tallaind Étair*. This tale has most recently been edited by Ó Dónaill (2005) and before that by Stokes (1887: 47–64).

Derbforgaill as the wife of Lugaid, Thurneysen claims that his previous dating ought to be pushed back a century, thus agreeing with Marstrander.[173]

Edel disagrees with Marstrander and Thurneysen about the dating of *AD* and proposes a date in the mid 12th c. The reason for her late dating is partly due to the "*rohheit*" of the tale, which she deems as unagreeable or incompatible with Early Irish literature:

> "*Doch ist der Text in seiner abstossenden Rohheit (auch wenn man dem oft unverblümten Erzählstil der irischen Sagen Rechnung trägt) so weit von der älteren Sagentradition entfernt, dass ich sie für noch viel jünger halte*" (1980: 57).

> "However, the text in its repulsive crudity (even if you take into account the blunt Irish narrative style) is so far remmoved from the older sagatradition that I think it [the text] to be far younger."[174]

This statement is puzzling, and as a dating criterion, utterly inadequate. Not only is it ambiguous, as it is not clear what Edel means with the term "*rohheit*", it is also difficult to see how this would in any way serve as a diagnostics for dating. "*rohheit*" may be interpreted as "crudity", "rawness", "starkness", "bluntness", "brutality", as well as "violence". It is entirely unclear whether this adjective refers to the composition of the tale or to its subject matter. In my view neither application of this word can justify its use as a dating criterion. Neither crudeness of composition, which *AD* certainly does not display, nor violent or brutal subject matters are a characteristic of later literature any more than of early literature. Considering that violence is very much a part of Early Irish tales, unless a chronological list is put forward, showing escalating "*rohheit*" over time, I fail to see how this can be valid as a dating criterion. Edel's dating must rest on the presumption that the first known copy of *AD*, the version in LL, is also the first redaction of this tale. As I have discussed above, I believe this not to be the case.

The Annals of Tigernach contain three references to Lugaid (see 1.3.2). The entries have been used by Edel as a dating criterion, therefore they merit some discussing here. The three entries are as follows:

[1]

> *ISin tsechtmad bliadain iar ndith Conairi rogab Lugaid Reoderg rígi (...)*
> "in the seventh year after the destruction of Conaire, Lugaid Redstripe seized sovranty (...)"
> (Stokes 1895b: 405).

[2]

> *Lugaid Réoderg mac na tri Find nEmna regnauit in Temoria annis XXVI. Tricha ríg do Leith Chuind óthá Lugaid co Diarmait mac Cerbaill.*
> "Lugaid red–stripe, son of the three Finds of Emain reigned in Tara twenty-six years. Thirty-six kings from Conn's half (reigned in Tara) from Lugaid to Díarmait son of Cerball"
> (Stokes 1895b: 411).

[3]

> *Lugaid Réoderg occisus est óna trib Rúadchennaib (.i. de Laignib); nó commad im claideb dodoléced conn–abbad de chomaid a mná .i. Deirbe Forgaill, nodechsad.*
> "Lugaid Red-stripe was slain by the three Red–heads of Leinster or it may be that he betook himself to (his own) sword and died of grief for his wife, Derbforgaill, who had gone"
> (Stokes 1895b: 414).

Edel (1980: 285 n. 68) points out that Derbforgaill is mentioned in the *Annals of Tigernach*, in the original hand of the scribe, but claims that this manuscript was frequently interpolated, quoting Mac Neill (1914: 50).[175] Edel concludes from this fact that the passage in question, which I take to mean the last passage quoted above, could be of more recent a date than the original writing of the manuscript.

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[173] Cf. Murphy (1954: 145–154) where he discusses this poem and concludes that the ascribing to Cinaed Ua hArtacáin is correct, and also discusses Thurneysen's view on this matter.
[174] I thank Mona Jakob for the help in decoding this German sentence.
[175] See also Best (1914: 114–120) for a discussion of the Annals of Tigernach in the MS B 502.

However, this particular passage was not recognised as an interpolation by Mac Neill himself, who listed all the interpolations he had found and who concluded that the second entry as quoted above was in an interpolated hand.[176] Edel provides no evidence that the passage she refers to should be of more recent date, apart from that it fits her conclusion that *AD* is a rather late tale. The conclusion that a certain episode is interpolated based solely on the fact that the said episode occurs in a frequently interpolated MS is problematic on methodological grounds, as a result I am not convinced by her argument.

In addition to the above-mentioned scholars, a dating has been given by Ross (1959: 48), who, probably following Marstrander, dates *AD* to the beginning of the 10th c. Likewise, Dooley (2002: 204) dates *AD* to the 10th c. and as her translation is based on Marstrander's edition, this dating is most likely to be based on his.

3.4.2. Metalinguistic criteria

The earliest dateable mention of Derbforgaill's name in connection with Lugaids occurs in *The Annals of Tigernach*, dated to the 11th c. (Byrne 1973: 28), in a list of queens in *LU*,[177] in the hand of scribe H, who, if Ó Concheanainn is correct, died in 1106, and in the aforementioned poem in the genealogies of Rawl. B 502, dated to 1120 or 1130. The tradition about Lugaid is considerably older, as his name is mentioned in poems composed by authors living in the 9th and 10th c. (see 1.3.2). Although these poems can be found in later manuscripts only, the many references to Lugaid in poems of this date point towards Lugaid as a well known character at a date anterior to the compilation of LL. This tradition of Lugaid at some point connected with the person Derbforgaill, the date and source of this connection is not known. This tradition can briefly be described as a conflation between an older tradition, as described in the aforementioned poems, where Lugaid is referred to as having died at the hands of the three red-heads, and a later tradition, where he is described as Cú Chulainn's companion or fosterling. It is to this later tradition that *AD* belongs. Derbforgaill seems not to have an independent tradition of her own, but is only found mentioned as Lugaid's wife.

3.4.3 Linguistic dating criteria

AD is a short text and the contexts that would provide diagnostics for a dating are therefore restricted. Some conclusions can however be drawn from a linguistic analysis of the text. As was described above, some features show little or no signs of innovation. Retention of the expected u-infection is found in four nouns, two clear cases of original disyllable nouns are found as well as one instance of retained hiatus in a verb. The verbal system is largely conservative with the few instances of innovation found only in the lenition after preverbal particles in two instances, as well as some evidence of the falling together of unstressed vowels. The infixed pronominal classes A and C are kept apart. A suffixed pronoun is used after a 3 sg. verbal form. There are no instances of typical Middle Irish features such as the use of a prototonic form for a deuterotonic form, simplification of compound verbs or changes in the verbal endings. There is no spread of weak formations to originally strong verbs which all retain their various formations. The Old Irish deponent ending is retained in one instance. Although in most cases it is not possible to assess the case used after a passive verbal form, one example clearly show the use of the nominative. The definite article *ind* is retained in five instances. The neuter is difficult to assess, although is still found in nine instances. There are no examples where the neuter is clearly lost. Two out of four of the dual forms found in the text show the O. Ir. dual inflection, with two forms innovating. The prepositions largely follow O. Ir. usage with one exception. One example of an attributive adjective with the ending -*b* retained is found. The rhyming vowels in the two poems are intact, with only one line showing evidence of innovative rhyme, in addition to one line being hypermetrical.

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[176]O' Rahilly states: "In the Rawl. B 502 text of the Irish World–Chronicle the death of Conaire in Bruiden Da derga is entered twice, the dates being approximately 25 B.C. and 44 A.D. (...).Immediately after the first of these entries an interpolating hand adds that Lugaid Réoderg became king(...)" (1946: 489).

[177] *LU* ll. 8404–8417. This list is part of the *LU* version of *FB*. It is also found in *Talland Étair* and has been edited separately by Dobbs as *Agallamh Lebborchaim* 1949: 154–161)

Some Middle Irish innovations are evident. One example of the spread of the deponent to an originally active verb is found. Examples of the falling together of unstressed vowels are found, particularly in the -io-stems and in two instances in verbal forms. The short form of the article *na* for *inna* is used in all instances. Two of the four dual forms show that they are no longer inflected as duals. A few examples of the falling together of cases are found as well as a few examples of a noun changing stem. All three superlative forms of the adjective have been replaced by the comparative. A few Middle Irish forms of adjectives are used. The conclusion I draw from the linguistic analysis is that this is a largely conservative Old Irish text with some evidence of Middle Irish.

3.4.4 Conclusion

Previous scholars' dating of *AD* varies from Marstrander's "Old Irish period" (1911a: 201) to Edel's "mid twelfth century" (1980: 57). The stemma discussed in chapter two presents evidence for an ancestor copy of the text preceding the first known copy of this tale. As is discussed above, no reliable metalinguistic criteria can be found for the dating of *AD*, apart from the *terminus ante quem* given by the dating of the earliest manuscript copy of LL (12th c.). The dating must therefore rest solely on a linguistic analysis. As is seen from the discussion above, the text shows a verbal system with few innovations, a nominal system with slightly higher frequency of innovative features, although this retains both the neuter and the dual as functional categories, and overall a high frequency of Old Irish forms. The poems display perfect rhymes in all instances and only show one example of imperfect rhyme overall: the *aicill* rhyme found in ll. 46–47, *aithluch*: *aithrech*, (see above 3.3.1). The text is short and thus provides few contexts of unambiguous diagnostic features for a precise dating. If this would be a text composed in the Old Irish period, the innovative features could not be explained, even considering a possible influence of the later copyists of the MSS. However, given that these innovations are not numerous, and given that the language, particularly the verbal system, is largely conservative, a late Middle Irish date of composition is ruled out. For these reasons, I find that a dating of *AD* to the 10th c. is reasonable.

CHAPTER FOUR: Edition

4.1 Editorial practice

4.1.1 Introduction

The edition presented here is a critical edition, based on LL with readings from D and H where they present better readings. In most cases a "better reading" is defined as "linguistically better". In one case (*ergaire* l. 23), a choice has been made based on *lectio difficilior,* and in one case, where a quatrain seems missing in LL, on textual grounds (ll. 105–108). Where no choice could be made between the MSS, I have chosen the reading from LL. A general overview of differences between the manuscripts is given in chapter 2, and all significant variations are further discussed in the text notes. Full transcripts of all MSS are given to facilitate critical reading. In preparing the transcripts, I have used printouts from the microfilms of D and H and subsequently compared these with the manuscripts. For the readings of LL I have relied on the on-line version of LL on ISOS, which was then compared to the MS.

4.1.2 Editorial practice for the transcripts

Marstrander's transcript from LL is very accurate. However, the variant readings from D and H are less carefully given. Quite often he does not indicate the *punctum delens* or *spiritus asper* in the text. Other differences are due to the fact that he frequently normalised common words, although he is not consistent in doing this. Even so, there is ample evidence that he sometimes gives a reading found in D as a reading from H and vice versa. In quite a few places our readings differ considerably. Marstrander furthermore often gives *c* for *g* and *t* for *d*. Some of Marstrander's readings suggests that he used the facsimile of LL, at least to some extent, rather than the manuscript itself.

The transcripts of the present edition are accompanied by footnotes describing palaeographical details. All readings which are not entirely clear, mostly concerning length marks and other diacritic marks which are particularly prone to fading, are noted there, as are possible unintentional scribal marks. Differences between my reading and the diplomatic edition of LL are likewise noted, except in the case of length marks and capital letters, as these are normalised in the diplomatic edition. All abbreviations are expanded and italicised and a note is given if the expansion is problematic. A *punctum delens* and a *spiritus asper* is italicised. When *h* is used in the MSS to indicate lenition it is transcribed using normal font. Ligatures are not italicized and a note is given only if it is unclear or unusual. Capitals and punctuation are given only when clearly found in the manuscript, and no normalization has been carried out. The line division follows that of each manuscript.

4.1.3 Remarks on LL

The text in LL is quite clear except for the fading that has taken place on the last few lines of page 125a, as well as the stain that covers part of the right margin of page 125b. In a few instances, for these faded parts, I have used the reading from the diplomatic edition, where enough can be seen of the word for me to surmise that the editors of the diplomatic edition were most probably correct in their reading. This is indicated in the transcripts by putting the text within round brackets. In the edition these instances

are not marked. In the very few instances where the diplomatic edition has a length mark that I can not see, I have omitted it from the transcript but given a footnote for it. When a length mark occurs on a diphthong or digraph, it is sometimes difficult to see where the stroke begins and thus to which vowel it belongs. This is especially difficult as fading may play a part in disguising the starting point of the stroke. For the most part it seems that the scribe of LL had a tendency to start his strokes far left of the letter. Thus, in cases where I cannot be sure where the stroke belongs I have chosen to place it on the vowel to the right of the beginning of the stroke. The few instances where my reading disagrees with the diplomatic edition of LL are clearly indicated in the notes, except in the cases of the placement of length marks, as this is normalized in the diplomatic edition. Neither have I noted differences in capitalization, for the same reason.

4.1.4 Editorial practice for the edition

As was discussed in chapter 2, the text of D and H is in a few places more elaborated than LL. These elaborations have not been included in the edited text as I believe them to be later additions with the exception of the stanza found in DH and omitted from LL (see 2.3.2.1). The words are divided according to the division that makes the most sense of the text. Where my word divisions differ from the diplomatic edition this has been noted. The line divisions are my own.[178] A hyphen is used to separate proclitic and enclitic elements from the stressed word and to indicate the stress in verbal forms. Nasalisation is only marked when clearly indicated in the text. Before vowels, but not before consonants, this is separated from the following word with a hyphen. A length mark is placed over long vowels which are not marked with a length mark in the MS. Where the length mark is placed over the wrong vowel in the MS it has been corrected. Short vowels in hiatus are marked by diaresis when the syllable is guaranteed by the metre. Personal and place names have been capitalised, and normalised, and quotation marks have been used to indicate direct speech. Modern conventions regarding punctuation and capitalisation of the beginning of sentences are used. Two forms in the text have been normalised by removing a later spelling: *nad-n-accigiu* l. 56 and *baí-thium* l. 62. No normalisation beyond the above stated measures has been carried out and variant spellings have been allowed to stand.

4.1.5 Remarks on the translation.

As described above (1.1.2, 1.1.3) the prose of *AD* has been translated before, as has the poetry. The only published translation of the poetry is Dooley's which is a free translation. In addition to this, Ford has provided a translation as has Burgess in her PhD thesis. Marstrander only provided some notes to the poetry, most of it rather vague.

The poetry of *AD* is elliptical verse in which the sense of the couplet and the quatrain as a whole is not always straightforward, and which is in parts utterly difficult to translate. The obscurities are sometimes found in the actual words, but more commonly each element of the line can be explained but the meaning still be lost. In choosing a straightforward translation, as close to the actual meaning of the words, what is actually implied in the line may be lost. Choosing a less literal translation risks getting too far away from the original and may result in the translator composing a text rather than translating it. I have chosen to try to stay close to the text, even if this means not being able to fully convey what may be intended in the line. The translation of the poetry is therefore in parts tentative. I have chosen not to leave any lines blank, as I believe that the difficult lines deserve at least an attempt at elucidation. One may argue that leaving the line blank is a better option in order not to mislead the readers. However, in providing tentative translations of these difficult lines, I hope to at the very least provide a starting point for further discussion of these poems. The lines with a tentative translation is put within square brackets and a question mark is added. Further discussion of these lines can be found in the textual notes.

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[178] The diplomatic edition of LL does not follow the lines of the manuscript, neither does Marstrander in his edition.

4.1.6 Remarks on the textual notes

The readings from the three MSS are given before the headwords of the items discussed. These readings follow the transcripts of each MS, the one difference being that some word division has been added to facilitate reading. When a form is ambiguous in its possible word division, it has been left undivided. The headword given is from my edition. The line numbers of Marstrander's edition are indicated by the letter M within brackets, followed by the line number of his edition. Translations of quotations are either from DIL or from a translation found in other sources; in both cases this is specified. If a translation appears without a reference, the translation is my own. Stems of nouns are given as cited in DIL, unless an alternative discussion has been found, in which case this is referred to. Where a stem is not given, it is not known. References found in the textual notes to a specific line number of the edition refer to the text note of that line.

4.2 Transcripts

4.2.1 Text of LL

Page 125a.

	DERb f*h*orgaill[179] i*n*gen ríg Lochlai*n*ne roc*h*arastar
25.	coi*n*cul*aind ar*aurscelaib. Dolluid an*air* irric*h*t da
	géise7 ahi*n*ailt co*m*bátar for*l*och cuan 7 rond óir
	et*ur*ru. Am*al* robói da*no* cuc*h*ul*aid* 7 lug*aid* adalta .i. m*a*c na
	t*r*ifi*n*d em*m*a laa a*n*d latóib i*n*dlocha co*n*accat*ar* na*h*eonu.
	Dib*a*irg na *h*eonu or Lug*aid*. Dolleici cu*ch*ulaind cloic*h* for*r*u *con*dec*h*aid
30.	et*er* ahasna co*m*bói i*n*a broi*n*d. Bát*ar* dadeilb dui*n*e issi*n*
	tr*ach*t foc*h*etóir. olc robá ri*m* *ar* ind ingen. & is tú doroac*h*t.
	IS fír *ar* cu*ch*ulaind. Ros*h*úgi[180] íar*um* atóeb nai*n*gi*n*e i*n*cloic*h* co*m*búi
	i*n*abeolu cosi*n* loi*m* c*h*ró robói i*m*pe. IS doti*n*saigid tá
	nacsa tr*a* or si. Nathó ai*n*gen orse. i*n*tóeb ros*h*úgi*u*sa or se
35.	níc*h*o*m*raiciubsa[181] riss. Do*m*bér*a*so da*no* doneoc*h* bas mait*h*
	let. IS mait*h* limsa ém orse dul duitsiu cosi*n* m*a*c
	assóiriu fil i*n* heri*n*d .i. lug*aid* riabnd*er*g.[182] Mait*h* lim orsi
	acht con otaccur dog*r*és. Luid iar*um* co lug*aid* corruc clai*n*d dó.
	Laa and di*diu* i*n* deriud gemrid. snecta mór a*n*d. Doniat
40.	nafir cort*h*e mór donts*h*nec*h*tu.[183] Lot*ar* namna
	for*n*acort*h*e. Ba*h*e a t*u*scurnud. Tabra*m* *ar*mún isi*n*
	coirt*h*e d*ús* cia assia ragas i*n*d. INben oría t*r*iit
	isí asf*h*err[184] congaib[185] uán. Niroac*h*t di*diu* uadib. con /
	*g*air*t*her d*er*for*g*aill uadib. Nirboáill lea or nirbo
45.	bæt*h*. Teít *ar*ai for*s*in cort*h*e roselaig uade cotala*m*
	Diafessa*tar* tr*á* i*n*df*h*ir so ní *con*g*r*ádaigfider ifail na ói*n*
	mná. Gat*air* asúile assaci*n*d. 7asróna 7adanó 7a
	t*r*ilis. Nibasoaccobraite ón. Dognit*h*er apianad
	a*m*laid si*n*. 7 b*er*air iar*t*ai*n* datig. Bat*ar* i*n*d f*h*ir[186] is tilaig
50.	i*n*dáil os emai*n*. IS ingnad[187] lem a lug*aid ar* cu*ch*ulaind snec*h*ta
	for*t*aig derbf*or*gaill. Is i*n*écaib atá si di*diu* *ar* lug*aid*. Tia[188]
	gait for*c*omluat*h* doc*h*um i*n*taige. Am*al* roc*h*ualasi
	ón dunaid atec*h* furri. Oslaic *ar* cu*ch*ulaind. Cáin blat*h*[189]
	for*r*o sc*ar* sam or si. ISand asb*er*t.[190] @[191]lab*e*ir*t*. diat*ar*t*us*
55.	Celebraid cu*ch*ulaind da*m* do*m* riac*h*t om*í*at*h*aib iúil[192] 7lug*aid* (luth)[193]
	seirc (nác*h*imc*h*iúil)[194]

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1. IS im*é*icen dul ic*í*an. n*í*fo fechta[195] nodam*é*t sc*ar*ad f*r*iu bid
  dál e*í*cne[196] men*im* t*h*istais[197] écne éc.@ nibadait*h*rech *ar* co*m*ol.
  Lacoi*n*cul*aind* lalug*aid*. ris naro*m* uát*h* na*h*ómon. m*en*badat*h*b*er* co*n*at*h*lech
  Comul sc*art*ha f*r*iriab nderg. is delg icridi cró cnis.
5. cu*chul*aind dobit*h* in ingnais. dirsan m*en*bad leca lis.
  Menbad leca lis lug*dach* lasar*um*mad ca*ch* nderba.[198] baro*m*oc*h*
  *ar*nét*ar*ba f*r*i m*ac* nat*r*ifin*d* emna .@ mot*h*úat*h* truag a*m*ar
  Na*ch*accimse coi*n*cul*aind* do*m*ringne dérach dubach. dít*h*re
  7sc*ar*ad f*r*ilug*aid*. @ ceile soer subaid lug*aid* m*ac* clot*h*ra*n*d crua*ch*an.
10. Nimru*m*art*s*a mof*h*ian*ch*ar*a*.[199] cu*chul*aind car*aid buafad.[200] bái da*m*
  Buaid gaile buaid clis riac*á*ch do*ch*oi*n*cul*aind* crut*h* rodnaí
  b*uaid* ngaiscid[201] dolug*aid* lúath b*uaid* mo*ch*rot*h*a se*ch*ce*ch* mnaí.
  Ca*ch* buaid di*m*buáid ia*r*ta*in* cipia f*r*isa fert*h*ar tnú.[202] ca*ch*in*d
  bass bidin*d*les nuág ca*ch* trén[203] bidtruag *no* bid trú
15. Sire*ch*ta*ch* dál i*n*bith cé. nisét f*r*is ne*m*ne*ch* dogní
  torbais dál báis se*ch*ce*ch* ndúis[204] gnúis *ch*ain[205] cidalai*n*d alí
  Ni*m*dagen*air* c*r*idi crúaid dob*er*[206] ta*é*b[207] f*r*iailet*h*uáit*h*. *ar*a
  mence s*h*oas[208] gné agnuis ri*ú*air ndoc*h*raite.[209]
  INtan i*m*reidmis emai*n* atem*air* nírbo droc*h*ban*d
20. cu*chul*aind and basubaid 7 lug*aid* m*ac* clot*h*ra*n*d
  Cu*chul*aind da*m* dacallai*m* congní*m*aib[210] danaib dub*h*taig (iss *ed*)
  baslán lam c*h*ride 7 lige[211] lalug*aid*
  Rosc*ar*sam[212] f*r*i *ar* namalla oca*m*bi*m*mís f*r*i ca*ch* sel bés no
  com*a*irsem na*ch*tai rodelbad dam dul *ar* cel C.
25. IS*ed*[213] atb*er*atsom níbái a*h*ani*m* i*n*ti si in tan tancat*ar*som is te*ch*
  i*n*nund. Asb*er*at da*no* bam*ar*b lug*aid* a*ch*etoir ocadesci*n*.
  Luid im*morro* cu*chul*aind isate*ch* cosnamná cot*ar*at a te*ch* f*or* t*h*u
  *con*natudc*h*id fer naben i*m*bet*h*aid assi*n* tigsi*n* .i.dona
  t*r*i coicdaib rigan. *acht* rosm*ar*b uile. IS *a*nd asb*er*t cúchul*aind*.[214]
30. Derbf*or*gaill[215] brui*n*ne gel bán domria*ch*t *dar* srot*h*asál.
  barat*h* c*ar*at rodamfír. i*n*gen rig deloc*h*lain*d lán.
  Orobói et*er*daf*h*ert[216] dogní mert mo*ch*ride cró.

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[194] A large *ceann faoi eite* is found before the first word in this line.
[195] There seems to be a hook under *e* although it is not clearly visible.
[196] There is vertical stroke under *e*, most likely part of the vellum.
[197] There seems to be an erasure after this word.
[198] There is a *ceann faoi eite* after this word.
[199] *punctum delens* over *f*
[200] *bruafad* in MS, with *r* expunged.
[201] *punctum delens* over *n*.
[202] There is a *ceann faoi eite* after this word.
[203] According to the Diplomatic edition, *n* is written on top of an erased *a* and the following *b* written on top of an erased *g*. The scribe might have begun to write *truag* which follows later on in the same line.
[204] *punctum delens* over *n*.
[205] I cannot see a length mark here, though the Diplomatic edition has *cháin*.
[206] The Diplomatic edition has *dobeir*.
[207] There is a hook under *e*.
[208] *punctum delens* over *s*.
[209] *punctum delens* over *n*.
[210] *punctum delens* over *n*.
[211] I clearly see what looks like a *punctum delens* over *g*, though this may be part of the vellum. The Diplomatic edition has *lige*.
[212] There is a dot under *R*. I cannot judge whether this is part of the vellum or not.
[213] Between these two lines in the right hand margin there are letters not legible. According to the Diplomatic edition the following sentence is found: *hoc tamen non est uerum*, "But this is not true".
[214] I can see a fairly clear length mark here, Diplomatic edition has *cu*.
[215] In the margin, before Derbforgaill the greek letter *phi* is found to signify that what is following is verse, not prose (cf. Hull 1949: 144).

gnúis derbf*h*or*gaill*[217] folicce leirg. lug*aid* riabnd*erg*[218] dirs*an* dó.

Ba *h*allud mór dolug*aid* bói f*o*r*ach*r*an*naib glee. coica[219]

35.   cetgui*ne* cendáil la*h*annud cac*h*ree.

Derbfor*gaill* clú *con* áne *con*ge*n*us.[220] 7f*h*éle.[221] nocorala cor

nuab*air* gnuis d*ar*gualai*n*d aceile. @ fogelmais

T*r*i coic ait ban *in* emai*n* isme doruid.[222] anorga*in*. cia

ríg natúat*h* baluag dóib derbf*or*gaill .D.i. dér i*n*

40.   gen forgaill rig loch*lainne*. Rolad afert 7allialacoi*n*cul*ainn*.

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[216] *punctum delens* over *f*.

[217] *punctum delens* over *f*.

[218] *punctum delens* over *n*.

[219] I cannot see any trace of a length mark here. The Diplomatic edition has *coíca*.

[220] *punctum delens* over *n*. The Diplomatic edition has *congenus*.

[221] *punctum delens* over *f*.

[222] There is a *ceann faoi eite* after this word.

4.2.2 Text of D

R.I.A D. IV. 2
page 52 (54) V.
(col. a)[223]

       (heading:)
31.   INcipit doig*h*ed d*er*bfo*r*gaill
       Dearbforgaill i*n*gen
       rig*h* loc*h*lan*n* dorad
       s*eir*c7 gra*d*h do c*h*oin cul*ainn*
35.   m*ac* sualtaig*h* ara ursc*el*aib
       do cloistec*h*t. Doluid
       do*no* an*air* ari*ch*t da g*h*eissi
       7ahinilt com batar
       f*or* loch cuan 7rond
40.   oir et*ur*ura. Am*al* boi
       do*no* cucul*ainn* 7 lugaig*h*
       sriab nd*er*g.i.m*ac* na t*r*i

(col. b)

1.   fi*n*d emna laa naen octec*h*t lataeb*h*[224] i*n* loch*a*
       *con*facatar naheonu f*or* sin loch diubraig
       naheo*in* arlug*aid* f*r*i coin cul*ainn*. sreidig*h* cucul*ainn*
       cloich f*or*ru *con*dech*aid* et*er* da asna co*m* boi na b*r*oi*n*d
5.   IMSoeth andelbaib*h* daine fac*et*oir f*or*
       sin tr*aigh* 7 isb*er*t i*n* i*n*gen f*r*i *con*cul*ainn* olcc ro*m*bá daig*h*
       istú rosaig*h*es omt*h*ir. IS[225] fir a i*n*gen or cucul*ainn*
       *con*ad*h* an*n* si*n* tr*a*th rós*h*uig*h* cúchul*ainn* in cloich asa
       taeb nahi*n*gi*n*e co*m* boi nabeolu *con*alán do c*r*ó
10.   iumpi.[226] *con*id*h* iarsin isb*er*t *cuch*ul*ainn* Aingen
       or sé intoeb rots*h*uig*h*isa ni *con*ricfium
       f*r*is i*ar*mot*h*a. *acht* do b*er*sa *cus* in m*ac* isan*n*sa lem
       fil an eir*in*d .i. co lug*h*aid*h* sriab nd*er*g. Mait*h*
       tr*a*th liumsa si*n* ol sisi *acht con*ateciursa dog*r*eis.
15.   luid*h* do*no* co lug*aid* corucc clan*n* do. @.and
       Laa nan*n* do*no* and eired g*h*eimr*idh* snec*h*ta[227] mor
       7 dogniat na fir coirt*h*e mora do*n*tsnec*h*ta
       Lotar namna do*no* f*or*sna cort*h*aib d*ar* eis
       na fear. ba hé t*us* curnad*h* rot*h*uirs*id*
20.   acu .i. tabrum *ar*mun isnacortaib
       dúss[228] ciamun uain*n* assia reg*as* in*n*tib
       7in ben oróa t*r*id isí isfearr erg*h*air*e*
       uain*n*. Niróac*h*t do*no* uathib *con*gair*t*her[229]
       d*er*bforgaill doib asb*er*t sid*h*e narach*ad ar* ní
25.   bo espach et*er ar*aid*h*e nirg*h*absat uaithi ce*n*
       dul. teid i*arum* f*or*san coirt*h*i 7rosiac*h*t i*n* mun
       uaithi cotal*am* t*r*iasin coirt*h*i. Diafessat t*r*a
       nafir seo *ar*siat ni gr*a*id*h*eoch*aid*[230] ben uai*n*d co

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[223] This column is written along a curved cut in the vellum.
[224] There is no sign of the right upright of *a* here, it is possible that this is merged with *e*.
[225] There is an almost vertical stroke over *i*, this may well be part of the vellum.
[226] The mark over the second *i* is probably just a stroke from the *h* in the preceding line.
[227] *punctum delens* over *s*.
[228] The second *s* looks distinctly odd if one compares it with other instances of double *s*, Cf. for instance *assia* in the same line.
[229] *punctum delens* over *n*.

brat*h* hifail nahæn mna. gadu*m* do*no* asuile

30.   asaci*n*d 7as*r*on 7afolt 7feoil amáss[231] 7niba

sog*r*adach doneoch hi i*ar*tain. dognith am*mlaid*

sin do*no* 7ber*ar* dia tig*h* i*ar*tain. bat*ar* na fir án

dail i tel*aig* uá si*n* mbaile. isingn*ad* liu*m*[232] alug*h*aig*h*

ar *cu* cul*ainn* snec*h*ta f*or* tig*h* de*r*bforgaile isi*n* ecaib*h*

35.   do*no* ita si or lug*aid*. tiag*h*ait do*no* fa c*h*oimrith[233]

do c*um* i*n* tig*h*e dia f*h*is am*al* ro cualai si ón

dunaig i*n*teach f*or*ri oslaicc or *cu*cul*ainn*. Cái*n*

blath fó*ar*scaram*ar* or sisi 7 ni*m* feg*h*faid*h*si

*ar*moth*a* con*i*dh an*n* sin isb*er*t inláid*h*[234] mbigsisis

40.   oc ceileb*r*ad*h* doc*h*oi*n* c*h*ul*ainn*[235] 7do lug*aid* sriab nd*er*g.

Ceilebraid cúc*h*ul*ainn* dam. doroc*h*t om iat*h*ib*h*iuil.

7lug*aid* lut*h* labeirt. diatab*ar* seirc nac*h* a*m*tiuil.

page 53 (55).

(col. a.)

1.   ISimicen dul ician. ni fofec*htus* nodámed

sc*arad*h f*r*iu badal eigni mani*m*tisdais ecni éc

La coincul*ainn* lalug*aid*. rosnaru*m*nat*h* na o*m*un.

munbud ait*h*ber con*aith*liuc.[236] nibud*h* ait*h*rec *ar* coal.

5.   Comal sc*artha* f*r*isriab nd*er*g. is delg ac*r*id*h*é[237] c*r*o cnis.

dirsa*n* minb*ad* lecca lis. *cu* cul*ainn* dobeit*h* a*n*gnís.[238]

Minbad*h* lecca lis luig*dach*. las*arum*ad cac*h* ndre*m*ma.

ba roro*m* *ar*netar*b*a. f*r*i m*a*ccu na t*r*i fi*n*d emna.

nadnf*h*aci co coi*n* cul*ainn*. domrígni derach dubaig*h*.

10.   dit*h*ré motuath tr*uag*h nam*ar*ad*h* 7sc*ar*ad f*r*ilug*aid*.

Nirom*ar*tsa moenc*ar*a. c*ú*c*h*ul*ainn* carad buafad*h*.

bás*am* ceili særsubaig*h*. lug*aid* m*a*c clot*h*ran*n* cr*uach*an.

Buaid*h* ngaile buaid*h*[239] clis re cac*h*. do c*h*oi*n* cul*ainn*

rodnanai. buaid*h* ngaisc*id* do lug*aid* luath.

15.   buaid*h* mo crut*h*sa sech gach mnai. @ .

*G*ach mbuaid*h* bid di*m*buaid*h* i*ar*tain. gibe f*r*is af*er*

th*ar*[240] tnud*h*. cac*h* ni*m*mbas bid i*n*dles nuag*h*. cac*h* t*r*en

bid tr*uag*h *no* bid tru.[241] @ .tr*uag*h torbaig*h* dal

Sir rec*h*tach dal in bit*h* cé. níséd f*r*i né nec*h* dog*h*ni

20.   bais ca*ch* ndúis. gnuis c*h*ain cid*h* alai*n*d alli.

Nimogen*ar* c*r*id*h*e[242] cr*uaid*h. dob*er* toeb f*r*i*ar*aile. tuait*h*

*ar*am*en*ce s*h*ois[243] gné. agnuis f*r*i hu*air* ndoc*h*raid*h*e.

I*n* ta*n* a*m*reit*h*mis[244] emai*n*. atemair ni badroc*h*ban*n*

*cu*cul*ainn* an*d* ba subaig*h* 7lug*aid* m*a*c clot*h*ran*n*

25.   Cucul*ainn* dom*a*c*a*llai*m*. congni*m*aib dianaib dub*aib*h.

isde fa lán mo c*r*id*h*e. 7lig*h*e f*r*i lug*aid*. @. seal.

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[230] *punctum delens* over the first *d*.

[231] I can see a very weak mark over the *a* in *mass* on the printout.

[232] There is a little stroke over *l* in the MS, but this probably belongs to the vertical stroke of *n* in *ingnad* in the preceding line.

[233] *punctum delens* over *c*.

[234] *punctum delens* over *d*.

[235] *punctum delens* over *c*.

[236] *punctum delens* over *t*.

[237] There is a mark over *d*, I cannot see whether it is a *punctum delens*, a small *spiritus asper*, or part of the vellum.

[238] .I see a weak mark over the *i*, this might be a stroke from the *n* above or possibly a length mark.

[239] *punctum delens* over *d*.

[240] *punctum delens* over *t*.

[241] It is difficult to see if this is a *n* or an *r*, even in the MS. I have taken this as *r*. Compare this with the *n* of for example *ndochraite*, l. 22. There is a stroke over the first two letters which looks like a mistake.

[242] *punctum delens* over *d*.

[243] *punctum delens* over *s*.

[244] *punctum delens* over *t*.

Ros*carsam* f*r*iar namalla. occambidmbis f*r*ia ca*ch*.
bes[245] ni *ch*om*ar*se*m* na*ch* tan. rodolmad*h* da*m* dol
ar cel. Ceilebr*aid*. @. cat*ar* anun*n* ni raibi

30.   IArsin lot*ar* isi*n* tech *cu*cul*ainn* 7lug*aid* 7intan ra*n*
ahanu*m* in*n*tisi 7bam*ar*b lug*aid* fac*e*toir ica
df*h*ech*s*ain si. luid*h*. i*m*orro *cu*cul*ainn* amach isi*n* tech
irabut*ar* namna 7dorat i*n*tech cetna
fo*r*ru uile *con*na*ch* terna b*en* amb*eth*aig*h* dib asi*n*

35.   tig*h* si*n* *ach*t becca*n* ro éla dib*h* fot*h*uaig*h* cohath
mban*n*slech*t*a 7luid*h* *cu*cul*ainn* i*n*andiaig*h* 7ronortá
leis an*n* si*n*. undi. Dix*erunt*. ath mban*n*slecta. no*min*
at*ur con*id an*n* sin ro*ch*an *cu*cul*ainn* inlaid si sis.
Dearbforgaill br*uin*d g*h*el b*h*an. do*mr*o*ch*t dar

40.   sal srot*h*a slain. barath carad roda*n*nir.
ing*h*en rig*h* do*n* lo*ch*lain*n* lain do*n* loclaind.

(col. b.)

1.   Orab*h*ai it*er* daf*er*t dogni mert mo c*r*id*h*i[246] cro.
gnuis d*er*bforgaill folicc nd*eir*g. lug*aid* sriab
nd*er*g dirsan dó. @. ci*n*d is*ed* doroiga lug*aid*.
Bahall*ud* mór do lug*aid*. bamaith doru*m*ad or

5.   fomrumaith oc d*er*bf*or*caill. @. guine cen
Bahall*ud* mor dolug*aid*. boi fo*r*acran*n*aib glee *coíca* c*e*t
dail. lahan*n*ud ca*ch*a reé. @. rala cor ua
Dearbf*or*caill clu *con*ane. *con*mgen*us* 7feile. ni *con*
lai*n*g. gnuis d*ar*[247] gualai*n*d aceile. @. cia fo

10.   T*r*i *coíc*at ban ahemai*n*. isme dorin*n*e an orcui*n*d.
gelmais rig*h* *ar*tuait*h*. ba luag*h* doib d*er*bf*or*caill
.d*er*bf*or*caill 7Rl .i. dearbforcaill.i.d*er*b i*n*gen f*or*
caill rig*h* loclan*n* 7rotoccbad*h* af*er*t 7ale*ch*t
7anguba 7alli andis la coin cul*ainn*[248] an*n*si*n* FINIT.

[245] There is a little hook on *b*, although it may be an unintentional mark.
[246] *punctum delens* over *d*.
[247] There might be a dot over *ar* though I cannot see this clearly.
[248] There is a stroke over this. I have not put this in the text as it does not seem to belong to the text.

4.2.3 Text of H

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       (heading:)

15.   erbforcaill[249] ingen rig loch

      loi*n*di di raut gr*ad* oc*us* seirc di *coin* culai*nn* m*ac* sualtoi*m*

      ara aurscelaib di cois t*echt*. di luid diu[250] indair occ*us*

      ahinailt irricht da geis combat*ar* ic loch cuan oc*us* rond

      óir etorrai. Am*al* boi do*no* cu c*ul*ainn occ*us* lug*aid* riep nderc .i. m*ac*

20.   na fiond emnai la nand oc t*echt* la taoeb*h* in lochu conac

      ator na heonu f*or* sind loch. Dibraic na heonu arlug*aid* re

      coincul*ainn*. Dibraicid cucul*ainn* cloich f*or*ru cone dechaid et*er*

      a di heiti comboi inda bruind. IM do soet indelb*aib* dai*n*e

      fo cetoir for sin tr*aig* occ*us* is b*er*t in ingen fri *coin*cul*ainn* olc

25.   ro*m* boi fr*im* daig is turo saig*h*ius om tir. IS fir a i*n*gen

      orc*uch*ulainn. *con*id and sin ro hsuid cu cul*ainn* an cloich as toeib*h*

      na hingeini co*m* boi ina[251] beola *con*a lan don cruo impe

      *con*id ier sin isb*er*t cucul*ainn* A ingen ol sé ind taoib[252] ro

      hsuidi*usa*[253] ni *con*ricf*um* fris iermo thai acht dot bersa

30.   co sin m*ac* is andsa lem fil inderind .i. co lug[254] riabh

      nderg. Mait*h* lem*h*sa[255] tr*a* sin ol si acht *con* dot acarsai

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1.   do gres. Luid co lug*aid* coruc cloi*nn* dó Laa nand di*diu* inder

      iud geimrid snechtai mor an*n* oc*us* dignet cort*h*i mor

      ind fir din tsnechtai. Lotor na mna for s na cortib

      dar eisi na bfer. Ba hé tuscarnad ro tuirsit ac*æ* .i.

5.   tabram ar mun is na coirti dus cia mun uain issia

      reg*as* intib occ*us* inben oroa t*r*it isi is ferr erguiri uai*n*

      N iroacht di*diu* uait*h*ib. congairter di*diu* derf*or*caill doib. IS

      b*er*t si nach rach*ad* arnir[256] hesbach et*er*. Araide nirgabsat

      uait*h*e cen dul. tet iar*om* forsi*n* corti oc*us* ro siecht uait*h*i

10.   co talom*h* t*r*iasin corti. Dia fesarat tra nafirseo ar

      iet nigr*aid*h*aigfider ben uaine co brath ifail na hoen

      mn*æ*. Gatom diu asuile asa cind. 7 asron occ*us* afolt

      occ*us* feoil amasS.[257] Ni ba sogr*aid*h*igti dineoch iertain

      d e gnit*er* on aml*aid* sin di*diu* occ*us* beror dia tig[258] iertain. Bat*ar*

15.   na fir in dail i telaig uasin baile. IS ingnad lem a

      lug*aid* or cu c*h*ulainn. snechta f*or* toig derbf*or*caill. IS indegaib*h*

      ata si f*or* lug*aid*. tiegait fo comrith do cum in toige di a

      fis. am*al* ro chualai si on dun*aid* in tech f*ur*ri. Oslaic or

      cucul*ainn*. Cain blat*h* for scarsamair or sisi occ*us* nim

20.   fegfaidsi iermota *con*id an*n* sin isb*er*tsi anlaid mbicsi

      occelepr*ad* di concul*ainn* oc*us* lug*aid*. @@ lut*h*[259] labeirt dia tabair

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[249] Space is left for a large d that was never written.

[250] I have taken this as *diu*, even though the *u* does not look like the *u* usually used by this scribe, cf. *da geis*, p. 728, l. 18. This is the only place in this text where *u* is written like this. The alternative to this would be to read it as *dia*.

[251] There is a dot over *n*, although this seems not to be a scribal mark but rather a part of the paper.

[252] *a* is weak but visible.

[253] In the MS the *h* is put before the *s*, even though this should be read *shuidiusa*, cf. textnote to l. 11–12.

[254] Note that this has no extension stroke in the MS.

[255] *spiritus asper* on *m*.

[256] This word is unclear in the MS.

[257] The last *s* in this word is capitalised in the MS.

[258] I am uncertain if this is a *punctum delens* on *t* in MS, it might well be a spot on the paper.

C elebrad cucul*ainn* dam*h*. dorocht omiathaibiuil.[260] oc*us* lug*aid*

luth la beirt. dia tabair seirc naca*m* t*h*íuil

IS imecen dul i cian. ni fo fechtus nodamet

25.   scarad friu ba dal eccne. manimtistais ecni ecc

La coincul*ainn* la lug*aid*. rasnarum uat*h* na om*h*an

manbad ait*h*ber[261] *con*ait*h*liuch. ni bud ait*h*rech ar co*m*ol.

C omal scart#æ fri riab nderg. is dealcc[262] i crid*h*e cró cnis

dirsand manbad lecca lis. cucul*ainn* do beit*h* ingnis

30.   M inbad leccæ liS lugdach. lasaru*m*mad ca*ch* ndrem*n*a

bá ro ro*m* ar net ar bai. fri m*ac* na tri find emnæ

N ad naiccig*h*e coin cul*ainn*. dom rig*h*ni derach dubach

page 730

1.   dit*r*i mothuath truag*h* nam*ar*. 7 scarad fri lughaidh

N iru martsai moen chara. cú cul*ainn* carad buafadh

bat*h*u*m*[263] ceiliu soer sub*h*aid*h*.[264] lug*aid*[265] m*ac* clotr*and*[266] cruach*an*

B uaid ngaili buaid clis riacach. do *coin*cul*ainn* rodna nái

5.   buaid ngaiscid*h* do lug*aid* luat*h*. buad mo cruthsa se*ch* ca*ch* m*n*ai

C ach mbuaid bid dim buaid iertain.[267] cipia f*r*isa f*er*t*ar* tnú

cach nin*n*bas[268] bid inles nuag.[269] cach tren bid tr*uag* no bid tru

S irrechtach dal imbith ce. niset frine nech digni

truag*h* torbuid dal bais ca*ch* nduis. gnuis cai*n* cid aloin*n* allí.

10.   N imad genair c*r*ide cruaid*h*. do b*er* taob fri ar aile tuait*h*

ara m*en*ce sois gne. agnuis fri huair ndochraite

IN tan imrethmais emain. atemair niba droch band

cu culaind an*n* ba subaig occ*us* lughaid*h* m*ac* clot*h*r*ann*.

C uculai*n*d dom acallaim*h*. congnimaib dianaib dub*aib*

15.   is*ed* fallan mo chride. occ*us* lige fri lugaidh

R oscarsam f*r*i arnamallai. ocabimis fri cach seal

bes ni comairsem nach tan. ro dolb*ad* dam dol ar cel. Cel*ebraid*.

IAr sin tr*a* lotor isin tech cucul*ainn* occ*us* lug*aid* oc*us* intan ran

cator indund ni raibe cucul*ainn*[270] a hanom intisi occ*us* ba

20.   marb lug*aid* fa cetoir oca descinsi. Luid im*morro* cu cul*ainn* ama*ch*

isin tech irabator na mna occ*us* in dech cetna f*or*ru

uili *con*ach terna ben imbethaid dib asin toig si*n* acht beg

ro elaid dib fo tuaith co hath mbanslecht occ*us*

luid cucul*ainn*. ina ndiaig*h* occ*us* ronorta leis an*n* sin ath

25.   mbanslechtai no*min*ator *con*ad an*n* ro can cu cul*ainn*

Derbf*or*caill bruindigel ban. domrocht dar sal s*h*rota slai*n*[271]

ba rat*h*[272] carat ro ta nír. ing*en* rig do*n* lochlain*n* lai*n*

O ra bíu et*er* da f*er*t. do gni mert mo chride cró

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[259] *luth labeirt dia tabair...* is struck over in the MS, with the small dots under the letters indicating a scribal mistake. Cf. line 23, where it is written again.

[260] There is a length mark that goes from the first *i* in *iuil* to the *l*, making it difficult to judge which vowel to attach it to.

[261] The *punctum delens* over *t* is weak but visible.

[262] There is an *a* under the *e* of this word in the MS.

[263] *punctum delens* over *t*.

[264] *punctum delens* over *b* and over *d* in the same word, these two letters are re-inked with black ink.

[265] re-inked with black ink.

[266] suprascript *r*

[267] This is very weak in the MS.

[268] Marstrander (1911a: 211 n. 70) states: "cach nimbas *corrected to* cach ni*n*nbas, H." I agree that there seems to be a correction made on this word in the MS, a slight discolouring of the paper and a faint trace of one bar of the letter *n* that seems to have been rubbed out. There is also a very small dot under the *m*. This has thus been transcribed as *n*.

[269] This line is difficult to read in the MS, due to discolouring of the paper.

[270] Under this word the scribe has indicated that it is a mistake with little dots under the letters.

[271] The *l* is reinked with black ink.

[272] It is very difficult to see whether this is a *punctum delens* over *t* or part of the paper, however, I have taken it to be a *punctum delens*.

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gnuis derbf*or*caill fo leic *deir*g. lug*aid* riab nd*er*g dirsa*n* dó

30. B a hallud mor do lugaid*h*. ba mait*h* dor rumad orcain*n*
  is*ed* doroigai lughaid. fomru*m*aith oc derforcaill

page 731

1. B a hallud mor di lug*aid.* boi for acrandaib glee. caoca
  cetguini cen dail. la handad cach aree
  D erbf*or*caill clu *con*ani. congenas occ*us* feile. ni *con*rala
  cor hfualaing. gnuis dar gualaind aceile

5. T ri coecait ben ahemain is me doruid anorcainN
  cia fo gelmais rig ar tuat*h*. ba luag doib dearbf*or*caill i*n*ge*n*
  D erbf*or*caill .i. der ingen f*or*caill rig lochlainNi. Rotoc
  bad af*er*t occ*us* allecht occ*us* anguba.7 illie andis
  la coin cul*ainn*. *con*id haid*ed* lug*aid* rieb nd*er*g. 7 derbforcaill i*n n*sin

10. FINIS

4.3 Edited text and translation

1.   Derb Fhorgaill ingen ríg Lochlainne ro charastar Coin Culaind ara urscélaib. Do-lluid anair i rricht da géise 7 a hinailt co mbátar for Loch Cuan 7 rond óir eturru. Amal ro boí dano Cú Chulaind 7 Lugaid a dalta .i. mac na Trí Find Emna, laa n-and la tóib ind locha co n-accatar na heonu.

5.   "Dibairg na heonu" , or Lugaid.

Do-lléici Cú Chulaind cloich forru co ndechaid eter a hasna co mboí ina broind. Bátar da deilb duine issin trácht fo chétóir.

"Olc ro bá frim", ar ind ingen, "& is tú do-röacht".

"Is fír", ar Cú Chulaind.

10.   Ro shúgi íarum a tóeb na hingine in cloich co mbuí ina béolu cosin loim chró ro boí impe.

"Is dot insaigid tánac-sa trá", or sí.

"Náthó a ingen", ol sé.

"In tóeb ro shúgiu[s]-sa", or sé, "ní chomraiciub-sa friss".

15.   "Dom-béra-so dano do neoch bas maith let".

"Is maith limsa ém", or sé, "dul duit-siu cosin mac as sóiriu fil in hÉrind .i. Lugaid Riab nDerg".

"Maith lim", ol sí, " acht con-dot-accur do grés".

Luid íarum co Lugaid co rruc claind dó.

20.   Laa n-and didiu i nderiud gemrid, snechta mór and. Do-gníat ind fir corthe mór dint shnechtu. Lotar na mná forna corthe. Ba hé a tuscurnud.

"Tabram ar mún isin coirthe dús cia as sia regas ind. In ben ó ría triit is í as fherr ergaire uainn".

Ní röacht didiu uadib. Con-gairther Der[b] F[h]orgaill uadib. Nírbo áill lea ór

25.   nírbo báeth. Téit araí forsin corthe. Ro selaig uade co talam.

"Dia fessatar trá ind fhir so nícon grádaigfider i fail na hoínmná. Gatair a súile assa cind 7 a sróna 7 a da n-ó 7 a trilis. Níba so-accobraite ón."

Do-gníther a pianad amlaid sin 7 berair iar tain dia tig. Bátar ind fhir is tilaig i ndáil ós Emain.

30.   "Is ingnad lem, a Lugaid", ar Cú Chulaind, "snechta for taig Derb F[h]orgaill".

 "Is i n-écaib atá-si didiu", ar Lugaid.

Tíagait for comlúath dochum in taige. Amal ro-chúala-si ón, dúnaid a tech furri.

"Oslaic", ar Cú Chulaind.

"Caín bláth forro scarsam", or sí.

35.   Is and as-bert.

Celebraid Cú Chulaind dam,
do-röacht óm íathaib iúil
7 Lugaid, lúth la beirt,
dia tartus seirc nácham thiúil.

40.   Isim éicen dul i cían,
ní fó fechta no-dam-ét.
Scarad friu bid dál éicne,
manim thístais écne éc.

La Coin Culaind, la Lugaid,
45.   ris na rom úath na homon.
Menbad athber co n-aithluch,

Derbforgaill, daughter of the king of Lochlann, loved Cú Chulainn on account of the famous stories about him. She and her handmaid came from the east in the guise of two swans until they reached Loch Cuan, a golden chain between them. One day as they were there by the side of the lake, Cú Chulainn and his fosterling Lugaid, that is, the son of the three Finn Emna, they saw the birds.

"Shoot at the birds", said Lugaid.

Cú Chulainn hurls a stone at them, so that it went between her ribs and was in her womb. There appeared immediately two human forms on the strand.

"You have been evil to me" said the girl, "and it is to you I have come".

"It is true" said Cú Chulainn.

Then he sucked the stone out of the side of the girl, so that it was in his mouth with the gush of blood that was around it.

"It is to seek you I have come", said she.

"Not so, girl", said he.

"The side that I have sucked", said he, "I will not mate with".

"You will give me, then, to anyone you like".

"Indeed I would like" said he "you to go with the noblest man in Ireland, that is, Lugaid of the Red Stripes".

"That is fine with me" said she, "provided that I may always see you".

She went then with Lugaid and bore him a child

One day then, at the end of winter, there was heavy snow. The men make a big pillar from the snow. The women went on the pillars. This was their device.

"Let us make our urine into the pillar to ascertain who will make it go into it the furthest. The woman from whom it will reach through, it is she that is the best match of us".

It did not reach through from them, however. Derbforgaill is summoned by them. She did not desire it, because she was not foolish. Nevertheless she goes on the pillar. It slashed from her to the ground.

"If the men discover this then, no (one) will be loved in comparison with this woman. May her eyes be snatched out of her head, and her nostrils, and her two ears, and her locks. She will not be desireable then".

Her torture is done thus and she is brought to her house afterwards. The men were in an assembly on a hillock above Emain Macha.

"(It seems) strange to me, O Lugaid", said Cú Chulainn, "(that there is) snow on Derbforgaill's house".

"She is dying then", said Lugaid.

They rush with equal speed towards the house. When she heard that she shut the house on herself.

"Open", said Cú Chulainn.

"Lovely is the bloom under which we have parted", said she.

It was then said:

Cú Chulainn bids me farewell,
[to whom I came from my homelands ?],
and Lugaid, vigorous with action,
to whom I gave a love which he did not take away from me.

I must go far,
not good the journey I obtained.
The separation from them will be distressful,
unless disaster and death come to me.

With Cú Chulainn, with Lugaid,
with whom there was soon terror or fear.
[If it were not for reproach and atonement ?],

níbad aithrech ar comol

Comul scartha fri Riab nDerg,
is delg i cride cró cnis.
50. Cú Chulaind do bith ingnis
dirsan menbad leca lis.

Menbad leca lis Lugdach,
lasa rumnad cach nderba.
Ba ro moch ar n-étarba,
55. fri mac na Trí Find Emna.

Nad n-accigiu Coin Culaind,
dom-rigne dérach dubaig.
Díthre mo thúath, trúag n-amar
7 scarad fri Lugaid.

60. Ním-ru-mart-sa mo fhíanchara,
Cú Chulaind carad buafad.
Baí-thium céile soér subaid,
Lugaid mac Clothrand Cruachan.

Búaid ngaile, búaid clis, ria cách,
65. do Choin Culaind, cruth ro-dn-aí.
Búaid ngaiscid do Lugaid lúath,
búaid mo chrotha sech cech mnaí.

Cach mbúaid bid dimbúaid iar tain,
cipia frisa ferthar tnú.
70. Cach indbass bid indles n-úag,
cach trén bid trúag nó bid trú.

Sírechtach dál in bith cé.
Ní sét fri nem nech do-gní.
Torbais dál báis, sech cech ndúis,
75. gnúis cháin cid álaind a llí

Ní mad-génair cride crúaid.
Do-beir táeb fri ailethúaith.
Ara mence shöas gné,
a gnúis fri húair ndochraite.

80. In tan im-réidmis Emain,
a Temair nírbo drochband.
Cú Chulaind and ba subaid,
7 Lugaid mac Clothrand

Cú Chulaind dam acallaim,
85. co ngnímaib dánaib dubaib.
Iss ed ba slán lam chride
7 lige la Lugaid

Ro scarsam fri ar n-amalla,
oca mbímmis fri cach sel .
90. Bés ní comairsem nach tan,
ro delbad dam dul ar cel. C.

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there might be no regret for our union.

The union which was broken with Riab nDerg,
it is a thorn in the heart, blood of the breast.
Cú Chulainn is deprived,
[unlucky if it were not (for) the sloping hillside of the enclosure?].

If it were not (for) the [sloping hillside of the enclosure of Lugaid.
with which every obstruction was reddened?].
It was too soon our vain thing,
with the son of the three Finn Emna's.

That I will not see Cú Chulainn,
has made me tearful of sadness.
Feeble my people, wretched wailing,
and parting from Lugaid.

My fian-friend has not betrayed me,
Cú Chulainn, he loved boasting.
I had a noble, joyous companion,
Lugaid son of Clothrann of Cruachan.

Gift of valour, gift of feat, surpassing everyone,
for Cú Chulainn, whose shape was famed.
Gift of weapons for valorous Lugaid,
gift of my shape beyond every woman.

Every victory is a defeat afterwards,
with whomever may be envied.
Every treasure will be wholly unlawful,
every strong man will be sorrowful, or will be doomed.

Full of longing a tryst in this world,
[it is not a path to heaven that it makes.
A tryst with death has destroyed, beyond every treasure,
a fair face, though beautiful its lustre?].

Not happy is a hard heart,
[which trusts another people.
Frequently its shape changes,
its face in time of misery?].

When we used to drive around Emain,
from Tara, it was not a bad exploit.
Cú Chulainn was joyful there,
and Lugaid son of Clothru.

Cú Chulainn conversing with me,
with deeds, daring, dark.
It is that which was the fullness of my heart,
and laying with Lugaid.

We have parted from our playing,
at which we might have been forever.
Perhaps we may not meet afterwards,
I have been destined to go to my death.

IS ed at-berat-som ní baí a hanim inti-si in tan tancatar-som is tech innund. As-berat dano ba marb Lugaid a chétóir oca déscin. Luid immorro Cú Chulaind isa tech cosna mná co tarat a tech forthu conná tudchid fer ná ben i mbethaid assin tig sin

95.   .i. dona trí coícdaib rígan acht ros-marb uile.
IS and as-bert Cú Chulaind.

Derb F[h]orgaill bruinne gel bán,
dom-röacht dar srotha sál.
Ba rath carat ro-dam-ír,
100.   ingen ríg de Lochlaind lán.

Ó ro boí eter da fhert
do-gní mert mo chride cró.
Gnúis Derb Fhorgaill fo licce lerg
Lugaid Riab nDerg dirsan dó.

105.   Ba hallud mór do Lugaid,
ba maith do-rrumad orcainn
is ed do-roigai Lugaid.
fom-rumaith oc Derb F[h]orgaill

Ba hallud mór do Lugaid,
110.   boí for a chrannaib glëe.
Coíca cétguine cendáil,
la hannud cacha rëe.

Derb F[h]orgaill clú co n-áne,
co ngenus 7 fhéle.
115.   Nícon rala cor n-uábair
gnúis dar gúalaind a céile.

Trí coícait ban i nEmain
is mé do-ruid a n-orgain.
Cia fo-gelmais ríg na túath
120.   ba lúag dóib Derb F[h]orgaill.

D .i. dér ingen Forgaill ríg Lochlainne. Ro lad a fert 7 a llia la Coin Culainn.

This is what they say: that her soul was not in her when they came into that house. They say then that Lugaid died immediately upon seeing her. Cú Chulainn went then into the house to the women so that he knocked down the house upon them so that no
man or woman came out alive from that house, that is, of the three fifties of queens but he killed them all. Cú Chulainn said:

Derbforgaill, bright white bosom,
she reached me over the torrent of the ocean.
It was a friend's grace she bestowed on me,
a daughter of a king of Lochlann, noble.

Since it was between two graves,
my bloodied heart makes sorrow.
Derbforgaill's face under a hill of stone,
Lugaid Riab nDerg, unfortunate.

Lugaid was greatly renowned,
[good it was that slaughter was expected .
That is what Lugaid chose,
what was intended by Derbforgaill?]

Lugaid was greatly renowned,
[he was carrying his bright spearshafts.
Fifty murderous blows to decapitated enemies,
by the lighting of every moon?].

Derbforgaill, famed with beauty,
with purity and modesty.
She did not fall into vanity,
[her face over her companions' shoulder?].

Three fifties of women in Emain,
it is I who have slaughtered them.
[Though we were to pledge before the king of the tribes,
Derbforgaill was as valuable as they were?].

D. that is dér, daughter of Forgall, king of Lochlann. Her mound and her grave were raised by Cú Chulainn.

4.4 Textual notes

In the readings from the three MSS given below, the words have been divided to facilitate reading and comparison. The transcripts that are printed in 4.2.1–4.2.3 represent the word division of each individual MSS.

l. 1 (M 1–2)
LL: DERb f*h*orgaill i*n*gen ríg Loc*h*lai*m*e ro c*h*ara*s*tar coi*n* cul*aind ar*a urscelaib
D: Dearbforgaill i*ngen* rig*h* loc*h*lan*n* dorad s*eir*c 7 gr*adh* do c*h*oin cul*ainn* m*ac* sualtaig*h* ara urscel*aib* do cloistec*h*t
H: erbforcaill ingen rig lochloi*n*di di raut gr*ad* oc*us* seirc di *coin* culain*n* m*ac* sualtoi*m* ara aurscelaib di coist*echt*

Derb Fhorgaill ingen ríg Lochlainne] As regards the etymology of the name *Derb Fhorgaill*, Meyer's conclusion about *Der-* in women's names was that it is a contraction of *derb* "true, real" and *ingen* "daughter", and that *der* "daughter", found only in glossaries, has been falsely abstracted from such cases (1918: 625 n. 173). O' Brien (1956: 178) argues against this on the grounds that Meyer seems to overlook the fact that *Derb–* is only found before forms beginning with f, and states that if the original form had been *Derb–* there is no reason why *Derb–* should be limited in use with names beginning in *f* only. O' Brien concludes that the etymologies found in glossaries, i.e *der* "daughter", is correct and suggests that what we have here is the old Indo-European word for "daughter": **dhugHt_er>* Ir. **ducht(a)ir*. This development is further discussed in Hamp (1975: 39). The formation is in many cases the female equivalent of male names with *mac.*

All manuscripts give an explanation of the name (see l. 121): (LL): *D. .i. dér ingen Forgaill rig Lochlainde*. (D): *Derb Forcaill .i. Derb ingen F.* (H): *Derb Forcaill .i. der ingen F.* "D. that is Der, daughter of Forgall (king of Lochlann)". Spellings of this name are also found in other sources without *f*.[273] Of the eight women found in the *banshenchas* bearing this name, seven can be placed in the 11th c. (Ní Bhrolcháin 1992: 109–135). Only one, Derborgaill, daughter of Cellach of Cualu, wife of Fínnechta Fledach (Mac Niocaill 1972: 110) is found in the 8th c. According to Ní Bhrolcháin (PC), this is most likely a mistake. If so, all the occurrences of this name are to be found in the 11th c. In *Irish names* (Ó Corráin and Maguire 1981: 72), the name *Derbforgaill*, *Dearbhorgaill* is explained as "daughter of Forgall (a god)". Thurneysen (1926: 426), states that the original form is *Derb Forgaill,* and that the meaning of the name is "The true (daughter) of Forgall".[274] A fanciful explanation is found in Rhys (1886: 323) where he equates *der* with *dér*, "tear", and connecting Derbforgaill to Lí Bán and Fand of the otherworld. This can be safely disregarded in view of the discussion by O' Brien and Hamp. For a discussion of *Lochlainn* see 1.3.3.

ro charastar Coin Culaind ara urscélaib] The concept of *grád écmaise* is discussed further in 1.3.4. As opposed to LL's *ro-charastar*, D and H have a construction with *do-rat,* perfect of *do-beir* "gives, places", thus "who has given love" or "who gave love". For the same use of *do-rat* with *seirc* (fem. -a-), see l. 39. For the Latin loan-word *grád* (neut. -u-?), see Mc Manus (1983: 67 n. 140). As "to love" is expressed in Mid. Ir. both with *caraid* and in the idiom *do-rat grád/seirc*, I have chosen the reading from LL. The following clause shows a syntactic variation between the MSS. LL has a construction *ar* "on account of" +poss. pron.+noun, whereas D and H have *ar* from *iar* "after" +poss. pron.+ noun+VN. In LL this phrase is further ambiguous as it can be divided as either *ar aurscelaib* or *ara urscelaib* (neut.-o-),

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[273] In the list of queens in the *LU* version of *FB* (*LU* ll. 8404–8417) the name is spelled *Derb Orcaill* (*LU* l. 8412), and in the similar list in *Tallaind Étair* (ll. 118–127) it is spelled *Derb Forgaill* (l. 123, Ó Dónaill 2005: 47). In the *Banshenchas*, spellings *Dirborgaill* and *Dearborgaill* exist beside forms with *f* (Dobbs 1932: 443).
[274] "Die ursprüngliche Form ist jedoch Derb F[h]orgaill „die leibliche (Tochter) Forgalls"; aber das erste Glied ist in unserm Text flexionlos geworden (...). " "The original form is however Derb Fhorgaill „the real (daughter) of Forgall"; but the first element has become indeclinable in our text" (1921: 426). The *[h]* in *Derb F[h]orgaill* in the quotation above is represented in the original quotation with a *punctum delens* on *f*.

taking *a* either to belong to the preposition, indicating a 3 sg. masc. poss. pron., or to the following word. I have taken it to be the poss. pron., as did the editors of the diplomatic edition of LL. The variation in vocalism in words formed from *air-* has been discussed by Ó Maolalaigh (2003: 163–170).

ll. 1–2 (M 2–3)
LL: Do lluid an*air* i rric*ht* da géise 7 a hi*n*ailt co *m*bát*ar* f*or* loc*h* cuan 7 rond óir et*ur*ru
D: Do luid do*no* an*air* a ri*cht* da *gh*eissi 7 a hinilt co mbatar f*or* loch cuan 7 rond oir et*ur*ura
H: di luid diu indair occ*us* a hinailt i rricht da geis co mbat*ar* ic loch cuan oc*us* rond óir etorrai

Do-lluid anair i rricht da géise 7 a hinailt] This sentence shows an example of the syntactical device discussed by Zimmer (1893: 153–157) where the two components of a double subject are separated by a phrase and where the second element of the subject is attached by means of the conjugation *ocus*. This line from LL is cited by Zimmer (1893: 157). Marstrander (1911a: 214) and Dooley (2002: 205) have both translated this as "set out", whereas I have chosen the basic meaning of this verb "came". For the theme of transformation implied in the phrase *i rricht da géise*, see 1.3.5. DIL comments upon *richt* (masc. –u) thus: "In wider sense than *delb* of whole appearance. Generally in phrase *i rri(u)cht* 'in the guise (of), disguised as'" (s.v. *richt* 63: 28–29). *Delb* and *richt* have been thoroughly discussed by Guyonvarc'h (1969: 315–337). The form in LL *da géise* is a gen. dual (fem. i), as is the form in D. *Inailt* (fem. long –i and –i)[275] has been discussed most recently by Ní Dhonnchadha (1986: 185–191), who suggests that this word underwent a semantic shift from the original meaning "she who has been fostered in" i.e. "female fosterling" or "foster-sister" (originally explained by Marstrander 1915–1916: 336), to "servant, handmaid, bondmaid".

rond óir eturru] For a discussion of the word *rond* as well as a discussion of chained birds in Irish literature, see 1.3.5 and 1.3.6.

ll. 2–4 (M 3–5)
LL: Am*al* ro bói da*no* cu ch*ulaind* 7 lug*aid* a dalta .i. m*ac* na t*r*i fi*n*d e*m*na laa a*n*d la tóib i*n*d loc*h*a *con*accat*ar* na *h*eonu
D: Am*al* boi do*no* cu cul*ainn* 7 lugaig*h* sriab nd*erg* .i. m*ac* na t*r*i fi*n*d emna laa naen oc tec*h*t la taeb*h* in loc*h*a *con*facatar na heonu f*or*sin loch
H: Am*al* boi do*no* cu cul*ainn* occ*us* lug*aid* riep nderc .i. m*ac* na fiond emnai la nand oc t*echt* la taoeb*h* in lochu conacator na heonu f*or*sind loch

Amal ro boí] *Amal* is here used as a temporal conjunction, which in O. Ir. normally would be followed by a nasalising relative clause (GOI 316 §§497–498), although this is not compulsory (GOI 319 §505). However, there is no indication of a nasal in the form *ro bói* in LL. For this D and H have *boi*, the simple preterite form of the substantive verb.

Lugaid a dalta] For a discussion of Lugaid see 1.3.2. Lugaid's epithet is found in two main variants, *Riab/Sriab nDerg* and *Réo Derg*. *Ríab* with its variant *sriab* (fem. -a-) means "stripe" or "streak". In DIL, Lugaid's epithet is given as the only example of the word *reo* "a stripe, streak" (DIL s.v. *reo* 47: 53). O' Rahilly (1946: 486), interprets *Réo* as apparently meaning "of the red sky". He claims that "under the influence of etymological speculation" *Réoderg* was changed to *Riab nDerg*, as can be found in the Genealogies and in *AM* and *AD*. O' Rahilly further claims that the identification of *Réo* with *riab*, "stripe" has no basis and states that the form *Réo nDerg* is a contaminated form "fancifully connected to his triple paternity" (1946: 486).

laa n-and] Whether the form *laa* (neut. –io, later masc.) "day" has kept the original disyllable in LL and D or if the spelling is merely an indication of length is not possible to say. The nasalisation regular after a nom./acc. sg. neut. is not found in LL whereas this is found both in D and H, both in this line and in the other instance of this phrase in l. 20. This is restored in my edition.

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[275] Fem. long -i- stems are denoted thus, whereas short -i- stems are denoted -i-, throughout this thesis.

la tóib] *Tóeb/táeb* was originally inflected as a masc. –o stem, later found also as a fem. –a stem and as a masc. –u stem. LL has acc. sg. with palatal ending, thus inflected as feminine, the reading of DH is masculine and has been chosen. The confusion between the two diphthongs –ae– and –oe– is attested in the earliest extant O. Ir. texts (see GOI 42–43 §66, McCone 1996: 138–39, see also Greene 1976a: 39–40). In the case of variation between *tóeb* and *táeb*, *tóeb* is the more archaic form, see the Welsh cognate *tu*. See further 1.2.8.

co n-accatar na heonu] For a discussion of the common construction consisting of a temporal clause followed by a main verb clause introduced by *co n-*, see O' Rahilly (1968: 155–160), where this sentence from *AD* in LL is also given as an example (1968: 156 n. 1). After this in D and H, the phrase *forsin/forsind loch* is found. I have taken this to be an elaboration in D and H, consistent with these MSS's tendency to add explanations to the text, similar to *oc techt* in the same sentence. The form *forsind loch* in H is correct Old Irish, but even so, I am not sure that it formed part of the original text and thus have not used it in my edition.

l. 5 (M 5–6)
LL: Dib*air*g na *h*eonu or lug*aid*
D: diubraig na heoi*n* ar lug*aid* f*r*i coin cul*ainn*
H: Dibraic na heonu ar lug*aid* re coin cul*ainn*

Dibairg na heonu] For a discussion of the common theme of Cú Chulainn throwing stones, see 1.3.5. All MSS have the 2 sg. impv. of *do-bidci* "pelts, shoots at, strikes". *Do-bidci* is later found as a simple verb with stem *díbairg-, díbairc-* and with metathesis *díbraic-, díubraic-*, as is found in D and H. For the development *di-bidg->di-bairg,* see Thurneysen (1893: 569 n. 4) and Lindeman (1987: 177).

l. 6 (M 6–7)
LL: Dolleici cu *chulaind* cloic*h* f*or*ru *con*dechaid et*er* a hasna co *m*bói i*n*a broi*nd*
D: sreidig*h* cu cul*ainn* cloich f*or*ru *con*dech*aid* et*er* da asna co *m*boi na broi*nd*
H: Dibraicid cu cul*ainn* cloich forru cone dechaid et*er* a di heiti co mboi inda bruind

Do-lléici Cú Chulaind cloich forru] This is a rare occurrence of the three MSS using three different verbs in the beginning of the same sentence. There is no major semantic difference between the verbs used in this line, as they all mean "throws, casts, hurls", and all MSS seem to use the 3 sg. pres. ind. form of the verbs. However *do-lléici* in LL could also be the 3 sg. pret. act., see SnaG (300 § 12. 33). The O. Ir. verb *sreïd* has the later form *sreidid*, here with Mid. Ir. confusion of –gh for –dh, see SnaG (234 § 3. 18). *Sreïd* is common in saga literature in describing the throwing of weapons or missiles. A similar example of variation in a verb of throwing is found between Rec. I and Rec. II of *TBC*, see *sraiti in nubaill cleasa,* Rec. I, which in Rec. II has been replaced with *Dolléci in nómad uball* (Breatnach 1977: 94). For a discussion of *sreïd*, see Watkins (1958: 92–97). The reading from H, *dibraicid,* is the metathized form of the simple verb discussed above, l. 5, the use of which is likely to have been influenced by the use of the same verb in the previous line.

co ndechaid eter a hasna co mboí ina broind] *Dechaid* is the 3 sg. perf. act. of *téit* "goes". When it is used with *eter*+acc., as here, it has the meaning "goes between, comes to pass between". *Cone* in H is likely to represent an empty proleptic pronoun not stemming from the archetype. LL has the reading *a hasna* (masc.) "her ribs", whereas the form *da asna* of D has a dual form without a poss. pron., which does not give good sense. As opposed to LL and D, H has *eiti,* (poss. fem.) "wing, feathers, plumes". *Broind, bruind* is the dat. sg. of *brú* (fem. –n), which has the meaning "abdomen, belly, bowels, entrails", and especially "womb". *Brú* is also found in the meaning of *bruinne* "breast(s), chest". I have chosen a translation "womb", as did Marstrander (1911: 214), and Dooley (2002: 205).

ll. 6–8 (M 7–8)
LL: Bát*ar* da deilb dui*n*e issi*n* t*r*a*ch*t foc*h*etóir. olc ro bá ri*m* *ar* ind ingen. & is tú doroac*h*t
D: IM Soeth a ndelbaib*h* daine fac*e*toir f*or*sin t*r*aig*h* 7 isb*er*t i*n* i*n*gen f*r*i *con* cul*ainn* olcc ro *m*bá daig*h* is tú rosaig*h*es om t*h*ir

H: IM do soet i ndelb*aib* dai*ne* fo cetoir forsin tr*a*ig occ*us* is b*er*t in ingen f*r*i *coin* cul*ainn* olc ro *m*boi f*r*im daig is tu ro saig*hius* om tir

Bátar] For *bátar* in LL, D has *IMSoeth* and H *IM do soet*. These stand for O. Ir. *im-soat*, the 3 pl. pres. ind. of the verb *imm-sói*.[276] The many meanings of *im-sói* all lie within the semantic field of movement and change. In this context I would suggest the translation "turn into" or "change into". H has an infixed element *-do-* not found in D. The form is consistent with an infixed pronoun 3 pl. class B or C, where a class A pronoun would be required in O. Ir. Rather than a Mid. Ir. confusion between class A and class C infixed pronouns (see EIV 170 (c)), or a doubling of preverb (see EIV 194–197), I would suggest that this is an infixed pronoun with a reflexive meaning, "they turn themselves", with *-do-* representing O. Ir. *-da*. For examples of this see DIL (s.v. *imm-sói* 153: 12–13, 15–16, 80–81). For a discussion of the use of reflexive pronouns in O. Ir., see Ó Cuív (1973–1974b: 203–218).

da deilb duine] Originally *delb,* "form, figure, appearance, shape", was inflected as a fem.   –a stem, but later also as a masc. –o stem and –u stem. The form in LL may be the nom. dual of the original stem formation with replacement of *di* with *da.* For a discussion of *delb*, see note on *richt* ll. 1–2.

Olc ro bá frim] The verbal form in LL is *ro bá*, the 2 sg. perf. act. of the substantive verb. In D and H however, an infixed –*m*– is found. This may be a 1 sg. infixed pron. class A, giving a translation "you have been evil to me". If this is the case, it follows that the object in H is marked twice. This situation does not arise in D as the phrase is constructed differently. The double marking of objects, i.e. both as an infixed pronoun and as a part of a following preposition, is possible and has been discussed by Lucht (1994: 80–118). However, more probably, –*m*– in D and H may be an indication of a nasalised relative clause. It is possible that the scribe of H interpreted this as a sentence where the antecedent states the manner or degree of the content of the relative clause (see GOI 316 § 498 b), although in O. Ir. a nasalised relative clause is not required in this sentence. H further has the 3 sg. perf. act. of the substantive verb, which, as the context is Derbforgaill speaking directly to Cú Chulainn, does not make good sense, and the same form as in LL and D is probably intended.

l. 9 (M 9)
LL: IS fír *ar* cu*chulaind*
D: IS fir a i*ngen* or cucul*ainn*
H: IS fir a i*ngen* or c*u*chulainn

ll. 10–11 (M 9–10)
LL: Ro s*h*úgi íar*um* a tóeb na i*ngine* i*n* cloi*ch* co*m* búi i*na* beolu cosi*n* loi*m* c*h*ró ro bói i*m*pe
D: *con*ad*h* an*n* si*n* tr*a*t*h* ró s*h*uig*h* cú c*h*ulainn in cloich asa taeb na h*ingine* co*m* boi na beolu *con*a lán do c*r*ó iumpi
H: *con*id and sin ro hsuid cu cul*ainn* an cloi*ch* as toeib*h* na hingeini co*m* boi ina beola
*con*a lan don cruo impe

Ro shúgi íarum a tóeb na hingine] For a discussion of *tóeb*, see 1.3.7.2. The verb in D and H conforms with regular 3 sg. s-perf. act. However, the ending –*i* in LL can be explained by it being an example of an AII verb with an -*i* ending in 3 sg. s-pret. act., discussed in GOI (419 § 678), and SnaG (300 § 12. 32). For the transposition of the mark of lenition in the spelling *hs*- in *ro hsuid* in H, see Murray (2004: 68), further examples are found in SnaG (229 § 2. 7), and see below ll. 13–15 for the same scribal practice.

co mbuí ina beolu] As *buí* does not imply any motion in itself, one would expect a dative to follow the substantive verb, however *beolu* (masc. -o-) is the acc. pl. In this case, the acc. may refer back to the motion implied in *ro-shúgi...a tóeb*, earlier in the sentence, or it could simply be acc. used for dat.

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[276] In DIL this verb is spelled with the accent on the *o*: *imm-sói* (DIL s.v. *imm-sói* 152: 26). However, EIV (281) puts the accent on the *i*: *imm-soí*. I have followed the spelling of DIL.

cosin loim chró] In LL *Loimm* (neut. –n. later masc.) "sip, mouthful" is used. The expression *loim cró*, found here, and the similar phrase *loim fola,* are often translated as "gush of blood" and used as set phrases. For *loimm* in LL, the word *lán* (neut.) is used in DH. As a noun this means "the full, complete, whole" and is also used in a general sense "abundance, plenty". In this latter meaning *lán* is found in a construction with possessive *a*, meaning "much of, many" which can be followed by the preposition *di*. *Cona lán* in D and H can be analysed in terms of this latter construction, giving the reading "with a lot of blood ...". *Lán* also has the meaning "covered with" which would likewise fit the context. According to DIL, *crú* "gore, blood", was originally declined as a neut. –u stem, but is later found indeclinable. More recently the inflection of *crú* has been discussed in full by Greene (1955: 1–9) and Joseph (1988: 169–177), see also Uhlich (1993: 28). In LL a gen. sg. is used with the correct lenition after dative *loim*. D and H however have another construction, using the preposition *di* or *do,* which means that a dative form ought to follow. The concept of drinking blood is discussed in 1.3.7.1.

ll. 12–14 (M 10–11)
LL: IS dot *in*saigid tánacsa tr*a* or si. Nathó a i*n*gen or se. i*n* tóeb ro s*h*úgi*u*sa or se ní c*h*om*r*aiciubsa riss
D: *con*id*h* iar sin isb*er*t *cu* c*h*ul*ain*n A ingen or sé in toeb rot s*h*uig*h*isa ni *con*ricfium f*r*is i*ar*mot*h*a
H: *con*id ier sin isb*er*t cu cul*ain*n A ingen ol sé ind taoib ro hsuidi*u*sa ni *con*ricf*um* fris iermothai

Is dot insaigid tánac-sa trá or sí] The prep. *do* followed by the VN *indsaigid* (fem. –i) developed into a prepositional phrase with the meaning of "to, towards, against". In this sentence in LL Derbforgaill repeats that she has come to Cú Chulainn, which she has already established in l. 8 above. Even though the lack of repetition in DH could be interpreted as conserving the better reading, I have rather taken this as a case where the repetition from the text was removed in D and H, consistent with what seems to be a clear tendency of attempting to clarify the text evident in several additions, elaborations and clarifications in these MSS.

In tóeb ro shúgiu[s]-sa, or sé] All three MSS have the 1 sg. perf. act. of *súigid* "sucks" with a 1 sg. emph. suff. pron., which stands for *roshúgiu[s]-sa*, with elided –s-. No logical sense can be made of the verbal form *rot shuighisa* in D assuming that it includes an infixed pronoun (2 sg. class A), although one may read the -t- as a relative marker. It is therefore likely to represent a mark of lenition.

ní chomraiciub-sa friss] *Con-ricc*, "meets, encounters, joins" is often found with a sexual sense (see DIL s.v. *con-ricc*). LL has an O. Ir. 1 sg. f-future form of the verb with a 1 sg. emph. suff. pron. D has a verbal ending *–ium,* whereas in H this is found as an *f* with an suspension stroke above it, which I have expanded as *–um*, the ending of the 1 pl. future. The use of the 1 pl. form of a verb for the 1 sg. is found in O. Ir., especially in poetry. However, the form in D and H seems to be from the later simple verb *conric*.

ll. 15–17 (M 12–14)
LL: Do*m*bér*a*so da*no* do neoc*h* bas mait*h* let. IS mait*h* limsa ém or se dul duitsiu cosi*n* m*a*c as sóiriu fil i*n* her*ind* .i. lug*aid* riab nd*er*g
D*:* ac*h*t do b*er*sa c*u* s*in* m*a*c is an*n*sa lem fil an eir*ind* .i. co lug*h*aid*h* sriab nd*er*g
H: acht dot bersa co sin m*a*c is andsa lem fil ind erind .i. co lug riabh nderg

Dom-béra-so dano do neoch bas maith let] The form in LL, *dom-béra-so*, stands for O. Ir. *do-m-bérae-so*, the 2 sg. future of *do-beir* with a 1 sg. infixed pronoun and 2 sg. emph. suff. pron., translating: "you will give me", thus indicating that it is Derbforgaill speaking to Cú Chulainn. In D and H however, this sentence is tied to the previous clause, uttered by Cú Chulainn, by the conjunction *acht*, continuing the sentence in the same voice. The verb in D and H is most likely the 1 sg. future of *do-beir* with loss of length mark and a 1 sg. emph. suff. pron. The shift in person between LL on the one hand and D and H on the other is also evident in the phrase *bas maith let* in LL, with its 2 sg. form of *la* "with", as opposed to D and H where *is annsa lem*, the 1 sg. form, is used. D is lacking a direct object but in H there is a 2 sg. infixed pronoun, *do-t-bersa*, translating "I will give/bring you". This section is one of the few instances where LL has a more expanded text than D and H, having three sentences to convey the same information that is found in one continuous sentence in D and H.

l. 18 (M 15)
LL: Mait*h* lim or si *acht con*ot accur do g*ré*s
D: Mait*h* tr*a*th liumsa si*n* ol si si *acht con*at eciursa do g*re*is
H: Mait*h* lem*h*sa tr*a* sin ol si acht *con*dot acarsai do gres

acht con-dot-accur] For *acht co-*, see GOI (559 § 904) and the discussion by Ó Buachalla (1972: 143–161). After *co n-* in O. Ir. an infixed pronoun class C would have been used, as found in all three MSS. The reading of H: *con-dot-acar-sai* is superior, as LL and D have lost the initial *d-* of the infixed pronoun, see SnaG (265–266 § 10. 6).

l. 19 (M 14–15)
LL: Luid iar*um* co lug*aid* corruc clai*n*d dó.
D: luid*h* do*no* co lug*aid* corucc clan*n* do.
H: Luid co lug*aid* coruc cloin*n* dó

l. 20 (M 16)
LL: Laa and di*diu* in deriud gemrid. snecta mór a*n*d.
D: Laa nan*n* do*no* an deired g*h*eimr*idh* snec*h*ta mor and
H. Laa nand di*diu* i nderiud geimrid snechtai mor an*n* oc*us*

ll. 20–21 (M 17–18)
LL: Do niat na fir cort*he* mór dont s*h*nec*h*tu
D: 7 do gniat na fir coirt*he* mora do*n*t sne*c*hta
H: oc*us* dignet cort*h*i mor ind fir dint snechtai

Do-gníat ind fir] All MSS have the 3 pl. pres. ind. of *do-gní* "does, makes". LL shows lenition and loss of *g-* following the preverbal particle, which is not shown in D and H, for this reason, I have chosen the reading of D. H is the only manuscript that shows the old nom. pl. art. of *ind fir*, although the scribe has put this in the wrong place. This has been chosen for my edition.

corthe mór] *Coirthe* has the meaning "rock, pillar, standing stone". Although I have consistently translated this word as "pillar", I am not convinced that what is implied here is a thin, upright structure, as the word "pillar" indicates. I have conceded to use the attested translation of *coirthe* as "pillar" as I cannot find any other examples of *coirthe* in conjunction with snow. O' Grady translated this line "The men rolled the snow into huge masses", which although not a literal translation, probably comes closer to the actual sense of what is being built than "pillar" (O' Grady, unpublished translation, year unknown, see bibliography). Furthermore Dooley translates this "mounds" (2002: 205). In his summary (1967: 45–47) O' Connor translates *coirthe* "pillar" as "snowman", most likely due to the fact that in the two MSS D and H, it is stated that Derbforgaill went up on the pillars "after the men"
    The contexts of *coirthe* (masc. –io–) in all cases demand the use of the accusative, either because *coirthe* is the direct object (l. 20), or because a preposition that governs both dative and accusative is used where the action described implies a movement, thus demanding the use of the accusative (ll. 21, 22, 25).[277] LL is consistent in the use of an acc. form throughout, although the number varies between singular (ll. 20, 22, 25) and plural (l. 21). D and H display more variation in case.

dint shnechtu] H has kept the prep. *de*+def. art., "of/from the" which has been adopted, whereas LL and D have the prep. *di*+def.art.

l. 21 (M 18)
LL: Lot*ar* namna fo*r*nacort*h*e.
D: Lotar namna do*no* for*h*sna cort*h*aib d*ar* eis na fear.
H: Lotor na mna for s na cortib dar eisi na bfer.

ll. 21–22 (M 18–20)

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[277] The latter rule is however not absolute, cf. Quin (1975: 14).

LL: Ba *h*e a *tu*scurnud. Tabra*m ar*mún isi*n* coirt*h*e d*ú*s cia as sia ragas i*n*d

D: ba hé *tu*scurnad*h* ro t*h*uirs*id* acu .i. tabrum ar mun isna cortaib dúss cia mun uain*n* as sia reg*as* in*n*tib

H: Ba hé tuscarnad ro tuirsit acæ .i. tabram ar mun isna coirti dus cia mun uain is sia reg*as* intib

Ba hé a tuscurnud] *Tuscurnud* (masc. –u–) has the basic meaning "act of inventing, falsifying". This line from *AD* is quoted and given the translation "device" in DIL (s.v. *tuscurnud* 394: 37–38), using Marstrander's translation. O' Keeffe (1905: 214 n. 18) refers to this word as found in *AD* in LL, with a comparison to the phrase *nach tuscurnud ná doilbiud* which is translated "no fiction or fable". However, I find that the translation "device" fits the context best. *Ro thuirsid* D, *ro tuirsit* H may be from the verb *túirid* "seeks, searches, investigates, examines", possibly a passive form. The line in D and H may then be translated "this was a device that was sought by them, that is....".

regas ind] DH shows the O. Ir. vocalism in *regas*, from *rigas, regas*, the 3 sg. future rel. of *téit*. LL has a later form with the stem *rag–* (see DIL s.v. *téit* 127: 30 and SnaG 319 § 12. 141). The form of D and H has thus been adopted.

ll. 22–23 (M 20)

LL: IN ben o ría *t*riit is í as f*h*err congaib uán

D: 7 in ben o róa *t*rid is í is fearr erg*h*air*e* uain*n*

H: occ*us* in ben o roa *t*rit is i is ferr erguiri uai*n*

ó ría] It is difficult to determine both the form *ría* in LL, and *roa* in DH, as the forms exist both as future and subjunctive of *ro-saig* "reach", see DIL: "The orig. prot. form for *subj*. and *fut*. 3 s. was roa; later *fut*. ria (influence of rosia), and then ria becomes the common form for both" (DIL s.v. *ro-saig* 99: 22–24); further: "In *future*, the 3 s. ria continues in use in early Mod. Ir. poetry. The forms roa, rua also survive as *fut*." (s.v. *ro-saig* 99: 25–26) Both a translation "from whom it may enter" and "from whom it will enter" are entirely possible, although I have chosen the translation "from whom it will reach through".

ergaire uainn] The reading of LL on the one hand and of D and H on the other differ, although both readings are rather obscure and have been deemed possibly sexual by commentators. DIL states that the precise meaning of *congab* (fem. –a–) is not always evident. This line from LL is cited with a question mark and the remark "*in sensu obscoeno*" (s.v. *congab* 438: 43), under the heading "equipment, weapons, trappings". In this sense it can also mean "pudenda" and DIL further gives an example of emasculation involving this word (s.v. *congab* 438: 41). The meanings given in DIL for *congab* that seem applicable to this sentence can be divided into two main semantic categories, the first assuming that the sense "company" or "escort" is intended, the second assuming that the sense "equipment" or "pudenda" is involved. A translation "she will be the best attendant/escort/company of us" is possible, see the following examples from DIL: *iarsin dochuaid na congaib/ingen M.* "with her attendants" (s.v. *congab* 438: 20), and *acht co mbeith congaib a thechta aicce do dainib* "a proper escort" (s.v. *congab* 438: 22). *Congaib* is translated by Marstrander as "to keep", taking this to be from the verb *con-gaib* "contains, maintains, keeps", which is indeed also suggested as a possibility in DIL (s.v. *congab* 438: 43). Bowen (1975: 27), takes this rather to have the meaning of "gathering, host" or "equipment". He refers to *congaib* as having a sexual meaning, concluding that the meaning of the sentence would rather be "she has the best sexual equipment of us all", and that the sexual connotations of copious urination is thus established. Since the sense of the sentence is "she will be the best (of us to) ...", or "she will have the best...(of us)", several of the meanings above would potentially fit. Dooley is less explicit in her translation of this line, although she clearly infers a sexual sense in the competition: "she is the sexiest of us!" (2002: 205).

For *congaib* of LL, D and H have the word *erghaire* D, *erguiri* H. This word is found in the tale *Scéla Conchobair Maic Nessa* in a scene describing the size of Fergus's penis, and due to this the amount of women it took to "curb" him. Stokes (1910: 35) describes the meaning in this use as obscure, but adds "in sensu obsceno?" as a note to the text (1910: 27 n. 1). Bowen (1975: 27) infers from the context and the translation of *ergaire* as "curb" that the meaning is clearly sexual. This word seems to be the verbal noun of the verb *ar-gair* "forbids, hinders, prevents", though the meaning also includes "checks, is a match

for". A possible translation of D and H is thus "is the best match from us". As *congaib* is perfectly transparent here, I assume that *ergaire* is the *lectio difficilior*, thus this has been adopted in my edition.

The reading of D, *uainn*, and of H, *uain*, is the preposition *ó* followed by a 1 pl. pers. pron. "from us", which is also found in the form in LL. However, the reading *úan* of LL could also be interpreted as the word meaning "foam, froth". This word is often found in the meaning of the froth of a wave and froth on ale, which could here possibly refer to the froth of the urine, although no examples of *úan* in conjunction with urine are given in DIL. However, if this word is intended, we would expect a genitive. The following line contains the preposition *uadib* LL, "to them", *doib* DH, "from them". It is possible that the archetype had *úan* "froth" which was changed in the archetype of D and H to the pronoun *uainn* in symmetry with the pronoun of the following line. However, it is equally possible that the personal pronoun is intended in LL, as in D and H. The prep. from D and H has been adopted as it makes better sense with *ergaire*. For a discussion of possible sexual implications of *úan* "froth" see 1.3.7.3.

l. 24 (M 20–21)
LL: Niroac*ht* di*diu* uadib. con g*air*ther d*erfor*gaill uadib
D: Niróac*ht* do*no* uathib *con*g*air*th*er* d*er*bforgaill doib
H: N iroacht di*diu* uait*h*ib. congairter di*diu* derf*or*caill doib

ll. 24–25 (M 21–22)
LL: Nir bo áill lea or nir bo bæ*th*
D: as b*ert* sid*h*e na rach*ad* ar ní bo espach et*er* *ar*aid*h*e nir g*h*absat uaithi ce*n* dul
H: IS b*ert* si nach rach*ad* ar nir hesbach et*er*. Araide nir gabsat uait*h*e cen dul

Nírbo áill lea ór nírbo báeth] LL has a sentence with two short clauses, both introduced with the 3 sg. perf. act. of the copula in the negative, *nír bo*. For a discussion of *áill*, "act of asking, request, wish" see Strachan (1900a: 471–472). The basic meaning of *báeth* as an adjective is: "foolish, stupid, silly, thoughtless, reckless". This is also a legal term (see Kelly 1988: 68, and DIL s.v. *báeth* 9: 27–28). However *báeth* can also mean "wanton, licentious" and as a noun "fool, idiot". I have chosen the translation "she did not desire it, because she was not foolish", although "foolish" can be replaced with any of the meanings above. Furthermore, it is possible that a sexual sense is implied in this contest, thus a translation "wanton" would fit the context better. D and H have another construction, where the first clause expresses the same sentiment as in LL, but where the second clause adds the information "they did not accept not going from her", insisting that she part take in the competition.

l. 25 (M 22)
LL: Teít *ar* ai *for*sin cort*h*e ro selaig uade co tala*m*
D: teid i*arum* *for*san coirt*h*i 7 ro siac*ht* i*n* mun uaithi co tala*m* t*r*iasin coirt*h*i
H: tet iar*om* fors*in* corti oc*us* ro siecht uait*h*i co talom*h* t*r*iasin corti

Téit araí] *Ar aí* is here used in LL for *iarum* of D and H. It seems here to refer back to the previous sentence, i.e. "nevertheless she went up on the pillar". The form *ar aí* has been discussed by Zimmer (1890: 5–9), using this form from LL as one of his examples. Even though *iarum* can be used in the same adversative sense as *ar ai*, this sense is expressed by the use of *araide* in the beginning of the previous sentence in D and H, and *iarum* here seems to fill the function of a temporal conjunction.

Ro selaig uade co talam] *-selaig* is found as the 3 sg. reduplicated pret. act. of *sligid* "cuts, fells, strikes down, clears" and "hews", hence "it slashed from her to (the) ground". *Rosiacht* in D, *ro siecht* in H, is the 3 sg. perf. act. of the verb *saigid*, here most likely in its sense "reaches".

l. 26 (M 23–24)
LL: Dia fessat*ar* tr*á* i*n*d *f*h*ir so ní *con*gr*á*daigfider i fail na ói*n* mná
D: Dia fessat tr*a* na fir seo ar siat ni g*r*aid*h*eoch*h*aid ben uai*n*d co brat*h* hi fail na hæn mna
H: Dia fesarat tra na fir seo ar iet ni g*r*aid*h*aigfider ben uaine co brath i fail na hoen mnæ

Dia fessatar] For the form in D, *fessat*, cf. *noco fessat* as the v.l. of *nícon fess* in *Orgain Denna Ríg* (Greene 1955: l. 378, Stokes 1901a § 15), and see l. 115. It is however likely that D missed an *ar*-stroke

here, cf. l. 28, and thus that the same form as in LL and H is intended. For a discussion of *ro-fitir*, see Krause (1925: 204–205).

nícon grádaigfider] In LL this can be analysed either as *nícon grádaigfider*, with *nícon* being a variant of *ní* found in D and H, or as *ní congrádaigfider*, with the negative *ní* followed by *congrádaigfider*. A verb **congrádigid(ir)* is not attested in DIL, thus I have chosen the reading *nícon*. In LL and H the form is a 3 sg. *f*-fut. pass. with deponent inflection, (see GOI 399 § 640), the form in D is a later form of this.

i fail na hoínmná] *I fail* as a phrase has the basic meaning "near, beside, along with, in the presence of", hence, "beside, seen in comparison with". This line from LL is cited in DIL (s.v. 2 *fail* 21: 57) "*gradaigfer i f. na óinmná*" = "no woman will be loved in comparison with this one". The reading *gradaigfer* is a mistake in DIL as no such form exists in the MSS, cf. *nícon grádaigfider* above.

ll. 26–27 (M 24)
LL: Gat*air* a súile assa ci*n*d. 7 a sróna 7 a da nó 7 a t*r*ilis
D: gadu*m* do*no* a suile asa ci*n*d 7 a s*r*on 7 a folt 7 feoil a máss
H: Gatom diu a suile asa cind. 7 a sron occ*us* a folt occ*us* feoil amasS

Gatair a súile assa cind] The verbal forms in all MSS are from the verb *gataid* "takes away, removes, pulls or snatches away". The form in LL, *gatair*, is the 3 pl. pres. subj. pass. I suggest that the form in D and H is an otherwise unattested form of the 1 pl. impv. of the same verb. Marstrander gives the translation "let her eyes be taken" for LL, and "let us take" for D and H, (1911a: 215). For the use of pres. subj. and impv. see GOI 329 §516.

7 a sróna 7 a da n–ó 7 a trilis] The three MSS differ slightly in the body parts listed here. All MSS begin the listing with the nouns *súil* (fem -i-) and *srón* (fem. –a). The singular *srón* is found in DIL with two meanings, either "nostril" or "nose". The plural in LL must thus have the meaning "nostrils". For *a da n–ó 7 a trilis* in LL, D and H have *7 a folt 7 feoil amáss*. Marstrander translated the last phrase "the flesh of her hams" (1911: 215 n. 2), although the definition of *más* (masc. –o) found in DIL is "buttock, posterior", thus the translation of D and H is: "Let us take her eyes out of her head and her nose and her hair and (the) flesh of her buttocks."

l. 27 (M 24–25)
LL: Ni ba so accobraite ón
D: 7 ni ba so gra*d*ach do neoch hi i*ar*ta*in*
H: Ni ba so gr*aid*h*igti di neoch iertain

so-accobraite] *Accobraite* is an adjectival form (either verbal of necessity or past participle passive) of *ad-cobra* "desires, wishes". This is preceded by the prefix *so-* which is here found either in its use to form adjectives of other adjectives, or as a compound with a participle or verbal of necessity. This line from LL is cited here under the latter definition in DIL with the translation "she will not be desirable then" (s.v. 2 *so* 312: 22–23). For *so-accobraite* in LL, the readings *so gradach* D, *so graidhigti* H are found, possibly influenced by the use of *grádaigid* in l. 26. The form in D seems to be the adjective *grádach* "loving, fond, beloved, lovable", whereas the form in H might rather be a past part. pass. of the related verb *grádaigid*.

l. 28 (M 25–26)
LL: Do gní*th*er a pianad a*m*laid si*n*. 7 b*er*air i*ar*tain da tig
D: do gnith am*ml*aid sin do*no* 7 b*er*ar dia tig*h* i*ar*tai*n*
H: de gnit*er* on aml*aid* sin di*diu* occ*us* beror dia tig iertai*n*

Do-gníther a pianad amlaid sin] LL and H have here the pres. ind. pass. 3 sg. of *do-gní* "does". The form in D, *do gnith*, could be the 3 sg. imperf. of the same verb, although in that case it seems to be lacking an element in order to make sense. It is more likely that D has missed an abbreviation stroke in copying, thus the same form as in LL and H is probably intended, cf. l. 26, where D may possibly have

missed an *ar*-stroke. In LL, but not in DH, the sentence continues with a 3 sg. fem. poss. pron. followed by *pianad*, "punishment, torture" (masc. -u-), giving a translation "Her torture is done then, like that." The sentence in H still makes good sense without this word, as "it is done thus ..." may refer to the torture described in the previous sentence.

berair iartain dia tig] The reading of LL, *berair*, is the 3 sg. pres. ind. pass. of *beirid*. The forms in D and H seem to display an example of the falling together of palatal and non-palatal -*r* in Mid. Ir., although they may imply a 3 sg. impv. form. This would require that the clause is read as direct speech. As the sentence begins with "her punishment is done then" in LL and "it is done thus" in H, it seems rather unlikely that the sentence continues with a clause of direct speech, especially since this utterance is not attributed to anyone. D and H have *dia*, the preposition *do* followed by 3 sg. poss. pron. The reading of LL most likely implies the same form.

ll. 28–29 (M 26–27)
LL: Bat*ar* i*n*d f*h*ir is tilaig i *n*dáil os emai*n*
D: bat*ar* na fir á ndail i tel*aig* uási*n* mbaile
H: Bat*ar* na fir i ndail i telaig uasin baile

Bátar ind fhir ís tilaig i ndáil ós Emain] *Tilaig* is the dat. sg. of *tulach* (fem. –a) "hillock". In LL this is preceded by *is*, from *isin*, the prep. *i* "at, on, upon" +def. art., whereas the form in DH lacks a def. art. LL has the preposition *ós, úas* "over, above" followed by *Emain* (neut. -i-, later fem.). For this DH has *úasin,* the same form as in LL, with an added demonstrative, followed by *baile*, "place, town, city, village" (-io-).

l. 30 (M 28–29)
LL: IS ingnad lem a lug*aid ar* cu *ch*ulaind snec*h*ta f*or* taig derbf*or*gaill
D: is ingn*ad* liu*m* a lug*h*aig*h ar* c*u* cul*ainn* snec*h*ta f*or* tig*h* d*er*bforgaile
H: IS ingnad lem a lug*aid* or c*u* c*h*ulainn. snechta f*or* toig derbf*or*caill

l. 31 (M 30)
LL: Is i *n*écaib atá si di*diu ar* lug*aid*.
D: is i *n*ecaib*h* do*no* ita si or lug*aid*.
H: IS ind egaib*h* ata si f*or* lug*aid.*

Is i n-écaib] *Éc* "death" (masc.), especially signifies a natural death as opposed to *aided* "violent death" (fem.). According to DIL this word is frequently found in the plural, even when the word refers to a single death (s.v. *éc* 9: 24–29, see also Mac Eoin 1966: 123). Cf. the singular of *éc* l. 43 and the discussion of *aideda* 1.2.

l. 32 (M 31)
LL: Tiagait f*or* comluat*h* doc*h*um i*n* taige
D: tiag*h*ait do*no* fa c*h*oimrith do c*u*m i*n* tig*h*e dia f*h*is
H: tiegait fo comrith do cum in toige dia fis

for comlúath] *Comlúath* has the meaning "equally swift, speedy" and is a compound of the prefix *com-* "together, mutually, equally" and *lúath* "quick, swift".[278] This line is cited in DIL and translated as a substantive: "full speed" (s.v. *comlúath* 391: 16). The reading in D is *fa choimrith* and in H *fo comrith* "act of running or rushing together". In LL this is preceded by the preposition *for*, here translated as "by". In DH the preposition used is *fo*, whose basic meaning is "under" in both concrete and abstract sense, cf. also *forro scarsam* l. 34 where D and H seem to have the prep. *fo* for the prep. *for* in LL.

l. 32 (M 31–32)
LL: Am*al* ro c*h*uala si ón dunaid a tec*h* furri
D: am*al* ro cualai si ón dunaig i*n* teach fu*r*ri

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[278] See Breatnach (1991: 90–94) for a discussion of this type of equative construction, as well as Meid (1967a: 223–242).

H: am*al* ro chualai si on dun*aid* in tech f*u*rri

Amal ro-chúala-si ón] *Amal* would in O. Ir. be followed by a nasalising relative clause, cf. GOI (316 § 498). The lenition in LL and H may however also be analysed in terms of the lenition indicating a 3 sg. neuter infixed pron., i.e from O. Ir. *ra-chualae*, anticipating the indeclinable neuter pronoun *ón*, rendering "when she heard it/that". This form has been chosen for the edition.

a tech] The form in LL either has the correct neuter def. article in *a tech*, or the poss. pron. 3 sg., i.e "her house". I have chosen the latter. The reading in D and H is the later masculine form of the article.

l. 33 (M 33)
LL: Oslaic *ar* cu*ch*ulaind
D: oslaicc or cu*cu*lainn
H: Oslaic or cucul*ainn*

ll. 34–35 (M 34–35)
LL: Cá*in* blat*h* f*or*ro sc*ar*sam or si. IS and as b*er*t.
D: Cá*in* blath fó*ar*scarama*r* or si si 7 ni*m* feg*h*faid*h*si *ar*mot*h*a *con*id*h* an*n* sin isb*er*t in láid*h* mbigsi sis oc ceilebr*adh* do c*h*oin c*h*ulainn 7 do lug*aid* sriab nd*er*g.
H: Cain blat*h* for scarsamair or sisi occ*us* nim fegfaidsi iermota *con*id an*n* sin is b*er*t si an laid mbic si oc celepr*ad* di con cul*ainn* oc*us* lug*aid*.

Caín bláth forro scarsam or sí] This line can be compared with a line found in *Reicne Fothaid Canainne*: *C_ain bl_ath fa roscarsamur* "fair was the aspect under which we parted", (Meyer 1910a: 16–17, verse 44).[279] In his note to this line (1910a: 21 n. 44), Meyer suggests that here the preposition *for* is used adverbially before the verbal form *ro-scarsamur*, with *for* translated as "under". None of the many meanings of the preposition *for* attested in DIL includes the meaning "under", therefore we must presume that Meyer uses the preposition *fo* as a basis for his translation. Marstrander translated this line from *AD* as "lovely is the bloom in which we parted", taking a less figurative approach to the first part of the line than Meyer did to the sentence in *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* above. O' Connor (1967: 46) translated this line from *AD* "let us part under a flowering bough", which is a free translation. I assume that this expression is a set phrase used to express a farewell.

l. 36 (M 36)
LL: Celebraid cu*ch*ulaind da*m*
D: Ceilebraid cúc*h*ul*ainn* dam
H: C elebrad cucul*ainn* dam*h*

l. 37 (M 37)
LL: do*m* riac*h*t o*m* íat*h*aib iúil
D: do ro*acht* om iat*h*ib*h* iuil
H: do rocht om iathaib iuil

do-röacht óm íathaib iúil] Cf. line 8: *is tú doroacht* "It is you I came to see". The reading of LL, *domriacht*, is a later 3 sg. pret. act. form of *do-roich* with an infixed 1 sg. object pronoun. In his notes to the poem, Marstrander (1911a: 216 n. 37) states that a passive *doriacht* is not to be found, therefore he suggests an emendation of *domriacht* to *dorriacht* (from *do-n-ro-siacht*). The reason for this emendation is because the context, according to Marstrander, demands the line to mean "to whom I have come". As *domriacht* can only mean "he has come to me", this reading is ruled out, though Marstrander uses it in the translation in his edition. Whereas it is entirely possible that *domriacht* may be a scribal error for *dorriacht*, as Marstrander suggests, it has no manuscript support. A reading "he has come to me" is not impossible if one considers the wider context of this tale and a possible tradition of Cú Chulainn in connection with Derbforgaill. However, it seems odd that Derbforgaill would refer to Cú Chulainn as coming from her homelands. It is possible that LL has made a mistake by adding an infixed pronoun and thus that we might consider the reading of D *doroacht* and of H *dorocht*, 1 sg. or 3 sg. pret. act., as the

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[279] Due to problems graphically representing a macron, the low stroke before *a* in *c_ain* and *bl_ath* represents a macron.

better. This is problematic on account that it would make the line hypometrical. Furthermore, it seems that D and H here have simplified the syntax. It is possible that the archetype of D and H saw a problem in the sense and thus adjusted the meaning accordingly. I tentatively suggest that the sense implied is that Derbforgaill bemoans that she has come from her homelands to Cú Chulainn, thus taking *do-roacht* of D as the best reading, suggesting that this may be read as a trisyllable. The lack of a syllable may possibly be a problem in the archetype. For another example of *do-ro(a)cht*, see l. 98.

Iúil is the gen. sg. of *éol*, later *íul* (masc. –o), used here most likely in the sense "that which is known or familiar esp. of places, accustomed surroundings, home". This line from LL is translated in DIL (s.v. *éol* 149: 62) "from my homelands". Dooley's translation takes *celebraid* to be the subject of the sentence, translating "Cú Chulainn's farewell has reached me|from the places that were familiar to me" (2002: 205). However, I have translated this sentence as "to whom I came from my homelands".

l. 38 (M 38)
LL: 7 lug*aid* luth la b*eir*t
D: 7 lug*aid* lu*th* la beirt
H: oc*us* lug*aid* luth la beirt

lúth la beirt] *Lúth,* "vigour, power, energy" and related meanings, also occurs in a phrase of the type: *is lúth la x.* "x is eager (to), pleased (with)". Whereas both interpretations are possible, I tend to think that the former fits the context better. In O. Ir. *bert* is found inflected both as a fem. –a stem and as a masc. –o stem, and it further has the variant *beirt* (fem.). In LL this form is found with an abbreviation stroke. Even though in this MS an abbreviation stroke most commonly implies –*er*-, rather than –*eir*-, I have chosen to expand this as *beirt*, as this is required for the *aicill* rhyme with *seirc*. Of the many applications of *bert*, that of "deed, exploit; feat, trick; effort, task; action, behaviour" seems to fit the context best. My translation "and Lugaid, vigorous with action" is only one possibility. For discussions of *bert*, see Dillon (1953a: 325), Ó Cuív (1955–57: 96–107), Greene (1967: 689) and Ó Buachalla (1976: 134).

l. 39 (M 39)
LL: dia tartus seirc náchim chiúil
D: dia tab*ar* seirc nac*ham* tiuil
H: dia tabair seirc naca*m* t*h*íuil

dia tartus seirc] In LL *tartus*, 1 sg. perf. act. of *do-rat,* suppletive perfect form of *do-beir*, is used, with the preposition *do* followed by a relative particle "to whom". Both Hull (1949a: 137) and Marstrander (1911a: 216 n. 39) have translated this "to whom I gave a love". For *tartus* in LL, D has *tabar* and H *tabair*, the 1 sg. pres. subj. of *do-beir*. The relative is the best reading here, and has been chosen for the edition.

nácham thiúil] LL has the verbal form *nachimchiúil*, which is found in D as *nacham tiuil*, in H as *nacam thíuil*. These forms are not immediately transparent. Marstrander's note on these forms is as follows:

"(...) probably *nach-am-chiúil*, containing a reduplicated verbal form. We should perhaps read: *nachamgiúil*: Lugaid, to whom I gave a love, not inherent in me" (1911a: 216).

This suggestion seems to take the verb to be a form of *glenaid* "adheres, cleaves" which has the perfect form *ro-giuil*. Presumably Marstrander assumes a confusion between lenited *c* and *g*. Although such a confusion is entirely possible, we would then have to presume another confusion between lenited *c* and *t* to account for the forms in D and H. Whereas this is possible, another analysis of these verbal forms has been put forward by Hull (1949a: 136–7, 1962–1964: 319–320). Hull explains the verbal form as the 3 sg. conjunct form of the reduplicated *ro*-preterite of *tlenaid* "takes away" (see GOI 428 § 691a, 356 § 551, 455 § 737). This form is attested only twice before, in the corrupt form *nad-ro-tuil*, to be amended to *ro-thíuil* (DIL s.v. *tlenaid* 196: 28, GOI 428 § 691a). The source for this is *Corus Aithne*, a legal tract, and a citation that Hull believes is from the same text in O' Davoreen's Glossary (Hull 1962–1964: 320). Although not ruling out Marstrander's suggested emendation, Hull states that the readings of the

manuscripts of *AD* favour *-thiúil* over LL's *-chiúil*, which he claims may well be a scribal mistake. He argues that not only is LL notorious for its many scribal mistakes, the misreading of *-c-* for *-t-* is also very common in Irish manuscripts. According to Hull, a further reason why *-thiúil* is the better reading is that "(...)*-chiúil* is a hapax legomenon whereas *-thiúil* makes perfect sense" (1949a: 136). He translates the line as "to whom I have given a love which he did not steal from me",[280] and interprets the context as if Derbforgaill:

> "is alluding to the fact that she had agreed to become the consort of Lugaid at the instigation of Cú Chulainn, whom she really loved, in order that she may continue to see him. As she acquiesced in the arrangement, Lugaid did not "steal" her affections; on the contrary, she deliberately and cold-bloodedly gave them to him as part of her bargain with Cú Chulainn" (1949a: 136).

Although I do find Hull's argument convincing, I do not think that the sense necessarily is as complicated as he suggests. Since the semantic range of *tlenaid* seems to include "take away", this sentence may just convey the sense that Lugaid did not take away his love from Derbforgaill, thus merely expressing that he did not cease to love her. I have adopted the reading of D and H, translating "to whom I gave a love which he did not take away from me". Dooley's translation "whose love bond cannot hold me" (2002: 205), has no manuscript support.

l. 40 (M 40)
LL: IS i*m* éicen dul i cían
D: IS im icen dul i cian
H: IS im ecen dul i cian

Isim éicen dul i cían] All applications of *écen*, whether as a noun (fem. -a-) or an adjective, are associated with force or violence, (see Greene 1975: 43–49, where the semantic fields of violence and necessity implied in *écen* are discussed and see also ll. 42 and 43). *Cían* as a noun is a fem –a-stem, thus we would expect the form *i gcéin* (see DIL s.v. *cían* 179: 70–78). However, all MSS show the form *i cían*. As the phrase is very common, its seems peculiar that none of the scribes corrected this very obvious mistake. However, I fail to explain the use of this form in all MSS by any other means than a common mistake in the exemplar. For the notion of death as "going", see Pedersen's suggestion that *aided* "violent death" is the VN of *ad-eth(a)* "goes towards" (see 1.2), and see *dul ar cel* l. 91, and *cen dul* ll. 24–25. I have translated this line "I must go far", although the meaning of this is most likely "I am dying" or "I must die".

l. 41 (M 41)
LL: ní fo fechta nodamét
D: ni fo fec*htus* nodámed
H: ni fo fechtus nodamet

ní fó fechta no-dam-ét] Marstrander takes *fo* to be *fó*, adj. and subst. "good", followed by *fecht* (fem. –a-) "journey, expedition", translating "not good (the) journey...". *Fechtus* (masc. –u-, –o-) in D and H is derived from *fecht* and has the same meaning. Although *fechta* is plural it has been translated as a singular.

The form *nodamét* in LL is not immediately transparent. It could be analysed in at least three main ways, all of which suppose that it is a verbal form. The preverbal particle *no* seems to be followed by an infixed pron., class C, either 1 sg., *–dam–*, or 3 sg., *–da–*. The verb form could thus either be *–ét*, *–(fh)ét* or *–mét*. If we presume that *no-* is original, a simple verb needs to follow. As Marstrander pointed out (1911a: 216 n. 41, see below), there is no simple verb form *ét* attested in O. Ir.[281] *-Ét* is the prototonic stem of *ad-cota* "obtains", an irregular verb with reduplicated s-pret. This verb does not distinguish between indic. and subj. or between pret. and perf.,[282] (see GOI 351 § 544, 420 § 680, 438 § 708, pret. 3

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[280] In the later article referred to above Hull gives a similar explanation "[Lugaid], to whom I gave a love that he did not steal from me" (1962–1964: 320).
[281] Marstrander uses the term "verb" in "the simple verb *ét*" (1911a: 216 n. 41), which surely must be read as "verb form", as the verb he refers to is *etaim.
[282] Although cf. Lindeman (1982: 184–185) who makes a distinction between present indicative and present subjunctive.

sg. *do-ét, níros-ét*). In the Mid. Ir. period, the prototonic stem of *ad-cota* developed into a simple verb *fétaid* "is able, can", cf. *ni ro fét a n-acallaim* (*SCC* ll. 81–82, Dillon 1953c), with v.l. *ni ro fhet* (Dillon 1946a: l. 88) "He was not able to speak to them" (Dillon 1953b: 50). A lenited *f* may thus well have been transcribed as silent, giving *-ét*. An analysis of this form in LL as *no-dam-[fh]ét* could possibly translate "(not good the journey) I was capable of".

Hull (1962–1964: 316–319) discusses this reading as consisting of a verb form *-mét.* He refers to Thurneysen's suggestion that *do-moinethar* "thinks" had the pret. pass. sg. **-mét* (GOI 439 § 710). This form, although not attested (although see below), is consistent with the use of *-ét* as the pret. pass. sg. by other strong verbs ending in *-n-* and *-m-.* Hull suggests that the form in *AD* is to be read *–mét*, and that this is the pret. pass. sg. of the simple verb *muinithir.* He notes that the *–m–* in LL is an expansion and that the hooked stroke used for abbreviating *m* may likewise be expanded as *–mm–.* Hull suggests that we may thus read *no-dam-mét*, with *–dam–* as a 1 sg. infixed pron., translating the line as "not good is the journey that was intended for me". This is entirely feasible. This seems to be the underlying form presumed in Dooley's translation "dark the journey destined for me" (2002: 205). An attestation of the pret. pass. sg. *–mét* from *do-moinethar*, postulated by Thurneysen (see above), seems to be found in *De causis torchi Corco Che* (§4 (o) 67): *n_i bu b_adud to-m_et d_o* "it was not a [death by] drowning that was anticipated for him" (De Vries 2006: 75).

There is however another possibility to be taken into consideration, involving *–ét* as a form of the early Irish verb **e(i)mid.* This verb is discussed by Hull in the same article as the previous discussion of *-mét.* In this article, without any reference to *AD*, or to his earlier discussion, Hull notes that whereas *em–* is found in several compounds, a simple verb has not been attested. Discussing the example *ni ro-et o Bran annsin* from *Cáin Eimíne Báin* (Best et. al 1907: ll. 44–45), where *–et* is found in one manuscript as *–ét*, he suggests that "(...) *–ét* is either the preterite active or passive third singular of the simplex *e(i)mid*, which on the basis of the present context apparently signifies 'obtains'" (1962–1964: 321). It is noteworthy that Hull does not connect his discussion of the simple verb **e(i)mid*, having a pret. pass. sg. *–ét*, with his previous discussion on a line in *AD* consisting of an element *–ét*, especially since the same sense is implied in *ad-cota* and **e(i)mid.* Whatever reason Hull may have had for not connecting these two discussions, it is clear that he has postulated a simple verb **e(i)mid.* Consequently, the form in *AD* could well be the 3 sg. pret. pass. of the simple verb **e(i)mid*, again translating "obtained by me" or "I obtained".

Marstrander rather suggests an emendation for the reading in this line. In his note he suggests amending *nodamét* to *rodamdét*:

"*Nodamét* undoubtedly contains the particle *no*, infixing pers. pron. *dom* before the simple verb *ét*: "not good the journey that has (been) ... to me". If *ét* be correct, it can hardly be the the pret. of *étaim* "I obtain" here, nor that of *em-* which does not occur as a simple verb. A reading *rodamdé*t would seem to fit the sense here. Derbforgaill speaks of her approaching *dul ar cel* (...)" (1911a: 216 n. 41).

As Hull (1962–1964: 316) points out, Marstrander's emendation has no manuscript support. The same is the case with an emendation to *rodamét.* I am hesitant as to what analysis to apply for this verb form, as translations using a form of the later verbs *fétaid* "is able, can" and **e(i)mid* "obtains", and using the verb *muinithir* "thinks", all make good sense, and arguments can be found for the plausibility of all these forms. However, I have chosen a translation "Not good the journey I obtained", hence I have also employed the word division *no- dam- ét* in my edition.

For *nodamét* in LL, the readings *no damed* D, and *nod amet* H, are found. In this, D has a spelling *-d-* for *-t-* and in addition, both D and H lack the length mark. This is the only difference between LL and DH. Marstrander, however, treats the reading in LL and the readings in DH as quite different:

"The original seems to have puzzled the scribes here. The *nod a met* of H, famous its greatness (*nódh .i. oirdheirc* O'Cl.) is merely an attempt to find some meaning in the obscure or illegible original" (1911a: 216 n. 41).

Thus, the reading from H was translated by Marstrander as "famous its greatness", whereas the reading from LL is translated as "not good the journey that has been to me", even though the readings are almost identical. It seems likely that Marstrander's translation of H is based on the word division found in H in this line, although I fail to see that the different readings from LL and H warrant such different translations. The absence of a length mark in D and H could very easily have occurred through fading, or

it may never have been indicated which is also common. Furthermore, LL is missing a length mark for Marstrander's reading *fó*, discussed above. The absence or presence of a length mark cannot thus be considered as important in this sentence as Marstrander with his comment implies. I suggest that the readings of D and H indicate the same form as in LL.

l. 42 (M 42)
LL: sc*ar*ad *fr*iu bid dál eícne
D: sc*ar*ad*h* *fr*iu ba dal eigni
H: scarad friu ba dal eccne

Scarad friu] In his note on *scarad friu* Marstrander states: "D. wishes to express that even should death spare her, she must be parted from C. and L. because of her disfigurement" (1911a: 216 n. 42). However, there seems to be nothing in the reading of this verse that necessitates an interpretation that the disfigurement *per se* has anything to do with her separation from Cú Chulainn and Lugaid, and furthermore one must presume that her death very obviously is a cause of separation.

bid dál éicne] LL has here the 3 sg. fut. of the copula, For this DH has *ba*, the 3 sg. pret. act. (also pres. subj.) of the copula. Marstrander translates *dál éicne* as "a meeting with necessity, i.e. a matter of necessity" (1911a: 216), for this cf. 2 *dál* in conjunction with *báis* which is frequent in the meaning of "a meeting with death" or "sentence of death". *Dál éicne* of this line is translated in DIL "a distressing business" (s.v. *éicen* 70: 1–2), whereas I have translated this line as "the separation from them will be distressful", although it is quite possible that the meaning implied is "the separation from them will be inevitable", due to the strong implications of force in the word *éicen*, see above l. 40.

l. 43 (M 43)
LL: meni*m* *th*ístais écne éc
D: mani*m* tisdais ecni éc
H: manim tistais ecni ecc

manim thístais écne éc] *Mani*– is here followed by a 1 sg. infixed pronoun and the 3 pl. past subj. of *do-icc*, translating: "unless they come to me", with the subject being *écne* and *éc*. For the form *meni*- for O. Ir. *mani*-, see SnaG (281 § 11. 8). Marstrander (1911a: 216 n. 42) takes *écne* to be a plural of *écen*, a variant of *éicin*, for which see l. 40 and l. 42. The stylistic device of positioning two nouns or adjectives of the same or similar semantic value occurs frequently in these poems. The composition and collocation of synonyms in early Irish and Welsh has been discussed by Mac Cana (1995: 106–122), see 3.3.2. As for the collocation of two nouns together in the same construction, Mac Cana states that "noun predicates do not occur juxtaposed in the nominative without a conjunction" (1995: 115).[283] However, a construction, consisting of the positioning of two nouns together, where the conjunction between them is understood but left out is discussed by Carney (1958: 35). For this type of construction, cf. also the discussion of the concept *techt tuidecht* "going and coming" by O' Rahilly (1973–1974: 1–6). *Écne éc* could be a construction of this type, "disaster and death", which would explain the use of a plural verb.

ll. 44–47 (M 44–47)
This whole quatrain is rather complicated as it seems that the sentiment expressed begins with the third line of the quatrain: *menbad athber co n-aithluch*, "If it were not for reproach and atonement", followed by the fourth line: *níbad aithrech ar comol*, "there might be no regret for our union" which is then followed by the first and second line (ll. 44–45), "with Cú Chulainn, with Lugaid, with whom there was terror and fear".

l. 44 (M 44)
LL: La coi*n* cul*aind* la lug*aid*
D: La coin cul*ainn* la lug*aid*
H: La coin cul*ainn* la lug*aid*

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[283] Mac Cana only discusses a type of construction where "one noun synonym is attached to another as an attributive or appositional adjective" (1995: 118).

l. 45 (M 45)
LL: ris na ro*m* uát*h* na *h*ómon
D: ros na ru*m* nat*h* na o*m*un
H: ras na rum uat*h* na om*h*an

ris na rom] The sentence begins with the preposition *fri,* here in the Mid. Ir. form *ris,* followed by *na+rom,* which as an adverb means "early, too soon", cf. l. 54. Marstrander states:

> "*risnarom* includes the negation *na,* as the subsequent *na* proves: 'C. and L., with whom there was not soon fear nor terror'; *rom* is usual in verse after a negation (...) *risnarom* prob. for *risnâr rom*" (1911a: 216 n. 44).

Marstrander thus infers a negative form in this sentence. However, if *na* following *ris* is to be analysed as a negative form, this would require a verb form. As no verb seems to be implied in *na,* and since the following *rom* is an adverb, other possibilities must be discussed. In Marstrander's translation it is presumed that the prep. *fris* is followed by a relative form "with whom". If *na* is thus taken as a part of the prep., to be read *risna,* the sentence lacks a negative element, thus a translation "with whom (there was) fear and terror" would be more proper. This line from LL is cited by DIL (s.v. *rom* 95: 63–66) giving Marstrander's translation: "with whom there was not soon fear nor terror" (1911a: 216 n. 44), followed by the comment "Whom it were well to fear betimes (?), i.e before provoking a quarrel". DIL's added translation shifts the focus in Marstrander's translation from the sense "Cú Chulainn and Lugaid had neither fear nor terror, i.e they were fearless" to "Cú Chulainn and Lugaid are fearful, i.e we are well to fear them". It seems thus that DIL has interpreted the sentence without the negative, as have I in my translation, presuming an elided copula.

úath na homon] As a noun *úath* has the meaning "fear, horror, terror", and as an adjective "terrible, horrible". The British cognates of this word point more to the meaning "terror" than to the meaning "fear", (see Favereau 1992 s.v. *yud, hudur, hudal, yudal* and *Geriadur Prifysgol Cymru* s.v. *udaf, udo*). As a noun *ómon,omon* (masc. –u, –o), has the meaning "fear, the state of being afraid" as an adjective "afraid, apprehensive". The length mark in LL is most likely a mistake as a short vowel is required for the rhyme, thus the reading from D and H has been adopted. For a discussion of collocations of synonyms in this text, see 3.3.2.

l. 46 (M 46)
LL: m*en*bad at*h*ber *con* at*h*lec*h*
D: munbud ait*h*ber *con* ait*h*liuc
H: manbad ait*h*ber *con* ait*h*liuch

Menbad athber co n-aithliuch] This line from LL is cited as the sole example under the heading of *aithlech* in DIL, without a definition, and preceded by a question mark (DIL s.v. *aithlech* 267: 82–83). Marstrander (1911a: 216 n. 46) quotes a form from YBL (119 a 4)*: a bean na bean ir nathber for na hocu dia nathlig. nidat gala fer ro cloi acht fir conupbaig for gai.* DIL gives a reference to *taithlech* "atonement (for sin), penitence" or "pacifying, placating, peace" (neut. -o-). Several examples are found in DIL where *taithlech* is used with *aithrech,* (s.v. *taithlech* 57: 51–52, and see also 57: 35–37, 45–46). I have given a translation "If it were not for reproach and atonement", presuming either that *taithlech* is intended and that this represent a mistake in all three MSS, or that *aithlech* is a variant of this word with similar meaning. For the use of *co* in the sense of "and", see DIL (s.v. 2 *co* 274: 1).

l. 47 (M 47)
LL: nibad ait*h*rech *ar* co*m*ol
D: nibud*h* ait*h*rec *ar* coal
H: ni bud ait*h*rech ar co*m*ol

níbad aithrech ar comol] The earlier form of *comal* (neut. –o, later masc.) "compact, agreement; bond, union", was *comul, comol.* The reading in D, *coal,* may well be a case where either the scribe has missed an *m*-stroke, or that this has faded in the manuscript.

l. 48 (M 48)
LL: Comul sc*artha* f*ri* riab nderg
D: Comal sc*artha* f*ri* sriab nd*er*g
H: C omal scarthæ fri riab nderg

Comul scartha fri] *Scartha* could be the 3 sg. pret. pass. of *scaraid* "separates, parts", as Marstrander suggested, or the past part. However, it could also be the pret. pass. rel. sg., translating "the union which was broken with Riab nDerg...". I have chosen the latter.

l. 49 (M 49)
LL: is delg i cridi cró cnis
D: is delg a c*ridh*é c*r*o cnis
H: is dealcc i crid*h*e cró cnis

is delg i cride cró cnis] *Cride* and *cró* are often found together, (see Meyer 1911: 114, Murphy 1956: 27, DIL s.v. *crú* 553: 57 and 61). For a discussion of the semantics of *cride*, see Mac Mathúna (2003: 1–18). *Cnis* is the gen. sg. of *cnes* (masc. –o) "skin" and also "body, flesh, bosom, breast". I have construed this sentence as one phrase: *is delg i cride* "It is a thorn in (my) heart", followed by another phrase: *cró cnis* "blood of my breast", although we would expect nom. sg. *crú*. Of course, any other sense of *cnes* is equally possible.

l. 50 (M 50)
LL: cu*chulaind* do bi*th* i*n* ingnais
D: *cu* cul*ainn* do bei*th* a*n*gnís
H: cucul*ainn* do bei*th* ingnis

ingnis] *Ingnas* (fem. –a) on its own means "absence, loss, deprivation", the acc. and dat. sg. form of this, *ignais*, later came to be used for the nom. sg. (DIL *ingnas* 263: 39–40). It can also be found in the phrase *i n-ingnais* meaning: "in the absence of, deprived of, without, absent from". For a discussion of this phrase, see O' Rahilly (1940–1942: 189). The line in LL is hypermetrical. This may be due either to a dittology, or because the preposition was seen as required for the syntax. I have chosen the reading of D and H, being metrically correct, interpreting it as an independent dative form (see GOI 161 § 251.3). In *Addendum AD*, Marstrander states that Meyer had suggested to him amending to *i ngnis*, noting that "a monosyllable with short vowel is required" (1911d: 252), although what word *gnis* would be is not explained. As Meyer noted, a division *i ngnis* would give a symmetrical rhyming pattern conforming to *rannaigecht mór*. As several other quatrains in the poems of *AD* conform to *rannaigecht mór* or *bec* in three lines with one line either having a syllable too much or too few (see 3.3.1), I have chosen not to amend this according to Meyer's observation. I have translated this "Cú Chulainn is deprived", echoing the sense of loss expressed in the previous lines.

ll. 51–52 (M 51–52)
LL: dirsan m*en*bad leca lis |Menbad leca lis lug*dach*
D: dirs*an* minb*ad* lecca lis |Minbad*h* lecca lis luig*dach*
H: dirsand manbad lecca lis |Minbad leccæ liS lugdach

menbad leca lis] This forms a parallelism with *Menbad leca lis Lugdach* of the next line. The phrase *menbad leca lis lugdach* is found in several sources. For a detailed discussion of this line and all occurrences of this phrase in other sources and the interpretations thereof, see 1.4.5 A literal translation of this phrase does not adequately convey the implication of "shame" that is obvious from the glossing on this expression in other sources. I have however chosen to translate the whole line 51: "unlucky if it was not (for) the sloping hillside of the enclosure", and line 52 paralleling this: "if it was not (for) the the sloping hillside of the enclosure of Lugaid", although this translation is very tentative. In her translation of the two lines "...is bitter, unless revenge attends to it|Unless Lugaid's shaming be avenged..." (2002: 205), Dooley is presumably applying the sense "revenge" to the same element *leca* in l. 51, that in l. 52 is

translated with "shame". As the two concepts are similar I have no major problem with this interpretation, especially in light of the obscure nature of these lines.

l. 53 (M 53)
LL: lasar*um*nad ca*ch* nderba
D: las*ar*um*n*ad ca*ch* ndre*m*na
H: lasaru*m*nad ca*ch* ndrem*n*a

lasa rumnad] This line from *AD* is cited in DIL as the only example of *lasarumnad*, found under the heading *rumnad*, preceded by a question mark and with no explanation or translation (DIL s.v. *rumnad* 120: 30). Marstrander is equally quizzical and puts a question mark after this form in his notes (1911a: 217 n. 53). This is a highly problematic form, not the least because it is difficult to understand its components. Syntactically this could be either a verb or a noun with elided copula preceding. If we presume that this is a verbal form, *rumnad* may be a form of the verb *rúamnaid*, with variants *rómnaid* amd *rúaimnid* "grows red" or "makes red". This has a VN *rúamnad* or *romnad* (?*rómnad*). This also has the meaning of "flushing (with anger or shame)". The verb form may then be a 3 sg. pret. pass., and the preceding element *lasa* consisting of the preposition *la* followed by a relative particle "with whom", translating "with/by whom was reddened".

Another possible solution would be to take the first element as the noun *lasar* (fem. –a-, later also –k-) "flame, fire", also found in a figurative sense "blush(ing)". This noun forms compounds with nouns and adjectives. Particularly interesting is the fact that *lasar* can be found in conjunction with two adjectives denoting the colour purple and red: *lasarchorcra* and *lasarderg*. However, -*rumnad* does not seem to be an adjective. A compound of *lasar* followed by the VN *romnad* would render a form **lasarrumnad,* although the second -*r* might have been elided. The sentence would then read "flame-reddening/blush-reddening/flush-reddening" or similar.

I am hesitant as to the precise translation of this line. I am rather convinced that the sentence includes some form of the verb *rúamnaid*, whether as a passive or as a VN, and in case of the VN, either used as a progressive form or as a noun. The translation I have chosen, "with whom/which every obstruction was reddened", may be replaced by any of the other options discussed in this note. Dooley's translation is "to whom every setback was small till now" (2002: 205), although I cannot see how this corresponds to the text.

cach nderba] *Derba* could either be the noun 1 *derba*, *derbae* (fem. –ia) "certainty" which is attested only once, or *3 derba*, the probable VN of *2 do-rorban* "hinders, obstructs, prevents". In his discussion of the VN of *do-rorban*[284] (for which see *2 do-rorban* and cf. l. 54 and below), Hull points out that *derba* is not actually attested, "only *derbaidh*...which has been emended to *derba* (...)" (1956–1957b: 252), and that "no such form as *derba* 'act of hindering' seems to be recorded in any source (...)" (1956–1957b: 253). Hull concludes that "As *derbaid* is twice attested, whereas *derba* is apparently unattested, it would seem that *derbaid* rather than *derba* is the correct form" (1956–1957b: 253). One of Hull's attested examples of *derbaid* is in a *figura etymologica* construction with *do-rorban*, which adds weight to his argument. However, when Hull states that *derba* is not attested, we must presume that what he means is that it is not attested as a VN. The discussion of *deraib* and *derba* occurs in an article that, among other matters, discusses the forms-*thiúil/-chiúil* of l. 39 of *AD*. Even though he could have possibly disregarded *derba* of *AD* as being the VN under discussion, it is very surprising that the presence of this word in *AD* is not noted by Hull. For the reading *derba* in LL, D and H has *dremna* (fem. –ia) "fury, raging, madness". Marstrander's comment that "the DH reading *dremna* rhyming with *emna* is preferable" (1911b: 217), is not correct as the rhyming consonants of *derba* and *emna* belong to the same rhyming-class and thus make a perfect rhyme (see Murphy 1961: 32). Even though this line and the next are quite obscure, there seems to be parallelism between *derba* in this line and *étarba* in the next. It is possible that *étarba* influenced the scribe of LL in his choice of *derba* in this line, so it may be that the reading of D and H is

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[284] Hull's discussion is about the verb 2 *do-rorban*, "hinders, obstructs, prevents". However, there is another verb, 1 *do-rorban*, with the meaning "comes, arrives, equally happens to, reaches" or "profits, advantages, helps". Under the heading 3 *derba* discussed above, DIL does not specify whether this is thought to be the VN of 1 *do-rorban* or 2 *do-rorban*. DIL gives no VN for *2 do-rorban* under its heading, but under the heading *derbaid* "hindrance, prevention" this is given as the VN of *2 do-rorban*. The VN of 1 *do-rorban* is cited as *tarbae* (s.v. *torbae* 257: 40–41, s.v. 1 *do-rorban* 365: 28).

better here. However, as *lasarumnad* is obscure, the whole meaning of the sentence is difficult to assess, and therefore the reading of LL has been chosen.

l. 54 (M 54)
LL: ba ro *moch ar* nét*ar*ba
D: ba ro ro*m ar* net*ar*ba
H: bá ro ro*m* ar netarbai

ar n-étarba] *Étarba* is from *étarbae* (neut. –io, later masc.) which has the meaning "a thing of no profit, a useless, vain thing". I suggest that this is a reference to the relationship between Derbforgaill, Lugaid and Cú Chulainn. Dooley's translation "too soon has come my tragedy" has other connotations than my chosen translation "It was too soon, our vain thing", implying that the vain thing talked about is the relationship, although both interpretations are possible.

l. 55 (M 55)
LL: f*r*i m*ac* na t*r*i fi*n*d e*m*na
D: f*r*i m*ac*cu na t*r*i fi*n*d emna
H: fri mac na tri find emnæ

fri mac] I suggest that the prep. *fri* refers back to what was expressed in the previous line. D has *maccu*, the acc. pl. of *mac* here, which makes the line hypermetrical. As *mac na trí find emna* is Lugaid's epithet and is used in the text several times, this must be a mistake on D's part.

l. 56 (M 56)
LL: Nac*h* accim se coi*n*cul*a*ind
D: nad nf*h*aci co coi*n* cul*a*inn
H: Nad naiccig*h*e coin cul*a*inn

Nad n-accigiu] All MSS have forms from the verb *ad-cí* "sees". In LL the verb is preceded by *nach*, hence "that I do not see", whereas D and H have *nad*. As this is a nasalising relative clause, D and H preserve the better reading. The form in LL, *accim*, is the 1 sg. pres. ind. *Ad-cí* had a reduplicated future in O. Ir., both s-future and i-future (see EIV 46), which is later replaced by the (b)/f-future. The form in D and H seems to represent an otherwise unattested 1 sg. form of the reduplicated i-fut. It seems that the verb is simplified in LL, thus the reading of H has been chosen for the edition. A clause with a perfect follows (l. 57) and the reading in LL "That I do not see Cú Chulainn has made me tearful and sad" makes good sense. The future in H may seem odd if a perfect is to follow. However, the preterite in l. 57 can be seen as an example of the modal use of the preterite as a future, discussed by Quin (1974: 43–62), translating: "that I will not see Cú Chulainn will make me tearful of sadness". See l. 57 for a discussion of this concept. Marstrander in his note points out that "The future *aiccige* of H gives better sense than the present *accim* of LL. *That I shall see Cúchulainn no more, has made me tearful and sad*. Read *Nadnaccige*" (1911a: 217 n. 56). This is also pointed out by Thurneysen "Das alte Futurum *nad-n-aiccigiu* (...) darf man einem Dichter dieser Zeit schon noch zutrauen" (1926: 427).[285] Marstrander's comment is thus about the sense of the word whereas Thurneysen's note is about the date of the form of the word. The fourth line of this quatrain, *7 scarad fri Lugaid*, belongs sensewise right after this line.

l. 57 (M 57)
LL: do*m* ri*n*gne dérac*h* dubac*h*
D: do*m* rígni derach dubaig*h*
H: dom rig*h*ni derach dubach

dom-rigne] DH has the stem *do-rign*–, which is earlier than the stem *do-ringn*- found in LL, although this earlier form can also be found in Mid. Ir. For the development of *-gn*–>*–ngn*- in *do-rigne,* see SnaG (325 § 12. 197, see also 234 § 3. 14) and DIL (s.v. *do-gní* 285: 52). Quin (1974: 43), in his discussion about the modal use of the preterite in O. Ir., gives examples where the preterite is used for the

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[285] "One can indeed believe that the poets of that time were capable of using the old future *nad-n-aiccigiu*".

conditional, the present, and also for the future. In order to analyse this and the previous sentence in LL and D the normal use of the perfect is sufficient, as the present and perfect forms of *ad-cí* used in LL and D make good sense together with a following perfect. However, the future of H in l. 56 may be explained by suggesting that we have here an example of the modal use of the perfect for the future. I have chosen the older form from DH for my edition, and I have kept the perfect in the translation.

   dérach dubaig] There are some problems concerning the solution to this line. The two adjectives have similar meanings, *dérach* "tearful, sad" and *dubach* "gloomy, sad, mournful", and forms the same parallelism of synonyms as is frequently found in these poems as a poetic device, for a discussion of this see 3.2.2 and l. 52. For the positioning of *dérach* and *dubach* together, cf. *a mmag ndubhach ndérach* "the gloomy tearful plain" (*Tenga bithnua* 124 § 77, Stokes 1905b). The spelling *dubaigh* in D gives perfect rhyme with *Lugaid* in l. 59, which is not the case with the readings in LL and H. However, this would require a substantival use of *dérach* with *dubaig* being a genitive form. From the few examples that are attested in DIL, I cannot find any with a clear substantival use of the word. The readings from LL and H could be read as two adjectives with an understood conjunction, cf. l. 43, although the rhyme is not perfect, as in D. For this reason I have chosen the form from D in my edition. Marstrander in his *Addenda AD* (1911d: 252), states that Meyer suggested amending this to *dubaid*, rhyming with *Lugaid*. However, both *dubaig* and *dubaid* rhyme with *Lugaid*. For the same rhyme, cf. also the rhyme *dubhtaig* LL, *dubaibh* D, *dubaib*H : *Lugaid* in ll. 85–87.

l. 58 (M 58)
LL: dít*h*re mo t*h*úat*h* truag a*mar*
D: dit*h*ré mo tuath tr*u*ag*h* nam*a*rad*h*
H: dit*r*i mo thuath truag*h* nam*ar*

   Díthre mo thúath, trúag n-amar] *Díthre* could be one of two adjectives: *1 díthre* "feeble, spent, exhausted" or *2 díthre* "exempt from, non participant in, deprived of (as being landless?)". Marstrander translated this as "feeble" (1911a: 217 n. 58). However, the sentence is quite ambiguous as it is not obvious if the subject is the speaker, i.e. Derbforgaill, or *túath*. *Amar* (orig. neut. later masc.) is here used in its sense "wailing, moaning". If we presume that there is an elided copula beginning this sentence, a translation "feeble (are) my people, wretched wailing" (or "miserable moaning") is possible, thus taking *túath* (fem. -a-) to be the subject. However, as this quatrain specifically expresses Derbforgaill's separation from Cú Chulainn in line a, as well as her separation from Lugaid in line d, an expression of her separation from her tribe or people seems reasonable here. Dooley (2002: 205) has translated this line as "Cut of from my people, alas for the living",[286] translating *díthre* in the sense of "deprived of" and treating Derbforgaill as the subject of the sentence. Even though this is entirely feasible, I have chosen to translate this line as above, taking *túath* to be the subject, and treating *trúag n-amar* as a cheville.
   In early poetry sometimes the attributive adjective may precede the noun, as has been discussed by Carney: "The adjective would have the same effect on the following noun as a noun would have on a following adjective in the commoner expression" (1983: 37, see also 1983: 32, 2c. For other examples of this word order, see Kelly 1973: 6–7, 1975: 77). The nasalisation in D and H can be explained by this rule. The form *namaradh* in D is perhaps due to influence from the ending of *buafadh*, l. 61. Again there is parallelism between *trúag* and *amar*, for a discussion of collocations of synonyms in this text, (see 3.2.2) and see l. 43. DIL (s.v. *amar* 301: 74–75) cites this line from LL with variant readings from DH, with the added qualification "cheville", but the form from LL is quoted as *truagannar* which is incorrect.

l. 59 (M 59)
LL: 7 sc*ar*ad f*r*i lug*aid*
D: 7 sc*ar*ad f*r*i lug*aid*
H: 7 scarad fri lughaidh

l. 60 (M 60)
LL: Nim ru *mar*tsa mo f*h*ianc*har*a
D: Niro m*ar*tsa moenc*ar*a

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[286] Taking *trúag* in the sense of an interjection, cf. DIL (s.v. *trúag* 323: 60–61).

H: N iru martsai moen chara

Ním-ru-mart-sa] As was pointed out by Marstrander (1911a: 217 n. 60), this form occurs also in the text *Reicne Fothaid Canainne*: *Nimrumart-sa mamasrad fien gormainech goburglas* "The noble-faced grey-horsed warrior-band has not betrayed me" (Meyer 1910a: 10–11 § 8). *Nimrumartsa* from *AD* and from *Reicne Fothaid Canainne*, although identical in form, are found in DIL under two different headings. The form from LL is cited under *oirgid*, "kills, slays, devastates" divided: *nim-rum-art-sa*, (s.v. *oirgid* 126: 76–77). The form from *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* is found under *mairnid*, "betrays, deceives, deludes" divided: *nim-rumart-sa*. (DIL s.v. *mairnid* 40: 80). Both forms are explained as 3 sg. t-pret. act. The spelling –*art* for –*ort* in the 3 sg. pret. act of *oirgid* occurs elsewhere, (see DIL s.v. *oirgid* 126: 76–77). If this is the 3 sg. pret. act. of *oirgid*, then we are faced with two infixed pronouns, as well as a emph. suff. pron.: *nim-rum-art-sa*, which is unlikely. A better solution is found by taking this to be a form of *mairnid* "betray", with the second –*m*– explained not as a 1 sg. infixed pronoun, but as part of the verbal form. The reading would thus be *nim-ru-mart-sa*, with *-rumart* <**ro-mer-t*, with raising of *o* in *ro* to *ru* before following –*e*– (see GOI 131 § 215). This reading has been chosen for my edition.
For the forms found in D and H, I suggest that the same reading as in LL is intended and that an m-stroke, indicating the object, has been lost.

mo fhíanchara] The compound *fianchara* (-t-) is defined by DIL (s.v. *fían* 119: 5–6) as "a comrade in arms", however, this line from *AD* is quoted with the qualifying remark: "where the speaker is a woman". Presumably DIL assumed that this term would imply a relationship between men, and the fact that it is used in this line to describe a relationship between Cú Chulainn and Derbforgaill was noteworthy. For a discussion of the concept of *fían*, see McQuillan (1988: 1–10) and McCone (1994: 1–30). For this D and H has *moencara*, where the first element is the 1 sg. poss. pron. *m'*, followed by *óen* "one, unique" or "only". *Oenchara* is not listed in DIL as one of the genuine compounds of *óen*, i.e., in which the meaning of the following word is modified. Marstrander is his *Addendum AD* (1911d: 252) stated that Meyer had suggested emending to *m'óenchara*. I have chosen the reading from LL as it seems impossible to determine which form is original.

l. 61 (M 61)
LL: cu *chulaind* c*ar*aid buafad
D: *cú ch*ul*ainn* carad buafad*h*
H: cú cul*ainn* carad buafadh

carad buafad] Marstrander in *Addendum AD* (1911d: 252), based on a suggestion from Meyer, suggested reading *carad buafad* with a translation "who loved wantonness", referring to "*is bæisdóib and is búaphud* (of a couple of lovers)" from *Betha Colmáin* § 88 (Meyer 1911). The form in LL is a simple verb preceded by the subject and we would therefore expect a relative form of the verb rather than the pres. ind. abs. 3 sg. that is found. The readings of D and H seem to be an example of the 3 sg. imperf. ind. of *caraid* with *no* omitted, as is found frequently in poetry (see GOI 370 § 580). The form of D and H has therefore been adopted, with the translation "Cú Chulainn, he loved boasting".

l. 62 (M 62)
LL: bái da*m* ceile soer subaid
D: bá sa*m* ceili sær subaig*h*
H: ba t*h*u*m* ceiliu soer sub*h*aidh

baí-thium] LL has here the 3 sg. pret. act. of the substantive verb. For this D and H have *bá*, which on the surface appears to be the 1 sg. pret. act. of the substantive verb, in H the length mark is presumably lost. This is followed by three different forms in the MSS. LL has *dam*, which could be the prep. *do* followed by a 1 sg. infixed pronoun "to my". However, the form in H *bathum*, may point to a 3 sg. verbal form with an 1 sg. suff. pron., representing O. Ir. *baíthium* "I had" (see GOI 271 § 430 and Breatnach 1977: 76). The reading of H with normalisation has been adopted in my edition. For the parallel

corruption of -th- to –s- in D, cf. the form of the substantive verb with suff. pron. *baísu* (DIL s.v. *attá* 468: 67).[287]

l. 63 (M 63)
LL: lug*aid* m*ac* clot*hra*nd cruac*ha*n
D: lug*aid* m*ac* clot*hra*nn cr*u*ac*ha*n
H*:* lug*aid* m*ac* clotr*a*nd cruach*a*n

l. 64 (M 64)
LL: Buaid gaile buaid clis ria các*h*
D: Buaid*h* ngaile buaid*h* clis re cac*h*
H: Buaid ngaili buaid clis ria cach

Búaid ngaile] The basic meaning of *búaid* (neut. –i) is "victory, triumph". This can also have an assortment of related meanings: "special quality or attribute, gift, virtue, pre-eminence, excellence" and is frequently found in chevilles. Bondarenko (2007: 17) also points out that the concept of *búaid* seems to act as a positive correspondence of *geis*. Three of the four lines in this quatrain begin with this word, and it occurs in the first line of the next quatrain (see 3.3.2). LL has here missed the nasalisation following neuter *buaid*. As this is found in the next occurrence, *buaid ngaiscid*, below, and as the nasalisation is found in both instances in D and H, the two later MSS preserve a better reading here, as Marstrander pointed out (1911a: 217 n. 64). Even though interconsonantal nasalisation is often omitted even in O. Ir., I have adopted the reading from DH here. *Gal* (fem. –a-), is here most likely used in the meaning "warlike ardour, fury, valour".

búaid clis] *Clis* is the gen. sg. of *cles* (neut., masc. –o-, –u-), whose meanings include "feat", either in plural or collective sense, and "performance of feats". DIL points out that this is particularly used of the martial feats taught to Cú Chulainn and Fer Díad by Scáthach (s.v. *cles* 231: 18–20, 32–33). *Cles* and *gal* as well as *gaisced* (masc. -o-), used here and in the following quatrains, are found together in several examples, either with *buaid* or without (cf. *FR* ll. 256–257 (Greene 1955), *Esnada Tighe Buchet* l. 497 (Greene 1955) as well as DIL (s.v. *cles* 231: 47–50) and *TBC* Rec. I (O' Rahilly 1976: ll. 1862, 2046)).

l. 65 (M 65)
LL: do c*hoin* cul*aind* crut*h* rod naí
D: do c*hoin* cul*ainn* rod nanai
H: do *coin* cul*ainn* rod na nái

cruth ro-dn-aí] The syllable count in this line is the same for all three MSS, i.e. seven, although *cruth* (masc. -u-) is missing in DH. On the other hand, DH shows a doubling –nana–, for a single –na– in LL. This doubling could well be a conscious attempt to restore the syllable count in the line, as could the presence of *cruth* in LL. However, the doubling of –na– in D and H creates an obscure form, which I cannot explain. In order to rhyme with *mnaí* in line d, a monosyllable is required. The reading of LL seems transparent: *ro-dn-aí*, consisting of *ro-* followed by an infixed personal pronoun class C and a possible 3 sg. pret. act. form of the verb *nóïd* "makes known, spreads the fame of, celebrates". This line from LL is cited in DIL under this heading as a preterite, preceded by a question mark (s.v. *nóïd* 59: 2–4). For a similar expression see *noíthium cruth caín* "I am famed for fair form" (DIL s.v. *nóïd* 58: 80). The praising of Cú Chulainn in this line is consistent with the phrase in line d of this quatrain where Derbforgaill states "gift of my shape beyond every woman", as well as the sentence in line c praising Lugaid.

l. 66 (M 66)
LL: b*uaid* ngaiscid dolug*aid* lúath
D: buaid*h* ngaisc*id* do lug*aid* luath
H: buaid ngaiscid*h* do lug*aid* luat*h*

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[287] Note though that this form is preceded by a question mark in DIL.

l. 67 (M 67)
LL: b*uaid* moc*h*rot*h*a sec*h*ce*ch* mn*ai*
D: buaid*h* mo crut*h*sa sech gach mnai
H: buad mo cruthsa sec*h* ca*ch* m*n*ai

l. 68 (M 68)
LL: Ca*ch* buaid di*m*bu*áid* i*artain*
D: Gach mbuaidh bid dimbuaidh iartain
H: Cach mbuaid bid dim buaid iertain

Cach mbúaid bid dimbúaid] The lines in this quatrain beginning with *cach* has a resemblance to the legal formulas collected by Smith (1933–1936: 262–277). Here I have translated *búaid* "victory" in juxtaposition with *dimbúaid* "defeat". *Bid* precedes *dimbúaid* in DH only. The lack of this form makes LL hypometrical, and the sentence including the 3 sg. fut. of the copula in DH is a better reading and has been adopted.

l. 69 (M 69)
LL: cipia f*r*isa fert*har* tnú
D: gibe f*r*isa f*er* t*h*ar tnud*h*
H: cipia f*r*isa fe*r*tar tnú

ferthar tnú] The 3 sg. pres. subj. pass. of *feraid*[288] is here most likely used in its sense "pours out, cries, laments, giving expression of emotions", common with the prep. *fri*. DIL puts a question mark before the suggestion equating 2 *tnú* "envy" with the word *tnúth*, *tnúd*, "envy, jealousy". As the latter is found in D, this seems to suggest that the scribe of D regarded these two words as synonymous, or thought that *tnúdh* gave a better reading. Carney discusses *tnú* and *tnúdh* briefly and suggests that judging by the forms cited in DIL, *tnú* can perhaps be considered mainly "a verse and glossary word" (1958: 32). He compares the variation found in *tnú:tnúth*, where the first noun is a by-form of the second "which has survived as it was metrically useful" (1958: 32), with *sú: suth* and *trá: tráth,* (for which see GOI 558 §901). Following Carney's argument we may presumably argue that the full semantic value of *tnúdh* may equally apply to *tnú*. Whereas the meaning of *tnú* is given only as "envy" in DIL, the semantic range of *tnúth*, *tnúd* includes also "rage, fury, envy, jealousy" as well as "desire, greed, affection, love". I have chosen a translation "envied" here, following the passive of the verb. For other instances of *tnú*, see *Bruiden Da Choca* (Toner 2007: ll. 686, 694).

l. 70 (M 70)
LL: ca*ch* i*n*dbass bid i*n*dles nuág
D: ca*ch* ni*m*mbas bid i*n*dles nuag*h*
H: cach ni*n*nbas bid inles nuag

Cach indbass] *Indbas* has the meaning "wealth, treasure, goods (as against landed property)" (masc.-u, later -o-). It is noteworthy that all the MSS have the earlier form of the word with –*b*–, see DIL (s.v. *indmas* 237: 66).

indles n-úag] *Indles*, *indíles*, has the meaning "not belonging, not one's absolute property" and "not forfeit, not due, not lawful to be paid, therefore unlawful". Note that both *indbass*, above, and *indles* have legal meanings. *Úag* is most likely a form of the adjective *óg* "whole, entire, integral". Note that Marstrander gives the reading *núag*, whereas the diplomatic edition of LL has the reading *n-úag*. As no word *núag* is to be found, and a vowel is needed for the alliteration, it is likely that all MSS have nasalisation due to the adjective *indles* being used substantivally, as pointed out by DIL (s.v. *Indles*, *indíles* 234: 4–6), and Meyer (1913: 24 n. 5). This and the following line are translated by Meyer: "jeder Reichtum wird gänzliche Herrenlosigkeit sein, jeder Starke wird elend oder wird dem Tode verfallen sein" (1913: 24 n. 5).

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[288] The pres. ind. pass. and pres. subj. pass. are identical in form, although as this form follows *cipia*, I presume that a subjunctive is more likely.

l. 71 (M 71)
LL: ca*ch* trén bidtruag *no* bid trú
D: ca*ch* tr*e*n bid tr*uagh no* bid tru
H: cach tren bid tr*uag no* bid tru

l. 72 (M 72)
LL: Sire*ch*ta*ch* dál i*n* bith cé
D: Sirr*ech*tach dal in bit*h* cé
H: Sirrechtach dal i mbith ce

Sírechtach dál in bith cé] Rather than the word *sírechtach* "full of longing, wistful, sorrowful", Marstrander suggests that this word is a compound of *sir–*, possibly with *fecht* "journey" or with *iachtach* "a crying aloud, groaning"[289] (1911a: 217 n. 72). However, the many references given by Marstrander to support his suggestion all seem to point to the sense conveyed by *sírechtach*. I have taken *in bith cé* to be an independent dative, translating "A tryst with death has injured, beyond every treasure", the phrase being in juxtaposition with the concept of heaven expressed in the following line. The form in H, *i mbith,* may represent the preposition *i* followed by nasalisation, or the *sandhi* pronunciation, this is not shown in LL and D, where *in* seems to be the article.

l. 73 (M 73)
LL: ni sét f*r*is ne*m* nec*h* dogní
D: ní séd f*r*i né nec*h* dog*h*ni
H: ni set fri ne nech digni

Ní sét fri nem nech do-gní] The meaning of this whole line is obscure. There are three different nouns *sét*, however it seems most likely that this is *1 sét* (masc. –u), with the meaning "path, way", also metaphorically "way, manner (of life or doing a thing)". The form of the prep. *fri* as found in LL is questionable as there is no obvious cause for the –*s*–. I have thus adopted the reading from D and H. *Nemnech* in LL is likewise problematic. If we take this to be a whole word, two words could possibly fit here, the adjective *neimnech* "poisonous, venomous" also "deadly, dangerous, keen, intense". There is also an adverb *neimnech* "heavenly". However, syntactically this line is problematic as *ni sét fri* preceeds *nemnech*, thus neither an adjective nor an adverb would seem to fit. It is possible that *nemnech* could be read as two words. In that case it seems most likely that this is the word *nem* (neut. –s) meaning "sky" or "heaven". If this is to be divided into two words, a form *nech* follows. The O. Ir. indef. masc. pron. *neoch*, "anyone" is occasionally found in Mid. Ir. as *nech*, although I suggest that *nech* here is to be read in accordance with GOI 309 § 489a: "nech is also used to support a relative clause", translating: "it is not a path to heaven that it makes".
    For *nemnech* in LL, *né nech* is found in D, *ne nech* in H. It may be that this is a common mistake due to a loss of a m-stroke in the archetype for D and H. I have translated this whole sentence "it is not a path to heaven that it makes". Dooley's translation "it is not a neutral token" (2002: 206) is possibly using the definition of 2 *sét* "an object of value".

l. 74 (M 74)
LL: torbais dál báis se*ch* ce*ch* ndúis
D: tr*uagh* torbaig*h* dal bais ca*ch* ndúis
H: truag*h* torbuid dal bais ca*ch* nduis

Torbais dál báis, sech cech ndúis] LL on the one hand and D and H on the other have made up the seven syllables of this line in two different ways, LL by using *sech*, not found in D and H, D and H using *truagh*, not found in LL. For the same phenomenon see l. 65. The form *torbais* in LL is most likely the 3 sg. pret. act. of the verb *torbaid* "hinders, injures, confuses". The forms *torbaigh* D, *torbuid* H, could be the 3 sg. pres. ind. of *torbaid*, with later spellings. A translation "the tryst with death destroys" has been

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[289] Marstrander gives no translation of these two words. I presume that the word *iachtach* that he refers to is the word found in DIL (s.v. *1 íachtach* 11: 65), also found with short *i*-.

made by Dooley (2002: 206) using a present form. I have used the reading from LL in my edition, translating it as a preterite.

l. 75 (M 75)
LL: gnúis c*hain* cid alai*n*d a lí
D: gnuis c*h*ain cid*h* alai*n*d a lli
H: gnuis cai*n* cid aloin*n* a llí

gnúis cháin cid álaind a llí] The gemination found in *a llí* of D and H clearly signifies the absence of lenition after 3 sg. fem. poss. pron., see GOI (151 §241.4). The poss. pron. most likely refers back to the feminine noun *gnúis* at the beginning of the sentence. DIL points out that *lí* is "orig. perh. g, but freq. indecl. in s. and du" (DIL s.v. *lí* 141: 1), however, de Bernardo Stempel takes *lí* to be a feminine noun (1999: 178, 220). The example *li n-aimbi* (Auraic. 5540, DIL s.v. *lí* 141: 2), and the Welsh cognate *lliw* being masculine (*Geriadur Prifysgol Cymru* s.v. *lliw*) points to the possibility of this being originally a neuter. If this is the case, *a* may be the definite article. This, however, would not alter the meaning of the sentence. This line has a transposed word order where what is referred to in the beginning of the line "A tryst with death has destroyed, beyond every treasure" is separated by its object "its lustre" or "the lustre" by another phrase, thus making the translation rather cumbersome.

l. 76 (M 76)
LL: Ni*m*da gen*air* c*r*idi crúaid
D: Nimo gen*ar* c*r*id*h*e cr*u*aid*h*
H: Nimad genair c*r*ide cruaid*h*

Ní mad-génair] *Ni mad genair* of H is to be preferred. This can be compared with *mad-génatar* found in Ml. 90 ᵇ 12 "blessed are they", lit "well they were born" (GOI 241 § 384, see also 347 § 536b).[290] The reading of D *Nimogenar*, shows the dropping of final *-d* frequently found in the Mid. Ir. period (see also text note to l. 106). The form in LL shows metathesis in *nimda-* which is also an innovation. Marstrander suggests that the reading of H is the best and translates "not happy is" (1911a: 217 n. 76). For the variant reading in D, see *Cáin Lanámna* (CIH 503. 35 Binchy 1978), where the variant readings to *Ní mad génair* are *ni mongenar* and *Ni Mogenar.*

l. 77 (M 77)
LL: do b*er* t*a*éb f*r*i ailet*h*uáit*h*
D: do b*er* toeb f*r*i *ar*aile tuait*h*
H: do b*er* taob fri ar aile tuait*h*

Do-beir táeb] The expansion of the abbreviation stroke in the MS has been made differently by the Dip. ed. of LL (l. 14505), expanding *do-beir,* the 3 sg. pres. ind., and by Marstrander (1911a : 211), expanding *do-ber,* the 1 sg. pres. subj., or possibly the 1 sg fut. with loss of length mark. There is only one other instance in this text where an abbreviation stroke is to be expanded –*eir* rather than –*er*, *beirt*, l. 38, where the palatalisation is required by rhyme. I have taken this line to be the pres. ind. 3 sg. referring to *cride crúaid* of the line above, translating "which trusts another people". Here *taéb* is used in the sense "trust, reliance, confidence".

fri ailethúaith] *Aile* "other, one of two, second", is also found with a double stem, with dissimilation *araile*. DH have this latter form and are due to this hypersyllabic. Pedersen argued that rather than meaning "another", *alaile* specifically means "the other": "in expressed contrast to a preceding first term" (1948: 189). As this line does not have a first term to contrast with *araile*, I suggest that a meaning "another" is reasonable here.

l. 78 (M 78)
LL: *ar*a mence s*h*oas gné
D: *ar*amen*c*e s*h*ois gné

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[290] Stokes and Strachan give the form as *madgenatar* (1901: 303).

H: ara m*en*ce sois gne

Ara mence shöas gné] *Meince* (fem. –ia-) "frequency" is an abstract noun from *meinic* "frequent" and can also be used as an adverbial introducing a subordinate clause. With the prep. *ar* it is found as a phrase "frequently", and DIL states that it is often found with a proleptic pers. pron., which is the case here (DIL s.v. *meince* 83: 71–72). The O. Ir. hiatus verb *söid* has the meaning "turns, turns round, returns" but also means "changes" and can be used to imply death (see DIL s.v. *söid* 326: 40).

l. 79 (M 79)
LL: a gnuis ri ú*air* ndoc*h*raite
D: a gnuis f*ri hu*air* ndoc*h*raid*h*e
H: a gnuis fri huair ndochraite

a gnúis fri húair ndochraite] *A gnúis* (fem. –i-) seems here to refer back to *cride* in l. 76. *Fri+ úair* (fem –a-) is used as a prepositional phrase with the meaning "at the hour or time of ...". The noun *dochraite* (fem. –ia-) has the meaning "want or badness of friends, friendlessness," and "state of being oppressed, misery, hardship, indignity". However, there is also a similar word, *dochraide* (fem. –a-), "unseemliness, ugliness, shamefulness", which occasionally is found as *dochraite*.

l. 80 (M 80)
LL: INtan i*m*reidmis emai*n*
D: I*n* ta*n* a*m*reit*h*mis emai*n*
H: IN tan imrethmais emain

im-réidmis Emain] From *imm-réid* "ride or drives around, rides a horse". It is possible that D and H have interpreted this as being from the verb *imm-reith* "runs around, revolves", although the variant readings with *d >th* may be purely orthographical. All MSS point to the 1 pl. imperf., cf. *imriaghmais*, for O. Ir. **imm-ríadmais,* and *im-réidmís* (SnaG 298 § 12. 26).

l. 81 (M 81)
LL: a tem*air* nír bo droc*h*ba*n*d
D: a temair ni ba droc*h*ba*nn*
H: a temair ni ba droch band

a Temair nírbo drochband] The adj. *droch-* "bad" is here followed by *bann*, *band* (–o), which has the meaning of "move, movement, impulse, effort, thrust", hence "exploit, deed". I have chosen the translation "from Tara, it was not a bad exploit", although any other application of *drochband* is possible.

l. 82 (M 82)
LL: cu*ch*ulaind and ba subaid
D: *cu*cul*ainn an*d ba subaig*h*
H: cu culaind an*n* ba subaig

l. 83 (M 83)
LL: 7 lug*aid* m*ac* clot*h*ra*n*d
D: 7 lug*aid* m*ac* clot*h*ran*n*
H: occ*us* lughaid*h* m*ac* clot*h*ran*n*

l. 84 (M 84)
LL: Cu*ch*ulaind da*m* dacallai*m*
D: Cucul*ainn* do*m*ac*allai*m*
H: C uculai*n*d dom acallaim*h*

dam acallaim] *Acallam* (fem. –a) "act of addressing, conversing with", is the VN of *ad-gládathar* "addresses, speaks to, converses with". The *d* preceding *acallaim* in LL is most likely a contracted form of the prep. *do*, although there is no apparent reason why LL would repeat this preposition. Perhaps the

combination *do+accallaim* was so common that *accallaim* came to be interpreted as having a permanently prefixed *d'*, although I have no other example of this, or else LL made a mistake. I have left it out of the edition for this reason.

l. 85 (M 85)
LL: co ngnímaib danaib dub*h*taig
D: co ngni*m*aib dianaib dub*aibh*
H: co ngnimaib dianaib dub*aib*

co ngnímaib dánaib dubaib] *Dánaib* is the dat. pl. of *dánae* "stout–hearted, courageous, daring, fearless" and related meanings. However DIL cites this line from *AD* under the heading "of actions", in the sense of "showing or requiring courage, daring, brave" (s.v. *dánae* 80: 53–54, note that DIL cites this line without the nasalisation: *co gnímaib danaib*, although the nasalisation is clearly present in all MSS). D and H seem rather to have the dat. pl. of *dían*, "swift, eager". DIL cites this line from LL under the headword *dubtaig*, prefixed with a question mark, (s.v. *dubtaig* 433: 27–28, note that DIL spells this without an *h*, in spite of the lenition being clearly visible in the MS). No translation is given and this is the only example of this word cited. The Dip. ed. of LL, on the other hand, capitalises this word and attaches the sign of lenition on the –*t*–, rather than on the –*b*–, transcribing *Dubthaig*. If *Dubhtaig/Dubthaig* is a name, the sense of the sentence must be to compare Cú Chulainn's deeds with those of Dubthach's. A hero Dubthach Dóel Ulad is found in the Ulster Cycle (see for instance *aislingi Dubthaich TBC* Rec. I: ll. 3530–3544, O' Rahilly 1976, as well as *TBDD* l. 37, Knott 1936 and *Bruiden Da Choca*, l. 210, Toner 2007, among other sources). Burgess (2004: 389 n. 9) suggests that if this is a name perhaps it was chosen to fulfill the metrical requirements of the stanza, although a reading *dubaib* gives the same amount of syllables. If this is to be taken as a personal name, the comparison of one hero with others in poetry is not unusual.[291]

The readings of D and H in this line are expanded from *dub*-, with a *punctum delens* in D, which if expanded as -*aigh* D, -*aig* H, would render *dubaigh* and *dubaig*. However, it may be that it is the dat. pl. of the adjective *dub* that is intended, *dubaib*, with the abbreviation stroke expanded as -*aib*. This would fit well with the sequence of endings found in the string of adjectives in this line. I have chosen to use the reading from H.

l. 86 (M 86)
LL: iss *ed* baslán lam c*h*ride
D: is de fa lán mo c*rid*he
H: is *ed* fallan mo chride

ba slán lam chride] As neither a subjunctive nor a future seems applicable here, I have divided the line *ba*, 3 sg. pret. act. of the copula followed by *slán*, here probably in the same sense as *lán* "full, complete". We would expect lenition after relative *ba*, although this is not found. In LL the prep. *la* is followed by 1 sg. poss. pron. "with my", here denoting possession "my heart's fullness/wholeness ..." (see DIL s.v. *slán* 261: 11) For the reading *ba slán lam* of LL, D has *fá lán*, H *fallan*, both followed by 1 sg. poss. pron. *Fá/fa* is also found as a variant of *ba*, so this could be the same phrase as found in LL, with the same translation. However, there is an adjective *fallán*, *follán*, "sound, hale, robust often of personal appearance" which also means "full, entire". I have chosen the reading from LL with a translation "it is that which was the fullness of my heart".

l. 87 (M 87)
LL: 7 lige la lug*aid*
D: 7 lig*he* f*ri* lug*aid*
H: occ*us* lige fri lugaidh

l. 88 (M 88)
LL: Rosc*ar*sam f*ri ar* namalla

[291] Cf. for instance the poem *A Mór Maigne Moige Síul* ("On the loss of a pet goose", Murphy 1956: 88–89), where heroes with no connection to the subject matter of the poem are mentioned into the poem.

D: Rosc*ars*am f*r*i *ar* namalla.
H: R oscarsam f*r*i ar namallai.

l. 89 (M 89)
LL: oca *m*bi*m*mís f*r*i ca*ch* sel
D: occa mbidmbis f*r*ia ca*ch* seal
H: oca bimis fri cach seal

l. 90 (M 90)
LL: bés no com*air*sem nac*h*tai
D: bes ni c*h*om*ar*sem nac*h* tan
H: bes ni comairsem nach tan

Bés ní comairsem nach tan] The adverb and conjunction *bés* "perhaps, maybe", which in O. Ir. was used with the subjunctive, later with the indicative (see GOI 329 §517), is here followed by –*comairsem*, the 1pl. pres. subj. of *con-ricc*. The preverbal particle *no-* makes little sense here, thus the reading of D and H, with the negative *ni*–, is the best reading, as was also pointed out by Marstrander (1911a: 217 n. 88). Marstrander translates this sentence "It may be we shall never meet again (...) It has been fated for me to go to death" (1911a: 217 n. 88). I have translated this line using the negative of D and H "perhaps we may not meet afterwards". The reading *nachtai* of LL makes little sense, but may be due to a lost or faded –*n*–stroke, or lost minim. I assume that *nach tan* is intended, as in D and H.

l. 91 (M 91)
LL: rodelbad dam dul *ar* cel C.
D: rodolmad*h* da*m* dol ar cel. Ceilebr*aid*
H: ro dolb*ad* dam dol ar cel. Cel*ebraid*

ro delbad] As a transitive verb *delbaid* can mean either "shapes, forms, constructs, conceives" or "ordains, designs". Marstrander (1911a: 217 n. 88) translates: "it has been fated for me to go to my death" and refers to *Reicne Fothaid Canainne: rodelbad dun, truagh ar fecht* (Meyer: 1910a: 10 § 4), translated as "It was destined for me, unhappy was my death" (Meyer: 1910a: 11 § 4), whereas I have translated it "I have been destined to go to my death". *Rodolmadh* of D and *ro dolbad* of H point to the verb *dolbaid* in the sense "devises, contrives, brings about", giving a similar meaning.

dul ar cel] *Dul* is the VN of *téit* but has also the meaning of "act of being lost, passing away, dying". The spelling of D and H may echo the *dol-* of the preceding *dolmadh/dolbad*. *Cel* (–o) on its own means "concealment (?), dissolution, extinction, death" and is frequent with *téit* as a phrase for "dies".

ll. 92–93 (M 92–93)
LL: IS*ed* atb*er*atsom níbái a *h*ani*m* i*n*ti si in tan tancat*arsom* is tec*h* i*n*und. Asb*er*at da*no* ba m*ar*b lug*aid* a c*h*etoir oca desci*n*.
D: IArsin lot*ar* isi*n* tech cu cul*ainn* 7 lug*aid* 7 in tan ra*n* cat*ar* anun*n* ni raibi a hanu*m* in*n*tisi 7 ba m*ar*b lug*aid* fac*e*toir ica df*h*ech*s*ain si.
H: IAr sin t*r*a lotor isin tech cu cul*ainn* occ*us* lug*aid* oc*us* in tan rancator indund ni raibe cu cul*ainn* a hanom intisi occ*us* ba marb lug*aid* fa cetoir oca descinsi.

ll. 93–94 (M 94–95)
LL: Luid im*morro* cu *chulaind* isa tec*h* cosna mná co t*ar*at a tec*h* fort*h*u *con*na tudc*h*id fer na ben im*beth*aid assi*n* tig si*n*
D: luid i*m*orro cu*culainn* amach isi*n* i tech i rabut*ar* na mna 7 do rat i*n* tech cetna fo*r*ru uile *con*nach terna b*en* a mb*eth*aigh dib asi*n* tig*h* si*n*
H: Luid im*moro* cu cul*ainn* ama*ch* isin tech i rabator na mna occ*us* in dech cetna forru uili *con*ach terna ben i mbeth*aid* dib asin toig si*n*

Luid immorro Cú Chulaind isa tech cosna mná] LL has *isa tech* "into the house", with the correct neuter article. *Amach* precedes *isin (i) tech* (for *isa tech* LL) in DH only. O. Ir. *immach*, later *ammach* has

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the basic meaning of "out, outwards". Marstrander translates this as: "Cú Chulainn went out into the house ..." (216a: 215 n. 4).

co tarat a tech forthu] This line from LL is translated in DIL "knocked down the house upon them" (s.v. *do-beir* 208: 73–74), which I have followed. H has omitted the verb in this part of the sentence. The following *a* in LL could either be a poss. pron., 3 sg. fem or 3 pl., or the definite article preceding the acc. sg. *tech*, although the article seems more likely.

conná tudchid fer ná ben i mbethaid assin tig sin] In this sentence a distinct difference between LL on the one hand and DH on the other is evident. In LL the conj. *co* with neg. "so that not" is followed by -*tudchid*, the 3 sg. perf. act. of *do-tét* "comes". This is then followed by the reading *fer ná ben* "man or woman". The translation of this sentence from LL is quite straightforward "so that neither man nor woman came alive out of that house". In D and H, the verbal form -*tudchid* is not found. *Co nnad* D, *co nach* H, is followed by a finite verb form, *–terna* from *do-érni*, "gets away, escapes". It seems that the scribe of the witness preceding D and H altered the sense of *fer na* to that of *–terna* in order to harmonise this part of the text with the *dindshenchas* episode that follows, leaving out *–tudchid*. The translation of D and H is thus "so that not a woman from them escaped alive from that house".

ll. 95–96 (M 95–96)
LL: i.dona t*r*i coic*d*aib rigan. *acht* rosm*ar*b uile. IS a*n*d asb*er*t cú*c*hulaind
D: *acht* becca*n* ro éla dib*h* fo t*h*uaig*h* co hath mban*n*slech*t*a 7 luid*h cu* cul*ainn* i *n*andiaig*h* 7 ronortá leis an*n* sin. undi. Dix*erunt*. ath mban*n*slecta. no*min*atur *con*id an*n* sin roch*an cu* cul*ainn* in laid si sis.
H: *acht* beg ro elaid dib fo tuaith co hath mbanslecht oc*cus* luid cucul*ainn*. ina ndiaig*h* oc*cus* ronorta leis an*n* sin ath mbanslechtai no*min*ator *con*ad an*n* ro can cu cul*ainn*

l. 97 (M 97)
LL: Derbf*or*gaill brui*n*ne gel bán
D: Dearbforgaill br*uin*d g*h*el b*h*an
H: Derbf*or*caill bruindi gel ban

Derb F[h]orgaill bruinne gel bán] This line has a *nominativus pendens* construction with *bruinne* (masc. -io-) in the nominative followed by two adjectives in the nominative. In Marstrander's note (1911a: 217 n. 97) he takes *bruinne gel* to be a compound, even though it is written as two words in his edited text. LL and H have the required seven syllables to the line. In D however, *bruind* and *ghel* are treated as a compound, making the line hypometrical.

l. 98 (M 98)
LL: dom riac*h*t d*ar* srot*h*a sál
D: do*m* ro*cht* dar sal srot*h*a slain
H: dom rocht dar sal s*h*rota slai*n*

dom-röacht dar srotha sál] For the verb, see l. 37 above. The word order differs between LL on the one hand and DH on the other: in LL *sál* follows *srotha*, in DH it precedes it and the word *slain* follows. This does not make H hypersyllabic as H has the verb form *domrocht*, written out in full in the MS (as opposed to *domriacht* of LL), however the form in D is abbreviated in the MS and it would make the line in D hypermetrical if this is to be expanded as *doroacht* rather than *dorocht*, and if *doroacht* is trisyllabic, i.e. to be read *doröacht*. It seems clear that the original had *do-m-roacht* which LL then modernised to *do-m-riacht* , and that the archetype Y of D and H had *do-rocht*, necessitating the adding of another syllable to fulfill the syllable count.

srotha sál] Marstrander emends *sál* (masc. –o) of LL to *sáil*, the gen. sg., to rhyme with his emended *láin* of l. 100, even though *sál* and *lán* makes an equally good rhyme. Marstrander seems to have taken *láin* to be the dat. sg. following *Lochlaind* in l. 100, and thus his emendation is necessary to produce a correct rhyme. However, *srotha* (masc. -u-) is here a transposed gen. sg. which means another genitive will not follow. For *lán*, see below l. 100. *Sláin* is found in DH for *sá[i]l* in LL, the change in syllabicity is due to the monosyllabic *do-rocht*.

l. 99 (M 99)
LL: ba rat*h* ca*r*at ro dam fír
D: ba rath carad ro da*n*n ir
H: ba rat*h* carat ro tan ír

rath carat] There exist several words *rath* but here the sense is probably closest to *1 rath* "grace, virtue, gift" (neut., masc. -o-). According to GOI (450 §728)[292] this is the VN of *ernaid* "bestows, grants". Thus, this may be a *figura etymologica* with *ernaid* which is my suggested reading of *ro-dam-ír*, below.

ro-dam-ír] *-Ír* is from *ernaid* "bestows, grants", which has the perfect stem *–ír*. This is sometimes found as *-hir* and *-fir*, (see DIL s.v. *ernaid* 172: 23–26). LL has a 1 sg. infixed pers. pron. class C, but the forms in D and H rather points to a 1 pl. infixed pronoun. As the use of the plural for singular is common in verse, the pronoun may refer to Cú Chulainn only, but may also include Lugaid. For a discussion of *ernaid*, see Thurneysen (1926–1927: 272–274) and McCone (1991b: 37–40 and passim).

l. 100 (M 100)
LL: i*n*gen rig de loc*h*lai*n*d lán
D: ing*h*en rig*h* do*n* loc*h*lain*n* lain
H: ing*en* rig do*n* lochlain*n* lai*n*

lán] This word is also used (in DH only) in l. 10–11 and l. 86. D and H here have a dat. sg. fem. form *láin*, cf. *sál*, l. 98, which was adopted by Marstrander. However, *lán* in LL seems rather to be an adjective referring back to *ingen* at the beginning of the line, rather than a gen. sg. referring to Lochlann. The construction noun+dependent gen.+adj. is very common in Middle Welsh.

l. 101 (M 101)
LL: O ro bói et*er* da *f*h*ert
D: Orab*h*ai it*er* daf*er*t
H: O ra bíu et*er* da f*er*t.

l. 102 (M 102)
LL: do gní mert mo c*h*ride cró
D: do gni mert mo c*ridh*i cro
H: do gni mert mo chride cró

mert] DIL suggests comparing the poorly attested. *mert* "sorrow, trouble, despair", with *meart* "spying, injuring ... discouraging". *Meart* is not cited as a headword in DIL, but is referred to as found in O' Reilly's dictionary (1817) (DIL s.v. *meart* 109: 16). DIL further refers to *meirten* "discouragement, depression of spirit, weariness" (DIL s.v. *meirten* 88:55). "Sorrow" makes good sense in this context, although this line may be translated "sorrow makes my heart of blood" taking *mert* to be the subject, or "my bloodied heart makes sorrow", taking *mo chride* to be the subject. I have chosen the latter. For the use of *do-gní* with emotions see DIL (s.v. *do-gní* 287: 12–13).

l. 103 (M 103)
LL: gnúis derb*f*h*org*aill* fo licce leirg
D: gnuis d*er*bforgaill fo licc nd*eir*g
H: gnuis derbf*or*caill fo leic d*eir*g

fo licce lerg] The prep. *fo* "under" takes acc. and dat. As no motion is implied, one would suppose that a dative would be used, however. For *licce* in LL D and H seem to have a form consistent with the use of *lecc*. As seen in l. 51 and l. 52, *lecc* (fem. –a-) has the meaning of "flat slab of rock, stone" and the present line from LL is cited in DIL under the heading "tombstone" (s.v. *lecc* 67: 69, 72). The applications for the noun *lerg* (fem. –a-, –n-) include "sloping expanse, hillside" and various applications

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[292] Note that DIL s.v. *1 rath* 15: 10 gives this as §726.

in the sense of "surface, level". The use of *licce* in LL makes this line hypermetrical, and furthermore it is not the form expected for the dative or accusative of *lecc*, following the preposition *fo* "under". This is likely to be a case of prepositioned attributive gen., standing for *fo lerg licce*, simplified in D and H. For *leirg* in LL, DH has *deirg*, which may well have been influenced by the *derg* in the following line. I have amended *leirg* to *lerg* in order to account for the prepositioned genitive. This however does not solve the problem of the line being hypermetrical. I suggest that this line represent a mistake in the original that LL copied faithfully and that D and H tried to make sense of, thereby simplifying the sentence.

l. 104 (M 104)
LL: lug*aid* riab nd*erg* dirsa*n* dó
D: lug*aid* sriab nd*erg* dirsan dó
H: lug*aid* riab nd*erg* dirsa*n* dó

l. 105–108
   This verse is only found in D and H. For reasons discussed in 2.3.2.1, this verse is used in the edition.

l. 105 (M 105)
LL: –
D: Ba hall*ud* mór do lug*aid*
H: B a hallud mor do lugaid*h*

l. 106 (M 106)
LL:–
D: ba maith do ru*m*ad or ci*n*d
H: ba mait*h* do rrumad orcain*n*

   do-rrumad orcainn] DIL cites this line from *AD* under the headword of *dorumat* preceded by a question mark and with no definition. The only other example cited is: *cethri cláir...inhuilib na ecalsé| feib dorumat rígda rád* rhyming with *chubat* (*SR* l. 4243, DIL s.v. *dorumat* 368: 2–3). Hull (1962–1964: 316–319), discusses this line in *AD* and suggests that *do-rrumad* is the same pret. pass. sg. of a simple verb *muinethir* and the compound *do-muinethar*, *do-moinethar* "supposes, expects" that he believes is found in *nodamét*, as discussed above, l. 50. He suggests that "Apparently in enclitic position stressed -*mét* develops into –*mat*, which later may be written –*mad*" (1962–1964: 317), and concludes that two forms of the pret. pass. sg. of this verb exist: "a fully stressed form -*mét* and an unstressed form –*mat*. As regards the unstressed form –*mat*, apparently the long *e* of the fully stressed form –*mét* is shortened in post-tonic position" (1962–1964: 319). Hull translates this line as "good it was that slaughter was expected" (1962–1964: 317). I have tentatively followed Hull's translation.

l. 107 (M 107)
LL:–
D: is*ed* do roiga lug*aid*
H: is*ed* do roigai lughaid

l. 108 (M 108)
LL:–
D: fom rumaith oc d*er*bf*or*caill
H: fom ru*m*aith oc derforcaill

   do-roigai] As the context of this verse is obscure, and the verb *fom rumaith* in l. 108 is not transparent, it is difficult to assess whether to the unstressed vowel of *do roiga*/ *do roigai* belongs to the ending of the 1, 2 or 3 sg. perf. act. of *do-goa* "chooses, elects, selects". The context of the prose part of the tale is that Derbforgaill originally came to seek Cú Chulainn, then when he refused her, gave Cú Chulainn permission to give her to anyone he chose. He then chose to give her to Lugaid. It is not specified in the text that Lugaid is involved in the decision in any way. The choosing implied in this line is difficult to assess, but it seems reasonable to suggest given the reading of the next line, discussed below, that Lugaid

is the subject of the verb *do-goa*. The interpretation of the subject of this verb has implications for the interpretation of this whole quatrain.

fom-rumaith] The form *fom rumaith* is obscure. It seems to be in parallelism with the above discussed form *do-rrumad*. Whereas interpreting the verbal form as *fom* followed by -*rumaith* from *maidid* "breaks" (3 sg. present with perfect force DIL s.v. *maidid* 29: 30) is formally possible, it does not give good sense. The preposition *oc* in this sentence seems to be used to indicate the agent, one would thus expect the verb of this sentence to be passive. The form -*forromadh* of the verb *fo-ruimi* "sets, places" (3 sg. perf. pass. DIL s.v. *fo-ruimi* 370: 86) could possibly give a form such as the one we find here. For that we have to presume a change from -*d* to -*th*, and a palatal ending. The palatal ending could be present to give *aicill* rhyme with Lugaid in line c. of the quatrain. However, it does not seem to fit with the sense in the beginning of the couplet. By analogy with the presumed pret. pass. form of *do-muinethar*, discussed in l. 106, a pret. pass. form of the verb *fo-moinethar* "takes heed" could possibly be intended here, although again, this does not give good sense.

Rather than being a form of any of the verbs discussed above, I suggest that this line should be formally analysed beginning with the preposition *fo*+relative particle+infixed pronoun 1 sg.+*ro*+pret. pass. sg. of the simple verb *muinithir* "intends". The change from expected -*mét* to -*mat* can be explained by it being in unstressed position, and the palatalisation creates an *aicill* rhyme with Lugaid, l. 107. This would give a literal translation: "That which has been intended for me by Derbforgaill." I suggest that the sense of the line is that Cú Chulainn is expressing that what Lugaid chose was that which would have been Cú Chulainn's destiny had things gone according to the original intentions of Derbforgaill, i.e. that the glory befallen to Lugaid expressed in the first two lines of the quatrain: "Lugaid was greatly renowned |good it was that slaughter was expected", would have befallen Cú Chulainn as he was Derbforgaill's first choice.

l. 109 (M 109)
LL: Ba *h*allud mór do lug*aid*
D: Ba hall*ud* mor do lug*aid*
H: B a hallud mor di lug*aid*

l. 110 (M 110)
LL: bói f*or* a c*hra*nnaib glee
D: boi f*or* a cr*ann*aib glee
H: boi for a crandaib glee

boí for a chrannaib glëe] The meaning of this line is obscure. The prep. *for* is in LL followed by a 3 sg. masc. poss. pron. "on his", or "by his". Even though *crann* (neut. –o later masc.) has a basic meaning "tree" or "wood", it is also used for equipment made of wood as well as "spearshaft". As the prep. *for* can be found in the sense of "carrying" (DIL s.v. *for* 295: 31, examples given 296: 60–74), esp. of arms and weapons, a translation "he was carrying his bright spearshafts" is possible. Dooley translated this line "he was skilled above his spear-shafts" (2002: 206). This makes sense, although which element in the line that signifies "skilled" is unclear. As an adjective *glé* has the meaning "clear, plain, evident", also found as a noun "clearness, brightness". However, rather than an adj. *1 glé,* the word used here may be *glëe*, the gen. sg. of *2 glé* "a dispute", see Thurneysen (1933–1936: 364–367), where this instance from LL is cited as an example in his discussion of the etymology of *glé*. This line rhymes with *reë* l. 112. I have restored the disyllable as the syllable count requires a disyllable in both lines.

l. 111 (M 111)
LL: coica cetgui*ne* cendáil
D: c*oíca* c*et* guine cendail
H: caoca cetguini cendail

Cóica cétguine cendáil] *Cétguin* has the meaning "first wounding" (*cét* as an intensive prefix+*guin* neut. -i-, later fem. VN of *gonaid* "to slay") although *cétguin* is in one example in DIL translated as "murderous blows" (DIL s.v. *cétguin* 157: 25). Multiples of ten take the genitive (GOI 244 § 390), hence *cetguine*. As *guin* is a VN it is followed by a gentive indicating the object (GOI 158 § 250.1). The basic

meaning of *cendáil* is "heads (of decapitated enemies)" (fem.). If this is read as a compound it means that the line ends in a disyllable, as the rest of this stanza, conforming to the metre of *rannaigecht bec.* However, if this is to be read as two words, we may read *cen dáil* "without delay". This line can then be translated either "fifty murderous blows to decapitated enemies", or "murderous blows without delay". I have chosen the first as it conforms to the metre.

l. 112 (M 112)
LL: la *h*annud ca*ch* ree
D: la han*n*ud ca*ch*a reé
H: la handad cacha ree

cacha rëe] *Cach* as found in LL is usually the singular, but is also found for the plural, beside the form found in D and H, *cacha*. Due to the use of *cach* in LL the line is hypometric, whereas D and H has the required syllable count, which has been adopted. It is likely that *ré* here is feminine, requiring the fem. gen. sg. form *cacha* (GOI 151 § 241). I interpret this to be *2 ré* (masc. fem. orig. neut.) "the moon", which would give a translation for this line "with the lightning of every moon", implying a recurrent timeframe. In this sentence *ré* is disyllabic, rhyming with *glë*.

l. 113 (M 113)
LL: Derbfor*gaill* clú *con* áne
D: Dearbf*or*caill clu *con* ane
H: D erbf*or*caill clu *con* ani

l. 114 (M 114)
LL: *co n*gen*us*. 7 f*h*éle
D: *con* ngen*us* 7 feile
H: co ngenas occ*us* feile

co ngenus 7 fhéle] *Genas* (masc. –u, later also -o-) can mean "purity, chastity" or "procreation, conception; sexual union". Together with the following *féle* (fem. –ia), which can mean either "modesty," but also "that which causes shame, nakedness, pudenda" , this line may be translated either by "with purity and modesty", but also by "with sexual union and pudenda". It is interesting how both this sentence and the preceding can also mean the direct opposite, which may possibly be a deliberate pun. *Féle* is here nominative following *ocus*, see GOI (156 § 247e).

l. 115 (M 115)
LL: noco rala cor nuab*air*
D: ni *con* rala cor ualai*n*g
H: ni *con* rala cor hfualaing

Nícon rala cor n-uábair] The reading of LL is likely to be Mid. Ir. usage of *noco* for O. Ir. *nícon*, I have chosen the reading from D and H for this reason.
For the use of *fo-ceird* with states of emotions see DIL (s.v. *fo-ceird* 191: 17–18). LL has *úabar* (masc. –o) "pride, arrogance, vanity", in the genitive with attributive use (see DIL s.v. *úabar* 3: 41, for a discussion of this word see Greene 1976b: 128). For this D and H have the gen. sg. *fualaing* "frenzy, distraction" (masc. -o-). Both "vanity" and "frenzy" make sense in the context and since neither form is better than the other, I have chosen the reading from LL.

l. 116 (M 116)
LL: gnuis d*ar* gualai*n*d a ceile
D: gnuis d*ar* gualai*n*d a ceile
H: gnuis dar gualaind a ceile

gnúis dar gúalaind a céile] *Gúala* (fem. –n.) "shoulder" is used in prepositional phrases with *do* and *for (ar)* to mean "beside", although no forms with the preposition *dar* is found in DIL. I have translated

this "(her) face over the shoulder of her companions", although it is not impossible that a prepositional phrase of the same type as pointed out above is implied.

l. 117 (M 117)
LL: T*ri* coicait ban i*n* emai*n*
D: T*ri coic*at ban a hemai*n*
H: T ri coecait ben a hemain

l. 118 (M 118)
LL: is me doruid a n orgai*n*
D: is me dorin*ne* a n orcui*n*d
H: is me doruid a n orcainN

   is mé do-ruid a n-orgain] The form *dorinne* in D is a late 3 sg. perf. act. form of *do–gní* "does, makes", whereas LL and H have the 3 sg. perf. act. of *do-fed, do-feid* "brings, leads" here in the sense of "brings about, causes, induces". This line from LL cited under this heading in DIL (s.v. *do-fed* 264: 23), without a translation, but this line is also cited in DIL (s.v. *orgain* 158: 85–86) with the translation "I caused them to be slaughtered", which I have followed.

ll. 119–120 (M 119–120)
LL: cia fogelmais ríg na túat*h*| ba luag dóib derbf*orgaill*
D: cia fogelmais rig*h ar* tuait*h*| ba luag*h* doib d*e*rbf*or*caill
H: cia fo gelmais rig ar tuat*h*| ba luag doib dearbf*or*caill

   Cia fo-gelmais ríg na túath| ba lúag dóib Derb F[h]orgaill] Both lines in this couplet use legal terms (*fo-gella, lóg*) which are difficult to interpret in the context. The use of *fo-gella* in a concessive clause here seem to imply that Cú Chulainn asserts his compliance with the legal decision of higher authority, i.e. the king of the tribes, that the 150 queens killed would each have had an honour-price, but that Derbforgaill would have been as valuable as all of them.

l. 121 (M 122)
LL: D.i. dér i*n*gen forgaill rig loch*lainne*. Rolad a fert 7 a llia la coi*n*cul*ainn*.
D: .d*e*rbf*or*caill 7Rl .i. dearbforcaill.i.d*e*rb i*n*gen *for*caill rig*h* loclan*n* 7 rotoccbad*h* a fer*t* 7 a le*cht* 7 a nguba 7 a lli a ndis la coin cul*ainn* an*n*si*n* FINIT.
H: D erbf*or*caill .i. der ingen *for*caill rig lochlain Rotocbad a f*e*rt occ*us* a llecht oc*cus* a nguba.7 i llie a ndis la coin cul*ainn*. *con*id haid*ed* lug*aid* rieb nd*e*rg.7 derbforcaill i*n n*sin FINIS

   Ro lad a fert 7 a llia la Coin Culainn] The set phrases used in Old Irish to express raising someone's stone or grave are commonly found with both the verb used in LL, *fo-ceird,* and the verb in D and H, *do-fógaib*. The following nouns are likewise common in this expression, for examples see DIL (s.v. *do-fógaib* 268: 55–56, s.v. *fo-ceird* 187: 63–64, 67, 71). Note that the title is found after this line in H.

Abbreviations

Manuscripts

D	D.iv.2
H	H.3.18
LL	The Book of Leinster
LU	*Lebor na hUidre*
Rawl.	Rawlinson
YBL	Yellow Book of Lecan

Texts

AD	*Aided Derbforgaill*
AM	*Aided Meidbe*
CCC	*Compert Con Culainn*
FE	*Fianna Bátar i n-Emain*
FR	*Fingal Ronáin*
SCC	*Serglige Con Culainn*
SMMD	*Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó*
TBC	*Táin Bó Cúailnge*
TBDD	*Togail Bruidne Da Derga*
TE	*Tochmarc Emire*
UL	*Úar in lathe do Lum Luine*

Secondary Literature

CGH	*Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*
DIL	Dictionary of the Irish Language
EIV	The Early Irish Verb
GOI	Grammar of Old Irish
SnaG	*Stair na Gaeilge*

Grammar

abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
art.	article
conj.	conjunct
dat.	dative
def.	definite
du.	dual
emph.	emphatic
fem.	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
impv.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
ind.	indicative
indef.	indefinite
masc.	masculine
nas.	nasalisation

neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative
part.	participle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pers.	personal
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
pron.	pronoun
redupl.	reduplicated
rel.	relative
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
suff.	suffixed
VN	verbal noun

Others

cf.	compare
esp.	especially
l., ll.	line(s)
Mid. Ir.	Middle Irish
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
n.	note
O. Ir.	Old Irish
rec.	recension
s.v.	*sub vero*
v.l.	*varia lectione*

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