

## REVIEWS

*The Galatian language: a comprehensive survey of the language of the ancient Celts in Greco-Roman Asia Minor.* Philip Freeman. The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter, 2001. x + 104 pp. \$59.95 ISBN 0-7734-7480-3.

THE Welsh moved to Patagonia in 1865. Some of their descendants still speak the language, which is of course Welsh, and not Patagonian. Two millennia earlier a group of Gaulish tribes settled in Central Anatolia, in the area known as Galatia. They used their own language for a significantly longer period than the Welsh did in the New World: the first settlers arrived in Galatia c. 260 BC, and there is some evidence that the language was still alive in the sixth century AD. One may expect, therefore, that the idiom of the Celts of Anatolia suffered linguistic changes. It could have been subject to influences from the other languages spoken in the area—it can be assumed that the speakers were bilingual. Unfortunately, the linguistic data we have at our disposal is confined basically to onomastics. There is no doubt that place- and personal names belong to the most conservative layer of a language; moreover, a considerable proportion of the names comes from inscriptions, and these could have been subject to certain conventions; compare the chronological coexistence in medieval Wales of a personal name carved as Catumanus on stone but written down as Catman/Catuan on vellum. Therefore, although we know that the Welsh in Patagonia speak Welsh, and not Patagonian, it could be the case that the Gauls in Galatia did speak a Galatian language, although Celtic personal names found in Anatolia are normally comparable to those attested in Gaul.

This sociolinguistic problem is touched upon in passing in the new ‘comprehensive survey’ of the remnants of this idiom by Philip Freeman. Although the phrase ‘The Galatian language’ is part of the title of this survey, the author stresses the point that ‘the most important fact these surviving names and terms emphasize is that the Galatian language is a dialect of Gaulish, transplanted 2000 km to the east, but Gaulish nonetheless’ (p. 3). In the next sentence he notes that ‘the few variations from its parent source in the west are intriguing’; unfortunately, Freeman does not go into details, so that the reader is left with the idea that the Galatian *language* is a *dialect* of Gaulish, and it exhibits a *few variations* from the latter.<sup>1</sup> Later on in the book (p. 23) we find the restrictions on the corpus Freeman is going to offer. It is confined to the personal names or, rather, to the bearers of these: ‘a Galatian is here defined as an ancient Celt resident or originating in Asia Minor’. And what if a female resident of

<sup>1</sup>For the status of the term ‘Galatian’ see, for example, a discussion by K. H. Schmidt (1994, 27). A reference to this publication is found in the bibliography (p. 92); the name of this author in the reference is given as ‘K. Schmidt’.

Galatia, named Ἐπὸννη, was in fact of Phrygian origins, and received her name from her celtophile parents? Freeman aptly notes that ‘identifying the ethnic origins of a somewhat Celtic-looking name on a short grave-marker with little context presents a more difficult problem’ (loc. cit.), although the words ‘unresolvable problem’ might be more fitting here: ethnicity and linguistic attribution of a given name do not always go well together, either in antiquity or nowadays. Freeman also admits that his definition of Galatian does include later arrivals, therefore he seems to be using, to put it in linguistic terms, a combination of linguistic criteria (the name is Celtic/consistent with Celtic phonetics, word-formation, etc.) and areal criteria (it is attested in/in connection with the territory settled by the Celts in central Anatolia) in the selection of the data. However, Freeman’s list ‘includes mercenaries of probable Galatian origin in Egypt and elsewhere’ (loc. cit.); the author notes the possibility that ‘some of these soldiers may have come from elsewhere in the Celtic world’ (loc. cit.). This reservation is important, and Freeman in the ‘Celts and Galatians’ section of his book (pp. 5–7) stresses the point that ‘a major difficulty in collecting and studying the Galatian corpus is to distinguish references to the Galatians of Asia Minor and references to the Celts as a whole’. He illustrates this with a few examples and refers to his paper (Freeman 1996), where the usages of the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται in the works of classical authors are examined. It may be interesting in this respect to pay some attention to the use of the latter term in contemporary epigraphy. Freeman quotes (p. 9) a famous second-century BC inscription from Egypt which states that four Galatians, whose names are in fact Greek, caught a fox. Fortunately, we do not have any ‘Galatian’ personal names in the so-called ‘Protogenes’ decree in Olbia on the northern coast of the Black Sea, or in the Lete inscription from Macedonia. Otherwise, with the criteria selected in such a way, they might well have been dealt with in the book. Although both inscriptions do mention Galatians, most scholars nowadays take the word in a more generic sense and no cross-reference to the Celts of Galatia is therefore allowed.<sup>2</sup> Freeman does not focus his attention on Galatia in the strict sense of this word, and in the book we find, for example, the form Κατὸmare (p. 37) which is undoubtedly Celtic, but as it is recorded in the vicinity of Kyzikos, which is situated on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara, it may not necessarily belong to an inhabitant of Galatia.

In pages 24–64 Freeman prints ‘a conservative list of Galatian personal names’. Here he uses a nominative singular even for the items which are recorded in oblique cases and sometimes adds diacritics when they are missing in inscriptions. In fact, he does not offer an alphabetical list of ‘Galatische Sprachreste’. The corpus is subdivided into the following sections: Personal Names (pp. 23–64), Tribal Names (pp. 65–77), Divine Names (pp. 79–81), which also includes several epithets based on place- and personal names discussed elsewhere in the book, and Place Names (pp. 83–8), all of which are

<sup>2</sup>There is a consensus that the Galatians of the Lete inscription are in fact the Scordisci (see Papazoglu, 1978, 291–4), and that those mentioned in the Olbian decree (for which see—most recently—Andreeva, 2004, 95–103) have nothing to do with Asia Minor.

arranged using the same lay-out.<sup>3</sup> Each entry is supplied with comments of the type ‘a roman-era woman’s name from a village north of Pessinus’ (for Ροσσομαρα, p. 60), occasional comparisons with the Gaulish names from the western part of the Continent, and a few references to medieval insular Celtic parallels (Κατόμαρος, Gaulish Catumaros, Welsh Catmor, p. 36). The author quotes corresponding Latin and Greek fragments abundantly, but does not—unfortunately—provide English translations. He states that the ‘passages from classical sources . . . follow standard editions’ (p. 24) and, accordingly, does not give bibliographic references for the works he cites; the section ‘Authors and publications’ (pp. vi–x) contains (with just a few exceptions) abbreviations of the names of the authors of antiquity and their works. Therefore it is sometimes difficult to say whether the quotation contains a misprint or is taken from an edition which may be unknown to a reader who specialises not in Classics, but in Celtic.

Compilation of a corpus of a language known only through its onomasticon is a very difficult enterprise, and it is not infrequent that scholars involved in such projects are forced to include in their lists items whose linguistic attribution may be problematic, with corresponding commentaries, of course. Provided that Freeman offers a ‘conservative list’, his comment that ‘though I have taken care to omit names of questionable origin, decisions of inclusion or exclusion are sometimes simply a matter of editorial judgement’ (p. 23) prompts a question on the essence of the conservatism the compiler postulates. In footnote 41 on the same page Freeman makes reference to the works where one can find ‘personal and placenames [*sic*] of less certain or unlikely Celtic origin’; among these we find a three-volume collection of the remnants of Early Celtic by A. Holder, a classical paper on the ‘Galatische Sprachreste’ by L. Weisgerber and even the most thorough epigraphic corpus of the Ancara region compiled by S. Mitchell. Needless to say that, apart from ‘less certain and unlikely Celtic’ items, the publications referred to in this footnote contain ‘definitely Celtic’ place- and personal names, and such a reference is quite misleading. It seems that a major problem here is a neglect of the existing procedures in modern Celtic studies which are aimed at establishing possible degrees of Celticity as far as early onomastics is concerned. It may be admitted that no general consensus has been reached here as regards details, but general trends are clear; see, for example, contributions by various scholars to Parson and Sims-Williams, 2000. Generally, Celtic linguistics is definitely not the strongest part of the book. In the section ‘Elements of Galatian Names’ (pp. 19–22) Freeman publishes just a ‘brief list of selected elements’ which is largely based on the excellent etymological section of Evans’ *Gaulish personal names* (1967). From this section a reader may learn, for example, that the Galatian name element *tecto-* (p. 22) finds a correspondence in Gaulish (which is then separated linguistically from Galatian?) *tecto-*, and is a cognate of ‘OIr. *teach* or OIr. *techt*, W. *ty* or *taith*’. The note which follows is worth

<sup>3</sup>These are preceded by a section entitled ‘Vocabulary’ (pp. 13–18) where the author analyses several non-onomastic words of possible Celtic origin, although the framework is different. The division of the corpus follows that found for example in Weisgerber (1931).

quoting in full but does not seem to deserve any further comments: “Names with the element tecto- may derive from an [*sic*] root \*teg- ‘to cover’ (cf. Latin *tego, toga*) or an identical root meaning ‘journey, voyage’, or possibly from both sources”.

Freeman pronounces his credo on p. 24: ‘I frequently comment on various linguistic and historical points, but completeness of the corpus and accuracy in its presentation have been my principal goals’. What the author implies here must have been a completeness of the ‘conservative’ corpus, but what we find in fact in his collection may cast some doubt on the meaning of ‘conservative’. It seems that Freeman decided to exclude—perhaps, for the sake of ‘conservatism’—the names which have been analysed ‘possibly’ and not ‘definitely’ Celtic by authoritative scholars. Therefore we do not find here Σατων(ος), which S. Mitchell (1982, 360) has considered to be more likely Celtic than Greek, and which in fact has perfect matches in the Celtic West: see Billy, 1993, 133, and compare Alföldy, 1993, 4. Moreover, apart from finding parallels elsewhere in the Celtic word, the form is consistent with Celtic phonetics and word-formation. Therefore, its exclusion from the corpus does not seem to be well-founded.

Naturally, sometimes a linguistic attribution of a name may be a subject for debate; and consideration of only one side of the argument is dangerous. Apparently, Freeman excludes (dative) Βειταμα following the remarks of W. Dressler 1967, 151–152, who himself refers to L. Robert, 1963, 235 f., to prove that the name is unlikely to be Celtic. Ironically, Robert in reality does not consider the name Βειταμα, and concentrates on Βίτος and its derivatives, which are non-Celtic. Similar names in *Bitu-* are well-attested in the Celtic West, and, from the point of view of word-formation, the pair *Bitus* : *Bitama* (= Βειταμα) finds an exact match in Gaulish *Uindus* : *Uindama*. Notwithstanding these and many other omissions Freeman still includes in his list ‘a name of probable Celtic origin’, namely Ἄρτεινος (p. 28); notes that Καυάρος is known to be a Thracian name (p. 37); and considers ‘a feminine name of possible Galatian origin from eastern Phrygia’, namely Κομινκα; and ‘a possible Celtic name’ Κονβατιαχος from the same area (p. 39), etc. This makes the list rather non-conservative, and in any event it needs further linguistic clarifications. Certain comments do appear, but they may be far from convincing. For example, in his discussion of the name Κάμμα, borne by the widow of the tetrarch Sinatos, Freeman notes that ‘the name also occurs in two inscriptions from eastern Phrygia, though it is possible that this is also an Anatolian name’ (p. 35). The reader is not reminded of the fact that the name Κάμμα is listed as Celtic by F. Stähelin, 1907, 116; is thought to denote ‘evil woman’ in Koch and Carey, 1995, 34; is absent from L. Weisgerber’s Galatian corpus (1931); and that its Celtic origin is doubted in L. Zgusta, 1964, 211–12. Freeman suggests that the name “may mean ‘crooked, bent’ (cf. OIr. *camm*, Breton *kamm*) or be related to Gallo-Latin *cambiare* (‘exchange’)” (p. 35, fn. 86) and refers to the Gaulish names (Cambia, Cambo, Camboectri) and the word *cambion* from the Table of Chemalières. One may immediately note the preservation of *-mb-* in the quoted examples, and state that this is a rule of Gaulish historical

phonetics (cf. Evans, 1967, 405). On forms in *cambo-* and their etymology see Delamarre, 2001, 85. The development *mb* > *mm* could have been viewed as a dialect feature of ‘Galatian’, but Freeman supplies us with a certain number of ‘Galatian’ forms where *-mb-* is intact.

Some of the few linguistic comments scattered throughout the book are inadequate, but they could also be misleading. Discussing Βηπολιτανός (probably Vepo-litanos), Freeman rightly notes that the second component means ‘wide, broad’ (p. 30). Following the tradition (which goes back to the works of Dottin and Pokorny), he equates the first element with Welsh *gweb* ‘face’. The comparison is correct (although the Welsh form should be quoted as *gwep*), but the semantics of this element in Gaulish and, therefore, the meaning of the compounded name could be open to question. It is quite likely that the forerunner of the Welsh word *gwep* denoted ‘voice, speech’; compare its cognate Latin *vox*.<sup>4</sup> Although the comparanda used in this example are nearly faultless, they cannot really contribute to our understanding of the meaning of the Galatian name. However, Freeman does not seem to be interested in the semantics of the names he has collected, as he rarely comments on it, and if he does, it is only in passing. Therefore ‘the project of collecting and studying the remains of the Galatian language’ (p. iii), which is what the author set out to do, is not really completed.

Freeman offers an extensive Bibliography (pp. 89–94), which is, unfortunately, not very often cross-referenced with the body of the text: in most cases a reader will have to go through hundreds of pages to learn what an authority in Celtic or Asia Minor studies thinks about the linguistic attribution(s) of a given form. The list contains references to publications on Galatian and Gaulish, and it could be used as an aid for further comprehensive studies of the Celtic idiom attested in Anatolia.<sup>5</sup>

In the preface to this book Joseph F. Eska writes that ‘within these pages, students of Continental Celtic will find a guide to the testimony of Galatian which will serve them commendably’ (p. ii). A rough guide, perhaps. Nevertheless, we must be grateful to Professor Freeman for his endeavours to offer a concise chrestomathy of fragments from ancient sources relating to the presence of Celts in Asia Minor.

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<sup>4</sup>See the discussion and the reference in Delamarre, 2001, 263–4.

<sup>5</sup>The list does not include the fundamental research published by K. H. Schmidt (1957). Several important works, in particular Delamarre 2001 and Parson and Sims-Williams 2000, were published around the same time as the work under review here and therefore could not have been consulted by Freeman.

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*The medieval cult of St Petroc*. Karen Jankulak. Woodbridge, 2000. 261 pp. £50. ISBN 0-85115-777-7.

IN this book, the nineteenth in the Boydell and Brewer series, 'Studies in Celtic History', Jankulak traces the cult of Petroc from the earliest evidence until the theft and restoration of his principal relics in the late twelfth century. Her study is broad in its geographic scope, with chapters devoted to the origins of the cult in Cornwall, Brittany and England. These are framed by an introduction dealing with hagiographic traditions and two concluding chapters, which discuss the circumstances of the relic theft. The contents range across disciplinary as well as geographic boundaries. Toponymic evidence, chronicles, Domesday records and hagiography (among other things) are analysed in a skilled and detailed manner.

A number of key arguments emerge from the pages. Jankulak refutes Pádraig Ó Riain's theory that Petroc's cult developed as a local variant of St Peter. The church at Bodmin is identified as the centre of his cult from the late tenth century, and the development of a hagiographic dossier is seen to assert Bodmin's local importance after the see of Devon and Cornwall was

moved to Exeter. In contrast to Julia Smith's case for the cult's twelfth century importation to Brittany, Jankulak makes a convincing case that the cult was introduced earlier, and on less certain evidence links the origins of Petroc's veneration with refugees who went to England during Athelstan's reign. English royal involvement in Petroc's cult, witnessed from the tenth century, is inevitably linked with political ambitions. This is most clearly illustrated in the account of Henry II's intervention to restore relics to Bodmin following their illicit removal (which ties in with the more general vogue of Celtic saints in twelfth-century Europe).

I found the two chapters dedicated to the relic theft to be the most engaging in the book. Jankulak provides an intriguing account of Angevin politics and the use of hagiography. Nevertheless, the attention given to *De reliquiarum furto* highlights the relative neglect of the two prose *Vitae* and one metrical *Vita Petrocii* and the *Miracula* which deserve a more central role in the analysis of Petroc's cult.

A more minor frustration is the lack of maps. Only one Breton and one Cornish map are provided, and this is not enough to follow the detailed discussion of local evidence. It seemed as if the book was aimed at a niche audience already familiar with the material covered, rather than a more general scholarly readership. However, Jankulak has made a significant and wide-ranging contribution to the ecclesiastical history of Cornwall and Brittany in the Middle Ages.

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*War, politics and the Irish of Leinster 1156–1606.* Emmett O'Byrne. Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2003. 320 pp. €55. ISBN 1-85182-690-4.

THIS book is a fast-paced and compelling narrative beginning with the death of the overking Toirdhealbhach Ó Conchobhair and ending with the shiring of Wicklow, the last of the Irish counties. The unifying theme in this book is the struggle of Leinster's leading Irish chieftains for independence and power in the face of external threats and local rivals. O'Byrne has drawn together and unjumbled a mass of primary evidence into a clear, chronologically ordered account. The succession of key players is laid out in detail. A series of genealogical tables and a thorough index provide further assistance for those who wish to dip into the book as a source of biographical and political data. The author's presentation of a Gaelic perspective on events invigorates the treatment of familiar topics—the initial tide of English conquest and its ebb, the impact of the War of the Roses, and the Tudor plantations. This perspective is far from restrictive as the narrative is often enriched by comments drawing on a broader knowledge of European events. Particularly in dealing with inter-cultural relations there is sensitivity to the bigger picture, while the lives of individual leaders and the dilemmas they faced are brought to the fore. The environment of intense competition in Leinster politics, the

fragility of hard-won alliances and the destructiveness of war are vividly portrayed. The chronological scope of the book is ambitious—so many elements could be further elaborated on, and motives of some of the key characters could warrant further exploration. I finished the book curious to know much more about Leinster history and several of the individuals named. In this respect the book succeeded, but it also has the potential to frustrate. For a second edition I would recommend that a brief concluding chapter be added, and to aid the more general (and non-Irish) readership, to which this book has appeal, a longer introduction discussing the nature of Irish kingship and society could be imported, and a new set of maps giving a more detailed insight into local geography.

In sum, I found this a fascinating read, and a book well worth having for future reference. In laying out the history of war and politics of Leinster so clearly, O'Byrne has done a great service to future historians of the province who will draw much from his work.

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*Gaelic Ireland c. 1250-1650: land, lordship & settlement.* Patrick Duffy, David Edwards & Elizabeth FitzPatrick (ed). Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2001. 454 pp. €29.95. ISBN 1-85182-547-9.

THE eighteen essays in this volume explore aspects of the political structure, social organization, natural environment and human settlement in post-Norman Gaelic Ireland in the period c. 1250–1650. It is an area which has long been neglected; however, as the contributors demonstrate, the rich material culture and social organization of the Gaelic lordships can be gleaned from largely unexplored documents, archaeological remains and bardic verse. A meeting of a group of scholars seeking to further research in this area provided the impetus for the study,<sup>1</sup> and several articles derive from a subsequent conference hosted at All Hallows College, Dublin.<sup>2</sup> These essays complement each other, and the whole work reflects a fruitful exchange of ideas among historians, historical geographers, archaeologists, palynologists and place-name specialists. The book is dedicated to G  ar  id Mac Niocail who, with historians Kenneth Nicholls, Katharine Simms and Nicholas Canny, invigorated research into the period during the 1970s. The contributors to this volume continue that inquiry and provide direction for future collaborative projects. As the editors note, the world of the Gaelic chieftain and peasant is ‘the missing slice of the cultural spectrum’ (p. 34), and it is this ‘missing slice’ which the contributors seek to recover.

The introduction offers a thorough guide to past and present research on Post-Norman Gaelic Ireland. Numerous challenges are identified, including

<sup>1</sup>The meeting took place at Trinity College, Dublin, on 6 September 1997.

<sup>2</sup>The conference, entitled ‘Settlement and Landscape in Gaelic Ireland, 1350–1600’, was hosted by the Group for the Study of Irish Historical Settlement (GSIHS) in February 1999.

the destruction of documents in the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1922 and ideological trends which idealized an ancient heroic past and regarded late medieval Ireland as a period of inglorious defeat, less worthy of scholarly attention. The three-part structure of the book establishes particular areas of study: the political workings of the Gaelic lordship (Part I), aspects of the physical and built environment (Part II), and notable architectural and archaeological monuments (Part III). At the same time, the contributors to the volume aim at an interdisciplinary approach, noting current research outside their own expertise and raising appropriate questions. Illustrations enhance the analysis. Drawings of Gaelic houses, castles and crannogs from pictorial maps of the period, along with modern photographs of Gaelic tower houses, inauguration mounds and excavation sites, guide the reader through the varied cultural landscape of Post-Norman Gaelic Ireland.

The four essays of Part I focus on the political structure and social organization of the Gaelic lordships and serve as a corrective to the view of the Gaelic lordship as chaotic, violent and unstable. David Edwards studies the MacGiollapadraigis [*sic*] in Upper Ossory and challenges the emphasis which political historians have placed on Tudor efforts to 'reform' and anglicize the country. Edwards sees instead a pattern of political and military collaboration designed to insure autonomy, and argues that MacGiollapadraigis maintained a vibrant Gaelic lordship up until 1606. The evidence is persuasive: for example, the Gaelic tenantry paid customary levies to their lords, and legal matters were resolved not through the crown courts, but through the agency of the local brehons, the O'Dorans. The widespread use of Irish among the tenantry and even some Mac Giollapadraig barons is also striking; however, the increase of English among senior figures may be a subtle but more significant trend in the process of anglicization than is suggested here and merits further investigation. Edwards acknowledges that the question of whether the Mac Giollapadraig's experience was 'typical' (p. 96) is not resolved by a single study, and encourages a close examination of other lineages.

Simon Kingston turns to the Mac Domhnaill lineage in Antrim, and specifically, the lordship of Clann Eoin Mhóir during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. His study of the published Acts of the Lords of the Isles,<sup>3</sup> shows Clann Eoin Mhóir as a key protagonist in the decision-making Council. By combining a broad survey (c. 1390–1550) with a close analysis of repeated patterns, Kingston seeks to recover the clan's essential character. He convincingly argues that Clann Eoin Mhóir's preoccupation with maintaining a lordship in both Ulster and the Isles was not a new phenomenon, but was deeply rooted within the clan from the beginning, and continued even after the forfeiture of the greater Clann Domhnaill lordship at the end of the sixteenth century. Kingston draws an interesting analogy between the increasingly delusional aspirations of the clan and the frame of reference of their poets both of which were, in his view, divorced from the political reality.

<sup>3</sup>J. Monro and R. W. Munro (ed.), *The Acts of the Lords of the Isles* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1986) (*ALI*).

Patrick J. Duffy examines the landholding system of the south Ulster lordship of Airghialla, which was controlled by the MacMahons during the sixteenth century. Duffy shows how the territorial unit known as the ballybetagh, which was made up of small units called ‘tates’, was critical in the way the MacMahons distributed land amongst their kin and local septs. Notably, family and local relationships had precedence over economic factors. Duffy observes further that the established framework of land boundaries remained stable, even as a change of land ownership took place. His insightful comparison of Raven’s mapping survey of Farney (1634) with modern Ordnance Survey maps shows that the tates (which became the standard units of measure) correspond closely to the modern townlands. Duffy relies on ‘empirically grounded descriptive data’ rather than the more ‘conceptually ambiguous narrative accounts such as Gaelic annals or poetry’ (p. 116). He nevertheless recognizes the strength of the Gaelic oral tradition, noting that Tudor surveyors recovered the geography of the Gaelic lordships from local oral accounts, and that even the obsolete ballybetagh boundaries, like the tate boundaries, were established in ‘the customary memory of the community’ (p. 137).

The final essay in Part I shows how the native practice of fosterage and gossiprid drew the Anglo-Irish inhabitants into the political culture of the Gaelic lordship and forged deep personal bonds between native and newcomer. Fiona Fitzsimons publishes an interesting tract (written in English) from a manuscript in the State Papers, which she convincingly argues was written after 19 January 1599. The tract complements Fergus Kelly’s study of fosterage based on seventh- and eighth-century legal texts,<sup>4</sup> and also helps disentangle definitions of gossiprid and fosterage, two distinct institutions which have frequently been confused. Fitzsimons emphasizes the political function of gossiprid, which established a fraternal association between a lord and his client. The *OED* definitions ‘comaternity’ and ‘a spiritual affinity’ are also noted (p. 138), and while religious aspects are not the primary focus of her analysis, the association, in the original document, of gossiprid with religious sacraments is striking.

The essays in Part II focus on the natural and built environment. John Andrews (‘The Mapping of Ireland’s Cultural Landscape: 1550–1630’) highlights the difficulties of interpreting the language and idiosyncrasies of the Anglo-Irish cartographer, who was often a stranger to the country. Andrews offers insight into what can be seen on pictorial maps (forts, castles, churches, houses, crannogs and ‘creats’ or huts), but is keenly aware of what cannot be deduced from the visual landmarks. The Anglo-Irish cartographer’s preoccupation with sites of military conquest limits, in Andrews’s view, the utility of these maps for understanding the late medieval landscape. Nevertheless, he identifies what the maps can elucidate: a map of the military fortification of Caher under siege in 1599, for example, offers convincingly accurate drawings of houses, enclosures and streets, and sheds light on the most common

<sup>4</sup>Fergus Kelly, *A guide to early Irish law* (Dublin 1988, repr. 1998) 86–91.

type of nucleated settlements, the castle-cluster (p. 171). Andrews concludes, with some disappointment, that the main historical value of late medieval maps is to define a 'quasi-medieval base level for the assessment of later landscape change' (p. 180); and yet, his critical perspective establishes a solid foundation for subsequent essays, where pictorial maps often complement the written or archaeological record.

The question of woodland coverage in late medieval Ireland is taken up by Kenneth Nicholls who, in a lucid study, argues that extensive, though localized, woodlands survived through cycles of widespread clearance and regeneration until the Tudor reconquest and settlement of the New English brought in a new and intensive phase of destruction. Nicholls gathers a wealth of detail: accounts of abundant woodland fauna, including the goshawk and Irish capercallie; descriptions of tall timber forests (used in making the Irish cott or dug-out canoe); and intriguing hints at the last refuges of the native Irish pine. Long-neglected questions surrounding the Irish timber trade are re-examined. Nicholls identifies international demand for easily transportable cask-staves as a significant cause of deforestation; however, he also highlights an insightful but overlooked earlier study showing that the accelerated growth of the Irish charcoal industry during latter decades of the seventeenth century bore major responsibility for the final destruction of the Irish woodland.<sup>5</sup> Accounts of the uncontrolled, profit-driven exploitation of the woodlands by New English settlers are absorbing, and Nicholls effectively draws the modern parallel of rampant deforestation in the 'so-called developing world' (p. 203).

In keeping with the interdisciplinary aims of the book, Kenneth Nicholls incorporates research by palynologists Valerie Hall and Lynda Bunting who, in a subsequent essay ('Tephra-dated Pollen Studies of Medieval Landscapes in the North of Ireland'), examine pollen cores found in peat and lake sediments from four bogland sites in the north Irish lowlands. The secure dating found in tephra layers in Irish peats yields promising findings for interdisciplinary research, as these contributors demonstrate. While pine pollen grains have been found in late medieval horizons (pp. 218-19), Nicholls observes the absence of published pollen cores for any of the mountain forest regions of the south where native pine forests would be expected to survive, and will investigate the subject further (pp. 184-86). Hall and Bunting similarly weigh up scientific and historical evidence with interesting results; for example, pollen cores show hazel as the dominant tree species of the Irish woodland, whereas written documents emphasize Ireland's abundant and profit-yielding oak woods.

Nollaig Ó Muraíle digs into the rich field of Irish toponymy. Generously praising the learning and intuitive insights of the nineteenth-century scholar, John O'Donovan, Ó Muraíle envisions the further potential of late medieval Gaelic name-collections. Notably, a prose tract on the Uí Fhiachrach preserved in the Book of Lecan (1400), compiled by Giolla Íosa Mac Fir Bhisigh, and a lengthy genealogical poem also composed by Giolla Íosa in 1417, merit close

<sup>5</sup>Nicholls cites an article by J. H. Andrews, 'Notes on the historical geography of the Irish iron industry' in *Irish Geography* 3/3 (1957) 139-49.

comparison; and the toponymic content in a prose rental (c. 1578) included in *Senchas Búrcach*, which relates to the lands of the Lower MacWilliam Burke in Co. Mayo, requires further investigation. Ó Muraíle notes the vagueness with which Gaelic sources treat place-names, but attributes this to a familiarity with well-known landmarks shared by the author and his readers (or listeners). Commending the methodology adopted by the Celtic scholar Paul Walsh, who consulted Irish, English and Latin surveys, Ó Muraíle views this kind of scrutiny as essential to a fruitful analysis of place-name sources, including late and easily overlooked documents such as William Balds's map of the maritime county of Mayo (1809–1816).

With characteristic thoroughness, Katharine Simms mines the rich corpus of Irish bardic verse for insight into the construction of the Irish chieftain's dwelling. Sixty-three 'house poems' are selected from an extensive computer-readable catalogue of bardic verse (1200–1650), which has since been made available to researchers on the internet.<sup>6</sup> To mitigate linguistic difficulties, Simms has compiled a detailed glossary, with notations for foreign borrowings and frequently occurring words. Representative poems are selected from each century, and the chronological arrangement provides a solid framework for the analysis. Simms creates a base list of 'buildings vocabulary' from nine thirteenth-century poems and records 'extra' terms from subsequent centuries (p. 248); interestingly, she notes a surge in additional vocabulary for buildings and furnishings in poems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Gaelic Irish began to build their own castles. While cautioning historians and archaeologists against drawing practical data from the bardic poets' highly stylized praise of the patron's home, Simms gleans the poems for architectural information. The interior dense hazelwood walls of the Magauran banqueting hall (late thirteenth century) suggests a wattle-and-daub construction; and the image of 'a belt of planks above a belt of clay' at Aodh O'Connor's more defensive palace at Cloonfree (c. 1306) is insightfully interpreted as referring to an earthen bank topped by an oak palisade. Documentary evidence strengthens the analysis: for example, two poems (sixteenth century) in praise of Enniskillen are complemented by a near contemporary sketch of the castle from John Speed's map of Ulster (c. 1600). Simms rightly cites the poets' vivid descriptions of craftsmanship and festivities at Enniskillen and other Gaelic residences, for, however stylized, they allow us to glimpse not just the raw materials of building, but also their purpose within the human settlement: to provide protection, comfort and a place for conviviality. This fine analysis will hopefully encourage scholars of language, literature, history and archaeology to collaborate in comparable interdisciplinary studies of bardic verse.

The eight essays in Part III examine the rich archaeological remains and architectural monuments of the Gaelic territories. The scope and variety of settlements is dazzling, as scholars sift through evidence for early castles, fortresses, houses, crannog and maritime communities. In an extensive study

<sup>6</sup>The Bardic Poetry Data Base is available on the website of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies; see <http://bardic.celt.dias.ie>. The data base consists of 1,800 poems, of which over 1,380 have been catalogued. It includes published and unpublished poems.

structured around a series of exploratory questions, Rolf Loeber examines castle building among the Gaelic Irish during the years 1370–1600. Gaelic sources are scant; however, twelfth-century Irish annalistic entries attest to the early erection of ‘castles’ (*caislén*) in Connacht, possibly structures made of timber, and Loeber stresses the need to reassess evidence for wooden castles. Loeber’s compilation of an impressive list of datable Gaelic stone castles and sources relating to the sites highlights the renaissance in castle building among Gaelic chieftains during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Distinctively Gaelic features are meticulously noted: architectural details; a connection between the chieftain’s castle and nearby priory; recognition of women’s jointure in castles built for a Gaelic chieftain’s wife; and strings of castles built along lakes in Ulster near crannogs which offered refuge in time of war.

Kieran O’Conor turns to pre-1400 Gaelic habitation sites and fortresses in north Roscommon, arguing that the native Irish utilized the natural defensive qualities of the landscape, rather than fixed fortifications. A prominent site in the analysis is the Rock of Lough Key (Carraic Locha Cé), a late twelfth-century island fortress inhabited by the Mac Dermots. O’Conor insightfully deciphers thirteenth-century annalistic accounts of a siege at the site, an antiquarian drawing of 1792, and modern fieldwork analysis to recover its morphology. He proposes that it was probably not a ‘proper masonry castle’ (p. 336), but a natural island fortress defended by crannog-like wooden defences or by a cashel-like dry-stone wall. Challenging the view that moated sites were associated only with Anglo-Norman settlement, O’Conor convincingly identifies a Gaelic moated site (paired with a nearby crannog) on the lakeshore south of the Rock of Lough Key, as longphort Meic Diarmata or ‘MacDermot’s stronghold’, mentioned in fourteenth century Irish annal entries.

The tower houses of Co. Limerick constructed by both Anglo-Irish and Gaelic families from 1400–1600 are the focus of an essay by Colm J. Donnelly, who seeks to identify forces responsible for their distribution. Notably, the tower house is viewed not merely as a defensive structure, but as a ‘country mansion of its time’ (p. 319) and a physical manifestation of the chieftain’s wealth. Donnelly skilfully maps tower house distribution by combining T. J. Westropp’s pioneering survey of Limerick’s castles, Ordnance Survey maps and contemporary historical sources. Through a close examination of the system of landholding described in the Desmond Survey (mid-1580s), Donnelly proposes a link between the proliferation of tower houses in the fertile lowlands of Co. Limerick in the fifteenth century and the proliferation of free tenants and subtenants. This, he proposes, occurred during the long and stable reign of James, 6th earl of Desmond (1411–1462), which generated the wealth necessary to support the building of tower houses.

Thomas McNeill studies a cluster of medieval sites around the Foyle estuary: a large motte and bailey set in a glen at Managh Beg, and two crannogs in Loch Enagh East with a church on the adjacent shore. The site has been identified with the ‘villa Dermitii O’Cahan’, where Archbishop Colton stayed in

1397.<sup>7</sup> McNeill pursues the archaeological evidence thoroughly before turning to the written record, and his methodology yields astute observations. Considerable attention is given to the elaborate O’Cahan tomb at the Augustinian priory of Dungiven, as McNeill interprets ‘the statements the tomb makes’ (p. 348). Noting its distinctive stylistic features, he proposes that the effigy of a warrior is an early example of the Iona school of carving, and is consistent with the high level of patronage in the region. A fourteenth-century date is assigned to remains of a unique enclosure castle at Elagh, west of the Foyle, which McNeill attributes to the O’Dohertys. The sites in the region convey, in McNeill’s view, stability among the under-lords or subkings in the region, who built residences, accommodated powerful visitors and stabilised their hold on power.

The intersection of native and newcomer is observed by Elizabeth FitzPatrick, who identifies two Gaelic inauguration sites selected by the Anglo-Norman Burkes of Connacht as they adopted Gaelic election practices and sought locations which would lend antiquity to their past. Clann Uilliam Íochtair selected ‘Ratsecer’ (Ráth Easa Caoide) in the townland of Rausakeera North, which Fitzpatrick identifies as the impressive ringfort of Raheenagoahna near the village of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo. In addition to documentary evidence, Fitzpatrick convincingly compares the selection of similar sites by Norman families in Scotland, who likewise sought to adapt themselves to the Gaelic world. Fitzpatrick’s versatile handling of extant sources is particularly apparent in her analysis of the second site, Caheranearl the ‘Earl’s Fort’ (or ‘chair’). Interestingly, no historical record survives and the site is destroyed. Nevertheless, Fitzpatrick assiduously pieces together antiquarian field notes, local traditions about an inaugural ‘chair’ associated with the earl of Clanrickarde, and features of comparable sites to establish its morphology. She proposes that Dún Caillín, the older name for an enclosure on the bluff overlooking the Dunkellin River, Co. Galway, was called ‘Caher na nIarla’ locally, and probably was the site of the inaugural assembly of the earlier Uí Fhiachrach Aidhne, which was adopted by the Clanrickarde Burkes (Clann Uilliam Uachtar).

The dynamic intermingling of cultures is observed by Audrey Horning, who examines the excavation of a remarkable Gaelic-style house (c. 1611) at Movanager in Co. Derry, an Ulster Plantation village occupied c. 1619–1645. In contrast to the idealized Plantation houses to be built ‘after the English manner’, the Movanager house indicates that native Irish building styles (i.e. post-and-wattle and sod-wall, cruck-roofed construction techniques) persisted, and that English residents adapted and inhabited ‘Irish’ houses. Horning examines the archaeological remains and documentary evidence critically. She notes striking correspondences: for example, the remains of a masonry bawn and rectangular house correspond in location to a bawn and one of the sub-rectangular Gaelic houses drawn on Thomas Raven’s map of

<sup>7</sup>McNeill (p. 347), cites W. Reeves, *The Acts of Archbishop Colton in his metropolitan visitation of the diocese of Derry* (Dublin 1850) 28.

Movanagher (c. 1622). She is also attentive to discrepancies: Raven's drawing shows a house with a central doorway, whereas the physical remains show a slightly off-centre entrance, which supports other evidence of centrally placed hearths in Gaelic houses. Horning notes that the house at Movanagher (and comparable Gaelic dwellings) are not clearly the product of a transhumant culture, as they appear in more permanent settlements. Both native and newcomer are viewed as being mutually dependent upon local resources as they strove to meet the demands of ordinary everyday life.

The origins and use of crannogs in the early medieval period has attracted scholarly attention; however, Aidan O'Sullivan gathers interesting evidence for their use in late medieval Ireland (c. 1350–1650). O'Sullivan recovers details buried in notes and catalogues: evidence of late medieval knives, horseshoes and sherds of pottery at Lagore crannog in Co. Meath, which were ignored in site reports, and lesser-known seventeenth-century artifacts from a well-known early crannog at Ballinderry, Co. Westmeath. A particularly interesting illustration of MacMahon's 'house in the lough of Mounachin' (pp. 411–12), found in the Public Records Office, London, indicates the use of crannogs as lordly residences at the end of the sixteenth century. O'Sullivan makes excellent use of annals and travellers' observations, and draws convincing inferences about the function of crannogs as residences and refuges, as places for healing the sick and wounded, and as sites for defence and storage.

The hierarchical port structure in eastern and southern coastal areas controlled by the English has long dominated studies of maritime activity in medieval Ireland. Colin Breen poses a more rarely asked question: 'what was happening in Gaelic Ireland' (p. 420), and, in a refreshing analysis, offers insight into the vibrant maritime communities in Gaelic coastal areas. Using models employed in recent maritime archaeological research,<sup>8</sup> Breen reconstructs the physical and cultural components of the maritime landscape. Gaelic tower houses are viewed as strategically sited to control harbours, natural anchorage and access to fishing grounds; their lords controlled rich local resources (i.e. fish stocks, seaweed); and seafaring Gaelic families like the O'Donnells and O'Malleys exacted tributes upon foreign fishing vessels. Breen convincingly argues that maritime communities, which were more active in the summer months, 'were far more stable with a larger degree of permanence than has previously been suggested' (p. 425). He finds evidence of stable fishing communities in the Cloyne Pipe Roles (c. 1365), and in Captain Cueller's striking account (1588) of a village 'consisting of some huts of straw/course grass' (p. 425) near Streedagh Strand in Sligo. Breen modestly notes the necessity of presenting a number of 'hypotheses and generalisations' (p. 435), but his study offers insight into these coastal settlements.

The book focuses on the material culture of Gaelic Ireland, but one also glimpses the adaptability and resilience of the Gaelic inhabitants. The dearth

<sup>8</sup>Breen (pp. 420–421) notes research undertaken by the Centre for Maritime Archaeology at the University of Ulster, and similar research at Baltimore Harbour and the Discovery Programme along the Shannon Estuary.

of previous research is a persistent theme, and perhaps due to the large number of articles, references to the shortage and shortcomings of scholars at times becomes repetitive. However, the critique is balanced by a high regard for the pioneering research of past luminaries, and the need to expose the gaps is understandable, given the leap into new territory with few established guidelines. Finally, it is this leap into new territory and energetic hands-on approach to unexplored sources that makes the book such an engaging, informative and crucial contribution to studies of Post-Norman Gaelic Ireland. The small discoveries accumulate into a wonderful whole, as the authors collectively recover and piece together the ‘missing slices’ of Gaelic culture.

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*The chronicle of Ireland, translated with an introduction and notes by T. M. Charles-Edwards.* Translated Texts for Historians, 44. Liverpool University Press, 2006. Vol. 1. xiv + 349 pp. Vol. 2. 192 pp. £70. ISBN 0-85323-959-2.

THESE TWO volumes are part of the Translated Texts for Historians series, which is designed to meet the needs of students of ancient and medieval history who wish to broaden their knowledge by reading the source material, but whose linguistic knowledge is not sufficient to allow them to do so in the original language. This publication will be of immense assistance to all those with an interest in Irish history during the period 431–911 AD. In addition, as it incorporates annals completed in Iona up to c. 740 AD, there is also a considerable body of information on the history of the island of Britain. Although an Irish house by foundation, and, for the most part, by membership, Iona contained British, English and Pictish monks. Consequently, the Iona annalist also displayed an interest in the affairs of these peoples, even though his main concern was with the Irish. After 740, the annals retained some interest in people and events outside Ireland, but the streams of information were thinner.

In the first volume Dr Charles-Edwards provides an accurate and readable translation of these annals. The lay-out is planned with care so that the reader can tell at a glance the textual history of each entry. Thus, if an entry is present in both the Annals of Ulster and in the Clonmacnois group, it is printed up to the left margin, but if it is found only in one or other it is indented. Occasionally, entries are given—in square brackets—from the Annals of Inisfallen, the Fragmentary Annals, or the Annals of the Four Masters, if they seemed to be of particular historical interest. The abundant footnotes below the translation provide references, textual corrections and illuminating comments on the content of the annals.

The Introduction to the translation runs to approximately fifty pages of vol. 1, and provides information on various matters of interest. Charles-Edwards follows Kathleen Hughes in holding that the chronicle was situated in Brega from c. 740 to 911. He provides a discussion as to the

precise location, and concludes (p. 15) that the monasteries of Tréoit (Trevet, Co. Meath) or Lusca (Lusk, Co. Dublin) were the most likely contenders. Also of particular interest is his discussion on the relationship between Irish and Latin in the Chronicle of Ireland. He observes (p. 24) that ‘The rarity of the vernacular is thus in large part a reflection of the ecclesiastical nature of the Chronicle of Ireland, both in content and in authorship.’ His treatment of the categories of death (pp. 27–33) is fascinating, and he notes that from the point of view of the clerical annalist death in battle was regarded as reprehensible—not something to be admired as in warrior codes generally. An even worse fate for a layman was to be killed in an individual act of violence, normally referred to as *iugulatio*. Charles-Edwards suggests that this attitude may stem from the fact that most such killings took place during the course of a feud among kinsmen in which the victim was likely to have himself been a violent participant. Somewhat oddly, no page-references to the Maps and Tables are given on p. viii of vol. 1. This does not matter much in the case of the maps because there are only four of them, and the location of the first map on p. 189 of vol. 2 is indicated in the Table of Contents. However, to find the location of the twelve Tables the reader has to work through the whole Introduction to vol. 1.

Vol. 2 starts with a useful glossary of Irish and Latin terms, and is followed by a Select Bibliography of sources and secondary literature. This is followed by a comprehensive index of persons, an index of places, dynasties and peoples, and a general index. These two volumes are attractively printed and bound, and come in a handsome case. The price is quite hefty, but there is no doubt that Dr Charles-Edwards has provided exceptionally good value for his readers.

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*Les noms d'origine gauloise: la Gaule des activités économiques.* Jacques Lacroix. Collection des Hespérides (Éditions Errance) Paris, 2005. 288 pp. €39. ISBN 2-87772-287-2.

JACQUES Lacroix breaks new ground in this important survey, in which he uses the evidence of place-names and local terminology—supplemented by early texts and archaeology—to shed light on the economy of ancient Gaul. This work leads on from his previous study, *Les noms d'origine gauloise: la Gaule des combats* (Éditions Errance, Paris 2003), in which he examines modes of warfare, weaponry, defensive structures, and other aspects of war among the Gauls. Lacroix's major concern is with the evidence to be found within the borders of the modern French state, but he also refers to place-names and dialectal forms from Belgium, Switzerland, northern Italy and northern Spain.

The book is divided into three chapters. The first deals with the evidence relating to the use of land for stock-raising and the growing of crops (pp. 7–90).

In chapter 2 he considers the Celtic element in the French vocabulary relating to the raw materials used in the manufacture of goods (pp. 91–178), and in the third chapter he discusses the terminology and place-names relating to communication and commerce (pp. 179–254). He concludes with a bibliography and index.

M. Lacroix succeeds in demonstrating the extent to which a Celtic element survives in the vocabulary associated with traditional French husbandry. I admired—with a degree of envy—the detailed maps showing the distribution of individual words. In Ireland such terminology has been fairly well recorded from Irish-speaking areas, but little has been done to document the fast-diminishing traditional farming vocabulary (of both Irish and English origin) in the rest of the country.<sup>1</sup> Lacroix starts logically with a discussion of the words of Celtic origin used to describe the basic features of the landscape. Thus Celtic *\*brog-* (> Old Irish *mruig* ‘land’, Welsh *bro* ‘country’) appears in various terms for a field or field-boundary, e.g. *broue* ‘field-edge’, *broi* ‘hedge’, *brouo* ‘uncultivated border’. The same element also occurs in place-names such as Labrot and La Broue. The dialectal term *cambon* or *chambon* is widely attested in the place-names of central and southern France, and refers to fertile land on the bend of a river, cf. OIr *cam*, Welsh *cam* ‘crooked, bent’.

He moves on then to look at the words used for various agricultural implements, such as the *vouge* (Celtic *\*vidu-bio-* > OIr *fidbae*, Welsh *gwyddyf*) ‘billhook’ and *volant* ‘sickle’. The latter is attested from practically the whole of France in a great variety of forms, such as *voulant*, *voulam*, *boulon*, *goulon*, *vouramp*, etc. An original Celtic *\*volamno-* is postulated, but no insular cognates have been identified. I studied with special interest Lacroix’s collection of certain or probable terms of Celtic origin associated with ploughing equipment in the hope that light might be shed on the difficult early Irish terminology in this area.<sup>2</sup> No significant cognates caught my eye, apart from the well-known agreement between Mod. French *soc* ‘ploughshare’ (dialectal *soi*, *soué*, etc.) and OIr *socc*. As he points out (p. 28), the basic meaning of the term is ‘pig’, referring to the burrowing action of the share which is similar to that of a pig’s snout. Among other technical terminology, noteworthy is the survival of Celtic *\*nasca* (> OIr *nasc*) in the French dialectal form *nâche*, which means ‘tie for securing livestock’. It has an unusual distribution, being attested from the Loire valley and eastern Brittany, from the extreme South-East and from the region of Armagnac, west of Toulouse. Another interesting form relating to stock-rearing which occurs in numerous variants is *boé*, *bao*, *beu*, etc. meaning ‘cow-shed’ (Celtic *\*bou-teg-*, cf. OIr *bó-thech*). It is confined to south-western France, north-eastern Italy, and eastern Switzerland.

He then considers the Celtic element connected with cereals and other food-plants. He notes the Celtic origin of a number of French terms in general currency which relate to brewing, e.g. *cervoise* ‘beer’, *brai* ‘malt’, *brasserie*,

<sup>1</sup>P. L. Henry, ‘A linguistic survey of Ireland: preliminary report’ (*Lochlann* 1 (1958) 49–208) provides an outline of the material to be collected.

<sup>2</sup>See F. Kelly, *Early Irish farming: the evidence of the law-texts of the 7th and 8th centuries AD* (Dublin 1997) 468–77.

'brewery, bar'. He provides a particularly interesting account of the various wild plants of minor economic significance which retain names of Celtic origin in modern French. These include *berle* 'water-cress', which is cognate with OIr *biror* (Modern *biolar*), Welsh *berwr*. He provides a map on p. 50 indicating the wide distribution of place-names which derive from this word. A term confined to Belgium and northern France is *fourdraine* (*fourderaines*, etc.) 'sloes', for which Lacroix accepts the etymology \**uor-draginos*, provided in Von Wartburg's *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*.<sup>3</sup> The first element is the prepositional prefix *uor-* (OIr *for*, Welsh *gor*) 'on', and the second element corresponds to OIr *draigen* 'blackthorn' (*Prunus spinosa*).

On occasion, he appears to overestimate the antiquity of the Irish forms which he cites. Thus, on pp. 48–9 he deals briefly with the word *courla*—attested from Dauphiné in the meaning 'courage' (i.e. 'courgette')—which he takes to be derived from a Celtic \**culara* 'cucumber'. He compares an Old Irish *cularán* 'cucumber' with a reference to Vendryes's *Léxique* C-284, where it is quoted as a gloss on Latin *cucumer*. However, this gloss is not in fact from the Old Irish period, and comes from a glossary in the Trinity College Dublin ms no. 1315 (H 2. 13) which was probably compiled after the Anglo-Norman invasion.<sup>4</sup> There is consequently no documentary evidence of Irish acquaintance with the cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*) in the Early Christian period. In Irish the earliest attestations of the word *curar* (dim. *curarán*, *cularán*, etc.) are most likely to refer to the edible tuber of the native umbellifer *Conopodium majus* 'pignut'.<sup>5</sup> In the later language, it is also applied to various introduced plants, including cyclamen, cucumber and potato.<sup>6</sup>

On p. 55 he raises the possibility of a Celtic origin for early French *beloce* 'bullace, wild plum (*Prunus insititia*)', and cites an Irish form *bulos*. But the Irish form is in fact of no assistance in establishing a Celtic origin for *beloce*, as it is itself most likely to be a borrowing of Norman-French origin. The only form cited in the Royal Irish Academy *Dictionary of the Irish language* is nom. pl. *bolais* from the sixteenth-century *Regimen Sanitatis*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup>For further discussion see J. Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien: lettre D* (ed. P.-Y. Lambert, Dublin/Paris 1996) D-190 s.v. *draigen*.

<sup>4</sup>Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Irish Glosses. A mediaeval tract on Latin declension* (Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, Dublin 1860) 32, no. 1049. For a brief discussion by Stokes on the date of this glossary, see p. 1.

<sup>5</sup>F. Kelly, *Early Irish farming* 311–12; Próinséas Ní Chatháin, 'Swineherds, seers and druids', *Studia Celtica* 14–15 (1979–80) 200–11 at pp. 207–9.

<sup>6</sup>*DIL* s.v. *cularán*.

<sup>7</sup>*DIL* s.v. *bolais*. Dr Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha has kindly drawn my attention to a number of other forms of this word in Irish medical texts from 1400 onwards. These include a gloss in the 15th-century Irish translation of Gordon's *Lilium medicine*, where *prunae Damasenicae* 'damsons' is explained as *i. gne bhulás* 'i.e. a type of bullace' (e.g. Royal Irish Academy ms 24 P 14 p. 6b5–6). In the same source a nom. pl. *bolaisedha* is attested (p. 15a20). In an Irish translation from 1400 of an anonymous commentary on Geraldus de Solo's *Practica super nono Almansoris* we find the gen. pl. *eimeada na scecoiredha 7 na mbulas* 'kernels of haws and bullaces' (e.g. National Library of Ireland ms G 11, p. 191b5). A later form *boláiste* (also *bláiste*) is taken by O'Rahilly, ('Miscellanea', *Gadelica: a journal of Modern Irish studies* 1 (Dublin 1912) 284) to be a borrowing from Middle English *bolace*. This explanation is supported by Henry Risk, 'French loan-words in Irish', *Études celtiques* 14 (1974) 70 § 229.

In general, however, M. Lacroix's use of the linguistic evidence is careful and conservative, and relies heavily on the work of Pierre-Yves Lambert, particularly his *La langue gauloise: description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies* (éd. revue et augmentée, Éditions Errance, Paris 2003). He is to be particularly commended on his avoidance of wild etymological speculation, and he is alive to the possibility that some words allegedly of Celtic origin may in fact be pre-Celtic. For instance, he notes on p. 52 that the southern French forms *madoufe*, *madoufa* 'raspberry' may go back to a Celtic \**matuisa*, but could also be of pre-Celtic origin. A minor gripe which I would voice is his failure to use accents when quoting Irish forms, e.g. p. 66 *bo* for *bó*, p. 73 *sron* for *srón*, p. 91 *mein* for *méin*. Surely there should be solidarity in this matter among accent-using nations! In conclusion, M. Lacroix is to be complimented on this fine work, in which fascinating material from a wide variety of sources has been drawn together in a clear and readable form.

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*Native evidence of non-ferrous metalworking in Early Historic Ireland.* Michelle Comber. British Archaeological Reports: International Series 1296, Oxford, 2004. vii + 233 pp. £43. ISBN 1-84171-380-5.

THIS is an uneven work. The main part of the book, which deals with the archaeological evidence, is good. Sadly, the parts which relate to the documentary evidence are poor. She explains in her introductory chapter that she was drawn to this topic because 'the study of on-site evidence for non-ferrous metalworking in Early Historic Ireland has been hitherto largely unexplored'. She focuses particularly on the metallurgical remains from Lagore crannóg, Co. Meath, to illustrate the nature of the Irish evidence. Lagore is the important royal site of *Loch Gabair* in the district of Brega. It was excavated in the early 1930s by a Harvard team led by Hugh O'Neill Hencken who published an account of the findings in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 53 C (1950–51) 1–248 under the title 'Lagore crannóg: an Irish royal residence of the 7th to 10th centuries A.D.' She points out that the high status of the site is confirmed by the large and varied artefact assemblage recovered from it, and notes that the evidence for fine metalworking at the site was only briefly examined in Hencken's report.

Chapter 2 is frankly not of an acceptable standard. The whole chapter is littered with misspellings, inconsistencies and wrong or inadequate references. For example, at p. 13 she quotes the law-text *Bretha Déin Chécht* as stating that a physician's fee is a yearling heifer or its equivalent in silver. She gives the reference as '(Binchy 1955)', citing no page number. The correct reference is to D. A. Binchy's edition of this text in *Ériu* 20—which appears in her Bibliography on p. 225—and should read '(Binchy 1966b, 27)'. On p. 12 she correctly refers to a 'section' entitled *Blai Ord Indeoin*, but by the next page this has been transformed into a 'law tract' *Blai Ord Indeoin*. Her references

to the *Ancient laws of Ireland* are particularly chaotic. On p. 12 she cites 'the early law tract *Lebor Aicle*' with a reference to O'Donovan and O'Curry 1901, with no volume or page number. All the reader can find in the Bibliography is the entry 'O'Donovan, J. and O'Curry, E. 1901 *The Ancient Laws of Ireland*. London. 5 vols.' In fact, the five volumes of the text and translation of the *Ancient laws* were published in Dublin in the years 1865 (vol. I), 1869 (vol. II), 1873 (vol. III), 1879 (vol. IV), 1901 (vol. V). The correct reference to vol. III is given in the Bibliography under 'O'Mahony and Richey 1873'. The references to *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* fare no better. For a start, there is nothing in this chapter which tells the reader that it was edited by Binchy—he or she must work through the Bibliography to find out this information. In the Bibliography she gives the correct reference to Meyer's edition of the *The Triads of Ireland*, but on p. 14 we find '(CIH IV)' given as a singularly unhelpful reference for Triad 156 of this collection. I could not fathom the origin of the reference to '(CIH V 96–42)' in the discussion on the same page on the liability of a craftsman for a kinsman's offence: could it be for *CIH V* 1613.24–5?

Such flaws might be overlooked, if there were not more serious problems with the content. Some of her assertions are misleading. She tells the reader on p. 12 that in the tract *Bretha Crólige* it is stated that if a craftsman did not have a son, he could have his daughter trained in his profession instead. She gives the reference as *CIH VII* 2295, which is a mistake for *CIH VI* 2295. I have studied this page of *CIH*, and found nothing to justify her claim. The passage contained here, which is translated by Binchy in his edition of *Bretha Crólige* in *Ériu* 12 (1938) 27 § 32, deals with twelve categories of women who cannot for legal reasons be brought away from home to be nursed on sick-maintenance. These include women of high status or ability, or of a criminal nature, or suffering from mental illness or deficiency. One category is the *bansaer*, which Binchy translates as 'a woman wright'. A later gloss on this text (§ 32 fn. 7) explains this as *druinech* 'embroideress', but there is no reference here in either text or gloss to a woman being trained in her father's profession in the absence of a son. It may occasionally have happened in real life, but there is nothing on the subject in this text. On p. 13 she states that 'it is also clear that some mines were communal, i.e. those mines situated in or on a sea cliff.' No reference is given, but I assume that she is basing this statement on a gloss at *CIH II* 390.35 which refers to a cliff (*aill*) which is common to the people of the territory (*coitcend do tuaith*). But there is nothing in this gloss to suggest that a sea-cliff is intended. Or is there some other reference known to her which justifies this assertion?

Her remarks on distraint (*athgabál*) are likewise confusing. She properly cites in her Bibliography Binchy's article on 'Distraint in Irish law' in *Celtica* 10 (1973) 22–71, which is followed by his edition of 'a text on the forms of distraint' (*ibid.* 72–86). But her definition of distraint as 'punishment for a wrong-doing' (p. 14) suggests that she has not read his article with great care. Distraint is in fact the formal seizure of another's property to enforce a claim, which is not the same thing at all. To avoid confusing the reader, she should

also have made it clear on p. 13 that the terms ‘dstraint’ and ‘distress’ refer to the same procedure. We also find inaccurate references on p. 12. She correctly refers to a three-fold distinction between the *gobae* ‘blacksmith’, the *umaide* ‘coppersmith’ and the *cerd* ‘worker in gold and silver’, but spoils it by stating that this distinction is to be found in the section ‘*Blai Ord Indeoin*’, for which she gives the cross-reference ‘See Appendix I’. In fact, it becomes clear to any reader who follows up this cross-reference, that her Appendix I deals solely with the blacksmith. For the threefold distinction of metal-workers one has to go to *Uraicecht Becc* (*Ancient Laws of Ireland* V 94.19 = *CIH* VI 2277.36–7).

After the frustrations of Chapter 2, the third chapter comes as a welcome respite. Here she is at ease with her material, and provides to my mind an exceptionally clear account of the various means by which metal ore is acquired and processed. She manages to get across something of the glamour and excitement of non-ferrous metalwork, and clarifies to this non-expert reader decorative processes such as filigree, pressblech (‘the use of a carved die or pattern upon which the thin metal is impressed or beaten’), chasing and enamelling. I was intrigued to learn on p. 29 that the stitching technique used in filigree work to secure panels in place appears to be uniquely Irish. In the fourth chapter she looks at the artefacts which are associated with non-ferrous metalwork, such as crucibles, heating trays and moulds. She also includes a brief discussion of the motif pieces in stone, bone or antler which have been found at Lagore and other sites. I enjoyed her informative section on the tools employed in non-ferrous metalwork, which includes a page of illustrations (p. 40). The conclusion of this interesting chapter is again marred by carelessness in her references to the documentary evidence. On p. 43 she refers the reader to a passage in the law tract *Uraicecht Becc* where the dstraint of a smith is marked by tying a withe around his anvil. In fact the correct reference is to ‘a text on the forms of dstraint’ edited by Binchy in *Celtica* 10 (1973) 72–86 (included in her Bibliography) and should read ‘Binchy 1973b, 78 § 5’. The moral is: check all references before going to press! There is also potential for confusion in her reference to ‘such tools as hammers, sledge-hammers and anvils’ which she says are mentioned in the passage on *Blai Ord Indeoin* (translated in Appendix I). A reader could well gain the impression that the text uses two distinct terms for different types of hammer. In fact only one word, *ord*, is employed.

Chapter 5 deals with the settlement contexts for non-ferrous metalworking in Early Historic Ireland. For my money this is the best chapter in the book, as it provides a well-organised and comprehensive overview of the locations where metalwork was carried out at various sites throughout the country (and also touches on British parallels on pp. 60–61). In chapter 6 she re-evaluates the Lagore evidence, and in the final chapter provides some pointers towards future research, as well as her conclusions in relation to topics such as the role of the smith, travelling metal-workers and patronage. The rest of the book is devoted largely to a summary of the finds from fifty-two relevant sites throughout Ireland (Appendix II) and a catalogue of the non-ferrous metalworking evidence from the Lagore crannóg (Appendix III). Both these appendices are

furnished with numerous illustrations and diagrams, which have been carried out neatly and professionally. A useful glossary of relevant terms follows (pp. 223–4), though I noted the absence of the word ‘Kerbschnitt’.

While recognising the merits of the book from an archaeological perspective, I have to record my disappointment that the author has not taken the trouble to have the final version looked over by somebody with a knowledge of Old and Middle Irish. In her Appendix I, she has sensibly used Professor Gearóid Mac Eoin’s accurate translations of legal passages relating to metalwork (though the passage on *Dinnra Clasaige* on p. 100 which she describes as a glossary is in fact a commentary). Why did she not get assistance with the rest of the book? There is a fine tradition in NUI Galway of interdisciplinary co-operation, and I have no doubt that many scholars there—or indeed elsewhere in Ireland—would have been willing to help. A couple of hours’ scrutiny would have at least identified the most glaring faults in her treatment of the Irish language, and would have ensured that there was a greater degree of accuracy and consistency in her use of accents, plural forms, orthographic conventions and textual references.

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*Trioedd Ynys Prydein: the triads of the Island of Britain.* Rachel Bromwich. University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2006. cxvi + 559 pp. £65. ISBN 0-7083-1386-8.

REALLY good textual editions are rare, so it is a particular pleasure to welcome a new edition of one of the classics of Celtic scholarship. Rachel Bromwich published her first edition of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: the triads of the Island of Britain* in 1961. It rapidly established itself as an exemplary specimen of the editor’s art, as it combines thoroughness, accuracy, learning and style. In the second edition of 1978 Dr Bromwich added some revisions and new references at the end of the volume. The changes in the third edition are of a more radical character. The Introduction, Textual Notes and Notes on Personal Names have been revised and augmented. A new triad (no. 97) has been added to the corpus, and the orthography of the texts of the triads has been emended in the light of the critique published by Kenneth Jackson in *Welsh History Review*, Special Number (1963) 82–7. References to relevant works published before 2000, and to the volumes of the two series, *Beirdd y Tywysogion* and *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*, published by the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies up to 2006, have been incorporated in the Notes.

Dr Bromwich attained the age of ninety in July 2005. She had been working on the third edition for many years, but was not well enough to supervise the preparation of the volume in its final stages. This work was carried out by various friends, notably by Morfydd Owen, who has herself long had an interest in Triads (and who has contributed an article on this topic in the present number of *Celtica*). All associated with this handsome and expertly printed

volume deserve the gratitude of Celticists and other interested readers. As well as being of great importance as a source of information on early British history and literature, the triads themselves are a delight. They provide such varied groupings as ‘Three pillars of battle of the Island of Britain’ (§ 5), ‘Three powerful swineherds of the Island of Britain’ (§ 26), ‘Three great enchantments of the Island of Britain’ (§ 28), ‘Three unfortunate hatchet-blows of the Island of Britain’ (§ 34), ‘Three principal cows of the Island of Britain’ (§ 46), ‘Three bull-spectres of the Island of Britain’ (§ 63), and ‘Three lively (royal) ladies of the Island of Britain’ (§ 79).

I noted a few minor slips in Irish spellings: p. lx for *fóscéla* read *foscéla*, for *primscela* read *prímscela*; p. cix for *Nar* read *Nár*; p. cx, n. 195 for *O’Coileáin* read *Ó Coileáin*; p. 36 for *Mac Cecht* read *Mac Cécht*, for *cathmilid* read *cathmílid*; p. 118 for *Giolla Dheacair* read *Giolla Deacair*; p. 349 for *Eriu* read *Ériu*, for *Naoigiallacht* read *Naoigiallach*; p. 474 for *murchata* (sea-cats) read nom. pl. *murchait*; p. 529 for *O’Cuív* read *Ó Cuív*, p. 545 for *Ghiolla Dheacair* read *Giolla Deacair*.

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*Cín Chille Cúile: texts, saints and places. Essays in honour of Pádraig Ó Riain.* John Carey, Máire Herbert and Kevin Murray (ed.). Aberystwyth, 2004. xxiv + 405 pp. €50. ISBN 1-891271-13-X.

THIS volume consists of twenty-nine essays in honour of Pádraig Ó Riain offered to him by former colleagues and pupils to mark his retirement as professor of Old and Middle Irish at University College Cork in the year 2002. The sub-title of the collection, ‘*texts, saints and places*’, accurately describes the content of many of the contributions included here. Indeed, the study of Old and Middle Irish texts in general and the analysis of hagiographical and onomastic material in particular can be said to have claimed the lion’s share of this honorand’s academic effort. However, even a casual perusal of the outline list of his publications presented here on pages xi–xvi bears witness to a mind that has ranged far and wide in the various fields of Early Irish studies for over forty years. Not surprisingly, this breadth of interest is also reflected in the variety of the topics discussed by the contributors.

*Hagiographical or religious topics*

In ‘A late life of Patrick’ (pp. 1–43), Neil Buttimer provides a diplomatic edition of a metrical life of Saint Patrick composed by the famous nineteenth-century diarist Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin. This is a lengthy composition of two hundred and thirty stanzas in syllabic format which describes the saint’s time in Ireland as a captive, his travels to Britain and the continent and his subsequent return to Ireland to spread the gospel. The editor notes that the career of the saint depicted in this work ‘appears rooted in modernity rather than being simply a relict from antiquity’ (p. 7). A number of possible contemporary

resonances in the text are suggested (pp. 8–11). This contribution concludes with a series of notes to the manuscript readings (pp. 41–3).

Sr Nora G. Costigan, in ‘I Anna fam Mair’ (pp. 58–63), provides a text and translation of a fifteenth-century Welsh poem in honour of Anna, the mother of the Blessed Virgin. The poem is attributed to one Hywel Srdwal whose patrons were associated with Newtown in Montgomeryshire. Some of the source-material for the poem is biblical in nature but, as the editor notes ‘much derives also from apocryphal texts such as the Protevangelium of James and the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew’ (pp. 58–9). Oddly, this edition contains no description or discussion of the manuscript sources for the text of the poem.

Máire Herbert’s ‘Observations on the Life of Molaga’ (pp. 127–140) is an analysis of the literary and historical sources underlying the life of the Munster saint Molaga (*Betha Molaga*). She notes that the central concern of the text is ‘the collateral damage to ecclesiastical interests from ill-judged royal generosity’ (p. 131) and identifies it as a work of the twelfth century (p. 135). She goes on to consider the internal evidence contained in the text i.e. the depiction of local Munster politics prior to the Norman period (p. 136), references to Viking Dublin, the sustained interference by Connacht in Munster affairs around the year 1118 (p. 137), the political role of the Éoganacht Glendomnach and their association with Molaga’s churches (p. 139) among others.

There are two contributions dealing with the saint To Chellóc mac Oíbléni. First, in ‘To Chellóc mac Oíbléni: saint and places’ (pp. 258–67) Donnchadh Ó Corráin attempts to identify the four cult sites associated with what appears to be a late seventh-century saint and patron of the Corcu Duibne. The four sites in question are Inisvickallane, Ballinrannig, Inis Labrainne (now Inch in the parish of Ballinvoher) and Cell Mo Cheallóg (now Kilmakilloge) (p. 259). The author also notes To Chellóc’s association with other saints such as Fínán Cam and Mo Ling (p. 266). Traces of the saint’s name can also be found in the titles of secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries as late as the twelfth century (p. 267) and, according to the author ‘he remained the object of devotion until modern times’ (ibid.). Second, Roibeárd Ó hÚrdail, in ‘Mochellóc: some traces of the name and a particular case in the Béarra peninsula’ (pp. 302–8), examines the relationship between the saint’s name Cellach, its hypocoristic forms Mochellóc and place-names such as Cill Mocheallóg (i.e. Kilmallock in Co. Limerick). He further notes the traditional association of the saint with Saint Kilian of Würzburg (pp. 303–5) and speculates on the linguistic form of the name of the holy lake known as Loch Mackennlaun/ Mochionnlain located in the Béarra peninsula (pp. 306–8).

### *Onomastics*

In ‘The names of the plains beneath the lakes of Ireland’ (pp. 44–57), John Carey prints the contents of a unique item found in the sixteenth-century manuscript National Library of Ireland G1 describing the various plains of Ireland and the lakes that are said to have flooded over them. The list contains twenty-nine separate items and follows the structure ‘Magh X forsadá Loch Y’ (p. 48). The text is followed by a series of detailed notes (pp. 49–57) in which

the author attempts to identify the lakes and plains mentioned by comparison with existing references in the literature.

Petra S. Helmuth's 'The *Dindshenchas* and Irish literary tradition' (pp. 116–26) examines the *Dindshenchas* of the place-name Srúb Brain, 'Stroove Point near Inishowen in Co. Donegal' (p. 119). She speculates on the relationship between this item and Recension Y of the tale *Aided Chon Roí* (p. 121 ff.). The author argues that this *Dindshenchas* entry 'served as the basis for the creation of four further, fictitious places: two Srúibe Brain ([sic]) in West Kerry . . . and two further places of unknown location allegedly somewhere between Dundalk and West Kerry' (p. 126).

K. W. Nicholls, in 'The Protean placename' (pp. 225–33), examines some of the complex transformations that place-names in Ireland have undergone with the passing of time. As the author states at the outset 'placenames, in their metamorphoses, obey no rules, phonetic or otherwise' (p. 225). By way of example, he takes the Cork townland and parish now known as Kinure, the earliest form of which is Crepter (c. 1200 A.D.). He notes (p. 227): 'The Irish original of Kinure, County Cork, is thus, not *Ceann Iubhair* as might appear from the modern form, but either *Craobh Dhoire* or *Creamh Dhoire*'.

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh's article 'Deascán ó Dhúiche Ealla – canas roainm-niged?' (pp. 281–91) provides a list of sixty-nine place-names in the barony of Duhallow (*Dúiche Ealla*) in Co. Cork where the official English (i.e. Ordnance Survey) version exhibits some form of corruption of the original Irish form. The examples are classified as follows:

1. Place-names where the English version is a transliteration of the Irish with corruption such as elision or loss of the definite article, e.g. Castlecor < *Caisleán na Cora* 'castle of the weir'; Meengorman < *Mín Uí Ghormáin* 'O'Gorman's smooth tract of land'.
2. Place-names where the English version is a translation of the Irish, e.g. Barleyhill < *Cnoc na hEorna*; Churchtown < *Baile an Teampaill*.
3. Place-names where the English version bears no relation to the earlier Irish version e.g. Marybrook = Irish *An Garrán* 'the grove'; Freemount = Irish *Cillín Chrónáin* 'the little church of St. Crónán', or *Cillín an chrónáin* 'little church of the humming/refrain/chorus'.
4. Place-names where the English version is an abbreviated version of the Irish, e.g. Kishkeam < *Coiscéim na caillí* 'step of the hag'; Knockane < *Cnocán Riobaird* 'Robert's hillock'.

#### *Early Irish literary material*

'Intertextuality in *Echtra mac nEchdach Mugmedóin*' (pp. 77–104) by Clodagh Downey consists of an attempt to analyse the Middle-Irish text mentioned in the title 'by examining the relationship between it and three other texts containing some degree of resemblance to it' (p. 77). The three texts in question are *Baile in Scáil*, *Betha Findchú Brí Gobann* and *Fled*

*Bricrenn*. To facilitate an understanding of the detailed textual comparison, which forms the bulk of the article (pp. 80–103), it might have been deemed worthwhile first to provide a summary of the *Echtra*-tale for those unfamiliar with its content and structure. Referring to the contemporary concerns of the author of the tale, Downey concludes that ‘the dependence of significant parts of *Echtra* (*mac nEchach Mugmedóin*) on other texts points not to long-standing tradition but to urgency’ (p. 104).

In ‘*Fingal Rónáin*: The medieval Irish text as argumentative space’ (pp. 141–9), Kaarina Hollo examines two incidents in the well-known early Irish tale which, she claims, cast fresh light on the nature of Máel Fhothartaig’s character: his treatment of Echaid’s daughter on her arrival at the Leinstermen’s court, and the fateful verse-capping scene. The author would interpret both of these incidents as attempts by Máel Fhothartaig to humiliate his stepmother and to display his distrust and dislike of her. Here Hollo differs from previous commentators on the text and their ‘inability to credit Máel Fhothartaig with any actively negative characteristics whatsoever’ (p. 146). On foot of this re-interpretation, she speculates on the literary nature and thematic intentions of the author of the text (p. 149).

Kevin Murray, in ‘Gilla Mo Dutu Úa Caiside’ (pp. 150–62), describes what is known about this twelfth-century literary figure. He discusses the poet’s name, the locations he is associated with and identifies possible patrons. He also includes a brief survey of the works attributed to him. An appendix to the article lists forty-eight manuscripts in which one of Giolla Mo Dutu’s best-known works (the poem *Éri óg inis na náem*) is preserved (pp. 161–2).

In ‘The *Prull* narrative in *Sanas Cormaic*’ (pp. 163–77), Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha proposes a solution to a ‘perceived enigma’ (p. 163) to be found in the tale which is preserved under the lemma *prull* in the text *Sanas Cormaic*. The enigma consists of the use of the word *mac* to refer to a woman. She summarises the views of two scholars (Anne Dooley and Patrick Ford) who have previously analysed the tale (pp. 167–71). The author then proposes interpreting the phrase ‘*in cherd mac húi Dulsine*’ of the text not as ‘the *cerd*, son of úa Dulsaine’ but rather ‘the *cerd*, child of úa Dulsaine’ (pp. 171–2). She concludes this article by adducing support for this ambiguous interpretation of the word *mac* from the Middle Irish tale *Tromdám Guaire* (pp. 172–6).

‘Níall Noígíallach’s death-tale’ (pp. 178–91), by Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, is a discussion of the text *Aided Néill Noígíallaig* which she notes (p. 180) has not received the same attention as some other tales regarding the eponymous ancestor of the Uí Néill. The author provides a short description of the manuscripts in which the tale is preserved along with an analysis of its date, content and structure. She concludes by observing that the diplomatic tone of the tale vis-à-vis the Laigin and the Uí Néill may reflect an ‘alliance of convenience’ (p. 191) between the two groups in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries as they sought to hold off their common enemies from south and west of the country.

Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh, in ‘An gaol idir théacs agus íomhá: dúshlán na nArd-Chros’ (pp. 292–301), surveys previous theories regarding the sources

for the scenes carved on the panels of Irish High crosses. The possible influence of a variety of devotional texts is considered. These include *Féilire Óengusso*, the hymn *Sén Dé* and, of course, the Bible, amongst others. The author concludes that, in the case of the high crosses, the relationship between text and image is a functional one: ‘is ann do na crosta chun rinnfheitheamh deábhóide a spreagadh agus is deábhóid is bunfheidhm do na paidreacha leis’ (p. 301).

In ‘Rawlinson B. 502: dating the genealogies’ (pp. 316–33), Diarmuid Ó Murchadha carries out an analysis of the genealogical material preserved in Rawlinson B. 502. He dates the manuscript compilation of the material to the years 1131 or 1132 (p. 319) and provides a methodology for arriving at a more refined dating through the use of annalistic entries. This methodology for classifying pedigrees by century involves ‘taking the name at the head of each one to indicate the time of its compilation, and using the formula, three generations per century, to provide an approximate date for any which has at least one constituent mentioned in the annals’ (p. 324). The author thus assigns some three hundred pedigrees to centuries lying between the seventh and the twelfth (pp. 326–31).

#### *Bardic poetry*

In ‘A poem addressed to Donnchadh Ó Briain, fourth earl of Thomond’ (pp. 193–207), Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail provides an edition of a syllabic poem of some thirteen stanzas beginning *An ngeabhthá, a Dhonnchaidh, mo dhán?* She discusses the identity of the addressee of the poem (pp. 193–4) and suggests that it is the work of one Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh. The edition consists of an analysis of the content and themes of the poem and a brief description of the extant manuscripts and metre (pp. 194–99). This is followed by a normalised text, translation and notes (pp. 200–7).

Seán Ó Coileáin, in ‘The setting of *Géisid cúan*’ (pp. 234–48), re-examines the late James Carney’s interpretation of the well-known poem preserved in *Acallam na senórach*. The author counters three of Carney’s assertions regarding the poem, namely: (1) that there is no original relationship between the poem and the surrounding prose text, (2) that the place-names in the poem locate it in West Kerry and (3) that the poem is an example of the *topos* of the poet as lover or spouse of his patron. Carney, he claims, is mistaken in ‘transferring the events and places of the poem to a factual setting’ (p. 247)—an approach which Ó Coileáin claims to be ‘overly deterministic’ (p. 248).

Michelle O Riordan, in ‘A poet on horseback? the medieval *ars poetica* and the bardic poem’ (pp. 354–66), speculates on the link between twelfth- and thirteenth-century instructional texts (written in Latin) on the creation of poetry on the one hand and the emergence of Irish bardic verse on the other. By way of illustration she takes the poems attributed to the fifteenth-century Franciscan Pilib Bocht Ó hUiginn. These poems were edited by Lambert McKenna, who noted with disapproval their stylistic similarity to the works of the secular bardic poets. Referring to these latter, the author argues that ‘a very fertile, plausible, and pleasing context for certain features of our bardic poetry can be

postulated by adding the influence of English and Continental manuals of style and instruction to our sense of the instructional background and literary context provided in the bardic schools' (p. 360). The article concludes with an analysis of the abandonment by the later poets of the old bardic style of composition (with its attendant formality) and its replacement by more casual practices. This new scenario is exemplified by Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh's derision in verse of Fearghal Óg Mac a' Bhaird for composing poetry on horseback—'ag deilbh ghlanóige ar ghearrán' (pp. 364–5).

### *Lexicographical themes*

Pádraigín Riggs, 'An Duinníneach – aguisín' (pp. 367–80,) examines some of the correspondence between Rev. Patrick Dinneen and the members of the Irish Texts Society from the period 1917–19 when the enlarged version of his dictionary was being prepared for publication. These documents became available on the transfer of the archives of the Society from London to University College Cork in 1994. They contain a great deal of interesting material that illustrates the straitened circumstances in which the book was produced. In addition, they provide some insights into the character of Dinneen himself—his stubbornness, determination and sense of humour.

In 'The lost has been found: the earliest surviving bilingual Irish dictionary' (pp. 392–405), Seán Ua Súilleabháin examines the provenance of a portion of the National Library of Wales manuscript Peniarth 184. This manuscript can be dated to the seventeenth century and comprises a Latin/Irish dictionary. Noting that three dictionaries produced in the seventeenth century have been lost, the author connects the Welsh manuscript with a Franciscan priest, Fr. Maurice Conry. This priest is known to have produced a dictionary in Louvain in 1644. By examining the handwriting, dialect features and content of the manuscript Ua Súilleabháin concludes that the manuscript is indeed the dictionary 'declared to be lost three hundred and thirty-two years ago' (p. 405). It is, therefore, the earliest surviving bilingual Irish dictionary.

### *Material dating from the sixteenth century down to the modern period*

Louis De Paor, 'An tsídheoig is an scian dochtúra: Flann O'Brien agus seanlitríocht na Gaeilge' (pp. 64–76), surveys some of Brian Ó Nualláin's (i.e. Flann O'Brien) views and attitudes to Irish language and literature. He notes that Ó Nualláin's admiration of 'the steely latinistic quality' of Irish prose (p. 66) on the one hand contrasted with his loathing of 'the spectrum of graded ambiguity that each of them (i.e. Irish words) can be made to express' (p. 67) on the other. The author seeks to demonstrate that it is Ó Nualláin's complex relationship with language and literature that goes to the heart of his art (p. 68).

In 'The king is dead: unaccusative verbs in Irish' (pp. 105–15), Aidan Doyle attempts a general analysis of the idiom *faigh bás*, 'to die', and in particular the syntax of the perfective clause *Tá an rí faighte bás*, 'The king has died'. He does this with reference to the behaviour of 'unaccusative verbs', which he defines as 'predicates ... which take a single Theme argument' (i.e. object) (p. 107). The theory of Thematic Hierarchy as expounded by R.

Jackendoff is also invoked by the author to complete his proposed solution for an understanding of the syntax of the idiom (pp. 112–15).

Emma Nic Cárthaigh, in ‘Tadhg Ó Neachtuin: a man of lists’ (pp. 208–24), provides an analysis of two items to be found in the eighteenth-century paper manuscript National Library of Ireland G192. The scribe of the manuscript has been identified as Tadhg Ó Neachtuin. The items consist of a list of place-names and genealogical material. The list of place-names is made up of ninety-seven head-words followed by the relevant county and, in some cases, the relevant barony. The author provides evidence (pp. 209–11) that the list of place-names is based on material from Keating’s *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, a copy of which also occurs in this manuscript. The genealogical material consists of pedigrees of persons mainly connected with Co. Wicklow. Diplomatic editions of both items are provided along with explanatory notes (pp. 214–24).

Breandán Ó Conchúir’s ‘Tomás Ó Longáin, Captaen Steele’ (pp. 249–57) is an examination of two sources of information regarding Tomás Ó Longáin, the United Irishman from Glin in West Limerick who was exiled to Botany Bay in the year 1800. As leader of the United Irishmen from the parish of Glin who fought at Vinegar Hill, he was known as Captaen Steele. The first item consists of a contemporaneous account in the poetry written by his cousin, Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin (pp. 249–55). The second item consists of oral/folklore material preserved by his own relatives in Glin (pp. 256–7). The author provides restored editions of the verse material. The folklore material relates the circumstances of Ó Longáin’s banishment to Australia, his sea-journey there along with the circumstances of his imprisonment and eventual release and return to Ireland in 1817. He died in 1845.

In ‘Ag léamh ar an mbean feasa’ (pp. 268–80), Gearóid Ó Cruaíoch presents an empirical study (‘scrúdú impiriciúil’) (p. 271) of the figure of the *bean feasa* in Irish folk tradition. He defines the *bean feasa* as a woman whose assistance is sought in times of trouble when the normal remedies for misfortune have failed (ibid.). His study is based on a corpus of forty-six tales (largely of Munster provenance) preserved in manuscripts in the archives of the Irish Folklore Commission. He identifies a number of features common to all of these tales (pp. 272–7) and proposes an explanation of the social function of the *bean feasa* and the tales concerning her activities (pp. 278–9).

Pádraig Ó Macháin, ‘Dhá Théacs Dlí’ (pp. 309–15), discusses two short legal documents dating from the late medieval period. The first item, which dates to 1560 and is preserved in the John Rylands University, Manchester, consists of a deed of settlement between two parties regarding the ownership of a cow. The second item, which dates to 1597 and is preserved in the National Library of Ireland, consists of a deed of conveyance of property between two parties. In each case, a diplomatic edition of the deed along with an English translation is provided (pp. 310–15). As the author notes (p. 309), these documents are among the primary sources for our knowledge of everyday life in Ireland in the late middle ages.

In ‘D’Uaithne Ó Mórdha a thit i gcath 17ú Lúnasa 1600’ (pp. 334–53), Liam P. Ó Murchú provides critical editions of two elegies written in accentual metre in honour of the Leinster chieftain identified in State Papers as Onie McRory. Ó Mórdha was killed in a skirmish with Elizabethan forces near Portlaoise in August of 1600. The two poems are preserved in a single manuscript, Royal Irish Academy E iv 3. For each poem the author provides a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript followed by a restored text and English translation (pp. 340–8). The article concludes with a series of notes in which the textual difficulties and points of interest in each of the poems are discussed (pp. 349–53).

Pól Ruiséal, ‘Adult learners of Irish: the UCC experience’ (pp. 381–91), documents the provision of Irish language courses for adults at UCC beginning in 1974. The methodologies and teaching strategies adopted are described (pp. 383–6). The role of Ionad na Gaeilge Labhartha within the College is explained (pp. 389–90) along with future plans for Irish language teaching (pp. 390–391).

In conclusion, this collection of essays forms a fitting tribute to a scholar who has laboured with such distinction in the field of Early Irish studies.

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*Éigse: a journal of Irish Studies*. 31, 32 (ed. Pádraig A. Breatnach). National University of Ireland, Dublin, 1999, 2000. 186 pp., 204 pp. ISSN 0013-2618.

IN the first article in *Éigse* 31 (pp. 1–30) Pádraig A. Breatnach traces the central role played by Fr Hugh Ward in the hagiographical enterprise instituted in the 1620s at St Anthony’s College, Louvain. Given that ‘Ward’s reputation as “the Bollandus of Ireland” rests primarily . . . on the estimation of contemporaries’ (p. 3), the detailed account given here of work known or thought to have been carried out by Ward is welcome indeed. The extent of this work is contrasted with ‘the scarcity of actual extant remains’ (p. 24); however, attention is drawn to the possibilities presented by Ward’s propensity for annotating. Breatnach shows that Ward was the principal annotator of the ‘Long Recension’ of the Martyrology of Donegal preserved in Bibliothèque Royale, cod. no. 5095–6, an identification which ‘open[s] up the prospect of establishing a full inventory of his contributions to the formation of the text’ (p. 30). Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, ‘The semantics of *banscál*’ (pp. 31–5), argues in favour of the meaning ‘laywoman’ for the word *banscál*, which is defined in *DIL* simply as ‘woman, female’. Citing the case of *láech* ‘layman’, which developed the secondary meaning ‘warrior, hero’, she posits a contrary development for *banscál*, ‘that is to say, that alongside the original meaning of “female warrior”, there developed a secondary meaning “laywoman”’ (p. 31). Peter McQuillan, ‘On the modal verbs of Modern Irish: aspects of *caith* and

*féad*' (pp. 37–59), begins with a discussion of the semantic category of modality in general before proceeding to an analysis of the evidence for modality in the case of the verbs *caith* and *féad* respectively. His analysis reveals that these two verbs can more readily be accorded full modal status in northern dialects than in southern ones.

Máirtín Ó Briain, 'Créacht do dháil me im ártach galair agus baisteadh Oisín' (pp. 60–72), demonstrates that the person referred to as 'an féinnidh fíor tréar ling an bhachall' in verse 35, line 3, of Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair's poem *Créacht do dháil me im ártach galair*, is not Aonghus mac Natfraoich, king of Munster, as proposed by the poem's editor, John Mac Erlean, but rather Oisín (son of Fionn mac Cumhaill). Evidence is adduced from later oral tradition and from the sixteenth-century Book of Howth in support of this. Previous work done by Tadhg Ó Dúshláine on the sources of Keating's *Trí bior-ghaoithe an bháis* is built upon in a contribution by Bernadette Cunningham (pp. 73–8). She identifies parallels between the second book of *Trí bior-ghaoithe an bháis* and one of the sermons on death published by the French preacher Pierre de Besse in *Conceptions theologiques sur les quatre fins de l'homme* (1606). The 'possibility that Keating had heard, and taken notes on, rather than read these sermons' (p. 77) is also explored. An article by Evelyn Mullally (pp. 89–101) explores the literary context of a 'phantom army' in the Anglo-Norman French text formerly edited by G. H. Orpen as *The song of Dermot and the Earl* (1892) and recently re-edited by Mullally as *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland: La Geste des Anglais en Yrlande* (2002). The significance of such apparitions as they occur in early Irish literature is contrasted with that accorded them by the anonymous author of this text and by Giraldus Cambrensis in *Expugnatio Hibernica*.

Pádraig A. Breatnach edits two poems in this volume: the early seventeenth-century Munster poem *Maith an compánach an dán* (pp. 79–88) and the eighteenth-century elegy *Mairg do chuala marbh a tuairisc* (pp. 103–20). He also prints two manuscript items: 'Story of the heathen saved by the sign of the cross' (p. 102) and 'Ar dhroichbhean-tíghe sagairt' (p. 102). Other contributions are Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Le cois a chéile a doirtear na héigse!' (p. 36), Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'The origins of Clann Bhruaideadha' (pp. 121–30), Seosamh Watson, 'An appellation of the Virgin Mary in Rathlin Gaelic' (pp. 131–2), Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'More on Ware's Psalter Narran' (pp. 133–4) and a review article by Brian Ó Curnáin, 'Observations on a recent edition of recorded speech from Conamara' (pp. 135–158). The volume concludes with a review section.

*Éigse* 32 includes six contributions which were originally delivered as papers at the Gerard Murphy Commemorative Conference held at University College Dublin on the 4th of December, 1999. These are preceded in the volume by addresses given on the day by the chancellor of the university, Dr Garret FitzGerald, and by the editor of *Éigse*, Pádraig A. Breatnach. The first of the six papers just mentioned is Professor Breatnach's 'The metres of citations in the Irish Grammatical Tracts' (pp. 7–22). This study features a statistical analysis of the frequency of the occurrence of various metres

among the verse citations of *IGT* (tracts I–IV) and *BST* (tract I), the metrical mix of which ‘can be seen as randomly representative of bardic poetry as a whole’ (p. 12). The statistics reveal that the five most frequently occurring metres across all of the tracts are *deibhidhe*, *rannaigheacht mhór*, *séadna*, *rannaigheacht bheag* and *casbhairdne*. Two further metres, *deachnadh mór* and *deachnadh cummaisc*, although occurring much less frequently, are also represented in all tracts. Then there is ‘a group of some twenty metres no one of which is found in each of the tracts’ (p. 17). Tomás Ó Con Cheadainn, ‘Ó Maoil Chonaire agus sloinne Shean-Phádraic’ (pp. 23–34), examines the history of a number of surnames which have been confused. He shows that *Ó Conaire*, a surname synonymous with the area around Ros Muc in Conamara, is an incorrect re-translation of the English form *Conr(o)y*, and that the historically correct Irish form is in fact *Mac Con Raoi*. Caoimhín Breatnach, ‘*Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann agus Cath Maige Tuired: dhá shampla de mhíotas eiseamláireach*’ (pp. 35–46), argues that the portrayal of the Tuatha Dé Danann in the Early Modern Irish prose tale *Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann* is an example of a negative exemplary myth, the purpose of which was to demonstrate the evil consequences of society not behaving in harmony.

Cathal Ó Háinle, ‘*Congaibh ort, a mhacaoimh mná* (DG 103): content and form’ (pp. 47–58), discusses the literary context of a number of poems which appear towards the end of T. F. O’Rahilly’s *Dánta Grádha* (= *DG*) and which he reminds us ‘have nothing at all to do with love, being moralising pieces of an entirely gloomy kind’ (p. 47). It is argued, with reference to a striking manuscript illustration of 1520 from Zimmern in Germany (which is reproduced), that *DG* 103 ‘contains in itself a reference to the *danse macabre* or *Totentanz*’ (p. 52). It is further argued that certain lines which are repeated in the poem are meant to be recited with priority given to trochaic stress pattern, the resultant effect being ‘suggestive of the beating of a drum, and so is consonant with the notion that Death is speaking, . . . inviting people to join in the Dance of Death’ (p. 57). Meidhbhín Ní Urdail, ‘*Dán ar Mhurchadh mac Briain Bhórimhe agus Ríoghain Átha Cliath*’ (pp. 59–76), edits the poem *Mo cheisd ort-sa, a thréinfhir*. In addition to the single extant manuscript copy of the poem, variant and additional readings from two cognate oral lays collected in Scotland are given and, in one instance (l. 18), used. There is useful discussion of the poem’s content and language as well as of the orthography and pronunciation of the late eighteenth-century Ulster scribe. Ruairí Ó hUiginn, ‘*Rúraíocht agus rómánaíocht: ceisteanna faoi fhorás an traidisiúin*’ (pp. 77–87), looks at the various manifestations of the story of Connla and highlights the differing functions the story has served. The context of the twelfth-century version of *Tochmarc Emire*, in particular, is examined, and it is argued that it can be read as a negative exemplary myth, functioning to highlight the drastic results of not following church teaching on marriage.

This volume includes a lengthy contribution by Gregory Toner, ‘Reconstructing the earliest Irish tale lists’ (pp. 88–120), and an article by Colm Ó Baoill (pp. 121–132) which argues that the ‘Gaelic Continuum was never really broken by dialect divergence . . . at the North Channel’ (p. 121). Other

contributions are Andrew Breeze and William Tobin, 'The great comet of 1744 and a poem by Alexander MacDonald on the Pretender' (pp. 135–7), Caoimhín Breatnach, 'The transmission of *Ceasacht Inghine Guile*: some observations' (pp. 138–45) and Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, 'Patrick Logan and *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, 1696' (pp. 146–52). This is followed by reviews.

EOGHAN Ó RAGHALLAIGH

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*Rebuilding the Celtic Languages: reversing language shift in the Celtic countries.* Diarmuid Ó Néill (ed.). Y Lolfa, 2005. 461 pp. £14.95. ISBN 0-86243-723-7.

LANGUAGE maintenance and revival efforts in one form or another have been a visible part of the Celtic world since at least the start of the twentieth century. It is in fact likely that such efforts have saved some of the languages from what seemed to be certain extinction already by the end of that century, but as the editor points out in his introductory note, widespread re-establishment has remained elusive for all. His goal for this volume is to explore why, and to make recommendations for improving the status of each language, based on Joshua Fishman's model for reversing language shift (RLS). The extent to which he succeeds is uneven, but the trip through the chapters is an interesting one nonetheless. Moreover, although the assessments of the languages' status, and the reasons for their decline, contain few surprises, this is the first time to my knowledge that a detailed examination of all the Celtic languages and their maintenance and revitalization efforts has been presented in one volume, and it is of value for that reason alone.

The nine essays, each on a Celtic language in a particular region include several communities in the diaspora, not typically covered in surveys of Celtic languages. This is a valuable and interesting addition; not only are these communities less widely known and less studied than others, but their sociolinguistic status and needs are often quite different from those of the same languages in their indigenous settings.

Ó Néill himself authored the chapters on Irish (in the Republic and in Northern Ireland), Scottish Gaelic (in Scotland and in Nova Scotia), and co-authored the chapter on Breton with Marcel Texier. Other essays cover Welsh in Wales (by Colin Williams), Welsh in Chabut Province, Argentina (by Paul Birt), Cornish (by Kenneth McKinnon), and Manx (by Brian Stowell and Philip Gawne). Ó Néill has also contributed a fifteen-page introduction and an 11-page concluding chapter, and there is a preface by Joshua Fishman. The format and length of each article varies considerably, ranging from 16 to 80 pages. But there is some homogeneity of content, which is useful for comparative purposes. Each study provides a discussion of the geographical and historical context of the language, a review of the process of language shift, and an examination of the language's current sociolinguistic and demographic

status. Most include maps (or at least tables) showing aspects of contemporary language use and distribution, although the content of these varies a great deal (e.g. percentage figures in some, raw numbers in others), making comparability of the maps and tables somewhat limited. All except the chapter on Welsh in Argentina provide a step-by-step review of the language maintenance and revitalization efforts in terms of Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), and recommendations for further action are provided for all but Argentine Welsh and Cornish. The main chapters on each language have abstracts in both English and the language under discussion.

All the populations share a history of succumbing to a more prestigious language, often within a fairly short time-span. All could at some point in their histories have been described as moribund, or at least seriously endangered, and all have made progress to differing degrees back from the edge of extinction. However, they vary widely not only in numbers of contemporary speakers (ranging from hundreds in the case of Cornish to hundreds of thousands for Breton, Welsh and Irish), but in the distribution of the populations and the political status and circumstances of the languages, and in the specific problems faced by those concerned with RLS efforts. It is thus noteworthy that the analyses in terms of the GIDS approach to RLS show some striking similarities. For most languages, the greatest efforts and advances have been made in the domains of education (GIDS stages 4, 5) and to a lesser degree the media (stage 2), at least for those languages with larger populations. There is virtually no media presence for Cornish, Manx or the languages in the Americas, nor much use of any Celtic language in the workplace (stage 3), apart from some limited local and civil service domains in Ireland and Wales. However, the greatest needs for all are clearly at stage 6: strengthening language use and continuity in home and community, the very need that the governments have avoided confronting. There remains a serious danger that advances in education and the media will obscure the fact that no language can survive, media presence or no, unless it is transmitted to the next generation at home. This was explicitly acknowledged in the discussion of Breton, where the decline in transmission is most extreme, but the danger is unquestionably just as real and pressing for all the languages.

In his concluding chapter, Ó Néill asks whether language activists can get past their shared pattern of producing speakers in schools who do not transmit the language to their own offspring. This is indeed a critical question, and many of the recommendations address the home and community domain in detail. But the question is left unanswered. The recommendations vary in usefulness, and in certain cases seem somewhat naïve. Some are too vaguely stated (improve public attitudes, ensure an adequate supply of teachers, or increase opportunities for public use of the language—yes, but *how?*). Several recommendations stress policy changes, such as establishing a policy of using the language in the workplace. This is all very well, but policy alone will accomplish nothing without implementation, and one might question how

realistic such implementation can be when much of the adult working age population lacks fluency in the language. Ideas for ways to build that speaker pool in smaller steps would have been more useful.

One is repeatedly given the impression that all that is needed is proper government commitment to new policies, overlooking the importance of commitment from the people as well. The crux of the problem is how to get that commitment; this is not always addressed as helpfully as it might be. For example, attracting emigrants back is a two-edged sword, since many bring with them monolingual spouses and families who do not speak the Celtic language. The effectiveness of publicity campaigns to attract native speakers back home, or the proposed new communities, might also be questioned unless the economy of these regions can provide them with as good a living as the places to which they have migrated. Regions undoubtedly differ in this respect, but identical recommendations are given, without consideration to such differences. Likewise, while the goal of establishing more communities of speakers is surely desirable in principle, many questions raised by such proposals are not addressed. In Brittany, for instance, where most of the *brettonnant* population is past child-bearing age, who would populate Breton-speaking communities? Is there a critical mass of young families willing and able to commit to such an enterprise? If not, building such populations must be a first priority. Conversely, Ireland already has such communities, but they continue to decline in numbers of Irish speakers. This is not to say that new Irish-speaking communities are not desirable—they are—but would they be created at the expense of the existing *Gaeltachtaí*? And what is needed to guarantee that such communities are sustainable beyond the first generation? Of several new communities created in the 1930s, only one remains Irish-speaking today, and is under enormous pressure from English. Policymakers need to consider such issues, and, one would hope, find answers that can serve the rural Gaeltacht, even as newer urban communities are created.

It is, of course, unreasonable to expect one book to solve all the problems that have troubled Celtic language communities for over a century, and even the less realistic recommendations deserve to be taken seriously because they raise important challenges to the countries where the languages are spoken. Several of the proposals to encourage community and family use of the languages are among the most explicit and specific provided; these include assistance with grandparenting and babysitting services in the languages, counselling and support for families wishing to maintain the language in the home, learning and playtime aids, and the expansion of youth groups. Some of these, properly implemented, might even help to address in part the issues associated with proposals for new communities and encouraging returning emigrants. All the recommendations, moreover, even the most general ones, have the potential to generate needed dialogue about the real needs of the various linguistic communities. The recommendations certainly do not simply rely on taking the easy route and, for this reason, they deserve the serious consideration of policy makers and some creative thinking about ways to make them happen.

Production quality leaves considerable room for improvement, as pages had begun to fall out of the binding before I had finished the first reading. Nevertheless, this volume is useful to anyone interested in language planning, because it provides largely comparable information about related languages in differing sociolinguistic circumstances, and it is a ‘must-read’ for those in charge of language policies affecting the Celtic languages, if only to encourage further thought on how policy can and should serve the needs of the various language communities.

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*The Druids: priests of the ancient Celts.* Paul R. Lonigan. Greenwood Press, 1996. 118 pp. \$62.95. ISBN-313-29955-2.

THE author’s stated reason for writing this book is that ‘no comprehensive, scholarly study of the druids, written by an American, exists’ (p. viii). Why the nationality of the author should make any difference to the value of the text is a mystery. Coupled with the rather suspect assumption explicit in the subtitle of the book, that druids were priests, from the very beginning this monograph is problematical.

For one thing, the author ignores entirely distinctions between eras, the existence of outside cultural influences and changes that took place over time. A Gaulish druid as described by the Romans is the same thing as an Irish druid described by sixth-century Christian monks and the same thing as a priest in prehistoric Czechoslovakia, according to this monograph. The thesis of chapter 2 is simple—wherever and whenever there were Celts, there were druids, and all druids were the same. On pages 27–8, for example, the author argues that since the Roman historian Tacitus reported that Germanic peoples along the river Rhine had *sacerdotes* and worshiped a god the Romans identified with Mercury (a Gaulish god was similarly identified with Mercury by Roman authors), ‘it is not impossible that by the end of the first century A.D. some strong degree of Celtic civilizing influence’ had taken place.

Linguistic arguments, the most frequently used, are suspect at best. The author spends much of chapter 1 arguing that Latin references to *magi* were mostly about druids. There are some blatant errors as well. On page 6 he cites a passage in the sixth-century *Synod of St Patrick* that describes pagans in Ireland swearing oaths before an augur—*ad aruspicem*. Bieler translates ‘before a druid’ here. Lonigan goes on to ask ‘Is, then, *aruspicem* disqualified from being so translated’ (i.e. as ‘druid’, even in classical sources). The author here uses the accusative *aruspicem* rather than the nominative, (*h*)*aruspex*, in his discussion. Similarly, on page 22 he states that the Old Irish term *fáith* means poet. Whether these are spelling problems, typographical errors, examples of bad editing or genuine linguistic errors is unclear, but in any case they seriously undermine the author’s credibility.

There are all too many examples of questionable logic. On page 12 Lonigan asks, ‘If Celts outside of the British Isles and Gaul did not have druids, why does not one classical author say so?’. This goes far beyond a legitimate use of negative evidence—why should Latin and Greek writers mention something that did not exist when they did not expect it to? On page 18, Lonigan first states that the Irish term for mistletoe, *uile-íc(e)* translates similarly to the ancient Gaulish term, but then admits ‘there seems to be no name, as such, surviving in Irish for it’. In fact, there is no Old Irish term for mistletoe, because mistletoe was not imported into Ireland until well after the Middle Ages.

A bibliography and index are both included in the text. It is clear from the bibliography that recent works on the druids were either unknown to, or ignored by, the author. Only eleven sources published after 1980 are included, and not a single work from the 1990s. Of those eleven, one is an updated version of the Oxford Latin Dictionary and another is a reprint of Thurneysen’s *Grammar of Old Irish*. P. B. Ellis is never mentioned, but as his monograph on the druids was published in 1995, Lonigan’s had probably gone to press at the time. The index is inconsistent, leaving out subjects that appear over and over in the text, including mistletoe and oak.

As of this moment, *The Druids* is listed as ‘out of stock’ with the publisher, and likewise with the major booksellers in Ireland, the UK and the US. For a better introduction to what little is known about the druids, students and scholars are still better off with Eliis, Chadwick and Piggott.

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*The deeds of the Normans in Ireland. La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande. A new edition of the chronicle formerly known as The Song of Dermot and the Earl.* Evelyn Mullally (ed.). Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2002. 180 pp. €55. ISBN 1-85182-643-2.

THE background and expertise of Dr Evelyn Mullally (Queen’s University Belfast) lie in Old French. It comes as no surprise therefore, that her edition of the early-thirteenth-century poem gravitates towards a more linguistic approach when compared to the historical slant taken by Goddard Henry Orpen, the most famous editor (and original name-giver) of the source (Oxford University Press 1892).

This is where the gaps in scholarship were the most obvious, and this is largely where its benefits lie. However, not only linguists will find this edition beneficial; historians too will profit from Mullally’s superior knowledge of the poem’s language. The resulting alterations in the translation, though usually slight, lead to important differences in meaning in some cases. For instance, *pur se rendre le uoleit* (l. 385), which Orpen translated as ‘he wished him to submit’, Mullally has corrected to ‘he wanted him to ransom himself.’

However, for detailed historical notes scholars will still have to fall back on Orpen. Mullally was of course able to profit from corrections made to Orpen’s

extensive notes, both by himself (especially in his *Ireland under the Normans*) and others, and a great deal of these have been incorporated in her book. For example, Orpen tried to identify ‘macburtin’ with a personal name, but Mullally’s edition has ‘plain of the [river] Burren’ (l. 957). Generally speaking, however, the new editor merely gives a summary of previous scholarship in her notes and is not as thorough as the nineteenth-century historian when it comes to place- and personal names. For instance, she has chosen to ignore Orpen’s suggested identification for the name ‘Okined’ (ll. 223/225), which he thought could be a member of the Uí Cinaedha (O’Kenny), and offers no possible clarification at all. With regard to the topic of names, it is equally to be regretted that the maps offered in the new version (pp. 166–8) do not show the same amount of detail as the one printed in Orpen’s first edition. Orpen’s map was unfortunately rendered virtually useless in the later Llanerch reprint (1994), but the original is still the only map doing justice to this poem as a great source for Irish place-names.

Another slight disparity between the two editions concerns line numbers. The reason for this is simple: the one extant manuscript contains two lines in red ink (one in French, one in Latin), which Orpen counted as being part of the poem, but which Mullally put in brackets and did not include in the line-count (ll. 1732–3 in Orpen’s edition). This is of some importance when referring to the work’s lines, of course, so one needs to be aware of it.

One should also be conscious of the fact that although it is stated that the index’s ‘references are exhaustive’, allusions in the poem to the ‘king of Connacht’ are only found under ‘Connacht’ and not under ‘Ua Conchobair’ which holds a separate heading in the index (see ll. 114, 120, 126, 213, 1572, 1634, 1744, 1753, 1836 (*recte* 1832), 3230—lines are to the original text, not the translation).

Finally, Mullally has—plainly—also given the poem a new title, and she enumerates good reasons for this. However, Orpen’s name has stuck for so long that it seems unlikely to be supplanted now, and although the old title had its shortcomings, so, obviously, does the new one.

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*The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages*. James Lydon. Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2003 (second ed.). 256 pp. €65. ISBN 1-85182-736-6.

EMERITUS Lecky Professor and Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, James Lydon has revised his *The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages*. A widely read and scholarly work, the only substantial shortcomings commented upon in various reviews following the publication of the first edition (Gill and Macmillan 1972) concerned the omission of a bibliography and index, and the fact that it contained next to no footnotes. Professor Lydon and the publishers of the revised edition, Four Courts Press, have heeded these comments. Eleven

pages were reserved for a bibliography of works cited, and on top of that the new version has copious footnotes and a general index.

Small inconsistencies of spelling have been eliminated (for instance, the partly Anglicised Tiernan O Ruairc has made way for Tiernan O Rourke) and changes in the current use of terminology are reflected in the book. Whereas the 1972 edition had 'Scandinavians' and 'Anglo-Normans', the new version has 'Norse' and 'English,' although 'Anglo-Irish' is still used for the later period.

If the above seem rather cosmetic improvements, there are other interventions of greater impact on the scholarly work itself. The single most conspicuous change in the content of the second edition is the omission of two chapters, 'Anglo-Irish Society' and 'The Gaelic Revival', and one may well ask why. Unfortunately, this is not discussed in the preface. One can only surmise that 'The Gaelic Revival' has been deemed superfluous, as the focus of the book is of course the *lordship*, and not Gaelic Ireland (although the 'Gaelic Revival' naturally had a great impact on the lordship). This may well account for its disappearance from the second edition of *The Lordship*. Also, many of the ideas and topics discussed in this chapter have found other platforms in the intervening and fruitful period between the first and second editions. Professor Lydon incorporated an essay entitled 'The middle nation' in his *The English in medieval Ireland*, published in 1984 and his 'Nation and race in medieval Ireland' found a niche in *Concepts of national identity in the Middle Ages*, edited by Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray, and published in 1995. In the chapter 'Anglo-Irish Society' the author dealt with the socio-economic history of the descendants of the settlers. These pages covered the tenuous topic of feudalism, and subjects such as the development of towns, trade, the Church, mendicant orders, literature and education. Presumably this chapter was left out on account of its topic rather than its contents, as the other chapters deal mainly with political history. One reviewer of the 1972 version commented that 'The two essentially interpretive chapters on "Anglo-Irish Society" and "The Gaelic Revival" are particularly commendable.' Other reviewers too singled out the former chapter especially for praise. And yet the omission of these two essays, although a loss in some regards, is not to the detriment of the work as a whole; rather, it adds to the flow.

The main additions to the book are some detailed examples of points made and a number of elaborations. The latter largely concern the relationship between the English king and his Irish and Anglo-Irish subjects. The second topic is one which has been explored by a number of scholars in recent decades, such as the late R. R. Davies and Lydon's former student Seán Duffy. Of course, Professor Lydon has been able to profit from the influential scholarly insights gained and aired over the past thirty years by these and other scholars. But for all that, his views have altered little. There are a few additions and modifications—it is especially in the later chapters that they are more substantial (e.g. on the crowning of Lambert Simnel). Some of these changes concern the lordship's finances, and they are on occasion based on the work of

late Philomena Connolly. But otherwise, alterations in the chapters themselves consist for the most part of slight rewordings, not of major changes in opinion. Given the current status of *The Lordship* in Irish historiography, one can only conclude that this work has stood the test of time.

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