

1 D.A. Binchy, (ed.) *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin 1978) [CIH].
Collectio Canonum Hibernensis ‘The Irish Collection of Canons’; H. Wasserschleben (ed.) *Die irische Kanonensammlung* (2nd ed., Leipzig 1885; repr. Aalen 1966).
D. Ó Corráin, L. Breatnach, A. Breen, ‘The laws of the Irish’, *Peritia* 3 (1984) 382–438.
Thomas Charles-Edwards, *The Early Mediaeval Gaelic Lawyer*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History 4 (Cambridge 1999).
Liam Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, Early Irish Law Series 5 (Dublin 2005).
Liam Breatnach, ‘The Early Irish Law Text *Senchas Már* and the Question of its Date’, E.C. Quiggin Memorial Lectures 13 (Cambridge 2011).
Donnchadh Ó Corráin, ‘The Church and Secular Society’, in *L’Irlanda e gli irlandesi nell’alto medioevo. Spoleto, 16–21 aprile 2009*. Atti delle Settimane LVII (Spoleto 2010) 261–321.

2 (1) Original texts.

(2) Annotations (‘glosses’) and commentaries.

(3) Abbreviated texts with commentaries.

(4) Miscellanies.

3 Status texts: *Críth Gablach*; *Míadslechteae*; *Uraicecht Becc*; *Uraicecht na Ríar*; Tract 26 of *Senchas Már*.

4 *lóg n-enech* ‘honour-price’

5 *episcopus* ‘bishop’, *presbyter / sacerdos* ‘priest’, *diaconus* ‘deacon’, *subdiaconus* ‘subdeacon’, *lector* ‘lector’, *exorcista* ‘exorcist’, *ostiarius* ‘usher’; three sub-grades: *acolytus* ‘acolyte’, *psalmista* ‘psalmist’, *clericus* ‘cleric’.

6 *Bretha Nemed Toísech*: *episcop* ‘bishop’, *sacard* ‘priest’, *dechan* ‘deacon’, *suibdechan* ‘subdeacon’, *liachtróir* ‘lector’, *glantaid* ‘exorcist’, *dorsaid* ‘usher’; three sub-grades: *aclaid* ‘acolyte’, *sailmchétlaid* ‘psalmist’, *cléirech co coruinn* ‘tonsured cleric’, *Ériu* 40 (1989) 14–15 §13.

7 *Uraicecht Becc*: *episcop*, *sacart*, *deochain*, *suibdeochain*, *exarcistid*, *aistréoir*, *liachtréoir*, *CIH* 1594.37, etc.

8 De gradibus in quibus Christus adfuit.

Ostiarius fuit, quando aperuit ostia inferni, exorcista, quando ejecit septem demonia de Maria Magdalena, lector, quando aperuit librum Esaiæ, subdiaconus, quando fecit vinum de aqua in Cana Galileæ, diaconus, quando lavit pedes discipulorum, sacerdos, quando accepit panem ac fregit et benedixit, episcopus fuit, quando elevavit manus suas ad coelum et benedixit apostolis, *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, VIII.1.

R.E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Berlin & New York 1978) Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7.

9 *Cid asa fordailtea grád túa[i]the? A [a]urlunn grád n-ecalsa; ar na(ch) grád bis i n-eclais is coir cia beith a [a]urlann i túaith, dég fortaig nó dithig nó fiadnaisi nó brithemnachta[e] ó chách dialailiu* ‘On what basis have the lay grades been divided? On the basis of correspondence with the grades of the church, for any grade which there is in the church, it is right that there be a corresponding one amongst the laity, for the sake of proving by oath or denial on oath, or of

evidence, or of judgement, from one to the other.’ D. A. Binchy, *Crith Gablach* (Dublin 1941) [reprinted 1970, and subsequently, with addenda] 1 §2.

10 *gráda uird ecalsa*, lit. ‘the grades of office of the church’. *airchinnech* ‘superior’, *secnap* ‘prior’, *coic* ‘cook’, *ferthigis* ‘steward’, *lubgortóir* ‘gardener’, *dorsaid* ‘doorkeeper’ and *muilleoir* ‘miller’: *CIH* 2102.20 and *CIH* 2213.32 (*Bretha Nemed Toisech*).

11 *lethdīre in aircindigh dīa secnapaid .i. x. mba 7 samaisc* ‘half the honour-price of the superior for his prior, i.e. ten cows and one three-year-old dry heifer’, *CIH* 687.7.

12 *cāta in grād-so, a leth-idi īarum do-berr dond ī as hīsli .i. lethchāta airchindig do secnapaid, lethcātu secnapad do aursecnapaid; similiter per omnes gradus*, *CIH* 923.8 (OGSM; with modified word-division), ‘the status of this grade, half of it is assigned to the next lowest, i.e. half the status of a superior for a prior, half the status of a prior for a sub-prior; similarly throughout all the other grades’.

13 *Leathcātu cāich dīa mnaī nō dīa gormac nō dīa rectairi nō dīa secnabaid*, *CIH* 1607.4, ‘Half the status of any individual for his wife, or for his dutiful son, or for his steward, or for his prior’.

14 *Nirbu chian iar techt on indsi sin. adchiat uaidib co heterchian etir na tonda. gnodh amal én nigel soiset braine an curaig cuce fodhes do deiscin an neich adchondcatar. A ndolotar a comfocus dó iarom ar imrum <ar imrum> co n-acatar ba duine bui and 7 se tuighthe o findfut giul a chuirp foidisium oc slechtanaib for carraic lethain. a ndofoscaigset a dochum tothlaigit bennachtain uadh 7 imchomarcait do can doluidh isin carraic út.*

O thoraich eim ol sé dodechadsa sund 7 is a toraig rom alt. Ranic dam iarom gursa coic inte 7 bassa drochcoic ar no renaind biadh inna hecailse a mbiinn ar seoto 7 muini dam fodhein corbo lán mo theach leam di choilcthib 7 cherchailib 7 d’etuch gach datha etir lín 7 olaind 7 di chilarnaib umaighib 7 di thellendaib becaib umaidhib 7 di bretnasaib argait co pletaib óir. Cona rabe ní bud iasacht as mo tigh do gach ret as tascidhi do duine etir liubru ordhai 7 tiagha lebur cumdachtai umai 7 óir 7 fo-claidhind tighe na cille co mberind ilmuine eisib. Ba mór dano mo uall 7 mo dhiumus.

‘Not long after they had gone from that island they see far off among the waves a shape like a white bird. They turned the prow of the boat southward towards it to examine what they had seen. So when they had drawn near it by rowing they saw that it was a human being and he was clothed only with the white hair of his body. He engaged himself in prostrations on a broad rock. When they had come to him, they entreat a blessing from him and ask him whence he had come to that rock.

“From Tory verily,” he said, “I have come here, and in Tory I was reared. Then it came to pass that I was a cook therein and I was an evil cook, for I used to sell the food of the church wherein I was dwelling for treasures and jewels for myself, so that my house became full of counterpanes and pillows and of raiment, both linen and wool, of every colour, and of brazen pails and of small brazen vessels, and of brooches of silver with pins of gold. Insomuch that unto my house there was nothing wanting of all that is hoarded by man; both golden books and booksatchels adorned with brass and gold. And I used to dig under the houses of the church and carry many treasures out of them. Great then was my pride and my haughtiness”.’, Hans P. A. Oskamp, *The Voyage of Máel Dúin. A Study in Early Irish Voyage Literature* (Groningen 1970) 168–9 §33.

15 *Uraicecht Becc: Ollam ūas rīgaib rī Muman dā .uii. cumal a dīri ... Ollam ūasaleascup a chumut. Ollam mōrcatrach a cumut amail ro gob Imleach Ibair nō Corcach Mōr Muman*, *CIH*

2334.21–36, ‘Supreme over other kings is the king of Munster. His honour-price is fourteen *cumals*’ ... A supreme noble bishop [has] the same. The superior of a great city [has] the same, as for example, Emly or Cork’.

16 *céile* ‘client’; *flaith* ‘lord’; *bóaire. aicillne* ‘base-clientship’; *sóerrath* ‘free (or noble) fief, free clientship’; *taurchrecc* ‘fore-purchase’; *bés tige* ‘house custom’, *bés* ‘custom’.

17 *Ní tabhair test isin cāin-si fear beas īsliu .b. tuīse do laoech, nó clēirach...*, *CIH* 1418.17, ‘A layman or cleric lower [in rank] than a superior *bóaire* do not give testimony in this law...’. *nī acair acht ō bōairechuib aithech 7 bachlach*, *CIH* 896.24 (*OGSM*), ‘and he only pleads on behalf of secular and ecclesiastical *bóaires*’. *bōaire laīch* ‘lay *bóaire*’, *CIH* 1431.35.

18 *Cid ara n-eibenar comaitheces? ... Araili, is comaitheces arinnī is cuma nodo gaib aire fri aithech 7 aircindech fri bachlach*, *CIH* 64.6-9, ‘Why is joint farming / neighbourhood so called? ... Alternatively, it is joint farming / neighbourhood, because in like manner does a (lay) lord engage in it with a churl and a church superior [engage in it] with a church vassal’.

19 *manchaine; manach; monachus.*

20 *Senchas Már: ag do-radtar do Dīa* ‘a bullock which is given to God’, *CIH* 41.3; *tīr at-oibenar do eclais ar anmuin* ‘land which is granted to a church for [one’s] soul’, 54.14.

21 *Is i Senchas Már ro airled comdire do rīg 7 epscop 7 águ recho litre 7 suid filed ...* ‘It is in *Senchas Már* that the same compensation has been determined for a king and a bishop and a pillar of the law of Scripture and a master poet’, Breatnach, ‘The Early Irish Law Text *Senchas Már*’, 4–5 §4.

22 *Míadslechteae: conid inand imus-freccrat grādha ecna 7 eclasa fri grādha file 7 fēne, acht is ecna māthair cacha dāna dīb conid asa bais uile hebhait*, *CIH* 586.27, ‘so that the grades of Latin learning and of canonical orders correspond to each other in the same way as the grades of poets and free laymen, save that Latin learning is the mother of each of the learned professions, so that they all drink from out of her palm’.

23 *Míadslechteae: rosuī* ‘great sage’, *suī* ‘sage’, *ánruth* ‘bright stream’, *sruth do aill*, ‘stream from a cliff’, *fursaintid* ‘illuminator’, *freisnéidid* ‘interrogator’, *felmac* ‘pupil’, *CIH* 586.1–2, with spelling normalised.

24 *Rosaī danō, nī urcoimdend nī a cethōra randaib saīthe*, *CIH* 586.3, ‘A great sage, then, he does not apologise for [ignorance of] anything in the four divisions of learnedness’. *bith dō i n-ucht 7 i lār a descepol ac foglaim ūadh*, *CIH* 586.8, ‘he is in the heart and middle of his disciples [who are] learning from him’.

ar áine a forcetail, ar ilar a cētfadha, ar sulbhuire a innsce, ar mét a ēolais; ar ar-ecar in cach rainn iter filidhecht 7 lēighinn 7 comgne, acht nā roigh co clēithe namā, *CIH* 586.11, ‘for the splendour of his teaching, for the numerousness of his interpretations, for the eloquence of his speech, for the extent of his knowledge; indeed he (viz. this grade title) is found in each division [of learning], whether poetry or Latin learning, or historical learning, the only thing being that he has not reached the summit’.

*Sruth do aill, is ē a bēs-saidhe: bāidhidh cach mbec n-étruim n-ainirt, do-fóxla ailche, con-oisce gnē trāgha la tes sīne. Im-thā samlaid in fer samailter fris: bāidhidh drochlēighniudha, fortabhraidsi co n-ailchib testemna 7 cēdfaidhi, 7 is tūalaing a forcetal con-oisce gnē n-aisnēisin co ndīlgudh iman āes in beclēighind indlighthech trāigit i frecnarcus ānrotha, CIH 586.16, ‘A stream from a cliff, this is what characterises it: it overwhelms every weak, light, insignificant thing, it carries off rocks, it alters the appearance of a strand along with along with intense weather. So also, the man who is likened to it: he overwhelms bad (Latin) scholars, he overpowers them (leg. *forta-brissi*) with the foundations of texts and interpretations, and his teaching is capable of altering the appearance of exposition, with indulgence towards the unrightful people of little learning who ebb in the presence of a splendid stream’.*

25 *felmac* ‘pupil’: as *mac iar lēighind a salm*, CIH 586.27, ‘a boy who has completed the study of his psalms’.

26 *freisnéidid* ‘interrogator’: *fris-comarc dīa aite i ceill a olloman*, CIH 586.25, ‘he enquires of his teacher in the cell of his master’.

27 *Uraicecht Becc: suí litre* ‘sage of Scripture’, *tánaise suad litre* ‘vice-sage of Scripture’, *ócsuí* ‘young sage’, and *fer cethramthan suíthi* ‘man of one of the four divisions of wisdom’, as well as *maic léigind* ‘children of Latin learning’, CIH 1615.4–15 and 2279.14–29, with spelling normalised.

28 *Cumal du chāecduch, dā chumal don foglaintidh, trī cumala don deiscipul, ceithre cumala dun staraige, cūic cumala don forcetlaid, sē cumala don saī .i. suī canōine, secht cumala don fir lēigind nō don druimchlí*, CIH 2279.32, ‘One *cumal* for the “person of fifties (viz. one who knows the psalms)”, two *cumals* for the “learner”, three *cumals* for the “disciple”, four *cumals* for the “historian”, five *cumals* for the “teacher”, six *cumals* for the “sage”, i.e. the “sage of Canon Law”, seven *cumals* for the “man of Latin learning” or the “ridge-post”’.

29 CIH 2101.1: *cóectach, foglaintid, discipul, staraige, forcetlaid, suí canōine, druimchlí*. Dubhaltach Mac Fir Bhisigh’s legal glossary in TCD MS H 5. 30 (1401) under the headword *caogdach*: Eugene O’Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin 1861), 494–5.

30 CIH 2101: *cāecdac .i. canas salma solabra, secht fichit fora deich iar lāthar 7 ebert* ‘a “person of fifties” who chants psalms eloquently, seven score and ten in accordance with [proper] disposition and enunciation’.

31 CIH 2101: *Drumclī di-can ō Deichbrēitir co Cuilmen* ‘a *druimchlí* pronounces [on everything] from the Decalogue to the *Etymologiae*’.

32 Mac Fir Bhisigh: *Foirceadlaidhe .i. fear aga mbi gramadac crosan 7 siollaobha, 7 rime, 7 reatha na bliadhna, 7 reatha grene 7 esga* “Teacher”, i.e. a man who has [knowledge of] grammar and ... and syllabification and mathematical calculations, and the courses of the year, and the courses of the sun and the moon’.

33 *Cumal cach gráid gaibther iar n-enngus airchiunn* ‘A *cumal* for every grade which is assumed in accordance with definite innocence’, *Ériu* 40, 14–15 §14.

34 Standard equivalence of 1 *cumal* = 6 *séts*; the priest had 36 *séts* as his honour-price, the deacon had 30, the subdeacon 24, the lector 18, the exorcist 12, and the usher 6.

35 *Crith Gablach*. The *tánaise rí*g ‘designated successor to the king’ has 30 *séts*, the *aire forgaill* ‘lord of superior testimony’ has 25, the *aire tuiseo* ‘lord of precedence’ has 20, the *aire ard* ‘high lord’ has 15, the *aire désa* 10, and the *bóaire* 5.

36 *Uraicecht na Ríar*. 20 *séts* for the *ánruth*, 10 for the *clí*, 7 for the *cano*, 5 for the *dos*, 4 for the *macfuirmid*, and 1½ for the *fochloc*.

37 *Uraicecht Becc*. *tánaise suad litre* = *aire ard* (20 *séts*, *CIH* 1601.3); *ócsuí* = *aire tuise* (15 *séts*, *CIH* 1600.33); *fer cethramthan suíthi* = *aire désa* (7 *séts*, *CIH* 1597.9).

Rī āentūaite ... leath .iii. cumul a dīre, *CIH* 1602.4–5, ‘The king of a single túath ... his honour price is 3½ *cumals*’.

38 *Míadslechte* (*CIH* 586.1–27). *rosuí*: 10 *cumals* + 10 ounces of silver + 8 scruples = 80⅔ *séts*; *suí litre* = *rí ruirech*, = 14 *cumals* = 84 *séts*; *suí canóine*: seven *cumals*; *fursaintid*: 1½ *cumals*; *freisnéidid*: 1 *cumal*; *felmac*: half a *cumal*.

39 *Aí flatho fot téora n-anál ... Aí filed ... canair dib n-análaib ... Aí féini fot n-análae* ‘The suit of a lord is the extent of three breathings ... The suit of a poet ... is uttered in two breathings ... The suit of a commoner is the extent of one breathing’, *CIH* 2225.13–15 (normalised).

40 *for secht n-análaib ebaltair áe ecalsa* ‘on seven breathings the lawsuit of the church will be prosecuted’, *CIH* 2226.17 and 1288.29 (normalised).

41 *Fuirmither cóic foclaib fir féine ... Lánfiche focal áe rí*g *rianaid*; *réde co téora hanála a derbdliged*; *dí anáil do écius ... cóic fir féine, deich fir láedo* ‘Let there be fixed in five phrases the attestation of commoners, ... A full twenty phrases is the suit of a powerful king; elucidation extending to three breathings is his certain right. Two breathings for a poet ... five [phrases] for the man of the commoners, ten for the man of a *laíd* (viz. the poet)’, *CIH* 2225.27–9 (normalised).

42 *.iii. n-anāla don eclais, 7 .iii. in cach anāil; trī anāla don flaith 7 .iii. focail in cach anāil; dā anāil don filid, 7 .u. focail in cach anāil; ænanāla dona fēnib, 7 .u. focail inntib*, *CIH* 662.12, ‘Seven breathings for the ecclesiastic, and seven [phrases] in each breathing; three breathings for the lord, and seven phrases in each breathing; two breathings for the poet, and five phrases in each breathing; a single breathing for the commoners, and five phrases in it’.