THE DEATH OF DIARMAID IN SCOTTISH AND IRISH TRADITION

DIARMAID UA DUIBHNE is probably the best known and most celebrated of the warriors of the Fian. In both Ireland and Scotland his exploits have been retailed across the centuries in prose and verse, with the result that he has earned an esteem within the tradition of *Fianaigheacht* which far surpasses that of Fionn mac Cumhaill or Goll mac Morna. Stories about Diarmaid, and especially about his elopement with Gráinne, the one betrothed or, in the earliest text, married to Fionn, are deeply embedded within the Finn Cycle. Indeed, the traditional rivalry of Fionn and Diarmaid may well suggest that Diarmaid once occupied a place in the Celtic pantheon which even the growing importance of Fionn could not wholly supersede. It is this intrinsic rivalry between two warrior leaders, with the balance of sympathy tipped firmly in Diarmaid's favour, that gives the story of Diarmaid its dynamism and its lasting appeal. It pervades all aspects of his life, and is shown, with moving pathos, in the story of his death.[1]

The present paper focuses attention on the final act in the drama of Diarmaid, and particularly on the Gaelic lay or ballad which commemorates Fionn's last deed against his almost insuperable rival. The earliest surviving version of this lay is found in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, a manuscript compiled in Perthshire in the period 1512–42, and written in a Scots-based orthography by the brothers James and Duncan MacGregor.[2] The paper presents an edition of the ballad as it is found in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (henceforward referred to as BDL), and considers some aspects of style and language. It attempts to place the narrative of the ballad in the context of the wider body of tradition relating to the death of Diarmaid. It looks specifically at the Scottish dimensions of the story, but the Irish perspective is kept firmly in view. The story of Diarmaid, like much of the *Fianaigheacht*, is part of the common cultural heritage of Ireland and Gaelic Scotland, a heritage which Professor Brian Ó Cuív has done much to elucidate in his many scholarly works.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Laoidh Dhiarmaid, the Lay of Diarmaid, was one of the most popular of all the Fenian lays in Gaelic Scotland, and versions of it occur in most of the main Scottish ballad collections from the eighteenth and

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[1] See, in general, P. Mac Cana, *Celtic mythology* (London 1971) 110–15.

[2] National Library of Scotland MS Adv. 72.1.37. For an introduction to the Book of the Dean of Lismore, see D. E. Meek, 'The Scots -Gaelic scribes of late medieval Perthshire: an overview of the orthography and contents of the Book of the Dean of Lismore', in J. D. McClure and M. Spiller (ed.), *Bryght lanternis* (Aberdeen 1989) 387–404. For its ballads, see D. E. Meek, 'The corpus of heroic verse in the Book of the Dean of Lismore' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1982); idem, 'The Gaelic ballads of Medieval Scotland', *Gaelic Soc. Inverness Trans.* 55 (1989) 47–72.

nineteenth centuries. Its inclusion in BDL suggests that its popularity in Scotland was well established by the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The lay may have owed something of its importance in Scotland to the prestige of its hero as one of the supposed ancestors of the Clan Campbell.[3] In a letter written in 1763, the Rev. Alexander Pope of Reay claimed that the lay was held in special esteem by an old Campbell reciter in his parish, who insisted on removing his cap while singing it, as a mark of respect to the deceased Diarmaid.[4]

The lay tells how Diarmaid's death occurred as a result of his being wounded in the sole of his foot by the bristle of a venomous boar. The hunt for this boar was specially arranged by Fionn, and it was located at Beann Ghulbainn. The uncomplicated and economical narrative of the ballad contrasts with the more ambitious medieval romance, *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne* ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne', henceforward referred to as TDG), which was also known in Gaelic Scotland in the modern period.[5] The inclusion in BDL of another lay associated with Diarmaid and Gráinne, *Do mhillis mise, a Ghráinne* ('You have ruined me, O Gráinne'),[6] in which Diarmaid rebukes Gráinne for causing the enmity now existing between him and his former companions, suggests that TDG was probably known at least in outline in Scotland by *c.*1500. The presence of both items in the manuscript could indicate a fairly specific interest in Diarmaid on the part of the BDL scribes and their sources. TDG is, of course, well attested in Ireland in the Middle Ages.

Given the obvious popularity of Diarmaid on both sides of the North Channel, it is something of a surprise to find that there is no firm evidence that the Lay of Diarmaid has been preserved in Ireland. Such an anomaly may be caused merely by the loss of texts on the Irish side.[7] The fact that the lay was, in all probability, composed in Scotland should not have debarred it from being accepted into circulation in Ireland, since traffic in such material would always have been two-way, and a version of it may once have crossed the water. On the other hand,

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[3] W. Gillies, 'Heroes and ancestors', in B. Almqvist, S. Ó Catháin, P. Ó Héalaí (ed.), *The heroic process: form, function and fantasy in folk epic* (Dublin 1987) 57–73.

[4] H. MacKenzie, *Report of the committee of the Highland Society of Scotland appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh 1805) 54–5.

[5] N. Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne* (Ir. Texts Soc. XLVIII, Dublin 1967).

[6] N. Ross (ed.), *Heroic poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh 1939) 176–9; Meek, 'Corpus of heroic verse', 353–5.

[7] In J. H. Lloyd, O. J. Bergin, G. Schoepperle, 'The reproach of Diarmaid', *Revue Celtique* 33 (1912) 41–57, Lloyd states: 'I have also an unpublished ballad of Diarmaid's death, from a man named Aoidhmin MacGregor of Bristol, furnished me by Miss Eleanor Hull' (p. 45 n. 1). There is no means of knowing whether this was an indigenised Irish version of the present ballad, a Scottish version, or a completely new composition.

it is conceivable that the lay may have lost its place beyond Scotland
because it conflicted in some respects with the prestigious literary prose
version represented by TDG, which was extremely popular in Ireland.
To show the relationship of the accounts of the death of Diarmaid in the
lay and in TDG, it is necessary to sketch the development of the story as
a whole within the complementary traditions of Ireland and Scotland.

(1) *Irish accounts of the death of Diarmaid and their relationship to the
BDL lay*

The earliest references so far traced to the death of Diarmaid occur
in *Acallam na senórach* of *c.*1175. There are two such references in
this text:[8] (a) *Ocus luidhset as sin rompo co Leacht na muice (co Beind
nGulban) áit ar marbh an muc Diarmait ó Duibhne* . . . 'And they went
from there to Leacht na Muice [the Grave of the Pig] (to Ben Gulban)
where the pig killed D. ó D.'

(b) *⁊ tangadur rompo . . . do Lighi in fheindida, in bail ar marbh in
mucc doilfi draí[d]echta Diarmait hua Duibne.* 'and they came on their
way . . . to Lighe an Fheindida [the Grave of the Warrior] where the
magical pig killed D. hua D.'

These brief allusions are sufficient to indicate that the essential ele-
ments in the story of Diarmaid's death were known in Ireland by the
late twelfth century at least. Extract (a) makes Beann Ghulban the
scene of the tragedy, and a mountain of this name has remained the
principal *locus* in subsequent Irish and Scottish Gaelic tradition. It is,
however, worth noting that extract (a) indicates that 'Beann Ghulban'
is an alternative name for the site, while extract (b) gives it yet another
name, with no allusion to 'Beann Ghulban'. In later tradition, the name
'Beann Ghulban' (and its variants) could be grafted on to an existing hill
name, or used as an alternative, thus preserving the essential onomastic
component of the story. Extract (b) draws attention to the magic nature
of the boar, and later Irish and Scottish versions similarly preserve this
point.

The *Acallam* references make no attempt to link the death of Diar-
maid to his elopement with Fionn's betrothed, Gráinne. Yet the story
of the elopement was evidently known in Ireland as early as the tenth
century under the title, *Aithed Grainne ingine Corbmaic la Diarmaid
ua nDuibne*, the title alone being preserved.[9] Something of the possible
content of the *Aithed* may be suggested by tenth- and eleventh-century
versions of isolated episodes connected with, or presupposing a know-
ledge of, the elopement.[10] Yet none of these episodes recounts the death

[8]Cited in Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht*, xii; see also W. Stokes and E. Windisch
(ed.), *Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch* 4th series I (Leipzig 1900)
lines 1514–16, 6895–6.

[9]P. Mac Cana, *The learned tales of medieval Ireland* (Dublin 1980) 46, 57, 86–7,
106.

[10]Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht*, x–xii.

of Diarmaid. We need not be too hasty in concluding that, in the tenth
century, Diarmaid's death was not yet a part of the larger story, since
so much evidence may now be lost, but the pattern is suggestive.

Certainly by the fourteenth century it would seem that the *oidheadh*
of Diarmaid had come to be related to the *aitheadh*. Evidence for this is
found in the verse of Gearóid Iarla, third Earl of Desmond, who died in
1398. In the poems contained in the so-called *Duanaire Ghearóid Iarla*,
Gearóid makes numerous allusions to the story of Diarmaid and Gráinne,
including the death of Diarmaid. He makes it clear that the tragedy took
place 'Ag Beinn Ghulban is tír thuaidh' and that the principal agent was
a venomous boar. Gearóid, however, directly links his death with the
elopement.[11] A *Duanaire Finn* ballad, which is to be dated 1250–1400,
similarly relates the two episodes.[12]

The relationship of Diarmaid's death to his flight with Gráinne is
well developed in the Early Modern prose tale TDG, which is of cen-
tral importance in the evolution of later versions of the Diarmaid and
Gráinne story, in both Irish and Scottish tradition. TDG, which may
have been put together in the fourteenth century but is not attested in
manuscript before 1651, locates the pursuit of the lovers by the aggrieved
Fionn in the south of Ireland. This suggests a southern Irish provenance
for the redaction.[13] TDG is of special interest because of the number
of minor themes which it has in common with the French romance of
Tristan and Isolt, quite apart from the close overall resemblance which
it bears to the latter.[14] In this discussion, however, our main concern is
with the account of Diarmaid's death given by TDG, and this may now
be summarised:[15]

> TDG sees Diarmaid's death as a result of his *geasa* and Fionn's
> enmity, both factors being of importance. It was one of Diarmaid's
> *geasa* that he should not hunt a pig. This came about as a conse-
> quence of an incident in the house of Aonghus an Bhrogha. Diar-
> maid's father, Donn Donnchadha, was envious because Aonghus an
> Bhrogha's people loved his steward's son as much as Aonghus loved
> his foster-son, Diarmaid. Two of Fionn's hounds began to fight in
> the house, and the steward's son ran for safety between the knees
> of Donn Donnchadha, who promptly killed him by squeezing him
> between his knees. There was some dispute as to whether the boy
> was killed by the hounds or by Donn, but Fionn ascertained by his
> powers of divination that Donn had been responsible. The steward
> then wanted to kill Diarmaid in a similar way, but Aonghus stopped

[11] G. Mac Niocaill, 'Duanaire Ghearóid Iarla', *Studia Hibernica* 3 (1963) 7–59,
especially lines 71–2, 103, 439–40, 729–30, 756–60.
[12] E. MacNeill (ed.), *Duanaire Finn* I (Ir. Texts Soc. VII, London 1908) no. xvii.
[13] Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht*, xiii–xiv.
[14] ibid., xxvi–xxix.
[15] ibid., lines 1419–1818.

him. The steward then struck his dead son with a magic rod, turn-
ing him into a boar which would have the same length of life as
Diarmaid and by which Diarmaid himself would fall. Aonghus put
Diarmaid under *geasa* never to hunt swine. The boar of Beann
Ghulban was the steward's son.

Diarmaid did not learn of his *geasa* until he had committed
himself to hunt the boar of Beann Ghulban, at which point Fionn
informed him of them. Fionn, Diarmaid declared, had engineered
the hunt as an act of vengeance, but it was of little use for him to try
to avoid it in view of his *geasa*. In the ensuing struggle, Diarmaid
struck twice at the boar, making no impression on it, and breaking
his own sword in the second attempt. The boar then sprang on
him, and threw him on its back. Sitting back to front on the boar,
Diarmaid was carried some distance before being thrown and gored
by it. In a final desperate effort, Diarmaid killed the boar with the
hilt of his sword.

As he lay dying, Diarmaid asked Fionn to provide him with a
healing drink of water from his hands. This Fionn refused to do,
saying that Diarmaid did not deserve it. Diarmaid than defended
himself by relating how he had saved Fionn from an attack by Cair-
bre Lifeachair. When Fionn said that he had taken Gráinne from
him, and was therefore unworthy, Diarmaid related how he had
protected him in an incident in Bruidhean Chaorthainn. Fionn was
eventually persuaded by Osgar to give Diarmaid a drink, but Fionn
let the water run through his fingers twice. When he reached Diar-
maid on the third attempt, Diarmaid was dead. TDG concludes by
describing the reactions of Gráinne on hearing of Diarmaid's death.

It will be evident from the foregoing summary that the BDL ballad is,
to some extent, similar to the account of Diarmaid's death given in TDG.
It will be equally evident, however, that there are several significant
differences between the two versions, and these may now be set out and
discussed.

(a) The ballad, unlike the TDG account, is not set ostensibly within
the framework of the story of Diarmaid and Gráinne. It makes no overt
mention of Diarmaid's involvement with Gráinne. Fionn's reason for
making Diarmaid hunt the boar is not fully explained, although he is
said to have fallen 'trē éad' ('through jealousy', line 86). However, the
fact that Fionn is involved in planning Diarmaid's death suggests that
the ballad assumes a knowledge of the elopement on the part of the
audience. Otherwise, Fionn is reduced to being a villain without good
cause. Furthermore, the concluding description of Diarmaid as *coimh-
theachtach is mealltōir ban* ('the companion and enticer of women', line
97) may well have been intended to remind the audience of the *aitheadh*.
Such laconic allusiveness is wholly consistent with ballad style. It is
thus by no means improbable that the ballad was sometimes recited

in the context of a wider prose account of Diarmaid and Gráinne, at
an appropriate stage in the narrative.[16] The poignancy of the ballad
could also be intensified by relating it to the preceding events of the
aitheadh. Nevertheless, it could, and probably often did, function as an
independent, self-contained narrative poem.

(b) Although both TDG and the BDL ballad attest to the magic
nature of the boar that killed Diarmaid, they attribute different origins
to it. TDG makes the boar a reincarnation of the son of Aonghus an
Bhrogha's steward. Diarmaid's death is therefore seen in TDG as the
steward's act of vengeance, the result of Diarmaid's violation of his *geasa*,
and the overall consequence of his involvement with Gráinne.

The ballad provides the boar with a less complex background. It is
said to have belonged initially to the herd of Balar (lines 27–8). This
character, who is doubtless to be equated with the malevolent Fomorian
of the same name,[17] owned swine which are further described in a *Duan-
aire Finn* ballad. Of special interest is the description of a very large
boar of this breed which the Fian succeeded in killing – 'Torc trom do
shíol mhuc mBalair . . . Cullach go ngné gairbh go ngus' ('A heavy hog
of the breed of Balar's swine . . . a boar of grisly shape, of power').[18]
This boar would certainly appear to be a close relative of the one that
killed Diarmaid. The BDL ballad, however, lays more emphasis on the
boar's magic nature, and in particular on its venomous bristle (lines 37–
40). Boars with similar features, though lacking this precise pedigree,
are common in Fenian and other Celtic literature.[19]

In subsequent Irish tradition, oral versions of the elopement agree
with TDG's description of the boar's origins and give it considerable
prominence.[20] In later Scottish tradition, if prose descriptions of the
boar are found, these tend to agree with the BDL ballad. The main
difference is that 'Balar' has become 'Mala líth' (or some such form of
the name), who is described as 'an old woman . . . and she had a herd
of swine, and she had a venomous boar for guarding the pigs. There was
no being that went to hunt this boar that came back alive'.[21]

(c) TDG and the BDL ballad differ markedly in their description
of the fatal wounding of Diarmaid by the boar. In TDG, Diarmaid is
thrown on to the boar's back, carried some distance by it sitting back
to front, and then gored, after the boar has thrown him off. A similar
account of a Fenian hero's encounter with a boar is found in a *Duanaire
Finn* ballad, which Murphy has dated to the mid-twelfth century in its

[16]Fragments of the ballad survive in Scottish folk-versions of the tale; see J. F.
Campbell (ed.), *Popular tales of the West Highlands* III (Edinburgh 1861) 49–60.
[17]G. Murphy (ed.), *Duanaire Finn* III (Ir. Texts Soc. XLIII, Dublin 1954 for 1941)
345 s.v. *Balor*.
[18]*Duanaire Finn* I, no. xiv lines 1–8.
[19]R. Bromwich and D. Simon Evans (ed.), *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Caerdydd 1988)
lxiii–lxxiii.
[20]Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht*, xxiv.
[21]Campbell, *Popular tales* III, 65.

original form. Here, the dogs of the Fian rouse a monstrous boar which proceeds to kill a large number of warriors. Colla then leaps upon it at the woods of Formaoil, and, as he is carried along on its back, he wounds it nine times.[22] The main distinction between this account and TDG is that in the former the hero leaps on to the boar on his own initiative, and he is evidently not killed.

In the BDL ballad, Diarmaid slays the boar at the outset, and is then given the task of measuring it by Fionn, first from snout to tail (lines 59–60) and then in the opposite direction (lines 65–6). Since the latter is the more dangerous venture, Diarmaid is offered, or more probably reminded of, an unspecified *rogha* by Fionn (lines 67–8). In the act of measuring, he is wounded in the sole of his foot by the poisonous bristle of the boar (lines 71–2). The ballad clearly employs a variant of the international motif of Achilles' Heel, which implies that the hero is vulnerable only in one particular spot of his body.[23]

In later Scottish tradition, all prose accounts of Diarmaid's death agree with the BDL ballad, adding only small details, such as the dimensions of the boar, or the mole which Diarmaid has on the sole of his foot, and by which alone he is vulnerable.[24] On the Irish side, most oral versions follow the TDG account, but there are a few versions which agree with the BDL ballad. Roscommon and Kilkenny furnish variants of the motif found in the ballad. So also does a poem found within TDG itself. Aonghus an Bhrogha's lament for Diarmaid agrees with the Roscommon tradition that Diarmaid was pierced by the boar's tusk. According to O'Grady, Diarmaid's wounding while measuring the boar was 'the common tradition amongst the peasantry of Ireland' in his own time.[25] Nevertheless, the surviving evidence may suggest that this account was especially popular in the north, whereas the prose version in TDG may reflect the dominant tradition in the south of Ireland.[26]

(d) The most conspicuous divergence between the TDG account of the death of Diarmaid and the BDL ballad occurs in the description of events following his wounding. In the BDL ballad, Diarmaid expires immediately after he is wounded by the boar (lines 73–6). In TDG,

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[22] G. Murphy (ed.), *Duanaire Finn* II (Ir. Texts Soc. XXVIII, London 1933 for 1926) no. liv; see, for dating, *Duanaire Finn* III, 120.

[23] Classified as Z311 in Stith Thompson, *Motif-index of folk literature* V (Copenhagen 1955) 565.

[24] Campbell, *Popular tales* I (1860) 58–9.

[25] Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht*, xxiii–iv; Lloyd, Bergin and Schoepperle, *Revue Celtique* 33 (1912) 44–5, give a summary of the an oral version of the Diarmaid and Gráinne story provided by Mr Humphrey Lynch of Coolea, Ballyvourney, Co. Cork. They note: 'The version . . . is interesting as testifying to the persistance [*sic*] in Ireland of traits of the story found in the Scottish Highlands'. Conán, not Fionn, is, however, the one who taunts Diarmaid to measure the boar; this is also the case in John Smith's version in *Galic antiquities* (Edinburgh 1780) 194, and prompts the suspicion that 'reworked' Scottish versions may have been making their way to Ireland in the post-classical period.

[26] Cf. A. Bruford, *Gaelic folk-tales and Medieval romances* (Dublin 1969) 106–7.

however, his wounding is followed by an episode in which Diarmaid asks
Fionn to provide a healing drink of water. Fionn's prevarication, and
the consequent death of Diarmaid, add considerably to the dramatic
quality of the story. The inclusion of this incident in subsequent Irish
and Scottish prose folk versions, and in almost all later Scottish ballad
versions, would suggest *prima facie* that the BDL ballad is defective or,
in Professor W. J. Watson's words, 'dramatically incomplete'. Watson,
who regarded the healing drink as being 'of the essence of the tale', saw a
possible connection, on the level of dramatic irony, between Diarmaid's
request and the *rogha* which he had been offered twice by Fionn (lines
19, 67).[27]

The situation may well be more complex than mere incompleteness
on the part of the BDL text. It may indeed be asked whether the episode
is not a later addition to the story by a dramatically conscious redactor,
an addition which may have been incorporated into the ballad texts
under the influence of TDG. Evidence of the exact development of the
story earlier than TDG is unfortunately lacking, and the question of later
addition cannot therefore be answered with confidence. Professor James
Carney has, however, advanced the theory that the incident was brought
in originally under the influence of the romance of Tristan and Isolt,
which he regards as the source of parallel episodes in the Diarmaid and
Gráinne story.[28] Carney, who evidently regarded the death of Diarmaid
by the boar as originally separate from TDG, writes: 'The adapter of the
Tristan romance to a Fenian background was faced with the problem:
how am I to make Diarmait die as a result of machinations of the jealous
king (Finn) when everybody knows that he was slain by the Wild Boar of
Ben Gulban? This is solved by making Finn and Diarmait hunt the Wild
Boar together and by inventing for Finn a magic property, failure to use
which makes him *morally* guilty of Diarmait's death'. Carney points to
the episode in Tristan, in which the hero's death 'as in Diarmait, comes
about when he is seeking a cure for his wounds and is a direct result of
having loved the Old King's wife'.[29]

If such a viewpoint, though suggestive, is not capable of ultimate
proof, there is some evidence that, as far as the later Scottish ballad
versions are concerned, the episode may have been added to them at
a fairly late stage. It is noticeable that the relevant quatrains in these
versions are in a loose form of *deibhidhe* metre, and not in the relatively
well preserved *rannaigheacht mhór* of the rest of the ballad, a point
which suggests accretion to the earlier text. It is perhaps also worth
noting the view of the Rev. Dr John Smith, who omitted the episode
from a translation of the ballad in his *Galic antiquities*, stating that
'it is of so different a complexion from the rest of the poem that no

[27] W. J. Watson, 'The death of Diarmaid', *Celtic Review* 10 (1916) 350–57, p. 352.
[28] J. Carney, *Studies in Irish literature and history* (Dublin 1955) 189–242, esp.
217–20.
[29] ibid., 219 and n. 1.

apology needs to be made for rejecting it, as the interpolation of some later bard'.[30]

(e) The BDL ballad makes no reference to any *geasa* ('taboos') which Diarmaid violates, and which help to bring about his death. TDG, however, gives considerable emphasis to Diarmaid's *geasa* never to hunt swine. Later Irish prose versions preserve an element of fate in the matter,[31] and subsequent Scottish versions, both prose and verse, put Diarmaid under constraint to answer the cry of the hunt arranged by Fionn. In the ballad there would seem to be a general sense of fate and foreboding in the portrayal of the hunt (see qq. 5–6).[32] The *geasa* belong essentially to a wider canvas than that of the ballad, and the BDL ballad may again assume that its audience is familiar with them. Their absence from the ballad does, however, result in a markedly more sinister portrait of Fionn than is apparent in TDG, since he is depicted not so much as the instrument of fate, but as a cunning schemer.

The evidence adduced above indicates that the BDL ballad differs from the TDG version of Diarmaid's death at a number of points. This does not mean that the story as told in the ballad would have been unwelcome or unknown in Irish tradition. Indeed, prose versions of Diarmaid's death which differed in detail from TDG, and sometimes agreed with the ballad, were apparently current in Ireland. Yet it is possible that the TDG version became dominant in Ireland, and that other versions were either assimilated to it or gradually reduced in status. Even in Gaelic Scotland, where the ballad was most popular, TDG exerted a potent influence on its later development. We may also conclude that the tradition of Diarmaid's death while measuring the boar has a strong link with the north of Ireland and pre-eminently with Scotland. It is by no means impossible that the earliest tradition relating to the death of Diarmaid is preserved in these parts, whereas it has been overlaid, and even displaced, in the south of Ireland (and progressively in other areas) by the version in TDG.[33]

(2) *Scottish origin and distribution of the ballad*

It is generally agreed that, in Ireland, the site of Diarmaid's death, referred to in TDG and elsewhere as Beann Ghulban, is to be equated primarily with Benbulben in Co. Sligo.[34] In Gaelic Scotland, the principal identification of Beann Ghulbainn (spelt variously in the ballad

[30] Smith, *Galic antiquities*, 195.

[31] Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht*, xxiv.

[32] Campbell, *Popular tales* III, 58–9; J. F. Campbell (ed.), *Leabhar na Féinne* (London 1872, repr. Shannon 1972) 159 qq. 11–12.

[33] This interpretation of the evidence does not agree with that of D. Ó hÓgáin, *Fionn mac Cumhaill: images of the Gaelic hero* (Dublin 1988) 176. Dr Ó hÓgáin believes that the death-by-the-bristle episode has 'crept into' the story as previously (and originally?) represented in TDG. It is more probable that TDG, as a literary refashioning, is the innovative text, emanating from the south of Ireland, where Continental influences were stronger.

[34] Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht*, 145 s.v. *Beann Ghulban*.

versions)[35] would appear to be with Ben Gulabin in north-east Perth-
shire. This hill lies at the upper end of Glenshee, immediately to the
north of the Spittal of Glenshee. It is now difficult to know whether
the hill was thus named originally, or whether an earlier name was dis-
placed under the influence of the story. The extent to which the death of
Diarmaid attached itself to the toponomy of this area is reflected in the
Rev. Allan Stewart's account of the parish of Kirkmichael, published in
1795: 'A hill at the head of Glenshee, called Beinn-Ghulbhuinn, is dis-
tinguished by having been the scene of a hunting which proved fatal to
Diarmid, one of the Fingalian heroes. Here are shown the den of the wild
boar that was hunted, a spring called Tobar nam Fiann, *the fountain of
the Fingalians*; a small lake, called Loch an Tuirc, *the boar's loch*; also
Diarmid's grave, where he was buried by his comrades. . . . The emi-
nence where Diarmid was buried, is called Tulach Diarmid, Diarmid's
Hill. . .'. Stewart, who summarised the story of the ballad, knew of
'a Gaelic poem extant . . . which expressly affirms the hunting to have
been in the hills of Glenshee'.[36]

The identification of Beann Ghulbainn primarily with Ben Gulabin,
Perthshire, can be made with reasonable confidence because of its asso-
ciation with Glenshee, which is generally also mentioned in the Scottish
ballad versions. No other site is known where the placenames and the
geographical features are in such a close and convenient relationship. In
the BDL version, Gleann Sìodh is the principal location, and the ref-
erence occurs at the very beginning of the poem (line 1). The glen is
said to lie 'below green Beann Ghulbainn' (line 5), a description which
accords perfectly with the Perthshire site. The *dùnadh* of the BDL
version makes it clear that a reference to a *gleann* must have formed
part of the opening phrase of the original ballad version, and that it
was not a later addition. However, the BDL text begins with a pair of
quatrains which both open with a reference to a *gleann*. Although it is
possible that the ballad could have commenced originally with what is
now its second quatrain in the BDL text, the second quatrain is rein-
forced greatly by the specific detail of the first one, and it seems likely
that both were intended to go together. If we accept that the first two
quatrains belong together, the combination of literary and geographi-
cal evidence, for which the Irish site (lacking a Gleann Sìodh) does not
afford an explanation, suggests very strongly that the ballad was indeed
composed in Gaelic Scotland, by a poet familiar with the Glenshee area
of Perthshire.

The apparently close connection between the ballad and Perthshire in
no way hindered its spreading to other parts of Gaelic Scotland. Beann
Ghulbainn, in the nature of the tradition, could be re-localised. In Skye,
for example, 'Beinn Ianabheig [*recte* Tianabhaig], a peaked hill above the

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[35]See note 39 below.
[36]J. Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland* XV (Edinburgh 1795) 507–9.

Bay of Portree, was once called *Beinn Gulban*, where Diarmad, the friend of Fionn, was wounded when measuring the wild boar'.[37] Gleann Síodh appears to have lost much of its geographical significance, the second element evidently coming to be regarded as *síth* in a general sense, and thus popularly construed as either 'peace' or 'fairy'.[38] It would seem that the physical form of the mountains or hills which attracted the story, or became associated with it, was a much more important factor in the localisation of the story. Almost invariably the primary sites, in both Ireland and Scotland, consist of an eminence with a noticeable plateau and a spur which tapers gradually from the edge of the plateau. When viewed from a distance a hill with this kind of 'beak' or 'snout' (*gulba*) can resemble a crouched boar, and it is possible that, at a storiological level, there was some connection between such hills and the age-old tradition of the boar-hunt.[39]

Eighteenth-century evidence indicates that the Lay of Diarmaid was found both on the mainland and in the islands,[40] possibly having been aided in its movement by Campbell expansion.[41] By the mid-nineteenth century, Hector MacLean could write: 'This Laoidh Dhiarmaid is one of the most popular Ossianic pieces recited in the Long Island, and is known to more individuals than any other'.[42] Reciters of the ballad seem also to have known the story of Diarmaid's elopement with Gráinne.[43]

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[37] Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne*, 164.

[38] Cf. the version in J. Gillies, *A collection of ancient and modern Gaelic poems* (Perth 1786) 284–7, which has the relevant line as *'N Gleann síth sin 's an gleann r'a thaobh*, to be translated as 'That Glen of peace / That fairy Glen and the glen by its side'. The appearance of two glens, the one an image of the other, may reflect attempts to make the ballad fit alternative locations where there was more than one glen. In districts where there was no glen, the quatrain could have been omitted entirely, or perhaps taken to refer to a time when such a glen was thought to have existed.

[39] In addition to Beinn Ghulbainn by Glenshee, a splendid example of this kind of hill can be seen in Ben Gullipen, in the Trossachs (Stirlingshire), to the southwest of Callander. The 'snout' of the plateau is strikingly visible from the road and railway, and the hill has a dramatic profile, standing out from the low plain to the east. The probability that this feature and the surrounding area provided a locus for the Diarmaid story is enhanced by the presumably hybrid Scots/Gaelic placename, Brig o' Turk, to the west of Loch Venachar. With regard to the morphology of the name *Beann Ghulban, Beann Ghulbainn*, which is also recorded in the form *Beinn-Ghulbhuinn* in Stewart's account of Kirkmichael (see note 36), the second element would have been originally a fem. n-stem noun with gen. sg. *gulban* (RIA *Dictionary of the Irish language* s.vv. *gulba, gulban*), thus giving *Beann Ghulban* as a compound name. With time, however, the gen. sg. form would have come to be regarded as a nom. sg., and this would have produced another gen. sg. with palatalisation of the final consonant group, resulting in *Ghulbainn*; cf. *Alba, Albann, Albainn*.

[40] A version was known to Clanranald's bard in South Uist in 1792. See J. Anderson, 'A voyage to the Hebrides', *The Bee* 8 (1792) 212–13.

[41] Cf. Campbell, *Popular tales* III, 60–63.

[42] ibid., 73.

[43] See the references to Janet Currie, ibid., 65, 73.

(3) *Later versions*

Versions of the Lay of Diarmaid from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries bear a strong basic relationship to the BDL version. Most later versions, however, contain material not found in the BDL text, and the amount of such material seems to increase with time.

The version closest to the BDL text would seem to be that of Pope.[44] Although garbled and confused in parts, and not following the BDL sequence of quatrains, this version contains no material which cannot be traced in BDL. Perhaps significantly (although one must consider the possible loss of quatrains), it does not refer to Fionn's healing drink. A defective version in Edinburgh MS Adv. 72.2.12 preserves, in order, BDL qq. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11 ad, 12, 13, 15, 16. It then adds a quatrain giving the length of the boar, before breaking off.[45] If the missing quatrains were available, we might form a different opinion of the relationship between this version and BDL. It appears to be close to BDL, but with one feature of group (A) below.

The majority of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century versions may be placed in three fairly distinct groups. The principal criteria here are the nature and amount of material in each version which is extraneous to the BDL text.

(A) A group of versions represented by the texts of MacNicol and Hill. MacNicol and Hill are identical, reflecting a common source, likely to have been MacNab, the Dalmally blacksmith who is known to have supplied Hill's version.[46] A very similar version is found in MacFarlane's collection.[47] This is often close to MacNicol/Hill in the wording of corresponding quatrains; all three versions begin with q. 3 of the BDL text, and place the locational quatrains, qq. 1–2, of BDL towards the end. Nevertheless, MacFarlane includes a number of quatrains attested in the BDL text, but omitted in MacNicol/Hill. The MacNicol/Hill version omits the following BDL quatrains: 5–8, 10, 16, 20–25. MacFarlane's version includes BDL qq. 20–25, although not in that order. Quatrains found in MacNicol/Hill and MacFarlane, but absent from BDL, are as follows:

MacNicol/Hill, q. 8: This gives the length of the boar (sixteen feet). It seems to be in a form of *rannaigheacht bheag*.

MacNicol/Hill, qq. 11–17. These describe Diarmaid's request for a drink from Fionn's *cuach*, but Fionn refuses. Diarmaid's defence – that Gráinne put him 'fo gheasaibh' – is directly comparable with that in TDG. The quatrains do not describe how Fionn let the water run through his fingers.

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[44] Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne*, 219.
[45] A. MacBain and J. Kennedy (ed.), *Reliquiae Celticae* I (Inverness 1892) 166.
[46] T. F. Hill, *Antient Erse poems, collected among the Scottish Highlands* (first published in *Gentleman's Mag.*, London 1782–3) 14–16.
[47] *Reliquiae Celticae* I, 274–6.

(B) A group of versions represented by the text of McLagan MS 59.[48]
This group includes versions in McLagan MSS 135 and 209, as well as
J. G. Campbell's version from Tiree, which can be traced back to the
second half of the eighteenth century.[49] The text in McLagan MS 59
opens with q. 3 of BDL, followed by qq. 1–2; the other McLagan versions
match the BDL opening. The core of material which corresponds directly
to that in BDL is comparable with that in the MacNicol/Hill version.
McLagan MS 59 and Campbell's version contain the additional quatrains
of the MacNicol/Hill text; McLagan MSS 135 and 209 are similar, but
they omit the length of the boar, as well as Diarmaid's reference to
Gráinne's imposition of *geasa*. All the versions in this group include the
following quatrains, not found in BDL or MacNicol/Hill:

McLagan MS 59, qq. 5–6: In these Gráinne asks Diarmaid not to
respond to the 'fiadhach bréige', but he refuses to listen. The quatrains
appear to be in a form of *rannaigheacht bheag*.

McLagan MS 59, qq. 9–10: These describe the unleashing of Fionn's
dogs, and give an exhortation to Diarmaid. (McLagan MSS 135 and 209
omit q. 10.) The unleashing of the dogs is reminiscent of, though not
identical with, the unleashing of Fionn's dog, Mac an Chuill, in TDG.
The metre of the quatrains is corrupt.

McLagan MS 59, q. 26: This tells how Gráinne, two white dogs and
Diarmaid, were buried in the one *tulach*. According to some prose folk
versions, Gráinne was buried alive, or burnt 'ann an cual de ghlasdarach'.
The metre appears to be a form of *rannaigheacht bheag*.

(C) This group of versions is perhaps most succinctly represented by
the MacCallums' text (in its Gaelic edition).[50] It includes Kennedy (1)
and Kennedy (2), and J. F. Campbell's composite version from South
Uist and Barra; Irvine's version has some similarities, but is closer to
group (B).[51] The MacCallums' text is closely related to that of McLagan
MS 59, and includes all the distinctive quatrains of the latter. Camp-
bell's version omits reference to the unleashing of the dogs, but includes
McLagan's other additional quatrains. Kennedy (1), which does not
differ substantially from Kennedy (2), does not mention the unleashing
of the dogs, the length of the boar, or the burial of Gráinne, Diarmaid
and the dogs. The distinguishing features of this group of versions are
as follows:

MacCallum, 189 line 21: At the point where he states that his only
wrong has been to yield to Gráinne, Diarmaid makes a long speech
in which he recounts how he defended Fionn on three occasions: first,
in the 'bruth chaorann' when Fionn was attacked by Deud-gheal; then

[48] This is represented in Gillies, *Collection*, 284–7.

[49] McLagan MS 135 is housed with the McLagan MSS in Glasgow University Library;
for the text in McLagan MS 209, see *Reliquiae Celticae* I, 323–5. See also J. G.
Campbell, *The Fians* (London 1891) 57.

[50] H. and J. MacCallum, *An original collection of the poems of Ossian, Orrann,
Ulin and other bards* (Montrose 1816).

[51] Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne*, 158–64; Campbell, *Popular tales* III, 73–87.

when Deud-gheal attacked him on another day; and again when Cairbre attacked him in 'cath Chonuill'. In Kennedy (1), Diarmaid refers to his defence of Fionn in the 'Bruidhean Chaorann', his slaying of three kings' sons from Innis Tire-fo-thuinn in 'Tigh teamhra', and the attack by Cairbre. The influence of a version of TDG is evident here, and especially marked in Kennedy (1) where the three kings' sons correspond to the three kings of Inis Tile referred to in TDG. The speech in Irvine's version is shorter, vaguer, and has none of these allusions.

MacCallum, 190 line 19: Following Diarmaid's speech, mention is made of the beds of Diarmaid and Gráinne, and then Fionn laments them both. In Campbell's version (qq. 28–32), the lament is similarly ascribed to Fionn. Kennedy (1) ascribes it to Gráinne (qq. 55–70). The role thus given to Gráinne could again reflect the influence of a version of TDG. It seems certain that TDG is the source of Kennedy's description of Gráinne's swoon, when she hears of Diarmaid's death (q. 54), immediately before her lament. The MacCallum version concludes with Fionn's lament, but in Kennedy (1) Gráinne's lament is followed by a second lament, evidently by Oisean. The starting point of all these elegiac verses is the unascribed lament in the BDL text (qq. 20–26), but they show considerable elaboration. The metrical form of many of these quatrains indicates clearly that they are later additions.

MANUSCRIPT TEXT AND EDITION

The manuscript text of the Lay of Diarmaid occupies pp. 147–8 of BDL as numbered. By error, the verso of p. 147 is not numbered in the manuscript, and it appears as p. 147a in the transcript. In all, therefore, the text occupies the lower half of p. 147 as numbered, the whole of p. 147a and part of p. 148 as numbered. A nineteenth-century hand, possibly that of Dr John Smith,[52] has written 'Bas Dhiarmad' below the scribe's original rubric. The present edition provides a diplomatic transcription (MS) of the BDL text in its Scots-based orthography. MS appears at the bottom of the page, and a restored text, employing the conventional orthography of Early Modern Gaelic, is given at the top. The restored text attempts to represent MS as closely as the Gaelic orthography will allow. Unnecessary repairing of the text and silent emendation are avoided; cruces and other difficulties are discussed in the notes which follow the text of the poem.[53] As MS demonstrates, the BDL text of the Lay of Diarmaid is remarkably clean, and it is easily legible throughout. A few small scribal spelling alterations occur, but these do not have any substantial bearing on the interpretation of the text. The BDL scribes do not appear to have used more than one version of the poem in creating their text, and its clean format suggests

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[52] I am grateful to Mr Ronald Black for this suggested identification.

[53] Similar principles are set out in D. E. Meek, 'The banners of the Fian in Gaelic ballad tradition', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 11 (1986) 29–69.

that they were able to comprehend the sense of the entire poem without difficulty.[54]

Trimming of the outer margins of manuscript pages for binding has resulted in the loss of occasional letters at the beginnings or ends of certain lines, but these letters can be restored with reasonable confidence. The poem has been edited previously in the following works, which are cited in the notes to the present edition:

HP: N. Ross (ed.), *Heroic poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh 1939) 70–77

LBS: J. H. Lloyd, O. Bergin and G. Schoepperle, 'The Death of Diarmaid', *Revue Celtique* 32 (1912) 157–79.

W: W. J. Watson, 'The Death of Diarmad', *Celtic Review* 10 (1916) 350–57.

The following editorial symbols are used in the edition:

[ ] letters, syllables and words supplied by the editor

< > uncertain readings, restorations and translations

( ) words and letters cancelled in BDL

⌈ ⌉ superscript readings in BDL

In the restored text a macron is used to mark vowels which are not shown to be long in the orthography of MS, but which are normally long in Early Modern Classical Gaelic. Otherwise the acute accent is used in the restored text.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

If it is conceded that the Lay of Diarmaid was, in all probability, composed in Gaelic Scotland, it allows us a very important glimpse of the linguistic and stylistic capabilities of its composer, and it offers us the all-too-rare opportunity to compare the creative traditions of Ireland and Gaelic Scotland with respect to the composition of heroic ballads.[55] If we can identify the scribal or post-compositional linguistic forms in the text as preserved in BDL, and if these are relatively few in number, we are indeed being provided with a window of unusual clarity.

In this instance, the likely scribal and post-compositional (or transmissional) features of the text can be identified easily. These include characteristics of the scribes' dialect of East Perthshire Gaelic, such as the loss of unstressed syllables commonly in final position (lines 6, 9, 12, 14, *et passim*), initial position (lines 25, 33, 86) or more generally in pretonic position, as shown by the loss of the definite article (lines 40, 63). The influence of vernacular Scottish Gaelic is otherwise very

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[54] The general transparency of this poem contrasts with the texture of the piece discussed in Meek, *CMCS* 11 (1986). The latter has a strongly 'antiquarian' feel to it, and it is likely that the scribes were groping to retrieve a text which, like a sunken ship, had been washed over by numerous linguistic and scribal currents. The present text is still very 'buoyant' and relatively free from opaque readings.

[55] See Meek, *Gaelic Soc. Inverness Trans.* 55 (1989).

slight.[56] There are minor inconsistencies in the representation of muta-
tions, which may reflect the practices of the BDL scribes rather than
the composer of the poem: thus the conjunction *dá*, normally followed
by eclipsis, is shown in MS without eclipsis in line 18 and with eclipsis
in line 26.

When these levels of language and orthographic representation are
identified, the primary linguistic stratum of the ballad can be seen. This
stratum is Early Modern Common Gaelic in the widest sense. It is hard
to find any feature which is unequivocally and uniquely Scottish: the
poet appears to have employed the forms of the Early Modern language
as one might expect to find them in both Ireland and Scotland in this
period. The use of *char* (lines 61, 99) as a negative with preterite tenses
may suggest a 'northern' provenance, and the enhancement of *aicill* by
means of preaspiration in the final consonant of *soc* (line 59 n) could
suggest a Scottish dimension to the composition of the ballad. Otherwise
there is little to remark. There is a distinct liking for the s-preterite forms
of verbs (lines 36, 37, 49, 53, 69), but this need be no more than a sign of
relative lateness; there are also late verb-forms which add the preverb *do*
where these are not historically correct, but are required for line length:
thus *do fríoth* (line 31), *do thánaig* (line 52). The overall linguistic
complexion of the ballad suggests that it could have been composed in
the fifteenth century, and perhaps not long before the compilation of
BDL.[57]

The structure of the Lay of Diarmaid similarly reflects a pattern
which is attested in Ireland. Most of the text (qq. 1–19) consists of a
narrative account of the warrior's final adventure; following the descrip-
tion of his death, several verses of panegyric (qq. 20–26) extol his physical
beauty and warrior characteristics. The ballad thus moves from straight-
forward narrative to a more formal panegyric coda. In its association
with landscape, it connects fleetingly with the tradition of *dindshenchas*
('lore of famous places'). Very similar stylistic features are also evident
in the Lay of Fraoch (first recorded in BDL), which was composed in
Co. Roscommon, and tells of the death of the Connacht warrior, Fraoch,
through the treachery of Meadhbh.[58] The Lay of Fraoch concludes in
comparable manner with a panegyric coda, a convention which may
also be seen in the BDL version of the well-known poem on the death of
Alexander the Great.[59] The Lays of Diarmaid and Fraoch may therefore
belong to a genre of verse which was reserved for the commemoration of

[56] This could suggest that the poem had not been long in general currency before
it reached the BDL scribes, or that it had been supplied by a conservative source,
close to the classical mainstream.

[57] See Meek, *Gaelic Soc. Inverness Trans.* 55 (1989), for general discussion of this
late wave of creativity, and cf. the preceding note.

[58] D. E. Meek, ' *Táin Bó Fraích* and other "Fráech" texts: a study in thematic
relationships, pt I', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 7 (1984) 1–37, pp. 32–7.

[59] For its text, see *Reliquiae Celticae* I, 95–7. I am grateful to Professor William
Gillies for drawing my attention to this.

significant heroes who had achieved a 'legendary' status. Both ballads relate the tragic death (*oidheadh*) of men who evidently had a higher standing than the 'average' *féinnidh* or warrior, and whose final exploits came to be commemorated in the toponomy of particular districts, thus giving their stories a strong territorial significance. The ballads themselves appear to have been integral to the popular commemoration of Fraoch and Diarmaid. In their fullest forms, the commemorative 'cults' pinpointed at least the sites of the warriors' deaths and their burials.[60] The Lay of Diarmaid, like the Lay of Fraoch, is composed in a loose form (*óglächas*) of *rannaigheacht mhór*, governed by a bare minimum of the metrical rules incumbent upon the practitioners of strict metre. It would, however, be wrong to suppose that the use of such metre is always pedestrian, inartistic or uniformly unambitious. Generally, the composer of the Lay of Diarmaid uses his metre well, and it is noticeable that he was able to employ a more 'strict' form of metre in the concluding quatrains of panegyric. The second couplets of qq. 23 and 24 employ internal rhyme and alliteration to a degree of correctness close to that of strict bardic verse.

The evidence therefore shows us a poet who, if he was located in East Perthshire, was fully in tune with the conventions of ballad composition known and appreciated in the wider Gaelic world, embracing Ireland and Scotland. He was sensitive to the demands of his tradition and of his theme. In producing the Lay of Diarmaid, he may have been contributing to a particular genre of ballad verse which was specially reserved for those heroes who, by reason of background or achievement, were deemed worthy of greater honour.[61]

[60] See Stewart's account of the Glenshee locus, cited in Sinclair, *Statistical Account*, 507–9; the Skye locus (see note 39) had a similar set of associated sites.

[61] My thanks are due to Professor William Gillies, University of Edinburgh, who gave generous help with the more problematical parts of the BDL text. My wife, Dr Rachel Meek, provided much practical assistance at the editorial and secretarial levels.

A ⟨h-⟩ughdar so Ailéin mac Ruaidhrí etc.

1   Gleann Síodh an gleann so rém thaoibh
         a[m] binn faoidh éan 7 lon;
     minic rithidís an Fhéin
         air an t-srath so an déidh a gcon.   4

2   A[n] gleann so fā Bheinn Ghulbainn ghuirm
         as h-áild[e] tulcha fā ghréin,
     níorbh annamh a shrotha gu dearg
         an déidh shealg ō Fhionn na bhFéi⟨n⟩.   8

3   Eisdidh beag, madh áil libh laoidh,
         a chuideacht[a] chaomh so, bhuam,
     air Bheinn Ghulbainn 's air Fhionn fial,
         is air Mac Uí Dhuibhn[e], sgial truagh.   12

4   Guidhear lé Fionn, fā truagh an sgealg,
         air Mhac Uí Dhuibhn[e] as dearg lí
     dhul do Bheinn Ghulbainn do sheilg
         an tuirc nach féadann airm [a] dhíth.   16

        The author of this is Ailéin son of Ruaidhrí etc.

1 This glen beside me is Gleann Síodh, where blackbirds and other birds sing
  sweetly; the Fian often used to run along this glen behind their hounds.
2 This glen below green Beann Ghulbainn, whose knolls are the fairest under
  the sun – not infrequently were its streams red after hunts had been held
  by Fionn of the Fiana.
3 Listen a little while, dear company, if you would wish to hear a lay from
  me about Beann Ghulbainn and generous Fionn, and about the Son of Ua
  Duibhne – a sorrowful tale.
4 It is requested by Fionn – what sad treachery! – that the Son of Ua
  Duibhne of red complexion should go to Beann Ghulbainn to hunt the
  boar that weapons cannot destroy.

[MS, p. 147]
     A houdir so Allane mᶜroyre etc
[1]   Glennschee in glenn so rame heiv / a binn feiġ ayne & lon
      Meñik redeis i' nañe er in trathso i' dey a gon
[2]   A glenn so fa wenn ӡwlbin ӡvrm / is haald tulchi fa ӡraeñ
      Neir wa'new a roythi ɡi dark i' dey helga o Ĩnn ni va⟨   ⟩
[3]   Estich beg ma ӡalew leich a chwddyᵗ cheivi so woym̄
      Er winn ӡwlbin is er Ĩnn fail / is er mᶜeӡoynn skayl troyġ
[4]   Gwir lai finn fa troyg in skelga / er vᶜeӡwñ is derk lee
      ӡwll di weynn ӡwlbin di helga / i' turkgi naᵗ fadin erm ӡe⟨   ⟩

5   Lé Mac Uí Dhuibhn[e] nār thréith
        dā[m] bé gun dtorchradh an torc,
    geallar rogha lē ⟨eól⟩ F[h]inn;
        is sé ⟨easnadh⟩ rinn do locht.   20

6   ⟨[A] fhíor⟩, fá h-earlamh a dháil,
        Mac Uí Dhuibhn[e], grádh nan sgol;
    ach, so an sgeul fā[n] túirseach mná
        – gabhar leis do láimh an t⟨orc⟩.   24

7   [A] dhiongbhāil do fhlaith na bhFéin
        dā gcuireadh é as a[n] gcnoc,
    an seann torc sídhe ba garbh
        do bh[a] aig Balar 'na shealbh muc.   28

8   Suidhighidh Fionn as dearg dreach
        fā Bheinn Ghulbainn ghlais an t-sealg;
    do fríoth Diarmaid leis an torc;
        mór an t-olc a rinn a sgealg.   32

9   Rē claisdeacht comhgháir na bhFian
        [a]noir 's aniar teacht ⟨fá⟩ ceann,
    ⟨éirghis⟩ an ainbhéisd ō [a] suain
        is gluaisis bhuaidh air a' g[h]leann. Gleann   36

5 Should it be that the boar were to fall by the hand of the Son of Ua Duibhne who was no weakling, a choice is promised with Fionn's ⟨knowledge⟩; it is a ⟨defect⟩ that caused your injury.

6 ⟨In truth⟩, his [fateful] encounter was prepared for him, the Son of Ua Duibhne, beloved by the schools; alas, this is the story which makes women sad – he undertakes [to contend with] the boar.

7 It would have been [a deed] worthy of the noble of the Fiana himself, if he could have driven it from the hill, the ancient savage magic boar which Balar once had in his herd of swine.

8 Fionn of red countenance arranges the hunt below green Beann Ghulbainn; Diarmaid was found by the boar; Fionn's treachery caused great harm.

9 Hearing the clamour of the Fiana coming towards it from east and west, the great beast rose from its sleep, and moved away along the glen.

[5]   Lai mᶜeꝛwn nar ay / da bay gin dorchirri i' tork
      Gillir royᵗ la ꝛoill finn / ⌈is⌉ sche asne rin di locht
[6]   Eir fa harlow a ꝛail / mᶜeꝛwn̄ graw ni' skoll
      Aċ so i' skayl fa *tur*syᵗ mnraa / gavir les di layve in t⟨ ⟩
[MS, p. 147a]
[7]   ⟨ꝛon⟩ggwal di lach ni wane / da gwrri ea as i gnok
      In scenn tork schee bi garv / di vag balleryᵗ na helve (mvk) [mok]
[8]   Soeyth finn is derk dreac / fa winn ꝛulbin ꝛlas in telga
      Di fre⟨'⟩ d*er*muit les in tork / mor in tol(g)[k] a rinn a skelga
[9]   Re clastich coꝛair ni wane / nor si nar teaċ ⟨faa⟩ cann
      Eirsi i' ⟨n⟩a'vest o swoyn / is glossis woyᵗ er a glenn Glenn

10   Cuiris, rē faicinn nan laoch,
         an seann torc sídhe air fraoch borb
     bu géir[e] nā gáinne sleagh,
         bu tréine, is eadh, nā [an] Ga Bolg.   40

11   Mac Uí Dhuibhn[e] na n-arm géar,
         freagrar leis an ainbhéisd uilc;
     'na taobh réil trom neimhneach gáidh,
         cuirear sleagh an dáil an tuirc.   44

12   Brisear a c[h]rann leis fā thrí,
         's a cheann, fa-ríor, air an m[h]uic;
     an t-sleagh ō [a] bhais bháirrdheirg bhláith
         racht leis nochar sháith 'na curp.   48

13   Tairr[n]gis an t-seann lann ō [a] truaill
         do chosain mór buaidh a n-ár;
     marbhais Mac Uí Dhuibhn[e] an phéisd,
         do thán⟨aig⟩ féin dā h-éis slán.   52

14   Tuitis sbrochd air Fhionn na bhFéin
         7 suidhis é 'sa[n] gcnoc;
     Mac Uí Dhuibhne nār dhiúlt dámh,
         olc leis a theacht slán o[n] torc.   56

10 At the sight of the warriors, the ancient magic boar raised a terrible bristle which was sharper than the barb of spears, and which was stronger, indeed, than the Ga Bolg.

11 The great evil beast is given a response by the Son of Ua Duibhne of the sharp weapons; a spear is hurled against the boar, into its conspicuous heavy poisonous dangerous side.

12 His spearshaft is broken by him three times, with its head, alas, reaching the boar; it angered him that with his smooth red-tipped hand he had not thrust the spear into its body.

13 He drew from its sheath the old blade which had won many a victory in battle; the Son of Ua Duibhne killed the monster; he himself came back unharmed.

14 Dejection fell on Fionn of the Fiana, and he sat himself down upon the hill; he was annoyed that the Son of Ua Duibhne who had never refused a poet-band had returned unscathed from the boar.

[10] Curr*is* re faggin ni' leiċ / i' sen tork schee er frei^t borbe
      Bi geyr no gany^t sleyġ / bi trane iseyġ no gaċh bolg
[11] Mak eʒwn ni narm geyr/ fragro^r les in ⟨n⟩a'vest vlk
      Na teyve reyll trom nayvny^t gay / currir sleyġ i' dayl i' tur⟨k⟩
[12] brissir a cran les fa thre / si ch⟨o⟩añ fa reir er in mvk
      In tleyg o wasi varʒerga vlaye /ràċt les no^tchar hay na cu*r*p
[13] Targ*is* i' tan lann o / troyle / di chossin mor boye in nar
      Marvis m^ceʒwn i' fest / di hany^t feyni di hes slane
[14] Tutt*is* s⟨p⟩roċt er Inn no wane / & soyis (say) [ea] si gnok
      mak⟨ʒ⟩eʒwne nar ʒwlt dayve / olk les a hecht slane o tork

15   Air bheith dhó fada 'na thosd,
        adubhairt, gērbh olc rē rádh,
    'Tomhais, a Dhiarmaid, ō [a] shoc
        gā mhéad troigh 'san torc so atá.'   60

16   Char dhiúlt é athchuinghe Finn
        – olc linn gan a theacht dā thoigh;
    toimhsidh [an] torc air a dhruim,
        Mac Uí Dhuibhne nach trom troigh.   64

17   'Tomhais 'na aghaidh [a] rís,
        a Dhiarmaid, gu mín a[n] torc;
    fā leat⟨s[a]⟩ rogha dhā chionn,
        a ghill[e] na n-arm rionn gort.'   68

18   Iompóidhis – bu thurus gáidh
        – agus toimhsidh dhaibh an torc;
    guinidh a[n] fraoch nimhe garbh
        bonn an laoich bu gharg an dtrod.   72

19   Tuitidh an sin air an raon
        Mac Uí Dhuibhne nār fhaomh feall,
    'na laigh[e] do thaobh an tuirc
        – ach, sin aidheadh dhuit gu dearbh.   76

15 After he had been silent for a long time, he said, although it was an evil thing to say, 'Measure, Diarmaid, from its snout how many feet are in this boar.'

16 He did not refuse Fionn's request – we grieve that he did not come home; the Son of Ua Duibhne who was not heavy of foot measures the boar along its back.

17 'Measure the boar again carefully, Diarmaid, in the opposite direction; a choice was given to you as a reward for it, you lad of the sharp-pointed weapons.'

18 He turned – it was a dangerous action – and he measures the boar for them; the rough poisonous bristle wounds the sole of the warrior who was fierce in battle.

19 The Son of Ua Duibhne who did not consent to treachery then falls upon the field, and lies beside the boar; that – alas! – is truly a tragic death for you.

[15] Er weiᵗ ʒoyᵗ faddi no h⟨o⟩st / a durt gar volga ra ray
    Toᵗis a ʒermit o ho⟨cht⟩ / ga waid try sin tork so id taa
[16] Char ʒult ay aċhonych finn / ol⟨k⟩ linn ġin a heacht da hyġ
    Toessi tork er a ʒrwm / mᶜeʒwne naċ trome trẏg
[17] Toᵗis na ye reis / a ʒermuit gi meine a tork
    fa lattⁱˢ royġ ʒa chinn / a ʒil ni' narm rind gort
[18] ymboes bi hurrⁱˢ gaye / agⁱˢ toissi ʒayve in tork
    Gu'ne i freiċ neive garve / boonn i' leich bi ʒarg in drod
[19] Tutte in sin er i' rein / mᶜeʒwne nar eyve fealle
    Na la di heive in turk / aċ sen àyà ʒut gi darve

20   Atá sé an sunn fā chriaidh,
          Mac Uí Dhuibhne, ciabh na gcleacht,
       aonmhacámh fuileach na bhFian
          'san tulaigh so chiam fā fheart.   80

21   Seabhac súlghorm Eas[a] Ruaidh,
          fear lē[m] beirthe buaidh ga[ch] áir,
       an déidh a thorchairt lē torc
          fā thulchān a' chnoic so atá.   84

22   Diarmaid, Mac Uí Dhuibhne fhéil,
          [a] thuiteam trē éad, mo-nuar!
       bu gil[e] a bhráighe nā grian,
          bu deirge [a] bhial nā bláth cnu⟨as⟩.   88

23   Fā buidhe fhionnadh 's a fholt,
          fada [a] rosg barrghlan fā fhleasg,
       guirme 7 glaise 'na shúil,
          maise is caise a gcúl na gcleacht.   92

24   Binneas is grinneas 'na ghlóir,
          gil[e] 'na dhóid bháirrdheirg bhláith,
       méad agus aobhacht 'san laoch,
          seing[e] is saoir[e] 'na chneas bán.   96

20 He is here under the clay, the Son of Ua Duibhne of the curling hair; the
   outstanding wound-dealing hero of the Fiana lies in his grave in this hill
   which we see.
21 The blue-eyed hawk of Eas Ruaidh, the man by whom the victory was won
   in every slaughter, having fallen by a boar, lies under the summit of this
   hill.
22 Alas that Diarmaid, the Son of generous Ua Duibhne, was killed through
   jealousy! His breast was brighter than the sun; his lips were redder than
   the blossom of fruit-clusters.
23 His locks and his hair were yellow; his fair-tipped eyelashes, below his
   headband, were long; blue and grey were [seen] in his eye; there were
   beauty and curliness in his ringleted hair.
24 Sweetness and kindness were found in his speech, and whiteness in his
   smooth red-tipped palm; size and comeliness were in this warrior, and
   grace and nobility in his white body.

[20] A ta schai i' swn fa ċreay / mᶜeȝwne keawe ni gleacht
     Invakawe fullich ni wane / sin tulli soo chayme fa ⟨e⟩rt
[21] Saywic swlȝorme esroye / far la berriċ boye gi ayr
     i' dey a horchirt la tork / fa hulchin a chnok so i tàà
[22] Dermit mᶜeȝwne ayill / huttwme tra ead (m⟨ua⟩) ⌈mẏ⌉noor
[MS, p. 148]
     Bi gil a wrai no grane / bi derkga wail no blai k⟨no ⟩
[23] fa boye Inniis a olt / fadda rosk barȝlan fa lesga
     Gwrme & glassi no hwle / maissi is cassi (a) i gowl ni gleach⟨t⟩
[24] Binnis is gri'nis no ȝloyr / gil no ȝoid var'ȝerg vlàà
     mayd ag*is* yvycht sin l⟨eic⟩h / seng is seir no knes bayn

25   Coimhtheachtach is mealltōir ban,
        Mac Uí Dhuibhne bu mhear buaidh;
     an t-Suirghe char thog a súil
        ō chuireadh úir air a ghruaidh.   100

26   Imeartaidh éididh is each,
        fear a n-éigin chreach nār chearr;
     gille a b'fhearr gaisge is saoi
        – ach, truagh mar ataoi 'sa ghleann.   104

Gleann Síodh

25 The Son of Ua Duibhne who would win a swift victory was the companion
and enticer of women; Courting has not raised her eye since earth was laid
on his cheek.

26 Bestower of battle-dress and horses, a man who was not clumsy-handed in
the stress of forays; a lad who excelled in valour and a noble [too] – alas,
how sad that you are thus in the glen!

[25] Coythtyċ is màáltor ban / mᶜeġwne bi var boẏ
     In turri char hog a swle / o chorreich wr er a ӡroẏ
[26] ymmirdeic eyde is each / fer in neyӷin ċreaċ nar charr⟨i⟩
     Gilli a bar gasga is s(yve) ⌈eic⌉ aċ troyġ mir a teich si ġlenn
                        Glenn shee

TEXTUAL NOTES

Ascription: The alleged *ughdar* cannot so far be identified. However, the names *Ailéin* and *Ruaidhrí* suggest a connection with the Clanranald, and if the designation *mac Ruaidhrí* is a surname rather than a patronymic, the connection may be more specifically with the MacRuairi family. It may be noted (although the evidence is probably coincidental) that BDL contains a swingeing satire on a Clanranald chief, *Ailéin mac Ruaidhrí*, who died and was buried at Blair Atholl in either 1505 or 1509 (W. J. Watson (ed.), *Scottish verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh 1937) 134–9, 285). In the satire, it is remarkable in view of the present ballad that Ailéin is directly compared to *maoltorc mall gan mhathas*, 'a bald boar dull and worthless' (q. 1 d), which originated in hell, and, having been dispatched by a single blow in its left side (q. 11 a), has returned there to the consternation of the demons. Whatever the implications of this, the ascription to a probable MacDonald of a ballad latterly associated with the Campbells is an interesting comment on the even-handed political balance of BDL.

It remains to be noted that in BDL the ink of the name *Allane m^{c}royre* is noticeably lighter than that of the words which precede it, and indeed than that of the ballad text. This could suggest that the name was inserted at some stage after the writing of the poem in BDL.

2 *a[m] binn*. The manuscript reading *a binn* is similarly construed in W and HP, but LBS suggests *i mbíonn*; cf. *far 'm bu bhinn*, G.

lon In spite of HP's cautious translation 'elks', there is no good reason to suppose that anything other than ordinary 'blackbirds' is intended!

3 *rithidís*. Although the present restoration (following W and HP) assumes syncopation, the manuscript form *redeis* might well be regarded as essentially disyllabic; LBS reads *[a] rithdis*.

5 The line is hypermetric. HP suggests the omission of *so*, but this loses focus; alternatively, *a[n]*, the definite article at the beginning of the line, could conceivably be discounted as a syllable, or *Bheinn* may be intrusive.

7 Read *shroth* (sg.) for *shrotha* to reduce line length.

10 *a chuideacht[a] chaomh: a chwddy cheivi* MS. HP (following W, based on the reading of all later versions) emends to *ar an chuideacht chaoimh*, on the assumption that the BDL text has omitted the prep. *ar*. This makes *cuideacht* refer, presumably, to the Fian group of warriors. In the earlier language, however, modern Sc. G. *cuideachd* was trisyllabic (thus *cuitechta, Dictionary of the Irish language [DIL]* s.v.), and it seems likely that the later versions have themselves compensated for the loss of the final syllable by adding *air* to the line. The present restoration (with LBS) assumes that *cuideachta* is the required form, and that the whole phrase is vocative, with the poet addressing his audience. *bhuam* at the end of the line is to be taken with the preceding clause: *madh áil libh laoidh . . . bhuam*.

11 *'s* MS *is* may be read as *'s* for line length.

fial: MS *fail* could represent *féil*, just as MS *skayl* could represent *sgéal* in the next line. As *aicill* is required, the restoration to /ia/ seems the better solution. This problem recurs commonly in BDL: thus MS *wane* is restored as *bhFéin* in 25 and as *bhFian* in 33; with this word it would seem

that in the BDL scribes' dialect the oblique form *Féin* had taken over as a nom. sg. (modern Scottish Gaelic *an Fhéinn*), and had extended to the gen. pl.; see also 79 n.

13 *sgealg.* Final *a* of the MS form *skelga* may represent a preceding epenthetic vowel; cf. MS *helga* for *shealg* (15).

16 [*a*] *dhíth.* The presence of *a* (< prep. *do*) is implied by the lenition of the verbal noun, but its formal insertion makes the line hypermetric. The article before *tuirc* could be dropped or, conceivably, not counted as a syllable.

18 *dā*[*m*] *bé.* The MS form *bay* could be restored as the 3 sg. pres. subj. of *atá*, or as the 3 sg. past subj. followed by the 3 sg. m. pron., giving *da*[*m*] *b'é 'gan dtorchradh an torc* ('if it were he by whose hand the boar should fall'). *Aicill* requires one of these solutions. Note that HP, W, and LBS evidently misread the last two syllables of the preceding line, probably taking the final flourish of the *r* in MS *nar* as a suspension mark for *m*; thus, erroneously, *an airm áigh* with loss of *aicill* in HP.

 dtorchradh. MS *dorchirri* could represent either *dtorcharadh* (making the line hypermetric) or *dtorchair.*

19 *lē* ⟨*eól*⟩. MS *ʒoill* probably reflects the pronunciation /jɔːL/, but the restoration of the form as *eól* seems weak in the light of Fionn's jealousy and treachery; one might have anticipated *fhoill.*

20 ⟨*easnadh*⟩. This seems a fair representation of MS *asne*, although it cannot be advanced with certainty. The 'defect' or 'deficiency' could refer to the only point of the body at which Diarmaid was vulnerable, namely the sole of his foot. W restores as *Is sé e sin rinn do lochd.*

21 ⟨[*A*] *fhíor*⟩. It is difficult to be certain what MS *Eir* may represent, but a form of *fíor* seems highly probable since MS -*ei*- frequently represents /iː/. As another syllable is required for line length, the present restoration assumes that the first syllable (tentatively restored as the 3 sg. m. poss. pron. used proleptically) has been lost through unstressing. Another possibility might be [*Fá*] *fhíor* ('It was true').

 fá h-earlamh. For *earlamh*, see *DIL* s.v. *airlam.* The sense appears to be that the encounter was 'ready and waiting', in effect, fated.

25 *flaith na bhFéin* is Fionn; the one who was to drive the boar out of the hill was Diarmaid. For *diongbháil* 'being a match for, an equal to', see *DIL* s.v. *dingbáil* I, II.

28 *Balar.* The MS form *ballery*[*t*] attests the growth of an unhistorical final syllable, a 'balancing' feature of certain dialects which tend to drop historical final syllables. Cf. the forms *caraid* and *caraide* in modern Scottish Gaelic dialects.

 muc. The scribe originally wrote *mvk*, but cancelled it and substituted *mok* in superscript, evidently in view of the rhyme with *cnoc* (line 26). Rhyme can be improved by reading *gcnuc* for MS *gnok.*

29 *Suidhighidh.* The MS form *Soeyth* could represent *suidhidh*, which would lose a syllable in the line. Although there is no evidence for lenition, W restores as *Shuidhich*, and achieves correct line length by reading *deirge* for *dearg.*

31 *do fríoth.* The restoration of this verb form is not in doubt, but the MS attests what may be a raised *i*, or merely an insignificant dot, above and to the right of the last letter of *fre.*

34 *fá.* The MS form could be either *faa* (whence the present restoration) or *fa a* (whence *fa a* in W).

35 ⟨*éirghis*⟩. MS *Eirsi* could represent a form such as *éirsidh* – perhaps a Perthshire 3 sg. pres./fut.?

ainbhéisd. HP, W, and LBS all appear to read BDL as *uavest* at this point. Usually, however, *ua* in normal orthography is represented by *oy* or *oo* in BDL; more particularly, the *a* of the BDL form has a flourish not normally found with *a* in the manuscript, suggestive of its being a suspension mark for *n*. The initial letter of the BDL form could as easily be *n*, projected from the preceding article. It is therefore beyond reasonable doubt that we should read BDL as *na'vest*, and restore as indicated; the meaning would simply be 'the great beast' (see *DIL* s.v. *an-*). Similarly *ainbhéisd* (line 42).

36 The scribe repeats the last word of this line as if it were the *dúnadh* of the poem. This can scarcely be more than a reflex in this instance.

43 *réil: reyll* MS. This adjective means 'clearly visible', and is in keeping with the context. In the later language, it has been superseded by *léir* (*DIL* s.v. *réil(l)*).

48 *curp.* The MS form is represented by *c^r p*, expanded as *curp* in the light of MS *turkgi* (16) and *tursy* (23), where raised *r* is also used.

52 *do thán⟨aig⟩.* MS *di hany* may represent *do thána*.

54 *é.* The scribe first wrote *say* (for *sé*), but cancelled it and wrote *ea* (for *é*, the object pron.) in superscript. The MS reading cannot support HP's restoration *siar*, evidently based on an emendation in LBS, *is suidhis sé [siar] sa gcnoc*. This emendation was suggested by restoring the gen. pl. form *wane* in the preceding line as *bhFian*, and the consequent need to satisfy *aicill*.

59 *shoc.* The MS form could be *hocht, hothc* or *hochc*, as there is a problem in differentiating *c* and *t* in the MS orthography. Nevertheless, the BDL evidence points clearly to preaspiration in the scribe's dialect. It is noteworthy that the *aicill* rhyme *shoc : torc* is strengthened by admitting the preaspirated /hoxk/ as a feature of the ballad as composed.

67 *fā leats[a]: fa lattis* MS. *fá* is formally the past of the copula, although HP translates as fut., probably following LBS which restores the fut., *budh leatsa*. The *rogha* was given earlier (see line 19), and Fionn is probably reminding Diarmaid of the bargain: 'you were granted a *rogha* ('choice') as a reward for it'. Nevertheless, one wonders whether the past and fut. forms of the copula have been confused, conceivably through the use of *budh* in both past and fut. *-is* in MS *lattis* probably reflects the dialectal form *leatas* found in Eastern Scottish Gaelic dialects for *leatsa*.

68 The line is similarly restored in HP, W and LBS, but it seems problematical. *rionn gort* is virtually a compound, and comes close to violating the metre. BDL poets are occasionally ambiguous about compounds. Cf. *Iulligh nan arm rein-ghear goirt* (MacNicol); *Togha nan lann rinn-gheur goirt* (McLagan MS 209).

71 *a[n] fraoch.* The restoration assumes that MS *i* represents the definite article rather than the 3 sg. f. poss. pron., which seems unlikely here.

79–80 *bhFian : chiam.* Because of the requirements of *aicill*, the restoration of MS *wane* (79) affects the restoration of MS *chayme* (80). The former

could be restored as *bhFéin* (see 11 n.) and the latter as *chéim*, but this leads to difficulties.

81 The reference to *Eas Ruaidh* (Assaroe, Co. Donegal) in this line is an interesting comment on the inter-relationship between Ireland and Gaelic Scotland, given that this poem was evidently composed in Perthshire.

82 *beirthe*. MS *berric* could represent the 3 sg. impf. active or passive of *beirim*, but the latter is clearly required in the context. Alternatively, one might suppose that MS represents a hybrid form, employing the ending of the past passive. *Leis am buinnte buaidh gach bláir* (MacFarlane).

95 *laoch*. Because of a smudge, only the first and last letters of this word are legible in BDL under normal lighting conditions. However, ultra-violet light clearly reveals *leich*, with what appears to be *a* written in superscript between *l* and *e*.

97 *Coimhtheachtach*. This restoration (which follows W) seems closer to MS *Coythtyċ* than HP's *coimhideach*. *Cumhachdach gu mealladh bhan* (Gillies).

100 *an t-Suirghe*. In terms of normal ballad register, this personification may seem rather fanciful, but, as has been argued in the Introduction, the final seven quatrains form a special panegyric coda.

103 *saoi*, perhaps to be translated here as 'a man of learning'. The restoration follows the scribe's superscript reading. The scribe appears originally to have written *yve*, perhaps thinking of *aoibh*, 'of charm, pleasantness', whence the reading in HP. He then added an initial *s-*. *yve* was later cancelled and *-eic* written in superscript, still making use of the *s-*.

104 *ataoi*. This interpretation of MS *a teich* is disarmingly simple and effective, with the poet using apostrophe to address the dead warrior. It is, however, just possible that MS represents a form of *do-taoth*, 'fell', an irregular pret. form of *do-tuit* (*DIL* s.v.), employing the fut. stem. Thus *do-faoth* in HP, partly through a misreading of MS *t-* as *f-*.

DONALD E. MEEK

University of Edinburgh