A SECOND SOURCE FOR THE TEXT ON JUDGES AND POETS IN THE PSEUDO-HISTORICAL PROLOGUE TO THE SENCHAS MÁR

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to a previously unpublished Middle Irish text on pre-Patrician judges and poets in UCD-OFM ms A 9 and to compare it with a version in TCD ms H 3. 17 (1336). A transcription and translation of the version in A 9 is provided.¹

MANUSCRIPTS AND RELATED TEXTS

The text under discussion is found on pp. 41a1-42a14 of UCD-OFM ms A 9, a vellum manuscript which has been tentatively dated to the fifteenth century (Dillon, Mooney, De Brún 1969, 17, 20). The exact nature of the text has not been noticed previously and it is described in the catalogue simply as a ‘Tract on the first writers of Ireland’. It precedes a copy of the wisdom text Audacht Morainn (Kelly 1976), which probably accounts for its inclusion in the manuscript. Morann is mentioned three times in our text and a description is given of the magical collar which used to tighten around his neck whenever he gave a false judgement. Also referred to are Neire, Morann’s pupil, and the king Feradach Finn Fechtnach, for whom Audacht Morainn is supposed to have been composed. Aside from our text and Audacht Morainn, the contents of A 9 are almost entirely religious.

A second copy is found on cols 6.16-10.7 of TCD ms H 3. 17 (1336; hereafter H), where it forms part of the pseudo-historical prologue to the Senchas Már. This version has been edited in diplomatic form by D. A. Binchy in CIH 1653.16-1655.26.² According to Abbot and Gwynn (1921, 355), it is unlikely that H was written earlier than the sixteenth century.

The text as found in H falls into three sections, beginning with a list of pre-Christian judges from Amairgein Glúngel to the authors of the Senchas Már (CIH1653.16-1654.40) and including a lengthy description (CIH 1653.20-1654.9) of Cai Caínbrethach’s travels to Egypt, where he learned Mosaic law. This is followed by a passage emphasising the righteousness of these judges and listing some of the physical consequences of their unjust judgements (CIH 1655.1-14).³ It concludes with a short list of poets and law tracts (CIH 1655.15-26).

A similar, although heavily abridged, list of judges and poets is found in the opening section of the MidIr text In Lebor Ollaman (hereafter LO).⁴ Here

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² A critical edition was prepared by Smith (1990) as part of an unpublished M. Litt. thesis.
³ A digest from an unknown OIr source includes a scarcity of milk and mast among the consequences of submitting a case to an unjust judge (Breatnach 2010, 115). In our text (§ 3), similar consequences are said to result from unjust judgements on the part of the judge Fachtnae.
⁴ For a description of this text and its manuscript tradition, see McLaughlin (2009, 3-4).

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the judges are listed in almost the same order as in our text, namely, Amairgein Glüngel, Sen mac Áigi, Bríg, Conlae, Senchae mac Ailella, Fachtnae, Morann, Neire, Feradach and Fíthal. There are several significant differences between the texts, however. Our text adds an additional judge after Conlae and before Fachtnae, named variously as Sencha mac Cuil Clain / Col Cluin (H) and Sencha mac Cuil Clain / Coil Clain (A 9) and places Senchae mac Ailella after Fachtnae. LO does not contain any material on Cái’s travels to Egypt or on the authors of the Senchas Már. The relevant section from LO is given below from RIA ms D ii 1 (Book of Úi Maine), 138vb7-32.5


5 Expansions are indicated by italics, missing words are supplied in square brackets and superfluous letters are enclosed in round brackets. Word-division and punctuation are editorial.
6 This phrase is used elsewhere in LO and in other texts to alert the reader to the existence of other versions of a tradition (McLaughlin 2009, 10).
7 Sic for ngais. The -air in gair is written with the quia compendium and suprascript i.
8 Sic for Ambue.
9 The phrase i. as as aderar, glossing inde [i.e. unde] dicitur, is written above the line.
10 Sic for Brethia Bríge (Ambue); see Bretnach (2005, 175).
11 Letter between g and d scored out and expunction point written underneath.
12 The reading in square brackets is supplied from the closely related version of LO in RIA ms 23 P 12 (536), 300a14 (Book of Ballymote).
13 I have found no other references to this poet.
'Who were the first authors in Ireland? It is not difficult. Amairgein Glúngel the poet, a pupil of Cáf Cánbrethach. How can it be said that Amairgein Glúngel might be a pupil of Cáf Cánbrethach? Let him who reads sweat. The second most notable author in Ireland, i.e. in wisdom, i.e. Sen mac Áigi in the time of Fergus mac Léti. The renowned Bríg Ambue, then, was an author of the men of Ireland in wisdom, whence is said: “May the Judgements of Bríg be with you”. After that, Conlae Cánbrethach, distinguished sage of the Connachta in wisdom and a man with the grace of God upon him. It is he who waged the battle against the druids who said that they had created heaven and earth. Conlae said to them: “Let you cause the moon to shine in the north, and the sun, and we will believe you”. Senchae mac Ailella meic Athclo was an author, moreover. Fachtnae Tolbrethach was a wonderful author. Morann mac Maín. Neire mac Finnuill, rather, mac Morainn. Feradach Fechtnach, rather, 

'maiús ('greater'), was king and author of the lords of Ireland. Fíthal was the poet of Cormac mac Airt. These authors never gave false judgements and that was fitting, since blisters used to arise on their cheeks whenever they gave false judgements. Bríg never gave false judgements. Similarly Conlae, since the grace of the Holy Spirit was upon him. Senchae never gave a judgement without examining it for a night. As regards Fachtnae Tolbrethach, the mast used to become hollow if he gave a false judgement [and] the cows used to reject their calves. As regards Morann, the collar around his neck used to choke him if he gave a false judgement. There were many poets in Ireland, i.e. Fianamain from Inis Fianamain, Ferchertne the Poet, Athairne Amnas, Nede mac Adnae, Fergus the Poet and the other poets.’

A similar source also forms the basis of the first three sections of a MidIr poem of sixty-three quatrains on the authors of Ireland, attributed to Gilla in Choimded Úa Cormaic and beginning Aimirgein Glúngel tuir tend ‘Aimirgein Glúngel, a firm pillar’ (Smith 1994; hereafter AG). In this poem, qq. 1-14 correspond to the list of judges in our text, qq. 15-27 to the section on unjust judgements and their physical consequences and qq. 28-40 to the concluding list of poets and law tracts. AG agrees with our text against LO in including Senchae mac Cáelchlain as a separate judge but agrees with LO in omitting the section on the authors of the Senchas Máir (CIH 1654.32-40). It stands apart from our text and LO in omitting any reference to Cáf Cánbrethach, either as Amairgein’s foster-father or as the promulgator of Mosaic law in Ireland.

Section on Cáf Cánbrethach

The main difference between the two manuscript versions of our text lies in their treatment of the material concerning Cáf Cánbrethach and his travels to Egypt. In H, this comprises 53 lines in the manuscript (cols 6.24-7.41,
corresponding to \textit{CIH} 1653.20-1654.9), which amounts to 35\% of the entire text.\textsuperscript{14} In \textit{A 9}, however, it is almost entirely omitted, except for the final few lines (p. 41a6-13, corresponding to \textit{CIH} 1654.5-9), which describe Cai’s role in introducing Mosaic law in Ireland on his return from Thrace.

If we exclude the material in \textit{H} about Cai’s travels to Egypt, a striking feature of the remainder of the text is the frequency of citations from other sources, normally indicated by the abbreviation for \textit{et reliqua} (\textit{\textgreek{g}r}-). The passage naming the authors of the \textit{Senchas Már} (1654.32-37) is also likely to be a citation, as it contains several early linguistic features, which will be discussed below, and ends with the phrase \textit{7 aili qui in libro mainefesdantur ‘and others who are revealed in the text’. There are thirteen citations throughout this section of text.} By contrast, the passage on Cai’s travels to Egypt contains only two citations, one marked by the abbreviation \textit{\textgreek{c}}\textit{\textgreek{c}}- (1653.29), the other by \textit{\textgreek{g}r}- (1653.32). The section on Cai also stands apart stylistically from the rest of the text in \textit{H} in that it takes the form of a continuous and detailed narrative, whereas the remainder of the text is much more laconic in style, consisting to a large extent of lists (of judges, the consequences of unjust judgements, poets and law texts). The fact that it is marked by an introductory phrase in both manuscripts also suggests that it was understood to form an independent narrative section: \textit{7 is amlaid innustar sin (CIH 1653.19) ‘and this is how that is related’ and \textit{Is de ba Cai Cainbrethach} ‘this is why he was called Cai Cainbrethach’ (A 9 § 1).\textsuperscript{17} The tradition about Cai’s travels to Egypt is not found in the corresponding sections of \textit{LO} or \textit{AG}, which further suggests that it is an addition to the Prologue. It may be the case that the scribe of \textit{A 9}, or of his exemplar, was aware that it was an interpolation and deliberately omitted everything except the final few lines, which are of relevance to Cai’s role as a righteous judge and therefore in keeping with the overall theme of the rest of the text.

\textbf{Language}\textsuperscript{18}

The language is a mixture of early and late forms such as we might expect in a work of a compilatory nature. It is noteworthy, however, that there are no independent object pronouns and that infixed pronouns are non-pleonastic, as in 3 sing. fem. class C \textit{conda rosrucadad} 1655.6; 2 pl. \textit{nachob muidh} A 9 § 1 (\textit{nach maididh} 1654.21); 3 pl. \textit{nacha cuirid-si} 1654.21; 3 pl. class C \textit{dodorsad} A 9 § 1 (\textit{do derostaba} 1654.23); 3 pl. class A \textit{dosruidetur} 1654.35; 3 sing. fem. class A \textit{doslecdais} 1655.3. Many of the early features are found in

\textsuperscript{14} The version in \textit{H} has been translated and discussed by Ó Corráin (1987).
\textsuperscript{15} The abbreviation \textit{\textgreek{g}r}- is commonly used to mark citations, for example, \textit{CIH} 768.37 = 760.37; 769.9 = 761.14; 769.15 = 761.35; 769.15 = 761.39 (Cái Fhuithire). It is also used in \textit{LO} to mark citations from \textit{Auracept na nÉices: As-berat tra a ii. \textgreek{g}r}- (\textit{RIA} ms D ii 1, 138va57) = \textit{As-berat trá aughtair na nGoidel (Ahluqvist 1982 § 1.1); Cai Cainbrethach \textgreek{g}r}- (\textit{RIA} ms D ii 1, 139ra53) = \textit{anad ro-gab Cai Cainbrethach, dalta Fénius Farrsai’d (Ahluqvist 1982, § 1.5). See also McLeod (2011, 26).}
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{CIH} 1654.13, 16, 20, 26, 28, 29, 36-7, 39; 1655.4, 8, 20, 23, 26.
\textsuperscript{17} Paragraph numbers in \textit{A 9} refer to the diplomatic edition presented below.
\textsuperscript{18} The reading of \textit{A 9} is given first in instances where it is superior to that of \textit{H}.
the passages marked as citations and it is noteworthy in this regard that there are fewer early forms in the section on Cái Caínbrethach in H.

*Early features, excluding section on Cái Caínbrethach*

Compound verbs are preserved in *forroglainn* 1653.18, 3 sing. perf. of *fo-geòin* ‘learns’;\(^{19}\) *doroisc-sidhe* 1654.14, 3 sing. pret. of *do-róscai* ‘surpasses’; *dorosat* 1654.20 (citation) and *dodo-rosad* A 9 § 1 (do *derostaba* 1654.23), 3 sing. perf. ind. rel. of *do-fuissim* ‘creates’, the second example with 3 pl. class C infixed pronoun; *atrachtudur* 1654.33 (citation), 3 pl. pret. of *ad-rig* ‘bounds’; *dorsuirdetur* 1654.35 (citation), 3 pl. perf. ind. rel. of *do-féid* ‘leads’ with 3 pl. class A inf. pron.; *in tan nad nermaitids*\(^{20}\) 1655.1-2 (citation) and *nicon ermaitis* 1655.19, 3 pl. imperf. ind. of *ar-midethar* ‘attains to’, the first example in a nasalising relative clause.\(^{21}\) Note also the reduplicated forms *rocachnutar* 1654.38 (citation) and *nolebruing* 1655.14, the latter showing MidIr confusion of preverbs and dissimilation. The 3 pl. pres. ind. of the copula is preserved in *it bretha* 1653.18.

There are two examples of 3 pl. subject pronoun in *batar he do-densat* nem 7 talam A 9 § 1 (*badur et dodena nem* 7 talam 1654.16) and *IT e im-arduggyd 1654.32* (citation). The feminine form of the numeral is found in *teora ailche astudha* 1655.11. There are two examples of the gen. pl. form *ala n-aile* used adjectivally (GOI § 486): *ala n-aile na n-ugdur* A 9 § 2 (a *lan i.e nughduir* 1654.34; citation) and *alanaila nugtar 7 rl-* 1655.23 (citation). Both manuscripts preserve the early form of the 3 pl. personal pron. *fou* 1654.33 and A 9 § 2 (citation), the neuter article in *a fir aicned* 1655.2 and *a fir n-aignidh* A 9 § 3 and nasalisation after a neuter noun in *fir naicne robui a fithel* 1655.12 and *fir n-aicnidh ro bai a[c] Fitheal* A 9 § 3. H preserves the superlative form of the adjective in *moam* 1654.27.

*Early features in section on Cái* (CIH 1653.20-1654.9)

Most of these are found in the following two citations:

Isi-sin aimsir i ndenta na hairde mora i negept i. an ecplagh 7 ailia quae [i]n\(^{22}\) lege srípta sunt 7c̠̄c̠a- (1653.28-9). . . donidis per seruos dei . . . ar doruirmenait ba tria forcráid neolusa 7 frithgnama l-saruidhdis isrélaid na druidhe egeptacha 7 dognisd ina airdhe imda 7rl- (1653.30-2)

As well as the Latin phrases, we may note *denta*, 3 pl. preterite passive of *do-gní*, nasalisation after the acc. sing. in *forcráid neolusa* and the disyllabic form of the article in *ina airthe*. Other early features in the section on Cáf are the perfective form *atcuaid* 1653.22, but with MidIr neuter infixed pronoun, and the neuter article with nasalisation of the adjective after acc. sing. in a

\(^{19}\) Contrast the later forms *rofogluim* 1653.22 and *rofogluimestur* 1653.26 in the section on Cáf, the second showing the MidIr 3 sing. deponent ending.

\(^{20}\) *Sic for ermaitis.*

\(^{21}\) Contrast in *in tan nobeted* 1655.3 and *in tan dì nobetedh* 1655.13.

\(^{22}\) The *i* of *in* is omitted in the manuscript, although this is not indicated by Binchy.
mberla negebtacca 1653.22 and a mberla negeptach 1653.26-7. The fem. form of the independent subject pronoun is found in ba si tra fochcric 1653.24.

**Comparison of H and A 9**

Although there are textual problems in both versions, A 9 contains readings which can help to resolve some of the difficulties noted by Binchy in CIH:

1) H: Iar sin tra ba cai ba breithem laisin luinguis uile. Inde dí *brath* (?) cath l cai. brath am in each breithi, ar isi in breth as dia each caingne, amuil asberur brath do forciund in betha 7 don breith (?) deiginuigh beirius dia fora duile (CIH 1654.6-9)

A 9: *Ocus* is de sin fa Cai fa breitheamh don loingius uile, unde dixit ‘*Brath* Chae’,

2. i. *aimh cach breitheman* aire sin is brath is diadlach each caingne, amal as-berr ‘brath’ do forccnn in betha 7 don breith deidhinaich berus Dia fora duilib (§ 1)

Binchy was uncertain about the expansion of *brath* in the phrase *brath cath l- cai* and suggests (1654, note b), following O’Donovan, that *breth* may be the intended reading. *Brath* is confirmed by the plene reading in A 9 and is, in any case, the expected form in the phrase *bráth* Cai, which is an etymological derivation from the word *breathchae* (Breathnach 2005, 170-4). Binchy also suggests (1654, note d) that a word may have been dropped after as or that we should read asas. The text of A 9, however, confirms that as (3 sing. pres. ind. rel. of the copula) is the correct reading and that *dia* is for *diad* ‘end’, with the omission of final, lenited -d. A more significant difference between the manuscripts is that A 9 reads *cach breitheman* ‘of every judge’ against H’s reading *cach breithe*. If *breth* ‘judgement’ were the intended reading in H, we might expect gen. sing. fem. *cacha*, as this is the plene form found elsewhere in the text in the phrase *cacha breithe* (CIH 1655.11). For *am in* in H and *aimh* in A 9 the original would appear to have had a series of minims. It is difficult to make sense of the reading as it stands in H, however. The text of H can be partly translated as: ‘After that, then, it was Caí who was the judge for the entire expedition, whence is said: “*bráth cath*”, rather, “[*bráth*] Cai…” for the judgement is the conclusion of every law case, just as *bráth* “doom” is said of the end of the world and of the last judgement that God delivers upon his creatures’.

2) H: asberdis-sidhe badur et *dodena* nem 7 talum (1654.16)

A 9: *as-bert*-saidhi batar he do-densat nem 7 talam (§ 1)

The phrase *et dodena* in H makes little sense and Binchy (1654, note g) suggests that *et* may be an error for *iat*, MidIr 3 pl. independent pronoun. In this instance, A 9 has superior readings with the earlier form of the pronoun

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23 As noted by Binchy (1653, note j) the *a* is added in the left-hand margin.

24 This is written as two separate words in the manuscript.
(é) and the 3 pl. preterite of do-gní (OIr do-génsat). The form of the pronoun seems to have caused some confusion, however, since the expected 3 pl. imperf. ind. of as-beir, as found in H, has been changed in A 9 to 3 sing. pret., presumably because a later scribe interpreted é as a 3 sing. pronoun. The text of H can be translated as: ‘they used to say that it was they who created heaven and earth’.

3) H: innad aice nach ae bui comuc doib-sann (1654.18-19)

A 9: Na haice nach bai cumang do fis ann (§ 1)

As Binchy notes (1654, note i), the -ib in doib is added below line in H. The original reading (i.e. the form without final -b) is reflected in A 9’s do f[í]his. Adopting this reading, the text of H can be translated as: ‘When none of them saw that it was possible to know [this].’

4a) H: ‘ferr duind’, olse, ‘taob do tobuirt fri fer dorosat haec omnia. i. dia nime 7 talman’ 7rl- (1654.19-20)

A 9: ‘Is ferr duinne’, ol se, ‘taeb do tabairt fria fer do-ronsat h[ae]c omnia. i. Dia nime 7 talman’ 7rl- (§ 1)

4b) H: do reir de do derostaba (1654.23)

A 9: do reir De dodo-rosadh (§ 1)

In 4a, H preserves the superior reading in do-rósat, 3 sing. perf. ind. rel. of do-fuissim ‘creates’. A 9 reads do-ronsat, MidIr 3 pl. pret. of do-gní, with the historical passive stem as active, even though the subject of the verb is singular (fer). As regards 4b, Binchy (1654, note j) states of do derostaba (ba has been added above the line) that this is ‘obscure to me’. In this instance, A 9 preserves the superior reading with dodo-rosadh (OIr doda-rósad), 3 sing. perf. ind. rel. of do-fuissim with 3 pl. class C infixed pronoun. The text of 4a in H can be translated as: ‘“It is better for us”, he said, “to trust in the One who has created all of this, i.e. God of heaven and earth” etc.’ and that of 4b as: ‘. . . according to God who has created them.’

5) H: nacha (?) cuirdi ifar leth feisin 7 nach maididh ifar cumachtuib (1654.21)

A 9: Nacha cuirdidh-sidhi a for laithi feisin 7 nachob muidh bur comachta (§ 1)

A 9 preserves the superior reading here with nachob, negative imperative ná + 2 pl. infixed pronoun (OIr náchib), used in a reflexive sense.25 Against this, the expected 2 pl. imperative ending and preposition i are preserved in H’s maididh ifar. Following A 9 in reading náchib for nach, the text of H can be translated as: ‘Do not attribute them [God’s gifts] to yourselves and do not exalt yourselves in your powers’.

25 Cf. i.e. hore nondomolorsa et nom-móidim indib ‘i.e. because I praise you and boast myself in you’, Wb. 14°18 (Stokes and Strachan 1901-3, vol. 1, 593).
6) H: Sencha mac cuil cmain.tex.baklaoin ina diag-sidhe, 7 is sochaide (?) d’feruib erund co ndeinnighthur a
neimtsenchas-side; i tír robui-sim iín, 7 ba udur amra dana 7rl-
(1654.24-6)

A 9: Sencha mac Cuil Clain ina diaidh-side 7 is [s]ochaide do
feraib Eirenn co neimnighthar ardi con-sai-sidi eter ro bai-sim
immorro. Ba hughdur amra didiu 7rl- (§ 1)

There are several problems in this section, not least of which is the identity
of Senchae mac Cuil Clain. Aside from our text, he appears as a judge only in
sources associated with the Senchas Már, namely, glosses on the Introduction
to the Senchas Már and the poem AG. Uncertainty about the form of his name
is indicated by the many variant spellings, 26 while his very existence as a judge
is called into question by the observation of MidIr writers that he was confused
with Senchae mac Ailella. 27 Meroney (1950, 221) describes both Senchae mac
Cuil Clain and Sen mac Áigi as ‘imaginary beings, mere names produced by
wrong word-division’. While he was correct to doubt the existence of the
former as a mythological judge, his suggestion (ibid. 221, note 39) that Sen
mac Áigi may be ‘the product of an “etymological” analysis’ can hardly be
correct, since many actual judgements are attributed to him in the law tracts
(Breandhach 2005, 367).

26 In our text, the forms are Sencha mac cuil claoin 1654.24, Sencha mac col cluin 1655.5-6, Sencha mac Cuil Clain A 9 § 1 and Senca mac Coil Clain A 9 § 3. For variants in AG, see Smith (1994, 139) and note that in AG q. 9b the form is taken as a compound Câelchlain, rhyming with særchailin.

27 AG q. 35 states: Tailbreth Faichtna – is cert caín – / meic Sencha meic Câelchlain; / athair dó in Sencha senna, / ní Sencha mac Oilella ‘The extempore Judgements of Faichtna – it is just
and fair – the son of Sencha son of Cáelchlaín; his father was Sencha in this case, not Sencha son of Oilill’ (Smith 1994, 130, 136). MidIr glosses on the Introduction to the Senchas Már also
show confusion between the two characters. In the first gloss below, sen for sencha in the name
sen mac cuil clain is probably due to the influence of four occurrences of sen in the preceding
section of text: Comchumhaine da sen... Ailiter, da sen i... Sen mac aighhe 7 sencha mac aillilla o
ail cluaidhict; ges atbeatat aitl baid sen mac cuil clain, ni havsa son (CHI 877.9-11) ‘The
joint memory of two ancients’... Another version: “two ancients”, i.e. Sen mac Áigi and Senchae mac
Ailella from Ail Cluaidhi; ges atb... Senchas Már also have the form
Senchas Mór mac Ailella meic Máelchló; ni huasa son (CHI 877.9-11) ‘The
joint memory of two ancients’. Such confusion may have arisen as a result of the misinterpretation of a form of Senchae mac Ailella’s
name such as that found in the main text of Cetharslicht Aithgabailse, which has SENCHA MAC
AILELLA MAC CUL CLAIN (CHI 380.15) and SENCHA MAC AILELLA MIC OIL CLEIN
(CHI 1903.20-1). The MidIr glosses on the Introduction to the Senchas Már also have the form
sencha mac cuil clain (CHI 1657.17). Uncertainty about the final element in Senchae
mac Ailella’s name is evident from the following variants: Senca mac Ailella meic Athelo (RIA
ms D ii 1, 138vb18 (LO)); Faichtna m. Sencha m. Ailella m. Athelo (Rawl. B 502 f. 156 b29; O’Brien 1962, 274); Sencha mac Ailella meic Máelchló (O’Rahilly 1967, 4335-6); Senca mac
Oilella mic Maolcroich (O’Rahilly 1961, 4281-2); Sencha Mór mac Ailella meic Máelchlóid
(Watson 1941, 756-7). In the list of judges in our text, Senchae mac Cuil Clain occupies the space
filled by Senchae mac Oilella meic Athelo in the corresponding list in LO. Senchae mac Ailella is
then added as a separate judge after Faichtnae in our text, further suggesting that the character of
Senchae mac Cuil Clain is a secondary development.
The most striking difference between the manuscripts at this point is that A 9 omits the phrase *a neimtsenchas-side* ‘his legal standing’ and instead reads *ardi con-sai-sidi* ‘. . . he complained (?).’ It is difficult to be certain whether this preserves an original reading which has been lost in H or whether it is an instance of innovation in A 9. Binchy (1654, note k) suggests supplying *Connacht* after *i tir*, following O’Donovan. *Connacht* is not found in A 9, which has an abbreviation for *eter* before the substantive verb. The preposition *iter*, rather than *i tir* ‘in the land’, also seems to be the intended reading in H, where it is followed by a partly erased *r* and an erased *o*. Some words do seem to have been lost here, although it is difficult to see on what grounds O’Donovan suggested supplying *Connacht*. The context in which the substantive verb is used in this passage suggests that the missing words may have alluded to the king during whose reign Senchae lived, as this formula occurs twice elsewhere in the text: *sen macc aige . . . i naimsir fergusus micc leti robui* (1654.10-11); *Fithul, a naimsir laoguire mic nell robui-sidhe* (1654.32). The textual problems in H remain unresolved, however, and I can offer only a partial translation: ‘Senchae mac Cuil Clain after that, and it is a host of the men of Ireland . . . so that his legal standing is confirmed; . . . and he was a wonderful author etc.’

7) H: It e iin ardugdur int sencusa fergus file 7 dubthuth mac hua luguir atrachtudur suainemain fillechtea fou la patraic. gin-motha an urlam robai ara cinn dobretha a lan .i.e nughduir dosruidetur .i. sen mac aige 7 doidin mac nin 7 moenach mac níne 7 fiachna fialbrethuch . . . (1654.32-6)

A 9: It e immorro ardugduir int Senchusa Fergus File 7 Dubthach mac hua Lugair at-rachtadur suaineminu filedachta fou la Patruic, cinmota in n-urrlum ro bai ara cind do brethaib ala n-aile na n-ughdur do-ruirmemar: Sen mac Aighi 7 Doidhen mac Nine 7 Fachtna Fialbrethach . . . (§ 2)

This section has been translated by Breantach (2005, 357), who suggests (note 6) that we should read dat. pl. *do brethaib* and gen. pl. *ala n-aile* and that *n-ughdur* is an error for gen. pl. These suggestions are confirmed by the text of A 9, where the dat. pl. ending in *brethaib* and the phrase *ala n-aile* are plene readings. *Ugdur* is written in A 9 with the *ur* compendium. In A 9, the gen. pl. form *ala n-aile* appears to have been misunderstood by a scribe, since the MidIr gen. pl. form of the article has been added before *ugdur*. A 9 also differs from H in reading *do-ruirmemar* ‘which we have enumerated’, 1 pl. perf. ind. of *do-rími*, against *dos-ruidetur*, 3 pl. perf. ind. of *do-féd* with 3 pl. class A infixed pronoun. The reading of H seems more appropriate in the context since, with the exception of Sen mac Áigi, the authors subsequently listed have not been referred to previously in the text. On the other hand, the text of A 9 is

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28 This is not indicated by Binchy in *CIH*.
29 Confusion between nom. sing. and pl. of this word is found elsewhere in our text in H, i.e. nom. sing. *int ughuir* (1654.9-10) and nom. pl. *ardugdur* (1654.32), both of which are plene readings.
superior in omitting Móenach mac Nine, who does not seem to be attested as an author in any other sources, and in reading Fachtnae Fíalbrethach against Fíachna Fíalbrethuch.\textsuperscript{30} The text of H has been translated as: ‘The principal authors of the \textit{Senchas} were Fergus the Poet and Dubthach maccu Lugair who bound a thread of poetry through it together with Patrick; apart from what was ready before them of the judgements of certain authors who preceded them,  i.e. Sen etc.’ (Breantnach 2005, 357)

8a) H: ced riasiu tra tisadh .p. robatar adamra di \textit{foillsidib}; in tan nad \textit{nermaítid}s\textsuperscript{31} ina breithemuin a fir \textit{aicinaid}, docuire\textit{d} bolga .c.amus for des \textit{gruaide} sin mic aighi in tan nobered claoinbreith 7 doslecdais itirum iar mbreith fir 7rl- (1655.1-4)

A 9: Cidh riasiu tra tisad Patraic, ro badur adhamrai di \textit{foillsigíthib} in tan na \textit{dérnais} breithemuin a fir n-\textit{aicinaidh}. Do-cuiridar cetamus bolga for \textit{deasgruaíadh} Sin meic Aighi in tan do-bered claenbreith 7 dus-legdais athurrach iar \textit{tírbreith} 7rl-. (§ 3)

8b) H: \textit{Filide} erind dá olchena, nicon bith logh \textit{enech} la cach fer dib noberedh gubreth, 7 ba escomun a \textit{cerd}, 7 nicon \textit{ermaítis} teimn laodhui na imbas forosna 7rl- (1655.18-20)

A 9: \textit{Filid} \textit{Eirenn} \textit{didiu} olcena, nicon bi log n-einech la cach dib \textit{no beredh} gubreith 7 fa heiscomain a \textit{ceird} 7 nicon \textit{dérnais} in teimn loegha no int imus \textit{for-osnadh} (§ 4)

It is likely that H preserves original readings with \textit{nad nermaítid(s)} 8a and \textit{nicon ermaítis} 8b, 3 pl. imperf. ind. of \textit{ar-midethar} ‘attains to’, against A 9’s 3 pl. perfective past subj. of \textit{do-gní}.\textsuperscript{32} A 9 preserves superior readings, however, with dat. pl. \textit{foillsigíthib}, gen. sing. \textit{aicinaidh} and nasalisation after acc. sing. in \textit{fír n-aicinaidh} ‘natural truth’.\textsuperscript{33} Binchy states (1655, note d) that some words in H have been dropped after \textit{bolga} as a result of haplology. A 9 has no significant additional readings at this point, however, and the text as it stands makes sense if it is punctuated differently, as does the text from A 9 cited in 8a above. The text of 8a in H can be translated as: ‘Before Patrick came, there were wondrous revelations when the judges did not attain to the natural truth. Blisters were produced immediately on Sen mac Áigi’s fair cheeks whenever he used to give a false judgement and they used to leave them again after a true judgement etc.’ The text of 8b in H can be translated as: ‘As regards the poets of Ireland, then, whichever of them used to give a false judgement would have no honour-price and their profession was degraded and they used not to be able to attain to \textit{teimn laeada} or \textit{imbas for-osnai}’.

\textsuperscript{30} See Breantnach (2005, 357, note 6). Fachtnae is referred to elsewhere as Tulbrethach and Fırbrethach (ibid. 314-5).

\textsuperscript{31} Sic for \textit{n-ermaítis}.

\textsuperscript{32} The verb \textit{ar-midethar} is used elsewhere of attaining to the truth: \textit{i. nirmadatar fírinni trirad}, ‘i.e. they attained not truth through grace’, Wb. 5\textsuperscript{b}2 (Stokes and Strachan 1901-3, vol. 1, 526).

\textsuperscript{33} Cf. \textit{Fir n-aicinaidh ro bai a Fítheal} A 9 § 3.
9) H: Sencha mac col cluin nicon beredh breath *conda rosrucadad* in aidhche riam ina bru. Fachtna a mac-*sin* (?) \ldots (1655.5-7)

A 9: Senca mac Coil Clain nicon berid breath *cin troscad* in oidhce riam ina bru. Fachtna a mac-*sidli* \ldots (§ 3)

*LO*: Senca dano ni beredh breath cen *scruitain* aidhci fria (RIA ms D ii 1, 138vb26)

*AG*: Sencha mac Cáelchaín calma, / ba hí a aiste adamra / nó bered breith – foribthe fair – / cen oidhe re *hurscrútain*. ‘Brave Sencha son of Cáelchláen, it was his wonderful characteristic that he used to not deliver a judgement – a perfect prop – without a single night to ponder over [it]’ (Smith 1994, 127, 135, q. 20)

In this instance, A 9 differs from H in reading *cin troscad* ‘without fasting’ against *rosrucadad*. Binchy suggests (1655, note e) that the latter may be an error for *noscrutad*, and a form of *scrútaid* ‘examines’ is suggested by the readings of the related sections in *LO* and *AG*, given above, both of which have forms of the verbal noun *scruitain*. The Senchae alluded to in *LO*, however, is Senchae mac Ailella meic Athclo. As regards A 9’s reading *cin troscad*, I have found no references to a tradition of fasting prior to delivering a judgement and this is likely to be an innovation in A 9, possibly reflecting uncertainty about the identity of Senchae mac Cuil Clain and the traditions concerning him. A minor point is that Binchy’s suggestion (1655, note f) that *s* plus a suspension stroke should be read as -*sin* or -*side* is confirmed by A 9’s *plene* reading a *mac-sidh*.

The text of H can be translated as: ‘Senchae mac Cuil Clain used not to deliver a judgement until he had contemplated it for the previous night in his breast. His son Fachtnae . . . ’.

10) H: sencha mac aillella nicon beire breith gin teora ailche astudha cacha breithe (1655.11)

A 9: Sencha mac Ailella nicon beredh breith gen na tri hailchi astada caca breithe .i. *roscad* 7 *fasach* 7 *teistemain*.34 (§ 3)

*H* does not specify the nature of the *teora ailche astudha cacha breithe* ‘three lasting foundations of every judgement’, whereas in A 9 these are defined in a gloss as *roscad* 7 *fasach* 7 *teistemain* ‘legal verse and precedent and scriptural texts’. A similar triad is found elsewhere in legal sources:35

is *ed* is brethemnus *roscad* 7 *fasach* 7 *teiste[m]ain* ‘und das heißt Rechtsprechung [Urteilffüllung]: Rechtspruch und früheres Urteil und Schrifttext’ (Thurneysen 1925, 59 § 139; Cóic Conara Fugill)

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34 *Teistemain* is written as *t* with a superscript abbreviation resembling the Arabic numeral 2. A second example is found in *muintir* (§ 1). For the use of this symbol in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* (RIA MS 23 O 48), see Breatnach (2011, 107).

35 See also Chapman Stacey (2007, 74).
co naicibh rosca 7 fasach 7 tesdemuin (CIH 2221.16; Bretha Nemed Tòisech) ‘with foundations of legal verses and precedents and scriptural texts’

CONSUTIR FIR FOR ROSCADAIB 7 FASAIGIB 7 TESDEMNAB FIRAIB (CIH 1591.13-14; Uraicecht Becc)

‘Truth is based on legal verses and precedents and true scriptural texts’

Kelly (1988, 197) notes of teistimin that ‘In the context of judgement... it refers primarily to the text of Scripture as a guide and model for the early Irish judge’. The poem AG (q. 24) agrees with H against A 9 in not specifying the three lasting foundations: Sencha mac Oilella úaig / trí ailche leis ri breith mbúain. / Ní bered breith saír suba / cen trí ailche astuda ‘Sencha, son of chaste Oilill, had three bases for lasting judgement. He was not wont to give a noble, joyful judgement without three bases for establishing [it]’ (Smith 1994, 128, 136). This suggests that the gloss is an addition in A 9. The text of H can be translated as: ‘Senchae mac Ailella used not to give a judgement without the three lasting foundations of every judgement’.36

ERRORS AND INNOVATIONS IN A 9

Although A 9 preserves some important readings, it also has a number of errors and shows a tendency towards innovation and simplification. The following errors may be noted:

1) H: Doluid diáca laisin luinges doluidh a tracia (1654.5)
   A 9: Do-luidh diúi Cai lasiin loingius do-luidh a Troidhianda (§ 1)

H states of Caí that he came laisin luinges doluidh a tracia ‘with the fleet which came from Thrace’, and there are three additional references to Thrace in the text immediately preceding this.37 In A 9, however, the single reference to Thrace has been changed to the adjective Troidhianda ‘Trojan’.

2) H: Nera mac findcuill a sibid sed uerius mhaic moruinr38 (1654.29-30)
   A 9: Nera mac Finneuill a sidaibh, Sedamus mac Moraind (§ 1)

The Latin phrase sed uerius ‘rather, more truly’ in H, introducing a correction, has been misinterpreted as a personal name in A 9.

36 Hollo (2007, 177) mistakenly takes the phrase teora ailche astudha cacha breith (CIH 1655.11) to mean that Senchae never gave a false judgement ‘without three blisters rising on his face’ (cf. AL 1, 24-5). While the motif of blisters on the cheeks is associated elsewhere with Senchae mac Ailella and the giving of false judgements (ibid., 177-8), it alludes only to Sen mac Aígi in our text.

37 ñi do tir taírnrigre son ñ isin ngreg co roibhe i tracia (1653.38-9); Drochaudur iar sin da nocht decc milid do miludh tracia for luinges asa tir (1653.41); ...na milidh-sin dolotur a tracia (1654.3).

38 For other instances of confusion over Neire’s patronymic, see Smith (1927, 308-9).
3) H: niirbudh eicín dí doib-sium 5 taisfenadh a coimne (1654.38)
A 9: nirb égen doiph didiu som atacht taispenad a coimne (§ 2)

Here the particle didiu has been misplaced in A 9 between the 3 pl. personal
pronoun and the emphasising particle and atacht is found for acht.

4) H: Madh a naimsir lachta, notsendais na ba a laoghu (1655.10)
A 9: Madh i n-aimsir blatha no sendais na ba a laigh (§ 3)

H’s reading a naimsir lachta ‘in the time of milk’ alludes to a defect in
cows whereby they refuse to suckle their calves, a condition which is men-
tioned in an OIr law text on defects in cattle and sheep (Kelly 1997, 510). The
corresponding section in AG (q. 22) also refers to milking: Mad i n-aimsir
blechta bain . . . no sén-tais baí láega lis, ‘If it were in the time of white milk-
ing . . . cows used to reject calves of enclosure’ (Smith 1994, 128, 135). In A 9,
however, this has been changed to i n-aimsir blatha ‘in the springtime’, which,
although suitable in the context, can hardly be the original reading and may
have arisen through the misinterpretation of an abbreviated form of blechta.

5) H: do drechtaib alanaila nugtar 7关税 (1655.23)
A 9: do rechtaib ailina hughdur (§ 5)

The phrase ala n-aile has been misunderstood in A 9 and drechtaib has
been changed to rechtaib.

In addition to the examples already discussed, the following instances of
modernization in A 9 may be noted: forroglainn (1653.18), for-foglui
(A 9 § 1); frisna druide (1654.15), frisna druidhib (§ 1); na fil (1654.21-2), nad
filed (A 9 § 1); is edh im as moam (1654.27), is edh is mo (A 9 § 1); in
tan ruced-sidhe breith ngua (1655.7), in tan no beredh breith gua (A 9 § 3);
notsendais na ba a laoghu (1655.10), no sendais na ba a laigh (A 9 § 3); teora
ailche (1655.11), tri hailchi (A 9 § 3). Latin in H is translated or omitted in A 9:
7 aili qui in libro mainefesdantur (1654.36-7), 7 ali qui in libro manafestantur
.i. an lucht atsa isna leabraib co follus (A 9 § 2); itirum (1655.3), athurrach (A
9 § 3).

A 9 AND Forus Feasa ar Éirinn

A final interesting aspect of A 9 is that either it or a manuscript from the same
line of transmission was used by Keating as a source for a passage in Forus
Feasa ar Éirinn. This is clear from the following shared readings in A 9 and
FFÉ (references to vol. III of the edition):

1) H: Nera mac findcuill a sibid sed uerius mhaic moruinn
(1654.29-30)
A 9: Nera mac Finncuill a sidaibh, Sedamus mac Moraind (§ 1)
FFÉ: Neara mac Fionnchuill a Sfodhaibh, Seadhamus mac
Morainn (III, 34 l. 503-4)
2) H: Sencha mac col cluin nicon beredh breith condorosucadad in aidhc he riam ina bru (1655.5-6)
A 9: Senca mac Coil Clain nicon berid breith cin troscad in oidhce riam ina bru (§ 3)

FFÉ: Ní bheireadh Seancha mac Cúil Chlaoin breath choidhche gan troscadh an oidhche ria n-a breith. (III, 34 l. 520-21)

3) H: Madh a naimsir lachta, notsendais na ba a laogh (1655.10)
A 9: Madh i n-aimsir blatha no sendais na ba a laigh (§ 3)

FFÉ: nó madh i n-aimsir an bhlátha dó-bheireadh an bhreéighbhreath, do shéandaois na ba a laoi g san tír sin. (III, 34 l. 525-7)

4) H: ferghus, fianach in is fianach(?) a crich ciarrai age luachra (1655.15-16)
A 9: Fergus Fiannainn a crich Ciaraide Luachra (§ 4)

FFÉ: Fearghus Fiannaithe a crích Chiarraidhe Luachra (III, 34 l. 501-2)39

While we cannot be certain that A 9 was the actual manuscript used by Keating, it is significant that Audacht Morainn is followed in A 9 (pp 43b15-44a22) by a text which was used by him as a source for part of his account of the life of Saint Becan later on in FFÉ (III, 66.1050–68.1083). This text describes the killing of Bresal by his father, Diarmait mac Cerbaill, and his subsequent revival by the saint. Although versions of the text are found elsewhere (Plummer 1925, 201), this nevertheless provides a second possible connection between A 9 and Keating, and one which would merit further investigation.

Conclusion

The evidence discussed above demonstrates that A 9 preserves some significant readings and is an important witness to the compilation and transmission of a section of the pseudo-historical Prologue to the Senchas Már.

Transcription and Translation of A 9

The expansion of all abbreviations is indicated by italics. Missing words and letters are supplied in square brackets and superfluous letters are enclosed in round brackets. Word-division and punctuation are editorial. Where the text of H is significant, the reading of CIH is given in a footnote and in certain instances the translation is based on H.

39 FFÉ does not share the copying error found in H.

§ 2. It e immorro ardugdair int Senchusa Fergus File 7 Dubthach mac hua Lugair at-rachtatdair suainemiu filedachta fou la Patruic, cinmota in n-urllum ro bai ara cind do brethaih ala n-aile na n-ugdur do-ruiinmear: Sen mac Aighi 7 Doidhen mac Nine 7 Fachtna Fialbrethach 7 Creidine Cerd 7 Luchtaine Saer

40 n partly erased before sin.
41 itraci 1654.3.
42 dr 1654.12.
43 Sic for bretha; see Bretnach (2005, 175).
44 asbertis-sidhe 1654.16.
45 ini noraidhe (noraidhe preceded by ro partly erased) 1654.18.
46 innad aice nach ae bai 1654.18-19.
48 maididd ifar cumachtuib 1654.21.
49 See p. 25 above.
50 Cf. is edh im-as moam deimmighithi ili 1654.27. The form of the verb in both sss is apparently 3 pl. pres. ind. relative of the deponent verb deimmighdir. The superlative form of the adjective moam in H and the abbreviation 7rl- suggest that the phrase may be a citation from an earlier source.
Translation

§ 1. To begin with, the authors who were first in Ireland, i.e. Amairgein Glúngel the poet, the pupil of Caí Cainbrethach. He is the seventy-second pupil of the school of Féníus Farsaid. It is that Caí who learned the law of Moses before coming from the east and it is judgements of the law [of Moses] that he used to give. This is why he was called Caí Caínbrethach: Caí came with the expedition which came from Troy to meet his own people and their achievements since they parted were revealed to them: the law of God and His judgements for mankind. And that is why it was Caí who was judge for the entire expedition, whence he said ‘Bráth Caí’, i.e. the name of every judge on account of that is the judgement which is the conclusion of every law case, just as bráth “doom” is said of the end of the world and of the last judgement which God delivers upon his creatures. The second most famous author in Ireland as regards wisdom was Sen mac Áigi, the first author who is enumerated in the Senchas [Már]. He lived during the time of Fergus mac Lêti. Bríg Ambue, moreover, was the female author of the men of Ireland in wisdom and prudence,\(^{51}\) whence [is said] Bretha Bríge. After her came Conlae Cainbrethach, the sage of Connacht. He used to surpass the men of Ireland in wisdom and he possessed the grace of the Holy Spirit. It is he, moreover, who used to engage in the warlike conflict against the druids, who used to say that it was they who created heaven and earth and sea and sun and moon etc. It was for that reason that he said to them: ‘Let you cause, then, the sun and the moon to shine in the north for the men of the world and we will believe that what you say is all true’. When none of them saw that it was possible to know [this], he said: ‘It is better for us’, he said, ‘to trust in the One who has made all of this, i.e. God of heaven and earth’ etc. ‘Special, then, are the likeness and the many gifts of the Son of God. Do not attribute them to yourselves, and do not exalt yourselves in your powers, for you have not the power to cause a disturbance even in the order of one day or of one night of the service in which one of those elements is, according to the will of God who has created them’. Senchae mac Coil Clain came after him and it is a host of the men of Ireland so that . . . He was a wonderful author, etc. His son, Fachtnae, came after him and what many assert mostly is that he was a son of Senchae mac Ailella etc. Senchae mac Ailella, then, Morann mac Maín, Neire mac Finncuill from fairy mounds, Sedamus mac Morainn, Feradach Finn Fechtndach, the foremost author in wisdom of the lords of the men of Ireland, Fíthal, who lived in the time of Láegaire mac Néill.

§ 2. The principal authors of the Senchas, then, are Fergus the Poet and Dubthach maccu Lugair, who bound a thread of poetry through it together with Patrick, apart from what was ready before them of the judgements of certain authors\(^{52}\) whom we have enumerated: Sen mac Áigi and Doiden mac Nin and Fachtnae Fialbrethach and Creidine Cerd and Luchtaine Sáer and Dían Cécht

\(^{51}\) Translated Breatnach 2005, 175.

\(^{52}\) Translated Breatnach 2005, 357.
7 Dian Cecht in liaigh 7 ali qui in libro manefastantur, .i. an lucht ata isna leabrai co follus, .i. nirb égen doiph didiu som (at)acht53 taispenad a coimne do neoch ro cacmatar a ceile roime 7 a certugad fria54 Patraic 7 fria rech litri do-ug Patraic leis 7 ordugad 7 follaumugad uaithib-sim.


§ 4. Filid didiu ro badur annsa n-aímsir-seo, .i. Fergus Fiannainn a crich [42a1] Ciaraide Luachra, Feircertine File 7 Neide mac Adhra 7 Athairne Annus 7 Fergus File mac Athairne. Filid Eireann didiu ocleaí, nicon bi log n-einech la cacht dib no beredh gubtreith 7 fa heiscomain a ceird 7r lí- 7 nicon derrais in teimn loegha no int imus for-osnadh.


53 niirbudh eicin di doib-siam 7 1654.38.
54 fiad 1654.39.
55 docuired 1655.2.
56 a nobeterd 1655.9.
57 noblebruing; sic, for rolebruing? 1655.14 and note j.
58 Omitted in H.
59 The phrase cia ro ruidset-saidh lam . . . seems to echo an earlier allusion in the text to the existence of other legal sources at the time when Fergus and Duthbach were compiling the Senchas Mór: cinnota in n-urrum ro bai ara cind do brethaib alla na n-ugdar ‘apart from what was ready before them of the judgements of certain authors’ (§ 2). A meaning such as ‘Although they selected . . . ’ would suit the context, but I am uncertain as to the verbal form ro ruidset. DIL cites the version from H, ge redruiuget-sidhe lamh (1655.22), s.v. rogid ‘stretches’, although re(d)rusiugset seems to reflect the reduplicated preterite stem of rigid ‘stretches’, with MidIr 3 pl. s-preterite ending.
60 drechtaib 1655.23.
61 augtaras 1655.24.
62 Omitted in H.
63 In H, tulbretha fachta is written in the upper margin, with reference marks, and a space has been left between augtaras and Coir feine mar.
the physician *et alii qui in libro manifestantur*, i.e. those who are evident in the texts, i.e. it was only necessary for them to display their memory of whatever the others had recited previously and to correct it in Patrick’s presence according to the law of scripture which Patrick had brought with him and for it to be arranged and organised by them.

§ 3. Before Patrick came, moreover, there were wondrous revelations when judges did not implement the natural truth. Blisters were produced immediately on Sen mac Áigi’s fair cheek whenever he used to give a false judgement and they used to leave it again after a true judgement etc. Conlae never delivered a false judgement either on account of the grace of the Holy Spirit that was upon him. Senchae mac Cuil Clain used not to give a judgement without fasting the night before in his belly. His son Fachtnæ, when he used to give a false judgement, if it was during the time of mast, the mast of the land in which he was used to fall in a single night. If what he judged was true, the mast remained whole on the trees. That is why his name was Fachtnæ Tulbrethach. If it was in the springtime, the cows used to reject their calves. Senchæ mac Ailella never gave a judgement without the three lasting foundations of every judgement, i.e. legal verse and precedent and evidence. It was natural truth which Fíthal had so that he did not judge falsely.\(^{64}\) Morann did not give a judgement without the collar of Morann around his neck. Whenever he gave a false judgement, the collar used to tighten around his neck, and if it was a true judgement he gave it used to spring down around him etc.

§ 4. The poets who lived at this time were Fergus Fiannain from the territory of Cíarraide Lúachra, Ferchertne the Poet and Nede mac Adnae and Athairne Amnus and Fergus the Poet, son of Athairne. As regards the poets of Ireland, then, whichever of them used to give a false judgement would have no honour-price and their profession was degraded etc., and they used not to be able to perform the *teinn laeda* or the *imbas for-osnai*.

§ 5. This, then, is the portion of which each of them took authorship: as to the *Senchas Már*, firstly, [authorship was taken] by Sen mac Áigi. It was added to by Fergus and Dubthach, although they... from the works of other authors: *Immard nAirechta* by Conlae, *Aí Emnach* in which Fíthal claimed authority, *Tulbretha Fachtai*, *Coir Féine Mór* and *Coir Féine Becc* and *Midbae Breth* and *Recholl Breth* and *Cléithe Breth* and *Caire Breth Moraind*.\(^{65}\) This, then, is the portion of each of them, etc.

\(^{64}\) Translated Breatnach 2005, 365.

\(^{65}\) For a discussion of the texts listed here, see Breatnach 2005, 160 ff.
ABBREVIATIONS


BIBLIOGRAPHY


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