Bile ós Chrannaibh
A Festschrift for William Gillies

edited by

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The Oban Professor

In 1969, John MacLean, Rector of Oban High School, an outstanding Classics scholar and member of a Raasay family whose contributions to Gaelic and Scotland have been immeasurable, composed a poem in Gaelic in praise of a former pupil and dux of the school who had gained a First Class Honours MA in Celtic from the University of Edinburgh and would take up a Lectureship there the following year. The poem is affectionate, foreseeing a career of academic achievement and influence at home and far afield. Forty years on, it is clear how prescient John MacLean was, as William Gillies, 'The Oban Professor', retires from the Chair of Celtic Languages, Literature, History and Antiquities at the University of Edinburgh to which he was appointed in 1979.

Do Uilleam MacGill'Ìosa (1969)

Uilleim, meal an naidheachd seo;
's ann dut bu chòir bhith aighearach;
thig luath an là san aithnichear
's gach fearann Ollamh 'n Òbain.

Bidh d' ainm a' tàladh oileanach
o thìrean cian 's on choimhearsnachd,
o Shìona thall 's o Cholbhasa,
a dh'èisteachd Ollamh 'n Òbain.

Gach sgoilear àrd – 's e dhleasnas e –
le iongnadh a' cur cheistean ort,
ach strìochdaidh iad 's gach deasbad riut,
toirt teist air Ollamh 'n Òbain.

'S e sin mo dhùrachd charthannach,
's do rogha fhèin de Chathraichean,
is àgh is sonas maireannach
dom charaid, Ollamh 'n Òbain.

To William Gillies (1969)

William, congratulations on this news;
you should be overjoyed;
haste the day when recognition
is everywhere given to the Oban Professor.

Your name will attract students
from far-off lands and the local community,
from China yonder and from Colonsay,
to listen to the Oban Professor.

Every high-ranking scholar – as is his duty –
will, in wonder, ask you questions,
but all will yield to you in every debate
and bear high testimony to the Oban Professor.

That is my warm-hearted desire,
as well as your own choice of Chairs,
with success and lasting happiness
for my friend, the Oban Professor.

His name – he is known variously to family, friends and colleagues as William, Uilleam, Liam and Willie Gillies – is indeed known around the globe. His reputation has drawn students 'from China yonder and from Colonsay' and this embrace of the local, the national and the international lies at the heart of his personality and his scholarship.

From his schooldays, coming in from Dalintart Farm where the Gillies family made their home when his father took up an administrative position at the local hospital and where his mother also worked, Willie showed special gifts and aptitudes. But zest for life and for learning have never been separate for him; a fellow pupil at Oban High School recalls how he could 'translate Greek and play darts at the same time'. Taught by John MacLean, Donald Thomson and Iain Crichton Smith, amongst others, he was drawn by both the Classical and the Celtic worlds. His initial degree studies were in Classics, in which he gained

a First Class Honours MA at the University of Edinburgh in 1965. From there he went to Oxford to study Ancient History and Philosophy (BA 1967), returning to Edinburgh from 1967 to 1969 for studies towards his Celtic degree.

As an undergraduate in the Celtic Department and later as a colleague there, Willie's major influences were Professor Kenneth Jackson and the Reverend William Matheson. Both were scholars dedicated to the highest standards in teaching and research, each representing differing but complementary approaches to Celtic and Gaelic studies: Jackson's formidable command of the breadth and complexities of the former alongside Matheson's stance as a native scholar, versed from childhood in Gaelic cultural traditions and their communication.

Willie took up his lectureship in 1970, following a year which was a significant one for him, spent in the scholarly community which is the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. The Irish dimension continued to be important to him and he has fostered these connections throughout his career in teaching and research, in building up collections of Irish resources and in working with Irish colleagues on projects of mutual support and benefit. The award of the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters by the University of Ulster in 2006 acknowledged the strength of this connection. More recently, the institution of an Irish language teaching assistantship at Edinburgh funded by the Irish government has been a source of great pleasure in Ireland and Scotland.

Willie was appointed to the Chair of Celtic, the senior Celtic Chair in Scotland – the 'People's Chair', created by public subscription in 1882 – upon Professor Jackson's retirement in 1979. This placed him in a great succession beginning with Donald MacKinnon of Colonsay (1882–1914) and continuing with W. J. Watson (1914–37), his son J. Carmichael Watson (1937–41), Myles Dillon (1947–49) and Kenneth Jackson (1950–79). A memorable colloquium held in March 1983, 'Alba agus a' Ghàidhlig, Gaelic and Scotland', marked the centenary

of the Chair and was subsequently published under the same title through Willie's editorship.

Universities were changing rapidly at this time and for Willie it was a case of 'Hats off to the past, coats off to the future!' There was much to be done in the context of expanding student numbers and the needs of Gaelic in modern Scotland. Working with newly appointed colleagues Donald Meek and Ronald Black – Willie Matheson having retired in 1980 – he masterminded new courses and curricula that were sound in scholarship and innovative in design, while medieval and modern options were reinforced and links made with other departments through joint undergraduate degrees and shared postgraduate supervision. As his (then) junior colleagues still testify with great pride, this was a thoroughly exciting and ground-breaking period, both for them and for the 'new' department, as he encouraged them to develop their own strengths within his overall strategic vision. Willie has never lost sight of the generous remit of the Chair, with its embrace of history and antiquities as well as languages and literature, as his publications show, nor of the responsibility the holder is enjoined to have with regard to 'the graces of the Gaelic language'. He worked hard to create a lectureship shared between Celtic and Scottish History and was active in securing funding for projects to do with Gaelic acquisition including computer-assisted language learning and in supporting Gaelic broadcasting, publishing and writers.

Within and beyond the University of Edinburgh he ensured an enhanced status for Celtic Studies and for Gaelic in the academic and wider public frame, especially through his devotion to the Board of Celtic Studies (Scotland), established largely though his instigation in the early 1990s in order to represent Celtic Studies in Scotland fairly to the councils then determining the future of academic studies. Always aiming to enhance the professional profile of the discipline, he never tired in assuming responsibilities in spite of heavy teaching and other demands as Head of Celtic and later of Celtic and Scottish Studies. He has held executive

roles in the International Congress for Celtic Studies, presiding over the 10th Congress in Edinburgh in 1995 and the Board of Celtic Studies (Scotland), and chaired the Celtic Panel of the UK Research Assessment Exercise in 2001. He was general editor of the *Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland* (published by the Dublin Institute in 1997) and, as its manager, steered the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* to its successful completion in 2001 and since has been actively engaged on Faclair na Gàidhlig, the new Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic. He has contributed mightily to the work of countless organisations and learned societies within Scotland and beyond and is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, The Royal Historical Society and The Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Willie intends that one of his retirement projects will be to plant an orchard. But he can be said to have done this already through nurturing his students, colleagues and others who have sought his guidance, encouraging them to attain high academic standards, to embark on life-enhancing projects, to explore the new, the creative, the challenging. From China to Colonsay there are countless people – many on the staff of university departments, including his own – who have experienced his meticulous supervision and his deep capacity for kindness and have reason to be grateful to him. He on his own part would be the first to thank those who have supported and assisted him, Deans and officers of the Faculty of Arts and their successors in new structures at the University of Edinburgh, secretaries from Miss Anna Campbell onwards, colleagues, friends and family.

It is from his family past and present and his mentors that Willie derives his passion for Scotland, for the arts, for the natural world, from a father and grandfather whose political commitment to Scotland was powerful, from a mother and her parents who were all instrumentalists, from forebears who had left Scotland to seek opportunities in England but who retained a strong sense of their roots. Willie's marriage in 1972 to Valerie Simmons, one of Scotland's leading poets, ensured that the arts – visual, verbal

and musical – would remain at the heart of their family life as it had been for him at Dalintart, where his sister Anne, an acclaimed Gaelic singer and scholar, received her earliest encouragement. Born in Canada, Valerie later lived and studied in India and the international and artistic dimensions continue in their children, with Lachlan working in finance in Singapore, Maeve a jewellery designer in New York, Mairi a sculptor and horticulturist in Scotland.

In retirement, there will be time for work on Faclair na Gàidhlig, the Carmichael Watson Project, The Book of the Dean of Lismore and other scholarly projects. And for Taoist Tai Chi, in which he is an assistant instructor, and for that orchard. There are brown trout in the rivers and lochs of Galloway, and hills to climb and the company of family and friends to enjoy. May we all, with John MacLean, wish 'sonas maireannach', lasting happiness, to The Oban Professor.

Margaret A. Mackay

Several people have assisted with the preparation of this piece and their help is gratefully acknowledged.

Introduction

Over the course of more than four decades William Gillies has made an immense contribution to Celtic scholarship and is renowned internationally as a pre-eminent scholar in not one but many different fields within the discipline. As holder of the Chair of Celtic Languages, Literature, History and Antiquities at the University of Edinburgh for three decades, he led the modernisation of Celtic studies in Scotland and supervised and mentored scores of postgraduate students, many of whom went on to take up positions in universities in Scotland, Ireland and beyond. In this collection we bring together contributions from a wide range of his current and former colleagues, former students, collaborators, professional associates and friends, in Scotland, Ireland, England, Canada, the United States and Australia.

A striking aspect of Professor Gillies's academic career has been his ability to sustain outstanding scholarship over an extensive range of topics. It is also surprisingly difficult to offer a periodisation of his work, as he has managed to balance his diverse interests over time, returning to particular topics and texts at different junctures, often after careful reflection and the refinement of judgment. His work has always been characterised by precision and care, and by a writing style that balances elegance and clarity with a distinct flair and wit.

One major element of Professor Gillies's scholarship has worked within the longest-established strand within Celtic studies, the linguistic and philological. Among his key contributions in this field is his authoritative analysis of the Scottish Gaelic language, initially published in 1993 and recently revised and updated in 2009 within Martin Ball's *The Celtic Languages*. As editor-in-chief of the Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland in the wake of his appointment to the Chair of Celtic in 1979, Professor Gillies played a key role in the publication of the results of the Survey in 1997. More recently he has taken forward the important Faclair na Gàidhlig project, which aims to produce an authoritative historical dictionary of Scottish Gaelic. Over the years he has published a number of detailed studies on linguistic matters, both

philological investigations and works on diverse aspects of applied linguistics.

A second ongoing area of work has involved the Gaelic literary tradition in Ireland and Scotland from medieval to modern times. His interest in two key Gaelic manuscript texts, the Book of the Dean of Lismore and the Books of Clanranald, has been sustained over decades. A series of important editions and articles in the late 1970s and 1980s on the courtly and satiric verse in the Book of the Dean, including the poems of Sir Duncan Campbell, helped re-frame our perceptions of the contexts and nature of Gaelic literary culture. His work on Niall MacMhuirich, bardic poet and author of the so-called 'Red Book of Clanranald', will culminate in a long-awaited edition of this important historical text. At the same time, Professor Gillies has studied a number of other aspects of the Gaelic literary tradition, including Jacobite material associated with the rising of 1745–46, the eighteenth-century poet William Ross and the twentieth-century master Sorley MacLean, whose essays he edited in 1986 under the title *Ris a' Bhruthaich*.

Connecting his linguistic and literary scholarship has been his work on historical topics of various kinds, with an emphasis on the internal discourses and interpretations prevalent in Gaeldom at different times. His major study on the role of Arthur in Gaelic tradition, for example, can be connected to his ongoing interest in the Campbell family and the relationship between the manipulation of genealogy and the shifting dynamics of power. In a different way, his work on the ways in which the MacMhuirich poets became embedded in later Gaelic folk tradition has challenged established categorisation.

Many of Professor Gillies's works have been especially valuable for the originality of thought and for their ongoing impact in terms of mapping ways forward and setting the agenda of future research, in the areas of language and literature in particular. His impact on the field of Celtic studies has been immeasurable.

The title of this Festschrift alludes to a poem composed by one of the giants of Celtic scholarship, Osborn Bergin, on the occasion of the 72nd birthday of another titan, Rudolf Thurneysen, in

1929. (The poem was subsequently published in 1940 following Professor Thurneysen's death in that year, in volume 2 of *Éigse*, pages 286–88). William Gillies is a worthy successor to those greats, a *bile ós chrannaibh*, a noble tree towering over the ordinary trees.

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BA	Boston Athenaeum
BBCS	*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*
BL	British Library
CF	St. Colman's College, Fermoy
CMCS	*Cambridge/Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*
CU	Columbia University, New York
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DIAS	Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
DIL	*Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Quin, E. G., et al.)
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
HL	Huntington Library, San Marino
HMSO	Her/His Majesty's Stationery Office
IFC	Irish Folklore Collection (UCD)
MN	St Patrick's College, Maynooth
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
qtt.	quatrains
QUB	Queen's University, Belfast
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
SGDS	*Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland*
SGS	*Scottish Gaelic Studies*
SGTS	Scottish Gaelic Texts Society
stt.	stanzas
TGSI	*Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*
UCC	University College Cork (NUI, Cork)
UCD	University College Dublin (NUI, Dublin)
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Times of Day
Anders Ahlqvist

The Irish and Scottish Gaelic words for concepts like 'day', 'night', 'morning', 'afternoon' and 'evening' are, for the most part, fairly new formations which do not have good direct genetic links – except in the form of borrowings – with similar words in other Indo-European languages. This note looks at some features of this group of words and seeks to put them in context.

In present-day Irish, the usual word for 'day' is *lá*, whereas in Scottish Gaelic, both *là* and disyllabic *latha* are found; Old Irish spellings vary, ranging from *lá* to ('older') *lae*, *laa* and *laithe*, so that a modern Scottish Gaelic pronunciation like Leurbost *La-a* and *La-ə* would seem to preserve an older disyllabic basic form of the word, as do most attested plurals (Modern Irish *laethanta*, etc.).[1] I am not aware of any possible cognates on the Brittonic side. On the other hand, a comparison with Gaulish *lat[ion]* – as attested in the Coligny calendar – appears worthwhile, whereas some other suggested Indo-European connections seem to me too remote to be of much interest.[2] A word for 'day' that is more common in some other Indo-European languages (notably the Brittonic ones and Latin) survives in a few forms, like those denoting the days of the week (i.e. *Dé Luain* 'Monday' etc.), and also in the adverb *indiu* 'today'.[3]

Old Irish *adaig* 'night' corresponds to Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic *oíche* and *oidhche*.[4] Some attempts have been made to find an etymology for it, but I am not aware of anything that seems very convincing.[5] On the other hand, there is another word that is much better attested in other Indo-European languages. It survives mainly in the adverb that means 'tonight': Old Irish *innocht*, Modern Irish *anocht* and Scottish Gaelic *a-nochd*.[6] It has reliable cognates in many other Indo-European languages.[7]

The Irish and Scottish Gaelic word *maidin*, *madainn* (Old Irish *matan*, *maiten*) 'morning', is very obviously a borrowing ultimately from Latin *matutina*.[8] In Old Irish, the adverb that corresponds semantically is *i mbúaruch* 'this morning', which the modern languages have replaced with adverbial phrases like for instance Modern Irish *ar maidin*.[9] The very interesting phrase *i mbúaruch* has received a certain amount of scholarly attention; it is abundantly clear that the expression is not a loan from Latin.[10] On the other hand, there seems to be no trace of any corresponding noun (meaning 'morning'), even if one cannot discount the possibility that *i mbúaruch* could have arisen from such a noun or (as seems somewhat more likely) been the source thereof.[11] In any case it seems more than possible that a noun with that meaning could have existed before the early Gaels

learned enough Latin to be able to borrow *matutina* into their language.

The concepts underlying the English words *afternoon* and *evening* are not uniform. Regarding the latter, I note that it is

> used by H[iberno-]E[nglish] speakers to refer to the afternoon
> time; […] the evening period in HE is represented by 'night',
> as in the phrase 'Good night, President' = Good evening,
> President; SOM, Kerry, writes: 'tráthnóna: evening time which
> locally included afternoon as well as the later period'; […][12]

Given this and other uncertainties concerning the exact times denoted, it seems best to treat both concepts together. In this context, I clearly need no apology for following our honorand's extremely wise counsel concerning matters of this sort:

> An overriding concern will be to let Gaelic 'breathe', freed from
> the tyranny of word-by-word comparison with English, which
> is the besetting sin of traditional Gaelic dictionaries.[13]

Thus, it may be safe not to be more precise than one would be in stating that English *afternoon* and *evening* both refer to times after mid-day. In Old Irish, the usual word is *fescor*; it survives in Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic as *feascar* and *feasgar*, respectively.[14] It is quite certainly a loan from Latin *vesper* 'evening', even if there were early attempts to describe it as a native word.[15] In Modern Irish, *feascar* has, to my certain knowledge, been largely replaced by *tráthnóna* (already mentioned just above). This word is formed from *tráth* 'period, point of time' and *nóin* 'ninth hour'; the first element is a native word, but the latter is just as clearly a loan from Latin *nona (hora)* 'ninth (hour)'.[16]

Is there a pattern to be identified in all this? One must be careful. However, the survival of identifiably older lexical items in adverbial contexts only seems consistent enough. In other words, the question to ask is in fact why the words in question have been replaced by more recent forms in what might seem as their primary collocation of functioning as nouns. In the case of the words meaning 'morning' and 'evening', the reason seems evident. I suggest that the Latin terms must have come into the language together with Christianity, a religion insisting on the need for regular prayer at certain given hours. It is particularly worth noting just how important the very terms just mentioned actually were:

> When we read a saint's life, Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* being
> a fine example, we have to be aware of just how conscious the

author is about time and that he sees the day divided up into sleep, eating, working and prayer where the boundaries between these activities are marked by the hours of the Offices: matins (midnight), lauds, prime, terce, sext, nones and vespers.[17]

The words for 'day' and 'night' present rather more of a puzzle. The attestation, in the Coligny Calendar, of a possible cognate of Irish and Scottish Gaelic *lá*, *là*, *latha* etc. is suggestive. Lambert's conclusions seem worth quoting:

> Bien que l'on trouve très peu d'indications religieuses (une fois le nom de Lugus ; peut-être Taran[us] dans le deuxième intercalaire), il est certain que ce calendrier est l'heritage de la culture des druides, qui n'étaient pas seulement des prêtres, mais aussi des savants et des philosophes. Les druides étaient chargés de l'éducation des jeunes nobles; c'est certainement le milieu druidique qui a élaboré ce calendrier assez compliqué et relativement correct, probablement inspiré par des calendriers luno-solaires déjà élaborés dans le monde méditerrannéen.[18]

It would be rather speculative to suggest that the replacement, by *lation*, or the like, of an older word with a less uncertain Indo-European pedigree, has a background in some sort of religious practice. However, if further research one of these days shows that to have been the case, then an interesting parallelism is revealed, linking this state of affairs with that which so obviously was present in the early Christian period.

REFERENCES

1 See Edward Dwelly, *The Illustrated Gaelic–English Dictionary*, 7th edn (Glasgow: Gairm, 1971), 560, 571; Niall Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1977), 735; E.G. Quin et al., eds, *Dictionary of the Irish Language, Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials, Compact Edition* (Dublin: RIA, 1983), 416, col. 9, l. 9, and Magne Oftedal, *The Gaelic of Leurbost, Isle of Lewis* (Oslo: Norsk tidskrift for sprogvidenskap, 1956), 349.

2 Xavier Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*, 2nd edn (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2003), 197.

3 See Dwelly, *Dictionary*, 33, 314; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir*, 373, 712; Quin, *Dictionary*, 206, col. 54, ll. 24 ff., 402, col. 230, l. 60 ff.; Delamarre, *Dictionnaire*, 274–75; Pierre-Yves Lambert, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien de J. Vendryes D* (Dublin: DIAS; Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique), 64–65 and Rudolf Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin: DIAS, 1946), 162, 217.

4 See Dwelly, *Dictionary*, 33, 704; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir*, 922–23; Quin, *Dictionary*, 4, col. 27, ll. 70 ff. and Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 80, 185.

5 Joseph Vendryes's comments ('Sans étymologie sûre', 'fantaisiste', 'Pure hypothèse') on some of them seem appropriate to me: see his *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien A* (Dublin: DIAS; Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique), 14–15.

6 See Dwelly, *Dictionary*, 699; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir*, 48; Quin, *Dictionary*, 479, col. 53, ll. 70 ff. and Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 135, 162.

7 See Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Berne & Munich: Francke, 1959), vol. 1, 762–63.

8 See Dwelly, *Dictionary*, 622; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir*, 817; Quin, *Dictionary*, 455, col. 69, ll. 75 ff.; Vendryes, *Lexique MNOP*, 24; and Damian McManus, 'A chronology of the Latin loan-words in Early Irish', *Ériu*, 34 (1983), 21–72 (29 and 59–60, fn. 114).

9 See Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir*, 817.

10 For some thoughts regarding its prehistory and particularly for a number of further references, see Anders Ahlqvist, 'Another look at Old Irish *imbúaruch* "this morning", *imbárach* "tomorrow morning"', in *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture: A Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp,* ed. by Ann Matonis and Daniel F. Melia (Van Nuys: Ford & Bailie, 1990), 108–09.

11 The existence of the Welsh noun *bore* 'morning' is rather suggestive; see further Peter Schrijver, *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1995), 199.

12 See Terence Patrick Dolan, *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English – The Irish Use of English* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1998), 101.

13 William Gillies, 'A Gaelic thesaurus', in *Studies in Scots and Gaelic: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Languages of Scotland*, ed. by Alexander Fenton and Donald A. MacDonald (Edinburgh: Canongate Academic & The Linguistic Survey of Scotland, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1994), 149–62 (157).

14 See Quin, *Dictionary*, 301, col. 98, ll. 3 ff.; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir*, 528 and Dwelly, *Dictionary*, 425.

15 For a good discussion and some further references, see Joseph Vendryes, *De hibernicis vocabulis quae a latina lingua originem duxerunt* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1902), 141; cf. further Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 570; Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1953), 126; and Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, 1173.

16 See Quin, *Dictionary*, 603, col. 275, ll. 7 ff. and 480, col. 60, ll. 35 ff. as well as Vendryes, *Lexique T*, 124–25 and *De hibernicis*, 159; further, one may note the shift towards mid-day, i.e. 'noon', in some varieties of Scottish Gaelic and Irish, as evidenced by Dwelly, *Dictionary*, 700 and 967, as well as Quin, *Dictionary*, 603, col. 275, ll. 79 ff.

17 Thomas O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000), 176.

18 Pierre-Yves Lambert, *La Langue gauloise* (Paris: Éditions Errance, 1994), 115.

A Forgotten Song by Duncan Ban Macintyre
Ronald Black

It is a well-known fact that three editions of the songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre (1724–1812) appeared during his lifetime, in 1768, 1790 and 1804.[1] However, as his most recent editor pointed out, he developed the habit of having new pieces printed as leaflets.[2] It is easy to visualise a little pile of these for sale in Màiri Bhàn's Lawnmarket howff at a penny each, and the poet himself carrying a bundle of them in the scuffed soldier's wallet which he wore on his back as he wandered around the Highlands, presenting them to delighted hosts in exchange for a night or two of hospitality.[3] Some survive independently, others have been bound into copies of the collected works. 'It should be noted that publishers left a portion of an edition unbound until there was a demand for more copies. It would thus be easy to insert leaflets in later bindings.'[4] For example, I have seen the following:

Mount Stuart (MSt) 623 (12A.08/11). Paginated 1–4:

> 1 *Iain Faochag ann an Sassunn*, 18 eight-line stt. 'Oran Iain Faochag. Le D. Macantsaoir.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 396–405: 'Song to John Wilkes', dateable by internal evidence to 1768.[5]

MSt 618 (11.A.20). A copy of the 1768 edition of Macintyre's songs (pp. vi + 162) with an additional 20 pp. (paginated 1–4, 1–8, 1–4, 1–4, pagination badly cropped) sewn in at the end:[6]

> 1 *Tha an comuin Rioghail Gaelich*, 9 eight-line stt. 'Rinn do 'n Chomuin a tha gabhail curam, do na Ghaelic, agus d' n [*sic*] Phiob Mhoir. Le Dunichidh Mac an t'Shaor.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 270–75: 'Ode to Gaelic and the Great Pipe in the Year 1781'.

> 1 *Fhuair mi nuaidheachd as ùr*, 11 eight-line stt. 'Oran do'n Aodach Ghaoidhleach Le Donnucha Mac-an t'Saoir.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 238–43: 'Song to the Highland Garb', 1782.

5 *Tha 'n comunn uasal rioghail*, 10 eight-line stt. 'Rann d' on [*sic*] Ghaoidhlig; 'S d' on Phiob Mhoir. Le Donnucha Mac-an t' Saoir.' Dated '1782' in handwriting. MacLeod, *Songs*, 276–81: 'Ode to Gaelic and the Great Pipe in the Year 1782'.

1 *'S truagh r'a éisdeachd an sgeul*, 12 eight-line stt. 'Cumhadh Iarla Bhraid-alban. Le Donchadh Mac-an-t-Saoir.' Dated '1782' in handwriting. MacLeod, *Songs*, 326–31: 'Lament for the Earl of Breadalbane', 1782.

1 *A Rì gur mi tha aithearach*, 11 eight-line stt. 'Oran do Reisimeid Earra-ghael. Le Donnchadh Mac an tSaoir.' Dated '1778' in handwriting. MacLeod, *Songs*, 264–69: 'Song to the Argyll Regiment', 1778.[7]

EUL C. R. Box 5.44. See Mary Ferguson and Ann Matheson, *Scottish Gaelic Union Catalogue* (Edinburgh: NLS, 1984), no. 1775. Paginated 1–4:

1 *A Rì gur mi tha aithearach*, 11 eight-line stt. 'Oran do Reisimeid Earra-ghael. Le Donnchadh Mac an tSaoir.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 264–69: 'Song to the Argyll Regiment', 1778.

EUL C. R. Box 5.50. See Ferguson and Matheson, *Union Catalogue*, no. 1776. Paginated 1–4:

1 *Tha an comuin Rioghail Gaelich*, 9 eight-line stt. 'Rinn do 'n Chomuin a tha gabhail curam, do na Ghaelic, agus d' n [*sic*] Phiob Mhoir. Le Dunichidh Mac an t'Shaor.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 270–75: 'Ode to Gaelic and the Great Pipe in the Year 1781'.

EUL C. R. Box 5.47. See Ferguson and Matheson, *Union Catalogue*, no. 1772. A single sheet, uncut, unbound and bearing substantial proof corrections (4 pp. printed + 4 pp. blank):

1 *'S truagh r'a éisdeachd an sgeul*, 12 eight-line stt. 'Cumhadh Iarla Bhraid-alban. Le Donchadh Mac-an-t-Saoir.' MacLeod,

Songs, 326–31: 'Lament for the Earl of Breadalbane', 1782.

EUL C. R. Box 5.49. See Ferguson and Matheson, *Union Catalogue*, no. 1773. Paginated 1–8:

> 1   *Fhuair mi nuaidheachd as ùr*, 11 eight-line stt. 'Oran do'n Aodach Ghaoidhleach Le Donnucha Mac-an t'Saoir.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 238–43: 'Song to the Highland Garb', 1782.

> 5   *Tha 'n comunn uasal rioghail*, 10 eight-line stt. 'Rann d' on [*sic*] Ghaoidhlig; 'S d' on Phiob Mhoir. Le Donnucha Mac-an t' Saoir.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 276–81: 'Ode to Gaelic and the Great Pipe in the Year 1782'.

NAS GD18/4425/1. See Ferguson and Matheson, *Union Catalogue*, no. 1774. A single sheet twice folded to create eight pages, of which the last is blank:

> 1   *Tha sgeul ùr ann trath so's duthaigh*, 16 eight-line stt. 'Oran do na h Oighreachan a fhuair air ais an cuid Fearain le Reachd na Mor-dhail san Bhliadhna 1784. Le Donnacha Mac-an-t Saoir, Sai'dear ann Guard Dhun-eadain. Air fònn,—Ann am dol sios bhi deònach.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 244–53: 'Song to the Clans that Had Their Lands Restored'.

NLS RB.s.534 and EUL E. B. .891631 Maci./2. A copy of the 1790 edition of Macintyre's songs (pp. xii + 252) with an additional 4 pp. (paginated 1–4) sewn in at the end:

> 1   *Jain Faochag ann an Sassunn*, 18 eight-line stt. 'Oran Jain Faochag. Le D. Macantsaoir.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 396–405: 'Song to John Wilkes', dateable by internal evidence to 1768.[8]

NLS I.37/1.f. As previous, with a further 10 pp. (paginated [1]–[4], 1–6):

> [1]   *Fhuair mi Sgeul air Muintir Hoptoun*, 4 eight-line stt. Untitled. Edited below.

> [2]   *Mo bheannachd aig na Balgairean*, 22 couplets + three-

line refrain. 'Oran na'm Balgairean.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 346–49: 'Song to the Foxes', undated.

1   *Deoch slainte an Iarla cuir dian nar caramh*, 16 qq. 'Oran do Iarla Bhraidealbuinn 's [*sic*] da Reiseamaid.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 366–73: 'Song to the Earl of Breadalbane', 1793.

4   *Gum bu slan do laimh an Iarla, a chuir am'* [sic] *charamh*, 20 lines. 'Rann do Chloithidh Riomhach.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 362–65: 'Verses on a Sword', 1793.

5   *Sann a baidhreach sinne mun ionnad so an de*, 11 couplets + two-line refrain. 'Luinneag.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 374–77: 'Song to the Breadalbane Regiment', 1794.

NLS BCL.C3066. A copy of the 1804 edn of Macintyre's songs (pp. xii + 248) with an additional 6 pp. (paginated 1–4, [1]–[2]) sewn in at the end:

1   *Deoch-slàinnte Dhonacha' Bhàin nan Oran*, 9 eight-line stt. 'Rann a rinneadh le Iain Macantsaoir 'san Oban.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 545 (stt. 2, 3, 7, 8 only).

[1]   *Latha do Phadruic a sealg*, 3 eight-line stt. 'Marbh-rann, le Donnachadh Macantsaoir, do Chùth a chaidh troimh 'n eidhe, sa Mhaiach tarsaing na bheul.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 406–07: 'Elegy on a Dog that Went through the Ice'.

NLS Hall.260.h. A copy of the 1804 edn of Macintyre's songs (pp. xii + 248) with an additional 4 pp. (paginated 1–4) sewn in at the end:

1   *Deoch-slàinnte Dhonacha' Bhàin nan Oran*, 9 eight-line stt. 'Rann a rinneadh le Iain Macantsaoir 'san Oban.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 545 (stt. 2, 3, 7, 8 only).

MSt 622 (12.B.16). A copy of the 1804 edn of Macintyre's songs (pp. xii + 248, of which pp. i–ii and 219–48 are missing) with an additional 4 pp. (paginated 1–4) sewn in between pp. xii and 1:

1   *Deoch-slàinnte Dhonacha' Bhàin nan Oran*, 9 eight-line stt. 'Rann a rinneadh le Iain Macantsaoir 'san Oban.' MacLeod, *Songs*, 545 (stt. 2, 3, 7, 8 only).

It can be seen from the above that all but one of these additional songs were included in Angus MacLeod's 1952 edition of the poet's work. The exception was *Fhuair mi Sgeul air Muintir Hoptoun*, the reason for its omission being that it was not incorporated into any of the editions that appeared between 1804 and 1912. I can see no reason to doubt its authorship, however, and I take pleasure in presenting to Willie Gillies the following description of it.

Text as originally published

> Fhuair mi Sgeul air Muintir Hoptoun,
>   Cha sgeul beag, e.
> Is Dona b fhiach iad riamh an togail,
>   Sluagh nach freagradh
> Gealtairean nan eadan boga
>   Siol na bleide,
> A dh iarras paighe's, nach dean obair
>   Leis an Eagal.
>
> Dhiarradh orra dol do Shasgan
>   Ann Chinseal Cogaidh,
> Gu faigheadh iad saor An t Aiseag,
>   Air ghaol socair,
> Leag iad ar Caoineadh 's air basraich
>   S'trom an osnaigh,
> Tha iad ren saoghal fu mhasladh,
>   Dh' fhaiteadh an Crochadh.
>
> Ma gheibh na Gaidhail an tairgse
>   Fhuair na daoine ud,
> Cha soradh iad druim no fairge,
>   Le seol gaoithe,
> Siuibhlaidh iad Sasgan is Albain;
>   Sunntach eatrom
> Gun fhiamh gun eagal gun Chearbaich,
>   Gun Leisg Saoithrech.

Sliochd nam fineachan is ainmeil
  Tha ar an t Shaoghal,
Is mor an Cruadal a bha ann earbsadh
  Riu'a Daonnan,
Is onair d' ar. Duthaich gun d fhalbh
  Sibh thighin an taobh so,
S'ann an traths tha Cuis re dhearbhadh,
  Is cliu ra fhaotain.

TEXT IN UPDATED SPELLING

Fhuair mi sgeul air muinntir Hopetoun,
  Cha sgeul beag e,
Is dona b' fhiach iad riamh an togail —
  Sluagh nach freagradh,
Gealtairean nan eudann boga,
  Sìol na bleide
A dh'iarras pàigheadh 's nach dèan obair
  Leis an eagal.

Dh'iarradh orra dol do Shasann
  An cinnseal cogaidh,
Gum faigheadh iad saor an t-aiseag,
  Air ghaol socair:
Leag iad air caoineadh 's air basraich,
  Is trom an osnaich —
Tha iad ré 'n saoghail fo mhasladh,
  Dh'fhaodt' an crochadh.

Ma gheibh na Gaidhil an tairgse
  Fhuair na daoin' ud,
Cha sòradh iad druim na fairge
  Le seòl gaoithe,
Siùbh'lidh iad Sasann is Albainn,
  Sunndach, eutrom,
Gun fhiamh, gun eagal, gun chearbaich',
  Gun leisg saoithreach.

A Forgotten Song by Duncan Ban Macintyre

Sliochd nam fineachan as ainmeil'
   Tha air an t-saoghal,
Is mór an cruadal a bha 'n earbsa
   Riutha daonnan,
Is onair d'ar dùthaich gun d'fhalbh sibh
   Thigh'nn an taobh sa —
Sann an-dràst' tha cùis ri dhearbhadh
   'S cliù ri fhaotainn.

Translation

I've heard news of Hopetoun's men,
   It's no small matter,
They were never worth recruiting —
   Bunch of misfits,
Cowards with namby-pamby faces,
   Cheeky beggars
Who ask for pay then do no work
   Because they're frightened.

They were asked to go to England
   On war footing,
They'd be ferried there for nought,
   Being fond of leisure:
They started weeping and hand-clapping,
   Their sighs are deep —
They're disgraced for all their lives
   And could be strung up.

Should the Gael receive the offer
   Those folk received,
They'd not refuse to sail the high seas
   At wind's mercy,
They'll march through England and through Scotland,
   Cheerful, lively,
Courageous, fearless, in good order,
   Not sparing effort.

The most celebrated clansmen
　　Upon the planet,
Great hardihood has been vouchsafed
　　To them at all times,
Our land is honoured that you left
　　To come down this way —
Now's the time for trying a case
　　And winning glory.

My comments on prosody and language may be got out of the way quickly to leave room for the historical background. The metre is *snéadhbhairdne*, which Donnchadh also used from time to time in other poems.[9] It cannot, however, be described as one of his favourites; it is satirical in origin and is so used here. The form *eudann* 'face' (line 5) need not surprise us: Donnchadh, or rather his amanuenses, wrote *aodan*(*n*) or *eudan*(*n*) indiscriminately, and in one instance out of the eight or nine in his collected works the latter is demanded by rhyme.[10]

’S binne na gach beus
Anail mhic an fhéidh
A’ langanaich air eudann
　　Beinn Dóbhrain.

Finally, *basraich* 'hand-clapping' appears at line 13 in its Gaelic sense of a sound expressing not delight but anguish; compare his

Caoineadh cruaidh is bualadh bhasan,
　　’S bhith toirt pàirt d’ am falt a nuas

Passionate wailing, beating of palms
　　and pulling down part of their hair

on the death of the third earl of Breadalbane in 1782.[11]

Our song can be dated quite precisely to 13–27 March 1794, when the poet was serving in the first battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles at the age of 70. The fencible movement of 1793–94 was part of Pitt's response to the threat from revolutionary France at a time when the

military strength of the United Kingdom had been allowed to sink to a low degree of weakness and inefficiency. Twenty-two such corps were raised in 1793 alone, seven of them in Scotland. As first conceived, their purpose was to utilise the manpower available in one part of the country to maintain order, stifle insurrection and provide a defensive structure in another. The principle upon which they were raised was the personal one which had worked well in the past – local magnates, loyal to the government and assumed to have a loyal following, were invited to recruit a specific number of men and to choose their officers. Those raised in Scotland (the numbers being determined by ballot) were:

> 1st: Grant or Strathspey Fencibles (1793): Sir James Grant
> 2nd: Sutherland Fencibles (1793): earl of Sutherland
> 3rd: West Lowland Fencibles (1793): Hugh Montgomerie of Coilsfield, later earl of Eglinton
> 4th: Breadalbane Fencibles (three battalions, 1793–94): earl of Breadalbane
> 5th: Argyll Fencibles (1793): duke of Argyll
> 6th: Northern or Gordon Fencibles (1793): duke of Gordon
> 7th: Southern or Hopetoun Fencibles (1793): earl of Hopetoun
> 8th: Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles (two battalions, 1794–95): Sir John Sinclair

It can thus be seen that six of the eight regiments were to be raised in the Highlands and the north, while the Lowlands and the south provided two, Montgomerie's in the west and Hopetoun's in the east.[12]

James Hope or Hope-Johnstone (1741–1810), third earl of Hopetoun, whose seat was Hopetoun House in West Lothian, had been a regular soldier between the ages of 17 and 23. He had fought at Minden in 1759, and had spent the years 1762–66 travelling with his elder brother (now deceased) as far as Italy, Carolina and Jamaica. He had succeeded to the earldom in 1781. An eager improver who owned (among much else) the mines at Leadhills, in 1791 he became a vice-president of the Highland Society of Scotland, and in 1792 he inherited the vast estates of his grand-uncle the marquess of Annandale, adding the surname Johnstone to his own in order to bolster his claim to the title. His list of officers reflects both power and experience: Lord

Napier, lieutenant-colonel; the veteran Thomas Clarkson, major; the earl of Home, captain of grenadiers; George Baillie of Mellerstain, captain; Alexander MacLean of Ardgour, captain; Thomas Durham, captain; Andrew Houstoun, captain.[13]

By February 1794 the first seven regiments had been raised, clothed, armed, trained and sent to their quarters, all suitably distant from their homelands – the Strathspey men in Glasgow, the Sutherland men in Ayr, Montgomerie's men in Inverness, Breadalbane's men in Aberdeen and Dumfries, the Argyll men in Dundee, the Gordons in Edinburgh, and Hopetoun's men in Banff. Uniquely, Breadalbane had contributed two battalions, and was so pleased with how things had gone that he had offered to raise a third. His first consisted of natives of Breadalbane, principally men aged 15–45; at one stage he reduced the upper limit to 36. His second consisted of 200 men from elsewhere in Perthshire, and many more from Argyll and elsewhere in Scotland, along with 10 from England and 47 from Ireland. His third, recruited in December 1794, consisted mainly of Lowlanders.[14]

As a specimen of the fencible movement we may single out the best remembered of his private soldiers: our poet himself, Duncan Ban Macintyre. Born in Lord Breadalbane's ancestral vale of Glenorchy, he had been bred to the hills and had never been to school. He must have been second to none in instructing the younger Gaelic-speaking men in the care and mechanics of guns. Some of them would go on to fight Napoleon in regiments of the line. Having served for many years in Edinburgh's city guard, he knew a thing or two about policing Lowland towns. Remarkably, he was a published author with 1,483 names in his list of subscribers, even though, like many stars of popular culture in our own day, he could write little more than his own name; unlike them, however, he had supplied the words of his songs, and these proved him loyal to a fault. He had an atavistic loathing for radicals like Wilkes, whom he had satirised, as noted above, in 1768. The only flames of rebellion which he had ever breathed, over the disarming and disclothing act, had been doused by the repeal of that detested statute in 1782.[15] Above all, he was a trusted Gaelic entertainer who must have enthralled the men with his songs and his stories, his riddles and his rhymes, through the long winter nights in Aberdeen and elsewhere. And he was not unique. Fourteen years later the men of the

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Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles were being similarly entertained by Pte Duncan Campbell from Cowal. We know about him because, like Donnchadh Bàn, he published his songs.[16] How many others did not?

Early in 1794 the government in London decided that 2,000 men from the fencible regiments in Scotland must be shipped to the south of England, apparently to relieve regiments of the line. This decision was relayed by the commander-in-chief, Lord Amherst, to the commander of His Majesty's forces in North Britain, Lord Adam Gordon, the duke of Gordon's grand-uncle. The problem, as Lord Adam pointed out, was that one of the conditions under which the fencible men were enlisted was that they would not be moved out of Scotland except in case of invasion, and that no invasion had, as yet, taken place. If future recruitment was not to be compromised, the men must therefore be invited to volunteer; what would certainly deter many of them from doing so, however, was the prospect of travelling by sea.[17]

This was an old chestnut. It was universally believed by the ruling classes that Highland soldiers suffered from some primitive fear of the sea. In the end, it took the popular historian John Prebble to point out 'that past breaches of faith had given the Highlander an unshakeable belief that once below decks he would be sent to the Indies, to wherever the Crown wished'.[18] Supporting his theory is the fact that the Army was about to discover that 'fear of the sea' applied to Lowland troops as well.

On 2 March Lord Adam suggested to the Home Secretary, Henry Dundas, that the 2,000 men be taken from the four least Highland of the eight battalions – Hopetoun's, Montgomerie's, Gordon's and Grant's – and that half the number be shipped from Fort George or Aberdeen, the other half from Newcastle. Unsurprisingly, in light of the revolutionary atmosphere of the time, there was a great deal of official nervousness about the issue. In the end, Lord Adam delegated responsibility for securing volunteers to battalion commanders. He was so doubtful of the scheme that he added Breadalbane's first battalion to the list of invitees, 'as if to avoid disappointment'. On 3 March he wrote from Leith to the officer in charge of transports, Evan Nepean:

> As there was a complaint that the troops which were lately sent by water from this were not supplied with blankets and ruggs during the voyage, I shall apply to the naval officer

here for a supply . . . One thing more occurs, which is the guinea to every Non Com. and Private man when they arrive at their destination in England appears a very proper measure to me and to all the field officers of Fencibles I have had an opportunity of consulting. But not in the nature of *new* levy money.

Nepean agreed, adding: 'There must be no exercise whatever of compulsion.'[19]

The trouble began in Inverness. On 11 March Lt.-Col. Alexander Donaldson of the West Lowland Fencibles received a letter from Montgomerie informing him that 500 men must volunteer to embark immediately at Fort George for England. Donaldson informed the men of this when they assembled at the fort the following morning, and they appeared to take it cheerfully. But by 8 p.m., on the streets of Inverness, he was

> surprised by a number of the men getting together with their arms and bayonets, saying that they would never embark, that they would march to any part of England, but embark they would not, let the consquence be what it might, as that was no part of their engagement; that they were sold, and that they understood some troops of Horse were at Elgin to force them on board, but that in that manner they never would or should be forced on board ship.

Resisting the officers' attempts to pacify them, the men forced the guard, made a fifer and drummer beat to arms, broke open the armoury in the town and shared out the cartridges. Donaldson and the other officers told them that if they dispersed peacefully they would not be forced on board. They replied that they would not march out to the fort, but that they would go to England with pleasure if ordered to march there by land. Reflecting the conviction of his caste that such outrageous behaviour could only be caused by agents provocateurs, Donaldson wrote to Lord Adam at midnight: 'Some of the men are much in liquor, and I am certain they have got it at no price. I never witnessed such a scene. Where it will end God knows! They offer no insult to the officers as yet.'[20]

There was clearly room for compromise. Hugh Montgomerie rode post to Inverness and imposed order by the force of his personality. He then reported to Lord Adam that the West Lowland Fencibles were now cheerful and willing to embark if ordered. He said nothing of volunteers.

The Hopetoun Fencibles, quartered in Banff, proved a harder nut to crack, despite the fact that their colonel was with them in person from the start. On 9 March Hopetoun informed Lord Adam that he believed his men would march to England without hesitation, but he doubted their willingness to be shipped. In a revealing aside, he pointed out that many of the soldiers had their wives and children with them: 'The families will be the chief obstacle, there being no provision made for them as to the Militia, where the parishes in England take charge of them (by law). Now we have as many as four or five children, some more. This is a serious business, to which some order should be put.'[21]

On 13 March his tone was more pessimistic. He intended marching his men to Fort George, but was by no means certain that they would agree to go. They had spied what they took to be transports beating westwards that same day, a sight which 'has greatly increased their uneasiness'. Fatally, it was not until 14 March, two days after the mutiny at Inverness, that the men of the Southern Fencibles were told what the ships' purpose was. There is evidence that letter-writing was a common practice among the soldiers of the time (some men learned to read in the army), and this was ample time for them to have heard from their comrades in the West Lowland Fencibles.[22] Lord Hopetoun wrote to Lord Adam at 3 p.m. that day:

> At five this morning I had notice from Col. Donaldson of what had passed at Inverness till yesterday noon, and saying in the temper of the people it would be better they and ours should not meet immediately (which he understood they wished them to join them at Inverness), lest they might seize the gates of Fort George and hold out. Seeing the consequences, and my own men having declared last night their aversion to go to Fort George at any rate, made me determine not to attempt to move any of them until I could hear again from your lordship. Of this I informed Col. Donaldson.

Our men have not committed any outrage, but [are] only determined (*i.e.*, a number of them) not to embark; yet with loyal expressions of zeal, for His Majesty's service when in Scotland or England when duty requires upon actual invasion.

Lord Napier spoke to them and told them we only desired volunteers for England. They were satisfied, and this day at muster not a man [was] absent. One hundred and eighty-one rank and file, besides sergeants and drummers, turned out volunteers to go to England with Lord Napier, sea or land, as he should be ordered to conduct them. Others there are (not many) will turn out, and perhaps 100 or 150 more who would march by land to England, but against Fort George almost all protest, so high is their jealousy at present on account of ships which they saw pass yesterday.

As the W. Lowlanders had seized their ammunition, we thought it best, being by the sea, to render ours unserviceable, which, however, being done in haste, proved ineffectual, being thrown into the sea, some was picked out again.

Your lordship will conceive how much this not unforeseen behaviour hurts us; yet by prudence and temper we hope anything worse will be prevented.[23]

Clearly 181 men willing to go to England by sea, and 100 or 150 more by land, were insufficient to fulfil the regiment's quota. This, then, is the situation so disapprovingly described by Duncan Ban in our song. But he, too, was about to be overtaken by events.

Not one man of the Northern or Gordon Fencibles at Edinburgh volunteered to go to England until, on 19 March, the duke came in person from Gordon Castle and succeeded in persuading them. On 21 March the men of a company of the Strathspey Fencibles, who had been marched to Linlithgow, seized the ammunition store in the palace and took two officers prisoner. Meanwhile, in desperation, Lord Adam had written to the commanders of the remaining regiments – the Sutherland Fencibles at Glasgow, the second battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles at Musselburgh, the Argyll Fencibles at Dundee – and in every case the response confirmed his initial doubts. When

asked to volunteer, none of the men of any of these three regiments came forward.[24] For all his protestations, exactly the same was true of the poet's own battalion, whose commanding officer, William Morrison, wrote to Lord Adam from Aberdeen on 27 March:

> I am sorry to inform your lordship that after using every means in my power to induce this battalion to volunteer to go to England agreeable to your lordship's letter of the 23rd inst., the great majority and in general the best men refused to comply, alledging among other reasons they were only ask'd when others had refus'd. I endeavour'd to explain that away by telling them it would now do them the more honour and credit if they turn'd out; but to no purpose. They conducted themselves with great regularity and quietness, and show'd no bad disposition.[25]

In the end, therefore, Lord Adam's numbers were made up for him by happenstance. The soldiers who sailed from Leith on 3 April amounted to something like 2,000 men, as ordered, but they consisted of two whole regiments, the Gordons and Montgomerie's.

We must now ask why Duncan saw fit to publish a pamphlet in which our 'Òran do Réisimeid Hopetoun' (as we may call it), whose sentiments were embarrassingly contradicted by events within a couple of weeks, was accompanied by a much greater work, 'Òran nam Balgairean'. The answer is, I believe, that Duncan saw no need to be ashamed of loyal sentiments which would surely be proved right in the long run. It was a judgement which depended upon a conspiracy of silence about what really happened at Banff and Aberdeen.

That such a conspiracy of silence was ready to hand need not be doubted. Newspapers which were in a good position to report exactly what happened denied their readers everything that could not be given a positive 'spin'. This, for example, is the sum total of the *Scots Magazine*'s report about the Northern Fencibles' wobble at Edinburgh:

> We are happy to hear that the Magistrates with a very proper attention, have opened and patronised a subscription, to raise a sum of money for the purpose of sending back in comfort to their homes, such of the wives and children of

the soldiers of the North fencibles as cannot go to England with their husbands and fathers. They have also given *thirty guineas* to the soldiers as a mark of approbation of their good behaviour.[26]

Pryse Lockhart Gordon (1762–1845), a native of Deskford who was educated there and in the nearby burgh of Banff, was a captain in the Northern Fencibles at the time; he knew all about what happened at Banff, but chose in his memoirs to transplant it to as distant a town as possible, presumably for fear of tarring his friends and relatives with the brush of radicalism:

> No sooner were orders given for the embarkation of the Scots fencibles than discontent and murmurs broke out, which were shortly manifest, for the regiment of Lord Hopetown at Ayr actually mutinied by refusing to embark. This was communicated to the other regiments like an *electric shock*, and ours being locked up in the castle, had less communication with the malcontents, and was the last to exhibit discontent; but at length the soldiers were seen in knots talking Gaelic with an air of mystery ...[27]

When those in the know chose to remain tight-lipped, it was difficult for others to get at the facts. John Kay, the barber, social commentator and amateur artist who sketched Lord Hopetoun with his regiment behind him, heard the gossip about the Northern Fencibles, but seems to have been in the dark about the events in Banff. What he revealed about dissent in the Hopetoun Fencibles was entirely local and very loyally 'spun':

> While the regiment was stationed at Dalkeith, several attempts were made by some of the more desperate members of the British Convention to seduce the soldiers from their allegiance, or at all events to sow the seeds of discontent among them, but without effect.[28]

The British Army has never been anxious to wash its linen in public, least of all in times of national crisis. Prebble's *Mutiny* was once described to me by a military man as 'a disgraceful book' – not, I

suspect, because the author was cavalier with his sources, but because he used a little imagination to bring these sources to a popular audience. Long before Prebble's time, however, General Stewart of Garth, the revered historian of the Highland regiments, had included a chapter on mutinies in his *Sketches*, with the laudable aim of understanding what had gone wrong:

> When they entered the King's service, they considered themselves as a contracting party in the agreements made with Government, from whom they naturally expected the same punctual performance of their engagements, as well as some degree, at least, of the kindness and attention which they and their fathers had met with, from their ancient and hereditary chieftains. When they found themselves, therefore, disappointed in these respects, and the terms which had been expressly stipulated with his Majesty's officers violated, the Highlanders, naturally irritable and high-spirited, warmly resented such unexpected treatment. Hence the real origin of the resistance to authority in Highland regiments, as will be rendered more evident by a plain narrative of facts.[29]

Even so, he says nothing of the events of 1794, save of the Northern Fencibles that 'the service of the regiment was confined to Scotland, but the men having volunteered to extend it, the offer was accepted, and accordingly, in 1794, they were removed to England'.[30]

Why, then, did Duncan not add 'Òran do Rèisimeid Hopetoun' to his collected poems in 1804? This edition contained 11 new items, including 'Òran nam Balgairean' and his three other songs to the Breadalbane Fencibles, not to mention 'Cead Deireannach nam Beann'. It excluded 'Òran Iain Faochag', however, and this provides us with a parallel case. In 1768 Donnchadh clearly considered that Wilkes's democratic beliefs were harmful to society; by 1804 he seems to have changed his mind, and the likely reasons for his omission of 'Òran do Rèisimeid Hopetoun' help us understand why. For late in 1794, in Glasgow, his own battalion mutinied.

The reason was the lash. On 15 or 16 November they had been obliged to watch two of their comrades, Ptes William Shaw and

Malcolm MacFarlane, receive 400 lashes for assaulting a publican who had refused to sell them drink. Now, on 27 November, Pte Hugh Robertson was arrested for allowing a prisoner to escape. The penalty as laid down by military regulations was 300–1,000 strokes of a whip on the bare back, a punishment unknown in the Highland armies of the past – Prince Charles's of 1745–46, for example. Men who considered themselves to be warriors and gentlemen, many of whom were tenants of land, and all of whom were volunteers, found themselves being treated like peasants and thugs. They took Robertson under their protection, and, backed up by the Glasgow mob, defied their officers by force of arms from 1 to 16 December. The ringleaders' fate was determined by court-martial on 23 January 1795. Four men (Alexander Sutherland, Donald MacCallum, John Malloch and Duncan Stewart) were sentenced to death, three others (John Scrimgeour, John MacMartin and Ludovick MacNaughton) to 1,500 lashes. Sutherland was executed by firing-squad on 27 January. MacCallum, Malloch and Stewart were pardoned on condition that they enlist in the 60th Royal American Regiment, then serving in the West Indies. Scrimgeour, MacMartin and MacNaughton were offered the alternative of enlisting in a battalion of the same regiment serving in Canada; they chose the lash, then changed their minds on 24 April after receiving the first 500 strokes.[31]

There was no hushing this up, and Donnchadh must have realised that he could no longer claim in print that the Hopetoun Fencibles were 'disgraced for all their lives / and could be strung up' while his own regiment were 'courageous, fearless, in good order …' Although his faith in the leaders of Clan Campbell must have been badly shaken, he sang not a word about the mutiny of December 1794, the execution of January 1795 or the lashings of April 1795. Instead, he appears to have been promoted to an additional sergeant's post with a handsome rise in pay. Captain Gavin Drummond's regimental accounts show outgoings of £4 11s 6d 'to p[ai]d Poet McIntyres Subst. from 25 June to 24 Decr @ 6d per day' on 9 June 1795, of £4 11s 6d 'to Poet McIntyre's Extra pay from 25th Decr 95 to 24th June '96 @ 6d', and, later in 1796, of £1 10s 6d 'to Poet McIntyre from 25th Augt to 24th Octr. @ 6d per day'.[32] On 9 July 1797 the paymaster at Fort George wrote to Breadalbane:

I request to know your Lordships pleasure respecting the additional 6d per diem allowed Poet Mcintyre & the 4d to Piper McGregor, whither it is to be continued to them after 24th June, they now having got considerable pay from Government.[33]

The answer was clearly in the affirmative, and the result was 'Òran na Gàsaid' and 'Òran a' Chaimp'. The government had learned its lesson the hard way in spring 1794, and from that year on the conditions of service of all new regiments and battalions were geographically extended, as follows:

Oct. 1794: Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles, first battalion: Great Britain
Nov. 1794: Inverness-shire Fencibles: Great Britain, Ireland
Dec. 1794: Breadalbane Fencibles, third battalion: Great Britain, Ireland
March 1795: Reay Fencibles: Great Britain, Ireland
May 1795: Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles, second battalion: Great Britain, Ireland
June 1795: Fraser Fencibles: Great Britain, Ireland
June 1795: Glengarry Fencibles: Great Britain, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey
Summer 1795: Dumbarton Fencibles: Great Britain, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey[34]

By 1798 the founding principles of the fencible movement had outlived their usefulness, and the men of the first and second battalions of the Breadalbane Regiment were invited to volunteer for service in Ireland. Duncan pled with them to accept the offer; the first battalion turned it down, and so did all but 289 of the second.[35] The first two battalions were therefore disbanded at Fort George, Irvine and Beith on 18 April 1799, but Duncan, now aged 75, successfully petitioned Lord Breadalbane for his army pay to be continued as an allowance. Invoices for three such payments survive: for £4 11s 6d on 29 November 1799, for £4 11s 0d on 18 April 1801, and for £4 11s 6d on 17 October 1801. They are written by a clerk, dated at Edinburgh, addressed to Lord Breadalbane's agent John Campbell WS and signed by Duncan with

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NAS GD112/74/769/5A/1

NAS GD112/74/769/5B/1

a remarkably steady hand: 'Dun: mc Intyre', 'Duncan mc Intyre'.[36] Also extant are a set of Campbell's accounts for Lord Breadalbane in which a payment of £4 11s 0d is noted on 16 April 1803 'to paid Poet McIntyre the half years allowance to 18th inst. per order'.[37]

Through the structure of a regiment, Duncan had thus achieved the coveted – and by now thoroughly anachronistic – position of clan poet to the Campbells of Breadalbane. It should not be imagined, however, that in so doing he had thrown away all his principles. We may rather see him as skilled in the art of compromise. The continued omission of the Wilkes satire from his collected works is one piece of evidence that his political opinions underwent a gradual shift from right to left during his lifetime. 'Òran nam Balgairean', republished in 1804, is a trenchant denunciation of the landowners' new policy of turning their estates into sheep-walks. And, as Willie Gillies pointed out in a characteristically brilliant and understated article in 1977, the powerful 'Moladh Beinn Dobhrain' of 1768 may be read as a coded expression of the people's right to the land.[38]

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'Vintners and Criminal Officers': Fo-sgrìobhaichean Leabhraichean Earra-Ghàidhealach san Naoidheamh Linn Deug

Michel Byrne agus Sheila M. Kidd

Anns an alt seo bheirear sùil air na fo-sgrìobhaichean aig dà chruinneachadh de bhàrdachd le bàird Earra-Ghàidhealach, *The Mountain Minstrel or Clàrsach nam Beann* (1836) le Eobhan MacColla agus *Orain Ghàidhealach* (1848) le Dòmhnall Mac an Rothaich.[1] Nithear coimeas eatarra agus beachdaichear air an t-seòrsa fiosrachaidh a ghabhas lorg annta agus na ghabhas dèanamh leis.

Bu chòir tòiseachadh ge-tà le bhith ag ràdh nach ann ann an saoghal na Gàidhlig a-mhàin a bhiodh ùghdaran a' cruinneachadh airgead bho fho-sgrìobhaichean airson leabhraichean fhoillseachadh. Tha Uilleam Donaldson, mar eisimpleir, air bruidhinn air mar a bhiodh seo a' tachairt air a' Ghalltachd san 18mh linn, agus e a' tarraing air eisimpleir Raibeart Burns agus an cruinneachadh de bhàrdachd aige a chaidh fhoillseachadh ann an 1787 le taic bho Iarla Glencairn.[2] Tha Raghnall MacilleDhuibh a' sealltainn gun robh cuid de leabhraichean Gàidhlig air am foillseachadh san dearbh dhòigh san 18mh linn, agus sia leabhraichean a' nochdadh ann an clò, agus clàr fho-sgrìobhaichean nan lùib, eadar 1778 agus 1798.[3] Anns an 19mh linn bhiodh cuid de na bàird Ghàidhlig agus am foillsichearan a' cumail orra leis a' chleachdadh seo, agus uaireannan bhiodh ainmean nam fo-sgrìobhaichean aca gan cur aig deireadh an leabhair, a' toirt do luchd-litreachais agus luchd-eachdraidh an latha an-diugh stòras prìseil de dh'ainmean, àitean-fuirich agus uaireannan dreuchdan nan daoine sin a bha a' ceannach leabhraichean Gàidhlig. Tha MacilleDhuibh air an t-slighe seo fhosgladh leis an sgrùdadh a rinn e air cuid de na fo-sgrìobhaichean à Glaschu don dàrna deasachadh den *Orain Ghaidhealach* aig Donnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir a thàinig a-mach ann an 1790 le 1,480 fo-sgrìobhaiche uile-gu-lèir air an clàradh aig an deireadh.[4]

Chan urrainnear a ràdh le cinnt cò mheud leabhar Gàidhlig a chaidh fhoillseachadh le taic bho fho-sgrìobhaichean ann am bliadhnachan deireannach na 18mh linn agus san 19mh linn. Tha fhios gun deach co-dhiù a h-ochd fhoillseachadh mar seo

eadar 1800 agus 1836 nuair a dh'fhoillsicheadh leabhar MhicColla agus clàr de dh'fho-sgrìobhaichean an lùib gach leabhair.[5] Ach bha leabhraichean eile a nochd às aonais chlàr-ainmean, ged a tha fhios gur ann tro fho-sgrìobhadh a chaidh an cur an clò. Gheibhear bileag a' sanasachadh 'proposals for publishing by subscription in One Volume 8vo. – Price 10s. 6d. A Select Number of the Sermons of the late Rev. Hugh Blair […] translated into Gaelic by P. MacFarlane' am measg pàipearan Comunn Gàidhealach na h-Alba.[6] Nochd an leabhar seo ann an 1812 ach, mas ann dha-rìribh tro fho-sgrìobhadh a chaidh fhoillseachadh, cha do nochd na h-ainmean aig deireadh an leabhair. Tha grunn bhileagan-reic mar seo rim faighinn ann an tasglann a' Chomuinn aig Ingliston.[7] Nam measg tha tè leis a' cheann-latha 'an t-Òg-Mhìos 1808' a tha ag amas air 'publishing by subscription, as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers shall be procured, A VOLUME of invaluable and select ancient Gaelic Songs, iohrams, and boat songs […] by Mr MacDonald of Laig, Island of Eigg' – 's e sin Raghnall MacDhòmhnaill, mac 'Ic Mhaighstir Alasdair. Am measg riaghailtean a' chùmhnaint 's e an tè mu dheireadh, 'A List of the Subscribers will be published'.[8] Gu mì-fhortanach, cha deach an dàrna leabhar seo bho dheasaiche Cho-chruinneachadh Eige[9] fhoillseachadh. 'S e dà eisimpleir eile de dh'fho-sgrìobhadh far nach deach clàr-ainmean a chur an lùib an leabhair, *Orain le Rob Donn. Songs and Poems in the Gaelic Language* (1829) a tha ag innse 'published by subscription' air an duilleig-thiotail, agus *Dictionarium Scoto-Celticum: a Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* le Comunn Gàidhealach na h-Alba a dh'fhoillsicheadh ann an 1828 is tòrr den airgead a' tighinn bho dhùthchannan cèine, gu sònraichte bho na h-Ìnnsean an Iar.[10]

Tha fhios gur ann tro fho-sgrìobhadh a chaidh *Eachdraidh a' Phrionnsa*, air eadar-theangachadh le Iain MacCoinnich, fhoillseachadh ann an 1844, ged nach eil sgeul a-nis air a' chlàr-ainmean. Nuair a sgrìobh Alasdair MacCoinnich ('a' Chlach') mu a fhear-cinnidh ann an 1877 bha an clàr sin aige ri làimh, ge-tà, clàr air an robh 291 fo-sgrìobhaiche. A bharrachd air sin chithear mar a dh'obraich cùisean eadar am foillsichear agus MacCoinnich ann an cùmhnant a chaidh aontachadh eatarra.[11] Ann an 1847 bha dùil aig MacCoinnich an aon dòigh-fhoillseachaidh a chleachdadh airson

deasachadh ùr de *Shàr Obair nam Bàrd Gaelach*, a bhiodh ga reic do dh'fho-sgrìobhaichean aig prìs 10 tastain, ach bhàsaich e mus deigheadh aige air seo a thoirt gu buil.

Chan e iomairt fhurasta a bha ann am foillseachadh ann an Gàidhlig anns an 19mh linn, mar a dh'fhiosraich Tormod MacLeòid ('Caraid nan Gàidheal'), is e an sàs anns na ciad irisean Gàidhlig a chur a-mach, *An Teachdaire Gaelach* (1829–31) agus *Cuairtear nan Gleann* (1840–43), anns na dearbh dheicheadan 's a thàinig leabhraichean MhicColla agus Mhic an Rothaich a-mach. Bha e gu math àbhaisteach do MhacLeòid a bhith a' guidhe air luchd-leughaidh prìs na h-iris a phàigheadh gun dàil, mar a chithear anns an Dùbhlachd, 1841:

> Ma thig na tha mach againn a stigh, ma's urrainn sinn
> ar fiachan a chruinneachadh, cha stad [sinn]; ach mur tig
> a stigh na phàigheas an cosdas, 's éiginn gu'n stad sinn.
> Tha'n linne-mhuilinn dlùth air ruith a mach; cha'n eil an
> sruthan beag a bha 'tighin a stigh an deicheamh cuid co
> mór ris an t-sruth làidir bhras tha cumail na cuibhle-móire
> 's na h-acuinn 'nan siubhal. Cha'n fhaod so seasamh fada.[12]

EOBHAN MACCOLLA (1808–98) AGUS A CHUID BÀRDACHD

Gheibhear cunntasan air beatha Eobhan MhicColla suas gu a thritheadan ann an *Sàr-obair nam Bàrd Gaelach* aig Iain MacCoinnich, agus cunntas nas làine le Alasdair MacCoinnich anns a' *Celtic Magazine* an 1881, a sgrìobh e às dèidh dha tadhal air a' bhàrd ann an Canada.[13]

Rugadh MacColla ann an Ceann Mòr, Loch Fìne, na sheachdamh pàiste (a-mach à ochdnar) aig Dùghall MacColla, fear-sgrùdaidh rathaidean, agus a bhean Màiri Chamshron. Ged nach robh an teaghlach beairteach, fhuair na pàrantan air oidiche fhastadh dan cuid cloinne, fear Alasdair MacLeòid-MacCoinnich, agus chanadh am bàrd fhèin gur e an duine seo, a bharrachd air na leabhraichean a bhiodh Dùghall fhèin a' ceannach, a thog an ùidh aige ann an litreachas Beurla. Nuair a ràinig Eobhan aois cosnaidh theann e air obair iasgach, àiteach, agus togail is càradh rathaidean. Chuir an teaghlach aghaidh air Canada ann an 1831, ach dh'fhuirich Eobhan

far an robh e; le cuideachadh (a rèir coltais) bho Aonghas Fletcher Dhunans agus bho Iain Òg Ìle (an dithis don do choisrig e a chiad chruinneachadh), fhuair am bàrd dreuchd aig Taigh Cuspainn Liverpool airson còrr is deich bliadhna mus deach e mu dheireadh a-null a Chanada tràth anns na 1850an. Fhuair e cosnadh clèirich aig Taigh Cuspainn Bail' an Rìgh (Kingston), Ontario, tro thaic a' Bhuill-Phàrlamaid Chanèidianaich Maol-Chaluim Camshron, gus an do leig e dheth a dhreuchd ann an 1880. 'S ann am Bail' an Rìgh a fhuair e bàs, agus e na naochadan.

Dh'fhoillsicheadh *The Mountain Minstrel or Clàrsach nam Beann* an toiseach ann an 1836 an Glaschu, is e 'printed for the author' a rèir na duilleig-tiotail agus ri cheannach air 4 tastain is 6 sgillinn. Bha 63 dàin is òrain Bheurla ann, agus 69 ann an Gàidhlig (còig dhiubh seo nan eadar-theangachaidhean air na dàintean Beurla). Bha an earrann Bheurla air a coisrigeadh do 'Angus Fletcher of Dunans, Advocate' agus an earrann Ghàidhlig do dh'Iain Òg Ìle.

Chan e bàrd tradaiseanta a tha ann am MacColla san leabhar seo, bàrd a bhiodh a' bruidhinn às leth no ri a choimhearsnachd fhèin, agus dh'fhaodte gur e na dh'fhiosraich MacColla de litreachas na Beurla a dh'adhbharaich seo gu ìre. Tha a' mhòr-chuid de na h-òrain san leabhar air gnè romansach, is iad a' seinn cliù bhoireannach no àiteannan. Tha Mòrag, Mairearad, Iseabail, Oighrig, Mali, Anna agus Sìne uile gam moladh, agus, a thaobh àiteannan, Loch Dubhaich, Loch Fìne, Gleann Dà Rual agus Gleann Aoradh. Bhiodh leughadairean na h-iris *An Teachdaire Ùr Gaidhealach* (1835–36) eòlach air ainm a' bhàird mar-thà, agus dà phìos aige air nochdadh innte goirid mus do dh'fhoillsicheadh an leabhar bàrdachd, agus 's ann anns an dearbh iris sin a gheibhear an aon lèirmheas Gàidhlig air obair MhicColla, leis an fhear-deasachaidh, Lachlann Mac'Ill'Eathainn, fo ainm-pinn 'MacTalla'. Cha robh barail aon-fhillte aig an lèirmheasaiche, agus e a' beachdachadh gun robh cruinneachadh MhicColla

> cosmhuil ri tìr nam beann – làn chnocabh a's glacabh – sìthein bòidheach an so – monadh grànnda an sud; ann an so cluinnear ribheid cheòlmhor na smeòraich a' seinn sìos na grèine – ròcail na ròcais agus ròcadaich an fhithich an siud.[14]

A dh'aindeoin a' bheachd seo tha e coltach gun robh MacColla soirbheachail leis an leabhar agus Alasdair MacCoinnich ag innse: 'the work was published entirely at the risk of the author. It was well received, the sale covered the cost of publication, and left a small balance to the bard'.[15] Gu dearbh, 's ann a fhuair na dàin Ghàidhlig foillseachadh eile fon tiotal *Clàrsach nam Beann* ann an 1838 agus 1839, agus a-rithist ann an 1886 agus 1937.

MAC AN ROTHAICH (?1807–POST-1848) AGUS A CHUID BÀRDACHD
'S e glè bheag de dh'fhiosrachadh a tha againn air a' bhàrd Dòmhnall Mac an Rothaich. Innsear ann an *Typographia Scoto-Gadelica* gur ann à Eilean Luing a bha e, agus gun do rinn e imrich a Shealan Nuadh.[16] Tha e soilleir bho chuid bàrdachd gun robh buntanas aige do sgìrean Latharna agus Chnapadail, ach gun robh e a' fuireach ann an Dùn Èideann mu dheireadh nan 1840an co-dhiù. Ann an aon òran aoireil tha am bàrd a' cur greis mhì-thoilichte ann am Baile Lerwick, Sealtainn.

Ann an 'Òran Craig-inniseach' canar 'mo bhràthair-cèile' ri Cailean Caimbeul, Tighearna Iùra,[17] agus tha e coltach gun robh màthair a' bhàird na Caimbeulach cuideachd, ma ghabhar ris gur e 'Caiptein Deorsa brathair mo mhathar'[18] an Caiptein Deòrsa Caimbeul, 'Fear na h-Àrdlarach Chraiginnisheach'.[19] Chan eil sgeul air Clann 'ic an Rothaich ann an Luing anns na clàraidhean paraiste, ach mas e am bàrd againne an Dòmhnall a rugadh don ghrìosaiche Donnchadh Rothach agus da bhean Màiri Chaimbeul ann am paraiste Inbhir Aoradh agus Gleann Àirigh ann an 1807, bhiodh am bàrd dà fhichead bliadhna a dh'aois nuair a dh'fhoillsich e a chuid obrach.[20]

Tha òran anns an leabhar a chaidh a dhèanamh 'air do'n ughdar a thuigsin gum beigin dha Gleannan a chuiteachadh' (?Gleannan ann an Còmhal, air bruach an ear Loch Fìne). Dh'fhaodte gur ann mar thoradh air a' ghnothach seo a rinn Mac an Rothaich an ath òran anns a bheil e a' toirt taing do Niall Malcolm, an treas Tighearna Pholl Talloch, airson 'caoimhneas mor a nochdadh ri am teinn'.[21]

'S e leabhar beag a tha ann an *Orain Ghàidhealach*, air a chur a-mach le Thorne & Collie, 144 òrain is dàin Ghàidhlig, a' mhòr-chuid aca goirid agus aotrom, a' lìonadh 180 duilleag; chan eil dìth molaidh ann, agus tha corra aoir ann cuideachd. A bharrachd

air obair an Rothaich fhèin, tha obair dithis bhàrd Luingeach eile aig deireadh an leabhair, air an togail bhon Chaiptein Deòrsa Caimbeul, ?bràthair màthar a' bhàird a bha cuideachd na fho-sgrìobhaiche dha.

Tha an leabhar air a choisrigeadh do 'C. Mac Dhòmhnuill Mac Alasdair, triath Innistrinich', agus tha trì òrain san leabhar dha cuideachd.[22] A rèir *Clan Donald*, bha Cèidh MacDhòmhnaill (mac an Dotair Ruaidh, de shliochd MhicEachainn aig cinneadh Chlann Raghnaill) na oifigear ann an cabhlach nan Ìnnsean, agus 's ann tro a bhean a fhuair e ainm Mhic Alasdair agus fearann Innis Trinich (aig ceann an ear Loch Odha).[23] Bha e na bhràthair-athar don Dotair Cèidh Tormod MacDhòmhnaill, ùghdar *The Gesto Collection* agus *Macdonald Bards*.[24]

Na ro-ràdh, tha an Rothach a' cumail a-mach gun do rinneadh a' mhòr-chuid de na h-òrain aige

> o am gu h-am ann an abhachd, gun an smuain bu lugha air an cuir gu brath ann an clodh, ach o chomhairle dhaoine uaisle, cairdeil, Gaidhealach tha iad a nis air an tairgse do'n t-shaoghal ann an duil gun d' toir iad cail-eigin do thoilinntinn do mhuinntir a dhuthcha; gu h-araid do'n oigridh, air dhoibh cruinneachadh ann an ceann a cheile air oidhchean fada Geamhraidh a reir cleachda.[25]

Tha a' mhòr-chuid de na h-òrain san leabhar a' toirt dhealbhan beaga dhuinn air coimhearsnachd na h-uaisle bige an Latharna: fir-taca, dròbhairean is marsantan. Ach gheibhear iomradh cuideachd air Gàidheil Earra-Ghàidheal sa bhaile-mhòr (Dùn Èideann gu h-àraidh), leithid an Urramaich Alastair MacEalair, ministear Eaglais Ghàidhlig an Naoimh Odhrain, aig Doras nan Cananach, a tha air a mholadh a thaobh an '[t]eine chruaidh, làdair' 's na comhairle 'cùirteil, caoimhneil' a thig bho bhilean, 'a chrannag nuair dh'eireas tu, / an sioda a srannraich'.[26] (Cha robh am moladh gun a dhuais: dh'òrdaich MacEalair ceithir lethbhric den leabhar.) Uile-gu-lèir cunntar mu cheithir deug de na daoine ainmichte sna h-òrain am measg nam fo-sgrìobhaichean, agus sianar eile a dh'fhaodadh a bhith càirdeach do dh'fho-sgrìobhaichean.

Na fo-sgrìobhaichean

Chithear fiosrachadh air fo-sgrìobhaichean gach leabhair ann an Clàr 1.

Fiosrachadh air Fo-sgrìobhaichean   Clàr 1

	MacColla (1836)	Mac an Rothaich (1848)
Fo-sgrìobhaichean	828	318
Lethbhric air an reic tro fho-sgrìobhadh	841	365
Boireannaich	9 (1%)	9 (3%)
Dreuchd air ainmeachadh	679 (82%)	24 (70%)
Fo-sgrìobhaichean an cumantas	29–35	

Bheirear an aire don àireimh fìor bheag de dh'fho-sgrìobhaichean boireann. Mus tigear gu co-dhùnadh ro bhrais air litearras am measg bana-Ghàidheil an ama, ge-tà, 's fhiach toirt fa-near nach eil na boireannaich buileach cho tearc am measg fo-sgrìobhaichean leabhraichean de sheòrsa eile, a leithid bàrdachd fhasanta Oisein no sgrìobhaidhean spioradail (Clàr 2).

Fo-sgrìobhaichean Boireann do Leabhraichean Eile   Clàr 2

Leabhar	Fo-sgrìobhaichean	Boireann	%[27]
Gordon (1802)[28]	169	3	2
Donnchadh Bàn (1804)[29]	673	16	2.5
Mac an Tuairneir (1816)[30]	1659	21	1.5
Walker (1817)[31]	440	38	8.5
Oisean (1816)[32]	6350	502	8
Mac-Aoidh (1821)[33]	473	36	7.5
Bunian (1825)[34]	608	32	5.5
Faclair Armstrong (1825)[35]	170	4	2.5

A' tilleadh do MhacColla agus Mac an Rothaich ann an Clàr 1, chan eil ach àireamh glè bheag (29 cinnteach, agus 's dòcha sianar eile) de dh'fho-sgrìobhaichean a dh'òrdaich an dà leabhar, nam measg Iain MacCoinnich *Sàr Obair*. Fiù 's leis an dusan bliadhna eadar an dà fhoillseachadh, bheireadh seo a chreidsinn gun robh lìonraidhean eadar-dhealaichte aig gach ùghdar, lìonraidhean pearsanta 's ionadail,

seach saoghal farsaing de leughadairean Gàidhlig le ùidh is airgead. Chithear fianais eile air mar a bha lìonraidhean eadar-dhealaichte gan cur an sàs airson gach leabhar a reic, ma choimheadar air sgìre-chòmhnaidh nam fo-sgrìobhaichean (Clàr 3).

Sgìrean-còmhnaidh nam Fo-sgrìobhaichean   Clàr 3

Sgìre	MacColla		Mac an Rothaich	
Earra-Ghàidheal	648	78%	152	48%
Dùn Èideann	40	4.5%	90	28.5%
Glaschu	35	4.5%	46	14.5%
Eile	<u>105</u>	12.5%	<u>30</u>	9.5%
	828	–	318	–

Chithear gun robh a' mhòr-chuid de luchd-ceannach MhicColla stèidhichte an Earra-Ghàidheal, ach gun robh bunait-reic chudromach aig Mac an Rothaich sna bailtean-mòra, gu h-àraidh Dùn Èideann (mar a bhiodh dùil is e a' fuireach ann grunn bhliadhnachan).

Dreuchdan nam fo-sgrìobhaichean
Dh'ainmich pàirt shusbainteach de na fo-sgrìobhaichean (82% aig MacColla, 70% aig Mac an Rothaich) an dreuchd aca no an inbhe

Dreuchdan nam Fo-sgrìobhaichean   Clàr 4

Dreuchd	MacColla			Mac an Rothaich		
	Àir.	% à fo-sgr. uile (828)	% à dreuchdan (679)	Àir.	% à fo-sgr. uile (318)	% à dreuchdan (224)
Ministearan	38	4.5	5.5	18	5.5	8
Maighstirean-sgoile	62[36]	7.5	9	6	2	2.5
Lagh	61[37]	7.5	9	14[43]	4.5	6.5
Proifeiseanan eile	19[38]	2.5	3	7[44]	2	3
Malairt is ciùird	192[39]	23	28.5	76[45]	24	34
(Malairt na dibhe)	(56)	(7)	(8.5)	(33)[46]	(10.5)	(14.5)
Fearann	79[40]	9.5	11.5	43[47]	13.5	19
Arm is Uaislean	181[41]	22	26.5	35[48]	11	15.5
Eile	47[42]	5.5	7	25[49]	8	11

('Esquire' a' comharrachadh uaisle), agus chithear am fiosrachadh seo ann an Clàr 4.

Bheirear fa-near cho nochdaidh is tha luchd-malairt na dibhe làidir anns an dà liosta, agus dh'fhaodte gum bu chòir smaoineachadh orra seo chan ann a-mhàin mar luchd-ghnothaich ach mar luchd-aoigheachd, 's iad a' tairgse àite-cruinneachaidh far am faigheadh bàird sna bailtean-mòra fàilte, èisteachd is brosnachadh. Nì Mac an Rothaich moladh air dithis bhràithrean à Siorrachd Pheairt a bha nam marsantan fìona ann an Sràid MhicNeacail an Dùn Eideann: 'Se sud an t-ionad sam bi an t-eibhneas,/ Nuair thig na Gaidheil an ceann a cheile,/ Gheibh am bard a bheir Gaelic reidh dhoibh/ Pog-an laimh a bheir rann o bheul san'.[50] Cuimhnichear an seo na bheachdaich Raghnall MacilleDhuibh mu Alasdair nan Stòp, an t-ostair ann an Glaschu a choisinn moladh Dhonnchaidh Bhàin: 'In English eyes his role was commercial, in Gaelic eyes it was cultural'.[51]

Chithear nas soilleire ann an Clàran 5(a) is (b) na lìonraidhean a dh'fhaodadh a bhith nan cuideachadh do na bàird nan cuid obrach. Aig Mac an Rothaich, bha taic ri faighinn bho luchd-malairt (Dhùn Èideann gu h-àraidh) agus luchd-fearainn Earra-Ghàidheal. Tha an uaisleachd agus muinntir an airm gu sònraichte pailt aig MacColla, ach math dh'fhaodte gu bheil sin a' toirt a-steach àireamh shusbainteach de leughadairean gun Ghàidhlig a bha titheach air *The Mountain Minstrel*.

A' Coimeas Dhreuchdan ann am MacColla is Mac an Rothaich   Clàr 5

(a) MacColla			(b) Mac an Rothaich		
679 le dreuchd	àir.	%	224 le dreuchd	àir.	%
Ministearan	38	5.5	Ministearan	18	8
Maighstirean-Sgoile	62	9	Maighstirean-Sgoile	6	2.5
Lagh	61	9	Lagh	14	6.5
Malairt is ciùird	192	28.5	Malairt is ciùird	76	34
(Malairt na dibhe)	(56)	(8.5)	(Malairt na dibhe)	(33)	(14.5)
Fearann	79	11.5	Fearann	43	19
Arm is Uaislean	181	26.5	Arm is Uaislean	35	15.5

LÌONRADH-SGAOILIDH LITREACHAIL

'S e fear de na prìomh sgaraidhean a nochdas a thaobh dreuchdan nam fo-sgrìobhaichean don dà chruinneachadh, gu bheil 62 maighstir-sgoile air clàr MhicColla, agus sianar air clàr Mhic an Rothaich, neo 9% de dh'fho-sgrìobhaichean MhicColla an coimeas ri 2.5% aig Mac an Rothaich. Anns a' cho-theagsa seo 's fhiach cuimhneachadh gun robh Tormod MacLeòid an eiseimeil air taic mhaighstirean-sgoile Gàidhealach nuair a stèidhich e irisean Gàidhlig. Anns an dàrna *Cuairtear nan Gleann* ann an 1840 tha liosta air an duilleig mu dheireadh ag innse cò luchd-reic a' mhìosachain, agus a-mach às na 27 ainmean tha naoinear nam maighstirean-sgoile, agus anns an deicheamh *Cuairtear* leughar, 'it [*Cuairtear*] may be had of Schoolmasters generally throughout the Highlands'.[52] B' iongantach mura robh mòran mhaighstirean-sgoile a' leughadh fhoillseachaidhean mar seo agus tha e inntinneach gun robh làmh aig cuid aca ann a bhith gan reic. Chunnacas mar-thà gun robh MacColla air dàin fhoillseachadh anns an iris *An Teachdaire Ur Gaidhealach* agus mar sin gun robh e fhèin mothachail air lìonradh nan irisean, agus dh'fhaodadh gun robh an lìonradh seo feumail dha ann a bhith a' reic a leabhraichean fhèin. Gheibhear fianais a bharrachd mun lìonradh-sgaoilidh aig MacColla nuair a chithear ainm 'Neil Gillies, Merchant, Lochgilphead' mar fho-sgrìobhaiche ann an cruinneachaidhean MhicColla agus Mhic an Rothaich agus cuideachd mar fhear-reic *Cuairtear nan Gleann*. A bharrachd airsan tha 'J. McLean, Merchant, Tobermory' a tha an dà chuid na fho-sgrìobhaiche aig MacColla agus na fhear-reic do *Chuairtear nan Gleann*.[53]

'S e rud eile a tha daingneachadh cudrom an lìonraidh litreachail seo, agus a tha comharrachadh a-mach nam fo-sgrìobhaichean do leabhar MhicColla, gun robh grunn ainmean bho shaoghal litreachas Gàidhlig an ama nam measg:

'Neil McAlpine, Esq., Islay': MacAilpein (1786–1867), maighstir-sgoile ann an Ìle agus trusaiche *A Pronouncing Gaelic Dictionary* (1832).[54]

'Donald MacFarlane, Esq., Editor of the *Gaelic Messenger*': B' e seo mac Phàraig MhicPhàrlain a bha air grunn leabhraichean fhoillseachadh ann an Gàidhlig, nam measg eadar-theangachaidhean de *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* aig Dodderidge, na *Sermons* aig Blair agus *Pilgrim's Progress* aig Bunyan. Tha ainm Dhòmhnaill a' nochdadh mar fhoillsichear *An Teachdaire Ur Gaidhealach* (1835–36) aig Lachlann Mac'Ill'Eathain (faic gu h-ìosal).[55]

'Robert McGregor, Esq., Surgeon, Glasgow': 'S ann à Àird Chatain a bha an lannsair seo (1809–55). Bha e na dhotair aig Ospadal Rìoghail Ghlaschu agus nochd na sgrìobhaidhean Gàidhlig aige, air tinneasan agus cuspairean saidheansail, anns an *Teachdaire Ur Gaidhealach*, *Cuairtear nan Gleann* agus *Fear-Tathaich nam Beann*, fon ainm 'Rob Ruadh'.[56]

'Mr John MacKenzie, Inverewe': B' e MacCoinnich a dheasaich an cruinneachadh cliùiteach *Sàr-Obair nam Bàrd Gaelach* (1841). Am measg nam foillseachaidhean eile aige tha *Eachdraidh Mhic Cruslaig* (1836) agus *Eachdraidh a' Phrionnsa* (1844).[57]

'Mr Lachlan MacLean, Hosier, Glasgow': 'S ann à Eilean Chola a bha Mac'Ill'Eathainn (1798–1848) a sgrìobh airson na ciad iris aig Tormod MacLeòid, *An Teachdaire Gae'lach* (1829–31). Stèidhich agus dheasaich e fhèin *An Teachdaire Ur Gaidhealach* (1835–36) agus b' e ùghdar *Adhamh agus Eubh, no Chraobh-Sheanachais nan Gaël* (1837).[58]

'The Rev. Dr Norman MacLeod, Glasgow': B' e MacLeòid (1783−1862) ministear Eaglais Chaluim Chille ann an Glaschu. Choisinn e cliù dha fhèin airson na rinn e às leth nan Gàidheal a thaobh togail airgid aig àm nan gort air a' Ghàidhealtachd. Bha e an sàs gu mòr ann am foghlam Gàidhlig, an dà chuid mar dheasaiche irisean – *An Teachaire Gae'lach* (1829–31) and *Cuairtear nan Gleann* (1840−43) − agus mar sgrìobhadair.[59]

'The Rev. John MacLeod of Morven': Bràthair Thormoid MhicLeòid (gu h-àrd) (1801−82) . Nochd a sgrìobhaidhean ann an irisean a bhràthar.[60]

'Captain Dugald MacNicol, Inverary': B' e MacNeacail (1791–
1844) mac don Urr. Dòmhnall MacNeacail, Lios Mòr. B' e
saighdear agus bàrd a bh' ann dheth agus 's ann leis-san a tha
na h-aon dàin Ghàidhlig a tha fhathast rim faighinn a bha gan
dèanamh anns na h-Ìnnseachan an Iar, còig dàin a chaidh a
dhèanamh ann am Barbados agus St Lucia.[61]

'Mr James Munro, Schoolmaster, Kilmanivaig': Bha Seumas Mac
an Rothaich (1794–1870) na mhaighstir-sgoile, na bhàrd agus na
sgrìobhaiche do dh'irisean Thormoid MhicLeòid. Dh'fhoillsich
e dà chruinneachadh bàrdachd, *An t-Ailleagan* (1830, 1832,
1854 etc.) agus *Am Filidh* (1840), agus leabhraichean airson
sgoiltean, m.e. *A Gaelic Primer* (1828), *An Treoiriche* (1843) agus
A Practical Grammar of Scottish Gaelic (1835). Bha e air a bhith
na mhaighstir-sgoile ann an Càradal.[62]

Co-dhùnadh

Tha an dà chuid coltasan agus iomsgaraidhean follaiseach nuair a
nithear coimeas eadar fo-sgrìobhaichean an dà chruinneachaidh
seo. Air an dàrna làimh, tha ceangal làidir eadar na h-òrain agus
na fo-sgrìobhaichean aig Mac an Rothaich, ceangal nach fhaighear
ann an leabhar MhicColla agus e ag amas air luchd-leughaidh
eadar-dhealaichte, gun bhuntanas pearsanta aca ris na dàin aige.
Air an làimh eile, bha MacColla a' tarraing air lìonradh de dh'fho-
sgrìobhaichean litreachail.

   Chan e ach fìor thoiseach tòiseachaidh a th' anns an obair a
chaidh a dhèanamh anns an alt seo. Tha feum air sgrùdadh air
clàran nam fo-sgrìobhaichean ann an leabhraichean Gàidhlig eile
bhon àm agus an fhianais bhuapa sin a choimeas ri clàraidhean
eile, a leithid clàraidhean chomann Gàidhealach sna bailtean-mòra,
cunntasan-sluaigh, clàraidhean luchd-taghaidh agus clàraidhean
nan eaglaisean, a bharrachd air coimeas nas mionaidiche a
dhèanamh ri fo-sgrìobhaichean do leabhraichean eile. Bho sin
ionnsaichear barrachd mu fhoillseachadh leabhraichean Gàidhlig
agus mu leughadairean Gàidhlig, agus an àireamh leabhraichean
a bha gam foillseachadh a' dol an-àirde gu mòr tron 19mh linn.
Chuireadh toraidhean a leithid de rannsachadh gu mòr ris an eòlas
a tha againn mu lìonraidhean taic agus gnìomhan cultarail san

19mh linn, obair a ghabhadh leudachadh air ais don 18mh linn agus air adhart don 20mh linn.

Ged a tha an t-alt goirid seo air coimhead air daoine fa leth, tha e air sealltainn nan cothroman a tha tùsan mar chlàr fho-sgrìobhaichean a' tairgsinn airson rannsachadh nas fharsainge air mar a bha lìonraidhean Gàidhlig ag obair agus ag atharrachadh rè linn fhuadaichean agus imrich. Le bhith a' coimhead gu dlùth air na bha aig na daoine seo ann an cumantas an àite nan rudan sin a bha gan comharrachadh a-mach, gheibhear cothrom pàtranan cùl-taic agus cheanglaichean cultarail am measg Ghàidheal litearra, an dà chuid air Ghàidhealtachd agus air Ghalltachd, a thoirt am follais.

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37 Writer (26); W[riter] [to the] S[ignet] (8); Advocate (8); Sheriff Officer (5); Messenger-at-arms (3); SSC [Solicitor before the Supreme Court] (3); Sheriff Clerk (2); Sheriff Substitute (2); Criminal Officer (1); L.L.D. (1); Procurator Fiscal (1); Sheriff (1).

38 Surgeon (11); MD / 'Dr' (7); Accountant (1).

39 Fishcurer (6); Flesher (3); Baker (3); Bookseller (3); Brewer (2); Cattle-dealers (2); Clothier (2); Cooper (2); Distiller (5), Mashman (1); Builder (1); Druggist (1); Furnace worker (1); Grocer (2); Hosier (1); Hotelier/ Innkeeper (41); Mason (2); Merchant (58); Miller (3); Painter (1); Printer (1); Road Contractor (1); Saddler (3); Sawyer (1); Shipbuilder (1); Shoemaker (5); Shopkeeper (3); Slater (1); Smith (4); Spirit-dealer (12); Tailor (5); Tinsmith (1) Turner (2); Vintner (3); Weaver (1); Wright (8).

40 Farmer (34); Tacksman (29); Tenant (9); Overseer (4); Factor (1); Feuar (1); Ground-officer (1).

41 Lieutenant General (1); General (2); Lieutenant Colonel (3); Colonel (4); Major (2); Captain (19); Lieutenant (5); Uaislean & 'Esq', ach gun dreuchd ainmichte (145).

42 Agent (1); le ainm bàta-smùid (5); Burgess (1); Burgh Officer (1); Clerk (5); Deputy-keeper of the Records of Scotland / Register House (3); Journal Editor (1); Excise Officer (4); Ferryman (1); Fishery Officer (2); Gamekeeper (2); Gardener (5); Governor of Jail (1); Governor of

Hospital (1); Messenger (1); Post (2); Postmaster (3); Provost (1); Society Secretary (Highland Society & Gaelic School Society) (2); Shepherd (1); Student (2); Warehousman (1); Woodranger (1).

43 Writer (6); W[riter] [to the] S[ignet] (3); Advocate (1); Sheriff Officer (1); Messenger-at-arms (1); Sheriff Substitute (1); Procurator Fiscal (1).

44 Banker (4), architect (1), Dr (1), surgeon (1).

45 Malairt na dibhe, faic nota 46 (33); cattle dealer (14); merchant (11); coal merchant (3); bookseller (2); flesher (2); gardener (2); grocer (2); shoemaker (2); wright (2); hatter (1); ship agent (1); smith (1).

46 Spirit dealer/merchant (26); wine merchant (3); inn keeper (4).

47 Tacksman (34); Farmer (9).

48 Captain (7); 'Esquires' gun dreuchd ainmichte eile (27).

49 Banker (4); Naval Captain (4); steamer/ship worker (3); gamekeeper (2); letter carrier (2); officer of excise (2); Post Office Glasgow (management?) (2); Register House Edinburgh (2); architect ('ard chlachair') (1); canal lock keeper (1); Chamberlain (1); County Clerk of Supply (1); forester (1); governess (1); shepherd (1); store keeper (1); waiter (1).

50 Mac-an-Roich, *Orain*, 143.

51 Ronald Black, 'Some notes', 39.

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The Date of *Culhwch ac Olwen*
T. M. Charles-Edwards

Idris Foster, as is well known, suggested a date in the late eleventh century for *Culhwch ac Olwen*.[1] This was followed, for somewhat different reasons, by Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans in their edition.[2] Recently the question of dating has been usefully re-opened with new arguments by Simon Rodway, who has proposed that it might well have been composed during the reign of Rhys ap Gruffudd (the Lord Rhys) between 1155 and 1197.[3] His main arguments were drawn from the language and orthography of the text, and these led him to conclude that there was no sound linguistic evidence that *Culhwch* was any earlier than the mid-twelfth century; but he also considered and rejected the case made by Idris Foster on the basis of suggested allusions to two events of 1081: the landing of Gruffudd ap Cynan at Porth Clais and the visit of William the Conqueror to St Davids.[4] Rodway dismissed the reference to Porth Clais on the grounds that it was the regular port close to St Davids; yet I am not sure that the description of Porth Clais as 'the Fishguard of the day' is justified.[5] The landing-places around St Davids were indeed used by travellers to and from Ireland, but not just Porth Clais: Porth Mawr was chosen by the author of *De Situ Brecheniauc* and Henry II landed at Porth Stinan.[6] He did not address the arguments for a late eleventh-century date advanced by Bromwich and Evans on the basis of an association with southern Welsh saints' lives of the late eleventh century, the Life of St Cadog and the Life of St David; but he agreed with them that the text is likely to have been composed in Deheubarth.

The issues raised by Rodway's article are important for the history of Middle Welsh narrative both in themselves and for their implications. If, for example, one were to accept his case and also that made by Proinsias Mac Cana and T. Arwyn Watkins on the basis of the syntax of *bod* that *Culhwch* was significantly earlier than the Four Branches, there could be no question of retaining Ifor Williams's date for the latter (during the period when Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ruled over all Wales, 1056–1063) or, indeed, the one I proposed (before *c.*1125).[7] Since I think that Mac Cana and Watkins were

right and yet I remain, in spite of the powerful arguments of Patrick Sims-Williams, inclined to think that my date for the *Pedeir Keinc* is the most likely, though admittedly far from certain, the case put by Rodway offers a special challenge.[8]

Two issues are fundamental: the nature of the textual transmission and the relationship between the language of poetry and the language of prose. The importance of the first derives from the observation that some scribes were more prone than others to change the text of the exemplar as they copied it and the allied observation that some texts were more prone than others to being changed in transmission.[9] Rodway argues that the scribes of the White Book copy (namely those designated as D and E by Daniel Huws) were not prone to modernise the text whereas Hywel Fychan, the scribe of this part of the Red Book, adapted his exemplar 'to suit his audience'.[10] This last point is problematic, since Hywel Fychan was writing for Hopcyn ap Tomas, a patron of recognised learning in Welsh tradition, a reader rather than an audience, and, moreover, someone probably with unusual expertise in interpreting old texts. Rodway was, therefore, right in allowing for the possibility that it was not Hywel Fychan himself who was the moderniser but the scribe of his exemplar. A more serious problem, however, is that we have no control with which to judge how the White Book scribes handled the text. Elsewhere it is evident that narrative texts in the White and Red Books went back to a common exemplar which was not shared by other manuscripts; but it was only possible to make this argument because there were other copies with which to compare the White and Red Books. Even though, apart from the White and Red Books, only fragments survive for the Four Branches, they are enough to gain some idea of the tradition; for *Peredur* and *Gereint* the evidence is much fuller, but for *Culhwch* there is nothing. Rodway is well aware of this difficulty, but I am not sure that his method of dealing with it can be regarded as satisfactory. The starting-point of his argument is that some old forms were not accepted into the Red Book text but were kept in the White Book. The next step is the statement, 'So if the copyists of WCO [the White Book copy of *Culhwch*] were not altering them, I think it safe to say that they were not altering other features of the text.'[11] Yet this is perilously close to arguing from 'Some old forms

were not modernised' to 'No old forms were modernised'. Moreover, even if this argument has weight, it is vital to note precisely how far it will carry us. Let us suppose, first, that for *Culhwch* there were other medieval copies now lost, and, secondly, that, as for other texts, the White Book and the Red were sister-witnesses, in the sense that they both derived from one copy that was itself at some distance from the archetype. In that case, Rodway's arguments will then only take us as far as the copy from which the White and Red Books descend, not as far as the archetype. Between this common exemplar, from which the White and Red Books derive and the archetype from which the entire medieval textual tradition derived, there might well have been a series of modernising scribes.

The effect of this situation is that we depend for a relative dating on linguistic evidence that diverges from the Middle Welsh norm established by such manuscripts as the thirteenth-century copies of *Llyfr Iorwerth*, a lawbook compiled in the first half of the thirteenth century and preserved in four copies written between the mid-thirteenth century and 1300. Admittedly *Llyfr Iorwerth* was compiled from earlier texts, so that the occasional earlier feature may have crept into the thirteenth-century lawbook; but, in general, the situation is better here even than for the Welsh translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. For them, as Rodway notes, we have no counterpart to Iorwerth ap Madog ap Rhahawd, a datable and locatable person identified with the text by a near-contemporary source (BL Cotton MS Caligula A. iii).[12] If one began with *Llyfr Iorwerth* and then supplemented its testimony by bringing in other texts preserved in thirteenth-century manuscripts, it should be possible to establish what the standard Middle Welsh grammar of that period was; and this possibility lay behind the admirable project to make prose texts in thirteenth-century manuscripts available in digital form.[13] From this basis, it should be possible to detect more accurately chronological divergences, both earlier and later.

Rodway has also shown, however, that it is possible to make use of texts in verse as well as prose; and here we meet the second major issue that affects the linguistic evidence for the date of *Culhwch*: the relationship between the grammar of verse and the grammar of

prose. Verse texts have the advantage that many are reliably ascribed to named poets whose approximate dates and kingdoms of origin are known. The difficulty has always been, however, that the language of the Gogynfeirdd appeared to diverge so greatly from that of prose and, in particular, to admit so many archaisms that its value for linguistic history was compromised. Rodway has demonstrated, however, that this difficulty is not entirely insuperable by comparing the appearance of the 3rd singular preterite ending *-awdd* in prose and verse texts.[14] He showed that the spread of this ending occurred in prose texts in the late thirteenth century and that the same spread was found in verse of that period. What this does not show, however, is that the grammar of verse was just the same as that of prose, merely that sometimes an innovation found in one also occurred in the other at much the same time. Hence one cannot argue that if, say, feature X is found in verse of the second half of the twelfth century, it was also current in contemporary prose. Rodway has a splendid example which demonstrates the complexities of the relationship between prose and verse: the 3rd singular preterite endings *-ws* and *-wys*.[15] The ending *-ws* is the one used in prose in thirteenth-century manuscripts, including *Llyfr Iorwerth*, but *-wys* is normal in fourteenth-century manuscripts until overtaken by *-awdd*. As Rodway notes, both endings occur in rhyming position in the Gogynfeirdd. He nonetheless argues that *-ws* was the older form. If one accepts, as I do, that he is right, it will follow that *-wys* is an example of hypercorrection: because the change *-wy-* > *-w-* was normal in final unstressed syllables,[16] it was possible to take the ending *-ws* and suppose that a more correct, because earlier, form was *-wys*. This ending thus entered the morphology regarded as correct by the Gogynfeirdd, and then spread into prose texts in manuscripts of the fourteenth century.

Where the relationship between verse and prose becomes critical for the dating of *Culhwch* is in the assessment of cases where an earlier form is found in *Culhwch* and the Gogynfeirdd but not elsewhere in Middle Welsh prose. An example given by Rodway is the 3rd singular present subjunctive endings *-(h)wy* or *-(h)oe* and *-(h)o*. The form in Middle Welsh prose is *-(h)o*; in *Culhwch* and in the Gogynfeirdd *-(h)wy* is also found (in the Gogynfeirdd with decreasing frequency as we move from the first half of the twelfth century to the second

half, and on into the thirteenth). It is also important that the ending
-*(h)o* is already the one used in *Braint Teilo* in the Book of Llandaff,
so that we have some reason to think that it was already regular in
prose in the first half of the twelfth century.[17] From this Rodway
concludes that the presence of -*wy* in *Culhwch* is consistent with a
date of composition in the second half of the twelfth century. The
structure of the argument is, however, quite different from the case of
-*awdd*. There prose and verse marched more or less in parallel; here,
thanks to the Book of Llandaff, we can be reasonably sure they did
not. Hence there is no valid inference in this case from verse to prose
when proposing a date for a prose text. The only logical conclusion,
on the basis of the evidence assembled, is that *Culhwch* is earlier than
the Book of Llandaff, and perhaps earlier than the date of *Braint
Teilo*. Furthermore, we should here note Wendy Davies's argument
that the second half of *Braint Teilo* (where three out of four examples
of -*o* occur) is older than the first part and goes back to the period
950×1090.[18]

Similar difficulties arise in the argument over absolute forms of the
verb. An earlier article by Rodway convincingly demonstrated that
such forms in the Gogynfeirdd were still used according to a coherent
system comparable to the Old Irish contrast between absolute and
conjunct forms. In Middle Welsh prose absolute forms in -*(h)awd*
and -*(h)awr* do not occur, except in *Culhwch*; yet the presence of
such forms in verse is held to show that *Culhwch* could have been
composed in the second half of the twelfth century. Rodway rightly
notes that there is a relationship between the disappearance of the
contrast between absolute and conjunct in Middle Welsh prose and
the shift from VSO word order to 'verb-second' as in the so-called
'abnormal word-order'.[19] In standard Middle Welsh, as in *Llyfr
Iorwerth* and also in the *Pedeir Keinc*, verb-second prevails in the
ordinary affirmative sentence, leaving aside, that is, certain special
categories such as the responsive. In Old Welsh prose of the ninth
century, VSO appears to have been standard.[20] This change ought,
therefore, to provide important dating evidence. The appearance of
VSO in *Culhwch* alongside verb-second thus supports an early date.
So, for example, compare the following two sentences, one from
Culhwch and the other from the *Pedeir Keinc*:[21]

Culhwch: Tyghaf tyghet it (na latho dy ystlys vrth wreic hyt pan geffych Olwen merch Yspadaden Penkawr).

PKM: Mi a dynghaf dyghet idaw (na chaffo enw yny caffo y genhyf i).

That VSO sentences appear in the Gogynfeirdd does not show that they were acceptable in Middle Welsh prose of the same period; and, while considering syntax, it is worth recalling the argument put forward by Mac Cana and Watkins, cited earlier, concerning the shift from (1) *BOD* + predicate + subject to (2) predicate + *BOD* + subject (both known in Old Welsh and in Middle Welsh, but in quite different proportions, suggesting that (1) was unmarked in Old Welsh but (2) in Middle Welsh). Here, too, *Culhwch* appeared to be earlier than standard Middle Welsh prose.

A slightly different case is the preverbal particle *yd* (leniting, Middle Welsh *yt*) – to be distinguished from the non-leniting *ydd/y*. The presence of seven examples of *yt* in *Culhwch* was one of the pieces of evidence cited by Bromwich and Evans for an early date. They remarked that, apart from *Culhwch*, 'There appears to be only one example in prose, in the Book of Blegywryd'.[22] At first sight, this is very surprising, since *Llyfr Blegywryd* is a relatively late lawbook, but this passage is also found in a Welsh passage preserved in Latin Redaction D of the laws; and that was shown by Emanuel to be the source of much of *Llyfr Blegywryd*'s text.[23] Where the compiler of Latin Redaction D found this Welsh passage is unknown. *Yd* is quite common in the Gogynfeirdd, though not as common as *ydd/y*.[24]

When he examines the list of words assembled by Bromwich and Evans indicative of an early date, Rodway uses a similar argument.[25] Bromwich and Evans divided their list into, first, words found in the Cynfeirdd, the early Gogynfeirdd, and, second, words found in the laws as well as in early poetry. Rodway notes their appearance in the Gogynfeirdd and argues that 'a twelfth-century author, or for that matter audience, familiar with contemporary poetry and native law would find them quite comprehensible'.[26] This is quite true, but it does not cover words that attracted glosses in the text, such as *gwrthrychiad*.[27] Another possible old word that was not understood

is *gwlad* in the sense of 'lord, ruler'. In one of the poems ascribed to Taliesin, his patron, Urien of Rheged, is praised by comparison:[28]

> *gwacsa gwlat da wrth Urföen.*

In the context, this ought to mean, 'Useless is a good lord compared with Urien'. Although in Middle and Modern Welsh *gwlad* means 'country' or 'kingdom', its Irish cognate, *flaith*, has a triple meaning, 'lordship; kingdom; lord'. This example makes it likely that in early Welsh, *gwlad* could have at least a double meaning, 'lord' and 'country'. A further likely example is in *Culhwch*. The phrase *mab brenhin gvlat teithiawc* in lines 90–91 has a parallel in line 95, *mabyon gwladoed ereill*, where *ereill* shows that the text is referring back to the earlier phrase. This makes it likely that *brenhin* here is an embedded gloss, so that the contrast was between *map gvlat teithiawc* and *mabyon gwladoed ereill*. The *mabyon gwladoed ereill* were to be housed in the *yspyty*, whereas the *mab (brenhin) gvlat teithiawc* would be allowed through the gate so as to enter the hall: hence the *gwladoed ereill* would appear to be rulers of lesser rank than a *brenhin* or *gwlat teithiauc*. This in turn makes it likely that *gvlat* in lines 90–91 and 95 should not be taken in the later sense of 'major kingdom', such as Gwynedd or Powys. The adjective *teithiawc* was regularly applied to a person or an animal but not to a country. Later in *Culhwch* we are told that Gofannon will not work save for a *brenhin teithiawc*.[29] The same phrase occurs in *Canu Aneirin*, line 1095 in the B version of the *Gododdin* (*a chan oed mab brenhin teithiauc*), where the A version (line 1072) has *mab teyrn teithiawc*: the line length indicates that a disyllabic word was probably original, and therefore that *teyrn* was the older reading, replaced in the B version when *teyrn* had become a monosyllable and *brenhin*, an old trisyllabic word, had become a disyllable. A similar phrase in the Black Book of Carmarthen is *mab goholheth teithiauc*.[30]

A further aspect of this phrase is the adjective *teithïog*. This is listed by Bromwich and Evans among the words shared by *Culhwch*, early poetry and the laws. Yet, in fact it is not used, so far as I can tell, in the laws; instead an adjective of a later type, *teithïol*, is the term found in the lawbooks alongside *teithi*.[31] The examples of *teithïog* in *Culhwch* are the only ones cited in *GPC* from a prose text.

Moreover, *teithïog* was also used as a noun in a sense more akin to Irish *techtaid* 'owns' than to *téchtae* 'proper, rightful', although the latter clearly corresponds with *teithi*: there may well have been some degree of semantic crossing in the Gogynfeirdd, but not in the laws, between the two.[32] The *teithïog* is entitled to possess something, a sense made especially clear by Prydydd y Moch saying to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth *Y Dehau neud tau fal teithïawg* 'The South, indeed it is yours as *teithïog*', and similarly in Gwalchmai's poem in praise of Owain Gwynedd, where Owain is *teithiawg Prydain* 'owner of Britain'.[33] It also appears with *gwlad* in a later poem by Gwalchmai in praise of Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd, in which Rhodri is described as *Gollewin wledig, wlad deithïog hael*, 'ruler of the west, generous owner of a country' ('west' probably because Rhodri's kingdom at this period lay west of the Conwy but his brother Dafydd ruled east of Conwy).[34] Here, however, *gwlad* has its normal meaning and is dependent on the head-word *teithïog* used as a noun. As evidence for the date of *Culhwch* it is much more important that *teithïog* has been supplanted by *teithïol* in the laws than that *teithïog* is still used by the Gogynfeirdd. The sequence seems to be (1) that from *teithi* is derived an adjective *teithïog*, (2) we then have a divergence: (a) in the legal language *teithïog* is replaced by *teithïol*, and (b) in the poetic lexicon *teithïog* is substantivised and influenced semantically by the cognate of Irish *techtaid* 'owns'.

Orthography did not form a major part of the argument for an early date in Bromwich and Evans's edition. They mainly drew attention to the presence of final *-t* for /d/ and final *-d* for /ð/, well-known from the Black Book of Carmarthen and traditionally seen as earlier than the standard Middle Welsh orthography, but Rodway rightly draws attention to the orthography of Hand *α* of the Hendregadredd manuscript (*c.* 1300); and one might add the lawbook, of similar date, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 821, known to be southern;[35] whereas Gwilym Wasta, English burgess of the Newtown, Dinefwr, *fl. c.* 1300, used the southern initial *wh-* for *chw-*, as well as normal Middle Welsh *-t* for /d/ and *-d* for /ð/, the scribe of Rawlinson C 821 used final *-t* for /ð/ and *-d* for /d/.[36] Perhaps Rawlinson C 821 was written in Ceredigion rather than further south and this might suggest that the 'Black Book

of Carmarthen orthography' was proper to much of Deheubarth *c.* 1250 but survived up to *c.* 1300 in Ceredigion.[37]

The most extensive evidence for Old Welsh orthography in *Culhwch* comes, as Rodway notes, in personal names. He reasonably dismisses as good evidence those that occur in the long list of people present in Arthur's court whose suretyship is invoked by Culhwch, since the list may have been amplified from a variety of sources, written as well as oral. Yet the best case, *Gwrbothu* for *Gwrfoddw*, appears outside the list as well as inside.[38] He is also inclined on the whole to admit the example of *catbridogyon* for *cadfridogyon*.[39]

How early *Culhwch* should be dated is a nice matter of judgement, since almost no Welsh prose of the twelfth century is preserved in contemporary copies. Among the legal texts a good argument has been made for dating the origins of *Llyfr Cyfnerth* to the reign of Rhys ap Gruffudd and thus to the date to which Rodway would ascribe *Culhwch*, but *Llyfr Cyfnerth* is first preserved in manuscripts of the first half of the fourteenth century and the variations among them indicate that the text was prone to modernisation.[40] Perhaps Rodway's case for a date in the second half of the twelfth century is open to question. Yet it raises in a very interesting way the issue of the relationship between narrative prose and verse, which is perhaps the most pressing issue in Middle Welsh linguistics. The final suggestion of the article, namely that the author was a poet, is linked with Rodway's readiness to use the evidence of verse when dating prose, but it might well be correct. The only caveat is that the language of poetry was one register, the language of prose narrative another; and, though the poet might tell stories in prose (something which the Gogynfeirdd did not do in verse), he respected the difference between them.

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Patron as Performer: Lament for the 'Gentlemen-Piper'
Hugh Cheape

A correspondent in the *Daily Telegraph* in January 1990 recalled the humorous aperçu attributed to George Bernard Shaw: 'Sir – I was told that the definition of a gentleman was a man who can play the bagpipes but doesn't'. This ironic comment serves to throw light upon the status of piping in recent generations, particularly since the nineteenth century, and upon changing social values inherent in a phrase such as 'gentleman-piper'. The force of the comment depends on the separation of performer and patron, as antithesis to the subject of this study. Some examples are offered here from Ireland and from Scotland to suggest that the status of the 'amateur' musician or the 'gentleman-piper' was at one time both significant and secure, and certainly added value to the cohesiveness and cultural coherence of the society of Gaelic Scotland.[1]

As a matter of speculation, such a precept may have had its origins in oral traditions circulating among the British Army officer class of the nineteenth century, when the definition or redefinition of behaviour and 'manners' was being shrilly rehearsed. It might be said to have belonged particularly in the battery of skills, intuitive or cognitive, of the officer echelon of Scotland's Highland regiments. Evidently obedience to such a precept was so effective that the gentleman-piper emerged as an asset in short supply, prompting a response in the founding of the 'Scottish Pipers' Society', later the 'Royal Scottish Pipers' Society', in November 1881. The Society's purpose included 'first, the encouragement of Bag-Pipe playing amongst gentlemen'.[2] Recent analyses have interpreted this shift, and the later founding of the Piobaireachd Society (1903), as symptoms of the late nineteenth-century social climate and the control and manipulation of a performer community and its particular skills.[3]

There were, however, 'gentleman-pipers' to be found, although their musical ability or skill with the bagpipe remains shadowy, due perhaps to the deference of professional pipers. A Black Watch officer is celebrated in the 2/4 March, 'Lord Alexander Kennedy', a good example of the elaborate class of marching music developed in the nineteenth century to be the classic bagpipe competition piece. The

tune was composed in 1876 by James Honeyman of the Black Watch, in honour of one of his officers, the younger son of the Earl of Cassilis, who was, it was said, a keen piper.[4] The patronage and support of piping is evident from the abundant publishing of music for the Great Highland Bagpipe with tune titles commemorating many of the leading aristocrats and landowners of Victorian and Edwardian Scotland. Royalty, nobility, aristocracy and gentry certainly offered patronage, but the tone of this betrays more of a nineteenth-century enthusiasms for 'tartan', 'theatre' and a real or imagined Highland ancestry rather than any deep wish to understand the music and culture of the Gàidhealtachd. The tone had been set a generation before and is lent colour in the letter-press essays, accompanying R. R. McIan's clan portrait series, by the antiquary, James Logan (1797–1872):

> As the last characteristic remains of a primitive state of society, pipers are still cherished by the Scottish gentry. The late Dukes of Kent and Sussex employed these functionaries, and her gracious Majesty has added to the royal establishment one of the best qualified of the profession.[5]

Professional musicians administered to the needs of 'gentlemen-pipers' who needed instruments and lessons. In Edinburgh, Donald MacDonald (1767–1840) offered piping instruction to 'gentlemen', presumably to extend his business as bagpipe maker and to supplement his income, which was meagre. Other pipers such as Richard Fitzmaurice and Patrick O'Farrell offered instruction on the Union Pipe to 'gentlemen' in terms inferring implausibly that playing the bagpipe might enhance social status. Each of these performer-teachers published sheet music and books of instruction, and adapted the bagpipe-music schemata for keyboard and strings to widen the appeal to 'polite society'.[6] The gentry purchased Highland bagpipes, both as patrons and as performers, from an industry dispersed in small units, producing finely crafted instruments at very modest prices. A letter written from Glasgow about 1876 by Donald MacPhee (1841–80), 'Teacher and Maker of the Great Highland Bagpipes, 26 Thistle Street, South Side' to a professional piper of the *Clann an Sgeulaiche*, John MacGregor, carried a professional view on 'gentlemen-pipers':

I have a fine pipe on hand just now. The party that ordered them says that he cannot pay for them. I have other orders that I might but [*recte* 'put'] them in for but thay [*recte* 'they'] are too large in the ivory and the orders I have are for light virls as thay are for gentlmen and thay do not care for heavy pipes. I want £8 - - for them but if you could get a market for them I would alow you £1 - - for your trouble. I would send them throught [*recte* 'through'] if required for inspection at any time if you think that you could get them off. Thay are a very fine pipe, <u>just finished this week</u>.[7]

Even if the Highland bagpipe could be a 'plaything' of the nineteenth-century aristocracy, perceptions of the status of the bagpipe seem unambiguous over time. It had been consistently associated throughout Europe with lower caste musicians, as compared to other instruments such as the harp and stringed instruments in general. Aristophanes, poet and dramatist of the fourth century BC, harangued a group of street minstrels in Athens in derogatory terms: 'You pipers here from Thebes, with bone pipes and blowing the back end of a dog'.[8] A dog-skin bag with blowpipe and bone chanter is a credible bagpipe but the status of the pipers is undeniable. Moreover, the Athenian was one of the most celebrated of the ancient writers of satirical comedy and the bagpipe seems to have been a natural object or catalyst of humour for him and his audience. The same deprecatory terms are used against the bagpipe in the poem, 'Seanchas na Pìob o thùs', by Niall Mòr MacMhuirich (*c.*1550–*c.*1630).[9] If the bagpipe could be the object of satire and humour, it was equally the subject of censure; both civil and ecclesiastical powers regularly curbed or forbade the playing of the bagpipe, not necessarily due to the worldliness of music and dancing but to the destructive effects and influence of the instrument and nomadic and low-status player on social control. Clerical disapproval of the bagpipe has been strongly associated with evangelical movements in the post-Reformation church, but generalisations tend to deny a proper place to luminaries such as the musical minister of Durness, Rev. Murdoch MacDonald (1696–1763), whose sons,

Joseph and Patrick, contributed immeasurably to the recording of the instrumental and vocal music of the Gàidhealtachd.[10]

A further penalty against the bagpipe was its continuing standing relative to other musical instruments. The flute, oboe, violin, 'cello and keyboard attracted their lady and gentleman amateur performers in the changing musical fashions of Renaissance and Baroque Europe, but the bagpipe retained a taint of vulgarity until 'reinvented' in France and England as a chamber instrument designed for melodies in the 'pastoral' baroque style and blown with bellows. By using bellows to inflate the instrument, it was said that this avoided the distortion of the face and features entailed in blowing the 'great pipe', an issue known to the classics as 'the disfigurement of Athena'.[11]

In the collection of notes on Highland culture and society made about 1700 for Edward Lhuyd by Rev. James Kirkwood with the help of Rev. John Beaton of Kilninian, Mull, the bagpipe falls into place in an élite musical culture with the other instruments of the chieftain's hall. The seventeenth-century context of these comments still places the harp first in a descending order of prestige and allows also that it was *uasal* to play the harp. The bagpipe occupies a lesser and servile position in the scheme:

> The Greatest Music is Harp, Pipe, Viol and Trump. Most part of the Gentry play on the Harp. Pipers are held in great Request so that they are train'd up at the Expence of Grandees and have apportion of Land assigned and are design'd such a man's piper.[12]

In this period, the 'gentleman-piper' became a familiar feature of culture and society in Ireland. Beginning in London at the turn of the eighteenth century, 'gentlemen' performers on violin, 'cello, flute and oboe proliferated in the van of musical fashion. The same trend followed in Dublin and in Edinburgh, where, for example, the Saint Cecilia's Day concert of 1695 (which is recorded in detail) included '19 gentlemen of the first rank and fashion, supported by 11 professors or masters of music'.[13] Evidence for township and highway musicians or pipers is otherwise in strictly short supply and they remain a sadly nameless band. The early history of piping in Ireland depends on a social élite of 'gentleman-pipers' to carry

the story forward. Captain Francis O'Neill introduced the topic in his *Irish Minstrels and Musicians* (1913) with a note of ambivalence reflecting, perhaps, innate attitudes of his own day: 'Not a few were the men of rank and wealth who have been immortalized on account of their prominence as performers on the Irish pipes. For obvious reasons they never courted publicity in the indulgence of their hobby, but enjoyed the distinction of being designated "Gentlemen Pipers".'[14] Names from the eighteenth century are Pierce Power of Glynn, Clonmel, County Tipperary, Lawrence Grogan of Johnstown Castle, County Wexford, and Walker Jackson of Lisduan, Ballingarry, County Limerick, all of whom belonged to the landowning class. Each is commemorated in lively and significant traditions; Power composed the song *Pléaráca an Ghleanna* ('The Humours of Glynn'), Lawrence Grogan, commemorated in the jig 'Larry Grogan', composed the song and music of 'Ally Croker', one of the most popular songs of the century, and 'Piper Jackson' is credited with the composition of fifty of sixty reels and jigs and published a collection of his own music in 1780.[15] All appeared also to sustain the trademark of Irish gentility with its devotion to horse-breeding, racing and hunting. 'Parson Sterling', Rev. Edward Sterling (1706–62), rector of Lurgan, County Cavan, was a further version of the famed gentleman-performer.[16] Another early eighteenth-century 'gentleman-piper' may have been John Geoghegan, of unknown family but possibly with Westmeath connections, who was in London in the 1740s and was the author of a tutor and collection of music for the 'Pastoral or New Bagpipe' expressly aimed at the 'gentleman-amateur' market.[17]

Their instrument was the increasingly sophisticated Union Pipe with 'a great superiority in mellower tone and greater compass … rendering it very melodious and agreeable in a private apartment'.[18] One or two surviving instruments, now in the National Museum of Ireland collection, have a 'gentleman-piper' provenance. A son of the Duke of Leinster, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, born in Dublin in October 1763, 'loving the music of his native land as dearly as its freedom', owned and played a set of ivory and silver-mounted pipes by Egan of Dublin.[19] Another Union Pipe has been known as the 'Lord MacDonnell set', having been gifted by Lord Anthony

Patrick MacDonnell (1844–1925) of Swinford, County Mayo, Under-Secretary of State for Ireland. The pipes, boxwood, ivory and silver-mounted, by Timothy Kenna of Dublin, belonged, it was said, to 'MacDonnell the gentleman piper' and MP for County Mayo. Joseph Myles MacDonnell (1796–1872), whose reputation lived on as 'Joe Mór', was one of the impoverished Connacht gentry, holding court at Doo Castle, Ballaghadereen, and refusing to allow his debts to cramp his style; it was said that his assets on insolvency consisted of a 'flute, a bagpipe and a setter dog'.[20]

While the social cachet was sustained, latter-day 'gentlemen-pipers' are recalled essentially for their musicianship; Dudley Colclough, for example, with landed estates in County Wexford, or Patrick Courtney, who played in the wildly popular pantomime-ballet *Oscar and Malvina* with William Reeve's Ossian libretto and score for Harp and Union Pipe, can be seen as pipers who raised the reputation of the Irish Union bagpipe.[21] A story shaped to account for a social slight demonstrates how Enlightenment attitudes were shifting away from accepting the 'gentility' of pipers, however defined. Joe Mór MacDonnell has been confused in the literature with John MacDonnell of an earlier generation. The latter was a 'gentleman-piper' who was said to have belonged to another 'class', subtly located between the titled and the plebeian but in reality lending weight to the distinctiveness of the professional musician in neo-baroque Britain and Ireland. The nuance or ambivalence in the contemporary recognition of the 'gentlemen-piper' may be a further reflection of social and economic change rather than any separation of status and power among the gentry and aristocracy. MacDonnell, who lived in great style with servants, grooms and hunters, was asked to play at a dinner in Cork about the year 1770. A table and chair, with servant in attendance, bottle of claret and a glass, were placed for him on the landing outside the dining-room and, glancing in and assessing the situation, the piper took a glass of claret, drank the health of the assembled company and threw down a half crown, saying to the servant: 'There, my lad, is two shillings for my bottle of wine, and keep the sixpence for yourself.' MacDonnell turned on his heel, left the house and galloped off with his groom.[22]

Henry Robert Westenra, Lord Rossmore (1792–1860), of Rossmore Park, County Monaghan, contributed significantly to George Petrie's *The Ancient Music of Ireland*, first published in 1855, and personally noted pipe music from the playing of Paddy Conneely of Galway. As perhaps the last of the 'gentlemen-pipers', he was guest at a dinner in Dawson Street in Dublin when Conneely (who was blind) had been hired to play. Lord Rossmore was persuaded to play Conneely's pipes, drawing an outburst from the piper: 'I did not expect such treatment from any people calling themselves gentlemen. It was a most scandalous shame to bring me, a poor dark man, here to be humbugged as you are trying to do, calling on "My Lord" to yoke on my pipes and play for ye. He is as much "a lord" as I am myself; the d…l a lord ever played as he does, he's nothing but a rale piper.'[23]

Scotland also had its 'gentlemen-pipers' in the eighteenth century (and before) but their role and reputation has been lost in a too-narrow historiography lying behind accounts of the bagpipe. Arguably the story is richer than has been allowed and has been enshrined principally within the Gaelic tradition, with names such as Raghnall mac Ailein Òig of Morar, Fear Bhàlaidh of North Uist, Iain Mac Eachainn 'ic Iain of Strathmore, Raghnall Dubh or Ronald MacDonald of Laig and others. In this context we may have a different being with different characteristics from the 'gentleman-piper' of Ireland. In particular, they were composing and playing for the same audiences among the people for whom the professional poets and musicians had performed. Expectations therefore were different from those of the new audiences of Baroque Europe and were embedded in a society whose ethos was shaped according to conservative mores. They performed with the aesthetics of the Renaissance 'prince' rather than the amour propre of the Baroque 'showman'.

In the highly stratified and hierarchical society of medieval Europe, leadership included the patronage of skills that served to enhance its status and power. Attributes of leadership might include artistic accomplishments such as an ability to compose poetry and an expertise in vocal and instrumental music, for example, the skill to play the harp or cruit. Though the notes for Edward Lhuyd averred

that 'most part of the Gentry play on the Harp', in practice they probably did not, carrying much the same weight as our twentieth-century precept on being informed rather than performing. The artistic achievements of the aristocracy have been celebrated in the poems of love (*dánta grádha*) in which authors such as Gearóid Iarla, 'Gerald the Rhymer', fourth Earl of Desmond, and Maghnas Ó Domhnaill courted the art of a professional elite and offer generous evidence for the tradition of patron as performer.[24] The most important of the literary sources for Gaelic Scotland reflect the role of patron as performer; the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century collection of Ossianic ballads and bardic verse in the Book of the Dean of Lismore includes a class of love poems described as a 'synthesis of traditional, native elements with courtly love themes and conventions'. Scholars understand that the 'Book' was instigated by the chief of the Macnabs, Fionnlagh Mac an Aba of Bovain in Glen Dochart, drawing on the troubadour and Renaissance skills of poet-patrons such as Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy and with contributions by other kinsmen, pointing to a possible literary circle of patrons as performers.[25] The late seventeenth-century anthology compiled by Duncan Macrae of Inverinate, the Fernaig Manuscript, belonged to a family of patron-performers, known for their literary taste and abilities as well as piety. Other names pointing to the acceptability of such 'renaissance' skills are Mac Mhic Raghnaill and his daughter, Sìleas na Ceapaich, who might conceivably also have played the harp.[26]

In the scale of values of the Gaelic aristocracy, versifying ranked above musical performance and musical skills are less evident in the available sources. Musical ability with the bagpipe resided in the Gàidhealtachd in a new performer class whose reputation has grown over the generations. They came to perform a role hereditarily that was neatly summarised in Angus Mackay's 'Account of the Hereditary Pipers', published in 1838. In a clearly partial picture biased towards the first named, he describes the respective families of MacCrimmon, MacArthur, Mackay, MacLean or Rankin, Campbell and Macintyre.[27] A throw-away remark with a strong hint of irony by Edward Burt suggests that they aspired to high social status: 'The Piper, who being a Gentleman, I should have

named sooner.'[28] The parvenu piper was clearly performer and not patron.

> Ceòil fidhle nar cluais
> On Eòin fhìnealta shuairc
> O'm bu mhisle cur dhuan air folbh.

A personal reference in Murdoch Mackenzie of Achilty's 'Iorram na Sgiobaireachd' of the Restoration period introduces the name of a musician who was both performer and patron. He has been identified as John Morrison of Bragar (*c.* 1630–1708), the celebrated Lewis tacksman, *Iain mac Mhurchaidh mhic Ailein*, who was himself bard, sage, philosopher and satirist as well as violinist.[29] He had five sons, of whom three became clergymen and the fourth was Roderick Morison, *An Clàrsair Dall*. Other incidental references reveal other patron-performers, individuals such as Lachlan Macpherson of Strathmashie (*c.* 1723 –*c.* 1795), *Fear Srath Mhathaisidh*, known to 'amuse himself and others with his violin and witty rhymes'.[30]

The earliest names to be associated with the bagpipe as patron-performers are those of the otherwise notorious *Ailean nan Sop* and his son, *Eachann mac Ailean nan Sop*. 'The MacLeans' March', 'Spaidsearachd Chlann 'ill Eathain', is attributed to the former and 'Hector Maclean's Warning', 'Caismeachd Eachainn Mhic Ailean nan Sop', to the latter and dated to 1579.[31] *Ailean nan Sop* was a son of Lachlann Catanach Maclean of Duart and whether he was a performer on the bagpipe is unproven beyond tradition. Insights may be gained into the circumstances of composition from the remarkable poem 'Caismeachd Ailean nan Sop'. This is attributed to Hector Maclean of Coll, known significantly as *An Clèireach Beag*, who offered the poem to his captor, *Ailean nan Sop*, to win freedom from imprisonment by the latter. The choice of 'Caismeachd', if original to the title, may subtly affirm the subject's *cluas-chiùil* and skill as piper, and a form of playful flattery extended with the poem's unusual metrical form holding a mirror to contemporary musical and instrumental styles. The choice of *Dàn burduin* as descriptive epithet for the poem in the opening lines may also have a significance beyond what editors have allowed, *An Clèireach Beag* reinforcing the bagpipe association by an alignment with *bourdon* as the French or Norman-French word for

drone or drone-sound.[32] The role of patron as performer might infer that we should look for words to 'The Macleans' March'. No words are known but the 'tune' was preserved in the 'Campbell Canntaireachd' and the opening phrases, 'hindodro hihamhintro', are significant for their omission of an introductory stressed Cadence E which proliferate in *ceòl mòr* scores as we have them today.[33]

Musical skills are as likely to run in families and the MacDonalds of Aird and Valley offer good examples of patron as performer. William MacDonald of Aird (*c.*1655–1730) is commemorated in 'Cumha Fir-fhòghlaim nan Domhnallach', as *Taoitear* to Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and the Tutor himself is said to have composed 'Lament for Sir James MacDonald of the Isles' who died in 1678. The 'Lament for MacDonalds' Tutor' was composed by his son, *Eòghan mac an Taoiteir*, who was the Tacksman of Valley and composer of the 'Salute to Sir James MacDonald of the Isles'. [34] This encomium celebrated the recovery of the chief after being shot accidentally in the foot by Colonel John MacLeod of Talisker on a shooting expedition in North Uist in 1764. *Fear Bhàlaidh* (*c.*1690–1769) was described as a 'fine specimen of the typical Highland gentleman and an excellent performer on the bagpipe' and in Donald MacDonald's 'Collection' the tune is titled 'Cumha na Coise', as a song for which at least one verse is known:

> Mo ghaol mo ghaol, do chas threubhach
> Dha 'n tig an t-osan 's am fèileadh;
> Bu leat toiseach nan ceudan
> 'N am fèidh bhi 'gan ruith.[35]

The appearance of 'new' instruments such as the violin or *violino* in seventeenth-century Scotland seems to serve to expand the reputations of patron-performers, with whom the stock term, *an fhidheall*, preserves the identity of the older 'viol'. *Raghnall mac Ailein Òig*, *Mac Dhùghaill Mhòrair*, or 'Ronald of Cross' (1662–1741) is commemorated in the literature of piping as 'Ronald MacDonald of Morar', an aristocrat of immense strength yet *ciùin, caomh agus cho finealta ri maighdinn*. The essay by 'Abrach', the pen-name of the Lochaber-born Donald Campbell MacPherson (1838–80), in *An Gaidheal* in 1874 sets the bar of performance high: *Fidheall no clàrsach bu choimh-dheis, agus*

cha do leag a lùdag air sionnsair pìobaire b' fheàrr.[36] Several vital pieces of music still played today were composed by *Raghnall mac Ailein Òig*, such as 'An Tarbh Breac Dearg', 'A' Bhòilich', 'A' Ghlas Mheur' and the outstandingly melodic 'Maol Donn'. This last has attracted a variety of traditions as to the identity of its subject, a beautiful seashell in the hands of the composer and a less formulaic musical style, it is suggested, enhancing the attribution to 'Ronald of Cross'. It is significant that his music lies outwith the conventional panegyric canon of *ceòl mòr* and nestles within a freer conversational style of the aristocratic patron-composer. Significant too is the song of 'The Finger Lock' which survives in different formats such as *ùrlar* with a varyingly stressed phrase, 'Ol, òl, òl; òl, ol, ol', and *port-à-beul* recalled by 'Abrach', reflecting perhaps the iterative style of *ceòl mòr*:

> Theid sinn a dh'òl do chrò nan caorach,
> Chrò nan gobhar, do chrò nan caorach,
> Theid sinn a dh'òl do chrò nan caorach,
> Theid sinn a dh'òl, a dh'òl, a dh'òl.[37]

Contemporary with 'Ronald of Cross' and J. S. Bach (1685–1750) was another baroque performer on violin, harp and pipes, Alexander Grant (*c.*1676–1746), of Sheugly in Glen Urquhart. He composed the song 'Màiri nighean Deòrsa' in honour of his violin, in which the relative characteristics and qualities of these three instruments are tellingly rehearsed and the debate settled by appealing to their respective merits. The debate was recalled in translation by Captain Simon Fraser of Knockie in his collection published in 1816, with a genial conclusion that 'on thus receiving their due share of praise, their reconciliation is convivially received' (see Appendix A).[38]

The familiar bagpipe reel, 'John Mackechnie', was known in earlier times as 'Port Mòr Iain 'ic Eachainn' or 'John Mackay of Skerray's Favourite', as noted by William Gunn in his *Caledonian Repository* in 1848. The tune was written out as 'one of the wild reels' by Joseph MacDonald about 1760 but without a name. As a poet and possibly performer, *Iain mac Eachainn*, Tacksman of Musal, was Lord Reay's factor in Strathmore and the patron of Rob Donn whom he took into his household at Musal as herd-boy. The concept of a musical circle of patron-performers in the Reay Country in the early eighteenth

century is strengthened by reference to *Maighstir Murchadh*, Rev. Murdoch MacDonald of Durness, and Kenneth Sutherland (honoured in a *marbhrann* by Rob Donn), the musical tacksman of Keoldale whose son married the daughter of *Iain mac Eachainn*, Iseabail, herself honoured in the *ceòl mòr* of 'Iseabail NicAoidh'.[39]

Another influential patron-performer group has been identified as the 'Talisker circle', drawn to John MacLeod of Talisker, whose hospitality to poets and musicians such as Roderick Morison, *An Clàrsair Dall*; *Iain mac Ailein* (*c.* 1650–1741) of Mull; and the poet-piper, Iain Dall Mackay (1656–1754) was celebrated. It is interesting to note that the 'Talisker circle' included contributors from a very wide area, including Skye, Mull and the Reay Country.[40] Iain Dall Mackay, from modest family origins, might be considered as a version of the 'gentleman-piper' in his career travelling round the big houses and his avoidance of exclusive attachment to a single family or patron. Significantly for his reputation as a poet and composing songs for leading individuals, he was included in *Sàr-Obair nam Bard Gaelach* by his countryman John Mackenzie (1806–48) and his music too was addressed to different patrons.

Malcolm MacLeod of Eyre was a grandson of *Iain Garbh MacGilleChaluim Ratharsair* and is recalled for his being described by James Boswell in September 1773. He was also described by Angus Mackay as 'an excellent Piper' and the composer of the 'Lament for Prince Charles', and Angus Mackay's own father John Mackay (1767–1848) was said to have been taught by Malcolm MacLeod.[41] Something of the style and quality of the patron-performer of this era can be sensed in the collection known as the 'Lady D'Oyly's Manuscript', which includes 148 pieces of music and is titled 'Original Highland Airs, Collected at Raasay in 1812'. The writer and musician was Elizabeth (or 'Eliza') Jane Ross (later Lady D'Oyly), who was brought up in Raasay House following the death of her MacLeod of Raasay mother. She was sent to Edinburgh for her schooling, where she lived with an aunt who was the daughter-in-law of Malcolm MacLeod of Eyre. Eliza Ross was fondly recalled by Angus Mackay: 'Her musical taste was remarkably good, and she was so fond of Piobaireachd, that she acquired many of the longest pieces from the performance of

the family piper and was accustomed to play them on the piano with much effect.' Her manuscript includes five pieces of *ceòl mòr* including, for example, 'Salute to Sir James MacDonald of the Isles', with significant stylistic detail such as the introductory but unstressed E cadence. Raasay House presented an hospitable and musical household when visited by Johnson and Boswell in 1773 and Eliza's interests must have been encouraged by her uncle, James MacLeod of Raasay, who almost certainly played the violin and contributed music to Niel Gow, including a Slow Air of his own composition, 'Raasay House'.[42]

Niel MacLeod of Gesto (*c*. 1770–1836) was the last in line of a notable Skye tacksman family and was an authority on pipe music. He did not play the pipes himself but was said to know 'almost all the "piobaireachds" ever composed, as well as their origin and history'.[43] Though regarded as an eccentric figure, described as 'the Parliament House Ghost' for his relentless searching in the Scottish records in Edinburgh, one rare fruit of his endeavours was the collection of twenty pipe tunes recorded in 'canntaireachd' from Iain Dubh MacCrimmon and published in pamphlet form in 1828. One of the first appearances in print of 'pure' Highland bagpipe music demonstrates not just a pre-literate technique of transmission in Scottish Gaelic or a local network of traditional loyalties but also a majestic demonstration in a European context of the composition of elaborate sonata forms without paper or stave. Local loyalties are evident in the 'Lamentation' and 'Gathering' of *Mac Mhic Thoromoid*, here with MacLeod of Gesto's own *Sloinneadh*, although, for example, the 'ùrlar' of 'McLeod Gesto's Gathering' conforms to an expected stately *ceòl mòr* style:

> Hierurine hoderiro, hierurine hiodrodin,
> Hien hine hiodin, hiurerin hodiriro.
> Hiurerin, hiodrodin, hien hine hiodin,
> Hiodiriro hiodrodin, hien hine hiodro,
> Hien hine hiodin, hiuririn hiodiriro,
> Hiuririn hiodrodin, hien hine hiodin.

Comparisons enhancing the value of this extraordinary document may be seen in the twentieth item with its rapid and urgent tone,

'Kilchrist ... hin do, ho dro, hin do, ho dro', and with the twelfth item in the collection with the 'brosnachadh' style of the 'ùrlar':

> Kiaun na Drochid a Beig, alias the Head of the little Bridge, played by McLeod's piper, during skirmishes in Ireland, inviting the clan Cameron to follow him and his party across the Bridge to the Enemy, which they did.

> I hinnin do, hinnin do, hinnin do, hindo, hinda,
> Hinnin do, hindo, hindi, hinnin do, hindo, hinda.[44]

When the Swiss geologist, Louis-Albert Necker de Saussure (1786–1861), toured Scotland in search of geological specimens, he landed in Eigg in September 1807 and made a point of visiting Raghnall Dubh Laig, *Raghnall mac Alasdair mhic Mhaighstir Alasdair*. Born about 1729, Raghnall was the compiler of the 'Eigg Collection' and made a great impression on his Continental visitor as being a survivor of an earlier era:

> Altogether nothing was more singular than the way of living of this good old man; he had the tone and manners of an epoch belonging to the past, to a generation that had almost disappeared. After dinner, following the custom, he gave several toasts, the first was to the King, the second, filled to the brim, to Clanranald. He diverted us much by singing plenty of Gaelic songs; and as he passed as knowing bagpipe airs as well as a piper, we begged him to give us some examples of them. He then sang several pibroch tunes with all their passages and their difficulties, imitating with his voice the sound of the bagpipes in the most pleasing manner.[45]

Clearly the times were changing as imported economic imperatives stifled home-grown aesthetics. Performers were eased downwards in the social order and into the lower ranks in the army, at the same time as the gentry-class of professional piping families demitted office and abandoned their schools. A poignant and telling note is offered from Rankin tradition; Counnduillie, younger son of Neil, last piper to Maclean of Coll, was seen practising his chanter by the Coll factor,

Bàillidh Threaslan, who warned him: *Cuir bhuait sin! 'Nuair bhios cach comhla ris na h-uaislean, bithidh tusa comhla ris na coin.*[46]

The example of John MacDonald (1721–1805) serves to symbolise cultural change. He was a piper in the 42nd Regiment or Black Watch, a veteran of Ticonderoga (1758) and later, following the Seven Years War, Piper to the chieftain of Glengarry. In November 1781, John MacDonald was 'offered' by his Chief to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to play at their Anniversary Meeting and Dinner in Edinburgh. A letter written by the Secretary of the Society on 16 November 1781 to Duncan Macdonell of Glengarry gave an account of the occasion (see Appendix B).[47] John MacDonald was then around sixty years of age and was still fit and vigorous, as the account in the letter suggests, but we get the impression that with ribbons supplied for his pipes by the Secretary's wife, a spectacle was created to order, with the piper being requested to sing, dance and drink toasts. Clearly he entered into the spirit of the occasion, but there is an extraordinary aside in the letter 'that there were Plots laid to debauch him'. Unseemly behaviour, doubtless inflamed by drink, offers an insight into metropolitan attitudes towards Highlanders, wavering between curiosity for *le sauvage de génie* in the wake of the publication of *Ossian* in the 1760s and contempt or disdain for the *lèse majesté* of the Gael. Clearly John MacDonald remained a fit man since he is recorded as competing in the Highland Society's Competition in Edinburgh in 1801 when over eighty years old. In a footnote to the published account of the Highland Society Competitions, the Piper is the subject of an anecdote which places patron and performer on the same imagined plane:

> The lady of Glengarry observed one day to John that it was a matter of surprise he did not employ his leisure hours in doing something. 'Indeed Madam' said John, 'it is a poor estate that cannot keep the Laird and the Piper without working'.[48]

The music of the bagpipe offers a remarkable expression of the culture both of Ireland and of Scotland, and insights into the society which cultivated it. The poor showing, however, of the bagpipe

in musicological studies and the fragmentation of approach to cultural and intellectual topics in historical studies have tended to diminish the social nuances of patron and performer and to exclude the role, arguably formative, of patron-performer in Ireland and Scotland. The patron as performer was surely a major influence in forming and sustaining the art of the bagpipe, and the focal points of this influence such as the 'big house' in Ireland and the tacksman in Scotland have been denied apotheosis or rightful place.[49]

The role of the tacksman class in Gaelic Scotland has conventionally attracted denigration in the wake of Enlightenment and 'improvement' literature, but Gaelic sources offer a more generous picture of leaders, entrepreneurs, patrons and practitioners of the arts. High points of the respective influences of 'big house' and tacksman in bagpipe music coincided approximately in the early eighteenth-century though, as we see, their character was different in the sense that the 'gentleman-piper' of Ireland bore the *suaicheantas* of the Baroque and the 'gentleman-piper' of Scotland seems to be a Renaissance figure. With their respective merits, none would have subscribed to the art of the 'gentleman-piper' of the early twentieth century; over a hundred years, the studied finessing of the music of the Highland bagpipe by the 'gentleman-piper', Raghnall Dubh of Laig, had been lost in favour of a formulaic 're-invention' of c*eòl mòr* unquestionably wedded to printed schemata and a patron community such as the Scottish Pipers' Society for whom performance might even be regarded with disdain:

> There was a tradition that the 'pre-1914' members, to call them so, did not achieve a high level of piping and had little regard for such trivials as 'grace' notes though a High G was allowed on occasions if not vulgarly overdone. They were great enthusiasts, prominent and popular members, who helped the Society in many ways and so their standard of playing mattered little, indeed it came to be regarded with affection and even as something of an accomplishment.[50]

Appendix A

Alexander Grant of Sheugly, *Mairi nighean Dheorsa*

In appreciating the qualities of each instrument, he supposes they had quarrelled, and that he was called upon to decide the contest. In addressing a verse to his pipe, he observes 'how it would delight him, on hearing the sound of war, to listen to her notes, in striking up the *gathering*, to rally round the Chief, on a frosty spring morning, whilst the hard earth reverberated all her notes, so as to be heard by the most distant person interested.' To the harp he says – 'the pleasure which thy tones afford, are doubled, whilst accompanying a sweet female voice, or round the festive board, inspired by love or wine, I reach beyond my ordinary capacity, and feel the pleasure of pleasing.' But to his violin, which he calls by the literal name of the air, 'Mary George's daughter', and seems to have been his favourite, though held cheap by the other combatants, he says, 'I love thee for the sake of those who do, – the sprightly youth and bonny lasses, – all of whom declare, that, at a wedding, dance or ball, thou, with thy bass in attendance, can have no competitor, – thy music having the effect of electricity on those who listen to it,' – and on thus receiving their due share of praise, their reconciliation is convivially received.

Appendix B

Musæum
16th Nov '81

Dear Sir,

Your excellent Piper, John MacDonell, set out homeward this afternoon. He arrived on Tuesday morning with your most acceptable Present of Venison. That evening I contrived to have a Rehearsal with him and the other Musick after which he was safely conducted to his Sister's. Next day, the Anniversary, at one o'clock I introduced him to the Meeting handsomely equipped, and the Earl of Buchan announced to whom he belonged, and the Present he brought. At the close of the Meeting, when the Gentlemen were departing, he entertained them with a Solo on the Pipes which were richly decorated with Ribbons &c. by my Wife. They then went to Fortune's great Room, and John, with the other Musick being in the next Room, after Dinner, to every

Toast an applicable and well chosen Peice of Musick was played. John gave the greatest satisfaction by the Pibrachs which he played after drinking to the sublime Ossian, of the immortal King Robert Bruce, of the glorious Sir William Wallace & his select Band of Patriots, of the great Marquis of Montrose &c. The Company were so much pleased with him that they called him into the Room to entertain them and he was so much himself that though he is an old man, and has traversed most parts of the Globe, he appeared at least a dozen years younger than he really was; he was asked to sing and to dance, and he did both more gracefully than could have been expected. Upon the whole he behaved with uncommon propriety and spirit. He so much exhilerated the Spirits of three of our most worthy Members, Sir James Foulis of Colinton Baronet, Mr Wauchope of Niddry Marschall and Mr Tytler of Woodhouselee, that though they are each of them above seventy years of age, they got to the floor, and, to his Musick, they danced a Reel with great spirit & vivacity. I took care to see him to his Sisters at night, for I understood that there were Plots laid to debauch him.

Next day, yesterday, the Earl and Countess of Buchan, Lady Wallace, Mrs Fraser of Fraserfield and some other Ladies and Gentlemen came to the Musaeum at one o'clock, where he entertained them greatly to their satisfaction.

I will have the pleasure of addressing a Letter to Countesswells with an account of the entertainment.

I am ever Dear Sir
Your most &c.

James Cummyng

To Duncan MacDonell of Glengary Esquire

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Atholl, Banff, Earn and Elgin: 'New Irelands' in the East Revisited

Thomas Owen Clancy

In 1926, W. J. Watson proposed that a series of names meaning 'Ireland' were also employed in Scotland and were part of the story of the spread of Gaels and Gaelic to the east of Scotland.[1] His discussion remains the *locus classicus* on this topic. Although he followed the lead of previous scholars, such as Kuno Meyer, in some of his identifications,[2] Watson's argument was hardly definitive and parts of it are quite inferential; once or twice something like special pleading is involved; he seems internally contradictory (or perhaps undecided) on at least one point. I have come to recognise this sort of argument in Watson's great work as suggesting a topic on which he had been building up ideas, but which he had not quite resolved when he went to press.[3] Since then, a number of the names he suggested as belonging to the series have been questioned – explicitly or implicitly, in print or in the pub – as genuinely containing elements meaning 'Ireland' and the time is ripe for a review of the evidence.[4] As we shall see, however, the evidence is such that indecision and contradictory resolutions seem inevitable.

In what follows I review each of the proposed 'Ireland' elements individually and then return to the cumulative evidence for 'new Irelands' and the question of context. Before starting on this process, however, it would be helpful to examine the nature of and evidence for these multiple terms for Ireland. The main term used for Ireland in Gaelic in the middle ages was *Ériu* (ModIr *Éire*, ScG *Èirinn*, with its Old Gaelic gen. sg. *Érenn*, dat. sg. *Érinn*). This name has been much discussed, particularly as we have what appear to be remarkably early attestations of the name, in Greek sources going back as far, perhaps, as the sixth century BC.[5] In the Irish literary imagination, however, this was only one of a series of names by which Ireland could be called, and others were frequently employed in the praise poetry of the period. Most notable of these are *Banba, Fotla/Fótla, Elg* and *Fál*. All five are mentioned in a gloss on the word *Ériu* in the eleventh-century manuscript, the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*.

Herend haec insola v. vocabula tenet *.i. Ériu ocus Banba ocus Fotla ocus Fail ocus Elca*

Ireland. This island has five names, i.e., Ériu and Banba and Fotla and Fál and Elca[6]

Of these, I shall be considering the name *Fál* only in passing. But all are used to a greater or lesser extent in the poetry of the classical period and most are known in the sparse records of praise poetry from an earlier period. Equally we find them in frequent use in the heavily mythologised poetry relating to the places of Ireland, the *dindshenchas* poems, as well as in verse relating to mythology and pseudo-history. A particularly rich crop of them occurs, for instance, in the *dindshenchas* poem on Druim Fíngin:

Rop h-é-seo Druim n-Elgga n-oll
co Fingin fergga fráech-dond:
Rothniam sund a sídib slóg
taithiged Fingin find-mór.

Tictis sund cecha samna
ind rigan 's in rig-damna:
scartais ria slóg co soilse,
co cantais ceól con bith toirse.

Ba derb la mac Luchta ille,
feib docuchta celmuine,
atberad tria chabra a cind
co ngebad Banba m-barr-fhind.

Sed noráided Rothníam rán
nodailfed cu Fotla Fáil:
ba siat a samla iar saine
buada Banba barr-glaine.

Is é sein ba sonshnaidm slecht
o fail in comainm comchert,
Druim Fingin co ngarb-shin gle
issind amsir ir-raibe.

Sund rognid in graibre gel
airne i n-deochaid Fingen:
Druim n-Elgga cen elgnus ngle
dosail senchas dia rabe. R.

This hill was known as great *Druim Elga*, / until the days of ireful heather-brown Fingen: / here came Rothniam from the populous Sídhe ('fairy mounds') / to meet Fingen, tall and fair.

Every Samhain-tide would / the queen and the princely youth come hither; / they would part from their attendants till daylight / and chant an ever doleful song.

Thenceforth the son of Luchta [i.e. Fingen] was assured / as omens portended, / that she would tell him by word of mouth / that he should rule over [lit. 'take, seize'] the fair surface of *Banba*.

The dazzling Rothniam used to say / that he should make tryst with *Fotla* of *Fál*: / she set forth to him severally / the wonders of *Banba's* bright surface.

This was smooth alliance / of which comes the appropriate name / Druim Fingin, famed for wild weather, / in the time that Fingen lived.

Here was held the famous parley, / the vigil to which Fingen came: / here is the story whence was named Druim Elga, / free of noted crime.[7]

We should not, however, regard these five names as simple equivalents, and the evidence for each of them is of a somewhat different kind. Three names for Ireland are famously found in an origin legend in *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, where the three daughters of one Fiachna mac Delbaeth, a member of the Tuatha Dé Danann, each of them married to one of the three kings of Ireland (Mac Cuill, Mac Cécht, Mac Gréne), each exact a pledge from the conquering sons of Míl that Ireland will be called after them. These three are Ériu, Fotla (or Fótla) and Banba.[8]

Importantly, we know that the story of Ériu, Fotla and Banba was known in eastern Scotland in the eleventh century at least, as it is part of one of the augmentations made to the content of *Historia Brittonum* in the course of its translation into Gaelic somewhere in eastern Scotland, most probably Abernethy.[9] In an interpolated passage on the arrival of the sons of Míl, the presence of our three women is mentioned – though it is a slight variant and does not include the detail about their names being given to Ireland subsequently:

> *Co tancadar meic Milead Hespaine co h-Erind co .x. ciule ⁊ co trichaid lanamna in cech ciul hi cind da bliadan ar mile iar m-badudh Fhoraind. Robaidead im-. a rri .i. Dond oc Taig Duind. Tri bande in tan sin i flaithus Erenn, .i. Fotla, Banba, Heriu. Coromebdadar tri catha foro ria macaib Miled. Corogabsadar meic Miled rigi iartain ⁊ rofhas cosnom mor etorru .i. itir da mac Miled imon rigi corosigaigestar a mbreitheam etorru .i. Amairgein Glun Geal mac Miled, ⁊ ba filig side dano. Is e in sith .i. raind Erind i ndo ⁊ rogob Heber theas, ⁊ Hereamon atuaid, ⁊ aitreabaid a clanna inn insi cosin[diu].*

> And the sons of Míl Espaine came to Ireland with 30 keels and with thirty wives in each keel at the end of 1002 years after the drowning of Pharaoh. Their king was drowned, moreover, i.e., Donn, at Tech Duind (the House of Donn). Three goddesses were at that time ruling Ireland, i.e. Fotla, Banba, Eriu. And the sons of Míl won three battles against them. And the sons of Míl took the kingship afterwards, and there arose a great contention between them, i.e., between two sons of Míl, about the kingship. Until their judge pacified them, i.e. Amairgen White-knee son of Míl, i.e., he was a poet moreover. This is the peace: he divided Ireland into two and Eber took the southern half, and Eremon the northern, and their children inhabit the island until today.[10]

Elg (or Elga) does not appear personified in these narrative sources, though it does appear in a number of early Leinster poems

as a place for which kings are complimented for being kings of, and this was taken to be Ireland.[11] Cormac's Glossary and the Middle Irish text *Cóir Anmann* thought of Elgg as another name for Ireland.

> *Ealga .i. Ériu .i. ealg ainm do mhuic insint shenGáidhilg go tucad furri int ainm sin ar is cosmhailius muice boí for Eirinn in tan atchonnaic Íth mac Breoguin uada ind innsi do mhullach Thuir Breoguin a hEspain.*

> Elga, i.e. Ireland, i.e. *elg* is a term for a pig in old Irish and that name was bestowed on Ireland because when Íth son of Breogan saw the island in the distance from the top of Tor Breguin in Spain it resembled a pig.[12]

Both Cormac's Glossary and the poetic primer called *Auraicept na nÉces* contain an interesting argument which etymologises the word for the Gaelic language – *Gaidelc* – as being derived from *guth Elg* 'the voice of Ireland':

> *Gaidelc .i. guth Elg .i. Ealg Eire .i. guth Eirennach .i. berla Eirenn: no Gaidelcc .i. ealg oirderc .i. Gaidel rus-orirdercaich ...*[13]

> Gaelic, i.e. 'the voice of Elg', i.e. Elg = Ireland; i.e. 'the voice of Irishmen', i.e. 'the speech of Ireland': or Gaelic, i.e. *elg* (means) illustrious, i.e. Gaidel made it illustrious.

As can be seen, this passage further suggests that *elg* meant *oirderc*, i.e. 'conspicuous, famous', but there is little by way of support from wider usage. Cormac's Glossary includes this gloss, but this may well not be independent. The *dindshenchas* poetry, largely of the eleventh century, uses Elg / Elga frequently to refer to Ireland, and so it was well known in this respect by at least that date.

Finally, Fál is called from the Stone of Fál, which we tend to call the Stone of Destiny (though *fál* does not mean 'destiny'!).[14] It is seen as having been brought by the sons of Míl to Ireland and set in Tara as a symbol of royal legitimacy. The name appears in poetry both on its own and also in a series of collocations such as *Inis Fáil* and *Mag Fáil*. There is, no doubt, a more complex story in the relationship between the name *Fál* and its meaning of 'Ireland', but, because it

is seemingly unrepresented in Scotland, this may be left for another occasion.

In another way, these names are not equal.[15] Certainly Banba, and perhaps Elgg, seem to be related to common nouns. *Banb* means 'pig, suckling pig' in OG, and the name for Ireland may be seen as related to this term, though this is not without some difficulties and other etymologies have been suggested.[16] *Cóir Anmann* glosses *Elg* as meaning 'pig' and *Auraicept na nÉces*, as we have seen, implies that it could mean 'illustrious', but both these definitions are confined exclusively to the vocabularies and related texts.[17] We can safely ignore these as learned guesswork, but less comfortably ignore the problems of *banb* 'young pig' in our examination of the potential 'new Ireland' terms in Scotland.

What should be taken away from these introductory comments, however, is the extent to which, apart from Ériu itself, these names exist, not so much in common speech, but in a learned register of names, whether we are talking of the context of praise poetry or of the antiquarian dictionaries. As such, to the extent that we might find such terms being used to coin actual place-names in eastern Scotland, these names would have had a curious and high-register feel to them, if they are indeed examples of 'new Ireland' names. This aspect has not been previously noted and, as we shall see, may prove to be important.

Atholl

I begin with Atholl, which is perhaps the least problematic of the 'new Ireland' names. It is also distinct in that all the others potentially boast more than one example in Scotland, whereas Atholl is as far as I know unique.[18] The early forms seem to secure its composition as *Athfhotla*[19] < *ath-* + *Fotla*, one of our Ireland names (see Appendix for forms), but the forms are not straightforward. It is worth taking each element in turn.

The prefix *ath-/aith-* has a variety of meanings.[20] Before nouns it can mean 'a second, another' and that is how it has been taken in this case: 'another Fotla', 'a second Fotla', i.e. 'a second Ireland'.[21] That said, we should remain more hesitant about this interpretation than the scholarship has. I know of no solid Irish parallels for the use

of *ath-/aith-* in a place-name in this way. One late exception, which does have resonances with this example, appears in the poems of the sixteenth-century poet Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, where he refers to *aithTemair* 'a second Tara'.[22] However, this is purely poetic and no place or district was actually called this. The prefix *ath-/aith-* is used with a number of nouns that are themselves common place-name generics: *gort* 'field', *longphort* 'encampment', but in these examples it appears to mean 'disused, abandoned', a meaning also found when it is used with other nouns, e.g. *laech* 'warrior' > *ath-laech* 'ex-warrior', i.e. monk.[23] Patently this is unlikely as its meaning in the district name of Atholl; equally the second element here is certainly not a common noun. Simon Taylor has noted one instance of *ath-/aith-* where its meaning is likely to be 'another, a second': a now-lost hill-name *Adkar* in Logie parish, Fife, which he takes as Gaelic *ath-chair 'new fort', in contrast to the nearby Sanquhar (*sen chair*) 'old fort'; though the support for this meaning is partially gained from the usual derivation of Atholl.[24]

The earlier prefix *ate-*, from which *ath-/aith-* is derived, is reasonably common in personal names in Gaul and elsewhere in the ancient Celtic linguistic zone, where the element would appear to be an intensifier, as also frequently in Gaelic.[25] It may be that we should seek the meaning of Atholl in deeper roots, and a suggestion of a people-name involving *ate-* and another common prefix/preposition *uo-* 'under' and an unknown element is far from implausible, this later giving rise to a regional or kingdom name. One people-name is known from northern Britain in the ancient world containing this prefix and that is the name of the Atecotti.[26] But on the whole the rarity of this element in place- and people-names in Britain and Ireland should give us pause.

One final possibility should be aired and that is the adjective *áith* 'sharp, keen'. It is this word that Alan Anderson turned to in explaining the place-name on Ardnamurchan, found in Adomnán's *Life of Columba* (hence among the earliest historical names on record in Scotland), *Aithchambas Art Muirchol*, as 'sharp bay'.[27] There is some room for doubt here, however: the meaning of *aith-* 'another, a second' could be suitable.[28] The place itself remains unidentified. There is little in the evolution of the name

Atholl to suggest a long first vowel; it is also difficult to see what the meaning would be.

The problems involved here make it possible to have some sympathy with J. B. Johnston, who dismissed the 'new Ireland' derivation, noting that 'it would yield a very abnormal Celt. name', and turned to the more obvious (in one sense) word *áth*, ScG. *àth* 'ford', as the first element, and, taking his cue from the Scottish antiquarian lore that made Fotla one of the sons of Cruithne, had this as 'Fodla's ford'.[29] Every other instance of a Gaelic name in Hogan's *Onomasticon Goidelicum* beginning with *ath-* is a name employing *áth* 'ford'.[30] But, for a variety of reasons, most particularly the stress pattern of Atholl and the fact that the lenition of the *f-* suggests that the first element is modifying the second (and *áth* is a masculine noun), I do not think we can be dealing with the 'ford' word here.

Fotla is a highly unusual word and is etymologically opaque. Michael O'Brien proposed to solve this problem by recourse to an etymology in **uo-* + *doli*, suggesting this name referred to the place where the sun set.[31] This idea was subsequently resurrected and championed by Alan Bruford.[32] It is not a convincing etymology – Bruford himself noted its linguistic weaknesses – although the first element in the name may well be the prefix / preposition **uo-* 'under', which can also act as an intensifier.[33] Some problems are created by the evident uncertainty about the length of the first vowel: it is found written both long and short.[34] Whatever solution one provides for the etymology of Fotla may have little consequence for understanding Atholl in any case. It would appear not to have had any transparent meaning in OG. Therefore, rather than proposing that it has been created independently twice in Ireland and in Scotland, it seems most sensible to go with the existing proposal, that Atholl is based on the prefix *ath-* + the existing name *Fotla*.

There are, however, some clear problems with the name's unstable orthography, which it does not share with the much more consistent renditions of the Irish name *Fotla*. The medial dental in the second element in Atholl is represented in Gaelic orthography in a variety of ways, apparently implying variously a voiced stop and an unvoiced fricative (/d/, /θ/), among other things, and it is possible that this instability may cast some doubt on the proposed derivation. It is

not impossible that we are dealing with some common noun in the case of Atholl's second element, even if Fotla itself remains an unusual proper noun. However, the forms of Atholl are so unstable as to prevent any clear alternative candidate for the second element to emerge or be preferred (see Appendix). Therefore, we might feel that the instability is caused by the unusualness of the name, with later scribes and tradition seeking to refer the name to other words. *The Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*'s *(f)ochla*, whilst of course perhaps representing the common scribal confusion of *ch* for *th* by later scribes reading insular script, may be an attempt to refer it to OG *Fochla* 'the North', used from the mid-ninth century in the annals; the Annals of Ulster's *Athfhoithle* may be on analogy with *fothla(e)* 'withdrawing, deducting'; and the form *fodla*, from *fodail* 'part, share' (v.n. of *fodáli* 'divides, shares') may well be lurking in the background also. Each of these words might provide plausible etymologies for the name, but the forms seem to support now one, now the other. The form in the Book of Deer, *Athótla*, the only early form written in a securely eastern Scottish Gaelic-literate context, strongly supports a derivation instead from *ath-* + *Fotla*.[35]

In any case, as has long been recognised, this derivation must have been on the minds of the early medieval historians who devised the seven-fold scheme of Pictish provinces, named for the seven sons of Mr Pict himself, Cruithne, one of whom was Fotla. That the legend itself, and the deductions that have been made from it, many of which have dogged and distracted scholarship for the better part of a century, have recently been subjected to rigorous and negative scrutiny, does not detract from the undoubted fact that Fotla in these legends was to be connected with the region of Atholl.[36] In part this suggests either that the name Atholl remained sufficiently transparent during the early middle ages for this deduction to be made, or that the region could be described not only as Ath-Fhotla, but simply as Fotla.[37]

If we may, then, cautiously accept the status quo that Atholl meant 'another Ireland', a number of features should be remarked. One is the very early date of the record (by Scottish standards): it is attested as early as 739, when it was ruled by Talorc(an), a *regulus* with a Pictish name, but whose ancestry and relationships are somewhat

more complex.[38] It is the only one of those historical earldoms which were ruled in the twelfth century by a mormaer that can certainly be traced back to an early medieval kingdom. Nonetheless, a thorough examination of the region of Atholl reveals affinities that would allow us to see it as an early example of Gaelic settlement in Pictland. It is this region that has the highest number of dedications to early Iona abbots and other personnel; Simon Taylor has shown that there is a significant cluster of *cill* names here.[39] At least in terms of the activities of the church, then, it looks as if there is some sort of close relationship in the early eighth century between Atholl and Iona. I would stress that to my mind the unusual use of *ath-* alongside such a literary word for Ireland makes the name *Athfhotla* reek of the schoolroom. Who called it this? Is this the name Talorc himself knew it by? It was preserved in the Iona Chronicle: is it effectively an Iona name for the region, the name given to it by the likes of Adomnán and Cóeti? Is it an example of a learned coinage that 'took off'? An adjunct question here, clearly relevant in terms of the unstable orthography of the name, is how long the name was understood as meaning 'new Ireland'. The relevance here is that it may be difficult to argue that the name was sufficiently transparent to spawn imitations; in other words, even if correctly understood, the other 'Ireland' names do not seem to me to be inspired by Atholl, although it is the earliest. The one exception could be its neighbouring district name in Perthshire, Strathearn. As we shall now see, however, there are considerable difficulties here.

Ériu

Although the name Ériu and its case-derivatives, e.g. Éirenn (with variants), is unlikely to mean much other than Ireland,[40] the extent to which we do find this in the place-name record may be, and has been, disputed. A number of names that had been assigned to Ériu by Watson are river names or could be derived from river names: the Perthshire Earn with its putative derivative Strathearn (also Loch Earn); the contrastive rivers Findhorn and Deveron (the White and Black 'Eren', respectively). In this context, Nicolaisen argued that river names like the Earn and the Findhorn and Deveron, contain an element that belongs to the common European lexicon of rivers.[41]

Watson argued instead that Strathearn was a district first, with various Earn names precipitating out therefrom, and also argued (from a fairly impressive cluster of names in the Moray region involving an element *Eren/Eryn*) that there was a district named *Eren* or similar in the region of Nairn (no relation) and Moray, from which a number of places received their names. This would include Auldearn and the two rivers Findhorn and Deveron. Nicolaisen probably sounds the clearest note of caution here: 'the evidence is too scanty to make a final judgement'.[42]

We may perhaps at least make some general observations about these names, however. It should be noted that the Perthshire Strathearn appears in some convincingly early (i.e. at least twelfth century but probably earlier) sources as *Sraith Erenn*, and, equally, that although the usual charter form of the name shows *Ern* or at best *Erin/-yn*, one scribe of an Inchaffray charter, who shows in his other renderings of proper names that he had some notion of proper Gaelic spelling, used *Erenn* and *Erent* (perhaps for *-nd*).[43] These seem to me to indicate that even if the original derivation of the regional name were from the river Earn, and itself from a common underlying hydronymic root, Gaels in the early middle ages understood the regional name to contain the word meaning Ireland. One of the earlier sources for the name, the account of the Mothers of Irish Saints, underlines the fact that we are dealing not just with the strath of the river Earn here, but with a more complex regional unit. Its entry for the Serf of Culross identifies him as being of *Cuilenross* 'in Strath Erenn *i Comgellgaib* between the Ochils and the Forth'.[44] This may allow us a route by which we could have our cake and eat it too, in the case of the northern Earn names like Findhorn and Deveron. We might well posit a situation where the contrastive 'White and Black Eren' names were reanalysed as containing the name of Ireland.

A second note on these names relates to the name Auldearn. Now somewhat bypassed by the later burghs of Nairn and Elgin, in the twelfth century this was a very significant site, and it boasts an impressive motte; the juxtaposition of motte and church (dedicated to Columba) is evocative of an early complex of secular and ecclesiastical power.[45] Although Watson and others have taken this to be from G. *allt* 'stream' + *Eren*, the early forms of the name are somewhat less

convincing in this respect, lacking as they do the crucial postulated generic (see Appendix), and the topography is utterly unconvincing. The name is solidly represented as *Eren / Eryn* throughout the twelfth century, when it was a place of considerable importance. *Auldearn* as a form first appears in the fourteenth century, by which time we may well be dealing with the Scots *auld* here, the contrast being perhaps with the now-lost Invereren, at the mouth of the Findhorn. The significance here is that Auldearn therefore ceases to be another example of a hydronym and Watson's case becomes somewhat stronger.

Watson makes good use of some other names, such as Cullerne and Earnhill, on the lower Findhorn, and Dunearn hillfort on the upper Findhorn, as indicating the extent of the district he thought of as Eren (< *Ériu*). But of course these (as also the *Tollachherne* he notes as being on the river Deveron) could all be names derived from their proximity to rivers named 'Eren'. In such a context, the examples of Dunearn in Fife and Rottearns in Strathallan indicate more clearly that some of these names do, or could, correspond to 'Ireland' – neither southern example is near a river Earn.[46] In such company, it may be worth giving a cameo appearance to the other Ireland name, Fál. It is in the north-east, some eight miles south of Forres, that we find Dunphail (< *Dún Fáil*?) – is this another Ireland name? Watson had his doubts, but the proximity to some of the others we are discussing is interesting.[47]

To sum up then, a cogent case can be made for an etymology for both the Perthshire Earn and the *Eren* that underlies the Findhorn and the Deveron as an old hydronymic root. However, Strathearn was clearly understood early on as relating to a district much wider than the strath of the river itself, and also as containing the element *Ériu* 'Ireland'. There is considerable evidence of widespread use of the term *Eren* in Moray and it is difficult to completely explain this by recourse to hydronyms; one significant site, Auldearn, cannot be explained this way. On balance, we may feel justified in cautiously supporting the view that the name of Ireland was being employed in both the Perthshire and the Moray context. We should not, however, too readily presume these are concurrent instances of naming.

<small>Banba</small>

Banba appears in the list of 'goddesses' who gave their names to Ireland. It is a problematic name. It may be that it is related to the OG word *banb* (ScG *banbh*) 'suckling pig', and that the *-a* ending is an attempt to make a 'goddess' name out of it. Equally, however, it may be derived from a different word. A British origin in a regional name **banno-magos* was proposed by M. A. O'Brien (and taken to relate originally to Leinster or a subdivision of it, and thence to Ireland generally), though this has linguistic difficulties. It is, for instance, difficult to see why the final consonant of *mag* would not have been preserved in an Irish context, given the date at which this must have been borrowed from British, were O'Brien correct.[48]

There are a series of names that have been referred to this name, including Banff on the Deveron and Bamff in Perthshire, Banavie, Banvie and Benvie.[49] As Watson himself pointed out, because of its closeness to *banb* 'pig', it cannot be certain in any case that the place-names in Scotland we are dealing with are from Banba. *Banb*, like its Welsh cognate *banw* was used in particular for river names, and this is likely what we are dealing with in cases such as Banavie, Benvie < *banbhaidh*, cf. Mucaidh etc. (cf. Welsh *Banw*).[50] But this is perhaps not the whole story. It is the case that in Banff at any rate, and a number of other sites, we do not, in fact, have river names carrying the *banb* element. Banff itself is on the Deveron. Is it credible that this name, which itself seems reasonably early, has displaced an earlier river name in *banb*? Banff is also attested early as a central place in north-east Scotland. As Watson recognised, there are difficulties here which mean that we should not too swiftly rule out a connection with *Banba*. A major settlement site named 'suckling pig' does not inspire confidence, if not derived from a river name. One major problem, however, is that Banff (*Banb* in the Book of Deer) is patently not *Banba*. A solution here might be to consider the pairing of Elg /Elga as nom. sg.: *Banba* might have been understood as an alternative nom. sg. or even a gen.sg. form of an original *Banb*. Still, it seems to me that, taken on its own, there is no good reason to regard any of the Scottish examples of names related to *banb* as representing a 'new Ireland' name. It is thus significant that the northern Banff appears alongside our final example: Elgin.

Elg

It is, in fact, with the Ireland name *Elg* that we return to some certainty. It is hard to see that in the two instances in Scottish place-names of *Elg*, in Glenelg and in Elgin, we can have anything other than 'Ireland'.[51] *Elg* appears, despite the valiant efforts of medieval antiquarians, not to have any common meaning. Its etymology is obscure. As a result, in Elgin, we seem fairly securely to find a place named *Elg* (either with a characteristic eastern Scottish suffix in *-in*, or perhaps more likely, as Meyer thought, a diminutive 'little Elg'[52]). This can be little else than our poetic name for Ireland. This interpretation may then lend some force to the much more problematic north-eastern cases of Banff and *Eren*.

North-East Scotland and New Irelands

The evidence suggests we should reject any wholesale use of the 'New Ireland' tag in eastern Scottish place-names. Each instance is fraught with difficulty and contingency. Whilst it is difficult to find any other good explanation for Atholl and Elgin, the same is less true of the other elements. On the other hand, Atholl emerges as still best understood as being 'a second Ireland', in its own right; it looks to be the earliest of the names, is distinct in a number of respects and should not too readily be subsumed into a proposed wider naming pattern. Particularly notable is the 'learned' nature of the name, and the region's links to Iona may suggest that this regional name is a monastic coinage. Equally, however, the evidence does seem to support a tentative reading of Strathearn as being derived, or understood to have been derived, from the main name for Ireland, and as thus being 'Ireland's strath'. As such, we may wish to ask if this name, at least, was partly inspired by, or coined at roughly the same time as, Atholl. Alex Woolf's decoupling of the key Pictish province of Fortriu from Strathearn becomes important in this context: it allows us to imagine Strathearn as a zone of early medieval Gaelic settlement that might give rise to such a name, without having to tackle the evident persistent centrality of Fortriu to the Pictish kingship.[53]

Equally, the evidence suggests that we should not completely abandon the 'new Ireland' thesis in the context of the North-East. It is striking that at the very earliest stratum of detailed place-name

record, in the twelfth century, we find the names *Eren*, Elgin and Banff appearing as already central places on the way to development as burghs (in the case of Auldearn, abortively so), often in the same charters. They were major building blocks in the Scottish kings' policies in the North-East. Admittedly, they join in this several places that do not relate to 'Ireland', e.g. Inverness, Nairn and Forres. Nonetheless, the name Elgin, so difficult to explain as anything other than an 'Ireland' name, may embolden us to take these names as emblematic in some way of the Gaelic settlement and development of this region of Scotland. As with the case of Strathearn, it is tempting to provide a narrative in which we have our cake and eat it too: admitting that in origin *Eren* and *Banb* may have been instead river names, they could well have been reanalysed and reused to provide and inspire 'central place' names redolent of the homeland of the Gael. As noted earlier, it is in this region, too, that we find the most convincing example of a name in *Fál*: Dunphail near Forres.

As a final note, however, we should remind ourselves that, with the exception of Ériu / Èirinn, these names are high-register in meaning 'Ireland'. As such, if *Eren*, Elgin, and Banff are coinages of this sort, it may be thought they belong to a particular moment in the settlement history of the North-East, one in which an appreciation of the pseudo-history and the poetic naming of Ireland was present, and one when the Irish identity of the Scottish kingship was to the fore. Given their status as central places during the twelfth-century conquest of Moray, it may be that that moment was not very far distant from it.[54]

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APPENDIX

Early forms of main names discussed

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Atholl PER
  Athfhotla 739 *Annals of Tigernach* 739.7
  Athfhoithle 739 *Annals of Ulster* 739.7
  Achcochlam [for *Athfothlam*?] *c.*960? *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*
    (Anderson, *Kings*, 250)
  Athochlach (Dubdon satraps) *c.*965 *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*
    (Anderson, *Kings*, 252)
  *Athótla c.*1150 *Book of Deer*, note 7[55]

Atholia (comes de) 1187 x 95 *RRS* II, 341
Adtheodle 1202 x 14 *De Situ Albanie* (Anderson, *Kings*, 242)
(Braighe) Afall 17th century *Book of Clanranald* (*Reliquiae Celticae* II, 180)

Auldearn NAI
   Eren 1173 x 90 *RRS* II, 262
   Eren 1179 x 82 *RRS* II, 277
   Heryn (castellum de) 1185 x *c.* 1190 *RRS* II, 292
   Eren (ecclesia de) 1187 x 89 *RRS* II, 301
   Eren 1189 x 95 *RRS* II, 355
   Eryn 1224 x 42 *Moray Reg* 92
   Aldheryn 1362 *Moray Reg*, 309
   Alderne 1511 *RMS* ii, no. 3629

Banff BNF
   Banb c. 1150 *Book of Deer*, note 7
   Banef 1189 x 95 *RRS* II, 355
   Banef (ecclesia de) 1211 x 14 *Arbroath Reg.* 5, 21
   Banf (vicarius de) 1275 *Bagimond's Roll* SHS Misc. vi, 43

Elgin MOR
   Elgin (provincia de; castellum de; burgum de) 1160 *RRS* I, 219–20
   Elgyn 1179 x 82 *RRS* II, 277
   Elgin (ecclesia de) 1187 x 89 *RRS* II, 301
   Elgin 1189 x 95 *RRS* II, 355
   Elgin (burgum de) 1189 x 95 *RRS* II, 355
   Elgyn (vicarius de) 1275 *Bagimond's Roll*, 46

Dunphail MOR
   Dumphaill (fortalicium de) 1601 *Retours*

Earn (river) PER
   Ern 1153 x 59 *RRS* I, 198
   Hern (molendinum super) 1210 x 18 *Inchaffray Chrs*, 29
   Eryn (molendinum super) 1219/20 *Inchaffray Chrs*, 34

Strathearn PER
   Sraith Herenn c. 960? *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* (Anderson, *Kings*, 251)

(i) Sraith Erenn ?12th century, *CGSH* § 722.106

*Sradeern c.*1184 *De Situ Albanie* (Anderson, *Kings*, 242)

Stradhern 1178 x 85 *RRS* II, 258

Stratheryn 1185 x 90 *RRS* II, 292

Stardhern' 1198 x 1203 *RRS* II, 388

*Strathern c.*1198 *Inchaffray Chrs*, 2

Stratheren (comes de) *c.*1200 *Inchaffray Chrs*, 11

Stratherenn (comes de) *c.*1200 *Inchaffray Chrs*, 12 (scribe of this
    charter shows awareness of Gaelic orthography elsewhere)

Stratherent (comitissa de) *c.*1200 *Inchaffray Chrs*, 12

Stratheryn 1210 x 18 *Inchaffray Chrs*, 28

Strathern 1210 x 18 *Inchaffray Chrs*, 29

Stratheryn (comes de) *c.*1247 *Inchaffray Chrs*, 66

Stratherin (comes de) 1247 *Inchaffray Chrs*, 66

Abbreviations used in appendix:

Annals of Tigernach = 'The Annals of Tigernach', ed. by Whitley Stokes: I
    have employed the edition of these as presented on www.ucc.ie/celt.

Annals of Ulster = *The Annals of Ulster to 1131*, ed. by Seán Mac Airt and
    Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin: DIAS, 1983).

Anderson, *Kings* = M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*
    (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1980).

Arbroath Reg. = *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc: Registrum Abbacie de
    Aberbrothoc*, ed. by Cosmo Innes and Patrick Chalmers (Edinburgh:
    Bannatyne Club, 1848–56).

Bagimond's Roll = 'Bagimond's Roll: Statement of the Tenths of the Kingdom
    of Scotland', ed. by Annie Dunlop, in *Miscellany of the Scottish History
    Society*, vol. 6 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1939), 1–77.

Book of Deer = Kenneth Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*
    (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

CGSH = *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. by Pádraig Ó
    Riain (Dublin: DIAS, 1985).

Inchaffray Chrs = *Charters, Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey
    of Inchaffray*, ed. by W. A. Lindsay, John Dowden and J. M. Thomson
    (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1908).

Moray Reg = *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, ed. by Cosmo Innes
    (Edinburgh: [Bannatyne Club], 1837).

Reliquiae Celticae = *Reliquiae Celticae: Texts, Papers and Studies in Gaelic
    Literature and Philology Left by the Late Rev. Alexander Cameron, LL.D.*,
    ed. by Alexander MacBain and John Kennedy, 2 vols (Inverness: Northern
    Chronicle, 1892–94).

Retours = Inquisitionum ad Capellam Regis Retornatarum Abbreviatio, ed. by Thomas Thomson, 3 vols (London 1811–16) .

RMS II = *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. II, AD 1424–1513, ed. by J. B. Paul (Edinburgh: General Register House, 1882).

RRS I = *Regesta Regum Scottorum I: The Acts of Malcom IV*, ed. by G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960).

RRS II = *Regesta Regum Scottorum II: The Acts of William I*, ed. by G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971).

REFERENCES

1 W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Backwood & Sons, 1926), 225–33. It seemed to me appropriate to bring to this Festschrift a contribution taking up a theme from a previous illustrious holder of the Edinburgh chair, and moreover one which deals, as most of the honorand's published work has, with relationships, historical, linguistic and literary, between Gaelic Scotland and Ireland. My colleague Dr Charles MacQuarrie and I, who were his students together in many classes for two years in the late 1980s, have vivid memories of language and text classes under his tutelage, and the rolling of a piece of chalk between his fingers whenever pondering a particularly unlikely suggestion from either of us. Any suggestion, even a highly dubious one, was given a thorough and considerate treatment, whether to support or dismiss: the challenge of explaining clearly why an unlikely suggestion *was* unlikely was memorably embraced on many occasions. This article is, thus, presented, with gratitude and affection, as a sort of 'rolling of the chalk' over a thorny but important issue.

2 Kuno Meyer, 'Zur keltischen Wortkunde, 42. Namen für Irland auf schottischem Boden', *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1913), 446–47. These names were also discussed together by M. A. O'Brien, 'Hibernica. 6. On the names of Ireland', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 14 (1923), 326–34. It is apparent that O'Brien had noted neither the work of Meyer, nor the earlier notes of Watson on, e.g., Atholl (see below fn. 20). Meyer's note was, according to him, inspired by Skene's brief mention of the presence of 'Eire, Fodla and Banba' in 'the northeastern Lowlands', in *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1876), 220. In fact, Skene discusses, albeit briefly, the Findhorn and the Earn (as < *Eren*), Banff, both in Moray and in Perthshire (as < *Banba*), and also Atholl (as < *Fodla*), but cites no authority for these. On the whole, it has been difficult to establish firmly the originator of some of the etymologies I discuss in this note.

3 For another example of this, see Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Two notes on Ayrshire place-names. 2. Trearne', *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 2 (2008), 100–14.

4 This contribution was originally presented as a paper to the Scottish

Place-Names Society at their spring conference at Elgin, May 2008 (and a précis subsequently published in the SPNS Newsletter, Autumn 2008). I am most grateful to the audience and other colleagues for feedback and probing questions, and in particular to my colleagues Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus; and to Simon Taylor and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh for cogent and helpful comments on a draft of this contribution.

5 For discussion and roundup of other discussions, see especially John T. Koch, 'Ériu [1]', in *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. by John T. Koch (Santa Barbara: CA, 2006), 709–10; John T. Koch, 'Celts, Britons, and Gaels – names, peoples, and identities', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, n.s. 9 (2002), 41–56; and most recently, G. R. Isaac, 'A note on the name of Ireland in Irish and Welsh', *Ériu*, 59 (2009), 49–55.

6 This is from a gloss on 'Fiacc's Hymn'; I cite it from the edition in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeo-Hibernicus*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903; repr. Dublin: DIAS, 1987), 320.

7 Edward Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, vol. 4, Todd Lecture Series, 11 (Dublin: RIA, 1906; repr. Dublin: DIAS, 1991), 336–39. The place referred to is apparently Droumfineen, a ridge between Counties Cork and Waterford: Edmund Hogan, S. J., *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1910; repr. Blackrock: Four Courts Press, 1993), 364; see now this resource online: http://publish.ucc.ie/doi/locus.

8 See most straightforwardly John Carey, 'Lebar Gabála: Recension I' (unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1983), 155–56, 312–13, and for other references see index.

9 On which, see Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Scotland, the Nennian recension of the *Historia Brittonum*, and the *Lebor Bretnach*', in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500–1297: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the Occasion of Her Ninetieth Birthday*, ed. by Simon Taylor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 87–107.

10 *Lebor Bretnach: The Irish Version of the* Historia Britonum *ascribed to Nennius*, ed. by A. G. van Hamel (Dublin: Stationery Office [1932]), 26–27. Translation mine.

11 See *DIL* s.v. Elg for references; and esp. *bress Elgga*, *mairg Elgga*, Kuno Meyer, *Über die älteste irische Dichtung*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Verlag der Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1913–14), 15.12, 15.22; and '*rí for Eilgg*', Kuno Meyer, *Hail Brigit: an Old-Irish poem on the Hill of Alenn* (Dublin: Hodges & Figgis, 1912), § 13. A poem by Dubthach ua Lugair declares Crimthand to be *Hechtair Elgga* ('the Hector of Elg') and this is glossed in the manuscript *.i. hErend*: LL 45a 22 (*The Book of Leinster*, vol. 1, ed. by R. I. Best, Osborn Bergin and M. A. O'Brien (Dublin: DIAS, 1956), 216).

12 *Cóir Anmann*, ed. by Sharon Arbuthnot, Irish Texts, 60 (Dublin: ITS, 2007) part 2, 65, 138 (§ 253), and see p. 192 for discussion; for Cormac's

Glossary, see now the best edition at www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries, s.v. 'Elg'.

13 *Auraicept na nÉces*, ed. by George Calder (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1917), 210–11, and see www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries, s.v. 'Goidelg'; note also from this source, the definition in O'Mulconry's Glossary, '*Elg* ebraice possessio est diuisa, unde Elg nomen Hiberniae quia possessio est diuissa ab Eorapa. Unde elgon .i. guin Elge .i. guin do tuaithe ⁊ do cairte elgon. ⁊ elgonach uad.'

14 On which, see Thomas Owen Clancy, 'King-making and images of kingship in medieval Gaelic literature', in *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon*, ed. by Richard Welander, David J. Breeze and Thomas Owen Clancy (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Monograph Series 22, 2003), 85–105 (92–93).

15 I should note that M. A. O'Brien separated them out differently, noting that Ériu was declinable, whereas all the others seemed indeclinable. This does not seem sustainable for Elg, cf. the forms cited in fn. 11 above from early Leinster poetry, which make it look like it was originally a straightforward fem. *a*-stem. Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann*, pt. 2, 192 appears to support O'Brien's deduction that the form Elg was a false nominative mistakenly abstracted from *Ealga*, but the early Leinster poetry cited above gives clear gen. and dat. forms that rule out this development. Rather, the later texts seem to have Elga as nom. more frequently, and it may be supposed that the gen. sg. in names like Druim Ealga was reanalysed as an (indeclinable?) nom. sg.

16 Notably O'Brien, 'Hibernica 6'; see below for his suggestions.

17 See Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann*, pt. 2, 192; pt 1, 49.

18 J. B. Johnston noted a Coire Fodla, but this is in Atholl itself, so should not be taken as an independent incidence of this name (if, indeed, the name is correctly construed). See Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, 3rd edn (London: John Murray, 1934), 90. I have been unable to locate the *coire* in question, but Corriefodly Hotel and Corriefodly Caravan Park are just west of Bridge of Cally, at NO 134513; this cannot be the location of the eponymous *coire*, though. Johnston notes also *Badfothel* in Aberdeenshire, but this is unlikely to be the same element; it is now Pitfoddels in Peterculter ABD, and is thoroughly discussed by Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 410. He derives the second element as '*fodál*' (cf. *DIL*, s.v. *fodail*) 'division, share'. The *-d-* here, as Watson points out, is, despite the Scots rendition of it, a voiced dental fricative, and thus despite the attraction of this word for the etymology of Atholl, must be rejected.

19 I have written lenited *f* as *fh* here and below, although original OG orthography would not include the *h*.

20 See *DIL* s.v. *aith-* ; Watson, 'Topographical Varia – IV: *ath, ate*', *The Celtic Review*, 7 (1911–12), 68–81 (68–70); republished in W. J. Watson, *Scottish Place-Name Papers* (London: Steve Savage, 2002), 99–112 (99–101).

21 The original suggestion would appear to be Alexander MacBain's (see Watson, '*ath, ate*', 68 (99); citing MacBain's notes to the 1902 edition of W. F. Skene's *The Highlanders of Scotland* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1902), 431). Meyer made this suggestion in 1913, but cited neither MacBain nor the nearly contemporary article of Watson's which followed it, so it may be an independent idea.

22 *A Bhfuil Aguinn Dár Chum Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591)/The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591)*, ed. by Eleanor Knott, Irish Texts, 22 and 23 (London: ITS, 1922, 1926), 205 (poem 28, v. 21).

23 Watson, '*ath, ate*'; *DIL*, s.v. *aith-*.

24 Simon Taylor with Gilbert Márkus, *The Place-Names of Fife*, vol. 4 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, forthcoming 2010): see under Logie parish.

25 Xavier Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Gauloise* (Paris: Errance, 2001), s.v. *ate-*.

26 See Philip Freeman, 'Who were the Atecotti?', in *Identifying the 'Celtic'*, ed. by Joseph Falagy Nagy, CSANA Yearbook, 2 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 111–14, though I do not agree with his thesis that the Atecotti were Irish.

27 *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. by Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961), ii 22; and p. 150 for the etymology (note the discussion of names does not appear in the 1991 revised edition). See *DIL*, s.v. *áith*.

28 Not the meaning as 'disused', since in the anecdote the harbour is patently in use.

29 Johnston, *Place-Names*, 90.

30 Hogan, *Onomasticon*; on this element, see Breandán S. Mac Aodha, 'The element *áth/ford* in Irish place-names', *Nomina*, 11 (1987), 115–22.

31 O'Brien, 'Hibernica 6', 332–34. His alternative suggestion (334), that it derived from an abstract form of the word *fotal* (e.g. *fotla(e)*) 'long (hence > 'length') has considerable attractions, but the word *fotal* is unfortunately very poorly attested.

32 Alan Bruford, 'What happened to the Caledonians?', in *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era*, ed. by E. J. Cowan and R. A. McDonald (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), 43–68 (51–56). Bruford took his faith in O'Brien's etymology and exported it in a highly problematic argument to Scotland, taking the proposed *Votla 'place where the sun sets' as meaning, in a Scottish context, Argyll. I will not treat the issues raised by this proposal in detail here.

33 Delamarre, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. uo-; for my money, there is room to explore the root of the OI verb *tlenaid* 'takes away, steals'; the compound verb *fo-tlen* has a vn *fothla*, which cannot be the solution itself but may point towards one.

34 Though the texts in *Lebor Gabála Érenn* seem to have understood it as long, since a punning etymology of the name makes it from what Érimón

said as he buried Díl, daughter of Mílid: '*Is fót for Díl seo*' ('This is a sod over Díl'). Carey, 'Lebar Gabála', 159, 314.

35 See Kenneth Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 81, who appears to accept the derivation without comment; the length-mark on the *o* may not be significant: see Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'On the possible functions of the accents in the Gaelic notes in the Book of Deer', in *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. by Katherine Forsyth (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 145–78.

36 The best discussions of these traditions are Dauvit Broun, 'The seven kingdoms in *De Situ Albanie*: a record of Pictish political geography or imaginary map of ancient Alba?', in Cowan and McDonald, *Alba*, 24–42; Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 78–79; 93n.

37 Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 79 understands the dropping of the *ath-* from Atholl in the legend as simply a way of making the regions in question alliterate, but this still suggests they saw Fotla as a viable name in its own right.

38 See Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Philosopher-king: Nechtan mac Der-Ilei', *Scottish Historical Review*, 83 (2004), 125–49 (133–37).

39 Simon Taylor, 'Seventh-century Iona abbots in Scottish place-names', in *Spes Scotorum, Hope of Scots: Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland*, ed. by Dauvit Broun and Thomas Owen Clancy (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 35–70; Simon Taylor, 'Place-names and the early church in eastern Scotland', in *Scotland in Dark Age Britain*, ed. by Barbara E. Crawford (St Andrews: St John's House Papers, 1996), 93–110.

40 T. F. O'Rahilly argued that the name ultimately derived from that of a goddess, and was thence exported to the territory / island (and also to rivers, lochs, etc.): 'On the origin of the names Érainn and Ériu', *Ériu*, 14 (1946), 7–28. Scholarship on the name of Ériu has tended in other directions, and the nature of the sources for Ériu as a goddess do not inspire confidence in this being much more than a learned proposition by early medieval historians. O'Rahilly's logic in discussing the Scottish instances of Ériu, and his application of Watson's reasoning, works from the presumption that we are dealing with a goddess name here.

41 W. F. H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names: Their Study and Significance* (London: Batsford, 1976; new edn, Edinburgh: John Donald, 2001), 241; more fully in W. F. H. Nicolaisen, 'Names in the landscape of the Moray Firth', in *Moray: Province and People*, ed. by W. D. H. Sellar (Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1993), 253–62 (260–61). It is worth noting that Bruford exported Nicolaisen's argument against Watson from these instances of overlap with hydronyms to the case of Atholl, where, of course, it does not apply.

42 Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 229–30; Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, 241.

43 *Charters, Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray*, ed. by W. A. Lindsay, John Dowden and J. M. Thomson (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1908), 12; and see Dauvit Broun, 'Gaelic literacy in eastern Scotland, 1124–1249', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. by Huw Pryce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 183–201. I am grateful to Peadar Morgan for some robust discussion of this issue. I hope he will not take it amiss if I press on with the views I express here, conscious that he will wish to disagree with them on a future occasion.

44 *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. by Pádraig Ó Riain (Dublin: DIAS, 1985), §722.106; on this location, see Clancy, 'Philosopher-king', 138–39.

45 On some aspects of Auldearn, see *Regesta Regum Scottorum II: The Acts of William I*, ed. by G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 11–12, 56

46 Simon Taylor with Gilbert Márkus, *The Place-Names of Fife, Vol. 1: West Fife between Leven and Forth* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006), 193–94; Angus Watson, *The Ochils: Placenames, History, Tradition* (Perth: Perth and Kinross District Libraries, 1995), 121.

47 Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 232.

48 O'Brien, 'Hibernica 6', 331–32.

49 Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 231–32. The link with *Banba* was made by Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, vol. 1, 220), and by Meyer, 'Zur keltischen Wortkunde, 42', 447.

50 Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 232; Hywel Wyn Owen and Richard Morgan, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* (Llandysul: Gomer, 2007), 22–23.

51 On these, see Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 231. Watson's evidence concerning Glenelg is particularly interesting, and deserves to be followed up further. It may be worth also reflecting that, despite their apparent geographical separation from each other, Glenelg was in 'Argyll of Moray', the tenths of the revenues of which were granted by David I to the Moray priory of Urquhart, not far from Elgin (see A. A. M. Duncan and A. L. Brown, 'Argyll and the Isles in the later Middle Ages', *PSAS*, 90 (1956–57), 192–215 (195 and n.8)). At the SPNS conference in 2008, residents of Elgin forcefully dismissed Watson's information that there was a district in the town named 'Little Ireland' (see *Celtic Place-Names*, 231, fn 4). Watson notes that 'the Town Clerk of Elgin informs me that the origin of this term is quite unknown', leaving it a bit unclear whether the same man had supplied the information. Even were this information correct, it would be irrelevant to the case Watson makes for Elgin as deriving from Elg, since it would be more likely to be a nineteenth-century name associated with Irish immigrants to the town.

52 On which see Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'Place-names as a resource for the historical linguist', in *The Uses of Place-Names*, ed. by Simon Taylor (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1998), 12–53 (30–38); Simon Taylor with Gilbert Márkus, *The Place-Names of Fife, Vol. 5* (Donington: Shaun

Tyas, forthcoming 2011), Element Index, s.v. -in. Meyer, 'Zur keltischen Wortkunde 42', 447.

53 Alex Woolf, 'Dún Nechtain, Fortriu and the geography of the Picts', *Scottish Historical Review*, 85 (2006), 182–201.

54 We may wish to think in particular of the reign of David I, a reign which saw consolidation of power in the North-East at a time when the Scottish kingship's pseudo-historical Irish identity was being embraced. See *Regesta Regum Scottorum I: The Acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. by G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960), 43–44; Barrow, *Regesta Regum Scottorum* II, 11–12, 56; Richard Oram, 'David I and the conquest and colonisation of Moray', *Northern Scotland*, 19 (1999), 1–19; Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 273, and *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), esp. 195–200. But other and earlier scenarios are also plausible; see, e.g. Alex Woolf, 'The "Moray Question" and the kingship of Alba in the tenth and eleventh centuries', *Scottish Historical Review*, 79 (2000), 145–64.

55 See also for this the diplomatic edition of Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'The property records: diplomatic edition including accents', in Forsyth, *Studies*, 119–30 (125).

'Bàrdachd Alastair MhicFhionghain':
An Early Nineteenth-Century Panegyric to a Poet
Robert Dunbar

The poem 'Bàrdachd Alastair MhicFhionghain' (The Poetry of Alexander MacKinnon) is a lament, composed by the Tiree poet John MacLean, 'Bàrd Thighearna Chola' (The Poet to the Laird of Coll) (1787–1848), for the Morar poet Alexander MacKinnon (1770–1814). According to Alexander Maclean Sinclair, John MacLean was inspired to compose the poem after being shown some of MacKinnon's poetry, which MacKinnon had apparently written out himself, by MacKinnon's widow, shortly after his death.[1] This accords with John MacLean's own account of what inspired the composition, although MacLean does not mention that it was MacKinnon's wife who had shown him the poetry, or that MacKinnon had himself written it down.[2] John MacLean had travelled from Tiree to the mainland of the Scottish Highlands in about 1815 for the express purpose of collecting Gaelic poetry,[3] and it is possible that he saw a manuscript of MacKinnon's poems on that particular trip, perhaps allowing us to date the poem to the period 1814–15. If Maclean Sinclair's information is correct, we can conclude that MacKinnon was, like John MacLean, literate in Gaelic, which was certainly not true of most of their contemporaries.

The poem is notable for a number of reasons. First, it marks an important step in the evolution of MacLean's own poetic output. It appears that he began composing significant pieces of poetry in the period 1805–07. Until he emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1819, much of his work was praise poetry, and, like many of his seventeenth- and eighteenth-century predecessors, his initial focus was on the traditional subjects of such poetry, members of the Highland aristocracy, in particular his patron, Alexander MacLean, 'Alasdair Ruadh', the 15th Laird of Coll, and the Coll family.[4] By about 1812, however, John MacLean began choosing a wider range of subjects of praise, including clergymen,[5] military leaders in the British imperial army[6] and, with his poem for Alexander MacKinnon, a poet. As Donald Meek has noted, with the demise of the old Highland social structure after Culloden, nineteenth-century poets increasingly deployed their skills to praise the new sorts of community leaders who had come to replace the clan

chiefs.[7] This poem could be seen as a relatively early example of this wider trend.

Within this context, however, John MacLean's poem is particularly notable for being in praise of another poet, although praise poems for poets are not uncommon in the Gaelic tradition. John MacLean's own death in 1848 itself inspired three elegies for which we have a record.[8] In the later nineteenth century, significant poets such as William Livingston of Islay and Glasgow[9] and Neil MacLeod of Skye and Edinburgh[10] composed poems in praise of poets and of poetry. Slightly later, the well-known Cape Breton poet Malcolm Gillis composed a praise-poem in honour of Duncan Ban MacIntyre,[11] and in Scotland notable twentieth-century poets such as John Cameron, the Inverasdale bard,[12] and Donald John MacDonald of Peninerine, South Uist, who composed five poems in praise of poets, including one for Robert Burns,[13] perpetuated the genre. Nonetheless, John MacLean's poem for Alexander MacKinnon is a relatively early example.[14]

In addition to being a poet, John MacLean was an important collector and publisher of Gaelic poetry, and the poem 'Bàrdachd Alastair MhicFhionghain' is also notable in that it provides us with at least some evidence of the critical standards which he employed in this aspect of his literary endeavours. It, and other poetry from this genre, also provides an interesting perspective on the lively and at times heated debates which have emerged in Gaelic literary circles since about the 1960s concerning the relative merits of 'traditional' Gaelic verse and *nuadh bhàrdachd*.[15] At very least, poems such as MacLean's give us a practitioner's view on what constitutes good Gaelic poetry,[16] and provide at least some insight into aesthetic values which may have prevailed in the setting of the *taigh-cèilidh*, as opposed to those institutions of instruction and debate with which Gaels are now more familiar.

Like many Gaels of his age, the subject of the poem, Alexander MacKinnon, was a soldier. He enlisted in the 92nd Regiment, the Gordon Highlanders, in 1794, and saw action against Batavian and French forces at the Battle of Callantsoog on 27 August 1799, and against the French at the Battle of Egmont-op-Zee (both in Holland) on 2 October 1799. He was also involved in the fighting against the French at the Battle of Abukir on 8 March 1801 and at the Battle of Alexandria (both in Egypt) on 21 March 1801, where he was so grievously injured that he

was about to be thrown into a mass grave and was only saved by a close friend, a Sergeant MacLean, who had searched him out, found him only barely breathing and insisted that he be transferred to a hospital ship. His service in these engagements inspired three poems, two of which, 'Òran air don Bhàrd a dhol air Tìr san Eiphit' (A Song by the Poet after Going Ashore in Egypt) and 'Blàr na h-Òlaind' (The Battle of Holland), have contributed to the high reputation that MacKinnon continues to enjoy as a Gaelic poet.[17] After convalescing, MacKinnon re-enlisted, this time in the 6th Royal Veteran Regiment, in which he served until his death at Fort William, on which he was buried with military honours.[18]

John MacLean has contributed considerably to our awareness of MacKinnon's poetry, not only through his praise poem to MacKinnon but also through his work as a collector and publisher of Gaelic poetry. MacLean was literate in both Gaelic and English,[19] and it is significant that he had acquired literacy in his youth, as the early years of the nineteenth century were significant ones in the history of the development of Gaelic publishing, marked as they were by the appearance of several important early collections of Gaelic poetry.[20] As Donald Meek has noted, the Gaels who collected, edited and published this material recognised that print was more likely to remain intact across the generations and was particularly valuable in preserving, and thereby giving a new lease of life to, the songs, tales and historical material that were circulating in the oral tradition.[21] Print also allowed a single manuscript to be reproduced quickly multiple times, thereby ensuring a much wider dissemination of such material. According to Alexander Maclean Sinclair, John MacLean had read most of the important early collections of Gaelic poetry[22] and they undoubtedly played a role in inspiring him to begin collecting.

It is not clear when John MacLean's work as a collector began, but by about 1815, following his trip to the mainland, mentioned above, he had compiled a manuscript of 641 pages, 93 of which contained his own poetry and 548 of which contained that of other poets, amounting to about 15,000 lines in total.[23] The collection included local poets – there were three poems by Archibald MacLean and nine by Archibald MacPhail, of Tiree, and two by the Cùbair Collach – as well as poems by poets of wider renown, such as Iain Lom MacDonald, Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, Eachann Bacach and Mairearad nighean Lachlainn. Included in the manuscript were six of Alexander MacKinnon's compositions.[24]

John MacLean then sought to publish a collection based on the material in his manuscript. He ultimately secured the services of Robert Menzies of Edinburgh and the book appeared in 1818, under the title *Orain Nuadh Ghaedhlach*. Some 400 copies were printed; this figure provides us with at least some indication of the size of the market for such publications during this period.[25] The book contained 23 of John MacLean's own poems and 34 by others, including many of those just mentioned in the context of the discussion of John MacLean's manuscript. All six of the Alexander MacKinnon compositions which were included in John MacLean's manuscript were published in his book.[26] By 1818, it appears that only one of MacKinnon's poems had been published, the aforementioned 'Blàr na h-Òlaind', in Donald MacLeod's 1811 collection[27] and again in Patrick Turner's important 1813 collection.[28] John MacKenzie published four of MacKinnon's poems in *Sar-Obair nam Bard Gaelach*,[29] although one was 'Blàr na h-Òlaind' and two were poems which John MacLean had published in 1818,[30] 'An Dubh-Ghleannach', a poem about MacDonald of Glenaladale's pleasure-boat, being the only one not published in the collections just referred to. The only collection dedicated to the work of Alexander MacKinnon was published in 1902 by John MacLean's grandson, Alexander Maclean Sinclair;[31] it included nine poems, all six of those collected and published by John MacLean, as well as 'Blàr na h-Òlaind', 'An Dubh-Ghleannach', and one other poem, 'Mo Bhruadar Cinnteach An-raoir', which was published by Maclean Sinclair in 1890.[32] Thus, John MacLean is responsible for collecting and being the first to publish the majority of the poetry attributable to Alexander MacKinnon; as Maclean Sinclair drew heavily on his grandfather's book and manuscript, we can conclude that without John MacLean's work, our knowledge of MacKinnon's work would be much more limited than it is.

We get a sense of John MacLean's purpose as a collector and publisher from his preface to his collection, in which he writes the following:

> Is iomadh uair a bha mi a' smuainteachadh, ma'n do thòisich mi air an obair so, gu'm bu mhór am beud gu'm biodh na seann òrain, nach robh mi a' faicinn anns na leabhraichean a chaidh a chur a mach roimh so, air an di-chuimhneachadh is e sin a rinn ro thoileach mi gu an cur air an adhairt ...

Many a time I considered, before I started on this work, that it was a great pity that many of the old songs, which I did not see in the collections that have been put out before now, should be forgotten; and it is that which made me exceedingly happy to put them forward ...

As already noted, John MacLean had read most of the important early printed collections of Gaelic poetry and song. It appears that he was intent on plugging what he considered to be important gaps in the published record. The MacKinnon poetry provides an excellent example of this. According to Alexander Maclean Sinclair, John MacLean owned and had read Patrick Turner's collection. He would therefore undoubtedly have known of MacKinnon's 'Blàr na h-Òlaind', and this may explain why this was not amongst the poems which he transcribed in his manuscript and published in his edition. It is likely that the poem would have been in any manuscript shown to him, but as it had already appeared in an important collection, he saw no need to duplicate this work.

More generally, the passage quoted from the preface to his 1818 collection and his working methods as a collector and publisher show that John MacLean was consciously engaged in an act of cultural preservation. They suggest that he was concerned that the old order of Gaelic society was under some considerable stress, and that the institutions which underpinned Gaeldom's cultural traditions were being threatened. Of such changes, he was keenly aware. As a young man, he had seen the transformation of the Campbell estates in Tiree at the start of the nineteenth century, where the physical dismantling of the traditional township, with its nucleated settlements, and its replacement with crofts of the sort with which we are now familiar was strongly opposed and deeply resented by the tenantry.[33] Given the more general changes in estate management that were sweeping through the Highlands and wiping away much of the old order, John MacLean's praise poetry for the MacLeans of Coll could be viewed as rather anachronistic; however, there is evidence that at least under the poet's patron, Alasdair Ruadh, the 15th chief, the MacLeans of Coll bucked the new commercial trends to some extent, and a closer examination of that poetry suggests that the poet was keenly aware of the new commercial pressures and sought to warn against them.[34]

John MacLean was also impressed by the support for and interest in traditional Gaelic arts such as poetry and piping, and in the purveyors of such arts, that was demonstrated by Alasdair Ruadh and other, more controversial Highland chieftains, such as Alexander Ranaldson Macdonell, the 15th chief of the MacDonells of Glengarry (1773–1828), and Ranald MacDonald (1777–1838), the Laird of Staffa, two other aristocrats for whom John MacLean composed praise poetry.[35] Macdonell of Glengarry is a particularly problematic figure; at the same time that he was maintaining a poet, Allan MacDougall ('Ailean Dall', 1750–1828), a respected blind poet and fiddler originally from Glencoe, he was engaging in some of the harshest clearances in the Highlands.[36] In spite of these contradictions, Glengarry's death produced a significant output of Gaelic elegiac verse, including a lament, 'Cumha Mhic 'ic Alasdair', composed by Macdonell's personal piper, Archie Munro, another composed by Ailean Dall,[37] an elegy by John Macintosh, 'Cumha do Mhac-ic-Alastair',[38] and an elegy composed by John MacLean, who by then was in Nova Scotia but was still moved to memorialise Glengarry. The continuing hold that Glengarry exercised on the Highland imagination is evident in the generous words of men like Alexander Maclean Sinclair in his 1881 edition of *Clarsach na Coille* and Hector MacDougall in his 1928 edition of the same book.[39]

While this outpouring is perhaps difficult to defend, given Glengarry's estate practices, it is possible to explain. In the traditional Gaelic value system embodied in the panegyric code employed by the praise poets,[40] the good chief was a patron of the Gaelic arts and the supporter of poets and musicians. While the poets could not help but be concerned about the management of the Glengarry estate – Ailean Dall certainly knew about the harsh changes that were taking place under the Glengarry family, and others poets, such as John MacLean, who were certainly aware of similar practices on other estates, cannot be presumed to be ignorant of what was transpiring – Glengarry did not easily fit the mould of a modernising landlord. His intense and, by all appearances, genuine interest in the Gaelic arts, his fluency in the language, and his warm support for the creative classes met the standards set in the panegyric code, and must have given these poets hope that, in spite of the other evidence, Glengarry was committed to important aspects of the old order. As will be noted below, John MacLean seems to

have identified the Gaelic poet as the ultimate guardian of Gaelic values, and any chieftain who so eagerly cultivated and supported such men was, from this perspective, deserving of at least some praise.[41]

With respect to John MacLean's elegy for Alexander MacKinnon, it is not surprising that, of the new subjects of praise poetry that were emerging in the nineteenth century, MacLean would want to include a poet. As has just been discussed, respect for aspects of the Gaelic cultural tradition which John MacLean considered important, and support for the makers and preservers of that tradition, was viewed by MacLean as a crucial aspect of the good chief. Furthermore, a close examination of John MacLean's praise poetry for the Coll family makes clear that MacLean was keenly aware of the absolutely central role of the Gaelic poet in the establishment and maintenance of cultural and moral standards and in the preservation of traditional Gaelic values and the defence of Gaelic communities.[42] In this era of great flux in the Highlands, the Gaelic aristocracy could no longer be counted upon to play their traditional role of defenders of Gaelic values and Gaelic communities. The Gaelic poet was always important in the establishment and maintenance of standards in Gaelic society, but this role took on a new urgency in the context of the great changes of the early nineteenth century.

In this context, it is notable that John MacLean's poem for Alexander MacKinnon was only one of two in which he used the classic three-line strophic metre that was frequently employed by earlier purveyors of the Gaelic panegyric tradition, the other example being his praise poem for the Rev. John MacLean, the Minister of Coll; in both cases, the poet saved this metre for non-traditional subjects of praise. In the very choice of metre, it is possible that John MacLean was trying to signal a shift from an older order, in which the chieftains were central to the maintenance of the status quo and defenders of the Gaelic people, to a new era in which the clergy and the poets were increasingly called upon to play that role. John MacLean's poem for MacKinnon was also the only praise poem for a subject whom he had never met – in the poem itself, MacLean says that 'Ge' nach faca mi riamh thu, / Tha mi 'g ionndrainn gun thriall thu' (Though I never saw you, / I am mourning your departure) – and this also suggests the particular esteem he attached to this particular poet and, arguably, to the role of the poet, of which MacKinnon was such an outstanding exemplar. Indeed, it is clear that,

of all his contemporaries, John MacLean had the highest regard for the work of Alexander MacKinnon. In the introduction to the poem in his 1818 collection, John MacLean acknowledges that he gives higher regard to MacKinnon's work than that of 'many others' that he has seen because of its depth of language and its excellence of composition.[43]

The poem itself is significant, because it shows the emergence of a different sort of panegyric rhetoric more appropriate to the subject and seems less constrained by the dominant motifs of the panegyric tradition than many of his other praise poems for non-traditional subjects, for example, his poems for the two ministers. In the poem for MacKinnon, John MacLean adhered to some of the conventions of the Gaelic panegyric tradition quite closely. For example, he began with a locative opening:[44] 'Fhuair mi sealladh Diluain/A dhùisg mo spiorad gu gluasad' (I had a vision on Monday/That awoke my spirit to action). As is appropriate in an elegy such as this, there is reference to the lifeless body[45] and to the wife's bereavement,[46] as well as to the poet's personal sorrow (already noted). Since MacKinnon was a soldier, John MacLean praises him in traditional terms for his courage and makes particular reference to his wounds.[47] However, the bulk of the poem is given over to praise of MacKinnon's artistic talents, and we see in this a somewhat different rhetoric of praise.

As in the panegyric tradition, the subject is praised for certain mental attributes; however, these are related to the exigencies of the poet's craft:

> B' fhiosrach, lèirsinneach t' inntinn
> Ann an gloine 's an ciatabh,
> Cha b' ann brosgalach, breugach le sgleò.

> *Your mind was expert and perceptive*
> *In its clarity and its pleasures,*
> *It was not fawning nor mistily deceitful.*

Perception, clarity, honesty of expression and the abhorrence of anything that is 'misty' therefore seem to be amongst the qualities that John MacLean values in the poet. This calls to mind Sorley MacLean's comments on how the fuzziness of the poetry of the Celtic Twilight is the antithesis of the best Gaelic poetry.[48] MacKinnon's skills as a poet are later explicitly praised in these terms:

Chuir thu 'Ghàidhlig mar 'dh'earbainn
Ann an òrdagh gun iomluathas,
Chan fhaigh bàird oirre cearbaich no sgòd.

You set the Gaelic as I would expect
In good order, without inconsistency,
Poets won't find awkwardness in it, or blemish.

The high value that John MacLean attaches to technical aspects of composition are clear from this passage: consistency, order and neatness of expression are referred to and relate to some of the mental attributes John MacLean had praised. These are themes which emerge in some of MacLean's later poetry. Take, for example, this passage, from 'Òran a' Bhàil Ghàidhealaich',[49] composed in Nova Scotia in 1826, in which he speaks of the etiquette that should be followed at social gatherings of Gaels:

Nuair a thèid an fhidheall 'na tàmh,
Bheir iad treis air cainnt nam bard,
Dhùisgeas fonn neo-throm 'nan càil,
Anns a' Ghàidhlig as ghlain' gearradh.

When the fiddle is put aside,
They'll spend a while on the language of the bards,
A joyful tune will awaken their spirits,
In a Gaelic of the choicest cut.

The reference in the last line may be to the neatness of the composition or perhaps the choice of words, or perhaps to the economy of expression; in any case, John MacLean seems to be emphasising the importance of technical matters relating to the construction of the verse. MacKinnon's poetry is also lauded by John MacLean for being free of mistakes or errors, almost certainly in reference to some of the more traditional standards of Gaelic composition such as rhyme and metre. Restraint, in the sense of lack of poetic excess, is also praised: 'Bha i aige gun truailleadh, / Anns gach cànmhain a fhuair e / Cha robh uireasaibh bhuaithe na còrr' (He had it [i.e. the Muse] faultlessly, / In every language that he found / There were no failings or excesses from him). John MacLean therefore seems to place emphasis on craftsmanship and felicity of language as the hallmarks of

good poetry. As is the case in Gaelic praise poetry for the chieftain, in which the panegyrist is enumerating the virtues that should be found in the good chief, John MacLean seems to be providing us with the image of the good poet, and is reinforcing those aesthetic values which he feels are central to the Gaelic poetic tradition. Significantly, many of these are precisely the sorts of values and qualities that are reflected in the sharp realism that is, as Sorley MacLean has argued,[50] so central in much of the best traditional Gaelic poetry.

Sorley MacLean has also argued that musicality is a fundamentally important quality of the best Gaelic poetry,[51] and John MacLean perhaps provides some evidence in support of this claim, and some basis for believing that Sorley MacLean's view is perhaps rooted in an older Gaelic aesthetic tradition, in this passage in his poem for Alexander MacKinnon:

> Gu bhith 'g èisteachd ri t' ealdhain
> Nuair a sheinnt' i bho t' anail,
> Chluinnte 'fuaim aig an talla le d' cheòl.

> *To be listening to your poetry*
> *When sung from your lips,*
> *Its sound would be heard in your music at the hall.*

The word *ealdhain* is interesting as it can refer to artistry. John MacLean may be suggesting here that the artistry of MacKinnon's poetry is in its musicality; indeed, it is possible that he is suggesting that the essence of Gaelic poetry is in its manifestation in song. Given the range of meaning associated with terms such as *ealdhain* and the way in which semantic subtleties may change over time, however, some caution must obviously be exercised in drawing any hard-and-fast conclusions from evidence such as this. As noted earlier, a broader consideration of this genre of poetry and of the rhetoric employed in it might sharpen our understanding of these issues. Based on the following lines, though, it would seem that MacKinnon was himself apparently a talented singer:

> Bhiodh na h-òranaibh grinne,
> Sunntach, fonnmhor, bu bhinne
> 'Tigh'nn ro phongail bho bhilibh do bheòil.

The elegant songs would be
Joyfully, tunefully, most sweetly
Coming so tidily from the lips of your mouth.

As MacLean had never met MacKinnon, these claims must be based on MacKinnon's reputation, although we must also allow for the possibility that MacLean is speaking metaphorically here, or, indeed, that the ascription of these qualities to his singing may represent an expression of the ideal attributes of the Gaelic singer rather than of his actual abilities. In any case, John MacLean, himself a talented singer, may be giving us a view of those qualities he considers most important in a Gaelic singer, and we are perhaps seeing here the beginnings of a new rhetoric of praise appropriate to singers: tunefulness, sweetness and joy are qualities that are specifically referred to, and the reference to tidiness in delivery may well be to clarity of diction. Again, a systematic consideration of other poetry in which singing is praised should add to our appreciation of such issues.

What is beyond doubt is the great regard that John MacLean feels for the work of a fellow poet, and in this we see his profound commitment to Gaelic poetry, a commitment that was memorably expressed by his grandson, Alexander Maclean Sinclair:

> Nature gave the poet a mind of great capacity; but evidently it did not intend that he should become a wealthy man. He never attended regularly to his work; his mind was not upon it. Poetry occupied his thoughts when pegging sole-leather in Scotland, and cutting down trees in America; it took complete possession of him.[52]

Although John MacLean first deployed his own artistic talents as a panegyrist of a very traditional sort, we see in his poem for Alexander MacKinnon that he is breaking free of some of the constraints of the traditional panegyric style. Here, we begin to see a poetry that is less the result of a sense of obligation and more the product of the poet's own instincts and emotions, and this is also the mark of a profound transition in his own poetry – a transition which reaches its peak after emigration, in his greatest and best-known poems such as 'Òran do dh'Aimeireaga',[53] or 'A' Choille Ghruamach', as it is often called.

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REFERENCES

1 *Clarsach na Coille: A Collection of Gaelic Poetry*, ed. by Rev. Alexander Maclean Sinclair (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, 1881), 62.

2 *Orain Nuadh Ghaedhlach*, ed. by Iain Mac Illein (Edinburgh: R. Meinnearach, 1818), 87.

3 Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, v; Rev. Donald Maclean Sinclair, 'John Maclean: a centenary', *The Dalhousie Review*, 28:3 (1948), 258–65 (264).

4 For an account of the Coll family, see Nicholas Maclean-Bristol, *From Clan to Regiment* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2007).

5 'Cumhadh, do Mhaighstir Eamann MacCuinn, Ministear Bharra' (A Lament, to the Rev. Edmund MacQueen, the Minister of Barra), likely composed in the second half of 1812, shortly after the subject's death: Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, 77, Robert Dunbar, 'The secular poetry of John MacLean, "Bàrd Thighearna Chola", "Am Bàrd MacGilleain"' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2006), Appendix I, song 22; and 'Duanag, do Mhaighstir Iain MacGilleain, Ministear Chola' (A Ditty, for Rev. John MacLean, the Minister of Coll), likely composed in about 1813, shortly after the subject's induction at Coll: Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, 40; Dunbar, 'The secular poetry', Appendix I, song 10.

6 'Cumha, do Ghilleasbaig MacGilleain, Fear na Sgurra' (A Lament, for Archibald MacLean, the Laird of Scour), likely composed in about 1817, after the death of the subject: Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, 81, Dunbar, 'The secular poetry', Appendix I, song 23; 'Marbhrann, do Chòirneal Iain Camshron, an Fhàsaich Fheàrna' (An Elegy, to Colonel John Cameron of Fassifern), likely composed in the second half of 1815, shortly after the death of the subject: Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, 84, Dunbar, 'The secular poetry', Appendix I, song 24.

7 *Caran an t-Saoghail/The Wiles of the World: Anthology of 19th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse*, ed. by Donald E. Meek (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003), 'Introduction', xiii–xxxviii.

8 The first was 'Òran Cumha', by Alexander MacDonald, 'The Keppoch Bard', which originally appeared in the Antigonish *Casket*, Vol. 1, No. 28, 3 March 1853; somewhat different versions, edited by Alexander Maclean Sinclair, appeared in Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, 335, and in *Filidh na Coille: Dàin agus Òrain leis a' Bhàrd MacGilleain agus le Feadhainn eile*, ed. by Alexander Maclean Sinclair (Charlottetown, PEI: Examiner Publishing Co., 1901), 142. The second was 'Cumha do dh' Iain MacIlleathain, Bàrd Thighearna Chola', by John Cameron of Addington Forks, Antigonish County, Nova Scotia, which appeared anonymously in the Antigonish *Casket* on 17 March 1853; another version later appeared in both Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, 331, and in Sinclair, *Filidh na Coille*, 138. The third was 'Marbhrann do 'n Bhàrd Mac-Gilleain', which appeared in Sinclair, *Filidh na Coille*, 141; Maclean Sinclair identifies this poet only as 'Iain Ruadh MacGillebhràth', 'John MacGillivray', and notes that he lived along the Antigonish County coast.

9 'Rann Marbh-thaisg Iain Luim, Am Bard Abrach' and 'Leacan Uaighean nam Bàrd', in *Duain agus Orain le Uilleam Mac Dhunleibhe, Am Bard Ileach*, ed. by Robert Blair (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, 1882), 139 and 142–46, respectively.

10 'Gu Iain Caimbeul, Am Bard' (John Campbell of Ledaig), and 'Aig Uaigh Uilleim Rois, Am Bard', in Neil MacLeod, *Clarsach an Doire: Gaelic Poems, Songs and Tales* (Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, 1902), 124–26 and 130–32, respectively.

11 'Oran do Dhonnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir', in *Smeorach nan Cnoc ʾs nan Gleann/The Songster of the Hills and the Glens*, ed. by Hector MacDougall (Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren & Sons, 1939), 52.

12 'Tuireadh Bàrd Thùrnaig', composed for Alasdair Camshron, Bàrd Thùrnaig (1848–1933), on the unveiling of a cairn erected in his memory on 9 August 1952: see *Inbhir Àsdal nam Buadh: Òrain agus Dàin Iain Camshron*, ed. by Roy Wentworth and Maoilios Caimbeul (Glasgow: Bell & Bain, 2006), 72–73 and 118.

13 'Raibeart Burns', 'Do Dhòmhnall Ruadh Mac an t-Saoir', 'Taigh a' Bhàird', 'Dòmhnall Ruadh Chorùna', and 'Do Mhurchadh MacPhàrlain', in *Chì Mi: Dòmhnall Iain MacDhòmhnaill/The Gaelic Poetry of Donald John MacDonald*, ed. by Bill Innes (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), 212, 218, 260, 262 and 322, respectively.

14 There are earlier examples, such as the elegy for Iain Lom, allegedly composed by Angus MacDonald, the Glencoe bard, at Iain Lom's burial – see *Òrain Iain Luim/Songs of John MacDonald, Bard of Keppoch*, ed. by Annie M. MacKenzie, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 8 (Edinburgh: SGTS, 1964), xxxi, and the sources listed there – or 'Cliu a' Bhaird, le fear leis an toil a Ghaelic', a song to an unnamed poet, in Iain MacGhriogair, *Orain Ghaelach* (Edinburgh: Adhamh MacNeill agus a chuideachd, 1801), 195, among others. To the extent that satire represents the inverse of panegyric, mention could also be made of three satires by Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, 'Aoir do Bhan-Bhard an Obain', 'Aoir eile do Bhan-Bhard an Obain', and 'Aoir eile do Bhan-Bhard an Obain', in Alexander MacDonald, *The Poems of Alexander MacDonald (Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair)*, ed. by Rev. A. and Rev. A. MacDonald (Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Co., 1924), 312, 324 and 334, respectively, although he seems to have been motivated more by the poetess's politics than by her talent, or lack of talent, as a poet, and so these poems might not fit so easily into the genre.

15 For a good account of this debate, see the introductory essay in *An Tuil: Anthology of 20th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse*, ed. by Ronald Black (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999), xxi–lxx.

16 In this regard, a consideration of such praise poetry as a body of work may provide some interesting insights. Does, for example, a distinct set of motifs or an identifiable rhetoric of praise (or dispraise) emerge? If so, do the motifs, does the rhetoric, change depending, for example, on the era, degree of

contact with non-Gaelic literary traditions, education (formal and informal) in Gaelic and non-Gaelic cultural and educational institutions, and so on? The praise poetry for poets and poetry can also be situated in a wider body of Gaelic poetry celebrating other 'culture heroes' such as pipers, harpers, singers, dancers and so forth, as well as other Gaelic cultural institutions; does this body of work provide any insights into any distinctively Gaelic aesthetic perspectives?

17 See Meek, *Caran an t-Saoghail*, 298–303 and 444–45, and *An Lasair: Anthology of 18th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse*, ed. by Ronald Black (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), 354–61 and 521 respectively. His reputation seems to have been consistently high. In 1841, in one of the most influential collections of the age, John MacKenzie said the following of MacKinnon: 'The four pieces here presented to the reader are of prime quality. They speak for themselves, and need no passing encomiums from us' (*Sar-Obair nam Bard Gaelach / The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry and the Lives of the Highland Bards*, ed. by John MacKenzie (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1907 [1841]), 370). In one of the most influential collections of the early to mid-twentieth century, Watson identifies MacKinnon's poetry as one of the few exceptions to what he believed to be the rather poor quality of nineteenth century verse (*Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig: Specimens of Gaelic Poetry 1550–1900*, ed. by William J. Watson, 3rd edn (Stirling: A. Learmonth & Son, 1959), xxxiii).

18 MacKenzie, *Sar-Obair*, 369, Black, *An Lasair*, 521–22, and Meek, *Caran an t-Saoghail*, 444.

19 Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, xiv.

20 See generally Donald E. Meek, 'Gaelic printing and publishing', in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 3, Ambition and Industry 1800–80*, ed. by Bill Bell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 107–22.

21 See generally Donald E. Meek, 'Gaelic communities and the use of texts', in Bell, *The Edinburgh History, Volume 3,* 153–72.

22 Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, xxiii–xxiv.

23 John MacLean brought this manuscript with him to Canada, and it is now housed in the Nova Scotia Archives and Record Management (NSARM), Halifax: Manuscript MG15, Series 'G', vol. 2, no 1 (MG15G/2/1).In addition to his own manuscript, John MacLean brought to Nova Scotia another extremely important collection of Gaelic poetry, the one collected by Dr Hector MacLean (1704–1783) of Grulin in Mull: MS MG15, Series 'G', vol. 2, no 2 (MG15G/2/2), NSARM. For a comprehensive listing of the contents of both the manuscripts, see Colm Ó Baoill, *Maclean Manuscripts in Nova Scotia: A Catalogue of the Gaelic Verse Collections MG15G/2/1 and MG15G/2/2 in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Department of Celtic, 2001). Comprising 128 handwritten pages, Dr Hector had apparently begun compiling his manuscript by 1738 and had completed it by 1768 (Derick S. Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 145); the majority of

the poems in the manuscript are found nowhere else. The manuscript had been given to John MacLean by Dr. Hector's daughter, 'Màiri nighean an Dotair' (Mary, the Doctor's Daughter). The fact that she had entrusted such an important manuscript to the poet indicates the respect in which he was held as both a maker of Gaelic poetry and a custodian of Gaelic tradition.

24 These are: 'Òran do Mhàidsear Sìm Domhnallach, triath Mhòrair' (under the title 'Oran do Shim Domhnullach, Triath Mhòrthir') (634); 'Cumha do Mhàidsear Sìm Domhnallach, Triath Mhòrair' (under the title 'Cumha do Shìom Domhnullach, Triath na Mòrthir, a bha na Mhàidseir an Rèisemaid a Mharcuis') (621); 'Ceud Bhlàr na h-Eipheit' (under the title 'Oran le Alastair Mac Cionmhuinn, an uair chaidh e air tìr san Ephait') (630); 'Dara Blàr na h-Eipheit' (611); 'Òran, do Dhòmhnall Camshron, d' am bu cho-ainm Dòmhnall Mòr Òg' (under the title 'Oran do Dhomhnull Cameron, na, mar cho-ainm, Dòmhnull mòr òg, ann an Loch Abar') (636); and 'Cumha do Thriathran Mhòrair' (under the title 'Cumhadh do Shim òg Mhòrthir, a chaidh a Mharbhadh le urachair thuiteamais bho ghunna fèin') (624).

25 Meek, 'Gaelic communities', 154.

26 At pp. 149, 134, 145, 126, 152 and 137, respectively.

27 *Orain nuadh Ghaeleach,* ed. by Domhnul Macleoid (Inverness: Eoin Young, 1811), 26–31.

28 *Comhchruinneacha do dh' Orain Taghta, Ghaidhealach*, ed. by Paruig Mac-an-Tuairneir (Edinburgh: T. Stiubhard, 1813), 38–41. The poem was subsequently published by John MacKenzie and by William J. Watson in their influential collections: MacKenzie, *Sar-Obair*, 374–76, and Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig*, 25–29, as well as in Black, *An Lasair*, 354–61.

29 MacKenzie, *Sar-Obair*, 371–77.

30 'Oran air do'n Bhard a Dhol air Tir anns an Eipheit', published by John MacLean under the name 'Ceud Bhlàr na h-Eipheit', Mac Illein, *Orain Nuadh Ghaedhlach*, 145, and 'Oran air Blar na h-Eiphit', published by John MacLean under the name 'Dara Blàr na h-Eipheit', Mac Illein, *Orain Nuadh Ghaedhlach*, 126.

31 *Dain agus Orain le Alasdair Mac-Fhionghain*, ed. by Alexander Maclean Sinclair (Charlottetown, PEI: Haszard and Moore, 1902).

32 *Comhchruinneachadh Ghlinn-a-Bhaird/The Glenbard Collection of Gaelic Poetry*, ed. by Rev. Alexander MacLean Sinclair (Charlottetown: Haszard and Moore, 1890), 243. In his MS, though, the poet accredits the poem to 'Allister Mac Iamhuir' (639), perhaps due to its placement in the MS (after MacKinnon's poems) and references in both the MS and poem to the composer's presence in Egypt and a battle there.

33 See Dunbar, 'The secular poetry', 20, and Robert Dunbar, 'Iain MacGilleain, "Bàrd Thighearna Chola", agus Tiriodh', in *Caindel Alban: Fèill-sgrìobhainn do Dhòmhnall E. Meek*, ed. by Colm Ó Baoill and Nancy R. McGuire (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 2008), 181–206 [= *SGS*, 24].

34 See Dunbar, 'The secular poetry', 137–144, 167–73.

35 Dunbar, 'The secular poetry', 166–67, 188–92, 208–09.

36 See, generally, Brian D. Osborne, *The Last of the Chiefs: Alasdair Ranaldson Macdonell of Glengarry 1773–1828* (Glendaruel: Argyll Publishing, 2001).

37 Ailein Dughalach, *Orain, Marbhrannan agus Duanagan Ghaidhealach* (Inverness: A. Mac-an-Toisich, 1829).

38 *An Duanaire: A New Collection of Gaelic Songs and Poems*, ed. by Donald MacPherson (Edinburgh: MacLachlan and Stewart, 1868), 194–97.

39 MacDougall, *Clasrach na Coille*.

40 Most comprehensively explored in John MacInnes, 'The panegyric code in Gaelic poetry and its historical background', *TGSI*, 50 (1976–78), 435–98.

41 Glengarry also seems to have had considerable personal magnetism, and there is evidence that he flattered John MacLean greatly, including by insisting that he join him at the banqueting table after the poet's own patron, MacLean of Coll, had left the poet standing outside the banqueting hall, an event which, according to oral tradition in Coll and Tiree, may have led to a split between the poet and his patron: MacDougall, *Clarsach na Coille*, 283–84.

42 Dunbar, 'The secular poetry', chapter 3, 96–203.

43 Mac Illeain, *Orain Nuadh Ghaedhlach*, 87.

44 See, for example, Black, *An Lasair*, xx, and MacInnes, 'Panegyric code', 462–63.

45 ''S e 'na shìneadh gun lèirsinn air bòrd' (He was stretched out lifelessly on a table).

46 ''S beag an t-ioghnadh d' a chèile /'Bhith gu tùrsach bhon 'dh'eug thu, /'Bhith fo mhulad 's fo èislean ri 'beò' (It's little wonder for your wife / To be mournful since you died, / To be in grief and in sorrow as long as she lives). See generally Black, *An Lasair*, 526, 'motifs relating to death', and MacInnes, 'Panegyric code', 457.

47 'B' e sin saighdear a' chruadail / Ri uchd teine agus luaidhe, /'S iomadh baiteal 's na bhuannaich e leòn' (He was a courageous soldier / In the face of fire and of lead, / In many a battle did he earn his wounds). As already noted, MacKinnon was badly injured at the Battle of Alexandria in 1801.

48 Somhairle Mac Gill-eain, 'Realism in Gaelic poetry' in *Ris a' Bhruthaich: The Criticism and Prose Writings of Sorley Maclean*, ed. by William Gillies (Stornoway: Acair, 1985), 15–47.

49 Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, 134, Dunbar, 'The secular poetry', Appendix I, song 33.

50 Mac Gill-eain, 'Realism in Gaelic poetry'.

51 Somhairle Mac Gill-eain, 'Aspects of Gaelic poetry', in Gillies, *Ris a' Bhruthaich*, 75–82 (75).

52 Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, xvi. MacLean was a shoemaker by trade.

53 See, for example, Meek, *Caran an t-Saoghail*, 64–73, Sinclair, *Clarsach na Coille*, 98, Dunbar, 'The secular poetry', Appendix I, song 28.

Pilib Ministir and the Beresford-Mundey Manuscript
Joseph J. Flahive

Introduction

When I was beginning my doctoral studies under Professor Gillies, he and Barbara Hillers were engaged in a research project to catalogue the sources relating to the Mac Mhuirich family (Classical Gaelic Mac Muireadhaigh), the hereditary poets of the Lords of the Isles and Clann Raghnaill, who are highly prominent in both the manuscript and folklore traditions of Gaelic Scotland. The papers arising from this research that they have published to date focus on the complicated relationship between the tales about the family collected by the nineteenth-century folklorist Alexander Carmichael and other sources of evidence.[1] This essay will explore another case of this type, focusing on Trinity College Dublin Manuscript N.5.12, catalogue number 3397.[2] Although it has been accessible in a major institutional library for some time, this MS has never been described fully; its contents not only include a substantial and unique romance, but also shed new light on the life and works of its scribe, Pilib Mac Brádaigh, who appears to be the Cavan clergyman of that name generally known as Pilib Ministir, a figure in Irish folktales to whom a corpus of poetry is attributed.[3]

In 1947, James Carney was asked to examine a collection of Irish documents inherited by Captain Stanley Cyril Beresford Mundey of Great Yeldham, Essex; when its value was discovered, the Captain donated it to Trinity College Library. Many of the papers relate to the estate of Myles John O'Reilly of Heath House, Maryborough, Queen's County (now Port Laoise, Co. Laois); the remainder are a heterogenous bunch, of which the portion in Irish is dominated by transcripts of historical and genealogical works.[4] The College's unpublished typescript MS catalogue describes the collection thus:

O'Reilly MSS (3391–3413) Beresford-Mundey MSS (3414–3423)

> The family papers of Myles John O'Reilly of the Heath House, Queen's Co. with a few earlier items, and also

the papers of his son Myles George O'Reilly of Brighton, whose grandson, Captain Stanley Cyril Beresford Mundey, presented them with the family portraits 23 July 1954.

Among these papers, the manuscript that is the subject of this study stands out. When he undertook *A Genealogical History of the O'Reillys* (hereafter, *GHR*), Carney named the codex 'The Beresford-Mundey Manuscript', giving it the siglum B.[5] I shall adopt both practices in this essay. Other than quoting the colophon of *Feis Tighe Chonáin*, Carney only concerned himself with the genealogical portion of the MS.

Very little else can be gleaned of B's history with certainty. After the scribal colophons (1736–37), there is no evidence regarding the whereabouts of the volume until John O'Donovan jotted a rough list of its contents on the flyleaf in 1836. The scribe John Clery made several copies of the genealogies (see under 24[r] below), one of which is now RIA MS 23 M 5 (66), written in Dublin and dated 10 October 1838. He might have gained access to B through O'Donovan, a resident of the city, who could have had the MS on loan from his close friend O'Reilly, though it is also possible that B could have belonged to either O'Donovan or Clery before O'Reilly acquired it. Myles John O'Reilly remains its first traceable owner.

The Manuscript

The Beresford-Mundey MS is a small volume bound in green quarter-leather and green buckram boards. The spine is lettered in gilt 'Tab. Geneal. et Poemat. Hist. M.S. HIB.' and bears a Trinity College shelfmark (N.5.12). The O'Reilly collection shelfmark (53) also remains. The leaves generally measure $7\,^{1}/_{8}$" by $5\,^{3}/_{4}$", the boards extending slightly larger. The MS has been cropped to its regular dimensions by the binder with some loss of pagination and foliation (described below), as well as marginal headings. The MS proper, excluding unnumbered binders' leaves, comprises 122 folios; the first half is paginated in the hand of the scribe, beginning with 23 and ending with 121; it is also foliated in a later hand throughout, beginning with 1 (= p. 23). The pagination is careless: it misses 33[v]/34[r] and repeats the page number sequence 110–19. The foliation, which begins with the first surviving leaf (bearing an

acephalous text), is not earlier than the arrangement and binding of the MS in its current form; such numbering necessarily postdates the loss of the opening of *Feis Tighe Chonáin* (and whatever may have preceded it). The leaves paginated as 54–55 and 55–56 have been reversed by the binder, and the foliator has numbered them in the incorrect order in which they had been bound. It may, however, be surmised that the order of the tracts in the MS is due to its scribe, even though its opening text, *Feis Tighe Chonáin*, is dated a year later in its colophon than the material that follows it, because the scribe's pagination is continuous until the point where it ceases. After that point, the colophon dates are chronological. The pedigrees within the various genealogical tracts in the MS have also been numbered, not very accurately, in red ink by a later hand; the same hand and red ink have replaced some of the foliation numbers that have been trimmed away by the binder, as well as coloured the occasional capital.

Two accounts of its contents accompany B. One, already mentioned, is on the flyleaf in John O'Donovan's hand with his signature:

> The account of the families of Mac Brady and O Reilly given in this book was originally written in Latin at Louvain ['at Louvain' interlinear with caret] by Boethius Roe Mac Egan friar of the order of St. Francis and Patrick Hackett of the order of St. Dominic, as appears from page 51. [15, the folio number, is inserted superscript]. John O'Donovan, Mohill, July 1st, 1836.

A printed description of the contents from the O'Reilly collection sale catalogue, incomplete and at times erroneous, is pasted to the inside of the front cover. Apart from the incorporation of part of O'Donovan's statement above into the text of the entry in the typescript catalogue in Trinity College, the slip and the catalogue are virtually identical in their descriptions. The sale-catalogue slip characterises the MS thus:

> 53 *A small paper book*, 122 *folios,* or 244 *pages. Quarto, MS.* This appears to be copied from an original: it contains an imperfect Copy of the Popular Tale of *Feis Tighe Chanain,* this wants the first 22 pages. – Genealogy of the Mc Bradys, together with Pedigrees of the same –

the Pedigrees of Several Ancient Irish Families, amongst
which is that of the house of O'Reilly. These are extracted
from the Book of Cavan. – Four Romantic Tales – Brief
History of Ireland, by John O'Connell – the Battle of
Gabhra, a Poem. This last is imperfect.

The damaged leaves at the beginning and end are the only places
where there is any serious problem of legibility, but those losses are
confined to well-attested Fenian texts; there is no loss outside *Feis
Tighe Chonáin* and 'Tuarasgabháil Chatha Ghabhra'. The layout
of the MS is irregular regarding the number of lines of text to the
page and the presence, absence or type of ruling used. The margins,
however, are drawn regularly in ink with a straightedge throughout.

The entire MS (apart from marginalia by the foliator) is in the
hand of one man, Pilib Mac Brádaigh, though there are many changes
of pen and ink. The last date entered in it is 28 October 1737, in a
colophon on fo. 20ᵛ. Despite the Cavan focus of the material and
scribe (discussed below), the colophon on fo. 14ᵛ states that it was
written in Dublin. Mac Brádaigh's Irish hand is confident and clear,
but his use of abbreviations is as idiosyncratic as his orthography
is uneven.[6] The spelling of colophons and items that fill the feet
of pages that end texts is more irregular still, suggesting that Mac
Brádaigh's unorthodox spelling is restrained to some extent by the
exemplars of the longer texts. Latin is written in a florid cursive in
which secretary-*e* and *o* are virtually indistinguishable. Paragraphs
and pages frequently begin with capitals made into stylised horses'
heads.

fo. 1ʳ (p. 23) Prose tale [*Feis Tighe Chonáin*], acephalous. For the
best full text, see *Feis Tighe Chonáin*, ed. by Maud Joynt, Mediaeval
and Modern Irish Series, 7 (Dublin: The Stationery Office, 1936).
The tale is followed on 14ᵛ x. (50) by a colophon: *Gurab é sin
Feis Thighe Chanáin Ceann tSleibhe ar na sgriobhe le Phillibh mac
Braduighe 28 la don mígh Octobair an bliadhain do aoís an Thighrna
1737 a mBaile Atha Cliathche.*

15ʳ (51) A portion of [*Geinealach agus Craobhscaoileadh na
Raghallach agus Maithe na Bréifne*], hereafter *GCRMB*, incipit
Geanlach na Garbhallach Extractus compendiosum ex libris genealogia

chronicus et historiis antiquares regini de vetustate &c. This is not properly the beginning of the tract, which is discussed below at its true incipit at 24ʳ. The headings of this detached portion of the work are: *Do Sliocht an Espoich, Do Sliocht an Epsoig Ruaidh, Do Sliocht an Oifisteil, Tre na mhac oile .i. Conbhthac Lib. Geneo. Ketting in Genealogia Murchadioij Pathway, Crabhsgaoleadh na cCarbhallaigh mar Goirth diobh, Sliocht Donchadha, Æidh an Counseller.* O'Donovan's statement about the Latin original properly applies to this section of genealogies only.

18ᵛ (58) Another section of *GCRMB*, titled separately: *Dho ghaibhtear so ag pag.* [space left blank] *ní asfar 7 fíos gáol re huasle Fodhla &c.* Incipit *Ofisthal na ornaidhe, ó ttáinig Coirmac og 7 Pilibh…* It contains two titled sub-sections: *Do Sliocht Fearghall* and *Cathal Maol.* A quatrain is written at 19ᵛ x.: *Truaigh sin a leabhair bhig bháin / tiocfhá an lá sis fíor / go ndearaighe neach os cionn dho chláir / nach marionn an lámh dho sgríobh.*[7] The section is followed by a colophon on 20ᵛ (62): *Ghebe dho leithbhs ann sgriobha, 7 nách díarfhá go dían beanacht don té dho sgriobh mhalacht fho trar a gob ar na sgriobha le Phillip mac Braduidghe an bliadhann daos ann Tighearna 1736/7 / Ann 12 lá dho mhidhe na Fhéal Bridhe, 1736/7.*

21ʳ (63) Genealogies: *Ag so sios tiomsuighadh as san leabhar meamraimh ata ag Doctur Lucas Ó Maoltuile is furus a thug se gur shean leabhar é óir ní thionigan ann sheanchús ré heann neach dho bhí a namirs ar natar no ar sean athar no ar ngaratar.* Contains *Craoibh coibhnsa Ó mBruinn, Ginlach hUí Raghallaigh* (a highly compressed pedigree), *Genela mic in Caoich, Genela mic Consama, Craebscaoileadh coibhneas Ua mBruin, Geanla hÍ Ruairc,* and *Geanala mac Tigrnann.*

24ʳ (69) *Genlach Agus Craobhsgaoladh na Raghallach 7 Maithe Breifne Ua Raghallaigh ann meadh nach bfacamar thuas, 7 dho tiomsamar ó duineibh olgach.* Incipit *Philib mac Æidh dho bhí na comhnaighe a cCaislan Bel Ath na Cairge.* This is the beginning of the text of *GCRMB*, parts of which are broken off as independent genealogies above. The tract was originally composed by the Rev. Dr Thomas Fitzsimons, Vicar-General of the Catholic Diocese of Kilmore in the 1670s, as established by Carney, *GHR*, 7–16. Other copies known to Carney are RIA MS 23 E 26 (756) and Trinity College MS H.1.15 (1289), which both contain a recension likely

closer to the original in structure than the text in B, and RIA MS 23 M 5 (66), a nineteenth-century MS that contains two copies from B, both incomplete.[8] Another complete copy of the genealogies in B, penned in 1838 by Seán Ó Cléirigh, the scribe of 23 M 5, is RIA MS 23 O 36 (567), of which Carney was unaware. An edition of the tract that I undertook for the Locus Project in University College Cork, now in preparation for publication, includes an introduction in which the tract and its stemma are comprehensively discussed.[9] The list 'Founders of the Strongholds' (see Carney, *GHR*, 11–13), which is integral to the text in 23 E 26 and H.1.15, follows afterward as an appendix on f. 39ᵛ (98). At the conclusion are the signature *Phillib mac Braduidghe* and the same quatrain as 19ᵛ x.: *Truaigh shin a leabhair bhig bháin / Tiocuigh an lá sis fior / Go ndearáid neach os cion do chláir / Nach mairion an laimh do sgríobh.*

40ʳ (99) Prose tale titled *Oidhe, ⁊ Imthiosa Chloinne Uisneach,* incipit *Ard rígh uasal onórach ard chomhachtach do gabh flathas ...* This version, though compressed, strongly resembles the one preserved in NLS Gaelic MS ʟᴠɪ (72.2.6), printed in *Reliquiæ Celticæ,* ed. by Alexander MacBain and John Kennedy, 2 vols (Inverness: Northern Chronicle, 1892–94), vol. 2, 422–61. Signed *Finit le Pillib mac Bráduigh,* 47ᵛ x. (114).

48ʳ (115) Poem on the antiquities of Ireland by John O'Connell (Seán Ó Conaill), incipit *Scaoinim ar shaoithe na hEirionn* (*recte An uair smaoinim ar shaoithibh na hÉireann,* often titled 'Tuireamh na hÉireann'). The foliator has inserted in the upper margin a heading: *O Connell's poem on the Antiquities of Ireland commences here.* The most recent edition of this immensely well-attested poem is in *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems,* ed. by Cecile O'Rahilly (Dublin: DIAS, 1952), 50–82.

56ʳ (121 *bis*) Prayer: *Patar nosthear. Aúia Maria beannacht ar anamh an the, do do sriobh ⁊ ar anam mharbhadh an domhain amean. Pillibh mac Braduighe.*

56ʳ m. Poem: *Do bhí mé lá faí sgarrtóig mar sheort dhín sbágan / faisge an glas ló fionóg sige liomh ann / bhagh bhagh ar san bhradóg dan leath glór do bhí an a ceán / mo ghradh an sparteóg leat beó ud shinte hall / Tarruing díomh tá pituᵣ bhailis liom ré / an fear as brighmur direach beartha gan clean / go ttagaighe an dile rist fæí bharra na ccráobh / fæí sgairt mar díon ní sin fior sgraisthe maᵣ mé.*

56ʳ x. Quatrain: *Dar raran ní sgriobhan gan feamh ar é / eidir Sean agus a ghirán cía thaidhbh seach íad / malc slíneain go geidáinn ar an geithreach éach / ₇ lomlán a cliathan don stínledh ar féin.*

56ᵛ m. (122 *bis*) Epigram: *Mó crach chineamhuinac mó chuart Iormhunach / a tTir na mBitúinach a measg na nAllmurach.* Pagination ceases here with 122 *bis.*

56ᵛ x. Proverb: *Da ttriann tinnis re teacht oidhche / Da ttriann bhais aig oige / Da ttrian sainte aig sean dæine / Da ttrian cainte aig lucht pothe.* The foliator adds: *Translations of 4 last lines – "Two thirds of sickness by night / "Two thirds of deaths in youth / "Two thirds of avarice in the old / "Two thirds of talk with drunkards.*

57ʳ Prose romance, incipit *Rígh dúice for an nGailinsia .i. Árdghal mic Eburn m*hic *Muiliniúisius mic Beilion*uis *do reimh Bríotuis móir.* The colophon on 71ʳ identifies the tale and the date of copying: *Imthiochta Thuirinn mic Árdghail mic Breasa mic Mulinisisis mic Belións, go nuidhe sin fínit, ar na sgríobha le Phillib mac Braduighe an blíadúin dó íosh ann Thiarna 1737 beanacht ar anamh amean.* The foliator comments: *End of Romantic tale.* This romance appears to be unique and not previously known to scholarship. It consists of a quest for a bride, with many adventures far-flung across Europe. I have made a transcript with the intention of editing it.

71ʳ m. *Oighidh Choingcoluin ann so ma*r *leanas.* Incipit *Lá an naon dá raibh Oiloll m*ac *Rosa Ruaidh, ₇ Méadhbh*adh *Cruachan ar faithe a ndune féin.* The text of *Oidheadh Con Culainn* here is a version of what Thurneysen called the Early-Modern B-text, but lacking its usual first scene, which comprises a separate anecdote on the sons of Cailitín, who avenge their father's death at the hand of Cú Chulainn in the main tale.[10] It is closely related to four pre-nineteenth-century MSS, all of Cork provenance: RIA 23 M 25 (15) and 23 G 21 (917), Trinity College Dublin H.5.4 (1376), and National Library of Ireland G 113/114.[11] The text of B picks up the story at the point represented by §3 of van Hamel's edition, though the prose varies frequently from the published text.[12] At the conclusion is added the colophon: *gom*adh *é sin Oighidh Choin gloinn ar na sgriobha ré Phillip mac Braduighe an 19 lá do mígh Septembhair an bliaghuin do æis an Thighiarn*uis *1737.* The foliator adds: *End of the account of the Death of Cuchullin.*

111ᵛ m. Prose tale titled *Fágail Chræibhe Chormuic An So,* incipit

*Lá nœn dá ráibh Cormuic mic Airt mic Cuinn c*éad *catha a tTeamhair na Ríogh go bhfacaidh an taein óglœich ar faithe an dúnadh.* The text of this tale is very close to the version printed and translated by Standish Hayes O'Grady in *The Transactions of the Ossianic Society of Dublin*, 3 (1855), 212–28. At 117ᵛ x. the text concludes: *Fagáll Croibhe Chormúc air na sgriobha ré Phillib mac Bɾaduighe an 22 lá do Septhembe*r, *san mbluguin do œís an Thig*earn*a 1737.*

118ʳ Fragment of ['Tuarasghabháil Chatha Gabhra'], incipit *Sireas a chneadh go maith dhó*, equivalent to *Laoithe na Féinne*, ed. by 'An Seabhac' (Dublin: Clólucht an Talbóidigh, 1941), 206–12 from 208, § 40. The upper corner of fo. 121 is torn away; 122 is fragmentary, and its verso is not entirely legible. The text breaks off incomplete at 122ᵛ.

THE SCRIBE

Carney asserted (without explanation) that the Pilib Mac Brádaigh who wrote the Beresford-Mundey MS was the Cavan poet and clergyman Pilib Mac Brádaigh (or Phillip Brady), widely known in anecdote and folklore as Pilib Ministir or Parson Brady.[13] Seosamh Watson, in the introduction to his 1979 edition of the anonymous *Mac na Míchomhairle*, presents a *floruit* for Mac Brádaigh that continues beyond the 1730s.[14] In the time since these publications, however, other scholars have claimed that Pilib Ministir died *c.* 1720, and the question of whether this figure can be identified with Pilib Mac Brádaigh who was the scribe of N.5.12 must be reëxamined.[15]

Although it is quite impossible to do justice to numerous sources of varying reliability and with multiple possible interpretations in a mere sketch, I attempt here to give some account of Pilib Ministir. He first appears for certain in the historical record in 1682, on the occasion of his marriage to Mary Broderick. He is named as vicar of the Church of Ireland parish of Kildallan (Diocese of Kilmore, Co. Cavan) in a document of 1691, and served as rector of Inishmagrath (Co. Leitrim), 1704–19.[16] He is known to have assisted with the translation of Protestant works, including sermons and *The Book of Common Prayer*, into Irish. A number of his poems survive, and he has a reputation as a composer of witty epigrams and satires as

well, though it would be nearly impossible to evaluate definitively what portion of the works later attributed to him are genuinely his compositions.[17] Such are the facts; later tradition, disagreeing about nearly every further addition, invariably says that he was a Catholic priest who turned religion to marry and later regretted conforming; this last assertion is supported by a 1714 report of Aodh Mac Mathghamhna, then Bishop of Clogher, to the Propaganda Fide in Rome, in which he states the case of an unnamed

> ministellum, qui ex Sacerdote factus apostata, obtenta parochia a pseudo Episcopo protestante ultra 30 annos obivit officium praedicante ... promisit abjurare haeresum, ac totam familiam reducere ad gremum Ecclesiæ[18]

– but only if granted a pension by the Catholic Church, which the bishop would not authorise. Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich identifies this figure as probably Parson Brady.[19] Pilib Ministir's lifespan has most recently been given as *c.* 1655 or 1660–1720.[20] Since no record of his birth, baptism, or death survive, the dates merely represent two independent hypotheses.[21] The first is that at his marriage in 1682, he had not only reached an appropriate age, but also had probably completed his studies for the priesthood abroad. Second, his disappearance from the records of the Protestant Diocese of Kilmore at the end of his tenure in 1719 is interpreted as the *quies* of the man himself. In addition to variations in orally collected local lore, there are further complications in reconstructing his biography. There are multiple documentary references to two Franciscan priests named Pilib Mac Brádaigh that cannot be reconciled with the figure of Pilib Ministir.[22] In the same area, another poet of the same surname and kin, Fiachra Mac Brádaigh (*c.* 1690–1760), was active, and it is not unlikely that the cross-fertilisation of anecdota from the lives of several individuals may be at work in the folk-memory.[23]

I shall return here to outline what is known of Pilib Mac Brádaigh, the scribe of B, from manuscript evidence. A few things can be inferred from his hand. He writes Irish script with confidence and clarity, but several letterforms, such as his *æ*-ligature, seem to be the result of executing a normal character with an unusual ductus,

which suggests that Mac Brádaigh did not receive traditional training in writing Irish. Such a hypothesis finds additional support in his eccentric spelling. On the other hand, his Latin – and also some jottings in English in Trinity College Dublin MS H.5.13 (1385), discussed below – is penned in a fairly elegant cursive. B seems to be written in short sections of a few pages at a time. Towards the end of each of these, the quality of script noticeably declines – suggestive of age or infirmity – then it resumes afresh in the next section. In regard to contents, the manuscript, as catalogued above, is a miscellany, but a sketch of the item-types allows something more to be seen of the man. Although he was writing in Dublin, the genealogies all relate to Bréifne. The remaining texts in the MS demonstrate an interest in history and literature. The brief prayer, poem and epigram on 56ᵛ, as well as the quatrain on mortality that accompanies his signatures, are of the type of material so often credited to Pilib Ministir.

Watson introduced another MS to his discussion of Pilib Ministir that requires some comment here. Abbott and Gwynn's catalogue of the Irish MSS in Trinity College observed that Pilib Mac Brádaigh also signed H.5.13 (1385), an early eighteenth-century MS penned by Séamus Ó Gabhagáin, but with numerous later insertions in a number of different hands. Most of its contents are devotional Catholic texts. Amongst its contents are a catechism, a calendar of saints' days, poetry about the Lough Derg pilgrimage, the penitential psalms in Irish and Marian devotions. Providing a contrast with these items is the cover of the book, made from leaves of an English *Book of Common Prayer*. Mac Brádaigh wrote his *ex libris* on the bottom of p. 139: 'Leabhar Phillib mc Braduigh – ar na sribhing le Semuis Ó Gabhagain an sa Díshart a Conde Írmídhe'.[24] This hand is unquestionably the same as the scribe of B. Abbott and Gwynn did not observe that several other items in H.5.13 were also the work of Mac Brádaigh, who filled in some of the empty spaces at the end of several texts. On p. 145 in his distinctive Latin hand is a witty verse in English: 'Cornelius Kainan / has no Defender / but insists on the Rights / of the pretender / If pretences / Grieve him any thing / The both pretend and / Dance and Sing'. He inserts a Latin epitaph of Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan (†1693) on p. 150, incipit 'Post annos novies denos', followed by a claim of authorship ('Hos ego versiculos

feci, tulit alter honores'). Page 154 contains an English-language recipe in Mac Brádaigh's hand 'to keep a nosegay all ye year'. He makes a list of the Golden Fridays sideways across pp. 199–200. The evidence of H.5.13 clearly extends the picture presented by B. The Mac Brádaigh seen in H.5.13 demonstrates his wit in English and his knowledge of Latin. He appears to be a devout man still interested in Catholic as well as Protestant devotion, if the texts in Ó Gabhagáin's hand (and the cover) reflect Mac Brádaigh's tastes.

The last pair of insertions in H.5.13 associated with Mac Brádaigh concerns correspondence with John Carpenter, who ended his ministry as Archbishop of Dublin. Mac Brádaigh writes on p. 166, 'I hope you will be so Kind as [to] send me the book'. A response follows immediately in Carpenter's hand, '– by your humble Servant John Carpenter'. Carpenter also wrote on p. 150, 'Iohannes Carpenter hunc librum Emvit a Jacobo Brady 1745'. Indication of the circumstances of the sale is absent. Watson understood that it was sold by Mac Brádaigh, the scribe of B: 'tá a fhios againn go raibh sé i mbun pinn sa bhliain 1737 agus go raibh fáil air, de réir cosúlachta, beagnach deich mbliana ina dhiaidh sin nuair a dhíol sé ls le Seán Mac an tSaoir [John Carpenter]'.[25] To examine Watson's statement is to call the question posed at the opening of this discussion. Watson, writing prior to Ó Buachalla's now normative placement of Pilib Ministir's birth *c.* 1655–60, says that Pilib Mac Brádaigh the scribe sold H.5.13 in 1745. He does not address who the Jacobus Brady actually named in the MS may have been, though his treatment implies that he regarded mention of this name as an error or thought that this individual was an agent or middleman in the transaction. The statement may, in fact, have a different import. To follow Carney and Watson that Pilib Mac Brádaigh and Pilib Ministir are in fact the same man, one must take into account Ó Buachalla's estimation of his date of birth, which, although approximate, is difficult to gainsay. If his birth was *c.* 1660, the late end of the accepted range, Mac Brádaigh would have engaged in a flurry of literary activity in Dublin through much of his seventies and would have been about 85 when Carpenter bought his MS in 1745. Although not impossible, this scenario seems implausible unless adjustment can be made.

Carpenter's statement, as Mac Labhraí observes, does not in fact

require that Mac Brádaigh was alive in 1745 when the book was sold:

> Ní luaitear de dhátaí sa tagairt seo ach an bhliain a raibh an Ls i seilbh Mhic an tSaoir [Carpenter] – 1745. Ní heol dúinn cén bhliain ar peannaíodh í agus ní féidir a bhaint as le cinnteacht go raibh "Pillib Mc braduigh" beo i 1745 ná gurbh amhlaidh a dhíol *seisean* an Ls le Mac an tSaoir.[26]

The p. 166 note in H.5.13 establishes that Mac Brádaigh and Carpenter exchanged books with each other at an earlier time. To this may be added the evidence of RIA MS 23 A 22 (144), a manuscript of devotional literature written 1731–35 by Seádhan Ó Héidéin. On p. 256 is written 'Revd. Mr Brady his Copy Dated' in a shaky hand that is neither Ó Héidéin's nor Mac Brádaigh's.[27] Another piece of evidence of Mac Brádaigh's activity should be considered: a bawdy epitaph for a Parson Pryx of Christ Church, Dublin, is among the verses attributed to Pilib Ministir.[28] Taken as a group, this evidence suggests that Mac Brádaigh was part of a Dublin-based clerical circle that shared its books among its members. After Mac Brádaigh's death, Carpenter, a rising man in the Church, could easily have offered to purchase a MS that interested him, to which he had enjoyed access previously; or, he could have paid the estate for the MS in his possession on loan at the time of Mac Brádaigh's decease. Jacobus Brady, therefore, may have been an heir or executor of the estate of Pilib Mac Brádaigh. The last date that can be assigned with any certainty to the life of the scribe is 28 October 1737, from the colophon of *Feis Tighe Chonáin* in B. Neither of the other MSS suggests significantly later activity. Carpenter's note in H.5.13 provides a probable *terminus ante quem* for Mac Brádaigh's death: the 1737 colophons provide a *terminus post quem*.

Much work remains to be done; this essay cannot evaluate the numerous later sources and many pieces of verse attributed to Pilib Ministir, nor give due consideration to the probability that the Parson Brady of folklore, though having roots in an historically identifiable figure, became something of a composite. All who grapple with these thorny problems will eagerly await the comprehensive treatment forthcoming from Seán Mac Labhraí. The best explanation I can give

at present for the evidence of the Beresford-Mundey MS is that it should be accepted, along with the entries in H.5.13 in the same hand, as the work of Pilib 'Ministir' Mac Brádaigh, whose character it fits so well. This requires that his life is best assigned to *c.* 1660– *c.* 1740 and suggests that he left his ministry in the Diocese of Kilmore in 1719 to retire to Dublin, where he enjoyed approximately a score of years with his books. Among the materials surviving from his pen are English- and Irish-language epigrams in autograph in addition to much copied material of interest, including genealogies of Bréifne kindreds that he appears to have updated, alongside romantic tales. Since his hand is highly distinctive, future scholarship may extend the corpus of Pilib Ministir's literary activities further yet.[29]

References

1 William Gillies, 'Alexander Carmichael and Clann Mhuirich', *SGS*, 20 (2000), 1–66; William Gillies, 'Alexander Carmichael and the MacMhuirichs', in *The Life and Legacy of Alexander Carmichael*, ed. by Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart (Port of Ness: Isles Book Trust, 2008), 96–114; and Barbara Hillers, 'Poet or magician: Mac Mhuirich Mór in oral tradition', in *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Tradition: A Festschrift for Patrick K. Ford*, CSANA Yearbook, 3–4, ed. by Joseph Falaky Nagy and Leslie Ellen Jones (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005), 141–57.

2 Thanks are due to the Board of Trinity College Dublin for granting me access to the MS and permission to publish this description of it.

3 The MS, as narrated below, was acquired subsequent to the completion of the published catalogue: *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, ed. by Thomas Kingsmill Abbott and Edward John Gwynn (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1921).

4 An outline description of the other items in the Beresford-Mundey papers is given in James Carney, *A Genealogical History of the O'Reillys* (Dublin: DIAS, 1959), 20–24.

5 Carney, *GHR*, 9.

6 Mac Brádaigh's hand and orthographical idiosyncrasies are discussed in greater detail in my introduction to 'Geinealach agus Craobhscaoileadh na Raghallach agus Maithe na Bréifne', forthcoming.

7 A version of this commonplace quatrain in more standard orthography has been printed from other witnesses in *Dánfhocail – Irish Epigrams in Verse*, ed. by Thomas F. O'Rahilly (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1921), 26, § 130: 'Truagh sin, a leabhair bhig bháin, / Tiocfaidh an lá, is budh fíor, / Déarfaidh neach os cionn do chláir: / "Ní mhaireann an lámh do sgríobh."'

8 Carney erroneously called this last MS 23 M 12 in the introduction to *GHR*, 9.

9 Flahive, 'Geinealach agus Craobhscaoileadh na Raghallach'. Although Carney describes *GCRMB* at length in the introduction to *GHR* (7–16), the genealogical text he prints and translates (26–117), despite borrowing the title of Fitzsimons' work, does not in fact contain his text, but rather a mid eighteenth-century modernisation and abridgement of *GCRMB* that should not be confused with Fitzsimons' original.

10 See Rudolf Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1921), 547–50, 557–58.

11 I am indebted to Julia Kühns (personal communication) for sharing with me these fruits of her researches into the stemma of *Oidheadh Con Culainn*, which she has undertaken as part of her PhD thesis in the University of Glasgow.

12 'Aided Con Culainn', in *Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories*, ed. by A. G. van Hamel (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1933), 72. Van Hamel's introduction to the tale (69–71), which he prints from the earliest MS, NLS Gaelic MS XLV (72.1.45), largely summarises in English the views of Thurneysen (see note 10 above).

13 Carney, *GHR*, 9.

14 *Mac na Míchomhairle*, ed. by Seosamh Watson (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1979), 122–24. He undertakes this discussion in the context of an evaluation of Pilib Ministir as a possible author of the text.

15 A summary of Mac Brádaigh's life and the sources for it are given in Máire Ní Mhurchú and Diarmuid Breathnach, *1560–1781 Beathaisnéis* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 2001), 58 *s.n.* 'Mac Brádaigh, Pilib (c. 1655–1720)'. Another brief biographical sketch by Breandán Ó Buachalla is in *Nua-Dhuanaire II* (Dublin: DIAS, 1976), 139. The most extensive attempt to establish a biography of Pilib Ministir to date is Seán Seosamh Mac Labhraí, 'Pilip Ministir Mac Brádaigh – beatha agus dánta' (unpublished MA thesis, Roinn na Nua-Ghaeilge, University College Dublin, 1987); Mac Labhraí's views have evolved since the completion of this thesis, and he is now at work on a monograph on Pilib Ministir. He has most kindly provided me with a photostat of the relevant sections of his thesis and has made many useful suggestions in response to an earlier draft of this paper.

16 It is unfortunate that the early registers of these parishes, which would provide indisputable examples of Pilib Ministir's hand, do not survive.

17 Works which are attributed to Mac Brádaigh with reasonable certainty include 'An Marcach' and 'An Dearnaid' in Ó Buachalla, *Nua-Dhuanaire II*, 24–25, and 'Saoghal bocht seachránach' in *Dhá Chéad de Cheoltaibh Uladh*, ed. by Éinrí Ó Muirgheasa (Dublin: Oifig Dhíolta Foilseachán Rialtais, 1934), 387–88, § 190. 'Fáilte Chearbhalláin', (*incipit* 'Fíorchaoin fáilte dho do dhail') is also likely his work – see Donal O'Sullivan, *Carolan: The Life, Times, and Music of an Irish Harper* (London: Routledge, 1958), vol. 1, 90–91. A rather poor text of the poem is printed, though not attributed to Mac Brádaigh, in Luke Donnellan, 'Carolaniana',

County Louth Archæological Journal, 2 (1908–11), 62–71 (70).

18 *Spicilegium Ossoriense: Being a Collection of Original Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Irish Church from the Reformation to the Year 1800*, ed. by Patrick Francis Moran (Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1878), vol. 2, 481–82.

19 Ó Fiaich's identification was made in a private communication of 11 January 1988 to Seán Mac Labhraí, to whom I am grateful for providing me with a copy of the letter.

20 Ó Buachalla opts for *c.*1660–1720 in *Nua-Dhuanaire II*, 139; Ní Mhurchú and Breathnach opt for the earlier date of birth in *1581–1781 Beathaisnéis*, 58.

21 The lack of a baptismal record is normal; the Catholic Church was in no position to maintain its parochial records in the mid-seventeenth century. The Church of Ireland kept good records, but they are now fragmentary. Previous scholarship has not uncovered a notice of Mac Brádaigh's death among the diocesan papers for Kilmore, and the registers of burials in the parishes with which he was associated are not extant. I have examined the burial records of the Church of Ireland for the City of Dublin, but have not found his death in any parish register there either. My thanks are due to the Church of Ireland's Representative Church Body Library for permitting me to undertake this search in their archives. It must, however, be kept in mind that a large proportion of the Church of Ireland parish registers perished with the Public Records Office in 1922; little can be made of the failure to find a name among the records that survive, since they account for only half the parishes. Perhaps future scholarship may uncover a newspaper obituary or a tombstone. Unfortunately, without a precise date or parish of death, such a search is far beyond the limits of this study.

22 The question of an earlier Franciscan of the name is addressed by Mac Labhraí, 'Pilip Ministir Mac Brádaigh', 9–11. Record evidence includes a record of enrollment in the University of Louvain, '1653 Jan. 14. Philippus Brady, Hybernus, minorensis, Porcensis', printed in Brendan Jennings, 'Irish students in the University of Louvain', in *Measgra Mhichíl Uí Cléirigh*, ed. by Sylvester O'Brien (Dublin: Assisi Press, 1944), 74–97 (83). A Franciscan of the same name is also listed in Cathaldus Giblin, 'A list of the personnel of the Franciscan Province of Ireland, 1700', *Collectanea Hibernica*, 8 (1965), 47–57 (51). Canice Mooney, 'Some Cavan Franciscans of the past', *Breifne*, 1 (1958), 17–27 (22), observes: 'The Bradys are also strongly represented in the order. There was … Philip (*fl.* 1680), and another Philip (*fl.* 1793)'. Furthermore, 'Philip Brady was brought from Cavan to Dublin to be transported in 1704. I am not certain of his fate, but I do not think he can be identified with the person of that name who conformed and became well-known in Cavan folklore as Pilib Ministir' (24). Unfortunately, Mooney does not state his sources for this information in his unreferenced article. Regarding Philip (*fl.* 1680), Mooney may in fact be confusing two figures, neither of whom can be identified with Pilib Ministir. Gibson divided entries

s.n. Philip Brady in that period as relating to two clearly distinct men in the index to *Liber Lovaniensis: A Collection of Irish Franciscan Documents* (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1956), 366. Gibson's first Brady appears in 1676 when instituted a confessor and preacher, and, after holding numerous offices across Leath Cuinn, he is last mentioned as celebrating his jubilee in 1717. The second was instituted as a confessor and made guardian of Kildare in 1689; he still held that office in 1690; unless one takes for evidence the surname Brady itself, the documents do not provide a direct link with Cavan, though he could easily have come thence. Either of Gibson's Franciscans – or someone else entirely – could have been the one that entered Louvain in 1653 or that was transported in 1704. Neither Franciscan can be Pilib Ministir, who had conformed by 1682 and was in the service of the Church of Ireland apparently continuously until 1719.

23 A bibliographical account of Fiachra Mac Brádaigh is given in Ní Mhurchú and Breathnach, *1581–1781 Beathaisnéis*, 57–58; and a biographical study is Séamus P. Ó Mórdha, 'Fiachra Mac Brádaigh, poet and scribe of Central Cavan', *Heart of Breifne*, 1.3 (1980), 4–23. Mac Labhraí addresses the relation of the two poets, 'Pilip Ministir Mac Brádaigh', 25–26 and 29.

24 Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, 245–48 (246).

25 Watson, *Mac na Míchomhairle*, 123.

26 Mac Labhraí, 'Pilip Ministir Mac Brádaigh', 30.

27 See *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, ed. by Thomas F. O'Rahilly et al. (Dublin: RIA, 1926–70), 403–08. The significance of the signature is discussed in Mac Labhraí, 'Pilip Ministir Mac Brádaigh', 32–33.

28 See Mac Labhraí, 'Pilip Ministir Mac Brádaigh', 72 and 141–42, where the text is given in the original Irish and two metrical English adaptations.

29 I wish to express my gratitude to Kevin Murray and Liam P. Ó Murchú, who read and commented on earlier versions of this paper.

The Three Thirds of Cenél Loairn, 678–733
James E. Fraser

Oban, where William Gillies spent his formative years and attended the High School, was an important place at the opening of the eighth century. The town takes its name from its bay, *an t-Òban Latharnach*, the little bay of Lorn.[1] The medieval lordship of Lorn in northern Argyll took its name in turn from Cenél Loairn, a people named in a handful of Latin and vernacular texts dating from the late seventh century and the early eighth, including contemporary annals kept at Iona,[2] seventy kilometres' sail to the west.[3] The last of these notices in 733 is particularly precious, because it speaks of a 'kingdom of Cenél Loairn' (*regnum generis Loairn*) passing to a certain Muiredach mac Ainbchellach, whom we shall be meeting again. It need not be doubted that the sparse record of this newsworthy realm represents a snapshot of a fuller but indeterminate lifespan, accounting for the embedding of its name in the landscape of Atlantic Scotland.

For scholars of early medieval Argyll, what is particularly important about the period from the 670s until the 730s is that it is curiously evidence-rich as regards textual information. Interest in the careers and achievements of Columba and his contemporaries in the second half of the sixth century having been much greater than in these later decades, scholars have sought to interrogate the texts composed after 670 about the earlier periods that they purport occasionally to illuminate. The study of the sixth and seventh centuries can, however, only be pursued profitably, from a textual point of view, using a method that acknowledges that the evidence is enlightening, first and foremost, about the years roughly between 670 and 740. As a result it is necessary for the history of Argyll to be written backwards, as it were, by first attempting to understand what the evidence reveals about these later decades, before making necessarily secondary attempts to understand what texts penned in those years, shaped by the events and processes of their authors' lives, made of prior history.

The political history of Lorn before 740 and how it fits in with the wider political history of Atlantic Scotland and northern Ireland has been a casualty of an unfortunate inversion of the approach

just outlined, which has prevailed among historians for most of the time that the history of early medieval Argyll has been studied. In brief, that approach has involved scholars in first formulating an understanding of sixth- and early seventh-century developments and then attempting to understand the later evidence in the light of what is supposed to have gone before. The historical framework produced in this way may be sketched with recourse to a summary penned, towards the end of its natural life, by Leslie and Elizabeth Alcock in 1987:

> [T]he kindred of Lorn (Cenel Loairn) [was] one of the three kindred groups established in Dal Riata after the settlement of the Scots under the leadership of Fergus son of Erc. At first, the kindred of Gabran (Cenel nGabrain) was dominant, especially in the time of Gabran's son Aedan and of Columba ... [T]heir territory included Kintyre and as far north as mid-Argyll, Jura, Arran, Bute and Cowal. The kindred of Oengus (Cenel nOengusa) held Islay alone ... Cenel Loairn held not only Lorn itself ..., but also the peninsula of Ardnamurchan and Morvern. Geographical probability suggests that it may also have held Mull, Iona, Coll, Tiree, and Colonsay ... In or after 700 AD, supremacy may have passed from the Gabran kindred to that of Lorn, who possibly expanded southwards to acquire Dunadd and parts of mid-Argyll ... The contest for dominance between the kindreds of Gabran and Lorn should be seen as a struggle for overkingship ... In so far as the kingdom of Dal Riata had any meaning, it was represented by this overkingship.[4]

The present paper proceeds from the proposition that this conventional framework for understanding the history of Lorn in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries is problematic. Sufficient groundwork has accumulated comparatively recently to allow for an appreciation of the finer details of the provenance, character and utility of such key sources of evidence as the Iona annals and Adomnán's *Vita Sancti Columbae*. What follows here is an attempt to understand and frame anew aspects of the political history of

Lorn according to the methodological principles encouraged by that groundwork, offered to William Gillies for what may emerge about Oban and its place in the world in the late seventh and early eighth centuries.

The Realm and Three Thirds of Cenél Loairn

The northern opening to Oban Bay is a narrows between the northern tip of the Isle of Kerrera on the west and, on the east, the promontory of Dunollie, where stand the ruins of Dunollie Castle, supposed to have been erected by the MacDougalls 'of Dunollie' in the fifteenth century.[5] The promontory fort overlain by the castle manufactured iron weapons and pins and combs of bronze or bone in the seventh and eighth centuries, and brought in Continental imports. It may be accepted with confidence as *Dún Ollaig*, a site mentioned five times in the Iona annals between 685 and 734.[6] Like Cenél Loairn, named explicitly more often than any other Argyll people in what may be reconstructed of the Iona annals, no secular site in northern Britain was as newsworthy at Iona in these years as Dunollie, implying that the stronghold was a place of some significance at the time. In 685 and 698 (or 699), the news was that the place had been consumed by fire (*combussit*), probably, but not certainly, by enemy action. There was other news from Lorn in the second of these two years, to the effect that Ainbchellach mac Ferchair – whose son we have encountered becoming king of Lorn some 35 years later – had been expelled from his unnamed kingdom and carried off in captivity to Ireland.[7] It may be inferred that, like his son, Ainbchellach in his day was *rex generis Loairn* prior to this expulsion. Later Scottish king-lists maintained that he was (also) king of Dál Riata, a realm which seems to have encompassed several smaller kingdoms of Argyll and the north-east corner of Ireland in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. There is no way of knowing whether the burning of Dunollie and the fall of Ainbchellach in the same year were related events. Three years later Iona learned that Ainbchellach's brother Selbach had destroyed Dunollie and that Cenél Cathbad, one of Lorn's leading families, had suffered *iugulatio*, literally the cutting of their collective throats.[8] Again, there is no certainty that the two developments were connected. After a dozen years or so Selbach,

king of Dál Riata like his brother, was reported to have built or built up (*construitur*) the stronghold at Dunollie; and it was apparently from his son Donngal, who succeeded him in the 720s and was still active in 733, that Ainbchellach's son Muiredach 'took up' (*assumit*) the kingship of Lorn in that year.

This summary of what was explicitly recorded about Cenél Loairn and Dunollie in the Iona annals after 679 establishes that the immediate family of the brothers Ainbchellach and Selbach maintained intimate and very active interests over two generations in both the *regnum generis Loairn* and Dunollie. There is a fairly strong suggestion that possession of the two – realm and stronghold – went together at this time, the implication being long appreciated by scholars that Dunollie 'was the principal stronghold of the tribe of Loarn'.[9] The same evidence also establishes that Cenél Loairn, and presumably the *regnum* that bore its name, was made up of smaller *cenéla*, or at least it does so when additional, genealogical evidence from the period is laid alongside it. The difficult but important tenth-century tractate *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*, incorporating what seems to be a mix of partially corrupt seventh- and eighth-century genealogical and geo-political information, names Cenél Loairn as one of the 'three thirds' (*téora trena*) of Dál Riata. That these three peoples together dominated a single realm in the sixth and early seventh centuries, beginning with 'the settlement of the Scots under the leadership of Fergus son of Erc' (the scenario represented by the Alcock's summary above), is a doubtful inference from the material in this tractate.

More important than what it may imply about the early days of Dalriadan history is the fact that *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* traces lines of descent from the eponymous Loarn Mór, whose name Cenél Loairn bore, separating the kindred into another tripartite scheme of *trena* or 'thirds', namely Cenél Fergusso Salaich, Cenél Cathbad and Cenél nEchdach.[10] These three peoples must have been prominent within Cenél Loairn at the end of the seventh century; indeed one of them, Cenél Cathbad, was the kindred recorded at Iona as suffering *iugulatio* in the year that Selbach destroyed Dunollie. A second, shorter tractate, *Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata*, this time relating genealogical data apparently from the early eighth century, traces

the descent of Selbach's brother Ainbchellach from Loarn's grandson Eochaid mac Muiredaich, the eponym of Cenél nEchdach.[11] The genealogical evidence thus establishes that Selbach, the destroyer of Dunollie, belonged to a different *trían* of Cenél Loairn from the men of Cenél Cathbad slain in the *iugulatio* of the year in which the stronghold was destroyed. It may be supposed from this information that the burning of Dunollie and fall of Ainbchellach in 698 or 699, followed by the destruction of the stronghold and the Cenél Cathbad deaths three years later, represent episodes from a bloody struggle between rival *trena* for the kingship of Lorn, revolving around control of Dunollie.[12] The Alcocks supposed instead that the fall of Ainbchellach represented 'a successful challenge against the overlordship of Cenel Loairn' in Dál Riata, by implication from outwith Lorn, presumably perpetrated by rivals in southern Argyll.[13] That they drew this conclusion from the foregoing evidence was symptomatic of an historical understanding that took too little account of smaller groups like Cenél Cathbad and Cenél nEchdach and was too willing to see each of the three *trena* of Dál Riata as a seamless political unit that was two hundred years old at the time of Ainbchellach and Selbach.

John Bannerman, Dál Riata and Cenél Loairn

In 1971, a year after our honorand had left the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies to take up a lectureship in Celtic at the University of Edinburgh, his new Edinburgh colleague John Bannerman, who very lamentably has not lived to see the present volume completed, published some seminal thoughts on the political geography of sixth- and seventh-century Argyll. The article in question was a fragment of a wider detailed examination of *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* that was crucial in shaping the historical framework summarised by the Alcocks sixteen years later.[14] The next few years offered Bannerman plenty of opportunity to reiterate these views, first by reprinting the whole study in 1974 in the epoch-making *Studies in the History of Dalriada*, and then, a year later, by reprinting his political map of Argyll for a third time in the *Historical Atlas of Scotland c. 400–c. 600*, along with a short commentary.[15] Subsequent repeated use of this visual synopsis has enshrined Bannerman's conclusions for 35 years

and few images are more familiar to teachers, students and scholars of early medieval Argyll.[16] The Alcocks' prose summary of the map has been encountered above. Using different styles of hatching for territory assigned to Cenél nGabráin, to Cenél Loairn and to Cenél nÓengusso, Bannerman carefully embraced every inch of the Argyll mainland within the kingdom of Dál Riata, assigned to one or other of these three *cenéla*, along with every Hebridean island from Coll in the north to Sanda Island off the tip of Kintyre in the south.

Throughout his analysis, reflected in the map and in the later summary by the Alcocks, Bannerman took several things for granted. The geo-political realities of the late seventh century, pieced together from *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*, *Vita sancti Columbae* and other works from that period, he imagined had held true since the very early sixth century and the first recorded king of Dál Riata. His map accordingly has no dates and the associated discussion does little to discourage the resulting sense of timelessness, or to encourage the notion that the political geography of Argyll might have changed in the course of the two centuries between the first Dalriadan king on record and the days of Ainbchellach and Selbach. That sense of timelessness is enshrined in the Alcocks' summary of Bannerman's views. Now, the hatching scheme demarcating Cenél Loairn territory included Mid-Argyll and Dunadd, showing that, in fact, Bannerman intended his map to be a snapshot of a particular moment in Argyll's political history, namely the early eighth century.[17] As a result, it was natural that no hatching scheme was devised for, or extended to the 'Dál Riata' placed by the map in Antrim in Northern Ireland, because Bannerman had argued in 1968 that 'Irish Dál Riata' had been severed from 'Scottish Dál Riata' long before 700.[18]

Bannerman thus supposed that each king of Dál Riata on record had ruled the same seamless and continuous territory, stretching from Ardnamurchan to Kintyre and from Drumalban to Tiree, which his map confederated through different styles of hatching. The major consequences of that supposition for how he presented Argyll political geography were twofold. First, there were no gaps in the hatching, no allowance being made for the possibility that some parts of Argyll might have stood outwith the collective reach of Cenél nGabráin, Cenél Loairn and Cenél nÓengusso. When the Alcocks

assigned Mull, Iona and other islands to Cenél Loairn on the basis of 'geographical probability', they were accepting reasoning put forth in these words by Bannerman:

> [W]e have established that Dunollie and probably Colonsay were in the possession of the Cenél Loairn in the eighth century. It follows therefore that any non-ecclesiastic mentioned by Adomnán [in *Vita sancti Columbae*], who inhabited islands or mainland districts to the north of these places and who was not a Pict, was likely to be a member of Cenél Loairn or of a people subordinate to [them].[19]

Such a conclusion follows only if we imagine, along with Bannerman (like the Alcocks who followed him), that there were no Gaels in Argyll who were not ruled by the king of Dál Riata, and also that there were none who were not either members of one of the three *cenéla* named in *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*, or else members of some population subordinate to them. Neither of these two propositions has ever been investigated, much less proven. It is best therefore to be cautious about such arguments based on 'geographical probability', not least because Bannerman seems to have understood membership of Dál Riata in ethnic, rather than political terms. The possibility should be admitted instead that there were Gaels in Atlantic Scotland in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries whose inclusion within the realm of Dál Riata, or any of the three *cenéla* associated with it by 700, was a matter of doubt, or who can have occasionally passed into and out of hegemonies drawn together by individual kings like Ainbchellach and Selbach. Moreover, it is worthwhile to look afresh at the evidence surrounding the extent of the *regnum generis Loairn*, an exercise that will occupy the latter part of the present paper.

The second important consequence arising from Bannerman's reasoning about the unchanging extent of the kingdom of Dál Riata was more serious for understanding Lorn's place in Atlantic Scotland and the wider world prior to 700. He noted that the surviving sources agree that all the kings of Dál Riata until the last years of the seventh century – after which most of these sources were composed – were 'without

exception' descendants of Domangart Réti, mostly through his son Gabrán. From this fact Bannerman concluded that Cenél nGabráin, placed in Kintyre and Cowal by *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*, was 'the ruling family of Dál Riata' in the sixth and seventh centuries, and thus, by his reckoning, of Argyll as well.[20] The same reasoning encouraged the Alcocks to imagine that 'at first [Cenél nGabráin] was dominant ... [until,] [i]n or after 700 AD, supremacy may have passed [thence] to [Cenél Loairn], who possibly expanded southwards'. Such judicious use of words like 'may' and 'possibly' reflects Bannerman's argument that Cenél nGabráin was 'not entirely eclipsed' once Cenél Loairn had become 'the dominant people in Dál Riata'.[21] This conventional scenario, which is older than Bannerman's important contributions to it, depends entirely on the supposition that the kingdom ruled by the descendants of Domangart Réti was, from its inception in the early sixth century, coterminous with the Argyll province delineated by Bannerman's map. This proposition too is neither proven nor disproven by the available evidence, much of which, being penned towards the end of the seventh century or later, can be doubted on this point because of contemporary writers' capacities to historicise political realities from their own times by writing them into the past.

When it made its first explicit appearance in what can be reconstructed of the Iona annals at the end of the 620s, the kingdom of Dál Riata may well have looked very different from the Argyll and Hebridean one that Bannerman's map, a snapshot of early eighth-century political realities, has made so familiar.[22] As Bannerman observed, all of its sixth- and early seventh-century kings on record were descendants of Domangart Réti – who may be termed 'Corcu Réti' in order to distinguish them from the rest of the Gaels of Argyll and north-east Antrim now habitually regarded as 'Dál Riata'.[23] We seek in vain for compelling evidence from the late sixth and early seventh centuries that Corcu Réti kings at that time ruled a realm that extended beyond the Kintyre and Cowal peninsulas in Scotland, although there can be little doubt that it extended some way into Antrim in Ireland. Apart from the occasional Hebridean or Orcadian raiding expedition vaguely recorded, the political significance of each of which is opaque, we know only that Iona, according to the monastery's own tradition, was given to Columba by a Corcu Réti

king.[24] On Bannerman's reckoning about the extent of the realm of
Lorn, this donation would imply something about the relationship
between the kings of Lorn and those of Kintyre and Argyll in this
period, but I know of no evidence that Iona ever lay inside the *regnum
generis Loairn*. Little is known about Argyll political geography prior
to the late seventh century, including who was, and was not, ruled
by the kings of Dál Riata on record. Moreover, the crucial section of
the Dalriadan king-list which claims on behalf of the Corcu Réti a
monopoly on the kingship prior to the 690s may represent a partisan
estimation of the significance of that kindred in hindsight, in essence
transforming a Corcu Réti king-list into a Dalriadan one.[25] As a
result, conservative estimates of the extent of the kingdom ruled by
the Corcu Réti kings before the 640s, informed by contemporary
evidence rather than by later estimations of the size and character
of the realm of Dál Riata, are probably preferable to the grander
conventional one.

As regards Lorn, then, there is no particular reason to believe that
it was dominated continuously by the kings of Kintyre and Cowal
from the early sixth century until the end of the seventh, when, for
the first time, Cenél Loairn (or more exactly Cenél nEchdach) kings
managed to slip out from under the historiographical shadow cast by
their Corcu Réti (by then mainly Cenél nGabráin) contemporaries.
The knitting together of the kingdom of Dál Riata mapped by
Bannerman may have been an altogether later development than is
conventionally imagined; indeed, the powerful Cenél nEchdach kings
of the late seventh and early eighth centuries may have played no
mean part in the stitching. Now, there is no sign of Cenél nEchdach
in that map, nor of Cenél Cathbad, and neither *cenél* is mentioned in
the associated analysis save in connection with Dunollie, a site which
merited mapping. Part of the reasoning underlying this unitary
presentation of Cenél Loairn, the evidence from *Míniugud senchasa
fher nAlban* and the annals notwithstanding, was that Bannerman
looked upon this kindred and the other two great *cenéla* of Argyll as
microcosms of his larger kingdom of Dál Riata. Like that kingdom,
he supposed that Cenél Loairn had a single 'ruling family',[26] and so
observed the following about Selbach and his destruction of Dunollie
in the year of the *iugulatio* of Cenél Cathbad:

> The *Senchus* [ie. *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*] lists the
> Cenél Cathbath among the septs of the Cenél Loairn. In
> 701, [the *Annals of Ulster*] mentions [the destruction of
> Dunollie and *iugulatio* of Cenél Cathbad]. It would seem
> that these two statements are connected. Selbach was the
> leader of the Cenél Loairn, while [Dunollie] appears to
> have been one of the Cenél Loairn strongholds. The most
> likely explanation is that the Cenél Cathbath, as the sept of
> the Cenél Loairn to whom Dunollie presumably belonged,
> were in revolt against the leadership of Selbach.[27]

It was consistent with Bannerman's conception of Argyll politics that
he seems to have been unable to bring himself to refer to Selbach
here as a 'king'; as elsewhere in Bannerman's study, the leaders of
Cenél Loairn and Cenél nÓengusso were uniformly 'leaders', rather
than 'kings'. Such language subtly implies that there were no kings
in Argyll, save for the kings of all Dál Riata.[28] In similarly subtle
terms, referring to Selbach and his fellow Cenél Loairn kings who
sidelined Cenél nGabráin, the 'ruling family of Dál Riata', as merely
'the dominant people in Dál Riata', Bannerman further established a
natural order of things in early medieval Argyll, of which the rise of
Selbach and his kin was an aberration.[29]

What Bannerman perceived in the events of 701 or 702 was a
similar aberration on a smaller, regional scale. It is to his credit that
he appreciated the likelihood that they reflected local, rather than
international rivalries, but there is no evidence that Selbach was
either leader or king of Lorn in the year in question. Bannerman's
footnote in support of that conclusion establishes that he led Cenél
Loairn into battle in 719, almost certainly as king of Lorn, but that
scarcely proves who may have been 'in revolt' against whom almost
twenty years earlier.[30] If Selbach and Cenél Cathbad struggled over
the kingship of Lorn, which seems likely enough, there is every
reason to suppose, given that Selbach's brother Ainbchellach had
been expelled from the kingship three years before, that it was a
Cenél Cathbad king, not Selbach, who ruled Lorn in the intervening
time. It is only by following Bannerman and accepting that these
brothers represented the legitimate 'ruling family' of Cenél Loairn,
that a Cenél Cathbad 'revolt' suggests itself, as opposed to a 'revolt'

by Selbach against a Cenél Cathbad king of Lorn who had driven his brother from power three years before.

The astute scholarship practised by Bannerman in his influential study of *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*, as well as the genuine contribution it made in 1971, need no rehearsing. It was a work of its time and the number of findings that continue to bear up well, particularly on finer points of detail, is remarkably high for work approaching 40 years of age. It is probably necessary to part company with him all the same in some important respects scrutinised here, and these may be summarised as follows. There is little doubt that a people known by the late seventh century as the Corcu Réti inhabited southern Argyll in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, some of whose kings appear to have been quite impressive on the wider regional stage, including adjacent areas of Britain and Ireland furth of the various arms of the sea that surround Kintyre and Cowal. The extent to which any of these men controlled or dominated such foreign shores is uncertain. The kingdom of Argyll familiar to modern scholarship from Bannerman's map, or the semblance of it, appears to have been forged by the end of the seventh century, but how Islay, Lorn, Kintyre and Cowal were pulled together into that Dalriadan realm, and how much earlier than 700, are questions that our texts do not satisfactorily answer. There may have been substantial periods during which the kingdoms of Lorn and Islay, if they were as old as the Kintyre-Cowal kingdom, existed as independent realms quite distinct from it and from the dominions of the Corcu Réti kings who ruled there. Each realm may have had its own history of belonging to, or dominating, quite different assemblages of kingdoms than the familiar Dalriadan one, pulled together and apart in the generations before and after the decades around 700 that our sources illuminate best. Similarly, the extent to which lesser districts of Argyll and islands of the Inner Hebrides, to say nothing of Antrim, were dominated by one or more of the kings of Cenél nGabráin, Cenél Loairn, Cenél nÓengusso or, indeed, Cenél Comgaill (whose significance prior to 700 Bannerman rejected on problematic grounds) is difficult to determine and dangerous to assume.[31] It is likelier that patterns of power and dominion changed over time, from the early sixth century to the later seventh, than that they remained constant. The internal

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dynamics of each of the three or four major kingdoms of Argyll were probably similarly changeable. It is to this question of internal dynamics, with specific regard to Cenél Loairn, that this paper now turns.[32]

Cenél Loairn, Morvern, Mull and Ardnamurchan

According to *Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata*, Selbach mac Ferchair and his relatives, who dominated the kingship of Lorn in the first third of the eighth century, traced their descent from Loarn Mór through a grandson, Eochaid, and so belonged to the Cenél nEchdach kindred named in *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* as one of the *téora trena* of Cenél Loairn, distinct from Cenél Fergusso Salaich and Cenél Cathbad. There is reason to believe, however, that in fact they belonged to a particular segment of Cenél nEchdach which, in the fullness of time, developed its own identity. The evidence for such a development is manifold. Most importantly, *Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata* records a second Cenél nEchdach lineage down to the otherwise obscure Morgán mac Domnaill; and the resulting genealogical scheme results in an apical ancestor connecting these two documented lineages.[33] That ancestor, linking Morgán with his more famous royal relations, is not the eponymous Eochaid, Loarn's grandson, but Eochaid's son Baítán mac Echdach. The significance of these data emerges from late medieval diplomatic evidence, which establishes the existence of an historical Cenél Baítáin in northern Argyll.

According to an act of confirmation of July 1495, Domhnall, Lord of the Isles, issued a charter at Ardtornish in Morvern in 1409 witnessed by the rectors of two churches dedicated to St Columba, one in Mull (*de Moyle*) and the other *de Keneavadean*. This latter church has long been identified as the medieval parish-church, dedicated to St Columba, which stood at Keil (ie. *cill*) above Lochaline village in Morvern, two kilometres along the coast northwards from Ardtornish Castle.[34] The district called *Keneavadean* in Morvern in 1409 would seem to be the same as *Kinnel Bathyn*, included as part of the sheriffdom of Lorn when it was created by an act of parliament of 1293.[35] It is also apparently to be equated with *terra Kinbaldin*, granted along with Ardnamurchan by Robert I to Aonghas Óg in

1309, according to a lost document known only from its description in various indexes which tend to preserve somewhat corrupt name forms. *Kinbaldin* might thus, following the suggestion of John McLeod, the minister of Morvern parish who reported to the second Statistical Account in 1843, be emended to *Kinalbdin* (= *Kinal b[-] din*).[36] Without spelling out his reasoning, which must have formed in the light of the evidence outlined here, William Skene drew the following conclusion:

> The most northerly part of Dalriada was the small state called Cinel Baedan, or Kinelvadon, which was a part of the larger tribe of the Cinel Eochagh, one of the three subdivisions of the Cinel Loarn, but separated from the rest by the great arm of the sea called Linnhe Loch. The head of this little tribe was [at the end of the seventh century] ... the lineal descendant of Baedan, from whom the tribe took its name, who was son of Eochaidh, grandson of Loarn.[37]

It is regrettable that this political layer cake, which Skene described almost a hundred years before Bannerman published his map, failed to linger on the taste buds of subsequent scholars with anything like the staying power of Bannerman's work. W. J. Watson, able and eager to reject Skene's guesses of this type, in this case concurred with him, taking it that 'Kinelvadon' was a fair reconstruction of the name of the district, interpreting it as the kindred-name *Cineal Bhaodain*, and identifying the eponymous ancestor 'Baodan' as Baítán mac Echdach, great-grandson of Loarn Mór.[38]

This identification of 'Baodan' by these towering scholars will never be more than an educated guess. Accepting the supposition that the historical Cenél Baítáin fossilised in the late medieval toponomy of Morvern was indeed a kindred descended from Baítán mac Echdach leads to the conclusion that this man's descendants were natives of Morvern on the northern shores of Loch Linnhe, who dominated the kingship of Lorn at the end of the seventh century and, in the eighth century, extended their suzerainty over the rest of Argyll. Following in a long scholarly tradition, Watson concluded that the district of 'Kinelvadon' was coterminous with Morvern, but the evidence

to that effect is not strong.[39] That peninsula has been united as a single parish since at least the sixteenth century, but in the Middle Ages there were two Morvern parishes, their churches at Kilcolmkill at Lochaline in the south, washed by Loch Linnhe (and associated with 'Kinelvadon'), and at Killundine in the north, washed by Loch Sunart.[40] If it is further supposed from the evidence of their eighth-century prominence in Atlantic Scotland that Baítán's descendants became the leading segment of Cenél nEchdach, it follows that the heartland of that larger kindred, one of the three thirds of Cenél Loairn, at that time lay about Loch Aline and Ardtornish in Kilcolmkil parish, facing Mull across the Sound of Mull, and facing Mid- and Upper Lorn across Loch Linnhe. Other segments of Cenél nEchdach may have dwelt in adjacent areas, including Killundine parish, as well as Mull, Ardnamurchan and, as we shall see, Upper Lorn.

It is curious indeed that the descendants of Baítán can be located in Morvern by these inferences, because Alan Anderson understood *A' Mhormhairne* to signify 'the mormaer's land', with reference to the 'sea-stewards' who appear to have been men of great regional power in the tenth- and eleventh-century kingdom of Alba.[41] Parallel nomenclature can be found in the Mearns, *An Mhaoirne*, 'the maer's land' or 'the stewartry', both names being apparently British, and almost certainly Pictish British, in origin.[42] Given that Lorn, under the rule of Cenél nEchdach kings from Morvern, seems to have been conquered in the 730s and 740s by a Pictish king whose homeland was apparently in the Mearns, the fact that the latter district was known as 'the stewartry', and the former as 'the sea-stewartry', may imply that these names were coined in the wake of events of the middle of the eighth century. It may even be the case that Cenél Baítáin, from royal beginnings, developed into a dynasty of mormaers that flourished in and after the eighth century in subjection to Pictish overlords.[43]

Mull (*Malea insula*), assigned by Bannerman to Cenél Loairn, features surprisingly little in *Vita sancti Columbae*, considering its physical proximity to Iona, the skyline of which it dominates. It appears three times, quite incidentally, and in contexts that tend to show the island in a poor spiritual light. In one story, Columba orders that an incestuous fratricide should not be admitted to Iona

and should be cast out into Mull instead. The man protests and Columba agrees to prescribe him penance for a dozen years.[44] The island's suitability as a destination or base for egregious sinners is echoed in the two other instances in which Mull occurs in this text. In one of these a sea-raider rebuked by Columba drowns with his henchmen when their ship sinks in a storm between Mull and Coll (*Colosus insula*).[45] In the other, a thief crosses over to Mull from Coll and hides on a beach, nightly crossing over to an unnamed small island in order to poach seals to which Iona held title *iuris*, as a matter of right.[46] Thus Adomnán's Mull was a land fit for worldly sinners and a source of threats to Iona's property and rights. Columba never goes there in the course of the Life. What links its inhabitants may have had with the Cenél nEchdach kings of Cenél Loairn in the early eighth century cannot be established on the available evidence. Strong links need not have existed, but if they did, Mull's unflattering image in *Vita sancti Columbae* would stand as evidence of a fraught relationship between Lorn and Iona. It seems possible that the island's name, *Malea insula*, provided some of the inspiration for regarding Mull as a bad island (Latin *mala insula*) in a work of hagiography.[47]

The contrast with Ardnamurchan (*Artdamuirchol*), which went with *terra Kinbaldin* in the 1309 diploma, could not be starker. That peninsula too is the setting of three stories in *Vita sancti Columbae*, but Columba is physically present in all of them. In one instance, he baptises an infant boy at a spring brought forth by his own hand and prophesies about his adulthood, establishing Ardnamurchan's Christian credentials in a manner denied to Mull.[48] In another story, Columba provides the protection of his prayers to a layman whom his blessing has enriched with worldly prosperity, enduring insults on his behalf from the same sea-raider who later drowns (righteously) off the coast of Mull.[49] In the third story, Columba has a vision of the violent deaths of two Irish kings. In the present context it is rather striking that the names of these kings are given by Adomnán as Baítán and Eochaid, 'called two descendants of Muiredach' (*duo nepotes Muiredachi uocitabantur*).[50] Now, these two kings are given patronymics and vague Irish origins that establish beyond doubt that they were not Loarn's grandson Eochaid mac Muiredaich and his son Baítán, but instead two Cenél nÉogain kings from the north

of Ireland. Nonetheless, the vision relates to kings whose names recalled key eponymous ancestors of Adomnán's Cenél nEchdach contemporaries. Its placement in Ardnamurchan, a district linked with 'Kinelvadon' later in the Middle Ages, could therefore represent an attempt to heighten the significance of Columba's sojourn in that district in Cenél nEchdach eyes. The threads of reasoning here are tenuous, but if they hold, the implications of the story would be that Ardnamurchan was Cenél nEchdach territory at the end of the seventh century. A further implication, following on from this one, would be that Mull, the treatment of which is very different in *Vita sancti Columbae*, was probably not controlled by Cenél nEchdach.

There is a second possible point of contact between Cenél nEchdach, and more precisely the descendants of Baítán mac Echdach, and *Vita sancti Columbae*. Alan and Marjorie Anderson drew attention to the following story, suggesting that it featured one of Baítán's sons:[51]

> At another time, when the blessed man ... had begun to excommunicate other persecutors of churches (namely the sons of Conall mac Domnaill, of whom one was Ioan, whose story we related above), one of their company of evil-doers, prompted by the devil, rushed in with a spear, intending to kill the saint. [Columba was saved when one of his monks threw himself in front of him and remained uninjured, because he was wearing one of the saint's garments] But the miscreant, who [was called] Lám Dess (*manus dextera*), withdrew, believing that the spear had transfixed the holy man. [Exactly a year later, Columba announced to his monks at Iona that Lám Dess was about to be killed] And, in accordance with the revelation of the saint, at the same moment it happened, in the island that in Latin may be called *Longa*. In a fight that took place there, this Lám Dess alone of the men on either side perished, pierced by the javelin of Crónán mac Baítáin, thrown, it is said, in the name of St Columba.[52]

The previous story referred to here by Adomnán has already been encountered, Ioan mac Conaill being the sea-raider who, having

Cenél Loairn Genealogical Data *c.* 695–736

Niall
a quo Uí Néill

Éogan
a quo Cenél nÉogain

Dallán

Fergus Salaich
a quo Cenél Fergusso Salaich

Fergna (Garb)   Éogan Garb = Cródu

?Crónán
cf. Vita Columbae ii.24

Loarn Mór
a quo Cenél Loairn

Muiredach

Eochaid
a quo Cenél nEchdach

Cathub
a quo Cenél Cathbad

Crónán

Crónán

Baítán
cf. *Kinnel Bathyn* (1293) etc. in Morvern

Muiredach

[3 more generations]

Domnall

Morgán

Colmán

[3 more generations]

Ferchar Fota
†696/7

Ainbcellach
†719

Muiredach
fl. 733–36

Selbach
†730

Donngal   Feradach
†?736   †?736

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pillaged the house of Columba's friend in Ardnamurchan, is drowned when his vessel sinks in a storm. In that story, the wicked sons of Conall are said to have been 'sprung from the royal kindred of Gabrán' (*de regio Gabrani ortus genere*).[53] The Andersons identified the father of Crónán mac Baítáin as the Cenél nEchdach dynast Baítán mac Echdach. The identification is most uncertain, but if it is correct, the story of Lám Dess assumes an interesting political dimension that is not otherwise obvious. Adomnán would, in that event, be laying before his readers two stories in which this obscure offshoot of Cenél nGabráin twice suffers divine retribution for verbal and physical attacks against the saint, once by a shipwreck in punishment for raiding within or near the orbit of Cenél nEchdach, and once at the hands of a Cenél nEchdach prince. Adomnán's principal hagiographical source had envisioned that the Cenél nGabráin kings of Corcu Réti had been stripped by God of their kingdom in the 630s for offending St Columba.[54] It may be in the Andersons' favour therefore that, as Adomnán was penning these stories 60 years later, the descendants of Baítán mac Echdach were in the parallel process of eclipsing more recent Cenél nGabráin kings as the paramount kings in Argyll. It was an ideal time, one would think, for putting forward stories about St Columba's patronage of ordinary inhabitants of Ardnamurchan and Cenél nEchdach princes in their struggles against wicked Cenél nGabráin chieftains.

Unfortunately, the applicability of these stories, read in the indicated ways, to real-life political developments in Adomnán's time does not prove those readings to be correct, nor the Andersons correct in their identification of Crónán mac Baítáin. Such proof will never be found. The main problem for the Andersons is, as they appreciated, that Baítán mac Echdach has no son on record called Crónán. Their attention was drawn to Adomnán's story in this connection because the name Crónán occurs twice in *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* within Baítán's immediate family: namely his brother Crónán mac Echdach, and his nephew Crónán mac Cathbad (whose father Cathub was the eponym of Cenél Cathbad).[55]

In other words, here again it is possible that *Vita sancti Columbae* evoked Cenél nEchdach ancestral names in a story linked loosely, via the raiding of Ioan mac Conaill, with Ardnamurchan. Given that

Ioan himself has the appearance of an invented personage attached by the hagiographer to a little-known Cenél nGabráin ancestor, there would seem to be scope for entertaining the possibility that Adomnán did something similar with Cenél nEchdach.

None of this hagiographical evidence is particularly decisive. If it has been correctly interpreted here, its messages were subtle rather than overt. Much might be resolved in this matter if the island known as *Longa* in Latin could be identified. It is unfortunate for the Andersons' theory that Watson was adamant years earlier that the Isle of Luing (and Lunga beside it), bearing a vernacular name, 'can have nothing to do with' this island, understanding *Longa* to be a translation of a vernacular place-name.[56] If *latine longa uocitari potest* is capable of referring to transliteration as well as direct literal translation of a vernacular name, on the other hand, Watson's distancing of *insula Longa* from these islands in Nether Lorn might not be unassailable. Rather than straightforwardly translating, Adomnán may have been dressing up a vernacular name similar to *long* in Latin garb, in line with his possibly seeing, as mentioned above, *Malea insula* (Mull) as a *mala insula*.[57]

The Andersons' hypothesis about the identity of Crónán mac Baítáin aside, it may be thought unlikely, though hardly impossible, that it can be entirely fortuitous that *Vita sancti Columbae* evoked five Cenél nEchdach ancestral personal names in connection with Ardnamurchan and wicked men who had victimised it. Without the still more subjective readings of Adomnán's evidence offered above, it does not seem to be possible to get any closer than this to linking Ardnamurchan to Cenél nEchdach, much less Cenél Loairn, at the beginning of the eighth century. It is far from an unlikely association, of course, but it must remain conjectural. As for Coll and Tiree, and for that matter Iona, all assigned to Cenél Loairn by Bannerman, there is little evidence of any such association with Lorn. Bannerman may have correctly deduced on largely ethnic grounds that these islands were all part of the kingdom of Dál Riata around 700, but the mere fact of living north of Loch Awe must be regarded as scant grounds for supposing that Gaels in these islands cannot have lain outwith the kingdom of Cenél Loairn, and possibly even outwith the orbit of its kings, at least from time to time.

Cenél Loairn and Upper, Mid- and Nether Lorn

Since at least the Middle Ages, Lorn proper has been regarded as a district of three parts. Oban and Dunollie lay in Mid-Lorn, bounded on the south by Loch Feochan and on the north by Loch Etive, with Nether Lorn to the south (as far as Kilmartin parish beyond Lochs Melfort and Avich), and Upper Lorn to the north.[58] Moreover, there are three notable concentrations of identified Iron Age forts and duns in Lorn, and it is striking that each of these is to be found within one of the medieval tripartitions: on Lismore and the adjacent mainland (Upper Lorn), on the peninsula formed by Loch Feochan and the Sound of Kerrera (Mid-Lorn), and on the islands of Seil and Luing and the adjacent mainland about Loch Melfort (Nether Lorn).[59] The possibility that the tripartite character of medieval Lorn reflected divisions as old as the Iron Age encourages suspicion that the *téora trena* of Cenél Loairn attested in *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* also reflect the meaningfulness of roughly these same geo-political divisions in the seventh and eighth centuries, with each subdivision perhaps pertaining to a 'third'.

On purely geographical grounds, Upper Lorn is the likeliest of the tripartitions to have had associations with a Cenél nEchdach kindred based in Morvern, or including Morvern among its territories. Ardchattan parish, roughly coterminous with Upper Lorn, bore the striking name *Baile Bhaodáin* at the end of the Middle Ages, which has obvious passing similarities with *Keneavadean* in Morvern. Both place-names relate to a man called Baítán. In the later Middle Ages, the eponymous Morvern Baítán was understood to have been the progenitor of a *cineal* and his Ardchattan namesake was understood to have been a saint.[60] The late medieval sharing of the name Baítán by a *terra* facing Lismore from the west and a parish facing that island from the east might reflect some kind of association, but there is no particular reason to suppose that the name of *Baile Bhaodáin* is any older than the parish church that bore it, a building that appears to be no older than the fifteenth century.[61] The balance of probability may be thought to tip in favour of Upper Lorn pertaining to Cenél nEchdach in any case because Lismore in between there and Morvern was home to a major church that appears to have been pre-eminent in the *regnum generis Loairn*, in Iona's estimation at least, during

the years that Cenél nEchdach dynasts were paramount both in Lorn and in Argyll.[62] Moreover the evidence of Iron Age settlement activity in Upper Lorn, apparently concentrated on Lismore and the adjacent mainland, gives the island the appearance of a focal point in association with Upper Lorn.

A second place-name at the other end of Lorn may be more helpful in locating Cenél Fergusso Salaich. The glossator responsible for an intriguing interlineal gloss in the twelfth-century 'Book of Leinster' understood an attack on the Hebrides (*fecht i nIardomon*) recorded verbatim in the *Annals of Ulster* around 570, involving an Uí Néill king and a Corcu Réti one, to have taken place 'in Seil and in Islay' (*i Soil ⁊ i nIli*).[63] Both islands seem very appropriate targets of aggression on the part of a Corcu Réti king based in Kintyre and Cowal, but of course the historical value of the gloss is difficult to establish. Islay is associated in *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* with Cenél nÓengusso and the much overlooked Cenél Conchride, but the Isle of Seil lies in Nether Lorn, and indeed in that very part of the district, including as well Luing and the adjacent mainland about Loch Melfort, in which may be found another of Lorn's three concentrations of identified Iron Age forts and duns. The existence of a Loch Seil on the adjacent mainland suggests that both the island and the loch, sharing the place-name that was *Sóil* in the twelfth-century (*Saoil* in Scottish Gaelic today), lay at some indeterminate time within a single district which spanned Clachan Sound. We have seen that the full name of Oban was *an t-Òban Latharnach*, the little bay of Lorn, so that Oban Seil on the east of the Isle of Seil sits in interesting toponymic contradistinction to it, each *òban* seeming to be qualified by the name of its region. How far the region of Seil may have extended into Nether Lorn is not obvious.[64] What is important for our purposes is that, by analogy with variant forms of *sail* (or *soil*), the willow, and *saile* (or *soile*), spittle, it is possible that *Sóil* represents a variant of **Sáil*, so that some connection with Cenél Fergusso Salaich emerges as a further possibility.[65]

This obscure kindred seems to be unattested outside *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*, although two of the eponymous Fergus's sons named there, Éogan Garb (*Éogan Garb do Dál Riata*) and Fergna (*Fergna Garb mac Salaich m. Loairn Máir*), appear in an Ulster

genealogical tract which understood one of these brothers (the tract is undecided as to which) to have been the eponymous ancestor of the Garbraige, a tribe of the mythological Fir Bolg.[66] The sources that informed *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* disagreed about the relationship between Fergus and the eponymous ancestors of Cenél nEchdach and Cenél Cathbad and specifically about whether they were brothers fathered by Loarn Mór, a scheme in which the three *cenéla* named for them can be seen as co-equal in estimation, or whether, as 'others say', Eochaid and Cathub were Fergus's nephews, sons of his brother Muiredach and grandsons of Loarn Mór.[67] On the whole the text seems to favour the second of these two schemes, not least by naming Cenél nEchdach *Cenél nEchdach meic Muiredaich*, a name incompatible with the claim that the eponymous Eochaid was Loarn's son.[68] Moreover, *Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata* agrees, making Eochaid a son of Muiredach mac Loairn Móir.[69]

What is striking about this scheme is its implication that Cenél nEchdach and Cenél Cathbad, whom we have seen contending for the leadership of Lorn around 700, were co-equal, but that Cenél Fergusso Salaich, descended from a son, rather than a grandson, of Loarn Mór, did not share the same status as the other two *trena* of Lorn. It is difficult to be certain about whether, by creating genealogical distance between Fergus Salach and his kinsmen, this scheme effectively sidelines Cenél Fergusso Salaich in contrast to the first scheme, or whether it gives the kindred pride of place by creating genealogical distance between Loarn Mór and the eponymous ancestors of Cenél nEchdach and Cenél Cathbad. The former option would perhaps gain support from Fergus's sobriquet, if it is taken to be simply Gaelic *salach*, dirty, and a pejorative by-name that reflects a sidelining of Cenél Fergusso Salaich by Cenél nEchdach and Cenél Cathbad. However, the sobriquet may instead link the kindred to Nether Lorn, and the second of our options may in any case be thought to be the more likely. A period of prominence on the part of Cenél Fergusso Salaich is surely anticipated by the statement in *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* that Fergus's son Éogan Garb married a granddaughter of Éogan mac Néill, the eponymous ancestor of the powerful northern Uí Néill kindred Cenél nÉogain.[70] The chronicle evidence rehearsed above has nothing to say about Cenél Fergusso Salaich, suggesting that this period of prominence preceded the

triumph of Cenél nEchdach over Cenél Cathbad around 700. In that event the connection drawn between the kindred and Cenél nÉogain in *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* would stand in striking contrast with the traditional links between the Corcu Réti kings in southern Argyll and Cenél Conaill, the great rivals of Cenél nÉogain for dominion among the northern Uí Néill, about which the Iona

Iron Age Settlement Concentration in Lorn
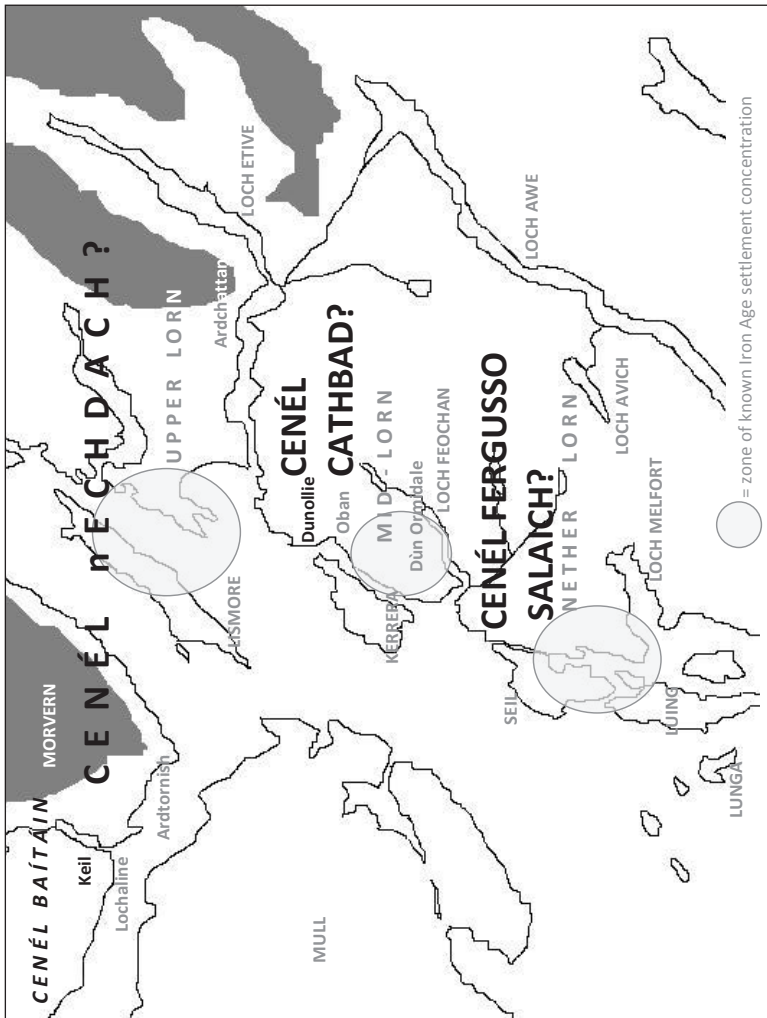
scriptorium had a great deal to say in the seventh century. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out at present that the genealogical data pointing in the direction of Cenél Fergusso Salaich prominence in *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* comes from later source material inserted into the text in the tenth century.

If on the basis of the foregoing discussion Cenél nEchdach are placed tentatively in Upper Lorn and Cenél Fergusso Salaich, equally tentatively, in Nether Lorn, it would be tempting to place Cenél Cathbad in Mid-Lorn. Skene supposed from the chronicle record, which places 'the slaughter of Cenél Cathbad' hard on the heels of 'the destruction of Dunollie by Selbach' of Cenél nEchdach, that Dunollie was a Cenél Cathbad stronghold in 701.[71] However, the subsequent record of Selbach having built (?up) Dunollie in 714, which the Alcocks associated with the replacement of their 'Dunollie 1', an unfortified domestic site, with 'Dunollie 2', is a problem for Skene's argument.[72] The newsworthiness of a building programme at Dunollie suggests that it was no ordinary fortress in Iona's eyes, but a symbolic royal centre, thus weakening the case that possessing it – and that remains a supposition – necessarily places Cenél Cathbad in Mid-Lorn. Interestingly, Dùn Ormidale six kilometres away at the other end of the Sound of Kerrera, overlooking its southern inlet and intervisible with Dunollie, is the largest of the known Iron Age forts in Lorn by a factor of five, and may have been an earlier symbolic centre in the same stretch of Mid-Lorn coast. Its exposed nature and visibility, its relatively slight 'defences' and the lack of evidence of internal features there encourages the possibility that Dùn Ormidale may have served primarily as an assembly site, rather than as a stronghold.[73] Between Dùn Ormidale and Dunollie may be found Mid-Lorn's concentration of Iron Age settlement evidence, which may complement the textual evidence that, in the days of Ainbchellach and Selbach, this was the most important part of Mid-Lorn. Skene's logic being vulnerable that it was held by Cenél Cathbad, there seems to be nothing to link that kindred to Mid-Lorn apart from the present discussion, which has set out the thin evidence to suggest that the other two tripartitions of Lorn can have been home to the other two *trena* of Cenél Loairn in Dalriadan times. Were one to abandon that scheme, it might

become tempting to place Cenél Cathbad in Mull. The fact that this island is given a sinister character in *Vita sancti Columbae*, in contrast to Adomnán's treatment of Ardnamurchan, would perhaps provide complementary evidence in that direction. As the ninth abbot of Iona was completing the text around 700, chroniclers there were recording the struggles of the Cenél nEchdach kings Ainbchellach and Selbach to seize and maintain their grip on the kingship of Lorn, apparently at the rather brutal expense of Cenél Cathbad.[74]

Such placements of the three thirds of Cenél Loairn into the landscape of Lorn and its adjacent areas remain hypothetical and uncertain. Further testing of the hypotheses laid out here may lead to a firmer understanding of the internal political dynamics of the *regnum generis Loairn*. Incomplete though that understanding remains after this preliminary enquiry, it is hoped that the exercise of pursuing it has proven itself to be a worthwhile endeavour. An appreciation of the nuances and textures of the political realities of Argyll in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, including at the relatively local level of Lorn and its environs, opens up vistas on familiar texts like *Vita sancti Columbae* and *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban* that hitherto have escaped notice. As our understanding of such texts grows, the information that they purport to provide about earlier periods (like Columba's lifetime) becomes easier to use. Close consideration of the evidence endorses many of John Bannerman's general conclusions about Lorn geography, whilst introducing certain refinements that complicate a picture that Bannerman simplified, and suggesting that the rise to international prominence of the kings of Lorn in the last years of the seventh century may have influenced our surviving written sources in intriguing ways. At the heart of all of this political dynamism lay the little bay of Oban, on the shores of which our honorand began the scholarly career which we celebrate in this volume. It is hoped that he will find it pleasant to envision Oban thus.[75]

REFERENCES

1 William J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood/Royal Celtic Society, 1926), 121. The ultimate origins of *òban* seem to be Norse, the name thus post-dating our period.

2 The Irish chronicles utilised in this paper to provide 'the Iona annals' are as follows: *The Annals of Tigernach* [*AT*], vol. 1, ed. by Whitley Stokes (Llanerch: Felinfach, 1993 [1895–96]); *Chronicum Scotorum: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs From the Earliest Times to A.D. 1135* [*CS*], ed. by W. M. Hennessy (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866); *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* [*AU*], ed. by Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin: DIAS, 1983).

    On 'the Iona Annals', see in particular John Bannerman, 'Notes on the Scottish entries in the early Irish annals', *SGS*, 11.2 (1968), 149–70 [reprinted in *idem*, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1974), 9–26]; Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London & Southampton: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972), 99–159; *The Chronicle of Ireland*, trans by T. M. Charles-Edwards, 2 vols (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), especially 1–59.

3 *AU* 678.3 (*interfectio generis Loairnn i Tirinn*), *AT* 678.4 (*interfectio generis Loairnn i Tírinn .i. eter Ferchair Fotai 7 Britones qui uictores erant*); *AU* 719.7 (*bellum maritimum Ardae Nesbi inter Dunchad mBecc cum genere Gabrain 7 Selbachum cum genere Loairn…*), *AT* 719.5 (*cath maritimum Ardde anesbi eter Duncadh mBecc eter Genire Gabrain 7 Selbach cum genere Loairn…*); *AU* 733.2 (*Muredach m. Ainfcellaich regnum generis Loairnd assumit*), *AT* 733.2 (*Muireadach mac Ainbchellaig regnum Geniris Loairn assumit*).

    See also *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*, §§ 38, 41, 52 (David N. Dumville, 'Ireland and North Britain in the earlier Middle Ages: contexts for *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*', in *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000*, ed. by Colm Ó Baoill and Nancy R. McGuire (Aberdeen: An Clò Gaidhealach, 2002), 185–211 (201–03)); Adomnán, *Vita sancti Columbae*, ii, 45 (*nos… in plebe generis Loerni per aliquot…retardaremur dies*) (*Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. by Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (2nd edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991)); *Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata*, §§ 4, 23 (David N. Dumville, '*Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata*', *SGS*, 20 (2000), 170–79 (175–83)).

4 Leslie Alcock and Elizabeth A. Alcock, 'Reconnaissance excavations on Early Historic fortifications and other royal sites in Scotland, 1974–84: 2, excavations at Dunollie Castle, Oban, Argyll, 1978', *PSAS*, 117 (1987), 119–47 (+ fiche) (127).

5 *Argyll: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, Volume 2, Lorn* (London: HMSO, 1975), 194–98; Dennis Turner, 'The bishops of Argyll and the castle of Achanduin, Lismore, AD 1180–1343', *PSAS*, 128 (1998), 645–52 (651). On the political history of the lordship of Lorn in the central and later Middle Ages, see W. D. H. Sellar, 'Hebridean sea kings: the successors of Somerled, 1164–1316', in *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages*, ed. by E. J. Cowan and R. Andrew McDonald (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), 186–218, especially 215–18; Steve Boardman, 'The tale of Leper John and the Campbell acquisition of Lorn', in Cowan and McDonald, *Alba*, 219–47.

6 *AU* 686.1 (*combusit Tula Aman Duin Ollaigh*); *AU* 698.3 (*combusti[o] Duin*

Onlaigh); *AU* 701.8 (*distructio Duin Onlaigh apud Sealbach*); *AU* 714.2 (*Dun Ollaigh construitur apud Selbachum*), *AT* 714.2 (*Dun Ollaig construitur apud Selbacum*); *AU* 734.6 (*Talorggan filius Drostain conprehensus alligatur iuxta Arcem Ollaigh*).

   On the archaeological evidence, see Alcock and Alcock, 'Reconnaissance excavations ... 2', 121–26; Ewan Campbell, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD 400–800*, CBA Research Report 157 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2007), 5, 116.

7 *AU* 698.4.

8 *AU* 701.9.

9 *Early Sources of Scottish History 500–1286*, ed. by Alan Orr Anderson, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1922), vol. 1, 207. See also *Life of St Columba, Founder of Hy*, ed. by William Reeves, The Historians of Scotland, 6 (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874), 281.

10 *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*, §§ 3, 38, 41 (*it é téora trena C<h>eníuil Loairnd, .i. Cenél Salaig, Cenél Cathbath, Cenél nEchdach meic Muredaig*). There are conflicting conceptions of how these segments were related to Loarnd Mór in §§ 39–40; and § 41 is the only mention of Fergus Salaich which omits the former name (though not in one MS).

11 *Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata*, §§ 22–35.

12 James E. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 246.

13 Alcock and Alcock, 'Reconnaissance excavations…2', 128. Anderson, *Early Sources*, 207–08, was of broadly similar mind, but placed Ainbchellach's rivals in Ireland.

14 John Bannerman, 'Senchus Fer nAlban: Part II', *Celtica*, 9 (1971), 217–65 (255–65); reprinted in Bannerman, *Dalriada*, 108–18. On *Míniugud Senchasa Fher nAlban* as the proper and preferable name for the tractate known to Bannerman as 'Senchus Fer nAlban', see Dumville, 'Ireland and North Britain', 197–98.

15 *An Historical Atlas of Scotland* c. *400–c. 600*, ed. by Peter McNeill and Ranald Nicholson (St Andrews: Scottish Medievalists, 1975), 117, with commentary on pp. 13–15. See also *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, ed. by Peter G. B. McNeill and Hector L. MacQueen (Edinburgh: Scottish Medievalists, 1996), 62.

16 Bannerman, 'Senchus (II)', 262 [*Dalriada*, 116] (the hatching scheme was altered for each *Atlas*). The map was followed, for example, by Margaret R. Nieke and Holly B. Duncan, 'Dalriada: the establishment and maintenance of an Early Historic kingdom in northern Britain', in *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Stephen T. Driscoll and Margaret R. Nieke (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), 6–21 (7).

17 Bannerman, 'Senchus (II)', 259 [*Dalriada*, 112–13].

18 John Bannerman, 'The Dál Riata and Northern Ireland in the sixth and seventh centuries', in *Celtic Studies: Essays in Memory of Angus Matheson*, ed. by James Carney and David Greene (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul,

1968), 1–11 [reprinted in Bannerman, *Dalriada*, 1–8]. The argument has been challenged by Dumville, 'Ireland and North Britain', 196.

19 Bannerman, 'Senchus (II)', 260 [*Dalriada*, 113].

20 Bannerman, 'Senchus (II)', 251, 253 [*Dalriada*, 104, 106].

21 Bannerman, 'Senchus (II)', 256 [*Dalriada*, 109–10].

22 *AT/CS* 627.1; *AU* 629.1, *AT/CS* 629.1. An earlier naming of the Dál Riata, or their territory, may occur at *AU* 615.3.

23 Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, i.47; James E. Fraser, '*Dux Reuda* and the Corcu Réti', in *Cànan & Cultar/Language & Culture: Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 3*, ed. by Wilson McLeod, James E. Fraser and Anja Gunderloch (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2006), 1–9.

24 *AU* 574.2; *AT* 574.1; *CS* 574.1. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, iii.4, related a different tradition from Pictish sources (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991)).

25 The application of the sobriquet *Réti* to Domangart, the apical ancestor of the Corcu Réti, may similarly reflect an attempt to elevate the kindred to the status of 'natural' provincial overlords.

26 Bannerman, 'Senchus (II)', 251 [*Dalriada*, 104].

27 Bannerman, 'Senchus (II)', 257 [*Dalriada*, 110].

28 Bannerman was of course aware of the *regnum generis Loairnd*, but he may have supposed that it shared its genesis with the 'emergence' of Cenél Comgaill, whom he supposed had been 'a sept, or under the direct rule, of the Cenél nGabráin' until about 700, when their status was elevated as 'a natural development resulting from the weakening of the Cenél nGabráin'; Bannerman, 'Senchus (II)', 256–57 [*Dalriada*, 110].

29 Bannerman, 'Senchus (II)', 256 [*Dalriada*, 109–10].

30 *AU* 719.7 (*bellum maritimum Ardae Nesbi inter Dunchad mBecc cum genere Gabrain 7 Selbachum cum genere Loairn…*).

31 I have discussed the evidence relating to Cenél Comgaill in James E. Fraser, 'Strangers on the Clyde: Cenél Comgaill, Clyde Rock and the bishops of Kingarth', *Innes Review*, 56 (2005), 102–20.

32 The centralist model has had its recent exponents: see for example Richard Sharpe, 'The thriving of Dalriada', in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the Occasion of her Ninetieth Birthday*, ed. by Simon Taylor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 47–61; Leslie Alcock, *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550–850* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 43–44.

The concept of a *prímchenél* or 'chief *cenél*' may have something to say about power dynamics in Argyll around 700. It presupposes the existence of non-*prím cenéla*, and these, by analogy with the relationship between the *epscop* and the *prím-epscop* ('bishop' and 'chief bishop'), need not all have been subject *cenéla* subordinated by the *prímchenéla*; see Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650–1000* (Maynooth: Laigin, 1999), 143–45, 185.

33 *Ceth. prím. Dáil Riata*, §§ 36–45.

34 *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336–1493*, ed. by Jean Munro and R. W. Munro, Scottish History Society, Fourth Series, 22 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1986), § 17 (*Malcolmo et Nigello rectoribus ecclesiarum Sancti Columbe de Moyle et de Kineavadean*) (previously published in *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, vol. 2 (1424–1513), ed. by J. B. Paul (Edinburgh: General Register House, reprinted 1984), § 2264). For the identification, see *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, vol. 2.1, ed. by Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh: W. H. Lizars, 1854), 188–93. On the church, see *Argyll: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, Volume 3, Mull, Tiree, Coll and Northern Argyll* (London: HMSO, 1980), 129.

35 *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. 1 (London: HMSO, 1844), 447; see A. A. M. Duncan and A. L. Brown, 'Argyll and the Isles in the earlier Middle Ages', *PSAS*, 90 (1956–57), 192–220 (216–17); R. Andrew McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard, c. 1100–c. 1306* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1997), 131–32.

36 *An Index Drawn Up About 1629 of Many Records of Charters Granted by the Sovereigns of Scotland Between 1309 and 1413*, ed. by William Robertson (Edinburgh: Murray and Cochrane, 1798), 2 (§ 51); see also *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, vol. 1 (1306–1424), ed. by J. M. Thomson (Edinburgh: General Register House, reprinted 1984), Appendix II, § 56; John McLeod, 'Parish of Morvern', (New) *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. 7 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1845), 163–95 (163). For discussion of Bruce's grant, see G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 4th edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 378.

37 William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*, vol. 1: History and Ethnology, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1886), 264. For other forms of the name, see *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, vol. 2.1, 188–90. It seems to have undergone considerable reanalysis through folk etymology, emerging as *Ceann Albin*, 'headland of Alba', a form which can only have been derived from a written form; see, for example, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, vol. 2.1, 188–89 ('Kenalbin'); McLeod, 'Parish of Morvern', 163.

38 Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 122. Reeves, *Life of St Columba*, 281, had reached the same conclusion prior to Skene.

39 Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 122; see also, for example, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, vol. 2.1, 188. McLeod, 'Parish of Morvern', 163–64.

40 *Origines Parochiales* 2.1, 188. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 93, identified the St Findóc apparently (from early place-name forms) commemorated at Killundine as Fintén mac Áedo, the founder of the unidentified monastery *Kailli au inde* in Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, ii.31, but did not in fact identify Killundine as the site of this monastery. Where the parish boundary may have lain between the two parishes is unknown. In the middle of the eighteenth century Morvern was bitterly split into two major holdings separated by the Savary River, possibly echoing the old parish boundary, see

Philip Gaskill, *Morvern Transformed: A Highland Parish in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), xv (Map 1), 5–6; Eric R. Cregeen, 'The tacksmen and their successors: a study of tenurial reorganisation in Mull, Morvern and Tiree in the early eighteenth century', *Scottish Studies*, 13 (1969), 93–144 (98–99). *Min. sench. fher nAlban*, § 47 sets Cenél nEchdach at eighty 'houses' (*tige*); it seems that in the 1750s the dispersed population of Morvern occupied about fifty settlements (Gaskill, *Morvern Transformed*, 10).

41 Alan Anderson, review of H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland: The Picts, the Scots, and the Welsh of Southern Scotland*, *Scottish Historical Review*, 29 (1950), 79–88, at 85n. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 122–23, had analysed the name as *A' Mhorbhairn*, with a different etymology.

On mormaers, see Kenneth Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 102–10; Alex Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba, 789–1070* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 342–49.

42 Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 110–11.

43 For discussion of such matters, including the origins of Onuist son of Vurguist, see Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, 343; Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, 357–58.

44 Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, i.22. The cast of characters in this story, including Diarmait and Lugaid, are suggestive of Cumméne Find's authorship.

45 Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, ii.22.

46 Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, i.41.

47 This idea follows a suggestion made to me by Simon Taylor (consider also Gaelic *maile*, 'evil'). The island was *Malaios* in Ptolemy; for discussion see *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, ed. by A. L. F. Rivet and Colin Smith (London: Batsford, 1979), 409. Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel, 'Ptolemy's Celtic Italy and Ireland: a linguistic analysis', in *Ptolemy: Towards a Linguistic Atlas of the Earliest Celtic Place-names of Europe*, ed. by David N. Parsons & Patrick Sims-Williams (Aberystwyth: CMCS, 2000), 83–112 (105), may be incorrect to link *Malaios* etymologically with *maile*, but it may be that Adomnán and his contemporaries were of a similar mind. For most recent comment on the derivation of the name, see Graham R. Isaac, 'Scotland', in *New Approaches to Celtic Place-Names in Ptolemy's Geography*, ed. by Javier de Hoz, Eugenio R. Luján and Patrick Sims-Williams (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 2005), 189–214 (197).

48 Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, ii.10.

49 Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, ii.21–22.

50 Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, i.12. Colmán, the Ardnamurchan layman enriched and protected by Columbae in *ibid.*, ii.21–22, bears another Cenél Baítáin name.

51 *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. by Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1961), 79; see also Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnán's Life (2)*, xxxii.

52 Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, ii.24.

53 Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, ii.22.

54 Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, iii.5b. For discussion, see Fraser, 'Strangers on the Clyde'; J. E. Fraser, 'St Columba and the Convention at Druimm Cete: peace and politics at seventh-century Iona', *Early Medieval Europe*, 15 (2007), 315–34.

55 *Mín. sench. fher nAlban*, §§ 46–48.

56 Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 90–91.

57 I am grateful for Simon Taylor's advice on this point. It ought perhaps to be noted that Lunga was home to a Tobar Choluim Cille (Patrick H. Gillies, *Netherlorn Argyllshire and Its Neighbourhood* (London: Virtue and Co., 1909), 62) though of course it is impossible to date this place-name.

58 That is to say that Nether Lorn consisted of the six parishes of Kilmartin, Craignish, Kilchattan, Kilbrandon, Kilmelfort and Kilninver; Mid-Lorn of the six parishes of Kilbride, Kilmore, Kilchrenan, Inishail, Muckairn and Glenorchy; and Upper Lorn of the three parishes of Ardchattan, Lismore and Appin).

59 *Argyll: an inventory*, vol. 2, 17.

60 There was a *Cill Bhaodáin* in Ardgour, as well as a *Suidhe Bhaodáin* near Ardchattan: Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 122, 300–01.

   There seem to be no other dedications to a saint of this name anywhere else in Scotland, an assertion which I have tested via the *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland* [http://webdb.ucs.ed.ac.uk/saints/]. There were isolated cults of a St Bathan in the Borders (on which see Simon Taylor, 'Seventh-century Iona abbots in Scottish place-names', in *Spes Scotorum, Hope of Scots: Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland*, ed. by Dauvit Broun and Thomas O. Clancy (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 35–70 (43–52)) and a St [Baedan] Moccu Cormaic in northern Knapdale, neither of which suggest an obvious link with the saint of Ardchattan.

61 *Argyll: an inventory*, vol. 2, 116, notes the church's similarities to that at Kilmore, dated here (*ibid.*, 153) to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

62 Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, 105–06, 250.

63 Trinity College Dublin MS 1339 ('The Book of Leinster'), folio 24 b; for a digital image, see http://www.isos.dias.ie/. See also *AU* 568.1.

64 There are several Sal- place-names in this part of Lorn, including Rubha Salach and Port an t-Salainn, facing the opening of Loch Melfort from the island of Shuna, and Tom Soilleir and Cruach na Seilcheig, mountains overlooking the head of Loch Melfort from the south. However, these names all appear superficially to be topographical.

65 For example, *Salach* might have denoted a Seil-man. For discussion of *Sóil*, see Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 75–76. Seil appears as *Seall*, *Saill*, *Seill* and *Sele* in a note of 1669 in Scots warning tenants in the island 'to remove at the instance of the Earle of Argyll', but the etymological value of these forms is limited; see *Highland Papers*, vol. 4, ed. by J. R. N. Macphail (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1934), 221–25.

Reeves, *Life of St Columba*, 281, and Skene (*ibid.*, Appendix I, 326–27) were surely correct to conclude from the geographical and meteorological evidence provided by Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, ii.45, that *flumen Sale* (see also Adomnán, *V. sanct. Columbae*, ii.9) lay south-east of Iona. Watson's analysis (endorsed by Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnán's Life (1)*, 156, 454 n.4) would seem to rule out the etymological link Skene further envisaged between this stream and Seil. Watson's preferred identification, the River Shiel in Moidart, no matter how satisfactory from an etymological perspective, is however a poor fit with Adomnán's geography. There is scope for further detailed discussion of this problem.

66 *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. 1, ed. by M. A. O'Brien (Dublin: DIAS, 1962), § 157.20–21; *Mín. sench. fher nAlban*, § 45. The link would seem to be folk-etymological.

67 *Mín. sench. fher nAlban*, §§ 39–40, 46–48.

68 *Mín. sench. fher nAlban*, § 41.

69 *Ceth. prím. Dáil Riata*, §§ 31–33, 44–45. This text is concerned only with Cenél nEchdach and says nothing of Cathub or Fergus Salach.

70 *Mín. sench. fher nAlban*, § 45.

71 *AU* 701.8–9.

72 *AU* 714.2. Alcock and Alcock, 'Reconnaissance excavations…2', 123–26. 'Dunollie 2' was defended by a ditch and a rubble rampart ('Rampart A') revetted on the exterior face with massive slabs, kerbed on the interior with stone.

73 *Argyll: an inventory*, vol. 2, 16, 70. For a brief discussion see also D. W. Harding, *The Iron Age in Northern Britain: Celts and Romans, Natives and Invaders* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 139.

74 On the possibility of a sliding date of composition of *Vita Sancti Columbae*, and the potential for authorial revisions over a number of years leading up to 700, see Thomas O. Clancy, 'Personal, political, pastoral: the multiple agenda of Adomnán's *Life of St Columba*', in *The Polar Twins*, ed. by Edward J. Cowan and Douglas Gifford (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999), 39–60 (40, 50–51).

75 I am very grateful to Steve Boardman, Ewen Cameron, Gilbert Márkus, Simon Taylor and Alex Woolf for assistance on particular points, and to the last two for their comments on drafts of this paper. Drs Boardman and Cameron generously provided access to their considerable expertise on aspects of medieval and modern Lorn history, as well as assisting me in tracking down materials. They expressed particular pleasure in providing such guidance, cognisant of the ultimate destination of the paper.

''S Tric Mo Shùil air an Linne'
Anja Gunderloch

The relatively little-known song ''S tric mo shùil air an linne' belongs to the rich genre of women's love songs that lament the loss of a lover to another woman. It appears to have a historical background, now largely obscure, that may go back to the late sixteenth century although a seventeenth-century context is just as plausible. The fullest texts begin with the female speaker's scene-setting statement that her lover has sailed away and left her (couplets 1–6). She then reminisces about their courting (7–9) before revealing that he has gone to see, perhaps to marry, another woman and regrets that this other woman has not been drowned (10–11). She then wishes that all other women he had talked about had died so that only she and her lover were left alive to continue their courtship (12–15). We then learn that the young man left on his voyage in winter and although he and his crew were experienced sailors they travelled in wet and stormy weather (16–20). The speaker finally slips into another passage of reminiscence of their courtship which includes an early example of tartan imagery (21–25).[1]

   The song consists of up to 25 couplets and none of the extant versions give a chorus although in two instances performance as linked couplets is indicated. End-rhyme in -*à*- is present in the second line of each couplet; *aicill* is found throughout the song, with the exception of couplet 2. The couplet structure is frequently (but by no means exclusively) used in women's songs and a number of early examples survive, e.g. 'MacGriogair à Ruadhshruth' or 'Clann Ghriogair air Fògradh'.[2] Our song shares its treatment of imagery with songs of this kind rather than with the other prominent women's genre, the waulking songs, although there are many shared images and conventions. It has been suggested that songs composed in couplets tend to treat imagery in a more concise and restrained way.[3]

The texts: published versions

The song was likely preserved by several generations of singers until it was taken down in the mid-eighteenth century. Five manuscript texts are extant, one further manuscript text – from the National Library

of Scotland's MacNicol Collection – is lost and six versions of the song appear in published sources.[4] Of these the most important one is in the Gillies Collection of 1786.[5] A tune survives and is given in the latest published text, in the *Celtic Monthly*, in sol-fa notation;[6] this is derived from the version published in 1848 by Finlay Dun, where an arrangement of the tune is presented in staff notation.[7] Another version of the tune appears, without words, in Angus Fraser's nineteenth-century collection of song and harp tunes.[8]

The introductory note to the text in the *Celtic Monthly* describes this as 'another of those sweet little songs and melodies which Finlay Dun has preserved for us'. At only four quatrains long, the song is indeed little and some of the most interesting parts have been left out. It only gives the initial passage that introduces the girl watching for her sailor lover, then tells of the voyage in bad weather before ending with the girl's reminiscence of both of them sitting out a rainstorm wrapped in his *breacan*. The text in the *Celtic Monthly* is the same as Dun's, with printer's errors corrected. Dun's version is accompanied by a Scots 'translation' bearing the title 'The Fickle Beauty' that has, however, nothing to do with the Gaelic text. The lines ''S tric mo shùil air mo dheigh / Is e mo roghainn a dh'fhàg mi' have turned into 'Fancies she noo Will's yellow hair, / Fancies noo the een o' tither', indicating that the aim seems to have been merely to provide something suitably sentimental to go with a nice tune.[9] As a faintly redeeming feature, a somewhat romanticised verse re-working in English of 12 couplets of our song appears in the notes to the songs; this only includes the material that deals with the themes of love and loss.[10] Dun's comment on this translation clearly indicates that he regards this as an entirely unconnected piece of poetry: '[t]he words of this song, although different in style and sentiment from those given at No. 13 in the body of this work, will be found to suit the air equally well (...)'. The kinship of the English and the Gaelic text is obvious.

Tha do bhreacan fluich fionn-fhuar,
Ge b'e ionnad ann do thàmh thu.

'S e do bhreacan ùr uasal,
A chum am fuachd uam is mi'm phàisdean,

And art thou weary, drenched, and cold,
    Spite of thy plaid, poor storm-tost lover;
That plaid which thou would'st round me fold
    My childhood's shrinking form to cover.[11]

It is no longer possible to determine whether Dun did have access to a fuller text of the song and, if so, who decided to edit out the parts that did not fit in his collection of material that reflected drawing-room sensibilities. Dun's preface refers to an extensive manuscript collection, from which the Gaelic material was drawn; this cannot be identified further and must be presumed lost.[12] It is, however, by no means clear whether Dun had enough Gaelic to evaluate his material properly. Born in Aberdeen, Dun received some of his schooling in Perth but spent much of his career as a composer, violinist and dancing-master in Edinburgh; he also spent time in France and Italy, furthering his musical studies.[13] Dun has been described as 'a fluent Greek, Latin, German, French, and Italian scholar'.[14] While we cannot rule out that Dun had some proficiency in Gaelic as well, it is also possible that his involvement in the volume that bears his name was on the musical side alone, as William Matheson suggests.[15] Dun's own comments certainly indicate that he did not notice the glaring discrepancies between the Gaelic and the Scots texts, nor the obvious link with the English re-working of the Gaelic text.

Dun's short text shares some orthographic features with the longer text in the Gillies Collection. In this context, a piece of *seanchas* that Dun reports in his notes is of interest:

> The Gaelic version of this song is said to have been composed by a young woman, an orphan. While residing with her uncle, she became the object of his son's attachment. The father, disapproving of their union, sent his son to court a rich lass in Dunscathaich in Skye. After the son's departure, the father one day overheard the poor girl singing this lament, which touched him so much, and gave him such a favourable impression of her character and talents, that he recalled his son, and consented to their marriage.[16]

This rather looks like an elaboration of the brief piece of *seanchas* that accompanies the Gillies text which runs: 'Oran a rinn Oigh d'a Leannan 's e dol a shuireadh air Mnaoi eile air comhairl' Athar'.[17] It appears that between 1786 and 1848 the story has grown and probably not in a way that is supported by the song itself. Nothing in the song indicates the happy ending that Dun is so anxious to highlight. This supports my suspicion that at some point, whether through the mediation of Dun himself or of his unknown source, nineteenth-century literary sensibilities took over. Dun's *seanchas* is altogether too redolent of romantic notions to ring entirely true.

A short version of the song, of only 11 couplets, was published in 1830 by James Munro in his collection *An t-Àillegan*.[18] The first line of each couplet is repeated after the second line from couplet 2 onwards. The text is printed somewhat awkwardly, with two couplets placed together but with the lines to be repeated indicated as well, presumably to represent the quatrain form that results from performance as rolling couplets. Given the consistency of the end-rhyme and the thematic relationships between couplets that are characteristic of this song-type, this kind of performance works well for our song.[19] Dun's text is arranged as quatrains but there does not seem to be any reason why his tune should not work with rolling couplets equally well. Most texts, after all, are given in couplet form rather than as quatrains. Similar to the slightly later version published by Dun, Munro's text limits itself to giving only the couplets that deal with the theme of love and longing; the couplets dealing with the young man's departure to Dùn Sgàthaich and the speaker's resulting jealousy, as well as the voyage sequence, are lacking. No background information is given. Munro explains in a note to the index that he collected a number of the songs in his book from current oral tradition; he also emphasises that '[a]ll the Pieces are the *original* words composed to the Airs to which they are sung'.[20] Our song is listed as anonymous and it is not among the ones marked as collected from oral tradition.[21] Except for orthographic variation, and in length, this text does not differ significantly from the Gillies version, except for concluding with a couplet that normally appears in the first half of the song (Gillies 9). A change that has taken place in this couplet is telling: where other versions have ''S cha b'e t' fhuath thug

dhomh t'eiteach, / Ach mi bhi teisteil mu m' nàire', Munro's runs ''S cha b'e m' fhuath thug ort m'eiteach, / Ach bhi teisteil mu m' nàire.' The girl's own concern about her reputation is here transferred to her lover. Coming at the end of the song, this puts an entirely new slant on the proceedings narrated in this version: the young man has left not because he is planning to marry another woman but because of his worry that their relationship might harm the girl's reputation. This suggestion sits uneasily with the fairly explicit courtship images that precede it:

'S tric a bha mi 's tu sùgradh
Ann am bùthan na Ràimhe.

Ann an coille nam badan,
'S tric a ghlac thu air làimh mi.[22]

It is likely that we are dealing with another instance of romanticising editing that aims to adapt a traditional song to tastes that are increasingly informed by wider reading in English. This would explain the omission of the couplets describing the girl's jealousy, which would jar rather unpleasantly with romantic ideals of femininity, and the loss of the voyage sequence, which might be seen as irrelevant. Both passages, however, are resonant in terms of the Gaelic song tradition and their absence detracts significantly from the impact of the song.

Another text which is evidently derived directly from Gillies was published by Archibald Sinclair in 1879 in *An t-Òranaiche*.[23] This gives the text in identical order and presents only a few differences, mainly orthographic; crucially, the *seanchas* from the Gillies version precedes the song. In his preface, however, Sinclair makes no explicit mention of the Gillies Collection as a source. It is of course possible that the text may have come to him from a contributor who failed to explain where it came from, since Sinclair thanks his friends 'a thug còmhnadh dhomh le òran 's le luinneig, le ùine 's le peann [...]' in his preface.[24]

Not all printed versions are connected so closely to the Gillies Collection. One predates this influential publication by six years and was even printed for John Gillies. A collection of Gaelic poetry is

appended to the 1780 edition of the *History of the Feuds and Conflicts among the Clans* which contains a version of our song.[25] This text, printed without couplet breaks, reverses the Gillies couplets 2 and 3 and lacks Gillies couplet 16; other significant textual differences, discussed below, emphasise the independence of this version. It appears that the source of this collection was the Rev. Donald MacNicol's brother;[26] according to Dr John Leyden, who reports Donald MacNicol's comments on the book in his *Tour in the Highlands*, the MacNicol texts 'had been published very inaccurately by Mr Hugh MacPherson'.[27]

The texts: manuscript versions

Three versions of the song are extant in the McLagan Collection in Glasgow University Library, in MS Gen 1042/13 no. 2, MS Gen 1042/20 no. 5 and MS Gen 1042/99 no. 2, all in the hand of James McLagan. They are largely independent of each other, although they share certain features that set them apart from the Gillies version, perhaps indicating that they may have come from the same region. Nothing is known about the provenance of McLagan 13 and 99 but McLagan 20 may be associated with the Glenorchy-Breadalbane region. A probable date of 1767 or earlier may be suggested for this manuscript on the evidence of other texts in the same manuscript. It contains a version of Donnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir's 'Òran an t-Samhraidh' (no. 4) that shows a number of significant differences to the published version of 1768. It is possible that McLagan took down this text at some point before the publication of the first edition of Donnchadh Bàn's poetry, perhaps from the poet himself at a time when the text had not fully taken shape. A similar situation is likely to apply to the two poems by Dugald Buchanan in the same manuscript, 'An Claigeann' (no. 1) and 'An Geamhradh' (no. 2), which show some differences to the versions published by Buchanan himself in 1767. As Donald Meek, the latest editor of Buchanan's work, argues, it is likely that the manuscript versions represent a stage before the poet had revised them in the course of preparation for the press, and the poet himself is again the most likely source.[28] There would have been little incentive to take down such texts after publication and in any case Buchanan died in 1768. The power carried by the printed word

is another important factor, as Meek explains: ''S e annas a bhiodh ann cuideachd nam biodh e ag atharrachadh a chuid obrach an dèidh dha a chur ann an clò, a chionn 's gun robh uiread a dh'ùghdarras aig a' chlò.'

Although McLagan is generally considered to be an important contributor to the Gillies collection, none of the McLagan texts can be shown with certainty to be the sole source of the Gillies version. McLagan 20 is a much shorter text, lacking the first nine couplets as well as the Gillies couplets 14, 15 and 19. Rather awkwardly, the text is presented in three-line stanzas, and repetition of the first line, or more likely the entire couplet, is indicated at the end of each stanza.

> Tha Gaoth mhór air n Latha
> Uisge reamhar
> Tróm Tlá ann
> Tha &c
>
> Tha Do bhracan fliuch fionfhuar
> Ga bé ionad
> Ndo thámh thu
> Tha &c[29]

This unusual line division seems to indicate that McLagan tried to write this as a song in *iorram*-metre. The rhymes, however, are the end-rhyme in *-à-* and the *aicill* in each couplet, not the rhyme schemes typical of *iorram*. Most obviously, where in *iorram*-metre the third line is longest, our song has two lines of equal length. McLagan's presentation, which makes the first line the longest, clearly does not work.

McLagan 13 presents a different order of couplets, although all couplets in the Gillies version are present here as well. This re-ordering appears to be the result of changes that took place in oral transmission; perhaps a particular singer decided to re-arrange the couplets in order to achieve more clarity since the new order still makes sense. Up to couplet 14, the order is the same as in Gillies, although the equivalent to Gillies 7 now appears within the *breacan* sequence, which has been moved from the end of the song to a position following a passage of courting imagery in which the speaker

imagines herself on an island with her lover. Gillies 8 concludes this version, following the slightly re-ordered voyage sequence. This text also shows four instances of lines written in later, plus one probable error of anticipation. Of two couplets, only the first line is given, with the lacuna marked by '&c'; in another two instances the final part of a line is missing, indicated by absence of either *aicill* or end-rhyme. All this appears to indicate that this manuscript represents McLagan's original field notes; alternatively, it may mean that McLagan was working from a difficult exemplar.

Finally, McLagan 99 follows the order in Gillies, except for couplet 3, which corresponds to Gillies 16. There are also some small verbal differences between these two texts. The couplet which wishes the speaker's rival dead runs 'Truath a ghaoil nach tu gheabhadh i / fuar faoi 'n deis a Bathaidh' where most other versions have 'Truagh a Rìgh, nach tu gheibheadh / fuar fodha i 'n dèis a bàthaidh' (11). One variant addresses the lover, the other is in the form of an invocation of God, making the expression of jealousy more shocking.

A final eighteenth-century text is in the papers of the Rev. Donald MacNicol that survive as part of the Colin Campbell collection in Edinburgh University Library (MS 3096.1.1). It is part of a miscellaneous collection of Gaelic songs and poems in the hand of MacNicol.[30] This text bears a close resemblance to the text in the *History of the Feuds* and except for one instance of textual divergence, discussed below, all differences are in orthography only. Several other texts in this manuscript are shared with this printed source and most of them exhibit a similarly close relationship. Yet it is not clear whether the manuscript is the source of the printed text; it is more likely that they share a common source, namely the same material in the possession of, or collected by, MacNicol's brother that was published in the *History of the Feuds*. While the manuscript does not offer internal evidence that allows precise dating, it is possible to suggest a date of 1780 or before on the evidence of the printed volume. The latest possible date would be 1800, when MacNicol expressed his criticism of the printed text to John Leyden.

A much younger text, dating to the nineteenth century, is in a collection of Gaelic poetry in the papers of John MacGregor in the National Archives of Scotland (GD50/175). MacGregor, who

bought the book in 1916, suggests that this manuscript previously belonged to James Macpherson of the Union Bank and notes that some material from his papers was discussed in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*.[31] The text of our song in the manuscript is beautifully presented and neatly written; it clearly has been derived, probably directly, from the Gillies collection and only shows insignificant differences such as missing out most accents or slight variation in the spelling of a few words. Even the *seanchas* passage from Gillies is present, as is the repetition of the first line at the end. It seems that such copying from a printed source was not unusual since the *Òranaiche* version has this pedigree too. Finlay Dun's fragmentary text, which came from a manuscript source, also appears to be connected to the Gillies version. A tentative date of *c*. 1850 has been suggested for MacGregor's text.[32]

Dating and place-names

The women's repertoire includes many songs which belonged originally to specific historical contexts; thus it is not unusual for Gaelic songs to make brief allusions to events or place-names which would be understood by contemporary audiences but present difficulties for later ones. In some cases, the context remains clear, often thanks to a specific piece of *seanchas* associated with a song, as in the case of 'A mhic Iain 'ic Sheumais' which was composed after the battle of Carinish in 1601 and celebrates the victory of Donald MacDonald over a force of MacLeods.[33] Sometimes it is possible to delve into the historical context of a song in the absence of *seanchas*, as Martin MacGregor has done for 'Rìgh gur mór mo chuid mhulaid', which he ascribes to Mòr Chaimbeul, the composer of 'Griogal Chridhe'.[34] Our song, however, is a little less forthcoming about its historical connections.

Allison Whyte suggests a possible dating of our song to the period before 1605.[35] This rests on her interpretation of the significance of the place-name Dùn Sgàthaich, the castle which was the home of the MacDonalds of Sleat before they took up residence in Duntulm, apparently at some point between 1572 and 1605.[36] The 'other woman' would thus appear to be a member of one of the leading families of the Gàidhealtachd, which fits in neatly with the *seanchas*

alluded to in the title of the Gillies text. Whyte further narrows down her tentative dating of the song to 1585–89, a time when the MacDonalds of Sleat and the MacLeans were involved in a period of feuding.[37] The feud began when Donald Gorm of Sleat was wrongly accused and attacked following a raid by pirates on MacLean's cattle on Jura; an attack by Sleat on Mull appears to have taken place in 1587, although historical records are hazy on details.[38] If this interpretation is accepted, the bringers of peril ('luchd a' chunnairt 's a' ghàbhaidh' (18)) who sail to the Sound of Mull might thus be envisaged as MacDonalds on an expedition against the MacLeans.

A degree of caution is required because we have no evidence that this is a song with a particular MacDonald connection other than the possible identification of the 'other woman' as a member of the Sleat family. There is nothing in the song to connect the composer, or at least the persona of the abandoned woman, with Clan Donald, or indeed any other clan. Moreover, we are not able to identify the man either. He may have belonged to another branch of Clan Donald or to another family altogether. All we can surmise is his well-born background which would make him an acceptable suitor for a woman associated with the Sleat family, and we may also speculate that he was a member of a clan that was among the MacDonalds' allies at the time, and his presence at a raid on MacLean territory might be explained in this way. The allies, however, form a lengthy list and include the MacDonalds of Clanranald and Dunnyveg, the MacNeils of Gigha, the MacPhies of Colonsay, the MacAlisters of Loup, the MacIans of Arnamurchan, the MacLeods of Lewis and the Macintoshes of Dunachton.[39]

The couplet which mentions Mull, or the Sound of Mull, survives in four different forms. One, 'gus an tèid iad Caol Muile / luchd a' chunnairt 's a' ghàbhaidh' is found in McLagan 13 and 99. The second variant, 'gus am beannaich iad Muile / luchd a' chunnairt 's a' ghàbhaidh' is found in Gillies, *An t-Òranaiche*, and McLagan 20. The text in the *History of the Feuds and Conflicts* runs 'Gus an dian iad Caoil Muille / Luichd fulluing a' chunnthairt 's a' ghàbhaidh'; the second line is clearly hypermetric. None of these indicates unequivocally that the people on the voyage were intent on raiding the MacLeans and, if they had been, they would hardly have greeted Mull. This particular

variant should rather be taken as expressing relief at arriving at a place of shelter. The phrase that describes the voyagers themselves is ambiguous. Whyte's interpretation would view them as the bringers of danger and peril. The final permutation, 'Gus 'n dian iad Caoil Muille / Luichd fulluing an Aibhraidh', appears in the MacNicol version and the use of 'aimhreadh' ('confusion, disturbance') here may indeed allude to conflict.[40] It is also possible to view them as people used to being exposed to, or dealing with, danger and peril. The texts which contain the Mull couplet all continue with a description of sailing through high winds and rain, surely conditions of danger that would be recognised in any coastal community regardless of any ongoing feuds or conflicts.

The significance of Dùn Sgàthaich as a place that has strong connections with the MacDonalds of Sleat was still remembered with great clarity in the seventeenth century. Iain Lom emphasises this connection in 'Iorram do Mhac Gille Eathain Dhùbhaird', which can be dated to 1647 and mentions the MacDonalds of Sleat as allies of the MacLeans:

> Gun tig sìolachadh Uisdein
> O Dhùn Sgàthaich an t-siùil sin,
> 'Gam bi 'n t-iubhar 'ga rùsgadh ri feum.[41]

At this stage, the feud that had been running two generations previously was clearly no longer relevant in the historical context of the Civil Wars, where MacDonalds and MacLeans after all fought together on the Royalist side. Iain Lom, in 'Latha Inbhir Lòchaidh', regrets the absence of the MacDonalds' MacLean allies at the battle and compliments them as 'àrmainn Muile'.[42] Our song might thus date with equal likelihood to the seventeenth century, and the perils mentioned in the Mull couplet might then be connected with one of the battles of the Montrose campaigns of the 1640s. The MacLean lands along the Sound of Mull could then be understood as a place which would offer shelter from foes and storms alike, as well as hospitality. The verb 'beannaich' would make perfect sense with this interpretation.

The conjecture that our song did originate at a specific time in the 1580s, when a feud between MacLeans and MacDonalds was in

progress, is plausible. With a subsequent shift in circumstances, a shift in the interpretation of the original context is possible, for instance in the 1640s; the allusions in the song are certainly unspecific enough to allow for this possibility. Similarly, the historical connotations of place-names are adaptable, and evocative function apart, place-names serve to locate a song in a particular region with an audience familiar with the locale. A seventeenth-century origin of the song is thus as possible as an earlier one.

Regardless of the historical background, our song gives several pointers which help in an attempt to locate the position of the speaker. The young man has gone to Dùn Sgàthaich in Skye to meet his prospective bride ('A dh'fhios na cail' tha 'n Dùn Sgàthaich' (10)). At some point during the voyage, they reach Mull or the Sound of Mull. The speaker of the song describes herself as sitting on an elevated vantage point removed from a settlement ('air an fhireach as àirde') from where she can observe the sea ('linne'). Various locations suggest themselves as the starting point of this voyage if we take 'linne' not just as a generic term for a part of the sea near the shore, as suggested by Dwelly,[43] but as part of a place-name. We may limit our search to stretches of navigable sea that are located in areas that necessitate a voyage around Mull or through the Sound of Mull in order to reach Skye. An Linne Sheileach, known by the 'ghost name' of Loch Linnhe on English-language maps, is a possible location which might indicate that the girl is based in an adjoining part of Morvern, Ardgour, Lochaber or Appin. An Linne Latharnach would locate her in the Argyll coastal districts or islands, or in the south-eastern part of Mull. Then there is An Linne Rosach, the Sound of Jura, which divides Islay and Jura from Knapdale and Kintyre. An Linne Ghlas, the southern part of the Firth of Clyde which divides the Ayrshire coast from Arran and Kintyre, is a further possibility. Finally, there is Linne Chluaidh, the Firth of Clyde, which would place her in Bute or Cowal.

Imagery

An opening where the persona of the young woman places herself on a prominent vantage point to await news of her lover is of course a common one. 'Fear a' bhàta', which can be dated to the late eighteenth

century, begins ''S tric mi sealltainn on chnoc as àirde / Dh'fheuch am faic mi fear a' bhàta'.[44] Our song opens with 'O, 's tric mo shùil air an linne / Is air an fhireach as àirde', and the similarity of the image is obvious. The idea of a romantic attachment that started in the speaker's childhood is similarly shared between the two songs. 'Fear a' bhàta' has 'gaol a thòisich nuair bha mi 'm phàiste', while our song combines this idea with the image of tartan: ''S e do bhreacan ùr uasal / A chùm am fuachd uam 's mi m' phàisdein' (24). While it is possible that Jane Finlayson, the putative composer of 'Fear a' bhàta', knew our song, it is equally likely that her inspiration came from elsewhere. Such images are, after all, well known throughout the corpus of women's songs. The theme of the (aristocratic) sailor lover who has left the speaker is likewise common to both, but while 'Fear a' bhàta' alludes to pregnancy out of wedlock, our song merely refers to a clandestine relationship.

The use of imagery relating to boats and sailing has strikingly vivid results in our song. Such imagery is very widespread across Gaelic poetry and prose, and symbolic use and realistic portrayals often intertwine.[45] The incomplete McLagan 20 version begins with the image of a boat which has lost both rudder and bowsprit: 'Fior-thosach 'n dúligh / Dhalbh mo sdiuir / Smo Chrainn bhraghad' – if, as suggested by Donald Meek, it is possible to equate 'crann braghaid' with 'crann-spreòid' for 'bowsprit'.[46] The image interlinks the departure of the lover, in a boat, in the darkest part of winter, with the feeling of loss and disorientation that the abandoned woman feels because a boat without rudder and bowsprit would have lost its means of steering. McLagan 99 locates this couplet at the beginning of the passage in which the speaker states that her lover has sailed away (3), while the Gillies text and its descendants place the couplet at the beginning of the second voyage-sequence, before the speaker prays for the protection of the sailors (16). Either position is appropriate as regards the couplet's context; however, McLagan 13 is the odd one out because here the couplet is dissociated from the voyage passages and appears instead in the middle of the re-ordered courtship sequence, thus emphasising the symbolic quality of the image. The image of a rudderless stranded boat as a symbol of grief is present in 'Marbhrann' by Sìleas na Ceapaich: 'Mi mar bhàta air

tràigh air sgaoileadh,/gun stiùir gun seòl gun ràmh gun taoman'.[47]

The world of the sea provides the song with more images. A passage near the beginning describes how the speaker's lover has sailed away (3–6). Then there is a voyage sequence (16–20), half of which gives a vivid image of stormy conditions:

> Luchd a dhìreadh nan stuadhan
> Air muir ruaidh nan tonn arda.
>
> Tha gaoth mhòr air an latha
> 'S uisge reamhar, trom, tlà ann.

The speaker also uses related imagery to express her own emotions, for example in the couplet where she wishes death by drowning on her rival: 'Truagh a Rìgh, nach tu gheibheadh/Fuar fodha i 'n dèis a bàthaidh' (11). Such an expression of jealousy can turn into an even more disturbing image, as in 'A' bhean eudach', which is put into the mouth of a woman who is left to drown on a rock by a love rival.[48] Another image is less savage and follows the passage which tells of the young man's departure: ''S tric a bha mi 's tu sùgradh/ann am bùthan na ràimhe' (7). This appears to take its inspiration from the very common sheiling images that are used to evoke courtship practices, because it is followed by a more conventional image: 'Ann an coille nam badan/is tric a ghlac thu air làimh mi' (8). The first couplet is reminiscent of a passage in the roughly contemporary 'Bothan àirigh am bràigh Raithneach': 'Ann am bothan an t-sùgraidh,/is gur e bu dùnadh dha barrach'.[49] Where the Perthshire composer naturally thinks of the shieling hut as the appropriate venue for meeting with her sweetheart, her coastal counterpart and her lover seem to have discovered a variant solution for their desire for privacy: a rowing boat which either takes them away from unwanted observation or an upturned boat which provides shelter. The idea of taking shelter in or under a boat surfaces again in McLagan 13: ''S tric a Chum thu mi tirim/Faoi Bhilibh do Bhata', the equivalent of the final quatrain of all other versions. The others, however, provide a different image, that of a downpour on land: ''S tric a chum thu mi tioram/Fo shileadh nan àrd-bheann' (25).

The final couplet concludes the *breacan* and courtship passage

(21–25), which in its turn follows on logically from the end of the voyage sequence. The speaker's thoughts turn from imagining sailing in a storm to visualising her lover's wet clothing (21): 'Tha do bhreacan fliuch fionnar, / Ge b'e ionad ann do thàmh thu'. This leads on to ''S truagh gun m' eudach, a ghaoil, agad / Gu moch madainn a-màireach' (22), where the speaker wishes to be in the company of her lover in order to keep him dry with her own clothing. She continues with ''S e bhith 'rìs gun fhios uait, / Seal mu 'm fhiosraicheadh càch e' (23), suggesting a clandestine relationship in the course of which they repeatedly met in secret. The imagery in this passage intertwines his *breacan* and her clothing, creating a tender and wistful image.

Smartly dressed lovers are of course commonplace in women's songs, for example in 'Bothan Àirigh am Bràigh Raithneach' where the young man is visualised wearing tartan trews: ''S math thig triubhais on iarann / Air sliasaid a' ghallain'.[50] Vivid detail apart, the survival of the *breacan* imagery in our song is likely to have been facilitated by its rise to prominence in the wake of the Disclothing Act of 1747, when songs in praise of Highland dress briefly became a prolific and popular genre. It is not unusual to find *breacan* mentioned in conjunction with imagery of love and courtship, as in Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's 'Am Breacan Uallach':

Shiubhlainn leat a phòsadh,
  'S bhàrr feòirnein cha fhroisinn dealta;
B'i siod an t-suanach bhòidheach,
  An òg-bhean bu mhòr a tlachd dhith.[51]

The type of outfit that the young man wore was probably the *fèileadh mòr* because the speaker recalls how he used to wrap her in his *breacan* (24): ''S e do bhreacan ùr uasal / A chùm am fuachd uam 's mi 'm phàisdein'. The adjectives describing the fabric refer to the young man's social status and indicate that he could afford new clothes. The image also appears in 'Is daor a cheannaich mi an t-iasgach', a song with possible Islay connections, in which a woman laments the drowning of her foster-son.[52] The link with the sea is thus common to both songs. Here, the drowned man's clothing is visualised underwater:

Tha do bhreacan ùr uasal
ann an ùrlar an aigeil,
tha do lèine chaol, bhòidheach
aig na rònaibh ga sracadh.[53]

The three McLagan texts have 'breacan caol uasal'. 'Caol', when referring to clothing, often means 'close-fitting', as in 'MacGriogair à Ruadhshruth': 'An lèine chaoil anairt / Gun bhannan gun sìod oirre'. A *fèileadh mòr* that is described as 'caol' might thus have been put on with attention to neat appearance, or perhaps 'caol' might refer to the patterning of the tartan and describe a sett with narrow bands of colour. Or perhaps our pair was simply snuggled up cosily together in the said garment which links up to the preceding passage.[54]

The song is not unique in its choice of themes nor in its treatment of the imagery. If there was a connection to a particular historical period or events, this has been obscured by the passage of time and the workings of transmission. The place-names which are mentioned in the longer versions offer different possibilities for the location of the speaker, but a definite identification remains elusive. The song does, however, give appealing twists to well-known sentiments and ideas that place it firmly in the tradition of women's songs that reflect something of the personality of the original composer.

Appendix

The edited text follows the version in the Gillies Collection and notes significant divergences in the other texts. The spelling has been normalised except in instances where this would affect rhymes.

1. O, 's tric mo shùil air an linne
   Is air an fhireach as àirde;

2. 'S tric mo shùil air mo dhiaidh,
   Is e mo roghainn a dh'fhàg mi.[55]

3. Beir mo shoraidh don fhleasgach
   A dh'fhalbh mu fheasgar le bhàirc uainn;[56]

4. Chuir mo leannan a chùl rium,
   Is chuir e 'chùram air bàta;

5. Ged a dhiùlt thu dhomh 'n t-aiseag,
   A Rìgh, gum faiceadh mi slàn thu![57]

6. Ged a dh'eitich thu rum dhomh,
   Cha bu diùbhail mi d' bhàta.

7. 'S tric a bha mi 's tu sùgradh
   Ann am bùthan na ràimhe.

8. Ann an coille nam badan
   Is tric a ghlac thu air làimh mi.

9. 'S cha b' e t' fhuath thug dhomh t' eiteach,
   Ach mi bhith teisteil mu m' nàire.[58]

10. Ach ma chaidh thu nunn thairis
    A dh'fhios na cail' tha 'n Dùn Sgàthaich;

11. Truagh a Rìgh, nach tu gheibheadh
    Fuar fodha i 'n dèis a bàthaidh,[59]

12. 'S gach bean a chaidh luaidh riut
    A bhith san uaigh o cheann ràith;

13. Ach mise bhi fallain,
    Is tusa maireann nad' shlàinte;[60]

14. Thus' is mise, laoigh ghaolaich,
    A bhith nar n-aonar am fàsach;[61]

15. Sinn bhi 'n eilean nar dithis;
    O 's e mo chridhe tha 'n geall air![62]

16. Fìor-thoiseach an dùbhlaich
    Dh'fhalbh mo stiùir 's mo chroinn-bhràghad.[63]

17. Ach a Rìgh mhòir a' chruinne,
    Cum na thùir is na thàmh e;[64]

18. Gus am beannaich iad Muile
    Luchd a' chunnairt 's a' ghàbhaidh;[65]

19. Luchd a dhìreadh nan stuaghan
    Air muir ruaidh nan tonn arda.

20. Tha gaoth mhòr air an latha
    'S uisge reamhar, trom, tlàth ann.

21. Tha do bhreacan fliuch fionnar,[66]
    Ge b'e ionad ann do thàmh thu.

22. 'S truagh gun m' eudach, a ghaoil, agad
    Gu moch madainn a-màireach;

23. 'S e bhith 'rìs gun fhios uait,
    Seal mu 'm fhiosraicheadh càch e.

24. 'S e do bhreacan ùr uasal[67]
    A chùm am fuachd uam 's mi 'm phàisdein;

25. 'S tric a chum thu mi tioram
    Fo shileadh nan àrd-bheann.[68]

26. O 's tric mo shùil air an linne, &c.

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57 Munro: A righ gu faiceamsa slàn thu.

58 Munro: 'S cha b'e m' fhuath thug ort m'eiteach, / Ach bhi teisteil mu m' nàire.

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61 McLagan 13 (also 99): a Bheith faraon air feadh fasuigh.
62 McLagan 13 (also 99): Se mo Chreidhe 's mor geall air.
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65 *Òranaiche*: Gus am buanaich iad Muile; McLagan 13 (also 99): Gus an teid iad Caol Muile; *History*: Gus an dian iad Caoil Muille / Luichd fulluing a' chunnthairt 's a' ghàbhaidh; MacNicol: Luchd fullaing an Aibhreadh.
66 McLagan 13: Ta do bhreachdan fliuch.
67 McLagan 13 (also 20 and 99): 'S e do bhreacan Caol uasla.
68 McLagan 13: Faoi Bhilibh do Bhata.

Scottish Gàidhlig Liquids and Nasals
Eric P. Hamp

In certain ways, Scottish Gàidhlig has had the habit of accumulating particularities to a degree that makes it a sort of museum for a linguist who pays close attention to the events of human language.[1] To put one aspect of this observation crudely – too crudely – the phonology of Gàidhlig shows us characteristics that we can call curiosities and that are not mere detail. One might think of blatant paradoxes such as svarabhakti syllables (to use the Sanskritic term), which sound phonetically as two syllables but count as a single one, or a word structure where the first vocalism – one vowel of many (short or long, a diphthong, nasal or oral, perhaps a glottal), the richest choice of Europe – is followed mostly by a single vocalised bridge until a final single vowel. It is the most elaborately defined word-form in Europe, using more elements than Finnish, Turkish or Serbian. That helps to make its strange spelling system so sensible, apart from belonging to a society with a deep respect for tradition.

In the consonants, contrary to the rest of Europe (and probably Eurasia), the main dichotomy distinguishing them, except in the far north Reay country (and more than in Iceland), is not voicing, but fortis/lenis marking. And in Argyll, glottal stop (ʔ) is, unlike Arabic, not a consonant, but a sign that a syllable does not end fortis; thus it is a syllable marker and distinguishes diphthongs. The only sounds distinguished by voicing (except in Reay country) are sonants.

Among the sonants of Indo-European we exclude *m, which behaved as a nasal obstruent in syllabifying a preceding sonant (e.g. Gaulish *limo-* = Latin *ulmus* 'elm'). It will be seen that differential articulation of *r was atrophying in earlier Irish time; therefore the results seen in Gàidhlig departures should not surprise us.

That then leaves *l and *n and their descendents to be inspected more attentively. And here we are abundantly rewarded. In surface phonemes, the laterals and nasals of Gàidhlig are probably the most numerous to be found during the past two millennia in the whole of Eurasia, if not the whole known world.

1. Proto-Celtic *l, n, r* > Ogam L, N(, C̦ₓC̦ₓ), R > Archaic/Early Irish, Old Irish //l, n, r// → /l̄, n̄, r̄, l, n, r, `, ´, ʷ/ → [l̄`, l̄ʷ, l̄´, l`, lʷ, l´, n̄`, n̄ʷ, n̄´, n`, nʷ, n´] etc.

We will, ultimately without damage, ignore *p, s* > *ɸ, s* > *h, s*, lenited *h (l, n, r)* etc. > *h, s*, lenited *h, ḷ, ŋ̊*, British *hʷr* etc. > *h* (British, some *h*), Goidelic *s*, lenited *h, ḷ, ŋ̊* (British?), British *ɸr* etc. > Goidelic Ø, British some *h-*, Goidelic *s*, British *h-*; lenited *h, ḷ* (British > *l*; *ffr*; *sw* > *hw* → *s(w)oin-* > *hun* in *fyhun*), *ŋ̊*.

The Proto-Celtic reconstruction we are concerned with looks like a slice of PIE reconstruction, or, for that matter, of PI-Hittite. The Ogam is much the same, with allowance for allophonic change in clusters, capital letters for the delightful script.[2] In late Old Irish slender strong *r* was waning in distinction in initial position.

2. Applecross[3]

m	n	n´	N					
	l	l´	L		St Kilda	l	l´	w
	r		R					

Bernera, Lewis[4]

m	n	N´	N				
	l´	L´	L				
	r	ð´	R̦		Hebridean	ð < r´	

Here we see an average sample of the system of our sounds, with less in number of what once was there but with laterals and nasals more abundant than in most of the world. Particularly characteristic are the strong laterals and nasal, with length and tense, thick velarised and protruded tongue.

In St Kildian the velarisation had (until 1992, has) taken the lateral to /w/ [u̯], e.g. *Gall* [g̊au̯u̯] 'person from the Lowlands',[5] which contrasts with *gabh* [g̊au̯], e.g. *an gabh thu tuilleadh tea* [ⁿgau̯ u 'tɤ^l̥´əɣ 'te˙] 'will you have some more tea?' In Hebridean the slender /r´/ has advanced to /ð/ or /ð´/.

3. Colonsay[6]

	l	n	n´		LENIS
ł				m	
	l´	ꞥ	ɲ̄		FORTIS

+ h-sonant

*
$$\left.\begin{matrix} L \\ l \end{matrix}\right\} > ł \qquad \ast \quad N > ꞥ$$

L				N		ꞥ
l				n		n
L´	l´			N´	n´	
l´	l			n´	n

$$\begin{matrix} N´ & n´ \\ n´ & n \end{matrix}\right\} \; \text{-n´-} \; \left\{\begin{matrix} \text{-}ɲ̄ \\ \text{-n´} \end{matrix}\right.$$

In Colonsay the laterals and nasals result in greater numerical outcome and, it would seem, more classically conservative phonetic shapes.

4. East Sutherland[7]

m	n	n´
	l	l´	ł	Brora	i̠- < l´
	r				

Isolated in East Sutherland, but devotedly studied by Nancy Dorian, these shrinking points have suffered attrition by the surrounding, inevitable neighbour.

The Brora development is an interesting testament in systematic economy as well as beauty of metathetic balance.

5. Reay[8]

p etc.	ł̥	l̥	l̥´	Ꝼ̥	r̥	ꞥ̥	n̥	m̥		
b	ł	l	l´	Ꝼ	r	ꞥ	n	m	ɲ	(ŋ)

With its marginal (and tragic) isolation, with no recent neighbours(!), Reay country has conserved the articulatory distinctions that Colonsay has. But then it has doubled nearly all sonants by voicing opposition,

devoicing finals. After that, with a loss of final open syllables, the voiced sonants (now including /m/) came to have distinctive voicing. A new record number.

6. Islay[9]

	t	c	ǩ´	k	p	+ fortis
	d	j	ǧ´	g	b	– fortis
h	s	s	č	x	f	+ fortis
r			j	ɣ	v	– fortis
					∇	+ fortis
	n	n´				– fortis
	N	N´			m	+ fortis
	ł	l´				– fortis
l	L	L´				+ fortis

Islay now comes as a marginal area and couched in the sea, with a near record number of articulation types. Notice how in the same language the typologies have parted company between Hebridean, Reay and Islay while conserving an Insular distance from Welsh and the continent of Europe.

7. Islay → Easdale[10]

The above tabulation simply converts what I found in Islay on two summer visits[11] into what I had from Easdale, checked against adjacent points I did. It can be seen that in /ł/ in Easdale corresponds to both /l/ and /ł/ in Islay and that /l/ in Easdale corresponds to Islay /l/ and /l´/.[12]

8. Muasdale, Kintyre[13]

*	>	#_		V_V			C_V			_#		
L		ď̪	= /L/	ɫ̌			ɫ̌	= /L̄/		ɫ̌·	= /L/	
l		ɫ̌	= /ɫ/	ɫ̌		/ɫ/ᵃ				ɫ̰	= /ɫ/	
L´		l´	= /L´/ᵃ	l´	= /l´/ᵃ		l´·	= /L´/		l´·	= /L´/	
l´		l̠	= /l/ᵇ	l̠	= /l/ᵇ					l̰	= /l/ᵇ	
N		n̪̈	= /n̪̈/	n̪̈	= /n̪̈/		c	c		n̪̈·	= /n̪̈/	
n		n	= /n/	n	= /n/					n̰	= /n/	
N´		n	= /n/	n´	= /n´/		d	d		n´·	= /N´/	
n´		n	= /n/	n´	= /n´/					n̰´	= /n´/	

a +tense > −tense / [+palatal].

b + palatal > −palatal / [−tense]. Therefore order b before a; followed by cluster assimilation.

c These cells should perhaps include [n̪̈·] = /N̄/. However, as I write this paper, I do not have access to my original papers which are in storage.

d These cells should perhaps include [n´·] = /N̄´/. However, as I write this paper, I do not have access to my original papers which are in storage.

The champion of Eurasia for laterals and nasals seems to be Muasdale, Kintyre, taking into consideration number of phonemic primes and varieties of distributional allophones; see the chart summarising what is completely on e-recording record made in 1984/5. Consider morphophonemes alongside surface phonemes and features. Diachrony helps to clarify synchronically.

There were more than 40 allophonic positions with different items (i.e. six laterals and six nasals – not including *m* here – for six 'positions'), for which I found at least an example each, in total *c.* 57 examples:[14]

#__	V__V	__C[-hom]	__C[+hom]	¹V__#[15]	⁰V__#[16]
L	L	L	L̄	L	L
ɫ	ɫ	ɫ		ɫ	ɫ
L´	L´	□	L̄´	L´	L´
l̠	l̠	l̠		l̠	l̠
N	N	N	N̄	N	N
n	n	n		n	n
N´	N´	N´	N̄´-	N´	□
		n´		n´	n´

The next summer, when I enquired about George Thomson to do more work with him because he was so wonderful, I learned that in February he had died.

REFERENCES

1 This paper is based on an oral presentation delivered at the First International Conference on the Languages of Scotland, held at the University of Aberdeen in July 1985.

2 See William Bright and Peter T. Daniels (eds), *The World's Writing Systems* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996 and in press). For the complex list of phonemic surface representations in earliest Old Irish, see Eric P. Hamp, 'Morphophonemes of the Keltic Mutations', *Language*, 27 (1951), 230–47, and Bright and Daniels, *The World's Writing Systems*.

3 Based on Elmar Ternes, *The Phonemic Analysis of Scottish Gaelic: Based on the Dialect of Applecross, Ross-shire*, 3rd rev. edn (Dublin: DIAS, 2006) and the author's own fieldwork observations.

4 Based on Carl Hj. Borgstrøm, *The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides* (Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1940).

5 My St Kilda informant, Lachlan (Lachie) MacDonald (for whom see *Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland*, ed. by Cathair Ó Dochartaigh, 5 vols (Dublin: DIAS, 1997), 1, 84 (point 16)) thought *Gall* was not used to refer to a stranger from other islands, and he doubted the status of a 'Mainland' Gàidhlig speaker for this reference.

6 Based on my fieldwork with Miss Anabella MacNeill; see Ó Dochartaigh, *Survey*, 1, 86 (point 57).

7 Based on Nancy Dorian, *East Sutherland Gaelic* (Dublin: DIAS, 1978).

8 Based on the author's fieldwork observations; see Ó Dochartaigh, *Survey*, and work to come.

9 Based on the author's fieldwork observations; see Ó Dochartaigh, *Survey*, and work to come.

10 This abbreviates a lot of what is found for the whole of Argyll, the richest area for laterals and nasals.

11 See Ó Dochartaigh, *Survey*, I, 86.

12 From my fieldwork files; cf. Ó Dochartaigh, *Survey*.

13 Based on George Thomson, whom I visited in July and August 1983 (and controlled 1984–85) – a born intellectual and phonetician; also based on 'Niall of the Post Office', cousin of George – very reliable, huge vocabulary (especially of marine, lobstering and weather terms), retired.

14 I did all *l*s and *n*s listed in the glossary index of Nils Holmer, *The Gaelic of Kintyre* (Dublin: DIAS, 1962). Repr. 1981. In the following table, the symbol '□' indicates that it doesn't occur or was lost; a gap indicates that there was no example in the index.

15 I.e. in monosyllables.

16 I.e. in polysyllables.

'Cleas a' Choin Sholair':
Aesop's Dog Fable in the Poetry of Sìleas na Ceapaich
Barbara Hillers

Sìleas na Ceapaich, the innovative MacDonald poet whose work encompasses the personal and the public and transcends conventional gender boundaries, composed six poems about the 1715 Jacobite Rising. Queen Anne, the younger daughter of James VII, had died on 1 August 1714; the heir designate was a distant relative, Elector Georg Ludwig of Hanover, the future George I. It seemed a good time for James's son and only surviving child, James Francis Edward Stuart, to stake his claim to the throne. In October James issued a statement from his exile in Lorraine declaring his intention to take up his claim in person. Less than a year later, on the 7th of September, the Earl of Mar raised the Jacobite standard at Braemar, and the Battle of Sheriffmuir, the subject of three of Sìleas's poems, was fought on 13 November 1715. By the time James arrived in Scotland in late December it was clear that his bid to challenge George had not been successful.[1]

'Do dh'Arm Rìgh Sheumais' ('To King James' Army'),[2] is one of Sìleas's most engaging political poems; Derick Thomson singles it out for praise, calling it the 'best example of her sinuous, colourful, figurative style of argument'.[3] It is also of interest for the poet's use of an Aesopic fable, skillfully injected into the poem's rhetorical argument.[4] Sìleas's use of the fable, which she evidently expected her audience to know and understand, is intriguing and raises the question of the poet's familiarity with influences outside Gaelic poetic tradition. We shall survey the fable's history and investigate by what channels – oral or literary, popular or learned – the fable might have travelled from the Mediterranean to the Highlands of Scotland.

Before exploring the animal fable, let us glance at the rhetorical sweep of Sìleas's poem. In 'Do dh'Arm Rìgh Sheumais' the fears and hopes of the Jacobite cause appear to hang in the balance; the rising has started, the nobles have gone to fight; King James has not landed yet (stanza 2), but the poet expects King George to be defeated by Halloween (stanza 6). In its short span of only six stanzas the poet moves from anguish to exhortation and triumphant prophecy. In the

first stanza, Sìleas adopts an attitude of lament, as she empathises with the women whose husbands have left to fight for the Jacobite cause. In the second stanza, the poet's concern shifts from the women to the men 'scattered over valleys and mountains', whose courage she praises and for whose safety she prays in the third stanza. In the fourth stanza, the poet vents her anger against King George, cursing him and calling him 'feòladair' (butcher) and 'sean-mhadadh-allaidh' (old wolf). The poem's movement from anxiety to activism is underscored by the one-line refrain which is repeated three times in each stanza and serves to link the stanzas together. In the first stanza, the refrain establishes a direct link between the poet and her subject, the aristocratic women lamenting their absent husbands. Like the women, the poet is being kept awake at night: 'D'fhàg e gun chadal am dhùsgadh mi,' (It has left me lying sleepless awake). Throughout the first four stanzas, the refrain remains the same except that after the first stanza the impersonal *e* (it) tends to be replaced by the more immediate *sibh* (you): 'D'fhàg sibh gun chadal am dhùsgadh mi' (You have left me lying sleepless awake).

Stanza 5 marks a turning point in the poem. It opens with two ominous images – the rising tide and the threat of murderous violence – expressing the need for immediate action in the face of imminent danger. The urgency of Sìleas's appeal is evident in her direct address of her audience: the pronoun *sibh* (you) occurs six times and the possessive pronoun *ur* (your) four times throughout the stanza. What marks this stanza most clearly as a turning point, however, is the refrain. By a skillful manipulation of just a few words, notably the inversion of the poem's two contrastive key concepts 'cadal' (sleep) and 'dùsgadh' (wakefulness), the refrain now serves to back up the poet's call for action, urging the nobility that they have been asleep for too long:

> Tha bùrn a' tighinn fodhaibh
> Mur dèan sibh grad-dhùsgadh,
> > Is fada 'n ur cadal gun chùram sibh,
>
> Is mur tionndaidh sibh cleòc
> Théid ur sgòrnan a chiùrradh,
> > Is fada 'n ur cadal gun dùsgadh sibh

There is water flowing under you / and you must awaken quickly / (you are a long time carelessly asleep) / and unless you turn your coat / your throats will be slit (you are a long time sound asleep). (ll. 578–83)

The poem's agenda becomes most clearly explicit in the sixth and final stanza. The stanza opens with a final flourish of hyperbolic rhetoric in which Sìleas calls King George 'rìgh na muice' (the swine king) and expresses her expectation – 'Bidh amhuch 's na còrdaibh' – that 'his neck will be in the ropes' before long (l. 595). The poet then turns directly to her audience in her call for action:

Nan éireadh sibh suas
Ann an cruadal 's an duinealas,
Eadar ìslean is uaislean,
Thuath agus chumanta,
Sgiùrsadh sibh uaibh e,
Rìgh fuadain nach buineadh dhuinn.

If you were to rise / with hardihood and manliness, / both nobles and vassals, / tenantry and common folk, / you would sweep him away from you, / an alien king who has no place with us. (ll. 597–602)

The final recurrence of the refrain in the last line of the poem signals an inversion of the poet's initial attitude of sleepless anxiety in a utopian vision of peace and order restored: 'Is dhèanainn an cadal gu sunndach leibh' (And I would joyfully join you in sleep).

Let us now turn to a closer investigation of the crucial fifth stanza and in particular of the fable of the 'foraging dog':

Rinn sibh cleas a' choin sholair
Thug a cholba 'n a chraos leis:
'Nuair a chunnaic e fhaileas
Thug e starradh g'a fhaotainn;
'Nuair a chaill e na bh' aige
Dh'fhàg sin acrach re shaogh'l e.

You have done what the foraging dog did, / who carried his limb of meat in his mouth: / when he saw its reflection / he made to catch it; / when he lost all he had / it left him hungry for the rest of his life. (ll. 584–89)

In this stanza Sìleas for the first time appears to criticise her audience, the Gaelic nobility, albeit indirectly, by means of a fable. The Jacobites, Sìleas is implying, have been acting like the dog, who in its greed for imaginary gain, lost the possession it had. Sìleas's allusive treatment suggests that she expects her audience to be familiar with the fable; for all its sketchiness, however, the basic narrative is clear. The dog's foolish greed and its ensuing disappointment are vividly expressed and there can be little doubt that the story Sìleas is alluding to is one of the oldest-attested animal fables in world literature.

The dog fable from Aesop to La Fontaine[5]

The fable belongs to the ancient corpus associated with Aesop, the legendary figure that defined the fable as a genre. No written corpus can be securely attributed to Aesop, whose historicity and literary activity – he is supposed to have been a freed slave from Samos, according to Herodotus, and to have lived in the sixth century BCE – is almost as elusive as that of his illustrious predecessor Homer. Collections of Aesopic fables circulated as early as the third century BCE, but the earliest extant corpus is a collection of Latin verse fables from the first century CE by Phaedrus, a freed slave of Greek extraction, who popularised the Aesopic corpus in the Roman world. The fable of the dog who loses his meat is extant in all the main corpora of early Aesopic material; it is first mentioned in the fourth century BCE by Democritus, who attributes it to Aesop, and may thus be claimed to be one of the oldest fables of the corpus.[6] It occurs, with minimal variation, in Phaedrus's Latin and Babrius's Greek verse adaptations, as well as in Greek and Latin prose recensions:

> A dog was crossing over a river with a piece of meat in her mouth. Seeing her own reflection in the water she thought it was another dog with a bigger piece of meat. So she dropped her own piece and made a spring to snatch the piece that the other dog had. The result was that she had neither.[7]

Here we can only give a brief sketch of the fable's fortunes since antiquity and suggest some channels by which it might have reached the Highlands of Scotland.

Aesop may have escaped the fate of other classical authors in the cultural cataclysm that followed the fall of the Roman Empire because of his traditional role in the classroom: Aesopic fables soon found their way onto the curriculum of the new monastic schools. The Aesop of the Middle Ages drew largely on Phaedrus but incorporated other Aesopic material as well. Attributed to a certain Romulus, the collection was compiled probably at some time between 400 and 600 CE. The *Romulus* follows Phaedrus in structure and content, while adapting Phaedrus's language and poetic register to create a colourful and highly colloquial prose version.[8] The *Romulus* survives in several distinct recensions, of which the *Romulus Nilantii* is the most significant, and spawned a number of verse and prose adaptations. It was not until the twelfth century, however, that the collection was translated into the vernacular. It was Marie de France's Old French translation, the *Esope*, which marked the next step in the fable's transmission. The *Esope* follows the Latin recension of the *Romulus Nilantii*, although Marie claims as her source a vernacular text attributed to the Englishman Alfred. One feature of Marie's version of 'The Dog and the Shadow' was to prove particularly influential in the fable's transmission; in Marie's elegant verse, the dog's booty is not a piece of flesh, but a cheese:

> A une feiz, ceo vus recunt,
> passot uns chiens desur un pun;
> un formage en sa buche tint ...

> *Once upon a time a dog was crossing a bridge, and in his mouth he held a piece of cheese ...*[9]

It is by no means certain that it was Marie who introduced this innovation,[10] but there is no doubt that her *Esope* was responsible for the popularity of what we might refer to as the Cheese Redaction in twelfth- and thirteenth-century adaptations of the fable, both in Latin and the vernacular. In Berechiah ha-Nakdan's Hebrew adaptation and Jacques de Vitry and Étienne de Bourbon's Latin versions, as well as in French and Italian retellings, the dog carries a cheese in his mouth. The Cheese Redaction was still current as late as the fourteenth and early fifteenth century in the writings of John Bromyard and John

Lydgate; Lydgate's version of the fable tells us 'How a grete hownd ouer a brigge square, / A large chese in his mowth he bare'.[11]

For several centuries, the Cheese Redaction dominated the tradition, even though the Latin *Romulus* continued in use, and Marie's contemporaries or near-contemporaries Odo of Cheriton (†1247) and Vincent of Beauvais (†1264) show no sign of having been influenced by the *Esope*. At least one vernacular translation, the thirteenth-century *Lyon Yzopet*, also follows the traditional Meat Redaction;[12] another Old French translation, the *Ysopet*, indicates an awareness of both redactions:

> ... en sa gueule un fromage mou,
> autres dient que ce yere chars.

> *... in his mouth a soft cheese –*
> *others say that it was meat.*[13]

After the fourteenth century the popularity of the Cheese Redaction declined and there is little trace of it in fifteenth-century versions of the fable. In the next generation of Aesopic texts, epitomised by the magisterial edition of Heinrich Steinhöwel, the Meat Redaction of the Latin *Romulus* successfully reasserted itself. Steinhöwel's 1476 edition marks the Aesopic fable's transition from medieval manuscript culture to Renaissance print culture. His bilingual Latin-German *Esopus* was the most comprehensive fable collection attempted since antiquity as well as the first to combine Latin and Greek strands of the tradition; it also incorporated oriental sources mediated through the Latin of Petrus Alphonsus. It is worth noting, however, that the core of the collection is still the medieval *Romulus*. Steinhöwel's edition was 'an unmistakably lavish production',[14] illustrated with 'a profusion of woodcuts',[15] and succeeded in being both scholarly and popular.[16] The edition's Latin text made it internationally accessible, while the facing German translation provided a blueprint for the many vernacular adaptations that followed it. Within a decade of its publication, it was translated into French (1480), English (1483) and Spanish (1488); Italian, Dutch and Danish translations followed. William Caxton's translation was based on the French edition:

> In tyme passed was a dogge that wente ouer a brydge / and
> held in his mouthe a pyece of flesshe / and as he passed

ouer a brydge / he perceywed and sawe the shadowe of hym / and of his pyece of flesshe within the water / And he wenynge that it had be another pyece of flesshe / forthwith he thought to haue take it / And as he opened his mouthe / the pyece of flesshe fylle in to the water / and thus he lost it.[17]

The fable's transition from manuscript to print culture coincides with the increased interest shown in the genre by humanist and Reformation writers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The fable's combination of homespun common sense with moral edification proved to be irresistible to humanist writers who used it to expound on politics, theology or the mores of the age. We have so far focussed almost entirely on the fable's narrative element, tracing the transmission of its plot elements through the centuries. However, the defining trait of the fable is that its true meaning lies outside its narrative content. The fable's trademark characteristic is its moral, which may be implicit or explicitly stated, succinct or expansive. The Renaissance compilers, translators and adaptors of fables had a sophisticated and well-articulated understanding of the genre and fully harnessed its particular power to instruct by entertaining: *fabula docet* (the fable teaches). In antiquity, the moral is typically short; take, for example, Phaedrus's interpretation of our dog fable: 'he who goes after what belongs to another deservedly loses his own.' In many medieval and Renaissance versions, the moral becomes more substantial and a new, spiritual interpretation creeps in, as in the version by the fifteenth-century Franciscan preacher and fabulist Johannes Pauli:

> Thus it happens to many people who want too much and who gain too little. We want to have joy and delight here on earth, and to have eternal joy in the other world too. Take good care that you do not lose both![18]

The context of many of the medieval and early modern versions suggests that the fable was used as an exemplum in preaching; the versions of Jacques de Vitry, Vincent of Beauvais, Martinus

Polonus and others appear in the context of a sermon and many of the compilers to whom we owe versions of our fable – Johannes Pauli, John Lydgate, Martin Luther, Petrus Hehel, Abraham à Sancta Clara – were noted preachers. In the wake of Steinhöwel's canonical collection, our dog fable enjoyed particular popularity in German-speaking tradition.[19] During the Reformation, Protestant and Catholic theologians alike favoured the genre, although in subsequent centuries the dog fable appears in predominantly Catholic contexts.[20]

Let us conclude our survey of the fable's literary history with the famous secular collection of Jean de La Fontaine. Published in two parts in 1668, La Fontaine's *Fables* drew on medieval and post-medieval sources, and became popular in France and wherever French was cultivated as the language of polite society. For all its phenomenal success, it is as well to remember that outside the Francophone world its popularity was initially limited: in English, only a handful of translations appear before Elizur Wright's 1841 bilingual edition.[21] Eventually La Fontaine became Aesop's modern amanuensis, and, even though today Phaedrus, Babrius and the corpus of Greek prose fables are now readily available in the original as well as in popular translations,[22] for many readers today La Fontaine remains their first introduction to the Aesopic fable.

La Fontaine's version of our dog fable, 'Le chien qui lâche sa proie pour l'ombre' (The dog who drops its prey for its reflection), with its philosophical turn and distinctly modern tone, aptly illustrates the author's characteristic voice, captured admirably in Norman Shapiro's translation:

> Chacun se trompe ici-bas:
> on voit courir après l'ombre
> tant de fous, qu'on n'en sait pas
> la plupart du temps le nombre.
> Au Chien dont parle Ésope if faut les renvoyer.
> Le Chien, voyant sa proie en l'eau représentée,
> la quitta pour l'image, et pensa se noyer.
> La rivière devint tout d'un coup agitée;
> à tout peine il regagna les bords,
> et n'eut ni l'ombre ni le corps.[23]

To err is human. Here below,
Many the folk – or fools – who go
Chasing a shadow; more, indeed,
Than one can count. Best let them read
The tale about a dog that Aesop tells,
Who, by a stream, prey clutched between his teeth,
Eyes its reflection in the waves beneath,
Lunges, falls in. The water swirls and swells.
Near drowned, he struggles back to shore. But oh, the cost:
Shadow and substance both, alas, are lost.[24]

La Fontaine's narrative, told in just six lines, is brief to the point of being elliptic. It is short on detail: we are not told what the dog's 'proie' (prey) consists of, and the dog's location as well as his actions are implied rather than stated. La Fontaine appears to comment upon rather than tell the story; like Sìleas na Ceapaich half a century later, he appears to have assumed that his audience was familiar with the narrative.

Even though Aesop's popularity continues unabated into the twenty-first century, it may be fair to say that the fable has on the whole had less appeal for modern writers than for those of earlier centuries. In fact, with some notable exceptions, we seem to have largely relegated the fable to the nursery and the classroom.[25]

The dog fable in oral tradition[26]

Our brief survey of the fable has traced its transmission from text to text in a linear and essentially literary trajectory. From Greek to Latin, from prose to verse and back again, from medieval Latin to the vernacular, from manuscript to print, the story owes its continued popularity to a textual literary tradition. Yet there can be little doubt that the animal fable also has an oral dimension. The genre is rooted in orality – no one claims Aesop wrote his fables – and animal fables continue to be an integral part of the oral storytelling traditions of many cultures. In the international folktale index, fables known from ancient literary texts rub shoulders with oral tales barely attested in written sources. In view of the strong oral-traditional element in Gaelic poetry we might wonder whether Sìleas's source might not

have been an oral one, especially since her version is not obviously dependent on any of the literary versions we have surveyed so far. The fable's presence in the international folktale index – where it is listed as The Dog Drops His Meat for the Reflection (ATU 34A) – confirms its oral dimension. Versions of the story have been collected from oral sources ranging from Ireland to India and from Siberia to South Africa. Despite the number of oral versions and their wide geographical distribution, however, it is clear that the oral tradition is largely dependent on literary versions.[27] There is no evidence in the versions collected from oral tradition of the pattern of regional variation and oicotypification that we can expect when a story is transmitted through generations by word of mouth. Variation is minimal – Gier cites only one single variant where the protagonist is a fox rather than a dog[28] – and appears to correspond to, and depend on, the variation we encounter in the literary texts of our fable. The fable's presence in oral tradition appears to be due to its use in preaching, as we have seen, throughout the medieval and early modern period, as well as its place in the school curriculum.[29] No oral Scottish variant of The Dog Drops Its Meat For the Reflection has been recorded,[30] and, even in Ireland, whose oral tradition is exceptionally well documented, there is no evidence that the fable was firmly established in oral tradition.[31]

Pulpit and politics: Sìleas's dog fable and its source

In our investigation of the use of an animal fable by a Scottish Gaelic poet on the cusp of the eighteenth century the question of sources is of considerable importance and complexity. Sìleas na Ceapaich was both very literate – and in many ways strikingly innovative and modern – and deeply rooted in native Gaelic poetic tradition, a tradition that was fundamentally oral and conservative. Identifying influences on her poetic work helps us gain a better sense of her intellectual horizon as well as her poetic strategy. In the complex multiplicity of manuscript and print media, of oral and textual channels in early modern Europe, we should not expect to find the precise source of Sìleas's dog fable. What we can reasonably expect to accomplish is to match up Sìleas's version with a particular strand of the fable's transmission and identify some probable channels.

In our quest to narrow in on the poet's source it may be pragmatically helpful – although methodologically dangerous – to approach the question from the point of view of the poet's likely educational and cultural horizon. On the basis of her extant corpus, we know Sìleas to have been literate in Gaelic and conversant in the language of Gaelic traditional poetics; she was also familiar with more popular, oral registers of Gaelic tradition, as is evident from her use of Gaelic proverb and folksong.[32] We may also assume that she was fully literate in English; she lived for the greater part of her life in a bilingual, bicultural world and her poetry shows abundant exposure to and influence of English, specifically the political discourse of Jacobitism and the religious discourse of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. There is no evidence that Sìleas had first-hand knowledge of modern languages other than Gaelic and English or that her knowledge of Latin went beyond an acquaintance based on religious practice. Her religious poetry appears to be actively conversant and engaged with contemporary Catholic doctrine, presumably mediated through English channels.

As we have seen, Sìleas's treatment of the fable is allusive and lacking in detail, making it difficult to determine a precise source. Aside from details that are found in practically all versions of the fable and hence not useful diagnostic features, we may take it, however, that Sìleas's source contained the following features:

- the dog's prey consists of a chunk or leg of meat;
- since the dog is called *cù solair* (foraging dog), the source may have contained a reference about how the dog came by its booty illicitly;
- the dog is left hungry at the end of the tale.

We should also expect the moral of the source text to be broadly in agreement with the meaning which Sìleas appears to draw from the fable.

We can confidently align Sìleas's source with post-medieval tradition. Lydgate – and other texts belonging to the medieval Cheese Redaction – can thus be ruled out as a source. Robert Henryson's Scots fable collection does not contain a version of our fable.[33] We might consider Caxton's rendition of the Steinhöwel text as a potential source text, although Caxton's *Esope* would have

been a very old and rare book by Sìleas's time.[34] Caxton's version does not, however, contain any of the diagnostic features identified above and the moral – 'whanne they thynke to robbe other / they lese theyr owne and propre good' – does not sit particularly well with Sìleas's poem. Looking farther afield in Europe, La Fontaine's *Fables* did not, as we have seen, become widely popular in Britain until after Sìleas's lifetime. On internal grounds, too, La Fontaine is not likely to have been Sìleas's source: even though they both tell – or allude to – the same story, the two versions share very little in common. La Fontaine does not, for instance, specify what the dog carries in its mouth and makes no reference to the dog's hunger.

The closest match for Sìleas's dog fable appears at a considerable remove from Sìleas's cultural horizon, written in a language with which she is not likely to have had even a passing acquaintance. We have seen that the fable enjoyed particular popularity in the sermons of seventeenth-century German Counter-Reformation preachers, notably in the work of Abraham à Sancta Clara (1644–1709) and Petrus Hehel (1679–1728). In his sermons Hehel tells us how 'Aesop's dog lost his leg of meat':

> ... [T]his dog once found – who knows where – a rather big and juicy leg of meat and quickly ran off with it. He happened to pass across some planks alongside a little stream. As he carefully looked around to see whether anyone was coming after him to take his srolen booty away from him, he saw himself reflected in the water along with the leg of meat in his mouth, and he became confused. He imagined it was one of his canine companions with an even better tidbit, and made to snatch it. When he opened his fangs, the meat fell out of his mouth, and the poor fool had to leave hungry, his teeth watering and his mouth empty.[35]

The similarities to Sìleas's poem are striking: the dog's prey is repeatedly identified as a *Bein* (leg) or *Schuncken-Bein* (limb) of meat and Hehel's version emphasises the dog's theft of the meat. Both versions finally focus on the dog's feelings of hunger, deprived of its prey.

I am not suggesting that Hehel's collection of German sermons was the source for Sìleas's dog fable, but in view of what we know of her intellectual horizon, the context of Hehel's version in a Catholic sermon is suggestive. Clearly the fable was circulating among Catholic preachers on the continent during Sìleas's lifetime, in a form that agrees closely with Sìleas's poem. Counter-Reformation clerics are noted for being polyglot, mobile, politically astute and internationally connected, and an exhaustive study of sermons composed by Catholic clergy operating in Britain might well bring to light other versions of the fable closer to Sìleas's own world.

Tradition and innovation

Whatever her immediate source, Sìleas's use of Aesop's dog fable is indicative of her poetic stance as a whole. Her poems are marked by a creative combination of the traditional language of Gaelic panegyric with a wide range of other elements. She draws on contemporary religious and political discourse and utilises elements of popular folk tradition, including folksong, proverb, pithy idiomatic expression, curse and invective. Much of the power and appeal of Sìleas's poetry lies in her skillful use of traditional and non-traditional registers, her ability to combine aspects of the old and the new, of high and low, creating an innovative diction which is steeped in traditional Gaelic poetics and yet successfully incorporates contemporary influences, both native and foreign.

References

1 For Sìleas's involvement in the Rising, see *Bàrdachd Shìlis na Ceapaich c. 1660– c. 1729/Poems and Songs by Sìleas MacDonald c. 1660–c. 1729*, ed. and trans. by Colm Ó Baoill, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 13 (Edinburgh: SGTS, 1972), lx–lxv and 129–155.

2 Ó Baoill, *Sìleas na Ceapaich*, 44–49. Text and translation of Sìleas's poems are quoted from Ó Baoill's edition throughout.

3 Derick S. Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1974), 136.

4 Ó Baoill appears to have been the first to identify the poet's use of the Aesopic fable in his excellent notes on the poem (*Sìleas na Ceapaich*, 155); see also Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry*, 136.

5 Hans-Jörg Uther, '34A The Dog Drops His Meat for the Reflection', *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography*, 3 vols,

Folklore Fellows Communications, 284–86 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 2004), 34; Frederic C. Tubach, '1699 Dog, cheese, and shadow', in *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Folklore Fellows Communications, 204 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1969), 139; Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller, '307 Hund am Wasser', in *Die Fabeln des Mittelaters und der frühen Neuzeit: Ein Katalog der deutschen Versionen und ihrer lateinischen Entsprechungen* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1987), 358–67; *Johannes Pauli: Schimpf und Ernst*, ed. by Johannes Bolte (Berlin: Verlagsbuchhandlung Herbert Stubenrauch, 1924), vol. 2, 356–57. For discussions of the fable, see Albert Gier, 'Hund verliert das Fleisch', in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. by Kurt Ranke et al., vol. 6 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1990), 1343–47; Ursula Bodemann, `Der aesopische Hund in sechs Jahrhunderten,' in *Fabula Docet: Illustrierte Fabelbücher aus Sechs Jahrhunderten*, ed. by Ursula Bodemann (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1983), 136–51.

6 The fable appears to be equally rooted in Oriental storytelling; see *Pantschatantra: fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen, und Erzählungen*, trans. by Theodor Benfey (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1859), vol. 1, 79, and Gier, 'Hund verliert das Fleisch', 1344–45.

7 S. A. Handford, *Fables of Aesop* (Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin, 1964), 122.

8 Georg Thiele, *Der lateinische Äsop des Romulus* (Heidelberg: C. Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), cxxix.

9 'De cane et umbra', *The Fables of Marie de France*, ed. and trans. by Mary Lou Martin (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 1984), 44–45.

10 See Karl Warnke, `Die Quellen des *Esope* der Marie de France', in *Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie: Festgabe für Hermann Sucher* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1900), 161–284 (169), and Martin, *Fables of Marie*, 15.

11 Paul Sauerstein, *Über Lydgate's Æsopübersetzung: Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der philosphischen Doktorwürde an der Universität Leipzig* (Halle: Druck von Ehrhardt Karras, 1885), 64.

12 *Lyoner Yzopet: Altfranzösische Übersetzung des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Wendelin Foerster (Heilbronn: Verlag von Gebr. Henninger, 1882), 7–8.

13 Warnke, 'Quellen des *Esope*', 169 (my translation).

14 *Caxton's Aesop*, ed. by R. T. Lenaghan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 14.

15 For an overview of illustrated versions of the fable, see Bodemann, 'Der aesopische Hund', 136–51.

16 Bengt Holbek, *Æsops levned og fabler: Christiern Pedersens overættelse af Stainhöwels Æsop* (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz Forlag, 1962), vol. 2, 294–95.

17 Lenaghan, *Caxton's Aesop*, 77.

18 Bolte, *Schimpf und Ernst*, 253 (my translation).

19 Dicke and Grubmüller, *Fabeln des Mittelaters*, 363–66, list seventeen German authors from the sixteenth century alone who use the fable.

20 Bolte, *Schimpf und Ernst*, 356–57; Elfriede Moser-Rath, *Predigtmärlein der Barockzeit* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1964), 388–89.

21 *Aesop Dres'd; or, A collection of fables writ in familiar verse*, trans. by Bernard Mandeville (London: Lock's-Head, 1704); *Fables and Tales from La Fontaine* (London: A. Bettsworth, C. Hitch et al., 1734); *La Fontaine's Fables, now first translated, by Robert Thomson*, 4 vols. (Paris [no publisher], 1806).

22 See, for example, *Babrius and Phaedrus: Fables*, ed. and trans. by Ben Edwin Perry (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965) and Handford, *Fables of Aesop*.

23 *Fables: La Fontaine*, ed. by Gustave Michaut (Paris: Éditions Bossard, 1927), 275.

24 *The Complete Fables of Jean de La Fontaine*, trans. by Norman R. Shapiro (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 145–46.

25 See, for example, Ralph Albanese, *La Fontaine à l'Ecole Républicaine: Du poète universel au classique scolaire* (Charlottesville, VA: Rockwood Press, 2003).

26 For a discussion of the fable in oral tradition see Gier, 'Hund verliert das Fleisch' and Holbek, *Æsops levned og fabler*, vol. 2, 294–95.

27 Gier, 'Hund verliert das Fleisch', 1345.

28 Gier, 'Hund verliert das Fleisch', 1343.

29 Its presence in Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, is instructive in this context.

30 I am greatly indebted to Dr Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart who generously undertook to check the unpublished index of folktales in the School of Scottish Studies' archives on my behalf, and who kindly provided me with information about related fables.

31 The list of Irish versions from Seán Ó Súilleabháin and Reidar Th. Christiansen's *Types of the Irish Folktale*, Folklore Fellows Communications, 188 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1963) is instructive. Of the 27 references listed as full variants of type 34A, only one version was collected orally by the Irish Folklore Commission; two more were contributed by school children from putatively oral sources. All the other versions are from printed sources, in particular books and magazines aimed at children, for use in school and home – precisely the kind of sources we might expect to utilise literary fables.

32 For the proverb, see Ó Baoill, *Sìleas na Ceapaich*, 18 (ll. 200–02). Several poems incorporate folksong refrains (e.g. those beginning at l. 173 and l. 396), and Ó Baoill has shown that as many as five of Sìleas's poems 'appear to be based on the metres and tunes of popular songs' (lx).

33 Henryson's delightful collection does contain a related fable; see *The Moral Fables of Aesop by Robert Henryson*, ed. by G. D. Gopen (Notre

Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), 164–67. I am grateful to Joseph Harris for drawing my attention to Henryson.

34 Not a single copy of Caxton's work is extant in the National Library of Scotland. Only three copies of the first edition are known to survive, all in England, and later printings are also extremely rare.

35 Moser-Rath, *Predigtmärlein*, 388–89 (my translation).

Drifting on the Ocean: Are Old Irish *cnoe gnáe* 'beautiful nuts' to Be Identified as Sea Beans?

Fergus Kelly

William Gillies and I share a deep affection for the Atlantic seaboard of Scotland and Ireland, so it seemed appropriate to contribute a paper for his *Festschrift* on a maritime topic. A considerable body of folklore is attached to the various types of seed originating in the tropics which are brought to the beaches of western Scotland and Ireland by the North Atlantic Drift. In his collection of material from South Uist and Eriskay, Fr Allan McDonald refers to the *àirne Moire* 'kidney of Mary', which he describes as 'a nut found on the west coast of Uist driven in by the Atlantic currents'.[1] He notes that this nut has a cross-like depression on the surface and was considered sacred. It used to be blessed by a priest and thereafter worn around the neck. He records that he had seen one set in a silver band and refers to the custom of placing one around the neck of a woman in labour. He also describes a heart-shaped nut called *cnò Mhoire* 'nut of Mary' which was frequently used as a snuff-box after the kernel had been extracted.[2]

There are similar records of tropical nuts being washed up on the west coast of Ireland, notably by Nathaniel Colgan[3] and Robert Lloyd Praeger.[4] Colgan quotes a tradition from Belmullet, Co. Mayo, that such nuts were good for the liver when ground up and boiled. He also refers to a belief in Connemara that the placing of nuts under the bed warded off the fairies.[5] In a contribution to the *Donegal Annual*, Al Connolly likewise records the use of drift nuts as snuff-boxes and states that the kernels were sometimes ground up and used as a medicine to cure epilepsy and certain fevers.[6] An excellent summary of the subject – providing information on both the botany and folklore relating to drift-seeds – is Charles Nelson's *Sea Beans and Nickar Nuts*.[7] He identifies *àirne Moire* 'kidney of Mary' as being the fruit of *Merremia discoidesperma*, native to tropical Central America and the West Indies. This vine can reach 30 metres into the forest canopy and may drop its seeds into rivers

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which bear them on into the Atlantic Ocean. These seeds can float for about six years. Nelson identifies *cnò Moire* as being the fruit of another vine, *Entada gigas* (formerly called *Entada scandens*). It reaches over 20 metres into the canopy and is likewise native to tropical America and the West Indies. The seeds of *Entada gigas*, which are known in English as 'sea beans' or 'sea hearts', can float for at least 19 years and are washed up on northern shores much more frequently than those of *Merremia discoidesperma*.

In my *Guide to Early Irish Law*, I suggested that Old Irish *cnoe gnáe* (lit. 'beautiful nuts') are to be identified with tropical drift seeds, particularly those of *Entada gigas*.[8] All attestations of *cnoe gnáe* known to me are from legal material and most of them are in the Old Irish law-text *Bretha im Fhuillema Gell* 'judgements about pledge-interests' or associated commentary. This text dates from about the eighth century AD and deals with the giving of items
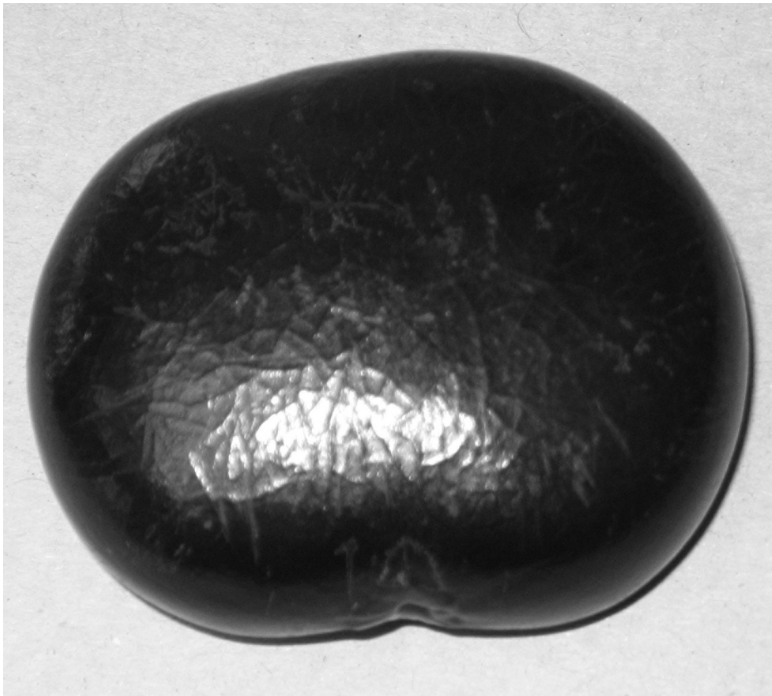
Sea bean (*Entada gigas*) 5cm x 4cm

as pledges on behalf of another person, and the interest (*fuillem*) which may be charged by the owner during the period when a pledged item is out of his possession. *Bretha im Fhuillema Gell* is of particular interest to the archaeologist and social historian, as it provides much information on what articles in an early Irish household were regarded as being sufficiently valuable to be given as pledges. The author of the text evidently regarded 'beautiful nuts' as being of high value, as one passage associates them with kings and other dignitaries: *cnoe gnoe ⁊ cuirnn nach auroemad nech i ngell acht riga no epscop no fer co rath Dé* 'beautiful nuts and horns which no-one may accept in pledge except kings or a bishop or a hermit'.[9] A gloss on this text explains them as *.i. cno mor[a] aibinde ⁊ ni eistib eabar int aircetal acht is dib* 'i.e. big beautiful nuts and it is not out of them that poetry (= poetical inspiration) is drunk but it is from them'.[10] The glossator evidently holds that poetic inspiration was to be obtained by drinking an infusion from these nuts rather than using them as containers. A similar idea is present in a legal commentary where it is stated that it is the opinion of a legal expert named Lorcán ua Michid that the *cnoe gnáe* are to be identified with *cna imais* 'nuts of poetic inspiration'.[11] This explanation tallies with the widespread tradition that poetic inspiration (OIr *imbus*, later *imas*) resulted from the consumption of the essence of the nuts of the nine magic hazel-trees which grew above the pool of Segais at the source of the River Boyne.[12]

The same commentary provides a completely different explanation for the *cnoe gnáe*, which is attributed to Ferdoman (= Ferdomnach), 'noble bishop of Kildare and an eminent master of wisdom and knowledge'.[13] It reads: *Is iad na cnó gnae: crand bís isin doman toir ⁊ cno fhasas air ⁊ doberar lan (gnoidh no)[14] coidh dib a talmain ⁊ dluthaidh co ndenann ceap de, conadib-sin dognither na bleigheadha buis comardaighther risna cornaib buabaill isin tan-sa* 'These are the beautiful nuts: there is a tree in the Eastern World, and there is a nut which grows on it and the fill of a cup of them is put into the ground and it condenses to form a block, and it is from them that the goblets are made which are equated with the horns of the wild ox at that time'.[15] The theory of a quantity

of the nuts being buried so as to coagulate into a hard block was no doubt devised to explain the size of the *cnoe gnáe*, very much larger than the hazel-nuts with which the early Irish would have been familiar.[16] In Atkinson's edition of *Bretha im Fhuillema Gell*, it is suggested that this is a reference to coca-nut (coconut) shells.[17] The shell of the coconut (from the palm *Cocos nucifera*) can be polished for use as a container and may be set in silver or other precious metal. However, it is not native to the Atlantic region[18] and does not seem to have been known to classical or early medieval authors. In his *Natural History* Pliny provides much information on the nut-bearing plants of Europe and Africa but makes no mention of the coconut.[19]

It must be admitted that commentary on fragments of the lost law-text *Muirbretha* 'sea-judgments' provides evidence which is difficult to reconcile with my suggestion that *cnoe gnáe* are to be identified as 'sea beans'. This section of commentary deals with the dues which the owner of a shore or harbour (*port*) can claim from a ship which he supplies with firewood and water: *.s. ui. screpal do ar connad ⁊ uisci do lecad di masa seichida ⁊ iarann ⁊ saland ata indti no .s. foraici uingi masa cno gnae ⁊ cuirnd ⁊ escup fina no mela ma ta fin no mil indti* 'a *sét* worth six scruples to him (the landowner) for allowing her (the ship) firewood and water if it be hides and iron and salt which is in her, or a *sét* worth an ounce of silver if it be beautiful nuts and horns, and a jar of wine or honey if there be wine or honey in her'.[20] In his *Communication and Commerce Along the Western Sealanes AD 400–800*, Jonathan Wooding states that the 'exotic nuts' referred to in *Bretha im Fhuillema Gell* 'would appear to be self-explanatory'.[21] But the problem here is that the adjective *gnáe* (Modern Irish *gnaoi*) does not mean 'foreign' or 'exotic', though the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* notes that *gnóe* (*gnáe*) is 'used especially of rare or exotic objects'.[22] It is well attested in meanings such as 'beautiful, fine, exquisite, delightful' and is regularly glossed by *aíbinn* 'beautiful' and *ségda* 'noble'. The cargoes mentioned in the *Muirbretha* commentary quoted above are all items which are likely to have been traded to or from Ireland.[23] Wooding evidently interprets *cnoe gnáe*

as simply referring to edible nuts brought to Ireland from the Continent as luxury foods. Nuts were undoubtedly imported in Viking times, as an early eleventh-century pit at Fishamble Street, Dublin, contains shell-fragments of walnut (*Juglans regia*).[24] It is possible that other Continental nuts such as the almond (*Prunus dulcis*) or sweet chestnut (*Castanea sativa*) were also imported to Ireland. But the opinion of Ferdomnach quoted in the legal commentary on *Bretha im Fhuillema Gell* clearly regarded the nuts as being used for the manufacture of containers rather than for eating. I also find the regular link made in the texts between *cuirn búabaill* 'wild ox horns' and *cnoe gnáe* difficult to reconcile with the identification of the latter as imported edible nuts. A glossator on Legal Heptad 28 explains the phrase *gaillite tacair* as *.i. na gall-seoit tar muir tocairter* 'i.e. foreign valuables which are brought across the sea' and cites *cno gnæ ⁊ cuirnn buabuill* as examples of such goods.[25] Proinsias Mac Cana has identified *cuirn búabaill* as the horns of the aurochs or *urus*, the native European wild ox (*Bos primigenius*).[26] In his *De Bello Gallico*, Julius Caesar states that these horns were much sought after by the Germani, who trapped the wild oxen (*uri*) in pits in the Hercynian wood. Their horns were edged with silver and used as drinking cups at banquets.[27]

A further difficulty in taking *cnoe gnáe* to refer to edible imported nuts is their use as pledges in legal processes. An item given as a pledge should be of lasting value and includes domestic animals, plough-irons, household vessels, weapons, clothing, belts, pins, work-bags and ornaments.[28] There is no evidence that items of food such as edible nuts could be pledged. On the other hand, it seems to me that a sea bean – particularly if embellished with silver – would be a suitable object to be given as a pledge and comparable to the ornamented drinking horns (*cuirn búabaill*) with which the *cnoe gnáe* are regularly paired in legal texts.

In conclusion, it seems that in spite of comments and suggestions by bishop Ferdomnach, Lorcán ua Michid, Robert Atkinson, Proinsias Mac Cana, Fergus Kelly and Jonathan Wooding, the identity of Old Irish *cnoe gnáe* 'beautiful nuts' remains elusive. It is to be hoped that further insights or discoveries may help to resolve the question.

Fergus Kelly

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2 Campbell, *Gaelic Words and Expressions*, 75. Dr Hugh Cheape has kindly directed my attention to the silver-mounted examples in the National Museums Scotland (catalogued as NMS H.NO 41, H.NO 49 and H.NO 53), and notes that there is also a good collection of drift seeds in the West Highland Museum, Fort William. See his article 'Touchstones of belief: the charms and amulets collection of the National Museums Scotland', *ROSC: Review of Scottish Culture*, 20 (2008), 104–18.

3 Nathaniel Colgan, 'On the occurrence of tropical drift seeds on the Irish Atlantic coasts', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 35 B (1919), 29–54.

4 Robert Lloyd Praeger, *The Way That I Went* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1937), 153–54.

5 Colgan, 'Tropical drift seeds', 36, 46.

6 Al Connolly, 'Unusual visitors to Cloghaneely', *Donegal Annual*, 1975–76, 201–02.

7 E. Charles Nelson, *Sea Beans and Nickar Nuts: A Handbook of Exotic Seeds and Fruits Stranded on Beaches in North-western Europe* (London: Botanical Society of the British Isles, 2000; repr. 2003) esp. 86–89, 99–101.

8 Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, Early Irish Law Series, 3 (Dublin: DIAS, 1988; repr. 2005), 249. To the best of my knowledge, this suggestion had not previously been put forward.

9 *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, ed. by D. A. Binchy (Dublin: DIAS, 1978), vol. 2, 472.7–8 = Robert Atkinson, ed., with translation based on those made by J. O'Donovan and E. O'Curry, *Ancient Laws of Ireland* vol. 5 (Dublin: HMSO, 1901) 406.22–24.

10 The same gloss on *cno*[*e*] *gnæ* is given in 'O'Davoren's Glossary', ed. by Whitley Stokes, in *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, vol. 2, ed. by Whitley Stokes and Kuno Meyer (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1904), 284, § 539 = Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, vol. 4, 1486.12–13.

11 Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, vol. 3, 966.1. I have found no other reference to a legal expert (*ardollam in feinechuis*) named Lorcán ua Michid.

12 T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin: DIAS, 1946; repr. 1999), 322–23; Liam Breatnach, 'The caldron of poesy', *Ériu*, 32 (1981), 66, § 11.

13 Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, vol. 3, 965.39–42 .*c. faidh ferdomain*

uasalepscuip chille dara 7 *ardmaighisdir eagna* 7 *eoluis.* In footnote g on p. 965 Binchy compares the Annals of Ulster entry recording the death in 1101 of Ferdomnach, bishop of Kildare (*The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, ed. by Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin: DIAS, 1983), 538 s.a. 1101 § 6). Binchy thus takes it that *Ferdoman* (gen. *-ain*) is a mistake for *Ferdomnach* (gen. *-naig*), a common personal name, particularly of churchmen. For another instance of confusion between *Ferdomain* and *Ferdomnaig*, see *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. by Pádraig Ó Riain (Dublin: DIAS 1985), 31 (§ 185). For examples of the personal name *Ferdoman*, see E. G. Quin et al., (*Contributions to a*) *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin: RIA, 1913–76; repr. 1983) s.v. *ferdoman.* From his use of a semi-colon at *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 965.41, it is clear that Binchy assumed that both Ferdoman (= Ferdomnach) and Lorcán agreed on the identification of the *cnoe gnae* with *cna imais* 'nuts of poetic inspiration', and I followed this interpretation in my *Guide to Early Irish Law*. However, it now seems to me unlikely that a commentator would put forward a particular interpretation of an Old Irish phrase, and then quote another explanation offered by two prominent men of learning, implicitly rejecting both.

14 The form *gnoidh* has been corrected in the manuscript to *coidh*.

15 Another version of this explanation is to be found at Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, vol. 2, 472.22–23 = Atkinson, *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. 5, 408.17–20. This version has *i monaid* 'into a bog' rather than *a talmain* 'into the ground'.

16 Note that in the ninth-century voyage tale *Immrama Curaig Maíle Dúin* the travellers landed on a fabulous island where everything was huge. The hoof-marks of the horses were as large as sails, and the nut-shells were as large as cups (*bláesca cnó móra amal coedi*[*u*]) (*Immrama*, ed. by A. G. Van Hamel, Medieval and Modern Irish Series, 10 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1941; repr. Dublin, DIAS, 2004), 31.176–77).

17 Atkinson, *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. 5, 409 fn. c.

18 Nelson, *Sea Beans and Nickar Nuts*, 78–80.

19 Rackham, H., ed., *Pliny: Natural History,* vol. 4 (London: William Heinemann, 1945; repr. 1960), book 15, xxiv–xxv.

20 Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, vol. 1, 315.26–28 = Thaddeus O'Mahony and Alexander George Richey (eds, with translation based on those made by John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry), *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. 3 (Dublin: HMSO, 1873), 426.22–26. Here 'beautiful nuts' seem to be a cargo rather than items cast up on the shore.

21 Jonathan M. Wooding, *Communication and Commerce along the Western Sealanes AD 400–800*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 654 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1996), 70.

22 Quin, (*Contributions to a*) *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, s.v. *gnóe*.

23 Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming: A Study Based Mainly on the Law-Texts of the 7th and 8th Centuries AD*, Early Irish Law Series, 4 (Dublin: DIAS, 1997; repr. 2000), 55, 319–20, 341.

24 Siobhán Geraghty, *Viking Dublin: Botanical Evidence from Fishamble Street.* Medieval Dublin excavations 1962–81. Series C, vol. 2 (Dublin: RIA, 1996), 30–31, 70.

25 Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, vol. 1, 26.31 = Atkinson, *Ancient Laws of Ireland* vol. 5, 220.11–12. The same gloss is to be found in Stokes, 'O'Davoren's Glossary' , 380, § 1051 (= Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, vol. 4, 1507.34).

26 Proinsias Mac Cana, 'Ir. *buaball*, W. *bual* "drinking horn"', *Ériu*, 44 (1993), 81–93; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 56–57.

27 *Caesar: The Gallic War*, ed. by H. J. Edwards (London: William Heinemann, 1917; repr. 1963) 6.28. I am grateful to Professor Thomas Clancy for drawing my attention to the following relevant article: Carol Neuman de Vegvar, 'Drinking horns in Ireland and Wales: the documentary sources', in *From the Isles of the North: Early Medieval Art in Ireland and Britain* (Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Insular Art held in the Ulster Museum, Belfast, 7–11 April 1994), ed. by Cormac Bourke (Belfast: HMSO, 1995), 81–88.

28 Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, 164–65.

Am Briathar: Riochd le -ADAR
Iain MacAonghuis

Tha an t-Ollamh Uilleam MacGill'Ìosa air sgrìobhadh mu chleachdadh neo-phearsanta (*a bhith*) a tha ri fhaighinn sa Ghàidhlig.[1] Shaoil leam gum biodh e iomchaidh san Fhèill-sgrìobhainn seo aiste ghoirid a sgrìobhadh air riochd neo-phearsanta eile.

Tha mòran rannsachaidh ri dhèanamh fhathast air gràmar na Gàidhlig. Seo sna leanas plathadh de shuidheachaidhean àraid ann an ùsaid a' bhriathair:[2] obair nach eil ullamh agam ged a chuir mi m' ùidh an toiseach ann o chionn ùine mhòir.

Sheall mi ann an àite eile mar a gheibhear -*ar* a' sgaoileadh air chor is gun cluinnear *rugar is thogar mi* an ionad *rugadh is thogadh mi* (cf. *ruggyr* an Gàidhlig Eilean Mhanainn).[3]

A thuilleadh air sin bha cruth againn (tearc da-rìribh sa chànan sgrìobhte) le -*adar*: *thogadar*, *rinneadar* is mar sin.[4] Tha e aithnichte gura h-e iolra, an treas pearsa, san àm a tha seachad a th' ann, le sèimheachadh – theagamh gura h-e *do* an eileamaid as adhbhar dha sin: *(do) thogadar*, *(do) rinneadar*. A thaobh eachdraidh a' chànain, tha iad spreigeach ach an cleachdadh na cainnte tha iad fulangach. Mar sin, tha iad nas fhaisge am brìgh air *thogadh* is *rinneadh*, no mar a th' aca an àiteachan *thogar* is *rinnear*.

Dh'fhaodadh tu *thogadar taigh* a ràdh nuair as e aon neach a thog e; no *rinneadar euchd* nuair as e aon duine a rinn e, cha b' e dithis no còrr. Tha suaip aige sin ris a' cheangaltas a chithear eadar *bha iad* is *bhathas*, can an-dràsta, no eadar *bha iad a' ràdh* is *bhathas a' ràdh*. Chan eil *iad* sna suidheachaidhean sin gu tur pearsanta idir.[5] Seadh, chan eileas ag ainmeachadh urrachan àraid sam bith: 's ann a tha an t-ùghdar a dh'aon ghnothach air a chleith oirnn. Tuitidh e, mar gum b' eadh, an uair sin gu bheil a' bhrìgh phearsanta air sìoladh às an *iad* a thoradh is nach eilear a' tomhadh duine no daoine sònraichte seach a chèile.

Ma tha *rinneadar* an cleachdadh bidh *dèanadar* ann; san dearbh dhòigh *thogadar* agus *togadar*. 'S ann dhan àm a tha an làthair

a bhuineas an fheadhainn seo. Chuala mi *ruitheadar* le 'r' làidir
(/ʀ/) agus le 'r' lag (/r/), a' chiad fhear san àm a tha an làthair,
an dàrna fear san àm a tha seachad. Tha na dhà aca spreigeach.
Agus tha e soilleir gu bheil a' chiad fhear ag obrachadh mar a tha
'historic present' na Beurla.

Nise, tha cruth eile againn a tha cur sin an cèill cuideachd. Ach
mus toir mi tarraing air, is fheudar agairt gura h-ann o chainnt
bheò a thug mi a h-uile ball-sampaill thuige seo. Tha mi nise
tionndadh, ge-tà, a dh'ionnsaigh sgrìobhaidhean Gàidhlig, cuid
dhiubh – is tha seo cudromach – a thugadh o aithris dhaoine:
faicear, *tachrar*, *thigear* is a leithid.[6] Gheibhear fiù 's gu ruige
'faicear e Seumas a' tighinn' (.i. 'he sees James coming'); 's ann
air Beurla, is cinnteach, a chaidh am facal le 'e' a stèidheachadh.[7]
Chan aithne dhòmhsa gun robh aon duine eadar Gallaibh mu
Thuath agus Arainn no eadar Hirt is Peairt – is chuala mise
Gàidhlig nàdarra sa h-uile ceàrn diubh – a' cleachdadh gin dhe na
cruthan sin idir ri mo linn. Ma bha iad sa Ghàidhlig uair dhe robh
an saoghal tha iad a-nis air a dhol bàs gu tur.

Ach a bheil an riochd -*adar* air a dhol à bith cuideachd? Is
dòcha nach eil, ged nach eil e cho nochdte an-diugh 's a bha ri
cleachdadh m' òige is a dh'ionnsaigh meadhan m' aoise. O chionn
fhada thuirt duine à Taobh Siar Siorrachd Rois riumsa, fear aig an
robh deagh Ghàidhlig, nach b' e *thàtar* is *bhàtar*, mar a gheibhear
sgrìobhte, a bh' acasan ann ach *thathadar* agus *bhathadar*. Chan
e nach gabh mìneachadh eile a thoirt orra; faodaidh e bhith, air
a shon sin, gu bheil buaidh dhìomhair aig -*adar* a' ruith fodhpa.
Bidh daoine uaireannan a' sgrìobhadh *nìtear*, cruth nach cuala
mi, ach bha *nìotar*[8] ann gun teagamh. Saoil an e *nitheadar* a bh'
ann o thùs? (Bu chòir a ràdh nach eil an *th*, mar a tha e agam, ach
a' roinn nan lididhean ann an *nitheadar*).

Sin plathadh agamsa an seo, mar a thuirt mi mar-thà, a
dh'ùsaidean cainnte dh'fhuilingeas mòran anailis fhathast. Sa cho-
dhùnadh tha e riatanach dà chriomaig eile a chur ris an fharpas.
An toiseach, chuala mi daoine aig an robh brod na Gàidhlig a' dol
às àicheadh gura h-e cainnt fhallain idir a bha sna cruthan *thigear*

is *faicear* is a leithid. An uair sin, thuirt fear Pàdraig Stiùbhart (Pàdraig Sheonaidh, mar a shloinnte e) rud annasach rium. B' ann dhen luchd-siubhail a bha e, is bha iadsan riamh a' cumail an cluais ri claisneachd a thaobh atharrach cainnte. Chuir mi ceist air an latha bha seo mun riochd -*adar*. Bha an fhreagairt a thug e dhomh sgiolta. 'Chunna mi,' ars' esan, 'sin: chunna mi fhìn e. Chunnacas, sin: chunnaic barrachd orm fhìn e. Chunnacadar: chunnaic a h-uile duine e.'

Sgiolta gun teagamh, ach chan e sin deireadh na sgeòil.

TÙSAN

1 'An impersonal usage in Scottish Gaelic', ann an *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture: A Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp*, deas. le Ann Matonis agus Daniel F. Melia (Van Nuys, CA: Ford & Bailie, 1990), 207–17.

2 Bha 'briathar' an cleachdadh an Alba cho math ri 'gnìomhair' mar a tha cumanta nise. Tha na dhà san fhaclair aig Dwelly.

3 'Some Gaelic words and usages', *TGSI*, 49 (1974–76), 428–55. Faic cuideachd Noel McGonagle, 'Migration of verbal terminations', *Ériu*, 37 (1986), 93–97 (97): 'The impersonal terminations of the irregular verb in all tenses seems to be very prone to migration.'

4 Ach faic *Òrain Ghàidhealach le Uilleam Ros/Gaelic Songs of William Ross*, deas. le George Calder (Dùn Èideann: Oliver & Boyd, 1937), 164, s. 37: 'Ach nochdadair na h-aobhair'.

5 Tha sin ri fhaotainn an iomadh cànan, gu h-àraid ann an cainnt sgeòdalach.

6 Faic J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 4 imleabhar (Dùn Èideann: Edmonston & Douglas, 1860), iml. 1, 40, 42, 46, 89, 95, 178.

7 'S e 'historic present' a tha sa chòmhlan fhacal *faicear*, *tachrar* is *thigear*. Faodaidh e bhith gura h-e tàrmachadh nàdarra tha sin; ach far am faighear 'e' no a leithid (ann an sgrìobhaidhean an 19mh ceud deug), cha ghabh e bhith nach e rud ùr-nodha a tha ann.

8 'S e [niːh̬ḍər] an gearradh, mar gum b' e (*do*) *nìotar* a bha ann. Às dèidh fhuaimreagan fada, ann a leithid *nì(o)t(e)ar*, *thàtar*, *bhàtar*, ann an cainntean far nach eil ro-analachadh no far nach eil ro-analachadh ann às dèidh fhuaimreagan fada, chluinnte na riochdan seo mar *nì(o) d(e)ar*, *thàdar*, *bhàdar* 7c. Bhiodh e furasta san t-suidheachadh sin a thuigsinn mar a rachadh na riochdan a chothlamadh le *nitheadar*,

thathadar, bhathadar. Co-dhiù, an cainnt an latha an-diugh 's e *thathar, thathas* is *bhathar, bhathas* as cumanta ged a bhios cuid a dhaoine fhathast a' sgrìobhadh *thàtar, bhàtar* is a leithid.

Images and Iconoclasts in Early Modern Gaelic Texts
Mícheál Mac Craith

In an important contribution on the Reformation and the visual arts, Lee Palmer Wandel made the following observations:

> For Christians, whether one was Protestant or Catholic, Reformed or Lutheran, Roman or Orthodox, 'representation' was never a simple problem of perspective and proportion. The visual arts were viewed within the context of how one understood Christ – and God – to be present in the physical world. Seventeenth-century Christians were divided on the question, not if God revealed himself through matter, but if and how human hands could have any part at all in that revelation. In the sixteenth century, Christians asked the agonized and agonizing question: could any human-made 'representation' reveal anything of God's, or Christ's nature or truth? The answers, revealed in their catechisms and in their preaching, divided them. To be 'Catholic' was to align oneself with a tradition reaching back to the eighth- and ninth-century iconoclastic controversies, which repeatedly endorsed the centrality of representation to Christian culture. To be 'Lutheran' was to hold images to be indifferent to worship. To be 'Reformed' was, foremost, to reorganize the Ten Commandments, such that the prohibition against human-made images was a commandment to itself.[1]

Since the Gaelic world was no more immune to the religious controversies of the age than the rest of Europe, it will be interesting to investigate how the above debates manifest themselves in early modern Gaelic-language works. We will focus on three texts, each representing a different confessional point of view, Calvinist, Anglican and Roman Catholic respectively: Seon Carsuel's *Foirm na nUrrnuidheadh* (Edinburgh, 1567), Seán Ó Cearnaigh's *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma* (Dublin, 1571) and Bonaventura Ó Heoghasa's *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe* (Louvain, 1611).

Before engaging with these texts, however, we need to consider the Ten Commandments. Though the Old Testament contains two

versions of them, Exodus (20:1–10) and Deuteronomy (5:6–21), the differences between them are negligible. Regarding the enumeration of the decalogue, the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran Churches followed that adopted by St Augustine and the Latin church of the West. A different system, however, was taken on by the Jewish faith, the Orthodox Churches, the Reformed Protestant Churches and the Anglican Communion. The main difference, and one that was crucial as regards the question of images, comes to fore in the first commandment. Roman Catholics and Lutherans treat it as follows:

> I am Yahweh your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery.
>
> You shall have no gods except me.
>
> You shall not make yourself a carved image or any likeness of anything in heaven or on earth beneath or in the waters under the earth: you shall not bow down to them or serve them. For I, Yahweh your God, am a jealous God and I punish the father's fault in the sons, the grandsons, and the great-grandsons of those who hate me; but I show kindness to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments (Exodus 20:2–6).

The Reformed Protestant Churches and the Anglican Communion, on the other hand, treat the injunction against images as a separate commandment:

> You shall have no Gods except me. You shall not make yourself a carved image or any likeness of anything in heaven or on earth beneath or in the waters under the earth.

They retain the number 10 by treating the injunction of not coveting one's neighbour's wife and his goods as one commandment (Exodus 20:17), whereas the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran Churches treat them as two separate commandments.

Whether one was a reformer or not, signalling out the injunction against images as a commandment in itself had major implications. The following entry in the Annals of Loch Cé for the year 1538 is a testimony both to the initial zeal of iconoclastic reformers in Ireland and to the

horror felt by the scribe, even if his language fails to uphold the rigour of orthodox Catholic teaching:

> Dealbh Muire ro miorbuileach do bi a mbaile Atha Truim, dar creidedar Eirennuigh uile le cian daimsir roime sin, do shlánuidhed doill agus bodhair ocus bacaigh, ocus gach ainches archena, do losgadh le Saxanchuibh; ocus an bachall Iosa, do bi a mbaile Atha cliath, ag dénamh feart acus miorbuile iomdha i nEirinn o aimsir fPadraic gus an ré sin, ocus do bi a laim Criost féin, do loscadh le Saxanchaib mur in cedna; ocus ni headh amáin, acht ni raibhe croch naomh na dealbh Muire, ná iomáig oirrdirc i nEirinn, ar andeachaidh a ccumachta, gan losgadh, ocus ni mó do bi a ccumachta ar ord dona seacht norduibh nar sgrisiodar. Ocus in pápa ocus in eglais toir ocus abus do beth a coinnelbáthad na Saxanach trid sin, acus gan suim na toradh do beth aca san air sin, ocus araile.[2]

While the scribe's reaction is emotive and heartfelt, it is not that of a trained theologian. One has to turn to Scotland to find a more considered approach to the question of images. The Reformation in Scotland can be said to have truly started in the wake of the iconoclastic riots that followed John Knox's sermons in Perth on 11 May 1559 and in St Andrews on 12 June 1559. Giolla Easpaig Caimbeul, fifth earl of Argyll, a committed supporter of Knox, was deeply involved in these events.[3] As one of the leaders of the Reformation in Scotland, it is little wonder that Seon Carseul dedicated his translation of Knox's *Book of Common Order*, *Foirm na nUrrnuidheadh*, to Caimbeul, a leader who functioned simultaneously both as Gaelic chief and lowland lord. If Caimbeul's support was necessary for the success of the Reformation in Scotland overall, it was even more so if the Reformation were to take root in Gaelic Scotland, not to mention Gaelic Ireland, where Caimbeul was closely linked to the three leading families of Ulster, the O'Neills, the O'Donnells, and the MacDonnells. While patronage was doubtlessly at the back of Carsuel's mind, he was also quite genuine in his admiration for this godly prince who was so committed to reform. In his introduction Carsuel not only praises the religious enthusiasm of his patron in general but actually emphasises his zeal as an iconoclast.

While comparison with heroes of the past was an essential part of Gaelic eulogy, Carsuel strikes a novel note in ignoring traditional Gaelic heroes and basing his comparison on heroes from the Old Testament, scriptural exemplars such as Gideon, Samuel, Moses, David, Josaphat, Hezekiah and Josiah. Moses and Hezekiah are particularly signalled out because of their zeal in destroying images and idols. Carsuel notes that Moses was so incensed at the honour Aaron and the people of Israel showed to the golden calf that he broke the two tablets on which God had written the Ten Commandments. Hezekiah earns Carsuel's praise for similar destruction of images; 'sgris na ndealbh agus na mbileadh, agus briseadh na naithreach práis'.[4] Carsuel is urging Caimbeul to persevere in the work he has begun as a godly reforming prince, strengthening his resolve as an iconoclast through pointing out good biblical precedents.

The injunction against images is also considered as a separate commandment in Seán Ó Cearnaigh's *Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus Caiticiosma*, published in Dublin in 1571. Ó Cearnaigh took a BA in Cambridge in 1565 and it was most likely here that he encountered Reformation ideas before returning home to Ireland to take up the position of treasurer in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. At the end of his catechism the author adds a dozen 'airtioguil d'áirighe don riail chríosdaighe', a Gaelic translation of the *Articles of Relygion* that were published in Dublin in 1566. Article 11 gives a comprehensive description of what is entailed by the word *image*:

> Fa dheóigh mar dhiomholam tríd amach fhreachnadh guidhe ┐ onórachadh na ndealbh ┐ na meirgeadh eile ┐ na míorbhuile brége ┐ fós gach ní fhoillsigheas Dia áthar atá do-fhaicsiona mar sheanóir, nó an sbioruidh naomh a bhfoirm choluim ┐ gach aon ghné onóra ele díomhaoinighe do Dhia atá arna smuaineadh lé fanntaisibh ┐ lé brionglóidibh na ndaoine atá saobh ┐ contrárdha don sgriobtúir, mar tá dol d'oilithre do chum íomháighe do chum uisge nó ionaid diabhluighe ele, lóchrainn nó soillsi ar bith do chur os cionn na ndaoine marbh nó a n-áitibh míumchuidhe ele sa n-eaglais, ornaighthe ar phaidrínibh ┐ gach supersticion ele atá cosmhail lais sin ag nach fuil luaighidheachd ar bith ó Dhia ar na ghealladh dó ann sa sgriptúir achd ní is córa aga bhfuil mallachd ┐ bagar ó Dhiá orra, is mar an gcédna ghuidhim do chum umhla do thabhairt do reachd Dia ┐ d'oibrighthibh an chreidmhe,

mar tá grádh Dia ⁊ na comharson trócuire truaighe dérc
ornaighthe thinneasnach dúthrachdach ní lais an mbél
amháin achd lé mían an chroidhe measarrdhachd diagha
tréigheanus geanmnuigheachd umhla dona huachdaránuibh
⁊ dona tighearnuibh ele maille lé gach oibrighthe is cosmhail
riú sin ⁊ lé gach gníomharthuibh Diagha do chuir Dia
dh'fhiachuibh ann a bhréithir naomhtha: agá bhfuil mar
ader Pól naomhtha gealltanuis mar aon lais in mbeatha
so ⁊ lais in mbeatha thig ⁊ atá amháin 'na n-oibrighthibh
ghabhthar, ⁊ mholtar a bhfaidhnuisi Dé.[5]

Of particular interest in the above article is the reference to
representations of God the father as an old man and representations of
the Holy Spirit as a dove. These are the very same examples that were
used by Catholic educationalists in their writings as they attempted
to justify the use of images. Not only were they attempting to confute
the arguments of the Reformers but they were equally concerned at
the negative consequences of iconoclasm. Peter Canisius (1521–1597)
and Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) were the authors of the two great
Catholic catechisms of the Counter-Reformation. The latter published
his *Dottrina Cristiana breve* in 1597 for children and those who were
unable to read. A more amplified version of this work intended for
teachers appeared the following year, *Dichiarazione più copiosa della
Dottrina Cristiana*. Couched in a question and answer format, the pupil
questioning with the master responding, this work was so successful that
Clement VIII laid down that it be the only catechism allowed in papal
territories. The role of saints and images is discussed under four questions
put to the master by the pupil (using the English version translated by R.
H. Doctor of Divinitie in Mauchline in 1635):

I desire to know, how the honour which we give to Sainctes,
& their Reliques, & Images, is not against this comandement.
For it seemeth that we adore all these things, seing we kneele
vnto them, and pray vnto them, as wee doe vnto God?[6]

But what shal we say of the Reliques of Sainctes, which
vnderstand nothinge; and yet we kneele and pray vnto them?[7]

The same perhaps may be said of Images?[8]

I woulde lastly know for what cause, God the Father is painted like an olde man, and the Holy Ghost like a doue, and the Angels like yong men with winges, seing God, and the Angels, are spirites, and haue no corporall figure, which can be drawn by painters, as pictures of men may be.[9]

The first two examples in the last question are exactly the very same as those used by Ó Cearnaigh. It is interesting to note Bellarmine's response to these questions:

So it is, for the Images of our Lord, of our Ladie, & other Sainctes, are not taken by vs for Gods: and therfore they can not be called Idols, as those were of the Gentiles: (Conc. Nic 2. S. Damasc. in orat de Imag.) but they ar holden for Images, which makes vs to remember our Lord, our Ladie, and other Sainctes: and so they serue such as can not read, in place of bookes. For that by Images they learne manie mysteries of our holie faith, and the life, and death of manie Sainctes. (S. Greg. ep. ad Seren.) And the honour we doe vnto them, we doe it not because they are figures of paper, or of metall, or becaue they are well coulered, & well made, but because they represent vnto vs our Lord, our Ladie, or other Sainctes: and for that we know, that the Images doe not liue, nor haue sense, beinge made by the hands of men, we doe not demand any thinge of them (Con. Trid. ses. 25) but we pray before them vnto those whom they represent vnto vs, to witt, our Lord, our Ladie, or other Sainctes.[10]

When God the Father is painted in forme of an old man, and the Holie Ghost in forme of a doue and the Angels in forme of yong men, that which they are in them selues is not painted, because as you haue said they are spirites without bodies, but that forme is painted, in which they haue sometimes appeared. And so God the Father is painted like an olde men, because he appeared in that forme in a vison to Daniel the Prophet (Dan.7. S. Tho. in 4. dis. 48 q. 5. a. 2. And the Holy Ghost is painted in the forme of a doue, because in that forme he appeared vpon Christ, when he as baptised by sainct John Baptist (John 1.) And

the Angels are painted in forme of yong men, for that they haue sometimes so appeared (Gen. 18 & 19. Tob. 5 & 12.) Moreouer you are to know, that manie thinges are painted to make vs vnderstand, not what they are in themselues, but what properties they haue or what effecttes they vse to worke. So Faith is painted like a woman, with a chalice in her hand, & Charitie with many litle children about her, and yet you know well, that faith & charitie are not women but vertues. So it may be said, that God the Father is painted in forme of an old Man, to make vs vnderstand, that he is most ancient, to wit, eternall, and before al created things. And the Holie Ghost is painted in likenes of a Doue to signifie the the [*sic*] giftes of innocencie, puritie, and sanctie, which the Holie Ghost worketh in vs. And the Angels are painted like yong men, because they are alwaies faire, and full of strenght [*sic*] & with winges, because they are ready to passe whither it shall please God to send them; & with white garmentes, and with holy stoales, because they are pure and innocent, and ministers of his diuine Maiestie.[11]

Bellarmine was writing after the Council of Trent (1545–1563), where the Catholic Church had gone on the offensive in dealing with the critique of the reformers, affirming the validity of traditional doctrine and practice. The matter of images was dealt with in Session XXV, 3–4 December 1563, and the subsequent decree articulated traditional doctrine, stressed the cognitive role of images in religious education and condemned abuses.[12] Bellarmine's aim was to present the teaching of Trent in a simpler and more accessible manner, and, while Gaelic Roman Catholics were slower than their Reforming counterparts in exploiting the resources of print for catechetical reasons, one of the advantages of this time-lag was that they had good continental models for guidance. Bonaventura Ó Heoghasa, one-time professional poet, abandoned his craft, took an MA in Douai and joined the Irish Franciscans at their newly founded college in Louvain in November 1607. He subsequently placed his literary talents at the services of the Counter-Reformation, combining poetical craft with continental theology. His *Teagasg Críosduidhe* or catechism, published in Antwerp in 1611, was a very successful work, influencing the manuscript tradition for three

centuries.[13] Ó Heoghasa took his format from Canisus but many of his arguments from Bellarmine. Whereas the Irish friar writes in a continuous narrative style, apparently breaking with the question and answer format of his sources, his debt to them is revealed in the frequent use of *fiafraighthear anseo* 'it is asked here'.

Regarding images, Ó hEoghasa resorts to answering the same four questions that were posed by Bellarmine:

(1) Bíoth a fhios agat nach foil an aithni si ag toirmeasg onóra do thabhairt do na naomhaibh ⁊ do na hainglibh, ór an Tighearna féin aithneas dínn é féin amháin d'adhradh mar Dhia, ordaighidh sé dhúinn onóir dho thabhairt dár n-aithribh ⁊ dár máithribh … go demhin, dá bhfhógradh rí gan duine ar bioth d'onórughadh mar rígh 'na ríoghdhochd achd é féin amháin, do ba mór an díoth céille a rádh go mbiadh a n-aghaidh aithne an ríogh a onóir iomchubaidh féin do thabhairt don diúice nó don iarla, achd amháin gan a n-adhradh mar rígh. Mar an ccédna ar tTighearna, gé tá agá thoirmeasg orainn an so crétúir ar bioth d'adhradh mar Dhia, ní chuireand toirmeasg orainn fá a n-onóir iomchubhaidh féin do thabhairt do na naomhaibh ⁊ do na hainglibh. Ar an n-adhbhar sin, as coir dhúinn onóir do thabhairt dóibh ⁊ congnamh a nguidhe dh'iarraidh, do bhríogh gurab boill éinEaglaisi inn féin ⁊ iad, 's go bhfoil siad a radharc Dé do ghnáth ⁊ a mhian ortha ar maithne do dhénamh; maille ris sin, de bhríogh gurab gnáthach riamh congnamh a nguidhe d'iarraidh, mar as follas as gnáthchuimhne na hEagailsi, as as sgrioptúir dhiadha, ⁊ as ughdardhás na ccomhairleach ⁊ aithreadh na hEaglaisi.[14]

(2) Bíoth a fhios agat fós gurab dleisdeanach, ⁊ nách foil a n-aghaidh na haithni si, onóir do thabhairt do thaisibh na naomh, nó urnaighthe do dhénamh 'na bhfiaghnaisi ar an modh ar a ngnáthaighthear a dhénamh idir na catoilcibh: or ní iarmaoid aoínní ar na taisibh san urnaighthe sin, mar shaoilid na heiricidhe, do bhríogh go bhfoil a fhios againd nach cluinid ⁊ nách faicid ní dá ndéanmaoid. Acht iarrmaoid ar na hanmannaibh naomtha, dho-rinne

iomad deaghoibrightheadh isna corpaibh sin, guidhe ar
ar son d'ionnsoighidh Dé; ⁊ bídh résún san urnaighthi sin
do dhénamh maille ré honóir do láthair na ttaiseadh tar
áit oile, ionnas go n-íarrmaois ar na naomhaibh cuimhne
do bheith aca orainn maille ré cuidioghadh linn, mar atá
cuimhne againne orthasan maille re bheith ag onóraghadh
a ttaiseadh.[15]

(3) Bíoth a fhios agat fos nach foil a n-aghaidh na haithni
si, mar shaoilid na heiricidhe, onóir dá ttugmaoid
d'íomháighibh Críosd nó Muire nó na naomh, ná
urnaighthe dá ndénmaoid dá láthair. Do chéidneithibh, ní
fhoil 'na a haghaidh onóir dhá ttugmaoid dóibh, ór ní don
phinnteóirechd bhíos ortha, dá bhreaghdhachd bhíos, ná don
mhiotal bhíos ionnta, dá uaisle bhíos, do-bheirmid onóir,
achd don té thaisbénaid dúinn. As uime thrá do-bheirmid
onóir dhóibh, do bhríogh go ttaisbénaid Críosd nó Muire
nó na naoimh dhúinn, ionnas go ttabhraid inar ccuimhne
iad. As mar sin bhíos onóir ⁊ grádh ag na heiricidhibh féin
ar íomháighibh a n-aithreadh nó a bprionnsadh, ní ar son
na ndath n–álainn ná na pinnteóireachda bhíos ortha, ná
ar son an mhiotail bhíos ionnta, achd ar son na droinge
thaisbénaid 'sa cuimhne do-bheirid 'na n-intinn. ...[16]

(4) Go fírinneach, atá n-aghaidh résúin a rádh nách molfadh
Dia na híomháighi si, ⁊ méd na tarbha tig dhíobh: ór do-níd
áit leabhar do na tuatadhaibh ó nách eól léghthórachd do
dhéanamh, ag tabhairt chuimhne Críosd ⁊ a pháisi, Muire
⁊ na naomh, 'na n–intinn, ionas go mosglaid a sbiorad
chrábhaidh dochum grádha ⁊ anóra do thabhairt dóibh so,
dochum buidheachais do bhreith iona ttiodhlaicthibh riú, ⁊
dochum a mhiana do bheith ortha a sompla do leanmhain
do réir a ccumhachd.

Ní hé sin amháin achd as adhbhal an tarbha do-nid na
híomháighe do na daoinibh foghlamtha féin, ór gluaisid a
n-inntinn nísa romhó iná ghluaiseas an léghthórachd; maille
ris sin, an ní agá ccaiththear aimsear fhada agá léghadh, as
éidir lé neach le hénradharc amháin ar íomháigh a thabhairt
uile 'na intinn.[17]

Ó Heoghasa's debt to Bellarmine's exposition, quoted above, is clear. Though faithful to the Italian's line of argument, Ó Heoghasa is by no means interested in translating Bellarmine word for word and it is unfair of his editor to accuse him of plagiarism throughout the text.[18] While arguing like Bellarmine, for example, that images fulfil the same need for the illiterate that books supply for the literate, he goes much further than his source in claiming in a very modern fashion that images actually influence the literate much more quickly than books: 'an ní ag á ccaiththear aimsear fhada ag á léghadh, as éidir lé neach le hénradharc amháin ar íomháigh a thabhairt uile 'na intinn'.[19]

Ó Heoghasa's faithfulness to Bellarmine becomes most apparent in his dealing with the question as to why God the Father is represented as an old man, the Holy Spirit as a dove and the angels with wings, countering the arguments advanced by reformers such as Ó Cearnaigh. In his response, quoted above, Bellarmine refers to the allegorical function of art, citing the representation of faith as a lady with a chalice in her hand and charity as a lady surrounded by numerous children, even though everybody knows that faith and charity are virtues and not women. While Bellarmine's examples were doubtlessly inspired by the lavish ornamentation of Roman churches, they also offered him the opportunity to distinguish between the act of representation and its function.

Since ecclesiastical ornamentation in Ireland had been targeted so well by the iconoclasts, Ó Heoghasa ignores this aspect of Bellarmine's argumentation. He faithfully adheres to his source, however, in citing the examples from scripture, since these clearly rebut the arguments advanced in the 12 articles of religion that the representation of God as an old man et cetera was little more than the fantasies and dreams of the perverse and contrary to scripture:

> Is í ár bhfreagra air sin, nach uime dhealbhthar mar sin iad dá chor i gcéill go bhfoilid a leithéide sin do chorpaibh aca–- or as fíor nách foilid cuirp ar bioth aca, ⁊ nách éidir a ccosamhlachd do thaisbénadh do réir mar atáid ionnta féin le fioghair ccorpardha ar bioth––achd as í cúis a ndelbhtha mar sin, ionnas go mbeidis comharthadha corpardha éigin againn do-bhéaradh inar ccuimhne iad, ór ní héidir leis an n-anam san truaill thalmhaidhe ina mbí ar an tshaoghal sa,

teacht a n-eólas na sbiorad neamhdhaidhe gan comhartha
ccorpordha éigin dá ghluasachd. Ní fhoil thrá comhartha
as imchuibhidhe chuige sin iná dealbh an reachda inar
thaisbénadar féin roimhe so do na daoinibh táinig romhainn
ar an saoghal sa iad. Ar an n-adhbhar sin, dealbhthar ann
tAthair neamhdha go bhfioghair sheanduine do bhrígh
gurab san riochd sin do thaisbéin é féin do Dhainéil fáidh.
Dealbhthar an Sbiorad Naomh go ndeilbh cholaim do
bhrígh gurab san riochd sin do thoirinn os cionn Chríosd
ag Sruth Oirrthionáin an tan do baisdeadh lé hEóin é, ⁊
dealbhthar na haingil a n-íomháighibh ógán do bhrígh
gurab ar an modh sin dho thaisbénadar iad féin don
bhanóigh Muire, do Thobias, d'Abraham ⁊ d'iomad oile. As
éidir fós a rádh gurab uime dealbhthar an tAthair neamhdha
a ndeilbh sheanduine, dá chor a ccéill go bhfoil ann riamh
gan tús gan tionnsgnamh, ionas gurab sine é iná an uile
ní; ⁊ an Sbiorad naomh a ndeilbh cholaim, dá chor a ccéill
go ttabhair naomhthachd, gloine ⁊ neamhurhcóid mar
ccolaim dhúinne; ⁊ na haingil a ndealbhthaibh ógán, do
bhrígh go mbíd álaind gan truailleadh le haois do ghnáth,
⁊ go ccuirthear sgiatháin ortha dá chor a ccéill go bhfoiled
ésgaidh luath le techdaireachd nDé, 7c.[20]

Though the use of images was a burning issue from the outset of
the Reformation, both Canisius and Bellarmine deliberately eschew
controversy and polemics in dealing with this topic, confining
themselves to rational arguments. Not so Ó Heoghasa, however, who
is not loathe to introduce *mar shaoilid/adeirid na heiricidhe* into his
discussion. Furthermore he notes that they themselves are wont to
make representations of their fathers and princes, without the least
difficulty in distinguishing between the image and the person it
represents. The trial of Brian na Múrtha Ó Ruairc in London in 1591
bears noting in this respect. He was accused of conspiracy with Spain,
of aiding survivors of the Spanish Armada and, worst of all, of insulting
an effigy of Queen Elizabeth:[21]

That the sayd Bren O Royrke … caused the picture of a
woman to bee made, setting to her Maiestie's name, and
caused it to bee tyed to an horse tayle, and to bee drawne

through the mire in derision of her Maiesty. And after
caused his Galliglasses to hew the same in pieces with their
axes, vttering divers traiterous and rebellious wordes against
her Maiestie.[22]

These accusations were also noted in a late seventeenth-century
treatise on the O'Rourkes:

Ag so cuid dona corrthaibh is prionsapalta do cumadh
⅂ do dealbhadh iona adhuigh .i. go raibh comhthuigse ⅂
comhfhreagra ideir e féin agas Sixtus Quinctus an Papa et
Righ na Spainne chum athchogaidh do thogbhail i nÉirinn
ionnas go sgriostaidh an credeamh Protestant ⅂ go ccurtidh
Catlicacht ara hadhuigh; bheos, gar chuir d'fhiachuibh
ímháigh no pictuir na Banríoghna do tharraing a maide ⅂
a sraoíghladh as folt eich ar faiche Dhruim Athiar, ⅂ gur
dhearbh damadh e corp fíre na banrioghna do bheth ann
go dtiúradh an diach cenna fair.[23]

O'Rourke was sentenced to death and brought to Tyburn for
execution:

Agus do cuireadh Ardeaspag Chaisil chuige do
chomhairliugh ⅂ furalach mór dia n-aontaigheadh tiompo
ona chredeamh. Agas do theasbein e fein neamhspeisamhail
ann de bhri gur thiompo ó bheth 'na bhrathair bhocht
go ndearnadh asgop Protestant dhe. Acht gidh eadh, 'se
tug absolóid os íosal dhó. Agus cuireadh chum baiss e an
bhliaighain d'aoís an tighernna 1590.[24]

Whether the story of Maol Muire Mac Craith absolving Ó Ruairc
while pretending to induce him to apostasise is true or not, Ó Heoghasa
could hardly have been unaware of this tale of the rehabilitation of
a renegade confrère who had converted to Anglicanism and become
Protestant Archbishop of Cashel.[25] In any event the accusation against
Ó Ruairc provides a very telling example of the difference between
representation and the person represented, a distinction that the crown
authorities were well able to exploit to their own political ends, even
when it contradicted their religious beliefs.[26]

Conclusion

Neither Seon Carsuel nor Seán Ó Cearnaigh really engaged with the arguments against images. Taking the earl of Argyll's iconoclasticism for granted, Carsuel's chief concern was to encourage him in these activities through the citation of biblical precedents. Ó Cearnaigh actually says little more beyond claiming that the veneration of images was contrary to scripture. Ó Heoghasa, on the other hand, was concerned to face the arguments of the reformers head-on and provide convincing arguments to refute them. With the advantage of a continental education, and of living in a university town that was the centre of the Counter-Reformation in northern Europe, Ó Heoghasa was able to build on the writings of Canisus and Bellarmine and apply them to the particular circumstances of the Gaelic world.

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4 *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh: John Carswell's Gaelic Translation of the Book of Common Order*, ed. and trans. by R. L. Thomson, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 11 (Edinburgh: SGTS, 1970), 7, ll. 169–70.

5 *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma: Seán Ó Cearnaigh's Irish Primer of Religion Published in 1571*, ed. by Brian Ó Cuív (Dublin: DIAS, 1994), 147–51.

6 *An Ample Declaration of the Christian Doctrine. Composed in Italian by the Renowned Card. Bellarmin. ... and translated into English by R. H. Doctor of Diuinitie* (Mauchline: Henry Iaie, 1635), 200 (available in the *Early English Books Online* database).

7 *An Ample Declaration of the Christian Doctrine*, 202.

8 *An Ample Declaration of the Christian Doctrine*, 204.

9 *An Ample Declaration of the Christian Doctrine*, 207–08.

10 *An Ample Declaration of the Christian Doctrine*, 204–05.

11 *An Ample Declaration of the Christian Doctrine*, 208–11.

12 For an English translation of the text of the decree, see Wandel, 'The Reformation and the Visual Arts', 346–47; for the original Latin, see *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. by Giuseppe Alberigo et al. (Bologna: Edizione Bilingue, 1996), 774.

13 A second posthumous edition was published on the friars' own printing press in Louvain between 1614 and 1619. Another edition was published by Propaganda Fidei in Rome in 1707. One of the major factors contributing to the success of this catechism was the author's verse summaries of his doctrinal content, thus enabling him to reach an unlettered as well as a literate audience.

14 Bonaventura Ó Heoghasa, *An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, ed. by Fearghal Mac Raghnaill, Scríbhinní Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr, 11 (Dublin: DIAS, 1976), 56, ll. 1764–84.

15 Ó Heoghasa, *An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, 56–57, ll. 1785–98.

16 Ó Heoghasa, *An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, 57, ll. 1799–1812.

17 Ó Heoghasa, *An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, 58–59, ll. 1857–71.

18 Ó Heoghasa, *An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, xxxix.

19 Ó Heoghasa, *An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, 59, ll. 1869–71.

20 Ó Heoghasa, *An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, 59–60, ll. 1888–1916.

21 For a detailed account of this trial see Hiram Morgan, 'Extradition and treason-trial of a Gaelic lord: the case of Brian O'Rourke', *The Irish Jurist*, 22 (1987), 285–301.

22 John Stow, *Annales, or a Generall Chronicle of England* (London: Richard Meighen, 1631 [1632]), 763 (available in the *Early English Books Online* database).

23 James Carney, 'A tract on the O'Rourkes', *Celtica*, 1 (1950), 238–79 (243, ll. 76–86).

24 Carney, 'A tract', 245, ll. 150–56.

25 Cf. Christopher Maginn, 'Magrath, Meiler', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17788?docPos=4,]. William Camden, in his *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth* (1615), narrates a different version of Ó Ruairc's death: 'He suffered a Traitour's death at Tyburn obstinately and without remorse, scoffing at Melery Creash Archbishop of Cassils (who began in the Irish Tongue to minister comfort to him) as a an of uncertain faith and credit, and a depraved life, who had broken his vow by abjuring the rule of Franciscans' (quoted in Morgan, 'Extradition', 301). These two contradictory versions tie in with the dissembling nature of much of Magrath's life. It bears noting, however, that the only person who could vouch for the veracity of what actually happened was Magrath himself, and he could hardly have conveyed any account to the crown authorities other than that recorded by Camden.

26 See Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland: English Renaissance Literature and Elizabethan Imperial Expansion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 213–15.

Am Filidh ann am Bàrdachd Dhùthchasach na Gàidhlig: Notaichean is Ceistean

Wilson McLeod

Ann an Gàidhlig an latha an-diugh chan eil eadar-dhealachadh soilleir eadar na faclan 'bàrd' agus 'filidh'. Na òran ainmeil 'Ghruagach òg an fhuilt bhàin', mar eisimpleir, tha Dòmhnall Ailean Dhòmhnaill na Bainich (1906–1992) ga ainmeachadh fhèin mar 'f[h]ilidh / Chaidh a thogail is àrach ann am fàsaichean Uibhist': ach is e 'bàrdachd' a tha air a 'bhilean'.[1] Is e facal litreachail agus meadhanach tearc a tha ann am 'filidh', car coltach ris an fhacal 'bard' fhèin sa Bheurla.[2]

Tha fhios nach ann mar seo a bha a' chùis sna linntean a dh'fhalbh, gun robh, aig aon àm, diofar ìrean is inbhean de rannaichean proifeiseanta is neo-phroifeiseanta air an aithneachadh, agus gun robh eadar-dhealachadh soilleir is cudromach eadar am 'filidh', aig mullach na rangachd, agus am 'bàrd' fodha. Ach chan eil e idir cinnteach cuine (no, gu dearbh, càite is ciamar) a bhris an t-seann tuigse seo sìos. Tha tiotalan duanairean an 19mh linn ag innse dhuinn gun robhas a' cleachdadh an fhacail 'filidh' anns an aon dòigh 's a bha Dòmhnall Ailean Dhòmhnaill na Bainich, mar cho-fhacal àrd-nòsach air 'bàrd': *Am Filidh*, *Am Filidh Gàidhealach*, *Am Filidh Lathurnach*, *Filidh na Coille*, *Filidh nam Beann*.[3]

Tha an cleachdadh ceudna ri fhaicinn aig amannan ann am bàrdachd an 18mh linn cuideachd. Sa mharbhrann a rinn e do Rob Donn ann an 1778, rinn Deòrsa Moireasdan 'filidh' dheth, a' cur an cèill gum bu Rob 'filidh ciallach na h-Alba / Rinn na marbh-rainn a b' fhearr'.[4] Ach cha d' fhuair Rob oideachadh foirmeil is cha robh comas sgrìobhaidh no leughaidh aige, gu tur eu-coltach ri filidhean ro-fhoghlaimte nan sgoiltean sna linntean a chaidh roimhe, agus cha robh inbhe stèidhichte aige ann an talla mòr MhicAoidh. Ged a bha Iain Lom na b' àirde na Rob Donn a thaobh inbhe phroifeiseanta agus shòisealta, cha b' e filidh san t-seagh fhoirmeil a bha ann na bu mhotha, ach 's e 'rìgh nam filidh' an tiotal a thug Aonghas (mac Alasdair Ruaidh) MacDhòmhnaill dha na mharbhrann (*c.*1710):

> Thàinig ceann teirm air m' fhear-cinnidh
> 'S e air eug ann an Cnoc Aingeal:
> Toiseach gach teud, rìgh gach filidh,
> Gu dèanadh Mac Dè maith air t' anam.

Gu dearbh, ann an tionndadh den òran seo a ghlèidheadh sa bheul-aithris agus a dh'fhoillsicheadh an toiseach ann an 1868, tha an dà theirm 'bàrd' is 'filidh' air am measgachadh ri chèile:

> Chunna mi crìoch air m' fhear-cinnidh,
> Ga chàramh 'n diugh an Tom Aingeal;
> Iuchair nam bàrd, rìgh nam filidh,
> Dia dhèanamh sìth ri t' anam.[5]

Ach tha fianais eile às a' bheul-aithris ag innse dhuinn gun robh an t-iomsgaradh eadar am 'filidh' uasal agus am 'bàrd' cumanta cudromach aig aon àm agus gum faodadh tomhas de thàir a bhith an lùib an fhacail 'bàrd'. A rèir naidheachd goirid a thaobh Dhàibhidh MhicEalair (*fl. c.* 1700), a bhuineadh do Chomhal, thug an rannaiche an t-achmhasan a leanas air dèirceach a bha a' leigeil air gun robh e na bhàrd agus a bha a' sireadh na h-aoigheachd ris an robh na bàird an dùil:

> Is filidh mise 's cha bhàrd
> On is e as àirde cliù;
> Chan ionnan is thusa, 'bhiasd,
> Tathann do bhiadh mar an cù![6]

Ged nach eil iomradh air filidhean ann, is cinnteach gur e an t-eisimpleir as ainmeile den tuigse thàireil seo an fhreagairt aig Uilleam Ros na 'Òran Eile' do na h-andaoine a bha ga chàineadh, 'a' cantainn nach eil mi ach bàrd / 'S nach cinnich leam dàn as fhiach'.[7]

Tha e follaiseach, ge-tà, nach robhas a' glèidheadh na seann tuigse ann an cuid de sgìrean agus, gu dearbh, nach robhas a' cleachdadh an fhacail 'filidh' mar chomharra urraim idir. San fhaclair Ghàidhlig aig Robert Armstrong (a bhuineadh do Thaobh Loch Tatha), a dh'fhoillsicheadh ann an 1825, gheibhear am mìneachadh a leanas an cois an fhacail 'filidh': 'A poet or bard; a minstrel; an inferior bard; a warbler; a songster; a philosopher'.[8] Agus ann an aiste fhada air bàrdachd Ghàidhlig a dh'fhoillsicheadh an lùib *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* ann an 1862, sgrìobh Eachann MacGill'Eathain:

> I have been told somewhere that Islay never produced a
> bard. To this I replied, that probably that was because the
> calling was not now respected there; as a proverb current in
> the island would lead us to infer:–

'Bard, a's ceard, a's filidh.'

A bard, a tinker, and a musician, which is the meaning of
these words in Islay now.[9]

Ged a chaidh an t-seann tuigse an dìochuimhne mean air mhean,
tha grunn dàn a rinneadh sa Ghàidhlig dhùthchasaich aig deireadh
an 17mh linn agus toiseach an 18mh linn a' sealltainn dhuinn gun
robh an t-iomsgaradh eadar am filidh agus am bàrd ga aithneachadh
fhathast, ann an tallaichean triathan mòra na Gàidhealtachd an iar co-
dhiù. Na cumha do dh'Iain Breac MacLeòid Dhùn Bheagain (†1693),
tha Fionnghal nighean Alasdair Ruaidh NicLeòid ag ràdh:

> Bu tu leigeadh ri èarlaid
> 'nuair a ghabhadh tu tàmh anns an Dùn;
> bhiodh na filidh, 's na bàird ann,
> 's b' e ceann-ùidh nan clàrsairean thu;
> bhiodh na h-ollamhain àrd ann
> gabhail urraim gach dàn os an cionn ...[10]

A-rithist, sa 'Chrònan' a rinn i an dèidh bàs Thormoid, mac Iain
Bhric, ann an 1699, tha Màiri (nighean Alasdair Ruaidh) NicLeòid a'
dèanamh an aon iomsgaraidh eadar 'filidh' agus 'bàrd':

> Gu dùn turaideach àrd,
> B' e sud innis nam bàrd
> Is nam filidh ri dàn ...[11]

Tha an cleachdadh seo (agus an t-adhbhar molaidh a tha na chùl) ri
fhaicinn cuideachd ann an 'Gaoir nam Bàrd Muileach' aig Mairghread
nighean Lachlainn ('Gur h-ann timcheall ur teine / Gheibhte bàird
agus filidh ...')[12] agus a-rithist san òran molaidh a rinn Fear Àird na
Bidhe, Iain MacDhòmhnaill, do dh'Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair
('Chan eil bàrd no filidh, / No fear-ionaid na luchd-sgeul againn, / Nach
miannach bhith nad chuideachda ...')[13]

Chan eil iomradh air bàird sa mharbhrann gun urra air Sir Dughall
Caimbeul Achadh nam Breac (†1642), ach tha an t-ùghdar a' dèanamh
iomsgaradh eadar 'filidh' agus 'fear-dàna':

Gun seanchaidh, gun fhilidh leabhair,
Gun fhear-dàn' anns a' bhruth oirdheirc ...[14]

Tha e follaiseach gun robh an tiotal 'fear-dàna' stèidhichte, ged nach eil a chiall buileach soilleir a-nis; is iad na h-eisimpleirean as ainmeile dithis a gheibhear ann an Leabhar Deadhan Lios Mòr, Giolla Coluim Mac an Ollaimh an Fear (Dána) agus Mac Giolla Fhionntóg an Fear Dána.

Tha an liosta dhreuchdan bàrdail as fhaide sna 'Rainn' choisrigeach aig Maighstir Seathan MacGill'Eathain do dh'Edward Lhuyd, an lùib a leabhair ainmeil *Archeologia Britannica* (1707):

Gach Fili's Bard, gach Leigh, Aoisdán, is Dráoi,
Druithnich is Sheanchaoi fós; gach eoladhain sháor
Do thog *Gathelus* leis, on *Eighpht* a náll,
san *Ghaoidhelg* sgríobh iad sud le gniomh ampeann.[15]

A bharrachd air an diofar eadar 'filidh' agus 'bàrd' a tha air a chomharrachadh gu soilleir anns na dàin seo uile (ged nach urrainn dhuinn a bhith buileach cinnteach gun robh a h-uile ùghdar ga thuigsinn air an dòigh cheudna), tha grunn mhion-phuingean rin togail cuideachd. Ann an 'Crònan' Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, tha an abairt 'filidh ri dàn' ag innse dhuinn gum b' e 'dàn', .i. an dàn dìreach, an seòrsa rannaigheachd a bhuineadh do na filidhean gu sònraichte.[16] Sa chumha aig Fionnghal nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, ge-tà, tha e coltach nach ionnan na 'filidh' agus na h-'ollamhain àrd', agus gun robh inbhe na b' àirde aig na h-'ollamhain', na sàr-fhilidhean mar gum b' eadh, oir bha iad a' 'gabhail urraim gach dàn os an cionn'. Tha an rangachd seo a' co-fhreagradh ris an fhianais Èireannaich,[17] agus tha e inntinneach gun robhas ga tuigsinn fhathast aig deireadh an 17mh linn an Alba.

A thaobh 'Rainn' Mhaighstir Sheathain, dè dìreach a tha ann an 'Aoisdán' agus 'Dráoi'?[18] Chan eil luaidh air an 'fhear-dàna' an seo ach, a rèir coltais, bha an stoidhle 'an t-aos dàna' beò – no gu dearbh ùr – ri linn Mhaighstir Sheathain mar tiotal urraim rannaiche fa leth.[19] Saoil an robhas a' cleachdadh 'dráoi' an da-rìribh, no 'druithnich'? Feumar cuimhneachadh gu bheil tomhas de 'àrsaidheachd brèige' sna 'Rainn' seo.

Tha fianais chudromach a thaobh àite an fhilidh cuideachd ri faighinn taobh a-muigh na bàrdachd fhèin. Is i an aithris as inntinniche, is dòcha, an nota a sgrìobh oileanach diadhachd, mac fir-uasail ann an

Srath Spè, airson an Ollaimh James Garden ann an Oilthigh Obar
Dheathain às leth an neach-rannsachaidh Shasannaich John Aubrey
(ùghdar nam *Brief Lives*) ann an 1692:

> A Bard in common Irish [.i. Gàidhlig na h-Alba] signifies
> a little poet or a rhymer ... He thats extraordinarie sharp
> of these bards is named *phili*, i.e. ane excellent poet, these
> frequent onlie the company of persons of qualitie & each of
> them hes some particular person whom he owns his master.
> When anie of these travels abroad & comes to a house he tells
> whose *phili* he is & then is welcomed & treated according
> to the qualitie of his master. When his master dyes he makes
> ane epitaph or a song to his praise called *Maru Rhiin* i.e.
> lines or rhymes upon the defunct. These bards in former
> times used to travel in companies, sometimes 40, 50, 60
> persons between men, wives & childrene, and they were
> thus ranked, the first were termed *philies*, i.e. poets ...[20]

Tha an cunntas seo a' co-fhreagradh, gu ìre co-dhiù,[21] ri na dh'innis
an t-Urr. Iain Friseal, ministear Thiriodh is Chola, a bhuineadh do
Mhuile, don eachdraiche Robert Wodrow ann an 1702 an lùib an
rannsachaidh aig Edward Lhuyd:

> They had Bardi, poetici and Seneciones, peculiaire to every
> family, and symphoniaci; the Bard's office was to rehears
> what was compiled by the Poets; the poets versified with
> admirable art, and in such a high and lofty stile, and such
> exact measures, and variety of measure, as may justly
> be compared with Homer or Virgil. Ther Bards were
> sometimes allowed to compose some Rythmi, but not to
> medle any higher ...[22]

Tha e caran mì-fhortanach gun do chleachd am Frisealach
briathrachas Laidinn an seo, ged a tha ciall nan teirmean seo soilleir gu
leòr: tha na *poetici* co-ionnan ris na filidhean, 's iad seanchaidhean a tha
sna *seneciones* agus luchd-ciùil a tha sna *symphoniaci*.[23] Na thuairisgeul
ainmeil air na sgoiltean bàrdachd (1703), chan eil Màrtainn Màrtainn
a' cleachdadh an fhacail 'filidh' na bu mhotha: is e *orators* a tha aige sa
Bheurla agus 'Is-dane' sa Ghàidhlig mu choinneimh nan rannaichean

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foghlaimte.[24] Mu dheireadh, na chunntas ainmeil air eachdraidh Chlann Dòmhnaill (a sgrìobhadh eadar 1660 agus 1685), 's iad 'poets, bards and musicians' a tha Ùisdean MacDhòmhnaill Shlèite a' cleachdadh na thuairisgeul air coisrigeadh Triathan nan Eilean; a-rithist, faodar gabhail ris gur ionnan na *poets* seo agus na filidhean.[25]

Is i a' cheist bhunaiteach an seo, dè cho sgaoilte is dè cho domhainn 's a bha freumhan an fhilidh ann an Gàidhealtachd na h-Alba. Tha diofar bheachdan air èirigh am measg sgoilearan thar nan deicheadan, W. J. Watson, Ruaraidh MacThòmais agus Iain MacAonghuis nam measg.[26] Is cinnteach nach biodh e idir iomchaidh litir an Ollaimh Garden a thuigsinn mar fhianais dheimhinne gun robh triathan ear-thuath na Gàidhealtachd air fad a' fastadh agus cumail taic ri filidhean, fad nan linntean. 'S ann à taobh a deas is taobh an iar na Gàidhealtachd a-mhàin (Earra-Ghàidheal, Siorrachd Pheairt, taobh an iar Shiorrachd Inbhir Nis agus Innse Gall) a tha an dàn dìreach a tha air tighinn a-nuas thugainn, agus, gu dearbh, 's ann às na sgìrean sin a tha a' bhàrdachd dhùthchasach a tha a' cur an cèill an iomsgaraidh eadar na filidhean is na bàird. Aig an aon àm, tha fianais eile à dualchas nan ceàrnaidhean sin a' sealltainn nach do mhair an t-seann tuigse seo ro fhada. Tha an gainnead fiosrachaidh is fianais a' ciallachadh gum feum sinn a bhith faiceallach ann a bhith a' tarraing loidhnichean agus a' comharrachadh eadar-dhealachaidhean eadar sgìrean cruinn-eòlach agus roinnean cultair.[27] An àite cunbhalachd, dh'fhaodte gun robh tomhas math de chaochlaideachd agus dh'iomadachd ann an cultar litreachail Gàidhealtachd na h-Alba.

Tùsan

1 *Òrain Dhòmhnaill Ailein Dhòmhnaill na Bainich*, deas. le John Angus MacDonald (An Gearasdan: Comuinn Eachdraidh nan Eilean mu Dheas, 1999), 114–16, ss. 374–75, 333. Faic cuideachd an t-òran 'Moladh Uibhist', anns a bheil Dòmhnall Ailean ga ainmeachadh fhèin mar 'bhàrd': 'Ma shaoileas sibh uile gur bàrd mi / 'S gu bheil tàlantan agam da rèir' (180, ss. 1140–41).

2 Faic Iain MacAonghuis, 'Baird is Bleidirean', ann am *Féilscríbhinn Thomáis de Bhaldraithe*, deas. le Seosamh Watson (Baile Átha Cliath: Coiste Féilscríbhinn Thomáis de Bhaldraithe, An Coláiste Ollscoile, 1986), 94–100 (94) (cuideachd ann an John MacInnes, *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal: Selected Essays of John MacInnes*, deas. le Michael Newton (Dùn Èideann: Birlinn, 2007), 340–56).

3 *Am Filidh: Co-thional Ùr de dh'Òrain 's de Dhuanagan*, deas. le Seumas Munro (Dùn Èideann: Oliver & Boyd, 1840); *Am Filidh Gaidhealach, or, The Highland Minstrel* (Inbhir Nis: Hugh Mackenzie, 1873); Calum Caimbeul MacPhàil, *Am Filidh Lathurnach* (Glaschu: G. Mac-na-Ceàrdadh, 1878); *Filidh na Coille: Dàin agus Òrain leis a' Bhàrd Mac-Gilleain agus le Feadhainn Eile*, deas. le Alasdair Mac-Gilleain Sinclair (Baile Shearlot, Eilean a' Phrionnsa: Examiner Publishing Co., 1901); *Filidh nam Beann/ The Mountain Songster* (Glaschu: R. MacGregor, *c.* 1860).

4 Chaidh an dàn fhoillseachadh an toiseach ann an 1804 ann an co-chruinneachadh nan Stiùbhartach, fon tiotal ùidheil 'Marbh-rann do Rob Donn, Primh-Bhard na h-Airdetuath': *Cochruinneacha Taoghta de Shaothair nam Bard Gaëleach*, deas. le Alexander agus Donald Stewart (Dùn Èideann: T. Stiuart, 1804), 276–80.

5 *Òrain Iain Luim: Songs of John MacDonald, Bard of Keppoch*, deas. le Annie M. MacKenzie, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 8 (Dùn Èideann: SGTS, 1965), xxxi agus n. 3.

6 Archibald Brown, *The History of Cowal* (Grianaig: Telegraph Printing Works, 1908), 118; Michael Newton, *A Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World* (Baile Àtha Cliath: Four Courts, 2000), 84.

7 *An Lasair: Anthology of 18th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse*, deas. le Ronald Black (Dùn Èideann: Birlinn, 2001), 318, ss. 27–28; faic William Gillies, '"Merely a Bard"? William Ross and Gaelic Poetry', *Aiste*, 1 (2007), 123–69 (gu h-àraidh 166 agus n. 107).

8 R. A. Armstrong, *A Gaelic Dictionary, in Two Parts* (Lunnainn: J. Duncan, 1825), 253.

9 Hector MacLean, 'On the Gaelic Poetry of Known and Unknown Bards, Published and Traditional', ann am *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, deas. le J. F. Campbell, 4 imleabhar (Dùn Èideann: Edmonston & Douglas, 1860–62), iml. 4, 160–215 (164)

10 Stewart agus Stewart, *Cochruinneacha Taoghta*, 397, ss. 17–22. Rinn mi ùrachadh air an litreachadh.

11 *Òrain is Luinneagan le Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh/Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod*, deas. le James Carmichael Watson, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 9 (Dùn Èideann: SGTS, 1934), 62, ss. 754–56.

12 *Mairghread nighean Lachlainn: Song-maker of Mull*, deas. le Colm Ó Baoill, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 19 (Dùn Èideann: SGTS, 2009), 76, ss. 601–02. Thoir an aire gur e 'filidh' seach 'filidhean' a tha Fionnghal nighean Alasdair Ruaidh agus Mairghread nighean Lachlainn a' cleachdadh san ainmneach iolra, a' leantainn cruth na Gàidhlig Clasaigich. Tha an aon chruth ri fhaicinn sa 'Chumha' a rinn Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh air Sir Tormod MacLeòid Bheàrnaraigh (†1705): 'Thog na filidh ort sgeul' (Carmichael Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod*, 96, s. 1210).

13 *Comh-chruinneachidh orannaigh Gaidhealach*, deas. le Raonuill Macdomhnuill (Dùn Èideann: Walter Ruddiman, 1776), 323, ss. 43–43 (litreachadh air ùrachadh).

14 Macdomhnuill, *Comh-chruinneachidh*, 348, ss. 6–7; Rev. John Kennedy, 'Poems from the Maclagan MSS', *TGSI*, 22 (1897–98), 168–92 (189) (litreachadh air ùrachadh).

15 *Eachann Bacach agus Bàird Eile de Chloinn Ghill-Eathain/Eachann Bacach and Other MacLean Poets*, deas. le Colm Ó Baoill, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 14 (Dùn Èideann: SGTS, 1979), 100, ss. 1176–79.

16 Cf. an cunntas aig an Urr. Uilleam MacMhathain ann an *An Clàrsair Dall: Òrain Ruaidhri MhicMhuirich agus a Chuid Ciùil/The Blind Harper: The Songs of Roderick Morison and his Music*, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 12 (Dùn Èideann: SGTS, 1970), 149–50.

17 Faic Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'The Chief's Poet', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 83C (1983), 37–79 (37–38).

18 Is e 'eulogist and druid' an t-eadar-theangachadh a tha Colm Ó Baoill a' cur mun coinneimh, agus 'craftsman' mu choinneimh *druithnich* (faic Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach*, 263–64).

19 Faic Wilson McLeod, *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland* c. *1200–c. 1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 67.

20 Cosmo Garden, 'Letter to John Aubrey from Professor James Garden', *SGS*, 8 (1958), 18–26 (22).

21 Tha Iain MacAonghuis ('Bàird is Bleidirean', 96–97 [*Dùthchas nan Gàidheal*, 342–43]) a' beachdachadh air na mion-diofaran eadar an dà chunntas.

22 J. L. Campbell agus Derick Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands 1699–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 34.

23 Faic an òraid neo-fhoillsichte leis an Urramach Uilleam MacMhathain, 'Three Traditions of Gaelic Song: The Evidence from Mull', NLS MS Acc. 9711, 92:2. Mo thaing don Dr Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart airson lethbhreac den phàipear seo a thoirt dhomh.

24 Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (Lunnainn: Andrew Bell, 1703), 115–16. Thoir an aire gu bheil an tiotal *orator* caran annasach mas e 's nach robh na filidhean ag aithris an cuid rannan, agus gu bheil *aos-dàna* ga chleachdadh mar ainmear trusaidh (mar a bha sna Meadhan Aoisean) ged a bha e singilteach ann an 'Rainn' Mhaighstir Seathan.

25 'A History of the Macdonalds', ann an *Highland Papers, Volume 1*, deas. le J. R. N. MacPhail, Publications of the Scottish History Society, 2a sruth, 5 (Dùn Èideann: Scottish History Society, 1914), 5–102 (24).

26 Gheibhear cunntas air an deasbad seo ann am McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 65–69.

27 Cf. Aonghas MacCoinnich, 'Where and how was Gaelic written in late medieval and early modern Scotland? Orthographic practices and cultural identities', ann an *Caindel Alban: Fèill-sgrìobhainn do Dhòmhnall E. Meek*, deas. le Colm Ó Baoill agus Nancy R. McGuire (Obar Dheathain: Oilthigh Obar Dheathain, 2008) [= *SGS*, 24], 309–56.

An Fhilíocht a Leagtar ar Ghearóid Iarla i Leabhar Fhear Maí: Iontaofa nó Bréagach

Séamus Mac Mathúna

Measann scoláirí go bhfuil anáil éigin den *amour courtois*, más anáil an-lag féin í, le brath ar roinnt áirithe den tríocha dán atá ar marthain i lámhscríbhinn 23 E 29 in Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann (Leabhar Fhear Maí) a leagtar ar Ghearóid Mac Muiris (Gerald Fitzmaurice), Gearóid Iarla (1338–98), an tríú hIarla Dheasmhumhan, agus a bhfuil an teideal *Duanaire Ghearóid Iarla* orthu sa láimhscríbhinn sin.[1] Is cosúil go mbaineann an chuid sin den lámhscríbhinn a bhfuil an Duanaire ann le lár an 15ú haois.[2] Níl aon amhras ach go bhfuil rian an-láidir den traidisiún dúchasach Gaelach le brath ar na dánta seo.[3] Ní gá ach stracfhéachaint a thabhairt ar roinnt díobh le cruthú go raibh an té a chum iad neadaithe go domhain i gcultúr agus i dtraidisiún na Gaeilge agus go ndeachaigh timpeallacht a cheantair dúchais, agus áiteanna eile lasmuigh den cheantar sin, go mór i bhfeidhm air. Bhí spéis faoi leith aige sa timpeallacht agus sa dúlra, sa cheol, sa chreideamh, san Fhiannaíocht, agus san fhilíocht. Cé go leagtar na dánta sa Duanaire ar Ghearóid, agus go leagtar naoi ndán eile air atá ar marthain i Leabhar Dhéan an Leasa Mhóir (16ú haois), ní cinnte gurb é a chum na dánta seo uile go léir. Maidir leis na dánta i Leabhar an Déin, is fiú focail thomhaiste an Ollaimh Gillies a thabhairt i gcuimhne:

> Gerald's presence amongst a group of poets who hail from Argyll or Perthshire in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century raises complex questions ... The main possibilities are that a given ascription to Gerald in B [Leabhar Dhéan an Leasa Mhóir] is either (i) correct, (ii) a 'courtesy' ascription (like those to Chaucer in contemporary Scots sources), or (iii) to be understood as '*à la* Gerald'; but in any case the facts require an explanation that links B with Ireland.[4]

Cé gur ag plé leis na dánta i Leabhar an Déin a bhí an tOllamh Gillies, is féidir a raibh le rá aige a chur i bhfeidhm chomh maith ar dhánta an Duanaire.[5] Níor ceistíodh Gearóid mórán mar údar

na ndánta sa Duanaire go n-uige seo mar go bhfuil fianaise iontu faoina shaol atá ag teacht go réasúnta beacht le fianaise as foinsí eile.[6] Bíodh, mar sin, nach bhfuil sé furasta fianaise inmheánach na ndánta a bhréagnú, scrúdóidh muid anseo romhainn na féidearthachtaí arbh é Gearóid féin a chum na dánta nó an dánta iad a chum file eile agus a leagadh air mar chomhartha ómóis ('courtesy ascriptions') i ngeall ar a cháiliúla is a bhí sé i samhlaíocht na ndaoine. Sin an snáithe a ritheann fríd an saothar, an dara cuid go háirithe. Ní hé iontaofacht Ghearóid amháin mar údar na ndánta, áfach, is aidhm don pháipéar: beidh plé gairid ann freisin ar chúlra agus ar shaolréim Ghearóid agus ar an chomhthéacs cultúrtha agus polaitiúil a raibh sé beo ann; agus díreoimid ar ábhar agus stíl chuid de na dánta sa Duanaire le fáil amach an féidir léargas breise a fháil air féin agus ar an fhilíocht a leagtar air.[7] Scrúdófar go speisialta dán mór amháin polaitíochta a leagtar air, mar atá, *Anois tráth an charadraidh* (Duan. 5), agus chun tuigbheáil níos fearr a fháil ar an ghaol a bhí aige le tiarnaí Mhic Charthaigh Mhúscraí, déanfar scrúdú chomh maith ar chuid de na dánta a bhaineann le ceist na pátrúnachta.

An pholaitíocht

Faoi lár an 14ú haois bhí sé soiléir nach n-éireodh le coróin Shasana na codanna sin de thír na hÉireann a bhí faoina smacht a choinneáil di féin gan an concas a athnuachan trí acmhainní substaintiúla a chur ar fáil agus tréan-pholasaithe lárnacha agus réigiúnacha a chur i bhfeidhm: bhí an cogadh céad bliain idir í féin agus an Fhrainc sna blianta 1337–1453 tar éis a cuid acmhainní a ídiú go mór; bhí na Gaeil ag athshealbhú cuid de na tiarnais a cailleadh roimhe sin sa tríú céad déag agus, de réir a chéile, bhí an cultúr dúchasach ag bailiú nirt; bhí scoilteanna suntasacha le brath idir Gaill a rugadh agus a tógadh i Sasain agus na Gall-Ghaeil a bhí sean-bhunaithe sa tír corradh le céad éigin bliain. Chomh maith leis sin, is i Sasana a bhí cónaí ar chuid mhór de na tiarnaí Normanacha a raibh eastáit acu in Éirinn ('absentee landlords') agus ba léir go mba chuma leo faoi chaomhnú agus cur chun cinn polasaithe an rialtais. Is minic aighneas freisin a bheith ann idir an rialtas i mBaile Átha Cliath agus na hAngla-Normanaigh amuigh faoin tír agus is minic nach mbíodh na clanna móra Normanacha ar na hóí lena chéile ach an oiread. Níor

leasc leo síocháin agus conartha a dhéanamh leis na tiarnaí Gael chun a mbearta a chur i gcrích. Nós ab ea é seo a thosaigh go luath tar éis do na Normanaigh teacht go hÉirinn, nós ar daingníodh air de réir mar a neartaigh na ceangail dílseachta idir Gall is Gael trí chleachtais macasamhail idirphósadh agus altramas agus de réir mar a lagaigh údarás an rialtais lárnaí. Tagann an focal *degeneres* chun tosaigh sna cáipéisí Parlaiminte don chéaduair i 1297 chun cur síos a dhéanamh ar na hAngla-Normannaigh sin a ghlac chucu féin nósanna na nGael agus tá cuid mhór tagairtí don rud céanna in achtanna uaidh sin amach.[8] Dá réir sin, chuir comhairle mhór i gCill Chainnigh i 1360 teachtaireacht chuig an rí go raibh an scéal chomh dona sin agus go ngabhfadh na Gaeil an tír ar fad arís muna ndéanfaí beart láithreach bonn. Chinn an rí, Edward III, a mhac Lionel a chur go hÉirinn. Tháinig sé i 1361 agus an t-arm is mó faoina chúram ó bhí an Rí John sa tír i 1210.[9] Is faoi Lionel (an Diúc Clarence) a ritheadh Reachtanna Chill Chainnigh sa bhliain 1366, dlíthe a chuir cosc, i measc rudaí eile, ar an idirphósadh, ar altramas, ar labhairt na Gaeilge, ar chóiriú agus ar mharcaíocht de réir nós na nGael, agus ar aos léinn agus oirfidigh a cheapadh sna codanna sin den tír a raibh ceannas ag na Normanaigh orthu. Ceann de na príomh-aidhmeanna a bhí acu an dá chine a choinneáil scartha óna chéile mar ba léir go raibh teipthe ar an choncas sin a dhéanamh.[10]

Thit sé ar Ghearóid Mac Muiris, an tríú hIarla Dheasmhumhan agus Giúistis na hÉireann idir 1367 agus 1369, féacháil chuige go gcomhlíonfaí reachtanna sin Chill Chainnigh. Más é féin a chum na dánta Gaeilge a leagtar air, is léir go raibh an dlí á shárú aige. Rugadh Gearóid sa bhliain 1338; ba é an tríú mac é ag Muiris mac Thomáis, an chéad iarla Dheasmhumhan, agus Aibhilín, iníon Niocláis mhic Mhuiris. Fear brúidiúil, agus sceimhlitheoir le cois, ab ea athair Ghearóid, a throid go láidir i gCúige Mumhan agus in áiteanna eile chun údarás an rí a chur dá bhonnaibh agus chun go ndéanfaí rí na hÉireann de féin:

> The most notorious example of faction war is provided by Maurice fitz Thomas (created first earl of Desmond in 1329) and his 'rout', which terrorised large areas for years. He employed the old Gaelic system of cáin

(anglicised coyne) which allowed him to claim sustenance (either food or money) for his troops from his people ... Important Anglo-Irishmen, like Sir Robert fitz Matthew de Caunton, Sir Maurice fitz Philip and Sir Thomas fitz Gilbert joined him. So did some great Gaelic lords, like Brian O Brien, Dermot Mac Carthy, William Carrach O Brien. They raided, harried, destroyed and seized booty wherever they could all over the south ... On 7 July 1326 there was an extraordinary meeting in county Tipperary, attended by the earl of Kildare, the earl of Louth, James Butler (future earl of Ormond), fitz Thomas (soon to be earl of Desmond) and the bishop of Ossory among others, at which a greater rebellion against the king and a takeover of Ireland was planned. It was agreed that fitz Thomas should be crowned king and the others would share Ireland in proportion to the military contribution they made to the rebellion.[11]

Ghéill Mac Muiris faoi dheireadh i 1346, agus cé gur cuireadh triail i Sasana air, saoradh ar bhonn teicniúil é agus tugadh a chuid tailte agus eastáit ar ais dó. In ainneoin go raibh sé ciontach i dtréas agus in éirí amach in éadan an rí, is den íoróin mhór í go ndearnadh Giúistis na hÉireann de i 1355: bhí an ríocht ina chíor thuathail. Fuair sé bás i gCaisleán Bhaile Átha Cliath an bhliain dár gcionn i 1356.

I measc na dtiarnaí Gael a bhí ag tacú le Muiris ina fheachtas in éadan na coróine, bhí Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh, is é sin Diarmaid Óg Mac Carthaigh (Diarmaid mac Dhiarmada), ó Mhúscraí agus Dún Ealla, fear a bhí gaolta leis. Thug se dídean do Dhiarmaid Óg i 1344 nuair a bhí an Giúistis de Rokeby sa tóir ar Dhiarmaid agus bhí sé ag tacú leis fosta nuair a fuair de Rokeby an bua ar Dhiarmaid Óg sa bhliain 1352. Chuidigh Cormac Mac Carthaigh Mór (1325–59), tiarna Dheasmhumhan, le de Rokeby san fheachtas seo agus tugadh tailte dó siúd i Múscraí dá bharr. Rinneadh tiarna Mhúscraí de mhac le Cormac, mar atá, Diarmaid Mór, i 1353. In ainneoin go raibh athair Ghearóid ag taobhú le Diarmaid Óg Mac Carthaigh in éadan de Rokeby agus Chormaic agus go raibh aighneas sean-bhunaithe idir Mac Carthaigh Mór agus muintir Mhic Ghearailt, bhí dlúth-

cheangal cairdis, más fíor, de réir an Duanaire, idir Gearóid agus an Diarmaid Mór Mac Carthaigh seo.

Rinneadh iarla de Ghearóid tar éis gur bádh a dheartháir Muiris i Muir Éireann sa bhliain 1358. Phós sé Eilionóir, iníon Iarla Shéamuis II Buitléir, i 1359 agus bhí sé ina Ghiúistis ar Éirinn idir mí Feabhra 1367 agus mí Meithimh 1369. Bhí feidhmeanna eile tábhachtacha aige faoin choróin ar feadh an chuid eile dá shaol go dtí go bhfuair sé bás sa bhliain 1398.

Fuair Briain Ó Briain an bua air i 1370 ag cath i gCo. Luimnigh, ghabh é féin agus cuid mhór uaisle eile ar an 10 Iúil an bhliain sin, agus chaith Gearóid tuairim is bliain go leith i mbraighdeanas aige gur éirigh leis an Ghiúistis nua, William de Windsor, é a shaoradh go mall sa bhliain 1371. Chuir Gearóid a mhac, James, a ndearnadh iarla Dheasmhumhan de níos moille amach, ar altramas chuig Ó Briain, agus deirtear faoina iníon Katherine Desmond go raibh sí aineolach ar mhodh gléasta Shasana. Is cosúil go raibh mí-iompar gréasúil éigin idir Katherine agus a deartháir John, a bádh in abhainn na Siúire i 1399, gur éalaigh sí chuig a huncail, James, an tríú hiarla Urmhumhan, agus go raibh sí ina leannán luí aigesean go dtí an bhliain 1405. Bhí ceathrar mac aici le James.[12]

Tugtar le fios go raibh féith na rannaireachta sa chlann go gairid i ndiaidh dóibh teacht go hÉirinn. Deirtear sa Leabhar Muimhneach faoi Sheán mac Thomáis mhic Mhuiris mhic Ghearailt: 'Seaán ba sine don chloinn / 's nárbh fhearr file re foghluim,/ céd Iarla Laighean dar leam / daighfhear ba cialldha coingheall'.[13] Sa chéad leath den 14ú haois bhí aighneas binibeach idir athair Ghearóid, Muiris, agus Arnold le Poer, seneschal Hugh Despenser i gCill Chainnigh. Is cosúil gur thug le Poer 'rymour' ar Mhuiris, ceann de na maslaí a ba mhó a d'fhéadfaí a thabhairt ar dhuine a raibh sé de dhualgas air cultúr na nGall a chur i bhfeidhm sna háiteanna sin a bhí gafa ag an choróin agus inar chóir go rithfeadh cairt an rí.[14] Ainneoin a bhrúidiúla agus a choscraí a chaith sé lena chuid naimhde sna cathanna iomadúla a throid sé, dealraíonn sé go raibh clú na filíochta ar Mhuiris, mar a léiríonn *Proverba Comitis Desmoniae*, dán Fraincíse a leagtar air.[15] Chomh maith leis sin, rinne sé pátrúnacht ar an fhile Gaeilge a ba mhó le rá ina linn, mar atá, Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh, mar a chruthaíonn na dánta atá ar marthain ó Ghofraidh dá mhic, Muiris agus Gearóid.

 Anois tráth an charadraidh

Is léir ón chuntas gairid seo ar chúlra Ghearóid nach ábhar iontais é dá mbeadh sé i gcás idir dhá chomhairle faoina ghaol lena chairde Gael. Tá dán suntasach sa Duanaire a dhéanann an téama seo a láimhseáil go hionraice agus go sofaisticiúil. Dán is ea é nár tugadh a cheart féin fós dó sa litríocht scolártha.[16] Ar feadh m'eolais, is é an dán is túisce é, b'fhéidir an t-aon dán amháin dáiríre, ó am na Gabhála anuas go dtí athghábháil na dTúdórach ina bhfaightear léargas íogaireach ar intinn fhir chumhachtaigh de chuid na nGall-Ghael ar an dílseacht ghabhlach a bhí i réim sa tír ag an am.

Deir an file gur leasc leis cur i gcoinne a chomharsanna agus a chairde Gael i gCúige Mumhan agus fógraíonn sé go bhfuil an t-am ann ag cairde na snaidhmeanna cairdis atá eatarthu a chomhlíonadh agus a bhuanú. Is mór an méid atá gnóthaithe aige féin i ngeall ar a chuid cairde agus tá sé buíoch díobh ar a shon sin:[17]

> Anois tráth an charadraidh
> do chomhall dona cairdibh;
> gach cara 'gar ghabhamair,
> gabhadh linn luach ar gcairdis.
>
> *(Now is the time for friends to fulfil alliances; let all my friends accept due reward for our friendship.)*
>
> Buidheach sinn dá bhfuaramar
> fós do thoradh ar gcairde;
> gidheadh is é a bhuanughadh
> ní is córa dona cairdibh.
>
> *(I am grateful for what has been bestowed on me on account of my friends; ergo, the proper thing to do is to cement friendship.)*

I ngeall ar dhlúithe a chairdis leis na Gaeil, tá amhras ar na Gaill agus na Gall-Ghaeil faoina dhílseacht don rí agus don choróin. Tá na Sasanaigh á lochtú mar nár chuir sé in éadan na nGael níos mó ná mar a chuir sé in éadan na nGall. Mar sin, chun é féin a chosaint, tá sé tar éis ucht a thabhairt ar 'fhéin Ghaodhal':

An Fhilíocht a Leagtar ar Ghearóid Iarla i Leabhar Fhear Maí

Le coitchinne ar gcaradraidh
atáid Gaill agam aoradh,
gurub i ndóigh mh'anacail
thugas ucht ar fhéin Ghaodhal.

*(On account of the closeness of our friendship the Gaill are
reviling me; I have therefore moved against the Gaeil in
order to protect myself.)*

Do lidhfidís Saxanaigh
orainn i dtíorthaibh falaigh:
nach romhó do thargamair
ar Ghaoidhealaibh ná ar Ghallaibh.

*(The English have been pointing the finger of accusation at
me in secret places: that my attacks againt the Gaeil have
not been greater than those against the Gaill.)*

Mionnaíonn sé ar 'thír na nÉireannach' nach rachadh sé in
éadan na nGael ach gurbh é go raibh de dhualgas air a bheith
umhal don rí: níl neart aige air ach cur in éadan a chairde Gael mar
go bhfuil faitíos agus eagla air roimh fhearg rí Shasana. B'fhearr
leis a bheith ina dteannta siúd, is cuma cé mar a mhothaíonn siad
ina thaobh, ná bheith ina phríosúnach ag an rí i Londain. Ina
dhiaidh sin, cad chuige a mbeadh sé dá lagú féin faoinar thuit de
thiarnaí Laighneacha Gael leis muna n-imreodh a chairde Gael
díoltas air. Ní dhearna sé ariamh aon rud a bhrisfeadh an cumann
idir é féin agus a fhíor-chairde agus is cinnte nach loicfeadh a chara
Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh ar an dlúth-chairdeas atá eatarthu:[18]

Fuilngim tír na nÉireannach
nach rachainn i gceann Ghaoidheal
mina tíosadh éigeantas
ó ríogh Shaxan dom laoidheadh.

*(I swear by the land of Ireland that I would not attack the
Gaeil if an order were not to come from the King of Saxons
urging me to do so.)*

Comhairle do cheanglamar,
giodh di tháinig ar mbascadh:
cur i gceann ar ndearbhcharad
d'eagla fheirge ríogh Shaxan.

(I have come to a firm decision even it has brought about my ruin: to wage war on my true friends for fear of the king's great rage.)

Fearr liom bheith 'gam bhráithreachaibh
giodh créad[19] a n-inntinn umainn,
ná beith a gcóir bhráighdeanais
ag ríogh Shaxan i Lunainn.

(Better to make war on my Gaelic brothers no matter what they may think of me, better this than being in London, a prisoner of the king.)

Créad fá mbeinn dom mhíochomas –
fiarfóchaidh mé dom chairdibh –
mina dearndaois díoghaltas
inar thuit liom do Laighnibh?

(Why should I disempower myself I ask my friends – bear in mind that they have not sought to revenge the Leinstermen who fell by my hand.)

Atú ar bhreith mo dhearbhcharad;
fuilngim a bhfinné oram;
orra riamh nocha ndearnamar
ní do scaoilfeadh ar gcomann.
        An.

(I am to be judged by my loyal friends; they are my witness; I have never done anything which would sever our friendship.)

Go bhfios dom, faightear an chéad tagairt sa bhairdne anseo don fhocal 'Éireannach' chun an dá chine, idir Ghaeil agus Angla-Normanaigh araon, a chlúdach. Tugann an file le fios go bhfuil comh-fhéiniúlacht de shaghas ann idir an dá chine atá bunaithe ar dhílseacht

don tír a bhfuil siad beirt lonnaithe inti agus ar an chairdeas atá eatarthu. Tá a ghrá don tír mar aonad fisiciúil – grá dá aibhneacha go speisialta agus don dúlra i gcoitinne – agus grá dá litríocht dhúchais agus dá cultúr, tá an grá sin léirithe go paiteanta fud fad an chnuasaigh.[20] Níos moille anonn sa 16ú agus sa 17ú haois, rinne cuid de na filí iarracht an nasc idir na sean-Ghaill Chaitliceacha (na hAngla-Normanaigh) agus na Gaeil a fhorbairt agus a dhaingniú chun féiniúlacht chomónta a chruthú, féiniúlacht a bhí éagsúil le féiniúlacht na Nua-Ghall.[21] Agus ar dhóigh éigin, ní hiontas ró-mhór é go bhfaighfí a leithéid i bhfilíocht a leagtar ar Ghearóid nuair a chuimhnítear ar an bheart a bhí idir lámha ag a athair Gall-Ghaeil agus Gaeil a thabhairt le chéile i ríochas úr, neamhspleách ar choróin Shasana.

A Ghearóid, *déana mo dháil*

Tá dán ag Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh do Ghearóid, mar atá *A Ghearóid, déana mo dháil*,[22] ina léirítear smaointe atá an-chosúil leo seo in *Anois tráth an charadraidh*. Tá léirithe ag an Ollamh Mícheál Mac Craith go bhfuil seans ann go raibh athair Ghearóid, Muiris, i bhfeirg le Gofraidh i ngeall ar dhánta molta a bheith cumtha aige ní hamháin dó féin ach do thaoisigh Ghaelacha chomh maith, agus go raibh sé ag maíomh nach raibh an file iomlán dílis dó. Sa dán seo baineann Gofraidh úsáid as an leanbh óg Gearóid Iarla mar eadránaí idir é féin agus Muiris chun achasán sin na mídhílseachta a fhreagairt. Tá apalóg sa dán ina gcuirtear síos ar dhílseacht a mhná chéile don seanfhear Fionntan agus is dóigh le Mac Craith go mb'fhéidir gur cineál freagra ar an apalóg seo atá sa dán chlúiteach *Mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh*, dán frithbhanda sa leagan mar atá sé tar éis teacht anuas chugainn i Leabhar an Déin: caitheann sé achasán ar na mná faoi bheith mídhílis.

Tá cáil ar an chuid sin de dhán Ghofraidh ina míníonn sé a dhílseacht ghabhlach, rud atá ag teacht go han-mhaith leis an ionramháil a dhéantar ar an ábhar sa dán *Anois tráth an charadraidh*:

> Dhá chineadh dá gcumthar dán
> i gcrích Éireann na n-uarán
> na Gaoidhil-se ag boing re bladh
> is Goill bhraoininse Breatan.

> I ndán na nGall gealltar linn
> Gaoidhil d'ionnarba a hÉirinn;
> Goill do shraoineadh tar sál sair
> i ndán na nGaoidheal gealltair.
>
> Na Gaill is Gaoidhil Bhanbha
> fa seach ré hucht th'agallmha;
> is tú ceann an dá chineadh,
> geall red chlú ní cuirfidhear.[23]

Ní hé amháin go bhfuil Mac Craith a mhaíomh macallaí de dhán Ghofraidh a bheith le brath ar *Mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh*, maíonn sé ar a bharr sin go bhfuil 'spior spear' déanta ann den argóint sa dán eile.[24]

Tá tuilleadh dánta sa Duanaire a léiríonn géar-chosúlachtaí le dánta eile. An buntéama céanna ar bhás a mná céile, agus cuid mhór den fhriotal chéanna, atá sna dánta *Aislingthe do chonnacsa* (Duan. XXI) agus an dán cáiliúil le Muiríoch Albanach Ó Dálaigh *M'anam do sgar riomsa a-raoir*. Féach, mar shampla, an fhoclaíocht seo a leanas: *M'anam do sgar riomsa a-raoir* (Muiríoch): *Mar do scar sé mh'anamsa riom féin is mé im bheathaidh* (Gearóid); '*is í ceirtleath m'anma í*' a deir Muiríoch agus deir Gearóid gur baineadh a *cheirtleath* as nuair a bhásaigh a bhean. Foirmle choitianta shioctha ab ea í seo i litríocht na Meánaoiseanna agus bhí aos dána na Gaeilge an-tógtha leis mar théama.[25] Ba dhoiligh a chruthú ar an bhonn sin amháin go raibh aithris á déanamh ag file an Duanaire ar dhán Mhuirígh. Tá cosúlachtaí móra eile idir an dá dhán, áfach, agus níl sé as an áireamh go bhfuil aithris i gceist anseo: bhí cáil ar Mhuiríoch i measc na bhfilí a tháinig ina dhiaidh.

Scéal Aodha mhic ríogh Chonnacht

Bhí an-dúil ag file an Duanaire i scéalta a bhain le mídhílseacht na mban, rud atá ag teacht leis an léamh ar *Mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh* thuas, agus bhí sé breá eolach ar sheánra na nAitheda ('Elopements'), na sean-scéalta a raibh an téama seo iontu. Seachas na hAitheda a luann sé atá le fáil i liostaí na scéalta, tá tagairt aige do chuid mhór scéalta agus eachtraí eile den chineál céanna. Is sa dán *Imthigh uaim, a theachtaire* (Duan. XXIX) atá an chuid is mó de na tagairtí seo aige. Tá tagairt an-spéisiúil sa dán seo do 'scéal beag tharla ar mh'aire-se' – *scéal Aodha*

mhic ríogh Chonnacht (rann 3). Thuairimeoinn gurb é an duine atá i gceist aige anseo ná Aodh mac Thoirdhealbhaigh Uí Chonchubhair a maraíodh sa bhliain 1356, is é sin le rá gur tagairt is ea í seo d'eachtra chomhaimseartha le saolréim Ghearóid. Mharaigh Donnchadh Carrach Ó Ceallaigh Aodh le tréan díoltais i ngeall ar gur éalaigh sé lena bhean agus chum Seaán Ó Clumháin marbhna coscrach ar an taoiseach marbh, mar atá, *Leasaighthear libh léine an ríogh*,[26] dán atá an-ghar i dtaca le meon, téama agus friotal de le marbhna Ghearóid ar mharú Chormaic mhic Dhiarmada Mhic Carthaigh i 1388 – *A léine mhic Dhiarmada* (Duan. XXVII).[27] Baineann an dá fhile úsáid as léine an duine mhairbh chun é a chaoineadh. I ndán Ghearóid, tugann an file le fios go bhfuil léine fhuilteach an fhir mhairbh ag a bhean Mór agus go gcuireann sé brón as cuimse uirthi agus ar an fhile a bheith ag breathnú air. Bhí a leithéid chéanna léine ag máthair Chormaic nuair a maraíodh a athair Diarmaid, agus ag Gráinne nuair a maraíodh Diarmaid Ó Duibhne. I ndán Uí Chlumháin, iarrtar ar na mná léine Aodha a chóiriú. Sa dá dhán tig osna agus domheanma ar na filí agus ar na mná nuair a amharcann siad ar léinte na laochra atá marbh.[28]

Is fíor gur ghnáth le filí an dáin dírigh aithris a dhéanamh ar shaothar na bhfilí a chuaigh rompu, ach i ngeall ar gur bhain siad úsáid as friotal agus meafair thraidisiúnta, go háirithe nuair a bhí an t-ábhar céanna idir camáin acu, tá sé deacair aithris chinnte a chruthú.[29] Os a choinne sin, tá roinnt samplaí tugtha anseo a thacódh leis an tuairim go raibh file an Duanaire tugtha go mór don aithris: treisíonn na comhthéacsanna leis an fhéidearthacht go raibh sé eolach ar dhánta faoi leith agus go raibh sé neadaithe go measartha domhain mar sin i dtraidisiún fhilíocht na mbard agus na hidirthéacsúlachta. Nuair a chuirtear san áireamh na mionsonraí ar fad atá ar eolas againn faoi Ghearóid agus faoina mhuintir agus faoi Gall-Ghaeil eile sa tréimhse seo, an bhfuil dealramh le fianaise an Duanaire go mbeadh sé gafa chomh domhain sin i ndomhan na 'rhymours' diabhalta?

Níl aon fhianaise ann ach an oiread, cuirim i gcás, gur chum aon duine dá mhuintir roimhe dánta Gaeilge a léiríonn ábaltacht agus eolas den chineál seo, go fiú más ábaltacht féin é nach bhfuil ar aon chaighdeán le saothar chuid de fhilí móra na tréimhse; níl aon fhianaise ann dáiríre gur chum aon duine dá mhuintir roimhe dánta Gaeilge ar chor ar bith.

Tá téama na dílseachta (nó na mídhílseachta) le fáil tríd síos sa Duanaire agus tá sé lárnach sa dán *Anois tráth an charadraidh*. Bhí dílseacht faoi leith ag Gearóid dá chara mór Diarmaid Mór Mac Carthaigh, tiarna Mhúscraí. Deirtear sa Leabhar Muimhneach gur ghabh Diarmaid ceannas Mhúscraí i 1353, gur chaith sé ceithre bliana déag sa tiarnas, gur mharaigh muintir Mhathghamhna in Inse Uí Raithile é, agus gur cuireadh i mainistir Ghiolla Aodha é.[30] Chiallódh sin go bhfuair sé bás i 1367. San fhoinse chéanna deirtear go raibh Cormac seacht mbliana sa tiarnas i ndiaidh dá athair bás a fháil go dtí gur maraíodh é féin le Barrachaibh i gCorcaigh agus gur adhlaiceadh é i Mainistir Ghiolla Aodha i 1374. De thairbhe go luaitear 1381 mar dháta báis Dhiarmada sna hAnnála, cheap Gearóid Mac Niocaill go raibh tuaiplis chóipeála san fhoinse seo maidir leis an dáta báis a chuirtear síos do Chormac. Mheas sé go bhfuair sé bás i 1388, ní i 1374.[31] Mar a chonaiceamar romhainn, mac le Cormac mac Domhnaill Óig Mhic Charthaigh, ab ea Diarmaid. Tugann an file 'mac Cormaic'/'mac ar gCormaic-ni' ar Dhiarmaid.[32] Is cosúil gur tháinig a mhac féin, arbh ainm dó Cormac freisin, i gcomharbacht ar Dhiarmaid sa bhliain 1367 agus gur chaith sé seacht mbliana i dtiarnas Mhúscraí gur maraíodh le muintir de Bharra i gCorcaigh é sa bhliain 1374. Adhlaiceadh Cormac freisin i mainistir Ghiolla Aodha. Bhí gaol gairid idir é féin agus Gearóid chomh maith. Tugann Gearóid 'Mac uí Dhomhnalláin' air i gceann de na dánta, rud a chuidíonn linn an gaol agus an ginealach atá i gceist a chinntiú.[33]

Ta rann molta ag Gearóid do Dhiarmaid Mac Carthaigh nó/agus do Dhiarmaid Ó Duibhne i mbunús na ndánta sa Duanaire. Is cosúil go raibh conradh de chineál éigin ann go bhfeidhmeodh Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh mar phátrún aige agus go n-íocfadh sé as na dánta a chumfadh Gearóid dó. Bhí an-luí go deo aige freisin le Diarmaid Ó Duibhne, agus thairis aon scéal eile, bhí dúil faoi leith aige i scéal Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne. Geallann sé go mbeidh rann oinigh aige do Dhiarmaid Ó Duibhne in gach dán a chumfaidh sé:

> Ó nach é seo ar gcéadadhbhar
> do mhac Cormaic rér gcuimhne,
> beidh rann ar gach éanadhmad
> uaim do Dhiarmaid Ó Duibhne.
> (Duan. XVIII: 595–98)

An Fhilíocht a Leagtar ar Ghearóid Iarla i Leabhar Fhear Maí

(Since this is not my first poem to my knowledge to the son of Cormac, I will compose a verse of every poem in honour of Diarmaid Ó Duibhne.)

Cloíonn sé lena ghealltanas a bheag nó a mhór mar tá tagairt aige do laoch mór na Fiannaíochta i dtrí cinn is fiche den tríocha dán sa Duanaire. Luann sé a laochas, a ghrá don dúlra, a chaomhchruth, a bhás, agus, ar ndóigh, gur éalaigh Gráinne leis dá deoin féin agus in ainneoin Fhinn. Tá an chomparáid idir an dá Dhiarmaid iontuigthe tríd síos sna tagairtí dóibh agus is ionann iad a bheag nó a mhór i súile an fhile. Amanta, tagrann sé dóibh san aon rann amháin, Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh sa chéad leathrann, Diarmaid Ó Duibhne sa dara ceann:

> A Dhiarmaid, a shaorchara,
> ar a ndéanaim cuid chuimhne,
> a mhian na mban aontumha
> red linn, a mhic Í Dhuibhne.
> (Duan. XVI: 547–50)[34]

Níor loic Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh ariamh fad a mhair sé ar an chonradh a bhí eatarthu:

> Céin do mhair mac Mhéig Carrthaigh
> níor bhris amhlaidh a chonghall:
> níor eitigh – is níorbh iongnadh –
> neach fá ionnmhas ar domhan.
>   O.[35]
> (Duan. IX: 347–50)

Bhí conradh fosta idir Gearóid agus Cormac, mac Dhiarmada, go n-íocfadh Cormac é ar a chuid dánta:

> Budh é so ar luach ar mo dhán:
> adeir Cormac, giodh nár soin,
> nach géabha éanadhmad uaim
> muna bhfagha a dhuais re a chois.

(These were the terms of the patronage which Cormac still has failed to meet: that any poem he took from me, he would reward it upon receipt.)

Adhmad gach uair thig anall
uaim dhó do dhíoghrais rann nglan;
bheith 'gá ndéanamh is 'gá ndíol –
is iad sin an dá dhíoth dhamh.

*(Each poem which comes from me to him will have the very best
of stanzas; to compose and to receive recompense are the two things
I crave.)*
(Duan. II: 45–52)

Cé nach bhfuil a oiread sin dánta cráifeacha leagtha ar Ghearóid,
is cosúil gur duine cráifeach ab ea é. Bhí sé an-cheanúil ar an
Mhaighdeán Mhuire, cuirim i gcás, agus is cosúil go raibh sé dílis di
i rith a shaoil. Deir sé go mbeidh rann oinigh di in gach aon dán a
chumfaidh sé, rud a dhéanann sé a bheag nó a mhór mar tá tagairt
aige di in ocht gcinn is fiche den tríocha dán sa Duanaire:

Buidheachas máthar Íosa
go dtí dhíomsa i ndán Mhuire
rann trom ar gach laoidh éadtruim
ré do-bhéarainn a buidhe.
(Duan. III: 105–08)

Móitíf choitianta is ea í i litríocht chráifeach na Meánaoiseanna go
bhfuil Críost i bhfeirg linn i ngeall ar gurbh éigean dó a oiread sin a
fhuilingt ar ár son agus is inspéise go mbaineann file an Duanaire úsáid
as téarmaíocht dhúchasach an dlí faoi mar a dhéanann filí na scol maidir
leis an íocaíocht a éilíonn Críost uainn ar a chuid créachta agus ar a bhás
ar an chrois. *Éiric* is ea é seo.[36] Íocann Muire an *éiric* nó éiríonn léi an
praghas a laghdú agus tá *cíos* dlite aici uainn dá thairbhe sin:

Madh deoin le Muire máthair
budh bheag gábhaidh na ndaoine,
giodh trom leo uile a éiric
díol a héinMhic san Aoine. N.b.m.d. Chormac.
(Duan. I: 25–28)

Dálfaidh Muire, máthair Dé,
mo bheith di rem ré fá chuing;

> féich 'gá ndíochur di do ghnáth
> ós di tháinig táth gach fuinn.
> > Cuin. d.

Bealach amháin chun an cíos seo a aisíoc is ea trí véarsa oinigh a thairiscint di ina chuid dánta:

> Ag so, a Mhuire, dhuit mo chíos;
> ullamh mé dá íoc do ghnáth;
> rann iarchomhairc ar gach laoidh
> tabhair dot aoidh …
> (Duan. XXVI: 829–32)

Falsaíocht

Rinneadh trácht thuas ar dhá véarsa as dán ina gcuireann Gearóid a chuid feirge in iúl go paiseanta le Cormac mac Carthaigh mar gur loic sé ar an chonradh eatarthu, ní hionann agus Gearóid a chomhlíon cuid s'aigesean den mhargadh.[37] Déanann John Minehane tagairt do na véarsaí sa dán seo atá 'mar a bheadh spadhar neirbhíseach ar tí léim den leathanach' (*a few extraordinary verses where the agitated nerves nearly leap off the page*):[38]

> Cuin dhíolfas Cormac mo dhán,[39]
> nó an meiste so do rádh ris?
> i bhfus dhíolfas sinn fá ar mbreith?
> nó an mbéara mhé leis dá thigh?

> (*When will Cormac pay for my poem? Or must I remind him he ought to pay? Will he reward me here for my labours? Or to his house must I take my way?*)

> Nó an ndingne comhairle a mhná,
> ós í nach gcuirfe i gcás crodh?
> an d'ionnmhas dhíolfas mo dhuais,
> nó an do bhuaibh, nó an do scor?

> (*Or will he take the advice of his wife who for mere wealth has never a heed? Is it with gold he will reward me or maybe with cows, or a well-bred steed?*)

Nó an anabh re a dhul ar creich?
nó an gcuirfe mhé i leith a mhaor?
nó an fearrde m'aire rú a ndís?
nó cia dhíobh ré dtiobhar taobh?

(Or should I wait until he goes on a raid? Or will he straight for his steward send? Or would I best have a word with them both? Or on which one can I depend?)

Is dóigh le Minehane nach féidir a chreidbheáil go scríobhfadh iarla agus tiarna feodach a leithéid seo do dhuine níos ísle gradaim ná é féin:

Is dochreidte gur tháinig a leithéid ó pheann aon Iarla ar Dheasmhumhain, gan trácht air mar Leasrí. Níl anseo ach ceann amháin den iomad nóta contráilte i 'ndánta Ghearóid Iarla'. Is ionann is cinnte gur falsaíocht iad, cinn a rinneadh agus é beo. Is rí-dhócha gur file amháin a cheap iad, duine faoi chonradh ag Carthaigh Mhúscraí …

Caithfidh go ndeachaigh Gearóid Iarla i bhfeidhm ar shamhlaíocht na nÉireannach lena linn, daoine a bhraithfeadh ann leathchara agus leathnamhaid, leatheachtrannach agus leath-Éireannach, Dhealródh na dánta bréige úd a bheith ina n-iarracht ar é a mhíniú i dtéarmaí Gaelacha. Gan dabht tá siad bunaithe ar nithe a tharla, lena bheo, sin nó ar nithe ar léirigh sé taitneamh dóibh.[40]

Ní féidir a bheith lánchinnte, mar sin, de réir Minehane, gurbh é Gearóid a chum na dánta seo sa Duanaire. Nós sean-bhunaithe is ea é dánta, scéalta, lamhscríbhinní, taisí agus saothair ealaíne a leagan ar phearsain cháiliúla atá tar éis dul i bhfeidhm ar shamhlaíocht na ndaoine nó a bhfuil clú faoi leith bainte amach acu mar scríbhneoirí nó ealaíontóirí cumasacha. Bhí a leithéid seo falsaíochta an-choitianta sna Meánaoiseanna agus bhí sé chun tosaigh go mór nuair a bhí Gearóid suas.[41] Is ar mhaithe le híocaíocht go minic, ach ní i gcónaí, a dhéantaí na saothair bhréige. Go minic, bhí gaois agus spioradáltacht as an choitiantacht ag baint leis na daoine ar leagadh na saothair seo orthu,

leithéidí Colm Cille, mar shampla. Amanta bhí buanna draíochta acu agus bhí de bhua acu go dtiocfadh leo crot a athrú sa tslí go mairfeadh siad tríd saolta fada agus go gcaomhnódh siad traidisiún agus seanchas na n-aoiseanna a bhí imithe thart, leithéidí Fionntan mac Bóchna, Túán mac Cairill, Amairgein, Oisín, nó Suibne Geilt.[42] Is iomaí dán Gaeilge a leagtar orthu seo; i dtaca le Gearóid de, ba phearsa speisialta é fosta, duine a raibh draíocht ag baint leis sa traidisiún béil, duine a bhí ábalta a chrot a athrú chomh maith.[43] Is duine é atá ar an táirseach idir dhá dhomhan agus, cuid mhór de na dánta a leagtar air sa Duanaire, léiríonn siad fear a raibh saol breá laochúil comrádúil aige tráth ach atá anois ar imeall an tsaoil ina dhuine tréigthe, macasamhail Oisín agus Suibne Geilt. Níl fágtha aige ach coimhthiolán beag bídeach dlúthchairde a dtig leis a bheith ag brath orthu – an dá Dhiarmaid, a bhean, agus an Mhaighdeán Mhuire. Tá beirt acu seo marbh le fada agus faigheann an bheirt eile bás agus é fós ina bheatha; seachas an Mhaighdean Mhuire agus a bhean féin, feallann na mná air agus feallann Cormac mac Carthaigh air chomh maith.

Tá téama na scarúna, mar aon leis an fhriotal a ghabhann leis go minic, le mothú go láidir ar dhánta an Duanaire. Sainchomhartha den chineál filíochta a leagtar ar na pearsain a mhaireann i bhfad i ndiaidh a gcomrádaithe, nó atá ar deoraíocht, is ea an téama seo; léirítear sna dánta aiféaltas faoin am atá caite agus faoin staid bhrónach ina bhfuil siad faoi láthair. Bíonn siad ag tnúth leis an bhaile agus leis na háiteanna a ghnáthaíodh siad sa seanam. Cothaíonn seo grá don dúlra, don áit logánta, don réigiún, agus, i gcás Ghearóid, don tír, rud a bhí fíor chomh maith i dtaca leo siúd a bhí ar deoraíocht thar sáile, macasamhail Colm Cille.[44] Téama mór de chuid na Fiannaíochta ab ea an téama seo agus is léir go ndeachaigh an traidisiún sin go mór i bhfeidhm ar fhile an Duanaire. Feictear é go láidir sna dánta a chum sé agus é i mbraighdeanas ag Brian Ó Briain, iad siúd ar an dúlra, ar aibhneacha na hÉireann, agus ar chailleacha. Féach, mar shampla, Dán VII, ina bhfuil cuid mhór de na sainchomharthaí a fhaightear san Fhiannaíocht. Cuireann an file síos ar 'na trí ceoil' a chluineann sé agus é i mbraighdeanas i nInnse an Laoigh i bparóiste Chill an Dísirt i gCo. an Chláir, mar atá, 'cruit Í Bhriain, faoidh chluig Innse, agus nuall na lice'. Cé gur breá leis na ceolta seo, ní bheadh sé dá dheoin féin ach seal gairid san áit: tá sé scartha óna chomrádaithe féin ar nós

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Oisín i ndiaidh na bhFiann, agus fiafraíonn sé: 'Cuin tiocfas Diarmaid dom fhios'. I ndán XX deir sé: 'ní mhaireann dom fhine féin/neach do bhéaradh spéis im dháil', agus 'Is mé an t-iarla óg/do-gheibh póg ó mhnáibh ag ól': bhí an t-am ann a mbeadh comhluadar a sháith aige agus an saol ar a sháimhín.

Féach thíos an tsúil siar, nóta an ologóin, agus an meon agus an friotal céanna sa Duanaire agus atá le fáil sna laoithe Fiannaíochta:

> Ach, a Dhaoil!
> giodh iomdha deaghlaoch red taobh
> do bheirim briathar gan bhréig
> a bhfuil idir Fhéil is Daoil.

> Uch! Uch! A Bheinn Ghulban ghuirt
> an feinidh do thuit red taoibh,
> gile ná cubhar a chorp
> duibhe folt dath cacha daoil.
> (Duan. XXIII)

> Faoídh cluig do-chúala a nDruim Dheirg[45]
> mar a ndéndis in Fian seilg,
> ní chúala riam roime soin
> guth cluig a fforaoís fhíadhaigh.
> (*Duanaire Finn* LIII: véarsa 1)[46]

> Dubhach sin a Bheann Ghúalann,
> a bheand na núabharr ccruthach,
> a n-aimsir in Tailghinn
> dob álainn bheith ar do mhullach.
> (*Duanaire Finn* LXVIII: véarsa 1)[47]

> An úairsin a Bheann Ghúalann
> nír ffúath linn fad tháobhaibh,
> anocht is tearc mo charaid,
> och ní mhairit mo ghaolta.
> (*Duanaire Finn* LXVIII: véarsa 6)

> As mé Caoilte am aonar
> ní hiongnad mo bheit[h] co cumthach

> Fionn is Osgar is Diarmaid
> 's 'na ndeaghaid[h] ataim go Dubach.
>   Dubach.
> (*Duanaire Finn* LXVIII: véarsa 106)

CRÍOCH

Is léir go raibh Gearóid go mór faoi thionchar an chultúir Ghaelaigh agus d'fhéadfadh sé gurbh é féin a chum na dánta sa Duanaire. Níor thángthas ar aon rud iontu maidir lena shaolréim atá bunoscionn le fianaise foinsí eile. Tá ráite ag an fhile go soiléir sa dán *Ort do chonghall, a Chormaic* gur mac de chuid chlann Ghearailt é: 'agus is mise, a Chormaic/mac codhnaigh chloinne Gearailt' (Duan. IX: 337–38). Más dánta bréige iad, ar ndóigh, bheadh pearsa an Iarla ionchollaithe ag an fhile agus d'fhéadfadh sé a leithéid a rá *à la* Gearóid. Rud eile is ea go mbaintear úsáid as deismireacht an chúrfá nó an dúnadh i roinnt dánta sa Duanaire: cuireann an chéad líne i gcuid de na dánta críoch le cuid de na véarsaí eile (Duan. XI, XII, XIII, XXII) agus tá an rud céanna amhlaidh freisin i gcás an dáin *Mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh*.[48]

    Ina theannta sin, ón eolas atá againn ar a shaol agus ar a chúlra, tá sé ionann is cinnte go raibh Gaeilge ar a thoil aige. I measc rudaí eile, iníon le Conchubhar Ó Briain (†1268), Sláine, ab ea a sheanmháthair ar thaobh a mháthar; agus mar a chonaic muid romhainn, chaith sé bliain go leith nó mar sin i mbraighdeanas ag Brian Ó Briain, chuir sé a mhac James ar altramas chuige, agus bhí clú ar a iníon Katherine go raibh sí imithe le nósanna na nGael. Bíodh sin mar atá, léirítear sna dánta a oiread sin doimhneachta i mbrainsí éagsúla den traidisiún dúchasach, go háirithe eolas ar thraidisiún an bhairdne agus traidisiún na hidirthéacsúlachta, agus go bhfuil sé réasúnta iontaofacht Ghearóid mar údar a cheistiú. Is é an trua é nár fhág sé leabharlann ina dhiaidh, nó má d'fhág, nár caomhnaíodh í.

    Cheapfainn gurb é an file céanna a chum na dánta uile sa Duanaire mar tá tagairt i mbeagnach gach dán do dhuine amháin nó níos mó de na pearsain seo a leanas – an Mhaighdeán Mhuire, Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh/Diarmaid Ó Duibhne, Cormac Mac Carthaigh.[49] Tá na tagairtí seo mar a beadh síniú an údair ann. Cá bith údar a chum na dánta seo a bhfuil an síniú le fáil iontu, caithfidh amhras a bheith ann

arbh é an duine céanna a chum dánta eile a leagtar ar Ghearóid muna bhfuil a leithéid de rannta tiomnaithe iontu.[50] Ar feadh m'eolais níl aon tagairt i gcóip ar bith den dán cháiliúil *Mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh* do cheachtar de na pearsain thuasluaite, rud a chaitheann amhras ar an tuiscint gurbh é an duine céanna a chum an dán seo agus na cinn sa Duanaire. Ar an taobh eile den scéal, ní mór na cosúlachtaí atá idir *Mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh* sa Duanaire agus *A Ghearóid, déana mo dháil* le Gofraidh Fionn, mar aon le deismireachtaí eile stíle agus ábhair ar nós an chúrfá agus an téama frithbhanda, a chur sa mheá sular féidir teacht ar réiteach na ceiste seo.

Seans gur file a bhí ar conradh ag muintir Mhic Charthaigh Mhúscraí a chum na dánta sa Duanaire, file a fuair íocaíocht ar a son ó Dhiarmaid Mac Carthaigh agus amanta óna mhac Cormac Mac Carthaigh. D'fhéadfaí a mhaíomh go mbaineann an t-údar úsáid as an chonsaeit idir an taoiseach agus an file – an file mar leannán an taoisigh – chun Diarmaid agus muintir Mhic Charthaigh a mhóradh os cionn gach rítheaghlach eile i gCúige Mumhan.[51] Ba dheacair seift níos fearr a cheapadh le sin a chur i gcrích ná príomh-ghiúistis na hÉireann agus an fear a ba chumhachtaí in Éirinn tráth a bheith mar íochtarán géilliúil ag taoisigh Mhic Charthaigh Mhúscraí. Ina dhiaidh sin, ainneoin go bhfuil fianaise mhealltach ann a chaitheann amhras ar Gearóid Iarla mar údar na ndánta seo, tá tuilleadh taighde le déanamh fós orthu agus ar dhánta Leabhar Dhéan an Leasa Mhóir sular féidir a rá nárbh é a chum iad.

Nótaí

1 'Ní fhéadfadh aon amhras a bheith ann, dar liom, ná gur chum file fir amháin, ar a laghad, san 14ú haois in Éirinn, liricí éadroma liteartha grá a bhí gaolmhar lena raibh á gcumadh i measc na n-uaisle sa bhFrainc agus i Sasana lena linn', Seán Ó Tuama, *An Grá i bhFilíocht na nUaisle* (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar, 1988), 12; féach freisin Cathal Ó Háinle, 'Na Dánta Grá', *Léachtaí Cholm Cille VI: An Grá i Litríocht na Gaeilge* (1975), 32–58 (38); athchló, *Promhadh Pinn* (Má Nuad: An Sagart, 1978), 10–36, 16; Mícheál Mac Craith, *Lorg na hIasachta ar na Dánta Grá* (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar, 1989), 201, nóta 70. Tá na dánta in eagar ag Gearóid Mac Niocaill i *Studia Hibernica*, 3 (1967), 7–59 (Duan. uaidh seo amach).

2 Duan., 8.

3 Ó Háinle, 'Na Dánta Grá'.

4 William Gillies, 'Courtly and satiric verse in the Book of the Dean of Lismore', *Scottish Studies*, 21 (1977), 35–53.

5 Is féidir na dánta sa Duanaire a rangú ar dhóigheanna éagsúla – de réir téamaí, mar shampla: *an Pholaitíocht* (5); *Pátrúnacht agus Filíocht* (2, 9, 12, 13, 18); *Braighdeanas ag Ó Briain* (6, 7, 20); *an Timpeallacht* (7, 8, 23, 28); *an Creideamh* (3, 9); *Mídhílseacht na mBan* (11, 15, 25, 29); *an Grá* (10, 14, 16, 17, 26, 30); *Aislingí* (14, 21); *Marbhnaí* (21, 27).

6 Ach féach John Minehane, 'Gearóid Iarla', *An Droichead/The Bridge* (Earrach/Spring, 1988), 22–31.

7 Ní dhéanfar téama an ghrá ná tionchar na hiasachta ar na dánta a phlé sa pháipéar seo ach amháin sa mhéid a bhfuil baint acu le príomhaidhmeanna na hoibre. Féach na saothair a luaitear i nóta 1 thuas maidir leis na ceisteanna seo.

8 James Lydon, *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, The Gill History of Ireland, 6 (Baile Átha Cliath: Gill and Macmillan, 1973), 57.

9 Lydon, *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, 84–85.

10 Lydon, *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, 94–97.

11 Lydon, *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, 55–56.

12 *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh/The Triumphs of Turlough*, in eag. ag Standish Hayes O'Grady, Sgríbhinní Gaedhilge, 26 agus 27 (Baile Átha Cliath: ITS, 1929), iml. 1, 162–67, iml. 2, 172–77; *Poems on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir and Dunboyne (AD 1400–1650)*, in eag. ag James Carney (Baile Átha Cliath: DIAS, 1945), ix–xii; Kenneth Nichols, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages*, The Gill History of Ireland, 4 (Baile Átha Cliath: Gill and Macmillan, 1972), 75–76, 163.

13 Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach* (Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtais, 1940), 286.

14 Lydon, *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, 54.

15 Féach St. John D. Seymour, *Anglo-Irish Literature 1200–1582* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), 91–93. Ní cinnte cé acu an é Muiris féin a chum na *Proverbia* nó gur leagadh air iad i ngeall ar an luí a bhí aige leis an fhilíocht. Meastar gur scríobhadh an lámhscríbhinn a bhfuil siad ann, Harley 913, idir 1308 agus 1315 nó *c.* 1325. Féach Mac Craith, *Lorg na hIasachta*, 200–01, le haghaidh tuilleadh tagairtí.

16 Féach, áfach, Minehane, 'Gearóid Iarla'.

17 Is liomsa na haistriúcháin Bhéarla ar na blúirí thíos muna dtugtar a mhalairt le fios.

18 *Coimhéalaidh a charadradh/damhsa dearbhchara Diarmaid …*. (My true friend Diarmaid will fulfil his ties of friendship with me ….).

19 Ní thuigim cad chuige ar athraigh Mac Niocaill 'c*ret*' na lámhscríbhinne go 'creach'. B'fhéidir gur botún cló atá ann. Féach Duan., lth 18.

20 Féach, mar shampla, *Ionmhain liom aibhne Éireann*, Dán VIII, lgh 23–25.

21 Féach Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Cúlra is tábhacht an dáin *A leabhráin ainmnighthear d'Aodh*', *Celtica*, 21 (1990), 402–16, ar an ábhar seo,

go háirithe an plé aige ar leathnú réimse bhrí an téarma *Éireannach* sna meánaoiseanna. B'ionann *Éireannach* agus *Gael* ar dtús, brí atá le fáil i gcónaí, mar shampla, i saothar Thaidhg Dhaill Uí Uiginn, in eag. ag Eleanor Knott, 2 iml., Sgríbhinní Gaedhilge, 22 agus 23 (Londain: ITS, 1922, 1926), dán 16, *D'fhior chogaidh comhailtear síothcháin*, iml. I, 108–19: *Muidhfidh ainnséin ar fhóir Saxan / ré síol Ghaoidhil ghéirreannaigh / nách bia do shíor ón ágh d'fhógra / ós chlár Fhódla acht Éireannaigh* (118, véarsa 68).

22 *Dioghluim Dána*, in eag. ag Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith (Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1938), 201–06 (dán 67).

23 *Dioghluim Dána*, 206. Féach chomh maith *Iongaibh thú orm, a Iarla*, dán eile le Gofraidh Fionn do Ghearóid ina gcuireann an file a fhearg in iúl don Iarla faoin chreach a rinne buíon saighdiúirí dá chuid ar arbhar an fhile (*Dioghluim Dána*, 338–44 (dán 101)). Ní bhfuair an file aon íocaíocht ó Ghearóid faoin fheall agus faoin mhasla a rinneadh air agus tá an lucht foghla i dtreise i gcónaí i dteach an Iarla. Deir an file nach ndearna sé aimhleas ar Ghael ná ar Ghall agus nár chóir go mbeadh sé faoi dhímheas: *Aimhleas ar Ghaoidheal ná ar Ghall / do mhuin diomdha ní dhearnsam; / is díleas inn dá gach fhior; / sinn fa dhímheas níor dligheadh* (341: 32).

24 Mac Craith, *Lorg na hIasachta*, 57.

25 Tagrann an fhoirmle (*etarscarad/scarad cuirp et anim*) seo go minic don scaradh de réir na feallsúnachta a tharlaíonn idir anam agus corp nuair a fhaigheann duine bás agus tá sé an-choitianta mar sin i scríbhinní cráifeacha. Féach, mar shampla, Wb. 15c12, 15c15, SR 1350, PH 6888 etc. Tagann sé chun cinn fud fad na litríochta ina dhiaidh sin chun an bás a chur in iúl agus leathnaíonn amach go litríocht a bhaineann le comrádaíocht, le cairdeas, agus, ar ndóigh, le cúrsaí grá chun léiriú a thabhairt ar staid intinne an duine a chailleann a chara nó a leannán nó a scarann a chara nó a ghrá geal uaidh; '⁊ ba scarad cuirp re hanmain a scarad', a deirtear faoi scarúint Oisín agus Caílte. Féach *Stories from the Acallam*, in eag. ag Myles Dillon, Medieval and Modern Irish Series, 23 (Baile Átha Cliath: DIAS, 1970), 2, líne 49. Tá an duine fágtha folamh, ina leathdhuine, mar spiorad ar foluain san aer. Is contrárthacht é: cé go maireann sé, níl sé ann. Féach go mbaineann file an Duanaire agus Muiríoch Albanach úsáid as an fhriotal céanna le Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn ina mharbhna a scríobhadh *c.* 1444 – *Dá bhrághaid uaim i nInis* – ar Ghráinne iníon Mhaoilsheachlainn Uí Cheallaigh (†1440) agus a fear céile, Tadhg (mac Mathghamhna) Ó Briain (†1444). Cuireadh san aon uaigh amháin iad agus deir an file: *Gé a-tú beo ní fhoilim ann / Ua Mathghamhna ó nach marann / mo sheise mná ó nach mair / a-tá meise gan mharthain* (*Aithdhioghluim Dána*, in eag. ag Lambert McKenna, 2 iml., Sgríbhinní Gaedhilge, 37 agus 38 (Baile Átha Cliath: ITS, 1939, 1940), dán 14, véarsa 7 (iml. 1, 51–54; iml. 2, 31–33).

26 *Aithdhioghluim Dána*, dán 3, iml. 1, 6–9 agus iml. 2, 3–6).

27 Féach réamhrá eagarthóir *Aithdioghluim Dána* ar dhán Uí Chlumháin maidir le cúlra eachtra Aodh mhic Thoirdhealbhaigh. Féach fosta thíos, nóta 51.

28 Tabhair faoi deara na cosúlachtaí seo: *A ghlanléine rochorcra … do mhéadaigh a tromosna* (Duan. véarsa 2): *Léine ríogh rátha Meadhbha / ag dúsacht mo dhoimheanma* (*Aithdioghluim Dána*, véarsa 3); *mo chraidhe do throthlaighis / mar smuainim créachta Chormaic* (Duan. véarsa 3): *is saoth ler gcroidhibh cheana / laoch Oiligh, a ingheana* (*Aithdioghluim Dána*, véarsa 5); *an léine ag brosdadh ar mbróin / tuilleadh le toirse romhóir* (*Aithdioghluim Dána*, véarsa 6); *A shaoirléine chaomhChormaic / docair d'fhaicsin dá éise* (Duan. véarsa 4): *ná bíodh aguibh ar m'aghaidh / léine chaol Í Chonchabhair* (*Aithdioghluim Dána*). Samplaí de théama *memento mori* atá sa dá dhán. Féach Séamus M. MacAteer, 'Gearóid Iarla, poète du XIVᵉS. d'origine Normande et son oeuvre', *Études Celtiques*, 15 (1978), 577–98.

29 Féach Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Traidisiún na haithrise liteartha i bhfilíocht chlasaiceach na Gaeilge', in *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge* (Magh Nuad: An Sagart, 1997), 1–63.

30 Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, 427–28. Cheap Mac Niocaill go raibh fianaise sa Leabhar Muimhneach go bhfuair Diarmaid bás sa bhliain 1381 agus bhí sé den bharúil mar sin go raibh tuaiplis chóipeála san fhoinse seo maidir leis an dáta báis a chuirtear síos do Chormac. Mheas sé go bhfuair sé bás i 1388, ní i 1374. Mac Niocaill, 10, nóta 11. B'fhéidir nach raibh dul amú air mar tá tagairt do Dhiarmaid a bheith beo is cosúil nuair a bhí Gearóid i mbraighdeanas ag Brian Ó Briain i 1370–71. Tá 1381 tugtha ag James Carney fosta mar dháta báis Dhiarmada i 'Literature in Irish, 1169–1534', in *A New History of Ireland, II: Medieval Ireland*, in eag. ag Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 688–707 (698). Glacaim leis gur ag leanstan Mhic Niocaill a bhí sé.

31 I ndán VII: 277–80 sa Duanaire, fiafraíonn an file cá huair thiocfas Diarmaid (Mac Carthaigh) dá fhios. Bhí Gearóid ina phríosúnach ag Brian Ó Briain nuair a cumadh an dán seo. Dá réir seo, is cosúil go raibh Diarmaid beo i gcónaí i 1370–71.

32 Duan. XVII: 569 (lth 35), XVIII: 596 (lth 36).

33 Duan. IX: 335 (lth 25).

34 Amanta eile, bíonn dhá rann ann le hais a chéile macasamhail na rannta seo a leanas a chaoineann an dá Dhiarmaid atá anois imithe uaidh: *Ach, a Dhiarmaid mac an ríogh, / a ua Charrthaigh ó shíodh Bhreagh, / atá a-nocht in iomdhaidh fhuair, / is ionat do chuaidh mo chreach. A.; Uch! Uch! A Bheinn Ghulban ghuirt, / an féinidh do thuit red taoibh, / gile ná cubhar a chorp, / duibhe a fholt dath cacha daoil.A.* (Duan. XXIII: 753–60).

35 Féach freisin: *A Dhiarmaid, níor scarais-se / riom riamh, a miochair mhaordha / gur cuireadh thar h'aghaidhse / úir teampaill Ghiolla Aodha* (Duan. XVI: 543–46).

36 Féach *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh*, in eag. ag Lambert McKenna (Baile Átha Cliath: Maunsel, 1919), réamhrá.

37 Cuireann Gearóid a mhíshásamh in iúl i ndánta eile chomh maith, mar shampla: *Gé do thréigis mé ar eallach / níor bheag an ceannach duaise; / do-ghéabhthá teagh is teine / is neithe eile uainn; Mo thréigean do bo dhíochoisc / gion gub é a dhíoghail bhagraim / ní mé do bhris ar dtosach / an chonghail do bhí eadrainn* (Duan. IX: 323–30).

38 Aistriúchán Béarla le Minehane, 'Gearóid Iarla', 30. Tá an stíl cheisteach phreabach seo le fáil i ndánta eile sa Duanaire. Féach, mar shampla, Duan. I, véarsa 4: *An d'ionchas go mbead buidheach / nó an d'fhuireach ar ar ngrádh-ne / nó an do ghrádh an eich léaghaigh / do an sé in éagmais Sláine*.

39 Baineann Gofraidh Fionn úsáid as foclaíocht den chineál céanna in *Iongaibh thú orm, a Iarla*, agus é ag éileamh a chearta i ngeall ar an fheall a d'imir 'óglaigh' Ghearóid air: *Feall orm, is gan é ar séana / cuin dhíolfa nó dhíghéala / dlighidh tú a dhíol nó a dhíoghail / síodh mása dhú i ndoighníomhaibh* (*Dioghluim Dána*, 339: véarsa 14).

40 Minehane, 'Gearóid Iarla', 30–31.

41 Féach, mar shampla, Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); K. K. Ruthven, *Faking Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Nick Groom, *The Forger's Shadow: How Forgery Changed the Course of Literature* (Londain: Picador, 2001); Alfred Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-Century England* (Londain: Leabharlann Bhreatain, 2004).

42 Féach Emma Nic Cárthaigh, 'Surviving the Flood: revenants and antediluvian lore in medieval Irish texts', in *Transmission and Transformation in the Middle Ages: Texts and Contexts*, in eag. ag Kathleen Cawsey and Jason Harris (Baile Átha Cliath: Four Courts, 2007), 40–63, áit a bhfuil cur síos ar Fhionntan agus ar Thúán sa traidisiún mar aon le tagairtí de na dánta agus na saothair eile a leagtar orthu.

43 Féach Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, 'Gearóid Iarla agus an draíocht', *Scríobh*, 4 (1979), 234–59. Maidir leis an ionramháil chruthaitheach bhréagach a rinne James Macpherson ar an Fhiannaíocht san 18ú haois, féach Fiona Stafford, *The Sublime Savage. James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Dún Éideann: Edinburgh University Press, 1988) agus *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, in eag. ag Howard Gaskill (Londain: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004).

44 Féach Máire Herbert, 'Becoming an exile: Colm Cille in Middle-Irish poetry', in *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Tradition: A Festschrift for Patrick K. Ford*, in eag. ag Joseph Falaky Nagy agus Leslie Ellen Jones (Baile Átha Cliath: Four Courts, 2005), 131–40. Tá an luí seo leis an dúlra agus an áit dhúchais chun tosaigh go láidir i saothair bhréagacha eile, Macpherson agus na Highlands, Thomas Chatterton agus Briostó (féach Donald S. Taylor, *Thomas Chatterton's Art: Experiments in Imagined*

History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978)), Iolo Morganwg agus Glamorgan (féach Mary-Ann Constantine, *The Truth Against the World: Iolo Morganwg and Romantic Forgery* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007)).

45 Tá sé spéisiúil go dtosaíonn an chéad cheithre véarsa den laoi seo leis an dá líne chéanna. Féach an plé thíos ar dheismireacht an chúrfá sa Duanaire.

46 *Duanaire Finn*, Cuid II, in eag. ag Gerard Murphy, Sgríbhinní Gaedhilge, 28 (Londain: ITS, 1933), 178–83.

47 *Duanaire Finn*, II, 370–401.

48 Féach Mac Craith, *Lorg na hIasachta*, 200, n. 67. Seachas an cúrfá i *Mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh*, tá cúrfá fosta sa dán *Mairg leumas thar a each* a leagtar ar Ghearóid fosta i Leabhar Dhéan an Leasa Mhóir (cúrfá: *níl feidhm bheith ris na mnáibh*). Dán frithbhanda is ea é seo chomh maith mar atá amhlaidh freisin maidir le dán eile a leagtar air sa leabhar céanna – *Mairg a chuirfeadh geall a mnaoi* (féach *The Dean of Lismore's Book: A Selection of Ancient Gaelic Poetry*, in eag. ag William Skene and Thomas McLauchlan (Dún Éideann: Edmonston and Douglas, 1862), 68–69, 303–04. Tá na dánta seo i Leabhar an Déin, mar aon le cúpla ceann eile, ag teacht leo siúd sa Duanaire ina léirítear dearcadh íorónach i leith na mban – go bhfuil dúil acu sa ghrá collaí agus nach féidir a bheith ag brath orthu, rud atá ag teacht go breá leis an luí atá ag an údar le scéalta an fhir thréigthe a fhaightear sna hAitheda. Maidir leis an chúrfá agus an ioldhúnadh a fhaightear i gcuid mhór dánta sa Duanaire (véarsaí breise ina ndéantar an dán a dhúnadh arís agus arís eile), tá tuilleadh staidéir le déanamh orthu seo: ba cheart i staidéar den chineál seo comparáid a dhéanamh le dánta eile as tréimhse fhilíocht na mbard agus leis na laoithe Fiannaíochta. Is deismireacht an t-ioldhúnadh a théann i bhfad siar i bhfilíocht na Gaeilge. B'fhéidir go raibh tionchar éigin ag múnlaí neamhléannta an amhráin agus ag na laoithe Fiannaíochta ar na deismireachtaí seo sa Duanaire agus i Leabhar an Déin.

49 Maidir le rannta tiomnaithe chun dánta le Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird a chinntiú, féach Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'A feature of the poetry of Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird', *Éigse*, 15 (1974), 235–51; Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Poems by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird', *Celtica*, 24 (2003), 252–63; *Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir: The Poembook of Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, Lord of Fermanagh 1566–1589*, in eag. ag David Greene (Baile Átha Cliath: DIAS, 1972), xi.

50 Is ag caint ar dhánta a leagtar ar Ghearóid i Leabhar an Déin atáimid anseo. Tá dánta sa Duanaire nach bhfuil an síniú le fáil iontu ach an oiread ach tá sé ionann is cinnte gurbh é an t-údar céanna a chum iad seo agus a chum na cinn eile. Is é an rud is saoithiúla nach bhfaightear an síniú, ar feadh m'eolais, i gceann ar bith de na dánta a leagtar air i Leabhar an Déin.

51 Féach, mar shampla, an dán clúiteach le Seaán Ó Clumháin, d'Aodh (mac Eoghain) Ó Conchobhair (1293–1309), *Dorn idir dhán is dásacht*, ina bhfuil áit lárnach ag téama chonsaeit an fhile mar leannán an taoisigh: *Mé t'fhear grádha, a ghéag Eachtgha / fa mé riamh t'fhear éinleabtha / mé fear do ghualann gile* (*Dioghluim Dána*, 269–73 (dán 84)). Ba é an Seaán seo údar, nó seanathair an údair, a chum an dán *Leasaighthear léine an ríogh*, a bhfuil plé déanta air thuas.

Sitirich an Eich Iarainn ('The Neighing of the Iron Horse'):
Gaelic Perspectives on Steam Power, Railways
and Ship-building in the Nineteenth Century
Donald E. Meek

When Professor William Gillies was appointed to the Chair of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh in 1979, a tremor of excitement shook the Gaelic world. No less remarkable was the University's intention to appoint two new lecturers to assist the young Professor. I had the great good fortune to take up one of these posts in the autumn of that year, and I taught alongside Professor Gillies and the Rev. William Matheson, then Reader in Celtic, until Mr Matheson retired a year later, when we were joined by the second lecturer, Ronald Black. The 'Edinburgh Triumvirate' (as we were called) remained intact until I departed to Aberdeen in 1992. For me, the 1980s were a particularly happy and pleasant period at Edinburgh – in retrospect, a Golden Age – when the world seemed young, opportunities for creating new courses were extremely welcome, as well as exciting, and new horizons in research beckoned on every hand. Bureaucratic interventionism was hardly known, Professors still commanded their disciplines, and the Research Assessment Exercise had not been invented, though measuring-rods for academic productivity began to be fashioned ominously in the mid-1980s. In an atmosphere of liberty and equality in the David Hume Tower (where Celtic was then located), to say nothing of fraternity (and sorority) in the University Staff Club, it was a particular delight to construct and teach a range of new courses, which, inter alia, aimed to replenish the supply of academic teachers for other Departments of Celtic in Scotland. One of these courses was on nineteenth-century Gaelic literature. Professor Gillies's support for my teaching of this course, and his consistent encouragement to explore the nineteenth century from new angles, consolidated my natural interest in the period. Discussion of relevant themes, ideas and scholarly approaches – for most centuries, including the nineteenth! – was very much on the agenda of the 'Edinburgh Triumvirate' in those arcadian years.

It is indicative of my lasting delight in the exploration of the nineteenth century that, as my Valedictory Lecture, delivered at

the University of Edinburgh on 14 November 2008, I should have chosen to speak on 'The Greatest Era of the Gaels? Reassessing Gaelic cultural achievement in the nineteenth century'. I dared to argue provocatively that, in spite of massive social dislocation in the Highlands and Islands, the Gaelic people had succeeded in conquering adversity to a degree hitherto not fully acknowledged, particularly in their robust and constructive interaction with industrial developments in the Scottish Lowlands. In the course of the lecture, I referred to the significance of the industrial machine in reshaping society throughout Britain after 1800:

> In terms of general background, there is one dimension above all others which characterises the nineteenth century for the Gaels, as for the entirety of Britain. This, as Thomas Carlyle noted, was the 'Age of the Machine'. The arrival of machine technology revolutionised many of the basic ways of seeing, and interacting with, the world. The machine redrew the demographic map of Britain, setting up new centres of industrial energy, which then attracted migrant populations. The machine provided means of travel to and from these centres, by steamship and by steam train. The machine facilitated the production of endless artefacts, including books and journals and newspapers, and aided their distribution. We could go on in that vein. Let us, however, note merely two further matters of wider significance to our general theme. The first is that the machine led to the creation of what could be termed 'new communities' of workers, centred on the machine, caring for it and ensuring its efficiency, and, of course, its productivity. The second is that the record shows quite clearly that Gaels were as much to the fore as any others in these 'new communities'.[1]

Despite this, the theme of Gaels and industry has been little studied. There has been considerable study, however, of the migration of Gaels to the Lowlands of Scotland and to the cities, by scholars such as Professor Charles Withers,[2] but so far the interaction of Gaels with industry, and especially with the workshops of Clydeside, has

not been examined in any detail. We know that many Gaels came to the cities, and we think we know what they did, but, in truth, we understand only in small part how they prepared themselves for the industrial environment and how they reacted to the experience. The process of entry into the industrial world, and assimilation to its norms, has remained relatively, though not totally, obscure.

External commentators, who usually have little or no access to Gaelic sources, seem content to crunch statistics, and to refrain from putting flesh on any of the figures. Consequently, contemporary scholarship presents stick people, swirling in from the 'periphery' and assuming a somewhat emaciated and skeletal life in the industrial smog – rather like a scene from an L. S. Lowry painting, with lots of thin, bustling individuals in the foreground and tall, smoking chimneys in the background, but not much in the way of illuminating characterisation or revealing glimpses of what went on behind the scenes. Internal commentators, who do have access to Gaelic sources, have so far concentrated their attention largely on the 'social Gael' in Glasgow, in the context of Highland territorial associations and Gaelic societies. The 'political Gael' too has been studied in some depth, as has the 'ecclesiastical Gael', but to date the 'industrial Gael', and especially the Gael who tells his story in his own language, remains a surprisingly elusive figure.[3]

Study of the 'industrial Gael' has probably been retarded by broader presuppositions, as well as by lack of access to the sources. It can be presumed all too easily that Gaels, being rural people, would not have had much to say about industry, and that they were, in any case, labourers, rather than commentators. It can also be assumed, even by Gaels themselves, that little or no relevant evidence exists in Gaelic. The notion that Gaels did not discuss industrial or scientific matters in Gaelic, or put their views in writing, is remarkably pervasive. The evidence may not be plentiful – we still require to ascertain its full scale and scope – but some very significant material is, in fact, readily available to those who have a mind to ferret it out, make the effort to understand it, and piece it together.

The present chapter is very much a preliminary step towards an overview of the 'industrial Gael'. The material to hand provides samples at different points in the nineteenth century, namely the end

of the 1820s, the early 1840s, and finally the 1860s and early 1870s. This allows us to reflect on changes in subject-matter and perspective in the commentaries and voices that we hear, and the attitudes that they represent.

(1) Introducing the steam engine: 1829

In the 1820s, a clerical spokesperson for Gaelic, with a very dominant voice and great literary talent, emerged – the Rev. Dr Norman MacLeod, 'Caraid nan Gaidheal', who was a native of Morvern in Argyll, and minister of churches in Campbeltown, Campsie and latterly Glasgow (St Columba's). MacLeod was the founding father of Gaelic journals and journalism.[4] Given his professional calling, he is frequently perceived as primarily a composer of sermons, or sermonic writings, greatly influenced by the style of the Gaelic Bible. However, not only does MacLeod tackle industrial and scientific matters with considerable panache, he also commands a variety of styles, on which the influence of the Gaelic Bible is merely one among many. MacLeod's industrial and scientific concerns are at least as apparent as his homiletic, literary and political inclinations. In fact, his Gaelic writings in general are highly adventurous for their time, and his industrial and scientific essays particularly so. His first journal, *An Teachdaire Gaelach*, initiated in 1829, provided the earliest detailed prose account in Gaelic of a steamship in Highland waters – the celebrated *Maid of Morven* of 1826 – with perceptive contextual commentary on the significance of the steamship to Highland commerce and culture.[5] This well-managed composition originated in MacLeod's strong interest in the steam engine, which, in different shapes and forms, appears as a leitmotif in many of his writings in *An Teachdaire Gaelach*, but especially in those with an urban theme, aimed at providing guidance for Gaels who have recently arrived, or will soon arrive, in the cities. Factories driven by steam power, the problems of the workers, including some early 'strikes', and the allure and dangers of the urban environment, are all grist to MacLeod's didactic mill. The industrial world was new and exciting in the 1820s, but, of course, potentially dangerous and menacing for uninitiated and 'innocent' Gaels.

MacLeod's writings are often dialogues between 'stick characters',

usually an authority figure like himself, disguised under a pseudonym, and a rustic figure or two, in need of enlightenment. Sometimes, however, as in his account of the *Maid of Morven*, MacLeod employs monologue, in which a representative figure writes a letter from his city base to his wife who is waiting anxiously at home. In certain cases too, MacLeod writes explanatory essays, and such is the format of his account of the steam engine, which appeared in the third issue of *An Teachdaire Gaelach*. Its style and intent can be sampled in the following explanation of how the steam engine functions:

> Tha coire anabarrach mòr air a dheanamh do iarann no dh'umha, air a lìonadh le uisge, agus air a thoirt gu goil. Anns an dòigh seo, tha mòran deathach' ag èirigh a tha a' dol tro fheadan mòr farsaing, cosmhail ri baraille fada iarainn, a tha ag èirigh o mhullach a' choire seo. Anns an fheadan seo, tha slat iarainn air a cumadh co dlùth theann agus nach faigh an deathach suas eadar i agus am feadan, ceart mar a chìthear air gunna-sgailc. Nuair a leigear an deathach a-staigh don fheadan ann an ìochdar na slaite seo, sparraidh i suas i le anabharr cumhachd; cha luaithe ruigeas i gu h-àrd, na dh'fhosglas àite àiridh a leigeas a-staigh steall uisge, a dh'fhionnaraicheas an deathach a chuir suas e, agus anns an àm cheudna tha àit' eile fosgladh gu h-àrd a tha leigeadh deathach ùr a-nuas os a chionn, agus mar seo ga sparradh air ais leis a' chumhachd cheudna leis an d'èirich e. Anns an dòigh seo tha 'n t-slat a tha cur na h-acfhainn air fad fo ghluasad a' dìreadh 's a' teàrnadh le neart do rèir cumhachd na deathacha a tha air a chàramh rithe.[6]

> *A very large vat [boiler] is constructed of iron or brass, filled with water, and brought to boiling point. By this means, a great deal of steam rises which moves through a large wide duct [cylinder], like a long iron barrel, which ascends from the top of this boiler. In this cylinder, there is an iron rod [piston] which is fashioned so tightly and closely that the steam cannot seep upwards between it and the cylinder, just as one sees with a pop-gun. When steam is allowed to enter*

> *the cylinder, at the base of this piston, it thrusts it upwards*
> *with immense force; no sooner does it reach the top than a*
> *particular place [valve] opens which admits a jet of water,*
> *which cools the steam which thrust it upwards, and at the*
> *same time another place [valve] opens at the top which allows*
> *fresh steam to enter on top of it, and thus thrusts it back with*
> *the same force as caused it to rise. In this way, the piston*
> *that causes the entire equipment [machine] to move rises and*
> *falls [reciprocates] with power in proportion to the power*
> *[pressure] of the steam which is applied to it.*

This is quite evidently an accurate description of a double-acting steam engine, which is placed vertically above its boiler.[7] The basic principles of the engine are explained to Gaelic readers by extending the semantic range of existing Gaelic vocabulary, most of it familiar in domestic contexts (e.g. *coire*, 'kettle') or in outdoor use (e.g. *feadan* 'natural duct for water, rill', *slat* 'stick, fishing rod'). A very homely touch is apparent in MacLeod's reference to a *gunna-sgailc*, a type of elementary 'pop-gun' which was still well known as a toy in Tiree in the 1950s. It consisted of a wooden (or brass) pipe, with a mobile rod at the lower end; the upper end was thrust into a potato, or similarly soft but firm substance, which would adhere in part or in whole, thus creating both a potential missile and an effective seal for the tube. When the rod in the lower section of the tube was struck hard by the right hand, the 'missile' in the upper section would be impacted by the rod, and fly out with considerable force. Greater explanatory challenges are, however, created by technical items such as 'valve', for which MacLeod uses the rather unspecific noun, *àite*, 'place', in Gaelic.

MacLeod then proceeds to enumerate the various industrial contexts in which steam power is already being applied – pumping water from mines (as he notes, the earliest application of the steam engine), the pulling of coal wagons in England, and the manufacture of maritime gear (blocks, sheaves etc.) for naval purposes in Portsmouth, as well as the fashioning of anchors, the fastening of copper sheathing on ships, and the manufacture of cotton and silk. Attempts are being made, he says, to apply steam power to

carriages, though this is still at an elementary and dangerous stage. Nevertheless, according to MacLeod, the total steam power being utilised in Britain is equivalent to that of one hundred thousand horses. MacLeod proceeds to note the application of steam power to ships, and the reduction in travelling-time that such development will encourage. His view of steam is that it will bestow innumerable benefits (*sochairean*) on humanity, and his vision for the world, in such a context, is optimistic; he concludes by stating his belief that the steamship will be a very effective vehicle in the promulgation of the Christian gospel to the ends of the earth, at a time when a powerful missionary impetus is emerging in the land. The passage is followed by three verses of Gaelic poetry from 'Craobh-sgaoileadh a' Bhìobaill agus an t-Soisgeil' ('The Promulgation of the Bible and the Gospel') by James MacGregor of Pictou, Nova Scotia.[8]

(2) Taming the 'iron horse': the early 1840s

MacLeod was well aware of the difficulties which had to be surmounted by steam traction on land before it became a safe and reliable means of transport.[9] This contrasted with maritime development. By 1829, steamships were already consolidating their position in the West Highlands and Islands, but development of railways was appreciably slower. As a result, it took longer for the Gaels, and indeed for Scotland as a whole, to become accustomed to railways than it did for the nation to accept and utilise steamships. There were also difficulties of a geophysical kind. Ships could sail on an already-made highway, namely the sea, but railways required to be constructed by dint of hard effort, following natural contours, laying sleepers and lines, and overcoming a considerable number of seemingly insuperable obstacles, including the creation of embankments, cuttings and, of course, long tunnels. In the extent of labour required from 'navvies' to surmount these obstacles, the construction of the railways resembled the creation of the 'navigations' or canals which had been constructed in Scotland in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth.[10]

It was not until the 1840s that railways began to make marked progress in Britain, and, as a consequence, the decade was known for its 'railway mania'.[11] Speculation and investment in the railways

were rife and unregulated, prompting emotional, if not hysterical, reactions on a considerable scale, as reflected in contemporary writing, with passionate arguments for and against the railways. Satires were written on early engineers and investors, in such journals as *Blackwood's Magazine*.[12] Quite commonly, the early railways were blamed for giving people 'neuroses' of various kinds, and much writing was openly hostile to their development.[13] Such antipathy can be found in novels throughout the nineteenth century, as, for example, in Charles Dickens's work, *Dombey and Son*, published in 1848, in which the railway is seen as 'the power that forced itself upon its iron way – its own – defiant of all paths and roads, piercing through the heart of every obstacle'.[14]

In Lowland Scotland, as the 'railway mania' proceeded in the 1840s, new lines were opened, including the Glasgow, Paisley & Greenock railway in 1841.[15] This was a most important railway for Clydeside, and had particular relevance to Gaels who had settled in considerable numbers in these parts. Initially, however, Gaels too appear to have been a little reluctant to let the train take the strain, as they seemed to believe that the train created the strain! In such circumstances, the railway required to be presented positively to potential users.

Supporters of the railway, as of the steam engine and the steamship, included the Rev. Dr Norman MacLeod, who wrote a strongly pro-railway piece in Gaelic on the Glasgow, Paisley & Greenock railway, five years before Dickens, in *Dombey and Son*, presented his critical view of railway development. MacLeod's offering was published in his second Gaelic journal, *Cuairtear nan Gleann* ('The Traveller of the Glens'), which flourished between 1840 and 1843. In this item, MacLeod used dialogue, posing as 'Cuairtear nan Gleann' ('The Traveller of the Glens'), and taking the leading part in an illuminating conversation with a favourite rustic character, a clod-hopper from Tiree by the name of Eachann Tirisdeach ('Hector the Tiree man'). Eachann had just returned from a trip to Paisley on a steam train, and was not at all enamoured of his experience. He was still suffering from 'train shock', and told the 'Cuairtear' of his gratitude to be alive:

> Nach robh mi ann am Paisley air carbad na smùide; ach
> carson a bhithinn a' gearan; 's ann agam tha 'n t-adhbhar

taingealachd gu bheil mi beò, 's nach do shèideadh a suas mi am bloighdean anns na speuraibh. O! b' e buaireadh an Fhreasdail, do dhuine sam bith na bheachd, cuid a chunnairt a ghabhail do leithid a dh' àite, fhad 's a tha comas nan cas aige no dh'faodas e suidhe an cairt shocraich, chiallaich, air boitein connlaich.[16]

Wasn't I in Paisley on the steam carriage [train]; but why should I complain; I have good reason to be thankful that I am alive, and that I was not blown up in smithereens in the skies. O! It were a tempting of Providence, for any man in his right mind, to employ the means of endangering himself in travelling to such a place, as long as he was able to walk or sit in a smooth-running, sensible cart, on a bundle of straw.

He then described the journey itself:

A-staigh do charbad na smùide chàirich iad mi; ag ràdh rium gum bithinn cho socrach, shàmhach, fhoisneach 's ged a bhithinn ann an cathair-mhòir taobh an teine. Ghabh mi beachd air a' charbad – chunnaic mi fear na stiùireach a' gabhail àite, le ailm iarainn na làimh, agus fear eile san toiseach mar gum biodh fear-innse nan uisgeachan ann, ag amharch a-mach. Bha smùid às an t-simileir, 's na h-uile nì sàmhach, socrach nas leòr. Chaidh mi staigh, agus shuidh mi dlùth don uinneig chum sealladh a bhith agam air an dùthaich. Tiota beag na dhèidh sin chuala mi beuc mòr – ràn tùchanach àrd, agus an sin fead oillteil. 'Ciod e seo?' arsa mise ri Niall; rinn esan 's an Latharnach gàire. 'Siud agaibh, athair', arsa Niall, 'sitirich an eich iarainn, 's e togairt falbh.' 'Sitirich na h-oillt,' arsa mise, 'leig a-mach mi.' Ach bha an doras air a dhruideadh. Thug an t-each iarainn stàdag – bhuail an carbad anns an robh sinne, 's cha mhòr nach do phronnadh m' fhiaclain an aghaidh a chèile. Thug e ràn eile, agus fead; agus an sin leig iad siubhal a chas da – 's thàr e às. Thòisich an stairirich 's a' ghleadhraich. ''N i seo a' chathair-mhòr, a Nèill?' arsa mise. Bha e dol a-nis na shiubhal, 's cha b' e siubhal an

eich, no luas an fhèidh; cha tugadh ceithir chasan riamh
do bheò-chreutair air an talamh a-bhos, no sgiathan do
dh'eun sna speuraibh shuas, na chumadh ris.[17]

*Into the steam train they thrust me, telling me that I would
be as comfortable, quiet and relaxed as though I should be
sitting in the big chair beside the fire. I observed the train – I
saw the steersman taking his place, with an iron helm in his
hand, and another man in the front as if he were the teller
of the waters, looking out [ahead]. Steam was coming from
the chimney, and everything was perfectly quiet and peaceful.
I went in, and I sat close to the window so that I could get
a view of the countryside. A split second after that I heard a
great roar – a high, hoarse bellow, and then a blood-curdling
whistle. 'What is this?' I said to Neil; he and the Lorn lad
laughed. 'That, father,' said Neil, 'is the neighing of the iron
horse, getting into the mood for moving off.' 'What horrible
neighing,' said I, 'let me out.' But the door had been closed.
The iron horse took a stride – the carriage in which we were
travelling banged, and my teeth were almost crushed against
one another. He emitted another roar, and a whistle; and
then they let him go as he wished – and he charged off. The
clattering and banging began. 'Is this the big chair, Neil?' said
I. He was now going at speed, and it was not [comparable to]
the swiftness of the horse, or the quickness of the deer; no living
creature that could keep up with him had been endowed with
four feet on the earth beneath, nor had any [such] bird been
endowed with wings in the skies above.*

Eachann continues in like manner to tell of the terror created by
another 'horse', a *steud-each* ('steed'), as it hurtles past at very close
quarters, hauling scores of wagons. He tries to enjoy the countryside,
but houses and haystacks, trees and fields, seem to be in a whirl,
dancing the Reel of Tulloch. The iron horse then plunges through
a tunnel, and Eachann construes the English word, directly used
by Neil, his son, as the Gaelic *donnal* ('whine, cry of pain'). Dizzy
and disorientated, Eachann eventually reaches Paisley. When he has
described his experience, the omniscient 'Cuairtear' sets about his

main task of presenting the beneficial side of the steam train, which he describes as 'an aon dòigh shiubhail as innleachdaiche fhuaras riamh a-mach le mac an duine' ('the most ingenious means of transport that has ever been discovered by man').[18]

The piece is relaxed and good-humoured, with a great deal of fun. It is highly likely that it echoes, and to some extent draws on, contemporary popular writing in English on the railway theme. It contains an element of burlesque, as, for example, in the possibility of a 'blow up' (calqued into Gaelic as *sèideadh a suas*), which furnished contemporary cartoonists with entertaining material. Stock characters appear, among them the inevitable posh traveller, on this occasion a lady who is fat and loquacious, and whose high-pitched voice outdoes the clatter of the iron horse. Nevertheless, the experience is deftly transferred into Gaelic. The engine and train are neatly domesticated by calling the engine *an t-each iarainn* ('the iron horse'), a Gaelic calque of the common English phrase of the time. (This phrase probably originated in the practice of using horses to tow railway wagons prior to steam engines). As a counterbalance to rather alien calques, the piece employs warmly domestic metaphors and scenes that Gaels would know, including reference to farmyard noises such as the *sitirich* ('neighing') of the horse. Maritime metaphor and comparison are also used, as is evident in the description of the driver with his 'helm', and the second man (presumably a guard?), who resembles a 'teller of the waters' and was positioned at the bow of a ship to warn the helmsman of any difficult seas ahead.

The train, MacLeod contends, is in fact good for you, despite its noise, clatter, banging, and shaking. Eachann had been enticed to take it by his son, Neil, who was courting a young lady in Paisley, and, as Eachann notes, despite his misgivings, she turned out to be a good-looking and acceptable wench. The sub-text of the piece is therefore that travel by railway can lead to pleasant discoveries, even at the human level, including the comely ladies of Paisley. What MacLeod emphasises primarily, however, is the convenience of the train, its speed, its ability to take you from A to B and back again, without fuss – despite all the bumps and clangs and bangs.

Through the words of Eachann Tirisdeach – the archetypal Luddite – MacLeod's piece expands to embrace the implications of the railway for rural areas. One of these is the danger that it will pull goods into the

urban environment, thus impoverishing the hinterlands, and making the city grow at the expense of the countryside. Urbanisation, with the city portrayed negatively by Eachann Tirisdeach as a greedy pig, eating the food of the smaller animals, is the principal concern of the remainder of the dialogue. MacLeod employs a *reductio ad absurdum* when Eachann states that it was only when the pig was finally killed that the other animals had enough to eat. The future could not be discontinued, nor could the steam train be decommissioned.

MacLeod's writing on this theme, and on others, appears to have influenced the literary output of his readers, as well as their attitudes to contemporary 'wonders'. From about this period we can trace numerous 'iron horse poems' in Gaelic, which may have had their origins in MacLeod's initial treatment. Commonly, the 'horse' is portrayed, as in MacLeod's account, as an extremely agile beast, full of happy energy, leaping across fields, going its own way joyfully, and showing its paces in every way. The iron horse, in short, has been domesticated, and becomes 'one of our own beasts'.[19]

(3) Experiencing tramways, ironclads and furnaces: *c.* 1860–1875

The development of the railway theme in Gaelic, and the emergence of further subjects of industrial significance, can be followed into the second half of the nineteenth century in a little-known volume of song and verse composed by a certain Iain MacAonghais (John MacInnes) from the island of Lismore, and published by the well-known Glasgow printer and publisher, Archibald Sinclair, in 1875.[20] MacAonghais was an industrial blacksmith in Glasgow, and appears to have been a kenspeckle figure in Gaelic circles.[21]

At first sight, his volume contains much that could be described fairly as pleasantly conventional and relatively unambitious, even in terms of the Gaelic output of the later nineteenth century. It begins with a poem in praise of Highland soldiers, and follows this with another on the Glasgow Highland regiment. Predictably, there are songs in praise of the poet's native Lismore, and on several of the societies and bodies which helped to sustain the social and cultural life of the Gaels in Glasgow in the 1870s. The importance of the volume, however, lies in its verse on industrial topics. MacAonghais's work includes a specimen of 'iron horse poetry', but also several compositions which

show an Argyllshire Gael interacting happily with various important dimensions of Glasgow's industrial life, among them the tramways, the shipbuilding yards of Robert Napier in Govan, contemporary iron warships, and an iron foundry.

(a) Iron horses and other horses

MacAonghais's song on the iron horse is very much of its kind, and echoes a number of the themes and sentiments of MacLeod's prose piece, providing in effect a reprise of its principal humorous metaphors. Once again, the journey takes place on the Glasgow, Paisley & Greenock railway, but on this occasion the composer sets off from Greenock. Rather playfully in conclusion, he suggests that the iron horse would render useful assistance on the croft at home. All of this is stereotypical within the genre.

> O sgiamhadh is shradadh e,
> Mar mhial-chù [t]ro achaidhean;
> 'S e toit a bha na srian às,
> 'S [o] bheul a' tighinn lasaraich.
>
> Air fhiaradh a rachadh e,
> Gam shnìomh [t]ro na beallaichean,
> 'S e sitirich sna speuran,
> 'S e sèideil 's a' langanaich.
>
> Bu cheutach an gearan e
> Gu cliathadh san earrach leis,
> 'S thoirt dhachaigh dhuinn na mòna,
> 'S an ròd às na cladaichean.[22]
>
> *O he would squeal and emit sparks,*
> *Going through the fields like a greyhound;*
> *Smoke, as it belched, formed his reins,*
> *And from his mouth flames were coming.*
>
> *He would travel sideways,*
> *Making me weave through the passes,*
> *Neighing into the skies,*
> *Blowing and bellowing.*

He would be a fine garron
For harrowing in springtime,
And to take the peat home for us,
As well as the seaweed from the shorelines.

Much more interesting is MacAonghais's song, 'Oran mun Tramway' ('Song on the Tramway'). Here his overriding concern is with real horses, in this case the horses that pulled Glasgow trams in the 1870s, some 2,000 of them, according to Charles Oakley.[23] The 1870s were known as the period of 'tramway mania' in Glasgow, and, as the system developed vigorously, it generated arguments for and against it in the manner of the railways in the 1840s.

The poet is worried about the potential ill-treatment of the horses, because they are likely to be frightened by the noise, stressed by heavy uphill hauls, and denied sufficient food and bedding. In a manner reminiscent of Eachann Tirisdeach in MacLeod's narrative, he is also generally rather hostile to the whole concept of the tramway, believing that it will be very costly, replace roads that were perfectly acceptable before it arrived, and encourage people to be lazy and spend their time complaining about public transport.

Na h-eich air chrith air an casan,
'S eagal orr' gun tig an latha,
Dh'fheumas iad bhith dol gar tarraing
Thairis air an Tramway.

Iad nan seasamh anns na stàbaill,
'S iad a' mionnachadh nam bàillidh
'S am Probhaiste cho math ri càch
A chuir an àird an Tramway.

Gun choirc' aca nam praisich,
'S gun chonnlach an dèan iad cadal,
'S thugaibh fhèin a-nis ur barail
An caidreabh air an Tramway.[24]

The horses trembling on their feet,
Terrified that the day will come

When they must go to haul us
Over all the Tramway.

They are standing in the stables,
Cursing the city baillies,
And the Provost along with the rest
Who set up the Tramway.

They have no oats in their mangers,
And no straw on which to sleep,
And you yourselves can now give your opinion [of]
Their happy time on the Tramway.

He also provides some excellent descriptions of the early horse-drawn trams, their drivers and conductors.

’S fear air thoiseach ann an cathair,
’S còta mollach air gan slaiseadh;
Cha dèan ruith leis feum, ach sradadh,
’S gallap air an Tramway.

’S fear air deireadh aig an staidhir,
’S poca leathair air is casag,
’S putain gheala, togail faraidh
’N aiseig air an Tramway.[25]

And a man at the front in a chair,
With a hairy coat, whipping them;
Trotting does not satisfy him, only sparking speed
And a gallop on the Tramway.

And a man at the back at the stair,
With a leather bag and cassock,
With white buttons, collecting the fare
For conveyance on the Tramway.

All in all, MacAonghais's song provides a fascinating and unexpected window on the early Glasgow tramway system from a contemporary Gaelic perspective, made all the more valuable because the conflicts and debates which it highlights can be confirmed in the contemporary record.

(b) Shipyards and warships

There are two songs on shipyards and warships in the collection. The first celebrates the launch of the warship, HMS *Black Prince*, from Robert Napier's yard in Govan. MacAonghais informs us that the *Black Prince* was the first of a particular class of warship – the revolutionary new 'ironclads' – to be built in Govan, and that the second was HMS *Hector*.[26] In the overall sequence of production, the *Black Prince*, launched in 1861 and completed in 1862, was in reality the second of the new class, and at that time the largest vessel to have been built on the Clyde.[27] The class leader, the *Warrior*, was launched at Blackwall in 1860, and is still preserved at Portsmouth.[28] The third vessel, also built by Robert Napier, was indeed the *Hector*.[29] As befits the ship's name and figurehead, a 'massive and beautiful' representation of the Prince,[30] MacAonghais personifies the *Black Prince*, and comments cleverly on the 'buttons' in its steel coat, i.e. its rivets, which, he claims, 'we sewed with the hammer'. In other words, MacAonghais himself was evidently a shipyard worker who had helped to build the ship. He mentions how its frames had to be heated in a furnace before they could be bent into shape, and this was no doubt his own particular contribution to the building process.

> Saoil thu fhèin nach e tha làidir,
> Stàilinn tha na chòta,
> 'S na putain tha sìos mun cuairt air,
> Dh'fhuaigh sinn leis an òrd iad.
>
> H-uile aisinn tha na phearsa,
> Sac do dh'each air còmhnard,
> 'S dh'fheumte 'm blàithteachadh san fhùirneis
> Mun lùbadh iad òirleach.[31]
>
> *Don't you think that he is a strong fellow,*
> *With steel in his coat,*
> *And the buttons that surround him down below,*
> *We sewed them with the hammer.*
>
> *Every rib that is in his body*
> *Would be a burden for a horse on level ground,*

And they had to be heated in the furnace
Before they would bend an inch.

According to the poet, the *Black Prince* and the *Hector* had a sister-ship, the *Malabar*. MacAonghais states correctly that she was employed as a troopship, and he also alludes to the 'Rionnag' ('Star') which she carried.[32] This is a reference to the 'Star of India' (an award for service in India instituted by Queen Victoria in 1861), and a representation of the 'Star' on her decorative scrollwork would have been appropriate for HMS *Malabar*, as she served the Indian Government. In fact, a fine contemporary photograph of the vessel exists, taken as she was being fitted out at Napier's Lancefield yard in 1867, and it shows the emblematic 'Star' on the ship's port bow.[33] Napier is praised for producing all three ships – 'Is cliù do Napier còir iad' ('They bring fame to kindly Napier'). The poet surmises that the vessels may be posted to Abyssinia.

As a typical British subject, whose Gaelic identity was subsumed within a greater imperial loyalty, MacAonghais rejoiced in the *Black Prince*'s potential to give Britain naval supremacy over such countries as France, which had produced the very first ironclad.[34] His hopes were not realised, however. The *Black Prince* had a remarkably undistinguished career, though she survived until 1923.[35]

The second song does not name the vessel concerned, but it does describe it in such a way that it is clearly recognisable as a warship, with 'the nose of a porpoise', i.e. a ram bow, and a 'hole like a cave above your shoulder-blade', possibly a reference to the aperture for the funnel.[36] The song, however, uses the Gaelic name 'An t-Achadh Bàn' of 'Fair Field' in Govan, where the ship was built. This does not necessarily imply that the ship was built by John Elder, whose company was later known as 'Fairfield's', as this would be too late relative to the publication date of MacAonghais's book.[37] The ship in question may well have been another of the ironclads, quite probably HMS *Invincible*, launched by Robert Napier in 1869.[38]

(c) Foundries and furnaces

MacAonghais also produced a song entitled 'Oran mun Gharadh-iarainn san robh mi dol a dh'obair' ('Song on the ironworks in which

I went to work').[39] It is not clear whether this was a foundry or a shipyard, as 'gàradh-iarainn' was commonly the Gaelic term for the latter. It is, on balance, probable that it was an iron foundry, and that MacAonghais, following an apprenticeship, moved from the foundry to better employment in Napier's shipyard.

In this poem, there is a remarkable description of an iron worker and fellow blacksmith called Teàrlach Dùghlach ('Charles MacDougall):

> 'S gu bheil Teàrlach Dùghlach dhiubh,
> Fear-ùird cho math 's th' air Cluaidh e,
> 'S chan eil gin an Glaschu
> Bheir garadh às a' ghual ris,
> Le gàirdeanan cho comasach
> Gu chumail gus a bhualadh,
> 'S gun toir e dh' ionnsaigh d' òrdugh e,
> Gun ochd den òirleach bhuaithe.[40]

> *Charles MacDougall is one of them (the iron workers);*
> *He is a hammerman as good as any on the Clyde,*
> *And there is none in Glasgow who can compare with him*
> *In getting heat from the coal;*
> *With shoulders that are so capable,*
> *To hold it [the iron] so that it can be beaten,*
> *He will make it conform to your specification,*
> *Without being short by an eighth of an inch.*

Here we have a man being celebrated as an industrial hero – surely a fascinating extension of Gaelic praise poetry. One wonders whether 'Teàrlach Dùghlach' might have been another Gaelic speaker, who would have listened with pleasure to this encomium. In his song on the *Black Prince*, MacAonghais makes the point that Gaelic is 'a' chainnt nach fhaigh mi chur an cleachdainn' ('the language which I cannot put into practice'),[41] which implies that English is the language of the shipyard, but this does not rule out the likelihood that Gaelic song of the kind composed by MacAonghais was aimed primarily at fellow Gaels in the foundries and shipyards. The 'Gaelic industrial poet', like other Gaelic poets, would have

functioned within a congenial, like-minded community with an appreciative ear for song.

CONCLUSION

The songs of Iain MacAonghais are a very powerful indicator, in themselves, that Gaels were not infrequently at the very heart of 'the workshop of the Empire', as industrial Clydeside was commonly known, and that they were well able to record and celebrate numerous aspects of their experience. It would seem that Norman MacLeod's pro-industrial exhortations earlier in the nineteenth century had been well heeded, and that, by the second half of that century, 'ordinary' Gaels in dungarees had come to terms with the challenges of industry, to the extent that they were not only pleased to turn a penny in the great 'workshop', but also extremely proud of their skills and handiwork.

Gaels also commemorated their experiences in Gaelic. The evidence cited in this chapter shows that very important stages in Scottish industrial development, beginning with the steam engine itself, proceeding to the application of steam propulsion to transport, and culminating in the production of the first iron warships of the Royal Navy, are well covered in Gaelic literature of various kinds. The passages under discussion also demonstrate several of the ways in which Gaelic speakers adapted the Gaelic language and its lexis to industrial concepts. Much further Gaelic material of this kind remains to be edited and assessed to round out the picture.

The existence of such Gaelic evidence, of which the present chapter furnishes only a sampling, throws down a challenge to historians, and particularly to those of their number who operate without a knowledge of Gaelic. Any attempt to assess nineteenth-century Scotland will remain seriously flawed and incomplete unless, and until, historians take full account of Gaelic sources. The immense importance of taking cognisance of the 'Gaelic view' when assessing Scottish life and letters was among the many fundamental principles which Professor William Gillies enunciated, and put into practice fearlessly, when he assumed the Chair of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh in 1979. Thirty years later, at the conclusion of a distinguished career, he would doubtless reiterate

these self-same principles, which have been guiding lights to his many former students and, not least, to those staff members who were privileged to develop their scholarly skills under his ground-breaking, generous and genial leadership.[42]

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4 Donald E. Meek, 'Gaelic literature in the nineteenth century', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature, Vol. 2: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707–1918)*, ed. by Susan Manning (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2007), 253–66; Sheila M. Kidd, 'Tormod MacLeòid: Àrd-Chonsal nan Gàidheal', in Kidd, *Glasgow*, 107–29.

5 Donald E. Meek, 'Early steamship travel from the other side: an 1829 Gaelic account of the *Maid of Morven*', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 20 (2008), 57–79.

6 'Mu Inneal na Deathacha', *An Teachdaire Gae'lach*, 3 (July 1829), 64–67. It should be noted carefully that MacLeod's early and highly informative essays on the steam engine are omitted from the anthology of his works compiled by Archibald Clerk, Kilmallie, and cited in footnote 16. They may have been set aside because they were too scientific and mechanical in their themes relative to the main parts of the larger corpus. A close reading of the individual issues of his journal will therefore be essential in future research.

7 See, in general, Ben Marsden, *Watt's Perfect Engine: Steam and the Age of Invention* (Royston: Icon Books, 2002).

8 Donald E. Meek, 'Craobh-sgaoileadh a' Bhìobaill agus an t-Soisgeil: a Gaelic song on the nineteenth-century missionary movement', in *Fil súil nglais – A Festschrift in Honour of Colm Ó Baoill*, ed. by Sharon Arbuthnot and Kaarina Hollo (Ceann Drochaid: Clann Tuirc, 2007), 143–62.

9 MacLeod provided an update on the progress of steam propulsion, 'Mu Charbad na Smùide' ('On the Steam Train'), in *An Teachdaire Gae'lach*, 8 (December 1829), 176–77. In this article, MacLeod comments on the ability of an engine in England to pull a forty-ton load, the improvement in boiler strength so that the danger of explosion is reduced, the engine's capacity to carry sufficient fuel (coke) to sustain it for fifty miles, and the

provision of iron track for the engine and carriages. Nevertheless, the laying of iron track throughout Britain was a massive undertaking, which proceeded piecemeal.

10 For general discussion of the railways, see Christian Wolmar, *Fire & Steam: A New History of the Railways in Britain* (London: Atlantic Books, 2007), and with specific reference to Scotland, see P. J. G. Ransom, *Iron Road: The Railway in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007).

11 Wolmar, *Fire & Steam*, 87–107; Ransom, *Iron Road*, 43–79.

12 Ransom, *Iron Road*, 56–57.

13 Ralph Harrington, 'The neuroses of the railway', *History Today*, 44, no. 7 (July 1994), 15–21. I owe this reference, and a copy of the article, to the kindness and eagle eye of Dr Donald William Stewart.

14 Cited in Harrington, 'Neuroses', 20.

15 Ransom, *Iron Road*, 47.

16 *Caraid nan Gaidheal: The Gaelic Writings of Norman MacLeod D.D.*, ed. by A. Clerk (Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, 1899 [1867]), 152–62 (153).

17 MacLeod, *Caraid nan Gaidheal*, 154–55.

18 MacLeod, *Caraid nan Gaidheal*, 153.

19 For a representative specimen of the genre, see *Caran an t-Saoghail: The Wiles of the World: Anthology of Nineteenth-century Gaelic Verse*, ed. by Donald E. Meek (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003), 134–39.

20 Iain MacAonghais, *Duain agus Orain* (Glasgow: G. Mac-na-Ceàrdadh, 1875).

21 Donald MacLean, *Typographia Scoto-Gadelica* (Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1915), 229.

22 MacAonghais, *Duain*, 63–64.

23 Charles A. Oakley, *The Last Tram* (Glasgow: Glasgow Corporation Transport Department, 1962), 21–27.

24 MacAonghais, *Duain*, 52.

25 MacAonghais, *Duain*, 53.

26 MacAonghais, *Duain*, 46–48.

27 Fred T. Walker, *Song of the Clyde: A History of Clyde Shipbuilding* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2001), 131–32.

28 For general discussion of 'The early ironclads', see *An Illustrated History of Ships*, ed. by E. L. Cornwell (London: New English Library, 1979), 131–35.

29 www.battleships-cruisers.co.uk/hector_class.htm

30 Walker, 132, contains a photograph of the vessel and a caption describing its figurehead. The *Warrior* and the *Black Prince* were the last two Royal Navy vessels to carry figureheads.

31 MacAonghais, *Duain*, 47. It should be noted that the use of steel in constructing ships of this kind was relatively new, as was the use of iron.

32 *Duain*, 48.

33 Michael Moss, *The Clyde: A Portrait of a River* (N.p., Lomond Books, 2002), 89.

34 This was *La Gloire* of 1859. Her launch initiated a competition between nations to improve warship design and strength; see Cornwell, *Ships*, 131.

35 Walker, *Song*, 132.

36 Neither the *Warrior* nor the *Black Prince* had ram bows; this appeared initially on the ironclads of the later 1860s, as can be seen on the *Malabar* of 1867. The Gaelic word *toll*, 'hole', came to be used generally of the cargo hold of a ship. This does not seem appropriate in this context.

37 MacAonghais, *Duain*, 64. Professor Michael Moss, University of Glasgow, kindly informs me that 'Fair Field was quite large and probably included some of the ground which Napier's Govan yard occupied. It all belonged at one time to either the Cathedral or the Bishopric of Glasgow.' Robert Napier's Govan yard was successively at Govan Old (from 1841) and Govan East (from 1850), but he also had another yard (owned initially by Robert's cousin, David) on the other side of the river, at Lancefield, close to the present-day Kingston Bridge. See Walker, *Song*, 168–71.

38 See www.klaus-kramer.de for a very helpful listing of ironclads, with illustrations.

39 MacAonghais, *Duain*, 69–71.

40 MacAonghais, *Duain*, 70.

41 MacAonghais, *Duain*, 46.

42 The outline of this chapter was given a trial run over the academic 'measured mile' at a seminar held by the Department of Celtic, University of Glasgow, on 9 December 2008. I am very grateful to those who attended the seminar, and made important points in the subsequent discussion. Professor Michael Moss, University of Glasgow, was most generous in assisting me with the identification of the ironclads and in clarifying locations of Clyde yards. Dr Donald William Stewart, University of Edinburgh, found an excellent and highly relevant article (footnote 13) which he passed on to me at precisely the right moment. It proved to be the key to understanding MacLeod's intention in his principal piece on the steam train.

On the Rhetoric of Martin Martin's
A Late Voyage to St Kilda
Daniel Frederick Melia

Martin Martin (?1660–1718), a native of Skye, is chiefly remembered for two works of geography-cum-natural history, *A Late Voyage to St Kilda* (1698) and *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703),[1] the latter of which achieved some further oblique fame because a copy apparently played a part in Samuel Johnson's decision to undertake his famous tour of the Hebrides. James Boswell tells us 'he told me, in summer1763, that his father put Martin's Account into his hands when he was very young, and that he was much pleased with it'.[2] Martin studied at the University of Edinburgh and was granted the degree of MA in 1681. His family was apparently a well-known one in Skye and he served as governor to the heirs of MacDonald of Sleat, and of MacLeod of Dunvegan, between 1686 and 1692.[3] His life, in short, places him in two worlds: the traditional world of the Hebridean lordships and the learned, English-speaking world of the University of Edinburgh and the Royal Society of London. It seems particularly appropriate in a volume dedicated to Professor Gillies to investigate the literary qualities of a work composed by one of the earliest modern Hebridean savants.

Martin's works have most often been mined for folkloric or ethnographic information:

> Of all the psychical phenomena of Highland folk-lore, no relic of superstition, if indeed it is correct to so describe it, persists more than that which is commonly called 'second-sight,' ... and Martin's contribution on the subject is one of the most important.[4]

More recently, there has been interest in the accuracy of his observations of nature.

> By the nineteenth century, Martin Martin's name appeared in many works. *The Birds of the West of Scotland*, written by Robert Gray in 1871, draws upon Martin. So also do the series of late[-nineteenth] century volumes

collectively described as the *Vertebrate Fauna of Scotland*. In the present century we need look no further than *The Birds of Scotland*, produced in 1953 by the Misses Baxter and Rintoul; just one of many books which incorporate Martin's records.[5]

Although it is conventional to date the Scottish Enlightenment only from 1740, it is clear that the groundwork for that philosophical movement was already being laid just when Martin was an undergraduate at the University of Edinburgh in the late 1670s. Edinburgh appointed rectors in Divinity, Oriental Languages, Ecclesiastical History and Mathematics after 1600 and at the end of the seventeenth century there was also some teaching in law and regular teaching in medicine, some of it under Martin's sometime sponsor, Robert Sibbald, as the first Professor of Medicine. The result of his academic education at the university can be seen in the sound quality of his writing. It is also clear from his peripatetic life – including his native Hebrides, Edinburgh, London and Leiden at a minimum – and his correspondence with members of the Royal Society, that the increasingly cosmopolitan world of the time extended to the Hebrides, or at least to the upper classes of those islands.

But Martin was in an interesting position. He was almost uniquely qualified amongst those in contact with the relatively new Royal Society of his day to report on the Hebrides: a native speaker of Gaelic, a completely fluent writer (and presumably speaker) of standard English, a university MA who, to judge by his observations, was educated well in geography and natural history and, to judge by his writings, in Greek, Latin and rhetoric, a man from a respectable family in Skye with good local connections who held a position of trust under the MacLeod lairds, and a man young enough to undertake a strenuous expedition (being probably in his mid-late thirties in 1695–1697). Martin was a direct source of Hebridean information to the learned in Britain, having himself published 'Several Observations in the North Islands of Scotland' in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in October 1697[6] and having served as an informant on such matters to Sir Robert Sibbald, the Geographer Royal, in his never-completed project (1683) for a 'Scottish Atlas'. Sibbald had, in

turn, recommended him in 1695 to Edward Lhuyd as the 'person most capable to serve the Royall Societty in the accounts of what relateth to ye description of ys Isles.'[7]

Charles Withers has pointed out that in the emerging intellectual world of the late seventeenth century, the kind of public scientific projects exemplified by the work of Sibbald and the Royal Society and participated in by Martin in his observations in the Hebrides were 'closely associated with the question of who were the credible people to impart such knowledge.'[8] Sibbald's endorsement of Martin to Lhuyd is a certification of exactly the kind Sibbald might have wished for himself:

> He was borne in the Isle of Sky, was Governour to ye Chieffs of ye Clans in ys isles and heth yt interest and favour with them, they will doe for him what they will doe for no other. Yr. Language is his Mother Language, and he is well acquainted with yr Manners and Customes ...[9]

The intellectual upheaval in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe made this question all the more fraught. Sibbald himself converted to Catholicism briefly in 1686;[10] the entire Baconian enterprise was under considerable suspicion of popery in some quarters.

> Indeed, many English thinkers at this time believed that the new materialist French philosophies were deliberately being promoted in England by Roman Catholics to divert the best minds to natural philosophy, making it easier for Jesuits to enter the country secretly and reconvert the people to Catholicism.[11]

From our perspective, the British turn to extreme empiricism in the ideal Baconian mould now seems an almost inevitable historical development, but the Royal Society was still young in Martin's day (not to mention the Glorious Revolution) and his activities certainly amounted to choosing a side in a variety of disputes.

It is clear enough which side Martin Martin is on in these controversies. His works are aimed directly at the Royal Society and

those who shared their interests. Both the *Voyage to St Kilda* and the *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* are works of detailed reportage whose style largely conforms to the descriptive aims stated by Bishop Thomas Sprat in his 1667 *History of the Royal Society*:

> They have therefore been most rigorous in putting in execution, the only Remedy, that can be found for this extravagance: and that has been, a constant Resolution, to reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style: to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliver'd so many things, almost in an equal number of words. They have exacted from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions clear senses; a native easiness: bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can: and preferring the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that, of Wits or Scholars.[12]

These anti-rhetorical sentiments are encapsulated in the Society's Horatian motto: *nullius in verba* ('on nobody's say-so').[13]

What I wish to take up here is not the general thrust of Martin's work, which clearly fits well into the empiricism and apparent plain-spokenness espoused by his intellectual sponsors and allies, but, rather, recognising the ultimate futility of the notion of non-rhetorical language (including Sprat's own highly rhetorical attack on rhetoric, partially quoted above), to look in a more fine-grained way at the rhetorical strategies actually employed by Martin in the *Late Voyage*. I will argue that the way that Martin reports his evidence reveals a sort of double presentation of his materials and of himself, intended to position him as a peculiarly adept observer of these particular places and people and to position the people and culture he observes as being a special kind of noble savage: guileless savants interestingly endowed with exactly the kind of power of reasoning at the centre of the scientific project of the Royal Society itself. He also reveals himself to be capable of a certain amount of irony toward his sponsors.

Whatever one's views on 'literalness', it is impossible to avoid committing rhetoric in practice. Every choice of word, sentence

structure and order of information constitutes, consciously or unconsciously, a rhetorical strategy: a prediction about how your intended audience will decode what you say or write. The text, then, always represents the track of those decisions and a way to map at least some of the author's expectations of the text he creates. I leave aside here the dedications, which are a rhetorical subject in their own right but which were written after and to some degree independently of the main texts.[14]

Martin makes a strong statement about his enterprise in the Preface to the *Late Voyage*, in which he chides those who are interested only in 'a description of some remote corner of the Indies', who exhibit the 'weakness and folly merely to value things because of their distance from the place where [they] were born.' He says that he chose not to put his observations into the 'hands of some who were capable of giving them the politest turns of phrase', but, turning to just such colours of rhetoric as he condemned, hopes that his treatise's 'meanness of ... dress will not be made use of as any considerable objection against [it].' From such passages as this one and the statement by Sprat quoted above, we can judge that their common notion of 'rhetoric' was a much reduced one, restricting it as an art to 'dressing up' 'ordinary' speech with the intention of influencing the opinion of the audience in an illegitimate way. In making his disclaimer of misleading linguistic adornments, he allies himself not only with Sprat and the Royal Society, but with the islanders themselves, whom he describes in the Preface as 'so plain, so little inclined to impose upon mankind, that perhaps no place in the world at this day, knows such instances of true primitive honour and simplicity, a people who abhor lying tricks and artifices, as they do the most poisonous plants, or devouring animals.'[15] Note, once again, his turn to simile. In the actual text of the description of St Kilda, he reinforces both his personal claim of rhetorical simplicity and the notion that the islanders are the noblest of primitives, but the ways in which he does this undercut the notion of 'primitive' both in the islanders' mental faculties and in his own writing.

Given that the Hebrides were in the 1690s isolated even from the more populous parts of Scotland, let alone England, and that a literal translator from Gaelic to English was necessary to describe

them adequately, there is scope for a kind of 'post-colonial' reading of this text, in which a member of a subordinate social group attempts to ingratiate himself with his overlords while at the same time exploiting the more powerful party for his own, locally determined, ends. Or, alternatively, a member of the subordinated group attempts, usually without success, to make himself useful enough and socially acceptable enough to be welcomed into the more powerful group. The now popular notion of 'sly civility' on the part of the colonialised is, I would argue, misplaced here. I find such a reading unpersuasive for a variety of reasons. First, the rhetorical scene here is one outside of direct political and social power relations. As I hope to show clearly below, the only power structure Martin is anxious to join or influence is the cadre of intellectuals associated with the Royal Society whose direct influence on government and the social standing of its members was debatable to say the least. Second, *pace* Dr Johnson, the Scots were scarcely, as Scots, a downtrodden minority. The (Protestant) Stuarts still held the succession of the united Crown and the country was, as a whole, prosperous and growing. Glasgow and Edinburgh were university cities; and Martin himself exemplifies the ease with which even Hebridean Scots with education and connections in the local ruling classes moved between Scotland, England and the Netherlands. It thus seems to me that a reductionist 'post-colonial' reading is, in this case, procrustean and cannot account for the particularities of Martin's work in a satisfactory way. I would argue here that we are seeing not a coloniser/colonised dialogue, but rather one of various voices shaping various aspects of a new narrative of social and political 'Britishness', but such a discussion lies far outside what I wish to examine here.

What Martin actually does is revealed in his diction and deployment of description and narrative. To start with, a voyage is, by its very nature, a narrative. After discussing the island with the steward, who, interestingly, does not merit a name, Martin attaches himself to John Campbel [*sic*], the Minister of Harris, who is being sent by the Laird (MacLeod) to investigate the state of the St Kildans' souls (or at least their orthodoxy). Although the journey begins in May, sea conditions are far from ideal and Martin takes the opportunity to do two things: he emphasises the sheer physical

difficulty of reaching St Kilda – at one point the crew has been rowing for sixteen hours – and he points out the crew's insistence that they have been blown too far north, based on their trust in the flight of the local St Kilda 'fowls' (the identification of which he withholds at this point.) He then describes the islanders' faith in the birds' sense of direction and points out that 'although we begged their pardon to differ from them ... we could not deny but that their rule was as certain as our compass.'[16] Martin has here created a point of view corresponding to his own, earlier, self who had yet to learn even the proper names of the local sea fowl or the beliefs of the islanders. He then commits a bit of foreshadowing, a fully literary rhetorical strategy, in reporting that the boatmen blamed the storm on 'the imposter (of whom hereafter).' Nothing save a sense of the dramatic in storytelling prevents him from adding a sentence of description here or, more simply, referring the reader to the last section of the text which consists of a free-standing account of Roderick the Imposter. On the very next page, Martin describes the imposter's ingratiating behaviour upon their landing on St Kilda and promises, again, 'of which an account shall be given in the conclusion.' Another instance of mild suspense comes when he mentions that the natives ride their horses, normally used for conveying turf and grain, only 'at the anniversary cavalcade, of which hereafter.'[17]

Martin's presentation of the geography of the island itself is introduced a full seven pages into the first chapter and only after he has told of the hospitality of the islanders, who provided ample shelter and food (albeit of a limited variety) to their visitors. He calculates the number of sea bird eggs consumed after three weeks by their party (which must have numbered between 20 and 30 men, counting the boat crews) at the staggering number 16,000, along with one barley cake per man per day. This is, of course, a 'gee-whiz' statistic in its own right, but I think it serves another purpose here. It validates Martin's mathematical credentials prior to his report of the latitude and position of St Kilda relative to Lewis and Rockall from a 1663 Dutch sea map. We are thus led to trust that he is capable not only of reading from a published map but of judging its accuracy reliably.

The rationality of the islanders' trust in their observations of the navigational value of the native birds is reinforced repeatedly

throughout the text. Just at the end of chapter one, and thus in a place of prominence, Martin explains their extremely efficient farming methods, making fertiliser on a daily basis out of their own urine and turf ashes, enriched by the bones, wings and entrails of the sea birds they have eaten. He reports that they 'sow very thick, and have a proportionable growth; they pluck all their bear by the roots in handfuls' using the straw for thatch and as fodder for the cattle. Al Gore would be proud of them. And he ends the chapter by laconically reminding his readers of the difficulties of farming in such an environment: 'there is no sort of trees, no, not the least shrub grows here, nor ever a bee seen at any time'.[18]

Perhaps in aid of using plain language, Martin resorts to Latin and Classical reference only sparingly, but he does use it. Sometimes he refers to a species name, for instance, *Alca hoeri*, the razor-bill.[19] Sometimes, though, he seems to be just showing off. In his justifiably lengthy description of the Solan Goose (Northern Gannet, *Morus bassanus*), which is native to the westernmost islands and rare elsewhere in Britain, he reports: 'the solan goose, as some imagine from the Irish word sou'l-er, corrupted and adapted to the Scottish language, *qui oculis irretortis e longinquo respicit praedam*', and 'all the tribe take wing, leaving the fowler empty on the rock, to return home *re infecta* ... Here is a large field of diversion for Appollonius Tyanaeus, who is said to have travelled many kingdoms over to learn the language of beasts and birds.'[20] He even resorts to a bit of Greek at the end of the chapter: 'so powerful is that σοργή or natural affection for their off-spring ...'[21] In chapter three he briefly discusses the probably Hebrew (Biblical) origins of some of the islanders' units of measure: the *amir* from Hebrew *omer*, and the cubit, for which he gives, unusually, the Gaelic equivalent, *lave keile* [*sic*] 'a hand of wood'. He also resorts to *per annum* and *per diem* at various places, as well as *aqua vitæ*, but these are naturalised English expressions and not, I think, involved in the intellectual credentialing exhibited by the other expressions here. Martin's general avoidance of Gaelic is rhetorically interesting. The absence of data prevents us from relying on any patterns in his use of Gaelic, but one likely conjecture might be that he wants to appear to his audience not as primarily a local informant, but rather as an 'outside' investigator such as they would be. Another possibility is that he did not wish to be pigeonholed

as merely a linguistic informant, a much more readily available sort of person than a learned geographer with local knowledge, which is how the rest of the text seems to position him.

Martin's discussion of the islanders' health and medical knowledge contains some curious features which I think are at the core of his entire argumentative enterprise. Having remarked that 'Providence is very favourable to them in this, that they are not infested with several diseases which are so predominant in the other parts of the world', he goes on to explain that, for what ailments they do have ('fluxes, fevers, stitches, the spleen'), they have few native treatments. He then enumerates a variety of medicinal plants found on the island ('*lapathum vulgare*, the common dock, scurvey-grass round … *mille-foil*, *bursa pastoris*, silver-weed, or *argentine*, plantine, sage, chicken-weed; sorrel … all-hail, or *siderites*, the sea-pink, *tormentil*, the scurf upon the stones, which has a drying and healing quality …') and then states that 'the inhabitants are ignorant of the virtues of these herbs; they never had a potion of physick given them in their lives, nor know any thing of phlebotomy; a physician could not expect his bread in this commonwealth.'[22] Rhetorically, what we have here is a catalogue, and a nervous one. Martin appears to offer here a list of all potentially medicinal plants found on the island, but he refers to some of them only by their common name in English ('chicken-weed') some by both English and Latin botanical names ('*lapathum vulgare*, the common dock') some by Latin alone ('*bursa pastoris*') and, tellingly, some unclearly. In the phrase 'all-hail, or *siderites*, the sea-pink …', is the audience meant to decode 'all-hail = *siderites*' as in the earlier 'silver-weed, or *argentine*'? If so, Martin may be confused or using a local botanical equation. If 'all-hail' is the plant generally referred to in English as 'allheal' or 'heal-all', the reference is to *Prunella vulgaris*, not to *Sideritis syriaca* ('ironweed'); it is equally possible of course that 'all-hail' was a local name for ironweed, a plant still recommended for its medicinal properties. Whatever the plants' proper botanical designations are or were, though, the mixture of nomenclature sends more than one signal. First, Martin seems to wish to present a list of all such plants commonly found on St Kilda, in line with his general discussion of the health and medical knowledge of the islanders and with his general aim of verifying his credentials as an

expert observer. Part of the point also seems to be the unremarkable nature of the list. These are all plants which might be expected in a coastal Atlantic environment and draw no special comment beyond their names. One of the rhetorical uses of asyndeton to create a catalogue is to emphasise the bulk of the information rather than any individual item in it, as if to say 'the islanders have every common variety of medicinal herb and yet, in all this abundance, know not how to use any of them.' Martin thus positions himself (and other 'normal', reasonably educated folk in his audience) above the islanders in this regard. Second, the catalogue presumes that his audience will recognise either the English names of the plants or their Latin names, furthering the appearance of mildly flattering his readers by assuming education on their part. But his performance here is quite odd; looked at closely, his botanic references seem firmly rooted in the soil of English. 'Mille-foil', presumably yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*), and 'tormentil', presumably septfoil (*Potentilla erecta* or similar member of the rose family), are originally Latin names borrowed into common English, and one hardly needs extensive botanical (or Latin) training to decode *Bursa pastoris* as shepherd's purse, or silver-weed as *argentine*. The *siderites* reference is just confusing and may, indeed, indicate some sort of confusion on Martin's own part. Thus, the references beyond English in this list seem mainly to represent a kind of credentialing by Martin of his botanico-pharmacological knowledge. He reveals here, however, that his knowledge in this area is not highly technical. His general avoidance of Gaelic has been noted above as a way to preserve his position as a privileged reporter and translator of Gaelic culture, but here may be a special case. It may be that his knowledge of medicinal herbs was acquired in English rather than his native Gaelic, just as many native Irish speakers educated in English-only, pre-independence schools continued to do even informal mathematics in English. Thus does Martin display his medicinal knowledge, which he positions rhetorically as normal, as against the unusual lack of such knowledge on the part of the islanders.

Having remarked on the strength of the islanders' voices and lungs, which he attributes to their consumption of raw solan goose (gannet) eggs, Martin turns to an even more interesting discussion of the islanders' analysis of the causes of disease:

Those of St Kilda, upon the whole, gave me this following account, that they always contract a cough upon the steward's landing, and it proves a great deal more troublesome to them in the night-time, they then distilling a great deal of flegm; this indisposition; continues for some ten, twelve or fourteen days; the most sovereign remedy against this disease, is their great and beloved catholicon, the giben, i.e., the fat of their fowls, with which they stuff the stomach of the solan goose, in fashion of a pudding; this they put in the infusion of oatmeal, which in their language they call brochan; but it is not so effectual now as at the beginning, because of the frequent use of it. *I told them plainly, that I thought all this notion of infection was but a mere fancy, and that, at least, it could not always hold*; at which they seemed offended, saying, that never any, before the minister and my self, was heard doubt of the truth of it; which is plainly demonstrated upon the landing of every boat; adding further, that every design was always for some end, but here there was no room for any, where nothing could be proposed; but for confirmation of the whole, they appealed to the case of infants at the breast, who were likewise very subject to this cough, but could not be capable of affecting it, and therefore, in their opinion, they were infected by such as lodged in their houses. There were scarce young or old in the isle whom I did not examine particularly upon this head, and all agreed in the confirmation of it. They add farther, that when any foreign goods are brought thither, then the cough is of longer duration than otherwise. [emphasis mine][23]

The structure of these descriptions is interesting. Couched largely in terms of official disapproval, he reports that the islanders are 'ignorant of the virtues of these herbs' and that he informed them that 'all this notion of infection was but a mere fancy', and yet he offers no reasoning behind his own assertions of medical orthodoxy while giving a highly concrete explanation of the argument, not just the belief, of the islanders. In fact, he reports having questioned

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virtually all the islanders of every age about their theory. Further, he reports that their general health is good and that their own 'catholicon' of gannet fat and oatmeal is generally efficacious, though less so than previously. His mere assertion to the islanders that their infection theory is 'a mere fancy' is placed midway in his description of their theory and loses rhetorical force as the logic of the islanders' reasoning is unfolded to the end of the paragraph. If he means to denigrate the islanders' ideas to his own audience, this is a peculiar way to do it. Important in this regard, I think, is his mildly humorous remark at the end of his herbal exposition, that 'a physician could not expect his bread in this commonwealth.' It is, of course, possible that he failed to recognise the equivocal nature of this statement, but in the context, in which other textual signs point to an equivocal or multivocal strategy, I would argue that it is likely that he saw and intended two decodings of this sentence: the islanders' ignorance of official medical doctrine means that they would not welcome the remedies of proper physicians, or, in reality, the islanders seem to do very well without official medicine. I would argue also that the two anecdotal end-pieces of Martin's account, apparently mildly and humorously denigrating of the islanders, concerning their amazement at the size of the world beyond St Kilda and their temporary bamboozlement by Roderick the Imposter, actually support his positive picture of them as against those who might see them as figures of fun. They actually unmask Roderick on the principle of 'by their fruits shall ye know them' when he is caught trying to molest the women, and their amazement at the extent of the world is simply a matter of information, not mental ability.

The third chapter contains the bulk of the anthropological and sociological observations of the islanders' lives, most of which, like the description of grain growing discussed above, emphasise their ingenuity in using the meagre resources of the island to best advantage. One observation, however, again points to the logic and quickness of mind that I contend Martin wishes to foreground. 'They argue closely, and with less passion than other islanders.'[24] The islanders are not only able practical logicians, but capable of self-criticism. Martin relates that the islanders have been reliant for

fire upon the rental of the one steel and tinder-box on the island, but that he pointed out to them that they could strike a spark on the local 'chrystal' (quartz) with their knives. 'When they saw it did strike fire, they were not a little astonished, admiring the strangeness of the thing, and at the same time accusing their own ignorance, considering the quantity of chrystal growing under the rock of their coast.'[25]

There is a long list in chapter three of how the islanders reckon weather, travel, time, tides and the like, 'and when the sun doth not appear, they measure the day by the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which they can tell exactly, though they should not see the shoar for some days together; their knowledge of the tides depends upon the changes of the moon, which they likewise observe, and are very nice about it.'[26] Virtually all these activities are dependent on the application of logic to close observation. He also praises them in standard 'noble savage' terms:

> The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being almost the only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty: what the condition of the people in the Golden Age is feign'd to be, that theirs really is ... in innocency and simplicity, purity, mutual love and cordial friendship, free from solicitous cares, and anxious covetousness ...[27]

His overall strategy, however, is clearly in favour of the depiction of the islanders not so much as innocent primitives, but as people largely free of Bacon's 'idols of the mind'. Martin's rather perfunctory defense of 'standard' medical knowledge in the greater society and his exposition of the equality or even superiority in navigation and meteorology of the native observational systems to 'educated' ones, makes his islanders a source of intellectual shame to the larger society. As Sprat puts it, 'vain Idolatry will inevitably fall before Experimental Knowledge; which as it is an enemy to all manner of fals[e] superstitions, so especially to that of men's adoring themselves, and their own Fancies.'[28] Untrammelled by 'official' knowledge, the St Kildans are able to reason directly from careful observation. They constitute a kind of natural 'Royal Society.'

Daniel Frederick Melia

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13 *Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri*, 'I am required to swear to the word of no master': Horace, *Epistles*, book I, epistle 1, l. 14.

14 The best, and most amusing, discussion of dedications is in Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Book I, chs. 8–9, 15–17, ed. by Guenter Juergensmeier (Munich, 2001 [1760]) (www.gasl.org/refbib/Sterne_Shandy_Journey.pdf).

15 Martin, *A Late Voyage*, preface, [2]–[3]; Macleod, *A Description*, 398.

16 Martin, *A Late Voyage*, 2–6; Macleod, *A Description*, 403–05.

17 Martin, *A Late Voyage*, 27; Macleod, *A Description*, 415.

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19 Martin, *A Late Voyage*, 61; Macleod, *A Description*, 431.

20 Martin, *A Late Voyage*, 49, 53; Macleod, *A Description*, 425–26, 428.

21 Martin, *A Late Voyage*, 67; Macleod, *A Description*, 434.

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24 Martin, *A Late Voyage*, 73; Macleod, *A Description*, 438.

25 Martin, *A Late Voyage*, 117; Macleod, *A Description*, 458.

26 Martin, *A Late Voyage*, 122; MacLeod, *A Description*, 461.

27 Martin, *A Late Voyage*, 131; MacLeod, *A Description*, 464–65.

28 Sprat, *A History*, 430.

Fenian Female Food and Other Health and Beauty Secrets
Joseph Falaky Nagy

This modest expedition into the rich worlds of folk and literary Fenian narrative is offered in tribute to an intrepid scholar who has shown us the way to a better understanding of the complex relationship between 'medieval' and 'modern' and between written tradition and oral tradition.[1]

We find a memorable description of nineteenth-century fieldwork tucked away in J. F. Campbell's *Leabhar na Féinne* (1872), in the great folklorist's preface to his collection of texts of the Fenian lay telling of the burning of the women of the Féinn and the effects of the tragedy on Fionn and his men:

> On the 5th of September, 1871, I arrived at Tobermory [on the Isle of Mull] at 11, and walked up the hill to the house of William Robertson, who was weaving blankets. I invited him to the Mishnish Hotel, and set him to spout Gaelic while I wrote as best I could. He said that he was 87, that he could not read or write, and he could speak no English. ... He next sang me 21 verses of the Lay of Garaidh. There are many variations in this version, but it is the same ballad and story which others got from people of this class. But the explanations given to me were wilder. ... The liquids and some other letters were so quiescent that it was exceedingly difficult to catch the words. Moreover, the old man wandered about the whole Fenian Story directly he was put out of his pace. ... His story told after singing the ballad was this:

> Garaidh was left at home to find out what food the women took because they were so fat. It was Conan who said that they should do it, out on the hill. He said, 'We are lost and tired, hunting; and these women are as fat as seals,' So Garaidh was left. He hid under the kettle, and went to sleep. The food they had was birds' blood and deer's blood mixed with 'Carigean us staimh' – (I first wrote the word Caliguirn) – The root of the Tangle,

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which is still eaten. Some say that they bled themselves
to make this mixture, and that made them so fat. ...[2]

The rest of this Fenian tale as told by Robertson and recorded
by Campbell resonates with versions provided elsewhere by
Alexander Carmichael[3] (collected in Islay) and J. G. Campbell of
Tiree.[4] (In these, let us note, it is even more explicitly stated than
in Robertson's account that the women of the Féinn not only did
not starve during the time when the men could bring them nothing
to eat, but mysteriously maintained their good looks and well-fed
appearance.) The women take offence at Garaidh's being left behind
to spy on them and they decide to play a trick on him, a painful
prank that provokes the old Fenian warrior into locking the women
into the house and burning them alive.[5] Garaidh's brutal treatment
of the Fenian females leads both to his execution and a baring of
the hardly-beneath-the surface tension between the Clann Baoisgne
(Fionn's faction in the Féinn) and the Clann Morna (the other
faction, which includes Garaidh and his brothers). For his last wish,
Garaidh requests that his head be chopped off on Fionn's thigh with
Fionn's own sword, which always cuts through whatever it strikes.
Hence, Fionn limps away from this story a crippled shell of his
former self, like some Fenian version of the Fisher King.

What stands out as peculiar in the version collected by J. F.
Campbell in the Mishnish Hotel – perhaps an example of what
Campbell describes as the storyteller's 'wilder descriptions' – is the
detail of the Fenian women's use of blood – including their own
– for their secret diet. As described by the other sources for this
story, their emergency food is strictly vegetarian (roots, shoots and
leaves). Of course, eating wild plants, as the Fenian women are said
to do in those alternative versions, would make sense given the
premise of the story – a dearth of game and/or the failure of the
menfolk in the hunt.[6] From William Robertson, on the other hand,
Campbell learned of a sanguine diet used by the women of the
Féinn in lean times, nourishment from which they even appeared
to gain weight. We can infer from Robertson's account that, to
bolster the concoction made from seaweed (*cairgein*, *stamh*), the
women themselves hunted birds and drained them of their blood

and mixed it with the blood of deer that the women must have been discreetly storing when the hunting was going well. The ultimate secret ingredient, however, was the women's own blood that was added to the mix, at least according to some. We can further assume that the women of the Féinn would have been embarrassed to have their famine fare revealed, food that the men of the Féinn would probably have considered demeaning or even taboo.[7] Or, stingily, the females did not want to share this food with their husbands and were annoyed to be spied on by Garaidh and to have their secret revealed. Hence, they punished him.

Is this attribution of blood-drinking or even of an odd reflexive cannibalism, the secret of which Fenian females guard jealously, an invention of the Tobermory storyteller? Whether it is or not, we find a comparable situation in another Fenian narrative scenario that, like the story of the burning of the women and Garaidh's subsequent punishment, not only highlights the theme of starvation and the surprising inventions of Fenian women in such trying times, but forms an episode in the tragedy of the decline and fall of the Féinn as a result of the breakdown of its internal relations. In a lay attested as early as the seventeenth-century Irish *Duanaire Finn* collection and dated by Gerard Murphy to the thirteenth or fourteenth century,[8] a renewal of the long-standing enmity between Fionn and Goll mac Morna, the head of the Clann Morna, leads to the cornering of Goll by Fionn and his men on a promontory, where for 30 days the besieged Goll is deprived of food or drink. Surrounded by the corpses of the attackers he has slain as well as by those of his own loyal kinsmen slaughtered by the Clann Baoisgne, Goll is visited by his loyal wife, to whom he expresses just how desperate for replenishment he has become:

Mo naoí mbraithre fiched féin
da marbadh aoínfher don Fhéin
do dénadh mo shíodh ris sin
mo chosc áonoidhche d'íotain.[9]

(Even) if a man of the Fian (Féinn) were to slay my own twenty-nine brothers, I would make peace with him for a single night's draught.

In response, Goll's wife offers the following surprising suggestions on how he might satisfy his hunger and quench his thirst, so as to have the strength to overcome his enemies and escape from these dire straits:

> A Guill mic Mórna a Moigh Mhaoín
> caith na colla sin red taoíbh
> foirfe híota a ndíaigh na ffer
> bainne mo cíoch do chaithemh.[10]

> *O Goll ... eat those corpses beside you; drinking the milk of my breasts will relieve (your) thirst after (eating) the men.*

Instead of recoiling in horror from the ghoulish admonition, or refusing his wife's milk with a polite 'no, thank you', Goll responds by expressing a profound mistrust of women and their wisdom in general: 'Comhairle mhná thúaidh nó thes / ní dingen is ní dérnus',[11] ('[Following] woman's advice, north or south, I will not do, and have not done'). And so, the lay implies, a weakened Goll, resorting neither to corpse-eating nor to drinking his wife's milk, dies in battle.

As in the story of the demise of Goll's brother Garaidh discussed above, we see at work here three closely related oscillations that inform the world of the Féinn as presented in medieval and modern storytelling. These are: the switch from cooperation to mutual destruction that regularly takes place between the factions constituting Fionn's band; the unpredictable alternation between feast and famine in the natural realm the Féinn claims as its own; and the uneasy co-existence of Fenian men and women, the latter of whom can surprise or even disconcert the Fenian men with their not-always-shared resourcefulness.

It has been noted before by readers of the *Acallam na Senórach* (Dialogue of the Ancients) that a process of chivalrisation is at work in this Irish compendium of lore about Fionn and his men, the earliest surviving recension of which dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century.[12] An example of this process is the text's transformation of what I would argue are the same narrative motifs discussed above as they might have appeared in early medieval

oral tradition. The result of this literary appropriation is that the oscillations underlying these motifs, while still unmistakably present, are muted or even subtly transformed, in order to suit the text's 'new, improved' image of Fenian heroes and their life in the wilderness. For instance, the story of Garaidh's quarrel with the women of the Féinn is included in the *Acallam*, but it is left unclear whether the annoyed, old Fenian actually did any harm to them.[13] Moreover, the narrative premise of a lack of food has given way to the premise of a dearth of courtly pastime: the females demand that the warrior left in their company play *fidchell* with them, but Garaidh refuses. This tension between the sexes is then transposed by Garaidh onto that between two *fidchell* players, 'Finn Bán' and 'Guaire Goll' (clearly avatars of Fionn and Goll themselves), whose once-upon-a-time match, as poetically recounted by Garaidh, turned into a nearly disastrous confrontation between Fionn and his men. He does not want Fenian history to repeat itself, Garaidh declares to the women, and so he does not give in to the women's pleas that he play any board games with them. At the end of this episode, as recounted in the *Acallam*, a thoroughly exasperated Garaidh leaves the women after making a great fire in the house and closing all its doors ... but whether anything more happened, we are tantalisingly not told.[14] What at least has been made dramatically clear, however, is that the relationship between men and women in the Féinn is as fraught with danger as that between the Clann Baoisgne and the Clann Morna.

Also present in the *Acallam*, though separate from the story of Garaidh and the women, is the motif of the Fenian women's having some special secret means of renewing themselves. As in the treatment of the Garaidh narrative, the *Acallam*, in adapting this motif, jettisons the plot elements of food, starvation and bizarre means of staying alive and shifts the narrative's focus to how noblewomen can maintain their positions as wives in a world where men might be inclined to replace or supplement their spouses. Another change rung on the motif here is that the secret of female well-being is no longer kept within the closed circle of Fenian women but is shared with the female generation of St Patrick's time by, of all people, that quintessential Fenian bachelor, Caílte mac

Rónáin, who in the *Acallam* has been turned into a deliverer of damsels in distress and a dispenser of advice to the lovelorn.

The episode in question unfolds as follows. Wandering away temporarily from Patrick's retinue, Caílte comes across two noble wives who are beside themselves because they have lost the affection of their husbands, the sons of the king of Fermoy. The women complain to Caílte that they will be expelled from the home they share as soon as their husbands return with the new wives they have gone away to fetch. Noticing a stone monument in their possession that he knows contains hidden treasures from the Fenian past, Caílte offers them a means of winning back their husbands' love in exchange for their allowing him to take away the monument. They strike a deal and Caílte, instead of performing his usual heroic deeds such as slaying opponents or hunting game, goes forth to pick special plants/herbs imbued with supernatural powers to which he knows Fenian queens and ladies used to resort – presumably for similar purposes (... tuc lán a glaici desi do losaibh sídhe sainemhla leis dob aithnid dho ag ríghnaibh 7 ag romhnáibh na Fénne).[15] The women wash themselves with the plants Caílte brings (ro fhothraicset iat as(na losaib) sin),[16] and their husbands fall in love with them all over again – abandoning their new wives instead of their original ones. Thus the *Acallam* takes a narrative motif that elsewhere in the tradition is rife with grim potential – the idea that Fenian women have their own special, even shocking techniques for survival – and turns it, at least in the confines of this episode, into the means of achieving a happy and romantic end.

References

1 In, for example, the magisterial study, 'Arthur in Gaelic tradition, Part I: folktales and ballads', *CMCS*, 2 (1981), 47–72; 'Arthur in Gaelic tradition, Part II: romances and learned lore', *CMCS*, 3 (1982), 41–75.
2 J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne. Vol. 1. Gaelic Texts* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1872), 175–76.
3 Published in J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, new edn, vol. 3 (London: Alexander Gardner, 1892), viii–ix, 120–26 (Islay, 1860); slightly revised in Alexander Carmichael, 'Caol Reathainn, mar a fhuair e an t-ainm', *Celtic Review*, 1 (1904–05), 32–35. The burner of women here is said to be Conán mac Morna, as opposed to his brother Garaidh. Fionn's son, who executes the burner, is called 'Garabh', the

name of the burner in a version Carmichael says he collected in Skye ('Caol Reathainn', 35).

4 *The Fians* (London: David Nutt, 1891), 12–23, 165–66.

5 In the version of the story given by Carmichael, only one or two of the women died in this incident ('Caol Reathainn', 33).

6 On what real Scottish folk (as opposed to the Fenian women of story) traditionally ate in times of starvation, see Alexander Fenton, 'Wild plants and hungry times', in *Food from Nature: Attitudes, Strategies and Culinary Practices*, ed. by Patricia Lysaght (Uppsala: The Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture, 2000), 182–94.

7 On the symbolic significance of food and its preparation in regard to Fenian male identity, see the author's 'Fenian heroes and their rites of passage', in *The Heroic Process: Form, Function and Fantasy in Folk Epic*, ed. by Bo Almqvist et al. (Dun Laoghaire: Glendale Press, 1987), 161–82 (172–82).

8 Poem X in *Duanaire Finn: The Book of the Lays of Fionn*, vol. 1, ed. by Eoin MacNeill, Irish Texts, 7 (London: ITS, 1908), 23–24; vol. 3 (Introduction and notes), by Gerard Murphy, Irish Texts, 43 (London: ITS, 1953), 22–23. For Scottish versions, see Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne*, 168–75. One of the Fenian poems preserved in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, 'A Gharaidh, triallmaoid go Fionn', is a sequel of sorts to this lay, featuring the surviving brothers of Goll plotting to avenge his death (*Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, ed. and trans. by Neil Ross, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 3 (Edinburgh: SGTS, 1939), 4–5, and 208 (note)).

9 MacNeill, *Duanaire Finn*, 24 (l. 12).

10 MacNeill, *Duanaire Finn*, 24 (l .13). In the Early Modern Irish version of the lay given by 'An Seabhac' (Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha) in his edited collection *Laoithe na Féinne* (Dublin: Clólucht an Talbóidigh, 1941), Goll's wife even offers to make a stew (*fulacht*) of the corpses for her husband (258).

11 MacNeill, *Duanaire Finn*, 24 (l. 14).

12 Edited by Whitley Stokes, *Irische Texte*, ed. by Whitley Stokes and Ernst Windisch, 4th series, vol. 1 (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1900). On the dating and literary orientation of the *Acallam*, see the introduction by Ann Dooley and Harry Coe to their translation, *Tales of the Elders of Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), vii–xxx.

13 Stokes, *Irische Texte*, ll. 1362–1448.

14 See the comment of Dooley and Roe on this passage, *Tales*, 234 (note on p. 43): 'The point the author wishes to make here is that forbearance rather than reciprocal violence is advocated as a response to insult'. This author still holds that the telling of the story in the *Acallam* renders the conclusion ambiguous at best (*The Wisdom of the Outlaw: The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in Gaelic Narrative Tradition* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 73–74). See also E. J. Gwynn's treatment of

the passage in his introduction to his edition/translation of an Early Modern Irish version of the lay of the burning of the women, 'The burning of Finn's house', *Ériu*, 1 (1904), 13–37 (13).

15 Stokes, *Acallam*, ll. 984–86.

16 Stokes, *Acallam*, l. 987. Perhaps not coincidentally, Carmichael's Islay account of the Fenian women's technique for staying alive during famine adds that the women not only drank but bathed themselves in their secret life-giving concoction of hazel shoots ('Caol Reathainn', 32).

P. J. Nicholson and 'Achadh nan Gaidheal'
Kenneth Nilsen

The Casket and Gaelic

'Achadh nan Gaidheal' was the title of a Gaelic column edited by P. J. Nicholson that appeared in the Antigonish weekly paper *The Casket* from 1920 to 1944, or 1945 if we count the one article published in that year. *The Casket* was founded by John Boyd in 1852, a year before the establishment of St Francis Xavier College. The previous year Boyd had published an all-Gaelic monthly *An Cuairtear Òg Gaelach*, or *The Gaelic Tourist* as it was called in English. This venture was apparently not a success, so Boyd started *The Casket*, which at first had four pages in English and four pages in Gaelic. Eventually, the Gaelic section became smaller and smaller and for years it would appear only as a single Gaelic column. For much of the 1880s Gaelic disappeared completely from the paper, but it reappeared on an occasional basis in the 1890s and in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Then in 1920 started the column to be discussed in this paper and it continued basically unbroken until 1944. In the 1950s Major Calum MacLeod became a fairly regular Gaelic contributor to the paper and continued to do so on an occasional basis until his death in 1977. From 1987 to 1996 I published approximately sixty Gaelic pieces in the paper consisting of material I recorded from one of the last Antigonish Gaelic speakers. A few Gaelic articles appeared in the paper in 2008 and this was continued in 2009.

P. J. Nicholson

Patrick Joseph Nicholson, still affectionately referred to as 'Doc Pat' by the remaining few who knew him, was the editor of the Gaelic column which is the focus of this paper. Nicholson was born in 1887 in Beaver Cove, Cape Breton, an area that had been settled largely by Barra and South Uist immigrants in the early decades of the nineteenth century. His parents were George Nicholson and Catherine Johnston, a distant relative of the well-known Johnstons of Barra. Gaelic was the primary language of the community until well into the twentieth century. Nicholson received his early

education at St Joseph's School in North Sydney. He came to StFX in 1906 and in 1907 he was enrolled in the Gaelic class being taught there by Alexander MacLean Sinclair, a Presbyterian minister, grandson of the bard John MacLean, and Nova Scotia's first Celtic scholar. MacLean Sinclair passed on to his students not only a solid foundation in Gaelic but also an excellent introduction to the contemporary field of Celtic studies. Another illustrious student in that Gaelic course was Angus L. MacDonald, who would later become a major figure in Nova Scotian politics, twice Premier of the Province, as well as serving as Minister of National Defence for Naval Services in the cabinet of Prime Minister MacKenzie King during World War II. MacLean Sinclair's classes at StFX instilled in his students a love of Gaelic and the desire to promote the language. Nicholson received a university prize for Gaelic in 1907. In the year he graduated he wrote several articles for the student paper in which he showed a knowledge of Gaelic literature and folklore. He was also well aware of the interest being taken in Gaelic by European scholars. But in spite of this keen interest in Gaelic, Nicholson went on to study physics at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, where he earned both a Master's degree and a doctorate by 1912. His doctoral thesis, 'Some experiments on the physical properties of selenium with a theoretical discussion based on the electron theory', was published in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, by the Press of the New Era Printing Company in 1914.

Nicholson returned to StFX for one year to teach physics, after which he attended the Grand Seminary in Montreal and later St. Augustine's Seminary in Toronto, where he was ordained as a priest on 29 June 1916. The souvenir cards he had printed to commemorate his ordination were in Gaelic: 'Guidheam oirbh, a bhraithrean, troimh ar Tighearna Iosa Criosta, gun cuireadh sibh mi le'r n-urnaighean ri Dia air mo shon.'

After ordination Nicholson once again returned to StFX to take up a position teaching physics. In 1920 in spite of his busy teaching schedule and his priestly duties he took charge of the Gaelic column in the *Casket*, which I will turn to shortly.

Through the Gaelic column Nicholson became known throughout the province as a Gaelic scholar. He also contributed

several Gaelic articles to *Mosgladh*, a Catholic bilingual periodical published sporadically by the Scottish Catholic Society of Canada in the 1920s. In 1926 he supplied the introduction to Archibald J. MacKenzie's *History of Christmas Island Parish*. His fame would soon spread further afield in the Gaelic world. In 1932 John Lorne Campbell visited Nova Scotia and briefly met Nicholson. Campbell would return with his wife, Margaret Fay Shaw, to Nova Scotia a number of times over the following decades. Their interest in the Gaelic of Nova Scotia and their ties to the Catholic islands of South Uist, Barra and Canna were to have a major influence on Nicholson and other supporters of Gaelic in the province. Over the years Nicholson maintained a steady correspondence with Campbell. The StFX archives have a considerable number of the letters Campbell sent to Nicholson.

In 1939 Nicholson, along with Bernard Gillis, published a collection of the poetry of several Inverness County bards entitled *Smeòrach nan Cnoc 's nan Gleann*. The fact that the book was edited by Hector MacDougall and printed in Glasgow by Alexander MacLaren and Sons demonstrates how Nicholson was in contact with the Gaels of Scotland. Nicholson was also in touch with a number of Celtic scholars throughout the world. The Harvard copy of *Smeòrach* has a Gaelic inscription to Professor Fred Norris Robinson, the founder of Celtic Studies at Harvard. It reads: *Do'n Olla Mac Raibeart le deagh dhurachd o Phadruig MacNeacail (P. J. Nicholson)*. Nicholson was also in touch with the incipient Celtic program at Columbia University in New York City and contributed a Gaelic story, *Seanchan Mór an Eirinn agus Gobha nan Sgeul an Albainn*, which was published in the journal of the Columbia University Celtic Society in December 1938. Over the years, Nicholson was to act as a generous resource, supplying names of informants for visiting scholars to Nova Scotia such as Charles Dunn, MacEdward Leach and Urban T. Holmes, Jr.[1]

In September 1944 Nicholson became president of StFX and due to the demands of that position he was forced to give up editorship of the Gaelic column. We may note here that StFX is probably the only university in the world that has had so many native Gaelic speakers as leaders. In 1948, as president, Nicholson

attended the Conference of Empire Universities held at Oxford. He was accompanied on this trip by Father Malcolm MacDonell, another Cape Breton Gaelic speaker, then teaching in the history department at the university. Annexed to this trip to England was an expedition to Scotland where Nicholson and MacDonell visited Barra and Canna. In Canna they were hosted by the Campbells and while there they also met James Delargy who impressed on them the importance of collecting Gaelic traditions.

Nicholson retired from the presidency of the university in 1954 and instead of receiving a well-deserved rest he was named pastor of St Joseph's Parish in Sydney. But before leaving StFX he had laid the groundwork for Angus L. MacDonald, still Premier of Nova Scotia, to come to the university and take up a position as Professor of Celtic Studies. In the event, however, Angus L. MacDonald suffered a fatal heart attack and died in March 1954 before this plan could come to fruition. StFX did establish a Department of Celtic Studies four years later in 1958, with Calum Iain MacLeod as the first professor. MacLeod had become a good friend of Nicholson since his arrival in Nova Scotia from Scotland after the war. We find a reference to this friendship in MacLeod's *Bàrdachd a Albainn Nuaidh*[2] on p. 30, where MacLeod refers to Nicholson as 'sàr Ghàidheal, fìor charaid, agus duine a rinn obair ionmholta air son na Gàidhlige 'n a latha' and includes a letter that Nicholson sent him in 1960 with a song enclosed.

In 1961, at the age of 73, Nicholson retired from parish work and returned to spend his final days at the priests' residence at StFX. He died on 4 November 1965; a number of people have told me that one of the most moving things they have ever witnessed was Major Calum MacLeod kneeling down and playing a lament on the pipes at the graveside of Dr Nicholson.

The column

As stated above, the column 'Achadh nan Gaidheal' began in 1920. There were a number of factors that may have led up to its establishment. One may have been the number of returning soldiers from World War I who had met Scottish Highlanders during the war. Some of these returning Canadians had actually had the

opportunity to visit the Highlands and renew acquaintances with distant relatives. Also, throughout the year 1919, the question of Gaelic was raised in the columns of the *Casket*. Some of this may have been inspired by the commencement of a French language article in the paper. The establishment of a chair of French at StFX also led to calls for a similar chair of Gaelic. An outspoken figure in this agitation was Father D. M. MacAdam, the man who taught the first Gaelic class at StFX back in 1891. He may have been inspired by the radical Scottish periodical *Guth na Bliadhna*, which in its Summer 1919 issue mentioned receiving a letter from MacAdam concerning his unsuccessful attempt to raise funds to establish a Chair of Gaelic at StFX. In July 1919 MacAdam founded the Scottish Catholic Society of Canada which soon had branches throughout eastern Nova Scotia. It was probably a combination of such events that led to the recommencement of the Gaelic column in 1920. For three weeks in January, the *Casket* published a variety of Gaelic articles. Then, on 12 February 1920, the paper published for the first time a Gaelic article under the heading 'Achadh nan Gaidheal.' This article was a fairly lengthy one outlining the history of Gaelic literature and education. It was written by Domhnall MacEamoinn and this has led Charles Dunn and others to assume that Father D. M. MacAdam was at first in charge of the column. I do not think this was the case. MacAdam was at this time a parish priest in Sydney, Cape Breton, and I believe it would have been difficult for him to conduct the column from such a distance. On the other hand, MacAdam was a major contributor to the column in its first year, most notably with his 19-part *Cogadh na Saorsa*, outlining the history of Scotland from the time of William Wallace to the accession of Robert the Bruce. A strong piece of evidence that MacAdam was not the editor comes in a letter from an unnamed writer from Muileann nam Frisealach or Frasers' Mills in Antigonish County. He writes:

> Tha mi cinnteach Fhir Dheasachaidh gun aontaich sibh lium nuair a their mi gum beil leughadairean na Ghaidhlig [sic] fad ann an comaine an duine uasail, Maighastir [sic] Domhnull MacAdhaimh. Chuir esan Achadh nan Gaidheal ann an gleus ard le eachdraidh

> Bhruis agus tha sinn ann an dochas gum bi esan fada beo
> gus na seann naigheachdan Ghaidhealach [sic] a chuir an
> clo bho am gu am (23 December 1920).

Although P. J. Nicholson was in charge of 'Achadh', his name is never given and he refers to himself only as 'Am Fear-Deasachaidh.' The column continued until 1944 with one more item appearing in 1945. In all, if I have added correctly, in the course of those twenty-five years, 'Achadh nan Gaidheal' appeared in the paper 1,033 times. Indeed, the number may in fact be more than 1,040: a few issues of the *Casket* have not survived and some of these apparently had Gaelic articles. In a letter to John Lorne Campbell, Nicholson says that about 50% of the material came from previously published items and the other 50% was previously unpublished material. The previously published material came from the usual sources, both Scottish and Canadian. The previously unpublished material came from items sent in by numerous correspondents, from Nicholson's own recollections and also, to a lesser extent, from Nicholson's fieldwork. The one negative note I would mention is that not one shred of the originals that were sent to Nicholson has survived. This is particularly unfortunate in a few cases where a person mentions having sent in an item and the editor says it is not quite suitable for publication. An example of this can be found in a letter sent in by Màiri Catrìona NicÌosaig, a native of mainland Nova Scotia, who was working and living in Newton, Massachusetts, a rather posh suburb of Boston, where many Nova Scotian girls and women worked as domestics for wealthy families. Toward the end of her letter NicÌosaig says:

> Tha beagan rannan am broinn na liteach [sic] a chuir mi
> ri cheile do na fasain a tha na caileagan agus cuid de na
> cailleachan a cosg agus a' deanamh amadain diubh fhein
> leo (10 March 1921).

Nicholson did not publish those few verses by Miss MacIsaac but gave her this reply:

> Tha sinn gle thoilichte cluinntinn dhuat a rithis, a
> Mhairi; ach tha curam oirnn gu'm biodh cunnart bas

obann a tighinn na'r rathad na'n cuireamaid an t-oran
an clo!

I have been told that Nicholson was a strict grammarian and
had no compunction about improving the texts he received. The
orthography he uses is fairly standard for the time, but perhaps a bit
of his Barra dialect crept in in that reply of his in the spelling *dhuat*
for 'from you,' a form still heard among Barra descendants in Cape
Breton today. One noticeable idiosyncracy, in the first few years, is
Nicholson's occasional use of 'rh' to show lenited 'r.'

The majority of the previously unpublished material is in the
form of letters to the editor frequently accompanied by a song.
The letters come from all parts of eastern Nova Scotia, that is
Antigonish County and the four counties of Cape Breton. A
number of the letter writers remain anonymous or use pen-names,
such as 'An Gille Glas' or 'Gille 'Ghobhainn', whose letters are titled
Sradagan on Innein. Many of the writers are relatively well-known
bards such as Kenneth Ferguson of L'Ardoise, Richmond County,
D. D. MacFarlane of Southwest Margaree and A. Y. MacLellan, the
lighthouse keeper of Margaree Island. These last two continued to
contribute throughout the life of the column. A frequent theme of
many of the early letters is the difficulty the writers have in writing
Gaelic. Some of the writers wonder if their letters will be intelligible
and one writer tells the anecdote of a man having another man
writing a letter for him and when he asks the writer to read it back
to him the writer says he cannot decipher it! The Frasers' Mills
correspondent admitted in his first letter that it was rivalry with the
French that spurred him to write:

> Tha mi 'dol a scriobhadh beagan fhaclan anns a' Ghaidhlig
> gus ar duileag a chumail suas ri te nan Frangach. Cha
> tuig mise gu de tha iadsan a sgriobhadh agus tha mi
> 'creidsinn nach urrainn dhoibhsan na do dhuin' eile a'
> litir so a leughadh: 'ach fiach ris!' (18 March 1920)

A letter in English from the Gaelic Society of Sydney thanking
the editor for the Gaelic column elicited this reply and gives an idea
of what he felt the purpose of the column should be:

... Bhiodh a litir na bu taitniche linn nam biodh i air a sgriobhadh ann an Gaidhlig an aite Beurla Shasunnach; oir 's cinnteach gun teid aig a' Rhunair maille ri iomadh aon eile do mhuinntir a Chomuinn air Gaidhlig a sgriobhadh gu fileanta.

Tha e iomchuidh a chumail 'nar beachd nach ann a mhain gu spors a tha an earran so air a cur gu 'r feum, ach gu h-araid, gus ar foghlum; agus uime sin, 's coir gu fiachamaid ri oidhrip a dheanamh air son litreachas, eachdraidh agus beul-aithris ar cinnidh a thoirt a' follais.

Ma's aithne dhut, a leughadair, tuiteamas sam bi a bhuineas do na laithean a dh'aom nach deach riamh roimhe an clo; no ma tha cuimhne agad air sean sgeul goirid a bhiodh taitneach ri leughadh; no ma tha agad oran a tha airidh air a ghleidheadh, cuir e an sgriobhadh agus seall e g'ar n-ionnsaidh. Na cuireadh e dragh ort ged nach biodh a' litricheadh ro mhath; fiachaidh sinn ris na mearachdan as mo a cheartachadh (15 April 1920).

Another theme included briefly in many letters in the early days especially was one based upon the title of the column. So one finds references to ploughing the field, adding another sod to the field, and so on.

I mentioned that most of the writers were from eastern Nova Scotia but one regular correspondent from further west in the province who deserves some notice was 'Ruairidh Bhaird', that is Ruairidh MacDonald, son of Alexander MacDonald or Bàrd na Ceapaich.[3] The son Ruairidh moved to Springhill in the western part of Nova Scotia in the late nineteenth century and his father spent his last days there too, dying in 1904. Throughout the 1920s Ruairidh, a native of the Keppoch in Antigonish County, was a regular correspondent of the column and sent in a number of interesting letters and some of his father's compositions.

Other contributors wrote in from farther afield. There were letters from Ottawa, including this short one from a Father O'Gorman, received in January 1920 before the column had been given its name:

A Fhear eagair Gheadhealach [sic] an Chasket: – Molaim
thu. Is mor e an luthghair ata orm a fheiceail Gaedhealg
na h-Albain faoi chlo san Casket. B'fheidir go mbeidh
seans agat beagan Gaedhilge na h-Eireann a chuir isteach
o am go h-am. Beir buaidh is beannocht. SEAN S.
O'GORMAIN (January 29, 1920).

One Cape Bretoner sent in news from California in the 1920s.
In the early 1940s, Seumas MacGaraidh, a native of Scotland and
a Gaelic learner and teacher in San Francisco, sent in interesting
information about Gaelic activities in that city, including notice
of the Oakland-published *Maple Leaf*, which had a Gaelic column.

As I have stated already, many of the letters included a song.
Indeed, the total number of songs included is several hundred,
many unpublished elsewhere. These items cover a variety of themes:
love, immigration, satires and songs of praise. A particularly well-
represented genre is, perhaps not unexpectedly, songs in praise of
priests. But even in this category we can find the unexpected, such
as 'Rannan Molaidh do 'n Urr. R. L. MacDhomhnuill, Sagart Mor
Shaint Peters', by the Protestant bard, Kenneth Ferguson:

Thuirt e rium 'Na fuiling acras
Fhad 's a tha mo theachsa 'n taic riut,
Na biodh fiamh us na biodh nair' ort
Thigh'inn gu m'ionnsaidh 'shireadh fabhair;
Ged nach caora dhe mo threud thu
Gur e Gaidheil sinn le cheile.'

Tha e feumail anns an duthaich,
Chuir e seisd ri luch-an-spuinidh,
Le Co-oibreachadh a steidheadh
'Measg an t' sluaigh a bha ro fheumach
Air gach goireas a tha 'dhith orr'
'Bhith nas isle ann am pris doibh.

'S ged nach gluais mi taobh ri taobh ris
'S an aon Cheum a chum ar saoradh
'N uair a tharlas dhuinn 'dhol thairis

Tachraidh sinn ri cheil' 'sa Bhaile
'S glacaidh e mo lamh gu cridheil
Ag radh 'Ciamar a tha do chridhe?' (25 March 1920)

I should note here that 'Achadh nan Gaidheal' has several of Ferguson's songs. Calum MacLeod's *Bàrdachd a Albainn Nuaidh* includes three songs that MacLeod took down from the recitation of Duncan MacKay. MacLeod notes that although Ferguson's poems were destroyed in a house fire, at least some of the bard's compositions have been preserved in 'Achadh.'

As I was going through the various issues of the Gaelic column, I was surprised that no one ever appeared to translate the name of the newspaper into Gaelic. It seems that the obvious translation is *ciste* in its various meanings. Finally on 5 May 1940 the column published

ORAN DO CHISTE NAN SEUD

a rinn Domhnull Mac Neill, 's an Rudha Dhearg, a' chiad uair a chunnaic e dealbh a' bhocsachain aig sreath-mhullaich a' *Chasget.*

I particularly like the last stanza, which makes reference to the 'Achadh' theme:

Gu 'm a fad buan bhios sibh 'g a chlo-bhualadh,
     An siol bhios buan anns an talamh bhan,
Facal na firinn 's a' h-uile silean
     Bho 'n dias a 's diriche riamh rinn fas;
Gu 'm bu neart e do 'n laimh ni chriathradh
     'S an talamh Chriostail 's an dean e fas
Gu toirt am biadh agus neart le aoibhneas
     Dha 'n h-uile saighdear aig Righ nan Ard.

During John Lorne Campbell's visit to Nova Scotia, Nicholson and he became fast friends and Nicholson supplied Campbell with the names of important tradition bearers. The 'Achadh' of 18 November 1937 carried a description of the Campbell's visit to Christmas sent in by 'Domhnull':[4]

Facal o Eilean na Nollaige: Mar a's math tha fios agaibh, tha Iain Caimbeul, an sgriobhadair ainmeil agus a bhean air cuairt an America agus chuir iad seachad da sheachduinn anns a' pharraiste seo aig toiseach a' mhios seo chaidh. Tha a' charaid ghasda seo a' dol mun cuairt a' cruinneachadh orain, sgialachdan agus litreachas eile nach robh riamh an clo roimhe seo, 's iad an duil fhollaiseachadh nuair a gheibh iad cothrom…

An lorg tighinn do'n sgireachd de na Caimbeulaich bha ceilidh mhor air a cumail an tigh Ghill-easbuig Mhic Coinnich, far an deach moran oran de gach seorsa ghabhail, 's far an do chluich am piobair Mac Pharlain gu h-earachdail. Sheinn an seann bhard Mac Coinnich ochd no naoi de dh'orain a chaidh a ghabhail sios air an inneal ris an canar an Ediphone. Bha ceilidhean eile an tigh Dabhaidh Mhic Pheadruis. Tha Bean Dhabhaidh (Catriona Nic Neill) 'na fior dheagh bhan-sheinneadair. Chuir ise coig diag de na seann orain sios air an inneal. Tha boirionnach coir eile mhuinntir a' pharraiste, Bean Neill Mhic Aonghais (Anna Nic Dhomhnuill), an drast a' fuireach ann am baile mor Ghlace Bay, a sheinn deich no dusan. Bha fir is mnathan eile a' seinn aon no dha, agus air fad, fhuair na Caimbeulaich eadar da fhichead is leth chiad seann oran nach deach a sgriobhadh riamh roimhe – orain a th'air an call 's an t-Seann Duthaich.

Tha Iain Caimbeul 's a bhean ghrinn a' dianamh obair luachmhor, agus 's i guidhe gach aoin gun cinn gu math leo agus gum bidh turus sabhailt' aca gun dachaidh fhein. An la chi 's nach fhaich [sic], 's mi

<div align="center">Ur caraid,

DOMHNULL</div>

Campbell's gratitude to Nicholson for recommending informants is well known and it is clear that he influenced Nicholson to do some fieldwork himself. Nicholson's writings, even in his university days, show that he was interested in traditional material but with the exigencies of his teaching and priestly duties he

probably had little time for recording. However, in the fall of 1938, the year after Campbell's visit, Nicholson went to Cape Breton and collected several stories from Peter Currie of MacAdam's Lake. He gave the following introduction when he published the first part of Sgialachd Seanchain Mhoir on 27 October 1938:

> Chual' am fear-deasachaidh an sgialachd a tha 'n seo uair is uair nuair a bha e 'na bhallachan, ach chaidh roinn ghasda dhi as a chuimhne. Rinn sinn iomadh oidheirp 's an aimsir a chaidh seachad air a cuir ri cheile air-son an ACHAIDH, agus chaidh sinn air caochladh turus an sud 's an seo air a toir, ach cha do shoirbhich leinn gus air an fhoghar seo. Dh'innis caraid dhuinn gu robh sgialachdan aig Peadar Mac Mhuirich, aig Loch Chloinn Eadhmuinn. Thug sinn sgriob 'g a choimhead; fhuair sinn na bha air chall oirnn de sgialachd Sheanachain Mhoir agus moran a bharrachd. Tha dochas againn tuilleadh de'n t-seorsa a thoirt d'ar luchd-leughaidh a rithis.
>
> Cho fada 's as fiosrach sinn, cha robh an sgialachd seo riamh an clo roimhe seo.
>
> 'S cinnteach gu bheil fios aig cuid d'ar leughadairean air far an gabh tuilleadh fhaighinn agus bu toigh leinn cluinntinn bhuapa.

Nicholson gave the title of the story as 'Seanachan Mor an Eirinn 's Gobha nan Sgeul an Albainn'. It begins 'Bha sid ann roimhe Eireannach iomraideach a bha cho foghluimte 's gu'n tugadh Seanachan Mor mar ainm air ...'

Nicholson continued to publish the story for several weeks in the *Casket*. He also published it with an English translation in *The Celtic Digest*, a short-lived periodical published by the Celtic Society of Columbia University in New York City.

John Lorne Campbell, who was a regular subscriber to the *Casket*, must have been quite impressed with the piece and apparently sent a copy of it off to Sean O'Sullivan of the Irish Folklore Commission. O'Sullivan then tracked Irish variants of the tale and sent these to Nicholson, who published in Gaelic a synopsis of the Irish tale 'Croch Gheal Bhaile Átha Cliath'.

P. J. Nicholson and 'Achadh nan Gaidheal'

In September 1939, Nicholson printed another sgeulachd he had taken down from Currie, entitled 'Iain Mac Rìgh na Frainge'. He would later publish 'Am Breabadair Bog', a story recorded from the Judique storyteller Hector Campbell by a StFX student, Malcolm MacDonell, who would later be ordained a priest, before joining the StFX History Department and eventually becoming president of the university. This version may be compared to another one of the same tale by Hector Campbell included in the collection *Luirgean Eachainn Nìll* by Sr. Margaret Mary MacDonell and John Shaw.[5]

This paper has given a mere *blasad* of what there is in the column's store of material and after I have done additional ploughing in the 'Achadh' I hope to make a more plentiful harvest available to the public.

I will close with the words of Charles Dunn:

> Monsignor Nicholson's work is of exceptional value and interest to the student of Gaelic lore. He gathered traditional songs and tales and recent compositions from a wide variety of informants. The material for his column was selected from this extensive collection, and though each weekly contribution was brief, over a period of more than twenty years the column accumulated many outstanding examples of Gaelic literature. Without it, the record of Gaelic publication in the New World would be less noteworthy.[6]

REFERENCES

1 See Urban T. Holmes, Jr., 'An tòir air a' Ghàidhlig', *Teangadóir*, 1(4) (Lá Fhéile Phádraig, 1954), 50–53 (trip started in August 1953): 'Ràinig sinn Antigonish mu dheireadh, far an robh Msgr. P. L. [*sic*] MacNeacail, Riaghladair Olltaighe Naomh Francis Xavier, a' cur failte chairdeil oirnn. Bha Gàidhlig aige agus eolas nach b' fhaoin air uile Gàidhealtachd. Thug e dhomh *a wire recording* sgeòil na tuath. Tha mi a nis bòsdail mu mo thòir air a' Ghàidhlig.' (53)

2 *Bàrdachd a Albainn Nuaidh*, ed. by Calum Iain M. MacLeòid (Glasgow: Gairm, 1970).

3 See *O Cheapaich nan Craobh/From Keppoch of the Trees: The Poetry of the Keppoch Bard*, ed. by Trueman and Laurinda Matheson (St Andrews, NS: Sìol Cultural Enterprises, 2008).

4 Lorrie MacKinnon has suggested that this Domhnull is Daniel Joseph MacDougall of Christmas Island. See *Songs Remembered in Exile*, ed. by John Lorne Campbell (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), 151.

5 *Luirgean Eachainn Nìll*, ed. by Margaret MacDonell and John Shaw (Stornoway: Acair, 1981).

6 Charles Dunn, *Highland Settler: A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968 [1953]), 20.

The Author of the Poem 'Mac an Cheannaí'
†*Breandán Ó Buachalla*

Most of the poems attributed in the manuscripts to Aogán Ó Rathaille (*c.* 1670–1729) are attributed solely to him. One of the few exceptions is the poem known generally today as 'Mac an Cheannaí', which, although attributed to Ó Rathaille in the vast majority of manuscripts, is anonymous in a few copies and is attributed to Seán Clárach Mac Dónaill (*c.* 1690–1754) in others.

The poem was first edited by John O'Daly in 1844[1] with an accompanying English translation (*A vision bless'd my eyes erewhile, Revealing scenes sublime and airy*) by Edward Walsh. As edited by O'Daly, the poem consisted of five verses, it was entitled 'Mac an Cheanaighe',[2] its initial line was *Aisling faon do dhearcas féin air leabadh 's mé go lag-bhrígheach* and it was ascribed ('Seághan Clárach, ró chan') to the poet Seán Clárach Mac Dónaill. O'Daly did not discuss that ascription. However, in the second edition of his anthology,[3] he ascribed the poem to Aogán Ó Rathaille but gave no explanation for his change of mind.

Dinneen considered O'Daly's edition to be 'A very inaccurate version of this poem'[4] and he was in no doubt but that Ó Rathaille was the author. Accordingly, in his authoritative edition of Ó Rathaille's *oeuvre*, he did not discuss the authorship of the poem as he considered it to be one of Ó Rathaille's most significant lyrics and a most exceptional *aisling*:

> There are few pictures in poetry more pathetic than that drawn in 'The Merchant's Son' ... The vision here described is altogether different from the common poetic reveries of the later poets ... It is impossible to describe adequately the power of the poem. It is ablaze with passion, while the sudden terror of the concluding stanza belongs to the sublime.[5]

The text as edited by Dinneen – a poem of eight verses ascribed to Ó Rathaille, beginning *Aisling ghéar do dhearcas féin* – became the canonical version and it was republished in numerous popular and school anthologies.[6] Two later editions of the poem by professional scholars also ascribed it to Ó Rathaille:

(i) an edition by Donncha A. Ó Cróinín (consulting editor: Prof. R. A. Breatnach) for the series *Dánta Árd-Teistiméireachta*;[7]

(ii) an edition prepared by Prof. Pádraig de Brún of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (under the general editorship of Prof. Brian Ó Cuív) for the Irish Department of Education.[8]

In her master's thesis, Clíona Ní Dhroighneáin, having admitted that there was a problem concerning the authorship, also accepted that Ó Rathaille was the author.[9] I, likewise, in my recent edition of a selection of Ó Rathaille's poems, attributed the poem to Ó Rathaille.[10] There is, then, an editorial consensus concerning the authorship of the poem and, although that consensus could be mistaken, the fact is that all scholars who have edited the poem accept the attribution to Ó Rathaille, although the manuscripts are not unanimous in that regard.

The attributional pattern (anonymous / Mac Dónaill / Ó Rathaille) is already present in the four earliest extant copies:

B RIA 23 B 38: 237. 6v. 'Air Éire *Aisling faon do dhearcus féin air leaba is mé go lagbhríoghach* ...' Written by Séamas Ó Murchú (*Seamus Ua Murchughadh / James Murphy*, p.1) 'as uiliomad sáothair 7 duanta' at 'Droitchiod Ceann-puill' [Campile, Co.Wexford] in 1778–80.

D RIA 23 D 8: 260. 5v. 'Seaghán (Clárach) Mac Dómhnaill cct. (v.) *Aislin faon do dhearcas féin air leaba 's me go lag-bhrígheach ... I spyed of late a welcome dream in* ...' Written by Pilib Ó Giobúin (*Pilib Ua Giobúin / Pilib Ua Giobughain / Pilib Mhac Gibúin / Philip Gibbon / Philip Gibbons / Philippus Gibbon*, pp. 30, 164, 193, 196, 215) at 'Cillhaighill a ccontae Loch Garman' [Kilhile, Co. Wexford] *c*. 1780.[11]

G 1 RIA 23 G 21: 366. 8v. 'An fear céadna cc. *Aisling fáon do dhearcas féin um leabadh is mé go lagbhríoghach* ...' Written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in Co. Cork *c*. 1795.[12]

G 2 RIA 23 G 21: 489. 8v. 'Aódhgan Ó Raithille cct. *Aisling gear do dhearcas fein um leaba is me go laigbhríogach*...' Written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in Co. Cork *c*. 1800.

Accepting G 2 as the norm, the sequence of verses in these four manuscripts can be illustrated thus:

B	1	2		4	5		7	6	
D	1	2	3		5				8
G 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		8
G 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		8

In a recent article, Dr Caoimhín Breatnach has raised again the question of the authorship of the poem and has suggested (a) that the eighth verse may represent 'a later addition' in the poem; (b) that G 1 and G 2 constitute a composite version 'based on what were perceived to be two fragmentary versions of the poem'; and (c) that Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin was responsible for the composite version.[13] It is implicit in Dr Breatnach's approach to the material that Ó Longáin had access to the two earlier manuscripts (B, D) or to copies of them but no evidence is presented to sustain this assumption. I am not aware that such evidence exists. As regards B, we know very little concerning its history apart from the fact that it was written in Co. Wexford between 1778 and 1780 and that it came into John O'Daly's possession in 1848. There is no evidence to suggest that it had travelled outside of Co. Wexford in the intervening period or that its contents had been copied by other scribes. On the contrary, the manuscript contains some items which are unique to it,[14] in particular the version of 'Mac an Cheannaí', which is anonymous in the manuscript and contains six verses. No other copy of this version exists.

As regards D, we know very little of its history either, apart from the fact that it was written in Co. Wexford between 1740 and 1780. The section of the manuscript (pp. 255–82) that contains the five-verse version of 'Mac an Cheannaí' also contains several other poems which are unique to that manuscript. These include Ó Rathaille's joyous lyric on the engagement of Honora Butler to Valentine Browne in 1720 ('An Dea-Fháistine don Tiarna Brúnach'). No other copy of that poem exists.[15] It is difficult to imagine Ó Longáin having access to this poem and not copying it, particularly since we know that he was actively engaged in compiling collections of Ó Rathaille's poetry.[16] That D is obviously an acephalous copy is demonstrated by

the fact that v. 5 (beginning *Adúirt* arís *an bhúidhbhean* ...) is meaningless unless preceded by v. 4 (*A ráite féin* ...) which is not in D, but is found in all other versions.

A version similar to D in the initial line (*Aisling faon* ...), in the number (5) and sequence of verses, and in the ascription to Mac Dónaill is found in five late manuscripts:

R 1 UCD L 6: 51 (1847). Seán Ó Dálaigh
R 2 RIA 24 L 12: 157 (1856). Mícheál Ó hAnnracháin
R 3 UCC M 63: 374 (1859). Mícheál Ó hAnnracháin
R 4 UCD M 20: 128 (1852). Arthur Bennet
R 5 RIA 24 B 9: 97 (19th cent.). Pádraig Foley Fitzgibbon

Copies of the same text, but without the ascription to Mac Dónaill, occur in two other manuscripts:

R 6 UCC T 69 c: 5 (19th cent.)
R 7 CUL Add. 6485: 29 (19th cent.). S. H. O'Grady

As these seven manuscripts provide the same text, it is obvious that they emanate from the same source; that source, however, is not D (notwithstanding the obvious similarities between the texts and D) but O'Daly's version as published by him in *Reliques* (R).[17] All seven manuscripts replicate the readings in R (with some minor variations) that differ from D:

l. 3 D a cúm ba gheal
      R a cóm ba chaol

l. 4 D go rabh ... le díogras
      R go raibh ... le díograis

l. 13 D Dúbhairt ... an bhúig-bhean mhín
      R Dúbhairt ... an óig-bhean mhín

l. 14 D ba foghlach glac i 'ngleacaídheacht
      R ba fóghlach glaic a ngleacaidheacht

l. 15 D Críthfaidh Seun tar toínn é 'gcéin, is Luís ma 'Céin
      R Go d-tiocfadh Seághan thar toínn aigéin, is Lugh mac Céin

l. 17 D Dúbhart sa lé, air chlus na sgéul
R 'Dúbhairt-sa lé air chlos a sgéil

l. 20 D go neamh-bhrigheach
R go neim-mbrígheach

Some of these are undoubtedly minor variations which could easily arise in the transition from manuscript to printed version; others are more substantive and collectively they do suggest that R does not derive directly from D. That is reinforced by the fact that D and R contain two different translations of the poem: *I spyed of late a welcome dream …* (D), *A vision bless'd my eyes erewhile …* (R). There is, moreover, another piece of evidence which would seem to confirm that D was not the source of R. In his introduction to his anthology, O'Daly described the manuscript in which he had found Mac Dónaill's poems as 'very neatly written by a man named Philip Fitzgibbon, between the years 1750 and '85 as it bears both dates respectively'.[18] Even if we assume that Fitzgibbon and Ó Giobúin, the scribe of D, are one and the same person,[19] there is still a problem: D was written between 1740 and 1780; the only dates it contains are 1740 (p. 30), 1742 (p. 164), 1759 (p. 196) and a poem (p. 272) dated by the scribe to 1780. D, obviously, was not O'Daly's source.

It would seem, then, that D is another unique copy of 'Mac an Cheannaí'. As far as the extant evidence shows, it did not generate other copies; the translation of the poem it contains (*I spyed of late a welcome dream …*) does not occur elsewhere. Like B, D seems to have been isolated – perhaps because of its geographical location (Co. Wexford) – from the main scribal centres and coteries. Similarly, D, like B, seems to be an acephalous text, and neither of them had any impact on the transmission of the poem.[20] There is no evidence whatsoever that Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin had access to either manuscript.

If Dr Breatnach's suggestion that Ó Longáin combined the earlier versions into a new distinct eight-verse poem were well-founded, one would expect G 1 and G 2[21] to reflect that fact textually. There is, naturally, some correspondence between all the copies, since we are dealing with different versions of the same

poem. More significant, however, is the fact that there are crucial variations between them and that G 1 and G 2 have readings (both lexical and morphological forms) which occur neither in B nor D. This applies not only to verses 4, 6, 7 and 8, which are found in either B or D, but not in both; it also applies to verses 1, 2, 3 and 5, which occur in both B and D. In fact, in 20 of the 32 lines, G 1 and / or G 2 have readings which are found neither in B nor D:

B   Aisling faon ... air leaba
D   Aislin faon ... air leaba
G 1   Aisling fáon ... um leabadh
G 2   Aisling ghear ... um leaba (v. 1, l. 1)

B   a súile glasa a cúl tiubh casta a cóm budh gheal ...
D   a súile glas' a cul tiumh casda a cúm ba gheal ...
G 1   a súile glasa a cúl tiugh casda a cúm seang geal ...
G 2   a suil reamhur ghlas a cúl trom cas a cum seang geal ... (l. 3)

B   go raibh ... a díogras ...
D   go rabh ... le díogras ...
G 1   go raibh ... a ndíogras ...
G 2   go raibh ... le díogras ... (l. 4)

B   a ceol budh bhinn a glór budh chaoin ...
D   a beól ba bhinn, a ceól ba chaoin ...
G1   a beol badh caoin a glor badh bínn ...
G2   a beol badh binn a glor badh caoin ... (v. 2, l. 5)

B   fá shúiste Gall ... mo chúilfhionn tseang mo bhean ghaoidhil
D   fá shúisdibh Gall ... mo chúilean tseang 's mo bhean-ghaoil
G 1   fa súiste Gall ... mo chúilfhionn tseang do shlad sínn
G 2   fa suisteadha Gall ... mo chúilfhionn tseang do shlad sínn (l. 7)

B   claoidhte lag beith sí na spreas go bhfille ...
D   beidh sí na spreas, an rígh-bhean deas, go bhfíllfhidh ...
G 1   níl fáeseamh seal lé téacht na gar go bhfíllfidh ...
G 2   níl faoisiomh seal le tícht na gar go bhfillfidh ... (l. 8)

D   le géur-shearc sámh dhá cneas-mhín
G 1, 2 le géirshearc sámh dhá cneaschlidhe (v. 3, l. 9)

D   dragoin líomhtha 's gaisgígh
G 1, 2   dragain fhíochda is gaisgídhicc (l. 10)

D   gnúis, ná gnaoi ... 's tig dúbhach, fá sgíos
G 1, 2   ta gnúis na gnaoi ... cé dúbhach fá sgíos (l. 11)

D   ní'l feidhsiomh seal, le tigheacht na gar ...
G 1   níl fáoiseamh seal le téacht na gar ...
G 2   nil faeseamh seal le teacht na gar ... (l. 12)

B   mo lan chreach chlé do lag sinn
G 1   mo láinchreach ghéur do shlad sínn
G 2   mo lainchreach ghéar a haicid (v. 4, l. 13)

B   go mbeith si ...fá bhúidhionn gan treóir gan maithghníomh
G 1, 2   go bhfuil sí ... sa búidhean gan gó badh maith gníomh (l. 14)

B   gan fiadhac gan feóil
G 1, 2   gan chliar gan órd ... (l. 15)

B   cruíte lag a caoi na ndearc go ...
G 1   sgo mbeadh sí na spreas gan luíghe le fear go ...
G 2   sgo mbiaidh sí na spreas gan luighe le fear go ... (l. 16)

B   Adubhairt aris ... ó turnamh riogradh chleacht sí
D   Dúbhairt arís ... gur siúr na ríghthe ' chleacht sí
G 1, 2   Adubhairt arís ... ó thúrnamh ríghthe chleacht sí (v. 5, l. 17)

B   Conn is Art budh lonnmhar reacht ...
D   Conn, is Art ba lonnmhur reacht ....
G 1, 2   Conn is Art badh lónnrach reacht ... (l. 18)

B   Criomhthain tréan tar tuinn tug geill is Luighdheach mac Cain
            na nglac mín
D   Críthfaidh Seun tar toínn é 'gcéin, is Luís ma' Céin, an fear
            graoi
G 1, 2   Criomhthan tréan tar tuínn tug géill is Láoigheach mac
            Céin an fear gráoidhe (l. 19)

B   cloidhte lag beith sí na spreas go ...
D   's beidh sí na spreas, gan luighe le fear, go ...

G 1   sgo mbeadh sí na spreas gan luíghe le fear go ...
G 2   go mbiaidh si na spreas gan luíghe le fear go ... (l. 20).

B   do bheir súil ó dheas gach lá fá seach ...
G 1, 2 do bheir suil ó dheas gach ló fó seach ... (v. 6, l. 21)

B   suil dheas soir ... mo chumha anocht ...
G 1   súil dheas soir ... mo chumha annois ...
G 2   súil deas soir ... mo chumha annois ... (l. 22)

B   a ttonntaibh fiaradh gainmhídhe ...
G 1, 2 tar tonntaibh fiara gainmhíghe ... (l. 23)

B   claoidhte lag beith sí gan phreab go
G 1, 2 sgo mbeadh sí na spreas gan luíghe le fear go ... (l. 24)

B   na táinte chleacht an cailín
G 1, 2 na táinte shearc an cailín (v. 7, l. 25)

B   níl gean ná grása ... admhuídhiom
G 1, 2 nil gean ná grádh ... adaoim (l. 26)

B   gruama a fíoghar gan fuan go fliuc sa gruaim is dubh an
        aibíd
G 1, 2 a gruadhna fliuch gan suan gan sult fa ghruaim is dubh
        an aibíd (l. 27)

B   nil faoiseamh seal le tídhiocht um ghar go ...
G 1   sgo mbeadh sí na spreas gan luighe le fear go ...
G 2   nil faesiomh seal le teacht na gar go ... (l. 28)

D   air chlus na sgéul, gur rún nár éag, do chleacht sí
G 1   air chlos na sgeal aruin gur éag ar chleacht si
G 2   iar chlos a sgeal a run gur eag air chleacht sí (v. 8, l. 29)

D   chuaidh dhon Spáinn, is fuair si bás ... a ceasnaidhe
G 1, 2 shuas sa Spainn go bhfuair an bás ... a haicíd (l. 30)

D   air chlus ... do bhíog a croídhe 's do sgread sí
G 1, 2 iar chlos ... do chorruig a cruith   sdo sgread sí (l. 31)

D   's déaloidh 'n tanam ... go neamh-bhrigheach
G 1, 2 is déalaigh a hanam ... go lagbhríoghach (l. 32)

As regards the eighth verse, since it is found in three of the earliest copies (D, G 1, G 2), and since it contains significant textual differences (ll. 29–32 above), it would seem that we are dealing with three different versions of the same verse, as we are dealing with three different versions of the same poem. If, however, it is 'a later addition', as suggested by Dr Breatnach, it follows that three versions of that verse were added at three different times by two different scribes.[22] The fact that the last word of the last line of verse 8 in G 1 and G 2 (*an bhean go lagbhríoch*) echoes, in *dúnadh* fashion, the same word in the first line of the poem (*ar leaba is mé go lagbhríoch*) suggests to me that the eighth verse was always the last verse of the poem, particularly since Ó Rathaille uses the same stylistic device in other poems of his.[23]

We do not know what sources Ó Longáin had available to him in transcribing 'Mac an Cheannaí', but as he transcribed G 1 and G 2 at different times, in different places, in Co. Cork, it would seem most probable that he was transcribing from two different manuscripts. That would explain the different textual contexts in which the two copies are found and the textual differences between them, particularly the initial line (*Aisling faon …* G 1, *Aisling ghéar …* G 2) and the other interesting, albeit minor, variants (*supra*, pp. 330, 334–36). It seems that G 1 did not generate any derivatives as it contains several readings which are unique to it and are not found in any later copy;[24] no extant copy can be derived directly from it. A significant feature of both copies (G 1, G 2) is that they are immediately followed in the manuscript by Ó Rathaille's well-known lyric 'Gile na Gile' and that the latter poem is presented as the *ceangal* of the former in both copies. Whether the concatenation of 'Mac an Cheannaí' with 'Gile na Gile' had occurred in Ó Longáin's exemplars or whether he himself implemented it in transcribing the poems cannot now be ascertained.[25]

There are at present at least 31 extant manuscript copies of the poem 'Mac an Cheannaí'.[26] A simple head-count, according to authorial attribution, provides the following distribution:

(i) Anonymous: four copies (RIA 23 B 38, NLI G 116, UCC T 69 c, UCL Add. 6485);[27]

(ii) Mac Dónaill: six copies (RIA 23 D 8 and the five copies (R 1–R 5) enumerated above (p. 332), copied from O'Daly);

(iii) Ó Rathaille: twenty-one copies (all other copies).

Of course, the distributional pattern is not as simple nor as uni-dimensional as that. There is, in fact, only one independent anonymous version (B); the other three anonymous copies derive from other versions (n. 27). Similarly, there is only one independent copy atttributed to Mac Dónaill (D), the other copies all derive from O'Daly's printed version (n. 17). The copies attributing the poem to Ó Rathaille are not all autonomous, but neither do they represent 'a single witness' as claimed by Dr Breatnach:

> The copies of 'Mac an Ceannaí' in manuscripts *D* (1–9) represent no more than multiple copies of a single witness ... Manuscripts *D* (10) and (11) are also copies of the same witness ... Four more copies of the same witness are found in manuscripts *D* (12–15) ... Five more copies of the same witness, *D* (1), are contained in manuscripts *D* (16–21) ... From this it is clear that all of the copies of 'Mac an Cheannaí' in *D* constitute no more than a single witness to the original text and to the attribution of the poem to Ó Rathaille.[28]

However, the basis of Dr Breatnach's conclusion is not a textual analysis of the copies in question but the familial and / or professional relationships of the scribes. Thus, in listing the copy written by Uilliam Ó hÓgáin (*D* 13 = G 13), the only information provided concerning the scribe or his copy is that 'one of the other manuscripts written by this scribe contains material copied from a source written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin'.[29] But this information has no bearing on a textual analysis of the scribe's copy; no such analysis is provided, nor any information concerning it, although, as I demonstrate below (pp. 342–43), this copy presents several unusual textual features. Similarly, in listing one of the copies written by Tadhg Mac Cárthaigh (*D* 18 = G 12), Dr Breatnach notes that 'The four other extant manuscripts by this scribe were written in Cork'.[30] No information concerning the textual nature

of the copy is provided; it is assumed that because of this symbiotic Cork connection, the copy in question follows some predetermined norm. Mac Cárthaigh, in fact, as I demonstrate below (pp. 342–43), deviated very much from the norm. The first nine copies of the poem listed by Dr Breatnach (*D* 1–9 = G 2, G 8, G 10, G 14–G 16, G 18, G 20, G 22) are deemed to 'represent no more than multiple copies of a single witness',[31] not because the nine copies provide an identical text (which they don't) but because of the fact that the scribes who copied them were members of the Ó Longáin family (Mícheál Óg, Peadar, Pól).

Confining ourselves, for the moment, to two of the copies transcribed by Peadar Ó Longáin (G 10, G 16) and comparing them to G 2 we see that one of them (G 16) differs somewhat from the other two:

	G 2	G 10	G 16
l. 7	fá shúisteadha	fá shuisteádha	fá shúisteadhibh
l. 8	faoisiomh … tícht	faoisiomh … tiocht	faéseamh … teacht
l. 10	maca Mílig	maca Míligh	maca Míleadh
l. 17	o turrnnamh righthe	o túrrnnamh	ó túrnadh
l. 19	Criomhthan tréan	tréan	séimh
l. 21	súil o dheas	súil ó dheas	súil badh dheas
l. 22	is suil deas soir	is súil deas soir	a súil dheas soir
l. 24	go bhfillfidh	go bhfillfidh	go bhfillfeadh
l. 26	adaoím	adaoím	admhuighim
l. 27	gan suan gan sult	gan suan gan sult	gan suan ná sult
l. 29	iar chlos a sgéal	iar chlos a sgéal	air chlos an sgéil

Although most of these variants are, in themselves, minor in nature, when taken together they constitute an important deviation from G 2. Moreover, the fact that they are not confined to that particular manuscript, but that the majority of them also occur in nine manuscripts in all (G 14–G 22), all but two of which (G 14, G 17) give 1737 as the date of composition of the poem, suggests that we are dealing with a version of the poem which did not derive from G 2. Peadar Ó Longáin, clearly, in his copies of the poem, presents us with more than 'one witness': for instance, in l. 27 he provides us with a choice of either *gan suan gan sult* or *gan suan ná sult*. So too with Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin himself who, in the course of his long scribal

career, transcribed three copies of the poem (G 1, G 2, G 20), none of which corresponds completely to either of the other two but which vividly demonstrate the dynamic nature of scribal transmission, the proclivity of textual variation, and the shifting nature of 'the original text':[32]

l. 1   Aisling fáon ... um leabadh ... lagbhríoghach (G 1)
      Aisling ghear ... um leaba ... laigbhríoghach (G 2)
      Aisling ghéur ... am leaba ... lagbhríoghach (G 20)

l. 3   a súile glasa a cúl tiugh casda (G 1)
      a súil reamhur ghlas a cúl trom cas (G 2, G 20)

l. 5   a beol badh caoin a glór badh bínn (G 1)
      a beol badh binn a glór badh caoin (G 2, G 20)

l. 7   fa súiste Gall ... (G 1)
      fá shúisteadha Gall ... (G 2)
      fá shúisteadhaibh Gall (G 20)

l. 8   níl faéseamh seal le téacht na gar ... (G 1)
      níl faoisiomh seal le tícht na gar ... (G 2)
      níl faéseamh seal le téacht na gar ... (G 20)

l. 9   mo láinchreach ghéur do shlad sínn (G 1)
      mo láinchreach ghéar a haicíd (G 2, G 20)

l. 16   sgo mbeadh sí na spreas ... (G 1)
      go mbiaidh sí na spreas ... (G 2)
      sgo mbeadh sí na spreas ... (G 20)

l. 17   ó thúrnamh ríghthe ... (G 1)
      o turrnnamh righthe ... (G 2)
      ó túrnadh ríghthe ... (G 20)

l. 19   Criomhthain tréan ... (G 1, G 2)
      Críomhthain shéimh ... (G 20)

l. 20   do bheir súil ó dheas ... (G 1, G 2)
      do bheir súil badh dheas ... (G 20)

l. 22   's súil dheas soir (G 1)
      is súil deas soir (G 2)
      a súil dheas soir (G 20)

l. 26   adaoím (G 1, G 2)
      admhuíghim (G 20)

l. 27   gan suan gan sult (G 1, G 2)
      gan suan ná sult (G 20)

l. 28   sgo mbeadh sí na spreas ... (G 1)
        nil faesiomh seal le teacht na gar ... (G 2)
        níl faéseamh seal le téacht na gar ... (G 20)
l. 29   ar chlos na sgeal ... (G 1)
        iar chlos a sgeal ... (G 2, G 20)

Where G 20 deviates from the other two copies (G 1, G 2), it corresponds to the readings in G 16 (*supra*, p. 339), from which, it seems, G 20 derives. In fact, Mícheál Óg's three copies (G 1, G 2, G 20) represent three different versions of the poem.

There is no question whatsoever but that the Ó Longáin family played a major part in the transmission of the poem. They provided 10 of the extant copies and other members of their literary coterie provided several more. G 2 did generate several copies, but not all copies of the eight-verse version of the poem can be derived directly from it, nor were all the scribes members of the Ó Longáin circle. And although it seems that the scribes in question all hailed from Co. Cork, that fact, however, does not entail a monochrome approach to the material nor unanimity in the textual outcome. To reduce 13 scribes and the product of their labours (21 copies of the poem) to the status of 'a single witness', is not only an over-simplification of a complex pattern of textual transmission but it also implies that the scribes transcribed derived material in a mechanical fashion.[33] The evidence suggests otherwise.

Some scribes go along with the notion that 'Gile na Gile' is the *ceangal* of 'Mac an Cheannaí', others do not; some append the date 1737 to the poem, others give no date and a few give other dates; some unquestioningly accept the readings of their exemplar. Eoghan Tóibín, for instance, in transcribing a copy of G 2, incorporates in his copy (G 3) the exclamation 'Dia linn' which accompanies the poem in G 2. Other scribes, however, 'emend' at will, providing multifarious variants, even in the most straightforward of lines:

l. 1   um leabadh (G 1), um leaba (G 2), ar leaba (G 17)
l. 4   a ndíogras (G 1), le díogras (G 2), le díograis (G 21)
l. 5   a beol badh caoin a glór badh bínn (G 1)
        a beol badh binn a glór badh caoin (G 2)
        a béal bo bhinn a glór bo chaoin (G 17)
        a béal bo bhinn a ceol badh chaoin (G 21)

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l. 7   fá shúiste Gall (G 1), fá shúisteadha (G 2), fá shúisteadhaibh
        (G 20), fa fhúistighe (G 13)
l. 8   níl faéseamh seal le téacht na gar go bhfillfidh (G 1)
        níl faoiseamh ... tícht na gar go bhfillfidh (G 2)
        níl faoseamh ... tíoghacht na gáir ... (G 13)
        níl faésamh ... tígheacht na gar (G 17)
l. 9   dá grádh (G 2), da ccrádh (G 17)
l. 11 tá gnúis na gnaoi (G 2), atá gnúis na gnaoi (G 16),
        tá gnúis ná gnaoi (G 13), tá gnúis na ngnaoi (G 21),
        gnúis no gnaoi (R 4)
l. 12 níl faeseamh ... le teacht na gar go bhfillfidh (G 2)
        níl faeseamh ... le téacht na gar go bhfillfeadh (G 20)
        níl faeseamh ... teacht nar gar go bhfillfidh (G 22)
        níl faosiomh ... teacht na gar go bhfillfidh (G 7)
        níl faésamh ... le tígheacht na gar go bhfillfeadh (G 17)
        níl faoiseamh ... le tígheacht na gáir go bhfillfidh (G 11)
l. 16 go mbeadh (G 1), go mbiaidh (G 2), go mbíadh (G 13),
        go mbeidh (G 17)
l. 17 ó thúrnamh ríghthe (G 1), ó turrnnadh (G 21), ó turrnnamh
        (G 13), ó thúrnna do righthe (G 17)
l. 22 is suil deas soir (G 2), a súil dheas soir (G 20), a súil dheas
        siar (G 17)
l. 29 ar chlos na sgéal (G1), iar chlos a sgéal (G 2), air chlos an
        sgéil (G 15), iar chlos a sgéil (G 21), iar gclos a sgéil (G 5)
l. 31 iar clos (G 2), iar chlos (G 20), air clos (G 11), air gclos (G 5)

A curious feature of G 2, and of its derivatives, is that although the metrically correct reading (*níl faoiseamh seal le tíocht 'na gar* /í -a-/) is given in l. 8, where the same line occurs elsewhere in the poem (ll. 12, 28) the metrically faulty reading (*faeseamh ... téacht*) is accepted. Two scribes, however (Uilliam Ó hÓgáin, scribe of G 13, and Tadhg Mac Cárthaigh, scribe of G 11 and G 12), apply the correct variant throughout their copies of the poem, and are the only scribes to do so. Moreover, in several other lines they also demonstrate a sturdy individualism that goes against the grain and the consensus:

l. 5   a beol ba binn ... (G 2) ~ a béal badh binn
l. 8   go bhfillfidh (G 2) ~ go bhfillfeadh

l. 12 níl faeseamh ... teacht (G 2) ⁓ faoiseamh ... tigheacht

l. 19 tug géill ... (G 2) ⁓ tú géill

l. 21 fo seach (G 2) ⁓ faoi seach

l. 27 a gruanna fliuch ... (G 2) ⁓ a gruadh go fliuch

l. 28 níl faesiomh ... teacht (G 2) ⁓ faoiseamh ... tíoghacht

l. 29 iar chlos a sgéal ... air chleacht sí (G 2) ⁓ air chlos a sgéil
         ... iar chleacht sí

l. 30 thuas sa Spáinn go bhfuair an bás ... (G 2) ⁓
         theas sa Spáinn go bhfuair ann bás[34]

Since it is unlikely that the scribes of those three manuscripts, independently of each other, thought up the same variants, and since none of them seems to be a copy of another, it would seem that they derive from a common exemplar which is not now extant. They constitute, *pace* Dr Breatnach,[35] an independent witness which, in two particular lines (ll. 12, 28) uniquely preserves the metrically correct reading.

The Ó Longáin scribes, Mícheál Óg and Peadar, as we have seen, provide us with several morphological, metrical and semantic variants in their copies of the poem: they constitute more than 'one witness'. Two other aspects of their copies confirm this. Although Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin appended no date to his earlier copies of the poem (G 1, G 2, written *c.* 1795–1800), in his copy in G 20, written in 1833, he gives 1737 as the date of composition. Accordingly, as regards the dating of the text, Ó Longáin provides two witnesses; similarly with his son, Peadar, who provides two dates for the poem: 1700 (G 10) and 1737 (G 22). Pól Ó Longáin, another son, having previously attributed the poem to Ó Rathaille in two copies (G 8, G 15), in a note on the poem in another manuscript (G 22: viii) states: 'This song entitled Mac an Cheannuighe The Son of the Merchant, was composed by John McDonald ....'[36] As with other aspects of the poem – orthography, morphology, metre, date – the individual scribes, in providing the poem with an authorial formula, had a choice of accepting, changing, or rejecting their exemplars. Two of them, as we have seen, wilfully or otherwise, deleted the attribution to Mac Dónaill (*supra*, p. 332). Another, Pól Ó Longáin, was, it seems, of two minds concerning the authorship. That the vast majority of scribes accepted the attribution to Ó Rathaille does not diminish their independence, nor does it reduce

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them to the status of 'a single witness'; we owe it to them to assume that in doing so they believed that, in fact, Ó Rathaille was the author.

The textual evidence suggests that we can distinguish the following versions of the poem:

I   A unique 6-verse (*Aisling faon* ...) anonymous version (B);

II A unique 5-verse (*Aisling faon* ...) version attributed to Mac Dónaill (D);

IIa A 5-verse version (*Aisling faon* ...) attributed to Mac Dónaill; published by O'Daly (*Reliques*, 12) and copied from that in seven late manuscripts (R 1–7);

III A unique 8-verse version (*Aisling faon* ...) attributed to Ó Rathaille (G 1);

IV An 8-verse version (*Aisling ghéar* ...) attributed to Ó Rathaille; found initially in G 2 and in eight other MSS (G 3–G 10) which derive from it (or from G 2's exemplar):

    G 3   NLI G 92: 294 (1816–17). Eoghan Tóibín
    G 4   BA 2: 32 (1820–25). Séamas Muilseanach
    G 5   HL HM 4543: 254 (1827). Tadhg Ó Conaill
    G 6   UCD F 9: 80 (1896–99). Pádraig Feiritéar[37]
    G 7   RIA 24 C 55: [8] (19th cent.)[38]
    G 8   MN M 6: 229 (1818). Pól Ó Longáin
    G 9   CF 25: 40 (1842). Éamann Ó Mathúna
    G 10 NLI G 434a: 19 (1837). Peadar Ó Longáin

In four of these manuscripts (G 3–G 6), the poem 'Gile na Gile', which is attributed only to Ó Rathaille, is presented as being the *ceangal* of 'Mac an Cheannaí' (as it is in G 1 and G 2).

IVa An 8-verse version (*Aisling ghéar* ...) attributed to Ó Rathaille which deviates from IV in several independent readings (*supra*, pp. 342–43) and which is found in three copies:

    G 11 UCG B 1: 60 (1824). Tadhg Mac Cárthaigh[39]
    G 12 BA 3: 83 (1832–39). Tadhg Mac Cárthaigh
    G 13 UCD F 22: 133 (1823–25). Uilliam Ó hÓgáin

In G 11, 'Gile na Gile' is also presented as being the ceangal of 'Mac an Cheannaí'.

IVb An 8-verse version (*Aisling ghéar* ...), attributed to Ó Rathaille,
which deviates from IV in several lines and which is found in
nine manuscripts:

G 14 NLI G 116: 121 (19th cent.). Pól Ó Longáin[40]
G 15 RIA 23 O 26: 56 (19th cent.). Pól Ó Longáin
G 16 RIA 23 F 18: 61 (1825). Peadar Ó Longáin
G 17 UCD F 33: 220 (1858–62). Dáibhí Ó Caoimh
G 18 NLI G 320: 68 (1807–33). Peadar Ó Longáin[41]
G 19 UCC T 17: 10 (1843). Seán Ó Caoimh
G 20 RIA 23 C 8: 353 (1833). Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin
G 21 RIA 24 A 34: 26 (1837). Tadhg Mac Aogáin
G 22 NLI G 441: 18 (1846). Peadar Ó Longáin

In four (G 14–G 17) of these copies, 'Mac an Cheannaí' is
immediately followed by 'Gile na Gile' and the date 1737 is
appended to all but two (G 14, G 17) of the nine copies. But
either the attribution to Ó Rathaille or the date is wrong, as we
know that Ó Rathaille was dead by March 1729.[42]

Although most of Ó Rathaille's poems are not dated in the
manuscripts, those which are given a specific date by the scribes
manifest considerable variation in the dates assigned to them.
Thus the poem 'Marbhna na hÉireann' has copies bearing the
dates 1692, 1704 and 1722; the poem 'Marbhna Sheáin Brún' is
dated to the years 1700 and 1726; copies of the poem 'D'Fhínín
Ó Donnchú an Ghleanna' assign the dates 1725, 1741 and 1744
to the poem; 'Bharántas an Choiligh' is dated 1717 and 1794 in
different copies.[43] A similar variation is found in the manuscript
copies of 'Mac an Cheannaí'. Apart from 1737, which we have
already noted, two other dates have been assigned to the poem:

(i) 1697 in an anonymous English translation: 'Owen O'Rahilly
(1697) *In a sharp dream I saw in my bed and I weak and feeble* ...'
(RIA 12 C 2: 812 (1856));

(ii) 1700 in a copy of the poem written by Peadar Ó Longáin:
'Aodhgán Ó Raithille cct san mbliaghain 1700' (G 10: 19)[44] and in
the second edition of O'Daly's anthology: 'Aodhgán O'Raithile ró
chan, A. D. 1700'.[45]

The fact that Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, having previously (G 1, G 2) left the poem undated, 30 years later dates the poem (G 20) and that his son, Peadar Ó Longáin, assigns two different dates (1700, 1737) to the poem in two different sources (G 10, G 15) should make us wary of accepting unquestioningly such scribal datings. That general caveat applies particularly to members of the Ó Longáin scribal family, who can be notoriously cavalier in assigning dates to specific poems.[46] Since a minute elaboration of that judgement would lead us far astray from the matter in hand I will confine myself, in this instance, to one specific manuscript of theirs.

G 20 was written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in 1833–1835. It contains a comprehensive and important collection (more than 170 poems in all) of seventeenth and eighteenth-century political poetry ('Aistíghe Cúmha ar Éirinn'). About half of the poems are dated by Ó Longáin. One can state immediately that some of the dates assigned by him are accurate. This applies particularly to copies of poems by Dáibhí Ó Bruadair, which obviously derive from autograph copies (pp. 1, 11. 26, 148 etc.), and to some copies of the scribe's own poems (pp. 18, 19, 33, 86, 136 etc.). Apart from those – about 25 poems in all – one could question, on various grounds, the majority of dates assigned by him to other poems. I give here some cases where the date given by Ó Longáin is obviously inaccurate:

(i) p. 30: 'Páttraig Haicéad 1692 *Mo lá léinse Éire na n-árdchnoc sean ...*' Haicéad died in 1654.

(ii) p. 44: '1693 *Mo lá leóin lem ló go n-éagad ...*' The editor, on internal evidence, dates the poem to 'about 1658'.[47]

(iii) p. 52: 'Dáibhi Conndún Cumha cáointe na h-Éireann, 1691 *Is buartha an cás so ttarla Éire ...*' The editor, on internal evidence, states 'the date 1691 is too late for it. It was probably composed between 1654 and 1657'.[48]

(iv) p. 82: 'Aodh Buidhe Mac Cruitín 1693 *Is glinn an tsolamhuin chím san Nodluigseo ...* ' The editor suggests that the poem was written 'about the year 1730'.[49] A reference to George II in the poem proves that it was written after 1727.

(v) p. 89: 'Ainndréas Mac Cruitín Fáistine air Éirinn, 1742 *Air mbeith sealad dhómhsa in aicis mhór cois taoide ...* ' Internal evidence shows that it was written *c.* 1719.[50]

(vi) p. 124: 'Ainndrias Mac Cruitín 1745 *Is mac do Mhars an mac so in Albain tuaidh ...*' Both the date and the ascription are wrong; it was written by Donnchadh Caoch Ó Mathúna on the Earl of Mar's expedition to Scotland in 1715.

(vii) p. 127: 'An t-Athair Uilliam Ó Dála Rainn Chúmha air Éirinn, 1693 *Mo sgíos mo lagar mo sgartacha ...*' The poem deals with the Act of Abjuration (1709) and contains a reference to Queen Anne (†1714).

(viii) p. 366: 'Uilliam Mac Carteáin an Dúna 1691 *A chlanna Gaodhal fáisgidh bhúr lámha le chéile ...*' Internal evidence – a reference to the return of 'Cormac Steward mac Shéamuis' – shows that the poem was written sometime after 1745.

It is obvious that not much credence can be given to Ó Longáin's dates; in fact, it is difficult not to agree with T. F. O'Rahilly when he stated that they were mostly 'guesses'.[51] The date 1737 would seem to have arisen among the Ó Longáin coterie, if not among the family – five of the seven manuscripts containing the date 1737 (G 15, G 16, G 18, G 20, G 22) were written by different members of the family. One of them, Peadar, would seem to have had a penchant for the year 1737: in one manuscript of his (G 10: 7, 25, 29, 37), he gives 1737 as the date of composition of four different love-songs ascribed to four different poets. It may be, of course, that 1737 was a great year for loving or, at least, for the composition of love-poems, but one suspects that the scribe was, as was his and his colleagues' wont, merely pulling a date from thin air. No credence whatsoever can be given to that date. We do not know when 'Mac an Cheannaí' was composed, but if any of the historical characters who have been identified by different scholars and commentators as the personage who *thuas sa Spáinn go bhfuair an bás* (l. 30) is, in fact, the person alluded to, that would place the composition of the poem in the years 1704–15.[52] The thematic structure of the poem would also support such a date in that the internal movement from

initial hope (*Dá mhaíomh go raibh ag tíocht 'na gar le díograis Mac an Cheannaí*) to final despondency (*mo léansa an bhean go lagbhríoch*) most probably reflects the corresponding hope and dissappointment of the failed Jacobite invasion of 1708–09.[53]

The history and pattern of the transmission of 'Mac an Cheannaí' is unusual in the number of versions the poem generated and in their textual diversity; no other poem attributed to him displays the same complex pattern. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the evidence suggests that Ó Rathaille was the author. We must bear in mind that:

(i) the poem is anonymous in only one primary source (B);

(ii) only one autonomous source (D) attributes the poem to Mac Dónaill;

(iii) the only editor / commentator who initially attributed the poem to Mac Dónaill (O'Daly) later changed his mind (*supra*, p. 329);

(iv) apart from the scribes of B and D, and those who were copying from O'Daly's *Reliques* (*supra*, p. 332), all other scribes attribute the poem to Ó Rathaille;[54]

(v) several scribes associated the poem with 'Gile na Gile' (n. 25), a poem which is attributed only to Ó Rathaille.

Two other considerations are of relevance:

(vi) 'Mac an Cheannaí' shares with two other of Ó Rathaille's *aislingí* ('An Aisling' and 'Gile na Gile') a common stylistic feature: the use of a *dúnadh* in the last line (n. 23);

(vii) the same three *aislingí* share a common thematic structure: in each poem there is an internal movement from initial hope to final disappointment and despondency. I have suggested[55] that, most probably, that movement reflects the hope and ultimate disappointment of one or other of the failed Jacobite expeditions of 1708, 1715, and 1719.

In the overall context of eighteenth-century Irish poetry, the question of the authorship of 'Mac an Cheannaí' is perhaps not of any great import. Furthermore, there is, of course, no 'proof' – no more than there is proof that Ó Rathaille was the author of any of the 40 or so other poems attributed to him in the manuscripts. But

then, humanists have always realised that not every intuition, belief or opinion is amenable to positivistic 'proof'.

Editors' note: this article includes certain corrections and revisions to the text originally submitted by Professor Ó Buachalla which he did not have an opportunity to review before his death.

References

1 John O'Daly, *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry* (Kilkenny: John O'Daly, 1844), 12. The anthology was first published as a series of eight-page booklets and subsequently as one volume.

2 This title appears for the first time in O'Daly's anthology. The manuscript copies of the poem that carry that title (R 1–R 3, R 5–R 7) all derive from O'Daly (*supra*, p. 332). The only other title found in the MSS is 'Air Éire' (RIA 23 B 38: 237).

3 John O'Daly, *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry* (Dublin: John O'Daly, 1866), 24.

4 *Dánta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille*, ed. by Patrick. S. Dinneen, Irish Texts, 3 (London: ITS, 1900), 292.

5 *Dánta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille*, ed. by Patrick S. Dinneen & Tadhg O'Donoghue, rev. edn (London: ITS, 1911), xxxiii, 12.

6 Risteard de Hae and Brighid Ní Dhonnchadha, *Clár Litridheacht na Nua-Ghaedhilge* (Dublin: Foillseacháin Rialtais, 1938), vol. 1, 213.

7 *Dánta Árd-Teistiméireachta 1946–47*, ed. by Donncha A. Ó Cróinín (Dublin: Brún agus Ó Nualláin, 1946), 42.

8 This edition has been published in several school anthologies (see, for instance, Alan Harrison and Ursula Ní Dhálaigh, *Fios Feasa 3* (Dublin: Comhlacht Oideachais na hÉireann, 1974), 168) and in *An Duanaire*: *Poems of the Dispossessed*, ed. by Seán Ó Tuama and trans. by Thomas Kinsella (Dublin: Bord na Gaeilge, 1981), 156. This was the first edition in which the textual problem in l. 29 was resolved by Prof. de Brún interpreting *a rún* of the MSS as *i rún*. Dr Caoimhín Breatnach's criticism in 'On the transmission, text and authorship of the poem "Mac an Cheannaí"', *Éigse*, 36 (2008), 113–31, that 'no clearly-defined editorial policy is discernible' (121) in these editions is unwarranted.

9 Clíona M. Ní Dhroighneáin, 'Aogán Ó Rathaille: Dánta' (unpublished MA thesis, UCD, 1983), 201.

10 *Aogán Ó Rathaille*, ed. by Breandán Ó Buachalla, Filí, 1 (Dublin: Field Day, 2007).

11 The MS was begun in 1740 and completed some time after 1780. The section of the MS (pp. 255–82) in which the poem appears contains two poems in English (with Irish translations) on Free Trade (pp. 270, 272) and are dated by the scribe (whom I suspect may have been the author of the poems) to 1780.

12 The preceding five poems in the MS are ascribed to Ó Rathaille. The MS as a whole was written between 1795 and 1828 in different parts of counties Cork and Kerry. The first version of the poem (p. 366) seems to have been written *c*. 1795 in Killydonoghoe in the parish of Glanmire, Co. Cork (*a ccíl uí dhonnchadha a bporróiste Ghleanna Maighir*, p. 349); the second version (p. 499) was written *c*. 1800 in Lyre in the parish of Carrignavar, Co. Cork (*ar an Laghair a bporróiste Charraig na bhfear*, p. 511); the date Jan. 18th 1800 occurs at the bottom of p. 490. See also Breandán Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí 1700–1850* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1982), 92, 104, 106.

13 Breatnach, 'On the transmission', 126, 131. Significantly, the attribution of the eight-verse poem to Ó Longáin is hinted at rather than stated explicitly in the concluding paragraph: 'Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin was definitely responsible for the composite version of SA [*Scéal Antecríst*], and the earliest extant copy of the eight-stanza version of 'Mac an Cheannaí' is found in a manuscript written by him' (131); in the body of the article, however, Ó Longáin is given a pivotal role as redactor and innovator: 'Some copies were written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin and there is nothing to suggest that the others do not ultimately derive from copies written by him' (119); 'As *D* (1) stands apart ... it seems reasonable to assume that its readings are innovative in these instances and are not part of the original poem, and to suggest that Micheál Óg Longáin himself was possibly responsible for the readings peculiar to *D*' (120); 'As mentioned above, the readings of *C*, *D* here would seem to be a modification on the part of Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin' (122); Those suggestions are all based on assumptions, however, and no evidence is produced to prove them. Dr Breatnach's *C* and *D* correspond to G 1 and G 2 above.

14 For instance, the epigram *Abigil Brún adúirt nach féatainnse ...* (p. 281). This is a common epigram, but in no other MS is it entitled *rann Aogáin don ríghe Sémus*.

15 Ó Buachalla, *Aogán Ó Rathaille*, 45, 85.

16 Breandán Ó Buachalla, *Dánta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille*: *Reassessments*, Irish Texts Society Subsidiary Series, 15 (Dublin: ITS, 2004), 23.

17 This has already been pointed out for the copies of the poem in UCC T 69c, CUL Add. 6485, RIA 24 L 12, 24 B 9; see Pádraig de Brún, *Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Ollscoile Chorcaí: Cnuasach Thorna* (Dublin: Cló Bhréanainn, 1967), 179; see Pádraig de Brún and Máire Herbert, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6; Proinsias Ó Drisceoil, *Seán Ó Dálaigh* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004), 100–101. The copy in RIA 24 B 9 carries the inscription 'Same as in O'Daly's Jacobite Relics'; the copies in RIA 24 L 12 and UCC T 69 c also give the translation provided by O'Daly (*A vision bless'd my eyes erewhile ...*); the copy in UCC M 63 carries one of O'Daly's (*Reliques*, 1844, 114) footnotes: 'The following song goes by the name of 'Mac an Cheanaighe' a poetical allegory for

the King of Spain, from whom the Irish expected aid to shake off the Saxon yoke'; O'Daly later (*Reliques*, 1866, 25) changed his mind: 'Mac an Cheanaighe, or "the Merchant's Son" means the exiled Stuart'. Dr Breatnach's statement ('On the transmission', 114) that the version found in D 'is also found in a number of nineteenth-century sources' is not accurate, nor does the source he refers to (O'Daly, *Reliques*, 12) contain a copy of that version. Ó Drisceoil (*Seán Ó Dálaigh*, 117–18) has already suggested that D may not be the source of *Reliques*.

18 O'Daly, *Reliques*, 1844, 1.

19 One cannot assume (*pace* Ó Drisceoil, *Seán Ó Dálaigh*, 117) that Fitzgibbon and Ó Giobúin are one and the same. According to *The Dublin Chronicle* (5/4/1792), Fitzgibbon was 81 years of age when he died in 1792; see Máire Ní Mhurchú and Diarmuid Breathnach, *1782– 1881 Beathaisnéis* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1999), 43. According to Ó Giobúin, he was 22 years of age in 1740: *Ag so leabhar Gaodheilge le Pilib Ua Giobúin do sgriobh se fein san mbliaghuin mile seacht ccead et da fhighthead daois ar ttighearna Iosa Criosd. et da aois fein an uair sin dá bhliaghuin is fighthe. A ccillhaighil a ccontae Loch garman agus a gcúige laghan. bliaghuin an ocrais déis a tseaca et a tsneachta mhóir* (RIA 23 D 8, 30). Moreover, Ó Giobúin gives Philip Gibbon(s) as the English form of his surname (*supra*, p. 330).

20 Dr Breatnach ('On the transmission', 126) contends that the omission of stanzas in the two earliest copies (B, D) 'is not accidental … If the original version did contain eight stanzas, it would seem that it was deliberately abbreviated in two different ways in the course of transmission'. But, of course, we have no evidence to support that interpretation. The accidental deletion and re-ordering of verses over time is not an unusual feature of the transmission of Irish poetry. For other examples of that very process in Ó Rathaille's poetry, see Dinneen, *Dánta*, 50, 136, 211, 244, 249, 252; Ó Buachalla, *Aogán Ó Rathaille*, 56, 68, 71, 89.

21 Since G 2 is not a copy of G 1 (*supra*, p. 334–36), it follows that Ó Longáin carried out the process twice but with different results. Dr Breatnach himself ('On the transmission', 114) considers G1 to be one of 'Four different versions … found in a single manuscript'.

22 Although Dr Breatnach ('On the transmission', 119) states that 'There is reason to believe that *D* (1) [= G 2] is either based directly on *C* [= G 1] or on *C*'s exemplar' he later (120) claims that 'As *D* (1) stands apart from *A*, *B* and *C*, it seems reasonable to assume that its readings are innovative in these instances and are not part of the original poem'.

23 The poems 'An Aisling' and 'Gile na Gile'; see Ó Buachalla, *Aogán Ó Rathaille*, 29, 34. Cf. *lag-bhrigheach* (l. 1), *go neamh-bhrigheach* (l. 32) in D.

24 Cf. ll. 3, 4, 7, 13, 28 (*supra*, pp. 334–36).

25 According to Dr Breatnach ('On the transmission', 117), this 'is clearly an error'. Error or not, five scribes transmitted the poems concatenated, with 'Gile na Gile' being presented as the *ceangal* of 'Mac an Cheannaí'

(G3–G6, G11; *supra* pp. 337, 341–43), and that is how the catalouers described them; see, for instance, Cornelius G. Buttimer, 'A catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Boston Athenaeum', in *Folia Gadelica*, ed. by Pádraig de Brún et al. (Cork: Cork University Press, 1983), 105–23 (111); Nessa Ní Sheaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*. Fasciculus III (Dublin: DIAS, 1976), 41. Cf. 'and as this ["Gile na Gile"] is in some other manuscripts regarded as a binding poem to the "Merchant's Son" (III), the latter may not improbably belong to the same period' (Dinneen, *Dánta,* 1900, xvi). In four other MSS (G 14–G 17 *supra*, p. 345), 'Gile na Gile' follows 'Mac an Cheannaí' but without the concatenation. It is obvious that for a number of scribes both poems were somehow connected.

26 In a previous publication (Ó Buachalla, *Dánta*, 14), I inadvertently included RIA 24 B 33 among the sources of 'Mac an Cheannaí'; the poem in question, although having the same initial words (*Aisling ghéar do dhearcas féin go rabhas go faon sealad im luí ...*) as 'Mac an Cheannaí', is an anonymous love poem entitled 'Aisling an Óigfhir' which was published by James Hardiman in *Irish Minstrelsy* (London: J. Robins, 1831), 304. The copies of the poem in RIA 24 B 33: 451 and in other late manuscripts (RIA 23 E 12: 167, CU G 21: 30) all seem to derive from Hardiman's edition; another, rather different, version is found in IFC 10: 383. Seán Ó Tuama (*Filí Faoi Sceimhle* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1978), 200 n. 91) suggested that the love poem may have been the basis for 'Mac an Cheannaí' (the poem published by D. G. O'Sullivan in *The Bunting Collection of Irish Folk Music and Song*, Part I (London: Irish Folk Song Society, 1927), 57) under the title 'Aisling an Óigfhir' is a totally different poem). Another love poem containing the same initial line as 'Mac an Cheannaí' (*Aisling ghéar do dhearcas féin im leaba is mé go lagbhríoch/gur shín lem thaobh an chúileann tséimh ba dheise déad is geal píp*) is found in several MSS (MN M 9: 312, QUB B 7: 143, B 10: 71, B 15: 7, B 17: 76); it is attributed to Uilliam Ó hIarlaithe in M, but is anonymous in B.

27 G 116 is acephalous and contains only the last three verses of the poem; it is followed by 'Gile na Gile', which is ascribed to 'an fear céadna'; the other two copies (UCC T 69 c and Add. 6485) are derived from O'Daly's *Reliques*. See *supra*, p. 332.

28 Breatnach, 'On the transmission', 116, 117, 118, 119.

29 Breatnach, 'On the transmission', 117–18.

30 Breatnach, 'On the transmission', 118. Dr Breatnach was apparently not aware that this scribe had provided two copies (G 11, G 12) of the poem. See n. 35, 39.

31 Breatnach, 'On the transmission', 116.

32 Cf. 'From this, it is clear that all of the copies ... constitute no more than a single witness to the original text ... As *D* (1) stands apart ... it seems reasonable to assume that its readings are innovative ... and are not part of the original poem' (Breatnach, 'On the transmission', 119–20). There

is no 'original poem', of course. Even as a methodological strategy, to assume the existence of 'the original poem' is questionable and misleading: it would be impossible to draw up a stemma which would derive all extant copies from 'the original text'. What the MSS provide us with are several versions of the same poem.

33 Although Dr Breatnach ('On the transmission', 130), reminds us 'that scribes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not simply passive transmitters of earlier material', he does not apply that insight to the scribes of 'Mac an Cheannaí'.

34 There are some slight differences between the three copies: l. 4 *le díograis* (G 13), *le díogras* (G 11, G 12); l. 5 *a bhéal* (G 11), l. 12 *tígheacht* (G 11), l. 28 *tigheacht* (G 12), l. 29 *iar chlos* (G 11), *ar chleacht sí* (G 12), l. 30 *shúas* (G 11). The scribe of G 17 provides a 'mixed' form in ll. 8, 12, 28: *níl faeseamh seal le tígheacht na gar ....*

35 Dr Breatnach ('On the transmission', 117–18) lists these manuscripts as 'more copies of the same witness, *D* 1' [= G 2] despite the significant differences between them and the fact that he had not, it seems, examined *D* 20 [= G 11]. Cf. n. 39.

36 The note, which derives in part from O'Daly (cf. n. 17), continues: 'it is a poetical allegory for the King of Spain, from whom the Irish expected aid to shake off the English yoke, date 1737. the air sweet'. Although the manuscript was written by Peadar Ó Longáin, this note (p. viii) and other notes on the poems were written by Pól Ó Longáin.

37 F is a copy of BA 2.

38 This is a defective copy, containing only the first four verses.

39 Dr Breatnach's statement ('On the transmission', 118) that the scribe of this manuscript 'has not been identified' is not correct; according to the title page of the manuscript, in the scribe's hand, it was written by 'Tadhg Mha Cárrtha ... a ccorcadh mor mumhain ... Anno Domni 1824'.

40 This is a defective copy, containing only the last three verses. Cf. n. 27.

41 This is a defective copy, containing only the first five verses. The MS was, in fact, written primarily by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin between 1807 and 1833, but this item was written by his son Peadar.

42 Pádraig de Brún, 'Epitaph Aogáin Í Rathaille', *Éigse*, 12 (1967–68), 236.

43 Ó Buachalla, *Aogán Ó Rathaille*, 11, 25, 51, 61; CF 25: 129, UCC T 4: 115, RIA 24 C 55: 244; RIA 12 M 14: 436, BL Eg, 151: 27.

44 Dr Breatnach ('On the transmission', 116) is mistaken in stating that this MS gives '1737 as the date of composition of the poem'.

45 O'Daly, *Reliques*, 1866, 24.

46 Two random examples show how inaccurate Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin could be: in transcribing a lament (MN M 7: 379) on the death of Muirtí Óg Ó Súilleabháin he gives 1738 as the date of his death, although the poem itself contains the correct date .i. 1754 (*Míle ceart 's a seacht de chéadaibh ... / a ceathair de bhliantaibh i ndiaidh is caogad*); in transcribing a lament on the death of the poet Tadhg an Dúna (RIA 23 G 24: 403, 23 N 15:

129, 141), he gives 1716 as the date of his death, although the poem itself contains the correct date .i. 1696 (*Sé chéad bliain, míle is naoi dheich | is sé bliana 'na dhiaidh nach bréagach ...*).

47 *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems*, ed. by Cecile O'Rahilly (Dublin: DIAS, 1952), 85. In other copies of the poem (RIA 23 O 39: 159, 23 C 8: 196) Ó Longáin explains that the poet is 'ag caoine anfhórlainn Eirionn a n-aimsir Chromel'.

48 O'Rahilly, *Five Political Poems*, 34. In another copy (RIA 24 G 24: 189) Ó Longáin gives both 1650 and 1691 as dates.

49 T. F. O'Rahilly, 'Deasgán Tuanach: selections from modern Clare poets', VIII, *The Irish Monthly*, 53 (July 1925), 365–66. Cf. Vincent Morley, *An Crann Os Coill* (Dublin: Coiscéim, 1995), 102, who gives 1728 as the date.

50 T. F. O'Rahilly, 'Deasgán Tuanach', I, *The Irish Monthly*, 52 (December 1924), 655–57.

51 'Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin gives the date as 1609, which is more accurate than such guesses of his usually are' (*Measgra Dánta II*, ed. by T. F. O'Rahilly (Cork: Cork University Press, 1927), 206).

52 Breandán Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar: Na Stíobhartaigh agus an t-Aos Léinn 1603–1788* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1996), 277–78, 550, 686 n. 60, n. 61, 693 n. 34.

53 Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar*, 277–78.

54 But see *supra* p. 342 and n. 36.

55 Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar*, 277–78, 296, 550; Ó Buachalla, *Aogán Ó Rathaille*, 64–66, 69.

King, Hero and Hospitaller
in *Aided Cheltchair Maic Uthechair*
Tomás Ó Cathasaigh

In *Aided Cheltchair Maic Uthechair* (henceforth *Aided Cheltchair*), the death-tale of the Ulster warrior, Celtchar mac Uthechair,[1] Celtchar's wife, Bríg Brethach, comes without her husband to the guesthouse of Blaí, the elderly hospitaller (*briugu*) of Ulster. It is *geis* for Blaí not to sleep with a woman who comes as a guest to his house, unless her husband accompanies her. Reluctantly, and with some self-pity, Blaí yields to the importunate Bríg and spends the night with her. When Celtchar finds out what has happened, he pursues Blaí, who has in the meantime sought refuge at the royal court of Conchobor. When Celtchar arrives at the court, Conchobor and Cú Chulainn are playing a game of *fidchell*. Celtchar assails Blaí and a drop of Blaí's blood falls on the *fidchell*-board. The blood is determined to be on Conchobor's side of the board and the task of avenging the deed therefore falls to Conchobor. Blaí dies; Celtchar escapes to Munster but, at the behest of the Ulstermen, the king allows him to return to Ulster. As a penalty for slaying Blaí, however, Celtchar is required to free Ulster from the three worst tribulations that would come to it in his time. As it turns out, the three successive tribulations are the virtually invulnerable warrior Conganchness mac Dedad and two destructive hounds, first In Luchdonn and then Celtchar's own hound, In Dáel-Chú. Celtchar slays them all but, as soon as In Dáel-Chú is dead, a drop of its blood falls upon Celtchar and kills him.

The 'king, hero and hospitaller' of my title represent a deliberate play on the 'hounds, heroes and hospitallers' that were highlighted in a well-known article by Kim McCone.[2] McCone's article is full of insightful and arresting observations. He illuminates the role in Irish literature and law of the *briugu*, the martial function of the hound and much else besides. His discussion ranges well beyond the confines of *Aided Celtchair* and he goes so far as to propose 'an essentially trifunctional structure for early Irish society and aspects of the myth and story that are rooted in it'[3] that differs from the Dumézilian model. The three functions posited by Dumézil were of course the sacred (including the juridical aspect of sovereignty),

physical force and fertility (including sexuality, the production and dispensing of food and so on). The trifunctional structure that McCone posits for the Irish material comprises the *áes dána* or professional classes, the warriors and the farmer-landowner class.[4] It will, I hope, emerge from what follows that the Dumézilian schema provides an entirely satisfactory framework for the interpretation of *Aided Cheltchair*. McCone's revision of it, which is of course worthy of the kind of general consideration that cannot be entered upon here, is not necessarily supported by this particular tale.

Aided Cheltchair, as McCone reads it, 'essentially revolves round hound, hero and hospitaller'.[5] In Dumézilian terms, he proposes that Blaí the hospitaller represents the third function and the warriors Celtchar and Conganchness represent the second, as do the hounds, In Luchdonn and In Dáel-Chú. This functional distribution is clearly unexceptionable, but then the reader is required to make certain assumptions about the principals in the tale and the relationships among them:

> Being a manifestation of the Otherworld hospitaller-god, Blaí Briugu will have had a great Otherworld hound as his guardian like other figures of this type. Since Blaí was away from home on a visit to Conchobor when he was killed (§ 2) this hound would not be by his side to protect him. However, one might expect Blaí's loyal guardian to make some attempt to exact retribution for his master's death, and I suggest that the rest of the story should be interpreted in this light.[6]

It is important to note that Blaí does not actually have a canine guardian in this tale and that he is not explicitly connected in the tale with Conganchness, In Luchdonn or In Dáel-Chú. For McCone, however, 'there is no great difficulty in seeing them as avatars of the supernatural canine guardian of the Otherworld hospitaller',[7] and he sees *Aided Cheltchair* as 'essentially a tale of Blaí Briugu's posthumous revenge upon his murderer, Celtchar'.[8]

These are very large assumptions indeed and there is no necessity to make them if we give due consideration to the actions in *Aided Cheltchair* of Conchobor king of Ulster. McCone in his discussion

elides the role of the king and my aim in offering an alternative reading of the tale is to restore Conchobor to his rightful place at the heart of the tale.

Aided Cheltchair is relatively short, yet it comprises in effect three death-tales, as the end title reminds us:

> Conid hí sin A[i]ded Blái Briugad ocus Congoncnis ocus Celtchair maic Uithechair.[9]

> *So this is the Tragical Death of Blái the Hospitaller, and of Horny-Skin, and of Celtchar the son of Uthechar.*

The *briugu* was evidently an important figure in early Irish society and this is amply reflected in the narrative literature. As for Blaí in particular, a measure of his importance in the society depicted in the Ulster cycle is his appearance in Cú Chulainn's birth-tale, along with Sencha, Fergus, Amairgin and Conall Cernach, among those who demand that the task of rearing the newly born Cú Chulainn be assigned to them. The matter is referred to the judge Morann, who decides that the boy should be given to Conchobor, but that each of the others should have a share in the boy's upbringing.[10] Blaí's part in the division of labour thus envisaged was to see to the boy's feeding. That Blaí discharged his duties effectively is revealed by Cú Chulainn himself in *Tochmarc Emire* (The Wooing of Emer).[11]

The circumstances of Blaí's death may have been the subject of a separate tale or tales, for the medieval tale lists include not only *Aided Blaí Briugad*,[12] but also *Orgain Rátha Blaí* (The Ravaging of Blaí's Fort).[13] All that remains to us now is the economical account in *Aided Cheltchair*. For all its brevity, it has two of the classic components of the Irish *aided* in the baleful presence of a taunting woman and the fateful compliance by the hero with a *geis* that compels him to have sexual intercourse with another man's wife. No motive is given for Bríg's lone foray into Blaí's guesthouse and the tale does not indicate whether Celtchar was complicit in it. It seems inevitable, in any case, that he should seek to take vengeance on the man who has cuckolded him. In assailing Blaí at Conchobor's court, however, Celtchar impugns the honour of the king and we would expect him to be held to account for this.

What is extraordinary in *Aided Cheltchair* is the detail that the role of avenger is assigned on the basis of a game of *fidchell*. As we have seen, Conchobor and Cú Chulainn are playing the game when the homicide is perpetrated and a drop of Blaí's blood falls on the *fidchell*-board. This occurrence is greeted by a carefully guarded and exquisitely understated exchange between Conchobor and Cú Chulainn:

> 'Amin, a Chúchulaind!' ar Conchobar.
> 'Amin dano, a Chonchobair!' ar Cúchulaind.

> *'Forsooth, Cú Chulainn!' said Conchobar.*
> *'Indeed, then, Conchobar!' said Cú Chulainn.*[14]

The board is measured 'from the drop hither and thither' to ascertain on whose side of the board the drop has fallen. It turns out that the drop is nearer to Conchobor and the role of avenger is assigned to him. The *fidchell*-board is depicted here as a privileged space within the king's court, each half of the board being in effect the precinct of one of the players. An unwarranted intrusion upon either of the precincts is an affront to the relevant player and it evidently falls to him to avenge it. In matters of this kind, absolute precision is called for: we may recall the calculation in *Mesca Ulad* (The Intoxication of the Ulstermen) of the precise timing of midnight, something that was necessary for the honourable resolution of a dispute between Cú Chulainn and another of the Ulster warriors.[15]

Neither the narrator nor any of the characters in the saga express surprise at the use of the *fidchell*-board to decide whether it be the king or his champion who will avenge the slaying of Blaí. Having told us that the drop fell on Conchobor's side, the narrator is content to add: 'rob siadi co dígail íarsin' (*hence it was the longer to vengeance after that*).[16] Meyer was tentative in his interpretation of this narratorial comment: '*i.e.*, I suppose, Cúchulinn would have avenged the deed on the spot'.[17] There can scarcely be any doubt, however, that what is being alluded to here is a difference in the way in which the king and his champion would react in this situation. Should the blood fall in Cú Chulainn's precinct, he would be expected to act impetuously, as befits the martial hero. Conchobor, on the other hand, is king and as such would be expected to be judicious and moderate in his response.

The Irish king was required to be 'a repository of forbearance', a virtue that, as O'Leary observes, 'would hardly have kindled the imagination of a Cú Chulainn or a Cet mac Mágach'.[18]

Thomas Clancy has recently argued that Conchobor, as depicted in the Ulster cycle, is a flawed king, consistently displaying 'misjudged cunning, showy corruption, and glorious self-image'.[19] This view finds a good deal of support in the tales, as does Clancy's further point that the court at Emain Macha and the Ulaid as a whole are implicated in Conchobor's rule: 'In several distinct tales the corporate voice of the Ulaid is heard urging an injustice or acquiescing and supporting the continuance of Conchobor as king'.[20] I would suggest, however, that the depiction of Conchobor in the various tales of the Ulster cycle is not entirely consistent and, particularly, that what actually happens in *Aided Cheltchair* scarcely justifies Clancy's reading of the narratorial comment in it about the king's deferral of vengeance. He sees it as a 'subtle aside', and says that it 'seems to imply some hesitancy on Conchobar's part in administering justice'.[21] He adds that 'equally the legalistic measuring out of the blood, when Blaí has been killed in Conchobar's court, presumably in contravention of his authority, presents that authority in a dubious light'.[22] But it seems to me that neither the king nor the members of his court can be faulted in any way for their conduct in *Aided Cheltchair*. We shall see rather that the advice the Ulstermen give to Conchobor and his acceptance of it, together with the punishment that he duly metes out to Celtchar, are greatly beneficial to Ulster and its people.

As it happens, Celtchar escapes from Conchobor's jurisdiction in the immediate aftermath of the homicide, and before the king is able to act. The Ulstermen at Conchobor's court plead for Celtchar:

> Is olc so, a Chonchobair, ar Ulaid. Is toitim deisi annso. Robo lór in fer marb diar n-esbud ⁊ ticed Celtchar da tír.
>
> *'This is bad, O Conchobor,' said the men of Ulster. 'This means the death of two men. It was enough that we should lose the man who has died, and let Celtchar come (back) to his land'.* [23]

The evidence suggests that it was considered appropriate that the king should listen carefully to proper counsel before making judgements,[24]

and on this occasion Conchobor acts upon the advice proffered to him.

Celtchar is dismayed by Conchobor's offer. The reader who knows *Longes mac n-Uislenn* (The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu)[25] might also have some doubts. There the Ulstermen learn that the sons of Uisliu, who had gone into exile from Ulster, have fled from the men of Scotland, who were intent on killing them. The men of Ulster speak to Conchobor on their behalf:

> 'Is tróg, a Chonchobuir,' ol Ulaid, 'maic Uislenn do thuitim i tírib námat tre chin droch-mná. Ba ferr a comaitecht ocus a mbíathath oldaas a n-imguin ocus tuidecht dóib dochum a tíre oldaas a tuitim lia náimtiu.'[26]

> *'Grievous it is, O Conchobor,' the Ulstermen said, 'for the Sons of Uisliu to fall in the lands of their enemies through the crime of an evil woman. It were better to escort and feed rather than slay them and for them to return to their country rather than fall at the hands of their enemies.'*

Conchobor agrees and ordains that they should return under the protection of sureties. We all know that Conchobor was in this case not true to his word and that the sons of Uisliu were treacherously slain.

Celtchar's express reservation in our tale has to do with Conchobor's choice of Celtchar's own son as his guarantor (*commairge*, *comairce*):

> 'Is séimh in muin doberat Ulaid ummum-sa techt for muin mo mic.'

> *'Subtle is the treachery which the men of Ulster practise upon me, that I should go on my son's guarantee'.* [27]

Why should he object to this? He may consider it an affront to his dignity and status to be dependent upon his son. It is also possible, however, that the person who guarantees an exile's safe return must also take responsibility for his good conduct. Celtchar would presumably think twice before he would act in a way that would endanger his son. If this is so, Conchobor must be credited with

hitting upon an effective way of bending the delinquent Celtchar to his will. In the event, Celtchar elects to take his chances without the protection of his son, whom he tells to remain in Munster.

The penalty imposed upon Celtchar for the slaying of Blaí is that he should free Ulster from the three worst tribulations (*fochaide*, singular *fochaid*) that would come to it in his time, and the rest of the story tells us how he does so. The common meaning of *fochaid*, according to the *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, is 'trial, tribulation, suffering, calamity'; Meyer translates it 'pest' in our tale. We may compare its use here with that of Welsh *gormes* 'oppression', which, as Brynley Roberts observes, is frequently used in Middle Welsh 'in a personal sense, an oppressive nation, person, or beast'.[28]

The first of the tribulations is the great devastation that the warrior Conganchness mac Dedad wreaks upon Ulster, in vengeance for his kinsman Cú Roí. The Ulstermen are powerless against Conganchness, since his horny skin makes him invulnerable to spear and sword. Conchobor addresses Celtchar, commanding him to free them from this tribulation. Celtchar sets about his task by duplicitously promising his own daughter Niam to Conganchness. Niam in turn tricks Conganchness into revealing that the only way he could be killed would be to have red-hot iron spits thrust into his soles and through his shins. Armed with this intelligence, Celtchar puts a sleeping spell on Conganchness and kills him by leading a large group of men to thrust the spits into his soles with sledge-hammers, so that they go right through his marrow.

The second tribulation is In Luchdonn,[29] a hound that sleeps by day and devastates a residential enclosure in Ulster every night. Conchobor once again calls upon Celtchar to free them from the tribulation. Celtchar devises a way to kill the hound: he hollows out a log of alder which is as long as his hand and induces the hound to take the wood into its jaws, whereupon Celtchar reaches his arm along the inside of the log, seizes the hound's heart and draws it out through its mouth.

The third tribulation, Celtchar's own black hound In Dóelchú, was born in a litter of three; the others were a spotted hound, Ailbe, that was to be the hound of Mac Dathó and a dun hound that was to be the hound of Culann the smith. Celtchar's hound would not let

anyone else take hold of it. On one occasion, when Celtchar is away from home, the hound is let out and nobody can catch it. It goes in among the cattle and flocks of the Ulstermen and from then on destroys a living creature every night. For the third time, Conchobor calls upon Celtchar to free them from the tribulation. Celtchar goes to the glen in which the hound is and calls it three times. The hound goes to Celtchar and starts to lick his feet. Celtchar's companions are moved by this, but he declares to the hound that he will no longer be incriminated on its account and strikes it so forcefully with his spear that he brings out its heart. He then raises the spear and a drop of blood runs along it, going straight through Celtchar and falling to the ground. Celtchar dies of it. It was a drop of blood from Celtchar's original victim that ensured that his punishment for the crime would take the form it did. Having now paid his penalty to the full, a drop of blood from his own destructive hound kills him.

This grisly tale can be understood in a number of ways. We can read it, for example, as a tale of Celtchar's family: the focus is on Celtchar's actions, but his wife, his son, his daughter and his hound all have parts to play. We can attend, as McCone has done, to the relationship between the hero and his hound:

> The intimate connection between hound and hero in general and their joint death in particular suggest that at this level the Dáel-chú may be none other than Celtchar's *alter ego*, the Hyde to his Jekyll, so to speak. If so, we can take it that the Hyde in Celtchar was responsible for the impetuous murder of Blaí Briugu and was ultimately overcome in canine form by the Jekyll side of the hero, but only at the inevitable cost of his own destruction to complete the circle of crime and punishment.[30]

This formulation, which neither confers a supposed canine guardian upon Blaí, nor credits him with posthumous revenge, is attractive and has to do with a level of meaning that is deeper than the surface analysis of the story that I have been pursuing here.

On the surface, *Aided Cheltchair* can be seen as a parable of good governance. The tale opens with the seduction and subsequent slaying of Blaí. It ends with the death of Blaí's slayer. In the meantime,

Ulster has been saved from three terrible calamities. And all of this exemplifies the justice of the king. Acting upon the advice of his court, Conchobor allows Celtchar to return to Ulster and we may suppose that, as king, he was the one who determined the punishment to be meted out to Celtchar. He thereby ensures that Celtchar's martial prowess will be harnessed and put to use in Ulster's interest. Three times in the course of the tale we see Conchobor calling upon Celtchar to fulfill the terms of his punishment and on each occasion Celtchar does so without hesitation. Conchobor cannot in general be accounted an exemplary king, but his actions in *Aided Cheltchair* must be entered on the positive side of the ledger.

Finally, there is the matter of the interplay of Dumézil's three functions in the unfolding of the story. As a dispenser of hospitality, Blaí is a crucial third-function figure and he dies at the hands of the warrior, Celtchar, who is a second-function figure. It falls to the king, a first-function figure, to avenge the killing: he contrives to do so in a way that uses Celtchar to save Ulster from the predations of three second-function figures, and, as soon as that has been done, sees Celtchar die through the inadvertent agency of his own ferocious hound.

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10 *Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories*, ed. by A. G. van Hamel, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, 3 (Dublin: The Stationery Office, 1933), 7–8.

11 Van Hamel, *Compert Con Culainn*, 29.

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14 Meyer, *Death-Tales*, 24–25.

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16 Meyer, *Death-Tales*, 24–25.

17 Meyer, *Death-Tales*, 25, note a.

18 Philip O'Leary, 'A foreseeing driver of an old chariot: regal moderation in early Irish literature', *CMCS,* 11 (1986), 1–16 (12).

19 Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Court, king and justice in the Ulster cycle', in *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society,* ed. by Helen Fulton (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 163–82 (178).

20 Clancy, 'Court, king and justice', 177.

21 Clancy, 'Court, king and justice', 175.

22 Clancy, 'Court, king and justice', 175.

23 Meyer, *Death-Tales*, 26–27. I have followed Meyer here in his clearly justified change of the *totaim Déisi* ('ruin of the Déisi') of his edition to *totaim deise* ('death of two'). The change is among those found in Meyer's own copy of the first printing (see note 1, above). The normalised text in McCone, *A First Old Irish Grammar*, 169–71, does not embody this change.

24 O'Leary, 'A foreseeing driver', 13.

25 *Longes Mac n-Uislenn: The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu*, ed. by Vernam Hull, Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series, 16 (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1946).

26 Text based on Hull, *Longes Mac n-Uislenn*, except for *oldaas a n-imguin*, where Hull reads *ocus a nemguin*. In retaining *a n-imguin* as against Hull's emendation to *nemguin*, and in emending *ocus* to *oldaas*, I follow Máirín O Daly, review of Hull, *Longes Mac n-Uislenn*, *Béaloideas*, 19 (1949 [1950]), 196–207 (202). This is of course taken into account in my translation, which differs from that of Hull in a number of particulars.

27 Meyer, *The Death-Tales*, 26–27.

28 *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, ed. by Brynley F. Roberts, Mediaeval and Modern Welsh Series, 7 (Dublin: DIAS, 1975), 8.

29 Meyer implausibly translates Luchdonn as 'Dun Mouse'. Kim McCone, 'Varia II', *Ériu*, 36 (1985), 169–76, rejects Meyer's 'Dun Mouse', and makes a good case for 'something like "wolf-brown" (*-donn*) or rather "wolf-skin" (*t(h)onn*), precisely analogous to Old Norse *ulf-heðinn* "wolf-skin", an alternative designation for a berserk warrior' (176).

30 McCone, '*Aided Cheltchair*', 20.

The Sound of Silence: Some Structural Observations on Preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic

Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh

1. Introduction

In a characteristically insightful article, 'The Celtic languages: Some current and some neglected questions', Professor William Gillies remarked that the Gaelic languages were 'full of interesting and sometimes surprising treasures which have not yet been fully discovered', treasures that would be yielded if we were willing to recognise the dynamic quality of language and the historical and sociolinguistic environments in which the Gaelic languages were spoken.[1] In my contribution to the present volume, I offer some structural, geographic and historical observations on preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic based on the phonetic materials published in the *Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland* (*SGDS*), for which Professor Gillies acted as editor-in-chief.[2] I hope to illustrate how interaction between different speech varieties and, in particular, how a phonological feature, hitherto considered to be unrelated to the development of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic, may account for the so-called 'maximum intensity' variety of preaspiration (e.g. *cat* [kaxd̪], *tapaidh* [taxb̥i]), with which Professor Gillies will have been acquainted growing up in the Oban area. Some of the possible implications of this new observation for the historical development of preaspiration are considered.

2. Preaspiration in north European and other languages

Preaspiration is one of the most distinctive characteristic features of Scottish Gaelic which differentiates it from Irish and Manx Gaelic,[3] although Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh discovered a small degree of preaspiration in the Irish of Gaoth Dobhair, Donegal, which was similar in length before intervocalic stops to that found in Lewis.[4] By virtue of its use of preaspiration, Scottish Gaelic can be seen to belong to a north-west European, circum-polar *Sprachbund*, *Sprachlandschaft* or language alliance involving a mostly contiguous group of languages, which includes Scandinavian, especially West Scandinavian (Icelandic, Faroese, Norwegian dialects and some dialects of Swedish),[5] Uralic

(Saami or Lappish) and Finnish.[6] To the feature of preaspiration, Ternes adds tone and glottalisation (i.e. the characteristics of a pitch-accent language); the devoicing of final vowels and sonorants; the development of the contrast of voiceless (aspirated) stops vs voiced stops into the opposition of aspirated (voiceless) stops vs unaspirated (voiceless) stops; and the development of retroflex consonants from *r*-clusters.[7] Preaspiration has also been reported for a number of indigenous languages in the Americas and in the North Caucasian languages of Chechen and Ingush; preaspiration, deriving from preconsonantal *s*, has also been noted in the Andalucian dialect of Spanish and in some South American dialects of Spanish.[8]

3. THE PHONETICS OF PREASPIRATION

Preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic in its literal sense is generally held to involve early offset of normal voicing in a vowel (or a consonant), anticipating the voicelessness of a following voiceless stop,[9] although Shuken has shown that preaspiration in some varieties of Gaelic (particularly Lewis) can solely or partially consist of breathy voice (i.e. have fully or partially voiced preaspiration).[10] As Silverman notes in his cross-linguistic study of preaspirated stops, the term preaspiration is often used as a general cover term for a variety of phonetic configurations which typically involve pre-spirantisation, i.e. stops usually, though not exclusively, preceded by homorganic fricatives, e.g. [ɸf, çt, xk, çkʲ, st].[11] Preaspiration is used in the present paper in this wider sense. Using this general definition of preaspiration, we note that preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic is realised variously as 'silence',[12] a weak glottal fricative [ʰ], a glottal fricative [h], whispery voice or voiced glottal fricative [ɦ] (in Lewis),[13] a velar fricative [x], a pre-velar or palato-velar fricative [ç] and, less commonly, a bilabial fricative [ɸ] or an alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ] (which could represent a development of [ç] before /kʼ/).[14] Detailed studies of the phonetics of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic have been undertaken by Macaulay for North Uist, Shuken for Lewis and Harris, by Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh for Lewis, Harris and North Uist, and by Ladefoged et al. for Lewis.[15] Descriptions of the realisation of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic dialects can also be found in the main monographs and dialect descriptions.[16]

4. The phonology of preaspiration

The main forms of phonetic preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic may be summarised and categorised as follows:

(a) 'silence', a voiced glottal fricative (whispery voice) [ʰ] or [ɦ], or a weak glottal fricative [ʰ];
(b) a glottal voiceless fricative [h];[17]
(c) a fricative, usually [x] or [ç], but, as noted above, other types such as [ɸ] and [ʃ] may also occur.

The aspiration in the first category has been analysed phonemically as being an inherent feature of the following stop. That of the second category has been analysed by some authors as an inherent part of the following stop (i.e. monophonemically) but as a separate phoneme /h/ (i.e. biphonemically) by others. The third category is analysed as being equivalent to the phonemic fricative in question. This may be summarised by considering the word *mac* ('son'):

Phonemic interpretation of preaspiration		Table 1
mac	Phonetically	Phonemically
(a)	[ma k], [maɦk] [mafik], [maʰk]	/mak/
(b)	[mahk]	/mak/ or /mahk/
(c)	[maxk]	/maxk/

A full discussion of the issues surrounding the phonemic interpretation of preaspiration of category (b) is provided by Borgstrøm and Ternes and need not be rehearsed here.[18] In what follows, the phonemic status of [h]-aspiration in *SGDS* returns is not addressed, and only the phonetic forms are represented. The symbols [ʰ], [h] and [x] are used here to represent categories (a), (b) and (c), respectively.

5. *SGDS* materials

The phonetic materials of *SGDS*, which would not have found their way into print when they did were it not for the prescience of Professor Gillies in appointing Cathair Ó Dochartaigh as editor in the 1980s, provide extraordinarily rich materials for the investigation of the Gaelic language than has been possible before now. In Professor Gillies's own words, these materials 'open the door to a fresh phase

in the history of Gaelic dialectology',[19] as is witnessed by a growing number of publications based primarily on this source.[20]

The *SGDS* materials provide ample evidence for the study of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic.[21] They enable us to study in more detail than has been possible before now the phonological environments in which preaspiration has developed,[22] and, moreover, the diffusion and geographical distribution of the different types which can be identified. As we shall see, the materials also give testimony to a more varied and complicated set of sub-systems of preaspiration than has been reported up to now.

SGDS provides a total of 38 words containing postvocalic stressed *c*, *p*, *t* /k, p, t/ as follows:[23]

Words in *SGDS* illustrating preaspiration in stressed syllables   Table 2

	/ V __	/ V: __
/k/	*pac* (676), *leac* (570), *socair* (788), *cnoc*[a] (213), *cnoc*[b] (214), *muc*[a] (633), *muc*[b] (634), {*boc* (490)}	*pòca* (681), *ràcan*[a] (685), *ràcan*[b] (686)
/k'/	*faiceadh* (384), *bric* (122), *mhic* (592), *tric* (868), *(c)reic* (252), *reic* (697), *cnuic* (215)	
/t/	*cat*[a] (158), *cat*[b] (159), *slat* (768), *shlat* (769)	*bàta*[a] (81), *bàta*[b] (82), *bhàta* (83)
/t'/	*cait* (160), *litir*[a] (578), *litir*[b] (579), ite (534), *tuiteam* (874), {*cleite* (198)}	*àite*[a] (25), *àite*[b] (26)
/p/	*tapaidh* (830)	*pàpa* (678), {*ròpa* (715)}
/p'/	*cipean* (188), *suipeir* (815)	

Three of these words (those contained between set brackets) have large numbers of nil or irrelevant returns (referred to here as gaps) and are thus excluded from this study, namely *boc* (40% gaps), *cleite* (96% gaps), *ròpa* (81% gaps).[24] This leaves 35 words with a total of 6,791 tokens to consider. There are imbalances in the number of words illustrating individual phonological environments, e.g. fewer words containing long vowels and no headwords containing long vowel + slenderised /k'/ and /p'/ are attested in *SGDS*.

Preaspiration is represented by the 16 phonetic symbols seen in Table 3:

Phonetic symbols representing preaspiration in *SGDS*				Table 3
(ẖ)	(ẖ)	(ẖ´)		
h	h	h´		
h	h	h´		
x	x´/ç		ɸ	
x	x´/ç		ɸ	ʃ

Although, for reasons of space, we cannot present the detailed analysis here, the main findings of my analysis of *SGDS* may be summarised thus:

(i) the degree of preaspiration following short vowels is overall more than two times higher than that for long vowels;[25]

(ii) the degree of preaspiration preceding palatalised stops is higher than before non-palatalised stops;

(iii) the following ordering emerges for each environment (where '>>' signifies 'occurs with greater preaspiration than'): Vk´ >> Vk >> V:k >> Vp´ >> Vt´ >> Vt >> Vp >> V:t >> V:t´ = V:p;[26]

(iv) the degree of preaspiration before stops is greater when the stop is preceded by a high front vowel (usually followed by a historically palatalised stop), otherwise, vowel quality and height do not appear to be a significant factor in the degree of preaspiration appearing before individual segments;

(v) the most common forms of preaspiration are [x], [h] and [x´], which represent 25.7%, 24.9% and 19.5% respectively of the sample.

Preaspiration also occurs in the non-homorganic clusters *rc*, *rp*, *lc*, e.g. *cearc*, *corp*, *olc* (*SGDS*: 170, 243, 673).[27] The closely related development of intrusive *s* in *rt* clusters in stressed syllables occurs in all Scottish Gaelic dialects with the exception of a small cluster of dialects in the southwest (Arran and Kintyre): see *ceart* (*SGDS*: 174).

Preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic is found usually only in stressed syllables following both short and long vowels. Cross-linguistically,

preaspiration is normally limited to stressed domains[28] and this is largely true of Scottish Gaelic too; see, for instance, *chunnaic* 'saw' (*SGDS*: 383).[29] Preaspiration is, however, exceptionally or rarely found in unstressed syllables, especially those containing original final unstressed *rc* clusters, including cases in which the *r* has been metathesised into the coda of the preceding stressed syllable, e.g. *adharc* [ɣrəxk], [ɣːrɣxk] etc. (*SGDS*: 7), *amharc* [ãrəxk], [ãūrɣxkʰ] etc. (*SGDS*: 36).[30] Intrusive *s* in *rt* clusters occurs in a small subset of central Scottish Gaelic dialects in the unstressed position.[31]

6. Systems of preaspiration

A full description of the systems of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic, which would require us to take cognisance of preaspiration following long vowels, preaspiration of historically palatalised stops and preaspiration in loanwords,[32] is beyond the scope of this short paper, although I hope to address these issues on another occasion; comments will therefore be limited here to the patterns of preaspiration which occur before non-palatalised stops following short vowels.[33] Existing descriptions of patterns of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic describe five systems (or types) of preaspiration following short vowels in Scottish Gaelic, namely:[34]

Previously reported patterns of preaspiration			Table 4
1	ʰk	ʰt	ʰp
2	hk	ht	hp
3	xk	ht	hp
4	xk	xt	xp
5	xk	t	p

While the published *SGDS* materials broadly support the patterns described in Table 4, they also enable us to refine it. In particular, they illustrate the extraordinary range of variation which existed in the different forms of preaspiration throughout Scottish Gaelic dialects. A small selection of examples is presented here to illustrate the point:[35]

Variation in the patterns of preaspiration from *SGDS*   Table 5

k	t	p	Point	Type
[ʰ] >> [x]	[h] >> [ʰ]	[ʰ]	4	A[var]
[x] >> [h]	h = [ʰ]	[h]	14	C[var]
[x] >> [h]	h >> [ʰ]	[h]	15	C[var]
[x] >> [ˣ]	[ɸ] = [h]	[h]	53	C[var]
[x]	[f] = [x]	[x]	54, 56	E[var]
[x]	[ˣ] >> [ʰ] = [x]	[x]	198	E[var]
[x] >> [ˣ] >> [h]	[x] = [ˣ] = [h] = Ø	[ˣ]	167	E[var]
[x] >> [ˣ]	[ˣ] >> [h]	[ˣ]	171	E[var]
Ø >> [x]	Ø	[ʰ]	37	G[var]
[x]	Ø >> [ʰ]	Ø	49	F[var]
[ʰ] >> [⁽ʰ⁾]	Ø >> [ʰ] >> [⁽ʰ⁾]	Ø	128, 129	A[var]
[ʰ] >> Ø	[ʰ] >> [ʰ] >> Ø	Ø	155	A[var]

Significantly, the *SGDS* materials also testify to the existence of a further type, in which the velar fricative occurs either categorically or facultatively before [k] and [t] but in which [h] occurs before [p]. This testifies to the existence of intermediate and variable types between types 3 and 4 in Table 4 above, i.e. types D and D[var] in Table 7 below, which have not hitherto been reported:[36]

Type D and D[var] preaspiration   Table 6

k	t	p	Point	Type
[x]	[x]	[h]	170	D
[x]	[x] >> [ˣ]	[h]	162	D[var]
[x]	[x] >> [h]	[h]	160, 191, 202	D[var]
[x]	[x] = [h]	[h]	164, 202	D[var]
[x] >> [h]	[x]	[h]	74	D[var]
[x]	[x] = [h]	[ʰ]	207	D[var]

This D pattern, and the inclusion of dialects where no pre-aspiration is evidenced, allows us to describe preaspiration in terms of the seven main systems or patterns given in Table 7, although the

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inherent variation in Scottish Gaelic dialects indicates that there are many intermediate and variable types, which are represented here with subscript [var], which is intended to indicate that the form of preaspiration for one, two or three of the stops /k, t, p/ is variable in our sample. It is striking that the pattern [xk, xt, p] does not occur in the *SGDS* materials.

Main types of preaspiration patterns   Table 7

	k	t	p		k	t	p
A	ʰk	ʰt	ʰp	A[var]	ʰ[var]k	ʰ[var]t	ʰ[var]p
B	hk	ht	hp	B[var]	h[var]k	h[var]t	h[var]p
C	xk	ht	hp	C[var]	x[var]k	h[var]t	h[var]p
D	xk	xt	hp	D[var]	x[var]k	x[var]t	h[var]p
E	xk	xt	xp	E[var]	x[var]k	x[var]t	x[var]p
F	xk	t	p	F[var]	x[var]k	[var]t	[var]p
G	k	t	p	G[var]	[var]k	[var]t	[var]p

The percentage occurrence of each type throughout the 207 dialect points is as described in Table 8 and Graph A:[37]

Percentage occurrence of each preaspiration type   Table 8

A	A[var]	B	B[var]	C	C[var]	D	D[var]	E	E[var]	F	F[var]	G	G[var]
0	2.4	6.8	1.9	22.2	11.6	0.5	3.9	20.3	4.8	3.9	2.4	10.6	8.7

Percentage occurrence of each preaspiration type   Graph A
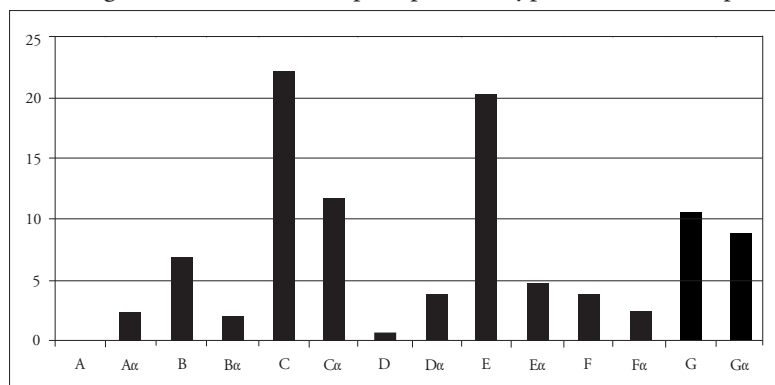
We note from Table 8 and Graph A that type A (i.e. the categorical use of [ʰ] before /k, t, p/) does not occur in the *SGDS* sample. We also note that types C (22.2%), E (20.3%), G (10.6%) and C[var] (11.6%) are the most frequent types to occur. The least common types are types D (0.5%), B[var] (1.9%), A[var] (2.4%), F[var] (2.4%), F (3.9%), D[var] (3.9%).

Table 7 suggests a number of implicational relationships between the segments /k, t, p/ as follows, both in general and more specific terms:[38]

(Preaspirated /p/ $\Rightarrow$) preaspirated /t/ $\Rightarrow$ preaspirated /k/

(/hp/	$\Rightarrow$) /ht/	$\Rightarrow$ /hk/ or /xk/
(/xp/	$\Rightarrow$) /xt/	$\Rightarrow$ /xp/ or /hp/
/k/	$\Rightarrow$ /t/	$\Rightarrow$ /p/

These hold for the vast majority of cases and reinforce the observation that preaspiration is more commonly found with /k/ than /t/ than /p/. I have noted only a small handful of apparent exceptions as follows:[39]

Exceptions to the implicational rule: Table 9
Preaspirated /p/ $\Rightarrow$ preaspirated /t/ $\Rightarrow$ preaspirated /k/

__ /k/	__ /t/	__ /p/	Point
[k]: *pac, leac, cnoc, muc* [xk]: *socair*	[t]: *cat, slat*	[ʰp]: *tapaidh*	37
[xk]: *pac, leac, cnoc, muc, socair*	[t]: *cat, slat*	[ʰp]: *tapaidh*	44, 46, 47
[k]: *pac, leac, cnoc, muc, socair*	[t]: *cat, slat*	[⁽ʰ⁾p]: *tapaidh*	133
[k]: *pac, leac, cnoc, muc, socair*	[ʰt]: *cat*	[p]: *tapaidh*	135

However, if instances of [ʰp] and [ʰt] in Table 9 are analysed phonemically as /p/ and /t/ respectively, these apparent exceptions disappear.

7. The geographical distribution of the systems of preaspiration
Map A illustrates the geographical distribution of all main types of preaspiration and the variable subtypes described in Table 7. The distribution of the different types of preaspiration is strongly

reminiscent of the commonly occurring 'central-peripheral' pattern, first observed by Professor Kenneth Jackson,[40] with weaker forms of preaspiration, or lack of preaspiration, found in peripheral dialects, and generally stronger forms found in central dialects. We must be careful, however, to guard against making hasty historical deductions or conclusions about the geographical origins of preaspiration based on this pattern as there is a possibility that preaspiration may have developed and been subsequently reduced in some eastern areas; see Sections 10 and 11 below for further discussion.

Dialects with no preaspiration (type G) are situated geographically in what are viewed in modern dialectal terms as 'peripheral' areas, such as the northern dialects of Sutherland, Caithness, East Perthshire, southern Kintyre and Arran.[41] The weaker systems of preaspiration (types A[var], B) are also situated geographically in 'peripheral' areas such as Lewis, Sutherland and Ross-shire.[42] Dialects which have preaspiration before /k/ only (type F) are located in the 'peripheral' areas of Kintyre, Gigha, Cowal, parts of Mid-Argyll and East Perthshire, and Braemar (Aberdeenshire).[43]

Type C dialects consist mainly of western central dialects such as Harris, the Uists and Barra, Skye, Raasay, parts of southern Ross-shire, north and north-west Inverness-shire, Canna, Eigg, Coll, Tiree, western Mull, Colonsay, Jura, mid- and northern Islay, and a small number of dialects in northern Argyll and parts of Perthshire. Types D and D[var] occur intermittently in mid-central mainland dialects roughly in a band ranging from Easter Ross, through Inverness-shire to parts of western Perthshire. Types E and E[var], the area of so-called 'maximum intensity' of preaspiration, occur largely in the mainland dialects of Moray, Inverness-shire, Ardnamurchan, northern Argyll, parts of eastern Mull and west and north-west Perthshire; type E[var] also occurs in southern Islay.[44] Types F and F[var] occur intermittently in peripheral areas such as Gigha, Kintyre, Mid-Argyll, Cowal, small parts of eastern Perthshire and Braemar in Aberdeenshire.

There is an incremental increase in the degree or intensity of preaspiration from system A to E, i.e. A → B → C → D → E, and indeed from G to F – patterns which are fairly typical in dialect continua. It is noteworthy that adjacent types correspond for the most part to contiguous areas or dialects on the map, i.e. A is contiguous to

B, which is contiguous to C; D usually adjoins or occurs near to E; F always occurs adjacent to G (e.g. in Kintyre, Gigha and Cowal; cf. also Braemar). Similarly, intermediary systems A[var], B[var], C[var], D[var], E[var], F[var] and G[var] occur contiguously with areas which have structurally similar systems.

There are, however, a number of abrupt transitions between areas and systems. There are instances where C and E are adjacent. It may be that an intermediate area or system containing the D-type once joined areas C and E; indeed, the intermittent occurrence of type D, almost always in areas adjacent to both C and E types, could support this suggestion. There is an abrupt transition between F and C in Argyllshire; however, F[var] is interestingly intermediate between F and C, both geographically and linguistically in having instances of [ʰ] before /t/ or /p/. The most abrupt transition occurs between western and eastern Perthshire, where C, D and E abut with G; interestingly, however, point 197 (East Perthshire), as an F-type dialect, is intermediate between G and E.[45]

Before we consider the possible implications of the geographical distribution of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic, a brief review of previous explanations of the historical origins of preaspiration is necessary.

8. Previous historical explanations of the origins of preaspiration

Previous explanations of the origins of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic may be classified into two main categories: those which posit external influence and those which put forward internal developments.

8.1 Norse influence

Marstrander and Borgstrøm, both, significantly, Scandinavian scholars, have argued that preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic is a Norse feature in origin.[46] Oftedal was more circumspect in his conclusions in the early 1960s, although he notes that 'it can hardly be denied that there is some sort of connection; this particular development of articulation is so rarely found in other languages that its occurrence in both Gaelic and Norse must be more than a coincidence. But yet the nature of this connection is undeniably rather obscure as yet.'[47] Oftedal's early thinking seems to have been influenced by Jackson's

contemporaneous view, outlined below. Phonetic similarities have been pointed out between the types of preaspiration found in certain south-west Norwegian dialects (in particular Jæren) and in Lewis Gaelic. On this basis, some scholars (e.g. Borgstrøm) have argued for Lewis (and Sutherland) being 'the centres of diffusion' where they believe preaspiration first arose in Scottish Gaelic – through Norse influence – and which subsequently spread southwards and eastwards to other dialects.[48]

While Jackson admits that similarities between Norse languages and Scottish Gaelic in the matter of preaspiration might lead one to infer that the preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic is due to the large Scandinavian presence in the Gaelic-speaking population in former times, he nevertheless had 'considerable reservations' about this hypothesis.[49] In a paper presented to the first International Congress of Celtic Studies, held in Dublin in July 1959,[50] Jackson seems to have argued, based on his knowledge of the Gaelic materials collected for the Linguistic Survey of Scotland by that time, that the area of 'maximum intensity of preaspiration [our area E] [...] and therefore probably its centre of diffusion, is to be found in the Central Highlands, where Norse influence has been almost negligible in other respects.' This view and interpretation is communicated, apparently with some degree of approval, by Oftedal in his 1962 paper, 'On the frequency of Norse loanwords in Scottish Gaelic'.[51] Gleasure echoes this view when he says that 'if the theory of a Lewis (i.e. a Norse) origin is correct, it is difficult to explain adequately the fact that the area of greatest intensity is on the mainland'.[52] Borgstrøm argues cogently against this point of view, noting that 'it is not evident that the maximum intensity of preaspiration should coincide geographically with its centre of distribution.'[53] Oftedal was unequivocal 20 years later in his views on the origins of preaspiration: 'it is my opinion that the Scottish Gaelic preaspiration of the consonants *p*, *t* and *c* is a Norse feature.'[54] The implication of Ó Murchú's paper on the subject of preaspiration is that preaspiration may have originated in the central or eastern Highlands, far away from the effects of Norse influence; however, he also notes that 'it would be churlish not to accept that a striking similarity does exist [between the kind of preaspiration found in Lewis and south-west Norway] and that it is probably not fortuitous.'[55]

8.2 Internal development: gemination

Ó Baoill and Ó Dochartaigh see the development of preaspiration as being related to vowel lengthening and epenthesis.[56] Ó Dochartaigh sees preaspiration as part of 'an underlying process within the Gaelic languages which is so widespread that suggestions of outside influence must be treated with some scepticism.'[57] Ó Dochartaigh provides a theoretical account of the development of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic using the model of Dependency Phonology, appealing to the notion of 'vowel strengthening', whereby 'a syllabic nucleus containing a short vowel is strengthened by the addition of some other vocalic segment.'[58]

A geminate argument was first put forward by Pedersen but it was Dónall Ó Baoill who outlined the development in most detail.[59] Citing Old Gaelic spellings such as *copp, macc, catt* and phonetic geminate stops from south-western Donegal dialects as evidence for the existence of geminate voiceless stops in the older language, Ó Baoill argues that the collapse of the old system of geminate voiceless stops [pː, tː, kː] gave rise to preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic. This involved, he claims, the development of clusters of homorganic fricative + stop from original geminate consonants; these fricatives were in some cases later reduced to the aspirate [h] or transformed to an acoustically similar fricative. Greene disagreed with the geminate hypothesis, noting that Old Gaelic spellings *pp*, *tt*, *cc* did not represent geminate stops.[60] It is not clear that the phonetically geminate stops which are found in some Donegal dialects continue directly the situation in the older language; they could represent later innovations, possibly even deriving from preaspirated stops.

A slightly different geminate argument was taken up once again by Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh, who argued that the development of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic is related to the native development of lenition of intervocalic consonants. They argue that the loss of voice in voiced geminate stops is a 'predictable process due to the fact that the aerodynamic requirements for maintenance of voicing are difficult to satisfy for more than a brief period of stop closure', especially in geminates.[61] As the voicing in voiced geminates became less perceptible, they claim that a simultaneous leftward movement of

devoicing would have taken place with voiceless geminates in order to maintain phonemic contrasts.[62] This line of argument would suggest that preaspirated voiceless and voiceless stops were in existence in Scottish Gaelic as far back as the time of lenition, which Jackson dated to the latter half of the fifth century, and which some scholars have suggested may have been even earlier.[63] If these developments really are so early, it is perhaps difficult to reconcile this with the lack of preaspiration in peripheral dialects spoken in areas to which Gaelic would have spread long after the period of lenition, especially those in east Sutherland with voicing,[64] unless it is postulated that preaspiration and voiceless media were subsequently lost at a later period.

8.3 Internal development: devoicing of mediae

Ó Murchú approaches the problem from a similar structural point of view, although the dating of the process he envisages would have occurred later than the development of lenition.[65] His argument centres on the phonological opposition between historical //g, d, b// and //k, t, p// and holds that the devoicing of the mediae //g, d, b// was the primary development, which in turn led to the development of preaspiration before originally voiceless //k, t, p// in order to maintain the distinction between both sets of stops.[66] (The devoicing of original voiced stops //g, d, b// is a feature of all Scottish Gaelic dialects with the exception of dialects in Caithness and south-eastern and eastern Sutherland.) This would suggest that the preaspiration of //k, t, p// occurred as a drag-chain shift phenomenon caused by the loss of 'voice' in //g, d, b// in order to maintain phonemic distinctions. This, he claims, provides an economic explanation of types B, C, D,[67] E, F and G. The emergence of voiceless mediae would simultaneously account for the merger and near-merger of both series in types G and F respectively, and also the compensatory intensified preaspiration in types B, C, D, E, which reinforced secondary features of //k, t, p// in order to main the traditional opposition between //g, d, b// and //k, t, p//; he explains the 'exotic' type E as 'a more recent development' of type B. He describes the main outcomes and contrasts in Scottish Gaelic dialects between original //k, t, p// and //g, d, b// as follows:

Stop contrasts in Scottish Gaelic[68]   Table 10

A		B		C		D		E		F		G
p	b	hp	p	hp	p	hp	p	xp	p		p	p
t	d	ht	t	ht	t	xt	t	xt	t		t	t
k	g	hk	k	xk	k	xk	k	xk	k	xk	k	k

His argument is reinforced by the observations: (a) that it is not obvious why an intensification of preaspiration in historically voiceless stops in types A and B would act as a catalyst for the complete devoicing of intervocalic and post-stress voiced stops, although interaction with Norse and a drag chain shift economy rule are mentioned as possible factors; and (b) that the devoicing of voiced stops in languages with preaspiration is of a more limited geographical distribution.

9. From preaspiration to pre-spirantisation

We have noted that preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic ranges from instances of genuine preaspiration, e.g. in Lewis [ʰk, ʰt, ʰp], to instances of pre-spirantisation, where the preaspiration is realised as a glottal fricative [h], or a velar, palatal, alveo-palatal or labial fricative, e.g. [hk, ht, hp, xk, x´t´, x´p, ʃk´, ɸp] etc. Very often, the fricatives which occur are homorganic to the following stop or are influenced by the preceding vowel quality,[69] especially a preceding high front vowel [i], in which context a palatal fricative [x´] commonly occurs. Silverman, in his cross-linguistic study of preaspirated stops, concludes that: genuine preaspiration compared to postaspiration occurs rarely in the world's languages; preaspiration is 'remarkably unstable both synchronically and diachronically'; when present, preaspiration often varies with fricative-stop clusters, which are typically but not exclusively homorganic to the following stop. He explains the development from genuine preaspiration to pre-spirantisation as being due to the lack of saliency of genuinely preaspirated stops. The development of oral constriction might occur as a means of enhancing the saliency of originally preaspirated stops. This he attributes partially to the observation that:

pre-consonantal gestures are often implemented more slowly – over a greater stretch of time – than pre-vocalic gestures. This extra duration could conceivably be a diachronic compensatory reaction to the absence of release cues: increasing the duration of the surviving cues may enhance the likelihood of acoustically encoding the contrastive features of the consonant. And with these gestures' slower velocity, the likelihood of implementing an oral constriction downstream from the open glottis of a pre-aspirate is increased, as the oral cavity is more gradually positioning itself for the ensuing closure.[70]

The saliency argument alone, based on assimilation to phonological environment in particular, manifestly does not account for the development of types D and E, where the preaspiration, [x], is non-homorganic to the stops /t, p/. The next section offers some new evidence and perspectives on the development of the clusters /xt, xp/ in the context of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic.

10. A NEW PERSPECTIVE

While a number of scholars have derived the 'maximum intensity' form of preaspiration, our type E, from one of the weaker forms, namely type A or B, no one has yet put forward a convincing explanation for why [x] developed as the sole marker of preaspiration in type E.[71] In this section I suggest that type E developed as a reaction to, or as a consequence of, the vocalisation of postvocalic *th* /h/.

The loss of intervocalic *th* /h/ in Scottish Gaelic, a subject which has not yet been studied in detail and to which I hope to return on another occasion, was a categorical feature of more than 50% of the dialects surveyed in *SGDS*, ranging in a more or less contiguous area from the north east in Caithness and Sutherland to Islay and Kintyre in the south west. This is a feature which is shared with East Ulster.[72] The loss of *th* /h/, resulted in hiatus in words such as *athair* [a-ar⁽ʲ⁾], [aʔar⁽ʲ⁾] etc. This led to the hypercorrect use of the digraph *th* to mark historical hiatus words, a practice which was invented by Scottish Gaelic writers whose dialects had lost intervocalic *th* /h/; this dialectal trait characterised the dialects of many of the translators of

the Gaelic Bible and was thus to have a profoundly influential effect on modern Scottish Gaelic orthography.[73] In other words, the loss of intervocalic *th* /h/, resulting in new hiatus in words with historical *th*, led to the hypercorrect adoption of *th* as a marker of hiatus in historical hiatus words such as *latha* [Lɑ-a], [Lɑʔa], replacing the older form *laa*.[74]
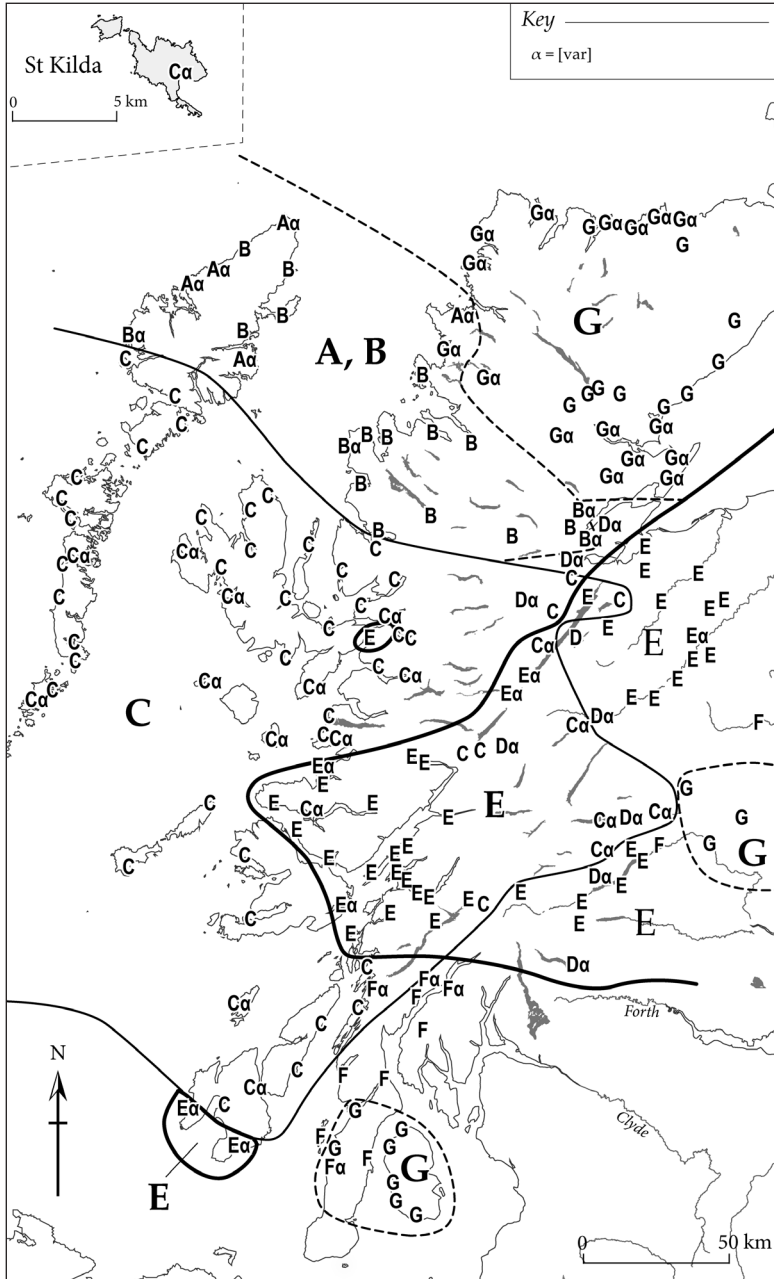
The geographical distribution of the loss of postvocalic *th* /h/ is illustrated in Map B, which is based on an analysis of the following 12 words from *SGDS*: *athair*[a] (63), *athair*[b] (64), *màthair* (606), *cath* (161), *guth* (506), *leth* (574), *math* (603), *srath* (796), *bùth* (139), *dlùth* (317), *gaoth*[a] (459), *gaoth*[b] (460). An investigation of these words allows us to measure the degree of retention and loss of postvocalic *th* /h/ in the four environments: V__V, V:__V (intervocalic) and V__#, V:__# (word final position).

It has not hitherto been noticed that the geographical distribution of types D, E and F coincides quite remarkably with the geographical distribution of the loss of postvocalic *th* /h/ in Scottish Gaelic. This suggests a possible connection between the development of [x] as a marker of preaspiration before the stops /t/ and /p/, and the loss of postvocalic *th* /h/. It suggests that a strengthened form of preaspiration, which ultimately came to be regarded as a member of the velar fricative phoneme /x/, first developed in such instances in dialects whose phonology did not have postvocalic *th* /h/ or where postvocalic *th* /h/ was in the process of being lost.[75] In such dialects the velar fricative [x] (or acoustically similar uvular or post-velar fricatives) may have represented the nearest acoustically similar fricative which could be used to mark saliently preaspiration, which in other dialects was marked by the glottal fricative [h].[76] The use of [x] before /t/ and /p/ may have been reinforced by the presence of the velar fricative before the velar stop /k/ in the pre-spirantised stop arising from preaspirated /k/ (and possibly also from the cluster /xk/, which had developed from historical *chd*).[77] It may be that the existence of the cluster [xt] (and [xʹt]) in Scots may have been a contributory factor in the development [ht] > [xt] in Scottish Gaelic.

Map B illustrates the 85 more or less contiguous dialect points for which postvocalic *th* /h/ is categorically lost in the 12 postvocalic *th* words investigated and a number of others for which the loss is almost

Preaspiration Types

Map A

Loss of Postvocalic *th* /h/   Map B

Key

○ A	0 = x = 0		F	0.40 < x ≤ 0.50
B	0 < x ≤ 0.10		● G	0.50 < x ≤ 0.60
◔ C	0.10 < x ≤ 0.20		H	0.60 < x ≤ 0.70
D	0.20 < x ≤ 0.30		● I	0.70 < x ≤ 0.82
◕ E	0.30 < x ≤ 0.40			

(h)→Ø,   x = 0
(h)→[h],   x = 1
(h) [ʰ],   x = 0.50

St Kilda

0   5 km

N

Forth

Clyde

0   50 km
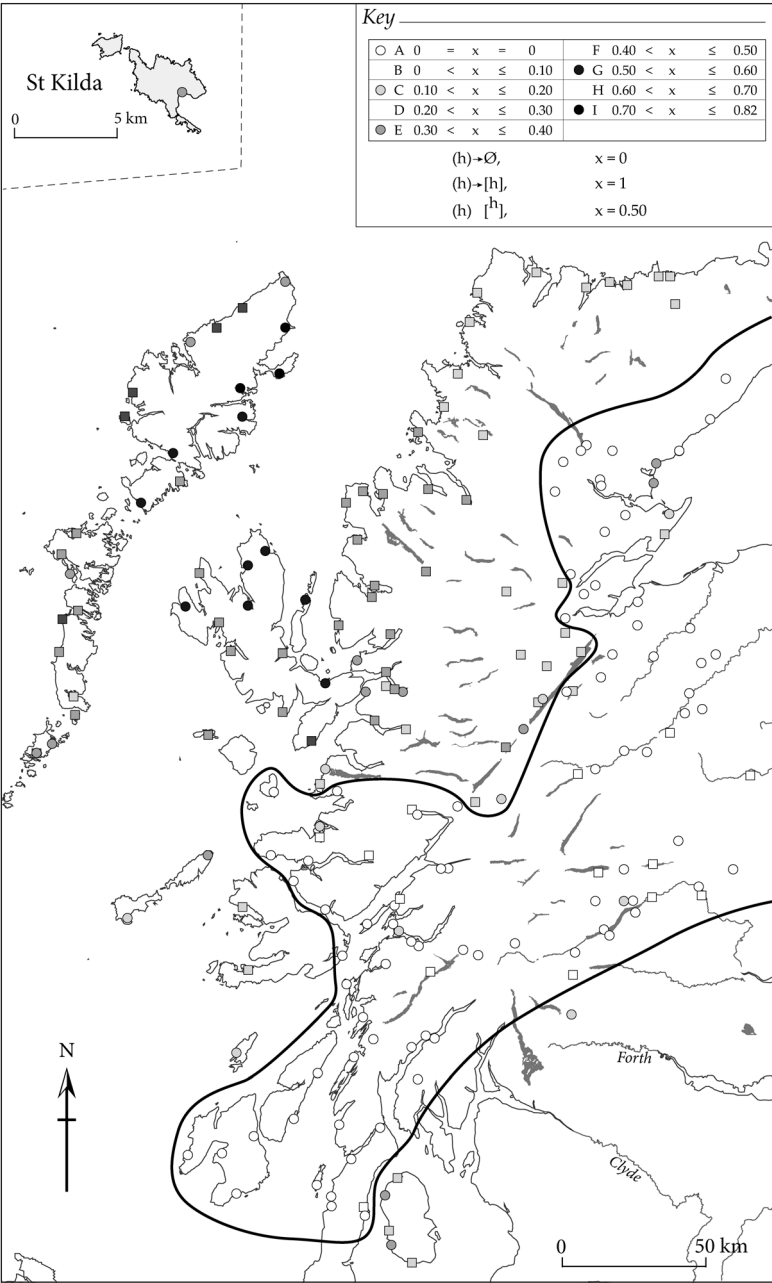
categorical. The first thing to note is that the vast majority (30/42, i.e. 71%) of points classified as type E lie within the categorically /h/-less area.[78] The remaining 12 points (29%) classified as type E have very low levels of retention of postvocalic *th* /h/ as seen in Table 11:

Type E dialects with low levels of postvocalic *th* /h/ retention   Table 11

Point	Value for retention of postvocalic *th* /h/[79]
61	0.05
184	0.05
206	0.05
77	0.08
79	0.08
70	0.09
89	0.09
199	0.13
66	0.17
169	0.25
165	0.27
98	0.33

If we consider the different types of preaspiration which are found for dialects with categorical loss of postvocalic *th* /h/, we get the results presented in Table 12. We note that the most common types to be found within this area are types E and G, representing 35% and 15% respectively of the total 85. It is worth noting that type C is also present in this area, which shows that the loss of historical postvocalic /h/ does not necessitate the loss or development of preaspirated [ht, hp].

Although we cannot be certain about the chronological ordering of the development of preaspiration (and in particular pre-spirantisation) and the (categorical) loss of postvocalic *th* /h/, the evidence presented here nevertheless suggests a possible connection between the loss of postvocalic *th* /h/ and the development of type E ([xk, xt, xp]), the type which Professor Jackson referred to as the 'maximum intensity' type of preaspiration. The near coincidence of the isoglosses representing the beach heads of type E and the loss of

postvocalic *th* /h/ may or may not represent the original 'clash' of both features; we have no way of knowing.[80]

Preaspiration types   Table 12
in dialects with categorical loss of postvocalic *th* /h/

Type	Number of instances	%
A	0	0
A[var]	0	0
B	0	0
B[var]	2	2
C	7	8
C[var]	5	6
D	2	2
D[var]	5	6
E	30	35
E[var]	5	6
F	5	6
F[var]	5	6
G	13	15
G[var]	6	7

This does not detract from the explanation put forward here; it may well be that the change occurred within a sub-area or sub-areas of area E (and E[var]), and subsequently spread, along with the feature *th* /h/ > Ø.

There is some evidence to suggest that type E has spread beyond its original area by 'jumping' westwards: witness points 98 (Glenelg) and 99 (Glenshiel), which exhibit type E and E[var] respectively. This may also be true of points 54 and 55 (both southern Islay), which exhibit type E[var]; however, this may represent an independent development in Islay, where postvocalic *th* /h/ is categorically lost. The latter dialect illustrates the likelihood that type E([var]) may have developed independently in dialects where postvocalic *th* /h/ was categorically lost. This possibility makes it difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint exactly the precise geographic origin of type E preaspiration.

11. Implications

In this section I consider some of the possible implications of the new explanation put forward for the development of the maximum intensity type of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic. Some possible historical sociolinguistic contexts are considered but these are highly speculative given the dearth of historical evidence for the presence of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic and serious gaps in our knowledge and understanding of varieties of Scottish Gaelic in eastern and southern Scotland.

One can think of at least two different scenarios in which type E might have developed as a result of the loss or lack of postvocalic *th* /h/. Each scenario in turn depends on whether or not a form of preaspiration existed in central and / or eastern mainland dialects before the loss of postvocalic *th* /h/. These may be summarised as follows:

Scenario 1
1. /k, t, p/ → [hk, ht, hp], i.e. development of type B preaspiration
2. /h/ → Ø / V__#, V, i.e. loss of postvocalic *th* /h/
3. /hk, ht, hp/ → /xk, xt, xp/, i.e. intensification of preaspiration

Scenario 2
1. /h/ → Ø / V__#, V, i.e. loss of postvocalic *th* /h/
2. /k, t, p/ → /xk, xt, xp/, i.e. development of intense preaspiration

The first scenario envisages a situation in which type B (and / or type C) preaspiration existed in mainland Scottish Gaelic before postvocalic *th* /h/ was lost. If the loss of historical postvocalic *th* /h/ led to the loss or potential loss of [h] in the preaspirated sequences [hk, ht, hp], it is possible that [x] (or a similar fricative which came to be associated with the phoneme /x/) may have been utilised to enhance the preaspiration of the stops /k, t, p/, thus helping to maintain the opposition between historical //k, t, p// and //g, d, b//. This might seem to be supported by the presence of type C([var]) (and perhaps D[var]) within the heart of the E area, e.g. points 62, 191, 193, 200 etc. The loss of preaspiration in this way would also account very neatly for type F, if we assume a pre-existing type C ([xk, ht, hp]) was reduced by the loss of postvocalic /h/ to [xt, t, p]. This hypothesis introduces the possibility that the merger of historical //g, d, b// and

//k, t, p// in some modern 'peripheral' dialects of the central east (e.g. East Perthshire) may have come about due to the loss of preaspiration in //k, t, p// – a possibility which Ó Murchú entertains[81] – but this would require //g, d, b// to have been voiceless at this stage. This interpretation would provide support either for Ó Murchú's hypothesis or for the premise that preaspiration had penetrated the eastern central dialects and thus leaves open the question of whether preaspiration originated in the east or the west.

We have noted earlier the presence of types A–E in what have been categorised in modern dialectal terms as 'central' dialects and weaker types G and F in 'peripheral' dialects. When judged against the development of diphthongisation before *ll*, *nn*, *m(m)* and the development of epenthesis,[82] the geographical distribution of preaspiration might be viewed as a development which originated within the 'central' dialect area, but had not quite reached the northern, eastern and southern peripheries. The possibility, however, that types G and F in some cases may have developed from type B and C respectively as a result of the loss of postvocalic *th* /h/ warns us against making hasty historical deductions or conclusions about the geographical origins of preaspiration based solely on synchronic geographic distributions of the feature of preaspiration alone. The loss of intervovalic /h/ and final unstressed schwa illustrate that 'peripheral' dialects could also be innovators, which is also implicit in Ó Murchú's explanation of the origin of preaspiration.[83]

In the second scenario, one can imagine preaspiration spreading inwards into mainland Scotland from the north and west and being adopted by speakers whose phonology had no (appreciable) preaspiration and no postvocalic *th* /h/. In such circumstances, one could imagine how the acoustically similar velar fricative might be used as a marker of preaspiration. This hypothesis would seem to be supported by the abrupt transition between type G (no preaspiration) and type E in the eastern Highlands, and between type G and type F in the southern Argyllshire area; cf. also Braemar, Aberdeenshire.[84] Indeed, imagining a more extensive pre-twentieth-century Gaelic-speaking area stretching further eastwards, it is possible to imagine that area E (and D) represents a transition area between a western B (and / or C) area with preaspiration and an eastern G area without preaspiration.

The gradual increase in the degree or strength of preaspiration between contiguous areas in the general directions of A to B, from B to C, from C to D, from D to E suggests that the growth in the intensity of preaspiration may have been an eastwardly spreading phenomenon.[85] We have noted above that the abrupt interface between C and E may once have been mediated by dialects of type D. This explanation would also argue for the eastward spread of the intensity of preaspiration. This, of course, does not imply that preaspiration itself necessarily spread from the west to the east.

Once established as a variant form of preaspiration, the strong type (i.e. type E) may itself have spread westwards, perhaps aided by the spread westwards of the loss of postvocalic *th* /h/. Under this explanation, type F would be explained as the adoption of pre-spirantised [xk] in place of [k] (but not preaspirated [ht], [hp]) – possibly in part due to the presence of [xk] as a reflex of the historical *cht* cluster.[86]

Both explanations, however, leave unexplained why the voiced mediae were devoiced – one of the main arguments put forward by Ó Murchú against a solely western and Norse origin for preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic. As Ó Murchú points out, it is not immediately obvious that an increase in the degree of preaspiration in the original voiceless stops would necessarily lead to the devoicing of postvocalic (stressed) voiced stops. There are many unanswered questions. One would like to know how widespread the distribution of voiceless mediae in Scottish Gaelic was; whether this feature extend to long-lost varieties of Gaelic in the east and south; and whether the presence of voiced media in a small pocket in the north-east in modern times is a relic survival or a late development.

In order to explain the development of voiceless media, one would have to appeal to external influence, an economy rule which rendered the feature of voice in stops redundant, or an internal development, the dynamics of which we do not yet understand (see next section for some possibilities). If externally motivated, one could posit in an earlier stage of Gaelic the adoption of a Norse system of stops whose distinctive features were based on the feature of aspiration rather than voice; in other words, if preaspiration was introduced to Scottish Gaelic through interaction with Norse, voiceless unaspirated stops may also have been adopted at the same time.[87] Alternatively, we could suggest possible

interference from Pictish whether or not it had preaspiration and/or voiceless mediae (see further below). As Borgstrøm once famously noted, 'we know too little to be able to exclude it, on linguistic grounds, as the source of any phonetic developments in Gaelic.' He goes on to say: 'As regards the lautverschiebung [sound shift], one might ascribe it to Pictish influence, but I can find no convincing arguments for so doing.'[88] We have no evidence, so far as I am aware, that voiceless mediae were a feature of Pictish; nor do we have any evidence at present which might explain why a Pictish speaker of Gaelic would pronounce the Gaelic mediae as voiceless.

If it could be shown that varieties of Brittonic and/or Pictish (perhaps lower registers?) partook in the spirantisation of original voiceless geminate stops, i.e. /kk, tt, pp/ → /k, t, p/ → /x, θ, f/, as occurred in the neo-Brittonic languages of Welsh, Cornish and Breton, a convincing case could be made for the development of voiceless mediae as follows. The spirantisation of original voiceless geminate stops, coupled with the earlier voicing of voiceless stops through lenition, i.e. /k, t, p/ → /g, d, b/, would have resulted in a stop system which consisted entirely of the voiced stops /g, d, b/ without corresponding voiceless congeners /k, t, p/ – a system which developed in the neo-Brittonic languages. It is possible to envisage a situation whereby some speakers of a British or Pictish language with only voiced stops, when confronted with learning Gaelic, which had both voiced and voiceless stops (/k, g, t, d/), might 'fudge' the difference between /k/ and /g/ and between /t/ and /d/, producing the voiceless media [g̊, d̥], in turn leading also to [b̥].[89] However, the evidence we so far possess would seem to indicate that the spirantisation of original voiceless geminate stops did not occur in the varieties of British/Pictish which have survived in the sources.[90]

If we adopt the development suggested for the second scenario and outlined above (i.e. where preaspiration spread in an easterly direction to dialects which have lost postvocalic *th* /h/), the presence of voiceless media in area G (e.g. in east Perthshire), where there is no preaspiration, suggests that the devoicing of //g, d, b// may have occurred independently of the development of preaspiration. The devoicing of postvocalic mediae //g, d//[91] in Perthshire would appear to be at least as old as the beginning of the sixteenth century.[92] This is

evidenced by the following spellings from the Book of the Dean of Lismore, culled for the most part from a number of Professor Gillies's textual editions of poems from that manuscript: (a) *k* (rarely *kg*) for *g*, and *t* (rarely *tt*) for *d* following both short and long stressed vowels;[93] (b) *k* (rarely *kg*) for *g* in stressed *rg* clusters; (c) *k* (sometimes *c*) for *g*, and *t* for *d* in unstressed syllables; (d) the occasional spelling of *g* for *c* in stressed syllables, and *d* for *t* in unstressed syllables.

k for *g* and *t* for *d* in the Book of the Dean of Lismore[94]   Table 13

	V__	MS form	V:__	MS form
Stressed				
//g(ˊ)//	*teagaimh*	thekga	*óig*	ook
	tuig	tuk	*éag*	aik
	rug	ruk	*cóig*	coyk
	brogóid	brokoit	*déag*	deik
	chuige	quhwke	*ghéag*	ʒaik
//d(ˊ)//	*dhruid*	ʒrut	*sgrùd(adh)*	scrut
	cuid	cut		
	trod	throt		
Unstressed				
//g(ˊ)//	*tháinig*	hanic	*péachóg*	feichok
			amhsóige	hawesoik
//d(ˊ)//	*binid*	benit	*leithéid*	layt
	oiread	eritte	*coimhéad*	coyvayt
	ainspiorad	ynsperit	*brogóid*	brokoit
	luaidhid	loyit		
	oilfead	Ilwit		
	Diarmaid	ymmit		
Clusters *rg*, *lg*				
__rg, lg	*garg*	gark		
	dearg	dark		
	mheirg	virk		
	mairg	merk		
	chealg	chelk		
	teilgthe	telkei[t]		

g for *c*, and *d* for *t* in the Book of the Dean of Lismore   Table 14

	V__	MS form
Stressed		
//k$^{(')}$//	*faca*	faga
	faicinn	faggin
	pheacthaidh	fegki^t
	peacadh	begca
	olc	ol(g)$^{k\,95}$
//t$^{(')}$//	*(a)deirdis*	deirtis
Unstressed	*Caput*	capud
	imeartaidh	ymmirdeic

The above spellings supply strong evidence for the devoicing of the postvocalic media //g$^{(')}$, d$^{(')}$// in parts of early sixteenth-century Perthshire. It is impossible to say whether such spellings indicate merger between original voiced and voiceless stops, although the hypercorrect spellings in Table 14 are certainly suggestive of this. It is quite possible that preaspiration marked some or all of the original voiceless stops and, if so, this would not necessarily be marked in the Dean's orthography. So far as I am aware, only one instance of preaspiration has been noted thus far from the Book of the Dean of Lismore, namely MS 'hocht', 'hothc' or 'hochc' for *shoc*,[96] whose spelling suggests preaspiration of /k/ in the scribe's dialect.[97]

If we adopt the Norse hypothesis for the origin of preaspiration and voiceless media, the evidence from the Book of the Dean of Lismore would suggest that voiceless media (and possibly preaspiration) had already reached Perthshire from the west by the beginning of the sixteenth century, which seems entirely possible. However, if preaspiration was already present by *c.*1500 in parts of Perthshire, it is perhaps surprising that over a period of more than 400 years preaspiration did not apparently penetrate into eastern Perthshire. This could mean that either we are incorrect in our assumption that devoiced mediae in Perthshire necessarily implies the existence of preaspirated voiceless stops, or, as we have suggested earlier, that

preaspiration was subsequently lost in eastern Perthshire, perhaps as a result of the loss of postvocalic *th* /h/. If, on the other hand, we adopt Ó Murchú's argument that devoicing of mediae first occurred in the central (or eastern?) Highlands, one could speculate very tentatively that it originated within historical Pictland. If Lewis preaspiration in the twentieth century can be traced over a period of five, six or seven centuries to Norse (which seems to be generally accepted), it is perhaps not too much to suggest that the presence of devoiced mediae by *c.*1500 within the heartland of historical Pictland may have its origins some five centuries or so earlier in the context of a Pictish-influenced form of Gaelic. However, this is of course pure speculation, and the evidence we have at our disposal at present does not support such a hypothesis.

Whether the devoicing of the mediae is an internal development or an externally influenced development (Norse or Pictish), there is some evidence which might suggest that this feature is much older than the early sixteenth century. I have suggested elsewhere that the contrasting development in comparison to Irish (and Manx) of N + g, N + d, N + b clusters at word boundaries in Scottish Gaelic may have been due to the lack of voicing of initial stops //g, d, b// at an earlier stage of Scottish Gaelic.[98] This would neatly account for the different development of the initial mutation of eclipsis in Scottish Gaelic and, if correct, would also suggest that voiceless mediae may have existed in Scottish Gaelic since at least the Middle Gaelic period. The grouping of Irish and Manx against Scottish Gaelic in the matter of eclipsis might argue in favour of Pictish rather than Norse influence, although it is possible that Manx and Scottish Gaelic may have come into contact with different varieties of Norse dialects.

12. Conclusion

This paper sets out some of the main possibilities for the development and diffusion of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic. Unfortunately, we are not yet at a stage – and it is possible that we never will be – when we can say definitively whether preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic is a thoroughly Norse inheritance, although in some dialects, especially Lewis, it is difficult to deny a Norse connection. The presence of preaspiration in Donegal may indicate that a weak form

of preaspiration, the 'silent' type A, may once have been a more widespread feature of northern Gaelic (i.e. parts of northern Ireland as well as Scotland) – a feature which may have been fortified through contact with Norse.

Future research may hold the key to many of the questions raised here and other questions not yet asked. For instance, what is the relationship, if any, of the shortening of unstressed vowels (a well-known feature of northern Gaelic), the loss of caducous schwa and the devoicing of final unstressed mediae (also attested in northern Irish),[99] and how is the latter related to the devoicing of the mediae more generally in Scottish Gaelic? Could the absence of a voiceless /p/ phoneme in earlier forms of some varieties of Gaelic have led to the devoicing of the /b/ phoneme? Could the reintroduction of a /p/ phoneme, partially due to contact with Pictish (and / or possibly Norse), have upset the cart by introducing into the stop system a contrast which was based solely on aspiration rather than voice, which in turn affected the underlying contrast in the pairs /g$^{(')}$/ ~ /k$^{(')}$/ and /d$^{(')}$/ ~ /t$^{(')}$/? Did Gaelic come into contact with a variety of Brittonic which had only voiced stops? Was preaspiration and/or voiceless mediae a feature of Pictish, and if so, were such features transferred into Gaelic through contact with Pictish speakers? Whatever the answers to these questions may be, I hope I have illustrated the value of the extraordinarily rich *SGDS* materials and the new light which its treasures can shine on Scottish Gaelic synchrony and diachrony. Whatever discoveries may be made in the future with regard to the historical origin, or indeed origins, of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic, there can be little doubt that the *SGDS* materials will have a prominent role to play in providing potential solutions.[100]

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4 Ailbhe Ní Chasaide and Cathair Ó Dochartaigh, 'Some durational aspects of preaspiration', in *Topics in Linguistic Phonetics: In Honour of E. T. Uldall*, Occasional Papers in Linguistics and Language Learning, 9, March, ed. by Jo-Ann W. Higgs and Robin Thelwall ([Coleraine]: Department of Linguistics, The New University of Ulster, 1984), 141–57 (141, 149–50).

5 Helgason suggests that 'non-normative preaspiration may occur across the whole Scandinavian language area'; see Pétur Helgason, 'Phonetic preconditions for the development of normative preaspiration', in *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, vol. 3, ed. by John Ohala et al. (Berkeley, CA: Department of Linguistics, University of California, 1999), 1851–54 (1851).

6 See Carl J. S. Marstrander, 'Okklusiver og substrater', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, 5 (1932), 258–314; Heinrich Wagner, 'Nordeuropäische lautgeographie', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 29 (1964), 225–98; Hugo Wolter, 'On preaspirated stops in a Norwegian dialect', in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, ed. by Eberhard Zwirner and Wolfgang Bethge (Basel and New York: Karger, 1965), 594–97; Magne Oftedal, 'North European geography of sounds', *SGS*, 11 (1968), 248–58; Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh, 'Some durational aspects of preaspiration', 141; John Laver, *Principles of Phonetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 356; Gunnar Ólafur Hansson, 'Aldur og útbreiðsla aðblásturs í tungumálum Norðvestur-Evrópu' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Iceland, 1997); *idem*, 'Remains of a submerged continent: preaspiration in the languages of Northwest Europe', in *Historical Linguistics 1999, Selected Papers from the 14th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Vancouver, 9–13 August 1999*, ed. by Laurel J. Brinton (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2001), 157–73; Ternes, *The Phonemic Analysis of Scottish Gaelic*, 44, 142. Hansson suggests that preaspiration in Finnish and northern varieties of Scots has developed by interference through language shift from Saami and Gaelic respectively; see Hansson, 'Remains of a submerged continent', 158. It has been suggested that the extinct Norn language in Shetland may also have had the feature of preaspiration; *ibid.*, 158.

7 Ternes, *The Phonemic Analysis of Scottish Gaelic*, 142; *idem*, 'Scottish Gaelic phonemics viewed in a typological perspective', *Lingua*, 52 (1980), 73–88; cf. Seosamh Watson, 'Irish retroflexion – a Norse inheritance?', in *Verhandlungen des Internationalen Dialektologenkongresses Bamberg 1990/ Proceedings of the International Congress of Dialectologists Bamberg 1990, Vol. 3: Regionalsprachliche Variation, Umgangs- und Standardsprachen/ Regional Variation, Colloquial and Standard Languages*, ed. by Wolfgang Viereck (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994), 533–42 [= *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik*, Beiheft 76].

8 Laver, *Principles of Phonetics*, 358; Daniel Silverman, 'On the rarity of pre-aspirated stops', *Journal of Linguistics*, 39 (2003), 575–98 (577–91).

9 Laver, *Principles of Phonetics*, 356; cf. Oftedal's definition of preaspiration:

'Preaspiration consists, in principle, of a voiceless interval after the voiced part of a preceding vowel, or devoicing of a preceding voiced consonant, before the closure of the [voiceless] stop.'; Magne Oftedal, *The Gaelic of Leurbost, Isle of Lewis* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1956), 99.

10 Cynthia R. Shuken, 'An instrumental investigation of some Scottish Gaelic consonants' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1980), 205, 207, 237.

11 Silverman, 'On the rarity of pre-aspirated stops', 575–98.

12 Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh, 'Some durational aspects of pre-aspiration', 142.

13 Shuken, 'An instrumental investigation', 455.

14 The bilabial fricative is found occasionally following front rounded vowels in Islay and Colonsay, e.g. *cat* [kyɸt] (*SGDS*: 158, 159, points 53, 54, 56, 57; note also the form [kyxɸd̥] at point 54), *tuiteam* [tuᵚǧ´əm̥], [tuɸd̥´zˆ͡im], etc. (*SGDS*: 874, points 16, 53, 83, 84); and also preceding a labial stop in Speyside, e.g. *tapaidh* [taɸbɪ] (*SGDS*: 830, point 181); *cipean* [k´iɸpɛn] (*SGDS*: 188, point 207); possibly also in Badenoch if *cipean* [k´iøb̥an] is a mistake for [k´iɸb̥an] (*SGDS*: 188, point 187). The alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ] is found in Kintyre and Gigha, which may have developed from [x´]: see *tric* [triʃk´], *faiceadh* [feʃǧ´əɣ], etc. (*SGDS*: 868, points 39, 40). We may compare the development of [s´] before a shifted [k´] → [t´s´], e.g. *creic* [k´res´t´s´] (*SGDS*: 252, point 16 (St Kilda); cf. *litir* [ʃd̥ʒ] (*SGDS*: 578, point 65); *ite* [ʃtʃ] (*SGDS*: 534, point 174). Throughout this paper whole numbers following the abbreviation '*SGDS*' and headwords from *SGDS* refer to item numbers.

15 F[red] E. G. Macaulay, 'Some aspects of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic' (unpublished dissertation, Diploma in Phonetics, University of Edinburgh, 1952); Cynthia Shuken, 'Aspiration in Scottish Gaelic stop consonants', in *Current Issues in the Phonetic Sciences*, vol. 1, ed. by Harry Hollien and Patricia A. Hollien (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1979), 451–58; *idem*, 'An instrumental investigation'; Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh, 'Some durational aspects of preaspiration'; cf. Ailbhe Ní Chasaide, 'Preaspiration in phonological stop contrasts' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University College of North Wales, Bangor, 1985); Peter Ladefoged et al., 'Phonetic structures of Scottish Gaelic', *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 28 (1998), 1–42. Claire Nance, a University of Glasgow PhD student, has recently carried out some preliminary measurements and analysis of preaspiration in the speech of young Lewis speakers.

16 Carl Hj. Borgstrøm, *The Dialect of Barra in the Outer Hebrides* (Oslo: [Aschehoug], 1937); *idem*, *The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1940); *idem*, *The Dialects of Skye and Ross-shire* (Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1941); Seumas Grannd, *The Gaelic of Islay: A Comparative Study* (Aberdeen: Department of Celtic, University of Aberdeen, 2000); Nils M. Holmer, *Studies on Argyllshire Gaelic* (Uppsala:

Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1938); Gordon Mac Gill-Fhinnein, *Gàidhlig Uidhist a Deas* (Dublin: DIAS, 1966); Oftedal, *The Gaelic of Leurbost*; Máirtín Ó Murchú, *East Perthshire Gaelic* (Dublin: DIAS, 1989); Ternes, *The Phonemic Analysis of Scottish Gaelic*; Joseph [= Seosamh] Watson, 'A Gaelic dialect of N.E. Ross-shire: The vowel system and general remarks', *Lochlann*, 6 (1974), 9–90; Roy G. Wentworth, 'Rannsachadh air fòn-eòlas dualchainnt Ghàidhlig Gheàrrloch, Siorrachd Rois', 3 vols (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2003) [available at www.celt.dias.ie/publications/online/gearrloch/].

17 A voiceless pharyngeal (or post-velar) fricative [ħ] occurs on occasion, e.g. *cnoc* (*SGDS* 213, point 121); see also Cathair Ó Dochartaigh, 'Phonetic symbolization', in *Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland*, vol. 1, 108–44 (127).

18 Borgstrøm, *Dialects of the Outer Hebrides*, 20–01, 167–69; Ternes, *The Phonemic Analysis of Scottish Gaelic*, 44–54.

19 William Gillies, 'The history of the Survey', in *Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland*, vol. 1, 25–47 (47).

20 Cathair Ó Dochartaigh, 'Two loans in Scottish Gaelic', *SGS*, 17 (1996), 305–13; Dónall P. Ó Baoill, 'The historical development of <ng> in an Ulster Irish/Scottish Gaelic continuum', in *Language Links: The Languages of Scotland and Ulster*, ed. by John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona, 2001), 101–15; Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'Hyperdialectisms, transitional zones and linguistic change: The case of final unstressed *-igh/-ich* and *-idh* in Scottish Gaelic', *SGS,* 19 (1999), 195–233; *idem*, 'Forás na ndeirí díspeagtha *-ean* agus *-ein* i nGaeilge na hAlban', in *Béalra: Aistí ar Theangeolaíocht na Gaeilge, ed. by Brian* Ó Catháin and Ruairí Ó hUiginn (Maynooth: An Sagart, 2001), 2–43; *idem*, '"*Siubhadaibh a bhalachaibh! Tha an Suirbhidh a-nis ullamh agaibh*": mar a dh'éirich do *-bh, -mh* gun chudrom ann an Gàidhlig Alba', *SGS,* 21 (2003), 163–219; *idem*, 'Processes in nasalization and related issues', *Ériu*, 53 (2003), 109–32; *idem*, 'Coibhneas idir consan *(dh/gh)* agus guta i stair na Gaeilge', in *Aistí ar an Nua-Ghaeilge in Ómós do Bhreandán Ó Buachalla*, ed. by Aidan Doyle and Siobhán Ní Laoire (Dublin: Cois Life, 2006), 41–78; *idem*, 'Caochlaideachd leicseachail agus "snowflakes" sa Ghàidhlig', in *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 4*, ed. by Gillian Munro (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, forthcoming).

21 In this paper, I ignore for present purposes the possible fieldworker effects which may or may not be reflected in the *SGDS* data. I also take for granted that, for the most part, the dialects surveyed as part of *SGDS* reflect 'the remnants of cohesive well-established, differentiated communities', although some account needs to be made for population movements within the Gàidhealtachd; see William Gillies, 'Scottish Gaelic dialect studies', in *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples: Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies*, ed. by Cyril Byrne,

Margaret Harry and Pádraig Ó Siadhail (Halifax, NS: D'Arcy McGee Chair of Irish Studies, 1992), 315–29 (318).

22 I hope to deal with these issues in more detail on another occasion.

23 The phonemes /k, k´, t, t´, p, p´/ are intended to represent historical phonemes rather than synchronic Scottish Gaelic phonemes.

24 Although *reic* has a high number of gaps (44% gaps), it has been retained in the analysis as the preaspiration score (on which see further below) is consistent and similar to that of (*c*)*reic*.

25 It has been noted in the literature that preaspiration is less salient and relatively less common following long vowels (and in some dialects this may also be true of polysyllabic words); see Watson, 'A Gaelic dialect of N.E. Ross-shire', 53. Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh found shorter preaspiration in medial stops in Lewis; Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh, 'Some durational aspects of preaspiration', 148.

26 It has been noted that preaspiration is more common before /k/ than before /t/ or /p/ in some dialects; see, for instance, Ladefoged et al., 'Phonetics structures of Scottish Gaelic', 10.

27 It is difficult to think of instances of *lp*; Scottish Gaelic *calpa* ('calf of the leg') derives from *colbtha* and as such is not a good example.

28 Silverman, 'On the rarity of pre-aspirated stops', 593. Helgason notes similarly that preaspiration is longer in stressed VC: syllables than in unstressed ones in Central Standard Swedish; Helgason, 'Phonetic preconditions for the development of normative preaspiration', 1852. Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh likewise found shorter preaspiration in less stressed positions in Lewis; Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh, 'Some durational aspects of preaspiration', 147–48.

29 Mac Gill-Fhinnein suggested that the lack of preaspiration in *chunnaic* was due to the influence of *thàinig*; Gordon Mac Gill-Fhinnein, 'Canúint Ghàidhlig de chuid Chontae Inbhir Nis, Ceap Breatainn, Albain Nua, Ceanada' (unpublished PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 1973), 182. The lack of preaspiration is more likely due to the general lack of aspiration in unstressed syllables, and to the merger of unstressed /k´/ and /g´/.

30 Cf. *ao-archc* (= *adharc*), *frao-archc* (= *fradharc*), C.M. Robertson, 'Skye Gaelic', *TGSI*, 23 (1902), 54–89 (68). Holmer refers to similar and other examples, e.g. *sobhaircein* [soˑərçg̊anˊ]; cf. *Nollaig* [noɫiçg̊], -*eigin* -[ɛçg̊inˊ], where unstressed /g´/ has been devoiced to /k´/ and subsequently preaspirated or replaced by [çg̊]; Nils M. Holmer, *The Gaelic of Kintyre* (Dublin: DIAS, 1962), 52. Preaspiration appears to occur before unstressed 't' in *ceannaichte* [htʃ] in some dialects (e.g. *SGDS* 169: points 158, 159) but this may represent a reduction of *ch* [x´] in the palatalised cluster *cht*, which is perhaps supported by the occurrence of [htʃ] in Arran (*SGDS*: 19, point 34) where preaspiration does not occur.

31 Seosamh Watson, 'On the development of the group -*rt* in Scottish Gaelic', *Celtica*, 21 (1990), 664–69. The development of intrusive *s* in

rt (and *rd*) clusters requires separate treatment, which I hope to address elsewhere.

32 Borgstrøm implies a difference in preaspiration in more recent loanwords containing stressed postvocalic [k] in southern Hebridean dialects: contrast *cnoc, fiacail, mac, socair, pòca, stocainn* (all with [xk]) with *ducadh* 'wade', *slac* 'slack', *smocadh* 'smoke' (all with [hk]); see Borgstrøm, *The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides*, 167, 168; cf. *idem*, 'On the influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic', *Lochlann*, 6 (1974), 91–103 (98).

33 With some exceptions, notably Dónall Ó Baoill, previous descriptions of the different systems of preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic have also tended to concentrate on the patterns which occur with the historically non-palatalised stops following short vowels; see Dónall P. Ó Baoill, 'Preaspiration, epenthesis and vowel lengthening – interrelated and of similar origin?', *Celtica*, 13 (1980), 79–108 (83).

34 Ó Baoill, 'Preaspiration, epenthesis and vowel lengthening', 83; R. D. Clement, 'Gaelic: preaspiration', in *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, ed. by Derick S. Thomson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 104–05 (104); Máirtín Ó Murchú, 'Varia viii: Devoicing and preaspiration in varieties of Scots Gaelic', *Ériu*, 36 (1985), 195–98 (196); Donald MacAulay, 'The Scottish Gaelic language', in *The Celtic Languages*, ed. by Donald MacAulay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 137–248 (155); William Gillies, 'Scottish Gaelic', in *The Celtic Languages*, ed. by Martin J. Ball with James Fife (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 145–227 (155). Borgstrøm describes four systems, A, B, C_1 and C_2, which correspond to 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively, although his type C_2 seems to represent both types 4 and 5; see Borgstrøm, 'On the influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic', 96–98; Gleasure refers to three main systems corresponding to types 1 (and 2, which he conflates), 3 and 4 in Table 4; see James Gleasure, 'Gaelic: dialects, principal divisions', in Thomson, *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, 91–95 (94); Seosamh Watson, 'Gaeilge na hAlban', in *Stair na Gaeilge in Ómós do P[h]ádraig Ó Fiannachta*, ed. by Kim McCone et al. (Maynooth: Roinn na Sean-Ghaeilge, Coláiste Phádraig, 1994), 661–702 (664); cf. Grannd, *The Gaelic of Islay*, 56.

35 'Type' in the last column of Tables 5 and 6 is based on the classification in Table 7 below. In Tables 5 and 6 '>>' means 'occurs more commonly than' and '=' means 'occurs to the same extent as'.

36 Where there is variation in the realisation of preaspiration before individual segments, it can be difficult in some cases to make a clear distinction between types C[var] and D[var]; similarly, for types A[var] and G[var]. Such subtle differences are ignored for the purposes of the present paper.

37 For typographical reasons the symbol 'α' has been used in Graph A and Map A to represent '[var]', i.e. 'variable'.

38 The symbol '⇒' means 'implies'.

39 Borgstrøm also notes the absence of preaspiration before /t/ but its

presence before /p/ in 'the southern half of the Mainland'; Borgstrøm, 'On the influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic', 98.

40 Kenneth Jackson, 'The breaking of original long ē in Scottish Gaelic', in *Celtic Studies: Essays in Memory of Angus Matheson 1912–1962*, ed. by James Carney and David Greene (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), 65–75. On the use of 'α' in Map A, see n. 37.

41 This general pattern was noticed by the first Professor of Celtic at Edinburgh, Professor Donald Mackinnon, 'On the dialects of Scottish Gaelic', *TGSI*, 12 (1886), 345–67 (350); cf. George Henderson, 'Gaelic dialects [3]', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 4 (1903), 493–524 (497).

42 Keeping in mind that some classifications of type G[var] might just as well be analysed as type A[var].

43 However, Colm Ó Baoill noted type C in the speech of a female informant from Braemar, i.e. 'a light aspirate before *p* and *t*, and a full ch-sound before *c*.'; see Colm Ó Baoill, *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1978), 66.

44 Type E is also found in some Nova Scotian varieties among speakers of progressive dialects, alongside type C, which is found in the speech of conservative speakers; see Seosamh Watson, 'Aspects of some Nova Scotian Gaelic dialects', in *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies*, ed. by Ronald Black, William Gillies and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1999), 347–59 (350). If type E in Nova Scotia is not an independent development, its existence there has implications for the dating of type E in western Scotland.

45 On differences in preaspiration between east and west Perthshire, see C. M. Robertson, 'Perthshire Gaelic', *TGSI*, 22 (1900), 4–42 (15–16).

46 Marstrander, 'Okklusiver og substrater', 258–314; Borgstrøm, 'On the influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic', 91–103; Magne Oftedal, 'Gaelic: Norse Influence', in Thomson, *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, 98–99 (99); cf. Clement, 'Gaelic: preaspiration', 104–05.

47 Magne Oftedal, 'On the frequency of Norse loanwords in Scottish Gaelic', *SGS*, 9 (1962), 116–27 (117).

48 Borgstrøm, 'On the influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic', 921–101.

49 Kenneth Jackson, 'The Celtic languages during the Viking period', *Proceedings of the International Congress of Celtic Studies*, [ed. by Brian Ó Cuív] (Dublin: DIAS, 1962), 3–11 (10).

50 Jackson delivered a paper entitled 'Some results of the Gaelic linguistic survey of Scotland' on Thursday 9 July 1959; see Ó Cuív, *Proceedings*, xxiii; see also Oftedal, 'On the frequency of Norse loanwords in Scottish Gaelic', 126, n. 5.

51 Oftedal, 'On the frequency of Norse loanwords in Scottish Gaelic', 116–17.

52 Gleasure, 'Gaelic: dialects, principal divisions', 94.

53 Borgstrøm, 'On the influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic', 99.

54 Oftedal, 'Gaelic: Norse influence', 98.

55 Ó Murchú, 'Devoicing and pre-aspiration in varieties of Scots Gaelic', 195.

56 Ó Baoill, 'Preaspiration, epenthesis and vowel lengthening', 79–108; Cathair Ó Dochartaigh, 'Vowel strengthening in Gaelic', *SGS*, 13.2 (1981), 219–40.

57 Ó Dochartaigh, 'Vowel strengthening', 238.

58 Ó Dochartaigh, 'Vowel strengthening', 219.

59 Holger Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk: En Sproghistorisk Undersøgelse* (Leipzig: Spirgatis, 1897), §67, referred to in Ó Baoill, 'Preaspiration, epenthesis and vowel lengthening', 84, n. 6.

60 David Greene, 'Gemination', *Celtica*, 3 (1956), 284–89 (286). The rejection of a geminate origin for preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic is implicit in Borgstrøm, 'On the influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic', 91–103 (93–94).

61 Cf. John J. Ohala, 'The origin of sound patterns in vocal tract constraints', in *The Production of Speech*, ed. by Peter F. MacNeilage (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1983), 189–216: 'The tendency for long voiced stops (so-called geminates) to become voiceless is particularly strong'.

62 Ní Chasaide and Ó Dochartaigh, 'Some durational aspects of preaspiration', 151, 152, 154.

63 Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain: A Chronological Survey of the Brittonic Languages 1st to 12th c. A.D.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1953), 143; Damian McManus, *A Guide to Ogam* (Maynooth: An Sagart, 1991), 92.

64 For a nuanced view of the incremental spread of Gaelic in medieval Scotland, including, for instance, the spread of Gaelic from Moray to Caithness post *c.*1200, see Thomas Clancy, 'Gaelic in medieval Scotland: advent and expansion', unpublished Rhŷs Lecture, delivered on 4 March 2009 at the British Academy, London; on 9 March in Edinburgh and 10 March in Aberdeen under the auspices of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland.

65 Ó Murchú, 'Devoicing and preaspiration in varieties of Scots Gaelic', 195–98.

66 Double solidi here indicate historical 'Common Gaelic' phonemes.

67 Type D is not listed by him or other commentators as noted above but what he says of the other types would apply equally to type D.

68 From Ó Murchú, 'Devoicing and preaspiration in varieties of Scots Gaelic', 196.

69 Cf. Silverman, 'On the rarity of pre-aspirated stops', 593.

70 Silverman, 'On the rarity of pre-aspirated stops', 594.

71 Borgstrøm derived it from type A, which he claimed was 'the original form of preaspiration'; Borgstrøm, 'On the influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic', 99. Ó Murchú, on the other hand, viewed the 'exotic' type E as a

'recent development' of type B; Ó Murchú, 'Devoicing and pre-aspiration in varieties of Scots Gaelic', 197–98.

72 [Máirtín Ó Murchú], 'Dialects of Irish', in *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, ed. by Robert Welch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 145–48 (147); Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'The Scotticisation of Gaelic: a reassessment of the language and orthography of the Gaelic notes in the Book of Deer', in *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. by Katherine Forsyth (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 179–274 (194). Given its geographical distribution it is interesting to speculate whether or not the loss of intervocalic *th* /h/ is due in part to contact with Scots. A former teacher of mine, Séamas Ó Murchú, suggested in a seminar delivered at University College Dublin in the late 1980s that the loss of intervocalic *th* /h/ in some southern Galway dialects may have come about as a result of contact with English emanating outwards from Galway city; cf. Séamas Ó Murchú, *An Teanga Bheo: Gaeilge Conamara* (Dublin: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann, 1998), 12.

73 Cf. Gillies, 'Scottish Gaelic', 147.

74 *Dictionary of the Irish Language: Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials*, ed. by E. G. Quin et al. (Dublin: RIA, 1983), s.v. *lá*. Other examples of ahistorical *th* include: *bruthach*, *cathag*, *dithis*(*t*), *fhathast*, *fitheach*, *giuthas*, *leatha*.

75 It may be that the fricative sound used to reinforce the preaspiration in some dialects may originally have differed phonetically from a velar fricative, but which later assimilated to it. It is interesting to note that the fricative noted by Watson in the likes of *leatsa* [laxд̥sə] 'was post-velar or uvular in nature'; Watson, 'Aspects of some Nova Scotian dialects', 350, n. 5. We may compare the Rev. C. M. Robertson's remark about Rannoch Gaelic that 'the breathing [before *t* and *p* in *cat* and *tapaidh* respectively] is so strong as to make them sound almost as if they also had a *ch* before them.' The implication here seems to be that the preaspiration was similar, though perhaps not identical, to the velar fricative [x]; see Robertson, 'Perthshire Gaelic', 16; cf. *idem*., 'Scottish Gaelic dialects [V]', *The Celtic Review*, 4 (1908), 167–83 (176).

76 The occurrence of the bilabial fricative [ɸ] and the alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ] is very marginally more common as a marker of preaspiration within the area where postvocalic *th* /h/ is lost categorically (*SGDS*, points 39, 40, 53, 54, 56, 181, 187) than it is outside this area (*SGDS*, points 16, 83, 84, 57, 207); see note 14 above.

77 There is often a tacit assumption that the cluster *cht* was assimilated to [xk] before the development [hk] > [xk], perhaps due to the categorical or almost categorical nature of the change in all Scottish Gaelic dialects. For instance, Borgstrøm invokes the development *chd* > /xk/ as a possible contributory factor in the development [ʰk] > [xk] in his article, 'On the influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic', 99. It is certainly true that the change *cht* > [xk] must have occurred before the change [t] / [ht] >

[xt] in mainland dialects. On the development *chd* > /xk/ in Scottish Gaelic, see Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'A Gaulish-Gaelic correspondence: *so*(*u*)*xt-* and *suac*(*hd*)*an*', *Ériu*, 55 (2005), 103–117 (111–13). The dating of the development *chd* > /xk/ in Scottish Gaelic is not clear, although there is good evidence to suggest that the conservative pronunciation /xt/ was retained in some higher registers until at least the eighteenth century. In the Wardlaw manuscript, there seems to be a distinction in the treatment of the cluster *chd* in non-verse and verse texts, where the vernacular form tends to occur in the former and the conservative form in the latter, e.g. 'Shlick' (= *sliochd*) and 'cashmachk' (= *caismeachd*) in non-verse and 'shlichd' (= *sliochd*), 'bocht' (= *bocht*), 'locht' (= *locht*) in verse; but cf. 'teachterachti' (= *teachtaireacht*) in non-verse. See *Chronicles of the Frasers: The Wardlaw Manuscript Entitled 'Polochronicon seu policratica temporum, or the True Genealogy of the Frasers' 916–1674 by Master James Fraser Minister of the Parish of Wardlaw (now Kirkhill), Inverness*, ed. by William MacKay (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable for the Scottish Historical Society, 1905), 40, 97, 175, 206, 327. The evidence for the realisation of the *cht* cluster in the Book of the Dean of Lismore appears to be ambiguous; see O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects*, 150.

78 Point 98 is an outlier, whose pattern of preaspiration either represents an independent development, or, more likely, a case where type E has 'jumped' from the core E area to the west; point 77 is on the border but has a score of 0.08 for the presence of /h/. On the notion of 'jumping' in the diffusion of linguistic change, see J. K. Chambers and Peter Trudgill, *Dialectology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 189.

79 A score of '0' represents categorical loss of postvocalic *th* /h/ and a score of '1' represents categorical retention of postvocalic *th* /h/.

80 On the term 'beach head', see Chambers and Trudgill, *Dialectology*, 137.

81 Ó Murchú, 'Devoicing and pre-aspiration', 197. The loss of *ch* [x´] or its replacement by [h] in *ceannaichte* in areas having no preaspiration or weak forms of preaspiration might be taken as evidence for the loss of preaspiration in these dialects (*SGDS*: 169, points 31–35, 158–61, etc.); however, in Arran this could be related to the realisation of *-ich*/*-igh* as -[i]; see Ó Maolalaigh, 'Hyperdialectisms', 200–02; in northern dialects such forms could represent hypercorrections, where the [x´t´] cluster was analysed as preaspirated /t´/, and the pronunciation modified to suit the normal form of 'preaspiration' in these dialects. We may compare the developments of *riachtanach* [xt] > *riatanach* [ht] and *eachdraidh* [xt] > *eatraidh* [ht]; see Watson, 'Gaeilge na hAlban', 664. The Rev. C. M. Robertson suggests that the voiced mediae /g, d, b/ in Sutherland are due to English influence, and came about as a means to retain a distinction between tenues and mediae; see C. M. Robertson, 'Sutherland Gaelic', *TGSI*, 25 (1907), 84–125 (102–03). The general view, however, is the voiced mediae in these dialects are relic survivals of 'Common Gaelic' (used here in the theoretical sense), still present in Irish dialects to this day.

82 See, for instance, Gleasure, 'Gaelic: dialects, principal divisions', 93; MacAulay, 'The Scottish Gaelic language', 155, 157, 158; cf. Oftedal, 'Gaelic: Norse influence', 99.

83 For an eastern or 'peripheral' explanation of the origin and development of the plural marker -*n* in Scottish Gaelic, see Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'Varia II: A possible internal source for Scottish Gaelic plural -*an*', *Ériu*, 53 (2003), 157–61.

84 The adoption of pre-spirantised stops for voiceless stops might also account for the hypercorrect adoption of [çǧ] for unstressed [k´] < [g´] in Kintyre; see note 30 above.

85 The increase on the intensity of preaspiration need not have always occurred in a linear fashion; presumably C may have developed directly from A, and E from C and so on.

86 MacAulay suggests that the development [k] → [xk] in type F may have developed in parallel with the development [xt] → [xk]; MacAulay, 'The Scottish Gaelic language', 155.

87 Borgstrøm, 'On the influence of Norse', 96.

88 Borgstrøm, 'On the influence of Norse', 94.

89 Leaving aside the question of /p/ for obvious reasons of attestation. On the notion of a 'fudge' in transition zones between different dialect areas, see Chambers and Trudgill, *Dialectology*, 132–42.

90 See Kenneth Jackson, 'The Pictish language', in *The Problem of the Picts*, ed. by F. T. Wainwright (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1955), 127–66 (164); John T. Koch, 'The loss of final syllables and loss of declension in Brittonic', *BBCS*, 30 (1983), 201–33 (214). For a summary description of recent thinking on the development of the voiceless geminate stops in Brittonic, see Patrick Sims-Williams, *Studies on Celtic Languages before the Year 1000* (Aberystwyth: Department of Welsh, 2007), 43–58.

91 I have not so far noted any evidence for the devoicing of //b// following short or long vowels in texts from the Book of the Dean of Lismore.

92 O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects*, 149.

93 Original //d// following stressed long vowels seems to be usually represented by *d* or *dd* (the latter usually intervocalically), although *sgrùd*(*adh*) 'scrut' occurs. It is unclear whether 'leta' represents *Leide* or *Léide*; the fact that 't' for 'd' occurs most commonly after short vowels (so far as I can judge) in the Book of the Dean might support Binchy's suggestion that the 'e' was short, which is also supported by the Dean's spelling the name with 'e'; see Gillies, William, 'A poem on the land of the little people', in *Fil súil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: A Festschrift in Honour of Colm Ó Baoill*, ed. by Sharon Arbuthnot and Kaarna Hollo (Ceann Drochaid: Clann Tuirc, 2007), 33–52 (48, § 18a).

94 Tables 13 and 14 are based on a selection of examples culled from the following editions: William Gillies, 'The Gaelic poems of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (I)', *SGS*, 13.1 (1978), 18–45; *idem.*, 'The Gaelic poems of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (II)', *SGS*, 13.2 (1981),

263–88; *idem*., 'The Gaelic poems of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (III)', *SGS*, 14.1 (1983), 59–82; *idem*., 'A death-bed poem ascribed to Muireadhach Albanach', *Celtica*, 21 (1990), 156–72; *idem*., 'A poem on the land of the little people'; *idem*., '"Créad fa seachnainn-suirghe?"', *S*GS, 24 (2008), 215–43; Donald E. Meek, 'The death of Diarmaid in Scottish and Irish tradition', *Celtica*, 21 (1990), 335–61.

95 The 'g' was cancelled in the manuscript; Meek, "The death of Diarmaid', 349, 353 (§ 8d).

96 *ibid*., 360, § 59, where the difficulty of differentiating *c* and *t* in the MS orthography is pointed out.

97 Cf. Clement, 'Gaelic: Preaspiration', 104.

98 Ó Maolalaigh, 'The Scotticisation of Gaelic', 247.

99 O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects*, 146–50.

100 I am grateful to Dr Brian Ó Curnáin and Professor Thomas Clancy for providing comments on a draft of this paper, and to Ingrid Shearer for producing the maps.

'Sean neachan Caelach tha air airish an a larna':
Làmh-sgrìobhainn Dhùghaill MhicAonghais, 1888
Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart

As t-earrach 1888 chaidh ceithir duilleagan pàipeir, is iad làn seanchais à Latharna, a chur a-nuas às an Òban gu ruige Dùn Èideann, do dhachaigh a' bheul-aithrisiche Alasdair MacGilleMhìcheil (1832–1912). Na b' anmoiche, dheigheadh an clàradh mar LS MacGilleMhìcheil MacBhatair 381 fon.22–26 ann an Leabharlann Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann. Chaidh dà nota-mìneachaidh a chur riutha às dèidh làimh: a' chiad fhear, air fo.22ᵛ, le MacGilleMhìcheil fhèin; agus fear eile, 's dòcha ann an làimh Ella nighean Alasdair, air fo.23ᵛ:

> Written at my request by 'Dughall an Tuairnear'
> now in the poorhouse Oban once a contractor in Lorn.
> Received at 31 Raeburn Place 10th March 1888.

> The Stories on these leaves were written by
> Dughall an Tuairneir, (Dugald MacInnes)
> a joiner, a slater & mason, who lived in Tigh an uilt
> & died about 20 years since [*supra*: (say 1890)]. His father lived
> at the farm of Culnadalach. Dughall died in Oban Poorhouse.

B' ann air 6 Màrt 1805 a rugadh Dùghall MacAonghais, aig tac Chùl na Dalach, Sgìre Mhuc Càrna. Bu mhac e do dh'Iain MacAonghais, air an robh mar fhar-ainm 'An Tuairnear' agus a rugadh mu 1764 ann an Sgìre Chill Cholmain Eala agus Chill Bheiridh, agus do Mhàiri (no Mairead) Chaimbeul à Sgìre Àird Chatain.[1] A thaobh teaghlach a mhàthar, gheibhear barrachd fiosrachaidh ann an nota ann an *Records of Argyll* a dheasaich am Morair Gilleasbaig Caimbeul:

> Dugald MacInnes's great-grandfather was, first, cattle-manager to the Duke of Argyll in Glenaray, and afterwards tenant of Benbui. Having been on one occasion on the borders with cattle, he met the Duke there, and did him a service which was so highly appreciated that the Duke promised to grant him any reasonable request that he might make the first time they should happen to meet at Inveraray. Not long after this the Duke returned

to Inveraray. The first time after his return that he met Campbell he said to him, "What can I do for you, Campbell?" "Allow me to wear the Highland dress," said Campbell. This request was granted at once. The first time after this that he was in Inveraray he had on the Highland dress. The consequence was that he was imprisoned by the Sheriff. When this came to the Duke's ears he gave orders for Campbell's release. Campbell was the first man who wore the Highland dress in the Highlands after the passing of the Act prohibiting its being worn.[2]

Às dèidh Dhùghaill, bha co-dhiù còignear cloinne eile anns an teaghlach: Dòmhnall (r. 1806); Iain (r. 1809); Donnchadh (r. 1811); thàinig an uair sin, a rèir coltais, dà nighinn, Sìne (r. 1814) agus Anna (r. 1820). Rugadh an dithis mu dheireadh ann an Sgìre Chill an Inbhir, rud a chuireas air shùilean dhuinn gur dòcha gun do rinn an teaghlach imrich mu 1810 agus gun do rinn iad còmhnaidh an taobh ud airson mu dheichead co-dhiù.

A rèir coltais, chaochail màthair na cloinne uaireigin ron cheud chunntas-sluaigh, ann an 1841, nuair a bha an còrr den teaghlach, ach Anna a-mhàin, a' fuireachd ann an Cùl na Dalach aon uair eile. Trì bhliadhna às dèidh sin chaidh ballrachd de Loidse Shaor-Chlachaireachd an Òbain a bhuileachadh air Dùghall MacAonghais. B' ann mar shaor a chaidh a chlàradh; gu dearbh, b' esan an t-aon bhall ùr den Loidse eadar 1843 agus deireadh 1848, nuair a dhùin i. Ann an 1851 lorgar Dùghall a' fuireachd fhathast ann an Cùl na Dalach, far an robh a bhràthair a b' òige Donnchadh na thuathanach. Bha e a' cumail ris an tuairnearachd, ceàird athar a bha a-nis na dhuine dall. Le dithis shearbhant agus cìobair na chois, bha coltas cuibhseach soirbheachail air an teaghlach aig an àm. Deich bliadhna às dèidh sin bha Dùghall fhathast ris an aon obair, ach ann an 1871 tha e coltach gun robh àm cruadail air choreigin air thighinn an lùib an teaghlaich: bha iad a-nis a' fuireachd ann am Pàirc nan Goibhlean, Eilean Chearara.

A rèir cunntas-sluaigh 1881 – le aois air a clàradh gu cearbach mar 24 – bha Dùghall a' fuireachd ann an Cladh na Macraidh còmhla ri a phiuthar Sìne (1814–1898) agus an duine aice Donnchadh MacCaluim (1809–1883). Anns an dol-seachad, chan eil fhios nach

b' ann anns an àite sin fhèin a choinnich Alasdair MacGilleMhìcheil ris air a' chiad turas.[3] Ri linn nan 1880an bhiodh e coltach gun robh Dùghall a' cosnadh beagan cliù dha fhèin mar sheanchaidh. Mar a chunnacas, bha e am measg an luchd-aithris a thug seachad sgeulachdan dùthchasach airson *Records of Argyll*, cruinneachadh tomadach eireachdail de bheul-aithris – agus ro-theachdaire *Charmina Gadelica* cho math – a chaidh fhoillseachadh ann an 1885. Anns an leabhar ud, tha e sgrìobhte gun robh Dùghall a' fuireachd ann an Acha' nam Bà ann am Meadarloch: feumaidh gun robh e còmhla ri bhràthair Iain (1809–1883), air neo, às dèidh bàs Iain, ri Anna a bhanntrach.[4]

Uaireigin aig deireadh nan 1880an chaidh Dùghall a thoirt a-steach gu Taigh nam Bochd Latharna air Rathad a' Mhuilleir anns an Òban. 'S ann an sin a chaochail e aig aois 90, aig dà uair feasgar air 16 Sultain 1892 – trì làtha às dèidh a' chiad Mhòid Nàiseanta anns a' bhaile. B' e riaghaladair an taighe, George Sinclair, a chlàraich am bàs, is e air a chur às leth 'decay of nature'. Cha do phòs Dùghall MacAonghais a-riamh.

Ged nach urrainnear a bhith cinnteach, bidh e coltach gun do chuir Alasdair MacGilleMhìcheil eòlas air an t-seanchaidh nuair a bha e shuas anns an taigh-shamhraidh aige ann an Taigh an Uillt, bho mu 1882 air adhart.[5] Faodar a bhith an ìre mhath cinnteach gun do dh'iarr MacGilleMhìcheil air MacAonghais na duilleagan pàipeir air a bheil a-nis LS CW fon.22–26 a lìonadh mar obair-charthannais, gus beagan cobhair, faochaidh agus misneachd a thoirt do sheann bhodach ann an taigh nam bochd a bha a-nis a' tighinn dlùth ri deireadh a rèis.

Nochdaidh trì sgeulachdan slàn, is iad air an eadar-theangachadh agus air an lìomhadh airson luchd-leughaidh na Beurla, fo ainm Dhùghaill MhicAonghais ann an *Records of Argyll*: 'How the Campbells came into possession of Torr-an-tuirc'; breacadh de 'How Campbell of Lochnell got possession of Achanacree (Acha-na-Crithe)'; agus 'MacFadyen's Cave'.[6] Chaidh an clàradh le 'D': a rèir coltais, an t-Urr. Donnchadh MacAonghais (1829–1903) à Eilean Luing; ministear Chrombail, Sgìre Mo Luaig; fear-deasachaidh *Folk and Hero Tales*, an dàrna leabhar anns an t-sreath *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition* fo stiùir a' Mhorair Gilleasbaig Caimbeul fhèin; agus sgrìobhaiche

an leabhair-abairtean *Còmhraidhean 'an Gaelig 's am Beurla*.[7] Ann an *Records* cuideachd tha dà shreath de notaichean eachdraidheil bho Dhùghall MacAonghais: cunntas mu Bhaile Mhaodain 'taken down a few years ago from the dictation of a trustworthy old man of the name of Dugald MacInnes' le Sìneag NicGriogair, Lios Mòr, agus seann eachdraidh bhaile an Òbain fhèin 'supplied by Dugald MacInnes, Achanamba, Benderloch (Meadarloch)', is i sgrìobhte sìos le 'D' aon uair eile.[8]

Cha b' ann airson a chuid seanchais, ge-tà, a choisinn Dùghall MacAonghais na bh' aige de chliù ann an sgìre a bhreith, ach airson a chuid bàrdachd. 'Dugald MacInnes, the bard, Dughall an Tuairneir, was born here', sgrìobh Eanraig MacIlleBhàin (1852–1913), is e a-mach air Cùl na Dalach.[9] A thuilleadh air na sgeulachdan sgrìobhte agus clò-bhuailte, tha co-dhiù ceithir òrain air sgeul a rinneadh, a rèir coltais, le Dùghall MacAonghais: 'Sior Cailein Caimbeul', òran-molaidh a rinneadh ann an 1855 don ghaisgeach Bhictòrianach (1792–1863), ceannard aig an àm thar nan rèiseimeadan Gàidhealach anns a' Chrimea; 'Oran air phos Marquis Larna Nighinn na bairain', a' dèanamh gàirdeachas mun bhanais ann an 1871 eadar Iain Caimbeul, Marcas Latharna (1845–1914), agus a' Bhan-phrionnsa Louise (1848–1939), nighean na Banrìghinn Bhictòria; òran glèidhte ann an cruinneachadh Iain Chaimbeil, Bàrd Leideig, 'Tha mo Neacal san Hall'; agus, 's dòcha, rannan èibhinn air nòs bàrdachd baile mu mar a chaidh bò a mharbhadh: 'Oran a Mart'.[10] 'S dòcha cuideachd gun do rinn e eadar-theangachadh de 'Auld Lang Syne' aig Raibeart Burns, 'An Aimsir Chein', a chaidh a chlò-bhualadh mar bhileig ann an Glaschu mu 1860.[11]

'S ann car às an àbhaist airson an ama a tha làmh-sgrìobhainn Dhùghaill MhicAonghais. Gheibhear na duilleagan sreath de sgeulachdan agus de naidheachdan ann an làimh an t-seanchaidh fhèin seach le neach-cruinneachaidh bho a-muigh. Mar a bhiodh dùil, cha b' ann le gnàthasan-sgrìobhaidh no briathrachas na Gàidhlig stèidhichte a chlàir an seanchaidh a chuid fhaclan. An toiseach, 's tric a thig troimhe a' chainnt bu dhual do Dhùghall fhèin: mar sin, gheibhear foirmean a leithid 'gràinnean' ('cranean'; 'granain'[12]), cho math ri facail às an dual-chainnt ionadail a leithid 'a chòmhnaidh' ('choni', 'Chomhidh'[13]), 'nìos' ('Nios'[14]), agus an /o/ goirid a tha cho samhlachail de luchd na Gàidhlig

bhon cheàrnaidh sin, mar eisimpleir 'croagan' airson 'crogan'.[15] 'S tric a thèid /o/ Earra-Ghàidheal a thionndadh gu /u/ fosgailte, agus mar sin sgrìobhaidh MacAonghais 'Coulinn'[16] ('Collainn'/'Callainn') agus 'tumbaco'.[17] Leis a' chrìonadh thiamhaidh a tha air tighinn air luchd na Gàidhlig anns an àirde sin, chan ann tric a chluinnear foirmean dan leithid an-diugh, air cho uasal 's a bha an dual-chainnt aca uair den robh saoghal.

Gheibhear trèithean àraid eile ann an cainnt Dhùghaill MhicAonghais, feadhainn dhiubh 's dòcha a' comharrachadh àite-breith athar. Mar eisimpleir, tha litreachaidhean a leithid 'a Comhernaich' and 'Na Comhernaich' a' cur an cèill dhuinn gun deach an 's a shùilicheadh sinn ann an Latharna Ìochdarach – 'a choimhearsnaich' – atharrachadh gu /d/, is e air fhuaimneachadh gun a bhith sgrìobhte: trèith a tha nas cumanta nas fhaide gu deas.[18] Chithear 'bheir'[19] an àite 'their'; 'co-ainm'[20] cho math ri 'far-ainm'. Mu dheireadh – fuaim a tha samhlachail de chuid de Ghàidheil Latharna, Mheadarloch, Lios Mòr, agus na h-Apann – thèid an consan dùinte /k/ air chall anns an analachadh sgòrnanach *ch* /x/ ma bhios fuaimreag ghoirid le beum oirre roimhe. Mar sin, bidh MacAonghais a' sgrìobhadh 'faichinn' no 'faichhinn' airson 'faicinn', 'mach' airson 'mac', 'aiche' airson 'aice', 'acha' airson 'aca', 'oirach' airson 'oighreachd'; fiù 's nach fhaighear 'Muchairn' fhèin.[21]

Tha e fìor nach robh Dùghall MacAonghais buileach cho ealanta mar sheanchaidh an taca ri feadhainn eile bhon aon sgìre a chaidh a chlàradh le Alasdair MacGilleMhìcheil, gun luaidh air na seòid bho ghinealach na bu thràithe a thug seachad beagan den cuid stòrais de dh'eachdraidh agus de thradaiseanan Latharna don fhear-cruinneachaidh Iain Mac an Deòir (1802–1872) eadar 1866 agus 1871. Chan eil sin ri ràdh idir, ge-tà, nach eil luach ann an naidheachdan MhicAonghais: tasgte annta tha plathaidhean iongantach air cultar agus gu dearbh air saoghal a' mhòr-shluaigh a tha a-nis an ìre mhath air chall. A thuilleadh air na fuadaichean ri linn ath-eagrachadh dòighean-àiteachais nan oighreachd aig deireadh an ochdamh linn deug, bho mheadhan an linne sin bha buaidh nach bu bheag aig feumannan gnìomhachas fùirneis Bhun Abha air àrainneachd na dùthcha agus dòighean-obrach nan dùthchasach, gun luaidh air sìor fhàs bhaile an Òbain mar àite còmhdhail agus conaltraidh na b' fhaide air adhart.[22]

Mothaichear do cho tric 's a nochdas coimeasan eadar saoghail agus cultaran na Gàidhealtachd agus na Galltachd, agus bathar-caitheimh ùr a leithid 'tumbaco' agus 'sìth' a' sìor èaladh gu tuath. An lùib nan coimeas cluinnear tomhas de dhroch iomagain gun teagamh, ach tha gu leòr de dheagh fhealla-dhà ann cho math. 'S e seo saoghal anns an robh muinntir na Gàidhealtachd fhathast cofhurtail agus misneachail anns an dualchas aca fhèin, dualchas eadar-dhà-linn, mar gum b' eadh, linn na gaisgeileachd agus linn a' ghnìomhachais. Anns a' chothlamadh de naidheachdan bho shean agus naidheachdan às ùr, bidh Dùghall MacAonghais a' cur nar cuimhne iomadach seanchaidh bhon linn againn fhìn, daoine a bheir seachad deagh sgeulachd as fhiach a h-innse às bith dè an linn dam buin i agus às bith dè as cuspair dhi, eadar Diarmaid Ó Duibhne no Johnny Cash.

Bidh e ri thuigsinn nach eil anns na h-earrannan ann an litreachadh stèidhichte a leanas gach uile earrann ach ceann-iùil a-mhàin. Tha e follaiseach nach deach gach uile mion-fhacal, alt cinnteach agus sèimheachadh a chlàradh, ach gu dè an ìre nach deach? Cha ghabh an t-astar a thomhas eadar mar a chaidh na sgeulachdan a sgrìobhadh sìos agus mar a dheigheadh an aithris leis an t-seanchaidh. Air sgàth dìth rùim agus dìth an eòlais, chan fhaigh na sgeulachdan a leanas, fhathast co-dhiù, an t-eadar-mhìneachadh eachdraidheil agus litreachaidh air a bheil iad airidh.

Chaidh LS CW 381 fon.22–26 a chuir ri chèile 's dòcha rè a' gheamhraidh 1887–1888 anns an Òban Latharnach. Tha trì duilleagan singilte ann air meud *foolscap folio* (210mm x 330mm), le aon duilleig dhùbailte cho math. Tha am pàipear air dath soilleir gorm, le loidhnichean dearga airson obair-cunntasachd, gun chomharradh-uisge.

Ged a tha an deasachadh seo a' leantainn òrdugh nam foliothan mar a tha iad air an clàradh, tha fhios nach fhaodar a bhith buileach cinnteach às an òrdugh anns an deach na diofar earrannan a sgrìobhadh bho thùs. Bhiodh e coltach, ge-tà, air sgàth nam facal-cinn 'Neachan Anceartach' do dh'earrainn 3 agus an nota a chuireadh aig bonn na duilleige às dèidh làimh, gum bu chòir do fo.22^v a thighinn roimh fo.22. Tha e follaiseach cuideachd gun do lìon Dùghall MacAonghais an aon duilleag dhùbailte, is i fosgailte air a beulaibh, ann an òrdugh

fo.25ᵛ, fo.24, fo.24ᵛ, fo.25. Dh'fhaodadh e bhith a-rèiste gun robh an t-altachadh aig bonn fo.25, earrann 9, a' dùnadh a' chruinneachaidh gu lèir.

(1)
    Bha duine geurmasheadh Na Maister
    scoile da b ainm Cailain Mach ileriadh agus
    san strath Mucharn Chum e Cheud scholl, agus
    e Comhni an a ach a lemain. bha sean tuanach choni
5 lamh ri Calain ris abradh iad ian Mach-fhail
    bha e Na fasan sa am sinn, bhidh dol fo tigh gu tigh
    air a Coulinn, agus ranig Calain tigh ian Mhic
    -fhail. Cha Naighe stigh mar gabhadh e rann
    agus se rann ghabh Calain, ian Mhic fhail a
10 Comhernaich ma graidh, eiridh gun Dail s leg a
    stigh a bard. Cha Neill Mi ghinnach s Cha Mo a
    Mi lonnach, foighni leum doisan da fhithadm bonach
    is do Criman beg fhoile s bithadh e sogar Mhilias,
    do Chaisa Ma Cruachan, a bean Na biodh gruaim ga
15 shiradh eridh bean Mhalta bhanail is Cuir Nios
    rud as binna Na guliag na ealla, is ol gu criail air
    Calain. is gaidh so a deanadh. End [fo.22]

Bha duine eirmiseach[23] *na mhaighstir sgoile dam b' ainm Cailean MacGilleRiabhaich agus 's ann an Srath Mhuc Càrna a chùm e a cheud sgoil, agus e a chòmhnaidh ann an Ach' a' Leamhain. Bha sean tuathanach a chòmhnaidh làmh ri Cailean ris an abradh iad Iain MacPhàil. Bha e na fhasan san àm sin a bhith a' dol bho thaigh gu taigh air a' Chulainn agus ràinig Cailean taigh Iain MhicPhàil. Chan fhaigheadh e a-staigh mur an gabhadh e rann agus 's e rann a ghabh Cailean:*

'Iain MhicPhàil, a choimhearsnaich mo ghràidh,
Èirich gun dàil is leig a-staigh am bàrd!
Chan eil mi gionach 's cha mhotha tha mi lonach,
Fòghnaidh leam toimhsean da chiad[24] *bhonnach*
Is de chrioman beag fheòla 's biodh e sòghmhor milis,
De chàise math Chruachain – a bhean na biodh gruaim ga shireadh!
Èirich a bhean mhàlda bhanail

Is cuir a-nìos rud as binne
Na guileag na h-eala
Is òl gu crìdheil air Cailean!'

Is chaidh seo a dhèanamh.

Le dìth fianais sgrìobhte, chan fhaodar a bhith buileach cinnteach cò e an Cailean MacGilleRiabhaich a rinn an Rann Challainn. Bha co-dhiù dà mhaighs'-sgoile den ainm ann an Sgìre Mhuc Càrna, athair agus mac. Ri linn a' chiad chunntais-shluaigh ann an 1841, bha Cailean am mac (1788–1869) an dèidh imrich a dhèanamh don Òban, far an robh e air a chlàradh, deich bliadhna na b' anmoiche, mar fhear-ionaid nan coidsichean fo ainm Chailein MhicDhòmhnaill – cleas shliochdan eile dhiubh ann an Diùra agus ann an Uibhist a Deas, bha Clann 'IlleRiabhaich ann an Latharna a' tagradh cleamhnas ri Cloinn Dòmhnaill. Ged a bha teaghlach de Chloinn Phàil a' fuireachd ann an Ach' a' Leamhain ceart gu leòr, bhiodh e coltach nach robh bodach dhiubh aig an àm sin air an robh Iain agus a bha pòsta. Dh'fhaodadh e bhith a-rèiste gum b' ann ris an athair a tha ar gnothaich, fear a choilean dreuchd clàrc an t-seisein ann an Sgìre Mhuc Càrna aig deireadh an ochdamh linn deug.[25]

(2)

Bha bean Coir an lismor aig robh nighinn fur-
ichd an a Glasgow, agus Caidh i Mach ga faich-
hinn, agus bha gh-insuidh na Cu[n]ig i, gun d-uair
i deoch mhilis ruadh an a Croagan geall, agus
5 gur e shi bha iad gradh ris, agus arse Chailach
san buisge an Cogidh domhsa. End [fo.22]

Bha bean chòir an Lios Mòr aig an robh nighean a' fuireachd ann an Glaschu, agus chaidh i a-mach ga faicinn, agus bha i ag innseadh na chunnaic i, gun d' fhuair i deoch mhilis ruadh ann an crogan geal, agus gur e 'sìth' a bha iad ag ràdh ris, 'Agus', ars' a' chailleach, ''s ann a b' e uisge a' chogaidh dhòmhsa!'

(3)

Neachan Anceartach. Bha shean duine Cor
rugadh s thogadh sa ledaig an a Medar-loch. agus

bedar da ledaig fhagail thiginn dh-fuirach dun Oban
agus bha t-oban san am shin, gu math gann do goual
5 do Mhoni. agus Cha robh e Cortaig ris a bhaile bhi sa
oban. agus huair e tigh sa leidaig far robh pailteas moni
agus nuair a bha Ballie fhagail an oban, is iad torirt
shios na imrieg don bhata, Thug e sean bharra Moni air
goulinn. agus Chaidh e fhagail beanach aig Na Comhernaich
10 agus be beanach a Bhaille, Beanach leibh Mhuinter
Oban. gad a Dibhol oirbh, is taol leam fhein sibh. End [fo.22ᵛ]

Naidheachdan aincheardach. Bha sean duine còir a rugadh ʼs a thogadh
san Leideig ann am Meadarloch, agus b' fheudar dha Leideag fhàgail a
thighinn a dh'fhuireach don Òban. Agus bha an t-Òban san àm sin gu
math gann de ghual agus de mhòine, agus cha robh e a' còrdadh ris a'
*bhàillidh*²⁶ *a bhith san Òban. Agus fhuair e taigh san Leideig far an robh*
pailteas mòna agus nuair a bha am bàillidh a' fàgail an Òbain, is iad a'
toirt sìos na imrich don bhàta, thug e sean bhara mòna air a ghualainn.
Agus chaidh e a dh'fhàgail beannachd aig na coimhearsnaich, agus b' e
beannachd a' bhàillidh: 'Beannach leibh muinntir an Òbain, ged a tha
an diabhal oirbh, is toigh leam fhèin sibh!'

(4)

Bha san am sinn ansa am Oban, ga bainamh a
saoich touuch air agair ga Bainamh a Delight. agus
thainig stoirm Mor. bha Choltais orri bhi air tir, thaobh
fhailinn bha sa Chabell aige, agus bha sgiber gaodhich
5 mach, O gileta bochd, so sgall Ma deirach Chuires asda
dutsa. Mach an so, Baul Mʳ Stinson is Mo Bhall fein
Briste. End [fo.22ᵛ]

Bha san àm sin anns an Òban soitheach dùthch' air acair dam b' ainm
*an Delight.*²⁷ *Agus thàinig stoirm mhòr. Bha a choltas oirre a bhith air*
tìr, a thaobh fàillinn a bha sa chàball aige, agus sgiobair a' glaodhaich
*a-mach, 'O ghilleada*²⁸ *bochd, seo an sgal mu dheireadh a chuireas asta*
dhutsa. Mach an seo, ʼs ball Mhaighstir Steʼnson is mo bhall fhèin briste!'

'S e Iain Stevenson (bh. c. 1813) a th' ann am 'Mʳ Stinson', marsanta,
clachair, saor agus fear-togail bhàtaichean. Còmhla ri bhràthair

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Ùisdean, leag e bonn-stèidh soirbheachadh bhaile an Òbain. Tha soitheach air an robh an *Delight* a' nochdadh ann an litrichean a' bhàillidh chumhachdaich Robert Brown aig fìor thoiseach an naoidheamh linn deug, is i a' giùlan cargùthan ceilp.[29]

(5)

Bha Chonail anamail air son iasgach Chuit-
anain. Bha air gradhinn gu biadh na Chaolish glaoidh
sa fregart Cheile eadar a Dha thaobh. a teid sibh gun
a iasgich beridh Caolich achalemain. heid Ma heid
5   shibh fhein an, beiradh Caolich Na Craotinn dhu, gu de
shoil Mara h ann beridh Caolich achaleman. dheradh
lionadh bheiridh Caolich na Craoitinn dhu a. Sa Mach
a biodhadh Nuar thigadh a traidh,
<div align="center">End [fo.22ᵛ]</div>

Bha a' Chonghail ainmeil airson iasgach chutanain. Bha iad air gràdhainn gum biodh na Caolaich a' glaodhaich agus a' freagairt a chèile eadar an dà thaobh: 'An tèid sibh don iasgaich?', theireadh Caolaich Ach' a' Leamhain. 'Thèid, ma thèid sibh fhèin ann', theireadh Caolaich nan Croitean Dubha. 'Gu dè seòl mara th' ann?', theireadh Caolaich Ach' an Leamain. 'Deireadh an lìonaidh', theireadh Caolaich nan Croitean Dubha. 'S a-mach a bhiodh iad nuair a thigeadh an tràghadh.[30]

(6)

Sean-Neachan Gaelach tha air airish an
a larna. Bha duine an a Muchairn du Dhu-
Allach, ris abriach iad Coula-Crosta Mar araean
bha e air Cuntais na fear sholich or na faidh
5   Thubairt e ghear shinn agus gearr garbh san agad
Cuirear Cath sinn s Cath shearbh. is emadh Colan go
-n Chean bheire an lath sin do Chilacaoril. Ach Cha thainig
so air Chois fhaast. thubhairt e Mar Ceudna gun tigeadh
na each bega le striannan Canebe thighinn gu ru Bunawe
10 toirt Cosnach do Mhuintir bunawe Na Muchairn.
Thanig so aire Cois Nuair thanig Chuideag shasenich, Do Buna.

<div align="center">414</div>

San aig Tiarna Calader Bha Muchairn sa linn shinn. bha
e dol thogail tigh ri taobh a loch fon arda, agus bha na tuan-
ich le eich le cleibh, tarinn na claoich, agus bha Coula Crosta
15 lath fada gu thinne, agus bha Thearna Calader feorich
dheth, gu te Chume, sa trod ris. Thubhart Coula crosta ris
ubh, ubh, Thearna Chalader, Thuraig e Cha trineach e.
se stibul espic Caoirel Clach i s aol as airde bhi s an a
Muchairn ris a linn so. se fearann eglais bha an Muchairn
20 fo linn barinn Calum Chinn Mhor. bha bhairnn so Cranean
bhliadhachan posda ma robh duine Claoine aige. agus
Chuir i fios Cun a phapa. Na ordich e Trasig urnigh agus
eaglais Cuir sous air a son, air son sliach bhi aiache, agus
bha Cheud Mhac aiche, agus thuc i earragan mar ainm
25 air. agus thug i Coir don eaglais air schirach Muchairn
agus se Meigh earagan sean ainm na scirach, agus
se Mach-uael. Bha Na balie bha Cuir na daoine ordan
air fearan na eaglais ans sa Nam sinn. agus bha sagart
do Clan fail. ans sa sgirach, scollair Mor. se furach an
30 Balla do ainamh Clais earrag, agus Cuir Tearna Call-
ader Mhac don scoill cun a T sagart bha e na gille
priomsalac, agus bha sagart faichinn, gu robh prophat
Mor aig Mach-Duall rialag na eaglais. /
asgus an fearann Na eaglaish, agus Mhac Tearna a
35 Chalader sgoilair fhein – thuir e riglaidh fhearan na-
eaglais, agus Chaidh toirt fo Mach-uail, Bha duine tighinn
nall fon phapa Cuille Bliadhna, as an roimh, daoitinn
a Maill, agus bhruinn sagart Mach fail ris air son rigladh
an fearan thoirt da scholar fen, thort fo Mach D-uail
40 is Cha robh Mac D-uail tolach dealachadh ris. Agus Cru-
-inishe Chuid daoine ga gleach gun taing. Crunich Thearna
Chalader Dhuine fhein Mar a Cheudna. Agus thug iad da
blar, fear dhui sa Monach as Chun-tigh-uilt air aite
ris aber iad dallag, fear eile an aite ris abir iad Kilmacron
45 ag, air dall ris an aber iad Dal-a-Catha. Nuair bha
na daoine Cruin air a dal an a ordan blar, Chadh da
Ceanard sous gu Craag, feach a burain iad Cortag
agus be Cordag, Nuar gebhag Thearna Chalader an

deaag gun biag e Caoinel ris na sean dremanain fag
50 Mach-D-ual san aite, se sin Clan-Na-Charde, Clan-
Mac-Chalman, Clan-a-Nies, Clan-a-dore, is be Corag
thug iad dan a daoine Mar a Cortag iad, gu togadh iad
sous na Clainn. Nuar Chiag Ghiadh iad sinn iad bhi
sase agus gu Miartag thaing Nathair mach a toum
55 agus thog fear dan Ceanardan a Claibh ga Maraig.
agus thug Na dhaoine aire da sinn, an sas a bha iad
agus Caidh Moran a Mharag dhuith, Man duar Na
Ceanardan bhi acha. ga Cuir reath. Se so na blair Ma
dheirag Chaidh Cur s Caeltac eader da Thearna fearain

This is the end of that story End [fon.23$^{\mathrm{r–v}}$]

Seann naidheachdan Gàidhealach a tha air aithris ann an Latharna.
Bha duine ann am Muc Càrna de Dhùghallaich ris an abradh iad Colla
Crosda mar fhar-ainm. Bha e air a chunntas na fhear-eòlaichear[31] *no*
fàidh. Thubhairt e:

'A gheàrr sin agus geàrr garbh[32]*,*
's ann agad a chuirear cath an sin 's cath searbh.
Is iomadh colann gun cheann
bheirear an latha sin do Chille Chaoirill.'

Ach cha tàinig seo air chois fhathast. Thubhairt e mar an ceudna gun
tigeadh na h-eich bheaga le srianan cainbe, a thighinn gu Rubha Bhun
Abha a' toirt cosnaidh do mhuinntir Bhun Abha[33] *ann am Muc Càrna.*
Thàinig seo air chois nuair a thàinig a' chuideachd Shasannaich do
Bhun Abha.[34] *'S ann aig Tighearna Chaladair a bha Muc Càrna san*
linn sin. Bha e a' dol a thogail taigh ri taobh an loch fon àirde, agus
bha na tuathanaich le eich is le clèibh a' tarraing na cloiche. Agus bha
Colla Crosda latha fada gun thighinn, agus bha Tighearna Chaladair
a' feòraich dheth gu dè chùm e, agus a' trod ris. Thubhairt Colla Crosda
ris, 'Ubh, ubh, a Thighearna Chaladair, thuireadh e agus cha do
rinneadh e.[35]

'S e stìopall Easbaig Chaoirill[36] *a' chlach is aol as àirde a bh' ann*
am Muc Càrna ris an linn seo. 'S e fearann-eaglais a bh' ann am
Muc Càrna bho linn Bànrighinn Chaluim a' Chinn Mhòir. Bha a'
bhanrìghinn seo gràinnean bhliadhnachan pòsta mus robh duine

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cloinne aige. Agus chuir i fios chun a' phàpa, nach òrdaicheadh e trasg ùrnaigh agus an eaglais a' cur suas air a son, airson sliochd a bhith aice. Agus bha a' cheud mhac aice, agus thug i Earragan mar ainm air. Agus thug i còir don eaglais air Sgìre Mhuc Càrna[37] agus 's e Magh Earragain sean ainm na sgìreachd[38], agus 's e MacDhùghaill a bha na bhàillidh a bha a' cur nan daoine ann an òrdan air fearann na h-eaglaise anns an àm sin.

Agus bha sagart de Chlann Phàil anns an sgìreachd, sgoilear mòr, is e a' fuireachd ann am baile dam b' ainm Clais Earraig, agus chuir Tighearna Chaladair a mhac don sgoil chun an t-sagairt.[39] Bha e na ghille phrionnsaileach agus bha an sagart a' faicinn gun robh prothaid mòr aig MacDhùghaill a' riaghladh na h-eaglaise agus fearann na h-eaglaise. Agus mac Thighearna Chaladair, an sgoilear fhèin, fhuair e riaghladh fearann na h-eaglaise agus chaidh a thoirt bho MhacDhùghaill. Bha duine tighinn a-nall bhon phàpa a h-uile bliadhna às an Ròimh, dh'fhaotainn a' mhàil, agus bhruidhinn sagart MacPhàil ris airson riaghladh an fhearainn a thoirt da sgoilear fhèin, a thoirt bho MhacDhùghaill. Is cha robh MacDhùghaill toileach dealachadh ris. Agus chruinnich e a chuid dhaoine ga ghleachd gun taing. Chruinnich Tighearna Chaladair a dhaoine fhèin mar an ceudna. Agus thug iad dà bhlàr, fear dhiubh sa mhonadh os cionn Thaigh an Uillt air àite ris an abair iad Dàileag[40], fear eile ann an àite ris an abair iad Cill Ma Chrònaig, air dàil ris an abair iad Dail a' Chatha.[41]

Nuair a bha na daoine cruinn air an dàil ann an òrdan blàir, chaidh an dà cheannard suas gu creag, feuch am b' urrainn iad còrdadh. Agus b' e an còrdadh, nuair a gheibheadh Tighearna Chaladair an [oighreachd] gun dearbhadh e gum biodh e coibhneil ris na sean dreamannan a dh'fhàg MacDhùghaill san àite[42]: 's e sin Clann na Ceàrdaich, Clann MacCalmain[43], Clann Aonghais, Clann an Deòir.[44] Is b' e còmhradh a thug iad do na daoine, mura còrdadh iad, gun togadh iad suas na claidheamhan, is nuair a chitheadh[45] iad sin iad a bhith an sàs. Agus gu mì-fhortanach[46] thàinig nathair a-mach à tom agus thog fear de na ceannardan a chlaidheamh ga mharbhadh. Agus thug na daoine aire do sin, agus an sàs a bha iad agus chaidh mòran a mharbhadh dhiubh mun d' fhuair na ceannardan a bhith aca gan cur rèidh.[47] 'S e seo na blàir mu dheireadh a chaidh a chur sa Ghàidhealtachd eadar dà thighearna-fearainn.

Fosglaidh an naidheachd seo le dà fhàisneachd le Colla Crosda. 'S ionnan Colla agus 'the Seer of Bonawe' anns a' bheul-aithris ionadail a chruinnich an t-Urr. Niall Caimbeul (1850–1904), ministear Chille Chrèanain agus Dhail Abhaich: gheibhear breacaidhean den obair aige an dà chuid ann an Leabharlann Nàiseanta na h-Alba[48] agus ann an LSS MhicLathagain ann an Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba. B' e 'an Gollach Ròiste' an t-ainm mar a chuala an Caimbeulach e.

A rèir Iain MhicDhòmhnaill (1814–1898), gàirnealair ann an Cill Chrèanain a thug seachad an uimhir de dh'fhiosrachaidh don mhinistear, bha am fàidh a' fuireachd 'about the place now inhabited by the baker Paterson at Taynuilt.' 'He is said to have lived about eight score years ago. (1730.)'[49] Gu dearbh, thug MacDhòmhnaill seachad tionndaidhean na bu mhionaidiche den dà thairgneadh shuas: 'An gearra sin – an gearra garbh / Far an cuir na fir an cath garbh, / 'S ioma fear ad agus cleoc / Bios 'ga tharraing gu Cill-Ghoille. // Thig tri eich gheala, / Le 'n tri gillean maola dubha / Mac[h] a Bar-na-sguabaid, / Agus an taobh air am buail iad / Sin an taobh leis an teid an latha'. Thèid seo eadar-theangachadh leis an Urr. Niall Caimbeul mar: 'That cutting, that rough cutting, where the men will fight the rough battle, many a man in hat and cloak, that shall be dragged to Cyril's ground. Three horses with their three bald black riders, [will come] out of Barnasguabid, on whose ranks these shall fall, that side shall win the fight.' A rèir fear-deasachaidh nan làmh-sgrìobhainnean, Robert Craig MacLathagain: 'N C explains that the meaning of the last two lines is ambiguous; but inclines to the belief that it means the side attacked by the three were destined to become the victors.' Tha nota nas anmoiche ag innse gu bheil an fhàisneachd air a cur às leth 'Cyril (Coireal) patron Saint of Taynuilt, and to whom apparently Culchurland burial ground was dedicated.' 'The place where this battle is to be fought is close to the railway bridge over the river Nant.'[50] Clàraidh Alasdair MacGilleMhìcheil an rann dìreach mar 'Cille bhoidheach Cill Chaoireall / Is ioma colan gun cheann / Theid a Chill C[h]aoireall'.[51]

A thaobh na dàrna fàisneachd, tha an t-Urr. Niall Caimbeul ga toirt seachad mar a leanas: 'Chi sibh fhathast na h-eich mhaide, tighinn le srianan cainbe gu bun Neand; agus bi tigh air Druim-Aighe, tigh nan seachd dorus, agus cuiridh aon nighean le smal

coinneil ri thein e.'[52] Tha MacGilleMhìcheil a' clàradh na fàisneachd ann am fìor dhroch sgròbalaich mar: 'Biodh na h-eich mhaide / Len srianann cainbe ti[ghin]n is taighe / Ru[bha] na Crannaig // Theid Muc [Càrna] a chriarach sa [supra: rideire] / La si[u]d sa chuain / Is niar ar [?chan iarrar] fear a leagas / cleidh a bhothain am / Muc Carn an deigh sin', leis an nota 'These were Sasanaich / Na h eich mhaide = vessels'.[53] Aithnichear mar a chaidh rannan ceudna anns an dualchas a chur às leth nam fàidhean Coinneach Odhar agus Ban-tighearna Labhair.

Ann an teags na b' anmoiche a chaidh a thogail bho Ùisdean MacCaluim, Baile Beag, b' ann mar 'Golla Chrosda' a sgrìobh Caimbeul ainm an fhàidh, 'so named because he was so cross. He got very angry if cross examined as to his predictions. People were surprised to find that his sayings turned true and as he would not condescend to answer questions they took to following him.'[54]

Nuair a bha Alasdair MacGilleMhìcheil a' cruinneachadh beul-aithris ann am Muc Càrna as t-samhradh 1892, 's dòcha bho Dhonnchadh MacIonmhain (1804–95), 'Donnchadh Phàdraig', Cnoc na h-Àirde, Taigh an Uillt, b' ann mar 'Gualla Chr[o]sda' a chuala e an t-ainm – tha e follaiseach nach do thuig MacGilleMhìcheil mar a bhite a' fuaimneachadh an /o/ ghoirid anns an ainm Colla. 'G. C. used to speak to himself & people list[en]ed'.[55] Tha am Brigadier Iain MacPhàrlain, Taigh an Uillt, ag innse dhomh gum b' e 'Colla Chrosda' a bh' aig a mhàthair air agus a' cur air shùilean gur dòcha gum b' e 'Giolla-Chrìosda' a chante ris an fhàidh bho thùs. Dh'fhaodadh cuideachd gum b' ionnan Colla Crosda agus 'Calum Clever' a bha beò, a rèir aithris, aig deireadh an ochdamh linn deug, agus a fhuair ainm, ann am briathran an Urr. Iain Griogarach Caimbeul, 'from his skill in singing tunes and expedition in travelling, gifts given him by the Fairies'.[56]

Chaidh dà fhàisneachd eile aig 'Golla Chrosda' a chlàradh le Eanraig MacIlleBhàin, 'Fionn', ann an aiste mu ainmeannan-àite Mhuc Càrna a chuireadh ri chèile airson a' Mhòid Nàiseanta agus a chaidh fhoillseachadh ann an sreath anns an *Oban Times* ann an Dùbhlachd 1907 agus Faoilleach 1908. Tha an abairt 'Thig an latha 's thèid Atha 's Neannda 'n ceann a chèile' ga mìneachadh mar thagairt do mar a dheigheadh an t-uisge bhon cheud abhainn a

mheasgachadh anns an dàrna tè an dèidh dha builg-sèididh mhòra na fùirneis obrachadh. Chaidh an tè eile, 'Nuair thèid crìoch air Taigh Mòr Lochan-nan-Cnàmh thèid obair Bhun-Atha gu frì-frà', a thoirt gu buil ann an 1866, nuair a dhùin an fhùirneis – ceithir bliadhna às dèidh don taigh mhòr a bhith air ùrachadh mu dheireadh.[57]

B' e Iain Caimbeul, mac Shir Iain Chaimbeul (†1546), ceud Thighearna Chaladair, a fhuair seilbh air fearann-eaglaise Mhuc Càrna bho Chloinn Dùghaill. Eadar 1538 agus 1580 choilean e dreuchd prìoir agus an uair sin coimeandàtoir Àird Chatain, cho math ri inbhe Easbaig nan Eilean airson dà ghreis. Chaidh seanchas mun aon chuspair a chlàradh le Iain Mac an Deòir agus a ghlèidheadh am measg pàipearan Iain Òig Ìle ann an Leabharlann Nàiseanta na h-Alba. Leis mar a thug Fearchar MacEachainn, Easbaig nan Eilean, bailtean agus tacannan ann am Muc Càrna do Shir Iain Caimbeul Tighearna Chaladair ann an 1532, às dèidh do Ghilleasbaig ceathramh iarla Earra-Ghàidheal Sir Iain a thoirt a-steach don fhearann ud a' bhliadhna roimhe, 's e 1532/3 na bliadhnachan as coltaiche airson nam blàr.[58] Bha Sir Iain a' sìor sgaoileadh a chumhachd anns an sgìre – agus gu dearbh na b' fhaide air falbh – bho co-dhiù anmoch anns na 1510an, 's dòcha às dèidh bàs Dhonnchaidh, am mac a bu shine aig Alasdair MacDhùghaill, ann an creach ann an Dùn Ollaidh ann an 1512.[59] Mhair a' phrìoireachd na h-àite-tiodhlacaidh do chinn-chinnidh Chlann Dùghaill suas gu ruige linn Iain Chèir (†1737).[60]

(7)
Bha duine ainemaill ele ann an Larna, Calin Cambeil
do theolach ardaCattan, ris abradh iad Mar Choainm
Calinn easragan. Se Chuir a suas Cheud obair tumbaco
bha again sa gaelteach, an a aite ris abradh iad
5 Ceann Na Carige, lamh ris a bhalla ris robh e fhuirach
a amhain tighinn nuas ron balla so ris abradh iad
easgragain, bha ainmaill fo shean, air son a uier
bha Cintinn Na bruachan, bho Maith leis shean a
Gael air rachidh e Cuispereach. gu biadh ag boa. do
10 uair easragan. Straing do sioda Bhalla na Galbh-
in. ita an iren a loch treig. agus a tiad deanag
Ceard Mac Feaidran – End [fo.24]

Bha duine ainmeil eile ann an Latharna, Cailean Caimbeul de theaghlach Àird Chatain, ris an abradh iad mar cho-ainm Cailean Easragain.[61] *'S e chuir suas a' chiad obair tumbaca a bh' againn sa Ghàidhealtachd, ann an àite ris an abradh iad Ceann na Carraige, làmh ris a' bhaile ris an robh e a' fuireachd. Tha abhainn a' tighinn a-nuas tron bhaile seo ris an abradh iad Easgragain, a bha ainmeil bho shean, airson an iubhair a bha a' cinntinn na bruachan. Bu mhath leis an t-sean Ghàidheal nuair a rachadh e a chuspaireachd, gum biodh am bogha de iubhair Easragain, sreang de shìoda Bhaile na Gailmhinn, ite an fhìr-eòin à Loch Trèig agus an teud a dhèanadh ceàrd MacPheadarain.*[62]

(8)

    Tha ealain an a Loch-eite. ris an abruch iad
    Eillain. an-aba. bha tigh Mor an, sa linn shinn
    agus san a bha Tighearna loch-na-ealla Chomhidh
    Chuin nach robh tigh air fhearan fhein sa burinn
5   e fuireach. Bha duine aige, air son obir thighe sa
    eallain, ris abradh iad Calum-Na-Touigh agus
    thug Thighearna ordan tha Mart u Mharadh agus
    Cha robh ginn ach a fhein a biach ar [*supra*: son] maradh, agus
    agus [*sic*] bha Mart reamhar gasda aige fear-ach-Na-Cria
10 dh-falbh Calum-Na-Toutha agus gaoid e Mart fo fear-ach-
    a na-Critha agus Mharbh e i. gu Nieste do Thighearna
    loch-na-ealla agus Nuair uintran fear ach Na-Critha
    Mart, thug e ordan Mart Glaoich as an eaglais Ard
    a Cattan agus Co brathac Mearlach gaoid Mart bha
15 suim matha airgad aige ri f-hainn, is bha t-suim aige
    air ainmhach, agus bha Tighearna loch-Na-ealla as an
    t-sheraman, agus Coula e so. Agus Nuair thanig e Dha-
    gich Dhinish e so da sherbuich, agus thaing Calum-
    Na-tuidh gu sabhach far robh a Mhaister, fheoraich e
20 bhel sibh Cintach gu faidh fear brath is Mearleach t-suim
    so. agus tubhart a Mhaister go bheil Chiontach leor
    an sinn dinieas Calum Na-Tougha Cur easan goid a
    Mart sa reason gur son a ghaoid e i. gu feumadh e fein
    leisgal ghabhail Co Math sa sfeudag e. theid do Croach

25 Cintacic Callum, tha egall orm Nach gabh fear acha na
Crith do leisgall, ach theid Mi Nual far am bheill e
agus Chi Mi gu dhas Deanabh. agus Chadh Tighearna
loch na-ealla far an robh fear-ach-a-Nu-Criath agus Dinais
e gur e gille agesun gaoid a Mart, agus a riasun a aige
30 air Mart gaoid, agus thubhairt fear acha-Na Criath, Mas
ann mar sin a bha, Cha bhi tuileach again air, agus
Nuar thanig Tighearna loch-Na-ealla, Dh-thaich, scribh
e sios na leabhar a suim gheal fear-ach-a-Na-Criath /
– don fear brathach Mearlach, de so dan-a-tri
35 linan, bha Tighearna ur air loch-Na-ealla is bha
Tighearna ur air ach-a-Na-Crithe. Ugus bha suil aig
Tighearna loch-Na-ealla. an fearan ach-a-Na-Crithe
agus bha fios aige, gu robh fear-ach-Na-Crieth gan
do airgod, Agus Chunig e Na leobhrichinn an suim
40 do airged Caidh gealtinn air son brath a Mhart, agus
rinn e sous e le riabh air Muin riabh fon a am sa thacher
e, gus an robh an th-suim Mor, agus Chuir e Cuntais
go fear acha-Na-Crithe gu feumadh e paidh, Agus
Chuir fear acha-na-Crithe fios da insuidh Nac bhuirin
45 dha fhaidh, agus thubhairt Tighearna loch-Na-ealla
Mar urim biodh fiach an airged da fearan agum
ach smuntich Tighearna acha-Na-Crithe gu reuche
e oirach uille ris, agus gu faieche e air ais Na
thiceadh oirach thuileadh air airgod brath a Mart
50 Sin Mar thuair Thighearna loch-Na-ealla fearan
Miderloch. End [fon.24ᵛ–25]

*Tha eilean ann an Loch Eite ris an abradh iad Eilean an Aba. Bha
taigh mòr ann san linn sin agus ʼs ann a bha Tighearna Loch nan
Eala a chòmhnaidh ann chionn nach robh taigh air fhearann fhèin ʼs
a bʼ urrainn e fuireach. Bha duine aige airson obair-thaighe san eilean
ris an abradh iad Calum na Tuaigh,*[63] *agus thug an tighearna òrdan
dha mart a mharbhadh, agus cha robh gin aca fhèin a bʼ fhiach airson
marbhadh. Agus bha mart reamhar gasta aig Fear Achʼ na Crithe.
Dhʼfhalbh Calum na Tuaigh agus ghoid e am mart bho Fhear Achʼ na
Crithe, agus mharbh e i gun fhiosta do Thighearna Loch nan Eala.
Agus nuair a dhʼionndrainn Fear Achʼ na Crithe am mart, thug e*

òrdan am mart a ghlaodhaich ann an eaglais Àird Chatain, agus cò bhrathadh am mèirleach a ghoid am mart, bha suim mhath airgid aige ri a faighinn, is bha an t-suim aige air ainbhfhiach.

Agus bha Tighearna Loch nan Eala anns an t-searmon agus chuala e seo. Agus nuair a thàinig e dhachaigh dh'innis e seo da sheirbhisich, agus thàinig Calum na Tuaigh gu sàmhach far an robh a mhaighstir. Dh'fheòraich e, 'A bheil sibh cinnteach gum faigh am fear a bhrathas am mèirleach an t-suim seo?' Agus thubhairt a mhaighstir gu bheil e cinnteach gu leòr. An sin, dh'innis Calum na Tuaigh gur esan a ghoid am mart san reusan carson a ghoid e i, 's gum feumadh e fhèin leisgeul a ghabhail cho math 's a dh'fhaodadh e. 'Thèid do chrochadh gu cinnteach, a Chaluim, tha eagal orm nach gabh Fear Ach' na Crithe do leisgeul, ach thèid mi a-null far a bheil e agus chì mi gu dè ghabhas dèanamh.'

Agus chaidh Tighearna Loch nan Eala far an robh Fear Ach' na Crithe agus dh'innis e gur e an gille aigesan a ghoid am mart, agus an reusan a bh' aige air am mart a ghoid. Agus thuirt Fear Ach' na Crithe, 'Mas ann mar sin a bha, cha bhi tuilleadh againn air'. Agus nuair a thàinig Tighearna Loch nan Eala dhachaigh, sgrìobh e sìos na leabhar an t-suim a gheall Fear Ach' na Crithe don fhear a bhrathadh am mèirleach.

Às dèidh seo, dhà no thrì linnean, bha tighearna ùr air Loch nan Eala is bha tighearna ùr air Ach' na Crithe. Agus bha sùil aig Tighearna Loch nan Eala ann am fearann Ach' na Crithe agus bha fios aige gun robh Fear Ach' na Crithe gann de dh'airgead. Agus chunnaic e na leabhraichean an t-suim de dh'airgead a chaidh a ghealltainn airson brath a' mhairt, agus rinn e suas e le riadh air muin riadh bhon àm san do thachair e, gus an robh an t-suim mòr. Agus chuir e cunntais gu Fear Ach' na Crithe gum feumadh e pàigheadh. Agus chuir Fear Ach' na Crithe fios da ionnsaigh nach b' urrainn dha a phàigheadh, agus thubhairt Tighearna Loch nan Eala, 'Mur an urrainn, biodh fiach an airgid de dh'fhearann agam.' Agus smuaintich Tighearna Ach' na Crithe gun reiceadh e oighreachd uile ris, agus gum faigheadh e air ais na thaoiseach[64] oighreachd a thuilleadh air airgead-brath a' mhairt. Sin mar a fhuair Tighearna Loch nan Eala fearann Mheadarloch.

Ann an *Records of Argyll* gheibhear bho MhacAonghais breacadh den aon sgeulachd anns a' Bheurla. Anns an tarraing sin nitear soilleir gur

e fear de Chloinn an Lèighe a th' ann am Fear Acha' na Crithe. Chan eil Tighearna Loch nan Eala buileach cho coibhneil ris an t-seirbhiseach anns a' Bheurla 's a tha e anns a' Ghàidhlig: innsidh e do Chalum na Tuaigh, aig nach eil diù sam bith mun eucoir a rinn e:

> 'You wretch! you will be hanged as sure as you live' 'It was for yourself,' replied Calum, 'that I stole the cow, for you have not a cow worth killing. It is in the house salted, and you must make the best excuse for me that you can.'[65]

Cuideachd anns a' bhreacadh chlò-bhuailte cuirear an cèill gum b' iad an dithis cheannardan fhèin a shuidhich reic na h-oighreachd, gun ghuth air an t-sliochd aca 'de so dan-a-tri linan'. 'S e a b' adhbhar air an seo ach gun deach cuideigin air iomrall: eadar am fear-clàraidh no an t-eadar-theangadair, mura b' e fiù 's an t-aithrisiche fhèin. Chan fhaodar gabhail ris gur ionnan sgeulachd lìomhte na Beurla agus mar a chaidh a h-aithris bho thùs.

Tha co-dhiù dà bhreacadh eile den sgeulachd seo ann an clò. Chaidh aonan dhiubh a chlàradh bho Dhùghall MacDhùghaill (1839–1905), Soroba, 's dòcha leis an Urr. Donnchadh MacAonghais, agus a chlò-bhualadh còmhla ri sgeulachd MhicAonghais ann an *Records of Argyll*. Anns an tarraing seo, thig buidheann chreachadairean de mhuinntir Chloinn Choinnich à Cinn Tàile air muir agus togaidh iad treud cruidh aig ceann Loch Eite. Thèid an iomain leis a' mhuir-làn gu tìr ann am Meadarloch, far an tadhail iad air Mac an Lèigh, Fear Acha' na Crithe, is iad a' toirt a chreidsinn gur e ceannaichean a tha annta seach creachadairean. Gheibh iad cead bhuaithe na beathaichean ionaltradh air an fhearann mus fhàg iad air an ath làn. Cho luath 's gun cluinn Sir Donnchadh Caimbeul, B. P. Shiorramachd Earra-Ghàidheal, na rinn Mac an Lèigh, 's gum maoidh e dìoghaltas air, bheir Mac an Lèigh, a bhean agus a theaghlach na buinn às, agus mar sin gheibh Caimbeulaich Loch nan Eala seilbh air Acha' na Crithe nan àite.[66]

B' ann leis an Urr. Donnchadh Mac an Lèigh, ministear Dhàil na h-Apann Meinnirich, a chaidh an tionndadh eile a chlàradh, ann an 1743. A rèir a' mhinisteir, 'McLea of Achnacree made a second marriage with one, Campbell of Dannah's daughter to whom he gave the lands of Achnacree in jointure', ach gun tochradh fhaighinn idir. Às dèidh a bhàis, dh' fheuch a sheisear no seachdnar mhac, is iad an dèidh an

dìleab bu dual dhaibh a chall, ris a' mhuime a dhìth-làrachadh. Sgrios iad fearann ann an Ros Neimhidh a bha ann an seilbh Caimbeulach Àird Chonghlais, 'her friend and relation and was at the time Sheriff of Argyle', is e gan dìteadh anns a' chùirt. Chaidh fearann Acha' na Crithe a thoirt gu 'Campbell of Rahaen in Roseneath in Compensation of the lands that had been burnt to him, and Campbell of Rahaen gave the Lands of Achnacree to Lochnell in wadsett'.[67]

(9)

    Altagacha touich, Fhir a Cuir bith orin Cuir
    beath orni. Cuir Mac Coinich don dutaich pris air
    Na Martuin, is gun gleidh fortunn Na Caoirich
    is Gun gach Neach dhuis gu olc dhuinn gu ma olc
5 Dhaibh.
               End [fo.25]

Altachadh dùthaich: Fhir a chuir biadh oirnn, cuir beath' oirnne. Cuir MacCoinnich don dùthaich, prìs air na mairtean, is gun glèidh fortan na caoraich, is gach neach ghuidheas gu h-olc dhuinn, gu math olc dhaibh.

(10)

     Neach – Mar huair ian gorm Cheud
    Tighearna Loch-Na-Ealla fearann. bha Duine
    uasle Do Dhualich ris abradh iad fear [*supra*: tor]an [*supra*: an-]tuirc
    fuirach an a Tor-an-tuirc, bha e na sean leisgach
5 Agus bha e dol fhagail na oirach aig Mach-ual
    Dun-ollie. agus Chaidh e do Dun-ola. thoirt Na Coir
    do Mach-uail. Nuair Chaidh e stigh don Chaisteal
    Dun-ola thag e glibh ans a transa. Dh-fhalbh fear
    nan sheirbhich thug e Claibh as a trual,a gus Mhuin e
10 as a trual, agus Nuar thanig fear a turc Maac deich
    Coir fhagail aig Mack-uail. is Cuir e Claibh sa Truail
    sput na bha sa Truail Ma-lamhan. is gabh e cho
    don e is thill e stigh gu Mac-Uail Agus thubairt
    e ri Mac-Uail gu robh rudigen air Coir, s e toirt
15 Na Coir dha air ais. Agus rinn Mac-Uail shinn,
    Agus Chuir fear Tor-an-tuirc na poca Coir. D-inseadh
    Do Mach-Uail Mar a rinneach air, agus a dhannean

gu bheirach Mac-Uail ris. dh falbh e. Ranig e inerar-
reu. is thuig e oiraig do darna mach do Dueach [*supra*: earl] Arig-
20 aell, ian gorm dara mach do iarle Arigael be sinn
Tighearna, Cheud Tighearna loch-Na-ealla. End [fo.25ᵛ]

*Naidheachd: mar a fhuair Iain Gorm a' cheud Tighearna Loch nan
Eala fearann. Bha duine-uasal do Dhùghallaich ris an abradh iad
Fear Thoran an Tuirc, a' fuireachd ann an Toran an Tuirc. Bha e
na shean fhleasgach. Agus bha e a' dol a dh'fhàgail na h-oighreachd
aig MacDhùghaill Dhùn Ollaidh. Agus chaidh e do Dhùn Ollaidh
a thoirt na còir do MhacDhùghaill. Nuair a chaidh e a-staigh do
Chaisteal Dhùn Ollaidh, dh'fhàg e a chlaidheamh anns an trannsa.
Dh'fhalbh fear de na seirbhisich, thug e an claidheamh às an truaill
agus mhùin e anns an truaill. Agus nuair a thàinig Fear an Tuirc
a-mach an dèidh a chòir fhàgail aig MacDhùghaill is a chuir e a
chlaidheamh san truaill, spùt na bha san truaill ma làmhan. Is ghabh
e cho dona e, is thill e a-staigh gu MacDhùghaill agus thubhairt e ri
MacDhùghaill gun robh rudeigin air a' chòir, is e a thoirt na còir dha
air ais. Agus rinn MacDhùghaill sin agus chuir Fear Thoran an Tuirc
na phòca a' chòir. Dh'innseadh do MhacDhùghaill mar a rinneadh
air agus, a dh'aindeoin gu dè bheireadh MacDhùghaill ris, dh'fhalbh
e. Ràinig e Inbhir Aora is thug e an oighreachd don dàrna mac do
Dhiùc [supra: Iarla] Earra-Ghàidheal: Iain Gorm, an dàrna mac
do Iarla Earra-Ghàidheal, b' e sin an tighearna, a' chiad Tighearna
Loch nan Eala.*

Gheibhear tionndadh Beurla den sgeulachd seo, bhon aon aithrisiche,
ann an *Records of Argyll*, is e air a lìomhadh agus air a ghlanadh, agus
uisge a' spùtadh às an truaill.[68]

(11)
Bha duine ainmail ele ann a larna. ris an abradh
add, Donail-gille mach diolan do Tigharna Calader
be nighinn do Muinter Muchairn bu Mathair dha,
ris abradh iad Maggie Duine Mar Cho-ainam.
5 borenach tapi. bha Tighearna Chalader la gael a
sraid, agus Cunig e Granain bhorineach ri Niadareag
ri taobh amhuin na airte, agus Chaidh e Null taob

a ba iad, agus bha Magie Duine traing postac an
a Measear agus thug Tighearna Chalader suil ora
10 thubhairt e rith. s Caoil do Chasan a bhorinich, Freagair
ise agus thubhart i, striag ba leagail math – /
– aig bo Caoilchasach. agus Mar is bith Mar
a bath. Thuair Tighearna Chalader letrumach
Magie-Duine air Domhail gilla, agus Nuair thaing
15 am a aseat, Cha robh an aseat tighinn, agus Chuir a
athair fios air Duine priomsalach bha s Coimhersnac
tighinn ga faichinn, Agus thubhairt duine so ris, gur e
boirenach bha an an liosmor le driuag, bha ga Cumail
gun asait, agus thubhart duine riu, ad a fhaointin
20 gilla tapi dh-falbh ag liosmor agus gu tacradh
boiranach so ris an a aite arit ri taobh an rathaid an
a liosmor, is gun feorich i dheth gun de Neachag bha
aige, asgus e gradh Nach robh uine aig ri insuidh gu
robh Cafac ai. Gu de Cafac Mor ort thubhairt Chailach
25 thubhart gille, gun dasate Magie Dunie, air lenabh
gilla do Thighearna Chalader, Agus thug Chailach Mach
as a pocah Cearle dhu, agus rug a gille air Chearla
Dhu is Cur e i Na pocah – or Na rachach Chearla Mach
air loch. Cha Naig Magie duine asete gu brath. agus
30 rinn gilla Mar sinn, agus Mas thainig e dhachi asete
Magie duine air Donail gille. Agus bha air grainn gu
robh e Ceither rathinn na broin, is Cor broin Mathair.

End [fon.25ᵛ, 24][69]

*Bha duine ainmeil eile ann an Latharna ris an abradh iad Dòmhnall
Gille, mac-dìolain do Thighearna Chaladair. B' e nighean de mhuinntir
Mhuc Càrna a bu mhàthair dha, ris an abradh iad Magaidh Dunaidh[70]
mar cho-ainm, boireannach tapaidh. Bha Tighearna Chaladair
latha a' gabhail na sràide, agus chunnaic e gràinnean bhoireannach ri
nigheadaireachd ri taobh abhainn na h-àirde, agus chaidh e a-null an
taobh a bha iad, agus bha Magaidh Dunaidh trang a' postadh ann am
measair. Agus thug Tighearna Chaladair sùil oirre agus thuirt e rithe,
''S caol do chasan, a bhoireannaich.' Fhreagair ise agus thubhairt i, ''S
tric a bha leagail mhath aig bò chaol-chasach.[⸱71] Agus mar a bhios, mar
a bha. Fhuair Tighearna Chaladair leatromach Magaidh Dunaidh*

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air Dòmhnall Gille, agus nuair a thàinig àm a h-asaid, cha robh an asaid a' tighinn, agus chuir a h-athair fios air duine prionnsaileach a bha sa choimhearsnachd thighinn ga faicinn. Agus thuirt an duine seo ris gur e boireannach a bha ann an Lios Mòr le draoidheachd a bha ga cumail gun asaid, agus thubhairt an duine riutha, iad fhaotainn gille tapaidh a dh'fhalbhadh gu Lios Mòr agus gun tachradh am boireannach seo ris ann an àite àraid ri taobh an rathaid ann an Lios Mòr, agus gum feòraicheadh i dheth gu dè an naidheachd a bh' aige, agus e ag ràdh nach robh ùine aige ri h-innseadh, gun robh cabhag air. 'Gu dè a' chabhag mhòr a th' ort?' thubhairt a' chailleach. Thubhairt an gille gun do dh'asaide' Magaidh Dunaidh air leanabh gille do Thighearna Chaladair. Agus thug a' chailleach a-mach às a pòca ceirsle dhubh, agus rug an gille air a' cheirsle dhuibh agus chuir e i na phòca, oir nan rachadh a' cheirsle a-mach air an loch, chan fhaigheadh Magaidh Dunaidh asaid gu bràth. Agus rinn an gille mar sin, agus mas tàinig e dhachaidh dh'asaide', Magaidh Dunaidh air Dòmhnall Gille. Agus bha e air ghràdhainn gun robh e ceithir ràithean na broinn 's an còrr, am broinn a mhàthar.[72]

Feumaidh gur i seo a' chiad earrainn de dh'eachdraidh-bheatha ghaisgeil Dhòmhnaill Ghille nach eil air sgeul an diugh. 'S ann sgapte fad is farsaing ann an sgeulachdan bheul-aithris a tha am moitif 'dàil air an leabaidh-asaid'.[73]

(12)

Bha Nighinn og air ghailtach Cupall
bliadhachan, is bha i g-insuidh air thainig
i Cadhich, gu um Neonach ainmanan bheir
ghaltach do Cuid do rudinn, she Cu bheir iad
5 ri Mart is bod ri bada, sa Cha Neil Coimhne
agum, Cui bheir iad sis na sua ri Caise ach
a Cuimhne agum gu gasda gur e stupid bitch
bheirach iad rium hein. End [fo.26]

Bha nighean òg air Ghalltachd cupall bhliadhnachan, is bha i ag innse nuair a thàinig i dhachaigh, gum bu neònach na h-ainmeannan a their a' Ghalltachd do chuid de rudan. 'S e 'cù' their iad ri mart is 'bod' ri bàta, 's chan eil cuimhne agam gu dè their iad 'sìos' no 'suas' ri càise ach tha cuimhne agam gu gasta gur e 'stupid bitch' theireadh iad rium fhèin.

(13)

Bha e na fhasan san sean linn bhi toirt nighinn
og aige bithach paisde air bealabh t sheasan ga
Ceusnachadh gu de am sa taite as a huair iad
duine Cloine. bha nighinn og aice Cean loch feochan
5   Nach Burin Cuntais thoirt dh-aive na bhaide
ach robh gealach Mor air an airarr, as Chuin tigh
Mic dounachi. agus na adagan cur dall a eun

<div align="right">End [fo.26]</div>

Bha e na fhasan san t-seann linn a bhith a' toirt nighinn òig aig am biodh
pàiste air beulaibh an t-seisein ga ceasnachadh gu dè [an t-]àm 's an
t-àite anns a fhuair iad duine cloinne. Bha nighean òg aig Ceann Loch
Feòchan nach b' urrainn cunntas a thoirt dhaibh na b' fhaide ach [gun]
robh gealach mhòr air an adhar, os cionn taigh MhicDhonnchaidh, agus
na h-adagan a' cur dalladh-eun.[74]

(14)

dha brathair gaich do feil sliagan reic Mart
agus dhuirich fear dhui aig a Mhart, gaich
fear eile dhui feadh na faoirach air son foirich,
agus caidh Mhart reich Man do thill e, agus
5   Nuair thanig e, fhoirich a brathair dheth, fac u Drover
Cheanich a bo. fregair esan cha isum Cha Neill isum
gu te aoicus da na Choltas. thubhairt Brathair, Bha
Cota gorm air agus brichen oare, aoidh seandi, suilan
fhad fo dhion is stron rudha is Cocach na dhoblet
10 uachair, is e Comhne Cacnidh un tumbaco. [fo.26]

Dà bhràthair a chaidh do fhèill Shligeachain a reic mairt, agus
dh'fhuirich fear dhiubh aig a' mhart, chaidh am fear eile dhiubh air
feadh na faoireach airson feòraich, agus chaidh a mhart a reic man do
thill e, agus nuair a thàinig e, dh'fheòraich a bhràthair dheth, 'Am fac'
thu an dròbhair a cheannaich a' bhò?' Fhreagair esan, 'Chan eil fhios
a'm gu dè aogas dha na choltas.' Thuirt a bhràthair, 'Bha còta gorm air
agus bricein odhar, aghaidh sheanndaidh, sùilean fada fo dhìon, is sròn
ruadh is còrcach na duibleit uachdair, is e còmhnaidh a' cagnadh an
tumbaco.'

(15)

    Bha Consachadh edar Mac-ual agus Calain
    -Mor-Cambeil loch-oha Mun Crich an fearann.
    an aite ris abradh iad strang larnaach. Cruinich
    Mach-ual an a Dunolie Chuid dhaoine agus d fhalb
5   iad Choineachadh Chalain Mor. Agus bha duine Na
    gille founteach aige Mac Ual, Na gille Cithean, ris abr-
    adh. Mar Coainm, ian-dhu na grasidele, agus air
    mothich e dh-falbh Na dhaoine shanse e Caid dheach
    iad, agus Nuair Chaidh so innseadh ga, thaoigh e Caber
10 Mor laider Measg a Choich bha e losgaidh, is fhalbh
    e is Chaber air goulinn, an deich Na daoine. agus rug
    e orra air bha iad fein agus daoine Chalain Mor dol a
    sas Na Cheile, Agus tha e air radh gur e Mharbh Calain
    -Mor le sean Chaber. Tha Carn far thuit Calain
15 Mor an a bra-laarnn gus an la dhuig story End [fo.26ᵛ]

*Bha connsachadh eadar MacDhùghaill agus Cailean Mòr Caimbeul
Loch Obha mun chrìch an fhearainn ann an àite ris an abradh iad An
Sreang Latharnach. Chruinnich MacDhùghaill ann an Dùn Ollaidh
a chuid dhaoine agus dh'fhalbh iad a choinneachadh Chailein Mhòir.
Agus bha duine na ghille foghainteach aig MacDhùghaill na ghille
cithein ris an abradh mar cho-ainm Iain Dubh na Gnòsdaile,[75] agus,
nuair a mhothaich e gun do dh'fhalbh na daoine, shanais e, 'Càit' an
deach iad?', agus, nuair chaidh seo innseadh dha, thagh e cabar mòr
làidir am measg a' chonnaidh a bha e a' losgadh, is dh'fhalbh e, is a
chabar air a' ghualainn, an dèidh nan daoine. Agus rug e orra nuair
a bha iad fhèin agus daoine Chailein Mhòir a' dol an sàs na chèile.
Agus tha e air a ràdh gur e a mharbh Cailean Mòr le seann chabar.
Tha càrn far an do thuit Cailean Mòr ann am Bràigh Latharn' gus an
latha an-diugh.*

Chan eil suaip idir eadar an t-iomradh lom a bheir Dùghall MacAonghais
seachad mun bhlàr agus an cunntas mionaideach – fada ro mhionaideach
airson làn earbsa a chur ann – a sgrìobh Iain Mac an Deòir, co-chur de
sgeulachdan a thog e bho thriùir aithrisichean, far an tèid Cailean Mòr
a mharbhadh le saighead.[76] Tha cunntas MhicAonghais nas coltaiche ri
naidheachd a chumadh muinntir Iain Duibh fhèin nan cuimhne.[77]

(16)

    Bha tobar as Creig an a broin Chaistell Dun-stainish
    tol as Chreig ris an abradh iad a Chreaig. Bha duine
    Gorach ansa duthich so ris an abradh iad Neil-an-
    fraoich, bhi e bithandas tiomhcheil Dun-stainich
5 agus thuit e oidhe Dhorche as Creiggec is thug Tighearn
    Dun-stainich ordeag tobar a dhunaig. Bha Neil-an
    fraoich g radh Na bitheadh go leor da airged aige gur
    han Na Mhinister a bitheadh e. Tha e Na sean tfhac
    -ail san aite so air bhitheadh iad deanag dad sam
10 bith. Na bitheag gu leor dha airged ach-a Mar b aig
    Neil-un-fraoich gun Gaidh e deanadh. rud a deang
    Mhinister do Neil an fraoch.
<div align="center">End [fo.26^v]</div>

Bha tobar anns a' chreig ann am broinn Chaisteal Dhùn Staithinnis, [ann an] toll anns a' chreig ris an abradh iad a' Chneadhag.[78] *Bha duine gòrach anns an dùthaich seo ris an abradh iad Niall an Fhraoich. Bhiodh e am bitheantas timcheall Dhùn Staithinnis agus thuit e oidhche dhorch anns a' Chneadhaig is thug Tighearna Dhùn Staithinnis òrdugh [an] tobar a dhùnadh. Bha Niall an Fhraoich ag ràdh nam biodh gu leòr de dh'airgead aige gur h-ann na mhinistear a bhiodh e. Tha e na sheanfhacal san àite seo nuair a bhiodh iad a' dèanamh dad sam bith, nam biodh gu leòr de dh'airgead aca mar a bh' aig Niall an Fhraoich, gun gabhadh a dhèanamh. Rud a dhèanadh ministear de Niall an Fhraoich.*

Aitheantas

Dhùn Èideann; agus gu seachd àraid do mo cho-luchd-obrach agus mo charaidean aig Pròiseact MhicGilleMhìcheil MhicBhatair: Lesley Doig, Ciorstag Stiùbhart agus an Dr Anndra Wiseman. 'S mise as coireach airson mhearachdan no lochdan sam bith a mhaireas. Mu dheireadh, bu mhath leam taing a thoirt don Ollamh Uilleam MacGillÌosa, ciad stiùiriche a' phròiseict agus a' chiad stiùiriche a bh' agam, airson a' choibhneis agus a' chàirdeis a tha e air nochdadh dhomh thar nam bliadhnachan.

Tùsan

1 Tha ainm màthair Dhùghaill air a chlàradh sa Bheurla an dà chuid mar 'Mary' agus 'Margaret'. Dh'fhaodadh a-rèiste gum b' i Màireag a chanadh iad rithe.

2 *Records of Argyll: Legends, Traditions, and Recollections of Argyllshire Highlanders*, deas. le Lord Archibald Campbell (Dùn Èideann: William Blackwood & Sons, 1885), 110–11 n.

3 Tha e coltach gum b' ann air 22 Sultain 1884 a thadhail Alasdair MacGilleMhìcheil air Cladh na Macraidh an toiseach: EUL LS CW 120 fo.69ᵛ; cuideachd LS CW 126 fon.200, 200ᵛ. Na b' anmoiche, dheigheadh dealbh de dh'Alasdair MacGilleMhìcheil agus a bhean Mary Frances a thogail aig Crois Chladh na Macraidh.

4 Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, 360.

5 EUL LS CW 120 fon.1ᵛ–53, 64ᵛ, 75ᵛ; *Carmina Gadelica*, deas. le Alexander Carmichael, 6 imleabhar (Dùn Èideann: Scottish Academic Press et al., 1900–71), iml. 3, 141. Airson na thug MacGilleMhìcheil fhèin seachad do Mhorair Gilleasbaig, faic Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, 324–33 (dualchas Lios Mòr), 381–84 ('The Fate of Celtic MSS.'), 385–98 ('Prayers and Hymns of the Hebrides'), agus 489–505 ('MacNeachdain an Dùin'); cuideachd EUL LS CW 120 fon.67–68.

6 Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, 109–10 ('How the Campbells came into possession of Torr-an-Tuirc'), 116–17 ('How Campbell of Lochnell got possession of Achanacree (Acha-na-Crithe): another version'), 175–76 ('MacFadyen's Cave'). Nochdaidh a' cheud dhà dhiubh ann an EUL LS CW 381 cuideachd.

7 *Folk and Hero Tales*, deas. le Rev. Duncan MacInnes, Waifs & Strays of Celtic Tradition, Argyllshire Series, 3 (Lunnainn: David Nutt, 1890); idem, *Còmhraidhean 'an Gaelig 's am Beurla* (Dùn Èideann: Maclachlan & Stewart, 1880). A rèir a' Mhorair Gilleasbaig Caimbeul, b' ann bhon Urr. MacAonghais a thàinig 'some of the best and quaintest tales to be found in this volume': Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, ix. Airson cùrsa-beatha MhicAonghais, faic na litrichean aige ann an Leabharlann Alexander Turnbull, Leabharlann Nàiseanta Shealain Nuaidh, Wellington, LS1551, gu h-àraid Pàipearan-0032-0418-1001460; -1002374, -1024704.

8 Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, 319–20, 360–62. Bhiodh e coltach gum b' e nighean an Urr. Griogair MacGriogair, ministear Lios Mòr, a bh' ann an Sìne

(1845–1905). Faic cuideachd an tagairt do 'old Dugald' a dh'aithris tradaisean mu Chill Ma Chrònaig: ibid., 259.

9 [Eanraig MacIlleBhàin ('Fionn')], 'Muckairn place-names: Part III', *Oban Times*, 28 Dùbhlachd 1907, 3.

10 Leabhar-òrain sgrìobhte le Iain MacCaluim, ann an cruinneachadh Iain MhicPhàrlain, Taigh an Uillt; EUL LS CW 381 fon. 49, 52; Roinn na Ceiltis, Oilthigh Ghlaschu, Acc. H1, 59–60. Chaidh an dàrna òran a chlò-bhualadh ann am pàipear-naidheachd, a rèir coltais an *Oban Times*: ibid. Acc. H2/92. Tha e inntinneach gu bheil clàr de thrì ceisteannan mu eachdraidh ionadail air fo. 52ᵛ, sgrìobhte anns an aon làimh: an dùil an do ghabh an seinneadair an t-òran bhon phàipear aig cèilidh agus gun do chuir e na ceisteannan air an luchd-èisteachd às dèidh làimh?

11 Donald MacLean, *Typographia Scoto-Gadelica, or Books Printed in the Gaelic of Scotland from the Year 1567 to the Year 1914* (Dùn Èideann: John Grant, 1915), 47. A rèir coltais, chan eil lethbhreac den bhileig air sgeul an-diugh.

12 [Earrann] 6:[loidhne] 20, 11:6.

13 1:4, 8:3; 'air chòmhnaidh': faic Nils M. Holmer, *Studies on Argyllshire Gaelic* (Uppsala: Skrifter Utgivna av K. Humanistika Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, 1938), 144.

14 1:15; faic Holmer, *Argyllshire Gaelic*, 197.

15 2:4; faic Holmer, *Argyllshire Gaelic*, 44–45.

16 1:7; faic Holmer, *Argyllshire Gaelic*, 44–45, 144; *The Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland*, deas. le Cathair O Dochartaigh, 5 imleabhar (Baile Átha Cliath: DIAS, 1997), imleabhar 2, 286.

17 7:3, 14:10.

18 1:10, 3:9; Seumas Grannd, *The Gaelic of Islay: A Comparative Study* (Obar Dheathain: Roinn na Ceiltis, Oilthigh Obar Dheathain, 2000), 9. Ach faic 'Coimhersnac' ['Coimhearsnachd'], 11:16.

19 5:7, 10:18, 12:4.

20 7:2, 11:4, 15:7.

21 6:32, 11:17; 1:2, 5, 6:27, 33, 36, 38, 39, 50, 10:5, 7, 17, 19, 20, 11:2, 15:4; 6:24; 6:58; 8: 48, 49, 10:5; 6:2, 10, 12, 19, 25, 11:3; Grannd, *The Gaelic of Islay*, 55–56; Holmer, *Argyllshire Gaelic*, 88; Ó Dochartaigh, *Survey*, imleabhar 4, 272 àirn 59, 61, 64, 66–71; imleabhar 4, 428 àirn 66–72; imleabhar 5, 134 àirn 64–65, 68; imleabhar 5, 216 àirn 63–64, 68. 'S dòcha gum bi seo na chuideachadh ann a bhith a' rèiteachadh na mì-chinnt mu fhreumh an ainm Muc Càrna fhèin (faic n.38).

22 Faic gu sònraichte Robert A. A. McGeachy, *Argyll 1730–1850* (Dùn Èideann: John Donald, 2005), 155–56, 254–55, 267.

23 Tha mi fo chomain a' Bhrigadier Iain MacPhàrlain, Taigh an Uillt, airson an leughaidh seo, nas tarraingiche na 'geur-mheasach'.

24 Leughadh teagmhach.

25 Tha 'McIlriach, Mr C. Muckairn' air a chlàradh air td. 33 den luchd-taic ann an *An Original Collection of the Poems of Ossian*, deas. le Hugh agus John McCallum (Montròis: James Watt, 1816).

26 Tha e coltach gu bheil 'bàillidh' a-mach air dreuchd air neo far-ainm an t-seann duine: chan eil sgeul anns na tùsan co-aimsireach air duine freagarrach air an robh an sloinneadh Baillie.

27 Gabhaidh an duilgheadas anns an earrainn thùsail a rèiteachadh ma chuireas sinn e às leth mearachdan agus mì-chinnt an sgrìobhaiche fhèin. Ged a litricheas MacAonghais 'ainm' mar as trice anns an dòigh shuidhichte (1: 2, 6: 24, 26, 7: 2, 7, 8: 16, 11: 1, 12: 3, 15: 7), gheibhear 'ainamh' ann an 6: 30 cuideachd. Airson 'touuch', 'dùthch'', faic 'touich' ann an 9: 1.

28 Facal ag atharrais cainnt an sgiobair?

29 NAS, NRA(S) 1277, pasgain 1508, 1513, 1518, 1524, 1529–30. Airson mar a bha Iain Stevenson an sàs ann an gnìomhachas na ceilpe, faic ibid., pasgain 1532A, 1534–36, cuideachd TNA GD174/1410, 1443; cuideachd Charles Hunter, *Oban: Past and Present* (An t-Òban: Oban Times, 1995), 14–25.

30 Airson cùlradh na naidheachd seo, faic Rev. Hugh Fraser, 'Parish of Ardchattan', *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Dùn Èideann: William Blackwood & Sons, 1834–45), imleabhar 7, 468–507 (476): 'The tide continues to flow at Connell only about four hours and a half, and to ebb upwards of seven hours; and it is singular, though easily accounted for, that the tide begins to flow *below* the fall an hour, or rather more, before it does so *above* the fall; and the strange phenomenon is thus exhibited of the tide flowing in one place, and ebbing strongly in another, within a few yards, at one and the same time.'

31 Leughadh nas fheàrr na 'fear-eòlach òr'.

32 'S ann mar 'cutting' a dh'eadar-theangaicheas an t-Urr. Niall Caimbeul am facal 'geàrr' (Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba, LS MacLathagain 845(12)), ach ma leanas sinn am breacadh den fhàisneachd a dh'aithris Iain MacDhòmhnaill shìos, math dh' fhaodte gun gabh a leughadh mar 'ghearraidh', 'pasture'.

33 B' e Bun Abha a chanadh muinntir na sgìre ri baile Thaigh an Uillt mus do ràinig an rathad-iarainn ann an 1881. Chaidh an stèisean ainmeachadh air an taigh-òsta ri taobh na h-aibhne: Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba SA1958/48/46 (Iain MacPhàrlain ag aithris); SA1958/49/B24 (Miss Ceit NicGilleDhuibh ag aithris); James E. Scott, 'Notes on Muckairn and Glen Lonan', *TGSI*, 46 (1969–70), 250–80 (276–77).

34 Tagairt do Richard Ford agus don fhùirneis a chaidh a stèidheachadh anns a' bhaile ann an 1753.

35 Mar cho tric 's a thachras, tha am fealla-dhà fhèin car an dubhar air luchd-leughaidh an-diugh. Tha mi air 'thuireadh' seach 'thùradh' a thaghadh an seo, ach thoir an aire mar a sgrìobh Alasdair MacGilleMhìcheil ann an 1892 e mar 'Thuradh e 's cha d' rinne e. [A] building that was to be put up – but never put up' (LS CW 126 fo.196ᵛ).

36 Airson Naoimh Caoirill, faic an tuairisgeul sgrìobhte mu Mhuc Càrna mu 1700, fear den iomadach cunntas-sgìre ionadail a rinneadh aig an àm, gu ginearalta do dh'Eaglais na h-Alba. Faodar deagh amharas a bhith againn gum b' e an t-Urr. Cailean Caimbeul Acha' na Bà (1644–1726) a chuir an earrann ri chèile. Chaidh a clò-bhualadh ann an Rev. Lachlan Mackenzie, 'Muckairn',

New Statistical Account, imleabhar 7, 509–22 (512, 518); cuideachd Cosmo Innes, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae: The Antiquities Ecclesiastical and Territorial of the Parishes of Scotland*, 2 imleabhar (Dùn Èideann: Bannatyne Club, 1851–55), imleabhar 2, pàirt 1, 132; Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation, 1560 to the Present Time*, 11 imleabhar, deasachadh ùr (Dùn Èideann: Oliver & Boyd, 1915–2000), imleabhar 4, 81–82, 100, imleabhar 8, 335–36; Scott, 'Notes on Muckairn and Glen Lonan', 233; LSS CW 120 fo.75; 126, fo. 191; Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, imleabhar 2, 222, 345. Thathas cuideachd a' sloinneadh ainm na h-eaglaise air Earailt, ciad easbaig Earra-Ghàidheal.

37 Faic NLS LS Adv. 50.2.19 fo.214, 'Much-carn 's Ardchatainn'. Anns an teags a chruinnich Iain Mac an Deòir, thug a' bhanrìgh seachad, cha b' e a-mhàin 'fearann Mhuch-carn', ach 'Aradchatainn [*sic*] do'n eaglais, ar-son Priomhaireachd, agus … iasgachd a bhradain, eadar rudha an t-sianaich aig cearn [*sic*] mu dheas eilean Chearararath, agus bun-atha … a chumail iasg rithe.'

38 Tha an t-ainm 'Muc Càrna' air luchd-ainmeannan-àite a chur fo imcheist: faic William J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland* (Dùn Èideann: Blackwood & Sons, 1926), 241. Airson fuasglaidh ghrinn – Magh Cà(i)rn, 'the plain of cairn(s)' – faic Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'Place-names as a resource for the historical linguist', ann an *The Uses of Place-names*, deas. le Simon Taylor (Dùn Èideann: Scottish Cultural Press, 1998), 26–29. Gheibhear an t-aon mhìneachadh ann an R. Angus Smith, *Loch Etive and the Sons of Uisneach* (Lunnainn: Alexander Gardner, 1885), 258, bho fhiosrachadh 'Mr Duncan Clerk', 's dòcha fear-tac Dhùn t-Samhnachan: 'Magh Chuirn' 'from the great number that were at the easter part of it, not far from Taynuilt'. Thathas a' cur an cèill gur iad seo uaighean nam fear-feachd a thuit aig Blàr Bhealach a' Bhrannraidh mu 1308. Mar as trice anns an dualchas, 's e th' ann an 'Earragan' ach ainm Rìgh Lochlainn anns a' bhalanta 'Teanntachd Mhór na Fèinne'; airson mion-tuairisgeul àraid mun bhlàr an aghaidh feachdan nan allmharach an aghaidh cùlradh Bhail' a' Chaolais agus Ghlinne Comhann, faic *The Dewar Manuscripts*, imleabhar 1, deas. le John Mackechnie (Glaschu: William MacLellan, 1964), 154–60. Tha an seann tuairisgeul sgrìobhte (Mackenzie, 'Muckairn', 510; cuideachd 512) a' sloinneadh an ainm air mac Mairead 'Evarn or Edgar': 'in testimony for her thankfulness for such a blessing, [she] doted this country to the Church, calling it *maodh-Edharan*, that is, *the valley or field of Edgar*; whence, through tract of time, it came corruptly to be called *Meucearn* or *Muckarn*, and to be kirkland.'

39 Anns an t-seann tuairisgeul sgrìobhte den sgìre, fhuair 'Sir John Campbell, Knight of Calder, and second son to the Earl of Argyll, a valiant, witty, and active man' còir air Muc Càrna 'by the instigation and unwearied endeavours and meditation of one Priest MacPhail, his foster father' [Mackenzie, 'Muckairn', 513]. Bheirear an aire gu bheil 'Sir John McPhaul', reachdadair Chill an Inbhir, agus 'Sir David McPaul', manach na prìòireachd, mar luchd-fianaise airson grunn bhannan a thug Iain Caimbeul seachad eadar 1552

agus 1564: Innes, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, imleabhar 2, pàirt 1, 149. Faic cuideachd EUL LS CW 120 fo.11.

40 Airson Blàr Dhàileig, 'a small plain among the hills above the Muckairn highway, and about half a mile to the south of Tigh-an-Uillt', faic Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, 150–52. Chaidh an cunntas seo a thoirt sìos bho 'Mr D. W., Oban', 's e sin Donnchadh MacIlleBhàin (1805–1897): fear-dèanamh uaireadairean agus bràthair-athar Eanraig MhicIlleBhàin (1852–1913), 'Fionn' [Eanraig MacIlleBhàin], 'Muckairn place-names: Part IV', *Oban Times*, 4 Faoilleach 1908, 4. Math dh'fhaodte gur e seo cuideachd am blàr air an tugadh luaidh ann an Rev. Duncan McLea, 'An account of the name of McLea' ann an *Highland Papers*, deas. le J. R. N. MacPhail, imleabhar 4 (Dùn Èideann: Scottish History Society, 1934), 93–104 (100–01).

41 'S iad seo an dà bhlàr – 'Dail-a-chatha aig Cill mac Rònaig, Daileag os-ceann tigh an ùillt' – air an tugadh luaidh cuideachd ann am breacadh Mhic an Deòir. Tha an seann tuairisgeul sgrìobhte (Mackenzie, 'Muckairn', 514) ag innse mu thrì blàir, am fear mu dheireadh gun dòrtadh fala, 'for, the knight on one side, and MacDougall on the other, both well appointed, and accompanied with their followers, as they were ready to fight, fell on a treaty, and by message betwixt them they were reconciled'.

42 Tha an t-aon bheum air inbhe teaghlaichean beaga dùthchasach na sgìre a' tighinn troimhe anns an tuairisgeul sgrìobhte (Mackenzie, 'Muckairn', 514), far a bheil MacDhùghaill 'yielding up and passing from all his pretensions, desiring only as a favour that the knight would be kind to his clansmen and followers dwelling in these lands, which his successors performed to that degree, that, within a short time, they forsook their dependence on MacDougall, and depended absolutely on the Knight of Calder, of whom there are several branches yet remaining in the country, as the MacCalmans, MacNackands, MacAndeoras, and others.'

43 Faic Graeme M. Mackenzie, '*Clann Challuim* in Lorn', *Scottish Genealogist*, 51.3 (2004), 87–97.

44 Bha an teaghlach a' tàrmachadh ann am Bail' an Deòir. 'Deor mor Mac an aba was the name of the deor of Bail-an-deor' ('Duncan Macniven old schoolmaster Cnoc na h-Aird Taynuilt 6th July 1892': EUL LS CW 126 fon.189, 196ᵛ).

45 Bhiodh e coltach gu bheil 'Chiag' agus 'Ghiadh' a' riochdachadh an aon fhacail.

46 No 'gu miastadh'.

47 Aithnichear mar a nochdas am moitif seo ann am *Morte d' Arthur* aig Malory. Tha an aon sgeulachd a' nochdadh anns an tuairisgeul sgrìobhte (Mackenzie, 'Muckairn', 518n.) mar naidheachd gun cho-theags, a-mach air '[t]wo hostile bodies, tradition has failed to tell who they were'. Leis mar a tha '"*Cnoc na michomhairle*", that is, "the hill of the untoward conference"' 'near Kilmaronag', tha e coltach gu bheil am fiosrachadh seo rùisgte den cho-theags thùsail.

48 NLS LSS 14989–90.

49 Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba LS MacLathagain 845(3).

50 LS MacLathagain 845(12). Airson ghillean maola dubha, faic *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, deas. le Lord Archibald Campbell, imleabhar 1 (Lunnainn: David Nutt, 1889), 3–4.

51 EUL LS CW 126 fo.196.

52 LS MacLathagain 845(11). A dh'aindeoin na chanas an t-Urr. Niall Caimbeul, 's cinnteach gum b' e an fhùirneis fhèin a bh' ann an 'taigh nan seachd doras'. Gu dearbh, a rèir coltais bha seachd fosglaidhean innte: John H. Lewis, 'The charcoal-fired blast furnaces of Scotland: a review', *PSAS*, 114 (1984), 433–79 (468).

53 EUL LS CW 126 fo.196. Faic *Dwelly's Gaelic-English Dictionary* s.v. 'leag'.

54 Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba LS MacLathagain 1447(1).

55 EUL LS CW 126 fo.196; cuideachd Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba SA1958/48/A25 (A' Bhean-phòsta Harper ag aithris).

56 Rev. John Gregorson Campbell, *The Gaelic Otherworld*, deas. le Ronald Black (Dùn Èideann: Birlinn, 2005), 38–39, 81.

57 'Fionn' [Eanraig MacIlleBhàin], 'Muckairn place-names: Part VI', *Oban Times*, 18 Faoilleach 1908, 3; cuideachd Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, imleabhar 2, 341. Ann an leabhran bàrdachd ann an cruinneachadh a' Bhrigadier Iain MacPhàrlain, tha òran ionadail an aghaidh nam Fuadaichean aig deireadh an ochdamh linn deug air a bheil 'Am Bruadar: Faistneachd Gholla Chrosda'.

58 Cosmo Innes, *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor* (Dùn Èideann: Spalding Club, 1859), 157–58; Alistair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, 3 imleabhar (Dùn Èideann: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), imleabhar 2, 19–20; cuideachd James E. Scott, 'Benderloch', *TGSI*, 47 (1971–72), 101–42 (122).

59 Faic Innes, *Thanes of Cawdor*, 129: bann trèibhdhireis ann an 1518 tron d' fhuair Sir Iain dìlseachd agus ùmhlachd cinneadh nam 'McDowleanis' (Clann MhicDhunShlèibhe), agus na mionnan air an gabhail 'apone the mess buik and the relic callit Arwachyll ['àrd-bhachall'] … at the Iil of Kilmolrue' (Eilean an t-Sagairt anns na Lochanan Dubha faisg air Cill Mhoire). Faic cuideachd ibid., 132–33; Campbell of Airds, *History of Clan Campbell*, imleabhar 2, 6–7, 8.

60 Scott, 'Benderloch', 121, 125–28.

61 Airson Chailean Chaimbeil Fear Easragain, faic Charles Hunter, *Smuggling in West Argyll and Lochaber* (An t-Òban: Charles Hunter, 2004); cuideachd idem, *Oban*, 12, McGeachy, *Argyll 1730–1850*, 132–35; Allan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1996), 225–26.

62 Faic, mar eisimpleir, John Smith, *Sean Dana* (Dùn Èideann: Charles Elliot, 1787), 8n.

63 'Calum du na tuaigh' ann an notaichean MhicGilleMhìcheil: EUL LS CW 126 fo.197^v.

64 Leughadh teagmhach.

65 Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, 116.

66 Campbell, *Records of Argyll*. Tha sanais den dà bhreacadh den sgeulachd anns na notaichean a rinn Alasdair MacGilleMhìcheil ann an 1892: EUL LS CW 126 fon.197ᵛ, 198, 198ᵛ. Ma ghabhas an sgeulachd a dhàtachadh don t-seachdamh linn deug, dh'fhaodadh gum b' e dàrna (B.P. 1628–33) air neo ceathramh (B.P. 1689–98) baronaid Ach' nam Breac a bh' anns a' bhall-pàrlamaid.

67 MᶜLea, 'Account', 100.

68 Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, 109–10.

69 Sgrìobh MacAonghais an sgeulachd seo leis an duilleig dhùbailte fhosgailte air a beulaibh.

70 Ged a tha 'duine' anns an litreachadh shuidhichte ri fhaighinn air feadh na làmh-sgrìobhainn, 's dòcha gur e 'Magaidh Dunaidh' an leughadh as fheàrr, seach 'Magaidh Duine' air neo fiù 's 'Magaidh Dùinidh' no 'Downie'.

71 Faic cuideachd Rev. John Gregorson Campbell, *Clan Traditions and Popular Tales of the Western Highlands and Islands*, deas. le Jessie Wallace agus Duncan MacIsaac, Waifs & Strays of Celtic Tradition, Argyllshire Series, 5 (Lunnainn: David Nutt, 1895), 135: ''S tric a bha ùth mhór aig bò chaol-chasach', briathran a thubhairt banachag ri Caiptean Chlann Raghnaill, is i a' cumail suas a còta bhàin ach am biodh e tioram bhon driùchd. B' e an curaidh làidir Murchadh Beag mac Raghnaill a bu mhac dhaibh.

72 Mar as trice tha am moitif seo a' ciallachadh gun deach an leanabh a bhreith le làn deudach agus làn ceann fuilt, a' comharrachadh cho treun 's a bhiodh e mar dhuine dèante.

73 Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, 6 imleabhar (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1955–58), T574; faic cuideachd Donald Archie Macdonald, 'Migratory legends of the supernatural in Scotland: a general survey', *Béaloideas*, 62–63 (1994–95), 29–78 (39).

74 Leughadh nas fheàrr na na briathran mì-ghràmadach 'a' cur dall e fhèin' [i.e. MacDhonnchaidh]. Faic *Metrical Reliques of 'The Men' in the Highlands*, deas. le John Rose (Inbhir Nis: Mackintosh & Co., 1861), 230, 'Dh' eignich i le dalladh-eun e, / 'S chleachd i 'dànachd gu bhi mar' ris', mar a tha ciall dhrabasta air choreigin ri tuigsinn anns an abairt.

75 Air neo facail eile a leithid 'graostachd', 'gràisgealachd'. Tha briathran den t-seòrsa seo nas coltaiche na ainm-àite air nòs Ghrasdail anns an Obha, Eilean Ìle.

76 LSS Mhic an Deòir, lethbhric ann an Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba, imleabhar ii, 102–10; gheibhear bloighean de na sgeulachdan tùsail mus deach an cothlamadh ann an NLS LS Adv. 50.2.19 fon.78 (gun urra), 251–54 (Gilleasbaig Caimbeul, Soraba). Tha breacadh den aon sheòrsa, air a thogail bho Dhùghall MacDhùghaill ann an Soraba, ann an Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, 171–74.

77 Airson a' cho-theags, faic Stephen Boardman, *The Campbells 1250–1513* (Dùn Èideann: John Donald, 2006), 21.

78 Air neo 'creachag'?

Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Picts
Alex Woolf

It is with some surprise, perhaps, that one notes that of all the historians who commented upon the disappearance of the Picts in the course of the Middle Ages it is Geoffrey of Monmouth whose analysis comes closest to that of historians working on the problem in recent times. In Book Four of his *History of the Kings of Britain*, Geoffrey concludes his account of the arrival of the Picts in Britain with the statement, 'but enough of the Picts, since it is not my intention to write either their history or that of the Scots who are descended from them and from the Irish.'[1] Geoffrey, whose *History* is frequently dismissed as a mixture of fantasy and folklore built upon a very selective reading of the already meagre narratives provided by Gildas, Bede and the *Historia Brittonum*,[2] appears to share the view that the Scots of his own day were the product of assimilation and inter-marriage between the Picts and the Gaels of an earlier age espoused by contemporary scholars such as Geoffrey Barrow and Dauvit Broun, whose use of the term 'Picto-Scottish kingdom' to describe the cultural identity of Alba between the late ninth and the early twelfth century lays particular emphasis on this mixed heritage in the process of Scottish ethnogenesis.[3]

Geoffrey's view is arguably at odds with that of his own contemporary, Henry of Huntingdon, the apparent target of his *History*. Henry is the earliest securely dated witness to the school of thought that presented the Picts as the victims of genocide.[4] He seems to base his assumption that the Picts had been exterminated on the apparent disappearance, as far as he was aware, of their distinctive language, which he had read about in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, rather than on any earlier tradition, and his ascription of their fate to Divine Providence may well be the application of his own interpretative framework rather than anything drawn from his source material. It is thus possible that the providential analysis of the fate of the Picts found in later works, and in the problematically dated text from the Poppleton Manuscript known variously as the *Older Scottish Chronicle* or the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*, was derived from Henry's analysis rather than from a common tradition of any

antiquity.[5] Were this the case, then Geoffrey's perspective on the issue may more closely reflect an 'informed view' of the 1130s than that of his generally more reliable contemporary.

Very little is known of Geoffrey's social and intellectual circle outside of the allusions made in his *Historia* to Walter Archdeacon of Oxford and to Caradog of Llancarfan.[6] His dedications of the work to Robert of Gloucester and Waleran of Meulan suggest, but no more than that, that he may have been connected to some of the most powerful men in the kingdom and his elevation to the episcopacy subsequent to their deaths implies that they were not his only patrons. It is thus difficult to speculate on any privileged access that Geoffrey may have had to sources of Scottish history or tradition through personal connections, although it might be noted that Waleran's half-sister, Ada de Warenne, was married to Earl Henry of Northumberland, the eldest surviving son and heir presumptive to David I.[7] Examination of his works, however, does seem to indicate a particular interest in Scottish history when compared to his contemporaries. The toponym *Albania* appears no fewer than 35 times in the *Historia* and it may well be down to Geoffrey's popularity in later ages that the term 'Albany' survived at all in English usage, since it never appears in the vernacular and rarely, if ever, in Latin texts produced outside of Scotia proper prior to this date. Of course a term not directly related to Scottish ethnic identity served Geoffrey's needs since his narrative came to a close long before the establishment of Gaelic hegemony in the east, but other terms, such as Caledonia or Pictavia, might have served as well. The choice of the term current amongst contemporary natives rather than one drawn from ancient authorities or contemporary English usage is quite striking. It is also worth noting that his later work *Vita Merlini*, written in or shortly after 1148, is largely set in territory then under the lordship of King David.[8]

Further evidence of a more detailed knowledge of, or at least interest in, the northern political scene can be found in the passage from Book Nine which recounts how Arthur was attended at the court he held at York towards the beginning of his reign by 'three brothers of regal descent, Loth, Urianus and Auguselus, who had been princes in the region before the Saxons took control.'[9] Arthur,

we are told, restored Auguselus to the kingship of the Scots,[10] gave Urianus the 'sceptre of the Moravians' (*Murefensium*)[11] and restored Loth to the 'consulate' of Lothian (*Lodonesiae*) and its associated provinces (*ceterarumque comprouinciarum quae ei pertinebant*). This tripartite division of the northern realm would seem to reflect quite realistically the situation pertaining in the early twelfth century when Moray retained its own king and when Lothian and neighbouring provinces, such as Teviotdale and Clydesdale, were held by a cadet of the royal house.[12]

What remains unclear is whether Geoffrey was better informed about Scotland than his contemporaries or simply more willing to utilise his knowledge of current affairs in the production of history rather than falling back on historiographical convention and *topos*. With this question in mind it is worth considering the two versions of, or successive episodes from, a Pictish origin story which Geoffrey relates in Books Four and Five. The second of these episodes clearly owes something to *Historia Brittonum*, though it is much expanded upon. It begins during the reign of the Roman emperor Severus when British resistance to Roman overlordship is led by a certain Duke Fulgenius. Severus manages to confine the insurgents to the northern part of the island and builds a *uallum* from coast to coast between Deira and Albania, so Fulgenius sails to Scythia to raise an auxiliary force of Picts with whom he returns and, attracting wider support from amongst the Britons, defeats and slays Severus, sustaining mortal wounds in the conflict himself.[13] In the sequel to this episode these same Picts, who had been brought to Britain by Fulgenius, were settled north of the *uallum* that Severus had constructed by the usurper Carausius, whom they had aided in his struggle against Severus's son Bassianus. The author of *Historia Brittonum*, in his brief synopsis of Romano-British history, had attributed the construction of a wall to Severus in response to a Pictish invasion from overseas and alluded to a restoration of the wall under Carausius.[14] Geoffrey's narrative merely expands upon this and gives greater agency, as is his wont, to native Britons in the shaping of their island's story.[15]

The earlier episode relating to Pictish origins may better reflect Geoffrey's familiarity with contemporary Albanian ideas about history. This occurs in his account, in Book Four, of the reign of

Marius son of Arviragus.[16] Chronologically this king is to be placed sometime in the later first century, after the death of Nero in Rome, but does not appear to be drawn from any known source. Geoffrey tells us that

> during his reign, a king of the Picts named Rodric arrived from Scythia with a large fleet, landed in the northern part of Britain, called Albania, and began to ravage the region. Marius gathered his people to march against him, won several engagements and killed Rodric. To mark his victory, in the province later named Wistmaria after him, Marius set up a stone; upon it is an inscription which preserves his memory to the present day. With Rodric dead, Marius allowed the defeated people who had accompanied him to settle in the part of Albania called Caithness which was deserted having been uninhabited and uncultivated for many years.[17]

He then goes on to relate a version of the story of how the Picts obtained their wives, derived from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[18]

A number of elements in the story of Rodric are worthy of note. *Wistmaria*, the province in which Marius erected the monument to his victory, and in which one can infer the victory took place, is usually rendered 'Westmorland' in modern English translations.[19] This is problematic on two counts. Firstly, Westmorland, in Geoffrey's time probably still understood simply as the territory dependent upon Appleby, north of the Lake District massif, does not seem particularly close to Caithness or the northern parts of Scotland identified as the location of Rodric's raid.[20] Secondly *Westmarialanda* appears elsewhere in the text and may have been intended to represent a different location to *Wistmaria*.[21] There is a distinct possibility that *Wistmaria* has been misidentified as Westmorland by modern writers and that we should perhaps be looking for somewhere further north. Moving from the place-name to the narrative itself, Scottish historians may recognise elements of a Moravian origin story found in the Chronicle of John of Fordun and its subsequent retellings.[22] In Fordun's account Roderick [*sic*] is the leader of refugees from Moravia in Pannonia fleeing Roman aggression. He escapes his

homeland with a fleet via the Danube and enters into a career as a pirate on the Belgic Sea. Eventually wishing to settle down, he enters into a treaty with the Picts (already settled in northern Britain) and settles among them. Emboldened by these reinforcements the Picts and the Scots then make war on Roman Britain and the story of Marius's campaign as told by Geoffrey ensues. The relationship between the two narratives is potentially complex. Geoffrey's *Historia* is undoubtedly earlier than Fordun or his immediate source material and thus Rodric's Pictish identity would seem to have priority over his Moravian. Fordun addresses this directly by concluding his chapter with an explicit reference to Geoffrey's identification of Roderick and his men as Picts from Scythia. He explains that all of the regions between the Danube and the Baltic were collectively known as 'Scythia' and thus Moravia was a subsection of Scythia and that since the Moravians were 'permanently united with the Picts' after their settlement in Britain it was not an error to describe them as Picts. The apparent reclassification of Geoffrey's Picts as Moravians requires, however, some explanation.

In the pedigrees associated with the eleventh-century kings Macbethad and Lulach, who seem to have originated in Moray, a certain Ruaidrí, Macbethad's paternal grandfather, inhabits the apex of the two branches of the dynasty. If he represents an historical individual we might estimate a *floruit* for him in the closing decades of the tenth century.[23] The Gaelic name Ruaidrí is regularly rendered 'Roderic', or similar, in Latin texts and thus some relationship between Fordun's Roderic and Macbethad's grandfather is far from implausible. The question remains, nonetheless, whether the medieval Scottish historians conflated Geoffrey's Pictish king with the apical figure of the eleventh-century Moray dynasty or whether Geoffrey relocated a version of the Moravian legend to the Roman period.

There is some evidence suggestive that Geoffrey, to some degree, equated the Moravians with the Picts. Book Nine of his History is largely concerned with the deeds of the famous king Arthur, including the expedition he made to Albania to relieve his nephew Hoel from attack by the Picts and the Scots.[24] Following Arthur's onslaught the Picts and Scots flee to Moray (*Mureif*) and take refuge on the islands in Loch Lomond (*stagnum Lumonoi*).[25] Here

we see evidence of a major geographical slip on Geoffrey's part. It is hard to see how even the most generous assessment of the extent of medieval Moray could allow us to place Loch Lomond in the province. The source for Geoffrey's information on Loch Lomond is very easy to identify. His description of the Loch, fed by 60 rivers and containing 60 islands on each of which there is a crag topped by an eagle's nest, is drawn, almost word for word, from the *mirabilia* found in *Historia Brittonum*.[26] The recension of *Historia Brittonum* which Geoffrey used seems not to have been identical to any of those which survive. It has sometimes been inferred that he was using an early example of the apparently early-twelfth century 'Gildasian' recension, so called because it ascribes authorship of the text, erroneously, to the sixth-century Gildas, author of *De Excidio Britanniae*. This inference is based upon a statement in Book Six that 'Gildas in his tractate *described* in a clear style the many miracles that God revealed through' Germanus of Auxerre and Bishop Lupus of Troyes during their anti-Pelagian mission to Britain.[27] Although this passage appears in the middle of a long section concerning Vortigern drawn from *Historia Brittonum*, which in the original included reference to Saint Germanus, almost all the information in this section of Geoffrey – the naming of Germanus's see, the mention of Lupus of Troyes and, critically, the allusion to the Pelagian heresy – are absent from *Historia Brittonum*. Geoffrey's ascription of this material to Gildas recalls the fact that Bede's account of Germanus,[28] which does include all of this information, immediately follows his recapitulation, with some augmentation, of Gildas's historical summary drawn from the beginning of *De Excidio*.[29] It seems likely that either Geoffrey has encountered Gildas through Bede and misunderstood the relationship between the two, perhaps as a result of the fact that Bede does not explicitly name Gildas as a source until after he has recounted the story of Germanus,[30] or, far less likely, that Geoffrey and Bede shared a common source in which *De Excidio*, or part thereof, travelled with a version of the *Vita Germani*.[31]

Having set aside the evidence suggesting that Geoffrey was using a Gildasian version we are left with very little to go on.[32] Reeve notes that a correction to manuscript L of *Historia Brittonum*,[33] Hengest's command of '*nimed eure saxes*', is closer to Geoffrey's version, '*nimet*

oure saxas', than to any of the other surviving versions, specifically in its use of the pronoun.[34] This correction, however, dates to the very late twelfth or thirteenth century and is thus quite possibly influenced by Geoffrey. There certainly seems to be a gloss dependent upon Geoffrey in the related manuscript Corpus Christi College Cambridge 139.[35] Geoffrey's influence on this group of manuscripts may also be reflected in the forms 'Nennio' *vel sim.* with geminated 'n' rather than the 'mn' of the ninth century 'Nemniuus', since the form 'Nennius' makes its earliest appearance in *Historia Regum Britanniae* as the name of an early king.[36] This form is apparently based on the Welsh name Nynniaw[37] rather than the *Nyfnwy which 'Nemniuus' seems to represent and which is far more common in Breton sources.

A further possible connection may link this family of *Historia Brittonum* manuscripts to Geoffrey's *Historia* and bring us back to Loch Lomond and the problem of Picts and Moravians. The version of *Historia Brittonum* found in manuscript L is prefaced by a list of *capitula* forming, effectively, a contents page. The *capitulum* relating to the description of Loch Lomond in the *Mirabilia* (LXVI) contains the additional information not found in the text itself which says of Loch Lomond '*qui Anglice uocatur Lochleuen in regione Pictorum*'. This unique gloss raises various problems. An English form *Lochleuen* would seem to presuppose a borrowing from Gaelic rather than Pictish; thus the description of the location of the Loch *in regione Pictorum* would seem to be anachronistic rather than evidence that this gloss originated much further back in time. There are also problems with the form *Lochleuen* altogether, since, although Loch Lomond is drained by the river Leven, there are no other certain instances of the loch being assigned this name. It has been suggested that the author of this gloss had confused Loch Lomond with Loch Leven in Fife, which is also drained by a river Leven and overlooked by the Lomond Hills.[38] It is impossible to be certain whether this is the case; Loch Leven is not an implausible alternative name for Loch Lomond. What concerns us here, however, is the designation *in regione Pictorum*. It would be very unusual for a twelfth-century writer to use this term to describe Fife, although he or she might have been led by their reading of Bede to do so.[39] No such historical case could be made for the environs of Loch Lomond. In a twelfth-

century context there would seem to be two possible explanations for such an ascription. One would be that this is once more influence from Geoffrey's *Historia* and from the account of Arthur's campaign discussed above. In this the Picts take refuge on the islands of Loch Lomond, stated here to be in *Mureif*. The alternative explanation might be that Loch Lomond was thought to lie in Galloway, a region that had come to prominence in the course of the twelfth century. The modern province of Galloway makes up only a small part of the region originally inhabited by the people known as the Gall-Ghàidheil from whom it is named and might just have extended to the Lennox.[40] In the mid-twelfth century a number of northern English writers, apparently self-consciously imagining themselves to be successors to Bede, identified the inhabitants of Galloway as the Picts.[41] Their reasoning seemed to be that since Bede made no reference to the Gallovidians and since the Picts, whom Bede had extensively commented upon, were no longer apparent in their own day, it was reasonable to assume that the former were the latter renamed.

Geoffrey, writing his *Historia* almost a generation before the Northumbrian chroniclers who identified the Picts with the Gallovidians, is notable for making no explicit reference at all to this relatively new people.[42] The likely explanation for this is that the Gallovidians themselves had only begun to loom large in the consciousness of English historians following their role in the invasion of northern England undertaken by David I of Scotland and his nephew William fitz Duncan in the course of the civil war between Stephen and Mathilda in the later 1130s and 1140s.[43] In the accounts of these campaigns the men of Galloway were presented as the constant allies of the Scots and were held responsible for the worst atrocities committed by invading armies. While the Gallovidians may well have been more likely to engage in slaving and genocidal activities than Anglo-Norman forces were used to dealing with, they may also have been seen as expedient scapegoats by a historiographical tradition that, for various reasons, had a more positive view of David and his family. As the savage allies of the Scots, the Gallovidians were reminiscent of the Picts encountered in the works of Gildas and Bede.

By the time these campaigns were underway and the response to them was being articulated, Geoffrey's work was largely completed. Although the time lapse between Geoffrey writing his *Historia* and the Northumbrian encounters with Galloway was very short indeed, it may go a long way to explaining his attitude to the Picts and Moray. Prior to the 1130s the role subsequently filled by Galloway in relation to the Scottish kingdom had been held by Moray. From at least the early eleventh century and the time of Findláech mac Ruaidrí until the killing of Angus, the great-great-great-grandson of Ruaidrí, by David's forces at the battle of Stracathro in 1130, Moray had been the troublesome, barbarous neighbour of the Scots, sufficiently far from the centres of Anglo-Norman culture to be something of a land of mystery.[44] In conclusion, then, I would like to suggest that Geoffrey equated the Picts with the Moravians by much the same force of logic that encouraged writers of the next generation to equate them with the men of Galloway and that he did indeed appropriate the story of Rodric/Ruaidrí from the Moravians as Fordun suggested. I would like to end with one very speculative suggestion. In Geoffrey's account of Rodric's invasion he states that, after the killing of the Pictish leader, the victorious British king erected a stone monument to his victory. Might this be the earliest textual reference to the tenth-century pillar on the outskirts of Forres known as Sueno's Stone?[45]

REFERENCES

1 *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. by Michael Reeve and trans. by Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2007), 70.386–88: *Sed haec hactenus, cum non proposuerium tractare historiam eorum siue Scotorum qui ex illis et Hibernensibus originem duxerunt.* Unless otherwise stated, all citations from Geoffrey's *Historia* [henceforth *HRB*] are to this edition. Minor modifications have been made to some of the translations (for example Wright translates both *Scotia* and *Albania* as 'Scotland', which is not helpful in the present context).

2 For Gildas's *De Excidio Brittaniae* see *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and Other Documents* , ed. and trans. by Michael Winterbottom (Chichester: Phillimore, 1978). For Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* [henceforth *HE*] see *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). No entirely satisfactory edition of *Historia Brittonum* exists. The most accessible is *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed.

and trans. by John Morris (Chichester: Phillimore, 1980), but for some understanding of the relationship between the very different manuscript traditions one is still reliant upon *Chronica Minora saec.IV. V. VI. VII.*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmannos, 1898), vol. 3, 111–222.

3 See *inter alia* Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), particularly chapter 2, and G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).

4 *Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Diana Greenaway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), I.8, 24–25. Discussed in my *From Pictland to Alba* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 1–3. For Henry as the target audience see Greenaway's introduction.

5 For an edition and translation of this text see Benjamin T. Hudson, 'The Scottish Chronicle', *Scottish Historical Review*, 77 (1998), 129–61. For a thoughtful discussion of its nature see David N. Dumville, 'The Chronicle of the Kings of Alba', in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500–1297: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the Occasion of Her Ninetieth Birthday*, ed. by Simon Taylor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 73–86.

6 *HRB* 2.3 and 208.601–02 respectively.

7 Victoria Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne, queen mother of Scotland (*c.* 1123–1178)', *Scottish Historical Review*, 60 (1981), 119–39.

8 *The Life of Merlin: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Vita Merlini*, ed. and trans. by Basil Clarke (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1973).

9 *HRB* 152.201–03.

10 Shortly after this, at 156.328, Auguselus' kingdom is identified as *Albania, quae nunc Scotia dicitur*. It is tempting to imagine that Auguselus's name, previously unattested, represents some form of the name 'Angus' and may allude to the king mentioned in the St Andrews origin legends. If this is the case then it would be interesting to speculate as to whether the final part of the name preserves some memory of a byname of some sort.

11 It is perhaps worth noting that Geoffrey's forms of the provincial name of Moray, in *Muref*-, reflect vernacular Scoto-Latin usage rather than the more formal *Morav*- forms used in most Latin texts.

12 For which see A. A. M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842–1292* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), chapter 4, and Richard Oram, *David I: The King Who Made Scotland* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), chapters 2 and 4.

13 *HRB* 74.

14 *HB* § 23.

15 See, *inter alia*, C. N. L. Brooke, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth as an historian', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented*

to C. R. Cheney on his Seventieth Birthday, ed. by C. N. L. Brooke *et al.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 77–91, and John Gillingham, 'The context and purpose of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1991), 98–118, reprinted in John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 19–40.

16 *HRB* 70.

17 *HRB* 70.373–82.

18 *HE* I.1.

19 For example *The History of the Kings of Britain* , trans. by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966) and Neil Wright in Reeve and Wright, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*. Michael Faletra is slightly more cautious, leaving *Wistmaria* untranslated in the text but supplying a footnote 'Presumably Westmorland', in *The History of the Kings of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Books, 2008).

20 For the origins of Westmorland see G. W. S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), 117–38, and Charles Phythian-Adams, *The Land of the Cumbrians: A Study in British Provincial Origins AD 400–1120* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 92–100 and 150–51.

21 *HRB* 80.179.

22 Fordun 2.27. For Fordun's text we are still reliant largely upon the edition (1871) and translation (1872) produced by W. F. Skene under the title *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scottorum* for the *Historians of Scotland* series (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas), vols I and IV.

23 Alex Woolf, 'The "Moray Question" and the kingship of Alba in the tenth and eleventh centuries', *Scottish Historical Review*, 79 (2000), 145–64 (148–49).

24 *HRB* 148.

25 *HRB* 149.148–53.

26 *HB* 67.

27 *HRB* 101.369–76 (not § 100 as Reeve states in the introduction to his edition at p. lviii).

28 *HE* I.17–21.

29 *HE* I.12–16.

30 *HE* I.22.

31 Such a hypothesis, however, unlikely, might explain why Bede makes no use of *De Excidio* other than the historical prologue.

32 It is not beyond the possibility that a misreading of *HRB* 101 and its context is actually the origin of the ascription of *Historia Brittonum* to Gildas.

33 CUL Ff.I.27.

34 See Theodor Mommsen's edition in *MGH Chronica Minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII.*, vol. 3, 111–222.

35 D. N. Dumville, '"Nennius" and the *Historia Brittonum*', *Studia Celtica*, 10 (1975), 78–95 (93 and n. 9).

36 *HRB* 22.500, 53.368, 56.53, 57, 62, 65, and 57.79.

37 David N. Dumville, 'Celtic-Latin texts in Northern England *c.* 1150– *c.* 1250', *Celtica*, 12 (1977), 19–49 (38–39).

38 I am grateful to Simon Taylor for discussions on this point.

39 *HE* I.12.

40 Thomas Owen Clancy, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway', *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 2 (2008), 19–50.

41 Richard Oram, 'The mythical Pict and the monastic pedant: the origin of the legend of the Galloway Picts', *Pictish Arts Society Journal*, 4 (1993), 14–27.

42 It is just possible that Geoffrey's decision to make Arthur's nephew Gualguainus ('Gawain') the son of Loth of Lodonesia (Lothian), *HRB* 152.206 was prompted by the phonological similarity of his name to contemporary forms, such as *Galweia*, used of Galloway.

43 Oram, 'The mythical Pict'.

44 Woolf, 'The Moray Question'.

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