



ChronHib

CHRONOLOGICON
HIBERNICUM

The Language of the *Cín Dromma Snechtai* (CDS) Texts

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4th Irish Manuscripts Conference
23 N 10: The Book of Ballycummin
Royal Irish Academy Library 8 March 2019

in Middle and Modern Irish Manuscripts:

- Lebor na hUidre (ca. 1100) 67a, 80b, 99a10, 99a32, 128a2, 132a6
- Book of Leinster (ca. 1166) 149b, 190c27, 230b, 336 margin
- Book of Ballymote (end 14th c.) 12a, 21b21, 27a40, 40a15, 40a35
- Book of Lecan (1418) 77b2, 123a, 271v
- Book of Fermoy (15th c.) 8a
- Rawlinson B 512 (15th-16th c.) 52^r b
- Brit. Mus. Egerton 88 (c. 1564) 14^r b
- G. Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (ca. 1634) I 226.14, II 6.79

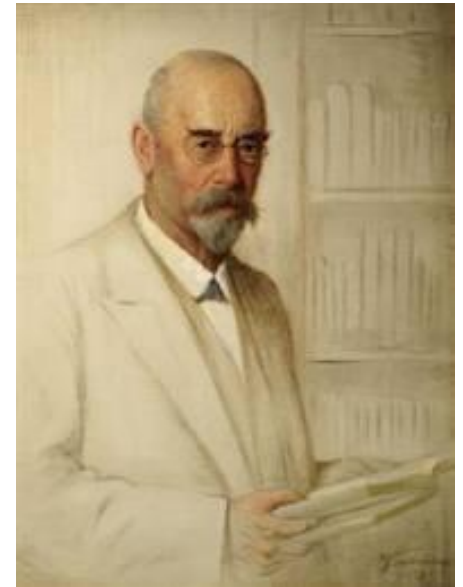
contained

- heroic tales (*Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, *Compert Chon Culainn*, *Tochmarc Etaíne*)
- proto-history (*Lebor Gabála*)
- genealogies
- poetry (*Fil and griän Glinne Aí*)



Research history of *CDS*

- 1861: Eugene O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Dublin p. 14 & 498
- 1887: Heinrich Zimmer, 'Keltische studien. 5. Ueber den compilerischen charakter der irischen sagentexte im sogenannten Lebor na hUidre', *Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 28, 417–689
- **1912: Rudolf Thurneysen, 'VI. Cín Dromma Snechta'**, in: *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* [= Abhandl. d. Königl. Gesell. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse, N. F. Band XIV. Nro. 2], Berlin, 23–30
- **1921: Rudolf Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert***. Teil I und II, Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer, 15–18



BM Egerton 88 (c. 1564)

- *Aided Con Roí* (2 vers.)
- *Amra Con Roí*
- 1. ***Forfes Fer Falgae* (FFF)**
- 2. ***Verba Scáthaige* (VS)**
 - *Tulchaba Bríathar* (TB)
 - *Téora Sírechta flatha*
- 3. ***Echtrae Chonnlai Rúaid* (EC)**
- 4. ***Immram Brain* (IB)**
- 5. ***Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig* (BCC)**
- 6. ***Genemuin Con Culainn* (CCC)**
- 7. ***Togail Bruidne Uí Derga* (TBUD)**
- 8. ***Audacht Morainn* (AM)**
 - *Fil and griän Glinne Aí ** (FAGGA)
 - *Síaburcharpat Con Culainn*
- 9. ***Compert Mongáin* (SM)**
- 10. ***Scél asa-mberar combad é Find mac Cumail Mongán* (SFM)**

* [In]dcipiatur nunc Cin Dromma Snechtai
annsa iarna tolmradh do Giolla Comain
truagh O Congalain anrobo deach lais innti

RIA 23. N. 10. (16th c.)

- 8. ***Audacht Morainn* (AM)**
 - *Find ocus Oisséne* (AFO)
 - a judgement
 - *At-berim rib lith saine...*
 - *Tochmarc Baisi Bandruad*
 - *Áed Ordnide*
 - the apostles and their equivalents in Ireland
- 4. ***Immram Brain* (IB)**
- 6. ***Compert Con Culainn* (CCC)**
- 9. ***Compert Mongáin* (CM)**
- 10. ***Scél asa-abar cum hé Moggan Finn mac Cumail* (SFM)**
 - *Scél do Scélaib Mongáin* (SM)
 - *Tucait Baile Mongáin* (TBM)
- 2. ***Verba Scáthaige* (VS)**
 - *Echtrae Machae* (EM)
- 1. ***Forfes Fer Falgae* (FFF)**
- 3. ***Echtrae Chonnlai* (EC)**
- 7. ***Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (TBUD)**
- 5. ***Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig* (BCC)**
 - *Prull* (Pr)

Manuscripts with *CDS* clusters

- **Eg. 88:** FFF, VS, (TB,) EC, IB, BCC, CCC, TBUD, AM, FAGGA, CM, SFM
- **23 N 10:** AM, (AFO,) IB, CCC, CM, SFM, SM, TBM, VS, (EM,) FFF, EC, TBUD, BCC, (Pr)
- **Rawl B512:** CC₁, (TE_m), VS, FFF, IB, EC, FAGGA + lost leafs
- **H.4.22:** CC₁, CM, SFM, SM, TBM, FFF, IDB, IB
- **LU:** EC, IB, (TE_m), CCC, (TÉt,) CM, SFM, SM, TBM
- **H.3.18:** CM, SM, ICCO, TBUD
- **YBL:** SM, SFM, SM, TBM, EC
- **G 7:** SM, TBM, CC₁, (TB,) TBUD, CCC, IDB
- **Eg. 1782:** FFF, VS, EC, (CC₂)
- **YBL Pr:** IB, EC
- **Vitt.Eng.:** FAGGA, IB
- **Harl. 5280:** FFF, (Pr, Mug.), EC, (AFO)
- **D.4.2:** (CC₂), CC₁, (CCC₂)

Thurneysen (1912: 28): “Fast alle die Stücke, die in beiden Handschriften enthalten sind, gehören zu den sprachlich ältesten, die wir überhaupt besitzen.”

The ‘canonical’ CDS list

I. ‘Hisperic’

Fil and griän Glinne Aí

II. Northern Group

*Immacaldam Choluim Chille 7 ind Óclaig oc
Carraic Eolairg**

*Immacaldam in Druad Brain 7 inna Banfátho
Febuil ós Loch Fébuil**

☉ *Compert Chon Culainn*

*Compert Chonchobuir***

☉ *Forfes Fer Fálgae*

☉ *Verba Scáthaige*

III. Midland Group

☉ *Audacht Morainn*

☉ *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig*

☉ *Echtrae Chonnlai*

Tochmarc Étaíne

☉ *Togail Bruidne Uí Derga*

IV. Mixed or ‘Mongán’ Group

☉ *Compert Mongáin*

☉ *Scél asa·berar combad hé Mongán Finn mac Cumail*

☉ *Scél do Scélaib Mongáin*

☉ *Tuait Baile Mongáin*

☉ *Immram Brain*

V. Pseudo-history

proto-history (*Lebor Gabála*)

genealogies

doubtful:

☉ *Echtrae Machae*

death of *Cormac Connlongas*

☉ *Acaldam Fínd 7 Oiséni*


☉ *Prull*

Mug Éime

Tulchuba Bríathar

* add. Kuno Meyer, ‘Immacallam in Druad Brain ocus inna Banfátho Febuil’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 9 (1913), 339-340

** add. Vernam Hull, ‘The conception of Conchobar,’ in: *Irish Texts IV*, London: Sheed and Ward 1934, 4–12

pages			
49-52	<i>Audacht Morainn</i>		
53-54.7	<i>Acaldam Fínd 7 Oiséni (?)</i>		
54-56	varia		
57-61	<i>Immram Brain</i>		← Tórna Ó Maoilchonaire
62-63.23	<i>Compert Chon Culainn</i>		← 57.7-57.32
63.24-66.17	<i>Mongán tales</i>		← 62.7-62.30
67.32	varia		
68.-68.19	<i>Verba Scáthaige</i>		
68.20-70.5	<i>Echtrae Machae (?)</i>		
70.6-70.26	<i>Forfess Fer Fálgae</i>		
70.27-72.18	<i>Togail Bruidne Uí Derga</i>		
73-74.6	<i>Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig</i>		
74.7-76	<i>Prull (?)</i>		

Aodh

cf. Kevin Murray, 'The late medieval Irish-language manuscript tradition in North Roscommon: the case of Royal Irish Academy MS 23 N 10', in: *Roscommon*, Dublin 2018, 191-209

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- 1921: Rudolf Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert*. Teil I und II, Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer, 15–18
- **1985: Séamus Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain: Bran's Journey to the Land of Women***, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 421-469
- **1995: John Carey, 'On the Interrelationships of some *Cín Dromma Snechtai* Texts'**, *Ériu* 46, 71–92

The 3 groups of Carey 1995

group	tales	themes	linguistics	date
Midland	AM, BCC, EC, TÉt, TBUD	kingship, Tara	-den-	s. 7 ^{ex} /8 ⁱⁿ
Northern	IBD, ICCO, CCC, CC, VS, FFF	Ulaid, Lough Foyle	(-sa, <i>fil</i>)	s. 7 ^{ex} /8 ⁱⁿ
Mixed / 'Mongán'	CM, SFM, SM, TBM, IB	Mongán	-sa, <i>fil</i>	s. 8

- 3sg masc./3pl. nota augens -sa in place of -som

source	attestations	date
Mixed / 'Mongán' group	CM 5 (<i>as·bert-sa</i>) CM 6 (<i>as·bert-sa</i>) SFM 8 (<i>as·bered-sa</i>) IB 61 (<i>nís·n-aicilled-sa</i>) †IB 62 (<i>do·n-árfas-sa</i>)†	s. 8
Northern group	CCC 5 (<i>he-sse</i>)	s. 8
outside CDS	Wb. 9b7 (<i>a thindnacul-sa</i>) Wb. 9b17 (<i>a mbésa-sa</i>) Mon.Tall. 129.11 (<i>as·rubart-sa</i>) Mon.Tall. 144.12 (<i>as·rubart-sa</i>) Mon.Tall. 145.21 (<i>cona·ralú-sa</i>) Fél. Prol. 304 (<i>a nnúall-sa?</i>) <i>Bruiden Átha Í</i> (<i>fo·chichert-sa</i>) <i>Ríaguil in Choimded</i> §12a (<i>as·bert-sa</i>) <i>Scél Mongáin 7 Ehdach Rígéicis</i> (<i>a lecht-sa</i>) AU 942.4 (<i>coro·gab-sa</i>)	s. 8-10

Aodh the Interferer

- Aodh is an archaiser (cf. *tolluide* for *do-lluid*)
...and a normaliser

CDS	23 N 10	
CM 5 (<i>as·bert-sa</i>)	<i>asbertsom</i>	
CM 6 (<i>as·bert-sa</i>)	<i>aspertsam</i>	
SFM 8 (<i>as·bered-sa</i>)	<i>asberedsium</i>	
IB 61 (<i>nís·n-aicilled-sa</i>)	<i>nisnaiccilledsan</i>	
†IB 62 (<i>do·n-árfas-sa</i>)†	<i>donarfasa</i>	passive plural?
CCC 5 (<i>he-sse</i>)	<i>hesé</i>	Modlr. masc. pronoun?

- Mac Mathúna 1985: use of *fil* is chief evidence for 10th-century date of IB and CDS
- Two separate issues:
 1. ***fil***: independent, non-relative verb for existential predication ‘there is’ in place of standard *at·tá*
 2. ***·fil***: dependent, relative verb for locational predication ‘is’ in prepositional relative constructions in place of standard *·tá*

source	attestations	date
Mixed / 'Mongán' group	IB 4 IB 7 (<i>fil and</i>) IB 25 IB 39 IB 42 IB 44	s. 8
Northern group	EC 14	s. 7 ^{ex} /8 ⁱⁿ
outside CDS	Cambr. Hom. Wb. 11d2? Wb. 18c3? Wb. 26a26? Fél. Prol 164 (<i>fil and</i>) Fél. 3 March ...common in Mlr.	s. 7-9 ⁱⁿ

source	attestations	date
Northern group	ICCO II. 18-20 (6x)	s. 7 ^{ex} /8 ⁱⁿ
‘Hisperic’	FAGGA (3x <i>fil</i> , 3x <i>fil and</i>)	s. 7 ^{ex} /8 ⁱⁿ ?
outside CDS	<i>A maccucáin, sruith in tíag</i> (3x <i>fil</i> , 19x <i>fil and</i>)	s. 8?

fil, *feil* < PC **uelisi* ‘you see’, **ueleti* ‘one sees’ (KP 669-75)

cf. Fr. *voici*, *voilà* < impv. *voi* ‘see!’ + *ci* ‘here’ / *là* ‘there’
= *fil and* ‘there you see’

Locational relative - *fil*

source	attestations	date
Mixed / 'Mongán' group	IB 19 (<i>i·fil</i>) IB 43 (<i>fors·fil</i>) SMF 0 (<i>dia·fil</i>) SM 3 (<i>i·fil</i>)	s. 8
Northern group	IDB 3 (<i>hi·fil</i>)	s. 7 ^{ex} /8 ⁱⁿ
outside CDS	only Mlr. but negative Ml. 56a13 (<i>forna·fil</i>)!	s. 10 s. 8

Locational relative *-fil*

- A trivial extension/regularisation of the domain of a rule

		indep.	depend.
main clause	pos.	<i>at-tá</i>	<i>.fil</i>
	neg.	—	<i>.fil</i>
relative	pos.	<i>fil(e)</i>	<i>.tá</i>
	neg.	—	<i>.fil</i>
prep. relative	pos.	—	<i>.tá</i>
	neg.	—	<i>.fil</i>



		indep.	depend.
main clause	pos.	<i>at-tá</i>	<i>.fil</i>
	neg.	—	<i>.fil</i>
relative	pos.	<i>fil(e)</i>	<i>.tá</i>
	neg.	—	<i>.fil</i>
prep. relative	pos.	—	<i>.fil</i>
	neg.	—	<i>.fil</i>

- 3sg. fem. pronoun *-de^N* in place of standard OIr. *-da^H*

source	attestations	notes
Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig	BCC 4 <i>cote·n-íba</i> BCC 7 <i>conden· ·dáilfea</i> BCC 13 <i>cote·n-íba</i>	N <i>coten ibau</i> , E <i>cote nibau</i> N <i>conden</i> , E <i>conadé</i> N <i>cotenibha</i> , E <i>cotaniphtha</i>
Echtrae Chonnlai	EC 6 <i>nache·n-accatar</i>	N <i>nachen facatar</i> , Eg <i>nachen facatar</i> , E <i>nachen faccatar</i> , Y <i>nach ecatar</i>
Audacht Morainn	AM 2 <i>ate·midiur-sa</i> AM 59 <i>inde·cluine-thar</i> , <i>cote·n-ocaib</i> ; <i>inde·n-aici</i>	N <i>aitimidiursæ</i> N <i>indecluine-thar</i> , <i>cotenocaib</i> , <i>intenaice</i> (exclusively 23 N 10)
Togail Bruidne Uí Derga ?	<i>doda·feith</i> < * <i>dode·feith</i> ?	N <i>dofeith</i>

There's something about e...

Pr.-Celtic	Archaic OIr.	OIr.	CDS Midland Group
* <i>(de-)sijam</i>	-de^N-	> - <i>da^H</i>	-de^N- (AM, BCC, EC)
* <i>em/ed</i>	-e^{N/L}	- <i>a^{N/L}</i>	- <i>a^{N/L}</i> *
* <i>esj̄o/-ās/-ōm</i>	e^{L/H/N}	<i>a^{L/H/N}</i>	<i>a^{L/H/N}</i>
* <i>eχs</i>	e^H	<i>a^H</i>	<i>a^H</i>
* <i>φlets</i>	le^H	<i>la^H</i>	<i>la^H</i>
* <i>kina</i>	cen^L	<i>cen^L</i>	cen^L (EC)
* <i>dī-(sind-)</i>	dind/dend^L	<i>dind/dond^L</i>	dend^L (EC)

* e.g. AM *ta·n-áilgebat*, *ara·ndemat*

There's something about e...

Pr.-Celtic	Archaic OIr.	OIr.	CDS Midland Group
*<i>(de-)sijam</i>	<i>-de^N-</i>	> <i>-da^H</i>	-de^N- (AM, BCC, EC)
<i>*em/ed</i>	<i>-e^{N/L}</i>	<i>-a^{N/L}</i>	<i>-a^{N/L} *</i>
<i>*esjo/-ās/-ōm</i>	<i>e^{L/H/N}</i>	<i>a^{L/H/N}</i>	<i>a^{L/H/N}</i>
<i>*eχs</i>	<i>e^H</i>	<i>a^H</i>	<i>a^H</i>
<i>*φlets</i>	<i>le^H</i>	<i>la^H</i>	<i>la^H</i>
*kina	<i>cen^L</i>	<i>cen^L</i>	cen^L (EC)
*dī-(sind-)	<i>dind/dend^L</i>	<i>dind/dond^L</i>	dend^L (EC)

Orthographic variation in 23 N 10

- Extensive and unpredictable orthographic variation between CDS texts

- **Spelling of [v ð γ]**

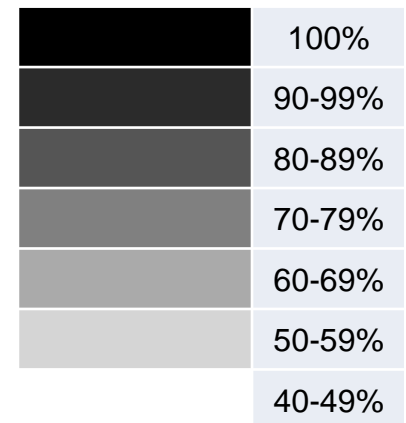
- OIr. practice

- **b**
- **d**
- **g**

vs. modernised practices:

- **b̃, bh, p, p̃, ph, v, ṽ, vh**
- **ð, dh, (t, t̃)**
- **g̃, gh**

Seven shades of grey
to represent the
retention of OIr.
spelling practices



The conservative group

	b	d	g
AFO			
VS			
EC			
BCC			


	100%
	90-99%
	80-89%
	70-79%
	60-69%
	50-59%
	40-49%

The *b*-group

	b	d	g
AFO	■	■	■
IB	■	■	■
CCC	■	■	■
VS	■	■	■
FFF	■	■	■
EC	■	■	■
BCC	■	■	■

■	100%
■	90-99%
■	80-89%
■	70-79%
■	60-69%
■	50-59%
■	40-49%

The g-group

	b	d	g	
AM	100%	100%	100%	 <p>(Tórna) (Tórna)</p> <p>Aodh</p>
AFO	100%	100%	100%	
IB	100%	100%	100%	
CCC	100%	100%	100%	
CM	100%	100%	100%	
SFM	100%	100%	100%	
SM	100%	100%	100%	
TBM	100%	100%	100%	
VS	100%	100%	100%	
FFF	100%	100%	100%	
EC	100%	100%	100%	
TBUD	100%	100%	100%	
BCC	100%	100%	100%	

100%
90-99%
80-89%
70-79%
60-69%
50-59%
40-49%

- **Title:**

The tale formerly known as ‘The Quarrel between Finn and Oisín’ shall henceforth be

Acaldam Fínd 7 Oiséni (AFO) ‘The Conversation of Find and Oiséne’

- **Contents:**

Prose intro: Find searches all Ireland for Oiséne who holds a grudge against his father. Find finds him in the wilderness and prepares to attack him.

16 stanzas: They hold a conversation in alternating quatrains. In the end they recognise each other and make peace.

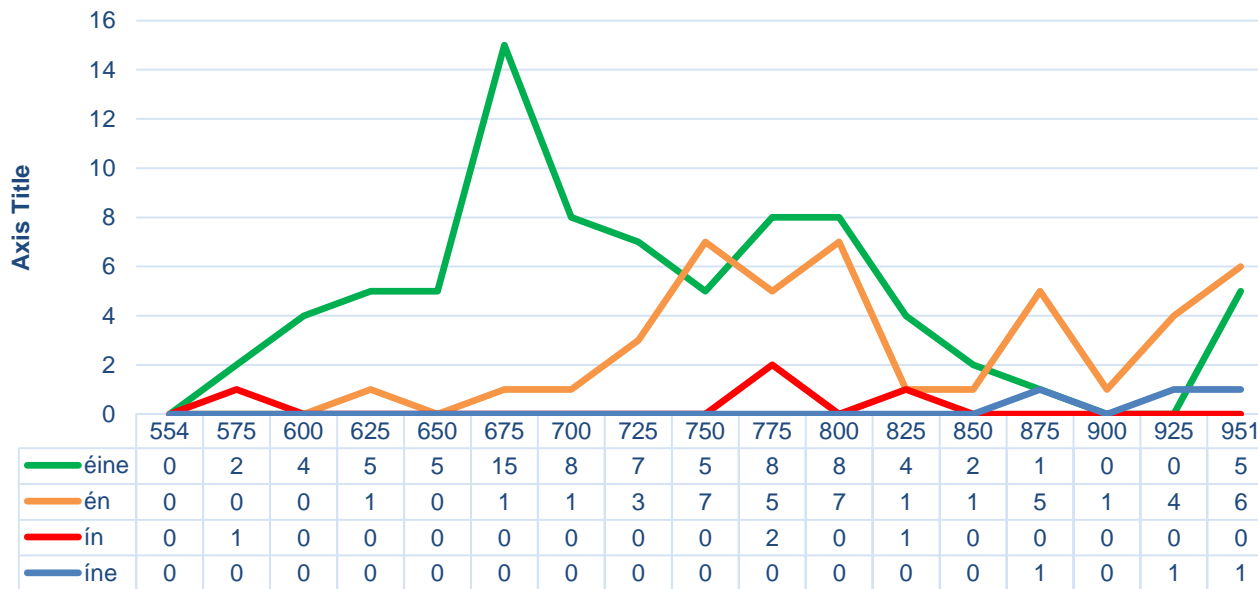
- **Literature:**

- Kuno Meyer, *Fianaigecht*, Dublin: RIA 1910, 22-27
- Vernam Hull, ‘The quarrel between Finn and Oisín’, *Modern Language Notes* 57/6 (1942), 434-436
- Kevin Murray, *The Early Finn Cycle*, Dublin: Four Courts Press 2017, 64-73

- **Discussions:**
 - Thurneysen 1912: “...bleibt hier die Zugehörigkeit zur besprochenen Gruppe sehr zweifelhaft... Auch steht der[...] Text ... in ganz verschiedener Tradition.”
 - Mac Mathúna 1985: “...particularly strong candidate[...]”
 - Murray 2018: —
- **Contents and style:**
 - Fenian matter in *CDS* (SFM)
 - many *CDS* texts entirely or largely metrical, with brief prose intro
 - lack of regard for narrative context common in *CDS* texts
- **Language:**
 - clearly Old Irish
 - Meyer 1910: s. 8^{ex}/9ⁱⁿ
 - Hull 1940: s. 8?
 - Murray 2017: 2nd half 8th c.
 - Ó Corráin 2017: s. 9

- No *Oisín* in AFO, only *Oiséne*
- No native Irish names in *-ín(e)* in Annals of Ulster before end of 9th c. (*Gaíthíne* AU 870.2, *Scothíne* AU 950.2)
- Earlier examples are British *Alpín*, *Elphín* < Lat. *Alpinus*

-én, -éne, -ín, -íne in AU



Problematic rhymes: AFO 6

[Oiséne:]

Ó ro·gonar co fa thrí
i ndorair for sithsligi,
is olc a síanán [siän?] **trochae**
fri agaid **ind ócbothae**.

‘When he [the old warrior] has been wounded three times
in battle in long-reaching slaughter,
his tune of doom is inauspicious
in the face of the young warriors.’

[N: e s̄an ī t^och_a – indoucbathu;

H: asían ant^a|thai – ocbata;

M: t^atha – ocbatha]

trochae (iā, f) ‘doom’:

gen.sg. *trochae* or *trocha*?

ind:

masc. gen.sg. article

ócbad (ā?, f) ‘young warriors’: gen.sg. *ócbbothae* or u-stem *ócbbotha*?

cf. gen.sg. *in cerda* ‘of the craftsman’ (CIH i 268.11 (2×), CIH v 1616.15, MV §120)

Problematic rhymes: AFO 11

[Find:]

Ó ro·mbiät **immallé**
i clochar i ngarbslige,
fritecht foíbur ní·cara,
aiss lomma neich na·cana.

‘When they will be together
in the stone-heap in rough slaughter,
he [the young warrior] does not like opposing the blades,
?? the bare back of anyone you may sing ??’

immallé ‘together’

in:

i ‘in’

masc. gen.sg. article or
preposition + dat.

garbslige (iā, f):

‘rough slaughter’

gen.sg. *garbslige* with masc. article or
preposition *i* + dat.sg. *garbsligi* with confusion of *-i* and *-e*?

There's something about e...

	23 N 10	Olr.	Etymology
AFO 6	e sían	<i>a siän</i> 'his tune'	< *esjo
AFO 9	e mbiäs dé	<i>a mbiäs dé</i> 'what will come from it'	< *ae < *sosjom?
AFO 12	e cobreth	<i>a cobrad</i> 'from the protection'	< *exs

There's something about e...

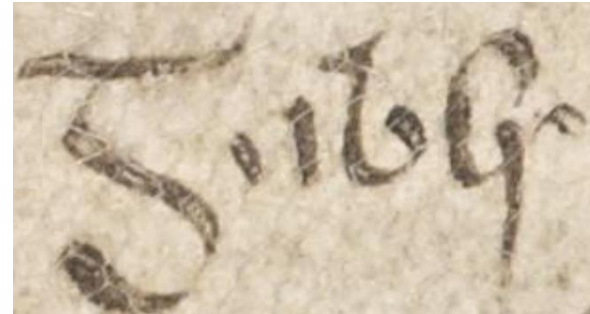
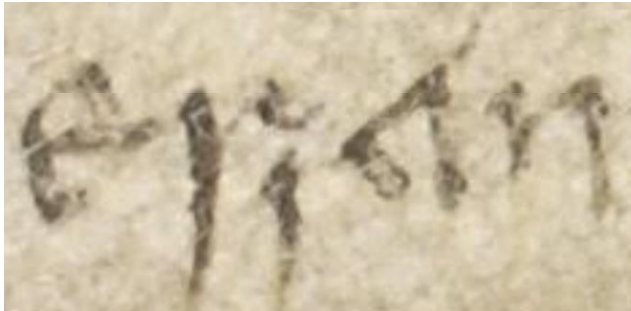
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AFO 6	e sían	<i>a siän</i> 'his tune'	< *esjo
AFO 9	e mbiäs dé	<i>a mbiäs dé</i> 'what will come from it'	< *ae < *sosjom?
AFO 12	e cobreth	<i>a cobrad</i> 'from the protection'	< *exs
AFO 1	in t-é	<i>in t-í</i> 'the one'	< *ī
AFO 8	e fedmuim	<i>i fedmaim</i> 'in exertion'	< *in
AFO 1	dend	<i>dond</i> 'to the'	< *dū sindū

There's something about e...

	23 N 10	Olr.	Etymology
AFO 6	e sían	<i>a siän</i> 'his tune'	< *esjo
AFO 9	e mbiäs dé	<i>a mbiäs dé</i> 'what will come from it'	< *ae < *sosjom?
AFO 12	e cobreth	<i>a cobrad</i> 'from the protection'	< *exs
AFO 1	in t-é	<i>in t-í</i> 'the one'	< *ī
AFO 8	e fedmuim	<i>i fedmaim</i> 'in exertion'	< *in
AFO 1	dend	<i>dond</i> 'to the'	< *dū sindū
AFO 1	mec	<i>maic</i> 'of the son'	
AFO 1	ather	<i>athair</i> 'father'	
AFO 1	gabes	<i>gabais</i> 'took'	
AFO 5	gamen	<i>gamain</i> 'calf'	
AFO 13	dorer	<i>dorair</i> 'battle'	

There's something about e...

- **The unusual spellings with e**
 - have no parallel in 23 N 10 in the vicinity of AFO (pp. 29-76)
 - are therefore unlikely to be due to the whim of scribe Aodh
 - are perhaps derived from an OIr. MS that used a non-classical orthography
 - consequently, AFO originates probably from an MS tradition that is different from 23 N 10's *CDS* tales



- **Summary:**
 - + theme and style of AFO are in line with what is known about *CDS*
 - the rhyme *immallé* : *garbsligi* in AFO 11 is not possible in early Old Irish
 - the MS tradition seems to be different from that of *CDS* texts
- **Conclusion:**
 - AFO is an Old Irish text, but it was **not part of *Cín Dromma Snechtai***



Ad-tlochur indithim dúib!

Biru buidi fri
Romanas Bulatovas, Chantal Kobel,
Elliott Lash 7 Fangzhe Qiu