

Studia Celtica Fennica IV, 2007

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Esipuhe

Tässä numerossa julkaistavat artikkelit edustavat Suomen keltologisen seuran Helsingissä 21.-23.9.2006 järjestämän VIII Societas Celtologica Nordica -symposiumin antia. Symposiumin pääteemojen uskonnon ja mytologian lisäksi esitelmien aiheet edustivat keltologisen tutkimuksen koko kenttää. Kolmen päivän aikana symposiumissa pidettiin neljä keynote-luentoa ja 41 esitelmää. Osallistujia oli yhteensä noin 70 yhdestätoista eri maasta. Onnistuneen tapahtuman järjestäminen ei olisi ollut mahdollista ilman seuran aktiivisten jäsenten ja muiden vapaaehtoisten työpanosta. Lisäksi haluamme kiittää Suomen Akatemiaa ja Suomen Kulttuurirahastoa taloudellisesta avustuksesta, sekä Helsingin yliopiston tutkijakollegiumia, uskontotieteen laitosta ja Renvall-insituuttia tuesta käytännön järjestelyissä. Symposiumin arvokkaat puitteet Tieteiden talolla tarjosi Tieteellisten Seurain Valtuuskunta.

Kiitämme myös Harriet Thomsettia ja Naomi Wardia artikkeleiden englannin kielen tarkastamisesta.

Editorial

This volume of *Studia Celtica Fennica* contains a selection of papers given at the VIII symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica, organised in Helsinki 21st-23rd September 2006 by the Finnish Society of Celtic Studies. In addition to the main themes, religion and mythology, the topics covered in the symposium represented the whole field of Celtic studies. Four keynote lectures and 41 papers were given during the three days, and there were about 70 delegates in total from eleven different countries. The organisation of the successful event would not have been possible without the hard work of several active volunteers. We would also like to thank the Academy of Finland and the Finnish Cultural Foundation for their financial support, and the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, department of Comparative Religion and the Renvall Institute of Helsinki University for all their help. The elegant location for the symposium was provided by the Federation of Finnish Learned Societies.

Finally, we wish to thank Harriet Thomsett and Naomi Ward for checking the English of the articles published in the present volume.

Katja Ritari & Alexandra Bergholm

Folly for Christ's Sake in Early Irish Literature: the Case of Suibhne Geilt Reconsidered¹

Alexandra Bergholm

I. Introduction

‘Madness and Christianity go hand in hand’ (Screech 1985, 25). This claim can be considered quite accurate, at least when one examines the variety of spiritual behaviour demonstrated during the history of the Christian faith. One interesting example of holy madness in Christianity is folly for Christ’s sake, a particular ascetic practice that is most developed in the Eastern Orthodox Church. In the Byzantine tradition the holy person feigning insanity was called *salos*, meaning ‘mentally deranged’. In Russian the term used is *iurodivy*, derived from the word meaning ‘ugly, crippled, an individual with congenital defects’ (Kobets 2006).

Martin Buber describes the fool for God as ‘a human being who, because of his undamaged direct relationship with God, has quitted the rules and regulations of the social order, though he continues to participate in the life of his fellow men’ (cited in Saward 1980, 1-2). In both Byzantine and later Russian tradition, where holy fools are recognised as a hagiographic category in their own right, the figure’s eccentric conduct is marked most notably by the feigning of madness, but also by other characteristics such as wandering about naked, uttering riddles and prophecies, and making oneself a spectacle by publicly displaying disruptive behaviour and violating accepted norms. The controversial appearance, speech and actions are all part of a conscious exploit, which aims at providing spiritual guidance to the people while concealing the true sanctity of the holy fool (Kobets 2006; Ivanov 2006). Thus by abandoning the secluded lifestyle of a monastery, the fools in Christ choose to make their asceticism part of the secular sphere in order to promote the laymen’s understanding of God. This ‘altruistic folly’, as it has sometimes been called (Syrkin 1982, 166, 50n.), is what sets the holy fool apart from real madmen as well as from other forms of unruly or provocative behaviour.

In the history of the phenomenon of saintly madness, the theme of subversive sanctity has often been seen to originate in the actions of the Jewish prophets and

1 The writing of this article has been funded by the Academy of Finland project number 1211006.

the Syrian and Egyptian desert-dwellers of the early centuries A.D. (Kobets 2006; Saward 1980, 1). In the Christian tradition, the most direct biblical examples are found in the writings of apostle Paul and the Gospels, where the Passion of Christ sets the paradigm for the imitation of Christ's suffering of humiliation, mockery and physical pain.² Although a more detailed treatment of the topic is beyond the scope of the present paper, it is necessary to mention in passing that the concept of foolish wisdom or the figure of a saintly fool is by no means restricted to Christian religious life, but forms a part of other traditions as well (see for example Feuerstein 1992). The *Encyclopaedia of Religion* (Eliade 1987) does not include an entry for the holy fools as such, but refers the reader to articles under the headings of *clowns* and *humor and satire*. This treatment of the topic in the *Encyclopaedia* is based on the similar nature of clowns and fools as trickster-like figures, whose ambiguity and paradoxical character encompasses a notion of liminality and mediation between established cultural categories, such as madness and wisdom, normal and abnormal, or sacred and profane.³

While holy foolishness never became established in Western spirituality in the form it took in the East, it still constituted part of Western Christianity. However, 'these two religious traditions perceived, endorsed and validated this phenomenon in very different ways' (Kobets 2000a). The aim of the present article is to examine the idea of folly for Christ's sake in the context of early Irish literature by looking at one particular text, which in the past has attracted interest as the primary example of foolishness in Christ as an identifiable feature of early Irish Christianity. The 12th century Middle Irish tale *Buile Shuibhne* or 'The Frenzy of Suibhne'⁴ has prompted several scholars to argue that the wild madness, or *geltacht*, of its main protagonist Suibhne Geilt can be treated as historical evidence for the practice of a specific form of asceticism in 7th century Ireland. Thus John Saward, for instance, in his study *Perfect Fools* takes the figure of Suibhne as an example of 'a fool with a tendency towards asceticism' whose 'fervent resistance to conformity to the wisdom of the world' may be compared with that of the Eastern holy fools (1980, 34-42). Kobets in turn refers to the Irish wild men or *gelta* collectively as a historical monastic order that had a reputation as 'wild, mad monks' (2000a),⁵

2 The articles by Špidlík and Vandenbroucke in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité 5* (1964), s.v. *Fous pour le Christ* include a list of biblical references and a discussion of the characteristics of folly for Christ. For comprehensive treatments of the phenomenon in Catholic and Eastern Orthodox spirituality see also Saward 1980 and Kobets 2000a.

3 For trickster figures in the Irish context in particular see the study by Alan Harrison (1989).

4 I have been using O'Keefe's edition and English translation of *Buile Shuibhne*, first published in 1913 and reprinted in 1996. In the following the numbers in brackets refer to the passages in O'Keefe's edition.

5 In her endnotes Kobets refers to Kathleen Hughes' work *The Church in Early Irish Society* (1966) as her source (32n.).

and Sergey Ivanov, although dismissing the link to folly for Christ, still presents *geltacht* as 'a special type of ancient Irish sainthood' (2006, 382).⁶

In this paper I wish to reassess these assumptions by considering certain dominant elements of Suibhne's story, and comparing some of the characteristics of the *geilt* and what could perhaps be seen as the typological figure of the holy fool. Instead of attempting a detailed analysis of the material concerning the saintly fools in Eastern Orthodoxy, I will be concentrating on the aspects that have initially led scholars to detect similarities between *Buile Shuibhne* and the paradigm of folly for Christ's sake, in order to re-evaluate whether the identification of Suibhne as a holy fool in this sense is indeed a valid one.⁷

2. Suibhne – the madman

In the text *Buile Shuibhne*, king Suibhne is cursed by Saint Rónán after his repeated unprovoked attacks against the saint. Following Rónán's curse, in which he beseeches God that the arrogant king would 'ever be naked, wandering and flying throughout the world' (§ 5), Suibhne loses his wits during the historical battle of Mag Rath in 637 and flees from the battlefield. He becomes a wild, animal-like madman, who wanders restlessly in the woods, lives in trees and shies away from people. As a result of his madness, Suibhne gains supernatural capacities, such as the ability to travel great distances by levitating or leaping, and composes eloquent poetry praising the surrounding nature as well as describing his hardships. In his poems the madman repeatedly addresses God and Christ directly in a way that conveys devotion and repentance, but also anguish, bitterness and even anger. Eventually, another saint called Moling befriends Suibhne and writes down his story. The madman's life finally comes to an end when he is killed by saint Moling's swineherd, who wrongly accuses him of adultery with his wife. Before dying, Suibhne receives communion from Moling. He is buried in holy ground and his blessed soul goes to heaven.

While this short summary of the plot does not do justice to the subtleties of the text, it nevertheless helps to illustrate some of the apparent similarities between the figure of the *geilt* and that of the holy fool. It should be noted that on two different occasions at the end of the story Suibhne, whose death is greatly mourned

6 Referring to a study by Tatyana Mikhailova, Ivanov states that 'the so called *geiltah* [sic] has nothing in common with holy foolery, since it was merely an extreme form of penitence' (footnote 32).

7 I have to acknowledge that unfortunately I have been unable to familiarise myself with the conclusions reached by Professor Mikhailova in her comparative study of the Russian and Irish materials, as this article has only been published in Russian. For full details of Mikhailova's article see Ivanov 2006.

by Moling and his clerics, is eulogised by them as *náóimhgheilt*, or ‘the saintly madman’ (§ 80, 85). This seems to indicate that the contemporary audience of the tale attached some notion of sanctity to Suibhne’s madness and wild existence. To discuss how this saintliness bears resemblance to folly for Christ’s sake, I will first consider some individual elements before proceeding to the possible ideological content of the tale.

3. Characteristics of holy folly

John Saward has identified several central aspects that constitute the tradition of holy folly in Eastern and Western Christianity alike. In addition to the characteristics already outlined in the very beginning of the present article, Saward notes that the holy fool’s feigned madness is marked by an eschatological quest, which makes him a perpetual wanderer and an outsider. The deliberately restless and even aggressive behaviour of the fool aims to draw attention to the hypocrisy of false piety, but at the same time it represents an unstable element in society that also endows him with special power and status (Saward 1980).

It is evident that the theme of madness is the most dominant and curious feature linking Suibhne Geilt to holy foolishness. But what exactly is the nature of Suibhne’s folly? *Buile Shuibhne* is clear in stating that Suibhne’s loss of sanity is due to Rónán’s curse, which itself was brought about by Suibhne’s repeated aggression against the saint and the Church. Not only does he cast the saint’s psalter into a lake, but he also kills one of Rónán’s followers, attempts to kill the saint himself and violates his truce in the battle of Mag Rath (§ 4-9). When the battle begins, Suibhne is suddenly alarmed by the cries of the two hosts, and the incident is depicted as follows:

—he looked up, whereupon turbulence, and darkness, and fury, and giddiness, and frenzy, and flight, unsteadiness, restlessness, and unquiet filled him, likewise disgust with every place in which he used to be and desire for every place which he had not reached. His fingers were palsied, his feet trembled, his heart beat quick, his senses were overcome, his sight was distorted, his weapons fell naked from his hands, so that through Ronan’s curse he went, like any bird of the air, in madness and imbecility. (§ 11).

This vivid description gives little reason to presume that Suibhne’s loss of sanity is feigned, or that his escape from the battle is voluntary. In my opinion, the text as we have it does not support the claim that Suibhne’s transition from a king to a wild man happens of his own accord. However, throughout the tale we are reminded that Suibhne brought the fate of madness upon himself by his own actions and that his life is determined by God’s will. When in the course of the tale Suibhne goes through two passing periods of sanity, his relapse into madness on both occasions is

attributed to the actions of Christ and St. Rónán respectively, and taken by Suibhne himself as a deserved punishment 'because of the many to whom I myself have done harm' (§ 66). This penitential aspect of course does not compromise the fact that the characteristics of Suibhne's mad state such as conspicuous appearance, wandering in the wilderness, ascetic lifestyle and the uttering of spiritually inspired poetry correspond to those of the holy fool. But it does raise the question to what extent we may assign the same notion of simulation and theatrical play to the madness of the *geilt* as we do to folly for Christ's sake.

Another important aspect that appears to be missing in *Buile Shuibhne* is the social dimension of the holy fool's actions. Although valuable observations have been made concerning the importance of Suibhne's poetry and supernatural knowledge to society (Nagy 1996), it is problematic to consider his madness in terms of conscious spiritual guidance. Scholars have often stressed that the ascetic practice of Eastern Orthodox fools for Christ is marked by unconventional profanity and even urbanism (Kobets 2006). This means that their vocation to edify laymen requires promoting their spiritual message in the secular sphere instead of withdrawing from the world:

"The holy fool" is always defined by his relationship to a particular community, leaving the ascetic life of the deserts and wilderness to play the fool in the wider community of the cities of the Eastern Empire, "aiming at the mortification of one's social being", by living in society, yet not of society itself, as the ascetics in the desert were in the world, yet not of it. (Conrad 2006)⁸

Suibhne, on the other hand, is constantly driven to flight by a fear of people. Although he is repeatedly in contact with other men, he also states that the curse of Rónán has condemned him to a state of terror, where he 'would equally go into madness at seeing the united hosts of the universe threatening [him] as at the flight of a single wren' (§ 70). For him, then, leading a restless and secluded lifestyle appears to be the only option and a means of survival. Moreover, it is a commonplace in Eastern fools' Lives that their exemplary sanctity is only acknowledged after their death, and this applies to Suibhne as well. But despite the deeply spiritual nature of his wild lifestyle, the text does not imply that during

8 In the early Eastern monastic tradition, those leading a solitary ascetic life in the desert were called βουσκοί, meaning 'grazers'. Evagrius Scholasticus, writing in the 6th century, described the lifestyle of a βουσκός in the following manner: 'Taking themselves to the burning desert...men and women both, covering only those parts which must be covered, leave the rest of their bodies exposed to the discomforts of the weather and burning rays, despising heat and cold alike. They utterly reject human food and graze on the earth...providing themselves with just enough to live on so that sometimes they begin to look like wild beasts. Their appearance changes and their mind loses its facility for conversing with humankind. They flee at the sight of humans and, when they are pursued, they escape either by their fleetness of foot or the inaccessibility of the terrain' (cited in Wortley 2001, 43-44). The possible parallels between βουσκός and the *geilt* have been pointed out in Chadwick 1960, 109-111 and Saward 1980, 34. On the phenomenon see also Caner 2002, 50-53.

his lifetime Suibhne's ascetic endeavours would be deemed beneficial for the community by either himself or by others.

Svitlana Kobets has claimed that in studies concerning folly for Christ's sake scholars often disregard the plurality of the phenomenon and assume that the paradigm would be more or less uniform in different cultural contexts (2000b). I would argue that in the case of Suibhne Geilt for instance it would perhaps be more useful not to search for an early Irish example of a fully developed hagiographical category, but rather to approach the topic on a more general level by considering the ideological background of Christian holy foolishness and its possible influence on the description of Suibhne's madness.

4. Biblical precedence

The earliest biblical examples of holy foolish behaviour come from the deeds of the Old Testament prophets, but it was in the teaching of apostle Paul that the ideal of folly and the term 'fool for Christ's sake' were first defined. In his Letters to the Corinthians Paul uses foolishness and other negative abstract images to challenge the elitist superiority of the Corinthian church. His style of writing has been described as 'bitterly ironical' (Spencer 1981, 351), and it has been convincingly argued by Spencer that Paul was employing a variety of rhetorical devices to communicate his true message indirectly. In portraying Christians as foolish, weak and dishonoured, Paul's intention was to create an opposition between worldly wisdom and the true wisdom of God. To attain God's higher wisdom one must humble oneself and have 'the mind of Christ' (1 Cor. 2:16), as he states in 1 Cor. 3:18: 'If any of you thinks he is wise by the standards of this age, he should become a fool so that he may become wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness in God's sight.' By enduring persecution, slander and mockery those who follow the example of Christ reveal the real madness of worldly wisdom. This teaching is crystallised in 2 Cor. 12:8-10:

Three times I pleaded with the Lord to take it away from me. But he said to me, "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness." Therefore I will boast all the more gladly about my weaknesses, so that Christ's power may rest on me. That is why, for Christ's sake, I delight in weaknesses, in insults, in hardships, in persecutions, in difficulties. For when I am weak, then I am strong.

If Suibhne Geilt's madness is considered in terms of a voluntary ascetic practice that has been undertaken to attain perfection, this biblical framework makes it perfectly plausible to approach his insanity without the need to confine him to the typological model of the holy fool. It could then be argued that Suibhne's life in the wilderness only appears mad in the eyes of the outsiders who fail to understand his

true spirituality. This interpretation does not need to deny the penitential element in Suibhne's story either. As a quote from Emperor Leo VI illustrates, the idea of 'penitential holy foolishness' was already recognised in 10th century Byzantium: 'If a man's cleverness instil him in pride and pretension, let him clothe himself in foolishness for Christ's sake. He who has grown arrogant because of his feats, by himself or by the praise of others, let him heal by means of a light and feigned insanity' (cited in Ivanov 2006, 141-142).

This viewpoint, of course, brings us back again to the nature of Suibhne's madness, and more importantly, to the issue of whether the initial decision of becoming a madman is made by Suibhne himself. As stated before, I am personally more inclined to see Suibhne's madness in terms of divine punishment, which is inflicted on him as a consequence of his wrongdoings. However, whether the tribulations are self-induced or brought about by God, it is worth noting that his perceived insanity is nevertheless ultimately a blessing that leads to redemption and salvation. Thus from a spiritual perspective, the different meanings attributed to Suibhne's loss of sanity need not be mutually exclusive.

5. Conclusion

Interpreting Suibhne's madness in terms of the biblical ideal of folly for Christ's sake provides an interesting framework which is further supported by the similar features found in *Buile Shuibhne* and Russian and Byzantine lives of holy fools. However, in the case of the latter material in particular, it may be asked whether a preoccupation with these parallels has obscured the wider picture of the cultural context and function of the holy foolish persons within their social surroundings.

As far as the figure of the *geilt* is concerned, I believe that the example of Suibhne on its own does not justify generalisations where *geltacht* is seen as a specific form of actual spiritual practice. Apart from this intriguing text other early Irish sources do not attribute any notion of spirituality to the state of *geltacht*, which according to the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* is generally simply understood to convey meanings of terror, panic and insanity (DIL s.v. *geltacht*). Moreover, it should also be remembered that drawing conclusions about the historical reality of the 7th century from much later narrative sources raises in itself a methodological problem that deserves to be more carefully considered.

The purpose of this article has been to re-examine some of the evidence that has led scholars to argue that Suibhne Geilt could be taken as a representative of the holy foolish paradigm in early Christian Ireland. As an elaborate literary work *Buile Shuibhne* portrays its main character in a way that offers possibilities for a wide range of interpretations. From a Christian point of view, the elements of asceticism, sin, penitence and redemption are undeniably present in Suibhne's mad

career; but in order to appreciate the complexity of the tale I would suggest that ‘the saintly madman’ of *Buile Shuibhne* is most productively approached without attempts to reduce his sanctity to a single paradigm.

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Conn Cétchathach and the Image of Ideal Kingship in Early Medieval Ireland

Grigory Bondarenko

I. The name of Conn and his epithets

The personal name *Conduis*, *Connos* ‘head’ is attested in Gaulish. It is characteristic of this anthroponym that the form *Connos* occurs on the coins of the Lemovices as the sovereign’s name, drawing the kingly tradition of the name back to the continental Celts. This form was usually connected with OI *conn*, *cond* ‘protuberance, boss, chief, head’ and ‘sense, reason’, once believed to be two separate words by T. O’Rahilly. The external connections are very uncertain: Skr. *kandah* ‘tuber, bulb’, Greek *kóndulos* ‘bulge, fist’, Lith. *kanduolys* ‘stone (of fruit)’ (O’Rahilly 1946, 514–515). It is plausible that the primary meaning was ‘head’ and that the meaning of ‘sense, reason’ was secondary (Delamarre 2001, 103). When the first meaning of the word is mentioned we have to take into consideration the widespread importance of ‘head’ and the symbolism of ‘head’ in Celtic regions. E. Bachellery and P.-Y. Lambert were less enthusiastic about the etymology of *conn*, which seems to be quite uncertain to them, while they believed that there was without any doubt the only one word *conn/cond* derived from **kondno-* (1987, 196).

Conn’s epithet – Cétchathach – presumably recalls the hundred battles fought by Conn in every fifth of Ireland, some of which are mentioned in *Baile in Scáil*. This epithet seems to reflect the same image as the name of an ideal Gaulish king Ambigatus (‘fighter around himself’), known from Livy’s account, that also represents a type of ‘the first king’ (*Ab Urbe Condita*, V.34.2). It is significant that according to different sources not all Conn’s conflicts are victorious for him. It seems plausible to assess different images of Conn Cétchathach from such texts as ‘The saga of Fergus Mac Léti’ (*Echtra Fergusa maic Léti*), ‘Fingen’s Vigil’ (*Airne Fingein*), ‘The battle of Mag Léna’ (*Cath Maige Léna*) and *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, as images of different mythological and quasihistorical characters later labelled with a popular name.¹ Even his best-known epithet probably had an earlier original form – *cēthorach* ‘of the hundred treaties?’ (Binchy 1952, 46), ‘der Erstvertragliche?’ (Thurneysen 1930, 102f.) – supplied by the eighth-century tale of Fergus mac Léti,

1 The conflicts he is involved in these different texts are respectively in ‘The saga of Fergus Mac Léti’ with his brother Éochu Bélbuide (they are only two rival kings of the Féni in this 8th century text); in *CML* with the Southern king Mug Nuadat; and in *LG* with the Leinster king Éochu mac Erc.

and even earlier by a seventh-century poem (Binchy 1952, 46) and a fragment from the laws (AL IV 20.3). The adjective *corach* has a variety of meanings deriving from *cor* ‘putting, throwing, letting go’, and it is used in a vague sense in alliteration sometimes with prefixes (DIL, 1 *corach*). The better-known epithet of Conn deserves better attention too: the first part *cét-*, rather than meaning ‘hundred’, could well have been an ordinary numeral prefixed to the adjective with a meaning ‘first, original, primal’², while *cathach* is an adjective with a meaning ‘vehement, warlike’ (DIL, 1 *cathach*). Thus it is quite possible that one of the original forms of the epithet was ‘first-warlike’, ‘first-fighter’ and only later has it acquired a meaning ‘of a hundred battles’. A character with a similar epithet and functions is found among the heroes of *Cóir Anmann*, namely *Cass Cétchuimnech .i. Cass Cétcoimgneech .i. is é cétna rothinnscain coimnedha 7 filidhecht a Temhraigh artús* (‘Cass Cétchuimnech, that is, Cass Cétcoimgneech : it is he that first began histories and poetry in Tara’) (Stokes and Windisch 1897, 292). The semantics of ‘primacy’ typical of Conn support this hypothesis, and an image of Conn as a ‘first king’, which we shall discuss further on, is similarly likely to be an image of ‘the first warrior’.

2. The birth of Conn Cétchathach in *Airne Fingein*: his genealogy and progeny

Dealing with the concept of an ideal king as it is shown in the tales from Conn’s cycle I would first like to focus on the Old Irish tale *Airne Fingein*, which tells of the wonders manifested in Ireland on the night of Conn’s birth (the bursting out of the Boyne, the appearance of the great oak Eó Mugna, the manifestation of the five roads of Ireland). In all mythologies great attention is given to the circumstances of gods’ and heroes’ births. As the Rees brothers have stressed, the birth of a famous historical character is not different from the births of other people. Gods and heroes on the other hand (being part of the cosmological image of the world) are remembered for the supernatural situations and phenomena specific to their births, marriages and deaths (Rees & Rees 1973, 213). Conn’s example is a characteristic one. The first wonder of this night mentioned by Rothníam, the woman from the *síd*, to her interlocutor, the prince Fingein, is the birth of Conn:

‘Is búaid mór ém,’ or in ben : ‘.i. mac genes innocht a Temraig do Feidlimid mac Tuathail Techtmuir, do rí[g] Erenn ; gébaid Érin in mac sin amal óenrainn 7 bentus Érin asa cóicedaib 7

2 DIL, 1 *cét-*. It corresponds to a Gaulish theme *cintu-* (from *cintus* ‘first’) frequently attested in personal names such as *Cintu-gnatos*, *Cintu-genus* (Delamarre 2001, 98).

geinfít téora flaithi cóicat úad dia c[h]laind for Érínn 7 bit rí g uili cosin n-Óraínech n-Uisnig, cen co pat comshaeglaig uili.’ (Vendryes 1953, 1–2).³

‘There is a great gift indeed,’ said the woman: ‘i.e. a son who is born to-night in Tara to Feidlimid, son of Tuathal Techtmar, king of Ireland. That son will obtain Ireland in one lot, and takes it from its fifths, and will give birth to fifty three lords of Ireland among his descendants, and all of them will be kings until Óraínech of Uisnech, though they will not have the same duration of life.’

The word which designates the manifestation of the wonders (and Conn’s birth as the initial wonder necessary for the other to be manifest) is *búaid*, which has a range of meanings: ‘victory, excellence, wonder, gift’. O.I. *búaid*, earlier *boid* Wb. 24 a 16 (pr. m.) from **boudi-*, is cognate with Welsh *budd* ‘profit, advantage’ and Old Breton *bud* ‘id.’. The earliest Celtic form is attested in Gaulish: *boudi-* ‘victory, advantage, profit’, as in the inscription from Lezoux, line 5: *pape boudi macarni* ‘for each nourishing advantage’ (Fleuriot 1980, 143; Delamarre 2001, 71).⁴ This gift (*búaid*) seems to act as a positive correspondence of *geis* (Vendryes & Bachellety, Lambert 1981, 107). Any hero or king in early Irish tradition was given a number of taboos (*gessi*) at his birth. Usually these were given by druids with a power over the supernatural sphere or supernatural beings. The same applies to *búada*, which in our case are virtually given by Rothniam, a woman from the *síd*, on the night of Conn’s birth. All these wonders are strongly connected with Conn and form a collection of his supernatural virtues; nevertheless the *búada* have a cosmic character and are not intrinsic to the hero himself.

What is of great importance here is Conn’s descent. His right to obtain the kingship of Tara is proven by his direct descent from the famous kings, Feidlimid Rechtmar (Rechtaid) and Tuathal Techtmar. Right from the beginning of *AF*, where Conn’s ancestors are mentioned by Rothniam, it appears quite obvious both to failed would-be king Fingen and to the reader that Conn has more rights to become a king of Tara (and of all Ireland as it is shown in the text: *gébaid Érínn... amal*

3 The variant readings are given from the four mss. containing the tale: Book of Fermoy (A), Liber Flavus Fergusiorum (B), D IV 2 (D), and Book of Lismore (L). The established text is given by the author on the basis of these variants.

1. *Is*, as L. *búaid*, buaidh D; buáid B. *mór*, mor DA; mhór L. *ém*, om. D; eimh L. *or*, ar L. *ben*, bean B. *.i.*, om. LAB. 3. *genes*, gheinis D, gheines L. *innocht*, inocht D; indocht A. *a Temraig*, om. LAB. *Feidlimid*, feidlimidh D; Feilim^d L; Feidlimmid A; Fedhl- B. *mac Tuathail Techtmuir, do rí[g] Érenn*, om. LAB. 2. *gébaid*, 7 ateatha D; gebuidh L. *Érínn*, Eirinn D; Éirinn L; hÉrind AB. *in mac sin*, om. LAB. *amal óenrainn*, i n-oenr[a]ind D; amal aonroinn L; amal oenraind A; amal oenraínd B. 7 *bentus ... coicedaib*, om. D. *bentus*, bentais A; beantais B. *Érínn*, Eirinn L; hÉrind AB. *asa*, assa A. 3. *coicedaib*, coicedaid AB; coiceduibh L. *geinfít*, genfít AB; geinfidh L. *téora*, trí D. *flaithi*, flaithe L. *cóicat úad*, .1. uad L; huad A; buad B; *coecat* do righoib uadha D. *dia chlaind . . . Uisnig*, do neoch ghebus Erinn gusan Óraíneach Uisnigh 7 bat rí g uili iat D. *dia chlaind*, om. L; dia claind AB. *for Érínn*, for Eirinn L; for hÉrind A; for Erind B. *bit*, bidhat L. *ríg*, rí g L. *uili*, uile A; om. B. *cosin*, cusin L. 4. *Óraínech*, Oirínach L; Oraínech AB. *Uisnig*, Uisnigh L. *cen co pat*, gin co budh D. *comshaeglaig*, comshaeghlach D; comhshaeglaig L. *uili*, oile B; om. DL.

4 Cf. the famous queen of the Britons *Boudicca* ‘Victorious’.

óenrains ‘he will obtain Ireland... in one lot’). The place of Conn’s birth gives him a certain right of succession as well: only one manuscript, D IV 2, states that he was born *a Temraig*, implying that his father was in possession of Tara at that time.

The tradition of the Uí Néill made Conn’s father, Feidlimid Rechtmar (Rechtaid, ‘Lawgiver’), the king of Tara and of Ireland. According to *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* he extorted the *bóruma* (‘cattle-tribute’ taken from the Leinstermen) against Cú Corb, the king of Leinster. Later Conn himself is depicted as deeply involved in the *bóruma* conflict with the Leinstermen. At first he is successful, but later appears driven from Tara by Eochaid mac Erc, king of Leinster, who resided in Tara for seven years (Macalister 1956, 330). On the other hand, as O’Rahilly has correctly noted, Feidlimid (Fedelmid) could have been taken from the earlier Leinster genealogical tradition (1946, 281n), which is even more relevant if we reconsider Conn’s relations with the Leinstermen in *LG*. In the early Irish genealogical poetry dating back to the seventh century, which deals mostly with the legendary kings of Leinster, Fedelmid is variously called either Rechtaid or Fortrēn and is depicted as a king of Leinster (Meyer 1913, 17 § 6; 28 § 16; 40 § 18). Moreover, Conn himself and another quasihistorical king of Tara, Cathaír Mór, are mentioned in these ‘Leinster poems’ as kings of Leinster descent, ‘worthy subject-matter of poets’ (*fri filedu fáth*) (Corthals 1990, 119). Thus perhaps the direct ancestry ascribed to Conn is taken from the enemy’s side and in this case we see two genealogical traditions merged.

Conn’s alleged grandfather Tuathal Techtmar seems to represent a different side in Irish synthetic history. In *LG* he is an invader from abroad, who had crossed the sea and conquered a kingdom in Ireland (Macalister 1956, 308). It is Tuathal who first extorted *bóruma* from the Leinstermen according to Irish synthetic tradition and thus began a long lasting conflict between the future Uí Néill and Leinster (Stokes 1892, 40–42). Conn Cétchathach, his descent and his reign are associated in the pseudohistorical tradition with Uí Néill/Leinster relations and might reflect an early stage of these relations.

As Vendryes has remarked, the phrase *bentus Éirinn asa cóicedaib* ‘he takes Ireland from its fifths’ is obviously an addition to the original text because *bentus* is a 3 sg. present of *benaid* followed by a suffixed pronoun whereas the other predicates *gébaid* and *geinfit* are in the future (1953, 29). This fragment is absent in manuscript D IV 2, which often gives the earlier reading. It is significant that political, if not cosmological, qualities of the unifier of Ireland are attributed to Conn. The image of Conn corresponds to that elastic but not illusory notion of ‘the first king’. It does not mean that the kings of this type are really ‘historically’ or ‘pseudohistorically’ first, but in different arrangements of the same ‘pseudohistorical’ material they could have been considered the first, and according to their status they initiate certain important features of social life (Dumézil 1971, 258–259).

AF supplies a passage on the fifty-three kings of Ireland, the descendants of Conn Cétchathach. The future king is only just born in Tara but the woman from the *síd* already knows the destiny of his progeny. Here we encounter the same tradition as in the earlier texts of genealogical character such as *Baile Chuinn* and *Baile in Scáil*. For example the curious note that the kings who descended from Conn would not have the same duration of life (*cen co pat comshaeglaig uili*) echoes the manner of the kings' enumeration in the late seventh-century *Baile Chuinn*, where Muiredach Tírech is given thirty years, Éilimm is given two hundred years, and an anonymous king is given sixty years (Murphy 1952, 146–147). The fifty-three kings in *AF* correspond to fifty-three days' respite requested by the druid from Conn in *Baile in Scáil* (Meyer 1901, 458). This probably shows that the author of *AF* had knowledge of contemporary variants of *Baile Chuinn* and *Baile in Scáil*.

There is no such character as Óraínech ('Face of gold') of Uisnech among the descendants of Conn in *Baile Chuinn* or in the later, probably ninth century, *Baile in Scáil*. Óraínech is found as the epithet of a king in the genealogy from Rawlinson B 502, referring to Ailill Aullom's son Eochaid Óraínech (147b 41). In one of the closing paragraphs of *Baile in Scáil* we encounter a king called *ossnadach [n]Uisnig .i. Cerball* 'the sighing one of Uisnech, i.e. Cerball' among the prophesied kings, possibly corresponding to our Óraínech of Uisnech (Murray 2004, 48; Meyer 1918, 238). Murray has proposed that this ruler be identified with Cerball, son of Flann Sinna (*fl.* late ninth / early tenth century) (2004, 8). This chronology corresponds to the accepted dating of *AF* as well as of *Baile in Scáil*. On the other hand the association of Conn's descendants with Uisnech seems to reflect a certain affiliation of Conn with this significant locus. It is also significant that Conn's reign and the reign of his descendants, according to *Baile in Scáil*, is approved by the sanction of the god Lug. The drink of sovereignty is given to the kings only after Lug's command (Meyer 1901, 460).

The birth of Conn, this legendary king, granted the right time and circumstances for the manifestation of wonders. O'Rahilly has argued that Conn, being an eponymous ancestor of the Connachta, might have been a deity-ancestor for this dynasty and people. Relying upon the meaning, discussed above, of the word *conn* (*cond*) in OI, the same scholar also argued that *Conn* might have been a god of wisdom (1946, 282).⁵ It is significant that Conn Cétchathach is once called *Cond Crínna* 'Conn the Wise' (LL 364.5; Best and Lawlor 1931, 122), where *crínna* is

5 In another variant of Irish synthetic history Conn, Eógan, and Araide are called *trí sóir Érenn* 'the three free-born [ancestors] of Ireland' (Thurneysen 1917, 64). An earlier variant is found in the poem *Sóerchlanda Érenn uile*, where the same three protagonists are mentioned as the ancestors of the free (noble) Irish families: *Cond Éogan Araide án. It é ciniud na trí mál. Araide i n-Emain cen ail. Cond Cétchathach i Temair* (Thurneysen 1917, 57). The same expression is found in *Lebor Gabála: is iat trí sáeir hÉrenn, Cond, Araide, Eogan*, LL 22 b 50 (Macalister 1956, 290). Thus Conn is an eponym of Connacht, Araide of Ulster, and Eógan Mór of Munster.

a derivative of *crín* ‘old, withered’. O’Rahilly perceives this form as an equivalent to Gaulish *Senocondus* ‘Vieille-Tête’ (Delamarre 2001, 103), and he compared the name Conn – from O.I. *conn* with a range of meanings ‘head, chief; sense, reason’ – with Welsh *Pwyll penn Annwryn* (O’Rahilly 1946, 281–282). Thus the manifestation of hidden wonders, their coming into the cosmos from pre-existence, follows the coming into being of a godly king or a principle of wisdom and order (is it not the very Conn’s head/Conn-head which knows all the wonders of *AF* and manifests this knowledge in the world?). The king’s birth was often surrounded with cosmogonic associations in rituals or mythologies of many cultures (Eliade 1963, 54). The king’s birth in *AF* can also be interpreted as his symbolic ‘inauguration’ followed by the manifestation of the *búada*.

As late as in the seventeenth century Irish poets connected the wonders of Conn’s night of birth with this progenitor of the royal dynasty of Uí Néill, and with the northern half of Ireland as his domain. In the famous ‘contention of poets’ (*Iomarbhagh na bhFileadh*), which took place at the beginning of the seventeenth century and was prompted by the problem of northern (Uí Néill) vs southern (Éóganachta) priority in Ireland, the same wonders of Conn were put forward by one side to prove the benefits of the northern half. Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh, one of the northern poets, clearly called all the *búada* mentioned in *Airne Fingein* ‘the gifts given to him by the King of Heaven’ (*a thiodhaicthe ón Rígh do nính*) (McKenna 1918, 64).

3. Two poems on Conn Cétchathach in *AF* and other relevant sources

The image of Conn Cétchathach as an ideal king, whose reign is described almost as a Golden Age, is found only in *AF*. There are two fragments in the tale which are devoted entirely to this image. First is the poem *Gáir gene Cuinn*, the prophecy sung by the druid (or *fili*) Cesarn at the birth of Conn, the prophecy which elaborates on the future reign of Conn. The opening lines, with a clear sexual implication, describe some sort of sacred marriage between Conn and the land of Ireland: ‘*Conn for Érinn! Ériu fo Chunn...*’ (‘Conn over Ireland! Ireland under Conn...’) (Vendryes 1953, 19).⁶ It is important that the birth of Conn and the prophecy fall on the night of *Feis Temro* with all its inaugural significance. According to T. F. O’Rahilly’s idealised picture of the kingship of Tara ‘each king of Tara (or Ireland) on attaining the kingship was espoused to the goddess Ériu’ (1946a, 14). Later D. A. Binchy stressed that *Feis Temro* originally meant a symbolic mating of the king with the goddess (where *feis*, v.n. of *foaid*) (1958, 134). At the same time we

6 This formula is found also in the metrical version of *Echtra mac Echdach Mugmedóin: Níall mac Echdach, fo mbái Banba barrbrethach* (Joynt 1910, 92 § 4).

have to bear in mind that in the later ninth or the early tenth century when *AF* was composed *Ériu* obviously was not considered a goddess and that the formula found in our poem reflects an earlier image of the world.

The poem depicts Conn as the ‘true lord’, *fírflaith*, an image that we find elsewhere in the early Irish literature and law-tracts, most prominently in the seventh-century wisdom-text *Audacht Moraind* ‘The Testament of Morann’. The image of Conn here seems to reflect the shift in the early Irish culture from a cosmological period to a historical period, pertaining mainly to the features of the former. The king as described in *AF* and in the other relevant sources takes part in the cosmological action rather than in the historical process. His role in society is determined by his cosmological functions (Toporov 1973, 115). The features and attributes of the king and his reign contribute to a particular image of the world, a particular cosmological scheme determined by the existence of a true king. The following scheme shows qualities and actions of a *fírflaith* (‘true ruler’) attributed to Conn in the poem with their counterparts in *Audacht Moraind*. Nevertheless the slight difference in stresses might lead into a conceptual clash of the two sources.

Airne Fingein	Audacht Moraind
<p><i>A shlóigh for Midi for Mumain bid bludaid co mara múr...</i> ‘His hosts upon Mide, upon Munster, he will be a destroyer/breaker to the sea’s sand-bank...’ (Vendryes 1953, 20.250–252) <i>... fo-géra cach túaidh a bara conicce tonn Mara n-Icht.</i> ‘His wrath will inflame each <i>túath</i> as far as the wave of the sea of Wight (= English Channel).’ (Vendryes 1953, 20.260–261) <i>forba flatha co trí muire</i> ‘completion of sovereignty as far as the three seas’ (Vendryes 1953, 21.280)</p>	<p><i>Luifith il-túatha, Táthat co mor.</i> ‘He will move many <i>túatha</i>, uniting to the sea.’ (Kelly 1976, 4.25–26)</p>
<p><i>Téora flaithi coicat úadh.</i> ‘fifty three lords from him.’ (Vendryes 1953, 21.269)</p>	<p><i>Moigfith a chomarbe...</i> ‘He will increase his heir.’ (Kelly 1976, 4.27)</p>
<p><i>ind fhírflaith bláith builid bán...</i> ‘the true lord fair, gentle, lasting’ (Vendryes 1953, 21.267) <i>bid ail fhírinne cech trátha...</i> ‘He will be a rock of truth each time...’ (Vendryes 1953, 21.272)</p>	<p><i>Fírflaith... fris-tibi fírinni inde-cluinethar.</i> ‘True lord... He smiles on the truth when he hears it.’ (Kelly 1976, 18.145–146)</p>

What is striking at first is that Conn is called in *AF* the ‘true lord’ (*fírflaith*), while according to *Audacht Morainn* this term designates an ideal ruler with the highest physical and moral qualities in an idealised hierarchy of the possible types

of kings. According to *Audacht Morainn* there were four types of king: the true lord (*fírflaith*), the prudent lord (*ciallfhlaith*: he ‘defends borders and tribes’), the lord who takes power with the help of troops from outside (*flaith congáile co slógaib díanechtair*), the bull-lord (*tarbfhlaith*: ‘he strikes and is struck, he injures and is injured’) (Kelly 1976, 18. 143–155). From what we saw in *AF* and in other sources it seems that Conn in some respects deserves the title of *tarbfhlaith* rather than *fírflaith*, and that the picture in *AF* reflects a different view of a *fírflaith*, more aggressive, war-like and less dependant on his moral values. In *Audacht Morainn* the true lord (*fírflaith*) is deeply connected with the concept of *fír flathemon* (‘the truth of lord’) and its later counterpart *fírinne*, and the success of a king’s reign depends entirely on the king’s righteous behaviour.

Besides calling Conn ‘the rock of truth’, *AF* in its opening paragraphs says that ‘the truth of Ireland was concealed... before this night (the night of Conn’s birth)’ (*forralgadh fírinne Éirenn...cusanocht*). This phrase is found only in one manuscript containing *AF*, namely the Book of Lismore (f^o. 138a, ll. 29–31). As J. Vendryes has pointed out, this should have been a secondary addition to the original text (1953, 38), while the earlier version of D IV 2 just underlines the fact that a *senchus* of Ireland was revealed; this addition aims to confirm Conn’s position as a *fírflaith* and develops the cosmogonical qualities of his birth up to the highest level – the truth is manifested only with the birth of an ideal ‘true king’.

Looking at the parallels shown, one can either admit the *Audacht Morainn* as the source for the poem from *AF* or accept the existence of a common tradition of the clichés applied to a *fírflaith*. At the same time it is possible to reconsider these formulae in a biblical context. The repeated image of Conn driving his enemies as far as the seashore echoes a phrase from *AM*: *Luífith il-túatha, táthat co mor* ‘he will move many *túatha*, uniting to the sea’. Note the future tense in *AF*: *bid bludaid, fo-géra*. I take *táthat* here to be a v.n. of *táthaid*, meaning ‘joining, uniting (peoples)’ as in *ó táthat na d-tuath* (DIL, T-tnúthaigid, 90.52; Curry 1855, 92.13), especially since Kelly has found no mention of the hypothetical *túatha táthat* ‘tribes of thieves’ in his translation (1976, 25).

Having examined these two correspondences, we have to look for a broader context for this image. McCone has noted that the description of the righteous rule in *AM* (even in its earliest version B) to some extent echoes the Psalms (1991, 141). In Ps. 72:8 there is an image of the righteous king who ‘shall have dominion also from sea to sea’ (*dominabitur a mari usque ad mare* [Vulgate]).⁷ Although it might be expected that the authors and redactors of the pseudohistorical and legal texts in question had knowledge of the Psalms and the Old Testament, the geographical position of Ireland itself provided *literati* with an image of the world where sea and sea-shore were daily reality and the most logical limit to any king’s ambitions

7 Cf. Zechariah 9:10 on the future Messiah: *Et imperium eius a mari usque ad mare* ‘and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea’ (Vulgate).

and powers. Therefore the phrases from *AF* and *AM* cannot be taken as a mere translation of the fragment from the psalm. The native character of these ambitions and the idea of the supreme power in Ireland are supported by the evidence of the earliest Irish laws. The Old Irish status text *Míadshlechta* distinguishes a term for the high-king *tríath*: *Tríath .i. rí, amail is-beir: Tríath trom trem[i]—ætha Éirind túath[a] ó thuind co tuind...Cóic cóicid Érenn term[i]—ætha a mámu uile* ‘A *tríath*, i.e. a king, as [the following] states: The mighty *tríath*, he goes through the *túatha* of Ireland from wave to wave [i.e. from sea to sea]... The five fifths of Ireland, he goes through all their submissions’ (Breatnach 1986, 193).

At the same time the image of Conn in *AF* differs from the image in *AM*: he is not only moving his enemies, he is destroying *túatha* (‘tribes’). The line *..fo-géra cach túaidh a bara* ‘his wrath will inflame each *túath*’ raises the narrative to an eschatological dimension. There is a parallel to this image on the level of both syntax and semantics, found in an Old Irish poem on the end of the world, when God ‘inflames our tribes’ (*fogeir ar túatha*) (Meyer 1912, 196). The king obtains qualities of the last judge.

An even more evident eschatological image may be found later in the same poem from *AF*. When the text narrates the battles and fierce exploits of Conn it reports the heavenly phenomena in the following terms: ‘*ó thalmain conicce glasnem/ línfaid aer lasrach lonn*’ (‘from earth to the blue sky/ fierce flames will fill the air’) (20.265). The closest resemblance to this image in early Irish literature is found in ‘The Destruction of Da Derga’s Hostel’ (*TBDD*) when the ideal peaceful reign of Conaire (also a king of Tara) suddenly comes to its end: ‘*rop ném thened tír h-Úa Néill immi*’ (‘there was the blaze of fire around the land of Uí Néill’) (Knott 1936, 8.241). This fire from the sky signifies the collapse of Conaire’s sovereignty in Ireland and the start of his downfall determined by his breaking of *gessi*. The poem on Conn’s exploits on the other hand gives a picture of the *fírflaith* (‘true lord’) and his power.⁸ How would these contrasting contexts correspond to each other? Does the cosmic figure of Conn itself embody the celestial punishment of which poor Conaire is only a victim? The image of Conn’s power, together with the external evidence from different Indo-European traditions, supports a hypothesis concerning direct relations between the thunder god and the military functions of a king (cf. the beginning of the Hittite inscription of Annitas, the connection of Perun and the prince’s war-band in the earliest treaties between Russians and Byzantines) (Ivanov 1968, 4).

There are at least two more examples in early Irish literature of great fires denoting the absence of *fír flathemon* (‘ruler’s truth’). In the earliest recension B of *Audacht Morainn* the ruler’s truth is said to prevent his subjects from ‘great lightnings’ (*márloch*) (Kelly 1976, § 12); and the seventh-century Hiberno-Latin

8 See however Baile in Scáil (Murray 2004, 36.76) where Conn is slain ‘after the destruction by fire over every plain’ (*fiar n-ár thened tar cech mag*).

ecclesiastical treatise *De duodecim abusiuis saeculi* provides the same context for ‘the blows of lightnings’ (*fulminum ictus*) (Hellmann 1909, 52. l. 18). M. Fomin has noted that the image of lightning in *AM* and in *De duodecim* does not correspond to biblical eschatological imagery and might have been rooted in the native literary standards (Fomin 1999, 176–178) (as ‘the blaze of fire’ of *TBDD*). In the poem from *AF* the image is even brighter, the fires fill the air from ‘earth to the blue sky’ (*ó thalmáin conicce glasnem*), leaving no place for natural lightning from a cloud.

Obviously both biblical and classical images might have influenced the authors and redactors of the texts discussed. We can think of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah burnt by the heavenly fire: ‘Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven’ (*Igitur Dominus pluit super Sodomam et Gomorram sulphur et ignem a Domino de caelo*) (*Vulgate*, Genesis 19:24), or of Tacitus (*Historia*, 1.18), *urbes igni caelesti flagrasse*, ‘to burn cities by heavenly fire’.⁹

Finally we can note that the passage in the poem from *AF* with the fire image corresponds to the aggressive image of Conn. He functions in the poem as an omnipotent judge of all the *túatha* of Ireland. He is a king and a warrior, and his image corresponds to the warrior’s ambiguity or instability in early Irish myths and tales. He is also capable of switching from protection to destruction (McCone 1991, 172), and the poem under discussion reflects, rather, his destructive side. It seems that a reign of the *fírflaith*, according to *AF*, was not exclusively peaceful and calm as it was perceived in *AM* and other sources. On the other hand the concluding prosaic eulogy and the final poem from *AF* (present only in the Book of Lismore) give the image of Conn as a protector and guarantor of cosmic order.

The final eulogy of Conn in *AF*, as I have mentioned, is found in only one manuscript, namely the Book of Lismore (f^o 139 b). It looks like an addition to the tale, supplying Conn with the necessary attributes of a *fírflaith* following the standard known from *AM* and other wisdom-texts. The essence of Conn’s praise is summarised in the opening lines of the eulogy: ‘*as é sein rí as dech buí for Éirinn ría creidim*’ (‘...he was the best king in Ireland before the faith’). Here we encounter the popular motif of the ‘benign pagan’ confirmed by certain signs characteristic of Conn’s reign. In the synthetic history of Ireland reflected in *Lebor Gabála* he is made a contemporary of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and his reign seems to have been compared to the peaceful reign of the emperor-philosopher (Macalister 1956, 332). In general it was not uncommon in early Irish literature to equate reigns of native kings and Roman emperors. For instance the reign of Cormac mac Airt, Conn’s grandson (whom we encounter in

9 These Old Testament and classical parallels were kindly submitted to me by M. Fomin, who has worked extensively on the Irish wisdom texts and the image of the king in the early Irish tradition.

AF as well), is compared to that of Octavian Augustus in *Tesmolad Cormaic* ('The Panegyric of Cormac') (Meyer 1885, 73).

For convenience, I will again provide a comparative table of the benefits of the true ruler's reign in *AF*, in *AM* and in *TBDD* (on Conaire's reign).

<i>Airne Fingein</i>	<i>Audacht Morainn</i>	<i>Togail bruidne Da Derga, Tesmolad Cormaic</i>
<i>Ní raba trá Éire in inbaid sin ráithi cin mes</i> 'In that time there was no season in Ireland without fruit (mast)' (25.346)	<i>Is tre fh. fl. ad-manna mármeso márfhedo -mlasetar.</i> 'It is through the justice of the ruler that abundance of great tree-fruit of the great wood are tasted' (6.47)	<i>...mes co glúine cach fogmair</i> 'tree-fruit to the knees every autumn' (Knott 1936, §17, 184–185) <i>barr measa</i> 'an excess of tree-fruit' (Knott 1936, §66)
<i>bá lán gach abhunn d'iasc ó ro soicht glún</i> 'each river was full of fish, and water reached the knee' (25.349)	<i>Is tre fh. fl. to-aidble (uisce) éisc i sruthaib -snáither.</i> 'It is through the justice of the ruler that abundance of fish swim in streams' (6.50)	<i>Cech abund, acht co roised glun, do gebtha bradan in cech mogul isin lin inte.</i> 'Any river, that was but knee-deep, a salmon was got there in every one mesh of the net' (Meyer 1885, 73.9–10)
<i>Lulgacha na láeig i n-a remes</i> 'the calves were milch cows in his time' (26.356)	<i>Is tre fh. fl. ad-mlechte márbóis -moinigter.</i> 'It is through the justice of the ruler that milk-yields of great cattle are maintained(?)' (7.48)	<i>Lailiucha na colpacha ina ré</i> 'the two-year-old heifers were milch cows in his time' (Meyer 1885, 73.9)
<i>buí flaith Chuinn, cen chreich, cen gait, <...> cen fhoréicin, <...> cen fhaire, cen ingairi.</i> 'Conn's reign was without plunder, without theft, <...> without great violence, <...> without guard, without sorrow'. (25.338–346)		<i>cen gaid <...> cen forecin cen faire cen ingaire</i> (Meyer 1885, 73.21) <i>Nir ragbaiter díberg id flaith</i> (Knott 1936, § 16, 178)

The abundance of tree-fruit (mainly acorns), as we see, is a common feature of the true reign, and more examples of this feature, mentioned in several other early Irish sources as a sign of an ideal reign, can be added. In *Tecosca Cormaic* (§1.22) for example we have *mess for crannaib* 'tree-fruit on trees' (Meyer 1909, 2), and in early Irish ecclesiastical law we encounter the same signs of *fírflaith* : *arborum fecunditas* (Wasserschleben 1885, 78).¹⁰ As for the ecclesiastical influence on the B version of *AM* and the topic of fruits' abundance during the ideal reign, it is important that *mann* is a borrowing from Lat. *manna* (itself a borrowing from

10 *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, xxv, iv. The word *mess* in OI usually means 'mast, acorns' (Welsh *mes* 'acorns'), and the importance of acorns is connected with the fact that pigs living half-wild in the woods in early Ireland were fed with acorns.

Greek and Hebrew) signifying a divine gift and a divine presence. This is another reason to reconsider Conn's ideal reign, bearing in mind the general context of *AM* and the related texts.

What is striking here in the case of *AF* is a general connection of Conn's reign with flourishing trees and the abundant tree-fruit. One of Conn's *búada* that took place on the night of his birth according to *AF* and the *dindshenchas* was the manifestation of the great tree Eó Mugna (Eó Rossa in the manuscript D IV 2) (Vendryes 1953, ll. 44–66). One of the unique qualities of the tree was an excess of its mast during the year: *docuirethar téora frossa toraid tria chéo de, comba lán a m-mag forsa tá fo thrí día dairmes cacha bliadna* ('it sheds three showers of fruit through the mist, so that the plain on which it stands will be full of mast thrice each year'). This description was repeated in the eulogy in the end of the tale (*Ní raba trá Ére in inbaid sin ráithi cin mes*). The supernatural qualities of the tree (Eó Mugna) are thus transferred to the whole universe in Conn's reign which is said to be 'without a dry tree' *cen chrann crín*, a time when 'each wood was green' (*Ba húr gach coill*). Moreover not only the mast but also the harvest on the fields thrice a year is a feature of this ideal reign in *AF*: *no berta na harbair fo thrí cecha bláidnae* 'the corn used to be brought thrice each year' (Vendryes 1953, ll. 352–353). The later tale *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind* in its opening passages also relates the benefits of Conn's reign before the death of his wife: *Dóigh amh do bendais siat na harbhanna fo trí gacha bliadna* 'Indeed they used to reap the corn thrice each year' (Best 1907, 150).

Another significant feature related to the topic of trees must be mentioned, that is mast and ideal reign in *AF*: this is the idea of a Paradise-like rule. In the same passage on Eó Mugna/Eó Rossa the tree is called *mac in chraind a pardus* ('a son of the tree from Paradise', l. 53). The idea of such a genesis was obviously borrowed from the apocryphal material, and the tree here seems to have signified the Tree of Life as Eó Mugna was perceived as one in the *dindshenchas* (gen. *Craind Beoda*) (Stokes 1895, 279). Later in the eulogy the whole of Ireland under the ideal rule of Conn is compared to Paradise: *Ba parrthus indtsamlach 7 ba tír tairrngire* 'it was like Paradise and it was a land of promise' (Vendryes 1953, ll. 360). It must be remembered that *Tír Tairrngire* ('The Land of Promise'), a borrowing from the biblical imagery, was perceived in two different ways in early Irish literature generally and *AF* in particular. On the one hand, it seems to reflect a biblical image of the terrestrial Paradise, and in this context it seems to function in the latter phrase, where *parrthus* and *tír tairrngire* are synonymous. On the other hand, after a semantic shift *Tír Tairrngire* had become one of the names for the native Otherworld, and as such is found in *AF* as well. It alludes to the 'hail of the Land of Promise' (*do chassair Thíre Tairngire*) (Vendryes 1953, l. 176) on the night of Conn's birth over Loch Léin (one of the few instances in early Irish literature where the Otherworld is located in the upper world). *Tesmolad Cormaic*, a text showing a close lexical similarity to the final eulogy from *AF*, gives Cormac

mac Airt, the king of Tara, even more power over the elements: *Dorigine tra tir tairngire d'Erinn ana ré* ('he made then the Land of Promise out of Ireland in his time') (Meyer 1885, 73).

The next striking parallel between *AF* and *Tesmolad Cormaic* is a passage on 'fish in the streams'. The model for this image might have been taken from the wisdom-texts, namely from *AM*. The general context of the abundance of rivers during the ideal reign is also known in many other early Irish texts. *Tecosca Cormaic* (§1,23) for example speaks of *tasc i n-inberaib* (the mast and fish appear in the same order in *TC*). The most curious information on the abundance in the rivers due to an ideal reign comes from *TBDD*, where Conaire's reign is characterised by the *imbas for Búais & Boind i medón in mís mithemon cacha bliádna* (Knott 1936, ll. 184–186) ('abundance/great knowledge in the Bush and in the Boyne in the middle of June each year'). Here we encounter an ambiguous use of the word *imbas*, which means either 'great abundance' or 'great knowledge' (given that the Boyne was known as a source of the nuts of great knowledge/*imbas*) (Gwynn 1913, 26).

Without commenting much on such a natural feature as the abundance of fish, the lexical and syntactical correspondence must be admitted between the text of *AF* and *Tesmolad Cormaic* (*gach abhunn... ro soicht glún* (*AF*) = *Cech abund, acht co roised glun* (*TesC*)). The verbal form *ro soicht* is rather dubious: J. Vendryes proposed it to be 'une forme refaite pour *-siacht*, prétér. act. et pass. de *saigid* "reaches"' (Vendryes 1953, 63); and it corresponds phonetically to *roised* in *TesC*. The correspondences support close relations between the two texts and indicate the possible origin of the eulogy from *AF* (a curious passage on calves being milch cows reveals new parameters acquired by time during the ideal reign). Even the word order in the sequence of iniquities absent during the reigns of both Conn and Cormac is the same (*buí flaith Chuinn, cen chreich, cen gait, <...> cen fhoréicin, <...> cen fhaire, cen ingairi*. (*AF*) = *cen gaid <...> cen forecin cen faire cen ingaire* (*TesC*)).

While *AF* mentions *Senfhúath éices* and the praise of Cormac (*tesmolta*) and *TesC* is silent on *AF* and the matter of Conn, it is possible that the compiler of the final part of *AF* in the Book of Lismore had the use of a certain earlier variant of *TesC*. It has been pointed out already by Gwynn that the images of Cormac mac Airt (in his capacity as a sage and a judge) and of Tara under his reign are often drawn from biblical sources, the models being king Solomon and the Temple (Gwynn 1903, 70–74). Both the metrical *dinnshenchas* and *TesC* compare Cormac to Solomon (Gwynn 1903, 37; O'Grady 1892, 89). Nevertheless the formulae of the true rule discussed seem to belong to native tradition influenced by Christian moral values. To my knowledge Conn Cétchathach was never compared to any biblical king. His depiction in the first poem of praise from *AF* as a man of war is not very consistent with a Christian image of the true reign and may therefore reflect a pre-Christian image of an ideal king.

In conclusion I stress the significance of Conn's name in association with his presence in the earliest Irish genealogical poetry. Continental Celtic personal names *Connus*, *Connos* (Delamarre 2001, 103) and the context in which they occur strongly suggest the existence of a similar name in early Ireland. In my opinion it renders highly unlikely the possibility suggested by D. Sproule that **connacht* could have meant 'primacy, leadership' (of the northern dynasty), that it was later reinterpreted as 'Conn's descendants', and that the pseudohistorical Conn is derived from **connacht* not vice versa (1984, 32). It is more natural to assume that the name Conn was popular among aristocratic and royal families in early Ireland and belonged consequently to one or several early Leinster dynasts who could have served as prototypes for the eponymous Conn Cétchathach. This historical basis does not exclude the mythological significance of Conn Cétchathach as the 'first king' with his own archaic cosmological features. These features, and especially those reflected in the first poem on Conn from *AF*, might reflect an earlier 'thunder god'-type image of a ruler, possibly influenced later by Christian apocalyptic imagery. Finally Conn Cétchathach, as one of the pseudohistorical kings of all Ireland, constitutes an important centre of attraction both for early Irish quasi-political ideology and for Irish pseudohistorical and mythological megatext.

Abbreviations

AF= Airne Fingein

AL = *Ancient Laws of Ireland*

CML=Cath Maige Léna

DIL = *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (or *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language*)

LG= Lebor Gabála Éirenn

TC= Tecosca Cormaic.

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Classifications of Kings in Early Ireland and India

Maxim Fomin

I. Introduction

The wisdom-text ‘The Morand’s Testament’ (hereafter *AM*) contains an interesting classification of rulers based on their modes of government. We shall try to compare the Irish evidence with that of the early Indian treatise on politics, *Arthaśāstra*, in which the similar classification of rulers is contained, and to find the underlying theory behind their congruence.

The relationship between the power and the ethical structures within any society can be described in different ways. Rudimentary social units that create the foundations on which are based the mutual coordination between a human being (the microcosm of the society) and a social organism (its macrocosm) tend to organise themselves into clusters or pairs. This principle is called classification; what is more, no two traditions use classification systems in exactly the same way. The pre-existing cultural tradition imposes its own mode on the process of classification and the generalisation of social relationships by an individual, therefore generating a certain code embodied in the form of his or her verbal expression. The principles of ‘right’ and ‘left’ with regard to the system of spatial orientation, or those of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ with regard to the system of moral evaluation, and those of ‘noble’ and ‘base’ with regard to the system of social stratification, to list just a few, are employed and articulated by both the individual and the society to establish and harmonise their relationship.¹

2. Definition and types of classification

There are different views on the definition and the principles of classification. Two ways to describe the process of classification can be distinguished: the horizontal

1 I propose my argument on the basis of the findings of Durkheim (1912), Hertz (1909), Mauss (1933), Lévi-Strauss (1966), and Schwartz (1981) who all had a lot to say about such topics as the ordering capacity of a human being, the universality of binary contrasts inherent to a human nature, and the conversion of vague ideas and sentiments into sociological universals of which every human being is capable.

(sometimes also called lateral) and the vertical. Both types are intertwined: it is difficult to describe the relation of the idea of the left to that of the right (although both belong together as the opposing principles of space and orientation) without referring to the archetypal association of the left with inauspicious, and that of the right with auspicious characteristics:

What resemblance more perfect than that between our two hands? And yet, what a striking inequality there is! To the right go honours, flattering designations, prerogatives... The left hand, on the contrary, is despised and reduced to the role of a humble auxiliary... The right hand is the symbol and model of all aristocracies, the left hand of all plebeians (Hertz 1909, 3).

My main concern is the vertical type of classification. I have mentioned that 'right' and 'left' can be viewed differently from the point of view of their positive/negative characteristics. An inherited human ability to associate the positive with the higher level of existence and the negative with the lower one creates a vertical polarity of 'above' and 'below'.² The vertical polarity creates inequality.

Inequalities in moral rectitude and value, and inequalities in distribution of social power and authority [are] two sets of distinctions which are experienced and encoded through the metaphor of vertical contrast (Schwartz 1981, 36).

Vertical classification as a framework of our research into classification of kings in early Ireland and India is important in the way that it encompasses both the 'power semantic' and the 'moral semantic'.³ The combination of power and morality is the referential point of our analysis. Two types of inequality between the kings are distinguishable. The first one is based on 'power semantic': the bigger is the sphere of a king's dominance, the higher he stands in the classification of kings. Early Irish law tracts distinguished between the petty king (OIr. *rí tuaithe*), the over king (OIr. *ruire*), the king of (over-)kings (OIr. *rí ríog, rí ruirech*) and a mighty *triath*, presumably the king of the highest status, claiming the whole territory of Ireland as the sphere of his rule.⁴ Similarly, on the basis of the early Indian political treatises

2 A perfect illustration of existing correlation between lateral and vertical codes of the 'right' and the 'left' is that 'in certain paintings of the Last Supper, Christ is depicted pointing up to Heaven with his right hand and down to Hell with his left' (Schwartz 1981, 71).

3 By the term 'power semantic' I understand the capacity of human conscience to correlate the vertical structures with social differentiation and inequality (e.g. in medieval European society, the nobility occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy whereas the peasantry occupied the lowest). By the term 'moral semantic' I understand the capacity to correlate on the one hand the good and the proper with the upper domains of human ethics, and, on the other hand, to correlate the bad and the evil with the lower domains. It is hard to disagree with Schwartz in that 'while verticality maybe totally independent of power, it is infused thoroughly with morality – with the good, the right and the proper' (1981, 89).

4 For discussion of king grades see Kelly 1988, 17-8; Breatnach 1989, 36-7. See also Breatnach 1986a for the discussion of the figure of a *triath*. The *ardrí Érenn* 'the high-

one can speak of a king (Skt. *rājan*), of an over-king (Skt. *adhirāṭ*, *virāṭ*), and of the universal ruler (Ved. *saṁrāṭ*), also called a ruler of the whole Earth, containing four continents (Skt. *cakravartin*).⁵ However, the compilers of the early treatises on kingship also passed judgement on such matters as the elevated principles of royal morality.⁶ The compilers were always positive with regard to morally good rulers and despised evil ones. Therefore, similar manifold classifications of rulers based upon their ethical principles were devised. These can be defined as classifications based upon the ‘moral semantic’.

3. Early Irish and Indian kingship: similarity governed by morality

Since Dillon’s work on the ‘Act of Truth’ (1948; 1975, 90, 95-114) in Irish and Indian traditions there has been a number of attempts to revisit the problem of correspondences between Irish and Indian models of ideal kingship. There have been two major trends of research: in the first instance, Watkins (1979), Zimmer (2001; 2003) and McCone (1980; 1990, 107-120; 1998) have tried to look at the problem from the point of view of the common Indo-European inheritance of Ireland and India; on the second instance, Sjöblom (1998), Doherty (2005), and Fomin (1999; 2006) have looked at it from the perspective of the continuity of tradition and cultural development. Despite the difference in methodology, the conclusions of the scholars just mentioned with regard to the governing principle of kingship both in Ireland and in India remain the same. The principle of morality (Skt. *satya*, *dharma* and OIr. *fír*, *fírinne*) both in its ethical/legal and its cosmological/eschatological perspectives is considered to be concurrent in two traditions. However, there is also some evidence that might cause us to suggest that

king of Ireland’ is discussed in Breatnach 1986a and 1986b, 49. For *ruire* see *Bretha Nemed Deidenach* (Gwynn 1942, 33: *Do-eimh ruire riograidh*, ‘An over-king protects grades of kings’). The treatise *Bretha Nemed Toisech* (CIH 2219.30-40) describes *rí ruirech* in the following words: *Roimse, feis Temruch, fonaidm rí ruirech nentiger rígh ruirech*, ‘Abundance, the feast of Tara, the treaties with over-kings constitutes the king of over-kings’.

- 5 Gonda 1969, 102-4; Heesterman 1957, 196-8, 211. Note a Vedic triad with respect to ‘a god being invoked with ... three functions. Thus Taittirīya-Saṁhitā 2.3.6.2 speaks of Indra the king (*rājā*) who is this world (the earth), Indra the overlord (*adhirāja*) who is the atmosphere and Indra the sovereign (*svarāṭ*) who is the world of heaven.’ (Gonda 1976, 216).
- 6 The early Irish treatise on status *Críth Gablach* (Binchy 1941, 21 § 39) is explicit that a petty king (defined as *rí benn*, ‘the king of peaks’) has obligations towards his people, and that his status depends upon his fulfilment of the principle of the ‘ruler’s truth’. Cf. also *Bretha Nemed Toisech* on the status of a petty king: *rí benn l bít do l secht cumala l la enngus fírflatho*, ‘A ‘king of peaks’, there are seven *cumals* for him, when he has the innocence of the true lord’ (Breatnach 1989, 14-5).

various other principles were recognised by the early compilers of the treatises on ideal kingship.

4. Audacht Moraind on principles of ruling

The early Irish wisdom-text *AM* contains an intriguing classification of kings according to the key principle by which they ruled. The first (and the best) among them is the *fírfhlaith*, ‘a true lord’, who rules according to his righteousness (OIr. *fírinne*). The second one is the *ciállfhlaith*, ‘a common sense ruler’, who rules by means of his intellect and reasoning. The third one is the *tarbfhlaith*, ‘a bull-ruler’, who is portrayed as a violent and impulsive leader of warrior-bands, ready for attack and aggression. The fourth one is ‘the ruler of occupation with hosts from outside’ (OIr. *flaith congála co shúagaib díanechtair*), and it is not clear from the text what the precise difference is between the last two.⁷ There is an indication that we are in fact dealing with two distinct classifications – the fourfold and the threefold.

All four recensions of our text differ from one another regarding the classification of rulers.⁸ Recension A says that there are three, but does not immediately provide a list of them; it then goes on to furnish a description of all four.⁹ It presents the four descriptions in the ascending sequence, starting with ‘the ruler of occupation with hosts from outside’, continuing with ‘the common sense ruler’, and moving on to ‘the true ruler’. The ‘bull-ruler’ following the ‘true-ruler’ does look like a digression from the original principle of enumeration.

L¹ says that there are four rulers, lists only three, and provides a description of four:

Apair fris ní filet acht cethri flathi issin bith .i. flaith congála co shúagaib anechtair , cialfhlaith , fírfhlaith (Best & O’Brien 1967, 1267.37607-21).

7 Translations of the relevant passages of the AN recensions that will follow are based on readings provided by the editions of Kelly (1976, 68-69) and Thurneysen (1917).

8 For detailed discussion of the manuscript tradition and dating see Kelly 1976, xx-xxxiii. B recension is the most archaic: Kelly proposed its compilation date of c. A.D. 700 (1976, xxix). L¹ is contained in the twelfth century Book of Leinster (Best & O’Brien 1967, 1265-7). A is contained in the fifteenth-century TCD manuscript H.2.7, fol. 418a-420a; in the fourteenth-century Yellow Book of Lecan, 413b-414b, and in the fifteenth-century British Museum Additional MS. 33993, ff. 7v-8r. Recension A can be securely dated to the late Old Irish period. N recension is contained in the eighteenth century RIA manuscript 23. N. 27, and can be dated to the late Middle Irish period.

9 §44. *Ní filet inge téora flathi is(s)in bith* (Kelly 1976, 69), ‘There are only three rulers in the world’. Note that from the point of view of nominal declension, *teora flathi* of A, ‘three rulers’, is correct, following the fem. gender of *flaith*, ‘ruler’, but *cethri flathi* of L¹ and *ceithre flatha* of N, ‘four rulers’, are not.

Tell him, there are only four rulers in the world, i.e. the ruler of occupation with hosts from outside, and the common sense ruler, and the true ruler.

L¹'s order of enumeration in the list is ascending, reminiscent of A, starting with a *flaith congála co slúagaib anechtair*, and finishing off with a *fírflaith*.

Recension N says that there are four, does not provide a list of them, and gives a description only of the first three.

The list preserved in A, L¹ and N recensions is different from the list provided by recension B, which lists the types of rulers in descending order, and arranges them in pairs. It starts with the best, *fírflaith*, 'a true lord', and finishes off with the worst, *tarbflaith*, 'a bull-ruler'. Only B is fully consistent: it says that there are four types of rulers, lists all of them and provides description of each of them after the list:

Apair fris, ní fil inge cethri flatemna and: fírflaith 7 cialflaith, flaith congála co slógaib 7 tarbflaith.

Tell him, there are only four rulers: the true ruler and the wily ruler, the ruler of occupation with hosts and the bull ruler (Kelly 1976, 18-9).

Let us now compare the types of rulers in turn, and note parallels and differences between the recensions.

4.1 The true ruler

AL¹N: (47) *Fírflaith immurgu, immos-mōrat, immos-bāgat, immus-nertat immus-cumtaiget 7 fírinni immalle* (Kelly 1976, 69).

And the true ruler: the true ruler and righteousness exalt one another, glorify one another, strengthen one another, [and] support one another at the same time.

B: (59) *Fírflaith cétamus, luithir side fri cach fó, fris-tibi fírinni inde-cluinethar, coten-oaib inden-aici. Ar ní fírflaith nad níamat bí bendachtnaib.*

The true ruler, in the first place, is moved towards every good thing, he smiles on the truth when he hears it, he exalts it when he sees it. For he whom the living do not glorify with blessings is not a true ruler (Kelly 1976, 18-19).

The passages in AL¹N, describing the 'true ruler', involve the second subject *fírinne*, 'righteousness', which is distinguished by the extensive use of compound verbs, all having as their first element the prefix *im-*, denoting mutuality in the relationship between the true ruler and his *fírinne*. Rec. B, which does not employ the verbal parallelism, involves other things to characterise the true ruler, such as

that his subjects glorify him by blessings (*bendachtaib*), as well as that he follows ‘every good thing’ (*cach fío*).

4.2 The [common] sense ruler

AL¹N: (46) *Cíallfhlaith immurgu, con-gaib side a chrícha* (N: *ˌa thír*) *cen chorra cen chernu* (L¹: *cen chatha cen choscru*). *Ni dēne di neoch, ni dēne nech de. Ráid a ré láaib ˌaidchib, or is ó láaib ˌaidchib ráithir in bith huile.* (Kelly 1976, 68).

Moreover, the common sense ruler. He supports his borders (N: ‘and his land’) without pikes and without slaughters (L: ‘without battles [and] without slaughters’); He doesn’t take away from anyone, nobody takes away from him. He passes through his time by days and nights, for by days and nights the whole world is lived through.

B: (60) *Cíallfhlaith, ar-clich side crícha sceo túatha, to-lécet a séotu ˌa téchte ndó.*
The wily ruler defends borders and tribes, they yield their valuables and dues to him (Kelly 1976, 18-19).

Although the beginning of §46 in AL¹N is in some respects similar to the corresponding §60 of B, its end is entirely different. B arranges its terms in pairs: *crícha sceo túatha*, ‘borders and tribes’, as well as *a séotu ˌa téchte*, ‘valuables and dues’. N follows B, speaking of *a chríocha ˌa thír*, ‘his borders and his land’ of the common sense ruler. In A and L¹ recensions, the first object of the first clause is *crícha*, ‘borders’ – presumably, of the domains of the ruler. They are also characterised by complex line-internal alliteration between the three last words of the first clause.¹⁰ The remaining two clauses of the last paragraph in the AL¹N recension exhibit parallelism between their elements. The second phrase of the second clause is formed by the repetition of the first one in a different order. The third one involves repetition of the pres. ind. act. and pass. forms of the verb *ráid*, ‘rows’, and the collocation *láaib ˌaidchib*, ‘by days and by nights’, which can be taken as a temporal adverbial phrase.

4.3 The ruler of occupation with hosts

AN: (45) *Flaith congála co slúagaib díanechtair, gnáth flaith labur élaithech do suidiu. Amal soithi a shlúaga úad, soid a grad* (A: *ˌa gráin*) *for cūlu* (Kelly 1976, 68).

A ruler of occupation with hosts from outside: customary for his rule [to be] weak [and] transitory. As his hosts turn away from him, love and fear of him retreat.

10 Cf. A’s *a chrícha cen chorra cen chernu* (Kelly 1976, 68.174-5) and L¹’s *a chrícha cen chatha cen choscru* (Best & O’Brien 1967, 1267.37610-1).

L¹: (45) *Flaith congbála tra; nirap inmain flaith amal soit a shlúiaig úad. soid a greit , a gaisced, a grád , a gráin for cula* (Best & O'Brien 1967, 1267).

The ruler of occupation, then; he would not be a ruler worthy of love as soon as his hosts turn away from him; his valour and his skill at arms, love and fear of him retreat.

B: (61) *Flaith congbále co slógaib díanechtair; in-soet a shlóig side, in-snádat a aidilcni, air ní soí soithcedach sechtair* (Kelly 1976, 18-19).

The ruler of occupation with hosts from outside; his forces turn away, they put off his needs, for a prosperous man does not turn outside.

The passage in recension B is similar to those in AL¹N in that it employs different forms of the verb *soid*, 'turn', to denote the instability of this type of ruler.¹¹ It is different in other respects: the subject of narration in B is *slóig*, 'the hosts', presumably of the ruler, since they are the constituents of his power and authority. In A and N, however, the characteristics of his vain rule are in the centre of author's attention (*labur éilaithech*, 'sick and transitory'), as well as *slóig*, 'the hosts'. Similarly to a description of the common sense ruler, the last clause of the paragraph is characterised by complex line-internal alliteration.¹²

4.4 The bull-ruler

AL¹: (48) *Tarbhflaith dano, nī inmain fer. (L¹: nirip inmain flaith) Do-slaid do-sladar, fo-fich fo-fechar, con-clich con-clechar. Is fris con bith- bennaib (L¹: bemmennach) -büredar. Garb duaig tossach a fhlaitha, miscnech anblathach a medón, utmall éloithech fo deoid a dered. Is fria maccaib ar-dlúthfaiteir cinaid, aran-gébtar gnúsi, aran-dünfaiteir cridi. 'Nī fochen', ar cách do maccaib na flatha sin, 'nibo maith dún flaith for n-athar riam'* (Kelly 1976, 69).

The bull ruler, then, is not a man worthy of love (L¹: 'Let his rule be not worthy of love'). He strikes [and] is struck, he injures [and] he is injured, he attacks and is attacked. Against him there is always clashing with horns (L¹: 'It is against him there is endless clashing [and] noise of striking'). Harsh, unfortunate [is] the beginning of his reign, hateful, waning [is] its middle, [and it is] unstable, impermanent in the end (L¹: 'is its end'). It is against his sons that [his] crimes will be heaped together, that faces will be raised, that hearts will be shut. 'Not welcome', says everyone to the sons of that king, 'the rule by your father was never good for us.'

B: (62) *Tarbhflaith, to-slaid side to-sladar, ar-clich ar-clechar, con-claid con-cladar, ad-reith ad-rethar, toseinn to-sennar, is fris con bith-büirethar bennaib.*

The bull ruler strikes [and] is struck, wards off [and] is warded off, roots out [and] is rooted out, attacks [and] is attacked, pursues [and] is pursued. Against him there is always clashing with horns (Kelly 1976, 18-19).¹³

11 Cf. *soithi*, and *soid* of A, as well as *in-soet*, 'turn away', and *ní soí*, 'does not turn' of B.

12 Cf. A's *a grád , a gráin* (Kelly 1976, 68.172-3) and L¹'s *greit , a gaisced, a grád , a gráin* (Best & O'Brien 1967, 1267.37609-10).

13 Kelly proposes two possible interpretations of the last sentence of §62 (1976, 56, note to line 155). I prefer the second variant which is based upon 'a continuation of the

The description of the rule of the ‘bull-ruler’ in AL¹ and in B can be regarded as being closer to one another than the descriptions of the first three types of rulers. The abundant use of active and passive verbal forms in both the first clause of AL¹ version, and throughout the whole of B seems to support this view. The verbal forms emphasise the reciprocal character of his actions: whatever he does is turned against him. It is worth underlining the marked antithesis between the sound of ‘clashing with horns’ (*bith- bennaib -búirethar*)¹⁴ against the bull-ruler and the glorifying with blessings (*bendachtaib*) of the true ruler in B. Contrary to the descriptions of ‘a common sense ruler’ and ‘a ruler of occupation’, the alliterating pairs are absent in the descriptions of ‘a bull-ruler’ in all the three recensions.¹⁵ Note that L¹ repeats the clause *nirip inmain flaith*. In addition, A repeats *ēloithech* ‘transitory’. Both terms had earlier been used to describe ‘a ruler of occupation’.

5. Two versions – two alternatives

On the basis of this evidence it might be suggested that the A recension preserves a contradiction in the shared original due to an odd placement of *tarbhfhlait* at the end of classification. The ascending sequence in A ending with a *fírflait*, ‘a righteous ruler’ at the summit vs. the descending one of B starting with a righteous ruler and ending up with a bull-ruler both tell us of the different organising principles of the recensions. From this perspective, the description of the *tarbhfhlait* in A looks like a mere addition. However, looking at the text of the B recension, one should note that there is a certain parallelism between the description of a true ruler in § 59, and the description of a bull-ruler in §62.

The descriptions are both abundant in verbal forms; another parallel is the opposition between *bendachtaib*, ‘blessings’, with which living beings glorify the true ruler and *bennaib* ‘horns’ that bellow against the bull-ruler. Alliterating sequences of *bí bendachtaib* vs. *bith-búirethar bennaib* are constructed on a similar basis: note the visual parallelism between *bí* and *bith*, in addition to both words (*bendachtaib* and *bennaib*) being in dat. pl.

As far as the A recension is concerned, one can note the further parallel that the descriptions of the true ruler and the bull-ruler (§§47, 48) feature verbal forms. However, the second and the third part of the paragraph on the bull-ruler exhibit no

metaphor of the bull ruler’, therefore taking *bennaib* ‘as referring to the horns on the head of the bull’.

14 Note the tmesis construction in A here, which may be an indication of the earlier date of the passage in A against B.

15 The minor exception being the pair *umall ēloithech*, ‘unstable, impermanent’. The words are probably employed because they are synonyms, rather than on the basis of alliteration.

such correspondences. The text is now concerned with the description of each of the three parts of his rule, and ends up with an oral address by the subjects to the sons of such a king, barring them from taking their father's place.¹⁶ The address can be seen as the malediction of the people, which is certainly an antithesis to the blessings that the people confer on the true ruler in §59 of B.

The classification of four rulers in B according to their intrinsic moral characteristics can be viewed simultaneously as lateral as well as vertical. The ideal types of rulers are divided into two pairs of opposites, each of which is hierarchically lower than its opponent from the moralistic point of view. The classification can be viewed symmetrically, that is the first two 'ideal types' are the two good ones, in which the first is still better than the second, whereas the last two are the two bad ones, in which the last is worse than the first. The polarity of 'good' vs. 'bad' types of kingship, in which the good one was divided into the 'righteous' and the 'wise', and the bad one was divided into 'the worse' and 'the worst', was current in the imagery of Irish kingship from quite an early stage.

6. Arthaśāstra on different types of kings

A similar threefold classification of kings in accordance with their behaviour towards the inferior kings who submit to their conquest is contained in the twelfth book of the the third century B.C early Indian treatise on politics *Arthaśāstra*:¹⁷

XII.1.10-16 *Trayobhiyoktaro dharmalobhāsurasvijaina iti. Teṣāmbhyavapattyā dharmavijayī tuṣyati... Bhūmidravya-haraṇena lobhavijayī tuṣyati... Bhūmidravya-putrādāra-prāṇaharaṇenāsurasvijayī.* (Kangle 1969, 247).

(10) There are three types of invaders, i.e. the lawful conqueror, the greedy [one] and the evil [one].

(11) Of them, the lawful conqueror is pleased by approaching for imploring [his overlordship]...

(13) The greedy conqueror is pleased by abduction of land and material possessions. (15) The evil conqueror [is pleased by] taking his life, his children and his wife, his land and his wealth.

The three-fold division of potential aggressors owes its origin to the 'triadic mode of thought' (Gonda 1976, 212) characteristic not only of the *Arthaśāstra* itself, but also of the early Indian literary tradition in general. As far as the *Arthaśāstra* is concerned, it certainly goes back to the primary division of the spheres (Skt. *varga*) of human existence into *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, that can be tentatively

16 This is reminiscent of the beginning of the Middle Irish saga *Bruiden Meic Da Réo: Bai fodord mōr ic aithechtūathaib Érenn*, 'there was a great murmuring of discontent among the vassal-peoples of Ireland' (transl. by O'Connor 2006, 126). O'Connor notes that "while *Bruiden Meic Da Réo* is not actually preserved in the extant manuscripts as an "introduction" to *Audacht Morainn*, its original author may have been making a conscious link between the two works" (ib., 131). Indeed, the tale exemplifies what can actually happen when the *fírflaith* type of rule is turned into the *tarbflaith* one.

17 Scharfe 1993, 292-3, proposes its second century A.D. dating.

translated as the principle of law and duty, the principle of material well-being and the principle of sensual pleasures.¹⁸ The author of the treatise advises the king to adhere to all the three principles without giving priority to any of them.

I.7.3-5 *Dharmārthāvirodhena kāmam seveta | samam vā trivargamanyonyā-nubaddham | eko hyatyāsevito dharmārthakāmānāmātmanamitarau pīḍayati* (Kangle 1969, 8).

By living in agreement with the principles of duty and material well-being, he should devote himself [not only] to sensual pleasures, but evenly to the group of all three, bound with one another. What is more, if [it is only] one out of the [three] principles of duty, well-being and sensual pleasures that is highly venerated, this harms itself and the other two.

Similarly to the three principles of human existence, there are the three principles of royal government (Skt. *śakti*), to which the king should adhere. These are the strength of his counsel (Skt. *mantraśakti*), that of material resources (Skt. *prabhāvaśakti*) and that of energy (*utsāsaśakti*).

IX.1.14, 16 *Mantraśaktiḥ śreyasī... evam utsāhaprabhāvamantraśaktīnāmuntarantar-ādihiko atisaṃdhante* (Kangle, 1969, 217).

The power of counsel is the best... Now, being full of each of the powers of energy, resources and council, he surpasses [his enemies].

Discussing the necessity of employment of counsellors by a king, Kautilya provides a striking metaphor. He compares the idea of kingship to that of the image of the wheel, stating that the state government cannot be carried out by the king on his own:

I.7.9 *sahāyasādhyam rājatvam cakramekam na vartate | kurvit sacivāṃstasmāntemām ca śṃmuyānmatam* (Kangle, 1969, 9).

His kingdom [can only be] managed [with] assistants – the wheel does not roll on its own. He should appoint counsellors and listen to their advice.

It is now clear that the *dharmavijayin* – the first king in the classification of the aggressors – is the one who mastered the first power of a king, the power of council, governed by the principle of *dharma* (law and justice) where as the other two are those who adhere to the other two principles of government, that is either to the *artha* (in case of the *lobhavijayin* who subscribed to the primacy of material resources in his government) or to the *kāma* (in case of the *asuravijayin*, who

18 In the Classical Hindu tradition this triad was extended to include *mokṣa*, ‘liberation’, presented as the ultimate end of human existence. In the words of U. N. Ghoshal, ‘the two paths or processes ... according to the view of catholic Hinduism wonderfully complement each other in man’s progress towards self-realisation, namely, the path of action (*pravṛtti*) and that of renunciation (*nivṛtti*). While liberation (*mokṣa*) is held to be the goal of the latter path, the former path is conceived to involve the co-ordination of the three ends of life, these being virtue (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*) and pleasure (*kāma*)’ (1966, 10).

subscribed to politics shaped by the power of energy and physical force). Having acquired and subdued all the three powers of a king, the lawful conqueror can proceed to attain the ultimate goal – dominance over the Indian continent. The sphere of dominance of this kind of king is called a *cakravartikṣetra*. Therefore, the image of a wheel and the image of a world ruler intertwine in a metaphoric notion of the ‘wheel-roller’ – the *cakravartin*. The kings that are observant of lawfulness succeed in conquering the whole India.¹⁹

7. The principles of righteousness and force as the principles of ‘right’ and ‘left’ in the Indian political theory

The idea of world-dominance and its attainment by means of peaceful conquest and righteousness was elaborately developed in the early Buddhist political thought. The third century B.C. ‘Sutra of the Lion’s Roar of the Universal Monarch’ (Pāli *Cakkavattī-sīhanāda-sutta*) describes the career of the Universal Monarch (Skt. *cakravartin*). Among other things, it contains his conquest of the earth for the purpose of the instalment of a Buddhist over-kingship. I have argued elsewhere (Fomin 1999, 181-6) that the description of the campaign as it stands can be regarded as a straightforward literary fabrication, based upon the motifs and themes of the Indian inauguration ritual (Skt. *rājasūya*) and the *vājapeya* or the ritual that establishes the sacrificer in the position of a universal king (Skt. *saṃrāj*) in which the specifically Buddhist elements were incorporated. In the course of the sutra, the *cakravartin* is presented as a preacher of Buddhism, and the conquest of the neighbouring kings is their conversion to Buddhism. The kings submit to him voluntarily, without fighting or negotiating.²⁰ Nevertheless, the expediency of the secular power in early India required righteousness to be correlated with the principle of force (Skt. *daṇḍa*). The *Arthaśāstra* taught that the proper use of legitimate force (understood both as the power of punishment and the power of army) is appropriate in the government of a state.²¹ This is reflected in the presence of *dadaṇḍaa* among the elements of the state (Skt. *prakṛtī*) in the treatise.²² On the contrary, the *Cakkavatti-sutta* sought to establish the authority of the ‘wheel’ (Skt. *cakra*), portrayed in the sutra as the principle of Buddhist teaching, as the principle of the righteous rule:

19 Cf. Kangle, 1969, 217 = *Arthaśāstra* IX.1.17-18: *deśaḥ pṛthivī ḥ tasya himavatsamudrān... cakravartikṣetram*, ‘his [conquered] land is a continent from Himalayas down to the ocean – the field of the *cakravartin*’.

20 A new translation of the sutra, together with its gist and commentary, is contained in Fomin 2003, 304-325.

21 See *Arthaśāstra*, I.4.3-10 = Kangle, 1969, 6.

22 See *Arthaśāstra*, V.1.1 = Kangle, 1969, 134.

[The cakravartin], after having conquered this earth, surrounded by the ocean, neither by *daṇḍa*, nor by the sword, [but] by dharma, set out to live a settled life like a householder (transl. of the Pāli text in Carpenter 1992, 59).

However, one must admit that Buddhist political thought had to allow for some compromise to include the inevitable use of *daṇḍa*. The first attempt to accommodate the principle of legitimate force in the state government was the exposition on the origin of kingship contained in the second century B.C. ‘Sutra of the Supreme Knowledge’ (Pāli *Agāṇṇa-sutta*). The first king (Pāli *mahāsammata* ‘elected by many’) was presented not as a fully-fledged *cakravartin*, but rather as a basic petty king who met the necessary requirements of traditional Indian political ideology, and this concept of kingship can be seen as drawing heavily on the brahminic expediency of the *Arthaśāstra*:

Because it is said ‘a lord of the fields’ or *khattiyo*, that is why *khattiyo* as the second word [denoting] a king originated. And because they say ‘he delights [his subjects] with dharma’ or *rāja*, that is why *rāja* as the third word [denoting] a king originated.²³

The next step was to link up the notion of *cakravartin* with the principle of legitimate force. As was mentioned earlier, the *cakravartin* of the *Arthaśāstra* strived to rule over one continent, and is sometimes called ‘a ruler over one fourth [of the Earth]’ (Skt. *caturbhāga-cakravartin*). According to the Buddhist thinkers, this kind of *cakravartin* is inferior to the fully-fledged *cakravartin* who is the ruler over the four continents. The ‘ruler over one fourth [of the Earth]’ is ‘victorious by means of sword’ (Skt. *śāstrajito*) and is therefore defined as the *balacakravartin*, ‘the World Monarch by the power of force’.²⁴ The image of the *balacakravartin* crops up in the second century A.D. *Aśokāvadāna*, the biography of the legendary Indian ruler Aśoka.²⁵ The collection contains an account of the formal prediction which the Buddha makes about Aśoka, when Aśoka was predicted to become a *balacakravartin*:

The Blessed One then displayed his smile. Now whenever Blessed Buddhas smile, it is usual for rays... of light to issue forth from their mouths... After roaming throughout the worlds, all of the rays then re-enter the Buddha’s body. If a Buddha wants to ... predict a rebirth as a human being they vanish into his knees; if he wants to predict the kingship of a *balacakravartin* they vanish into his left palm, if he wants to predict the kingship of a *cakravartin* they vanish into his right palm (Strong 1983, 202).

23 Transl. is based on the Pāli text in Carpenter 1992, 93. These two titles are based on popular Indian etymologies, also prominent in the Sanskrit sources, which derive *kṣatriya*, the cognate of the Pāli *khattiyo*, from the verbal stem **kṣi*, *kṣayati*, ‘to govern, to lead, to protect’, as well as from Skt. *kṣetra*, ‘field’, and *rājā* from the verbal stem **rañj*, ‘to gladden, to make happy’.

24 See Strong 1983, 49-56, esp. 50, for further reading and references to the sources.

25 For dating see Strong 1983, 27.

It is clear from the above account that the vertical classification of ideal rulers in Buddhist thought was presented as lateral: two types are distinguished and compared to the hands of the Buddha. Because the character of the left hand is less auspicious than that of the right one, so then is the position of the *balacakravartin* is less prominent in the Buddhist cosmology. He enjoys a slightly less superior status than the *cakravartin* per se, although both are described as righteous and lawful kings (Skt. *dharmikā dharmarājā*).

8. Conclusion

This brings us back to the *Audacht Moraind*. The intricate setting of the Indian texts which have been examined reveal the existing interrelationship between the classifications of kings based on ‘moral semantic’ and those based upon the ‘power semantic’. We have seen that the lawful, greedy and evil conquerors of the *Arthaśāstra* find their counterparts in the petty king (Pāli *mahāsammato*), the power-king (Skt. *balacakravartin*) and the righteous king (Skt. *cakravartin*) of Buddhist literature.

An analogous correlation between the ‘power semantic’ and ‘moral semantic’ exists in the early Irish source. It is important to note that the legendary author of the wisdom-text, Morand, addresses his instruction to the king – Feradach Find Fechnach – who came over to Ireland accompanied by supporting troops to subdue the vassal tribes and to restore his original power.²⁶ In the context of the introduction to the text, Feradach is the ‘ruler of occupation with hosts from outside’. However, he was to overcome the usurpers (*aithechthúatha*, ‘the vassal tribes’) and to become the fully-fledged ruler over the whole of Ireland. Thus we have a connection between the classification of kings based on their status, Feradach striving to be at the top of it as the king of Ireland, and the classification of kings based on their morality. It is intended by Morand that Feradach’s rule will be eventually worthy of becoming the first among the ideal types propagated in the closing paragraphs of the wisdom-text:

Dia-nderna inso huili, bid sen, bid suthain... biaid cach mí inna bláth, is úad gébthar hÉriu co bráth (§52 (A) = Kelly 1976, 70.196, 201-2).

26 *Dolluid iarum in Feradachsain i cind ilbliadan i nHerinn co slógaib tairis*, ‘Feradach then came over with hosts to Ireland at the end of many years’ (rec. L¹, Best & O’Brien 1967, 1265.37525) = *Do-luid side iarum taris co slógaib* (rec. B, Kelly 1976, 2.6). For the discussion of the Medieval Irish tales *Bruiden Meic Da Réo* and *Scél ar Chairbre Cinn Cait* in which the vassals’ revolt and the subsequent restoration of Feradach to a high-kingship of Ireland is described see O’Connor 2006.

If he does all this, he will be old, he will be long-lived... every month will be in its blossom, it is from him that Ireland will be inherited forever.

However, Feradach is expected to progress from the ‘ruler of occupation’ type. If we look at the royal career proposed to Feradach by Morand from the point of view of the ‘moral semantic’, it becomes clearer why the recension B version of the wisdom-text is equally divided between *Is tre fhír fíathemon* series (§§12-28) and the *Ad-mestar* series (§§32-52). The first series introduces the fortunes of the ‘righteous’ type of ruling, whereas the second series introduces the valuables that constitute the rule of the ‘common sense’ type of ruling. Both are deemed to be good, but the first is nevertheless better than the second.

The vertical division between the good and the bad types of kings (*fírfhlaith* – *tarbfhlaith*), on the one hand, and the lateral division between the rational type (*cíallfhlaith*) and the righteous type (*fírfhlaith*), on the other, has provided us with a clue to the sense of the four-fold classification of kings in the *AM*. Having conquered the vassal tribes, Feradach is now capable of choosing a non-violent method of ruling. The troops are no longer needed. Therefore, the ‘ruler of occupation’ type of ruling has to be abandoned. The *ad-mestar* series prescribing the good ruler to estimate the valuables in his domains compel him to be reasoning. But the common sense is not the terminus of his rule. Finally, going further than just collecting valuables from his tribes, the ideal ruler has to comply with the principle of righteousness, and enjoy the blessings of his subjects together with the joys of experiencing the ruler’s truth. In the eyes of the compiler of the wisdom-text, there is no such thing as *fírinne*, and the true ruler should smile ‘on the truth when he hears it’ (Kelly 1976, 19).

Abbreviations

AM = *Audacht Morainn*. See Kelly 1976.

Arthaśāstra = *The Kauṣīlyya Arthaśāstra*. See Kangle 1969.

CIH = *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*. I-VI. Ed. D. A. Binchy 1978. Dublin: DIAS.

DIL = *Dictionary of the Irish Language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials*. Compact edition. 1990. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

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‘What’s in a Name?’ About the Syntax and Philological Functions of Etymologies in the Táin¹

Jenny Graver

1. Introduction

The subject of names, in the words of Farhang Zabeeh, is a varied and many-sided subject: ‘Poets, magicians, linguists and logicians have often been fascinated, puzzled and angered by the protean functions of proper names.’ (1968, 1). This paper, and the MA dissertation on which it is based, is one fascinated linguist’s attempt to consider the question of what’s in a name.

I suggest that possible frameworks for answering this question might be found in combined syntactic and philological studies of early Irish etymologies. To this end, I begin by sketching some basic assumptions, concerning Isidore of Seville and his conception of names, which is assumed to be the basis of the early Irish etymologies (section 2). Section 3 contains analyses of the syntax of the etymologies, using the terminology of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG). Section 4 gives a brief sketch of some of the possible philological functions of the etymologies, concerning how the etymologies can be seen to express aetiology, and what their functions might be in the text. This is then seen in light of the syntactic analyses from section 3. Section 5 provides a summary and some concluding remarks.

2. Reflections upon what a name is: Isidore of Seville

In modern-day linguistics, a name can be seen as a special kind of word. The relation between the expression of the name and its referent is arbitrary and unique, and determined not by meaning, which the name is said to lack, but by a given context of utterance (Lyons 1984, 214).²

- 1 I would like to thank my supervisors Jan Erik Rekdal and Helge Lødrup for all kinds of help and support with this work.
- 2 It’s rather difficult to find linguistic literature dealing systematically with the subject of names. One recent publication which should go a way towards remedying this, is *The Grammar of Names* by John M. Anderson (Oxford University Press 2007). I have not been able to get hold of this book at the time of writing (January 2007).

In contrast to this approach is a conception of names found, among other places, in the writings of the 7th century Spanish bishop Isidore of Seville, and more specifically, in his *Etymologiae*. According to Isidore, a name can be given in one of two ways: either as an arbitrary designation, or according to the nature of its referent (Baumgarten 2004, 56-7). The latter manner of naming relates directly to Isidore's descriptions of etymology, as we shall see.

For the purpose of this work, I looked at the etymologies in a selected part of the *Lebor na hUidre* (LU) version of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (see section 4 for details of how my selection was made). The following is one of the examples I found. I give the preceding part of the tale in addition to the explicit part of the etymology (my emphasis), taken from Cecile O'Rahilly's edition and translation (TBC 2003, 30 and 151-2).

1) Dagéini dano Lethan fora áth for Níth la Conailliu. Anais cadessin ara chind Con Culaind. Bá sáeth laiss a ndogéni Cú Chulaind. Ésgid dano Cú Chulaind a chend di sudiu; conid fácab laiss. **Is de atá Áth Lethan for Níth.**

Lethan came on to his ford over the Níth in Conaille, and he indeed waited to encounter Cú Chulainn. He was grieved by what Cú Chulainn had already done. Cú Chulainn cut off his head and left it there beside the body. **Hence is the name Áth Lethan on the Níth.**

In what sense can we term this story an etymology? The connotations of the modern science of etymology have not benefited our knowledge of medieval etymology, since the latter has been ignored and even ridiculed for its failure to live up to the standards of the modern science (as described by e. g. Baumgarten 1983, 225 and 1987, 1). I use the term 'etymology' for the medieval phenomenon even so, in its basic sense 'explanation of a word.'

According to Isidore, when an etymology is used to analyse a name, one gains knowledge of the name's referent (see e. g. Baumgarten 1983, 226 and 1987, 2, as well as 1990, 115 and 2004, 55-7). This follows when a name is given according to the referent's nature.

The etymologies analyse names through a process Baumgarten terms 'de-onymizing' (1990, 121 etc.). In the approach sketched here, de-onymizing can be said to take a name, in the modern sense of the word, and transform it into a common noun. In other words, de-onymizing changes the relation between the name and its referent, from a unique and arbitrary relation in a given context of utterance, into a relation of meaning. The new meaning reached in this way, is what provides knowledge of the referent of the name.

This can be illustrated through example 1. Here, we are first told how Lethan is killed by Cú Chulainn at a ford. The etymology then uses this tale to de-onymize

the name Áth Lethan by providing it with a meaning 'Lethan's ford,' where the genitival relation is taken to mean 'the ford where Lethan was killed.'

As a summary of the preceding discussion, three 'participants of etymology' can be defined: First of all, the name itself, as the object of the explanation. The second participant is the referent of the name. The third is the explanation/etymology itself, which defines the relation between the two others. These three participants will be used in the next section as a starting point for the syntactic analyses. In section 4, they will serve as the tool for seeing the syntactic analyses in light of various philological aspects of early Irish etymologizing.

3. Syntactic analyses of two realizations of etymology

Baumgarten in his articles (e.g. 1990, 115-16 and 2004, 64) suggests that etymologizing can be realized in two ways: implicitly, or formally and explicitly concluded by the narrator. I focus here on the latter, as this is where the study of syntax is relevant.

In my selection of the LU *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, I have found explicitly realized etymology with the two Irish verbs of 'being,' the copula and the substantive verb. In this section, I will give a syntactic analysis for each of these two types of realization. We will see that the three participants of etymology are realized differently in each of the two structures.

I ask the following questions of each of the structures: What is the predicate of the clause, and what arguments does the predicate take? How are the predicate and its arguments realized?

Starting with the copula, the clause in example 2 follows a description of how Medb's dog Baiscne is killed by Cú Chulainn (TBC, 27 and 149):

2) [*Druim Baiscne*] [*ainm inna maighní sin*] *íarom ó sin immach.*
name ART place.GEN that henceforth³
'Druim Baiscne was the name of that place henceforth.'

One way of describing this clause is to see it in light of the distinction between equative and attributive predication in copular clauses, as defined by e. g. John Lyons (1984, 185).

An equative clause consists of two definite nominal constituents which differ in meaning, but which are said to have the same reference. The following is a classic example of this type of clause (see Lyons 1984, 197-201 for discussion):

3 The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: ART – article; COP – copula; EXP – expletive; GEN – genitive; SV – substantive verb.

3) The Morning Star is the Evening Star.

This clause states of *the Morning Star* and *the Evening Star* that these expressions refer to the same celestial body, namely the planet Venus.

In contrast to this type of predication is the attributive copular clause (example from Lyons 1984, 185):

4) That girl is an actress.

Here, the clause consists of a predicative phrase, *an actress*, which states of the subject, *that girl*, that she has the property of being an actress.

The clause in example 2 consists of two definite phrases. In such a case, there are no grammatical markers (like the difference in definiteness in example 4) to distinguish between the two clause types. Further discussion on this topic have to be left out for reasons of space; I will assume for the purpose of this article, that the example in 2) is an attributive clause.

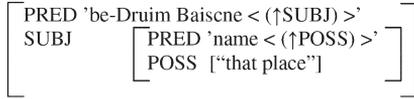
We next need to consider the syntactic functions of the two constituents in the clause in 2): Which one of the constituents realizes the subject and the predicate phrase, respectively? What is the relation between these arguments?

It is a well-known fact that the copula morpheme is frequently left out in Irish copula clauses. Also, when it does occur, it has more in common with proclitic elements like pre-verbs and articles than with regular verbs in terms of prosody and orthography (see Thurneysen 1946, 24-5 and McCone 1994, 211). These properties are, among others, in support of the hypothesis that the copula morpheme is not the syntactic head of the clause. I'm going to follow this hypothesis also for my early Irish example, and assume, in the words of Anders Ahlqvist (1971-72, 271) that the copula is a 'verb-making particle,' enabling the following constituent to function as the predicate of the clause.

In terms of LFG (leaving the details of the theoretical mechanics behind it aside), this proposal would state that the leftmost constituent is the PRED of the clause, which selects the final constituent as its subject. A corresponding analysis has been developed for Modern Irish in the framework of Government and Binding by Andrew Carney and Heidi Harley (1995) and in the framework of LFG as one possible functional structure of a copular clause in a cross-linguistic perspective by Mary Dalrymple, Helge Dyvik and Tracy King (2004). This analysis is further supported by such descriptive work as Thurneysen (1946, 475) and McCone (1994, 211), who both give the order copula morpheme + predicate as the regular order for copula clauses.

Based on this, we have the following f-structure for the clause in 2):

5)



This structure states that the name *Druim Baiscne* is the predicate of the clause, and that it selects for a subject *ainm inna maigni sin* – ‘the name of that place.’ In other words, the clause states of the subject, the name of a contextually given place, that it is realized by the phrase *Druim Baiscne*. Included in the clause in 2) is also an adverb phrase *íarom ó sin immach* – ‘henceforth’ – which is not involved in the predication.

Moving to an etymology with the substantive verb, I turn now to the example given in 1), repeated and glossed here as 6):

6) Is de atá [Áth Lethan] [for Níth]
 COP from-3sg.m. SV on
 ‘Hence is the name Áth Lethan on the Níth.’

This clause can be seen in light of another distinction of meaning relevant to the verb ‘be,’ namely between locative and existential predication. The following examples illustrate locative and existential sentences respectively (from Freeze 1992, 553):

- 7) There is a book on the bench.
 8) The book is on the bench.

Ray Freeze (1992) argues that locative and existential clauses are derived from the same underlying structure, with a preposition heading a predicate phrase which selects for a theme and a locative argument. The different realizations of the theme argument *at the book* in examples 7-8 is attributed to a definiteness effect, which leads to functional differences between the two structures.

Furthermore, Freeze (1992, 580-1) argues that there are languages, of which Scottish Gaelic is one, where the definiteness effect does not apply. The same can be said to hold true for early Irish. In consequence, the roles of theme and locative can be said to be realized in 6) by, respectively, the subject *Áth Lethan* and the pronominal complement of the prepositional phrase *de*. The latter constituent is placed at the front of the sentence as a result of the cleft construction, of which I will have more to say later.

Having defined the arguments of the clause, we again need to consider the predicate relation between them. Freeze, as mentioned, argues that the predicate

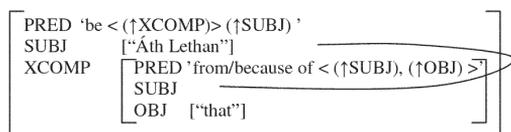
of the clause is a preposition, *on* in example 7 and 8. Is this the correct analysis for our early Irish example?

Joan Bresnan (2001, 275-80) presents three possible structures of predication for prepositional complements. In one of these structures, the preposition is said to be specifically selected by the verb with the same function as a case marker. A typical example of this is the oblique argument to the verb ‘give’ in a sentence like ‘Mary gave a rose to John,’ where *to* is selected by the verb in order to mark ‘John’ as the receiver of the giving. This analysis can be immediately excluded from consideration – there is nothing inherent in the substantive verb that demands the relation expressed in the preposition *de* to its complement.

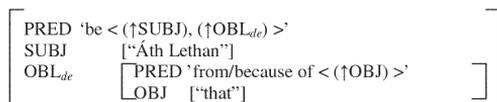
In the second structure, the preposition is seen as an open complement, selecting a subject in addition to an object. This corresponds to Freeze’s analysis as described above, with the preposition selecting for a theme and a locative. The substantive verb in this case would select for a thematic prepositional complement and a non-thematic subject. The latter function would be filled by the constituent selected as theme and subject by the preposition.

Corresponding to the third structure mentioned by Bresnan, the substantive verb would select for a subject and a prepositional complement, both thematic. The f-structure of these two analyses of example 6 can be generalized as follows (disregarding the cleft construction):

9) F-structure for example 6, with the preposition as the main PRED of the clause:



10) F-structure for example 6, with the prepositional phrase as an oblique argument of the substantive verb:



I will assume that the f-structure in 10) is correct for our example, based on the existence of clauses like 11), with an expletive prepositional complement *and* (example from Ó Máille 1912:62):

11) *ataat alaaili interiecta AND it coitchena do cach ceniul*
 SV some interjections EXP COP common to every nation
 'there are some interjections common to every nation'

Given that the prepositional phrase *and* in this example is seen as an expletive complement, we cannot but assume that the subject *alaaili interiecta* is selected by the substantive verb as seen in 10). In order to avoid positing different f-structures for sentences with the substantive verb depending on the semantic content of its complement, I will assume that the f-structure in 10) is correct also for example 6.

In this structure then, the subject of the clause is the name *Áth Lethan*. This name is predicated, through the preposition *de*, to exist because of, or have its origins in, a previously mentioned event referred to by the pronominal element of the preposition.

As mentioned above, the prepositional phrase *de* is placed to the front of the clause as a result of the cleft construction. A thorough description of the contribution of this construction to the clause is beyond the scope of this paper. I will therefore assume a generally accepted view of the cleft construction, namely that its purpose is to grammatically mark the pre-posed constituent, *de* in our example, as the focus or new information in the clause (see e.g. Lambrecht 2001).

To sum up, we can return to the three participants of etymology described in section 2, the name, its referent and the etymology explaining the name, and consider these in light of the two analyses of our examples, repeated here as 12) and 13):

12) [*Druim Baiscne*]_{PRED} [*ainm inna maighni sin*]_{SUBJ} *íarom ó sin immach.*
 name ART place.GEN that henceforth
 'Druim Baiscne was the name of that place henceforth.'

13) Is _{de}_{OBL} *atá* [*Áth Lethan*]_{SUBJ} [*for Níth*]
 COP from-3sg.m. SV on
 'Hence is the name *Áth Lethan* on the *Níth*.'

We have seen in the preceding sections that the name is realized as the subject in 13), but as the predicate in 12). The referent of the name is realized in the subject phrase of 12) and not at all in 13).

It was said in section 2 that medieval etymology explains a name by providing it with a meaning. In our examples, we have seen that this meaning is taken from

events in the preceding texts. These events are referred to by the adverb phrases *tarom ó sin immach* and *de* respectively. As we have seen, the phrase *de* in 13) is selected by the verb, while the adverb in 12) is not. In other words, the etymology is a part of the predication in 13) but not in 12).

We observe that there are differences in how the participants of etymology are syntactically realized. What these differences might tell us is considered in the next section, where they are seen in light of various philological functions of medieval etymologizing.

4. Philological and textual functions of etymology

I ask in the title to this paper, ‘what’s in a name?’ So far, I have given one answer to this question sketched with the tools of a formal syntactic theory. We have seen illustrated that a name can be explained by providing it with a meaning, and that this process can be spotted in the grammatical functions of the clause with which the process is linguistically expressed. In this section, I will look further at philological aspects of early Irish etymologies, and see them in relation to the syntactic results from the previous section.

The examples from the *Táin* in this article are taken from the material I studied for my MA dissertation. I selected my material based on the following comment by James Carney in his *Studies in Irish Literature and History*, where he discusses the *Táin* before and after the introduction of the episode entitled *Aided Fraích* (to be found in TBC, 26-7): ‘Until this point the text, although there are doubtless many interpolations, has coherence and unity. (...) After this point, although the hand of the same individual is still there, the text becomes more episodic, there are a greater number of incidents which are merely of antiquarian interest, (...)’ (1955, 67).

Based on this statement, my selection begins with *Aided Fraích*, and ends at the first interpolation of H (lines 834-1544 in O’Rahilly 1976). Now Baumgarten (1990, 115-6) mentions three formal realizations of etymology: With the substantive verb, the copula, and with a passive clause *is de asberar x* ‘therefore x is so called.’ As mentioned above, only the two former were present in my material. Can a result such as this tell us something about the (part of the) text it is based on, and if so, how?

Baumgarten sketches one route to take, with the following comment: ‘(...) the dual character of which [i.e. aetiology and eponymy] is often linguistically reflected in the interchanging use of “is from” (subst. vb.) and “is named from” (...).’ (1983, 227).

We saw just this in the previous section: the etymologies in our examples were said to explain names through certain adverb phrases. These phrases referred to

previously narrated events, thereby explaining the names by providing them with a meaning relating to this event. In other words, our examples of etymology can be seen to focus on aetiology

We see, then, how a philological distinction can be pinpointed and even further nuanced through a syntactic analysis: Is there a significance to be found in the varying use of either the copula (where the etymologizing is 'weak,' i.e. outside the predication) or the substantive verb (where the etymologizing is 'strong'/contained in the predication)? Furthermore, what does it tell us about this part of the *Táin* that the formally realized etymology is expressed only with the two verbs of being, thereby focusing only on aetiology?

This latter question can be seen in light of what the etymologies' textual functions might be said to be. Baumgarten in his articles (e.g. 1987, 23-4 and 1990, 117) discusses what he terms 'creative etymology,' where the etymologizing of a name is used to create a tale, which is in many cases then integrated into a greater narrative framework. Might this be a possible function in the text of the *Táin* of the etymologies I looked at? If so, might it be said to follow from this that the etymologies focus on aetiology, if their function is to create the tale said to be the cause of the name?

This view also goes a long way towards explaining Carney's attitude to this part of the *Táin*, which was referred to above. He further comments that material which contains etymologizing is characteristic of sources 'where the antiquarian information is important rather than the story' (Carney 1955, 67n). The two episodic stories preceding our two examples of etymologizing certainly are, from the point of view under discussion, created and inserted into the *Táin* without any recognizable contribution to the story as a whole. If Carney's focus is the story, his attitude towards the etymologies is understandable.

From this yet other questions follow: What might have been the motivations for including in the *Táin* such stories created from aetiological etymology?

Morgan Thomas Davies' article *Protocols of Reading in Early Irish Literature* exemplifies a framework and literary approach which might be fruitful for the purpose of considering this question. He explores how it might be said to have been an ideal in Irish interpretative practice in the 10th and 11th centuries to search for as many meanings as possible in texts, and suggests that this interpretative ideal might be visible also in composition (Davies 1996, e.g. 19-23). In this context, he specifically mentions the LU *Táin*, as an example of how variant traditions and storylines are included at the cost of (what we would see as) a coherent narrative (1996, 21).

5. Concluding remarks

In summary, I hope to have proposed in this paper a possible framework for studying the question – through the early Irish etymologies – of what’s in a name, rather than answers to the question itself. I believe it can be shown that there are systematic differences in the syntax of how the etymologies are expressed, and that these differences can be studied in light of other, philological functions of etymologies.

There is another side to this as well, which is contingent on my preferred research focus: Being faced with examples of language use, such as the etymologies in the *Táin*, I have, in other words, asked with this paper why they have the syntactic form that we observe. Possible frameworks for studying *this* question have been shown to lie in two areas, internal and external to grammar and language (cf. Newmeyer 1998, ch. 3): I suggested grammatical and language-internal explanations from both the Irish language and non-language-specific considerations, while explanations unrelated to grammar were drawn from theories of the philosophy behind the etymologies and the etymologies’ textual functions.

My analyses are meant, in the final view of things, as an illustration of this kind of dual approach: I hope at least to have shown in this paper that one worthwhile approach can be to explain language use by factors both internal and external to the grammar, and that such factors can be fruitfully considered in relation to each other.

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Using Irish Language Corpora in the University Classroom

Karin Hansson

1. Introduction

This paper concerns the use of electronic corpora in the Irish language courses taught at the Celtic Section, Uppsala University. Corpora are increasingly being recognised as an important tool in language teaching, in particular at university level. For example, electronic corpora can make up for a lack of suitable textbooks and grammars, a problem facing both teachers and students in Uppsala. I will present my experiences of working with the *PAROLE Irish Distributable Corpus (Corpas Náisiúnta na Gaeilge)* to find instances of use that can help explain grammar rules and to create grammar exercises and assignments, as well as to provide material for student term paper projects. In my experience, an electronic corpus is an important tool for the teacher, providing an easily accessible source of authentic examples that reflect actual use and this is of particular benefit in teaching a foreign language. However, there are also problems and caveats involved when working with an electronic corpus regarding the set-up, compilation method, documentation and necessary search and concordance programmes, which I will also address.

Electronic corpora have been used in linguistics since roughly the 1960s but it is only recently that they have started to be used in language teaching.¹ Gradually, teachers have realised that reliable information about various aspects of language use cannot be provided by textbooks or introspection only. Instead, more and more teachers now turn to electronic corpora to retrieve relevant material from a large variety of authentic sources. Electronic corpora are widely available, affordable, and easy to use. Today, many textbooks, grammars and other teaching materials are based on corpus-derived data. However, whereas this development is well underway in the teaching of some languages, especially English, the situation for Irish, being a lesser used language, is vastly different. The emergence of electronic corpora of contemporary Irish is very recent. As a consequence, there are still very few resources available to teachers of Irish who want to use corpus linguistic methods in class and teaching material based on corpus-derived data.

1 For an historic overview, as well as examples of corpus-aided foreign language teaching projects, see Sinclair (2004).

2. Irish language corpora

There are (at least) two major electronic corpora of 20th-century Irish texts. The larger of the two is the *PAROLE Irish distributable Corpus* (also referred to as *Corpus Náisiúnta na Gaeilge / The National Corpus of Irish*). This corpus contains over 8 million words from sources published between 1970 and 1990. The source texts are mainly books, both fiction and non-fiction, and newspapers, covering a wide range of topics and genres. *The National Corpus of Irish* was compiled and published as part of the EU-financed *PAROLE* project. The aim of this project was to offer a large-scale harmonised set of corpora for all EU languages.

The other corpus is *Tobar na Gaedhilge* ('The source of Irish'), a 2.5 million word corpus containing 45 Irish language texts (42 of which are written in the Ulster dialect, one of the three main dialects of Modern Irish), mainly fiction (novels and short stories) published between 1907 and 1967.²

The National Corpus of Irish is available on CDROM, priced at €50 for non-commercial use. The *Tobar na Gaedhilge* can be downloaded for free.

Table 1. Summary of the *PAROLE* and *Tobar na Gaedhilge* corpora.

Corpus	Corpus na Gaeilge	Tobar na Gaedhilge (version 1.2)
approx. no. of words	> 8,000,000	2,500,000
no. of texts	304 (109 books)	45 books
Genres	mixed	mainly fiction
time span	1970-1990	1907-1967

2.1 Concordance programs

Tobar na Gaedhilge includes a multi-functional retrieval program; the corpus is intended to be used only with this program. *The National Corpus of Irish*, however, consists merely of a set of texts, which means that you also need a search and concordance program to be able to retrieve data from the files. The advantage of this is that the user is free to choose whatever search programme he or she prefers. There are several concordance and search programs available to buy (including *WordSmith Tools*, which is the program that I used) or download for free (for example, *TextSTAT*).³

2 This applies to version 1.2, released in 2004. Version 1.3 was released in September 2006, containing more texts and improved search and concordance program. For further details, see <http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/~oduibhin/tobar/index.htm>

3 For more information about *TextSTAT*, see <http://www.niederlandistik.fu-berlin.de/textstat/software-en.html>

3. Corpora in the classroom

In this section I will describe how I have used the *PAROLE* corpus and corpus linguistics in my own work as a teacher. I have used the corpus with my second and third semester students attending courses in Modern Irish at the Celtic Section, Uppsala University. I have not used the corpus with first semester students because at that point the students' vocabulary and grammar are very basic and the material found in textbooks is sufficient and thus there is no real need for additional corpus-derived data.

With second and third semester students I have used the corpus in two ways. First, I have introduced the students to corpus linguistics by presenting the *PAROLE* corpus and *WordSmith Tools* to them. After acquainting them with the basics of the corpus set-up and how to search it I gave them questions to answer by retrieving data from the corpus, for example regarding the use of synonymous expressions (such as *gasúr* and *páiste*, both meaning 'child') or alternating verb forms (such as *tá mé* and *táim*, both meaning 'I am'). For example, the students would be asked to compare the frequencies of the phrases under investigation. This is at first glance a very simple task but for the students it involves taking into account some important points of grammars since they have to consider the mutated and / or declined forms of the nouns in order to make their searches complete: *gasúr*, *ghasúr*, *ngasúr*, *ghasúir*, *gasúir* etc. When it comes to verb phrases, students need to consider the contrast between independent and dependent verb forms as well as initial mutations caused by verb particles when formulating search strings: *tá mé*, *níl mé*, *bhfuil mé* etc. The main aim of exercises of this kind was to encourage students to explore Irish grammar and usage independently, and to find language facts that would not be explained to them in textbooks, dictionaries and grammars.⁴

Second, I have used the corpus as an aid in collecting relevant examples when preparing lessons, handouts, exercises, and assignments. For example, I have prepared exercises where the task is to fill in plural and / or genitive forms of nouns and adjectives in a sentence based on the context and the translation of the sentence. The main purpose of this was to be able to explain and describe better the use of a particular construction in different types of text beyond the limited examples presented in grammars and textbooks.

3.1 Student essay projects

Apart from grammar exercises and independent student work in class, two third semester students in the Celtic Section have used corpus-based data for their essay projects (corresponding to half a semester's work). One of them is currently working on a project about the use and structure of subclauses introduced by *agus*, 'and', in

4 For example, both *tá mé* and *táim* are listed in *New Irish Grammar by the Christian Brothers* (1986, 112) but their use is not commented on.

Modern Irish texts. She used parts of the *PAROLE* corpus, focussing on fiction and newspaper texts, to collect around 200 instances of use to base her study on. The other student studied non-standard forms of the irregular verb *déan*, ‘do, make’, in his essay, using material from both the *PAROLE* and *Tobar na Gaedhilge* corpora. In total he found around 12,000 verb forms. As a result of the use of corpora, these students had a large set of contemporary empirical data from a wide variety of sources at their disposal that would otherwise have been virtually impossible to compile, especially considering the limited time available to them.

4. Advantages of using electronic corpora

In my experience, there are several advantages to using corpora in language teaching. Firstly they offer an excellent way to remedy the lack of suitable teaching material for university students of Irish, in particular those who have very little previous knowledge of the language. Apart from providing more examples and from a wider range of sources than can be found in text books and grammars, one of the greatest advantages of using corpora-derived data is that it helps the teacher to focus on the most frequently occurring aspects of grammar rather than lesser-used constructions. This is particularly important for me personally as a non-native speaker of Irish since in many cases I cannot rely on introspection alone. For example, the declension of adjectives together with nouns in the genitive is a complex matter. It is discouraging for students to study paradigms and examples like *hata an fhir bhig*, ‘the small man’s hat’, as prescribed by grammarians (*New Irish Grammar by the Christian Brothers* 1986, 61), instead of ones like *hata an f[h]ear beag*, which is more common in genuine Connemara Irish. However, corpus-derived data reveals that adjectives in the genitive are relatively infrequent in actual use. The relevance of practising examples like the one cited above is thus limited and in my experience, it is of great comfort to students to realise this. Also, searching an electronic corpus for relevant data is considerably faster than searching printed sources manually.

4.1 Caveats

Nevertheless, despite all the advantages of using corpora in language teaching there are also caveats involved. The main problem with using the *PAROLE* corpus concerns the selection of material from which it is composed. Several types of texts included in the corpus are unsuitable as sources of examples of language use for teaching purposes because they are extracts from, for example, course books or translated works, or because some texts contain quotes, lyrics, poems, titles, names of products etc. It may be more difficult to detect unsuitable examples in the concordance list of a search program than in printed texts due to the limited context

displayed. Therefore, it is necessary to study examples carefully before using them and also to select files from the corpus manually before conducting a search.

Furthermore, the texts in the *PAROLE* corpus have not been marked up for dialect, which must be kept in mind when looking for examples of expressions or structures where there may be dialectal variation. This is of particular relevance for non-native speakers of Irish and learners who may lack the necessary linguistic knowledge to be able to assess the text sources with regard to dialect. Dialectal variation must be taken into account when formulating a search string as well as in the interpretation of the search results. Obviously, this also applies to *Tobar na Gaedhilge* which contains many dialectal forms.

5. Conclusion

To conclude, then, it is obvious that using corpora in the teaching of Irish as a foreign language has great potential, both as a source of material for exercises and descriptions of Irish usage in various contexts for the teacher and as a tool for, in particular, more advanced students for independent study. However, a lot of work in this field still needs to be done. For example, textbooks, dictionaries and grammars based on corpus-derived data would be a very welcome development in Irish language teaching. Further, spoken corpora would also be a very useful tool that could provide invaluable information for teachers and students alike.

In addition, the little research that has been done in the field of corpus-aided language teaching mostly concerns English and it is thus important to explore further the benefits of using corpora in the teaching of lesser-used languages like Irish. However, most importantly, corpora and corpus-based teaching material can help remedy the lack of exposure to Irish that students face due to the limited use of the Irish language today.

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Early Irish Monasteries and their Dynastic Connections¹

Melanie C. Maddox

With the introduction of Christianity, kings were quick to use their patronage of the Church to influence political relationships within their kingdoms and those of their neighbors. In a similar fashion, Church leaders from dynastic kindreds were quick to use their family connections to promote their monastery's goals. Although the number of kings found in Ireland during the Medieval period has been a source of differing opinions (Byrne 2001, 7; Ó Corráin 1978, 10-11), it is clear that at any one time there were several competing dynasties. Each of these royal dynasties could in turn split off into several branches (Charles-Edwards 2000, 14). With so many kings ruling throughout the land, it would only make sense for each to look for something to strengthen their position. Thomas Charles-Edwards in his *Early Christian Ireland* observes that even though it might have been impossible for some dynasties to maintain their royal standing, there were still other ways for them to maintain a high status. One such way was to control a monastery. Through the dynasty's control of a monastery and its connection to that monastery's saint, the dynasty could gain a potent focus for displaying its power, as well as providing a focal centre for its people (Charles-Edwards 2000, 14). The purpose of this article is to explore both primary and secondary literature concerning the history of Ireland to discover the strategies employed by both dynasties and ecclesiastical elites to promote their own objectives. As an exploratory piece this work covers individuals, events and relationships which stretch from the 5th to possibly as late as the 12th century. By focusing on the ways in which a dynasty could control a monastery and different ways in which a dynasty and monastery could find mutually beneficial ties, this article will contribute to the wider academic community by focusing on specific avenues for future exploration and suggest existing opportunities for using this information as part of a larger look at similar patterns employed by the neighbours of the Irish within the British Isles.

1 This article was originally a paper presented at the VIII Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Alex Woolf and Colmán Etchingham for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this work. I am also grateful to Katja Ritari and the editing board of *Studia Celtica Fennica* for their helpful suggestions. As many others have said before me any question of content and style remains my obligation alone.

I. Gifts of land for monasteries (5th to the 7th century)

Examples of ruling dynasties working with early missionaries can be found throughout Ireland. In Leinster during the 5th century the Dál Messin Corb, Uí Bairrche and Dál Chormaic dynasties all played the role of patrons to early Christian missionaries (Smyth 1982, 20). *AU*, under the year 574, records Conall mac Comgaill's grant of land to St Columba for establishing Iona (*AU*, 574.2). This gift may have been an effort by Conall to maintain control over Cenél Loairn lands (Foster 1996, 81). Conall's grant shows the underlying assumption that an over-king could distribute land belonging to a client-king (Charles-Edwards 2000, 298). By distributing the land of his client-king to the Church, Conall had removed the possibility of that land providing an outlet of wealth and power to a rival kindred (Charles-Edwards 2000, 293). In showing the layering of over-king and client-king, Charles-Edwards observes that Columba's journey to found a new monastery outside Ireland could have been timed to coincide with the strong political backing his Uí Néill cousins could give him, because it was 'unlikely [that Conall would] wish to offend them' (2000, 296). Another example of an over-king granting the land of his client-king for the foundation of a monastery can be found in the case of Durrow. Áed mac Ainmirech's [d. 598] dedication of Durrow to his kinsman St Columba effectively limited the power of the Cenél Fíachach (Charles-Edwards 2000, 555; Herbert 1996, 32-33). Other examples of land grants can be found throughout the annals and saints' lives and will be discussed further on in this article.

The close ecclesiastical and political connections and similarities between Ireland and Northumbria have long been recognized by modern scholars. For the purposes of this article, similarities between the interactions of Irish dynasties and monasteries will be compared with those of their Northumbrian neighbours. This is done in an effort to highlight the similarities and interaction between the two groups. In doing so the goal is to suggest future avenues for research and discussion, as well as draw to attention those actions which were not unique to the Irish.

Not far away from Iona, Northumbrian kings are well documented in their grants of land to the Church (Alcock 2003, 48). In the 7th century, Oswald granted the island of Lindisfarne to found the Irishman Aidan's episcopal see (Bede, III.3). In return for his success in battle over the Mercian king Penda, on 15 November 655, Oswy 'dedicated his daughter to the Lord as a holy virgin ... and twelve small estates to build monasteries' (Bede, III.24). The *Life of Ceolfrid* records Ecgrifh's gift of land to Benedict Biscop, the abbot of Monkwearmouth (*Life of Ceolfrid*, 7). Another example of land grants in Northumbria comes from Alchfrith, sub-king of Deira, who gave Wilfrid 'a monastery of forty hides in the place called Ripon' (Bede, III.25). When mentioning the latter two figures from Northumbria, both Wilfrid [c.634–710] and Benedict Biscop [c.628–689] came from noble families

(Bede, V.19). These men like Columba and Adomnán, used the power they held as noblemen, to advance the cause of their monasteries and families. This aspect of monastic leaders using their power as nobles and members of royal kindreds will be discussed below.

2. Dynastic connections to saints

There are many examples of dynasties placing importance on connecting themselves to saints. Both the Uí Máil and Uí Dúnlainge dynasty asserted a close connection with St Cómgein of Glendalough (Mac Shamhráin 1996, xx); the dynasty of Dál Chormaic supplied both Sinchells to Killeigh and Colum to Terryglass; and St Brigit came from a branch of the Fothairt dynasty; the dynasty of Uí Bairrche laid claim to Ailella, St Columba's mother Eithne and Fiach of Sleaty (*CGH*, 120.a.6, 120.a.4, 128.b.7 and 121.bc.49). What these connections highlight is the extent to which the ecclesiastical elite were members of royal kindreds. Many of these associations were real, but some were contrived. Several examples of false associations can be found in the sources. One is the efforts by hagiographers to attribute the Uí Dúnlainge and the Uí Cheinnselaig with St Patrick (Smyth 1982, 19-20). Another can be found in the 9th-century *Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* where it claims that the seventh-century individuals Cómgein of Glendalough, Mo-Chóeme (Kennoch) of Terryglass and Cómán of Antrim were brothers (Smyth 1982, 91; *MO*, 240).

3. Dynastic control of abbatial succession

One way for a dynasty to maintain control of a monastery and its *paruchia* was by restricting the abbatial succession to dynasty members. By upholding its control the dynasty could have access to revenues and resources outside of its immediate area (Mac Shamhráin 1996, xx), as well as limit those of its neighbours. Large ecclesiastical settlements like Kildare, Glendalough and Iona offered an expanded sphere of influence for those dynasties that asserted power over them. Although there are many examples of dynasties controlling abbatial succession, hagiographers gave differing views of the appropriateness of doing so. In his *Life of Wilfrid*, written in the first quarter of the 8th century, Stephan wrote that before his death Wilfred proclaimed his kinsman Tatberht as abbot of Ripon (Eddius Stephanus, LXIII), but in the *Anonymous History of Abbot Ceolfrith*, of the same century, Benedict Biscop instructs the monks of his monasteries, in keeping with the Rule of St Benedict and Pope Agatho, that the next abbot should not 'be chosen by hereditary

succession' (*The Anonymous History of Abbot Ceolfrith*, II.16). One of the most famous examples of dynastic abbatial succession would obviously be that of Iona. St Columba [c. 521-597] was a member of the Cenél Conaill, one branch of the Uí Néill (Charles-Edwards 2000, 282-283). All but two of Iona's abbots would come from the Uí Néill, with most coming from the Cenél Conaill branch. Although the monastery of Bangor lay outside the kingdoms directly controlled by the Dál nAraide (Charles-Edwards 2000, 99), genealogical tradition holds that St Comgall of Bangor and the abbots who immediately followed him were members of the Dál nAraide (Byrne 2001, 119; Mac Shamhráin 1996, 122). Charles-Edwards notes that it is because of Dál nAraide's ability in 700 to assert its influence outside 'any one túath' that it 'enjoyed a high status upheld by churchmen as well as by kings' (2000, 99). Even Dál nAraide's high status did not help it to maintain control over Bangor. Following the battle of Mag Roth in 637, Dál nAraide control over Bangor was replaced by that of the Dál Fiatach (Mac Shamhráin 1996, 122). Evidence of abbots with Dál Fiatach names shows that the abbatial succession of Bangor had been taken away from the Dál nAraide (Byrne 2001, 119).

Other examples of dynasties controlling abbatial succession can still be found. The Uí Ségáin, associated with the Airthir, dominated the abbacy of Dunleer in County Louth (Byrne 2001, 118). At some point during the second quarter of the 7th century the Uí Dúnlainge began to oust the Uí Failge and the Fothairt from controlling the monastery of Kildare. This is highlighted by several annal entries in *AU*. Beginning c. 635, a member of the Uí Dúnlainge, Fáelan mac Cholmáin, ruled as king of Leinster (Smyth 1982, 28 & 66). An annal entry for 639 in *AU* records Fáelan's brother Áed Dub as being both a bishop of Kildare and a previous king of Leinster at his death (*AU*, 639). Family connections to Kildare continue on in following generations where genealogies show that Fáelan and Áed Dub's nephew Óengus also held the office of bishop and a distant cousin was abbot (*CGH*, 339; Byrne 2001, 152; Smyth 1982, 66). The takeover of higher offices was not the only activity that occurred for the Uí Dúnlainge during Fáelan mac Cholmáin's reign. Smyth suggests that Fáelan's marriage to Sárnát of the Mag Fea suited his efforts to gain control over the nunnery at Kildare (1982, 82).

The monastery of Glendalough is a clear and well documented opportunity to study the overlapping dynastic interests which a successful community could attract. Glendalough's abbatial succession was effectively restricted, in different periods, to the dynasties of the Uí Máil, Uí Dúnlainge, Uí Enechglais and Uí Bairrche (Mac Shamhráin 1996, xx). Glendalough's founder, St Cóemgein, belonged to the Uí Garrchon (Byrne 2001, 152), while the monastery was located in the territory of the Uí Máil, who closely portrayed themselves as having connections to St Cóemgein. The Uí Máil genealogies trace the dynasty's rights to this connection back to the ancestral figure Dimma son of Fiagni and his role in assisting the moving of the monastery into a lower valley in the 8th century (Mac Shamhráin 1996, 128). By the end of the 8th century Uí Máil interests were recorded in St

Cóemgein's Latin and Irish Lives, promoting Uí Máil rights to abbatial succession (Mac Shamhráin 1996, 127). In his *Church and Polity in Pre-Norman Ireland*, Ailbhe Mac Shamhráin notes that by the 9th century, the dynasty perceived their connection to St Cóemgein to such an extent that the name Máel Cóemgein began to appear 'among the descendants of Crimthann Cualann' (*CGH*, 125.a.43; Mac Shamhráin 1996, 128).

With all this being said, by the mid-7th century, the Uí Dúnlainge dynasty had achieved direct control over Glendalough (Smyth 1982, 52). This grasp of control by the Uí Dúnlainge in the mid-7th century limits the reality of Uí Máil claims. In the case of Glendalough, during the last decades of the 8th century, abbacies of short duration give the impression of conflict over control (Mac Shamhráin 1996, 132). Uí Dúnlainge interest in controlling the monastery is not surprising when taking into account the spread out of Glendalough's *paruchia*. Colmán Etchingham makes the observation that Glendalough's geographical associations show 'a heavy concentration within the Uí Dúnlainge hegemony of north Leinster' (1999, 42). The Uí Máil's attempts to closely portray themselves with the early success of the monastery appear to have not come to much in actual long term success. Glendalough's size and rich source base shows how control of a monastery within kindred territory was not always guaranteed.

4. Kings taking church office

Dynastic interests did not end with control of abbatial succession and monastic resources. Kings are recorded in several instances as having taken some level of church office. The king of Munster, Feidlimid mac Crimthainn, was bishop of Cashel and abbot of Clonfert [AD 838], while he was high-king of Ireland (Smyth 1982, 35; Byrne 2001, 224). The last entry concerning Feidlimid in *AU* notes that Feidlimid, 'king of Munster, the best of the Irish, a *scriba* and an anchorite, rested [i.e. died]' (*AU*, 847.1). As noted earlier, *AU* states that Áed Dub, of the Uí Dúnlainge, had been king of Leinster at some point before becoming bishop of Kildare (*AU*, 639). Another example of a king holding a level of church office can be found in Domnall mac Murchada, king of Clann Cholmáin. *AU* records Domnall as entering clerical life in the year 740 (*AU*, 740.1). The annal then notes Domnall's subsequent taking up the kingship of Tara in 743, but he then again goes into clerical life the following year (*AU*, 743.13 and 744.2). Later entries in *AU* continue to show him still actively ruling his kingdom. Under the year 753, he is recorded as promulgating 'the law of Colum Cille' (*AU*, 753.4 and 756.4).

While some scholars like Gearóid Mac Niocaill (1972, 126) and Máire Herbert (1996, 64) agree that Domnall held both secular and ecclesiastical office jointly, others like Colmán Etchingham find the likelihood of Domnall serving as king and

holding church office jointly disputable (2006, 1). Unfortunately, it is impossible to definitively prove whether or not Domnall held the kingship while holding church office. Indeed, the last two annal entries clearly show Domnall in a secular role, but give none of the distinct titles provided by the 847 entry for Feidlimid mac Crimthainn (*AU*, 847.1). What is apparent is that church office was an acceptable role for a man who had or could hold a kingship. For a man that had been king, a career within the Church would be a way to maintain some sort of high status. If indeed Domnall was forced out of the kingship into the Church, comparisons could be made with the Pictish king, Nechtan son of Derile [*d.* 732], whose power struggles for the Pictish kingship with Óengus I, Alpín and Drust, quite likely lead him to retire to a monastery in 724 (*AU*, 724.2, 726.1, 728.5 and 729.3; Smyth 1984, 73-76; Clancy 2004, 143-145).

5. Kings retiring to monasteries

Other instances of Irish kings retiring to monasteries can be found in the sources. In the second half of the 6th century, Cormac mac Diarmata, the Uí Bairrche king of South Leinster, retired from his kingship to be a monk at the monastery of Bangor (Smyth 1982, 77). Dímma mac Áeda Croin, an early 7th-century king of Fothairt, retired to Taghmon to be a cleric (*Vita Sancti Munnu* 1997, 13, 8 and 21-23). The Munster king, Flaithbertach mac Inmainén is recorded as having retired to a monastery (*AFM*, 920.23). Colmán Etchingham believes that although it is not absolutely clear which monastery it was, Monaincha is the most likely since Flaithbertach would be seized by Vikings there in 921 (1999, 360). After 980, Óláfr Cúarán, king of Dublin, went into monastic retirement at the monastery of Iona (*AT*, 980). Whether for political or religious reasons, the practice of kings retiring to monasteries is not unique to the Irish. As already mentioned, there are examples to be found from among their neighbours, and indeed if it was within the scope of this article, examples could be found further abroad.

6. Churchmen using their connections with kings

The control or association with a particular monastery, its saints and *paruchia*, was not just beneficial for royal dynasties. Churchmen used their connections with kings to create mutually beneficial ties. As mentioned earlier, Church leaders such as Columba, Adomnán, Wilfred, Benedict Biscop, Brigit, and Patrick all came from noble families. St Columba and Adomnán had well documented friendships with kings both in and outside of Ireland. Rhydderch Hael, the king of Dumbarton, was one of Columba's many friends (Adomnán 1995, I.15), while Adomnán was close

to Aldfrith, king of Northumbria. Adomnán's friendship with Aldfrith, no doubt, played a role in Adomnán bringing back hostages from Northumbria to Ireland on two occasions (*AU*, 687.5 and 689.9). Both churchmen and kings alike used the promulgation of laws to further reinforce their control over particular regions. These laws were frequently proclaimed during times of unrest in the regions they covered. Adomnán had close connections with Bruide mac Derile, king of the Picts. These connections can be seen in Bruide's being one guarantor of the Law of Innocents (Taylor 1999, 58). Máire Herbert notes that Adomnán's 'ideal model for Irish society would seem to have been a Christian kingship held by Uí Néill rulers, with the successors of Colum Cille, their kinsmen and allies, exercising a beneficent influence over them ... [the 'Law of Innocents'] celebrated the memory of the great saint of the Uí Néill' (1996, 52). Another example of the promulgation of laws can be found in 793, when the king of Munster, Artrí mac Cathail, was linked with the *Cáin of Ailbe* (*AU*, 793.3).

7. The role of fosterage between dynasties and monasteries

Mutually beneficial ties can also be found in the fosterage of the members of royal dynasties at monasteries. Fosterage was an important part of early Irish life, building bonds that would last into adulthood. In the *Life of St Cómgein*, it is written that Cómgein was the foster-father of Fáelan mac Cholmáin (*Vita Sancti Coemgeni*, 31 and 33-37). St Columba himself had several ecclesiastical foster-fathers. Adomnán mentions two in the *Life of St Columba*; one was St. Finnbar, the other Cruithnechán (Adomnán 1995, I.1, II.1 and III.4). In his *Life*, St Columba is also noted to have been a foster-father. One of his foster-sons was the layman Berchán Mes loen (Adomnán 1995, III.21). In the *Life of Munnu*, written in the 8th century, it states that two of the Fothairt king Dímma's sons were fostered at different monasteries. Cúán was foster-father at Airbre for Dímma's son Cellach and Munnu was foster-father at Taghmon for his other son Cillíne (*Vita Sancti Munnu*, 21; Charles-Edwards 2000, 116).

8. Royal properties and their links to monasteries

Another way in which churchmen made mutually beneficial ties with royal dynasties was their attaching their early missions to royal villis. Royal villis were the centre of territorial land units to which villages owed dues and services (Campbell 1982, 41). On his mission to Northumbria, Aidan used the royal villis as venues for his early church. Thomas Charles-Edwards sees this as Aidan's attempt to identify 'the new religion all the more closely with the authority of the king' (2000, 314).

In these cases of a close association between ecclesiastical settlements and royal establishments it is clear that the benefits would have gone to both religious and political interests. Bede notes that it was Oswald's interest in receiving religious guidance from the Irish which led to Aidan's mission from Iona (Bede, III.3). Not only did Oswald benefit from this aid, but Iona itself grew from the expansion of its *paruchia*. Aidan's efforts to link the new religion with the authority of the king should not just be restricted to that of Oswald's reign, but instead to the office itself. After Oswald's death, Aidan would go beyond their friendship to continue on in a close relationship with Oswald's enemy, King Oswine (Charles-Edwards 2000, 315).

Smyth notes the geographical association of monasteries in Ireland 'as royal chapels to the local tribal leader'. He goes on to explain that it was regional 'aristocracy who ruled these monasteries,' giving examples of 'the church of Slane with the palace of the kings of Northern Brega at Knowth; the church of Trevet with the nearby palace of the kings of Southern Brega at Lagore...the church of Ferns with the royal palace there in south Leinster; [and] the church of Kilranelagh with the palace of the Uí Máil kings' (Smyth 1982, 28). Indeed the feature of having ecclesiastical settlements within close geographical proximity to the political elites' power bases is not unique to the examples given in this article. Innumerable examples outside of the scope of this article can be drawn from all groups within the British Isles, as well as on the Continent, in the Medieval period. One example can be found in Anglo-Saxon Winchester where the Old Minster was founded c. 648 by King Cenwalh. Martin Biddle notes the likelihood that the church was founded to serve a royal residence, due to the fact that 'the first bishop of Winchester was not consecrated until' c. 660 (Biddle 1976, 333).

9. Monasteries founded for dynastic reasons

Some monasteries were founded specifically for dynastic reasons. An example of this can be found in the monastery of Downpatrick (Byrne 2001, 119). The earliest reference to a monastery at Downpatrick comes from the 8th century. Francis Byrne states that the monastery was most likely founded by Fiachnae of the Dál Fiatach dynasty or his father Áed Róin. With the dynasty's movement of its royal centre to Duneight, Byrne puts forth the view that the founding of Downpatrick was an attempt to keep the eminence of the old royal site out of Leth Cathail control (2001, 119-124). Byrne bases his ideas about the founding of Downpatrick on events listed in *AU*. The earliest entry to mention Downpatrick comes from the year 780. The annal notes that Macnio, son of Cellach, died as abbot of Downpatrick (*AU* 780.13). Twenty years after this entry, *AU* states that Macnio's uncle Loingsech son of Fiachna died as abbot of Downpatrick (*AU* 800.2). Further Dál Fiatach

connections with the abbacy can be found in later years. Loingsech's brother Cairell, king of Ulaid, was active in the monastery's affairs and two of Cairell's descendants are described as *airchinnig* of the monastery in the *AFM* (Byrne 2001, 124; *AFM*, 988.4 and 1083.1).

10. Abbots supporting their kindred

Abbots of major monasteries could also be important for the dynasties they belonged to in the promotion of their dynasty's cause. As in many other ways, this can best be seen in the example of Iona. The abbots of Iona would use their close connection with their Uí Néill kin to not only promote Iona's cause, but also those of the king. Máire Herbert notes that the 'assertion of the power of the saint's royal relatives ... seemed to have been matched by awareness on the part of the community of Colum Cille of its own identity and position in the ecclesiastical sphere' (1996, 43). Gilbert Márkus points out an example of this in Adomnán's tale about Columba and a crane (1999, 115-116). One day Columba sent one of his monks to the opposite side of the island to care for a crane. Columba said that;

at the end of three days, when the [crane] is revived, it will no longer want to stay as a pilgrim with us, but when its strength is recovered it will return to the sweet district of Ireland from which it came. This is the reason I am so solicitous you should do this, for the crane comes from my own homeland (Adomnán, I.48).²

Márkus sees the crane as a representation of Cenél Conaill interests. He believes Adomnán's writing of this tale and others that include animals in the *Life of Columba*, 'reveal a kind of mental map whose chief outlines are determined by the political geography of Scotland as seen by a monk on Iona' (1999, 115-116).

One of the earliest recorded concepts of Christian high-kingship came from Adomnán (Byrne 2001, 255). His *Life of Columba* contributes to the promotion of the dynasty, endorsing the view that his Uí Néill relatives had divine approval to the high-kingship of Ireland (Herbert 1996, 52). When relating the prophecy about King Diarmait's son, Áed Sláine, Adomnán relates that St Columba said to Áed 'you should take care, my son, for though God has predestined for you the prerogative of the kingship of all Ireland, you may lose it by the sin of a family murder' (Adomnán 1995, I.14). Adomnán was not the only abbot of Iona to support the claims of the Uí Néill dynasty. In his *Liber de Virtutibus Sancti Columbae*, Cumméne comments on Dál Riata's weakness after the battle of Mag

2 In his translation of the text Richard Sharpe uses heron instead of crane. I have chosen to insert crane for the sake of consistency. See n. 203 of Sharpe's edition for a discussion of the two words in this context.

Roth, claiming it as a punishment for its aggression towards the Uí Néill (Herbert 1996, 43).

11. Conclusion

In their bid to maintain their status, gain access to revenues and resources and prevent the latter from being used by rival dynasties, royal Irish dynasties controlled monasteries through claiming ties to saints, controlling abbatial succession and becoming patrons to early missionaries. Although these strategies are informative for contributing to our understanding of Irish culture, they are by no means restricted to the world of the Irish. Although many of the recorded relationships given in this article were real, others that are mentioned were not. Both kings and churchmen alike created mutually beneficial ties to promote each other's cause. As seen throughout this article, Iona gives one of the strongest examples of how kindred and monastery could work together to employ the strategies discussed. In the face of internal conflict kings are recorded as retiring to monasteries, while others made a conscious decision to grasp the office of bishop, abbot and king, to promote their own cause.

What becomes clear is that kings and dynasties were quick to deploy different strategies in their patronage of monasteries to influence political relationships within their kingdoms and those of their neighbors. Whether this was through; gifts of land, connections to saints, control of abbatial succession, dynasty members holding church offices or close ties between Church leaders and kings, what is clear is that all of the examples given in this article provide future opportunities for a detailed investigation of how effective these strategies were, how involved particular dynasties were involved in individual monasteries over specific time periods and how closely these relationships compared to other ethnic groups living within the British Isles.

Abbreviations

- AFM* *The Annals of the Four Masters*. Comp. D. Ó Corráin and M. Cournane 1997-2004.
AT *The Annals of Tigernach*. Transl. W. Stokes 1993.
AU *The Annals of Ulster*. Transl., Intro. and Notes T. Charles-Edwards 2006.
CGH *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*. Ed. M. A. O'Brien 2001.
MO Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé. *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*. Ed. W. Stokes 1905.

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Coherence Markers: Conjunctive Personal Pronouns in Middle Welsh

Elena Parina

Welsh has a complicated personal pronoun system, which has been classified by scholars in a number of different ways. For example, D. Simon Evans in his *Middle Welsh Grammar* (1964, 49-58) makes the following classification, which is presented here in a slightly more formalized way:

1. Independent pronouns
 - 1.1. simple: *mi, ti, ef...*
 - 1.2. reduplicated: *miui, tidi, efo...*
 - 1.3. conjunctive: *minheu, titheu, ynteu...*
2. Dependent pronouns
 - 2.1. possessive pronouns
 - 2.1.1. unstressed possessive pronouns (with further subdivisions)
 - 2.1.2. stressed possessive pronouns: *meu, teu, eidaw...*
 - 2.2. infixed pronoun object: *'m, 'th, 'y...*
 - 2.3. affixed pronouns
 - 2.3.1. simple: *ui, di, ef...*
 - 2.3.2. conjunctive: *inneu, ditheu, ynteu...*

(For a different classification see, for example, Watkins 1977, 146-165).

A number of theoretical arguments leads us to suggest that it is most reasonable to distinguish between clitics and independent pronouns, the first class being divided into three sub-classes, i.e. possessive and object proclitics and auxiliary postclitics. Both the auxiliary and independent forms have within them a morphologically distinctive class of pronouns, termed in Welsh *cysylltiol* (from *cysylltu* 'to bind'), and in English 'conjunctive'.³

The most important syntactic positions in which these pronouns are found in the classic Middle Welsh prose text *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (PKM) are listed below.⁴

1. topicalised subject:

(1)	Ynteu	a ^t	<i>lunywys</i>	yr	<i>esgidyeu</i>	[PKM 80.03]
	C:3SGM	P	fashion:PRT3SG	A	shoe:PL	

'He fashioned the shoes'

3 H. Pedersen uses the unsatisfactory term *zusammengesetzte* in his *Vergleichender Grammatik* (1909-13), which does not say anything about their function.

4 The PKM text is taken from Williams 1930, now available electronically at <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/celt/mcymr/pkm/pkm.htm>

2. subject following a finite verb

(2) *Yna y doethant wynteu attaw ef.* [PKM 74.22]

Then P come:PRT3PL C:3PL to:3SGM 3SGM

‘Then they came to him’

2.1 subject of an imperative

(3) *A manac ditheu y mi pa furyf y gallwyf hynny.* [PKM 3.5-6]

And tell:IMP2SG C:2SG to ISG what form P can: PRSSJ ISG that:PL

‘But show me how I may do it’

3. complement of a conjugated preposition

(4) *Ac yna ymellwng idaw ynteu* [PKM 90.08]

and then let down:VN to:3SG C:3SGM

‘And he let himself down’

4. after a possessive pronoun denoting

4.1. possessor

(5) *mae yniuer y llys, ac yn anniuer ninheu namyn hynn?* [PKM 52.4]

be:PRS3SG host A court and POSS:IPL host C:IPL save this

‘Where is the host of the court and our host save this?’

4.2. patient (of a verbal noun)

(6) *minheu a lallaf dy rydhau ditheu o'r geireu* [PKM 69.25]

C:1SG P can:PRS1SG POSS:2SG free:VN C:2SG to=A word:PL

‘I can free thee from those words’

4.3. agent (of a verbal noun)

- (7) A *ⁿphan* *wybuwyt* *eu* *medwi* *wynteu* [PKM 36.13]
 and when know:PRTIMPERS POSS:3PL be.drunk:VN C:3PL

‘And when it was known that they were drunk’

5. after an object clitic

- (8) E *brenhin* *a’e* *clywei* *wynteu*. [PKM 30.10]
 A king P+O:3PL hear:IMF3SG C:3PL

‘The king could hear them’

One of the distinctive features of conjunctive pronouns is their frequent use in apposition to nouns, especially proper nouns, in preposition as well as in postposition. (Simple pronouns can be used in this way too, but only exceptionally: one example in PKM as opposed to nineteen examples of conjunctive pronouns).

6. in apposition to a noun

- (9) Ac *y gwledychwys* *ynteu* *Pryderi* *seith* *cantref* *Dyuet* [PKM 27.18]
 And P rule:PRT3SG C:3SGM P. 7 cantref D.

‘And Pryderi ruled the seven cantrefs of Dyfed’.

- (10) Ynteu *Gronwy* *Pebyr* *a* *lgyrchwys* *Penllyn* [PKM 91.15]
 C:3SGM G. P. P make.for:PRT3SG P.

‘Gronw Pebyr made for Penllyn’

Many scholars have discussed these pronouns. There is the major issue of their origin, to which John Morris-Jones, Holger Pedersen, Pierre-Yves Lambert, Paul Russell and Peter Schrijver have contributed (Morris-Jones 1913, 274; Pedersen 1909-13, 184-5; Lambert 1984, 186; Russell 1982, 30-38; Schrijver 1997, 83-90). This discussion is not considered further in this paper, as I have analysed it elsewhere (Parina 2004, 200-209).

Sir John Morris-Jones describes them with the help of English equivalents *even*, *but*, *too*, *for my part*, but with the following reservation (1913, 273): ‘A pronoun of this series is always set against a noun or pronoun that goes before (or is implied). This series is in common use in Mn.W.; sometimes the added meaning is so subtle as to be untranslatable: *chwi a minnau* “you and I”, but as a rule *minnau* signifies “I too”, “even I”, “I for my part”, “but I”, “while I”’. Proinsias Mac Cana (1990, 414) distinguishes sixteen different uses of conjunctive pronouns in Middle Welsh

prose, according to syntactic and semantic parameters and emphasizes that their use is ‘very much a matter of stylistic choice’.

Graham Isaac (1996, 53) suggests in his book *The Verb in the Book of Aneirin* that the main function of the conjunctive pronouns in Middle Welsh is coding a switch in the salience or topicality of an argument. He distinguishes between two types of use:

1. Syntagmatic: a topic is promoted from a previous low-topicality role to a high-topicality role (e.g. syntactic subject). Reference of the pronoun to a previous low-salience topic is established. He illustrates this rule with the following passage from *Culhwch ac Olwen*, given here with my glossing:

(11)	A	gwedy	disgynnu	Arthur	y’r	tir,			
		and after	descend:VN	A.	to=A	land			
	dyuot	seint	lwerddon	attaw	y	erchi	nawd	idaw.	
	come:VN	saint:PL	Ireland	to:3SGM	to	ask:VN	protection	to:3SGM	
	Ac	y	rodes	ynteu	nawd	udunt	hwy,		
	and	P	give:PRT3SG	C:3SGM	protection	to:3PL	3PL		
	ac	y	rodassant	wynteu	eu	bendith	idaw	ef. [CO 1061-64]	
	and	P	give:PRT3PL	C:3PL	POSS:3PL	blessing	to:3SGM	3SGM	

‘And after Arthur had landed, the saints of Ireland came to him to ask his protection. And he gave them his protection, and they gave him their blessing’

However, several instances contradicting this rule can be found in PKM. On the one hand, a conjunctive pronoun is used when it has the same syntactic position as its antecedent:

(12)	Yna	y	rodes	Arawn _i	y _j	furuf,	a’y _j	drych	e _j	hun		
	then	P	give:PRT3SG	A.	POSS:3SGM	form	and =POSS:3SGM	semblance	POSS: INT	3SGM		
	y	Pwyll _r	Pendeuc	Dyuet,	ac	y	kymeth	ynteu _i	y _i	furuf	e _i	hun
	to	P.	chief	D.	and	P	take:PRT3SG	C:3SGM	POSS:3SGM	form	POSS:INT	3SGM
	a’y _i		drych.	[PKM 6.23-25]								
	and=POSS:3SGM		semblance									

‘Then Arawn gave to Pwyll prince of Dyfed his proper form and semblance, and he himself took his proper form and semblance’.

On the other hand, a topic can be promoted to a high-topicality role but still be coded with a simple pronoun:

(13) *Ac un dyrnaut a rodych di idaw ef;*
 and one blow P give:PRSSJ2SG 2SG to:3SGM 3SGM
ny byd byw ef o hwnnw. [PKM 3.18-19]
 NEG be:FUT3SG alive 3SGM from that

‘And one blow only thou art to give him, that he will not survive’

2. Paradigmatic: a topic is promoted to high topicality in a prototypically low-topicality role (e.g. syntactic object, genitive or complement of preposition). Reference of the pronoun to a previous high-salience topic is established. This is illustrated in example 14:

(14) *Ac y nessawys y gwyr attunt, ual yd ymglywynt ymdidan.*
 and P approach:PRT3SG A man:PL to:3PL as P hear:PRS3PL conversation
Bwrw badeu allan a ‘wnaethont wynteu, a nessau parth a’r tir,
 throw:VN boat:PL out P do:PRT3PL C:3PL and approach:VN towards=A land
a chyuarth guell y’r brenhin.
 and wish:VN better to=A king
E brenhin a’e clywei wynteu o’r lle yd oed...[PKM 30.7-10]
 A king P=O:3PL hear:IMF3SG C:3PL from=A place RP be:IMF3SG

‘And the men drew near them that they might hear each other’s discourse. They put out boats and came towards the land, and they greeted the king. For the king could hear them from the place where he was...’

Here the second occurrence of a conjunctive pronoun fits the second rule suggested by Graham Isaac, whereas the first occurrence is necessary because of the possible ambiguity of the sentence. The use of a conjunctive pronoun assumes that the referent it codes is unambiguously non-coreferent to the subject of the first clause (this is related to rule 1).

As shown, the rules formulated by Isaac do not have a predictive force, but the whole corpus of PKM reveals that conjunctive pronouns are really most often used in cases when two clauses have the same participant set and the syntactic role of a particular participant changes from one clause to another.

In the course of my research I have tried several parameters to help predict occurrences of conjunctive rather than simple pronouns in Middle Welsh texts. One theory was that the difference might be due to the number of clauses separating the referent and its anaphor (this is a parameter which seems to apply to many languages in their referential choice, as shown in Givón 1983), but a rough analysis showed that the average distance between the full noun phrase and both the simple and the conjunctive pronoun is about two clauses. Thus further study of the parameters determining pronoun choice is required.

Meanwhile, there is further information to be drawn from equivalents in other languages. First, the work of translators rather than scholars was considered. Two authoritative translations of PKM were chosen, into English by Jones and Jones (1949), and into German by Maier (1999), and all the occurrences of conjunctive pronouns in the First Branch were collected (approximately one hundred examples). One task which proved particularly difficult for the translators was the quotation formula *heb ynteu*, which is so widely used in this text, in interchange with *heb ef*. Jones and Jones translate it ‘said he’, but also very often ‘he replied’ or ‘he answered’, thus rendering this dialogue structure by means of a verb. In contrast, Bernard Meier deliberately translates the verb throughout the text by *sagen* only, so that his variants are *sagte er* or *sagte der*. In the narrative parts of the text, the conjunctive pronouns are most often translated by mere personal pronouns. This is true particularly for those pronouns that are used after possessive clitics, but there are also several other methods that the translators use to render additional meanings.

1. The most common semantic function is contrast, rendered in English by *but, for his part, yet* and in German by *aber, seinerseits, für sein Teil, doch*:

(15) {What is left of the feast, said Pryderi, do you continue with it}

a minheu A *af* y *hebrwng* *uy* *gwrogaeth*
 and C:1SG P go:PRS1SG to bring:VN POSS:1SG homage
y^t Gaswallawn ‘*uab Beli*’ [PKM 51.1]
 to C. son B.

Ich aber will nach England gehen, um Caswallawn, Belis Sohn, meinen Gehorsam zu bezeigen. [Maier 57]

And I will go to tender my homage to Caswallawn son of Beli, to Lloegyr [Jones&Jones 42] ⁵.

2. Another sense conjunctive pronouns can convey is addition.

This is most often translated by English *too*, German *auch*. Several examples of it are found in PKM:

(16) {When the brothers came, these brothers took council on where to wait for Pryderi and his men }

5 As we have mentioned above, the most common way to translate a conjunctive pronoun is to substitute it with a personal pronoun, so it was quite difficult to find an example where both translations choose to convey the additional meaning by means of a lexical item, therefore sometimes we give examples where only one of translators makes an attempt to convey this extra semantics the pronouns discussed.

Ac ar y kynghor y doethant *wynteu*. [PKM 72.8-9]
 and to A council P come:PRT3PL C:3PL

Und auch sie nahmen an der Beratung teil. [Maier 77]
 And they too joined in council. [Jones&Jones 59]

A temporal addition, that is the addition of a subsequent event, can be rendered by conjunctive pronouns too (rendered by English *then*, German *dann*):

(17) {The young man mounted his horse, but before he had settled himself in his saddle the lady passed him by }

Ynteu a 'gymerth rygng y gan y 'uarch [PKM 10.29]
 C:3SGM P took:PRT3SG amble from POSS:3SGM horse

Da liess er sein Pferd in den Passgang fallen [Maier 18]
 Then he took his horse into an amble... [Jones&Jones 11]

A particular instance of this contrast can be seen in examples where a third singular masculine conjunctive pronoun could be interpreted either as a pronoun with contrast semantic function or as a conjunction:

(18) {it is a peculiarity of the mound that whatever high-born man sits upon it}

Nat a odyo heb un o'r deupeth, ay kymriw neu archalleu,
 NEG go:PRS3SG from without one ofA 2 things or wound or blows
 there
neu ynteu a welei rywedawt [PKM 9.5-7]
 or C:3SGM P see:IMF3SG wonder

geht nicht von dort hinweg, ohne daß eines von zwei Dingen passiert. Entweder es gibt Schläge und Wunder, oder er schaut ein Wunder. [Maier 16-17]
 will not go thence without one of two things: wounds or blows or else his seeing a wonder. [Jones&Jones 9]

This is an important example, as some cases can be found in PKM of conjunctive pronouns 3SGM already losing their anaphoric function and being used as particles. This is probably the way to analyse the cases of appositional use with proper nouns:

(19) {Context: Gwawl set off to his domain}

Pwyll *ynteu* a doeth y Dyuet. [15.26]
 P. C:3SGM P come: to D.
 PRT3SG

Pwyll aber ging nach Dyfed [Maier 23]

But Pwyll came to Dyfed [Jones&Jones 14]

The same process is probably reflected in examples where there is no agreement between the conjunctive pronoun and the noun with which it is used in apposition:

(20) Y *neud ynteu* a *'gyweirwy* y Pwyll a'e *niuer*
 [PKM 18.16]
 A hall:F C:3SGM P prepare:PRT. to P. and= host
 IMPERS POSS:3SGM

Dann wurde für Pwyll , sein Gefolge...die Halle hergerichtet [Maier 25]

Then the hall was made for Pwyll and his retinue [Jones&Jones 16]

These examples show how different lexemes came to be formed in Modern Welsh, one : the 3SGM pronoun *yntau* and the conjunction and adverb *ynteu*, *yntau* (analysed thus in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*: 3818). In Russian these examples are best translated by the particle *же*, which is extremely polysemantic and can have both contrastive and additional meanings (for a very detailed description see Bonno & Kodzasov 1998).

It has thus been demonstrated the various meanings the conjunctive pronouns in PKM can have. The works of Russian typologists can help to place this polysemy into the context of world languages. Their attention has recently been focused on markers of discourse coherence with a wide range of usage. Such elements were described for North Caucasian Tsakhur (Kibrik 1999), Uralic Mari (Khitrov 2002), Turkic Chuvash and Tatar (Pazelskaja 2002) languages. The table gives a rough outline of various meanings of these coherence markers:

Tsakhur (Kibrik 1999)	Tatar (Pazelskaja 2002)	Chuvash (Pazelskaja 2002)	Middle Welsh
and or – or but because so also even	also so and even	even also so and	and (me, you, he...) but (me, you, he...) also (me, you, he...) even (me, you, he...) then (me, you, he...)

The translations of the elements analysed in these papers shows that the vast majority of them correspond to the additional meanings of the Welsh conjunctive pronouns. It can therefore be assumed that the conjunctive personal pronouns in Middle Welsh are there to ensure discourse cohesion, so that it is possible to say that their different uses are manifestations of meanings in one single field of contrast and addition.

Abbreviations

A	article
C	conjunctive pronoun
F	feminine
IMF	imperfect
IMP	imperative
IMPERS	impersonal
INT	intensifier
M	masculine
NEG	negation
O	object pronoun
P	particle
PLPF	pluperfect
POSS	possessive pronoun
PRS	present
PRT	preterite
R	reduplicated pronoun
RP	relative particle
SJ	subjunctive
VN	verbal noun

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Kirja-arvosteluja – Book reviews

Patrick McCafferty & Mike Baillie: *The Celtic Gods. Comets in Irish Mythology*. Stroud: Tempus 2005. 224 pages. Price £15,99. ISBN 0-7524-3444-6.

The authors of *The Celtic Gods* are not too modest in stating their aims. In the preface McCafferty and Baillie claim their book will demonstrate how much of the scholarship on Celtic and Arthurian myth has been ‘misguided’ and disciplines have been ‘locked in the wrong paradigm’ because earlier scholars have failed to acknowledge the true nature of mythical characters and stories related to them. The authors argue that in order to understand the figures and events depicted in Celtic mythology, it should be realised that the narratives are based on real events and preserve a record of past encounters between the earth and comets. Moreover, the authors set out to prove that all figures categorically introduced in the book as ‘Celtic gods’ – including Finn mac Cumhaill, Cú Chulainn, Lugh, Manannán, King Arthur, Suibhne Geilt and the children of Lir – are only aspects of a single god who, of course, was originally a comet.

McCafferty and Baillie are probably correct in assuming that many people are bound to dismiss this idea at the outset as ridiculous rubbish. The authors use tree-ring chronologies, historical comet observations and astronomical data to back their interpretations of a mixed selection of passages from Irish and British tales, both early and modern. The importance of tree-ring dating is especially stressed in

the last chapters of the book, in which the authors seek to forge a connection between climatic changes recorded around the year 540 and various catastrophic or unusual events believed to have taken place around the globe at the same time. Speculating that the environmental effects could have been caused by comet activity, the authors attempt to trace evidence of this from a number of Irish and British texts set in the sixth century.

In their treatment of the textual material the authors make no effort to distinguish children’s tales from the *Lebor Gabála*, or the *Fianaigecht* from the works of Lady Gregory, since it is assumed that the mythic substance tends to survive regardless of the nature of the source. Thus all texts are read as examples of ‘myth’ detached from their historical and cultural context, and the definition of ‘myth’ appears to be based solely on the appearance of a supposedly mythical character in the given tale. Perhaps because of this general attitude towards the sources, McCafferty and Baillie have also for the most part used modern collections and versions of the stories instead of referring back to the existing scholarly editions.

The authors’ conception of myth is guided by the presupposition that stories originally gained their supernatural elements from descriptions of comets in the sky, but these traits were later dismissed as fantasy and the heroes became regarded as real historical people. The argument put forward by the authors is that in order to arrive at the correct understanding of mythology, the

supernatural qualities of various heroes and their actions should in fact be considered factual and compared with astronomical information. The determination to identify comet imagery in all the texts at hand reduces the narratives into repositories of celestial observations, in which all that is supernatural has to be explained as deriving from apparitions in the sky. This leads to rather curious simplifications, which by their sheer number are illustrative of the method applied in *The Celtic Gods*: the war frenzy of Cú Chulainn, the riding over sea of Manannán, the flying ability of Suibhne Geilt and St. Patrick's vision of Ireland being on fire are only some of the numerous examples traced back to their comet origins with apparent ease.

The 'wrong paradigm' of Celtic scholarship that McCafferty and Baillie are challenging by their comet hypothesis is the assumption that mythological figures were originally solar deities – a theory particularly promoted in the field of comparative mythology by F. Max Müller in the early 20th century. While it is true that some Celtic scholars in the past adopted and applied this view in their own research (James Carney might be surprised to find himself included in this company of solar mythologists!), the authors' vigorous attack against Thomas O'Rahilly's work in particular gives an impression that no progress has happened in the field since the 1940s. Their notion that the study of Celtic mythology is divided between two approaches – either seeing myths as exaggerated fiction with a historical core, or as stories of euhemerised pagan gods representing various aspects of nature – is outdated and betrays the authors' ignorance of the considerable amount of

scholarship published on the topic in more recent decades.

The Celtic Gods is most informative in the chapters dealing with astronomical phenomena and tree-ring dating. Being a professor of dendrochronology, Baillie has extensive knowledge of the topic and an ability to present it to the general reader in a lucid manner. The discussion of the evidence relating to the so-called 540 event is interesting in its comparative approach, which presents historical records of the period from different parts of the world. Citations from the source material, as well as illustrations such as comet images, maps of archaeological sites, drawings and diagrams make the book a more enjoyable read.

In applying the scientific data to the analysis of their mythical narratives, the authors present conclusions which at times succeed in being thought provoking, but for the most part appear to be testing the readers' credulity. The examples such as the 'distinct resemblance' between a broken fireball trail and the Uffington White Horse (p. 107), the drawing of the comet Daniel 'looking rather like a Celtic tonsure' (p. 86), or the 'comet as a salmon of knowledge' (p. 58) remain amusing but hardly convincing.

The Celtic Gods is not an academic textbook and should not therefore be evaluated by scholarly standards. In terms of its contribution to the scholarship on Celtic myths, the 'comet key' offered by McCafferty and Baillie appears to do little more than to replace solar deities with comet deities. Seeing that there are always people with an insatiable appetite for all things 'Celtic', as well as for scenarios of catastrophic extraterrestrial threats, this book is bound to find its audience among the general public. Mike Baillie has already

explored similar issues in his *Exodus to Arthur: Catastrophic Encounters with Comets* (2003) and it is unlikely that this topic is yet exhausted.

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Wilson McLeod (toim.): *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland. Policy, Planning and Public Discourse.* Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press 2006. 336 sivua. Hinta 19,95 £. ISBN 1903765595

Wilson McLeodin toimittama kirja sisältää johdannon ja kuusitoista artikkelia, joista kymmenen on kirjoitettu englanniksi kirjoittajinaan Rob Dunbar, professori Ken MacKinnon, Martina Muller, Marion F. Morrison, James Oliver, Konstanze Glaser, Mike Cormack, Douglas Chalmers & Mike Danson, John Walsh ja Emily McEwan-Fujita, sekä kuusi skotin gaeliksi.

Jokaiseen gaeliksi kirjoitettuun artikkeliin on liitetty laaja englanninkielinen tiivistelmä. Gaelinkielisten esseiden tekijöinä ovat Alasdair MacCaluim, Alison Lang, Gillian Rothach, Wilson McLeod, Magaidh NicAoidh sekä Boyd Robasdan. Kirjoittajina on ollut paitsi tunnettuja gaelin ja keltologian asiantuntijoita myös laki- ja taloustieteilijöitä, sosiolinguisteja, koulutusasiantuntijoita, sekä kielen ja kulttuurin tutkijoita. Tämän kirjan julkaiseminen juuri nyt ei voisi olla ajankohtaisempaa – skotin gaeli sai vuonna 2005 uudenlaisen aseman Skotlannissa Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act:in myötä. Kiinnostus gaelia kohtaan on

Skotlannissa kasvanut tasaisesti 70-luvun puolivälistä ja varsinkin 80-luvulta lähtien, ja gaelia on pidetty skotlantilaisen kulttuuri-identiteetin keskeisenä ilmaisimena.

Kieltä tuetaan ja arvostetaan usein juuri sen vuoksi, että se ymmärretään tärkeänä kansallisen kulttuurin ja kulttuurisen perinnön aspektina. Kieleen on kohdistettu lukuisia kielipoliittisia toimenpiteitä, jotka tähtäävät sen aseman parantamiseen ja kielenkäytön lisäämiseen sekä gaelinkielisissä yhteisöissä että kaikkialla Skotlannissa. Kielelle annettu rahallinen tuki on ollut huomattavaa koulutuksen alueella, televisiossa ja radiossa. Monella alalla gaeliin liittyvät toimenpiteet ovat johtaneet hyviin tuloksiin, yhtenä esimerkkinä gaeliksi toteutuvan opetuksen kasvu. Myös gaelin aikuisopiskelijat voivat olla tärkeässä asemassa kielen tulevaisuuden osalta.

Skotin gaelista tehtävän tutkimuksen merkitys on lisääntynyt yhteiskunnallisten ja asennemuutosten myötä. Gaelin kielen tutkimus on laadukasta ja tämä kirja on siitä erinomainen esimerkki. Eurooppalaisesta näkökulmasta katsottuna gaeliin liittyvä kehitys voidaan nähdä osana yleiseurooppalaista myöhäismodernia viitekehystä. Globaalistuvasta kehityssuunnasta huolimatta erilaisuutta ja paikallisuutta korostetaan ja moninaisuudella on tärkeä rooli. Viime vuosikymmeninä vähemmistökieliin, kielipolitiikkaan ja kielellisiin oikeuksiin kohdistuva huomio on kasvanut huomattavasti ja myös näistä aiheista julkaistun kirjallisuuden määrä on nopeasti lisääntynyt. Kirja on näin ollen hyvä ja välttämätön lähde ja apuväline sekä kiinnostavaa luettavaa ei ainoastaan gaelin asiantuntijoille ja harrastajille, eri alojen opiskelijoille, tutkijoille ja opettajille, vaan myös laajemmalle lukijakunnalle.

Kirjan esseet tarkastelevat mm. skotin gaelin asemaa, tulevaisuuden näkymiä eri yhteiskunnan osa-alueilla, kielen ja identiteetin yhteyksiä sekä kielen merkitystä nyky-Skotlannissa. Kirjoittajat analysoivat näitä aiheita monipuolisesti ja erilaisista lähtökohdista käsin, esimerkiksi oikeustieteellisestä, institutionaalista tai kulttuurisesta näkökulmasta. Erityisen tärkeiksi nousevat kielipoliittiset kysymykset ja analyysi kielen kompleksisesta sosiolingvivistisestä tilanteesta. Kielestä puhutaan enemmän kuin koskaan, kieltä tuetaan monin eri tavoin, sen asema on vahvistunut ja asenteet sitä kohtaan ovat myönteisempiä kuin koskaan aiemmin; samalla kuitenkin puhujien määrä vähenee nopeaa vauhtia ja äidinkielisten puhujien keskuudessa kielen siirtyminen sukupolvesta toiselle on hyvin heikko. Tilanne on haasteellinen mm. kielisuunnittelun, työmarkkinoiden, aikuiskoulutuksen ja gaelinkielisen koulutuksen näkökulmasta. Paljon myönteistä kehitystä on tästä huolimatta tapahtunut viimeisten vuosien aikana.

Kirjassa keskitytään varsinkin gaelin kielipolitiikan kehitykseen ja suuntauksiin 1980-luvulta lähtien ja erityisesti vuoden 1997 itsehallinnon jälkeiseen aikaan. Vaikka yhtäältä kieli väistyy englannin painostuksen alla ja muutokset perinteisesti vahvoilla gaelinkielisillä alueilla ovat huomattavia, silti toisaalta nuorten puhujien määrä lisääntyy gaelinkielisen opetuksen avulla. Mahdollisuudet käyttää kieltä työpaikalla kasvavat, kuten myös mahdollisuudet käyttää sitä muualla kuin gaelinkielisillä alueilla ja laajemmin yhteiskunnassa.

Kieleen kytkettyvät taloudelliset ja sosiaaliset kehitykset ovat tärkeitä. Ne ovat yhteydessä identiteetteihin, hallitseviin diskursseihin, suhtautumistapoihin ja mielikuviiin, jotka liitetään gaeliin gaelinkielisillä

seuduilla ja muualla maassa. Myös mediassa usein käytetyt metaforat ja mielikuvat kielikuolemasta sekä Skotlannissa laajemmin havaittavan yksikielisyyden suosiminen tuovat omat haasteensa.

Niin myönteisen kuin epäsuotuisakin kehityksen, toimenpiteiden tarpeellisuuden ja merkityksen sekä laajemman yhteiskunnallisen diskurssin tiedostamisella on mahdollista edistää menestyksellisesti kielen asemaa ja käyttöä mahdollisimman monessa yhteydessä. Eri näkökulmien onnistuneen yhdistämisen ansiosta tuloksena on laadukas poikkitieteellinen teos, joka tarjoaa paitsi paljon ajattelemisen aihetta, myös konkreettisia ehdotuksia, strategioita ja ratkaisuja kielen tulevaisuutta varten.

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Tom Sjöblom: *Druidit – Tietäjiä, pappeja ja samaaneja*. SKS Tietolipas 200. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura 2006. 243 sivua. Hinta 24€. ISBN 951-746-842-3.

Tom Sjöblomin lapsena Asterix-sarjakuvista alkanut kiinnostus druideihin on kypsynyt suomenkieliseksi tietokirjaksi, jossa perehdytään seikkaperäisesti sekä historian tietäjädruideihin että nykyajan uusdruideihin, joiden uskonnonharjoitusta voisi lähinnä kuvata luonnonmystiikaksi ja ekologiseksi spiritualiteetiksi.

Johdantoluvussa 'Keitä keltit ovat?' Sjöblom käy varsin hyödyllisellä tavalla läpi miten käsitteet keltti ja kelttiläisyys ymmärretään tieteellisessä kielenkäytössä (historiallinen, kielitieteellinen, arkeologi-

nen ja taidehistoriallinen), sekä miten niitä käytetään arkipuheessa (kelttiläinen identiteetti ja mentaliteetti sekä kulttuuriperimä). Sana ”Celtic” kun on Irlannissa tapana liittää vaikkapa pesulan nimeen – lähinnä myynnin tehostamiseksi. Johdantoluku ruotii hieman kielenkäytön sillisalaattia sekä johdattelee samalla perustietoutteen kelteistä. Kirjassa on myös toinen taustoittava luku, jossa esitellään kelttien myyttejä ja uskontoperinnettä. Koska kirjoittajan vahvin tietämyksen alue on irlantilaisessa perinteessä ja suurin osa esimerkeistä koskee sitä, lavenee kirja samalla varhaiskeskiaikaisen irlantilaisen kulttuurin esittelyksi. Lukuisat otteet alkuperäistarinoista puolestaan keventävät kirjaa mukavasti ja ovat sitäkin arvokkaampia, koska kelttien tarinaperinnettä ei ole tähän mennessä muualla suomennettu.

Kartoittaessaan nykytietämystä druideista ja kelttien uskonnosta Sjöblom käy läpi erilaisia lähdeaineistoja ja niiden luonnetta, kuten sitä miten luotettavina lähteinä niitä voidaan pitää ja minkälaisia vaikeuksia historioitsija kohtaa niiden tulkinnessa. Hän myös pyrkii melko tarkasti paikallistamaan ja ajoittamaan eri lähdeaineistot, vaikka unohtaakin joskus ajoittaa lainaamansa tekstit. Lähteitä arvioidaan kaiken kaikkiaan huolellisesti oman aikansa ja kulttuurinsa kontekstista lähtien. Sjöblom huomauttaa myös, että vaikka roomalaislähteitä syytetään *Interpretatio Romanasta*, keltit olivat itse asiassa innokkaita omaksumaan valloittajakansoilta mm. jumalien nimistöä. Tekstitutkijana Sjöblomin pääpaino on kirjallisissa lähteissä ja arkeologisia lähteitä käytetään pääasiassa tukemaan (tai kyseenalaistamaan) tekstien antamaa kuvaa.

Druideja koskevan osuuden Sjöblom aloittaa antiikin aikalaiskuvauksilla ja erottaa niissä kaksi kuvausperinnettä, yhtäältä

kelttien barbaarisuutta korostavan poseidonioslaisen perinteen, ja toisaalta druidit jaloina viljelevän ja mystisen viisauden vaalijoina näkevän aleksandrialaisen perinteen. Näkökulman vaihdos lähteiden käsittelyssä olisi saattanut olla yhdessä suhteessa virkistävää. Koska druidikirjallisuudessa otetaan säännönmukaisesti lähtökohdaksi antiikin kirjoittajien kuvaukset, olisi ollut mielenkiintoista nähdä miten kuva muuttuu, jos kerrankin lähdetään siitä mitä muista rautakautisista tietäjä-pappisluokista tiedetään. Sjöblom pyrkii kyllä vertaamaan kelteistä ja druideista kertovaa aineistoa muihin rautakautisiin perinteisiin, mutta kun asia tulee vähitellen, kuten vertailu skandinaavisen perinteen *gode*-pappeihin kirjan loppupuolella, varsinaista kokonaiskuvaa ei pääse muodostumaan.

Itselleni nautittavin osa kirjaa oli luku ’Druidit keskiaikaisessa kertomusperinteessä’, jossa Sjöblom tekee kenties rohkeimmin omia tulkintoja kohteestaan irlantilaisen perinteen pohjalta. Alkuperäistarinoista kääntämiensä otteiden avulla kirjoittaja esittelee erilaisia druidityyppisiä (kuninkaan neuvonantajat *Níadun* ja *Cathbadin*, naisennustaja *Feidelmin*, soturivelho *Mog Ruithin* ja pyhimysten kanssa kamppailevat maagit), sekä analysoi druidien tehtäviä ja niiden muutosta näiden tekstikatkelmien valossa. Kristinuskon ja druidien kohtaamisesta kertovissa teksteissä voidaan jopa tavoittaa välähdyksiä kelttien esikristillisistä uskomuksista.

Keskustelu druideja koskevista tieteellisistä teorioista on vedetty yhteen viimeistä edellisessä luvussa ’Kelttien uskonnolliset asiantuntijat’. Luvussa Sjöblom avaa druidi-sanana etymologiaa, pohtii druidien asiantuntijaprofiilia, druidien suhdetta magiaan ja rituaaleihin, druidien asemaa yhteisössään ja druidien opeista ja filosofi-

asta esitettyjä käsityksiä. Sjöblom käsittelee myös populaarikulttuurin esiin nostamaa kelttiläistä samanismia ja osoittaa, etteivät samanismiin viittaavat piirteet ole keskeisiä druideista kertovassa aineistossa. Vaikka joissakin kuvauksissa ennustajan voidaan tulkita menevän transsiin, kelttiläisen perinteen ennustustekniikoiden ei ajatella pitävän sisällään matkaa tuonpuoleiseen. Onkin hieman outoa, että kirjan nimessä 'Druidit – Tietäjiä, pappeja ja samaaneja' annetaan ymmärtää että druidit olivat myös samaaneja. Kirjassaan Sjöblom viittaa monessa kohtaa uusiin arkeologisiin löytöihin, jotka osoittavat kelteillä olleen uskonnollisia rakennuksia ja temppeleitä. Lievä pettymys oli, että aiheeseen ei missään kohtaa syvennytä mainintaa enempää.

Vaikka Sjöblom korostaa, että druidien uskomuksista ja tehtävistä tiedetään vain vähän, hän onnistuu ainakin hälventämään nykyajan druidiharrastajien luomia virheellisiä uskomuksia ja korjaamaan Hollywoodin luomaa mielikuvaa historiallisista druideista. Sjöblom myös lanseeraa ainakin yhden uuden ja mielestäni hyvin onnistuneen käännöstermin 'runonpuhujat' varhaisirlantilaiselle filid-oppineistolle. Näistä käytetään englanninkielisissä esityksissä sanaa 'poet', jonka suomennos 'runoilija' veisi ajatukset aivan toisentyypiseen sanankäyttöön.

Kirjan käsittelytapa on populaaria kirjoittamista asteen verran tieteellisempi. Kirjoittaja pyrkii määrittelemään käyttämiään käsitteitä, sekä myös jonkin verran esittelemään aiheitaan koskevaa tieteellistä tutkimusta ja kilpailevia selitysmalleja. Kulttuurintutkijan vertaileva ote näkyy myös siinä, että Sjöblom avaa nykyajan kauhistelemien tapojen, kuten ihmisuhrien tai -syönnin, saamia kulttuurisia merkityksiä. Eri kult-

tuureja koskevat ennakoasenteemme kirjoittaja paljastaa taitavasti: ajattelemme antiikin Roomaa sivistysvaltiona ja, kun roomalaiset kirjoitukset parjaavat kelttien uskontoa julmaksi, unohdamme, että roomalaiset itse uhrasivat gladiaattorinäytöksissä tuhansia ihmisiä ja eläimiä.

Melko pitkän miinuksen ansaitsee kirja sängen huolimaton toimitustyö. Teksti vilisee kirjoitusvirheitä. Lähdeluetteloon on eksynyt erityisen paljon lapsuksia ja osaa lähdeviitteissä mainituista teoksista ei sieltä löydy ollenkaan. Tämä on erityisen valitettavaa kun kyseessä on ensimmäinen suomenkielinen kelttiläistä kulttuuria esittelevä perusteos, joka saattaa herättää monen perehtymään aiheeseen laajemmin. Seuraavaan painokseen ainakin lähdeviittaukset on syytä tarkistaa.

Sjöblom on kirjoittanut sujuvan ja yleistajuisen, mutta samalla kriittisen, eri teorioita monelta kantilta punnitsevan teoksen, joka toimii hyvin myös johdantona kelttiläiseen kulttuuriin ja varhaiskeskiaikaiseen Irlantiin. Pohtiessaan druidien 'asiantuntija-profiilia' kirjoittaja tulee samalla luoneeksi kattavan kuva Irlannin muista keskiaikaisista oppineista ja perimätiedon välittäjistä. Viimeisen luvun mielenkiintoinen katsaus uusdruidismiin edelleen taustoittaa druideista vallalle päässeitä käsityksiä. Koko kirjan läpäisevä lähdekriittinen ote pitää lukijan tukevasti maan pinnalla haastavan aiheen parissa.

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Liam Breatnach: *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici*. Early Irish Law Series 5. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 2005. xv + 499 sivua. Hinta 30 €. ISBN 1 85500 184 5.

Daniel A. Binchy julkaisi 2343-sivuisen korpuksen varhaiskeskiaikaisen Irlannin lakimateriaaleista 6-osaisena diplomaattisena editiona vuonna 1978. Avuksi käyttäjille *Corpus Iuris Hibernicissä* (*CIH*) on ainoastaan lista materiaalina käytetyistä käsikirjoituksista sekä konkordanssi tekstijakoista, jotka oli aiemmin julkaistu muualla. Lisäksi sivujen marginaaleihin on merkitty ristikkäisviittauksia *CIH*:ssä toistuviin katkelmiin. *CIH* on siis käytännössä yhtäjaksoista transkriptiota, ilman vihjeitä siitä missä jokin tietty teksti alkaa tai päättyy.

Liam Breatnach aloittikin työnsä tavoitenaan laatia *CIH*:iin sisällysluettelo, mutta se muodostaa käsikirjasta lopulta vain luvun kaksi. Tämän ohella *Companionissa* käsitellään kukin nimellä tunnettu lakiteksti, sen eri versiot *CIH*:ssä, yleiskuvaus sisällöstä, tekstistä muualla julkaistut editiot ja käännökset, sekä muu tähänastinen tutkimus. Lakitekstien iän määrittystä ja lainopillista oheiskirjallisuutta – glossia ja kommentaareja – käsitellään omissa luvuissaan. Kirjan liitteissä on ikään kuin lisäyksenä *CIH*:iin diplomaattiset editiot muutamasta aikaisemmin julkaisematon tekstistä (yhteensä yli 100 sivua). Kyseessä on *CIH*:n julkaisun jälkeen huomattavin saavutus varhaiskeskiaikaisten irlantilaisten lakitekstien tutkimuksessa.

Johdantoluku kuvailee *CIH*:ssä lähteinä käytettyjä käsikirjoituksia: niiden ikää ja muita fyysisiä ominaisuuksia sekä mitä lakitekstejä kustakin koodeksista löytyy. Luvussa 2 Breatnach käy *CIH*:n sisällön läpi

systemaattisesti jakaen sen joko tunnettuihin otsikollisiin teksteihin tai muuten asiassällön mukaan loogisiin tekstikatkelmiin. Breatnach on identifioinut huomattavan osan *CIH*:n aiemmin irrallisia tekstikohtia osiksi tunnettuja lakitekstejä. Nimeltä tunnetut tekstit Breatnach käsittelee erikseen luvussa 5. Näistä useimmista on *CIH*:ssä painettuna useampi eri versio. Jokaisesta tekstistä ja katkelmasta hän kertoo vähintään aiheen, mutta monesti myös tekstilähteen/t ja sen onko kyse lakitekstistä vai kommentaarista. Lisäksi hän listaa aikaisemman tutkimuskirjallisuuden. Myös mahdolliset puuttuvat tai väärään järjestykseen sidotut sivut sekä aukot käsikirjoituksen vaurioitumisen jäljiltä selostetaan.

Nimettyjen tekstien käsittely luvussa 5 on erittäin informatiivinen. Asiassällön, editioiden ja osittaistenkin käännösten lisäksi Breatnach mm. luettelee muista teksteistä löytyvät sitaatit asianomaisesta tekstistä. Moni teksti on säilynyt vain fragmentteina ja sitaatit auttavat hieman rekonstruoimaan niiden sisältöä. Hyvin usein Breatnach kommentoi aikaisempaa tutkimusta tai tekee yleisempiä tiettyjä tekstityyppejä koskevia huomioita. Breatnach on myös löytänyt paljon uusia ristikkäisviitteitä *CIH*:n marginaaleihin merkittyjen kohtien lisäksi. Tämän kaiken eteen tehty työ on niin valtava, että hieman ihmetyttää miksi käsikirjaan ei ole lisätty aiheen mukaan tehtyä indeksiä *CIH*:iin. Luvuista 2 ja 5 sen olisi miltei samalla vaivalla saanut.

Kysymykseen siitä kuinka hyvin *CIH*:ssä julkaisut tekstit edustavat keskiaikaista korpusta pyritään vastaamaan luvussa 3, jossa esitetään kuinka lakitekstit välittyivät myöhemmille polville, miten niitä lyhennettiin, uudelleenkirjoitettiin ja –organisoiittiin sekä miten niitä täydennettiin glossilla

ja kommentaareilla. Lakikäsi kirjoituksista julkaistuissa valokuvissa esitetään useimmiten niiden 'hienostunein' ulkoasu, jossa muinaiirinkielinen, yhtenäinen lakiteksti on kirjoitettu isommalla kirjainkoolla ja rivien väliin sijoitetut glossat ja marginaaleihin tai päättekstin väliin sijoitetut kommenttikappaleet ovat pienemmällä. Tätä muotoa noudattaa kuitenkin vain osa *CIH*:n teksteistä. On tekstejä, joissa ei ole selitysapparaattia lainkaan. Joskus sekä teksti että glossat ja kommentaarit on kirjoitettu samalla kirjainkoolla, mikä hankaloittaa itse lakitekstin erottamista muusta materiaalista. Suuri osa säilyneistä lakikäsi kirjoituksista koostuu kokoelmasta sitaatteja muinaiirinkielisistä teksteistä, joissa valaistetaan jotain tiettyä aihetta tai juridista periaatetta. Meille säilynyt materiaali onkin useimmiten juristien tekstejä toisille juristeille eli lainopillisia käsi kirjoja. Breatnach on identifioinut *CIH*:stä neljä aiheotsikoiden alle järjestettyä sitaattikokoelmaa, joita hän käsittelee luvussa 6.

CIH:ssä on painettuna myös n. 130 sivun verran aakkosittain järjestettyjä sanoja, tärkeimpänä Davorenin glossaari, jolle on omistettu kirjassa oma lukunsa 4. Breatnach käsittelee tätä 1500-luvulla kerättyä lakisanastoa tarkemmin sen tähden, että se on tärkeä apuväline fragmentteina säilyneiden lakitekstien tutkimuksessa. Varhaisten sanastojen yhteinen piirre on, että sanat on kerätty alkukirjainten alle, mutta niitä ei ole kunkin kirjaimen alla uudelleen aakkostettu. Davorenin glossaari on ilmeisesti laadittu käymällä läpi lakitekstejä kirjoittaen selitys kullekin vastaan tulleelle vaikeasti ymmärrettävälle termille ja ottaen mukaan myös sitaatin tekstistä, jossa sana esiintyy. Breatnach on pyrkinyt identifioimaan jokaisen Davorenin hakusanan lähteenä käytetyn

tekstin. Koska katkelmat on poimittu teksteistä niiden esiintymisjärjestyksessä, hän on pystynyt Davorenin glossaarin perusteella uudelleen järjestämään joitakin fragmentteina säilyneitä lakitekstejä.

Luvussa 7 selostetaan lakitekstien glossien ja kommentaarien ikää, muotoja ja luonnetta. Tämä lainopillinen oheiskirjallisuus muodostaa itse asiassa säilyneestä lakimateriaalista suurimman osan. Varsinaisten glossien ja kommentaarien ohella oheiskirjallisuus pitää sisällään varsin mielenkiintoista aineistoa kuten prologeja ja jopa kertomuksia. Glossien tarkoitus oli selventää päätekstiä, joko lauseita tai yksittäisiä sanoja, tarjoamalla usein parikin vaihtoehtoa ja mahdollisesti lisäinformaatiota. Glossat ovat usein kumulatiivisia, eli samoja selityksiä lainattiin nuorempiin teksteihin. Kommentaarit taas ovat yleensä itsenäisiä selvityksiä samasta aihepiiristä. Koska kommentaarit koskivat yleisempää asiayhteyttä, niitä saatettiin käyttää useammassa lakitekstissä. Useissa myöhemmistä glossissa itse asiassa käännetään muinaiirinkielinen lakiteksti keski- tai moderniksi iiriksi, koska alkuperäisteksti ei enää myöhemmällä keskiajalla käyttäjille avautunut. Varsin usein nämä käännökset ovat virheellisiä. Keskiaikaiset irlantilaiset oppineet olivat sangen kiinnostuneita kielestä ja harastivat sanojen alkuperän selityksiä. Myöhäisemmistä glossista suuri osa saattaa olla tällaista vaihtoehtojen ja usein varsin mielikuvituksellisten etymologioiden antamista. Esimerkiksi *Senchus Márin* johdannon glossissa *Senchus*-termille (joka tarkoittaa perimätietoa tai historiaa) annetaan reilun kolmen sivun pituudelta seitsemän erilaista alkuperäselitystä, joissa sana johdetaan mm. latinasta: *sen*<*senex* 'vanha', *cas*<*causa* 'seikka, syy'. Tyypillisesti termin merkitys

on melko hyvin tiedossa ja kyseessä on lähinnä ajatusleikki ja samalla oppineisuuden osoitus, vaikka nykykielitieteen valossa nämä etymologiat ovatkin täysin keksittyjä. Breatnach huomauttaa, että myöhemmissä glossissa reagoidaan muuttuneisiin lakikäytänteisiin ja niiden avulla näitä muutoksia voidaan jäljittää.

Luvussa 8 Breatnach palaa lakitekstien iän ja kirjoittajien määrittämiseen, sekä niiden keskinäiseen kronologiseen järjestykseen, joka monien kohdalla selviää viittauksista toisiin lakiteksteihin. Tässä kohtaa olisi itse asiassa ollut hyödyllistä muokata tieto graafiseksi esitykseksi, josta voisi nopeasti tarkistaa lakitekstien iän. Tekstien todellisen iän määrittämisen lisäksi Breatnach esittelee lakiteksteissä esiintyvät kirjoittajien näkemykset laatimisen paikasta, ajasta, tekijästä ja syystä. Hän on koonnut myös listan CIH:ssä esiintyvistä mytologisista lainlaatijoista mainiten mitä heistä lakiteksteissä kerrotaan.

Companion on enemmän kuin kattava käsikirja CIH:n käyttäjille, jonka avulla on helppo esimerkiksi selvittää tutkimuskirjallisuudessa esiintyvien CIH-katkelmien konteksti. Eräs teoksen tärkeimpiä anteja on epäilemättä aikaisemmin sijoittamattomien lakisitaattien identifiointi osaksi tiettyjä tekstejä. Mittava kontribuutio on myös aiemmin julkaisemattoman lakimateriaalin transkriptioiden julkaiseminen liitteissä. CIH:n käyttäjän kannalta tärkeimmät ovat luultavasti luvut 2 ja 5, joissa annetaan CIH:n kohtien ohella myös valtavasti muuta tietoa ao. lakiteksteistä. Breatnach on kirjoittanut todella tarpeellisen kumppanin varhaisen Irlannin tutkijoille.

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