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A. J. GOEDHEER

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ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DEN GRAAD VAN DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE AAN DE RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT TE UTRECHT, OP GEZAG VAN DEN RECTOR-MAGNIFICUS DR. J. BOEKE, HOOGLEERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER GENEESKUNDE, VOLGENS BESLUIT VAN DEN SENAAT DER UNIVERSITEIT TEGEN DE BEDENKINGEN VAN DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE TE VERDEDIGEN OP VRIJDAG 6 MEI, TE 4 UUR, DOOR

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INTRODUCTION

Ó's anfadh a mbliadhna d'fiannaib einge Fheidhlim
is bagar na sgian gach dia ar a muinélaib,
is mairg nach fiadaid triatha chloinne Eibhir
aithris ar riaghail Bhriain mhic Chinnéide.

'Since now a storm bids fair to fall upon the fighting men of Felim's land, while daily the knives are threateningly suspended over their necks, alas that the leaders of Heber's children cannot reproduce the rule of Brian mac Cinnéidigh'. [1])

Dáibhidh O'Bruadair 1650—1693

The battle of Clontarf (1014), which ended the glorious reign of the high-king Brian Bóramha, looms large in Irish history and is described in two Icelandic sagas. Both traditions have been studied, the Irish by J. H. Todd in his introduction to *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* and afterwards by J. H. Lloyd, [2]) the Norse by Sophus Bugge, [3]) Finnur Jónsson, [4]) K. Lehmann-H. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, [5]) and recently by Einar Ólafur Sveinsson. [6])

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[1]) O'Grady, Cat. Brit. Mus. p. 586.

[2]) Jarl Sigurd's forlorn Hope (The New Ireland Review XXVIII (1907—1908), p. 35—54; 87—99).

[3]) Norsk sagafortælling og sagaskrivning i Irland (Norsk hist. Tidsskrift, 1901).

[4]) Den oldnorske og oldisl. Litteraturs Historie, Köbenhavn 1920—'24, II, p. 525, and: Om Njala (Aarb. f. nord. oldkyndighed og historie, 1904, p. 89—166).

[5]) Die Njalssage, insbesondere in ihren juristischen Bestandtheilen, Berlin 1883, p. 140 sq.

[6]) Um Njálu, Reykjavík 1933, p. 49, 50, 76—86.

Though most of these scholars also pay attention to the tradition of the other country, a detailed study of the two traditions combined, comparing them and separating the romantic elements from the historical, was hitherto lacking. It is the aim of the present investigation to fill this gap, while at the same time it attempts, after establishing the relation between the three manuscript texts of the principal Irish authority and fixing the date of its origin, to investigate the correspondence of this work and the Irish annals. By pointing out Irish literary elements in the Norse work, this study hopes to contribute to the much discussed problem of Irish-Norse literary relations.

The Irish account [1]) consists of a romantic record of the life of Brian and of the battle of Clontarf, preceded by a survey of the Scandinavian raids and depredations in Ireland, especially in Munster. The interrelation of the MSS., the time of origin of this work, and its literary character will be examined in the first section. The second section consists of a comparison between Cogadh and the Irish annals in order to establish their mutual relation and to distinguish romantic and historical elements. In the following section some later works derived from Cogadh will be inspected, the earliest being a poem by *Muiredach Ua Dálaigh*, which is edited here for the first time. The 17th century account of the battle of Clontarf contained in the *Leabhar Oiris* [2]) and a treatise by *Duald mac Firbis* [3]) will be considered only in so far as they throw new light on the text of Cogadh. Besides, by an analysis of a printed version of the former, the growth of legendary elements round the figure of Brian will be demonstrated.

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[1]) Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, the War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill or the invasion of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen, the orig. Irish text ed. with transl. and introd. by J. H. Todd, London 1867 (Rolls series).

[2]) Ed. R. I. Best, Ériu I, p. 74—112.

[3]) Duald mac Firbis, On the Fomorians and the Norsemen, ed. with transl. and notes by Alexander Bugge, Christiania 1905.

The Norse tradition, to which the second chapter is devoted, comprises a section of the *Njáls Saga* (or *Njála*), namely ch. CLIV, 4—14; ch. CLV, 11—CLVII near the end [1]) and a smaller section of the *Þorsteins Saga Síðuhallssonar*, p. 216, l. 27—p. 217, l. 19. [2]) Both spring from a common source, which has been given the name of *Brjáns Saga*. The section in the Njála, however, contains a poem, the *Darraðarljóð*, constituting, as appears from its pagan character, a foreign element in the Brjáns Saga, which is Christian in outlook. [3]) The elements out of which the Darraðarljóð have been composed will be proved to be of Irish origin and the poem, as the older source, will be analyzed separately.

The third chapter is intended as a critical study of the character of the two traditions and the historical development preceding the battle of Clontarf. Here the earlier theories will be discussed and the causes which led to the great event will be examined. The battle and its hero Brian Bóromha never failed to hold their grip on the imagination of the Irish nation. Of this we find the literary reflexion, for instance, in Keating's Foras Feasa and in the introduction to the translated Annals of Clonmacnoise in the 17th century, in Moore's poems in the 19th century, and lastly in Canon O'Leary's historical novel *Niamh*. On the other hand *Saga af Bróður Ylfing*, by the Icelandic novelist Friðrik Ásmundsson Brekkan, gives a vivid picture of the same period from the Norse point of view.

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[1]) Brennu-Njálssaga (Njála), hrsg. v. Finnur Jónsson, Halle a.S. 1908 (Altnord. Sagabibl. 13).

[2]) In: Austfirðinga Sǫgur, utg. v. Jak. Jakobsen, Köbenhavn 1902—'3.

[3]) Under the title 'The Fatal Sisters' this poem was first translated into English by Thomas Gray (1716—1771), who drew from it the inspiration for a part of his composition of 'The Bard', considered a precursor of Macpherson's Ossian.

CHAPTER I. IRISH TRADITION

A. Cogadh Gaedhal re Gallaibh

Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh ('The War of the Irish with the Foreigners') was edited by J. H. Todd in 1867 from three MSS., denoted L, D, and B.

L contains only the first 29 chapters of the work. It is a leaf of the Book of Leinster, a large compilation MS., the oldest part of which was written about the year 1160. It is now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

D lacks the beginning and the end and has some more lacunae owing to the loss of several leaves. It occurs in a volume made up of various fragments, which also belongs to Trinity College (press marking: H.2.17). There is no other indication of its age but the handwriting and orthography. According to Dr. Todd it was written in the fourteenth century.

B is a paper copy in the Burgundian Library, Brussels. It was written by Friar Michael O'Clery, the most prominent of the famous 'Four Masters'. According to his own statement, he transcribed it from the Book of Cuchonnacht O'Daly, which is now lost. O'Clery modernized the spelling. That he also deviated from his original in another and a more serious way will be shown below. Of B a copy was made by Eugene O'Curry in 1853 (T.C.D., H.6.18.).

Though the editor regards L as the oldest copy, he makes no statement about the relation of the three MSS. It can easily be proved that, at least indirectly, L is the original of both B and D.

In the first section, only found in L and B, L has a marginal note: *bliadain sin ar marbad Diman Arad ocus in dar*[*a*] *bliadain*

rígi Fedilmid mic Crimthaind.[1]) This has been incorporated in the text of B: *an bliadhain ar marbadh Dímain Arad sin . . . an dara bliadhain iar ngabháil ríghe do Feidhlim mac Crimthainn.*

Another marginal note in L reads: *la Dondchadh rí .h. Conaill in tan sa ocus Domhnall mac Cindfaelaid rí .h. Cairpri.* [2]) This note has been introduced, though in a modified form, into the texts of B and D: *Donchadh mac Scannlan rí ua Conaill ocus Niall mac Cindfaelad.*

A third proof is afforded by the words *oc Loch Febail* [3]) occurring as a gloss in L, but found in the texts of B and D.

The O'Clery copy was probably written in the year 1635 and is, no doubt, the youngest of the three. The parentage of L being proved, the question may be put whether B was a copy of D, and D of L, in which case D would be the lost Book of Cuchonnacht. This, however, is out of the question, since B in many instances agrees with L against D, as will appear from the following comparison: [4])

L and B	D
p. 6:	
L . . . *torcair .CLXX. dina gallaib* B *idrocar .CLXX. dib and*	*.X. cendbar ocus tri ficit ocus .CLXX. dib and*
L *Cell ausailli* B *Cell uasaile*	*Orllasaili*
p. 8:	
Tradraigi	*Dartraigi*
Forannan	*Farannan*
p. 10:	
maith do mórad . . .	*ria do móradh . . .*

[1]) Cogadh, p. 4 and p. 222.
[2]) Cogadh, p. 8, 224.
[3]) Cogadh, p. 24, 231.
[4]) The quotations from L are taken from p. 223 sq. In quotations no attempts at emendations have been made.

L and B	D
p. 12:	
L *ra gell dHérind* . . . B *do gell dÉrinn* . . .	*do gell* . . .
cella Derg deirc	*cell dercert*
p. 16:	
. . .*co Âth Cliath*	. . .*in desciurt Âtha Cliath*
co Liath Mochaemoc (id. p. 20)	*co Liath Monemoch*
p. 20:	
. . .L *cóic cét* B *cuicc céd*	. . .*dá ficet déc*
p. 26:	
longes la Hacond	*longes la Cond*

On the other hand, there are many instances of agreement between L and D against B:

L and D	B
p. 6:	
L *Dún Dermaigi* D *Dún Dergmugi*	*Dún Dergmúine*
ra hindred in tír leo	*ro hairced in tír leo*
Land Lerí	(deest)
sláni	(deest)
p. 8:	
ra hindred . . . *leo*	*ro indraisiot*
longes dib	*longes ele*
Turgeis féin	*Tuirgeis*
L *ra innarb ass* D *ro hinnarb*	*ro hindread ocus ro hindarbadh*
L *co rrocht Mumain* D *co toracht Mumain*	*go ndeachad Mumain*
i nÁrd Macha	*i n-abdhaine Árda Macha*
(deest)	*ocus atbert*

In the prophetical stanzas the transcript of B is manifestly erroneous.

L and D	B
p. 10:	
L *dam i n-inad innarba Colum cilli dar muir* D *daim díb ar Colum cilli dinnarba*	*ar son Colum cille*
p. 14:	
aird inti . . .	*aird i nÉrinn . . .*
co diarmidi	*co hanbhail iad*
Onphile	*Oilfinn*
p. 18:	
L *anchora* D *ancair*	*angcaire naem*
L *Árd Ferta* D *Árd Fearadaig*	*Carn Fearaduigh*
p. 22:	
Conchobar mac Donchada . . .	*Concubar mac Cinaeda . . .*
ra múchad Muchthigern [*mac*] *Rechtabrad i n-uaim*	*re Murchadh mac Muchtigern mic Rechtabhra i Mumhain*
L *Scolph ocus Ona ocus Tomrair ocus Turgeis* D *Ona ocus Scolph ocus Tomar . . .*	(deest)
p. 24:	
L *Ciarraig* D *Ciaraigi*	*Ciarraige luachra*
p. 26:	
L *. . .la Aed Findliath mac Néill* D *. . .la hAed mac Néill*	*. . .la hAedh ua Néill*
L *du i torcair Constantin mac Cinaeda árdrí Alban ocus sochaidhe mór malle riss* (D similar)	(deest)
. . .fo fheraib Alban	*. . .fo chosaibh fer nAlbain*
p. 28:	
ra hindred . . .	*ro loisccead . . .*
L *abadh Delgga . . .* D *abb Delga*	*abb dúin Delcca . . .*

L and D	B
. . .isin bliadain (L *sin*)	*. . .isin bliadain cédna*
p. 30:	
L *la hOttir iarla* D *re httir iarla*	*le hOifir iarla*
Domnall mac Dunchada	(deest)
L *ra scáilset iarsain* D *ro roinset etorro i trí iarsin*	*a trí iad*

Evidently both B and D are enlarged copies of L. They had, however, a common source, which was not L, as will appear from the following instances common to both, but different from L.

L	B and D
p. 6:	
epscop in bali	*a epscop*
ra airgset Mag mBili	*da airgset dna mag fos*
a tuaid arísi doib coro airgset. . .	*ro hairged leo dna . . .*
p. 8:	
urmór cell nÉrend uile	*urmór cell Érend*
ra hindrit . . . uathusaide	*ro hinrit . . . leo*
is andsin ra comallad fástini Bercháin in primfáda	*amail ro tairngir Bercán, primfáith nimi ocus talman*

In the prophetical stanzas:

p. 10:	
ferand	*fearaib*
nert	*ríg*
do gentib dúin Dublíni	*da dubgentib Duiblinni*
can latin	*gan goedilg*
ollamnacht	*forlamus*

In ch. X, L gives first the prophecy of Bec mac Dé and then the words attributed in B an D to Ciarán Saighri without, how-

ever, naming Ciarán in the prose text. In B and D the order is the reverse.

Ch. XXIX (B and D) is not found in L, except the concluding passage: *Ra chuatar . . . Oittir.*

It appears from the preceding comparison that B and D must go back to a common original. O'Clery mentions as his source the Book of Cuchonnacht. Since this text must have been of a later date than the Book of Leinster, it cannot have been written, as Dr. Todd supposed, [1]) during the lifetime of the *ardollamh le dán* whose death the Four Masters record in the year 1139. Perhaps the person referred to by O'Clery is Cúchonnacht mac Maoilshechlainn ua Dálaigh, who lived about 1590.[2]) If O'Clery's original has been written in his time, it is not identical with C, but must have been a copy of this manuscript. This, however, must remain uncertain. The relation of the MSS. may be expressed by this pedigree (in which for the sake of simplicity the Book of Cuchonnacht is regarded as the direct source of B and D):

The deviations of the younger MSS. from L are not all of the same character. Many are of a merely stylistic nature, as will be shown by some instances from the first pages.

L	B
búi dochraiti mór for feraib Hérenn	*bái docraitte iongnadh adbal mór ar Érinn uile*

[1]) Cog. p. XV.

[2]) K. Meyer, A primer of Irish metrics, p. 34.

L	B
ó Lochlannchaib fri deich mbliadna fir Érenn	*ó genntibh gormglasa gusmara fri reimhes deich mbliadhan srúithe saera soibésacha na nGaeidhel*
ó Lochlannaib ocus ó Danaraib	*ó Danmarcachaibh allmardhaib ocus ó díbergaibh barbhardaibh*

The younger text shows a greater number of alliterating adjectives, which stylistic figure, however, was not introduced by the copyist. It is found already in L, even in the first sentence: *Danaraib dulgib durchridechaib*. Other deviations must be due to misreading or misunderstanding as, for instance, B *Bendchair* (Bangor) for L *Becherinn* (Becc-Erinn, Beggery Island). Sometimes a word is replaced by a later form: B *ro fhodaimsiot* (p. 4) for L *ro fhulngetar*.

The cases where B and D appear to have drawn materials from some other source are comparatively few. On p. 20 B and D read *Saxulb iarla*, where L has *Raalb iarla*. The greater part of chapter XXIX is an interpolation, since L only has the last four lines. An interesting interpolation, moreover, form the lists of the kings of Ireland and of Munster in the chapters II and III. [1])

For the larger and more important portion of the work we possess only the texts of B and D, which are different at many points. In B four long poems are found (on p. 62, 76, 80 and 96), which are absent from D. On the other hand, several sections of D do not occur in B, namely, the poem which the messenger Gilla Comgaill Ua Sléibhine addressed to Aedh Ua Néill to incite him against Brian (p. 120); the arrival of Fergal Ua Ruairc with his men (p. 154); part of the description of the mail-clad

[1]) Cf. Cogadh, p. 235 sq.

Foreigners (p. 158); the mention of Brian's ten stewards and Fergal Ua Ruairc, followed by a remark about rupture between Brian and Maelshechlainn (p. 168); the appearance of Dunlang ua hArtacáin (p. 170); a section describing the feats of Fergal Ua Ruairc (p. 176); the concluding lines of Maelshechlainn's description of the battle and the combat between Dunlang and Cornabbliteoc (p. 182). Whether these sections belonged to the original work or not must be decided in each case separately. There is no reason to suppose that their absence from B is due to omission by Michael O'Clery. In the great compilation, known as the Annals of the Four Masters, O'Clery carefully discarded everything that could be conceived as detrimental to the Faith. The same practice is noticed in his transcript of Cogadh, for instance on p. 82, where he omits the words *do rait anma na nGall ro marbait isin cath*, 'for the good (?) of the souls of the Foreigners who where killed in the battle'. The meaning of these words is very obscure in the context.

The work falls into two parts. The first, consisting of the chapters I—XXXIV, contains a chronological account of the invasions, battles and settlements of the Foreigners in Ireland, whereas the second and greater part of the work differs in style from the introductory first section and is chiefly concerned with Munster affairs.

There is an outstanding stylistic redundancy in the work that affords an approximate date of its origin. Of this some instances are found already in the introductory section, although here the style is generally concise and annalistic, but the second part of the work is dominated by it.

Its characteristics are the following:

a. long sequences of adjectives, most of them alliterating, as for instance *cath dolig, dibergach, durcraideach, duabsech, dian, denmnetach, dasachtach, na nAnmargach, ocus in damraid dian, dlúlaind, direcra, ocus gamanraidh glan, gasda, gerata, garbeoda,*

galach, gnimach, rígda, rathmar, robladach Dál Cais (p. 178)

b. the use of several synonyms or words similar in meaning, where a single expression would have given the same sense: *mór de dód ocus dimned, de thár ocus de tharcassul* (p. 222)

long ocus laidheng ocus cobhlach (p. 40)

ro marbsat treoin ocus treitill ocus trenmiledha, anraidh ocus amsaigh ocus oicctigeirn, ocus forccla lathgaile ocus gaisccidh na nGaoidhel uile (p. 42). As appears from these examples, here, too, alliteration is used and as a rule the words occur in groups of three.

Cogadh has been neither the first nor the last to employ these peculiarities of style. They are used in other works throughout the middle-Irish and the early modern period. We are able, however, to ascribe the popularity of this typical element of Irish literary style to a definite person: the redactor of the version of the Táin Bó Cúalnge, preserved in the Book of Leinster.[1]) It has been proved by Miss Áine de Paor [2]) that he was identical with the author of the Book of Leinster (L.L.) version of Mesca Ulad [3]) and of the original work Cath Ruis na Ríg for Bóinn, [4]) another L.L. text. He did not invent this style himself; instances of it are found already in the earliest version of the Táin in Leabhar na Huidre (L.U.), [5]) especially in the sections entitled *In carpat serda ocus in brislech mór Maige Murthemne* (in Strachan's edition line 1772—2054) and *Aided Fhir Dead* (2200—2733), which are not by the same author as the rest of the L.U. version. Now the origin of the L.L. version is dated by Thurneysen [6]) in

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[1]) E. Windisch, Die altirische Heldensage Táin Bó Cúalnge, Leipzig 1905.

[2]) Ériu IX, p. 118. Cf. E. Thurneysen, Die irische Helden- und Königssage, p. 33, 113, 364, 473.

[3]) Ed. W. M. Hennessy, Todd Lecture Series I.

[4]) Ed. E. Hogan, Todd. L. S. IV.

[5]) Ed. J. Strachan and O'Keeffe.

[6]) Heldensage, p. 114 sq.

the first quarter of the 12th century. His argument is the name of Fergus' sword *caladbolg* (from *caladcolc* in L.U.), which is found in the latinized form *caliburnus* in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae, written between 1132 and 1135. So if it can be proved that the author of Cogadh underwent the influence of the second version of the Táin, he must have composed his chronicle about the middle of the 12th century, in any case before 1160, when the Book of Leinster was written.

Here follow some instances of parallelism or agreement in the use of uncommon words between Cogadh on one side and the L.L. version of the Táin and Cath Ruis na Ríg on the other.

1. Cog. p. 40 and passim: *allmurach* 'foreign, barbarous' occurs once in the Táin: line 5616.
2. *trebraid*, adj. of uncertain meaning, describing a mantle or shirt. Cog. p. 52, 158; Táin 1716, 5273, 5388.
3. Cog. p. 110: *Cath fulech, fichda, forderc*, Táin 5414: *buiden fuilech fhordergg*.
4. Cog. p. 118: . . *co cosccrach, commaidhmech*, Táin 4013: *Conall caem coscarach commáidmech*.
5. Cog. p. 152: (*comthinol sloig*) *buirb barbardha*. These two adjectives are often found combined in Cogadh. Táin 1010: *ba borb barbarda*; 2216: *druthoclach borb barbarda*. The word *barbarda* or the substantive *barbardacht* occurs no less than seven times in the L.L. fragment of Mesca Ulad. [1]) C.R.R. p. 50: *co barbarda*.
6. Cog. 156: *séolchrand* 'a mast' lit. sail-tree, probably a translation from the Old Norse *siglu-tré*. [2]) Táin 2622.
7. *Bodb* or *badb* is originally the proper name of a battle demon. In Cogadh the word is used in a more general sense. On p. 174 a 'badb' (here: battle demon in the form of a scaldcrow)

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[1]) A. de Paor, Ériu IX, p. 122.

[2]) Cf. C. J. S. Marstrander, Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland, p. 46.

flutters over the heads of the combatants. The adjective *badbda* 'furious, vehement' occurs on p. 158: *saigitbuilc badba* (leg. *badbda*) *barbarda* (also p. 180); *tsluaigh buirb badbaidi* (p. 52). For instances of a similar metaphorical use in Táin, C.R.R. and M.U. see Ériu IX, p. 143.

8. Cog. p. 174: *ro eirgetar am bánanaig ocus boccanaig ocus geliti glinni ocus amati adgaill ocus siabra* etc. Táin 2442 refers to the same demoniacal beings: *co ro recratar bánanaig ocus boccanaig ocus geniti glinni ocus demna aeoír,* also Táin 1536, 2583, 3301.
9. Cog. 196: *elta dét* 'hilt of tooth', Táin 1718, 5196, 5274.
10. A parallel of idea, not of words. Cog. p. 114: a game of chess gives rise to a conflict between Maelmordha and Murchadh. In the Táin (p. 893) the same happens to Fergus and Bricriu.
11. Cog. p. 198: *ocus bleith muilinn tuaithfil orra,* C. R. R. p. 34: *et tuc bleith mulind tuathbil forthu.*
12. Cog. p. 198: *is amail sin amail ro bi caill Tomair ar loscad a minbaig ocus a hoc crund, ocus na secht catha coecais ar mís ica gerrad ocus a railge ro mhóra ocus a dairghe dhíomhóra ina sessamh,* C. R. R. p. 42: *acht na beth rúad-daire ro-mór bar lár machaire acus na gabad mórslúag na farrad acus ra étlaithe a cháel acus a mín in fheda ass acus ra factha a railge rúada ro-móra da éis.*

These instances suffice to show that, as a matter of fact, the author of Cogadh was influenced by the L.L. version of the Táin and other stories by the same author. That Cogadh is the younger work is proved by the fact that the style of the Táin is here exaggerated to a degree which renders the work much less expressive than its example. Another difference is that the direct speech, used regularly in Táin, C. R. R. and M. U. wherever conversations are reproduced, has often been given up in Cogadh.

There is another indication for the later date of Cogadh. As

has been pointed out by A. Bugge, [1]) its author knew the Irish translation of Dares Phrygius called *Togal Troi*, 'the Destruction of Troy'. [2]) This is made probable by the fact that the chief heroes in Cogadh are compared with Hector, son of Priam, and Hercules, and proved by cases of verbal agreement: *én gaili* 'a bird of valour' Cog. p. 188, T. T. 1706; *gat im ganem* 'a string around sand' Cog. p. 162, T. T. 629, 630; *ba lunni latraind dar maig leis eturru* 'his fury among them was that of a robber upon a plain', Cog. p. 194, *lám latraind i n-árbaig* T. T. 651.Now Togal Troi contains many phrases also found in the Táin, as may be seen from the footnotes in Windisch' edition. A decisive proof that the translator of T. T. imitated the Táin is afforded by the plural *caladbuilc* (T. T. 1716), a word denoting 'swords' in general, from the proper name of Fergus' sword *Caladbolg*. [3])

The second version of Cath Ruis na Ríg, printed by Hogan, which is only preserved in younger MSS., contains some striking parallels with Cogadh.

1. Cog. p. 162: *ba snám i n-agaid srotha*, C. R. R. p. 90: *is snámh a n-aghaidh srotha sin.*
2. Cog. 162: *ba hesargain darach du dorndaib*, C. R. R. p. 92: *is easargain darach do dhoirnibh sin anois.* [4])

Although the date of this version has not been finally established, no linguistic arguments prevent us from placing its origin at least as early as that of the L. L. version.

That later authors borrowed freely from Cogadh appears from the following instances, taken from Cath Finntrága, an early modern Irish tale, belonging to the Ossianic Cycle. [5]) The numbers refer to the lines of Meyer's edition.

[1]) Caithréim Cellacháin Caisil, p. XVI.

[2]) Ed. W. Stokes, Calcutta 1882.

[3]) See Thurneysen, Heldensage, p. 115.

[4]) These two expressions occur in a similar context in *Eachtra cloinne Rígh na hIoruaidhe* (I. T. S. I, p. 86), an early modern Irish text, which, according to its editor, contains forms as old as the 14th century.

[5]) The Battle of Ventry, ed. K. Meyer, Anecd. Oxon. 1885.

1. C. F. 773: . . *amail buinne mbhorbruadh mbreaclasrach fa chnoc ardmhór aiteangharbh no mar thuinn reachtmhoir rabartha ac bualad um ghealtracht ngainmighi* 'like the fierce-red blaze of motley flames under a large hill rough with furze, or like a proud wave of overwelming that beats a sandy white strand'

Cog. p.188: . . *no mar borbruathur dian bunni dilend, brisseas ocus brecas cach ní cosa ricc* 'like the fierce-swift onset of a deluging blaze shattering and smashing everything to which it comes'.

2. C. F. 734: *Ro freagradar imoro na duili uachtaracha a comdail an chatha leo d'faisnéis na n-olc acus na n-imneadh budh cinnti do dhenamh isin ló sin acus do merlabhair an muir d'faisnéis na n-easbadh ocus do thogadar na tonna tromghair truaghadhbal da sirchaineadh acus do bhuiredar na piasta da piastfhaisnéis acus do gheisedar na garbhchnuic le gabhadh na greisi sin ocus do crithnaigheadar na coillti do chaineadh na curadh acus ro gaireadar na glaschlocha o ghnimaibh na n-gerreann acus do ghuiledar na gaetha ag admhail na n-ardecht ocus do crithnaigh an talamh ac tarrngaire an tromáir acus do gormbrataigh an grian le gair feadhaigh na n-glasshluag acus*

Cog. p. 174: *Ro erig em badb discir, dian, denmnetach, dasachtach, dur, duabsech, detcengtach, cruaid, croda, cosaitech, co bai ic screchaid ar luamain os a cennaib. Ro eirgetar am bánanaig, ocus boccanaig, ocus geliti glinni, ocus amati adgaill, ocus siabra, ocus seneoin, ocus demna admílti aeoir, ocus firmaminti, ocus siabarsluag debil demnach, co mbatar a comgresacht ocus i commorad aig ocus irgaili leo.* 'And there arose a wild, impetuous, precipitate, furious, hard, frightful, voracious, merciless, combative, contentious *badb*, screaming and fluttering over their heads. And there arose also the satyrs, and the ghosts, and the vampires of the glen, and the witches, and the

do niamdhubadar na neoill re hathaid na huaire sin acus do chomgaireadar coin acus cuanarta acus badbha acus geilide glinne acus arrachta aieir acus faelcon na fidhbidhe da gach aird acus da gach oirchinn ana timcheall acus sreath deamnaighe diabalta do lucht aslaig uilc acus ecorach da comgreasacht a ceann a cheili. 'Then the beings of the upper regions responded to the battle, telling the evil and the woe that was destined to be done on that day, and the sea chattered telling the losses, and the waves raised a heavy woeful great moan in wailing them, and the beasts howled telling of them in their bestial way, and the rough hills creaked with the danger of that attack, and the woods trembled in wailing the heroes, and the grey stones cried from the deeds of the heroes, and the winds sighed telling the high deeds, and the earth trembled in prophesying the heavy slaughter, and the sun was covered with a blue mantle by the cries of the grey hosts, and the clouds were goblins, and the ancient birds, and the destroying demons of the air and of the firmanent, and the ominous demoniacal phantom host, and they were screaming and glorifying the valour and combat amongst themselves'.

shining black at the time of that hour, and the hounds and the welps, and crows, and the vampires of the glen, and the spectres of the air, and the wolves of the forest howled together from every quarter and every corner round about them, and a demoniacal devilish section of the tempters to evil and wrong kept urging them on against each other'.

3. C. F. 829: *Cubhais eili dam fos, ar Ferghus, nár theilg gaeth da taínic ó na duilibh riamh do dhuilleabar do mórcoill urdail ar theilg gaeth aniubh a nellaib acus a n-aér d'fholtaibh fada finncasa forórdha acus do chiabaibh casa cirdhubha acus d'urrlaghaibh leabra lanmaiseacha arna teascadh do bhiaillibh imleathna infhaebhracha. Uair do muchadar na fola acus na fhuilt sin fearas for na cathaibh leath ar leath iad nach samalta co fhuighthi 'sa bith neach d'aithneochadh aén dib seach a cheili muna tucadh aithne ara n-urrlabraibh,* 'Again I pledge my faith, said Fergus, no wind that ever came from the elements tore the like number of leaves

Cog. p. 182: . . . *in tan nach tibred duni don dá cath achni ar celi, cid é a mac no a brathair bad comfagus do, mini thugad aichni ar a guth, no a fis remi acci in t-inad a mbiad, ar n-ar linad eter cend ocus agid ocus etuch do broengail na fola forruamanda la fogran na goeti glanfuair, bai tarstib chucaind. Ocus gid degengnum bad ail duin do denum, ni fetfamais, daig ro cenglait ocus ro cuibrigit a ngae os a cennaib da foltaib faidb ro thafaind in goeth cugaind, arna tescad do claidmib colgdirgib ocus do thuagaib taidlechaib cor ba let monur duin beith ic rediugud ocus ica thaifneach* . . .'when not one person of the two hosts could recognise an-

from a great forest that the wind has now torn into the clouds and into the air of long fair-curled golden hair and of curly jet-black locks and of long beautiful hairs, that have been cut off by broad, sharp-edged axes. For that blood and locks that rain down on the armies side by side, have smothered them, so that there would not be in the world anybody who would distinguish any one of them from the other, unless he recognised them by their voices.

other, though it might be his son or his brother that was nearest him, unless he should know his voice and that he previously knew the spot in which he was; we were so covered, our heads as well as our faces and our clothes, with the drops of gory blood, carried by the force of the sharp cold wind which passed over them to us. And even if we attempted to perform any deed of valour we were unable to do so, because their spears over their heads had become clogged and bound with knotted locks of hair, which the wind forced upon us, when cut away by straight-edged swords and gleaming axes, so that it was half occupation to us to endeavour to disentangle and shake it off.

These instances only prove a direct or indirect literary influence. They do not justify the opinion expressed by E. C. Quiggin, that Cath Finntrága preserves traditions about the battle of Clontarf. [1]) There is a large number of later stories recording an invasion of foreigners, who are usually referred to as *allmurach*, a word that occurs in Cogadh (p. 202) as a synonym of *gall*. Nor is C. F. the only romantic tale influenced by Cogadh. In *Cath*

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[1]) Proc. Brit. Acad. 1911—1912, p. 99.

Mhuighe Rath, [1]) also preserved in a MS. belonging to the early modern Irish period, the following passage shows a striking agreement with the last-quoted fragment:

C. M. R. p. 238 sq.: . . *ocus foltgrend feinned ar foluamain, co nár ba léir lesbaire lasamain, lainderda, lanfhairsing in aeoir uaistib, re h-imad fholt ocus fhadb ocus finnfaid uathberrtha fhadbscailti anaichnid ar na n-urthogbail do chennaib curad ocus cathmiled, conad hé sin adbar dár fhasastar fuathnell foirtchide firdorcha* . . . 'and the hairy beards of the heroes hovering (in the air), so that the bright, brilliant, broad lamp of heaven over them was invisible with the quantity of hair, plaits and locks shorn, cut off, and unrecognizable, raised up off the heads of heroes and warriors, so that a terrible hidden truly dark cloud was produced'.

Another parallel is yielded by the famous anecdote illustrating the security that prevailed during Brian's reign and a similar passage in honour of the *ardrí* Domhnall mac Aeda:

C. M. R. p. 104: *gurab eadh airmhid ughdair co n-imeochadh ein-bhean Ére 'na h-aenar, gan egla fuachadh na forecin fuirre, gen go mbeith fiadha aga forchoimed, men ba eagla égna no ithimraidh ó tha Osghleann iathaicenta Umhaill, i n-iarthar choigeadh Connacht, co Carraic n-oirdeirc n-iondchomarthaigh nEogain iar n-airthear, ocus ó Inis fodghloin foithreamaigh feruaine Fail firdeiscertaigh Banba bordghloine . . . co tracht-portaib tarmchr-*

Cog. p. 138: *tainicc aenbhen ó Thoraigh tuaisceirt Erenn co Cliodhna deisceirt Erenn ocus fail óir ar eachluisc re a hais ocus ni fhuair a slad na a saruccadh do dhenamh, conadh aire sin ro chan an file:*

Ó Thoraigh co Clíodhna cais
Is fail óir aice re a hais
I ré Briain taoibhghil nar tim
Do thimchil aoinbhen Erinn.

'a solitary woman came from Tory, in the north of Ireland,

[1]) The Banquet of Dun na nGedh and the Battle of Magh Rath, ed. J. O'Donovan, Dublin 1842.

uaide taescdibraicthecha Toraighe ar tuaiscert, 'so that authors record that a solitary woman might travel in Ireland without fear of being violated or molested though there were no witnesses to guard her (if she were not afraid of the imputations of slander and backbiting) from well-known Osgleann in Umhall, in the west of the province of Connacht, to the famous remarkable rock of Eoghan in the east, and from fair-surfaced, woody grassy-green Inis Fail (Inch, co. Wexford) exactly in the south of Ireland . . . to the loud-roaring, water-shooting cliffs of Tory in the north'.

to Cliodhna, in the south of Ireland, carrying a ring of gold on a horse-rod on her back, without being either robbed or insulted, whereupon the poet sang:

From Tory to pleasant Cliodhna with a ring of gold on her back, in the time of bright-sided fearless Brian, a solitary woman went round Ireland'.

Cath Mhuighe Léana, [1]) another tale of the same category, edited from a 17th century MS., also contains at least one passage corresponding with Cogadh.

C. M. L. p. 140: *nó go n-airmhithear gaineamh mara nó duille feadha nó féar for fhaithche* 'until the sands of the sea or the leaves of the woods or the grasses on the field are counted.'

Cog. p. 42: *go n-airimthior gainemh mara nó fer for faithce nó rettlanda nimhe* 'until the sands of the sea or the grasses on the field or the stars of heaven are counted.'

From these instances the popularity of Cogadh Gaedhel re

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[1]) The Battle of Magh Leana, ed. E. O'Curry, Dublin 1855.

Gallaibh as a literary pattern becomes manifest. It has largely influenced the style of Irish epical prose during the later Middle-Irish period.

In the next section an attempt will be made to separate the purely literary additions in Cogadh from the historical facts.

B. *The Annals and Cogadh compared*

The note on the Battle of Clontarf found in the Annals of Ulster, the most important body of Irish annals, is of greater historical value than Cogadh, since these annals are contemporary with the events described in them.[1]) A close parallel is found in the later compilation Chronicon Scotorum. The text of A. U. is quoted here in full, whilst the variants from C. S. are given below.

Slógud la Brian mac Cenneitigh mic Lorcain, la rígh nErend, acus la Maelsechlaind mac Domnaill, la rígh Temhrach, co h-Áth Cliath. Laighin uile do leir i tinol ar a cinn acus Gaill Átha Cliath, acus a coimlin do Ghallaibh Lochlaind leó .i. .x.c. luirech. Gníthir cath crodha etorra do na frith inntsamail. Maidhis iarum for Gallu acus for Laighniu i tosaigh co rusdileghait uile do leir, in quo bello cecidit ex aduersa caterua Gallorum Maelmordha mac Murchada rí Laigen acus Domnall

A hosting by Brian son of Cenneidigh, son of Lorcan, King of Ireland, and by Maelshechlainn son of Domnall, King of Tara, to Dublin. All the Leinstermen were assembled before them, and the Foreigners of Dublin, and a equal number of the Foreigners of Norway along with them, viz. 1000 mail-clad men. A valorous battle was fought between them for which no likeness had been found. The Foreigners and the Leinstermen were defeated at first, however, so that they

[1]) Cf. T. O'Máille, The language of the Annals of Ulster, Manchester 1910.

mac Fergaile rí na Fortuath. Cecidit uero a Gallis Dubghall mac Amlaim, Siuchraidh mac Loduir, iarla Innsi Orcc, acus Gillaciaráin mac Gluiniairnn, rígdomna Gall, acus Oittir dub acus Suartgair acus Donnchad .H. Eruilb acus Grisine acus Luimne acus Amlaim mac Laghmaind acus Brotor (qui occidit Brian) .i. toisech na loingsi Lochlannaighi acus .ui. mile itir marbad acus bathad. Dorochair imorro a fritguin ó Gaidhelaibh .i. Brian mac Cenneitigh, ardrí Gaidhel Erenn acus Gall acus Bretan, August iartair tuaisceirt Eorpa uile, acus a mac .i. Murchad acus a macsidhe .i. Toirrdelbach mac Murchada acus Conaing mac Duinnchuan mic Cenneitigh, rígdomna Muman, acus Mothla mac Domnaill mic Fhaeláin, rí na n-Deisi Muman, Eocho mac Dunadhaigh acus Niall .H. Cuind acus [*Cuduiligh*] *mac Cennetigh, tri coimthe Brian; dá righ .H. Maine .H. Ceallaigh* [leg. *Tadg .H. Ceallaig rí .H. Maine*] *acus Maelruanaigh .H. hEidhinn rí Aidhne acus Geibhinnach .H. Dubagain. rí Fer maighi, acus*

were entirely annihilated. In this battle there fell of the hostile band of the Foreigners Maelmordha son of Murchadh, King of Leinster, and Domhnall son of Fergall, King of the Fortuatha. But of the Foreigners there fell Dubhgall son of Amlaimh, Siucraidh son of Lodur, jarl of the Orkneys, and Gillaciarain son of Gluniairnn, royal heir of the Foreigners, and Oittir the Black and Suartgair and Donnchadh grandson of Erulbh and Grisine and Luimne and Amhlaimh son of Lagmann and Brotor (who slew Brian) i.e. chieftain of the Norse fleet, and 6000 persons, both by killing and drowning. There fell of the Gaedhil in the mutual wounding Brian son of Cenneidigh, Arch-king of the Gaedhil of Ireland, the Foreigners and the Britons, the Augustus of all the north-west of Europe, and his son, viz. Murchadh and his (Murchadh's) son, viz. Toirdhelbhach and Conaing son of Donnchuan son of Cenneidigh, royal heir of Munster, and Mothla son of Domhnall, son of Faelan, King

Mac Beathadh mac Muiredaigh cloin, rí Ciaraidhe Luachra, acus Domnall mac Diarmada, rí Corco Baiscind, acus Scannlan mac Cathail, rí Eoganachta Locha Lein, acus Domhnall mac Eimhin mic Cainnigh, mórmhaer Mair i n-Albain, acus alii multi nobiles. Luidh tra Maelmuire (.i. mac Eochadha), comarba Patraic, co sruithibh acus co minnaibh, connice Sord Coluim cille, co tuc as corp Briain rígh Erend acus corp Murchada a mic acus cenn Conaing acus cenn Mothlai, co ro adhnacht i n-Árd macha i n-ailaidh nuí. Di aidhchi dhec imorro do samhadh Patraic ic are na corp, propter honorem regis possiti.

of Desmond, Eocho son of Dunadhach, and Niall Ua Cuinn and [Cuduiligh] son of Cenneidigh — Brian's three companions; Tadhg Ua Cellaigh, King of Ui-Maine; and Maelruanaidh Ua hEidhinn, King of Aidhne; and Geibhennach Ua Dubhagain, King of Fermoy and Mac-Beathadh son of Muiredach Cloen, King of Kerry, and Domnall son of Diarmaid, King of Corcu-Baiscinn and Scannlan son of Cathal, King of the Eoghanacht of Loch-Lein, and Domhnall son of Emhin, son of Cainnech, great steward of Mar in Scotland, and a great many other nobles. Maelmuire (son of Eochaidh), comarb of Patrick, went, moreover, with seniors and with relics to Swords, and carried thence the body of Brian, King of Ireland and the body of Murchadh his son, and the head of Conaing and the head of Mothla, and interred them in Armagh, in a new tomb. Twelve nights, moreover, were the congregation of Patrick waking the bodies, in honour of the dead king.

In C. S. the chieftains that fell on Brian's side are enumerated first, then those of the Leinstermen, and lastly the Foreigners. Further, C. S. has a lacuna after *et alii*, which is followed by the words . .*ó Tulcaid go Âth Cliath, gur raoinedh for Galloibh ocus for Laignibh, tria nert cathaighte et imbualta et crodachta.* Of Brian C. S. adds that he was killed *LXXXVIII anno aetatis suae*, whilst Murchadh was 63 years old at the time; however, C. S. records *nativitas Briain mic Cinnédigh* at the year 923 and the Battle of Clontarf at 1012, which would make Brian's age 89 instead of 88 years.

C. S. mentions the following Leinster chiefs: *Maolmórdha mac Murchadha mic Finn, rí Laighen, et Tuathal .H. [U]gaire, ríghdamna Laigen, et mac Brogarbáin, mic Concupair, rígdamna .H. fFailge et multi.*

After *co Ath Cliath* (see the quotation from A. U. given above, l. 5) the reading of C. S. runs as follows: *Gaill an domain do neoch baoí diobh ó Lochlain síar ro tionoilsit a n-aigaidh Briain ocus Maoileclainn.*

For *dá rígh .H. Maine .H. Ceallaigh* C. S. has the better reading *et Tadg .H. Ceallaigh rí .H. Maine.* The name of the jarl of the Orkneys, *Siuchraid* in A. U., is spelled *Sichfrit* with an anorganic *f*; the form of the name represents the Old Norse *Sigröðr* though this chieftain is called *Sigurðr* in Icelandic sources.

Though the list of the Leinster chiefs is longer in C. S., only the following slain Foreigners are recorded: *Dupgall mac Amlaibh et Gillaciaráin mac Gluiniarainn, dá ríghdamna Gall, ocus Sichfrith mac Lodair, iarla Innsi Orc et Bruadar taoisioch na nDanar ocus as é ro marb Brian.*

Although the record of A. U. is the oldest from a linguistic point of view, C. S. has some better readings and was evidently derived from some early MS. of A. U., which has not been preserved.

The *Annals of Loch Cé* (A. L. C.) contain a record of the battle, which represents a later stage of development of the tradition. This body of annals begins at the year 1014. From 1015 to 1220, apart from the period from 1138 tot 1170, where there is a lacuna in A.L.C., this text agrees almost verbally with A.U., but for its modernized language and spelling and the absence of some notes of minor significance, mostly obits. This proves that the first chronicler of A. L. C. began his work after the year 1220 and supplied it with an opening section copied from A.U., to begin with the year 1014, which he must have considered important enough to open a new era. Although the compiler of Cogadh cannot have been acquainted with the text of A.L.C., the latter being the later work, it is very well possible that he should have drawn from the same materials. The battle of Clontarf is the only event before 1220 for which the author of A.L.C. used another source besides A.U. He took over the entry of 1014 but added a detailed account, which is not always consistent with the record found in A.U. and also differs in certain respects from that of Cogadh. It may be summarized as follows:

A great hosting was made by Brian Bóromha of the men of Munster, Meath and the south of Connacht, against the Foreigners of Dublin and the Leinstermen. Of his attack on Dublin it is said that it was not (only) a 'gap of danger' into which he ventured: *nír bho bern báoghail aghaidh for Áth Clíath an ionbudhsin,* [1]) it was even 'a hand into a griffin's nest', *lámh i ned gríbhe.* [2])

In Dublin were gathered the choicest brave men from the island of Britain from *Caer-Eabhrogh* (York), *Caer-Eighist* [3])

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[1]) The same expression is used to denote a dangerous situation in Windisch T.B.C. line 3449: *dat rála i mbeirn mbaegail.*

[2]) Cf. *lám i net nathrach* 'a hand into an adder's nest' Tog. Troi 608.

[3]) Possibly Hingston Down, O.E. Hengestdun, in Cornwall; Eighist represents the name Hengist.

and *Caer-Goniath* (Caergwent, Winchester). There came brave men of the North of the world, both black Lochlannachs (Danes) and white Lochlannachs (Norsemen).

Instead of Siucraid jarl of the Orkney islands, mentioned in Cogadh, there come two sons of Lothar, jarl of the Orkneys, named *Sioghraidh Fionn* and *Sioghraidh Donn* ('the White' and 'the Brown'). There come troops from the Innsi-Gall (the Hebrides), Manainn (the Isle of Man), Renna (the Rinns of Galloway, in Scotland), from the Britons and from the Flemings (*a Plémennoibh*); *Brodar*, the jarl from Caer Eabhrog, with very great hosts; *Uithir dubh*, a warrior of Caer Eighist; *Grisine*, a champion of the Flemings and *Greisiam* (Gresham) of the Normans; a thousand heroes of the black Danars; the armies of the Fine Gall (a district near Dublin) and the merchants who had come from France, from the Saxons, from Britain and from the Romans.

In Cogadh the Foreigners and the Leinstermen form three battalions; here six, one of which remains in the fortress.

Brian, according to A.L.C., receives support only from the men of Munster and of Meath, 'for there came not to him the men of Ulster, nor the Arghialla (men of Oriel), nor the Cinél nEoghain, nor the Cinél Conaill, nor the men of Connacht, except the Uí-Maine, the Uí-Fiachrach and Cinél nOedha, for goodwill existed not between Brian and Tadhg-an-eich-ghil, son of Cathal, son of Conchobar, king of Connacht'. Tadhg, son of Cathal, however, was with Brian at Clontarf (Cog. p. 154).

Next, A.L.C. tells about a vision of Indeirghe, son of Uradhán, Brian's orderly-servant. In the night before the battle he sees a synod of many clerics coming towards the camp. They announce themselves as the clerics of St. Senán and come to remind Brian of the debts he owes the saint, declaring that next day shall be the time to pay them. Then they depart and 'Brian's mind was the worse for hearing the news'. The same

vision was seen 37 years before the day Brian was slain.

Of the appearance of Oebhinn or Aibhill A.L.C. gives a more detailed account than Cogadh. She prophesies Brian that he shall fall on the morrow and that the first son he will see shall be king after him. Then Brian sends for Murchadh, whom he wishes as his successor. Murchadh puts on his garment and in the meanwhile Donnchadh, who has heard Brian's voice, enters the tent. Brian in his disappointment receives him unkindly, whereupon Donnchadh leaves him in anger.

Another difference from Cogadh is that Brian's nephew Conaing, son of Donnchuan, is praying with him during the battle and that Brodar (here his name is not mentioned, but it occurs in the entry taken from A.U.) beheads them both, but is slain in the fight. In Cogadh Brian, whilst being slain alone, kills Brodar and one of his men.

Evidently the annalist follows an oral tradition, partly different from that which supplied the author of Cogadh with his information about the battle.

The curious splitting up into Sioghraidh Fionn and Sioghraidh Donn of the one historical jarl of the Orkneys has a parallel in Cath Ruis na Ríg, where are named among Conchobar's foreign auxiliaries *Brodor Roth* and *Brodor Fiúit*, which cannot represent anything but Norse *Bróðir rauði* and *Bróðir hviti*, 'the red' and 'the white'. [1]) The fact that Irish tradition preserved the Norse form of the names proves that this innovation, whether first attached to Bróðir or Sigurðr, originated in the Norse tradition about the battle and was adopted by the Irish.

A curious piece of evidence of this form of the saga has been

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[1]) C.R.R. p. 12. The parallel was noticed by Zimmer (Z.f. d. A. 32, p. 219 sq.) and S. Bugge: The Home of the Eddic poems, London 1899, p. 43 sq., who, however, regarded Cogadh as a trustworthy historical account written shortly after the battle. For the Norse names in C.R.R. cf. Marstrander, op. cit.

pointed out by M. Deutschbein. [1]) It is found in the *Gesta Herwardi*, written in Ely probably about the year 1130. It relates how Hereward, a Saxon hero who opposed the Normans, is received with great honour at the Irish court. A short time afterwards his two cousins *Siward the White* and *Siward the Red* intimate to him that his father has died and that he has inherited his father's property. Before his return he supports the Irish king in a battle against the king of Munster. In this battle he kills the hostile king, whom he finds lying in front of his tent in the company of two old men. Hereward summons him to submit to his master the king of Ireland, but the Munster king refuses and defends himself bravely, even after seeing his two companions killed. Hereward, however, slays him in single combat and reaches his own army again with great difficulty, but some of his followers fall and his cousins, the two Siwards, are severely wounded.

This king of Munster, who plays an inactive part in the battle, is evidently no other than Brian, whilst the two Siwards are equivalents of Sioghraidh Fionn and Sioghraidh Donn, as well as of Brodor Roth and Brodor Fiúit. The form of the epithets in the last instance testifies to a Norse origin. The Gesta Herwardi prove that a version of the saga, still in the stage of oral tradition, was transferred to England before 1130.

The different foreign countries and cities, from which the invaders come according to A.L.C., are only partially the same as those mentioned in Cogadh; of course, in both cases their mention has no more historical value than that of Conchobar's auxiliaries in the passage quoted from C. R. R., who are said to come from Norway, the Faroe islands and the Orkneys. The fact that merchants from different countries are also referred

[1]) Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands, Cöthen 1906, I, p. 28 sq. Cf. J. de Lange, The relation and development of English and Icelandic outlaw traditions, Haarlem 1935, p. 18 sq.

to is best explained when we remember that Dublin, the centre of international trade in Ireland, must have swarmed with foreign merchants. The naming of the Flemings must probably be understood as an allusion to the Flemish settlers in Pembrokeshire.

The miraculous appearance of St. Senán, who reminds Brian's servant of debts that Brian owes him, and foretells the high-king's death seems to indicate that Brian was not always on good terms with the powerful monastic communities. This is confirmed by a note in Tigernach [1]) and Chronicum Scotorum A. D. 975: *Inis Cathaigh do saruccadh do Brian mac Cinnedigh for Galloibh Luimnigh* 'Scattery Island (in the Shannon) was profaned by Brian son of C. against the Foreigners of Limerick'. That this profanation consisted in the killing of the Foreigners appears from A. L. C. p. 8. A similar procedure by the clerics of Senán, but not in the form of a vision, is found in a 14th century treatise, edited by C. Plummer. [2])

The story about Oebhinn is also referred to in Cogadh (p. 200). It continued to develop and will be examined in the next section together with later additions.

Something must be said about the Annals of Inisfallen, a chronicle that has been passed over in silence until now.[3]) A comparison of this work with A. U. shows that A. I. is an extract from a copy of the latter, slightly different from those that have come down to us. Notwithstanding the utmost brevity of its entries, A. I. sometimes preserves names which are absent from the more elaborate work A. U. as we have it, for instance *Conaing mac Flaind* (A. U. 918), who also occurs in the corresponding note in Cogadh (p. 34).[4])

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[1]) R. C. XVII, p. 339.
[2]) Z. C. P. X, p. 18.
[3]) Annales Inisfalenses, ed. C. O'Connor, London 1825.
[4]) A. I. p. 35.

The relation between A. U. and A. I. being established, we cannot expect in the latter work much information about the battle of Clontarf not found in the more detailed chronicle. The note in A. I. runs as follows: [1])

Cocad mór etir Brian acus Gullu Átha Cliath, co ruc Brian iarum mórthinól fer nÉrend co Áth Cliath. Is iarsain doratsat Gaill Átha Cliath cath do Brian corro marbad Brian mac Cennetich acus a macc Murchadh rígdamna Hérend acus a mac side .i. Tairdelbach acus rígrad Muman im Chonchang (leg. *Chonaing*) *m. Duindchuan acus im Domhnall mac nDiarmata rí Corcu Baschind acus im mac mBethad mac Muirethaich rí Ciarraige Luachra acus in Tadhg hua Cellaich rí hua Maine acus alii multi. Ro marbad dano isin chath sein Moelmorda mac Murchada rí Laigen co rígraid Laigen imbi ocus ár Gall iarthair domain isin chat chédna.*

'A great war between Brian and the Foreigners of Dublin, so that Brian led a great host of the men of Ireland towards Dublin. Thereupon the Foreigners of Dublin gave Brian battle, wherein was killed Brian, son of Cennedigh, and his son Murchadh, crownprince of Ireland, and the latter's son Toirdhelbhach and the kings of Munster with Conaing, son of Donnchuan, and with Domhnall, son of Diarmuid, king of Corcubascind and Mac Bethad, son of Muiredhach, king of Kerry and Tadhg ua Cellaigh, king of Ui Maine and many others. In this battle were killed Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Leinster and the kings of Leinster with him, and a slaughter of Foreigners of the western world in the same battle'.

This is nothing but an extract from A. U. Its briefness becomes the more remarkable when we consider the interest A. I. takes

[1]) A. I. p. 54. Cf. The Annals of Inisfallen reproduced in facsimile, published by the R. I. A. Dublin/London 1933, fol. 21v.

in Munster affairs. Evidently the annalist of A. I. did not incorporate in his work any oral traditions about the battle, as was done in A. L. C. No doubt such traditions existed at the time when this part of A. I. was compiled (1092) but, if they were familiar to the annalist, he disregarded them completely.

We return to the Annals of Ulster, our chief annalistic source. When comparing the list of fallen Foreigners in Cogadh (p. 206) with the names recorded in these annals, we notice the following variants. It must, however, be remembered that this part of Cogadh is only found in the 17th century MS. B.

Siucraid is called in Cogadh *Sitriuc mac Ladair iarla Indsi hOrc*, but there is also a *Sioghradh*, who is one of *ceithre hurradha Gall*, the others being *Oitir dubh*, *Grisin* and *Luiminin*, who are all found in A. U. This is not the case with some other names given in Cogadh, namely:

Ernail Scot
Carlus ocus Ciarlus, dá mac rígh Lochlann
Goistilin Gall ocus Amond mac Duibginn, dá rígh Puirt Laircce
Simond mac Tuirgeis
Sefraidh mac Suinin
Bernard mac Suainin
Eon Barun ocus Ricard, dá mhac na hIngine Ruaidhe
Oisill ocus Raghnall, dá mheic [leg. *mhac*] *Imhair ua Imhair.*

The names occurring in A. U. are probably historical. A *Glúniarainn*, ('iron-knee', probably a translation from the Norse *iárnkné*), evidently the one mentioned as the father of Gillaciaráin, overcomes Domhnall Clóen and Imhar of Waterford in 982 (A. U.) and is killed in 988 by his own slave in drunkenness; he is called king of the Foreigners. *Amhlaimh*, father of Dubhgall, must be the son of Sitriuc (Sigtryggr) killed in 1012, according to the Four Masters. The names added by Cogadh are for the greater part not Norse at all: Ricard, Bernard, Simond, Goistilin

look more like the names of Norman nobles. This makes it probable that they were inserted at a much later period. They occur in a section of Cogadh only found in B and are absent from the extract of Cogadh called Leabhar Oiris (see next section).

The list of those who fell on Brian's side also contains a few more names in Cogadh. Apart from these additions, the origin of which cannot be made out, it is evident that this section of Cogadh is based on the corresponding entry in the Annals of Ulster, which must have been written shortly after the battle.

There is, however, much in the long and detailed description of the battle of which no equivalent is found in the annals. A fundamental trait, which is also preserved in Icelandic tradition, is that Brian himself does not take part in the battle. This is not surprising, considering the high-king's age. Cogadh, however, makes him stay praying in his tent (Cog. p. 196). This is not the attitude one would expect of a warrior-king like Brian, and if it were based on a historical fact, the annals would certainly have recorded it. It is, however, related by Marianus Scotus, in the third book of his Chronicle: *Brian, rex Hiberniae, parasceue Paschae, feria .VI., .IX. Kal. Maii, manibus et mente ad Deum intentus, occiditur.* [1]) Now Marianus lived from 1028 to 1082 and left Ireland in 1056. [2]) This means that the story of Brian praying during the battle arose between 1014 and 1056. That the *motif* was not invented in Ireland is proved by a similar story told about king Oswald of Bernicia in the Historia Ecclesiastica by Bede who died in 735, a story similar enough to preclude an independent origin of the later one. It runs as follows: *vulgatum est autem et in consuetudinem proverbii versum, quod etiam inter verba orationis vitam finierit. Nam cum armis et hostibus circumseptus iamiamque videret se esse perimendum,*

[1]) Todd Lecture Series III, p. 8.
[2]) T. L. S. III, p. 31.

oravit pro animabus exercitus sui. Unde dicunt in proverbio: 'Deus miserere animabus, dixit Osvald cadens in terram'. [1])

Bede's works were certainly well known in Ireland, but why should the Irish have borrowed only this one anecdote out of the great number told by Bede about his saints and heroes? Evidently Bede was not the direct source. The explanation lies in the words: *vulgatum est et in consuetudinem proverbii versum*, which imply that Bede here records an English popular tradition, current in his time. St. Oswald's relics, preserved in several English monasteries, were famous even in Ireland and this explains how the story migrated to that country. Perhaps we must regard the Dublin Norsemen as mediators. An argument in favour of this inference is the occurrence of similar hagiographical elements in the Icelandic Brjánssaga. Moreover, the scene of the king lying in his tent during the battle is also found in the story of the Gesta Herwardi, which, as has been shown above, is of Norse origin.

Cogadh contains another instance of an English popular tradition that crossed the Irish sea. Let us compare the section of Cogadh quoted above on p. 17, describing how a solitary woman traversed Ireland with a ring of gold, without being either robbed or insulted, with the following passage of Bede. [2]) It depicts the state of peace and security during the reign of King Eadwine of Northumberland, who flourished about the year 620:

Tanta autem eo tempore pax in Brittania, quaquaversum imperium regis Aeduini pervenerat, fuisse perhibetur ut, sicut usque hodie in proverbio dicitur, etiam si mulier una cum recens nato parvulo vellet totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se ledente valeret.

The resemblance is striking, but here, too, the author of Cogadh did not use Bede as his source, for he would not have

[1]) Lib. III, ch. 12, ed. Plummer I, p. 151.
[2]) Lib. II, ch. 16, ed. Plummer I, p. 118.

transformed 'a woman with a newly born child' into 'a woman with a ring of gold'. This change is easily explained from the centuries of oral tradition, in which the English folk story ('*sicut hodie in proverbio dicitur*') became current in Ireland, until it was noted down by the author of Cogadh.

In the account of the battle we have distinguished two sorts of sources used by the author of Cogadh: annalistic works and popular traditions. The opening part of the work shows no trace of the latter; it has been extracted from some annalistic source throughout. However, the compiler did not consult any of the older bodies of annals in any form now in existence, since Cogadh contains many details not registered in them. [1]) Still there are many instances of agreement between Cogadh and our principal body of annals, which prove that the compiler used a version of A. U., slightly different from the one that has come down to us. Even the wording is often the same, as will appear from a comparison of the purely annalistic section in Cogadh with A. U.

Cogadh opens with the statement that the first invasion of the Foreigners occurred during the reign of Airtri mac Cathail in Munster and Aedh Oirnidhe in Ireland. In fact, A. U. records at 797, the second year of the reign of Aedh, 'great devastations both in Ireland and Scotland' by Gentiles,[2]) which is the first Norse invasion occurring on the mainland of Ireland.

Here follows an enumeration of all those cases, where the earliest version of Cogadh has a parallel in A. U. Wherever L is defective, the lack has been supplied from D or B.

Cogadh	A. U.
1. p. 222. *Tucsat Eoganacht Locha Léin cath dóib ocus ro*	A. D. 811: *Ár gennte la Mumain, id est la Cobthach mac Maele-*

[1]) In the Annals of Tigernach the entry for the year 1014 falls in a lacuna.

[2]) Incorrectly translated by Dr. Todd, Cog. p. XXXV.

marbad sé fir dec ar. .cccc. di na Gallaib	*duin, rí Locha Léin*
2. *ocus rucsat Etgal in Scelig leo i mbrait, conid tre mirbail atrulla uádib ocus ba marbh de gortai ocus díttaid occo hé*	A. D. 823: *Eitgal Sceiligg a gentibus raptus est et cito mortuus est fame et siti*
3. p. 223: *ocus ra argset saide Bendchuir Ulad, ocus ra brissetar scrin Chomgaill*	A. D. 823: *Orggain Benncair ac airtiu ó gentibh ocus coscradh a derthaigi ocus reilgi Comghaill do crothad as a scrin*
4. *Ra airgset Mag mBili . . .*	A. D. 824: *Loscuth Maighi Bile cona derthigib ó ghentibh*
5. p. 224: *co ro millset Land Leri*	A. D. 827: *Loscadh Lainne Leire Cluana moer ó Gallaibh*
6. *co ro airgset . . . Damliac Cianain . . .*	A. D. 831: *Orggain Duimliacc ocus fini Ciannactai cona chellaibh huilibh ó genntibh*
7. *. . .ocus Glenn dá Locha*	A. D. 833: *Orgain Glinne dá Locha ó Genntib*
8. *ra gab longes dib for Loch Echach*	A. D. 838: *Fecht di Ghallaibh for Loch Ecdhach*
9. *ra gab longes aile i lLugmud*	A. D. 839: *Orggain Lughmaidh di Loch Echdach ó Genntibh*
10. *ra hindred dna Ârdmacha fo thri sin n-óen mís leó*	A. D. 831: *Cétna orggain Âirdd Machae ó genntib fo tri in óen mhís*
11. p. 226: *Tanic iarsain Turges for Loch Rí, ocus ra indred Midi uadass ocus Connachta ocus ra hindred leiss Cluain mic Nois ocus Cluain Ferta Brenaind ocus Lothra ocus Tir dá Glas ocus Inis Celtra ocus cella Derg Deirc archena*	A. D. 844: *Dunadh di Gallaibh* (added: .i. *la Turgeis*) *for Loch Rí, corortadar Connachta ocus Midhe ocus co ro loscaiset Cluain mic Nois cona dertaigibh ocus Cluain Ferta Brendain ocus Tir dá Glass ocus Lothra ocus alaile cathracha*

12. *Tucsat Connachtach* [sic] *cath dó, i torcair Maelduin mac Murgiusa rígdomna Connacht*	A. D. 837: *Bellum re Genntib for Conachta in quo ceciderunt Maelduin filius Muirgesa et alii multi*
13. p. 227: *is hi seo bliadain ra gabad Tuirgeis la Maelsechlainn. Ro baided arsain hé i lLoch Uair*	A. D. 844: *Turges du ergabhail la Maelsechnaill ocus badudh Tuirges i lLoch Uair iarum*
14. p. 228 *Tainic longes aile corragaib for Loch nEthach. Ra hindred leosaide co Árdmacha ocus ra loscset Árdmacha féin ocus ra hairged*	A. D. 839: *Orggain Lughmaidh di Loch Echdach ó Genntibh . . . Loscadh Áird Machae cona dertighibh ocus a doimliacc*
15. . . . *ocus co Cluain mic Nois ocus co Saigir ocus co Dirmag*	A. D. 841: *Orggain Cluana mic Nois ó Genntibh di Linn Duachail. Orggain Biror ocus Saighre ó Genntibh di Duiblinn*
16. p. 18 (not in L): *ocus ro toglad Dún Masc .i. du in drocair Áed mac Duibdacrich, comarba Coluim mic Crimthaind ocus Findtain Cluana Ednig*	A. D. 844: *Orggain Dúin Masc ó Genntibh, du in ro marbad Aedh mac Duibhdacrich abb Tíre da Ghlais ocus Cluana Eidhnigh*
17. *Tancadar iarsin Duibgeinti Danarda, ocus ro laeset fo Érind, ocus da badar ic diucur na Findgenti a Hérind, ocus tucsat cath, ocus do marbsat .v. mili dono Fingentib ic Snam Ergda.*	A. D. 851: *Lucht ocht .XX.it long di Fhindgentibh do roachtadar du cath fri Dubgennti do Shnamh Aighnech. Tri lá ocus tri aithchi oc cathugad doaib, acht is re nDuibhgennti rommeabaidh, co farggabsat a ceile a llonga leu*
20. p. 20. *Do rain Olchubur mac Cineda rig Cassil, ocus Lorcan mac Cellaig rí Lagen cath Sceith*	A. D. 847: *Bellum re nOlcobur rí Muman ocus re Lorggan mac Cellaig co Laighniu for Gennti*

Nechtain forru, du i drocair tanaissi rí Lochland, ocus dá cét déc do maithib Lochland umi	*ecc Sciaith Nechtain in quo cecidit Tomrair erell tanise rígh Laithlinne ocus dá cét déc imbi.*
21. *Ro bris, dna, Tigernach cath* [*forra*] *ic Dairi Disiurt Daconna du i drocradar .v. cét*	*Roiniudh re Tigernach for Gennti i nDairiu Disirt Dochonna in quo ceciderunt dá cét décc*
22. *Ro bris, dna, Olcubur cétna ocus Eoganacht Cassil cath fortu ic Dún Maeltuli du i drocradar dá ficet déc*	*Roiniudh re nEuganacht Caisil for Gennti icc Dún Maeletuile in quo ceciderunt .v. cét*
23. p. 230: *Tainic arsain Amhlaib mac rig Lochlann ocus longes lán mór leis .i. sin dechmad bliadain re n-éc Maelsechlainn, coro gaib rígi Gall Herend ocus is leiss ra badad Conchobar mac Dondchada rígdomna Temrach*	A. D. 852: *Amhlaim mac rígh Laithlinde do tuidhecht a nÉrind, coro giallsat Gaill Érend dó ocus cís ó Goidhelaib*
24. p. 231: *Is leo ra marbad Maelguala mac Doindgaile rí Caisil .i. a druim do brissed im chloich*	A. D. 858: *Maelguala rex Muman a Nordmannis occissus est*
25. p. 24: *Is isin bliadain ro bris Aed Findliath mac Neill cath forthu* (added in a gloss: *ic Loch Febail*), *du i drochairdar dá cét dég cend in oén inad dib, ocus ruc a n-uili inmais ocus a seodu*	A. D. 865: *Roiniudh foraib oc Loch Febail, asa tuctha dá .XX. déac cenn.*
26. p. 28: *Cethri bliadna iarsin ro fhacsat Gaill Érind ocus lottar in Albain im Sitriuc mac Imar*	A. D. 917: *Gaill Locha dá Caech do dergiu Érenn .i .Raghnall rí Dubgall ocus na dá iarla .i. Ottir ocus Graggabai*

ocus sagaith doib iarsin co firu Alban

27. p. 30: *Tanic, imorro, iarsin tola mór diarmithi re Ragnall hua nImair ocus re hOttir iarla cor gabsat ar Loch dá Chaeich . . .*

A. D. 913: *Nocoblach már di Gentibh oc Loch dá Caech*

28. p. 30: *Is leó sin ro marbad Anle mac Cathail rí Uathni Fidbaig ocus Longseach mac Sétna rí Uathni Tiri*

A. D. 915: *Annle mac Cathan rí Uathne Cliach, do bas[ugad] ó Gallaibh Locha dá Caech*

29. p. 34: *In bliadhain ro gabh Niall Glunubh ríghe nÉrend sin, tanic, dna, longes ele la Sitriuc ua nImar cor gabsat i Cind Fuait ocus ro hinrit Lagin leo ocus ro rainset cath for Ugairi mac Aillella .i. for rí Lagen, du indrochair baidéin ocus Maelmorda mac Mureigean rí iarthir Liphe ocus Mugróin mac Ceinneittigh rí Laighse ocus na trí Comann ocus Cionaeth mac Tuathail rígh Ó nEneclais ocus Maelmaedhoc mac Diarmata ab Glinne Uisen ocus airdespug Laighen ocus sai eccna na nGaoidhel ocus sé chét araen riu im caeccat rígh*

A. D. 916: *Roinis cath Cinnfhuait foraib re Sitriuc hU Imair, condid ann docer Augaire mac Ailello rí Laigen ocus Maelmordha mac Muirecain rí airthir Liphi, Maelmoedhoc mac Diarmata sui et episcopus Laigen, Augran mac Cennetigh rí Laichse et ceteri duces atque nobiles*

30. p. 34: *Do ronadh dna moirthionól Leithe Cuinn la Niall Glundubh mac Aodha co tuc cath doib ic Âth Cliath du indrocair Niall baiside árdrí Érend*

A. D. 918: *Bellum re nGentibh occ Duiblinn for Goidhelu, du i torcair Niall (.i. glundub) mac Aedho rí Érenn, tertio anno regni sui .XVII. Kl. Octimbris .IIII.*

ocus dá rí dée do rigaib Érend umi .i. Niall badén ocus Concubar mac Mailseclaind, rígdomna Temrach ocus Conaing mac Flaind rídomna Érend ocus Flaithbertach mac Domnaill rí [domna] eile Érend ocus Aed mac Eochada rí Ulad ocus Mailmithig mac Flannugan rí Breg ocus Erimon mac Cendneitig flaith Ceneil Mani ocus Congalach mac Celi rí Ua Macuais ocus Congalach mac Dremain rí Crimthaine, Maelmuri mac Anbita rí Mugornd ocus Deocan mac Domnaill rí Cianachta ocus Dunan mac Cerballan ocus Brenan mac Fergusa ocus urmor mathi Lethi Cuind aroen riu sin ocus sluag diairmithi ele

feria ocus du itorcair Aedh mac Eochocain rí coicidh Conchobair ocus Maelmithid mac Flannacain rí Breg ocus Concobar .H. Maelsechnaill rídomna Temrach ocus Flaithbertach mac Domnaill rídomna ind Fhochlai ocus mac Duibsinaigh .i. Maelcraibi rí na n-Airgiallu et alii nobiles multi

31. p. 36: *Ro hinred, dna, tuascert Érend re Gothrin mac Imar iarsin ocus ro hairged Árdmacha*

A. D. 920: *Indredh Áird Macha hi .IIII. id Nouembris ó Gallaibh Átha Cliath .i. ó Gothbrith oa Imhair cum suo exercitu .i. hisint sathurn ria feil Marthain*

32. . . .*ro bris Donchad mac Mailseclaind cath fortho som iarsin ic Tig Mic Deicthig ocus ro femed a airium and ar marbad do Gallaib. Daig ni mó na lin inninsi scél do cuaid leo as do Gallaib*

A. D. 919: *Cathroiniudh re nDonncadh .H. Maelshechnaill for Genti, du itorchair ár n-dimhar*

These instances suffice to prove that the annalistic sections of Cogadh go back to a version of A. U.

The first chapter that bears the stylistic mark of the author of Cogadh is ch. XXXVI, p. 40. The names of leaders of Viking fleets mentioned there are not supported by A. U. or any body of annals not dependent on Cogadh, but many of them occur in the list of Foreigners who fell at Clontarf, as it is found on p. 206 of Cogadh. These names, though most of them are doubtless Norse, do not appear to have a great historical value. In the case of the Red Maiden (*an Inghen ruadh*), even a personage of a purely legendary character has been inserted in the list (see next section).

The description of Brian's sufferings during his guerilla against the Foreigners [1]) reminds one strongly of a passage in Asser's Life of King Alfred, describing how Alfred sojourned in Athelney. [2])

> 'In those days King Alfred, whom we have so often mentioned above, with a few of his nobles and with some soldiers and vassals also, passed his life in great sorrow and unrest amid the woods and marshes of the land of Somerset. Nor had he anything wherewith to support life, save that which by constant raids, either secretly or openly, he might take from the pagans, and from the Christians even, who had submitted to the pagan yoke'.

Brian endures exactly the same hardships; together with a few followers, he 'used to set up rude huts instead of encampments in the woods and solitudes and deserts and caves of Ui Blait . . . Great, indeed, were the hardship and the ruin, the bad food and the bad bedding which they inflicted on him in the wild huts of the desert, on the hard knotty wet roots of his own native

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[1]) Cog. p. 60, 62.

[2]) Transl. L. C. Jane, London 1926, p. 37.

country, whilst they killed his people and his trusty officers and his comrades'. [1])

In two other cases Anglosaxon influence has already been ascribed to oral tradition; therefore it is likely that this story, too, travelled to Ireland only in the oral form. Literary influence is less probable, since we find no other trace of Asser's work in Irish writings.

The part of Cogadh following the annalistic section and preceding the story of the battle of Clontarf is interspersed with poems. In no case, however, can the poem have been the source of the preceding or the following prose. It cannot be explained whence the author of Cogadh took his information, unless we assume the existence of an oral tradition about the exploits of Brian and his brother Mathgamhain. Those poems that are not contemporary with the events they describe, must have arisen out of the same oral tradition in prose-form.

There is a poem glorifying the battle of Glenn Máma, fought by Brian against the Foreigners and the Leinstermen (A. D. 1000), which is interesting because it contains an allusion to the battle of Clontarf. [2]) Its last quatrain runs as follows:

Cath Muige Rath re teasta
no cath mór Muige hEalta
nochan innsamail im rath
is baramhail don aon cath.

'The battle of Magh Rath, according to its description, or the great battle of Magh Ealta are not equal in success nor to be compared to this one battle'. *Cluan Tairbh* was a part of the plain called *Magh nEalta*, where the battle was fought according to Cogadh and A. L. C.[3]) Evidently this poem was composed shortly

[1]) Cog. p. 61 sq.
[2]) Cog. p. 114.
[3]) Cog. p. 154; A. L. C. p. 1.

after 1014, at a period when the reputation of Clontarf was still overshadowed by Glenn Máma.

Of the four poems only found in B, three are dialogues between Brian and his brother Mathgamhain. In the first of these [1]) the latter asks his brother why he comes with so few followers and Brian replies that the Foreigners have killed many of his men. When questioned about the battles he has fought, Brian names Craig Liath, Bréintir, Forgus as battlefields. Of the enemies that were slain he mentions Birnn, Eodhonn, Elius and Elgim. [2]) These names are not found in any other source. Finally, Brian blames his brother's weakness against the Foreigners and Mathgamhain pays tribute to Brian's bravery in a quatrain beginning *As ogla sin a Briain Bregh.* This line should be translated: 'This is pride, O Brian of Bregh'. [3]) Magh Bregh is the plain where Tara lies and 'Brian of Bregh' denotes Brian in his quality of high-king. This proves for the poem a date of composition posterior to A. D. 1002.

In the second poem [4]) Brian informs his brother about a battle in which he took little less than a hundred heads from the Foreigners. From the preceding prose it appears that this victory was fought at Sulcoit. The third [5]) celebrates the same victory but speaks of twelve hundred victims; it mentions Carran, Staball, Eda, Treitill, Maghnus Berna, Torolbh and Ruadhmand of Limerick as Norse chieftains that fell in the battle. The prose text preceding the poem names the following Norse leaders: Carran Laigneach, Stabball mac Sigmaill, Etlla Tretel, Ruamand, Somarlid, Manus of Limerick, Tolbarb and Infuit. Evidently the prose and the poem go back to a common tradition (the names are not

[1]) Cog. p. 62, 64.

[2]) They probably represent the Old-Norse names Bjǫrn, Auðunn, and Helgi.

[3]) not 'brave Brian' (Dr. Todd).

[4]) Cog. p. 76, 78.

[5]) Cog. p. 80.

found in any of the annals), but the difference makes it impossible that, in their present form, one should be the source of the other. Probably the prose formed part of the original work, whilst the poem was inserted from some other authority.

The fourth poem [1]) is a complaint for the death of Mathgamhain composed by his blind bard. Among many particulars about Mathgamhain's life not recorded in any other source there is an allusion to the hostility prevailing between the two brothers, which was caused by Mathgamhain's jealousy:

Céin ro bábhair maille
ro ba maith bhar mbráthairse
acht ro fágbadh tolaibh gal
anfhod éiti don tsinnsear,

'as long as you were together, good was your brotherhood, but there was left — mighty deed — a storm of jealousy to the senior'.

This dissention seems to have caused the king's death:

Nochar shechmaidh Brian re báidh
da thoisc i ttech nDonnabháin,

'it was not in friendship he shunned Brian by going to the house of Donnabhán'. The latter, Donnabhán mac Cathail, is the traitor who delivers Mathgamhain to his murderer Maelmuadh, at the instigation of Imhar of Limerick (Cog. p. 86).

It is curious that the murder of Mathgamhain, described in Cogadh with full details, is only recorded in a short note in the Annals: A. U. 975 *Mathgamhuin mac Cennetigh rí Caisil do*

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[1]) Cog. p. 96—100. The poet refers to his friendship with the Norse chief Dubhgenn, which marks the poem as authentic, as this detail could hardly have been invented at a later period.

marbad la Maelmuaidh mac mBrain. Tigernach [1]) and C. S. (974) have the same note, but read *rí Muman* instead of *rí Caisil* and add: *do rígh .H. nEchach, iar na tidhnacail do Dundubáin mac Cathail do rig .H. fFidhgente a ffil* '(Maelmuadh son of Bran) king of Ui Echach, after having been treacherously surrendered by Donnabhán, son of Cathal, king of the Ui Fidhghente'. The fact is not mentioned in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, but A. I.[2]) has: *Aurgabail Malgamna meic Cennetic ríg Cassil, a aurgabail la Donduban tre fell acus a thabairt do mac Brain tar sárugud acus tar mallachtain sruthi Muman acus a marbad la suide.* The historical character of the event is sufficiently established by the agreement of the annals with the contemporary poem, but the details in the prose narrative of Cogadh show that here we have another growth of legendary material around the Dalcassian kings. To this category also belongs the story of the gospel thrown by Mathgamhain upon the breast of a priest of St. Columba, under whose protection he was. Another legendary element is the curse of the clerk against Maelmuadh after his sarcastic remark, a curse which caused the murderer's death. His grave was on the north side of a hill, where the sun never shines. A similar curse, but uttered by Mathgamhain himself, is alluded to by the blind bard:

Ro ráidh Mathgamhain don muigh
breithir is [leg. *agus*] *comhaillidh,*
go fuicfeadh lecht fir rosmarbh
san tír aimhreidh aiteanngarbh,

'M. spoke on the plain a word which was fulfilled: that he would leave there the tomb of the man that killed him [3]) in the uneven rough-furzed land'.

[1]) Revue celtique XVII, p. 338.
[2]) A. I. p. 42.
[3]) not: a man he killed (Todd, Cog. p. 101).

These four poems, found only in B, were probably inserted by O'Clery from some other manuscript. They never formed part of C, since the scribe of D, who in another instance did not shrink from swelling his text with additional poetry, would never have expunged them. There is, however, no linguistic or prosodical evidence preventing us from ascribing these poems to the eleventh century. They contain particulars, including proper names, which can only be explained from their being based upon oral tradition.

Another poem is found only in D. [1]) Maelshechlainn, high-king of Ireland, is threatened by Brian and sends a message to Aedh Ua Néill to ask for support. The messenger Gilla Comgaill Ua Sléibhéne, who according to the Four Masters died in 1031, performs this task in a long poem in the metre called *Rannaigecht mór*, which is given there in extenso. Aedh refuses and Maelshechlainn has to yield the sovereignty to Brian (1002). The message is briefly referred to in B, without any allusion to the poem; 'the poet did his message best as he could for the information of Aedh. Then Aedh Ua Neill answered . . .' It is not found in any of the annals, but this could never have prompted O'Clery to discard the poem and alter the preceding prose note. Evidently the poem never formed part of the text C. On the other hand, it does not agree in every detail with the contents of the corresponding prose passage, where, for instance, Maelshechlainn sends different messengers to Ulster and Connacht and tells Aedh to be prepared to the high-king's submission to Brian, in case he should receive no support. Of all this there is nothing in the poem. This precludes the hypothesis that the poem should be the work of the scribe of D. Besides, there are no internal arguments against assigning it to the same period as the events it describes and thus regarding Gilla Comgaill as its author.

[1]) Cog. p. 120.

Not all the insertions in the later MSS. of Cogadh bear the mark of historical truth. In D there is a description of the combat of Fergal Ua Ruairc and Dunnall mac Tuathail, king of Liphe, in which the former is victor (Cog. 176). This section is not found in O'Clery's MS., no more than two other passages of D: chapter LXXXIX (p. 154), describing the arrival of Fergal Ua Ruairc and his troops, and another mention of this chieftain among the ranks ordered in battle-array on p. 168. Todd regards these sections as later fiction [1]) and his judgement is confirmed by a poem in the metre called *debide*, addressed to the shield of Fergal Ua Ruairc, which is preserved in a 17th century MS. in the British Museum. [2]) Here Fergal figures as Brian's opponent. Among Fergal's exploits a victory over Brian is recorded in the following quatrains:

Do chuamuirne toisg tre fheirg
a sgiath bhogóidigh bhándeirg
dar sáitheadh a nÁth Dara
tu 'n aghaidh Briain Bhoramha

Brian Boramha gerb fer tenn
ag gabháil gíall fher nÉirenn
do rad d'Ferghal re taobh brat
naonmhur ar fithchid brághad.

'We set out on an expedition, pushed by wrath, O buckled white-red shield, when in Athdare thou wast thrust into the face of Brian Boramha.

B. B., although he was a strong man in taking hostages from the men of Ireland, gave, besides booty, twenty-nine hostages to Fergal'.

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[1]) Cog. p. CLXXIX.

[2]) Add. 40766, Flower Cat. II, p. 169. Beginning: *Sadhal sin a sgéith an Rí.*

This is more in accordance with the statement in Cogadh (p. 146, 148) that messengers were despatched by Maelmórdha and his allies to Fergal Ua Ruairc, king of Brefni, and to Ualgarg Ua Ciarda, king of Cairbi, who all consented to turn against Brian. They plunder the territory of the Gailenga (Cog. p. 148), but are beaten by Maelshechlainn, in which battle Ualgarg and others are killed.

This note, found both in B and D, agrees with the quatrains quoted above in describing Fergal as an opponent of Brian, whilst the interpolation in D makes him fight on Brian's side. Both statements, however, are contradicted by the Annals of Ulster, which record the death of Fergal Ua Ruairc in 965: *Fergal .H. Ruairc do marbad la Domnall mac Congalaigh, la rígh Bregh.* This proves how historical persons who were not even contemporaries of the battle, were brought into connexion with Brian in order to add to their glory and that of their descendants, or, if they were persons of some consequence themselves, like this king of Connacht, to increase Brian's fame.

C. *Works dependent on Cogadh*

There is a poem in the metre called *Debide scáilte* about Brian's battles, which is found only in the two 18th century MSS. R.I.A. 23. C. 18, p. 71 and F .6. 2, p. 524. It is edited here for the first time.

Muireadhach O'Dála .i. Muireadhach Albanach c*ecinit*:

1. Aonar dhuit a Bhriain Bhanba ad rígh is ad ríoghdhamhna,
   a ccath mór Muighi hEalta tángadar do thioghle*ach*ta.
2. Ni adt-aonar do bhadhais teas, a rígh Eirean*n* na n-áird-leas,
   a nÍbh Conuill na slóigh [1]) slán dár bhrisis cath mór Murgán.

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[1]) leg. slógh.

3. Cath Cná*m* Coille as tú do chuir air Gallaibh loma Luimnigh,
do chuairt go Luimneach na lus do b*adh* tuillmheath [1]) an turus.
4. An t-ár [2]) a nInis Cathuigh leat tug*adh*, ní gníom meath*uigh*,
dár marb*adh* ríoghra [3]) na nGall um Íomhar *is* u*m* Dhuibhgheann.
5. Do cuiris caith [4]) Cathrach Cuain air Dhonabhán an mhórshluaigh,
do thuit Donabhán an*n* sin agas Aralt m*a*c Íomhair.
6. Do rad ár Bealuigh Lea*ch*ta Brian, ar mbuin*n*e rabharta,
dár marb*adh* Maolmuadh m*a*c Broin, an rí do bhí ar Des*m*umhuin.
7. Conall m*a*c Faoláin na bfearg rí na nDéise do ion*n*arb*adh*,
tug braighde Laighean ale agas ríogh*radh* Oisr*aigh*e.
8. As tu thug ár na hoidhche a*ir* Mhaoilseachloin*n* géardhoirche,
air Mhaigh Ádhair tol*aigh* clan*n*, air cóig cóig*edhibh* Éirean*n*.
9. Do bhris coradh Átha Luain, do chuaidh tar Loch Raoi, b*adh*thuaid
gur ghabh braighde, gur ghabh sma*cht* Maoilseachloin*n* *agus* Con*n*a*cht*.
10. Síth Eirion*n* uile uile do rin*n*e Brian Bóroime,
gur imig an bhean g*an* an ón ttuin*n* goroile a haonar.
11. Coill diamar a mbíodh gach dál as leis do leig(h)*edh* fa lár,
Ca*ir*ge na nDruadh thoir ro leag dár treasgair Ua Cuin*n* Corm*a*c.
12. Ár Glean*n*a Máma air Ghallaibh do bhris Brian, air bhuabhallaibh,
ro a*ir*g as a haithle sin Áith Chliath [5]) gona in*n*sibh.

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[1]) leg. tuillmheach. [2]) MS. taraṣ, with punct. del. under aṣ.
[3]) leg. ríoghradh. [4]) leg. cath. [5]) leg. Áth Cliath. One syllable wanting.

13. Leis tugach [1]) cath Cluana Tairbh air Mhaigh nEalta [2]) go hathgharbh,
gur thuits*edar* broin*n* air broin*n* na Gaoidhill is na glas-Ghoill.

14. Ní raibh loch a nÉirin*n* [3]) gan loingeas Gall air (g)léibhion*n*,
ní raibhe dún na dioghna [4]) gan longport Gall glais-iomdha. [5])

15. Sea*cht* mbliaghna [6]) d' Árdmacha móir g*an* iobartha air olltóir,
go ttáin*igh* rí an bhroga bhil Brian cean*n* soch(a)rach síol Eogain.

16. Tuirgeis a longa tar lear sea*cht* mbliag*n*a [6]) do gan deab*adh*
'na abdhuine a nÁrd Macha, fá habduine an*n*fhlatha.

17. Loingios mór iarla ó Ír cheithre fithid [7]) long a ttír,
loingios Hirn fá gnáth air tuin*n*, loingeas Breas, loingeas Eachduin*n*.

18. Loingeas Geanain*n* na ttriath, loingeas mór Locha dá Riach,
loingeas Locha Deirgeirc [8]) de is loingeas boirb Baoithine.

19. Loingeas mór na mná ruaidhe, ba measa ná gach cuaine,
duairc an phrímhghin tar muir mailc dingeine ini*m*e maca*cht*. [9])

20. Ria do rin*n*e an cluithe [10]) garbh a ndíogailt go mbeidís marbh,
do aghn*adh* [11]) coin*n*le fá a ccuim a híth [12]) na n-inghean n-áluin*n*.

21. Na coin*n*le do cuirtidhe [13]) sa sígh [12]) do aghnicc [11]) iad an*n* gach crích,
ód chídís an lasair loin*n* Gaoidhil ní b*adh* hion*n*chomhloin*n*.

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[1]) leg. tucadh. [2]) leg. Mhaig Ealta. [3]) One syllable wanting. [4]) leg. diongna. [5]) leg. nglais-iomda [6]) leg. mbliadna. [7]) leg. fichid. [8]) leg. Deirgdeirc. [9]) leg. mbalc d'inghenaibh mine macdacht. The MS. F. 6. 2. reads for the second half: learbh áil Éire do arguin, apparently a simplified reading. [10]) leg. riu . . . cluiche. [11]) leg. adhnadh. [12]) leg. sídh. [13]) leg. cuired.

22. Doch*uaidh* Brian a hEa*cht*ga áin, cheithre catha 'na chomhdháil,
bail a mbíodh longp*ort* na mná tángadar na taisgéalta.
23. Do mharbh Murchadh an mnaoi ruaidh, fear[*r*] a bhuadh [1]) sin nó gach buaidh,
gur chuir cuaille trena c*eann* a bhfiagnaise [2]) fhear nÉirean*n*.
24. Loingios Íomhair tar an muir, sochaidhe da ttug díogail,
loingios ion*n*a cCrioslach de nochar bfearr loingeas cai*n*gne,
25. Ro a*irgset* Doire Choi*n*nig cháidh, In*n*is Bó Fin*n*e faa ngáibh,
In*n*is Muir*edaig* na leag agas Ára *agus* Sgeallag.
26. Cluain mic Nóis *is* Cluain Feart fós, In*n*is Ceall*tr*ach fá mínnós,
Easdara is Áith Cliath gan cleith, Luimneach is Portlairge. [3])
27. Corcach is In*n*is Cathuigh, Loch Léin, Ros Cré fá a ccaithibh,
Árdmacha is Dún Goire de is Doire cáidh Chollum Chille.
28. In*n*is Labhruin*n*e na leag, Ros Oilithre ro airgsead,
Lios Mór gan crábha[*dh*] gan crois, Imleach do bh*eth* g*an* eaglais.
29. Glean*n* dá Lacha fá dhaoire, Cluain Íoraird fá éagcaoine,
gan cros g*an* cuing gan crábha[*dh*] Easdara fá mhíodhcacus.[4])
30. Ró airgs*et* Goill sin uile eidir dhíon *agus* duin(*n*)e,
gonár fhágsad cros ná cill gan aidhmhill*edh* a nÉirin*n*.
31. Iar marb*adh* ríogh *is* ruireach Éirinn [5]) uile gan fhuireach,
rugach [6]) tar an bhfairge dhe a mná sa a maca a ndaoirse.
32. Suaithreach gach tighe a nÉirin*n* ina pheata Goill gléighirr,
gion go ttucfadh d'olc asteach badh lór do lot an suaithreach.

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[1]) leg. bhuaidh. [2]) leg. bhfiadnaise. [3]) Two syllables wanting at the end. [4]) leg. míchádud. [5]) leg. Éireann. [6]) leg. rugadh.

33. Gach a mblighthi deas [1]) astig do bearthaoi a mbéal an tsuaithricc,
gach a n-iaradh fós an stráil ní lamhthaoi gan a fhagháil.
34. Truagh an bhreath nochar bhreath cheart, do bheir*edh* leis ag imthea*cht*
unga d'ór gach srón astig san tí fá so don mhuintir.
35. Gach a ndearna sin uile do thuit le Brian Bóruimhe,
(dob) fiu(dh) a ndíth re*n* rígh Banba cor Danar a n-éagcalma. [2])
36. Gach neimhidh do airgs*et* sin do fhóir Brian m*a*c Cin*n*éideadh, [3])
gur shochr*aigh* sgoil i n-gach cill iar sgrios na n-olc a hÉirin*n*.
37. Lugh is Fion*n* na Féin(*n*)e, [4]) Pádr*aigh* is Brian go bhféile,
ceathrar a ttreasaibh nár tim as mó do fhóir Éirin*n*. [5])
38. Do leasaicc Brian an Banba air na Gallaibh glaschalma,
gan cumus críche ná cruidh, gan díthuirthe ná easb*aidh*.
39. Do fhágbad*ar* Goill Éirin*n* air eagl*a*(*dh*) an mhíl*edh* mhéirsheing,
a ttiomchull Éirion*n* amuigh do gnídh léibhion*n* dá longuibh.
40. Do ghluaisiodar na Danair go hÁith Cliath an chaomhchaluith,
dream tar glasmuir nochar gheal do chur áir ghas(a)radh Gaoidel.
41. Do t[*h*]ionóill buachuill Banba fir Éirion*n* ón athardha,
go ttuga[*d*] leis a lámha a n-aigh*idh* na tro*m*dháimhe(dh).
42. Do thuitset maithe Gaoidhiol san ccaith, cóir a ccomhúigio*m*, [6])
gur marb*adh* ríogra[*dh*] na nGall táin*igh* a hin*n*sibh Lochlan*n*.

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[1]) leg. d'ass. [2]) leg. cor na nDanar n-eagcalma. [3]) leg. Cinnéidigh.
[4]) One syllable wanting. [5]) One syllable wanting. [6]) leg. commhaoidheam.

43. Do rin*edar* cró bodhbha na Danair brodha [1]) bhorba,
go ttarla an uair sin san ngleo Murch*adh* fá dhuais an gairbhghleo.

44. Do thuit isin cró chatha Murch*adh* mac na hárdfhlatha,
seisoir air ch*ét* do thuit leis dona Gallaibh g*an* eisleis.

45. Air n-imthea*cht* Mhurcha mhéirsheing d'imig eangna*m* Éirin*n*, [2])
gan fear diong(a)bhála c*ét* fer dá éis do chlan*n*aibh Míl*edh*.

46. Do marb*adh* le Bruadar Brian re taoibh an chatha thiar, [3])
ag creidiomh do *Chríost* gan choir [4]) ag bin*n*ghabháil a phsaltrach.

47. Aoine cásg do marb*adh* Brian ag díon Gaoidhiol na ngiall, [3])
mar do marb*adh* *Chríost* gan coir ag diodhan chloin*n*e hAdhamh. [5])

48. Ó do marb*adh* Brian béil bhin*n* níor aithreabhs*et* Goill Éirinn,
ó shoin anuas gusaniodh [6]) go toirrio*cht* an t-iarla ana*mh*. [7])

49. Ón ló tháinic an t-iarla tig loingeas Gall gach bliagain, [8])
gur ghabhsad B*an*ba na *m*bean*n*, aca atá an chríoch go coitch*end*.

50. Rugsait aingil a bParthas anam Bhriain g*an* iomarbhas,
truagh an sgíth a chorp g*an* chol fríoth air Mhaigh nEalta aonar.

51. Cuin thucfas shamhail Briain theas ná thuaigh, toir ná thiar, [9])
neach fhóirfeas Gaoidhil air ghoimh m*ar* do fhóir sion a n-aonar? [10])

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[1]) leg. brogda. [2]) leg. a hÉirinn. [3]) One syllable wanting.
[4]) *gan choir*, which yields no rhyme, erroneously anticipated from 47.
[5]) leg. Adhaimh. [6]) leg. cosindiu. [7]) leg. indiu. [8]) leg. bliadhna.
[9]) Two syllables wanting. [10]) leg. aonar.

Translation:

1. Alone to thee, Brian of Ireland, as a king and inheritor of the crown, alone to thee thy households came into the great battle of Magh Ealta.
2. Not alone wast thou in the south, O king of Ireland of the high forts, in Uí Conuill of the perfect hosts when thou foughtest the great battle of Murgán [Cog. p. 98].
3. It is thou who foughtest the battle of Cnám Coille [Cog. p. 74] against the bare Foreigners of Limerick; thy visit to Limerick of herbs, profitable was the expedition [Cog. p. 78].
4. The slaughter of Scattery Island was caused by thee, not a coward's deed, in which the kings of the Foreigners were killed around Ivar and Duibhghenn [Cog. p. 102].
5. Thou foughtest the battle of Cathair Cuain against Donabhan of the great host; Donabhan fell there and Aralt, Ivar's son [Cog. p. 102].
6. Brian made the slaughter of Belach Lechta, our flood of a springtide, when was killed Maolmuadh son of Bran, the king who was over Desmond [Cog. p. 106].
7. Conall son of Faolan of fury, the king of Déise, was banished [Cog. p. 106]; he (Brian) brought there the hostages of Leinster and the kings of Ossory.
8. Is is thou who broughtest a slaughter of the night over sharp-dark Maolshechlainn, over Magh Ádhair, [1]) abundant in off-spring, over the five provinces of Ireland.
9. He broke the weir of Athlone, he went north over Loch Raoi so that he took hostages and power of Maolshechlainn and Connacht [Cog. p. 132].
10. Brian Boroimhe made peace in all Ireland, so that the woman went alone without offence from one coast to the other [Cog. p. 138].

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[1]) near Tulla, co. Clare.

11. Dark woods where all the [hostile] meetings took place, were laid low by him; he demolished the eastern Rocks of the Sorcerers [1]) when he overthrew Cormac Ua Cuinn.
12. Brian fought the slaughter of Glenn Máma against the Foreigners, against the wild oxen [Cog. p. 110]; afterwards he destroyed Dublin with its islands [Cog. p. 112].
13. By him was waged the battle of Clontarf very fiercely on Magh Ealta, in which the Irish and grey Foreigners fell body to body.
14. There was no lake in Ireland without a fleet of Foreigners on its surface; there was no fortress or stronghold without a camp of many grey Foreigners.
15. Seven years for great Armagh without Mass on its altar, until came the king of the blessed land, Brian the profitable head of the seed of Eoghan.
16. Turgeis, whose ships were over the sea, seven years he was without strife in the abbacy of Armagh, it was the abbacy of a usurper [Cog. p. 8].
17. A great fleet of the jarl from Ír, eighty ships on the land, a fleet of Hirn, customary on the waves, a fleet of Bres, a fleet of Echdonn.
18. A fleet of Genann of princes, a great fleet of Loch dá Riach, a fleet of Loch Deirgdeirc moreover and a fleet of fierce Baoithine.
19. A great fleet of the Red Woman, which was worse than any troop; cruel was the principal person [who came] over the mighty sea towards sweet marriageable maidens.
20. Against them she practised the rough play, chastizing them until they were dead; she used to light candles under their waists in the *sídh* of the beautiful maidens.
21. The candles that were put into the *sídh* were lighted in every

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[1]) in Dairinis, near Scattery Island.

country; when the Irish saw the fierce flame they were not fit for battle.

22. Brian went from beautiful Echtga, [1]) four battalions in his company; to the place where the camp of the woman was the scouts came.

23. Murchadh killed the Red Woman, better this victory than any victory, and he put a pole through her head in the presence of the men of Ireland.

24. A fleet of Ivar over the sea, to many he brought punishment, a fleet of the Crislachs moreover, better than which was no tributary fleet.

25. They plundered venerable Derryconny, [2]) Innis Bó Finne [3]) under their spears, Inismurray [4]) of the stones, Arran Island and Skellig.

26. Clonmacnoise and Clonfert [5]) besides, Innis Celtrach of gentle customs, Easdara and Dublin without concealing, Limerick and Waterford.

27. Cork and Scattery Island, Killarney, Roscrea were under their battalions, Armagh and Dun Goire moreover and venerable Derry of Columcille.

28. They plundered Innis Labhruinne [6]) of stones, Roscarbery, [7]) Lismore without devotion, without cross, Emly being without church.

29. Glendalough under slavery, Clonard under lamenting, without cross, without vows, without religion, Easdara under chilliness.

30. The Foreigners plundered all this, both roofs and men, so that they left neither cross nor church without devastation in Ireland.

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[1]) the Aughty Range, co. Galway and Clare. [2]) in Uí Maine.
[3]) in Loch Ree. [4]) off the north coast of Sligo. [5]) in Connacht.
[6]) in co. Kerry. [7]) in co. Cork.

31. After killing the kings and princes of all Ireland without delay, their women and children were then taken over the sea in slavery.
32. A soldier in every house of Ireland as a pet of a bright and short(?) Foreigner; apart from all other evil that was brought to the house, there was enough that the soldier spoiled.
33. All sweet milk that was milked in the house was given into the mouth of the soldier; whatever the idler asked for, it was not ventured that he should not receive it.
34. Alas the judgment, which was not a right judgment, he took with him when going away an ounce of gold for every nose that was there of the family [Cog. p. 48, 50].
35. Everyone who did all this fell by Brian Boroimhe, worthy was their destruction by the king of Ireland to make the cowardly Danes weak.
36. Brian son of Cennedigh relieved every sanctuary which they had plundered and he established a school in every church after chasing the evils from Ireland.
37. Lugh and Fionn of the Fianna, Patrick and Brian with generosity, four men that were not weak in battles, who gave most support to Ireland.
38. Brian defended Ireland against the grey, brave Foreigners, without leaving to them power of territory or cattle, without barrenness or want.
39. The Foreigners left Ireland for fear of the slender-fingered hero, around Ireland outside he made a platform of his ships.
40. The Danes moved to Dublin of the beautiful harbour, a host over the blue sea that was not bright, to slaughter the youths of the Irish.
41. The guardian of Banba gathered the men of Ireland from their homes, so that he took with him their hands against the oppressive company.

42. The Irish noblemen fell in the battle, it is right to praise them, and the kings of the Foreigners were killed, who had come from the islands of Scandinavia.
43. The mighty rough Danes made a fatal bloodshed until at that moment Murchadh came into the fight, who won the prize of the fierce combat.
44. There fell in the slaughter of the battle Murchadh, son of the high prince; a hundred and six Foreigners, without neglect, fell by him.
45. After the slender-fingered Murchadh had left, the valour of Ireland went, whilst there remained not a man of the descendants of Míl who was the equal of a hundred, after his death.
46. Brian was killed by Bruadar at the back side of the battle, believing in Christ without sin, sweetly singing his psalter.
47. On Good Friday Brian was killed, defending the Irish of the hostages, like Christ without sin was killed, defending the children of Adam.
48. Since Brian of the sweet mouth was killed, the Foreigners did not inhabit Ireland from then onward until to-day, until the Earl came to-day.
49. From the day the Earl came, there comes a fleet of Foreigners every year, until they took Ireland of the peaks; to them belongs the country completely.
50. Angels from Paradise carried away the soul of Brian without sin; woe the weariness of his body without sin that was found on Magh Elta alone.
51. When will there come the like of Brian, south or north, east or west, who will protect the Irish against evil as he alone protected?

St. 19—23 of this poem have been printed with a translation by A. Bugge.[1]) Moreover, one quatrain (4) has been incorporated

[1]) On the Fomorians, p. 22 sq.

by Keating in his record of the plunder of Scattery Island.[1]) The MSS. ascribe the poem to Muiredach Albanach or Muiredach Ua Dálaigh, a poet who is named by the Four Masters in the year 1213. He fell into a quarrel with the powerful Lord Richard de Burgo, by whom he was driven away to Scotland. The quatrains 48 and 49 refer to the coming of the Earl, namely Strongbow, and the arrival of a fleet of Foreigners year after year, until the whole country was occupied. The period that witnessed regular English invasions runs from 1169 till about 1200. In spite of the modernized spelling the text contains no linguistic or prosodical evidence preventing us from dating it towards the end of the 12th century.

A comparison shows that the greater part of the poem is based on Cogadh. This is certainly not the case with the couplets 17—24, the contents of which must have been derived from another source. None of the Viking names mentioned here, except that of the Red Woman, is found in any other authority, unless we identify Echdonn (17) with the Eodhond named in a poem in Cogadh (p. 64) and Hirn (17) with Birn of Mac Firbis' treatise. The remainder of the poem contains some names not found in Cogadh, but it should be remembered that the two existing MSS. of Cogadh, B and D, are of much later date and depart in many respects from the fragmentary copy L. The latter, or a MS. closely corresponding to it, must have been Muiredach's source. The long list of places plundered by the Vikings, however, appears to have been enlarged at random by the poet. Many of the names also occur in Cogadh, though not in the same order.

Generally speaking, the events are not recorded in the same order as in Cogadh, except in the first ten quatrains. It is remarkable that st. 10 ends in the word *aonar*, which is the opening word of the poem. This observation might give rise to the supposition that Muiredach Ua Dálaigh's original poem only comprised the

[1]) Keating F. F. III, p. 244.

quatrains 1—10, the following being a later addition. Nothing, however, would justify such a hypothesis. It is more probable that by concluding st. 10 with *aonar* the poet indicated that the first section of his work ended here and a new series of quatrains began.

As to Brian's battles, the first of these, the great battle of Murgán (2), is not mentioned in the prose-text of Cogadh. The elegy by Mathgamhain's blind bard, however, which is found only in B and therefore did not form part of the original work, contains the following lines:

Madhm Muighe Morgain don muigh do chur Brian is Mathgamhain,
Nirb' eiccean cennach ar gall sís ar slighe Seangualand.[1])

This defeat of Magh Morgáin was evidently the battle referred to in our poem; it is recorded under the name *maidim Sengualand* in the prose-text.[2]) The inference is that the copy of Cogadh used by Muiredach Ua Dálaigh gave the former name. The battle was fought in the territory of the Uí Conaill and this agrees with the situation of Seanguala, anglice Shanagolden, in the barony of Lower Connello, co. Limerick.

The plunder of Scattery Island is ascribed to Brian by the annals, which call it a 'violation'. Is is also recorded by Cogadh, but there it is not caused by Brian. An event not mentioned in Cogadh is the 'slaughter of the night' against Maelshechlainn on Magh Adhair. Tigernach, however, mentions in 981 a plunder of the Dál Cais by Maelshechlainn, who on this occasion cut down the sacred tree of Magh Adhair, under which the kings of the Dál Cais used to be crowned.[3]) The date agrees very well

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[1]) Cog. p. 98.
[2]) Cog. p. 82.
[3]) R. C. XVII, p. 343.

with the statement of the poem, only the latter speaks of a victory of Brian instead of a defeat. This change, however, may be due to the poet, although it is equally possible that the latter found the note in this form inserted into the copy of Cogadh used by him.

The lines about the Red Woman are curious enough, since there exist no other allusions to Brian's expedition against her. She must be the same person as the Red Maiden, *an inghen ruadh*, who is mentioned twice in Cogadh, on p. 40 among the Viking chieftains who invaded Munster, and on p. 206, where her two sons, Eon Barun and Ricard, are named among the Norsemen slain at Clontarf. The second mention, among many unhistorical names, has no doubt been derived from the first. More than this lady's name, however, is not found in Cogadh where, moreover, her activity occurs a long time before Brian's reign.

Bugge tries to identify her with a historical person, but his parallels are far from convincing. About the real nature of this Red Woman we are informed by a poem in the Book of Leinster,[1]) which consists of an enumeration of the famous burial-places of Leinster. Its author Broccán Craíbdech lived in the 10th century [2]) but the part of the poem quoted below may be of a later date. The following passage records the victories of Aithbél, mother of Hercules:

Aithbel ba buaid bantrochta mathair Ercoil ben Midgna,
romarb na deich fomoraig issin traig ic Tuind Chlidna.
raloisc na secht gelliti issin glind ic Sléib Eiblend,
robris forsin dublongais for fhémdetar fir hErend.
rachonaig in ruadchallig, rosbáid for lár na Berba,
roshaltair for (in) luchthigern i ndorus Derci Ferna.

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[1]) L. L. p. 44a.

[2]) K. Meyer, A primer of Irish metrics, p. 30.

The Red Hag (*ruadchaillech*) here appears in the company of figures of a purely legendary character: ten Fomoire (sea-giants), seven vampyres of the glens, the Black Exiles and the Luchtigern.[1]) The next lines speak of the Amazons and Penthesilea. Evidently the *ruadchaillech* has nothing to do with the Vikings. She appears to be one of the demoniacal beings who act as a plague to the country. To destroy them is the task of the exemplary hero, the protector of the land against all evil influences.

The Red Woman of the poem under consideration, is manifestly of the same demoniacal nature, as appears from the fact that she tortures her prisoners in the '*sídh* of the beautiful maidens', the fairy hill. It is not enough to kill her; Murchadh has to pierce her head with a pole in order to destroy her perilous magical influence, and slaying her is the best of all his victories. The poem affords a curious piece of evidence that at the end of the 12th century Brian and Murchadh had become heroes of a fairy tale and legendary protectors of the country against a demoniacal enemy, which accounts for their acting the part of the heroes in many a modern folktale.

It remains to be explained how the *ruadchaillech* became a female Viking. Probably the word *dublongais*, which could easily be connected with *dubgaill* 'Danes' formed the link with history. Moreover, the reference in Broccán Craíbdech's poem to the slaying of 5000 Danes perhaps had its share in connecting the event with the Viking invasions.

There is a record of the battle of Clontarf, which forms the first part of the *Leabhar Oiris*, 'Book of Chronicles', no MSS. of which are known earlier than the 18th century. L. O. has been

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[1]) 'Mouse-lord'. I know of no mention of this personage in any other source. Probably a magician, cf. the bishop in the Welsh tale of Manawydan fab Llyr.

edited by R. I. Best. [1]) Its opening section bears the title *Cath Cluana Tairbh*, being an extract, with some additions, from Cogadh (from ch. LXVI onward), a somewhat different version of which was edited by E. Mac Neill. [2]) Its second part is a tale entitled *Cath Muighe Guilidhe*, which relates the anecdote how Cian, son of Maolmuadh was defeated by Domhnall, son of Dubhdábhoireann with the aid of St. Mocholmóg. It contains two quatrains and is followed by a few longer poems with prose introductions. The number of the poems varies in the different versions. In some MSS. they are followed by annalistic notes concerning Munster affairs.

The following MSS. of L.O. are known, besides those enumerated by Dr. Best:

Royal Irish Academy: 23. E. 4, 19th century p. 116. The subheading is important, as it proves that L. O. was regarded as consisting of two different elements: *tuarasgbhail Chaitha Chluana Tairbh agus analad air choigeaduibh Eiriond agus tionsgnadh agus craobsgaoilead air imtheachtaibh an caite sin Cluana Tarbh agus Muighe Guilide mar leanas.* [3])

24. A. 2, 18th century p. 288.

The MSS. containing only Cath Cluana Tairbh are numerous:

R.I.A.:

23. K. 46, 19th cent. p. 81.

23. L. 5, 19th cent. p. 249.

23. K. 37, 18th cent. p. 161i.

E. VI. 3, 19th cent. p. 1. Though most copies lack the intro-

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[1]) Ériu I, p. 74—112.

[2]) Gaelic Journal VII, 8sq., 41sq., 55sq., 67sq. This version has as introduction the story about Maolmordha (Cog. ch. LXXXI), which is also found in other MSS., for instance R.I.A. 23.L.5. Moreover, it contains the incident with Aíbhell and the poem *Ge maith do mhisneach a ghrádh* (see this section further down).

[3]) Cat. Irish MSS. R.I.A., p. 1522.

ductory part and begin with the battle itself, this one, like the printed version of L. O., opens with the accession to the throne of Maelshechlainn.

23. G. 20, 18th cent. p. 215.

24. C. 14, 18th cent. p. 1.

24. C. 28, 19th cent. p. 2.

23. K. 43, 18th cent. p. 205.

23. D. 12, 19th cent. p. 269 i.

23. D. 46, 19th cent. p. 155.

23. E. 4, 19th cent. p. 46 (A closely related copy in 23. E. 5).

23. L. 4, 18th cent. p. 165.

D. III. 2, 18th cent. p. 279 m. Contains some poems not found in other copies.

23. H. 18, 18th cent. p. 89.

3. B. 3, 19th cent. p. 23.

23. C. 11, 19th cent. p. 123, beginning: *sluagh mór le Brian Borumha mic Cinnéide* (= C. Cl. T.?)

24. L. 21, 19th cent. p. 251. The annalistic notes preceding and following the tale appear to be different from those of the other versions.

12. F. 13, 19th cent. p. 33.

12. F. 20, 18th cent. p. 209.

British Museum:

Add. 29614, 19th cent. f. 21b.

Egerton 106, 18th cent. f. 133.

Egerton 150, 18th cent. f. 129.

Add. 18945, 19th cent. f. 24.

The following MSS., all in R. I. A., contain Cath Muige Guilidhe separately:

23. G. 25, 18th cent. p. 313. Used by Dr. Best and referred to as G. In his ed. §§ 49—53.

24. M. 31, 19th cent. p. 1.

23. C. 21, 19th cent. p. 74.

23. H. 13, 19th cent. p. 143.

12. K. 8, 19th cent. p. 360 m.

Cian, son of Maelmuadh has been introduced into the passages taken from Cogadh and figures as Brian's ally in all his exploits. In the second part of L. O., however, he is the central figure. From this it appears that the second part, known as Cath Muighe Guilidhe, is the older portion of L. O., and that Cath Cluana Tairb has been written under its influence and in some MSS. prefixed to it. The earlier tale begins at § 47 in Dr. Best's edition. The contents of it are as follows: Cian and Domhnall mac Duibdábhoireann are preparing battle against each other. Cian is careless enough to outrage St. Mocholmóg by not offering any excuse when his men take some horses and drink milk that belongs to the community of the saint. Domhnall, however, prays to Mocholmóg and addresses him in a quatrain, in which he asks for the defeat of Cian. In the ensuing battle the latter is slain by the aid of the saint, together with his brothers Cathal and Raghallach, and, as our tale proceeds, 'there was no man in his time more honourable and noble than Cian'. To illustrate this statement a quatrain is quoted, which is ascribed to Mac Coisi. This poet is the *príméices Éirenn*, who died in the year 990, according to A. U., but the quatrain is probably of a much later date, like the other poems in this section. The prose passage following the quatrain, describes how another poet, Mac Liag (who died in 1016), visits Brian in Ceann Coradh and is asked by the high-king to which king he is most grateful. Mac Liag replies: to Domhnall mac Duibhdábhoireann. Brian asks whether he has visited Cian and his wife Sadhb, Brian's daughter. The poet now enumerates all the gifts he has received from the royal couple, whilst Domhnall has enriched him with only a flint and igniferrium. The latter, however, has given away a greater part of his wealth than Cian.

Afterwards, when he is a senior in Inis an Ghoill Duibh, an

island in the Shannon, Mac Liag looks back on the life in Ceann Coradh in a poem of five quatrains, beginning *Fada bheith gan aoibhneas ann*. He complains of his dreary life in the lonely island, now that Brian, Murchadh, Conaing and Cian have passed away. The same plaintive tone is heard in the poem that follows, which is said to have been composed by Mac Giolla Chaoimh, when he was travelling in the north of Greece on his way to the river Jordan, in search of Paradise. These circumstances suffice to mark the poem as unhistorical. The language is not older than the 17th century and older forms cannot be restored without injuring the metre. The latter is still syllabic, which means that it must have been composed in the 17th century, the last period of this type of prosody. Mac Giolla Chaoimh is dated in the 11th century by Kuno Meyer, [1]) so that here we have another mystification. This poem, beginning *Uathmar an oidhche anocht*, also commemorates Brian, Cian and Murchadh and is followed by another poem, also attributed to Mac Giolla Chaoimh, the opening line of which runs *Ráith Ráithleann ráith Chuirc is Chéin*. Two other poems are found separately as well as in a few MSS. of L. O.: *A Chinn Coradh caidé Brian* [2]) and *Aniar tháinic tuitim Bhriain*. All this poetry is characterized by the same attitude of looking back on a glorious past, complaining of the misery and neglect which has come over the old royal halls. It is the outlook of the 17th century, when the period of Brian Borumha was idealized under the pressure of English oppression. No wonder that these poems were attributed to poets who were known als Brian's contemporaries. [3])

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[1]) A primer of Irish metrics, p. 45.

[2]) Ed. Hardiman, Irish minstrely II, p. 196.

[3]) Another cycle of poems, ed. Z. C. P. VIII, p. 255 sq., is, probably rightly, attributed to Mac Liag. One of them, mentioning Tadhg Ua Ceallaigh, is referred to by O'Donovan in his edition of the Four Masters, A. D. 1013, but contains no allusion to the battle of Clontarf, as O'Donovan supposed.

As appears from the great number of copies, *Cath Cluana Tairbh* must have been very popular in the 18th century. It was used by Seán Ua Maolchonaire, who compiled a chronicle, the so-called Dublin annals of Inisfallen, in Paris during the years 1765—1775. The time of its origin can be fixed by approximation. There is a poem of a humoristic nature, consisting of lines borrowed from different poems, written by Eamon Mac Lachlainn in 1654 or '55. [1]) It contains the line *fada fuar an oidhche anocht* (l.16) which is evidently the same as the first line of one of the poems in L. O.: *uathmar an oidche anocht*; besides, it mentions *cath Cluain Tarbh* (l. 12). Two other lines run *tángadar Gaill a nÁth Cliath* (20) and *do mharbhadh Gaill ac Cluain Tarbh* (39).

The tale called Cath Cluana Tairbh also occurs in the 18th century MS. Egerton 150, [2]) which contains a series of texts: Cath Cnucha, Cath Maighe Léana, Cath Maighe Mucroimhe, Cath Críonna, Cathugadh Ceallacháin Caisil and Cath Cluana Tairbh, all linked together by annalistic entries so as to form a kind of romantic history of Munster from A. D. 174 to 1138. Part of the same text is found in Add. 29614 and Egerton 106. The latter MS. [3]) contains a note which the scribe copied from his original and which affords another *terminus ante quem*. It runs as follows:

Ag sin foras feasa chlainne Mhileadh Easpainne agus ar ghab lánríghe Eireann diobh agus ríghe dha choigheadh Mumhan fo leth. Sgriptum per me Eugenium Carti Baile an Oilein aedibus domini Tadei Deirmisi Cormaci Carti anno domini 1648 undesimoque Ianuarii.

Eoghan Mac Cárrthaigh of Castleisland (Co. Kerry) was probably the original compiler of this collection of historical texts, which from its title seems to have been an imitation of

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[1]) Campbell, Leabhar na Féinne, p. 209.

[2]) Flower Cat. p. 395.

[3]) ibid. p. 337.

Keating's Forus Feasa ar Éirinn. This work was finished in 1633 or '34. Hence, if Cath Cluana Tairbh was in existence and used by Mac Cárrthaigh before 1648, it must have been composed after 1634. In several instances it has borrowed from Keating's history: the lists of names of the Irish chieftains that fought in the battle (L. O. §§ 29—31) are much longer than those in Cogadh; some of the additional names appear to occur in the corresponding list of Keating (p. 272), viz. those of Brian's sons. The erroneous date 1034, whilst the annals have 1014, for the battle of Clontarf, was also taken from Keating [1]) and is originally due to Marianus Scotus. [2]) For many of the names in the list of Cath Cl. T. there exists no authority, they are simply added because every sept wished to be represented by an ancestor in the famous battle. The quatrain beginning *cheithre bliadhna tríochad* (p. 276), is also incorporated in Cath Cl. T. with the addition of another quatrain (§ 40). In most copies the battle is dated in 1014 and Keating's quatrain is changed in accordance with this date.

The section taken from Cogadh begins at § 24: *do rinne Brian sluagh bhfear Mumhan.* If Cath Cl. T. was compiled from a MS. other than D or B, it can be expected to contain sometimes older and better readings than the two versions of Cogadh, which are both considerably younger than the defective MS. L and differ from it at many points, as has been shown above. A comparison of this part of L. O. and the two versions of Cogadh from p. 150 onwards yields the following result.

§ 24: *d'airgeadar Osraighe*, in D, not in B.
do chuaidh Murchadh mac Briain go Cill Mhaighneann, thus in D, in B this expedition is ascribed to Brian.

§ 25: *Brodar agus Asgadhal*, the second name is found in B, whilst D reads *Amlaib*.

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[1]) ed. Dinneen III, p. 276.

[2]) Todd Lect. Ser. III, p. 8.

§ 27: *Aibroc*, D: *Ebric*, B: *Ellric*.
Conmhaol, D: *Conmael*, B: *Maol*.
Ó gCinnsealach, in D, not in B.

§ 32: the scene where Dunlang Ua hArtacáin appears (ch. XCVIII) is altogether absent from B.

These instances are sufficient to prove that in most cases Cath Cl. T. agrees with D. There is only one instance of agreement with B against D. Manifestly D was the source of the younger work, but in the case of the name *Asgadhal* its author adopted an emendation from B. Evidently he was acquainted with both MSS.

Most passages in Cath Cl. T. not found in the MSS. D and B of Cogadh must be regarded as later additions. When, for instance, to the list of Sitric's foreign auxiliaries are added *Asgal mac Gofraidh, rí Thíre an tSneachta, Liath na Loingse*, the warriors of Lochlann from the *Palus Maeotis* (*ó na Gaothlaighibh Meodheonacha*) [1]) and from the Riffean Mountains, these very names bear the mark of fiction. In two cases, however, Cath Cl. T. certainly preserves the original reading of Cogadh, as the agreement with the Norse record proves. In L. O. § 32 the reason is given why Brian did not take part in the battle: *ar n-a rádh do Bhrian nach é deireadh do chuirfeadh leis an gcorghas dul i gcath do mharbhadh daoine*. The same reason is given in the Njála: *nú er at segja frá Brjáni konungi, at hann vildi eigi berjaz fǫstudaginn* 'now it is said about King Brian that he would not fight on Friday (viz. Good Friday)'. [2])

L. O. § 39 and § 42 mention Tadhg mac Briain as being present immediately after the battle, together with his brother Donnchadh. Our version of Cogadh does not mention this son of Brian and, although the annals know him, they do not connect him with the battle of Clontarf. According to the Njála,

[1]) Cf. K. Meyer, Cath Finntrága, p. 76; Togal Troi 1132.
[2]) Njála, ch. CLVII, 9.

however, he was in Brian's company during the battle. [1])

For the text of Cogadh our only authority for these two passages is the MS. B; from L. O. we learn that they must also have been contained in the corresponding section of D.

The version of Cath Cl. T. printed in Gaelic Journal VII, like those of the MSS. 1289 (T. C. D.), D. III. 2 (R.I.A.), Egerton 106 (Br. Mus.) and Egerton 150, contains an additional romantic story about the appearance of the fairy Dunlang (or Dubhlang) Ua hArtacáin and his fairy mistress (*leannán sídhe*) Aoibheall, which is interesting, as it forms a link between the historical Murchadh mac Briain and the hero of many folk-tales. Brian and his sons were even at an early period connected with fairyland. The incident with the Red Woman in the poem printed above, proves that this was already the case at the end of the 12th century. Fairy-tales, connected with Brian and his son Murchadh, are found in Cogadh. Thus the high-king's death is predicted to him by *Aíbhell*, who appears in later tradition as the family spirit of the royal house of Munster. [2]) Brian then addresses his attendant saying: 'Retreat becomes us not and I myself know that I shall not leave this place alive, and what would it profit me if I did? For Aíbhell of Craig Liath came to me last night and she told me that I should be killed this day, and she said to me that the first of my sons I should see to-day would be he who should succeed me in the sovereignty and that is Donnchadh'.[3]) The incident is also found in A. L. C. Here the detail is added that Brian sends for Murchadh, whom he wishes to be his successor. Donnchadh, however, has heard Brian's voice and, whilst his brother puts on his garment, enters

[1]) Njála, ch. CLVII, 22.

[2]) The Aithbél of Broccán Craíbdech's poem is of an entirely different nature, but the similarity of their names is too striking to be accidental. Aithbél is connected with Brian only by the fact that both are opponents of the Red Woman.

[3]) Cog. p. 201.

the king's tent and is received unkindly.[1]) He angrily leaves Brian and is not present at Clontarf. It has been stated above that the compiler of A. L. C. never drew any information from Cogadh. The appearance of Aíbhell must be a legendary element attached to Brian by some storyteller and written down by both authors from a common oral tradition.

The incident with *Dunlang Ua hArtacáin*, of which Murchadh is the hero, is of a different kind and appears as a later interpolation in the text D of Cogadh. [2]) I have not been able to find any other allusion to it in middle-Irish literature. When the battalions are ordered in battle-array, Murchadh sees a young beautiful hero approaching him, whom he recognises as Dunlang Ua hArtacáin; he 'made three springs to meet him and he kissed him and welcomed him and 'O youth', said he, 'it is long until thou camest to us, and great must be the love and attachment of some woman to thee which has induced thee to abandon me and to abandon Brian and Conaing and Donnchadh and the nobles of Dál Cais in like manner, and the delights of Ireland until this day'. 'Alas, O king', said Dunlang, 'the delight that I have abandoned for thee is greater if thou didst but know it, namely life without death, without cold, without thirst, without hunger, without decay, beyond any delight of the delights of the earth to me until the judgment and heaven after the judgment, and if I had not pledged my word to thee, I would not have come here, and moreover it is fated for me to die on the day thou shalt die'. 'Shall I receive death this day, then?' said Murchadh. 'Thou shalt receive it, indeed,' said Dunlang, 'and Brian and Conaing and almost all the nobles of Ireland and Toirdhelbhach thy son'. 'This is no good encouragement to fight', said Murchadh, 'and if we had such news we would not have told it to thee, but, however, often I was offered, in hills and in fairy mansions (*i síthaib ocus*

[1]) A. L. C. p. 8. Here the name of the fairy is Oebhinn.

[2]) Cog. p. 170.

i síthbrugaib), this world and these gifts, but I never abandoned for one night my country and my inheritance for them'.[1]) Dunlang then asks whom he shall fight in order to support Murchadh in the battle. The latter suggests Brotor, Cornabbliteoc, Maelmordha and the Leinstermen, whereupon Dunlang promises to fight Cornabbliteoc. This fight, in which Dunlang slays his opponent, is described in Cogadh, ch. CIV.

The sections of Cogadh where Dunlang is mentioned, are only found in D. They are not in O'Clery's copy and so never formed part of C, but were inserted by the scribe of D. The prophecy of Aíbhell, told in a few words by Brian to his attendant, did not take an outstanding place in the original narrative, but it may have inspired the scribe of D to a similar prophecy to Murchadh. Dunlang makes an allusion to his life in the happy otherworld, known in Irish literature as *Tír na nÓg*, 'the land of the young'. Murchadh replies that he has often been offered a similar life, but has always rejected it. The whole incident is of a literary character and is meant to illustrate Murchadh's constancy of purpose.

In the version contained in the MSS. referred to on p. 67 the two fairy-tales of the D-recension of Cogadh have been fused together. This section was printed separately by N. O'Kearney in his introduction to Feis Tighe Chonáin [2]) from an 18th century MS. Its translation runs as follows:

'This was the precise period of time when Dubhlaing Ua hArtacáin, a fairy, who was the friend of Murchadh, happened to be standing on the plain close to the battlefield: he had been a long time expelled in disgrace by the king of Ireland. Aoibheall of Craig Liath, his most potent *leannán*, stood before him, and enveloped him with the *Feadh fia*, because he would not consent to remain with her. He rushed into the hosts of Norway, where Murchadh

[1]) Cog. p. 171, 173.

[2]) Transactions of the Ossianic society II, Dublin 1855, p. 99 sq.

was engaged in conflict; and wonderful was the havoc which he made when he came to the side of Murchadh. Murchadh having looked around him on every side, said, 'Methinks I hear the sound and echo of the blows of Dubhlaing Ua hArtacáin, but I cannot see himself'. 'It is my duty', exclaimed Dubhlaing casting off the garment, 'that such a covering shall never envelop my body since it prevents you from seeing me: give over the conflict for awhile, and let us go to the plain over the battle-field where Aoibheall is, and we shall obtain much information from her'. They thereupon proceeded to the place where Aoibheall was, and saluted her. Aoibheall returned the salutation, and said: 'What benefit is it to you, O Murchadh, to engage in the battle this day, since you yourself, your son Toirdhealbhach, Brian Boroimhe, Conaing son of Donnchuan, Tadhg Ua Ceallaigh, and many others shall be slain to-day? I have other news to communicate, were it the proper time'. Here follows a poem consisting of seven quatrains, which belongs to the syllabic type, but was evidently composed at a time when syllabic poetry was in its decline, since the number of syllables is not always correct. Its opening quatrain is addressed to Murchadh and runs thus:

Ge maith do mhisneach a ghrádh
re ndul do chách san gcat
[t]h' aghaidh gheal mar mhaoth-shróll dhearg
do chlaochladh a dheilbh 'sa dhaith.

'Though good is thy courage, my love, when all march to the battle, thy bright face like soft red satin, its form and colour shall be transformed'.

Murchadh replies that no fear shall keep him from the battle and that the Foreigners shall fall as well as the Irish. Aoibheall then beseeches Dubhlaing to avoid the battle, but the latter replies that he will not leave Murchadh. Finally, Aoibheall

prophesies the death of Murchadh, Brian and all who are with them [1]).

Another work containing an extract from Cogadh, is the Book of Genealogies (*Leabhar na Genealach*), compiled in 1650 by Duald Mac Firbis. A section of it, edited by A. Bugge under the title 'On the Fomorians and the Norsemen', is in its opening part [2]) but an extract of the first forty chapters of Cogadh. The only exception is the list of the Vikings who settled in Ireland, together with the regions occupied by them. Most of these names, with some additions owing to misunderstanding of Irish words,

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[1]) To another category belong the folk-tales in which Brian or his son Murchadh (sometimes Donnchadh is also mentioned) are the heroes. They are purely fictitious and contain no allusion to the battle of Clontarf.

I have collected the following versions, including some Scottish variants (Sc.):

Giolla an Fhiugha. Irish Texts Society, vol. 1.

Murchadh mac Bhriain agus an sgológ as Tír na hÓige. Béaloideas VI, p. 108—116

An cloidheamh soluis agus fios fáth an aon sgéil ar na mnáibh. Z. C. P. I., p. 477—491.

Seilg mhór Shliabh Luachra. Misc. presented to Kuno Meyer, Halle a.S. 1912, p. 185—192.

Leighes coise Chéin. Silva Gadelica I, p. 296—305, transl. II, p. 332—342.

Coise Céin. Argyllshire folk- and hero tales, London 1890. p. 206—277 (Sc.).

Righ a bh' air Albhainn. ibidem p. 68—93 (Sc.).

Murchadh mac Brian. J. F. Campbell, Popular tales of the Western Highlands, Edinb. 1860, II, p. 206 (Sc.).

'The encounter of Murchadh and the princess of Dublin.' Reidar Christiansen, The Vikings and the Viking-wars, Skrifter N. vid. akad. 1932, p. 397—400 (Ir. and Sc.).

'The Redlipped Maiden.' G. Henderson, The Norse influence on Celtic Scotland, Edinburgh 1910, p. 288—291 (Sc.).

To the same category belongs a description of Murchadh in riding-dress, written in a highly artificial style; in: Campbell, Leabhar na Féinne I, p. 210 (Sc.).

[2]) Down to *Trachtadh cumair ar araile d' Fómhorchaibh*, p. 3.

are found in A. Cl. [1]) but there exists no other authority for them. There is a second list of Vikings, which corresponds to that of Cogadh p. 40, but contains some evidently more correct forms as, for instance, *Suatgair* (O. N. *Svartgeirr*) for *Snuatgaire*, *Toirbeard Ruadh* for *Toirbeardaig*, *na cCrioslach* for *Liagrislach*. The latter name is also found in Muiredach Ua Dálaigh's poem, st. 24: *ionna cCrioslach*. The first list even contains two Crioslachs. The name probably owes its origin to a misunderstanding of the expression *ina gcrislach*, 'in their hold'.

Was the copy of Cogadh used by Mac Firbis a MS. 'corresponding to the defective copy of the Book of Leinster' as Bugge supposes? [2]) His argument is the name *Toirbeard dubh*, for which the printed text of Cogadh has the less correct form *Toirbeardach*. But this name appears in the part of the work which has not been taken from Cogadh, viz. the first list of Vikings. The second list, corresponding with Cogadh, has *Toirbeard ruadh*. Besides, this section of Cogadh exists only in the 17th century copy B and the form *Toirbeardach* must be due to a miswriting by O'Clery.

A comparison proves that L cannot have been the copy used by Mac Firbis. First of all, the names of the kings of Ireland during the Viking ages are found in his tract and in B, but not in L. Besides:

Amlaib (*Olaf*) is called *rí Lochland* by Mac Firbis as well as in B and D, but *mac ríg Lochlann* in L (Ch. XXIII),

Ois(s)ill (Mac Firbis, D and B), L *Oisli* (Ch. XXIV),

D . . .*gan tachailt* B . . . *gan iarrad ocus gan tochailt* L . . . *can telach* (Ch. XXV), Mac Firbis . . . *gan tochuilt*,

D . . . *Sitriuc rí Gall* B . . .*Sitriucc mac ríg Gall* L . . .*Siugrad mac Imair rí Gall* (Ch. XXVII), Mac Firbis . . . *Sitric rí Gall*.

After the death of Sitriuc the Foreigners went to Scotland

[1]) A. D. 830, p. 133.

[2]) On the Fomorians, p. V.

under Sitriuc mac Imar. This is told in D, B as well as by Mac Firbis, but not in L (concluding sentence of ch. XXVII).

In most cases Mac Firbis' treatise has the same readings as Cogadh D. In one case, however, it agrees with B. When speaking about the oppression excercised by the Foreigners over the men of Ireland by means of the 'nose-tax', [1]) Mac Firbis tells us: . . . *ocus an duine ag nach beth a acmoing aige, a bheth fén i ndaoire, no an tsrón do bhen de*, 'and the man, who had no means (of paying it) had to go into slavery or his nose was cut off', Cogadh B thus: *acus an duine ag nach biodh a acfaing, a bheit féin i ndaíre, no barr a shróna do buain de*. But D reads only: *ocus inti ica nach bíd acmaing, a íca é féin i ndaíri and* (Ch. XL, p. 50).

Evidently the MS. used by Mac Firbis was not D but a copy closely corresponding to it.

The second part of Mac Firbis' treatise contains a few statements regarding the battle of Clontarf, which are contradicted by all the other evidence: that Amlaib Cuáran was a contemporary of this battle and was married to Brian's daughter Sadb, and that a king of Port Láirge (Waterford), named Amlaib, was present at Clontarf.

As to the former remark, it is explained by Bugge as a mistake arising from the fact that Sigtryggr in Cogadh, viz. in D, is called *Amlaib* instead of *mac Amlaib*, and his wife *ben Amlaib* (p. 190, 192). There was, indeed, a daughter of Brian called Sadb but, as appears from Leabhar Oiris, she was married to Cian mac Maolmuaidh. The confusion could easily arise, for the name of Brian's other daughter, who was married to Sigtryggr, is nowhere recorded. The allusion to Amlaib of Waterford, whose name is not known from any authority, is probably due to a confusion of Amlaib mac Lagmain with Amond, king of Waterford.

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[1]) Cf. Cog. p. CIII, note 3.

CHAPTER II. NORSE TRADITION

A. *The Darraðarljóð*

If the 'song of Dǫrruðr' represents a tradition independent of the rest of the Brjánssaga,[1]) a separate treatment is justified. The present investigation attempts to prove that such is really the case. The first question to be answered is this: did the Darraðarljóð form part of the original version of the Brs.? Finnur Jónsson and Sveinsson [2]) answer the question in the affirmative, in contrast with Carolsfeld. [3]) The poem in question is preceded by a prose introduction and followed by a few concluding sentences, which will be quoted in full here: [4])

> 'On Good Friday the event happened in Katanes [5]) that a man named Dǫrruðr went out. He saw that people, twelve together, rode to a weaving-house and there they all disappeared. He went to the house. He looked through the window that was in it, and saw that there were women inside and that they had set up a weaving. Heads of men were the weights, but men's bowels the warp and weft, a sword was the sley and arrows were the reels. They sang the following stanzas'.
>
> (When the song is over:) 'Then they tore down the woof and tore it to pieces and each kept what she held. Now Dǫrruðr went away from the window and home, but they mounted their steeds, and six rode to the south and the other

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[1]) Cf. Introd. p. XI.

[2]) F. J., Litt. hist. II, p. 525; Sv., Um Njálu, p. 79.

[3]) Die Njálssage, p. 141 sq.

[4]) Njála, ch. CLVII, 27 (ed. Finnur Jónsson).

[5]) Caithness, in the north of Scotland.

six to the north. A similar event happened to Brand Gneistason in the Faroe Islands.'

The poem itself consists of 11 stanzas; of these the first two consist of 10, the last of 4 and the others of 8 lines. The opening stanzas describe the gory woof, which is set up to announce a murderous battle. The third mentions four of the women by name: *Hildr, Hjǫrþrimol, Sanngríþr, Svipol,* who 'go weaving with drawn swords'. They take part in the battle and stand unquestionably on the side of the Norse: 'We will go forward and rush into the struggle, where our friends handle the arms' (st. 4). The next stanza names *Gunnr* and *Gǫndol,* 'who have followed the king'. This king (*gramr*), also referred to as *ungr konungr,* 'the young king', can only be Sigtryggr, king of Dublin; *jarlmaðr* is Jarl Sigurðr of the Orkneys. Stanza 7 tells that the jarl fell by spears, and st. 6 ('let him not lose his life, the valkyries decide who shall fall') contains an allusion to the fact that king Sigtryggr survived.

It is remarkable that our poem regards the battle as a victory of the Norsemen.

þeir mono lýþer lǫndom ráþa
es útskaga áþr of byggþo

'Those men shall bear sway over the lands, who before dwelt on distant promontories'. This can only refer to the Norse settlers on the islands west and north of Scotland, perhaps to the people of Norway itself, but never to the Irish:

Ok mono Írar angr of bíþa
þats aldre mon ýtom fyrnask

'And the Irish will suffer oppression, that shall never be forgotten by men'.

This partiality in favour of the Norse and this conception

of the result of the battle, which is contradicted by all other sources, distinguishes the Darraðarljóð from the rest of the Brs., which greets Brian as victor and honours him as the champion of Christianity, as is clearly expressed in a skaldic strophe occurring in the Brs.; [1]) the last of its eight lines runs:

Briánn fell ok helt velle

'Brian fell and was victorious'.

This contradiction renders it impossible to regard the Darraðarljóð as introduced into the text by the author of the Brs. Would not he have objected against accepting a conception of the battle so divergent from his own, and refused to link it to his work? The poem was either introduced by the author of the Njála, or inserted already in a second recension of the Brjánssaga.

Sophus Bugge [2]) explains the view taken of the battle in the Darraðarljóð by assuming that the poem was composed only a short time after the event, when the tidings of Brian's death gave new hopes to the Viking conquistadors. This assumption, however, seems uncalled for. The battle did not cause the fall of the Dublin kingdom; Sigtryggr remained king, while his great opponent was slain, and among the Irish there arose new troubles in the contest for the hegemony. There is no reason to suppose that the death of so many Viking chiefs caused great affliction among the dispersed Norse settlers. No traces of national or racial feeling are found; Norsemen fought at Clontarf in the ranks of Brian just as there were Irish allies of Sigtryggr. To the Norsemen outside Ireland the battle meant no defeat.

The prose passages quoted above contain nothing that has not been derived from the poem. The whole scene is represented as being seen by a man on a particular day, which gives it the

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[1]) Njála, ch. CLVII, 33.

[2]) Norsk sagafortælling og sagaskrivning i Irland, (Norsk) Hist. Tidskr. 1901, p. 75 sq.

character of a vision. So it was understood by the author of the Sturlunga saga, to whom it suggested no doubt the passage often quoted in this connexion. [1]) A man, in a dream, enters a house where he sees two women covered with gore and rowing in a lake of blood. One of them sings:

róum vit ok róum vit, rignir blóði,
Guðr ok Gǫndul, fyr gumna falli;
vit skolom ráðask í Raptahlíð
þar munom blótaðar ok bǫlvaðar.

'Let us row and row, — blood is raining — Guðr and Gǫndul, for the fall of men. We shall enter Raptahlíð, there we shall be cursed and execrated'.

The opening words are evidently an imitation of *vindom, vindom* of the Darraðarljóð, while the rain of blood is another. [2])

The scene was laid in a weaving house, for weaving was always done indoors. This, too, is borrowed by the Sturlunga saga.

At the end the prose commentator makes the women ride away, six to the north and six to the south. The riding has been taken from the last stanza: 'Let us ride away quickly on unsaddled steeds, with drawn swords, away from here'. The poem gives no number but mentions six valkyries by name. Six go to the south, to the battle; the other six are added only to form the number twelve, so important in the Edda. [3]) This riding in two directions, again, must have influenced later authors: in the Ólafssaga Tryggvasonar [4]) a man goes out at night and 'he

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[1]) Sturlunga saga I, 219 sq. (ed. G. Vígfusson, Oxford 1878).

[2]) Golther. Der Valkyrjenmythus, Abh. der k. bayer. Akad., philos-philol. Kl. 18 (1890) p. 430.

[3]) Cf. the 12 Aesir, the 12 halls in Grímnismál.

[4]) C. 215 in Fornmanna sǫgur II, p. 192 (quoted by Golther, op. cit. p. 426).

heard that people had ridden from the north in the valley; he saw that there were nine women all clothed in black, holding drawn swords in their hands; he heard that people had also ridden from the south and there were nine women clothed in white on white steeds'.

The name *Dǫrruðr* (gen. *Darraðar*) is not found anywhere else and was evidently derived from *vefr darraðar*. Here *dǫrruðr* is, according to Finnur Jónsson, in his edition of the Njálssaga, a *heiti* for Óðin; it is also explained as a noun meaning 'a spear'. [1]) In both cases *vefr darraðar* is a *kenning* for a battle. A derivation of the name from the title of the poem, [2]) cannot be maintained, since the denotation 'Darraðarljóð' does not occur in the text and the assumed equivalent *geirljóð* is based upon an evidently corrupt reading (for *geirfljóða*, st. 10). No more can the kenning *vefr darraðar* be regarded as the source of the *motif* of the weaving valkyries; [3]) such a kenning could only arise if the *motif* existed first, and no other instance of it is known in O.N. literature.

The women call themselves *valkyrjur* and the poem is often quoted to illustrate the Scandinavians' belief in valkyries, although their character differs widely from those usually met with in Old Norse tradition. The latter stand in Óðin's service, elect the dead on the battlefield and attend the fallen heroes in Valhǫll. [4]) The women of our poem have nothing to do with Óðin and Valhǫll, they 'decide who shall fall', but that is only one of their functions. Their character can be analyzed into the the following elements:

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[1]) Cf. Lex. Poet. s. v. Here Finnur Jónsson doubts the meaning 'spear which does not fit for some of his instances. It is, however, supported by O. E. *daroþ* 'dart'.

[2]) Eddica minora, p. LI.

[3]) Eddica minora, p. LII.

[4]) For instance: Hákonarmál (Finnur Jónsson, Skjaldedigtning I, B, p. 57); Snorra-Edda, Gylfaginning, cap. 22 (ed. F. Jónsson p. 40).

A. they evoke a battle and its results; their action is of a sinister character, its effect is bloodshed,
B. they create fate by weaving,
C. their woof is of a horrid nature: it is composed of arms and parts of the human body,
D. they go to the battle and take part in it,
E. they stand in a particular relation to King Sigtryggr, who 'had their weaving before' (*vefr darraðar þanns ungr konungr átte fyrre*),
F. two of them follow the king in the battle,
G. they decide who shall fall,
H. natural phenomena add more evidence of the slaughter: a rain of blood, red clouds and sky.

From the prose another feature can be added:

I. they tear down the woof and each of them keeps part of it.

Some of these elements can easily be classed. B marks the women as norns. According to Mogk [1]) norns are 'superior beings ruling the fate of men or gods'. They are not always three in number, like those in Vǫluspá, [2]) who are concerned with the fate of the gods. When Helgi is born, norns come (their number is not named) to weave his future. [3]) The norns of our poem are of the same nature, they have already predicted the fate of king Sigtryggr, as may be inferred from the words quoted under E. The whole poem is sung for Sigtryggr: *Vel kvóþom vér of konung ungan sighljóþa fjǫlþ*, 'well did we sing for the young king many tones of victory' (st. 10).

Besides norns, the women are valkyries. They decide who shall fall (G), which is exactly the activity expressed by the word *val-kyrja*. The six names mentioned are typical for valkyries and

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[1]) J. Hoops, Reallexicon der germ. Altertumskunde, s.v.
[2]) Vǫluspá, 20 (Edda, ed. Neckel, I, p. 5).
[3]) Helgakviða Hundingsbana I, 2 (Edda I, p. 126).

the women use the word at the end of strophe 6: *eigo valkyrjor vals of kosti.*

That the women in the Darraðarljóð are norns as well as valkyries, was stated by Carolsfeld. [1]) He supposed the first two stanzas, which describe the weaving, to be the oldest part, the other stanzas being a later addition. However, the horrid character of the weaving, as illustrated in this portion, sets the scene so far apart from all the other traditions about the norns, that we can never explain it without regarding the poem as a unity. Carolsfeld's argument that the first two stanzas consist of 10 lines and the others, except the last, of 8, is of no value, since stanzas of unequal length are not uncommon in eddic poetry either.

The combination of the elements enumerated above, is unique in Scandinavian literature. The only other possible instance of a fusion of norns and valkyries is the name Skuld, occurring in the Vǫluspá among both categories. But here this name for a norn is too evidently a creation of the poet to allow of any farther reaching conclusion. It was from the Vǫluspá that Snorri borrowed it. [2])

Although single elements can be explained from Norse tradition, as has been shown above for B, E, and G, the fusion of them remained obscure until A. H. Krappe looked for an explanation in the rich Irish legendary material. [3]) The two instances quoted by him can be multiplied by many others and the fusion of the elements can be followed throughout Irish literature.

The Irish epic *Táin Bó Cúalnge* affords an instance of a weaving profetess. In its second version, preserved in the 12th century manuscript, called the Book of Leinster (L.L.), queen

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[1]) Die Njálssaga, p. 141 sq.

[2]) Gylfaginning, Ch. 22 (Snorra-Edda, ed. Finnur Jónsson, p. 40).

[3]) Modern Language Notes, 43 (1928) p. 471 sq.

Medb of Connacht intends to attack the people of Ulster. [1]) Suddenly she sees a solitary woman coming towards her on the pole of a chariot. 'It is thus the maiden was: weaving a border and a [weaving] sword of white bronze in her right hand with its seven edges of red gold in its points': *is amlaid boí ind ingen: ic figi corrthairi ocus claideb findruini ina láim deiss cona shecht n-aslib do dergór ina dessaib.* The *Lebor na hUidre*, which was written shortly after the year 1100 and preserves fragments of the oldest version of the Táin Bó Cúalnge, reads: *Claideb corthaire do findruine inna láim; esnaid óir and*, 'A weaving sword of white bronze in her hand, inlaid figures of gold in it'. Of this original text the obscure reading of L.L. seems to be both an extended and a corrupt rendering. The woman, whose name is Fedelm, is in the earlier version a poetess and a sorceress. She has learned magic in Scotland and is able to foretell the future by means of *imbas forosnai*. [2]) In the later version she has become a fairy *a síd Cruachna*, 'from the fairy hill of Cruachan'. Both texts describe her as extremely beautiful and call her *banfáith*, 'a profetess'.

Medb questions her three times how she sees her army, remembering the weakness (*cess*) of her adversaries, but each time Fedelm replies: *Atchiu forderg* [3]) *atchiu rúad'*, 'I see purple, I see red.' Finally she sings a poem foretelling the deeds of Cúchulainn, the Ulster champion, who will cause havoc in Medb's army.

Here we recognise two elements of the Darraðarljóð, namely, A and B. Though Fedelm cannot be said to weave fate, her handiwork is certainly not merely an incidental ornament. It is

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[1]) Táin Bó Cúalnge, ed. E. Windisch, l. 203 sq. About MSS. see: R. Thurneysen, Die irische Helden- und Königsage, p. 27 sq.

[2]) About this magic practice see: R. D. Scott, The Thumb of Knowledge, and N. K. Chadwick, Scottish Gaelic Studies, IV, p. 97 sq.

[3]) Thus L. U.; L. L. adds here: *forro* 'on them'.

connected with her original character as a sorceress, for weaving includes a magical power in primitive belief. [1])

From Fedelm it seems a long way to the hideous witches referred to by Dr. Krappe. 'Before the battle of Magh Leana three repulsive-looking witch-hags with blue beards appeared before the armies, hoarsely shrieking victory for Conn the Hundred Fighter, and defeat and death for the rival king Eoghan'. [2]) And in a 14th century account of the Wars of Thomond, when the men of Clan Brian Roe are marching towards their destruction, they see a terrible looking gigantic hag, covered with gore and washing in the ford a heap of human heads and limbs. She tells the warriors in a loud, croaking voice that she is the Washer of the Ford and that the bloody human remains are their own heads and limbs which shall be lopped off and mangled in the coming battle, whereupon she vanishes. [3]) The gory washing reminds us strongly of element C, which is here combined with A.

Another story forms a link between the spectral Washer of the Ford and the beautiful Fedelm. When Cúchulainn, together with his fosterfather Cathbad, drives in his chariot to his last and fatal battle *ní cian rángatar ón dúnad an tan tarrla dóib ingen cháem chorpgeal chubhaidh ar bél Átha na Foraire ar Mag na hEamna acus sí ac torrsi acus ac truaghnemélai acus faidhbh corcra cirtha créchtnaigthi aca fásgadh acus aga fuarnighi a heocharimlibh in átha aici*, 'they had arrived not far from the fortress when there came towards them a beautiful white-bodied well-proportioned maiden in front of Áth na Foraire on the plain of Emain, who was moaning and complaining and squeezing and washing purple hacked wounded spoils on the banks of the

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[1]) Cf. K. R. V. Wikman, Die Magie des Webens im schwedischen Volksglauben (Acta Acad. Aboensis, I, 6).

[2]) See: Battle of Magh Leana, p. 118.

[3]) J. W. Joyce, A social history of ancient Ireland I, p. 269.

ford'. Cathbad tells his pupil that she is a daughter of the Badb and that she prophesies his death, but Cúchulainn replies that he shall not go back 'though the Badb be washing my spoils'. [1])

In this tale, which belongs to the early modern Irish period, the magic weaving of Fedelm has been replaced by an incident for which the belief in the 'second sight' is responsible. A person sees in a vision some event related with his own (or somebody else's) death, mostly his funeral. This belief is found among many peoples and has often been recorded in Celtic Scotland.

Now an old etymological treatise [2]) contains the following gloss:

Machae .i. badb no asi an tres morrígan, mesrad machae .i. cendae doine iarna n-airlech. 'Machae, id est *badb*, or it is one of the three *morrígan's*, mast-food of Machae, i.e. the heads of men that were slaughtered'. This proves that the motive of mangled heads was originally connected with battle demons. The idea of washing must have arisen from the association of the bloody armour of the slain hero and was hence transferred to human remains.

Battle demons appear in the form of women or birds, mostly scaldcrows [3]), who haunt the battlefields and bring destruction upon the armies. One of them is called *Bodb* or *Badb*; the name is also used for the whole category, and in a later period means a scaldcrow. The demoniacal daughters of Cailitin, for instance, are called *tri badhba sirthacha siublacha sin acus tri hamaidhi dubha duaibsecha drochdathacha diablaidi*, 'three begging moving

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[1]) Aided Con Culainn, in: Compert Con Culainn and other stories, ed. A. G. van Hamel, Dublin 1933, p. 95 sq.

[2]) Three Irish glossaries, ed. W. Stokes, London etc. 1862, p. XXXV.

[3]) Cf. R. Thurneysen, Op. cit. p. 63. Traces of them are also found in Welsh literature, where the hero Owein is accompanied by 300 ravens, which make him victorious wherever he comes (The Red Book of Hergest, ed. J. Rhys and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, I, p. 158, 192).

badhba and three black hateful ill-coloured devilish witches' [1]). Another representative of this type, the *Nemain*, brings confusion upon an army, so that the men kill each other in their camp. [2]) The *Morrígan* or *Morrígu* ('Mare-queen' according to Dr. Thurneysen) is the most important for our purpose. She appears as a profetess when, in a long poem, she warns the *Donn Cualnge*, the brown bull, which Medb and her army wish to drive away; another time she incites the Ulstermen as well as their enemies by promising them victory. [3]) In the older Táin Bó Cúalnge [4]) she appears to Cúchulainn in the form of a beautiful young woman in a many-coloured dress and offers him her love together with rich gifts of wealth and cattle. The hero, however, refuses her, whereupon she threatens him: she will come in the form of an eel and make him fall when fighting in a ford. Cúchulainn retorts: in that case he will break her ribs. Then she will come as a she-wolf and drive the cattle towards him in the ford, but he menaces to destroy one of her eyes with a sling. Lastly, she declares that she will come as a red heifer to lead the cattle, and Cúchulainn replies that then he will crush her leg with a stone. The next chapters of the Táin Bó Cúalnge relate the duel of Cúchulainn and Lóch, during which the Morrígan carries out her threats. She attacks Cúchulainn and wounds him, but is unable to kill him. Here she stands decidedly on the side of Lóch. A similar partiality is shown by the two fairies *Dolb* and *Indolb*, who fight on the side of Cúchulainn against Fer Diad. The reason given for this is the fact that they are related to him. They are invisible to Fer Diad and wound him severely, but still he succeeds in killing them by thrusting his sword both left and right of Cúchulainn. [5])

[1]) Aided Con Culainn, ed. cit. p. 80.
[2]) Táin Bó Cúalnge, ed. Windisch, p. 709.
[3]) Táin Bó Cúalnge, ed. Windisch. p. 185 sq.; p. 829 sq.
[4]) Táin Bó Cúalnge, ed. Strachan and O'Keeffe, p. 59 sq.
[5]) Comhrag Fir Diadh ocus Chon cCulainn (ed. Best, Z. C. P. X, p. 298).

As an old hag, grey-haired and lean, the Morrígan appears in the battle of Magh Rath where she was seen hovering and hopping about the points of the spears and shields of the royal army who were victorious in the battle that followed. [1]) In another tale [2]) she appears all in red, in the ominous colour which Fedelm sees upon Medb's army going to its defeat.

The instances adduced above are sufficient to prove that all the elements of the Darraðarljóð, except two, are centred around the Irish conception of battle-demons. They have the power of prophecy (A), which, as in the case of the classical sibyl, usually has an ominous character. The same power has Fedelm, who is no battle-demon, but whose supernatural character links her to the Morrígan, so that we can add her weaving (B) to the complex of *motifs*. The mangled heads and limbs (C) are an old attribute of the battle demons; the Morrígan takes part in the battle (D) and sides with Cúchulainn's adversary. In the same way Dolb and Indolb take Cúchulainn's part against Fer Diad, the relation between these two and their favourite being not of a momentary but of a lasting nature (E); they follow him in the battle (F) and fight by his side. The element G has no Irish equivalent and is a characteristical trait of the Norse valkyries.

The rain of blood is no doubt connected with the fatal red colour referred to above and reflects a phenomenon often mentioned in the Irish annals. The Annals of Ulster, for instance, record for A. D. 717: *Pluit frois sanguinis super fossam Laginarum*, 'a shower of blood rained upon the ditch of the Leinstermen'. For the lake of blood in the Sturlunga saga an equivalent is found in the same work A. D. 865: *Loch Leibinn do shoudh i fuil co tarla a partiu croo amail scamhanu inna imbechtar*, 'Loch

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[1]) Battle of Magh Rath, p. 199:
Fuil os a chind ag eigmig caillech lom, luath ag leimnig
ós eannaib a n-arm 'sa sciath, is í in Morrígu mongliath.

[2]) Táin Bó Regamna (Ir. Texte II, p. 242).

Leibhinn was turned into blood, which became lumps of gore like lungs round its border'. It is more probable that this trait is of Irish origin than that, as Neckel [1]) suggests, the sky should have assumed a red colour since the way of the dead leads through the air; nothing, in fact, in our poem points in this direction.

As to I, due to the prose commentator, this trait is clearly based on the belief in the perilous magic embodied in the woof. According to Swedish popular belief a person who enters the room while the woof is taken off the loom, will soon die. Broken threads must not be thrown away, for the witches pick them up and use them for magic purposes. [2])

Since the poet called his prophesying battle-demons valkyries, he must have noticed some similarity between the latter and the Irish *badba*. This affinity of character can be proved from many sources. [3]) The earliest mention made of valkyries is found in the Anglosaxon glossaries, the oldest of which is dated in the 8th century; [4]) here they appear as sinister demoniacal creatures. It is curious that the *waelcyrige* is identified with *Allecto*, like the Morrígan in the Táin Bó Cúalnge. In Norse literature we find the conception illustrated above, which connects the valkyries with Óðin and his Valhǫll, but beside this there is an older current that finds its expression in names like *Herfjǫtur* 'fetter of the army', *Hlǫkk* 'chain', which suggest a fatal paralysis of the warrior, due to a demon. [5]) The first stanzas of Hákonarmál [6]) introduce a valkyrie conversing with a raven about the events of the battle. In Old-English the raven bears the epithet *waelcēasig*, which is composed of the same elements as *valkyrja*. This

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[1]) G. Neckel, Walhall, p. 25.

[2]) Wikman, op. cit. p. 11 and 5.

[3]) About the valkyries see: Golther, op. cit.; Neckel, Walhall, p. 74 sq.; J. de Vries, Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte, II, p. 384 sq.

[4]) Golther, op. cit. p. 415.

[5]) Neckel, op cit. p. 75.

[6]) Skjalded. I, B, p. 57.

recalls the raven-shaped Irish battle demons, who, however, differ from the valkyries in so far that a hostile meeting with the latter always has a fatal result.

When Gunnr and Gǫndol of our poem follow the king, they do not act as valkyries, but as *fylgjur*. A *fylgja* is a being, usually in the form of an animal, but in the heroic atmosphere also assuming the form of a woman, who becomes visible when a man's death approaches. Numerous instances of this belief are found in the sagas, but only in heroic literature one gets the impression that the *fylgja* is sometimes identified with a valkyrie, namely, in the Helgi-lays. At all events, both in Sigrún and Sváva, the shield-maidens of Helgi Hundingsbani and of Helgi Hjǫrvarðsson, their characteristics are to a certain extent combined.

The norns, in the early Germanic conception, may have woven the fate of battle as may be inferred from the Old-English expression *wígspéda gewiofu*, 'woof of battle-luck', found in Beowulf. But the fusion of norns, valkyries and *fylgjur* into an organic whole could never be explained if we had no recourse to the Irish example. It is a sufficiently established fact that the literary relations between the two peoples were very close, Irish bards being honoured at the Norse court in Dublin. [1]) We have every reason to expect Irish elements in those products of Norse literature, for which not the poets of Norway and Iceland, but of Scotland and the adjoining islands are responsible. To these, of course, belong the Darraðarljóð.

B. *The Brjánssaga*

According to Einar Ó. Sveinsson [2]) and all the other critics

[1]) Cf. A. Walsh, Scandinavian relations with Ireland during the Viking period, Dublin 1922, and K. Meyer, Nordisch-Irisches (Sitz. Ber. d. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss., 1918, XLV).

[2]) Um Njálu, p. 77.

that have discussed the subject, the first section of the Brjánssaga as surviving in the Njála, runs from ch. 154, 4 to ch. 154, 14. [1]) Here Sigurðr is introduced without any further information about his person. Evidently this was given in the opening section of the saga, now lost. Gilli jarl, the brother-in-law of Sigurðr, here makes his first appearance in the Brjánssaga; we learn that he was married to Svanlaug, Sigurð's sister. The expressions *konungr sá er Sigtryggr hét af Írlandi* and *móðir hans hét Kormlǫð* prove beyond doubt that of king Sigtryggr and his mother Kormlǫð (Gormfhlaith) no mention had yet been made in the saga. The same can be said of Brian and his relatives. There are, however, several persons who are spoken of in the second section of the Brjánssaga (ch. 155, 11, to near the end of ch. 157) in a way that suggests their familiarity to the readers: '*Þorsteinn Hallsson fór með jarli, Hrafn enn rauði, Erlingr af Straumey*'. When Sigurðr asks Þorsteinn to carry his standard, *Ámundi hvíti* advises him not to do so. Þorsteinn Síðuhallsson is mentioned once before in the Njála, but this is not the case with the three other men. If the Brjánssaga had contained any particulars about them at this point, they would have been preserved in the Njála.

Our conclusion is that the lost beginning of the Brjánssaga must have contained information about Sigurðr, his residence and family. [2]) Besides, the companions cannot have been introduced merely because they sojourned with Sigurðr in his residence on the Orkneys. They must have done something. What were the exploits of Sigurðr and his companions, in the time preceding the battle of Clontarf?

Fortunately, the Þorsteinssaga Síðuhallssonar, the only

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[1]) The numbers are those of Finnur Jónsson's edition.

[2]) According to Carolsfeld (Die Njálssage, p. 140), the brief genealogy, given in ch. 85 of the Njála, formed part of the Brs., but this is contested on solid grounds by Sveinsson (Um Njálu, p. 77).

other saga that made use of the Brjánssaga,[1]) gives some information about them.[2]) In the autumn of the year 1013 Þorsteinn visits jarl Sigurðr in the Orkneys; he is received with dinstinction and is invited by the jarl to accompany him on a looting expedition. Þorsteinn and the jarl were related to each other.[3]) They plunder in Scotland 'and no man denied Þorstein's courage'. Next they plunder and burn in Vestrlǫnd. Late in the autumn they come home and stay there for three months. This is a simplified version of the story the original Brjánssaga must have contained. That Þs. omits every mention of *Hrafn enn Rauði, Erlingr af Straumey* and *Ámundi hvíti* need not surprise us, for Þs. curtails the number of proper names. It leaves out Sigtryggr, Kormlǫð and the relatives of Brian; for *Kerþjálfaðr* it simply reads *einn maðr*. In the Njála Hrafn the Red says to the jarl: '*Ber þú sjálfr fjanda* (originally: *krák*) *þinn*'; in Þs. these words are pronounced by Þorsteinn.

There is another argument to the effect that the opening portion of the Brs. must have contained some information about Þorsteinn. The Njála tells us that, when the Norsemen are beaten, Þorsteinn does not try to escape. When Kerþjálfaðr asks him why he does not fly, he replies: 'Because I shall not get home to-night since my home is in Iceland'. Why should the author have made him play such a heroic part, if the story had not recorded any glorious feat of his before?

We conclude that the original Brjánssaga opened with a story about the intercourse of jarl Sigurðr with Þorsteinn and other men. The name Brjánssaga, preserved by Þs. (*Brján konung* . . .

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[1]) There is also an allusion to the Battle of Clontarf in the Orkneyjinga Saga, cap. 12 (ed. Nordal, p. 23), which was probably derived from the Brs.

[2]) Austfirðinga Sǫgur ed. J. Jakobsen, p. 213 sq.

[3]) Here the genealogy of Sigurðr is given, and it agrees with that in Njála, ch. 85. This is, however no proof for Carolsfeld's supposition, as the author of Þs. must have known the Njála as well as the Brjánssaga.

sem segir í sǫgu hans) does not exclude an opening section in which Brian played no part. Njáll, for instance, does not occur until comparatively late in the saga called after him. Since Þs. also knows the Njála (*'sem segir í Njáls sǫgu'*), its author must have used the original Brs. as well as the Njála. Such is the opinion first expressed by Finnur Jónsson. [1])

An outstanding characteristic of the Brs. is, as Sveinsson points out, [2]) its definitely Christian attitude. Brian (Norse: Brjánn) is represented as the champion of the Christian faith and provided with all the moral qualities that beseem a Christian hero. He becomes the fosterfather of the son of his former enemy; he pardons the criminals three times and punishes them only when they transgress a fourth time. *Ok má af slíku marka hvílikr konungr hann hefir verit*, 'And hereby one can see what sort of a king he was'; the sagawriter expresses clearly enough what impression those details are meant to convey. Besides good and generous, Brian is pious; he will, for instance, not fight on Good Friday. His slayer Bróðir is painted in the darkest colours. This man has been a mass-deacon, but has thrown off his faith and become a *guðníðingr*, 'enemy of God'; he is versed in sorcery and sacrifices to heathen gods. His appearance marks him as more than an ordinary man: 'He had an armour which iron could not pierce, he was tall and strong and his hair was so long that it hung below his belt, it was black.'

Kormlǫð, once Brian's wife, 'had become so angry with Brian that she wished his death' and she 'strongly incited her son Sigtryggr to kill Brian'. Like Bróðir, she is a formidable opponent. 'She was the most beautiful of all women and excellent in every thing that did not depend on herself, but this was what people said, that she was bad in everything that depended on herself'.

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[1]) Om Njála, in Aarböger for Nordisk oldkyndighed og historie 1904, p. 158 sq.

[2]) Um Njálu, p. 84.

Óspakr, the viking and companion of Bróðir and his brother, according to Þs., refuses to fight against 'such a good king', goes over to Brian and becomes a Christian, after hearing the evil omens that threaten Bróðir. No wonder that he is called *allra manna vitrastr*, 'most clever of all men'. His story is, as Sveinsson remarks, a typical conversion tale.

To the author of Brs. the battle of Clontarf is the struggle between Christianity and paganism, which ends in the defeat of the latter. Not only men, but even superhuman forces join in the struggle. This explains the great number of miracles. For instance: one night Bróðir and his men see a rain of blood, the next night arms fall upon them from the air, and the third night the are attacked by ravens with iron beaks and claws. Óspakr explains this as a presage of a battle in which their blood will be shed; the ravens are the devils whom they worship as gods, and who will drag them to hell.

The day before the battle there comes to Kormlǫð a man on an applegrey horse, who carries a spear in his hand; he speaks with Bróðir and Kormlǫð for a long time. Nothing more is said about him. Probably the original Brs. had a fuller account, but from the way he is introduced we infer his supernatural character. To the same category belongs the raven-banner of Sigurðr, referred to above. Before their death Sigurðr and his men hear a voice in the air.

Hrafn the Red sees Hell in the form of a river filled with demons who will drag him down. He saves himself by promising a pilgrimage to St. Peter: 'Thy dog, apostle Peter, has twice run to Rome and will run a third time, if thou savest (him)'. The blood of Brian heals the hand of his son Tadhg.

The origin of these miracles will be discussed further down. Here they are only mentioned to state their Christian character, different from the miracles usually met in Icelandic family sagas. Sveinsson supposes that the author of Brs. must have been a cleric.

A comparison of the contents of the Brjánssaga with the facts recorded by Cogadh and the Irish annals will show the divergence of the Irish and the Norse traditions on the battle of Clontarf.

Jarl Sigurðr invites his brother-in-law jarl Gilli to celebrate the Yule festival with him in his residence on the Orkneys. Here they are also met by king Sigtryggr, the son of Ólafr Kváran and Kormlǫð. Jarl Sigurðr, son of Hlǫðvér, is the *Siucraid mac Lotair* of Cogadh. Sigtryggr is found there as the 'son of Amhlaibh'; the Irish annals call him Sitric. Jarl Gilli did not fight at Clontarf and the Irish sources do not name him.

Brian is called *allra konunga bezt at sér*, 'the mightiest of all kings'. The name of his residence, Kantaraborg, is a miswriting for Kankaraborg, i.e. Cenn Coradh. A brother of Brian with the purely Norse name of *Úlfr hreða* has been identified on account of the sound of his name with *Maelruanaidh Ua h-Eidhin*, an Irish chieftain, who fell at Clontarf. More probable, however, is the explanation given by J. H. Lloyd, [1]) that his name is nothing but a Norse rendering of the genitive of Murchadh, which in its aspirated form must have sounded like *Wurchadha. The fact that he is called *enn mesti kappi og hermaðr* is an argument in favour of his being identical with the prominent Irish hero. Brian has a fosterson *Kerþjálfaðr*; this name is supposed to be a Norse rendering of the Irish name Toirdhelbhach, but the warrior of this name was Brian's grandson, not his fosterson. The part assigned to him by the Brjánssaga is played in Cogadh by his father, Murchadh. Kerþjálfað's father was *Kylfi*, a king who has been Brian's enemy. Brian had adopted his former adversary's son and 'loved him more than his own sons'.

Brian's sons are *Dungaðr*, *Margaðr*, and *Taðkr* (also called *Tann*). This agrees with the Irish sources: Donnchadh and Murchadh are named in Cogadh; Tadhg in the annals, as

[1]) The New Ireland Review 28, p. 35 sq.

well as in Leabhar Oiris. Everything except their names is, however, contradicted by Irish tradition: that they were *frumvaxta* (15 to 20 years old); that Kormlǫð was not their mother (Donnchadh was her son) and that, while Brian was slain, Tadhg was in his company. The first part of the Brs. ends at ch. CLIV, 14.

The second section begins in the next chapter of the Njála, § 11: King Sigtryggr succeeds after much reasoning in persuading jarl Sigurðr to support him against Brian by promising him the hand of Kormlǫð and a kingdom in Ireland. Sigurðr is to come to Dublin on Palm Sunday. When Sigtryggr comes home, he tells his mother what has been decided about her. She approves of what he has done, but tells him to meet two Vikings, who are lying west of the isle of Man with thirty ships, and to secure their support; he is even entitled to promise to one of them, too, marriage with her. The Vikings are called Bróðir and Óspakr; the former is known to the Irish sources as Brodar, but Óspakr is not named there. Sigtryggr has a meeting with Bróðir, who promises his aid on the same conditions as Sigurðr; of course their agreement is to be kept from the jarl's knowledge. When Sigtryggr is gone, Bróðir tries to persuade Óspakr to join him, but the latter refuses to fight against such a good king as Brian, and their meeting ends in a quarrel. Óspakr is a heathen; Bróðir has been a Christian, even a mass-deacon (*messudjákn*), but has fallen back into paganism. The description of the two, which is certainly romantic rather than historical, has been cited at length above.

During three nights Bróðir and his men are visited by miraculous attacks from the air. The first night there falls a rain of blood, then swords, axes and spears come down upon them and in the third night they are assailed by a great number of ravens with iron beaks and claws, so that they are obliged to defend themselves with swords and shields. Each time one man is killed. Bróðir has a boat put to sea and is rowed to Óspakr

to ask him for an explanation. The latter refuses to answer until Bróðir gives him *grið*, safeguard. This is granted, but still Óspakr waits until it is night and then gives an interpretation, which is unfavourable to Bróðir. Óspak's precautions are justified, for Bróðir turns so angry that he cannot reply, returns to his men and blockades the bay, where Óspakr lies with his ships. The latter succeeds in breaking through and escapes, although his opponent had twice as many ships; he goes straightway to Cenn Coradh and offers his service to Brian. There he is accepted and baptized and reports to the king all the plans of his enemies.

After a few introductory phrases (ch. CLVII, 1—3) the Brs. continues in § 4: The jarl comes to Dublin with his whole army on Palm Sunday and so does Bróðir. The latter has the result of the battle predicted: if they fight on Friday Brian shall be victorious but fall, but if they fight before that date, all shall fall. Therefore Bróðir decides that the battle shall not be fought before Friday. When that day has come, the troops are ordered into battle-array; Bróðir leads one wing, Sigtryggr the other and Sigurðr the centre.

For this section no equivalent is found in Irish tradition. The devision of the army into three parts is also mentioned in Cogadh, but there the three battalions consist of foreign auxiliaries under Bróðir and Sigurðr, the men of Dublin, and the Leinstermen. King Sigtryggr, according to Cogadh, did not take part in the battle, but watched it from the fortress with his wife, who was a daughter of Brian. When the Foreigners were routed, she taunted him with their defeat, which made him so furious that he knocked out one of her teeth.

Brian, says the Brs., declines to fight because it was Friday (viz. Good Friday) and is protected by a 'shieldburgh', a typical Norse formation. In our version of Cogadh Brian stays in his tent praying, while no reason is given why he did not fight, but

the original text must have agreed with Brs. in this respect. [1])

Nowhere in Brs. is there any mention made of the Irish auxiliaries of Sigtryggr, namely the Leinstermen under their king Maelmordha. Brian's army is also divided into three battalions: one wing under Úlfr hreða, another onder Óspakr and the sons of Brian, while the centre is led by Kerþjálfaðr. Cogadh gives the division thus: the Dál Cais under Murchadh, Toirdhelbhach and others, the other Munstermen under Mothla, son of Domhnall, king of Dési a.o., and the troops of Connacht under Maelruanaidh Ua hEidhin, Tadhg Ua Cellaigh a.o.

According to the Njála Úlfr hreða attacks Bróðir and forces him to fly and hide in a wood. Kerþjálfaðr fights against the battalions of Sigurðr and kills the man who carries the banner. Another man, who takes it up, is also killed. Then the jarl requests Þorsteinn Síðuhallsson to carry the banner. Ámundi hvíti remarks: 'Carry not the banner, Þorsteinn, for all who carry the banner are killed'. Sigurðr asks Hrafn rauði the same. He replies: 'Carry your devil yourself, jarl'. Then the jarl takes the banner and hides it under his clothes. Soon afterwards Ámundi hvíti falls and subsequently the jarl himself is killed by a spear.

The situation in Þs. is somewhat different. Here three standard-bearers fall and Þorsteinn answers the jarl: 'Carry your raven (*krák*) yourself, jarl'. A man remarks: 'You did rightly, Þorsteinn, for thereby I have lost my three sons'. Sigurðr takes the banner off the staff, puts it under his clothes and fights bravely. A short time afterwards a voice in the air is heard: 'If jarl Sigurðr will be victorious, let him go to Dumazbakki [2]) with his follow-

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[1]) See above p. 66.

[2]) This place has been identified with much probability by J. H. Lloyd (loc. cit.) as *Magduma*, the present Phipsborough, mentioned in an old calender of Christ Church. Cf. the O. N. form *Uladhstir* (Ulster) for *Tir Uladh*.

ers'. The jarl is killed in the attack, together with many of his men.

The version of the Njála is the more original of the two. [1]) Þs. departs more from the Brjánssaga than the Njála, but in the case of *krák* ('raven', the banner of the Orkney jarls), where the Njála reads *fjanda* 'devil', it has preserved the original wording. It has simplified the story by disregarding several persons, but in some cases has added a more dramatic touch to the situation.

In Cogadh the slaying of Sigurðr is performed by Murchadh. When the army of Brian has routed the enemies and driven them into the sea, Sigurðr and some of his men hold their place on the battlefield. Sigurðr is killing and wounding their opponents and 'his fury among them was that of a robber upon a plain and neither pointed nor any kind of edged weapon could harm him and there was no strength that yielded not, nor thickness that became not thin'. Murchadh attacks him, cuts the fastenings of his helmet with his sword and kills him with a second blow. [2])

The Brs. makes Sigtryggr, who in Cogadh does not take a share in the battle, fly from Óspakr, who has been severely wounded. When all the Norsemen are flying, Þorsteinn Síðuhallsson remains where he is, fastening his shoestring. [3]) Kerþjálfaðr reaches him and asks him why he does not run away. Þorsteinn replies: 'Because I shall not get home to-night as I have my home in Iceland'. Kerþjálfaðr grants him peace. This is the story as given in the Njála. According to Þs., Þorsteinn and some men with him halt near the wood. Then a man asks: 'Why do you not fly, Þorsteinn?' 'Because I shall not get home to-night

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[1]) Sveinsson, Um Njálu, p. 80, whose arguments may be regarded as conclusive.

[2]) Cog. p. 195.

[3]) The fastening of the shoestring was probably introduced by the author of the Njála; it is also found in Nj. ch. XCII and ch. XLVIII. Cf. A. Kersbergen. Litteraire motieven in de Njála, p. 76, 77.

even though I fly'. Þorsteinn is given peace. Here Kerþjálfaðr is not named. [1])

The slaying of Brian is not alluded to in Þs. In the Njála Bróðir notices that many men of Brian's guard leave the ranks to join in the pursuit. Hereby the 'shieldburgh' is weakened. He comes out of the wood where he has hidden, breaks through the circle of guards and hews with his axe at the king. The young Tadhg lifts his hand to protect his father, but Bróðir in one stroke cuts off his hand and Brian's head. When the blood of Brian covers the stump of the lad's hand, it is healed at once. Bróðir boasts: 'Now people can say that Bróðir slew Brian'. When these tidings reach Úlfr hreða and Kerþjálfaðr, they surround Bróðir and throw sticks upon him; in that way he is captured. Úlfr kills him by winding his entrails round a tree.

The event is told in Cogadh in the following manner. Brian is in his tent praying, while his attendant Latean tells him what is happening on the battlefield. The latter sees Bróðir approaching with two of his men. Brian understands from the description of their armour that they must be vikings; he rises from the couch upon which he is seated and unsheathes his sword. When Bróðir notices the king, he takes him for a priest, but one of the vikings, who had been in Brian's service, informs him about the old man's identity. Bróðir swings his battle-axe but Brian cuts off his legs, whilst Bróðir cleaves the king's head; Brian, however, with a final blow kills him and one of his followers.

When the Brs. and Cogadh record certain facts in a different manner, this must be due to the divergence 1° of the historical material or the traditions used by the authors of these works

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[1]) The incident probably had a historical foundation: according to the fantastic account of the battle of Clontarf in Ademar of Chavannes' chronicle (II, 55), the whole invading army is destroyed except one man, whose life is spared, because he is recognised as a Christian captive (Mon. Germ. IV, p. 141).

and 2° of their points of view. As to the first, the record of the battle in Cogadh comprises only a few paragraphs also found in the annals, but is for the greater part based on oral tradition and written about 150 years after the battle. As to the second, the partiality of the author of Cogadh in favour of Brian and the Dál Cais and its effect on the narrative have been illustrated above.

It is not known with certainty when the Brs. was written, but Finnur Jónsson dates its origin about 1200. In contrast with Bugge, he assumes that the work originated in Iceland, as there is no proof that sagas were written anywhere except in this country. [1]) The author must have got his information in the form of short tales, *frásagnir*, which were brought to Iceland by travellers. The author's point of view, though Christian, is ethical, not political. Unlike Cogadh, where Brian's opponents are represented unhistorically as 'pagans, without reverence, without veneration, without honour, without mercy for God or for men' [2]) and where the high-king is compared with legendary heroes that protected the country against invaders, the Brs. shows no political partiality. As in the case of other Icelandic sagas, its author is chiefly interested in the personal fate of his heroes, for which political circumstances form only the background. The Brs. however, lacks the refined psychology which is the high merit of Icelandic sagaliterature. It breathes a clerical spirit, its characters are sharply divided into black and white. The basis of the Brs. must have been a *frasǫgn*, in which Brian was described as a very pious man. Probably this was the record of the high-king's death. It has been stated in the preceding chapters that the story of Brian's prayer during the battle is of Anglosaxon origin, a legend about king Oswald of Bernicia.

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[1]) The arguments of S. Bugge to the contrary (in Norsk Sagaskrivning) are of no value.

[2]) Cog. p. 159.

The record in the Brs. is more probably historical. The king, who must have been an old man, did not join in the battle, but was surrounded by a body of well-armed men (the saga naturally regards it as a 'shieldburgh', a Norse formation). When the battle is won, this bodyguard takes part in the pursuit and leaves the king unprotected. This gives Bróðir, who has hidden in a wood, a chance to reach the king and slay him. Bróðir was subsequently killed, possibly by the high-king himself (Cogadh), more probably by Brian's attendants, but certainly not in the way described in the Brs., which was unknown in ancient Ireland, like any other form of torture.

A legendary incident in the story of Brian's death is the healing of Tadhg's hand, when the king's blood covers the stump. As in the case of the king's prayer, this element is evidently of hagiographical origin. It is not known from Bede or any other ecclesiastical author, but a similar incident is recorded in the Old Norse version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae. [1]) Although absent from the Latin version printed by Griscom, it must have formed part of the MS. text used by the translator. The redactor of this Latin version in several other cases enlarged Geoffrey's chronicle with passages borrowed from hagiographical sources.

When legend had made a saint of Brian, it was necessary for the author of Brs. to paint Gormfhlaith in as black colours as possible. Her extreme beauty was well as her wicked character make her a formidable enemy. On the other hand, neither of these qualifications is justified by the Irish authorities. There Gormfhlaith's hatred against Brian is not imputed to perverseness, but to family pride. 'She began to reproach and incite her brother, because she thought it ill that service or vassalage should be yielded by him to anyone, a thing that his father or grand-

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[1]) See A. G. van Hamel in Études celtiques I, p. 241.

father never yielded, and she said that Brian's son would hereafter require it from his son and all other men afterwards.' [1])

The characters of the Brs. are influenced by the law of contrast, as formulated by A. Olrik. [2]) Bróðir's companion Óspakr is possibly the same person as the *Ascadal* of Cogadh, [3]) although the name evidently stands for the Old-Norse **Áskell* or **Ásketill*, Bróðir and Ascadal are 'the leaders of ships and outlaws', which agrees very well with the rôle of the two men as vikings in the Brs. The last-named warrior, however, is never mentioned again in Cogadh and no deed of his is recorded. The miracles related in the story of Óspak's conflict with Bróðir have already been stated to be of an ecclesiastic nature, but apart from this they are of Irish origin. Though the raven as an evil omen was well-known among the Norsemen, too, [4]) the demoniacal beings described here, who attack warriors, have their equivalents in the Irish *badba* referred to in the foregoing section. The rain of blood occurs in Irish annals, as has also been shown, while arms fighting on their own account are found nowhere else in the Icelandic sagas, but have parallels in Irish literature as, for instance, the magical spear of Lug mac Ethlenn.

Other *frásagnir* have left their traces in the Brs., though they have reached us in an abridged form. The man on an applegrey horse, [5]) who talks a long time to Bróðir and Kormlǫð, has no function in the story. Finnur Jónsson in his note refuses to regard him as a supernatural being, but it seems difficult to

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[1]) Cog. p. 143, note 15.

[2]) Danske Studier, 1908, p. 75. Cf. A. Kersbergen, op. cit. p. 114 sq.

[3]) Cog. p. 151. This is the reading of B. D has *Amlaib* (Ólafr), which must be incorrect, since the scribe of B could not have invented Ascadal, while the name Amlaib is very common.

[4]) See, for instance, P. C. M. Sluyter, IJslands volksgeloof, Haarlem 1936, p. 12,16.

[5]) Njála, ch. CLVII, 6.

separate this incident from a similar one in the Njála.[1]) Hildiglúmr, the son of the farmer at Reykir, goes out at night and hears a terrible crash, so that heaven and earth seem to tremble. He sees a circle of fire in the air and therein a man, as black as pitch, on a grey horse, who is riding fast and carrying a firebrand in his hand. He recites a strophe in which he warns against Flosi, who intends to burn Njál's farm. Finally he swings his firebrand eastwards over the mountains; immediately a great fire bursts out, into which the man disappears. Hildiglúmr does not understand the meaning of the vision, nor does his father, but Hjalti tells him that he has seen a witch-ride and that this always happens before great events: *þú hefir sét gandreið, segir Hjalti, ok er þat jafnan fyrir stórtíðendum.*

The vision of Hrafn the Red may be compared with a passage in an Irish battle description: *ba dub in t-áer uasaibseom colléic do na demnaib oc irnaide na n-anman truag dia tarrung dochum iffrin* 'The air above them was black with the demons waiting for the poor souls to drag them towards hell'.[2]) He calls himself 'St. Peter's dog'. A name like this, unusual as it is in Old-Norse literature, is easely recognised as an equivalent of the Irish names beginning with *Cú* and affords another proof of Irish influence in the Brs.

Among the miracles that happened on the day of the battle, there is one for which Dr. Sveinsson supposes Celtic influence. A man named Hárekr on the Orkneys sees in a vision jarl Sigurðr with some of his men. He mounts his horse and rides out to meet him; they ride together and are seen disappearing together into a hill, and no trace of Hárekr was ever found. This subterranean abode of the dead reminds us strongly of the

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[1]) Njála, ch. CXXV. According to Sæmundur Eyjólfsson, this man on a grey horse is Óðinn, who prophesies a battle as a warrior-god (Tímarit 1894, p. 134 sq.).

[2]) L. L. p. 291a (K. Meyer, Cath Finntrága, p. 85).

sídh, into which, for instance, Fróech mac Idaith is carried by women clad in green. It has only partial parallels in the sagas. In the Eyrbyggja saga (XI, 4), for instance, Þorstein's shepherd sees one autumn night that a mountain is opened on the north side, a great fire is burning inside, and a feast is prepared, while it is said that Þorsteinn shall sit on the high-seat opposite his ancestors. The belief that the dead dwell in a mountain is also found in Germany, witness the Kyffhäuser-legend and the troop of horsemen in fiery armour, mentioned in Ekkehard's Chronicle, who ride out of a mountain and announce themselves as the spirits of soldiers killed in battle. [1])

The story of Hárekr, however, who disappears alive into a mountain, shows more likeness to the Irish story of Fróech than to these Germanic instances and it seems beyond doubt that this detail, too, was introduced from Ireland.

Its Christian character, plain psychology and great number of miracles, the latter borrowed from hagiographical sources as well as from Irish popular belief, set the Brjánssaga apart from Icelandic sagaliterature.

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[1]) Ekkehard von Aura, Weltchronik A. D. 1123. Cf. Neckel, Walhall, p. 30.

CHAPTER III. HISTORY AND TRADITION SURVEYED

In the preceding chapters an attempt was made to prove that the tradition about the battle of Clontarf, both in Irish and Norse sources, is for a great part legendary rather than historical. J. H. Lloyd, who tried to reconstruct the history of the battle, [1]) states that 'both the Irish and the Norse accounts of this eventful battle are greatly mixed with legendary details', but makes little attempt to separate history from fiction.

As regards the two traditions, it is evident that the Brjánssaga has the advantage of being politically impartial. It was, according to all probability, composed for oral recitation, within a century after the battle. It is founded, however, on separate records that migrated from one country to another; the author formed his characters after a certain pattern. Cogadh, on the other hand, was written about 150 years after the battle and shows many traces of partiality in favour of Brian. None of his unsuccessful exploits mentioned in the annals have found their way into Cogadh. The poetical prophecies, attributed to St. Bercán, St. Colum Cille, St. Ciarán of Saigher and Bec Mac Dé, [2]) all predicting the coming of the Norsemen, are evidently unhistorical, and so is also the strophe ascribed to St. Colmán mac Léinín, [3]) promising sovereignty to the Dál Cais 'except three, until Flann comes'. Moreover, the poem by Cormac mac Cuilennáin [4]) about the privileges of the Dál Cais is a mystification, as this sept was of very little importance in the time of this sage and king of Munster, whose death is recorded in 908 (F.M.) or 920 (A.U.) In several instances the record of Cogadh has been proved to be romantic rather than historical: the story of the

[1]) The New Ireland Review 28, p. 35—54, 87—99.
[2]) Cog. p. 10, 12. [3]) Cog. p. 84. [4]) Cog. p. 54.

woman who crossed Ireland without being harmed, the king's sufferings during his guerilla against the Norse, only supported by a few followers, and the prayer of the king during the battle are all stories that existed as popular traditions in England at an earlier period. The exploits of the individual heroes during the battle do not agree in any detail with the Brjánssaga and are of the same character as the battle descriptions in any unhistorical Irish tale. Moreover, the author was a Munsterman, as appears from the fact that he takes a greater interest in the Viking invasions in Munster than in those in the other provinces. He had no clear ideas about the topography of the battlefield either. Still, his work, if used with caution, forms the most valuable source of information, apart from the Book of Rights, for Brian's reign, the importance of which for Irish history we should not realise if we only had the scanty notes in the annals to depend on for our knowledge.

In the opinion of many writers about Irish history, the battle of Clontarf is one of those decisive events which mark the end of a period and the beginning of a new era. The defeat of the invading army is considered a national victory, which put an end to a Norse oppression of about two centuries. Such is the popular view and Father O'Leary's novel Niamh, which is based on Cogadh and still more on Keating, bears witness of it. It is, however, not confirmed by the facts. Firstly, Brian's opponents were not the Norsemen settled in Ireland. Although the Dublin king had invited the invaders at his mother's instigation, he did not take part in the fight, but kept the gates of the town well closed, so that none of the defeated army could seek refuge in Dublin. After the battle, the body of Tadhg Ua Cellaigh, one of Brian's followers, was carried to Dublin, where it was buried, as appears from Mac Liag's elegy. [1]) The attitude of the Dublin

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[1]) Z. C. P. VIII, p. 229.

Norsemen after the battle, when they protest against the slaughter of their oxen by Donnchadh, is not that of vanquished people. Three years later we find them again on the side of their old allies, the Leinstermen, in the offensive against Maelshechlainn, by whom they are severely defeated. The Limerick Norsemen, far from opposing Brian, seem to have been on his side since the taking of their last stronghold in 977; at least Osli, a son of their king Dubchenn, is slain in 1013 as 'a man of rank to Brian and a great steward of his stewards'. [1])

True, the invasion led by Sigurðr was different from the raids into the interior so characteristic of the early phase of Viking invasions in Ireland. It was an organised attempt at conquest, comparable to the attacks on England, which in 1013 resulted in the occupation of that country. This does not imply that it was either the first or the last attack on a large scale. The first was led by Turgeis, who seized Armagh after three assaults in one month (832) and, controlling Loch Neagh and the important waterways by means of a great fleet, 'was in Armagh and in the sovereignty of the North of Ireland' [2]) until the high-king Maelshechlainn I captured him by stratagem (845). Cogadh even speaks of Turgeis' abbotship of Armagh. The Norse supremacy collapsed after his death; since 866, long before Brian's time, the North was completely free from Norsemen.

At a much later period Ireland was invaded by Magnus Bareleg, king of Norway, who after re-establishing Norse rule over the Orkneys, the Hebrides, Cantire and the Isle of Man, landed in Ulster (1103) where he was cut off and slain. His existence is remembered in Ossianic literature, where the legendary king of Norway often bears the name Magnus or Manus. [3])

Are we to accept Dr. Mac Neill's opinion that 'a victory for

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[1]) Cog. p. 146. [2]) Cog. p. 8.

[3]) Cf. Reidar Christiansen, The Vikings and Viking wars in Irish and Gaelic tradition, p. 154 sq.

Earl Sigurd might have been, as his defeat must have been, a decisive event in European history'? [1]) This would imply that by overcoming Brian Sigurðr would have become lord of all Ireland. The political institutions of Ireland during the Viking period afford strong evidence against such a hypothesis, which will be discussed below. Here we will deal with Dr. Mac Neill's chief argument. He says: 'It is enough to say that the Norse sagas regard the battle as the Irish popular view regards it — a contest between Irishmen and Norsemen about the sovereignty of Ireland. The kingdom of Ireland was the prize which king Sigtrygg of Dublin offered to Earl Sigurd of the Orkneys. It was to win Ireland that the Norsemen came from distant Iceland and from Normandy; and the Norse poet who tells of the event says 'Brian fell but saved his kingdom'.

This passage is based on a misunderstanding, and partly a mistranslation, of the words in the Njála to which it refers. Sigtrygg's offer to Sigurðr runs thus:

> 'King Sigtryggr . . . asked him to go to battle with him against king Brian. The jarl was unwilling for a long time, but at last he stated his terms. He claimed this: to have his (Sigtrygg's) mother in marriage and to be king in Ireland (*mælti hann þat til, at eiga móður hans og vera konungr á Írlandi*) if they should slay Brian. All, however, dissuaded the jarl from participating, but without success; they separated on the understanding that jarl Sigurðr promised the expedition, but Sigtryggr promised him his mother and a kingdom (*móður sinni og konungdómi*)'. [2])

Apart from the fact that the *Írland* of the Icelandic sagas has been stated to refer to Dublin only, [3]) the kingdom 'in Ireland' can never mean the kingship of Ireland. Sigtryggr, pressed hard by Brian and despairing to maintain his power, could yield the

[1]) Eoin Mac Neill, Phases of Irish history, p. 273.
[2]) Njála, ch. CLV, 11, 12. [3]) Études celtiques II, p. 123.

kingdom of Dublin to the man who would marry his mother, but neither he nor Gormfhlaith had any control over the high-kingship and Norse rulers of that time were not likely to be lured by imaginary grants. The course of the negotiations, as can be inferred from the Njála, was thus: Sigtryggr comes to the Orkneys to persuade the jarl to come to his aid, at first without success. He only gives his consent when Sigtryggr yields his kingdom to him, in the same way as Maelshechlainn had tried to obtain Aedh's support against Brian by offering him his own dignity. Having accepted, Sigurðr is obliged to depart with a strong force to his newly acquired realm and to defend it against Brian, whose enemies Gormfhlaith and Maelmordha have dragged Dublin into war. This fits the jarl very well, for he is a great fighter, who has just come home from a looting expedition in Scotland. His brother-in-law Gilli, however, the jarl of the Hebrides, who is present at Sigurð's court, refuses to take part in the expedition. Sigtryggr craftily tries to save both Dublin from Brian and his throne from Sigurðr by obtaining Bróðir's support on the same conditions, evidently expecting that after their victory the two rivals would destroy one another.

The words 'Brian fell but saved his kingdom', quoted by Dr. Mac Neill, probably from Dasent's translation 'Burnt Njal', constitute the last line of a skaldic strophe of eight verses. The original text runs

Brjánn fell og helt velle [1])

which means 'Brian fell and was victorious'. These words do not provide any argument for Dr. Mac Neill's view, nor do they justify the conclusion which Mrs. Green draws from them: 'That day finally ended the possibility of a foreign Scandinavian conquest and sovereignty of Ireland'. [2]) If such a possibility ever

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[1]) Njála, ch. CLVII, 36. *Halda velle*: lit. to hold the battlefield. Cf. Orkneyjinga saga, cap. 12: *Brjánn konungr fell með sigri ok gagni.*

[2]) A. S. Green, History of the Irish state to 1014, p. 421.

existed, it continued to exist as long as there were Scandinavian attacks, that is until the days of king Magnus.

While the facts force us to reject the conception of the battle of Clontarf as a national victory over the Norsemen, they are equally unfavourable to the idea of a victory of Christianity over paganism. Neither Norse nor Irish tradition bears any evidence that, as Dr. Dasent holds, 'the spells of heathendom were deemed to have been vanquished for ever by the superior power of the Faith, so that it was considered hopeless to continue the contest'. [1]) The only conversion recorded in the Norse account of Clontarf, namely that of Óspakr, occurs before the battle. On the other hand, the Norse settlers in Ireland were Christians in this period. For Dublin this appears from the opening quatrains of the contemporary poet Mac Liag's elegy on Tadhg Ua Cellaigh. [2])

Leasg amleasg sind gu Âth Cliath, co dún Amlaib na n-órsciath,
ó Âth Cliath na lland 's na lecht is dian, is mall m'imthecht.
A lucht Âtha Cliath na clog eidir abaidh is easbog,
ná cuiri[d] úir tar Tadg toir co tair[i]g duinn a déchain.

'Half reluctant, half eager we go towards Dublin, towards the fortress of A. of the golden shields; from Dublin of the churches and the graves my going away is quick and slow. O people of Dublin of the bells, abbot as well as bishop, throw no earth upon Tadhg yonder, until we have seen him again.'

All attempts to summarize in a brief formula the meaning of this great battle, which loomed so large in the memory of both nations, being rejected, a new light will be shed on the event by

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[1]) Cog. p. CXCIX.

[2]) Z. C. P. VIII, p. 229. Cf. K. Meyer, Nordisch-Irisches, where Marstrander's theory about Thor-worship in Dublin is refuted. Besides, one of the legendary gifts bestowed by St. Patrick upon the Dublin men is the 'gift of veneration in their churches' (Book of Rights, p. 231).

a survey of the political development preceding it. At the beginning of the Scandinavian attacks, about the end of the eighth century, we find Ireland divided into a number of small states, *tuatha* — the Book of Rights mentions about a hundred —, each 'ruled by a patrician class to whom war was a sort of noble pastime'. [1]) At their head there was an elected king as chief judge and leader in war. The power of this king must have been limited, especially after the disappearing of the *fianna*, the mercenary bands which existed when Niall of the Nine Hostages invaded Roman Britain. The high-king of Tara figured as the *primus inter pares*, not as the sovereign of the whole country, and no high-king ever succeeded in uniting all the forces of the island against an invader. Even if the ruling aristocracy rejoiced in cattle-raids into neighbouring territories, they were not inclined to follow their king in long campaigns to establish his authority over another state. The balance between the small states was fairly well held in the absence of the only factor that could upset it: a strong kingship with expansive aspirations. No wonder that there was no aggression against foreign powers, so that Bede could describe the Irish as 'a harmless nation, ever most friendly to the English'. There is in ancient Ireland only one instance of a perpetually aggressive attitude: the exaction of the hated tribute called *bórama* (cattle-counting) from the Leinstermen by the king of Meath, which was never obtained except by force. This explains why the Norse settlers of Dublin were welcomed as allies by the Leinstermen and are mostly found on their side.

This political system, whatever its drawbacks, — in most respects it contrasts favourably with contemporary conditions on the continent — provided very effective means of defence against the Scandinavian invaders. [2]) Whilst the weak Carolingian

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[1]) E. Mac Neill, op. cit. p. 227.

[2]) They did not, as Dr. Mac Neill supposes (Phases, p. 249), call themselves Northmen because they considered themselves the northern

rulers proved unable to keep the Vikings outside their boundaries and yielded the Netherlands and Normandy to pirate chiefs, hoping to profit from them as a barrier against new raiders, there was no central power in Ireland the paralyzing of which would leave the country open to the invaders without means of defence. Although the Vikings did enormous damage to civilisation by their raids against defenceless monasteries, they were unable to maintain themselves anywhere except in fortified settlements on the coast. A country where every district had its own political and military organisation could not be subdued; the authority of Turgeis in the North was of short duration. We must consign the idea of a permanent Norse oppression, described so eloquently in Cogadh, [1]) to the realm of literary fiction, as it clashes with every contemporary record.

The lack of a central military organisation lasted throughout the whole Norse period. It need only be recalled that at Clontarf Leinster opposed Brian, while the North stood aloof. However, a political evolution was going on, which was to continue till long after the Norse period had passed. It is the strengthening of the kingship which upset the existing belance between the states. This movement was contemporary and probably closely connected with the Viking invasions. Firstly, the king gained in importance when his activity as the military leader of his state was permanently required against the ever threatening attacks, and secondly, in a later phase of the Norse period his material wealth must have increased considerably. As soon as the Vikings settled permanently on the coast, they became traders rather than pi-

branch of the German people. There is not the slightest evidence that the ancient Scandinavians regarded themselves as related to the Germans. They were 'Northmen' because they lived north of that civilized world by which they were so much attracted. The distinction between 'White' and 'Black' Foreigners (Norwegians and Danes) was probably based on the colour of their sails.

[1]) Cog. ch. XL, p. 48 sq.

rates. We read of 'saddles beautiful and foreign, gold and silver, beautifully woven cloth of all colours and of all kinds, satins and silken cloth, pleasing and variegated, both scarlet and green, and all sorts of cloth in like manner' in Limerick and 'the greatest quantity of gold and silver and bronze, and precious stones and carbuncle gems and buffalo horns, much also of various vestures of all colours and beautiful goblets', found in Dublin after its occupation.[1]) These foreign articles of luxury were not collected on raids in Ireland but brought there for trading purposes. Wine, too, was an important article, and another profitable trade, introduced by the Norse, was the slavetrade, for though slavery was known in pre-Viking Ireland, it seems to have been of little economic consequence. After Brian's occupation of Limerick, if we may believe Cogadh, 'every one of them that was fit for war was killed, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved'; generally speaking about his treatment of the Foreigners it is said that they were 'bondaged and enslaved' (*rodoerait is romugsanaigit*) by him. [2]) Imported slaves, together with other foreign valuables, figure among the tributes fixed in the 'Book of Rights'.

The relation between a king and his clients was expressed by the giving and receiving of gifts. They were called *tuarastal* 'wages' and the receiver acknowledged by the acceptance to be in the giver's pay. The gift mostly consisted in articles acquired by foreign trade. Brian, for instance, gives gold, silver and clothing, besides twelve hundred horses, to the Ulstermen who provide him with victuals. [3]) It is evident that the influence of the kings increased as foreign trade brought more valuables into the country. The importance attached to these royal gifts cannot be easily overrated. It is strikingly illustrated by the story in

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[1]) Cog. p. 78, 114.
[2]) Cog. p. 80, 116.
[3]) Cog. p. 136.

Cogadh about the cause of the battle of Clontarf, where Gormfhlaith in her pride bitterly reproaches her brother Maelmordha for wearing a silken tunic given to him by Brian.

This strengthening of the kingship by reason of military and economic circumstances, resulting in the expansion of a king's power beyond his own territory, can be followed through the annalistic records of these centuries. It was strongest in the South, which was not much affected by the Viking raids of the first period and where afterwards important Norse settlements were established; before the invasions Munster had already enjoyed a greater safety and more intercourse with the continent than any other province. Leinster was reinforced by the alliance with Dublin in its struggle against Meath, whilst the North, where there were no Norse towns, lagged behind.

There are three kings of Munster whose careers mark three stages of the evolution outlined above. The first is Feidhlimidh mac Crimthain, who reigned from 820 to 847. The Annals of Ulster, when recording his death, describe him as a 'king of Munster, the best scribe of the Irish (*optimus Scotorum scriba*) and an anchorite' but in another passage speak of 'the crozier of vigil-keeping Feidhlimidh' (A.U. 840). As a bishop he is also named in an old poem. [1]) He was a ruthless warrior, very different from Brian, and few Norse sea-kings surpassed him in burning churches and monasteries. The chief principles of the policy of these two Munster kings, however, show a remarkable resemblance: opposition to the Ui Neill, if necessary with the aid of Leinster, in order to acquire the high-kingship, and alliance with Armagh in order to enforce the claim to primacy of St. Patrick's successor. The second principle appears in the beginning of Feidhlimidh's reign, when in 823, together with Artri bishop of Armagh, he

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[1]) Z. C. P. X, p. 44.

establishes the 'Law of Patrick' in Munster. In 831 he invades Bregia at the head of an army from Munster and Leinster. Afterwards he takes the hostages of Connacht, plunders in Meath and Bregia, and in 841 encamps with his army in Tara. In the same year he attempts to secure the support of Leinster by aspiring at the sovereignty over this province. This time, however, the high-king Niall saves his reign by inflicting upon him a crushing defeat, which ends Feidhlimidh's victorious career. The tide turned against the South, for the next high-king Maelshechlainn I, the slayer of Turgeis, invaded Munster and took its hostages, whilst the abbot of Armagh was on his side.

The next Munster king who took up again the aggressive attitude, the learned bishop Cormac mac Cuilennáin (901—908), compiler of a glossary still extant, had to experience that the Ui Neill considered Leinster as their own vassal state and were not inclined to suffer any encroachment on their rights over this province. He invaded Ossory, forced its king to take his side and prepared to do the same with Leinster, but was surrounded by the armies of the high-king and Leinster at Belach Mugna, defeated and slain. The cry raised by his men 'Let the clergy fight their own battles' shows that the king's political ideals failed to kindle his followers to enthusiasm.

Munster was weakened by his death, which broke the power of the Eoghanachta of Cashel; there was no force left to prevent the establishment of Norse settlements at Waterford, Wexford, Limerick, Cork, Youghal, Thurles and even Cashel. From 916 to 918 Ireland had a strong high-king in Niall Glúndubh, who attacked Waterford and Dublin, but was mortally wounded in an encounter with the army of the latter town. The general strengthening of the kingship was not confined to one province; in the 10th century we find many a powerful high-king on the throne of Tara. A remarkable feat was accomplished by Niall's son Muirchertach of the Leather Cloaks, king of Ailech, who

made a circuit of all Ireland with a thousand men in 941 and brought back the hostages of the kingdoms, except those of the Dál Cais in co.Clare. The hostages were handed over to the reigning high-king Donnchadh. This campaign was held in winter and the warriors protected themselves against the cold by the leather cloaks from which the king received his surname. Their arrival must have made a deep impression, for the circuit was achieved almost without a blow being struck. A campaign round the whole country, and in winter too, was an event without precedent. High-kings usually preferred to interfere as little as possible with the neighbouring kingdoms, especially with Munster, which for a long time had held an isolated position.

The Dál Cais, the only kingdom that had not given its hostages to Muirchertach, is scarcely even mentioned in the annals before this time. It first began to occupy an important position in Munster after the weakening of the traditional rulers, the Eoghanachta of Cashel. Another Eoghanacht line, the Ui Eachach of Desmond under their king Maelmuadh, aspired to the sovereignty in Munster in competition with the Dál Cais; a strife, which led to the violent death of Mathgamhain, Brian's brother (976). The career of the Dál Cais and the life of Brian are described with full details in Mrs. Green's 'History of the Irish State to 1014' and will not be repeated here. The origin of the future high-king's power lies in his — or his brother's — occupation of Limerick in 967 and his taking of Scattery Island, the last stronghold of the Limerick Norsemen, in 977. Cogadh is eloquent about the treasures found in the conquered town. The inhabitants of Limerick seem to have been on Brian's side ever since. After his victory over his brother's slayers at Belach Lechta (978) had made him undisputed king of Munster, we find Brian continuing the policy of his predecessors. No doubt, though, the plundering and burning Feidhlimidh was a personality very different from

Brian, with his zeal for arts and learning, who resembles more the venerable Cormac. Brian, too, began his attempt at establishing a central government with the subjugation of Leinster, which was completed in 984, so that by this time he ruled the whole of Leth Mogha. Understanding that the tradition which assigned the kings of Meath and Ailech as the only legitimate holders of the high-kingship, could never be destroyed by successful campaigns or by the occupation of Tara, he first proceeded to establish his authority firmly in the South. To this end he maintained a system of fortified places all over Munster. Mrs. Green supposes that this was directed against the Norse, [1]) but her suggestion that the latter were ignorant of the art of siege is quite unfounded. On the contrary, on the occasion of their siege of Paris (886) they showed themselves masters in this art. Moreover, the period of inland raids was long over. Brian's strongholds were evidently destined to keep order among his countrymen. Neither he nor his rival, the reigning high-king Maelshechlainn, ever tried to expel the Norsemen from Ireland. The latter, after his victory over Dublin (980), proclaimed: 'Let every one of the Gaels who is in the Foreigners' province come forth to his own country in peace and comfort' and the annalist regards this as the end of the 'Babylonian captivity of Ireland'. [2]) This can only mean that a number of Irish captives in Fine Gall, the district near Dublin, were freed by Maelshechlainn. On the other hand Brian had to fight Dublin in 999, when this town supported Maelmórdha, king of Leinster, in his revolt against Brian's usurpation of the control over this province. [3])

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[1]) Op. cit. p. 371.

[2]) Annals of Tigernach, R. C. XVII, p. 142.

[3]) Brian's surname Bóromha is explained as being derived from his supposed birth in the village of that name near Killaloe (Green, op. cit. p. 359). It may well be asked if there was anything remarkable about this village that would justify this use of its name. Bóromha means the tribute which the king of Meath exacted from Leinster and, as we find

After the defeat of the allies at Glenn Máma — a battle surpassing Clontarf, according to the poet [1]) — Brian plundered Dublin, but this did not prevent him from concluding a treaty with king Sigtryggr, who married Brian's daughter. Backed by Dublin and in the west by Connacht, Brian thought himself strong enough to wrest the high-kingship from Maelshechlainn; Tigernach records in the same year the 'first revolt through treachery (*cét impodh . . . tre mebail*) of Brian and Connacht against Maelshechlainn the Great'.[2]) Except by Connacht Brian was supported by Ossory, Leinster and the Dublin Norsemen. The latter went before him into Magh Bregh with a battalion of cavalry, which was overtaken and slaughtered by Maelshechlainn. Hereupon Brian withdrew but in 1002 made a fresh and successful attempt. Maelshechlainn, not backed by the northern kings, had to yield the high-kingship to him.

Political propaganda in Cogadh and moralizing legend in the Brjánssaga give us a distorted view of Brian's great personality, whilst the contemporary notes in the annals are more trustworthy but very meagre. Brian was neither the saint of the Norse saga, who pardoned the criminals three times, and punished them only when they transgressed a fourth time, nor was the aim of his life the defence of his country against the Norse enemy. The fantastic account of Cogadh, describing how Brian killed and enslaved the Foreigners, is strikingly contradicted by the fact that he never made war against them except for the purpose of drawing them on his side. The end in view of his lifelong activity was to obtain the high-kingship and after obtaining it to strengthen his position in order to establish an effective central

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Brian subduing this province, it is probable that his epithet labels him as enforcing tribute from the Leinstermen, which before his time had been a privilege of the kings of Meath.

[1]) Cog. p. 114.

[2]) R. C. XVII, p. 353.

power. The same tendency has been recognised in other Munster kings. It is a significant illustration of this continuity that Brian had a new version made of the Book of Rights, which was begun by Cormac mac Cuilennáin. The same applies to his strong support to Armagh, where he placed a ring of gold on the altar and where he ordered his body to be buried. Brian did not always respect ecclesiastical prerogatives, as appears from his 'violation', according to the annals, of Scattery Island (977) and from the fact that he 'took the hostages of the principal churches of Munster that they should not receive rebels nor thieves to sanctuary in the churches', [1]) but in the primacy of Armagh he must have recognised an ally in his centralizing policy. He was the first man outside the two privileged families to obtain the high-kingship and he had more power than any historical high-king before him, but still more remarkable is the fact that he expanded his power by diplomatic rather than by military means and took his final step to the highest dignity without any act of violence. It was, in fact, not a surrender of power, but a recognition of the fact that the power was already in Brian's hands. The latter's position was not the old high-kingship but a new dignity, a fact which Brian emphasized by giving himself the title of 'emperor of the Irish' (*imperator Scotorum*).[2])

The strife from which the battle of Clontarf sprang, originated in a rebellion against Brian by the king of Leinster, who received the usual support from Dublin. King Sigtryggr, in his turn, secured the aid of jarl Sigurðr of the Orkneys. In 980 his father Ólafr Kvaran had already received support from the Hebrides, as appears from the statement in the Annals of Ulster that the battle of Tara was won 'against the Foreigners of Dublin and the Islands'. Sigtrygg's allies from the other countries mentioned in Cogadh (p. 152) are not recorded in the Norse sources. Sigurðr and

[1]) Cog. p. 106.

[2]) Cf. E. Mac Neill, op cit., p. 271.

his army were coldly received, as we must infer from the fact that the Dublin people did not offer them the slightest help either during the battle or after their defeat, and perhaps also from the words 'Some, indeed, have said that the pay of the pirates was spent the night before that battle and that they had gone as far as Howth, when they saw the conflagration and devastation of the country'. [1]) The words following this passage are evidently an unsuccessful attempt at explaining this phenomenon.

As to the foreign chieftains who fell in the battle, the Norse and Irish sources agree only in the cases of jarl Sigurðr and Bróðir. In A.U. the latter is called chief of the Norse fleet, which agrees with his rôle in the Brs. When Cogadh styles him *mac Osli iarla Cairi hEbroc*, 'son of Osli, jarl of York', this statement lacks all historical foundation. [2]) The list of fallen Foreigners in Cogadh is full of additions of a similar nature. Even among the names borrowed from the annals a name like *Oitir Dubh* really belongs to a viking invader in the beginning of the 10th century, who occurs in English chronicles as Ohter (Ohthere). [3]) Cogadh has added many names that are Anglo-Norman instead of Norse: *Goistilin, Simond, Sefraid* (Geoffrey), *Bernard, Rickard,* and makes them the children of contemporaries of Oitir Dubh: *Turgeis, Suinin, Suainin,* even the legendary Red Maiden. [4]) To this category also belongs *Eon Barun* (John the baron). *Amond* son of *Dubhgen* is called king of Waterford, but the only Dubhgen known in Irish history was a son of Ivar of Limerick and not a Waterford king. Amond is consequently as unhistorical as his brother Goistilin Gall and cannot be identified with the *Âmundi hviti* of the Njála.

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[1]) Cog. p. 156.
[2]) Cog. p. 206. Cf. A. L. C. 1014.
[3]) Cog. p. XCIV, note 2.
[4]) Cf. the list in Cog. p. 40.

The Irish and Norse traditions agree in accusing Gormfhlaith of having caused the conflict. In Cogadh she incites her brother against her husband out of family pride; in the Njála she urges Sigtryggr, her son by Ólafr Kvaran, to kill Brian, from whom she has been divorced. [1]) In the latter source, moreover, she is represented as residing in Dublin, whilst in Cogadh she sojourns with Brian in Cenn Coradh. The Norse account is less trustworthy in this respect, since here the figure of Gormfhlaith has been purposely blackened in contrast to Brian and her presence in Dublin fitted better in the narrative, but the agreement of our two unrelated traditions is a sufficient proof of the dominant rôle played by Gormfhlaith in Irish politics, or at least ascribed to her by public opinion. It is remarkable that her brother Maelmórdha king of Leinster is absent from the Brs., but it is not surprising that Norse tradition is better informed about the Norse than the Irish personalities. Yet it knows the two prominent figures of the battle: Úlfr hreða (Murchadh) and Kerþjálfaðr (Toirdhelbhach) and is well informed about the names of Brian's sons, of whom Tadhg was certainly present on the battlefield, although our version of Cogadh does not name him. [2]) The reason why the high-king did not take part in the battle, to wit because it was Good Friday, even though in itself Brian's age would have been a sufficient reason to refrain from fighting, must also spring from a common tradition, illustrating the king's piety.

These historical data were combined into a Brjánssaga, together with numerous hagiographical details. They illustrate the Christian character of the saga, which was doubtless due to the

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[1]) *Brjánn hét konungr sá er hana hafði átta,* Nj. ch. CLIV, 7. The Irish annals as well as Cogadh are silent about Gormfhlaith's supposed three marriages, apart from a quatrain in F. M. (II, p. 820) where they are denounced as 'three leaps which a woman should never leap'.

[2]) See above p. 66.

Icelandic author, although the *frásagnir* used by him have evidently already spoken of Brian as a Christian hero. They probably originated among the Norsemen of Dublin, who were Christians. The battle meant no real defeat to them and this perhaps explains why the Norse tradition about the high-king places him in a not unfavourable light.

The Darraðarljóð, as has been demonstrated, are of an entirely different nature and show no trace of a Christian outlook. The prose commentator locates the vision in Caithness and this directs us towards the region where we have to seek their origin: Scotland or the adjacent islands. [1])

The battle of Clontarf effected no change in the activity of the kingdom of Dublin, which, three years later, we find again on the side of the king of Leinster at war against the high-king. Though it has been recognised that the Norsemen of Ireland were not defeated at Clontarf, the overthrow of Sigurðr and his army is often regarded as a severe blow to the Norse power generally. It is enough to state that neither Norse nor Irish tradition bears any evidence that the Norsemen regarded it as such. Sigurðr is not only a late (not the last) Viking invader in Ireland, but also a forerunner of the galloglasses, the warriors from Scotland and the islands, who play an important part in the history of medieval Ireland.

From a note by the French chronicler Adémar de Chavannes, who was born about 988, it appears in what form the tidings of the battle reached the continent. [2]) Here we read that the fighting lasted three days, that the Norse women with their children drowned themselves in the sea and that the surviving Norsemen were thrown to the wild beasts. One of the captives was recognised as a Christian slave by the Irish king, who spared his life. The

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[1]) Traces of the Darraðarljóð were found on the Orkneys, see Bugge, Norsk Sagafort., 74—75 (Njála, p. 413).

[2]) Ademarus Chabanensis II, 55 (Mon. Germ. IV, p. 141).

latter anecdote finds a parallel in the Brjánssaga [1]) and was probably based on an historical fact. Adémar also tells us that the Norse had never before dared to invade Ireland and gives some information about the island, which shows how little he knows about it. His note about the battle must be based on a very vague rumour.

There is no evidence that the battle of Clontarf greatly changed the position of the Norsemen in or outside Ireland. Its immediate result in the internal policy of Ireland, is that Maelshechlainn took up the high-kingship again, which he held undisputed until his death in 1022. On this occasion the Annals of Ulster call him 'pillar of the dignity and nobility of the western world'. After his death the regular alternate succession of the kings of Meath and Ailech appears to be broken for ever; no new high-king is recognised until the end of the century. That long before Brian's time the prestige of the traditional high-kingship had been weakened by the increasing power of the provincial kings, shows itself in the fact that towards the end of the 9th century the national assembly at Tailtiu was interrupted and gradually abandoned. An attempt to renew this 'Fair of Tailtiu' was made in 1007 by Maelshechlainn, who must be regarded as the last upholder of the old tradition. His loyal submission to Brian and the latter's lenient attitude towards his old rival testify to the noble characters of these two great kings.

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[1]) See above p. 96.

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STELLINGEN

I

Ten onrechte zegt W. Krause: 'Seit Sophus Bugge ist die Abhängigkeit der altnordischen Literatur von der altirischen im Prinzip eine feststehende Tatsache' (Die Kenning als typische Stilfigur der germ. und kelt. Dichtersprache, p. 3).

II

De vermelding van Noorse geschiedschrijvers in Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh (p. 188) heeft geen enkele historische waarde.

III

In het gedicht *Raith Raithleann* leze men st. 17, regel 3: *fa minic iadsan re Cian.* (Ériu, I, p. 100).

IV

De naam Suibne is niet van Noorse oorsprong, maar een tegenhanger van Duibne, Ogham: *Dovvinias.*
(Calder, Gaelic Grammar, p. 150).

V

Ten onrechte vermeldt Dinneen's Irish Dictionary een werkwoord *taraim* bij de imperatief *tar*.

VI

Sniding (Cog. p. 174) is het Noorse *níðingr*.

VII

De uitgang *-adh* werd in de 11de eeuw nog niet als *ū* uitge-

sproken, zoals blijkt uit de O.N. spelling: Dungaðr (Donnchadh), Margaðr (Murchadh) (Cf. T. O'Máille, The Language of the Annals of Ulster, p. 128).

VIII

De Oud-Ierse korte *e* voor niet-palatale medeklinker, als in *fer*, die in het Schots Gaelic zijn oorspronkelijke klank heeft behouden, was in het Iers reeds in de 10de eeuw een tweeklank (in het Oud-Noors gespeld *ja*), waaruit zich de moderne uitspraak *ă* ontwikkelde.

IX

Een juist begrip van het Ierse werkwoord *is* verbiedt bij dit werkwoord onderscheid te maken tussen logisch en grammatisch predikaat.

X

De naam *Qoicogini* in een Ogham-inscriptie betekent: als vijfde geboren (Scottish Gaelic Studies, I, p. 11).

XI

Het woord *bard* is door de Europese talen via het Engels aan het Gaelisch of Welsh ontleend, niet aan laat-Latijn *bardus*. (Franck-Van Wijck, Etym. Wb. s.v.).

XII

In Vǫluspá 46 leze men *kynniz* 'kondigt zich aan' voor *kyndiz*.

XIII

Mommsen's beschrijving van het karakter der Kelten (in boek II van zijn Römische Geschichte) kan de toets der kritiek niet doorstaan.

XIV

De door Thomas O'Rahilly (Proc. Brit. Ac. 1935) voorgestelde identificatie van de Goidelen met de Helvetiërs is onaanvaard-

baar, o.a. omdat de volksverhuizing van de Helvetiërs onmogelijk die omvang gehad kan hebben die uit Caesar's bericht zou blijken (Vgl. Delbrück, Geschichte der Kriegskunst, I, p. 487 sq.).

XV

Vita Oswaldi in J. Capgrave's Nova Legenda Anglie is gecompileerd uit Beda, Hist. Eccl. en Reginald van Durham. Aan de eerstgenoemde is ontleend het gebed van den koning tijdens de slag (Cf. Etudes celtiques, I, p. 241).

XVI

Ten onrechte zegt Japikse (Handboek, p. 505) naar aanleiding van het conflict in 1650: 'Willem II had in hoofdzaak gewonnen'.

XVII

Uit Bismarck's Gedanken und Erinnerungen (II, p. 52) blijkt dat hij, in tegenstelling met de bewering van Erich Marcks (Otto von Bismarck, ein Lebensbild, p. 114), na 1866 een oorlog met Frankrijk voor onvermijdelijk hield.

XVIII

A. Roland Holst's inleiding bij zijn dichterlijke bewerking van 'De Zeevaart van Bran' geeft geen juiste indruk van het karakter van deze Ierse sage.

XIX

In het 11de vertoog van Justus van Effen's Hollandsche Spectator (2de druk, dl. I, p. 112), in de passage 'dat zy my met hair van de trappen zouden slepen', heeft 'met hair' de betekenis 'bij het haar'.

XX

Een vruchtbare beoefening der geesteswetenschappen is onmogelijk onder een regime, dat de waarde der menselijke persoonlijkheid niet erkent.

U