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**A Study of the Irish adaptation of Marco Polo's *Travels*
from the Book of Lismore**

Thesis presented by

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for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University College Cork

Department of Modern Irish

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	III
INTRODUCTION	1
Style of reference to P and IMP	3
CHAPTER I	4
MAPPING THE ROUTE TO IRELAND	4
BACKGROUND	4
1. Marco Polo	4
1.1. Life.....	5
1.2. Textual Tradition of the <i>Travels</i>	8
Group A	9
Franco-Italian version (F).....	9
Court French version (FG).....	9
Anglo-Norman version.....	10
Latin compendium (L).....	10
Avignonese version (K).....	10
Tuscan version (TA)	11
Venetian Abridgement (VB).....	11
Venetian version (VA).....	11
Pipino version (P)	12
Group B.....	12
The Z version (Z)	12
The V version (V).....	13
1.3. Summary and note to map of versions of the <i>Travels</i>	13
2. Francesco Pipino.....	15
2.1. Life.....	15
2.2. Date and location of P	17
2.2.1. Editions of P.....	20
2.2.2. Innovations of P found in IMP.....	20
2.2.3. Tone of P	21
3. Book of Lismore (L)	22
3.1. Scribes of L	23
3.1.1. Scribe A	23
3.1.2. Aonghas Ó Callanáin	24
3.1.3. Scribe of poem on f. 158.....	26
3.1.4. Relief scribes.....	27
CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE AND STYLE	29
0.1. Introduction	29
0.2. Methodology.....	30
PART I.....	31
1.1. The Language of IMP in the context of Early Modern Irish prose	31
1.2. Archaisms in IMP: Scribal or Authorial?	34

1.2.1. Scribes as linguistic innovators: The examples of GM and LSN.....	36
1.2.2. Orthographical and grammatical features in the work of Scribe A: The examples of IMP, GSM and SNL.....	38
1.2.2.1. Methodology	38
1.2.2.2. Variations in Orthography: The Example of Prepositions.....	39
1.2.2.3. Variations in Grammatical forms: The Example of Verbs.....	41
1.3. Conclusions	43
PART II	45
2. Analysis of Orthography, Nominal System and Verbal Forms of IMP	45
2.1 Orthography and Phonology	45
2.1.1. Vowels	45
Short Vowels	45
<i>lomlat: the interchanging of unstressed syllables.</i>	45
a o u.	46
ai oi ui.....	46
e and i.	46
<i>ai and oi in stressed syllables.</i>	46
<i>ai and ei</i>	47
aile/aili and ele/eli.	47
<i>a and i in pretonic syllables.</i>	48
<i>ai and a in final position.</i>	49
<i>ea and e in final position.</i>	50
<i>y in personal and place names.</i>	52
Long vowels.....	52
<i>á and ó alteration.</i>	53
<i>ó ou and o3.</i>	53
<i>Combinations of vowels and lenited spirants.</i>	55
Diphthongs	56
<i>ai oi ui alteration.</i>	56
<i>ae oe ao and ái.</i>	57
<i>aei oi ai</i>	59
2.1.2. Consonants.....	60
Nasals.....	60
<i>nn and nd.</i>	60
<i>mm</i>	60
Liquids.....	61
<i>rr.</i>	61
<i>ll and ld.</i>	61
Labials.....	62
<i>fph p b.</i>	62
Gutturals.....	63
<i>cc.</i>	63
<i>ch gh</i>	63
Dentals.....	63
<i>tt.</i>	63
Spirants.....	63
Slender <i>th</i> and <i>ch</i> alteration in medial position.	63
Slender <i>th</i> and <i>ch</i> alteration in final position.	64
<i>-dhch- -ghth- > /h/</i>	64
Treatment of Old Irish <i>gh dh.</i>	64
<i>-ai and -adha.</i>	65
<i>gh dh th</i> alteration in medial position.	66
Final <i>-th</i>	67
<i>mh and bh.</i>	67
2.2. Initial Mutations.....	68
Lenition.....	68

On a noun in the accusative directly following the verb.....	69
Initial consonant of a verb in the relative.	69
Nasalisation	70
Calcified Old Irish neuter.....	70
Accusative of time	71
Nasalising relatives.....	72
2.3. Nominal Inflection	73
Methodology	73
<i>u</i> -quality	74
Fluctuation in gender and mixed declensions	76
Formation of new plural forms	80
-adha	80
-(e)adh in the gen. pl.	84
-the/ -te.....	85
-anna	88
-acha	89
Interchanging of nom. pl. and acc. pl. forms.....	89
Acc. pl. forms in the nominative.....	89
Nom. pl. forms in the accusative	92
Acc. sg. fem. forms as direct objects	93
Adverbial use of <i>adhaigh</i>	94
Note on <i>ciach</i>	96
Nom. sg. vs gen. pl. forms after cardinal numeral substantives.....	97
2.4. Verbal Forms	101
Reassessment of Ó Catháin's linguistic analysis of IMP	101
Preverbal particles: ro vs do	102
Past plural endings: retention and spread of -s endings	104
Infixed pronouns vs independent pronouns	112
Note on <i>nisam</i>	119
Substantive verb: <i>fíl</i> vs <i>atá</i>	120
OIr. 3 rd sg. absolute pret. forms: -is and -us.	125
Plural past passive forms: -adh, -id and -ta	126
2.5. Conclusions.....	130
PART III.....	133
3. Narrative Styles of IMP	133
3.1. Clipped style.....	133
3.1.1. Note on punctuation	139
3.2. Fluid style.....	141
3.3. Alliterative <i>cath</i> style:.....	143
3.4. Distribution of Narrative Styles in IMP	145
3.5. Conclusions.....	148
CHAPTER III: MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF P	149
1. Manuscripts of P	149
1.1. List of P manuscripts.....	152
1.2. Extracts, abridgements and translations of P	155
1.3. Early printed editions of P and a fifteenth-century English poem.....	158
2. Relationship of IMP to Manuscript Tradition of P	163
2.1. Methodology	163
2.2. IMP and the Latin Abridgements of P	175
2.2.1. 'Digby' Version	176
2.2.2. 'Cambridge-Dublin' or β_3 Version.....	193
2.2.3. 'Harley' Version.....	204

2.2.4. ‘Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee’ Version	208
2.3. IMP and the Groups of P	212
2.3.1. Colophon Division	216
2.3.2. ‘Miracle’ Group	217
2.3.3. ‘Florence 1442’ Group	224
2.3.4. ‘Barbarigo’ Group	228
2.3.5. ‘Schedel’ Group	229
2.3.6. ‘De Ordine Exercitus’ Group	235
2.3.7. ‘Fidelissimi’ Group	242
‘Italian’ branch (α_2)	245
‘English’ branch (α)	250
<i>Lacus vs locus (group α)</i>	251
<i>Quatuor custodes vs decem custodies (group β)</i>	255
<i>1,000.000 vs 1,600,000 (group β/γ)</i>	257
<i>Provincias septem vs provincias octo (group δ)</i>	261
Group δ and Comparison B	264
Other groups of the English branch	272
Group ϵ	272
‘Bellare’ group	274
Conclusions	277
STEMMA CODICUM OF FIDELISSIMI GROUP	290
CHAPTER IV	291
TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF IMP	291
1. Overview of differences between IMP and P and the reduction of IMP	291
2. IMP’s expansions in Book II	298
2.1. Rebellion of Naim and Cadau	299
2.1.1. Textual analysis	301
2.1.2. Contemporary significance	303
2.2. The City and Palace of Cambalu	309
2.2.1. Textual analysis	312
2.2.2. Contemporary significance	317
3. IMP’s rewriting of the prologue	318
3.1. The Missing Beginning and Lost Folios	318
3.2. Content and Innovations of the Prologue of IMP	321
3.2.1. <i>Bráthair righ an aibit san Fronsas</i>	324
3.2.2. <i>A Tairtridh a Laidin</i>	332
3.2.3. Pipino’s justification for translating the <i>Travels</i> in IMP	333
4. Secondary Variations in IMP	335
4.1. Variations based on foreign material	336
4.1.1. <i>Alan and Balan</i>	336
4.1.2. <i>Prespiter Seon</i>	338
4.1.3. Salamanders	341
4.2. Variations based on native material	344
4.2.1. <i>For cliathaibh fis</i>	344
4.2.2. <i>Firu, macu, mná</i>	346
4.2.3. <i>Bonn fria meidhi</i>	348
5. Conclusions	350
CONCLUSIONS	354
BIBLIOGRAPHY	359

APPENDIX I..... 371
APPENDIX II 407

DECLARATION

This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are clearly acknowledged and identified within the contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism.

Andrea Palandri
May 2018

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acallamh = *Agallamh na Seanórach*.

ALC = Annals of Loch Cé.

AFM = Annals of the Four Masters.

AU = Annals of Ulster

Beatha = *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*

CC = *In Cath Catharda*

CCC = *Caithréim Cheallacháin Chaisil*

CF = *Chanson de Fierabras*

CRR = *Cath Ruis na Ríg*

Devisement = *Devisement du Monde*

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

HA = *Historia Aurea*

HKM = *Historia Karoli Magni*

L = Book of Lismore

IGT = Irish Grammatical Tracts

IMP = Irish Marco Polo

GKM = *Gesta Karoli Magni*

GM = Gaelic Mandeville

GSM = *Gabháltas Sérluis Mhóir*

Lives = *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (ed. Stokes)

LSN = *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha*

P = Pipino's Latin translation of Marco Polo's *Travels*, entitled: *De conditionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum*.

RGH = *Rudimenta Grammatica Hibernicae*

SC = *Sansas Cormaic*

SE = *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bhás*

SF = *Stair Fortibrais*

SNL = *Sdair na Lumbardach*

Táin Leinster = *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (Book of Leinster)

TB = *In Teanga Bithnua*

TBg = *Trí Biorghaoithe an Bháis*

Travels = Story of Marco Polo's journey regardless of version

Turas = *Turas na dTaoiseach nUltach as Éirinn* (Ó Cianáin)

INTRODUCTION

The Irish Marco Polo (IMP) is an Early Modern Irish translation and adaptation of Francesco Pipino's Latin translation of Marco Polo's *Travels* (P) which is found between ff 121-131 of the Book of Lismore (L), or *Leabhar Mhic Carthaigh Riabhaigh*. This manuscript was probably compiled between 1478 and 1505 in the Franciscan friary of Timoleague in south west Cork for Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, ruler of Cairbre, and his wife Caitilín Fitzgerald.¹ In its present state, the manuscript has leaves missing immediately before and after the text, depriving it of its beginning and its end. This is a unique copy of the only known adaptation of the text in Irish.² Since the original title of the text does not survive, for the purposes of this dissertation I will refer to it as 'The Irish Marco Polo' (IMP). The general account of Marco Polo's journey, which was retold in many different versions, adaptations and translations across Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, will be referred to as the *Travels*.

The objective of the present study is to assess IMP both as a contribution to Early Modern Irish literature and as a contribution to the vast and complex tradition of Marco Polo's *Travels*. This dissertation attempts (1) to locate IMP in its cultural and linguistic context in late-medieval Ireland and Europe; (2) to gain a perspective of the author of IMP as a learned man operating within the parameters of Irish and European literary tradition; and (3) to establish IMP as a literary work in its own right, the product of a master of Irish literary prose who created a unique text indebted to but also independent of its textual antecedents. Approaching these objectives entailed a combination of methodologies: linguistic, paleographical, text-critical, literary and historical. In order to conduct this investigation of IMP, I have divided this dissertation into four chapters, each of which deals with a different aspect of the text.

¹ Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 269-92; MacAlister, *The Book*, xxi.

² For information on the nineteenth century copies of L see MacAlister, *The Book*, xxvi-xxviii.

In order to introduce the topic of the present study, Chapter I will offer a basic summary of Marco Polo's life and journeys, and discuss the principal issues of the textual tradition of the *Travels*, which are illustrated in the schema on page 14. It will then introduce the Dominican friar Francesco Pipino, author of P, the Latin translation of the *Travels*, entitled *De conditionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum*, from which IMP was translated. It concludes with an examination of the main features of L, including scribal hands and texts contained, in order to describe the cultural milieu from which the manuscript emanated.

Chapter II examines the language and style of IMP. It is divided into three parts: Part I will begin by addressing the use of archaic language in Early Modern Irish prose and the impact of various learned authors on the linguistic style of a number of Early Modern Irish prose texts; Part II contains a linguistic study of IMP beginning with an analysis of the orthographical features of Scribe A and of the relief scribe who writes on folio 125rb, followed by an examination of nominal and verbal forms found in the text. In Part III, I compare the various narrative styles which are discernible in IMP and discuss how they are distributed throughout the text. This analysis of the language and style of IMP shows how the Irish author was enhancing certain linguistic features in the text and adapting the narrative styles he used in order to accentuate different aspects of his adaptation.

Chapter III contains a study of the textual tradition of P, the Latin textual family of the *Travels* to which IMP belongs, in order to understand the place of IMP within its wider European context. P survives in a total of sixty-nine manuscripts, of which none appear to have been the direct source of IMP. However, my examination of a representative section (forty-seven) of the surviving manuscripts of P has revealed the branch of the *stemma codicum* of P to which the lost exemplar of IMP probably belonged. This chapter also provides a summary of previous research on the textual tradition of P, and gives a full list of the manuscripts considered in this study. The special focus of this chapter is the examination of details from transcriptions made over the course of my research from a number of manuscripts of P, which elucidates the differences between many of the subgroups of P. The objective of this chapter, therefore, is to shine light on the historical and textual context of IMP by examining the family of manuscripts of P from which it derives. Chapter III concludes with a *stemma codicum* of the 'fidelissimi' group of manuscripts of P, found on page 290.

Chapter IV contains a textual analysis of IMP and discusses innovations on the part of the Irish author. In this chapter I offer possible explanations of and sources for a number of modifications made by the author of IMP, beginning with an overview of how he summarised the content of P, illustrating those parts of the text which he considered to be more important and the chapters he chose to omit. This is followed by an analysis of some of the principal divergences from P found in IMP. The chapter will conclude with an examination of a number of secondary variations in the adaptation, which indicate that the Irish author was influenced by a number of texts other than P. Such an analysis is important for determining the objectives and priorities of the Irish author, and ultimately for understanding the motivations behind the Irish translation of the *Travels*.

Style of reference to P and IMP

Folio references are to L unless otherwise specified. References to IMP are as follows: folio number and line number are found in brackets following the quote or in the footnotes. The paragraph marker ¶ is used to refer to Stokes's edition of IMP. My transcription of IMP appears as Appendix I. References to Pipino's translation are as follows: P = Pipino, from Dr Simion's transcription of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983 unless otherwise specified. Simion's transcription now appears online as part of the *Ramusio digitale* project coordinated by Professor Eugenio Burgio at Università di Ca' Foscari of Venice: http://virgo.unive.it/ecf-workflow/books/Ramusio/testi_completi/P_marcato-main.html (retrieved 02/01/18); book numbers of P are given in Roman numerals; chapter numbers are given in Arabic numerals; section numbers are given in Arabic numerals. For example P.II.3.4 = Pipino, book two, chapter three, section four.

CHAPTER I

MAPPING THE ROUTE TO IRELAND

The Irish Marco Polo (IMP) is an Early Modern Irish translation and adaptation of Francesco Pipino's Latin translation of Marco Polo's *Travels* (P), contained between ff. 121-131 of the Book of Lismore (L), or *Leabhar Mhic Carthaigh Riabhaigh*. In the following chapter I will provide an introduction to and summary of three matters that are key to understanding how information regarding the Far East travelled from modern-day Beijing, via Venice to West Cork between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. This chapter will begin with a summary of Marco Polo's life and journeys, and a discussion of the principal issues of the textual tradition of the *Travels*, illustrated in a diagram of the various versions of the *Travels* on page 14. Following this, I will introduce the Dominican friar Francesco Pipino, author of P, from a version of which IMP was translated and abridged, before concluding with a discussion of the main features of L, including scribal hands, texts and historical context, in order to describe the cultural milieu from which the manuscript emanated.

BACKGROUND

1. Marco Polo

The following description of the journey of the Polos is found in the first eighteen chapters of the *Devisement du Monde* (henceforth *Devisement*), the title of the Italo-French version of the *Travels* written in 1298 by Rustichello da Pisa.³ These correspond to the first ten chapters of Pipino's Latin translation of the *Travels* (P). Unfortunately, this part of the *Travels* does not survive in IMP since there is a lacuna of at least two folios in L which contained the end of the preceding text, i.e. *Sdair na Lumbardach* (SNL), and the beginning of IMP.⁴ This is the only section of the *Travels* which contains an actual narrative of the journey of the Polos. The *Devisement* is in

³ Gaunt, *Marco*, 2.

⁴ For a discussion of the content of the missing folios between SNL and IMP see Chapter IV.

fact a collection of descriptions of the regions and peoples of Asia rather than a first-hand account of a journey. Nevertheless, I have included a synopsis of this narrative section which opens the *Travels* in order to describe the circumstances in which the *Travels* were first written, and to introduce the topic of this dissertation.

1.1. Life



Figure 1: Decorated initial 'L' containing portrait of Marco Polo, from Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi C.7.1170, f.1.

Marco Polo (figure 1)⁵ was born in Venice in 1254, into a family of Venetian merchants.⁶ Between 1253 and 1254, before Marco was born, his father, Niccolò Polo, and his uncle, Matteo Polo, left for Constantinople, where they owned houses from which they traded with Asia through the Black Sea. In 1260 the two brothers travelled east to Soldadia, now Sudak in Crimea,⁷ and to Bolgara, now Bolghar in Tartastan, Russia. Here they met Berke Khan, the ruler of the Golden Horde, a khanate which comprised the north-west sector of the Mongolian Empire, stretching

from the northern coast of the Black Sea to the eastern borders of modern day Kazakhstan. Berke Khan was the grandson of Genghis Khan (†1227) and cousin of

⁵ The decorations included in the present study (figure 1 at p. 5 and figure 2 at p. 15) are found on the first folio of Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi C.7.1170, which was produced during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. This expensive production is unique among Italian manuscripts in its combination of fine decoration with the Pipino version of the *Travels*. Dutschke has suggested that this manuscript was produced in or for the Dominican house of Santa Mara Novella in Florence not long after the time of Pipino's translation. On the other hand, Gadrat has recently suggested that the script and decoration in the manuscript indicates a Padoan or Bolognese origin. It is the only manuscript, of which I am aware, that contains a full length figure of Francesco Pipino. Chapter IV contains a discussion of the fact that the character of Pipino is transformed from a Dominican to a Franciscan in IMP, an innovation on the part of the Irish author which suggests he may have himself been a Franciscan. I examined and made a partial transcription of this manuscript in September 2016 and am grateful to the Manuscript Department of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze for sending me photographs of the first folio and allowing me to reproduce them in the present study.

⁶ For a detailed discussion of Marco Polo's life see Larner, *Marco*, 31-67; Gaunt, *Marco*, 1-39; Yule, *Travels*, I:15; Burgio, *nuova edizione*, 42.

⁷ Larner, *Marco*, 32-33.

Kublai Khan, the nominal ruler of the Mongolian Empire. The Polos were received enthusiastically by Berke Khan and remained with him for a year, during which war broke out between Berke Khan and Hülagü Khan, known as Alau in the *Travels*,⁸ brother of the great Kublai Khan and ruler of the Ilkhanate of Persia, a khanate which stretched from most of modern-day Afghanistan to eastern Anatolia.⁹

With war now on the horizon, the Polos pushed even further east in an attempt to escape the conflict and find an alternative route back to Venice.¹⁰ They eventually reached Boccara, now Bukhara in Uzbekistan, a large city on the silk road where they remained and traded for three years. Here, the brothers were met by a number of Hülagü's envoys who were travelling to Cambaluc, modern day Beijing, to meet Kublai Khan, ruler of the Mongol Empire. The emissaries persuaded the brothers to travel with them so that Kublai Khan, who had never before seen 'Latin men', could meet them, as is recalled in the *Devisement: Seigneur, je voç di que le Grant Sire de Tartars ne vit unques nul latin et a grant desider et volonté de veoire*.¹¹

The Polos travelled east for another two years before they reached Cambaluc, where Kublai Khan received them with great honours and festivities: *il les recevi honorablemente et fait elç grant joie et grant feste*.¹² Kublai Khan became very interested in the tales of Europe and of Christianity which the brothers brought with them and ordered them to return to Italy on his behalf with a letter to the Pope, asking for one hundred sages that could teach Christianity and western customs to his people: *il mandoit desant a l'apostoile que il li deust mander jusque a cent sajes homes de la cristien loy*.¹³ He also asked for oil from the lamp of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

After meeting with the Khan, the brothers began their long journey back to Italy and finally reached Venice in 1269, where a fifteen-year-old Marco Polo awaited them. After the death of Pope Clement IV in 1268, there was no papal election for three years and only when Pope Gregory X was elected in 1271 were Matteo and Niccolò able to deliver Kublai Khan's letter. The Pope granted the brothers two Dominican missionaries, Nicolau de Vincense and Guilielme de Tripule, to travel

⁸ Eusebi, *Il Manoscritto*, 4: *Alau, le sire des Tartar dou Levant*. For a discussion of the transformation of Alau in IMP see Chapter IV.

⁹ Larner, *Marco*, 34.

¹⁰ Eusebi, *Il Manoscritto*, 5.

¹¹ *ibid.* 5; Yule, *Travels*, I:10: 'In truth, the Great Khan hath never seen any Latins, and he hath a great desire to do so.'

¹² Eusebi, *Il Manoscritto*, 6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 7.

with them to the Far East and later that year the brothers set off once again, with their new companions and a seventeen-year-old Marco Polo.

The Polos reached Cambaluc in 1274, by which time the two missionaries who had been accompanying them had deserted the company: *Et quant il furent la venus, il ont grant dotance d'aler plus avant*.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the *Travels* do not reveal a great deal about what the Polos actually did during the seventeen years that they attended Kublai Khan's court, but it does mention that they served as ambassadors to the Mongol Empire, and were involved in carrying out the Khan's internal and foreign affairs. As mentioned above, the account of their travels is instead primarily concerned with listing ethnographical and geographical information about the territories of the Far East, in part based on Marco Polo's own first-hand experiences and in part based on hearsay. As a result, the *Travels* incorporate a great number of fantastical elements, such as tales of giant eagles, islands of cannibals and of invincible warriors.¹⁵ In 1291 Kublai Khan allowed the Polos to return home and in 1295 they reached Venice: *s'en vidrent a Negropont, et de Negropont a Venese, et ce fu as .M.CC.XCV. anz de l'ancarnasion de Crist*.¹⁶

The next mention of Marco Polo's whereabouts is found at the end of the opening chapter of the *Devisement* which declares that he dictated the following account of his journeys to Rustichello da Pisa, a writer of romances, while imprisoned in Genoa in 1298:¹⁷

Le quell puis, demorant en la charchre de Jene, fist retraire toutes cestes chouses a messier Rustaciaus de Pise, que en celle meissme charter estoit, au tens qui'l avoit .MCCXCVII. anz que Jeçucrit nesqui.¹⁸

Marco Polo was released by the Genoese in 1299, after which he returned to Venice where he lived out the rest of his days, until his death on the 9 January 1324.¹⁹ An

¹⁴ Ibid., 10.

¹⁵ Eusebi, *Il Manoscritto*, 214-15 and 162-63 and 170.

¹⁶ Ibid., 16.

¹⁷ Ramusio suggested that it is possible that Marco Polo fought on a Venetian galley at the Battle of Curzola, which the Venetians lost and this resulted in his imprisonment in Genoa. Cf. Gaunt, *Marco*, 5.

¹⁸ Eusebi, *Il Manoscritto*, 3.

¹⁹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 218.

inventory of his possessions made after his death offers a tantalising insight into his life and travels in the Orient. They included: Tartar bedding, robes from Cathay, brocades from Tenduuc, a Buddhist rosary, the silver girdle of a Tartar knight, the headdress of a Tartar lady and a golden tablet from the Great Khan.²⁰

Over two centuries after the death of Marco Polo, Giambattista Ramusio described the return of the Polos to Venice in the preface to his translation of the *Travels*, which was printed in 1559.²¹ He writes that at first the Polos, who had forgotten their native Venetian language, were not recognised by their relatives and it was only when they cut open the seams of their outlandish garments and let a torrent of rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, diamonds and emeralds cascade to the ground that they were finally welcomed home. This fictitious anecdote exemplifies how the fame of the Polos grew in the centuries following their return from the Far East, and how accounts of their adventures were reimagined for many years after the *Travels* were first written. In this regard, the embellishments and interpolations made by the author of the Irish adaptation of the *Travels*, discussed in Chapter IV, may be appreciated as part of a wider trend of expanding and developing Marco Polo's account of the Orient, which continues to this day.

1.2. Textual Tradition of the *Travels*

The original manuscript of the *Travels* has not survived. However, most scholars generally believe that the original copy of the *Travels* was written by Rustichello da Pisa in 1298 in a Franco-Italian hybrid language most commonly used in Arthurian romances, which were widespread in Italy at the time.²² Over the course of the following centuries, the *Travels* became increasingly popular in Medieval European literary and courtly circles. The text was copied, translated and revised into a multitude of different versions as it spread across Europe. Consequently, the task of understanding the relationship between the surviving manuscripts of the *Travels* is of fundamental importance in Polo studies. The following paragraphs will summarise past scholarship on this topic, in order to describe the wider paleographical background of IMP and better understand its place in this larger European framework.

²⁰ Larner, *Marco*, 45. For a full transcription of the inventory, from a document dating from 1366, see: Moule-Pelliot, vol. i, 554-58.

²¹ Ramusio, 'Viaggi', chap. 52-62. Cf. also f. 5r of the *Prefazione* from the 1559 edition.

²² Larner, *Marco*, 46.

There are a total of 141 manuscripts that contain a version of the *Travels*.²³ These versions are divided into two main subgroups, A and B, which are summarised below.²⁴ In the following paragraphs, abbreviations used by Dutschke and Benedetto have been maintained for convenience of reference:²⁵

Group A

Franco-Italian version (F)

The Franco-Italian version is represented by one manuscript, namely Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1116.²⁶ This is considered to be the exemplar which best represents the original language in which Rustichello da Pisa wrote the *Devisement* in 1298. However, the manuscript itself is several steps removed from the archetype.²⁷ Andreose has indicated that the language in which the *Devisement* was first written had a basis of Old French ‘heavily sprinkled with morphological as well as lexical Italianisms.’²⁸ Scholarship is divided as to whether these Italianisms have a Tuscan or Venetian origin.²⁹

Court French version (FG)

The Court French group versions, written c. 1310-1311, of which there exist seventeen exemplars and which may be divided into a further four versions.³⁰ This is

²³ This is the latest count, as far as I am aware, cf. Gadrat, *Lire*, 9.

²⁴ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 9, 276-82. 1062. For manuscripts rejected in Dutschke’s study see p. 1062, these include ‘early modern and modern hand-made copies from extant manuscripts

²⁵ For more comprehensive studies of the various versions of the *Travels*, see: Marco Polo, *Il milione*, ed. Luigi Foscolo Benedetto (Florence, 1928) and Gadrat, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*.

²⁶ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 276.

²⁷ Burgio, *nuova edizione*, 17-45.

²⁸ Andreose, *Marco Polo’s devisement*, Francigena 1 (Padova, 2015), 261.

²⁹ Andreose, *Franco-Italian tradition*, 267-75; Eusebi, *Il Manoscritto*, XII.

³⁰ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 276-77 and 1170-71; Andreose, *Franco-Italian tradition*, 262; Benedetto, *Il Millione*, XXXIV-LXXIX; Ménard, P., *Marco Polo le Devisement du monde*, (Genève, 2001-2009) (see especially introduction); NB, Eusebi and Burgio refer to this manuscript as Fr as opposed to De Benedetto and Dutschke’s FG.

based on a Franco-Italian text similar to that found in F, but is not based on F itself and is also several steps removed from the archetype.³¹

Anglo-Norman version

The Anglo-Norman version, identified by Ménard, survives in one manuscript, namely London, British Library, Cotton Otho D. v., which was severely damaged by fire in 1731.³² It is closely related to the F and FG versions but not directly descended from either.³³

Latin compendium (L)

A Latin *compendium* of the *Travels* survives in six manuscripts. It consists of a résumé which is close to the Franco-Italian text (F).³⁴

Avignonese version (K)

This version of the *Travels* is represented by three manuscripts in three different languages; one Catalan, one Aragonese and one French.³⁵ The incorporation of additional information from Odoric of Pordenone's *Relatio* in this version of the *Travels* sets a *terminus post quem* of 1331. A *terminus ante quem* is set by the Aragonese version, which was written for the Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes, Juan Fernandez de Heredia (†1396).

³¹ Burgio and Eusebi, *nuova edizione*, 17-45.

³² Ménard, 'Marco Polo en Angleterre', 189-208. Cf. also Dutschke, *Pipino*, 335-46.

³³ Gadrat, *Lire*, 24.

³⁴ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 281 and 311-12; NB one of these six manuscripts is currently missing, see Dutschke, *Pipino*, 486-87.

³⁵ Gadrat, *Lire*, 24-25.

Tuscan version (TA)

The Tuscan version is represented in five fourteenth-century manuscripts.³⁶ It is based on a Franco-Italian text similar to that found in F, but is not based on F itself and is also several steps removed from the archetype.³⁷ One manuscript which contains this version, namely Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.iv.88, the so-called “Ottimo” manuscript, contains a note by Piero del Riccio written in 1458 who claims that the manuscript was written by his great-grandfather Niccholo Ormanni who died in 1309.³⁸ There is one manuscript of a Latin translation (LT) of the *Travels* which was made from this Tuscan version.³⁹

Venetian Abridgement (VB)

A Venetian abridgement survives in three manuscripts. This version consists of a ‘freely abridged and manipulated Venetian version that derives from a Franco-Italian text’.⁴⁰ Professor Burgio and Dr Simion have recently shown that this version is closely connected to the VA and TA versions.⁴¹

Venetian version (VA)

The Venetian version survives in thirty-two manuscripts. It is based on a Franco-Italian text similar to that found in F, but is not based on F itself and is also several steps removed from the archetype.⁴² The VA version was translated into Latin (LB) and into Tuscan (TB). A German translation (VG) and a Latin translation (LA) were made from the Tuscan version (TB) of the VA version, and new Tuscan and German translation were then made from the LA version.⁴³ Of particular interest for the

³⁶ Gadrat, *Lire*, 29; Dutschke, *Pipino*, 277.

³⁷ Burgio and Eusebi, *nuova edizione*, 17-45; Dutschke, *Pipino*, 277.

³⁸ Gadrat, *Lire*, 29; Dutschke, *Pipino*, 318-19.

³⁹ Gadrat, *Lire*, 31.

⁴⁰ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 281 and 474-75.

⁴¹ Burgio and Simion, *forthcoming*.

⁴² Burgio and Eusebi, *nuova edizione*, 17-45; Dutschke, *Pipino*, 277-78. For an edition of this version cf. Andreose A. and A. Barbieri, *Il ‘Milione’ veneto. Ms. CM 211 della Biblioteca civica di Padova* (Venezia 1999).

⁴³ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 314, 327-29, 347-49, 352, 355-57, 358 and 437-39. Gadrat, *Lire*, 37-61.

present study is that the VA version served as a base for Pipino's Latin translation of the *Travels* (P).⁴⁴

Pipino version (P)

The Pipino version, entitled *De conditionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum*, was written by the Dominican friar Francesco Pipino of Bologna between 1310 and 1324.⁴⁵ Pipino used the VA version as a basis for his edition of the *Travels*.⁴⁶ This was the most popular version of the *Travels* in Medieval Europe and copies, abridgements and translations of it account for sixty-nine of the total 141 manuscripts of the *Travels*, amounting to just under 50%.⁴⁷ Four translations of P were made: two copies of a French translation, a Czech translation, a Venetian translation and IMP, which is the subject of the present study.⁴⁸ A Portuguese edition and translation of P was made in 1502 and a Latin abridgement of the text is found in the so-called 'Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee' version, which will be discussed in Chapter III.

Group B

The Z version (Z)

This unique version is represented by one fifteenth-century manuscript, namely: Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo, 49, 20 Zelada, which contains a version of the *Travels* in Latin, which includes details that are not in F and seem older.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 438.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 239; see below, under 'Date of P', for discussion on this dating.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 228, 279-81 and 438.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 238; Gadrat, *Lire*, 94 and 384-85.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 279-81, 305-07, 436-37, 449-52 and 467-68; De Benedetto, *Il Milione*, CXLIV-CXLV.

⁴⁹ Gadrat, *Lire*, 96-102; Burgio and Eusebi, *nuova edizione*, 18 and 20-21; De Benedetto, *Il Milione*, CLXVIII; Barbieri, A., *Quale "Milione"? La questione testuale e le principali edizioni moderne*, in *Studi mediolatini e volgari* XLII, (1996), 54-55: Now in:., *Dal viaggio al libro. Studi sul Milione*, (Verona: Fiornini, 2004) 47-91.

The V version (V)

This unique Venetian version is represented by one manuscript, namely: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 424. Dutschke and Gadrat-Ouerfelli (henceforth Gadrat) argued that this version of the *Travels* is closely related to Z,⁵⁰ however Simion has recently shown that it also bears resemblances to F in many points.⁵¹

1.3. Summary and note to map of versions of the *Travels*

The schema below displays the connections between the various versions of the *Travels* discussed above and helps visualise the complex relationship between the many recensions of the text. This interpretation draws heavily on recent studies by Burgio and Eusebi, by Gadrat and by Dr Simion.⁵² I am especially grateful to Professor Burgio and Dr Simion for providing me with forthcoming publications discussing the relationship between the various versions of the *Travels* and for notifying me about their recent discoveries.

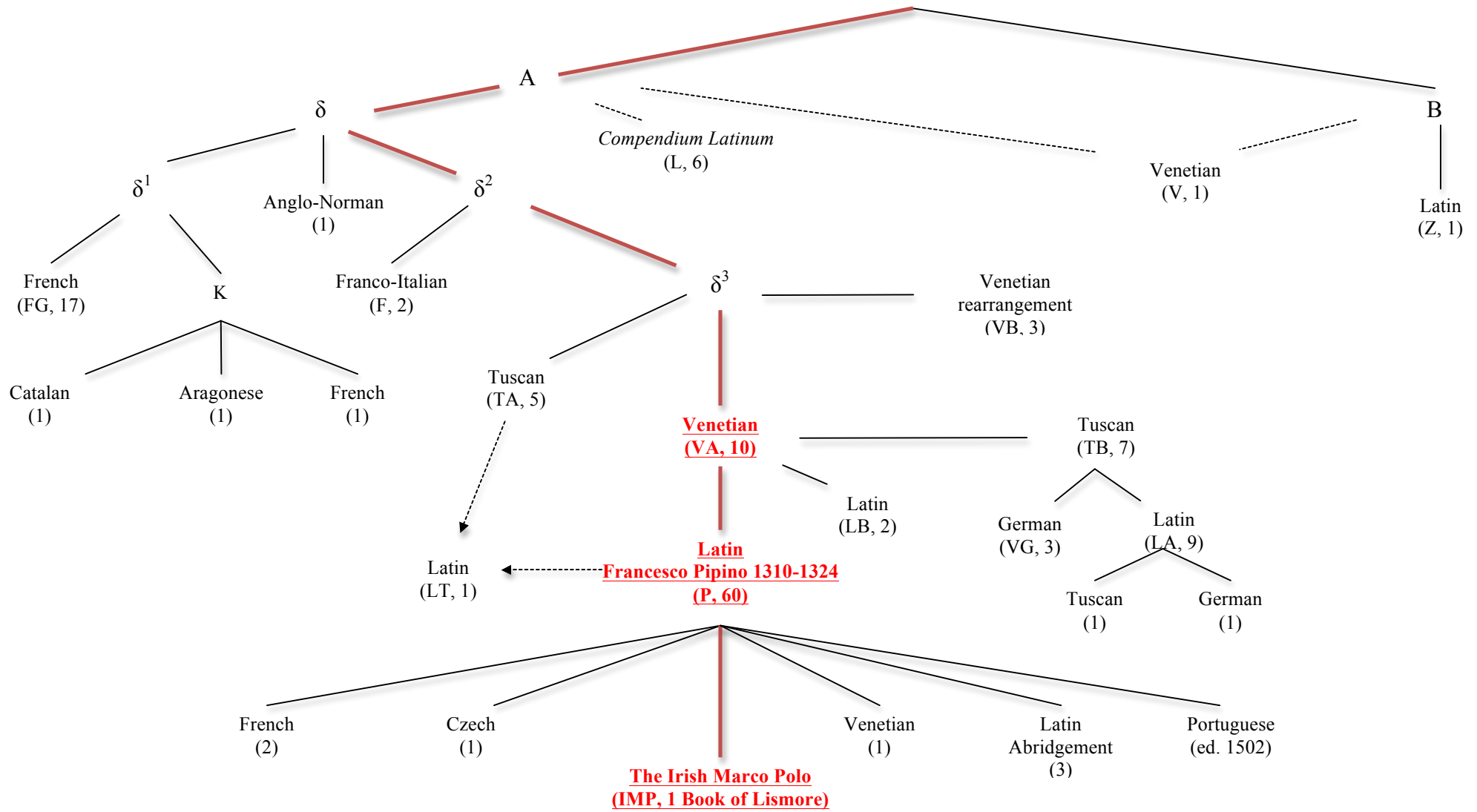
I have highlighted in red the path from Rustichello's original, and now lost, version of the *Travels* written in 1298 to IMP. The languages of the various versions of the *Travels* are represented in the schema below beside the abbreviation used to describe the version in the discussion above, in round brackets, followed by the number of manuscripts in which that version survives.

⁵⁰ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 281 and 288. Gadrat, *Lire*, 106.

⁵¹ Simion, 'Struttura e fonti di V', 27-29.

⁵² Burgio and Eusebi, *nuova edizione*, 45; Gadrat, *Lire*, 17; Burgio and Simion, 'La ricezione medievale del *Devisement dou Monde* (Secoli XIV-XV)', *Medioevo Romanzo* (2018), *forthcoming*.

Ω
Marco Polo and Rustichello da
Pisa 1298



2. Francesco Pipino

2.1. Life

A biographical profile of Francesco Pipino (figure 2) is of interest to the study of IMP because his personal details are modified in the Irish adaptation. In fact, as will be discussed in Chapter IV, he is transformed into a brother of a king in the habit of Saint Francis, *brathair righ an aibit san Fronsas*.⁵³ The following summary of Pipino's life will show that not only was Pipino a Dominican, but that he came from a family of humble origins that lived near the convent of San Domenico in Bologna at the end of the thirteenth century. The biography of Pipino has been pieced together by Consuelo Dutschke who studied a series of wills, acts and convent records dated between 1289 to 1328, some of which were written by Pipino himself, others in which he appears as a witness and others still which he may have used as sources in his works. More specific information, such as Pipino's date of birth or death, has not survived. The following summary is taken from Dutschke and Gadrat's studies of the life and works of Pipino.⁵⁴



Figure 2: Portrait of Francesco Pipino, in Dominican dress, from Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi C.7.1170, f.1r.

Francesco Pipino was the son of Rodaldo Pipino and Thixina de Lemogne who lived in the parish of San Domenico in Bologna at the end of the thirteenth century. The involvement of the Pipino family with the Dominicans of San Domenico is suggested by the name of a notary who worked for the convent during the second half of the thirteenth century, namely Zenzanome di Rolandino di Pipino.⁵⁵ A will dating from November 1289 and signed '*in presentia ... fratris Francischini Pipini*', is the first document to mention Pipino and his vocation as a friar in the convent of San Domenico.⁵⁶ He transferred to the convent of Sant' Agostino in Padua

⁵³ 121ra1-2.

⁵⁴ For a more extended discussion on Pipino's biography, see Dutschke, *Pipino*, 100-159; Gadrat, *Lire*, 64-66.

⁵⁵ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 107-08

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 111-12.

towards the turn of the century where he became lector in theology, but was back in Bologna by 1311 where he became subprior of the convent of San Domenico.⁵⁷

In November 1313 a vacancy arose for the role of prior in the Dominican convent of Sant'Agostino in Padua and by January 1314, Francesco Pipino had filled the post.⁵⁸ In 1317, 1318 and 1319, Pipino was in Bologna again and is the witness to three wills, one for each year.⁵⁹ In 1319, Pipino writes a document entrusting certain lands to the people named in preparation for a visit to the holy lands: '*Ego Francesco Pipini ... volens me ultra mare transferre*'.⁶⁰ This trip took place over the following year, and formed the basis for his *Tractatus de locis terre sancte*, which opens: '*Ista sunt loca sacre venerationis que ego frater Franciscus Pipinus ... visitavi in mea peregrinatione quam feci anno domini MCCCXX*'.⁶¹ In March 1321, Pipino had returned from the holy lands and is named on a list of friars of San Domenico.⁶² During the next four years, his name appears on a series of documents in roles such as a beneficiary, witness to testaments and seller of convent property, active between Bologna and Modena.⁶³ In a document which dates from 1325, Pipino sells all debts owed to him to a relative named Zenzanome di Rolandino di Pipino, whom Dutschke has suggested may have been his brother.⁶⁴ The reason for this transaction is even more interesting in the context of Pipino's own personal interests, as the document declares that Pipino had transferred to the congregation of the '*Fratres Peregrinantes propter Christum*', an organisation of friars who engaged in missionary activity abroad.⁶⁵ However, whether or not Pipino actually left Italy again is less certain and the question has been much debated amongst scholars.⁶⁶ Planzer noted that Pipino's *Tabula Privilegiorum Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, an alphabetically ordered register of privileges granted to the Dominican order by various popes, references a bull issued by Pope John XXII on 27 January 1327 called *Illa sine*.⁶⁷ In addition,

⁵⁷ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 115-21.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 122-23.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 127.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 128.

⁶¹ Ibid., 128: 'These are the lands which I, Francesco Pipino ... visited during my pilgrimage in the year 1320 AD'.

⁶² Ibid., 128.

⁶³ Ibid., 128-30.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 131.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 132-33.

⁶⁶ For a summary of this discussion see: Dutschke, *Pipino*, 133-38.

⁶⁷ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 145-47; Planzer, D., 'Die Tabula Privilegiourm ordinis fratrum praedicatorum des Franciscus Pipinis', AFP 10 (1940) 222-257.

Pipino's *Tabula* also contains an act from 1328 which declares that any Dominicans wishing to transfer to the order of the Benedictines must seek the pope's permission first. Given that no such papal bull has survived, Planzer and Dutschke argue that this decision may have taken place at the general chapter meeting in Toulouse, in May 1328, and that Pipino noted it down in his *Tabula* directly from there.⁶⁸ Therefore, according to these estimates, Dutschke has suggested that Pipino died during the latter part of 1328.⁶⁹

2.2. Date and location of P

The date of P is of interest to the study of IMP because it sets a definite *terminus post quem* for the Irish adaptation. It is especially interesting to consider the date of P with regard to the archaic features of the language of IMP. As I will discuss in Chapter II, the author of IMP employs a variety of nominal and verbal forms in his adaptation which range from the Old, Middle and Early Modern periods of the language. The date of P may be determined by examining the prologue of the text. Dutschke noted that a *terminus ante quem* for the translation may be set at the death of Marco Polo in 1324, since in his prologue Pipino uses one present infinitive, *esse*, and one present participle, *habentem*, to refer to Marco, meaning that he was still alive at the time of writing.⁷⁰

cunctis in eo legentibus innotescat prefatum dominum Marchum horum mirabilium relatores virum **esse** prudentem, fidelem et devotum atque honestis moribus adornatum, a cunctis sibi domesticis testimonium bonum **habentem** ut multiplicitas virtutis eius merito sit ipsius relatio fidedigna.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 147-48.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 217-18.

⁷¹ Transcription by Samuela Simion from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f.1vb: 'let it be known to all who read this that the aforementioned master Marco, relator of these wondrous things, is a prudent, trustworthy and devout man, endowed with an honest character, having a good witness from all his servants so that by merit of his multiple virtues, this account of his may justly [considered] trustworthy.' Translation is my own.

Similarly, Dutschke noted that Pipino refers to Matteo and Niccolò Polo in the past tense in his prologue.⁷²

pater autem eius dominus Nicolaus tocius prudentie vir hec omnia similiter **referebat**; patruus vero ipsius dominus Matheus, **cuius meminit liber iste**, vir utique maturus, devotus et sapiens, in mortis articulo constitutus, confessori suo in familiari colloquio constanti firmitate **asseruit** librum hunc veritatem per omnia continere.⁷³

Niccolò Polo was dead by 31 August 1300, when his son Matteo, Marco's half brother, wrote a will before his departure for Crete, in which his father is referred to as the 'late' Niccolò: '*filius quondam Nicolai*.'⁷⁴ On the other hand, the will of the other Matteo Polo, Marco's uncle, dates from 6 February 1310.⁷⁵ However, since Matteo is not actually referred to as being dead until a document dating from 1318, on the evidence at hand, the date of Matteo's death can only be narrowed down to the eight-year period between 1310 and 1318.⁷⁶

Further attempts to narrow the date of composition of P differ somewhat: Dutschke noted that a comment made by Pipino in another of his works, entitled the *Chronicon*, a Latin history of Italy, France, Germany and England organised into thirty-one books, indicates that he had already written P at the time of his writing of the *Chronicon*:⁷⁷ *refert Marchus Paulus venetus in quodam suo libello a me in latinum ex vulgari ydiomate lombardico translatus*.⁷⁸ This comment implies that the *Chronicon*, which has yet to be edited, was written after Pipino had translated the

⁷² Dutschke, *Pipino*, 216-17.

⁷³ Transcription by Samuela Simion from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, ff. 1vb-2ra: 'indeed, his father, master Nicolaus, a man of complete prudence recalled all these things in a similar way; master Matheus, his uncle, to whom this book is dedicated, a man by all means mature, devout and wise, of sound mind on the point of death, in a friendly conversation with his confessor, assured with unremitting firmness that this book contained the truth in every aspect.' Translation is my own.

⁷⁴ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 217; Zorzi, *Vita*, 368: 'son of the late Niccolò'. Translation is my own.

⁷⁵ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 217; Zorzi, *Vita*, 369. The will is printed by Orlandini, 'Marco Polo', 25, doc. 6.

⁷⁶ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 217; Yule, *Travels*, I:64-66 and 77.

⁷⁷ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 161.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 172: 'Marco Polo the Venetian says in his book which has been translated by me from the common northern-Italian tongue into Latin.' The transcription from the *Chronicon*, book 24 chapter 71, is Dutschke's. For translation of *lombardicus* see, De Benedetto, *Il Milione*, cliv-clvii; Yule, *Travels*, I:119.

Travels.⁷⁹ Unfortunately however, this quote can only indicate the relative chronology of the two works, since absolute dating of the *Chronicon* is also problematic. Although most of the events it describes occur in or before 1314, it also refers to one event in 1316, one in 1317 and one in 1322. This last event, namely the execution of the counts of Lancaster and Hereford in 1322, is taken as the year of completion of the *Chronicon* by Gadrat,⁸⁰ who therefore sets the *terminus ante quem* of P to 1322.⁸¹ However, it is also possible, logically at least, that Pipino began work on the *Chronicon* several years after the execution of the counts of Lancaster and Hereford in 1322, the latest event to be mentioned in the *Chronicon*.⁸² Dutschke in fact suggested that Pipino may have been working on this text until his death, which occurred after 1328, and that the work is incomplete.⁸³ A modern edition of the *Chronicon* may help solve these issues. For the purposes of the present study, I return to the will of Matteo Polo in 1310 as the *terminus post quem* and the death of Marco Polo himself in 1324 as the *terminus ante quem* for P.⁸⁴

Regarding the location in which Pipino wrote P, Dutschke has suggested Padua, given its geographical proximity to Venice, where Pipino may have acquired a copy of the VA version, and given Pipino's connections with the Dominican convent of Sant' Agostino in Padua, only forty kilometres from Venice.⁸⁵ On the other hand, Andreose has recently shown that the earliest copy of the VA version of the *Travels*, found in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense ms. 3999, displays linguistic features of the Bolognese region and has suggested that Pipino's exemplar may have also been written in Bologna.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 218-19: Dutschke took the fact that most information in the *Chronicon* dates to before 1314 as an indication that P was written 'probably after 1314 (most of the *Chronicon*'s events) or after 1322 (some of the *Chronicon*'s events),' a suggestion that was perpetuated by Gaunt: Gaunt, *Marco*, 12.

⁸⁰ Gadrat, *Lire*, 66.

⁸¹ This dating is maintained also by Andreose in: Andreose, 'Tradizione', 237). However Barbieri and Andreose opted for a dating 'ante 1324' in Barbieri e Andreose, *Il Milione*, 38.

⁸² Dutschke, *Pipino*, 219; Gadrat, *Lire*, 66.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁸⁴ Larner suggests a date prior to 1314, but does not elaborate further: Larner, *Marco*, 111-112.

⁸⁵ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 220.

⁸⁶ Andreose, *La prima attestazione*, 665.

2.2.1. Editions of P

A modern, critical edition of P remains one of the great desiderata for the study of IMP and for Marco Polo studies in general. Until recently, the only available edition, of which I am aware, was that of Justin Prášek, which he printed in 1902 as part of his study of the fifteenth-century Czech translation of the *Travels*.⁸⁷ The present study has benefited immensely from the recent work carried out by Dr Samuela Simion and Professor Eugenio Burgio of Università di Ca' Foscari of Venice, who supplied me with their copy of a full transcription of P from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, which has been prepared for a new critical edition of the *Travels*.⁸⁸ This transcription of P, made by Dr Simion, is the version of P referenced in this dissertation.⁸⁹

2.2.2. Innovations of P found in IMP

A major innovation of Pipino's translation of the *Travels* is his division of the text into three books.⁹⁰ The preservation of this division in IMP is one of the strongest indications that the Irish author was working from an exemplar of the P version. In fact, where one book ends and another begins in IMP the Irish author copies Pipino's explicits and incipits in Latin directly into his adaptation. IMP also contains a trace of chapter lists occurring between the end of one book and the beginning of the next, as occurs in most manuscripts of P that I have examined. The Irish author seems to have accidentally copied the wrong incipit at the beginning of the third book, copying the incipit of the chapter list of book three instead of the incipit of book three. This is best seen by comparing the two book divisions found in IMP:

Expliciscit prima pars istius libri. Incipit secunda partis.⁹¹

Explicit secundus liber. Incipiunt **capitula** tercii libri.⁹²

⁸⁷ Prášek, *Milion: Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s příslušným základem latinským* (Prague, 1902). The version of P used in this edition was transcribed from Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vindob. Lat. 50 [3273], numbered 30) in the manuscript list in Chapter III.

⁸⁸ Dr Simion's transcription of P has since been published online at http://virgo.unive.it/ecf-workflow/books/Ramusio/testi_completi/P_marcato-main.html (retrieved: 02/01/18).

⁸⁹ See Chapter III for a description of the Early Modern editions of P.

⁹⁰ Gadrat, *Lire*, 64-65.

⁹¹ 124ra14-15.

Of course, it is also possible that this oversight was already present in the exemplar used to write IMP. However, I will argue in Chapter III with regard to the Irish author's recalculation of the number of households in the city of Quinsay that the adaptor of IMP was also correcting the mistakes that he noticed in his exemplar. In any case, the division of the *Travels* into three books and the traces of chapter lists between the end of one book and the beginning of another indicate that the version of the *Travels* used by the Irish author was P.

2.2.3. Tone of P

An important stylistic innovation in Pipino's translation of the *Travels*, which is neither found in the VA version or the F version, is the introduction of a reproachful and denouncing tone in discussing the customs and beliefs of the Orient.⁹³ For example, the name *Machometus* is regularly accompanied by derogatory adjectives in sentences such as: *Turchi linguam propriam habent et Machometi **abhominabilis** legem;*⁹⁴ *promittit enim **infelicissimus** Machometus sectatoribus sue legis;*⁹⁵ *ibi etiam habetur lex **pessimi** Machometi.*⁹⁶ Similarly, in discussing the religious practices of the Tartars, Pipino inserts passing comments such as *diabolica cecitate seducti*⁹⁷ and *cecitas paganorum.*⁹⁸ This tone of condemnation, which is so distinctive of Pipino's translation of the *Travels*, is not translated by the Irish author, who never uses pejorative adjectives when referring to Muhammad and transforms Pipino's *diabolica arte*⁹⁹ of the Khan's wizards into 'cunning and craft', *tuaichlecht 7 amuinse.*¹⁰⁰

⁹² 129rb2-3.

⁹³ Gadrat, *Lire*, 64; De Benedetto, *Il Milione*, clv.

⁹⁴ P.I.12.2. 'The Turks have their own language and the law of the abhorrent Muhammad.' All translations are my own.

⁹⁵ P.I.28.6. 'The most wretched Muhammad in fact promised the followers of his law.'

⁹⁶ P.I.37.4. 'Here is maintained the law of the awful Muhammad.'

⁹⁷ P.I.58.4.

⁹⁸ P.I.45.7.

⁹⁹ P.I.66.7.

¹⁰⁰ 124ra3.

3. Book of Lismore (L)

The Book of Lismore (L), or *Leabhar Mhic Carthaigh Riabhaigh*, was probably written between 1478 and 1505 in the Franciscan friary of Timoleague in south west Cork for Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, ruler of Cairbre, and his wife Caitilín Fitzgerald, daughter of Thomas Fitzgerald (†1468) eighth earl of Desmond.¹⁰¹ IMP is unique to this manuscript. It is contained between ff. 121 and 131¹⁰² of the manuscript and is missing its beginning and end due to loss of folios. L is one of the few Medieval Irish manuscripts still in private ownership. It is housed in Chatsworth House, England, ancestral home of the Cavendish family and of the Duke of Devonshire. The manuscript was discovered in 1814 in Lismore Castle, County Waterford, Irish seat of the Duke of Devonshire, where it is thought to have been kept since the wars in the seventeenth century.¹⁰³ The historical context of the manuscript is described in detail in Chapter IV. In the following paragraphs I will give a summary of past scholarship relating to the production of the manuscript and discuss the various scribes who contributed to it. A discussion of these scribes, and a reflection on their links with other events occurring in fifteenth-century Munster, can shine light on the audience for which IMP may have been written.

In its present state the manuscript contains 198 folios of vellum, however at least forty-one folios are missing from the beginning of the manuscript and an unknown number of leaves have been lost from the end. Furthermore, as will be seen with IMP, there are a number of internal *lacunae* in the manuscript. Apart from the poem on f. 158 and a nineteenth-century contribution by Cork scholar Donnchadh Ó Floinn on f.157v, the manuscript is written in double columns. Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify the original structure of L since all folios are now detached and nowhere bound in diplomas, a consequence, perhaps, of the nineteenth century binders of the manuscript.¹⁰⁴ It is likely however that it was originally conceived as a collection of quires of eight folios, which contained at least one major text together with poems, anecdotes and short stories used as column and line fillers.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 269-92; MacAlister, *The Book*, xxi; Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 43-47.

¹⁰² The facsimile numbering (upper right-hand corner) of L is followed here. This is also the numbering used on www.isos.dias.ie.

¹⁰³ MacAlister, *The Book*, ix. Cf. also Ó Macháin's description on www.isos.dias.ie.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., xiii; Ó Macháin, 'Aonghas', 145.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter IV for a discussion of the quires of L and of the missing folios at the beginning of IMP.

L has been described as one of the most poorly decorated Irish manuscripts of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁶ Four marginal notes in L indicate that the manuscript was written for or commissioned by a married couple, *lánamhain*.¹⁰⁷ A scribal note on f. 134rb by Aonghas Ó Callanáin indicates that the manuscript was written for Fínghean mac Diarmada Mac Carthaigh Riabhach: *Aonghas Ó Callanáin do scríbh so do Mhag Carrthaig .i. Fínghean mac Diarmada*. Likewise a poem on f. 158 beginning *Ní théd an éigin a n-aisgidh*,¹⁰⁸ by Mathghamhain mac Domhnaill mheic Eoghain Í Dhálaigh, is centred around Fínghean's struggle against his cousin Cormac mac Donnchaidh during the second half of the fifteenth century. This poem also contains a quatrain dedicated to Fínghean's wife Caitilín 'daughter of the earl', *inghean an Iarla*, and to Saint Francis, suggesting a Franciscan context for the codex. L is primarily the work of one anonymous scribe, discussed below:

3.1. Scribes of L

3.1.1. Scribe A

No signature of the main scribe of L has survived. He is referred to by MacAlister as Scribe A¹⁰⁹ and is the main scribe of L, responsible for around 175 of the 198 surviving leaves, making him, as Ó Macháin has stated, '*ar na scríobhaithe is mó saothar sa tréimhse seo, ar an bhfianaise a mhaireann inniu againn pé scéal é*'.¹¹⁰ Scribe A is responsible for writing the following folios in L: ff. 42-131, 135-157r.,

¹⁰⁶ Ó Macháin, 'Leabhar', 233: 'níorbh aon Leabhar Ceanannais é ach an lámhscríbhinn Ghaeilge ba mheasa maisiú a scríobhadh sa chúigiú haois déag.'

¹⁰⁷ These are found in the upper margins of ff 42r and 49v, and in the lower margins of ff 53r and 59r. All of these marginalia are very similar in style and are found at the beginning of lives of Irish saints. The writing is faded and the notes in the upper margins of ff 42r and 49v appear to have been truncated, perhaps by a binder. Half of the note in the upper margin of f. 49r has been retraced by another scribe. It is difficult to assess whether these marginalia are in the same hand as any of the major scribes of L since the script is smaller and the writing is faded. Preliminary testing seems to indicate that they are in the hand of Scribe A, whose features Ó Macháin has noted include: '1) a right-hand stroke of a miniscule *a* descending well below the left-hand finish, resting on and sometimes descending below the line, and at its most developed presenting with a right-hand hook at the end. 2) the *agus*-sign with a turn in the centre of the horizontal stroke.' I am grateful to Professor Ó Macháin for providing me with unpublished material regarding the scribal features of L.

¹⁰⁸ Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 98. See Chapter IV for a discussion of this poem and the note which accompanies it.

¹⁰⁹ MacAlister, *The Book*, xiv; Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 269.

¹¹⁰ Ó Macháin, 'Aonghas', 144.

159-193, 202-end. He is the main scribe of IMP, except for the contribution of a relief scribe on f. 125rb21-z, discussed below.

Scribe A was referred to by early scholars of L as ‘in Bráthair Ó Buagacháin’,¹¹¹ whose name appears at the end of *Beatha Finnhua* on f. 72rbz. However, Hyde’s discovery¹¹² of a slightly extended version of the same colophon in another copy of the saint’s life in Dublin, University College, Franciscan A9, written in the fifteenth-century,¹¹³ indicates that Scribe A probably copied the colophon from his exemplar. Ó Macháin has further suggested that, given the satirical tone of *Beatha Finnhua*, Ó Buagacháin’s colophon may form part of the narrative of the text, contrasting the burlesque tale of the saint’s life with the authority of clerical authorship.¹¹⁴

Ó Macháin has recently shown¹¹⁵ that Scribe A and Aonghus Ó Callanáin, the second main scribe of L, were working together on the manuscript, a point that was doubted by Ó Cuív.¹¹⁶ This is demonstrable in three points in the manuscript: 1) f. 201, the opening leaf of *Agallamh na Seanórach* (henceforth *Agallamh*), was ruled for Scribe A but is in the hand of Aonghas;¹¹⁷ 2) on f. 202r the writing of the *Agallamh* is taken over by Scribe A completing a quatrain begun by Aonghas; 3) on f. 200v Scribe A inserts a line filler at the end of Aonghas’ copy of the *An Agallamh Bheag*.

3.1.2. Aonghas Ó Callanáin

Aonghas Ó Callanáin’s contribution to L amounts to eleven leaves, namely ff. 132-134, 194-201.¹¹⁸ I am aware of no evidence of his hand in the folios in which IMP is found in the manuscript, however his involvement with the manuscript is especially interesting in light of the role of other members of the Ó Callanáin family with the

¹¹¹ Stokes, *Lives*, vi.

¹¹² Hyde, *Gabháltais*, x.

¹¹³ Grosjean, ‘MS. A. 9’, 160-169.

¹¹⁴ Ó Macháin, *forthcoming*.

¹¹⁵ The following I take from a talk delivered by Ó Macháin at a conference on the Book of Lismore held in University College Cork in 2011.

¹¹⁶ Ó Cuív, ‘Observations’, 269-270.

¹¹⁷ The two scribes have distinctive styles of ruling: Scribe A uses single left-hand bounding lines of the columns whereas Aonghas Ó Callanáin uses double-rule.

¹¹⁸ Ó Macháin, ‘Aonghas’, 144.

translation of medical texts during the fifteenth century.¹¹⁹ A seventeenth-century paper fragment inserted at ff. 195-96 in London, British Library, Egerton 89, written in 1482,¹²⁰ indicates that the aphorisms contained in the manuscript, which are a commentary and translation of the well-known Latin medical text known as ‘Aphorisms of Hippocrates’, were written by Aonghas Ó Callanáin and Niocól Ó hIleadha in 1403.¹²¹ Another reference to an Ó Callanáin physician, this time explicitly associated with Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, is found in Dublin, National University of Ireland, Maynooth MS C 110, which preserves a colophon on p.5b43-53 indicating that the preceding text, i.e. a translation of Arnaldus de Villanova’s *Speculum*, was completed in Rosscarbery¹²² on the Eve of Saint Brendan 1414 by Eoin Ó Callanáin who began work on the text, under the supervision of Master Piarus Ó hUallacháin, in Kilbrittain immediately prior to the death of Domhnall Riabhach Mac Carthaigh:

Do crichnaiged anois a Ros Oilitri, maille grasaibh Tigearna na tri muintear, Speclaire Arnaldi on Bhaile Nua do tarrang a Laidin a nGaedhilg dEoin O Callannáin maille foirceadal a oidi fein .i. mhaighistir Phiaruis I Uallachain arna tinnsgain a Cill Britain a mbeathaidh 7 a ngalar ega Domhnaill Riabhaigh Meg Carrthaigh 7 arna eg do crichnaiged a tarrang 7 a sgribhadh in la roim Feil Brenainn in xiiii bliadhain ar ceathraibh cedaibh ar mhile iar ngabhail Crist a colainn. A finid. Amen. A bhuidhi.¹²³

The *Speculum* is an learned academic text which deals with both theoretical and practical concepts of medicine. Nic Dhonnchadha has stated that its translation by a member of the Ó Callanáin family is testimony to the advanced state of learning in their medical school.¹²⁴ It is quite possible that Aonghas Ó Callanáin, the scribe of L, was in some way related to the Aonghas Ó Callanáin who wrote the Irish version of

¹¹⁹ I am grateful to Dr Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha for her insight on the family connections of Aonghas, and for providing me with unpublished material regarding the manuscripts of the Ó Callanáin family during the fifteenth century in Cairbre.

¹²⁰ O’Grady, *Catalogue* I, 202.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 222.

¹²² For the identification of Ross Oilitri see Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical history*, 194.

¹²³ Transcription is Ó Macháin’s from www.isos.dias.ie (retrieved: 21/12/17).

¹²⁴ Nic Dhonnchadha, *forthcoming*.

the Aphorisms of Hippocrates in 1403 and to Eoin Ó Callanáin who translated the *Speculum*, and to deduce from it that our scribe may have had a medical background.

Ó Macháin has suggested that the quire immediately following that of IMP, ff. 132-139, to which Aonghas contributed two folios (ff. 132-134), contain a selection of thematically coherent texts on kingship, *seanchas* and early Irish history.¹²⁵ Aonghas's involvement in the copying of *fiannaíocht* texts in L – all of *An Agallamh Bheag* (ff. 194-200)¹²⁶ and the first leaf of *Agallamh na Seanórach* (f. 201) – may further indicate that he was considered an authority in the genre and that he was assigned specific texts in the compilation of the manuscript.

Aonghas' contribution of *seanchas* and *fiannaíocht* texts to L combined with the possibility of his medical background describe the profile of a physician historian, a social class that played a considerable role in the development of historical knowledge in Europe between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹²⁷ From a European perspective, it is not surprising to find a version of Marco Polo's *Travels* in this context. An interesting parallel is found for example in Germany, in the unique Latin re-arrangement of P written by the physician Hermann Schedel (†1485) and later copied by his cousin Hartmann Schedel (†1514), a doctor, book collector and leading member of a humanist circle in Nuremberg, who compiled the famous *Nuremberg Chronicle*, published in 1493.¹²⁸

3.1.3. Scribe of poem on f. 158

A mixture of scribal hands is found on f. 158, which contains a poem dedicated to Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach beginning *Ní théd an éigin a n-aisgidh (recto)* and an accompanying note explaining the historical context of the poem (*verso*).¹²⁹ Ó Macháin has suggested that the hand of the poem is different to that of the note, and

¹²⁵ Ó Macháin, 'Aonghas', 146-148.

¹²⁶ Ó Callanáin began writing *An Agallamh Beag* on f. 134va1 but stopped at f. 134vb12, suggesting that a decision was made to place the text elsewhere in the manuscript. See Ó Macháin, 'Aonghas'.

¹²⁷ For a detailed study of the connections between medical and historical learning, see Siraisi, *History*. For a summary of the involvement of the medical class with the transmission of the *Travels*, see Gadra, *Lire*, 144-46.

¹²⁸ Siraisi, *History*, 1 and 30. For an analysis of the 'Schedel' version of P and how it compares to IMP, see Chapter III.

¹²⁹ Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 98.

that both hands on f. 158 are different from those of Scribe A and Aonghas Ó Callanáin.¹³⁰ According to the note on f. 158v, the preceding poem was composed by Mathghamhain mac Domhnaill mheic Eoghain Í Dhálaigh.¹³¹ It is important to observe the fact that the note does not say that the poem was written by Mathghamhain, rather that he had made it, *do rinne*.¹³²

It is interesting to consider whether Mathghamhain's grandfather, Eoghan Ó Dálaigh, is the same individual as Eoghan mac Gofraidh Fhinn Ó Dálaigh to whom the poem beginning *Is maith an locht airdríog óige* is ascribed.¹³³ The poem is dedicated to Domhnall Riabhach Mac Carthaigh (†1414), Fínghean's grandfather, in whose home of Kilbrittain Eoin Ó Callanáin began his translation of Arnaldus de Villanova's *Speculum* in 1414. Such a conclusion may have been reached by O'Grady, who described the author of the poem on f. 158r as the 'hereditary rhymers to the Mac Carthys-Riach.'¹³⁴

3.1.4. Relief scribes

The hands of at least four different relief scribes are discernible in L, their contributions are as follows: relief scribe (a) on ff. 41rb2-13, 53ra1-17, 56ra1-9, 61vb1-16; (b) 87va1-31; (c) 125rb21-37; (d) 184ra15-32. Ó Macháin has proposed that these relief entries may indicate a scholastic or monastic environment. In this regard, my study of the orthography of IMP has revealed that the relief scribe responsible for f. 125rb21-37 adopted a slightly different spelling system to that of Scribe A. Noteworthy examples are: *taighseach*,¹³⁵ of the relief scribe, and *taiseach*¹³⁶ of Scribe A, which all occur in the same column. As far as I am aware, the spelling *taighseach* is never used by Scribe A in IMP; a second example is in the rendition of the diphthong *ae*, which is only spelled *ao* by the relief scribe but always spelled *ae* and *oe* by Scribe A in IMP, with one exception, namely *la n-aon*.¹³⁷ In addition, the

¹³⁰ Ó Macháin, *forthcoming*.

¹³¹ 158va23-24.

¹³² 158va23.

¹³³ The poem has been edited by McKenna, 'To Mág Carthaigh Riabhach'. See also O'Grady, *Catalogue I*, 358, num. 28.

¹³⁴ O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* ii, xi.

¹³⁵ 125rb21; 125rby.

¹³⁶ 125rb5; 125rb6.

¹³⁷ 129rb26.

orthography of the relief scribe reveals an important feature of his pronunciation, namely in the spelling of the adjective *órdha* with unhistoric *-dh* ending: *cupa órdadh*.¹³⁸ This hyper-correct form indicates that the relief scribe was pronouncing final *-adh* as *-a*, a distinctive feature of spoken Irish of the southern half of the island since the fifteenth-century.¹³⁹

Evidence for a scholastic setting of the manuscript may be further indicated by a correction in the hand of Scribe A of an oversight of the relief scribe on 125rb21. The relief appears to have omitted a line beginning *no bhidh* from his exemplar and copied from the following line, beginning *no bhi*. In the following transcription I have attempted to retain the arrangement in L. The correction of Scribe A, which is connected to the marginal footnote by a + sign in the manuscript, is in bold characters and has been highlighted in yellow. Line numbers on f.125rb are represented on the left-hand side of the page.

- 20. foraclí 7 narighna eli na deagaid 7 mná
- 21. [na rígh *marg.*] 7 na taighsec for aneagar cubaid nandeaghaidh. No **[+ *marg.*]**
- 22. bhi tunna ordha amedhon an rightoighi 7 cetri
- 23. tunna ordha budh lugha inassom fria ataobhaibh

[*lower marg.*: **+ No bhidh in rí uas na sloghaibh oca bhfhaircsi cur bhó comhard fria a bhondsumh mullach gach aein dia mhuinntir.**]

Scribe A's correction of the relief scribe was noted by Stokes and incorporated into his edition of IMP.¹⁴⁰ This observation supports the theory that Scribe A may have been involved in tuition and was offering his students the opportunity to relieve him of his scribal duties in brief sections of the manuscript.

¹³⁸ 125rb30.

¹³⁹ O'Rahilly, *Dialects*, 65-66.

¹⁴⁰ Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 372-73.

CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE AND STYLE

0.1. Introduction

The language of IMP contains a mix of Old, Middle and Early Modern Irish forms. This chapter will examine how the text contains vocabulary and grammatical constructions which were already in disuse by the late Middle Irish period. The language of IMP provides a striking contrast to that of the Gaelic Mandeville (GM), a text which contains significant thematic similarities with IMP and which also written in Munster in the latter part of the fifteenth century, but in a much less linguistically-artificial style.¹⁴¹ By discussing the linguistic capabilities of the author of IMP, it is possible to gain insight into his literary influences and reflect on his motives for adapting the *Travels* in this style. Linguistic archaisms in IMP are also contrasted by modern orthographic and grammatical features that are present also. The result is a mixed language, which displays features from the Old, Middle and Early Modern Irish period.

This chapter is divided into three parts: Part I will begin by addressing the use of archaic language in Early Modern Irish prose and the impact of certain scribes on the linguistic style of a number of Early Modern Irish prose texts; Part II contains a linguistic study of IMP beginning with an analysis of the orthographical features of Scribe A and of the relief scribe who writes on folio 125rb, and follows with an examination of nominal and verbal forms found in the text. In Part III, I compare the various narrative styles which are discernible in IMP and discuss how they are distributed throughout the text.

¹⁴¹ Ó hUiginn, 'Some linguistic', 94.

0.2. Methodology

In this chapter I will discuss a number of transcriptions which exemplify orthographical and linguistic features in IMP. I have provided exhaustive lists of words which reference Stokes's paragraph number (§) for convenience of reference. Only the reference to Stokes's paragraph number is given if the example is identical to the one immediately preceding it, for example: §23 *laech*, §23, §29, §61 *deglæch*. Transcriptions are my own unless otherwise specified in the footnotes. For convenience, and for ease of reading, expansion of contractions and abbreviations is not indicated in any forms cited below: their abbreviated or non-abbreviated status may be readily checked in the transcription, which appears as Appendix I. Proper names of people, languages and places are capitalised, and nasalising consonants and infixed pronouns are represented with a hyphen, for example §148 *lá n-aon* and §2 *ro-s-tinnta Pronsiscus in leabhar so*.

PART I

1.1. The Language of IMP in the context of Early Modern Irish prose

The tendency for texts to be written in archaic language has been noted in studies of a number of Early Modern Irish prose works, including *Turas na dtaoiseach nUltach as Éirinn* (henceforth *Turas*) written by Tadhg Ó Cianáin in 1609, *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* (henceforth *Beatha*), written by Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh after 1616,¹⁴² and *Trí Biorghaoithe an Bháis*, written by Séathrún Céitinn in 1631.¹⁴³ A fifteenth-century Irish text which displays this style most notably is *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha* (LSN), dated to around 1450,¹⁴⁴ about which Falconer stated:

A glance at the Irish Quest is sufficient to show that it does not represent the contemporary state of the language but that, on the contrary, it has been written in a deliberately archaic manner as far as spelling, grammar and vocabulary are concerned.¹⁴⁵

Similarly, Quin noted that the language of *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bhás* (SE), which was most likely written during the last quarter of the fifteenth century,¹⁴⁶ abounds in deliberate archaisms. In addition to deliberate archaising it is worth mentioning that orthographical variation was a feature of Irish manuscripts that received particular recognition from Míchéal Ó Cléirigh, one of the last of the traditional scholars, in his introduction to *Foclóir nó Sanasán Nuadh* (1643):

Biodh a fhios ag an áos óg 7 ag aos an ainbhfis lerab mian na seinleabhair do léughadh (ní nach bfuil na aincheas ar eolchaibh ar ttíre) gurab annamh bhios coimhéd aca ar cháol ré leathan, no ar leathan re ccaol do sgriobhadh, 7 as fíthearc chuirid uathadh ar na connasainibh mar atá bh, ch, dh, fh, etc, 7

¹⁴² Mac Craith, 'The *Beatha*', 36-37.

¹⁴³ Mac Gearailt, 'Archaisms', 57-58 and 67: Céitinn, *Bior-ghaoithe*, xiv.

¹⁴⁴ Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, xxxii.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, xliii.

¹⁴⁶ Quin, *Stair*, xxiv-xxiv.

fós as annamh chuirid síneadh fada ar fhoclaibh. sgriobhtar go minic cuid dona consainibh ar son a cheile, mar ata, c, ar son, g, agas, t, ar son, d, Ag so samhail na bfocal tre na dtuigfidhear sin. Ar son an fhocail clog, ionann 7 cloc, agad, acat, beag, beac, codladh, cotladh, ard, art, etc. Cuirtheas fós go minic ae, ar son, ao, 7 ái ar son aoi . agas fós oi ar son aoi. sompla air sin mar sgriobhtar go minic aedh as ionann 7 aodh 7 cael as ionann 7 caol. Agas bóí 7 fós báí as ionann 7 báoi. Sgriobhtar go minic e ar son a sna seinleabhraibh, mar ata die, as ionann 7 dia, cie, as ionann 7 cia. etc Sgriobhtar go minic I ar son A mar ata so do chuaidh, as ionann 7 di chuaidh. Sgriobhtar go coitcheann a o u ar son a cheile a ndeireadh focail, mar ata sompla, somplo sompla ceardcha, ceardcho, ceardchu etc.¹⁴⁷

In his account of the Irish language during the Early Modern period, McManus distinguishes between two types of prose texts:¹⁴⁸ type A texts, comprising of works written in a language that closely reflected the spoken language of the time and that were understood by people who did not have a professional-linguistic training. In this instance it is useful to recall Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire's remark in his preface of *Desiderius* regarding the language of his text and its designated audience: *ar son simplidheachta na stíle inar sgríobhamar go sonnradhach chum leasa na ndaoine simplidhe nách foil géarchúiseach a nduibheagán na Gaoidhilge*.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, McManus distinguishes texts of type B, characterised by a great deal of linguistic archaisms, for which the reader would have had to have a fairly good understanding of Old and Middle Irish lexicon and grammar, and a firm grasp of Classical Early Modern Irish.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, according to McManus's distinction, we may assign IMP to the type B category.

Mac Gearailt has shown that archaisms used by Ó Cianáin in the *Turas* were already obsolete by the Middle Irish period, and that the author was able to emulate grammatical structures which had not been in use since the Old Irish period.¹⁵¹ Similarly, McManus has shown that Ó Cléirigh was able to reproduce Old and Middle

¹⁴⁷ Ó Cléirigh, *Sanasán Nuadh*, 4-5; cf. also, for example, Ó hEódhúsa's notes on consonantal variation in pronunciation (Mac Aogáin, *Graiméir*, 5-6).

¹⁴⁸ McManus, 'Nua-Ghaeilge', 335-36.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 336; Mac Gearailt, 'Archaisms', 65; Ó Maolchonaire, *Desiderius*, 2.: 'in regards to the simplicity of the stile in which we wrote, (it is) especially for the benefit of simple folk who are not refined in the complexity of Irish.'

¹⁵⁰ McManus, 'Nua-Ghaeilge', 336.

¹⁵¹ Mac Gearailt, 'Archaisms', 57-116.

Irish forms in the *Beatha* during the seventeenth century.¹⁵² However, beside these linguistic archaisms, the authors of the *Turas* and the *Beatha* also incorporated numerous modern linguistic features in their texts, resulting in a mixed language, which draws on works written during the Old, Middle and Early Modern Irish periods. McManus, concerning Ó Cléirigh's writing in the *Beatha*, has suggested that this linguistic style displays the author's notion of an Irish language continuum in which Old, Middle and Early Modern forms of Irish could coexist.¹⁵³ This chapter will discuss how a similar use of language is found in IMP.

Falconer and Quin also noted that archaisms were distributed unevenly throughout *LSN* and *SE*,¹⁵⁴ and that certain passages of the texts contained more archaisms than others. Falconer suggested that this may be due to 'a copyist wearying of the archaisms in his exemplar'.¹⁵⁵ Falconer also drew attention to the tendency of the scribes who copied *LSN* to modify the language and orthography of their text. I have not found the distribution of archaisms in IMP to follow any coherent pattern, rather these are sprinkled across the text and alternate with Early Modern Irish forms in an inconsistent manner, as will become apparent in the following linguistic analysis of the language of IMP. Falconer's observations are particularly important when considering archaisms in IMP and whether these were conceived by the Irish author of the text or introduced by a scribe who copied it.

In his distinction between texts of type A and type B, McManus further notes that religious works are often of type A, whereas historical texts tend to belong to type B. It is worth noting at this point that GM, a text which shares a great deal of thematic similarities with IMP and which was also written in Ireland during the second half of the fifteenth century, belongs to the type A category, as it is not written in a pseudo-archaic linguistic style. Consequently, it is not possible to say that travel texts were written in a consistent linguistic style during the fifteenth century in Ireland. In this chapter I will be referring to the language of GM and contrasting it with that of IMP, in order to exemplify these two vastly different approaches to Early Modern Irish prose.

¹⁵² McManus, 'Language', 54-56.

¹⁵³ Mac Gearailt, 'Archaisms', 98-101.

¹⁵⁴ Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, xliii; Quin, *Stair*, xxxiv-xxxv.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, xlv.

The language of IMP also differs greatly from that of *Gabháltais Serluis Mhóir* (*GSM*) and *Sdair na Lumbardach* (*SNL*), which precede it in L, are also in the hand of Scribe A but are written in a much less linguistically artificial style. In fact, by comparing linguistic and orthographic differences between IMP, *GSM* and *SNL*, the stylistic influences of their authors emerge and it is possible to speculate on how great a role scribes played in enhancing the language of the texts they copied.

This chapter will begin by discussing whether archaisms in IMP can be attributed to linguistic tendencies of the scribe or whether they might be considered authorial by comparing the language of IMP to that of other texts in L. In the following paragraphs my transcription of the linguistic item in question is given besides the chapter number from Stokes's edition of IMP, for convenience of reference. Manuscript page and line number are found in the footnotes.

1.2. Archaisms in IMP: Scribal or Authorial?

The scribe of IMP, referred to by scholars of L as Scribe A,¹⁵⁶ is the main scribe of L, responsible for around 175 of the 198 surviving leaves,¹⁵⁷ making him, as Ó Macháin has stated, '*ar na scríobhaithe is mó saothar sa tréimhse seo, ar an bhfianaise a mhaireann inniu againn pé scéal é*'.¹⁵⁸ As is the case with a great deal of Early Modern Irish scribes,¹⁵⁹ Scribe A did not maintain a consistent orthographic system and his texts contain numerous internal variations in spelling.¹⁶⁰ Editors of texts written by this scribe have commented on this feature, and in particular on Scribe A's use of archaisms: Stokes, in his edition of the *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (henceforth *Lives*), which, except for several instances of relief scribes, are mostly in the hand of Scribe A,¹⁶¹ suggested that the archaic features in the language of the *Lives* were due to the fact that they were copied from older manuscripts and that the scribe was 'modernising, as a rule, the spelling and grammatical forms' which

¹⁵⁶ MacAlister, *The Book*, xii; Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 269. See Chapter I.

¹⁵⁷ I am grateful to Prof. Ó Macháin for sharing unpublished material regarding the scribes of L.

¹⁵⁸ Ó Macháin, 'Aonghas', 144.

¹⁵⁹ See for example: Ó Maolchonaire, *Desiderius*, xvii; Knott, *Bardic Poems*, xciv.

¹⁶⁰ See for example Ó Macháin's discussion of the orthography of Tadhg Ó Cianáin in his autograph of the *Turas*: Ó Macháin, 'Observations', 181-184.

¹⁶¹ Ó Macháin, 'Aonghas', 144.

he found before him, ‘but sometimes leaving intact the ancient orthography and ancient endings of the noun and verb,’¹⁶² resulting in ‘a mixed language, in which Old Irish forms appear side by side those belonging to the late Middle, and even Modern, periods of the language.’¹⁶³ Similarly, Bugge, in his edition of *Caithréim Cheallacháin Chaisil (CCC)*, which is also found in the hand of Scribe A in L, observed that ‘the language of the Lismore text is also remarkably inconsistent’, with ‘old and new forms used indiscriminately, and the same word written in many ways’, and that ‘more ancient verbal forms sometimes occur, as if they were relics of an older text.’¹⁶⁴ Bugge concluded that these features indicate that ‘the text in the Book of Lismore must be based on an older text.’¹⁶⁵ More recently, John Carey, in his analysis of the language of *In Tenga Bithnua (TB)*, which is also found in L in the hand of Scribe A, argued that *TB* contains a mix of Old and Middle Irish forms ‘resulting from the transmission, and partial recasting, of an essentially Old Irish text in the Middle Irish period,’ while stating also that ‘the number of spellings which conform with the Old Irish usage is impressive’.¹⁶⁶ Carey concluded in his analysis that ‘it is not difficult to recognise an Old Irish exemplar beneath the surface of what we find in L’.¹⁶⁷

However, the presence of linguistic archaisms in IMP cannot be explained by it being a ‘partial recasting’ of an Old or Middle Irish text since it is not older than Francesco Pipino’s version of the *Travels (P)*, written between 1310 and 1324 and from which it was translated.¹⁶⁸ Instead, the language of IMP appears to have been deliberately archaisised in order to replicate the linguistic style of an Old or Middle Irish text that had been rebranded in the Early Modern period. The present study of the linguistic features of IMP reveals that a significant effort was made to enhance the language of the text and create an artificial medium which conveyed the desired stylistic effects. Yet, since IMP is unique to L, it is difficult to distinguish between the linguistic choices made by the author of IMP and those made by Scribe A. Likewise it is impossible to determine whether the copy of IMP in L is the autograph copy of the text, and that therefore the Irish author and Scribe A are one and the same, or whether

¹⁶² Stokes, *Lives*, xlv.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, xlv.

¹⁶⁴ Bugge, *Caithreim*, vi-vii.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vii.

¹⁶⁶ Carey, *Tenga*, 71 and 73.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter III.

IMP was copied from another, now lost, manuscript. The following considerations regarding the work of other scribes during the fifteenth century, and the language of other texts in the hand of Scribe A which precede IMP in L, whose language has not been considered before, can help understand whether archaisms in IMP should be considered as authorial or scribal.

1.2.1. Scribes as linguistic innovators: The examples of GM and LSN

Although GM is written in a much less linguistically artificial style than IMP, Ó Gliasáin¹⁶⁹ has shown that a number of older spellings and linguistic features found in the copy of GM in Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, (henceforth R) written after 1475 in the Franciscan monastery of Kilcrea, are modernised in the copy of GM that occurs in British Library MS Egerton 1781, (henceforth E) written in Bréifne during the 1480s.¹⁷⁰ Ó Gliasáin cites the following examples for modernisation in E compared to R: *beus* in R for *fós* in E; *ní mó coin ináitt lochait* in R for *ní mó coin ná lochaidh* in E; *feacht n-aill* in R for *uair éigin* in E; *atbert* in R for *adubairt* in E; *atbér frib* in R for *inneósad dibh* in E.¹⁷¹ Since both R and E derive independently from a lost exemplar written by Fínghean Ó Mathghamhna in Ros Broin in 1475,¹⁷² it is difficult to ascertain which forms of the above examples were intended by the author of the text and which are the results of linguistic and orthographic modifications on the part of the scribes. Whereas alternative forms such as *fós* and *beus*, or even *atbert* and *adubhairt*, may be considered orthographic innovations, variants such as *feacht n-aill* and *uair éigin*, and *ináitt* and *ná*, have a more significant linguistic impact on the delivery of the text, since they reference archaic grammatical features of an older stage of Irish, namely nasalisation following an accusative of time in the case of *feacht n-aill* and the 3rd pl. inflection of Old Irish *indás* in *ináitt lochait*.

Similarly, Falconer noted that a great deal of the archaisms which occur in the copy of LSN in Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, D IV 2, known as the Stowe manuscript (henceforth S), compiled in Kilcormac in Offaly at the end of the fifteenth

¹⁶⁹ Ó Gliasáin, *Scéal*, 24-25.

¹⁷⁰ Greene, 'Irish Versions', 118; Flower, *Catalogue* II, 526.

¹⁷¹ Ó Gliasáin, *Scéal*, 25.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 24; Abercrombe, 'Two Irish', 66-67.

century,¹⁷³ are modernised in the copy of *LSN* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlison B 512, (henceforth Rawl.), written at the end of the fifteenth century by Seán Ó Mailchonaire for John Plunket, third Baron Dunsany.¹⁷⁴ Falconer has shown that S and Rawl. derive independently from the same manuscript.¹⁷⁵ She cites the following examples to indicate the more modern forms found in Rawl. compared to S: *do tomait* in S for *do caithem* in Rawl.; *ro fuabair* in S for *ro triall* in Rawl.; *amail* in S for *mar* in Rawl.; *fáitsine* in S for *fáistine* in Rawl.; *éitsecht* in S for *éisteacht* in R.¹⁷⁶ Falconer also noted that certain older grammatical constructions which are found in S are modernised in Rawl., for example: *eturra 7 Eualac* in S is found as *etair se 7 Eualac* in Rawl.; similarly, infixed pronoun constructions in S are modernised in Rawl., for example: *nirom tadhbad aenben maith frisin rē sin* in S occurs as *ni tabhfas aenben maith frisin rē sin dam*.¹⁷⁷

Since none of the manuscripts listed above contain autograph copies of GM or *LSN*, Ó Gliasáin and Falconer's observations suggest that linguistic enhancement, whether by archaisation or modernisation, could be as much a choice of the scribe copying the text as it was of the author of the text. Furthermore, Falconer's observations on the incidence of certain Old Irish grammatical constructions in S and their modernisation in Rawl. indicate that scribal innovation could be both orthographical and grammatical. It is therefore worth considering whether archaisms in IMP are due to predilections of the scribe rather than decisions of the Irish author of the *Travels*. By comparing the language of IMP to that of the two other major translated texts which precede it in L, namely *Gabháltais Serluis Mhóir* (*GSM*) and *Sdair na Lumbardach* (*SNL*), which are also in the hand of Scribe A, it is possible to gain further insight into whether Scribe A was introducing archaisms into all the texts he copied or whether IMP stands out in L as a particularly linguistically enhanced text.

¹⁷³ Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, xxxiii.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxv.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxix.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, xlv-xlv.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, xlvi and 125, l.3168. 'and in all that space no good woman have I seen.' *ibid.*, 261.

1.2.2. Orthographical and grammatical features in the work of Scribe A: The examples of IMP, *GSM* and *SNL*

1.2.2.1. Methodology

Since IMP is unique to L, it is difficult to determine whether efforts to render the text linguistically archaic were prerogatives of Scribe A or of the Irish author of IMP. However, comparison with the language of *GSM* and *SNL*, which precede IMP in L, and are also in the hand of Scribe A, indicate that if Scribe A was responsible for the linguistic enhancement of IMP, he did not introduce many of the same archaic features in the two other major translation texts which he was copying in L. Whereas an in-depth analysis of the language of *GSM* and *SNL* is beyond the purpose of this study, an overview of the grammatical and orthographical features in these texts and a comparison with the language of IMP offer the opportunity to assess the range of linguistic styles copied by Scribe A. Such an analysis cannot exclude the possibility that Scribe A was choosing to incorporate archaisms in some of the texts he copied and not in others, however it does reveal a lack of interest on the part of Scribe A to modify the language of all texts he copied in view of arranging them in a linguistically coherent way in L.

I have discussed above, in relation to the scribal innovations in copies of GM and *LSN*, how it is also difficult to draw a clear line between orthographical and grammatical archaisms, since modifications in spelling or substitution of one word for another can have varying effects on the archaic features which a text presents. However, by juxtaposing first the orthographic and then the grammatical features of IMP, *GSM* and *SNL*, it emerges that texts which display orthographic archaisms correspond to texts which feature grammatical archaisms. This indicates that Scribe A was adhering to a specific linguistic register in IMP, and another in *GSM* and *SNL*. This is exemplified in the following paragraphs in relation to the spelling of prepositions *for/ar*, *fri/re* and *oc/og/ac/ag*, in order to indicate the orthographic norms in these texts, and in relation to verbal forms, such as the prevalence of infixed pronouns, the alteration between *fil* and *atá*, and the past tense of *téit*, in order to indicate grammatical features in these texts. The purpose of this analysis is to offer examples of the variety of linguistic styles copied by Scribe A, without compiling an in depth study of the language of *GSM* and *SNL*; an in-depth analysis of the language of IMP is found in Part II of this chapter.

1.2.2.2. Variations in Orthography: The Example of Prepositions

Both Old Irish *for* and Early Modern Irish *ar* occur in IMP, for example: ¶8 *for an sliabh ucut* (121rb33), and ¶3 *ar muir ata si* (121ra27). Within the first twenty paragraphs of IMP, which I have taken as a representative portion of the text, *for* is by far the more common form, occurring 49 times (92% of instances), as opposed to *ar* which occurs 4 times (8% of instances): ¶1 *for* (121ra6), ¶1 (121ra14), ¶5 (121ra37), ¶8 (121rb33), ¶8 (121rb34), ¶8 (121rb35), ¶8 (121rbz), ¶9 (121va6), ¶10 (121va11), ¶10 (121va17), ¶11 (121va24), ¶11 (121va24), ¶12 (121va28), ¶13 (121vb8), ¶14 (121vb12), ¶14 (121vb14), ¶14 (121vb16), ¶15 (121vb22), ¶15 (121vb24), ¶15 (121vb25), ¶17 (121vb36), ¶17 (122ra8), ¶18 (122ra10), ¶18 (122ra14), ¶18 (122ra18), ¶19 (122ra23), ¶20 (122ra28), ¶20 (122ra34), ¶20 (122ray), ¶6 *fora* (121rb11), ¶12 (121vay), ¶15 (121vb24), ¶19 (122ra23), ¶19 (122ra23), ¶19 (122ra26), ¶20 (122ra34), ¶7 *fort* (121rb18), ¶8 *foraibh* (121rb34), ¶12 *forru* (121va37), ¶12 *forro* (121vb2), ¶14 (121vb16), ¶17 (121vbx), ¶20 (122raz), ¶12 *foran* (121vax), ¶20 (122ra32), ¶20 (122ra33), ¶20 (122ra36), ¶18 *forna* (122ra12), ¶18 *forsin* (122ra18), ¶3 *ar* (121ra27), ¶5 (121rb1), ¶8 (121rb30), ¶13 *aru* (121vb6). On the other hand, I am not aware of any occurrences of the Old Irish preposition *for* in *GSM*, and the form *ar* is found throughout, for example: *do chuaidh Serlus ar fud na spainne*.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, I have found only one example of Old Irish *for* in *SNL*, namely: *do rindi fanāmhada for in baistedh ar aslach in diabhail*.¹⁷⁹ Whereas *ar* occurs in all other instances, for example: *thāngatar na Lumbardaigh isin Etāil ar tūs*.¹⁸⁰

Both the Old Irish spelling *fri* and Early Modern Irish *re* occur in IMP, for example: ¶10 *fri re .uii. la airisis in ciaich sin*,¹⁸¹ and ¶61 *gur comhdluthaighseat na catha re cheli*.¹⁸² However, within the first twenty paragraphs of IMP, which I have taken as a representative portion of the text, *fri* is by far the more common form in IMP, occurring 18 times (95% of instances), as opposed *re* occurring once (5% of instances): ¶1 *fria* (121ra8), ¶1 (121ra15), ¶1 (121ra19), ¶3 (121ra26), ¶5 (121rax), ¶5

¹⁷⁸ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 10.

¹⁷⁹ Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 104: 1.572.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 90: 1.8.

¹⁸¹ 121va18.

¹⁸² 124rby.

(121rb3), ¶10 (121va9), ¶10 (121va10), ¶11 (121va26), ¶12 (121va31), ¶15 (121vb19), ¶20 (122ra30), ¶8 *frisín* (121rb23), ¶16 (121vb32), ¶10 *fri* (121va18), ¶12 *friu* (121va34), ¶12 (121vb3), ¶17 *fris* (121vby), ¶1 *riasín* (121ra16). On the other hand, I have found no examples of Old Irish *fri* replacing *re* in *GSM*, and *re* is found throughout, for example: *ruc a buidi re Dia oculus re San Sem*.¹⁸³ Likewise, I have found no examples of Old Irish *fri* replacing *re* in *SNL*, for example: *ar ngabháil na hEtáile re haimsir ghirr*.¹⁸⁴

Old Irish spellings *oc* and *og* occur beside Early Modern Irish *ac* and *ag* in IMP, for example: ¶91 *oc feithimh*;¹⁸⁵ ¶21 *og creicc 7 cunnrad*;¹⁸⁶ and ¶58 *gabsat na laeich ac snas a sleagh 7 ag limadh a lann*.¹⁸⁷ Of the various spellings of this preposition, *ac* is the most common, occurring 26 times in the text (44% of instances), followed by *oc*, occurring 22 times (37% of instances), followed by *ag* in 17% of instances, followed by *og* in 2% of instances.¹⁸⁸ ¶1 *ac* (121ra18), ¶5 (121rb4), ¶14 (121vb17), ¶14 (121vb17), ¶33 (123ra26), ¶35 (123rb4), ¶53 (124ra13), ¶54 (124ra22), ¶57 (124rb19), ¶58 (124rb23), ¶61 (124va8), ¶70 (125ra13), ¶76 (125rb8), ¶77 (125rb14), ¶79 (125rb24), ¶79 (125rb24), ¶86 (125vb29), ¶85 (125vb29), ¶100 (126va23), ¶112 (127rb20), ¶121 (128ra11), ¶124 (128rb5), ¶128 (128rb29), ¶128 (128rbx), ¶131 (128va22), ¶136 (128vb24); ¶28 *oc* (122vb9), ¶33 (123ra25), ¶53 (124ra11), ¶53 (124ra11), ¶55 (124rb1), ¶61 (124va12), ¶65 (124vb3), ¶69 (125ra2), ¶75 (125rb1), ¶84 (125vb5), ¶91 (126ra33), ¶98 (126va8), ¶107 (127ra8), ¶107 (127ra12), ¶128 (128rby), ¶131 (128va23), ¶148 (129rb31), ¶156 (130ra2), ¶169 (130va21), ¶178 (131rb3), ¶189 (131vb23), ¶189 (131vb26); ¶10 *ag* (121va13), ¶58 (124rb23), ¶67 (124vb22), ¶116 (127va30), ¶136 (128vb24), ¶141 (129ra28), ¶151 (128vb6), ¶151 (128vb6), ¶178 (131ra23), ¶183 (131va1); ¶22 *og* (122rb4). On the other hand, I am not aware of any examples of Old Irish *oc* or *og* in *GSM*, whereas *ag* and *ac* are the common forms in the text, for example: *fo dhaeirsi ag na Seirrisdinibh*;¹⁸⁹ and, *ac so na cathracha do mhallaigh Serlus*.¹⁹⁰ Lastly, I have found no instances of Old Irish *oc* or *og* in *SNL*, where *ag* and *ac* occur throughout, for

¹⁸³ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 8.

¹⁸⁴ Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 95: 1.136.

¹⁸⁵ 126ra33.

¹⁸⁶ 122rb4.

¹⁸⁷ 124rb23.

¹⁸⁸ A full list of all occurrences of this preposition is found below under ‘Prepositions’.

¹⁸⁹ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 4.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

example: *do ghabh in rī in crann do bhī ag cosaibh a leaptha 7 do bhī aga dhīn co feramhail lais*;¹⁹¹ and, *ac cōmhradh risin aingel*.¹⁹²

These observations on the spellings of prepositions found in IMP, *GSM* and *SNL* suggest that Scribe A was observing a specific orthographic register in copying IMP, that was different from that which he employed to copy *GSM* and *SNL*. In fact, in IMP he used a array of Old, Middle and Early Modern Irish forms, while in *GSM* and *SNL* he used mostly Early Modern Irish spellings. In order to assess whether this use of archaic orthography corresponds to a use of archaic grammar, the following paragraph will examine a number of verbal forms found in IMP, *GSM* and *SNL*.

1.2.2.3. Variations in Grammatical forms: The Example of Verbs

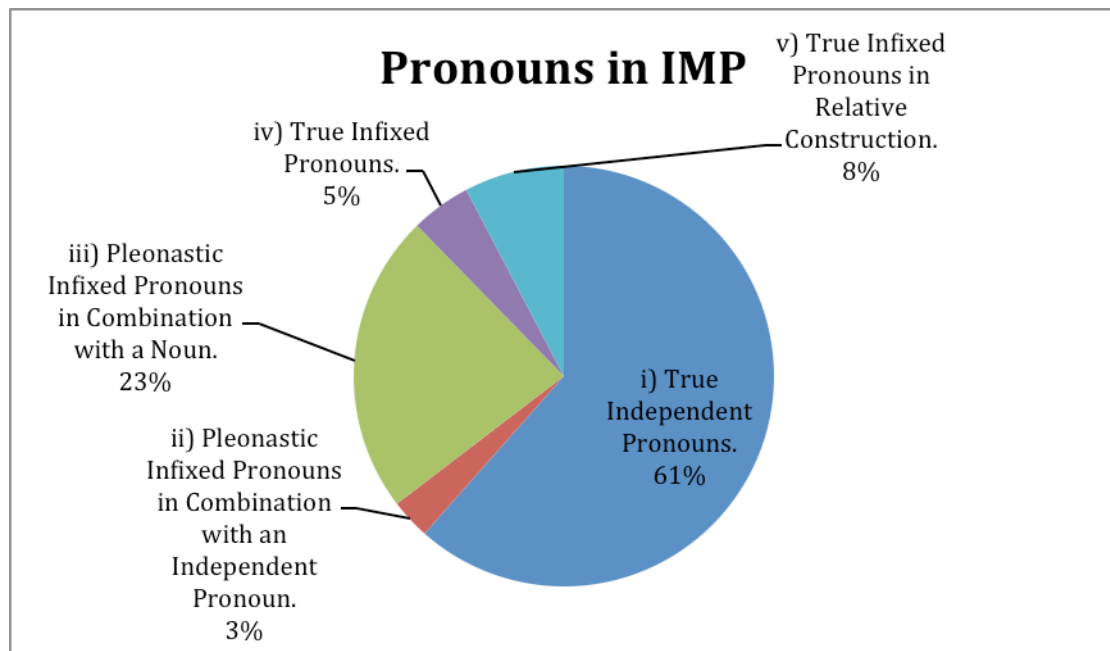
IMP contains a number of infixed pronouns, some of which are pleonastic (i.e. used in combination with a noun or independent pronoun expressing the object) and some of which are true. Ó Catháin has shown¹⁹³ that IMP contains a total of twenty-five¹⁹⁴ examples of infixed pronouns, eight of which are meaningful or true, i.e. they are not used in combination with a noun or independent pronoun to express the object, for example: ¶98 *bliadhain dó na giallaigi cu ro-s-leic for cula dia thigh* (126va15). Of the seventeen examples of pleonastic infixed pronouns in IMP, thirteen are in combination with a noun, for example: ¶1 *ro-s-tinnta Pronsiscus in leabar so* (121ra21), and four are in combination with an independent pronoun, for example: ¶52 *isedh asberit-sium beous conudh iat na dei no-s-freasdlat iat 7 in ri* (124ra5). I have divided object pronouns in IMP into five groups: true independent pronouns (61%); pleonastic infixed pronouns in combination with independent pronouns (2%); pleonastic infixed pronouns in combination with a noun (23%); true infixed pronouns (5%); true infixed pronouns in relative construction (8%). A discussion of these groups is found below in the discussion of verbal forms in IMP. For the purpose of this discussion on the use of grammatical archaisms in IMP, I have summarised these divisions in the following pie chart:

¹⁹¹ Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 94: 1.164-65.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 97: 1.280.

¹⁹³ Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 9-11.

¹⁹⁴ A full list of these examples is found below under 'Verbal Forms'.



This chart displays the frequency with which infixed pronouns, both pleonastic and true, are used in IMP. On the other hand, I have found no examples of infixed pronouns in *GSM* or *SNL*, where the independent pronoun is used throughout, for example: *do chuiretar a luing he*,¹⁹⁵ and, *ocus do lean Agiolandus iat*,¹⁹⁶ in *GSM*, and: *do mharbh hē isin cath*,¹⁹⁷ and, *co tuc dona leanbaibh do bhī maille ris iat*,¹⁹⁸ in *SNL*.

Another characteristic of IMP's archaic grammar is the use of *fil* instead of *atá* in absolute position. In fact, the more common form of the substantive verb in absolute position in IMP is *fil*, whereas in *GSM* and *SNL* the form *atá* is found throughout and *fil* in absolute position is never used. In IMP *fil* is found in absolute position on 78% of instances,¹⁹⁹ for example: ¶5 *fil mainster isin crich sin* (121rb2-3), ¶6 *fil crich n-aili innti* (121rb6), and ¶6 *fil cathair oirdnidhi innte* (121rb7), whereas *atá* is found in absolute position on 22% of instances, for example: ¶71 *ata clog romhor fora lar* (125ra14), ¶90 *ata taisech dia muintir co n-deich mílib lais* (126ra18), ¶116 *ata magh isin crich sin* (127va15). Similarly, *fil* is used in dependent relative position in 78% of instances in IMP, whereas *atá* is used in relative position in 22% of instances, for example: ¶121 *fria h-or in mara fhil si* (128ra2), ¶3 *Glaisia is*

¹⁹⁵ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 2.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁹⁷ Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 92: 1.68.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 96: 1.257.

¹⁹⁹ A full list of examples of the occurrences of *fil* and *ata* in absolute position is found below under 'Verbal Forms'.

cathair oireachais di 7 ar muir ata si (127ra27). On the other hand, in *GSM* and *SNL* there are no occurrences of *fil* in absolute or dependent relative position and *atá* is found throughout, for example: *ata sruth fora lar a mbi moran d'iasgaibh dubha*,²⁰⁰ in *GSM*, and: *ōr atāit trī srotha isin flaithimhnus*,²⁰¹ in *SNL*. Mac Gearailt has shown that *fil* in absolute and dependent relative position is also used by Ó Cianáin in the *Turas*, and is also common in the Book of Leinster versions of the *Táin* and *Cath Ruis na Rígh*.²⁰²

I am aware of three nasalising relative clauses in IMP when the antecedent is the object of the verb of the relative clause, as in Old Irish.²⁰³ In two examples, the verb used is OIr. *ailid*, *t*-pret. *alt*,²⁰⁴ and in one example the verb is OIr. *adraid*: ¶89 *is forro ro-n-alt iat* (126ra9-14), ¶112 *is fria galaib ro-n-altad sib* (127rb27), ¶23 *do Macametus no-n-adhrunn* (122rb23-25). The fact that two of these nasalising relative clauses are constructed using the same verb and are almost identical, indicates that *ro-n-alt* may have been a stock formula taken from an older text. I will discuss in Chapter IV how this recycling of Old and Middle Irish sayings is found elsewhere in IMP. These clauses are pseudo-archaisms in IMP, comparable to Ó Cléirigh's attempts to reconstruct Old Irish nasalising relative clauses in the *Beatha*.²⁰⁵

1.3. Conclusions

The examples discussed above indicate that archaisms in orthography are reflected by the use of archaic grammatical forms in IMP. Conversely, examples from *GSM* and *SNL* show that Early Modern Irish orthography is reflective of Early Modern Irish grammar in these texts. Since all three texts are in the hand of Scribe A, I believe there is a case to be made that variations in orthography in *GSM*, *SNL* and IMP do not represent predilections of Scribe A, rather they can be taken as indicators of authorial intention. Therefore, it seems clear that pseudo-archaisms in IMP, whether orthographical or grammatical, are attributable to the author of IMP and are not consequences of the linguistic enthusiasm of the copyist. In this sense, the linguistic

²⁰⁰ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 8: 96vb20.

²⁰¹ Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 100: l.402. 115va11.

²⁰² Mac Gearailt, 'Archaisms', 84.

²⁰³ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 317.

²⁰⁴ Strachan, *Paradigms*, 64.

²⁰⁵ McManus, 'Language', 64-65.

ventures of the Irish author are comparable to those of Ó Cianáin, whose autograph copy of the *Turas* indicates that archaic grammar was intended by its author,²⁰⁶ and of Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh, who McManus has shown also composed *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh* in a pseudo-archaic linguistic style.²⁰⁷

Although Ó Gliasáin and Falconer's analysis of the various manuscript versions of GM and *LSN* suggests that scribes were able to modify both the orthography and the grammar of the texts which they copied, I believe that the contrast of archaic features in the language of IMP and Early Modern forms in the language of *GSM* and *SNL* indicates Scribe A's regard for the stylistic choices of the authors of these texts.

In Part II of this chapter I will conduct an in depth analysis of the orthography, nominal inflection and verbal syntax in IMP, in order to further understand how the Irish author was styling the language of his adaptation.

²⁰⁶ Ó Macháin 'Observations', 201.

²⁰⁷ McManus, 'Language', 54-73.

PART II

2. Analysis of Orthography, Nominal System and Verbal Forms of IMP

2.1 Orthography and Phonology

As discussed in Part I, internal variation in orthography is common in the work of Scribe A and has been noticed by Stokes in the *Lives*, Bugge in *CCC* and Carey in *TB*.²⁰⁸ The purpose of the following discussion is to examine the orthography of Scribe A in IMP and compare it to his orthography in other parts of L. I will also compare the orthography of Scribe A to that of the relief scribe who writes on folio 125rb, and to that of other fifteenth-century Irish scribes, in order to discuss the modern linguistic features in IMP as well as the archaisms introduced for stylistic purposes by the author of IMP. Only plene readings reflective of the orthographical and morphological variations are cited.

2.1.1. Vowels

Short Vowels

Iomlat: the interchanging of unstressed syllables.

Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn describes *iomlat* in his grammar as *cumhachta a n-āitibh dh'āiridhe in dá ghuthaidhe chaola d'athrughadh a n-ait a chēile 7 na trī ghuthaidhe leathna mar an ccēdna go neamhfhoirimeallach*.²⁰⁹ Since this is a common feature of Early Modern Irish orthography,²¹⁰ found in the *Lives*,²¹¹ *LSN*,²¹² in Flaithrí Ó

²⁰⁸ Stokes, *Lives*, xlv; Bugge, *Caithreim*, vi-vii; Carey, *Tenga*, 71 and 73.

²⁰⁹ Mac Aogáin, *Graiméir*, 115:3028.

²¹⁰ Cf. McManus, 'Nua-Ghaeilge', 344-45.

²¹¹ Stokes, *Lives*, xlv.

²¹² Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, xlix.

Maolchonaire's *Desiderius*,²¹³ in Seán Ó Murchadha's copy of *Parliament na mBan*²¹⁴ and in the *Turas*,²¹⁵ to name but a few, I will limit myself to giving only a handful of examples from IMP.

a o u.

Short *a o u* are interchangeable in unstressed syllables, for example: ¶1 *omhun* (121ra6), beside ¶76 *omon* (125rb10), ¶3 *imat* (121ra30), beside ¶4 *imut* (121ra32), ¶1 *marcuís* (121ra21), and ¶1 *marcais* (121ra16).

ai oi ui

Short *ai oi ui* are often interchangeable in unstressed syllables, for example: ¶165 *amhail* (130rb34), beside ¶23 *amhuil* (122rb30). Thus, *-aibh* and *-uibh* are interchangeable as prepositional plural endings, for example: ¶11 *taebhaibh* (121va26), ¶73 *taebhuibh* (125ra26). IMP contains only one example of *-oibh* in unstressed position, in the 3rd sg. perfect indicative ending of *fo-ácaib*: ¶13 *conar fhacoibh* (121vb8). IMP also has examples of spellings of the same form with *-aibh* and *-uibh*, for example: ¶1 *ro fhagaibh* (121ra18-19), ¶83 *ro fhacuibh* (125va25).

e and i.

Short *e* and *i* are interchangeable in final syllables, for example: ¶64 *geinnti* (124va23), ¶64 *geinnté* (124va26), ¶134 *prouinnse* (128va7), ¶143 *prouinnsi* (129rb1).

ai and oi in stressed syllables.

I have found 21 examples of *araili/araile*, namely: ¶32 *araili* (123ra16), ¶33 (123ra26), ¶38 (123va2), ¶38 (123va7), ¶55 (124ra29), ¶61 (124va6), ¶64 (124va27), ¶83 (125va27), ¶85 (125vb8), ¶85 (125vb13), ¶97 (126rbz), ¶98 (126va16), ¶116 (127va25), ¶124 (128rb2), ¶139 (129ra17), ¶151 (129vb11), ¶156 (130ra11), ¶183 (131va2), beside four examples of *aroili*, namely: ¶10 *aroili* (121va13), ¶113 (127rb28), ¶149 (129va10), ¶149 (129va15). IMP also has 11 examples of the Old Irish neuter adjective *arail*, namely: ¶8 *arail* (121rb30), ¶8 *araild* (121va2), ¶26

²¹³ Ó Maolchonaire, *Desiderius*, xvii.

²¹⁴ Ó Cuív, *Parliament*, 152.

²¹⁵ Mac Gearailt, 'Archaisms', 77.

arail (122va15), ¶36 (123rb15), ¶42 (123va22), ¶53 (124ra13), ¶61 (124va4), ¶66 (124vb11), ¶68 (124vb35), ¶172 (130vb10), ¶185 (131va15).

Similarly, I have found 17 examples of *oiris-*, namely: ¶21 *oirisium* (122rb3), ¶25 (122va12), ¶82 (125va17), ¶121 (128ra3), ¶188 (131vb14), ¶42 *oirisimhe* (123va23), ¶62 *oirisis* (124va12), ¶66 (124vb4), ¶133 (128vb4), ¶85 *oirisedh* (125vb10), ¶91 *oirisid* (126ra32), ¶176 (131ra16), 178 (131ra33), ¶98 *oirisit* (126va11), ¶107 (127ra7), ¶113 (127rb35), ¶126 (128rb17), beside 13 examples of *airis-*, namely ¶4 *ro airis* (121ra35), ¶27 (122vaz), ¶8 *airisis* (121va1-2), ¶10 (121va19), ¶18 *airisius* (122ra19), ¶20 *airisim* (122ra29), ¶32 *airisium* (123ra5), ¶56 (124rb6), ¶101 (126va32), ¶29 *airisit* (122vb19), ¶102 (126vb10), ¶116 (127va29), ¶30 *airisidh* (122vb28).

There is one example of *croidhi*, namely ¶127 *croidhi* (128rb22), beside one example of *craidhi*, ¶7 *craidhi* (121rb19).

I have found one example of Old Irish spelling *traigh*, in ¶18 *.iii.ra traigead* (122ra21). On the other hand, there are two examples of Early Modern Irish *troigh*, namely: ¶107 *.x. troighthi fora letheat* (127ra4), ¶159 *ceatra troighthi fora doimne* (130ra22). There are also two examples of the word *troightheach*, ‘footman’, namely: ¶55 *troightec* (124ra38), ¶111 *troighthigh* (127rb9). I have found no examples of *traighthech*.

The alteration between *oi* and *ai* spellings indicates that the author of IMP was aware of Old and Middle Irish orthography and was incorporating it into his text. However, rather than considering these spellings as evidence for archaic pronunciation during the Early Modern period, I believe they constitute part of an aesthetic element in the pseudoarchaic process in IMP.

ai and ei

aile/aili and *ele/eli*.

I have found 35 examples of the spellings *aile/aili*, namely: ¶8 *aile* (121rb34), ¶28 (122vb5), ¶33 (123ra30), ¶35 (123raz), ¶36 (123rb19), ¶47 (123vb7), ¶47 (123vb8), ¶67 (124vb21), ¶67 (124vb28), ¶106 (127vb34), ¶135 (128vb11), ¶140 (129ra26), ¶146 (129rb17), ¶6 *aili* (121rb6), ¶8 (121rb21), ¶10 (121va10), ¶19 (122ra25), ¶23 (122rb24), ¶35 (123rb7), ¶43 (123va27), ¶47 (123vb5), ¶50 (123vbx), ¶53 (124rb12), ¶63 (124va19), ¶68 (124vb29), ¶72 (125ra24), ¶132 (128va30), ¶136 (128vb17), ¶143 (129ra33), ¶145 (129rb12), ¶150 (129va31), ¶155 (129vb32), ¶172

(130vb11), ¶179 (131rb9), ¶189 (131vb27). On the other hand, I have found 10 examples of the spellings *ele/eli*, namely: ¶79 *ele* (125rb26), ¶96 (126rb26), ¶111 (127rb2), ¶123 (128ra23), ¶149 (129va19), ¶178 (131rb4), ¶187 (131vb5), ¶78 *eli* (125rb20), ¶79 (125rbx) ¶90 (126ra14). I have found no examples of the Old Irish spelling *oile/oili*. By way of comparison, I have found no examples of the spellings *aile/aili* in *GSM* or *SNL*, in which *ele* and *eli* are found throughout. For example: *do ghabhadar righe ele don Fraingc*,²¹⁶ in *GSM* and *co cuirfedh neach ele dā dhēnamh*.²¹⁷ Of a total 45 instances of the adjective *aile/ele* in *IMP*, the spelling *aile* is found in 29% of examples, *aili* in 49%, *ele* in 18% and *eli* in 4%.

a and i in pretonic syllables.

I have found two spellings of Old Irish *indiu* in *IMP*, namely: ¶18 *aniu* (122ra21), ¶173 (130vb18), and ¶169 *inniu* (13va13). Interestingly these spellings also alternate in the *Lives*, for example: *o aniu cu brath*,²¹⁸ and *tuc lat do mac inniu*.²¹⁹ By way of contrast neither spellings, i.e. *aniu* or *inniu*, occur in *GSM* or *SNL* which instead have *aniugh*, for example: *na diult dam-sa aniugh*,²²⁰ in *GSM* and *techt a talmhain na hEtāille re n-abar in Lumbaird aniugh*, in *SNL*.²²¹ I am not aware of any occurrences of the spelling *aniugh* in *IMP* or the *Lives*. This is another indication of the different linguistic registers employed in *IMP*, *GSM*, *SNL* and the *Lives*.

The preposition *i n-/a n-*, ‘in’, in combination with *a*, either the 3rd sg. and pl. poss. pron. or the rel. part., occurs as *ina* in 36 instances, namely: ¶11 *ina* (121va22), ¶30 (122vb28), ¶37 (123rb33), ¶49 (123vb15), ¶66 (124vb5), ¶70 (125ra6), ¶72 (125ra23), ¶74 (125ra29), ¶78 (125rb15), ¶91 (126ra30), ¶91 (126ra30), ¶92 (126rb4), ¶92 (126rb7), ¶92 (126rb7), ¶97 (126rb35), ¶97 (126rb36), ¶99 (126va18), ¶100 (126va24), ¶101 (126va28), ¶110 (127ra30), ¶111 (127rb16), ¶122 (12ra16), ¶135 (128vb12), ¶136 (128vb18), ¶137 (128vb33), ¶149 (129va14), ¶150 (129va28), ¶161 (130ra28), ¶169 (130va11), ¶169 (130va13), ¶173 (130vb22), ¶178 (131ra34), ¶178 (131rb2), ¶183 (131va3), ¶186 (131va23), ¶186 (131va30). It occurs twice as *ana*, namely: ¶100 *ana* (126va26), ¶116 (127va19). It also occurs in 31 instances as *na*, showing loss of the pretonic vowel, namely: ¶20 *na* (122ra37), ¶20 (122ra37), ¶20

²¹⁶ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 8.

²¹⁷ Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 94:155.

²¹⁸ Stokes, *Lives*, 12:391.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 14:115.

²²⁰ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 9.

²²¹ Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 92:96.

(122raz), ¶21 (122rb13), ¶49 (123vb15), ¶62 (124va14), ¶67 (124vb25), ¶78 (125rb20), ¶78 (125rb21), ¶79 (125rb34), ¶81 (125va5), ¶84 (125vb5), ¶85 (125vb17), ¶86 (125vb32), ¶89 (126ra3), ¶89 (126ra7), ¶91 (126ra33), ¶98 (126va14), ¶105 (126vb27), ¶112 (127rb20), ¶114 (127va8), ¶116 (127va18), ¶116 (127va23), ¶117 (127va33), ¶123 (128ra31), ¶132 (128va31), ¶147 (129rb21), ¶155 (129vb32), ¶159 (130ra22), ¶186 (131va21), ¶187 (131vay).

Similarly, there is one example of *amuigh*, namely: ¶49 *amuigh* (123vb23), besides one example of *immuigh*, namely: ¶91 *immuigh* (126ra26).

ai and a in final position.

I have found six examples of *ai* replacing short *a* in final position. Three of these are found in the dative of *cúl*, ‘back’, namely: ¶18 *for culai* (122ra18), ¶80 *oo culai* (126ra14), ¶149 *for culai* (129va12). The spelling *for culu* occurs once, namely: ¶65 *for culu* (124va39). The spelling *for cula* is the most common in IMP, occurring in ¶1 *for cula* (121ra6), ¶1 (121ra14), ¶19 (122ra24), ¶20 (122ray), ¶21 (122rb7), ¶24 (122rbz), ¶25 (122va5), ¶25 (122va8), ¶30 (122vb28), ¶30 (122vb34), ¶32 (123ra17), ¶36 (123rb29), ¶50 (123vb28), ¶90 (126ra24), ¶98 (126va15), ¶107 (127ra13), ¶113 (127rb32), ¶133 (128va33), ¶155 (129vb31), ¶183 (131va4).

The fourth example occurs in the spelling *fodai*, namely: ¶26 *fo-s-gebha fasach fodai* (122va13). The spelling is *foda/fota* in all other instances,²²² namely: ¶10 *foda* (121va8), ¶28 (122vb13), ¶42 (123va25), ¶81 (125va5), ¶61 *sithfhota* (124rb36).

The fifth example of *ai* in final position occurs in the spelling of the Old Irish noun *lámdae*, namely: ¶36 *araill dib la druinechus 7 lamhdhai* (123rb15). The forms given in IGT II § 3 are *lámdha* and *lámhdaighi*, however, based on the analogical evidence of *ai* being used in final position for archaicising purposes in IMP, I believe that the spelling *lamhdhai* is an imitation of the Old Irish form *lámdae*, rather than being an example of *ighi > í*.

The sixth example of *ai* replacing short *a* in final position in IMP is found in the spelling of the adjective *órdha*, namely: ¶22 *a n-eilitrumh n-ordhai* (122rb4). In all but one other example of this adjective in IMP, the spelling is *órdha*, namely: ¶61 *dathordha* (124rbz), ¶66 *do litribh ordha* (124vb10), ¶79 (125rb22), ¶79 (125rb23), ¶84 (125va32-33), ¶86 (125vb28), ¶86 (125vb29), ¶90 (126ra22), ¶96 (126rb28), ¶117 (127vb5). The final example of *órdha* in IMP is in the hand of the relief scribe

²²² See also the non *plene* spelling 126va27.

who writes ¶79 *linaid cuach nó cupa órdadh* (125rb30), with the hyper-correct *-dh* ending. This is an important example since it shows that the relief scribe was pronouncing final *-adh* as *-a*, a distinctive feature of spoken Irish of the southern half of the island since the fifteenth-century.²²³

The spellings *fodai* and *ordhai* may represent efforts of the Irish author to replicate the archaic ending *-ae/-ai* in *io*-stem adjectives,²²⁴ whereas the spelling *culai* appears to be a recollection of the Old Irish dative of *cúl*, which occurs as *for caúlæ* in the Rule of Tallaght.²²⁵ Similarly, the spelling *lamhdhai* appears to be a recollection of Old Irish *lamdae*, and an indication that the Irish author was imitating orthography which preceded the standards set in IGT. Falconer noticed similar features in the orthography of *LSN* and suggested that such alterations were ‘recollections of earlier forms’.²²⁶ Similarly, Gray noted the use of final *-ae* and *-ai* in a number of forms in *Cath Maige Tuired*, which survives in British Library MS, Harley 5280, written in Donegal during the first half of the fifteenth century by Gilla Riabhach Ó Cléirigh.²²⁷

It will be seen below that since length marks are frequently not employed by Scribe A, *ai* is also used to indicate the diphthong *áe*, *ái*, *ae*, *oe* (Mod.Ir. *ao*), as well as to indicate the inflected form of the same diphthong, *aei* (Mod. Ir. *aoi*).

ea and e in final position.

The imperfect indicative and past subjunctive passive endings *the/te* often occur as *thea/tea* in IMP. I have found 18 examples of endings in *-the/-te*, namely: ¶12 *no berthe* (121vaz), ¶12 (121vb1), ¶50 (123vb32), ¶52 (124ra8), ¶15 *gia adaighthe* (121vb26), ¶15 *dia tomhailte* (121vb23), ¶16 *foa n-adhnaicthe* (121vb31), ¶18 *dia cuirthe* (122ra14), ¶22 *no cuirthe* (122rb14), ¶26 (122va22), ¶52 *no doirtte* (124ra8), ¶72 *ina taiscthe* (125ra23), ¶76 *ro gnithe* (125rb10), ¶94 *do suidhighthe* (126rb12), ¶109 *dia lamhnaighthe* (127ra21), ¶126 *cu nach tabairte* (128rb15). Conversely, there are 11 examples of imperfect indicative and past subjunctive passive endings in *-thea/-tea* in IMP, namely: ¶17 *no berthea* (121vb38), ¶26 (122va19), ¶26 *no brisdtea* (122va20), ¶26 *no adaighthea* (122va21), ¶26 *do gnithea*

²²³ O’Rahilly, *Dialects*, 65-66.

²²⁴ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 225.

²²⁵ Gwynn, ‘The Rule’, 151:17.

²²⁶ Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, xlix.

²²⁷ Gray (ed.), *Cath*, 13; British Library MS, Harley 5280. Cf. Flower, *Catalogue II*, 298-299.

(122va23), ¶28 *ro craitea* (122vb14), ¶129 (128va5), ¶36 *no h-ailtea* (123rb20), ¶36 *no tomuiltea* (123rb21), ¶37 *no comailtea* (123rb34), ¶96 *cu ceangailtea* (126rb27).

There are also 5 examples of the imperfect indicative and past subjunctive passive optional endings²²⁸ *tha/ta* in IMP, namely: ¶12 *do berta* (121vax), ¶15 *co n-denta* (121vb22), ¶25 *dia n-dernta* (122va9), ¶94 *ara canta* (126rb10), ¶186 *frisa samhailta* (131va25). Interestingly, these do not occur as *thai/tai* in IMP, indicating that the Irish author perhaps felt that replacing a final *a* with *ai*, discussed above, was a orthographical technique restricted to the pseudo-archaïcising of adjectives and nouns, as in ¶22 *a n-eilitrúmh n-ordhai*, and ¶18 *for culai*. On the other hand, the fact that final *ea* is a substitute for *e* only in the imperfect indicative and past subjunctive passive endings may indicate that the author considered this orthographical variant to be restricted to the enhancement of verbal forms alone, perhaps in imitation of the conjunct preterite passive ending in Old Irish, *-thea*.²²⁹

ea and *a* alteration in initial position.

I have found one example of *ea* instead of *a* in the spelling of the noun *eathach*, which occurs once, namely: ¶187 *ilchenala eathachdha* (131vaz). This spelling is found in the hand of Scribe A in *GSM*, *adubhairt in t-eathach* (102va11), and in the *Acallam*, *in t-eathach a n-deireadh in churaigh* (214ra27) and as far as I am aware is the only spelling of the word employed by the scribe. The noun *eathach/athach* is not found in *SNL*. IGT marks this spelling as *lochtach*,²³⁰ and in the *Dinnsheanchas* in Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, written in Kilcrea probably during the latter part of the fifteenth century, we find: *ní ghebat frium athaigh*.²³¹ Ó Cuív drew attention to alternation between *ea* and *a* in the language of *Parliament na mBan*.²³²

²²⁸ See McManus, ‘Nua-Ghaeilge’, 396, 398-99; Mac Aogáin, *Graiméir*, 62:1727.

²²⁹ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 460: cf. *-léicthea*.

²³⁰ IGT II §11.

²³¹ Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, 101vb32. Transcription is my own.

²³² Ó Cuív, *Parliament*, 152.

y in personal and place names.

y is found in personal and place names, such as ¶48 *Cublaury* (123vb11), ¶49 *Cublay* (123vb18), ¶89 *Baym* (126ra5), and ¶112 *Niscardyn* (127rb19). I am not aware of any examples in IMP of *y* being used to indicate *ui*.²³³

Long vowels

The length mark is shown as often as not in the hand of Scribe A. The diphthong *ae*,²³⁴ M.Ir. *ao*, occurs as *ae áe ai ái al úi úí óe ao*, with length marks over either vowel. This may be observed in the following four occurrences of the noun *maíne*, ‘jewel’: ¶177 *máine* (131ra19), ¶18 *maíne* (122ra18), ¶66 *múine* (124vb8), and ¶124 *for muínibh* (128ra34).

There are several examples of doubling of vowels to indicate vowel length in monosyllabic words in IMP, as was common in Middle Irish.²³⁵ I have found five examples of doubling of *a*,²³⁶ namely: ¶184 *mnaa* (131va11), ¶17 *laa* (121vb36), ¶30 (122vb29), ¶98 (126va7), ¶98 (126va12). Doubling of vowels is also found in several examples of placenames, namely: ¶111 *prouindsi Oraandum* (127rb4), ¶111 (127rb6), ¶175 *Maabar* (130vb34), ¶176 (131ra11), ¶188 (131vb19), ¶170 *Buaar* (130va30). Similarly, the vowel length of *dé*, ‘god’, is shown nine times by doubling the vowel, namely: ¶21 *dona deeibh* (122rb12), ¶37 *in dee* (123rb30), ¶64 (124va28), ¶110 (127ra30), ¶110 (127ra33), ¶110 (127raz), ¶152 (129vb19), ¶170 (130vay), ¶176 (131ra13). Doubling of *e* is also found in the personal name, ¶54 *Barsceel* (124ra23). I am aware also of one example where the length mark is combined with the doubling of the vowel, namely: ¶21 *dona déeibh* (122rb6). I am aware of one instance where long *i* combines with short *i*, namely: ¶23 *faíidh* (122rb32). Lastly, I am aware of doubling of *o* to mark vowel length on two occasions, namely: ¶8 *goo* (121rb32), ¶80 *oo culai* (126ra14). There is also one occurrence of where the length mark is combined with the doubling of the vowel, namely: ¶186 *ba móomh* (131va29).

²³³ Ó Macháin, ‘Observations’, 182-83.

²³⁴ Ó Cuív, *Linguistic*, 8;

²³⁵ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 229.

²³⁶ Excluding the commonplace doubling of *a* in prepositions *fa* and *la* + *a* (3rd poss. pron. or rel. part).

á and ó alteration.

There are examples of alteration between *á* and *ó* in the word *anóir*. I am aware of two spellings with *á*, namely: ¶22 *co n-anair* (122rb15), ¶152 (129vb23). On the other hand, I have found nine spellings with *ó*, namely: ¶7 *anoir* (121rb16), ¶7 (121rb17), ¶14 (121vb18), ¶17 (121vb37), ¶105 (126vb29), ¶107 (127ra18), ¶116 (127va21), ¶118 (127vb13), ¶119 (127vb29). The length mark is never shown.

Similarly, the vowel length of the conjunction *ór*, ‘because’, Middle Irish *uair* < Old Irish *óre* and *uair*,²³⁷ may have influenced the vowel length of the *a* in the conjunction *ar*, ‘because’, < Old Irish *air*,²³⁸ which is marked with a clear length mark on folio 122va2: ¶122 *clódh for cula on t-saeibhdligedh fora taithe, ór is a h-imut taeb as dochar h-e, ár ni deimhin la nech acaibh in lais in t-oighre facbais dia eis* (122rbz-122va1-2).

I have found 38 examples of *dóibh* as the 3rd pl. prep. pron., namely: ¶25 *doibh* (122va12), ¶27 (122vay), ¶32 (123ra5), ¶32 (123ra9), ¶38 (123va2), ¶46 (123vb1), ¶50 (123vb27), ¶52 (124ra9), ¶53 (124ra11), ¶56 (124rb11), ¶67 (124vb24), ¶79 (125rb33-34), ¶79 (125rb35-36), ¶80 (125va3), ¶85 (125vb13), ¶85 (125vb14), ¶93 (126rb8), ¶98 (126va12), ¶99 (126va20), ¶101 (126va33), ¶101 (126vb1), ¶102 (126vb2), ¶103 (126vb15), ¶104 (126vb26), ¶110 (127ra34), ¶110 (127rb1), ¶112 (127rb22), ¶114 (127va2), ¶115 (127va13), ¶116 (127va22), ¶118 (127vb12), ¶129 (128va5), ¶133 (128va35), ¶149 (129va13), ¶151 (129vb4), ¶171 (130vb2), ¶173 (130vb14), ¶178 (131ra25), but there is only one example of *dáibh* as 3rd pl. prep. pron., namely: ¶17 *daibh* (122ra3). The length mark is never shown.

ó ou and o3

I have found two examples in IMP of *ó* being written with the digraph *ou*. The first example is in the 3rd pl. prep. pron. of *la/le*, namely: ¶147 *leou* (129rb20), which is found as *leo* in every other instance: ¶3 *leo* (121ra30), ¶4 (121ra32), ¶10 (121va9), ¶10 (121va9), ¶12 (121va32), ¶12 (121va33), ¶12 (121va33), ¶12 (121va38), ¶12 (121vaz), ¶14 (121vb13), ¶15 (121vb27), ¶24 (122rby), ¶25 (122va6), ¶26 (122va22), ¶27 (122va32), ¶27 (122va34), ¶27 (122va35), ¶28 (122vb14), ¶29 (122vb17), ¶32 (123ra12), ¶32 (123ra18), ¶33 (123ra27), ¶35 (123rb5), ¶36 (123rb13), ¶36 (123rb21), ¶36 (123rb24), ¶36 (123rb28), ¶37 (123rb38), ¶39 (123va8), ¶42

²³⁷ *DIL s.v.*, ‘4 ór,’ accessed 02/01/18 dil.ie/33928.

²³⁸ *DIL s.v.*, ‘2 ar,’ accessed 02/01/18 dil.ie/3903.

(123va25), ¶47 (123vb5), ¶50 (123vb27), ¶52 (124ra7), ¶52 (124ra9), ¶67 (124vv22), ¶67 (124vb27), ¶84 (125va34), ¶85 (125vb12), ¶101 (126va29), ¶102 (126vb5), ¶102, (126vb11) ¶102 (126vb14), ¶103 (126vb17), ¶106 (126vby), ¶110 (127ra27), ¶110 (127ra35), ¶110 (127ra36), ¶114 (127rbz), ¶116 (127va20), ¶116 (127va26), ¶119 (127vb20), ¶119 (127vb29), ¶124 (128rax), ¶124 (128raz), ¶124 (128rb3), ¶129 (128va5), ¶129 (128va6), ¶135 (128vb14), ¶140 (129ra25), ¶145 (129rb14), ¶146 (129rb14), ¶148 (129rbz), ¶151 (129vb7), ¶152 (129vb15), ¶152 (129vb18), ¶158 (130ra16), ¶162 (130ra34), ¶164 (130rb27), ¶172 (130vb8), ¶175 (130vb31), ¶175 (130vb32), ¶175 (131ra8), ¶175 (131ra9), ¶177 (131ra18), ¶177 (131ra19), ¶178 (131ra24), ¶179 (131rb9), ¶185 (131va16), ¶186 (131va24), ¶186 (131va26), ¶186 (131va27), ¶187 (131vb2), ¶187 (131vb7), ¶187 (131vb8), ¶187 (131vb9), ¶187 (131vb11).

The second example is in the spelling of the defective verb *ol*, ‘says’ ‘said’, namely: ¶8 *oul siat* (121rbx), which occurs as *ol* in every other instance: ¶1 *ol* (121ra7), ¶7 (121rb17), ¶8 (121rb32), ¶18 (122ra13), ¶18 (122ra15), ¶18 (122ra16), ¶18 (122ra16), ¶23 (122rb30), ¶24 (122rbz), ¶25 (122va7), ¶28 (122vb11), ¶30 (122vb33), ¶31 (122vbz), ¶31 (123ra3), ¶54 (124ra19), ¶64 (124va29), ¶65 (124va36), ¶65 (124va37), ¶85 (125vb21), ¶98 (126va9), ¶112 (127rb26), ¶118 (127vb13), ¶127 (128rb25), ¶128 (128rb33), ¶164 (130rb23), ¶191 (131vb32), ¶191 (131vby).

I am not aware of any other plene readings of *ou* instead of *ó* in IMP, however there is one example of the noun *nós*, ‘custom’, with the symbol *ʒ*, namely: ¶96 *d'fhoillsiugud na nóʒ sin* (126rb20). The noun also occurs as *nos*, namely: ¶96 *nos* (126rb18), ¶96 (126rb31). There are also seven examples of the adverb *beos*, and one example of the later spelling *fos* occurring with the *us* symbol, namely: ¶50 *beoʒ* (123vb28),²³⁹ ¶52 (124ra6),²⁴⁰ ¶65 (124va39), ¶66 (124vb9), ¶67 (124vb18), ¶70 (125ra7), ¶107 (127ra19), ¶123 (128ra24), and ¶64 *foʒ* (124va29).²⁴¹ The plene reading *beos* occurs twice namely: ¶74 *beos* (125ra31),²⁴² ¶152 (129vb18),²⁴³ and the plene reading *fos* occurs once, namely: ¶115 *fos* (127va10).

²³⁹ *bfoʒ*.

²⁴⁰ *beoʒ*.

²⁴¹ *foʒ*.

²⁴² *bfoʒ*.

²⁴³ *beos*.

Caoimhín Breathnach has shown that the symbol 3 was used by the scribe of Liber Flavius Fergusorum, written during the first half of the fifteenth century, to indicate final *-s*, *-us*, and *-uis*.²⁴⁴ In light of the plene readings *beos* and *fos*, it is likely that Scribe A was also using 3 to indicate final *-s* in IMP.

However, I believe that the plene spellings of *ou* for *ó* form part of the linguistic ornamentation in IMP, and have been intentionally inserted in the text as imitations of Old Irish hiatus vowels.

Combinations of vowels and lenited spirants.

I am aware of two examples of the spelling *taighseach*, for *taiseach* in IMP, namely: ¶78 *taighseac* (125rb21), ¶79 *taighseac* (125rby), both in the hand of the relief scribe on folio 125rb. There is also the curious incidence of ¶79 *toi[space]seacaibh* (figure 1), also in the hand of the relief scribe on folio 125rb, which suggests that a letter was scraped away, perhaps a *gh* as in the other spellings.

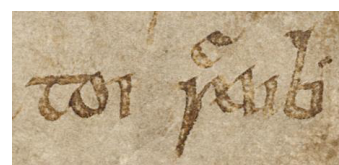


Figure 2: *toi [space] seacaibh* (125rb26)

The spelling *taighseach* only occurs in the hand of the relief scribe in IMP, and occurs as *taiseach* or *toiseach*, in the hand of Scribe A in the rest of IMP.²⁴⁵ It is interesting to consider whether another scribe, perhaps Scribe A, read over the passage copied by the relief scribe and decided to scratch out the *gh* in this instance, perhaps in order to avoid the repetition of the same spelling three times on the same page. The order of these spellings is in fact ¶78 *taighseac*, ¶79 *toi[space]seacaibh*, ¶79 *taighseac*.

The spelling ¶67 *oighri* (124vb21), < Anglo Norman (AN) *heire*, indicates a similar phenomenon to that of *taighseach*, by which intervocalic *gh* was being used to indicate vowel length, or as here, diphthongisation, during the Early Modern period.²⁴⁶

Similarly, there is one example of ¶166 *do phughdar* (130va4), where short *u* followed by the lenited spirant *gh* are used to indicate *ú*. The word is a borrowing from AN *pudre* or Middle English (ME) *poudre/pouder*, which had no guttural consonant between the vowel and the *d*, and already had a long *ū* at the time of borrowing into Irish.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ Breathnach, 'Manuscript', 137.

²⁴⁵ A full list of examples is found below under 'Diphthongs'.

²⁴⁶ McManus, 'Nua-Ghaeilge', 352.

²⁴⁷ See 'Borrowings' below. McManus, 'Nua-Ghaeilge', 352.

A similar phenomenon occurs with *dh*, which may indicate a lengthening of *e* in the noun *reifeadh*, ‘rope’. There is one example of *reidhfeadh* in IMP, namely: ¶49 *is la reidhfeadhuibh sídu ro snadhmtha* (123vb22). On the other hand there are two examples of *reifeadh*, namely: ¶65 *reifeadhaibh* (124vb1), ¶92 *reifedha* (126rb5).

Similarly, the *dh* in *taidhbli*, for *táible* < Lat. *tabulae* may indicate lengthening of the *a*: ¶133 *taidhbli* (128vaz). There is only one occurrence of this word.

Diphthongs

ai oi ui alteration.

The 3rd sg. past indicative of *atá*, i.e. *bai/bui*, is represented with both *ai* and *ui*, but the length mark is never shown. *Bai* occurs fifteen times, namely: ¶1 *bai* (121ra1), ¶7 (121rb13), ¶8 (121rb22), ¶28 (122vb7), ¶60 (124rb28), ¶98 (126va11), ¶99 (126va19), ¶125 (128rb6), ¶129 (128va6), ¶132 (128va25), ¶138 (129ra3), ¶149 (129va15), ¶156 (129vby), ¶156 (130ra5), ¶169 (130va10). The length mark is never shown. Similarly, *bui* occurs twenty-five times, namely ¶16 *bui* (121vb30), ¶18 (122ra20), ¶24 (122rby), ¶25 (122va6), ¶28 (122vb5), ¶29 (122vb16), ¶29 (122vb16), ¶29 (122vb20), ¶30 (122vb27), ¶54 (124ra18), ¶59 (124rb27), ¶64 (124va24), ¶68 (124vb31), ¶82 (125va18), ¶85 (125vb15), ¶96 (126rb22), ¶96 (126rb27), ¶112 (127rb22), ¶114 (127va8), ¶117 (127va32), ¶128 (128rb28), ¶132 (128va31), ¶148 (129rb32), ¶151 (129vb8), ¶172 (130vb9), ¶173 (130vb19). The length mark is never shown. On the two occasions when the 3rd sg. past indicative of *atá* is preceded by the preverbal particle *ro*, <OIr. perfect indicative, the spelling *bui* occurs, namely: ¶16 *ro bui*, ¶28. I am aware of no examples of *boi* in IMP.

The diphthongs *ai* and *oi* alternate in the word *taisech* in the hand of Scribe A in IMP, although the length mark is rarely shown. I have found twenty-five examples of *taiseach*, namely: ¶1 *taiseachaibh* (121ra1), ¶13 (121vb7), ¶86 (125vb29), ¶94 (126rb10), ¶96 (126rb19), ¶148, ¶23 *taiseach*, ¶35 (123rb4), ¶61 (124rb37), ¶62 (124va13), ¶76 (125rb6), ¶76 (125rb7), ¶85 (125vb10), ¶85 (125vb24), ¶89 (126ra3), ¶89 (126ra10), ¶90 (126ra18), ¶94 (126rb12), ¶111 (127rb5), ¶111 (127rb12), ¶130 (128va12-13), ¶172 (130vb8), ¶28 *taisigh* (122vb7), ¶111 (127rb8), ¶76 *táisigh* (127rb5). The spelling *toiseach* occurs nine times, namely: ¶84 *toiseachaibh* (125va31), ¶85 *toiseach* (125vb9), ¶128 (128rb28), ¶128 (128rb30), ¶156 (129vb33), ¶156 (130ra5), ¶78 *thoisigh* (125rb18), ¶91 (126ra29), ¶129 (128va2). See above, in

the discussion of lenited spirants and short vowels, for the occurrence of *taighseach* in the hand of the relief scribe on folio 125rb.

Similarly, *oi* and *uí* alternate in the verb *moidid*. I have found 3 examples of the spelling with *oi*, namely: ¶7 *cu ro mhoidh* (121rb19), ¶61 *moigid* (124va5), ¶113 *moidhit* (127rb28-29). On the other hand, I am aware of two spellings with *ui*, namely: ¶33 *muidhis* (123ra28), ¶63 *muidhis* (124va21).

ae oe ao and ái

The diphthong *ae*, occurs as *ae* and *oe* interchangeably in the hand of Scribe A,²⁴⁸ however *ae* is the more common form. For example, the spelling *laech* occurs thirty-three times in IMP, namely: ¶23 *laech* (122rb28), ¶23 (122rb34), ¶29 (122vb16), ¶35 (123rb3), ¶35 (123rb9), ¶51 (123vbz), ¶55 (124ra31), ¶57 (124rb19), ¶60 (124rb29), ¶69 (125ra1), ¶73 (125ra24), ¶76 (125rb6), ¶82 (125va13), ¶92 (126rb2), ¶109 (127ra23), ¶111 (127rb15), ¶121 (128ra8), ¶122 (128ra17), ¶123 (128ra29), ¶126 (128rb21), ¶131 (128va20), ¶135 (128vb15), ¶143 (129rax), ¶156 (129vbz), ¶167 (130va7), ¶183 (131va3), ¶61 *deglaech* (124rb37), ¶36 *laechaibh* (123rb17), ¶75 (125rb3-4), ¶114 (127va6), ¶152 (129vb12), ¶40 *laechdha* (123va11), ¶183 *laechdacht* (131va8). On the other hand the spelling *loech* occurs only once, namely: ¶107 *loech* (127ra5).²⁴⁹

Similarly, the noun *taebh*, occurs with the form *ae* forty times in IMP, namely: ¶5 *taebh* (121rb3), ¶8 (121rb23), ¶12 (121va31), ¶24 (122va1), ¶26 (122a15), ¶33 (123ra20), ¶56 (124rb4), ¶61 (124rb39), ¶61 (124va4), ¶68 (124vb35), ¶77 (125rb14), ¶104 (126vb21), ¶111 (127rb11), ¶111 (127rb19), ¶112 (127rb21), ¶112 (127rb22), ¶117 (127va32), ¶117 (127vb2), ¶127 (128rb23), ¶127 (128rb28), ¶131 (128va17), ¶136 (128vb17), ¶143 (129ra33), ¶168 (130va9), ¶11 *taebhaibh* (121va26), ¶56 (124rb7), ¶65 (124vb3), ¶73 (125ra26), ¶75 (125raz), ¶84 (125vb4), ¶86 (125vb30), ¶92 (126raz), ¶92 (126rb7), ¶97 (126va2), ¶130 (128va10), ¶134 (128vb10), ¶149 (129va16), ¶75 *taebhu* (125rb5), ¶94 (126rb11), ¶159 *cét míle gacha taebha dhi* (130ra23). On the other hand the form with *oe* occurs seven times, namely: ¶5 *toebh* (121ra36), ¶77 (125rb11), ¶77 (125rb11) ¶82 (125va19), ¶123 (128ra24), ¶149 (129va15), ¶14 *toebuibh* (121vb15).

²⁴⁸ Analogous variations in the spellings of Scribe A were noticed by Stokes in his edition of the *Lives*. See Stokes, *Lives*, xlvii.

²⁴⁹ lo fch.

The form *ao* is used by Scribe A only in one instance, namely: ¶148 *la naon* (129rb26).

That this digraph was pronounced /e:/ in *aen* is suggested by the alternative form *énn* which occurs in a passage in *GSM* copied by Scribe A, namely: *do luidh in ri fa henndia*,²⁵⁰ Compare the example of *aen n-dia* in IMP: ¶8 *guighit in t-aen n-dia* (121rb35). I am not aware of any examples of the form *én* in IMP.

The spelling *ao* is the only one employed by the relief scribe on folio 125rb in all renderings of this digraph, namely: ¶79 *laoch* (125rb29), ¶79 *fria a taobhaibh* (125rb23), ¶79 *do gach aon* (125rb32). The spellings *ae* and *oe* are never used by the relief scribe.

I am aware of two forms of the noun *daethan*,²⁵¹ ‘enough’, in IMP, namely: ¶12 *a n-daethain fleagh* (125vb1), and ¶166 *a n-dáithan bígh* (130va3). This is the clearest example in IMP that indicates that *ái* was being used by Scribe A as an alternative form for *ae*, /e:/.²⁵²

The digraph *ái* often occurs without a lengthmark in IMP, making it identical in form to final *-ai* used by Scribe A in *culai*, *fodai*, *lamhdhai* and *ordhai*, and described above. The form *ai* may be used to indicate *ae* in the one example of the Old Irish noun *gae*, ‘spear’, namely: ¶175 *la neach dhibh acht gai 7 sciath* (130vb30). Although no length mark is visible in the manuscript, I believe that this orthography indicates the same sound we find in *dáithan*, discussed above. I am not aware of any examples in IMP of the form *ga*, the main form permitted in IGT beside *gae/gai*.²⁵³ The form *gai* is common in the hand of Scribe A in *GSM*, for example: *do chuaidh gan gai gan arm*.²⁵⁴ I am aware of one occurrence of *ae* in this word in the gen. pl. in *GSM*, namely: *ba hiat lucht na ngaethe*.²⁵⁵ I am also aware of one form in *GSM* with *ai* in the gen. pl., namely: *do fhasatar croinn mhora a premhaibh na ngaithi*.²⁵⁶ Neither have a length mark.

The form *lai*, gen. sg. of *lá*, ‘day’, occurs once in IMP, namely: ¶161 *a tús lai* (130ra30). The same spelling occurs in the hand of Scribe A in *GSM*, namely: *medon*

²⁵⁰ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 98, 107rb8. Transcription is my own.

²⁵¹ IGT II §11, 54.6.

²⁵² O’Rahilly, *Dialects*, 31.

²⁵³ IGT II §81, 123.4.

²⁵⁴ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 22.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 18, 97vby.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 18, 98ra5.

lai,²⁵⁷ *feadh in lai*,²⁵⁸ *comainm in lai*.²⁵⁹ I am aware of three different forms of the gen. sg. of *lá* in GM from the Rennes manuscript, namely: *comainm an láei*,²⁶⁰ and, *ac fás co meadhon láí 7 ó meadhón láe*.²⁶¹ These examples illustrate that *áei*, *ái* and *áe* were alternative spellings of the same sound in final position for the scribe in the Rennes manuscript, written in Kilcrea during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. We shall see below that the same alteration of forms is used in IMP.

aei oi ai

The trigraph *aei* is the most common spelling of the diphthong *ae* when it is followed by a palatal consonant in IMP,²⁶² for example: ¶12 *amhal bud toil la menmanraid gach aein laeich* (121va31).

I am aware of only one example of *oei* in IMP in the noun OIr. *saer*, which is followed by the noun of opposite meaning OIr. *daer*, with the spelling *oi*, namely: ¶94 *do shoeiri nó do dhoiri* (126rb13).

I have found one example of *oi* substituting *aei*, in the adjective *naemh*, namely: ¶16 *ro ghabh baisdeadh na h-eaclasi noime* (121vb35). The spellings *naeimh* and *naeimhe*, in the gen. sg. masc. and fem. respectively, also occur on two occasions, namely: ¶171 *o gheir in daim naeim do chomailt fair* (130vb6), ¶1 *ac tabhairt mhind na h-eaclasi naeime* (121ra18). The length mark is never shown. O’Rahilly observed that pronunciation could vary in poetry,²⁶³ and Ó Cuív has shown that *naoimh* rhymes with *béas* and *Dé* in two quatrains in *Parliament na mBan*, indicating that *aoi* was pronounced /e:/ in verse in seventeenth-century Cork,²⁶⁴ but that *naoimhúghdar* rhymes with *bíodh diúlta*, indicating the sound /i:/.²⁶⁵

I am aware of two forms of the Old Irish num. adj. *noí*, twice with *ai*, namely: ¶138 *nai* (129ra1), ¶142 *nai* (129ra30). Once with *aei*, ¶41 *naei* (123va17). The length mark is never shown.

²⁵⁷ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 12.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 52.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 104.

²⁶⁰ Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, 67rb19.

²⁶¹ Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, 69va31.

²⁶² Cf. O’Rahilly, *Dialects*, 30.

²⁶³ O’Rahilly, *Dialects*, 28.

²⁶⁴ Ó Cuív, *Parliament*, 159, 33:1010, 71:2241.

²⁶⁵ Ó Cuív, *Parliament*, 159, 16:479.

I have found two forms of the Old Irish noun *cáe*, ‘way’, once with *ai*, namely: ¶8 *aenchai* (121rb35). Twice with *aei*, namely: ¶31 *for aenchaiei* (123ra1), ¶56 *ar aenchaiei* (124rb13). The length mark is never shown.

The lack of length marks in any of the examples of the diphthong *aei* in IMP prevents us from drawing any conclusions as to the pronunciation of *naei/nai* and *caei/cai*, since *ai* can indicate /i:/ as in *bai*, discussed above, or /e:/ as in *dáithan*. See also the form of 2nd sg. pres. of *atá* which occurs in *GSM*: *atai dall*.²⁶⁶

2.1.2. Consonants

Nasals

nn and *nd*.

The forms *nd* and *nn* are used interchangeably in both final and medial positions. There are a number of instances where the orthographic variation of *nn/nd* is highlighted by the close succession of the same word spelled in different ways, namely: ¶11 *crann gréine ina tuaisceart crand direach esidhe* (121va22); and ¶50 *no beirthe bainni na lairtheach ngeal sin ... no dhoirteadh maghnus in baindi sin for in raen* (123va32-36). It is interesting to consider whether these are deliberate exhibitions of orthographic flexibility on the part of the scribe.

mm

mm is often used to indicate the lack of lenition on a medial or final *m*. I am not aware of any plene examples of *mm* in IMP, either the first or the second *m* being always indicated by use of the *m* stroke, for example: ¶49 *commoradh* (123vb18); ¶101 *fuaimm* (126va36), ¶148 *cu ro coimmbriseadh* (129va6), ¶181 *immat* (131rb28). In this respect Scribe A is inconsistent in his orthography and often writes the same words with one *m*, or with one suspension stroke at the end of the word or between the vowels, for example: ¶2 *imat* (121ra25), ¶61 *fuaim* (124va9).

²⁶⁶ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 54, 102rb3.

Liquids

rr.

r is often doubled before *s*, for example: ¶150 *doirrsi* (129va38), ¶69 *don dá ndoirrsib* (125ra3), ¶82 *don mac ro derrscaigh dib* (125va12), ¶121 *tharrsa* (128ra1).

Slender *rr* and broad *rr* are interchangeable in: ¶121 *earradha* (127vbx), ¶103 *eirreadha* (126vb19). I have not found any other examples.

ll and *ld*.

I am aware of two examples where *ld* replaces *ll* in IMP, namely: ¶8 *et rogabsat araild do na geintibh baisdeadh lasin mirbhuil sin* (121va2-3), and ¶117 *cluic airgit for in tor naild* (127vb6). All other examples of these words have *ll* in IMP, namely: ¶8 *araill* (121rb30), ¶26 (122va15), ¶36 (123rb15), ¶42 (123va22), ¶53 (124ra12-13), ¶61 (124va4), ¶66 (124vb11), ¶68 (124vb35), ¶172 (130vb10), ¶185 (131va15), and ¶8 *aill* (121va1), ¶11 (121va25), ¶24 (122rbx), ¶32 (123ra14), ¶156 (129vb33), ¶183 (131va5), ¶187 (131vax). This feature was noticed by Stokes in the *Lives*,²⁶⁷ where it appears in the word *agallamh* three times, namely in *Beatha Seanáin*: **dacalduimh** martan cu torinis,²⁶⁸ in *Beatha Findéin*: luid iar sin finden 7 cathmhael 7 daibhid 7 gillas **dagalduimh** righ bretain do chuinghidh inaidh reclesa fair,²⁶⁹ and lastly in *Beatha Ciaráin*: badar on trath co araile andsin ic **imacalduim** 7 oc denumh an aentadh.²⁷⁰ In the *Lives*, this Old Irish spelling²⁷¹ is often found beside the Early Modern Irish spelling *agallamh*, for example: *acalluimh*.²⁷² The spelling *ld* for *ll* also appears in the third recension of *Tochmarc Émire*, in British Library MS, Harley 5280: *Poi ri aumrau airegdai and Emain Macho fecht n-aild edon Coincopor mac Fauchtnae*,²⁷³ in the hand of Giolla Riabhach Ó Cléirigh, written during the first half of the sixteenth century in Donegal.²⁷⁴ Hamp suggested that this form of *fecht n-*

²⁶⁷ Stokes, *Lives*, xlvi.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 62, 61va12. Transcription is my own.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 76, 65vb9-11. Transcription is my own.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 133, f. 81rb32. Transcription is my own.

²⁷¹ Found in the Würzburg Glosses, cf. Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* I, 512. 3c4.

²⁷² Stokes, *Lives*, 62, 61va27. Transcription is my own.

²⁷³ British Library MS, Harley 5280, 26b. Cf. Flower, *Catalogue* II, 305.

²⁷⁴ British Library MS, Harley 5280, 74b: ‘Gilla riabach mac Tuathail meic Taidc caim I Clerich.’ Cf. Flower, *Catalogue* II, 298-299.

aild is ‘an archaic form that can be explained only as a survival.’²⁷⁵ However, in the case of IMP, it is clear that Scribe A was also able to emulate these older spellings, since IMP must have been written during the Early Modern period. These orthographical archaisms may have been inserted in the text in order to give it a more authoritative tone, and may have added to the appreciation of the text, since it would have rendered it reminiscent of the language and orthography in manuscripts dating from the Old and Middle Irish period.

Another possible explanation of the forms *aild* and *araild* is that they reflect the development of *ll* > *ld* in East Cork Irish. Ó Cuív collected the following examples from Ballymacoda in the twentieth century: ‘**aldəs** for *allas*, **brohəldəx** for *brothallach*, **faldə** for *falla*, **bild’i** for *buille*, **kild’i** for *cuille*, **faild’i** for *faille*, **ʃg’ild’iŋ** for *sgilling*.’²⁷⁶ This development retained the differentiation between *ll* and *l* and must have occurred before the seventeenth century, when it was being lost in other Munster dialects.²⁷⁷ However, in light of the pseudo-archaic tendencies of the author of IMP, and of Ó Cléirigh’s use of the same form during the sixteenth century, it seems more likely that the forms *aild* and *araild* were intended as pseudo-archaic ornamentations in the text rather than phonological renderings of dialectal forms.

Labials

fph p b

p is sometimes used for *f* in initial or intervocalic position, especially in loan words,²⁷⁸ for example: ¶2 *pronsiscus* (121ra21), and ¶6 *calipus* (121rb9). But, the spelling ¶1 *fransiscus* (121ra4), is also found. I have found no examples of *califus*.

I have found three examples of final and medial *p* being used to indicate *b*, namely: ¶26 *topraibh* (122va21), ¶73 (125ra26), ¶191 *eascop* (131vby). It is also used in every instance of Latin *presbiter*, namely: ¶28 *prespiter* (122vb4), ¶28 (122vb9), ¶30 (122vb26), ¶46 (123vb2), ¶98 (126va5), ¶98 (126va7), ¶98 (126va14). However *b* is also used in two examples of the noun *tobar*, namely: ¶178 *tobair* (131ra23), ¶12 *tobraibh* (121va30). I am aware of no examples where *ph* is used to indicate *bh*.

²⁷⁵ Hamp, ‘*Fecht n-aill*’, 477.

²⁷⁶ Ó Cuív, *Irish speaking*, 66. Cf. also Ua Súilleabháin, ‘*Gaeilge*’, 488.

²⁷⁷ Williams, ‘*Na Canúintí*’, 448.

²⁷⁸ Cf. also in: Quin, *Stair*, xxxvii; and Stokes, *Lives*, xlvii.

Gutturals

cc

Medial and final *cc* is often used to indicate /g/, for example: ¶26 *beathadhuigh beacca* (122va17), ¶97 *Marcus ócc* (126rb31). However, *cc* may also be used to indicate unlenited *c*,²⁷⁹ for example: ¶151 *accu* (129vb4). A similar orthographical feature has been noticed in *mm*, and discussed above.

ch gh

The alteration between *gh* and *ch* in *teach/teagh* displays variation in permitted orthography rather than a phonological development. They each occur once, namely: ¶50 *teach* (123vb26), ¶124 *teagh* (128ra34). Both forms are permitted in IGT.²⁸⁰

Dentals

tt

Medial *tt* is often used to indicate /d/, for example: ¶175 *ni féttar* (130vbz). However, *tt* may also be used for unlenited *t*,²⁸¹ for example: ¶113 *remhraitte* (127rb33).

Spirants

Slender *th* and *ch* alteration in medial position.

I am aware of two examples in IMP which display the coalescing of slender *th* and *ch* in medial position. The first of these is *cluiche/cluithe*, which occurs twice, only with *th*: ¶12 *cluitheadha* (121va32), ¶91 *oc feithimh na cleas 7 na cluitheadh sin* (126ra33). The historical form *cluiche* does not occur in IMP.

The second example is the noun *tuaichle/tuaithle* and related forms, which occur with *-ch-* or *-th-* interchangeably. I am aware of the following examples in IMP:

²⁷⁹ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 228.

²⁸⁰ IGT II §164.

²⁸¹ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 228.

¶14 *tuaichlecht* (121vb11), ¶32 (123ra15), ¶52 (124ra3), ¶148 (129va1), ¶10 *tuaithle* (121va11), ¶68 *tuaithlecht* (124vb35).

Slender *th* and *ch* alteration in final position.

I am aware of one example in IMP which displays the coalescing of slender *th* and *ch* in final position, namely the genitive of Old Irish *ní*, *neich/neith*, which occurs in the following three examples: ¶52 *neich* (124ra4), ¶175 (130vb29), and ¶85 *neith* (125vb14).

-dhch- -ghth- > /h/

The spelling *dhch* is used only once in IMP, namely in the spelling of the adverb *coidhche*: ¶8 *coidhche* (121va2). In *SNL* this same adverb occurs with *-ghth-* in the hand of Scribe A, namely: *choighthi* (120va17).²⁸²

The spelling *-ghth-* occurs in every instance of the noun *oidhche* in IMP, giving *oighthi*.²⁸³ The pronunciation of *-ghth-* as *-h-* in unstressed position is revealed by two spellings of the equitative, namely: ¶116 *airdighthir* (127va18), ¶187 *leithighthir* (131vb3), which show unhistoric *-gh-*. Compare also the other plene spelling of the equitative in IMP which shows no *-gh-*, namely: ¶169 *glainithir* (130va23). This may be an indication of Munster pronunciation, since the unstressed termination *-ghthe*, in past participle of verbs, had become /i:/ in Northern Irish by the sixteenth century.²⁸⁴

Treatment of Old Irish *gh dh*.

In final and medial position *gh* and *dh* are interchangeable in IMP. The tendency of Scribe A to use *gh* for *dh* and vice versa was also noticed by Stokes in the *Lives*.²⁸⁵

I am aware of three plene examples of the noun *bliadhain*, ‘year’, in IMP, namely: ¶1 *bliadhna* (121ra22), ¶175 (130vb33), ¶27 *bliadhain* (122vaz), besides one plene occurrence of *bliaghain*, namely: ¶85 *bliaghain* (125vb12).

²⁸² Transcription is my own. Cf. Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 117:1102.

²⁸³ See below, under *ī*-stems, for full list of examples.

²⁸⁴ O’Rahilly, *Dialects*, 207-08.

²⁸⁵ Stokes, *Lives*, vi.

I am aware of two plene spellings of the noun *biadh*, ‘food’, in IMP, namely: ¶15 *biadh* (121vb27), ¶39 *biadhaibh* (123rb35), besides one spelling of *biagh*, namely: ¶40 *cin bhiagh* (123va13).

I am not aware of any plene readings of *dh* in *fleadh*,²⁸⁶ ‘feast’, in IMP. There are two examples where *-eadh-* is an expansion of the symbol 7, Lat. ‘et’, namely: ¶139 *fledhughudh* (129ra6), ¶181 *fleadhaibh* (131vb12). All other plene examples occur with *gh*, namely: ¶12 *fon bhfhleaghughudh* (121vb3), ¶12 *fleagh* (121vb1), ¶15 (121vb23), ¶22 *fleaghachus* (122rb22), ¶84 *for in bhfleigh* (125va32), ¶88 (126ra1), ¶12 *a bfleagha* (121va35), ¶104 (126vb25), ¶166 (130va1), ¶187 (131vb9).

The noun *crodh*, ‘wealth’, is always spelled *crogh* in the text: ¶37 *do berur crogh do mhathair na h-inghine ár ní tabhar crogh la seitigh i crichuibh na tartruigheach* (123va4-6); ¶45 *crogh* (123va34), ¶45 (123va35). On the other hand, the adjective *cródha*, ‘brave’, occurs once in IMP, namely: ¶57 *croda* (124rb16).

The nouns *fiodh*, ‘tree’ and *fiodhbhaidh*, ‘forest’, are found as *figh* and *fighbhaidh* respectively in IMP: ¶49 *figh* (123vb14), ¶49 (123vb18), ¶49 (123vb19), ¶113 (127rb33), ¶113 (127rb35), ¶81 *fighbaidh* (125va5), ¶101 (126va30), ¶113 (127rbx), ¶132 (128va31), ¶165 (130rb28), ¶95 *fighbhuidi* (126rb13), ¶121 (127vby), ¶166 (130rbz), ¶166 (130va2), ¶100 *dfhighbadaibh* (126va25). I have found no examples of these words being spelled with *gh*.

Slender *gh* and *dh* are also interchangeable in intervocalic position, for example: ¶33 *toigheacht* (123ra20), ¶22 *toidheacht* (122rb22), ¶28 *tartraidhi* (122vb10), ¶28 *tartraighi* (122vb15).

-ai and *-adha*

There are two plural forms of the noun *eascra*,²⁸⁷ ‘vessel’, in IMP. The first of these, which occurs only once in the hand of Scribe A, retains historic *-ai* in the nom. pl.: ¶125 *ina taiscthe a cuaich 7 a n-eascrai* (125ra23). This plural form does not occur in IGT²⁸⁸ and may be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, this could be another example of archaic orthography in IMP, and be added to the examples of words

²⁸⁶ *fledh* IGT II §39.

²⁸⁷ *DIL s.v.*, ‘escra’, accessed 02/01/18 dil.ie/20480.

²⁸⁸ IGT II §2: *comha, don chomha, méd an chomha, na comha, na comhadha, dona comhuibh, dona comhadhuibh* (etc.).

ending in *-ai* in an imitation of Old Irish endings in diphthong *-ae*.²⁸⁹ On the other hand, it could be an example of Early Modern Irish pronunciation of *-adha-* as *ai*.²⁹⁰ The second example in IMP shows the expansion of the plural dental stem ending *-adha-* in the nom. pl. form: ¶52 *na heascradha* (124ra5).

The same variation occurs in the hand of the relief scribe on folio 125rb, ¶79 *eascradha* (125rb27), ¶79 *eascradhaibh* (125rb29), ¶79 *eascraibh* (125rb29). Based on the analogical evidence of the pseudo-archaic tendencies of the Irish author, and of his use of the ending in diphthong *-ai* in other words in the text, I believe that *escrai* is a pseudo-archaic formation rather than a modern feature.

gh dh th alteration in medial position.

I am aware of two plural forms of OIr. *tech*, namely *tighe* and *tithe*. I have found three examples of Classical Irish *tighe*, namely: ¶133 *tighi* (128vaz), ¶175 *isna tighibh* (125rb5), ¶183 *dia tighibh* (131va4-5), and one example of *tithe*: ¶92 *ina tithibh* (126rb4).

A similar variation in spelling is found in the plural forms of OIr. *druí*.²⁹¹ This noun is used only in the plural in IMP, and occurs in seven plene readings. The first form is *draidhe*, which occurs twice: ¶58 *faidhis Cublay a draidhe uadha* (124rb21), ¶164 *fiafraighit dia ndraidhibh* (130rb19). The second form is *draithi*, which occurs four times: ¶32 *do berar a ndraithi dia saighid* (123ra7); ¶32 *triallait na draithi* (123ra17), ¶58 *tecuit na draithi* (124rb25), ¶110 *fiafraighit dia n-draithibh* (126ra29). These two forms are permitted in IGT, the second *ó chanamhhain*.²⁹² The third form is the historic plural *druíd* (<*druīd*).²⁹³ ¶32 *luidhset na druīdh fora cliathaibh fis* (123ra10). This form is not found in IGT, but it is attested in Middle Irish, for example in the second recension of the *Táin* from the Book of Leinster: *is ann luid Mac Con i n-imacallaim fria drúid*.²⁹⁴ I believe the spelling *druīd* in IMP is a recollection of the historic plural rather than a representation of final *-idh > -í*.

I am aware of one other word which shows alteration between *-th-* and *-dh-*, namely *teitheadh/teidheadh*. The first spelling occurs twice: ¶55 *teitheadh* (124ra34),

²⁸⁹ Discussed above.

²⁹⁰ Williams, 'Na Canúintí', 451.

²⁹¹ *DIL* s.v., 'druí', accessed 02/01/18 dil.ie/18853. IGT II §85.

²⁹² IGT II §85.

²⁹³ Ó Cuív, 'Linguistic', 21.

²⁹⁴ Dublin, Trinity College MS 1339, 288b37-38. Transcription is my own.

¶101 *cu teithdis* (126vaz). The second spelling occurs once: ¶89 *ó nach teidheadh fiadh for bith* (126ra11). I am aware of only one other example of this form, which occurs in *Leabhar na hUidhre: ro theigh 7 ro folaig ría german*.²⁹⁵ Based on this reading, I have taken the form *teidheadh* in IMP to be an archaism rather than a phonological representation.

Final *-th*

The verbal ending *-th*²⁹⁶ occurs in the archaic form *at-bath*, ‘he died’, which supplied the narrative tense to OIr. *at-bail*, ‘dies’.²⁹⁷ I am aware of three examples in IMP, all in the 3rd sg.: ¶16 *atbath* (121vb30), ¶18 (122ra8-9), ¶83 (125va24-25). This form also occurs in *LSN*²⁹⁸ and *SE*.²⁹⁹ Final *-th* is retained in four examples of the 3rd sg. imperf. indic. of the substantive verb: ¶32 *no biath* (123ra9), ¶58 *no bhiath* (124rb22), ¶105 *nac biath* (126vb29), ¶124 *do bhiath* (128rb1). In seven examples, the later form is used: ¶79 *no bhidh* (125r lower marg), ¶84 *no bidh* (125vb4), ¶124 *no bhiad* (128ray), ¶124 *no bhidh* (128rb5), ¶125 *ara mbiadh* (128rb9), ¶125 *oca mbiadh* (128rb12). Final *-th* appears on two examples of the 3rd sg. imperf. indic. of *do-beir*: ¶96 *do bereth* (126rb18), ¶96 (126rb19). In the remainder of examples (nine), later *-d(h)* occurs: ¶18 *do bered* (122ra17), ¶66 (124vb8), ¶66 (124vb9), ¶84 (125vaz), ¶156 (130ra9), ¶175 (131ra3), ¶29 *no beredh* (122vb22), ¶52 (124ra9), ¶66 (124vb7). I am aware of one example of final *-th* in the 3rd sg. cons. pres. abs. form of the substantive verb, an unhistoric form: ¶179 *bíth* (131rb15). In all remaining examples of the 3rd sg. cons. pres. abs. form (eight), historic *-d(h)* occurs: ¶31 *bidh* (123ra3), ¶32 (123ra18), ¶102 *bidh* (126vb11), ¶109 (127ra25), ¶165 (130rb30), ¶176 *cu mbid* (131ra15), ¶179 (131rb11).

mh and *bh*

The forms *bh* and *mh* alternate in the noun *simhin*, ‘rush’, for example: ¶49 *do boicshimnibh* (123vb20), ¶49 *fod gacha sibhne* (123vb21), ¶101 *boicshimhne* (126va30), ¶101 *boicshibhean* (126vay), ¶101 *simne* (126va31), ¶101 *simne*

²⁹⁵ Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 23 E 25, 4a6. Transcription is my own.

²⁹⁶ McCone, ‘An tSean-Ghaeilge’, 87.

²⁹⁷ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 408, §758.

²⁹⁸ Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, lxxxii, 111:2906.

²⁹⁹ Quin, *Stair*, 70:1308.

(126va33). I am not aware of any examples in IMP which display the vocalisation of palatal *-mh-* and *-bh-* and lengthening of the preceding vowel, i.e. *ibhi* > *i:*, as found in Munster Irish.³⁰⁰

mh is found instead of *gh* in the noun *omh*: ¶108 *ni berbhthar feoil isin rigi sin acht salann do chaithimh le omh* (127ra21). However, in the plural the noun appears as *uighi*: ¶175 *feoil beirbhthi 7 uighi 7 righle* (130vb34-35). The correct historic form is *ogh* or *ugh*, which is also given in IGT.³⁰¹ IGT does not mention *omh*. I am not aware of any earlier example that displays stressed *-gh* becoming *-v/*.

I am aware of one example of alternation between intervocalic broad *bh* and *dh* in the pl. noun *Iudhaidhe/Iubhaidhe*, ‘jews’, namely: ¶17 *sin na nIubhaidhe* (122ra1), ¶8 *gu cualatar na hIudhaidhi* (121rb21). The Old Irish noun *idal*, found in IGT as *idhal* and *iúdhal*, occurs twice in IMP, both with *dh*, namely: ¶1 *idhul* (121ra9), ¶8 *idhuil* (121rby). However, the spelling *iubhul* is found in GSM, also in the hand of Scribe A, namely: *iubhul* (105vb8).³⁰²

bh is often written *u* in the noun *probhinnse*, for example: ¶101 *probhinnsi* (126va27), ¶102 *probhinnsi* (126vb3), ¶104 *prouinnsi* (126vb21), ¶109 *prouindsi* (126ra22). This same orthographical variation in the noun *probhinnse* was noticed by Quin in *SE*,³⁰³ and is common elsewhere, e.g. in the spelling *Siuán* for *Siobhán* in the duanaire of the contemporary Book of Fermoy.

2.2. Initial Mutations

Lenition

Lenition is marked with a punctum or a suprascript *˘* over the consonant in the hand of Scribe A in IMP, for example: ¶1 *nisam omnac-sa* (121ra16), or by adding a *h* to the lenited consonant, for example: ¶2 *con imat cathrach* (121ra26).

³⁰⁰ O’Rahilly, *Dialects*, 25.

³⁰¹ IGT II §30: *ogh, don ugh, méd an uighi, na huighi, dona huighibh, méd na n-uigheadh, méd na n-ogh*.

³⁰² Transcription is my own. Cf. Hyde, *Gabháltas*, 84.

³⁰³ Quin, *Stair Ercuil*, 237.

Marking of lenition is erratic in grammatical situations where it would be expected, such as following nom. sg. fem., gen. sg. masc., dat. sg.,³⁰⁴ nom. pl. o-stem nouns. I am aware of the following examples which display this feature in the nom. sg. fem.: ¶4 in *Airmein mhor* (121ra31), ¶3 in *Airmein beac* (121ra25), ¶146 *inis mhuiridi* (129rb15), ¶159 (129vb28), ¶158 *inis muiridi* (130va16). And in the dat. sg.: ¶117 *dia irghabaila nirt chatha* (127vay), ¶122 *dia n-irghabaila nirt catha* (128ra23).

I am also aware of lenition being marked in the following grammatical circumstances in IMP.

On a noun in the accusative directly following the verb

I am aware of only one example in IMP which displays lenition of the accusative (inflected or non-inflected) directly following the verb,³⁰⁵ namely: ¶32 *luidhset na druidh (...) do berat bhoicshimhin n-dimoir leo* (123ra9-12). This example also contains the correct Classical use of the accusative followed by nasalisation.³⁰⁶ In all other instances in IMP of an accusative directly following the verb, of which I am aware, lenition is not shown: ¶1 *in neach nach guighfe caithfidh calma a chuirp fria clodh* (121ra15), ¶14 *do berat dorcha for dreich gréne* (121vb12), ¶115 *na tartraighidh immorro (...) cu tucsat saeire* (127va11), ¶130 *do tucsat celmhaine na n-druadh* (128va13-14), ¶137 *do ronsat palas rigda for loch* (128vb27), ¶179 *ni benuit crann na duille* (131rb10), ¶179 *ní chanuit gó tria bhithu* (131rb6), ¶148 *nar fhaelsat braen dia cru* (129rbx).

Initial consonant of a verb in the relative.

Lenition is often marked on the first consonant of the relative form of the verb in IMP,³⁰⁷ for example: ¶1 *ár gidh scéla ainscristaidhi fhaisneighther sunn* (121ra11).

³⁰⁴ IGT I §157. Mac Cárthaigh, *Art*, 146-47.

³⁰⁵ IGT I §81; McManus, 'Nua-Ghaeilge', 356;

³⁰⁶ IGT I §187; Mac Cárthaigh, *Art*, 147-49.

³⁰⁷ Breatnach, 'An Mhéan-Ghaeilge', 287-88.

¶107 *gurub amhlaidh dhithighit laeich na criche na nathracha* (127ra10), ¶178 *rigi Musili didiu fria hor rigi na paghanach fhuil si* (130vb20-21), ¶186 *carna camull mhelit* (131va23), ¶187 *carna 7 loim 7 righle chaithid* (131vb9).

Nasalisation

Nasalisation is not always marked in the text, however it is commonly found on *g*, *d*, *b* and vowels, for example: ¶12 *do ronta palas rigda lais a n-glind dithoghlaidhi for sliabh urard, co neimh n-oir fair* (121va27-30), ¶16 *ro creid do Choimdhidh na n-dul* (121vb34), ¶19 *co n-imat cloch m-buadh* (122ra26). Nasalisation is marked on two occasions on a *c* by a preceding *g*, namely ¶167 *iar gcur* (130va5), and ¶169 *a gcathuibh* (130va8). Furthermore, reduplication of liquid consonants *l* and *r* occurs in a number of instances under the influence of nasalisation, namely: on *l* in three instances, ¶92 *a llin* (126rb2), ¶115 *i llogh* (127va12), ¶151 *i lliu* (129vb7), and on *r* on one instance, namely ¶191 *i rraibhe* (131vb31).

As indicated in IGT,³⁰⁸ nasalisation occurs on an adjective in IMP after the acc. sg. (following a preposition that takes the accusative) and gen. pl. noun, for example: ¶182 *for in muir n-Indeagda sin* (131rb31), ¶180 *immat leomhan n-dubh isin crich sin* (131rb22). I have found no examples of nasalisation being used to mark the direct object after the acc. sg. article, as was the norm in Old Irish.³⁰⁹

Nasalisation is also marked in the following grammatical situations.

Calcified Old Irish neuter

Nasalisation is calcified following the OIr. nom. sg. neut. noun *tír*, in: ¶10 *tir n-aili fora hor gu righ fuirre* (121va10). However, the prepositional pronoun *fuirri*, indicates that the noun was considered feminine, as does lenition following the noun in the nom. sg. in: ¶162 *tir shleibhtighi* (130va33). Nasalisation also follows the masculine noun *ceolán*, ‘bell’, in ¶90 *ceolan beag n-ordha for cois gacha sebhaic dibh* (126ra22). These may be examples of attempts at pseudoarchaic reconstructions of Old Irish neuter nasalisation in the nominative. Conversely, nasalisation in *tir n-*

³⁰⁸ IGT I §157. Mac Cárthaigh, *Art*, 148-49.

³⁰⁹ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 148.

aili, and *ceolan beag n-ordha*, sentences which have no verb in the main clause, may be caused by the analogical pressure of sentences in IMP which begin with the substantive verb *fil* in absolute position, which was followed by the accusative in Old Irish and Classical Irish.³¹⁰ For example: ¶6 *fil crich n-aili innti* (121rb6), ¶8 *fil cathair n-aili isin crich sin* (121rb21).

Accusative of time

Traces of the accusative of time³¹¹ are commonly found in certain expressions, such as: ¶148 *la n-aon* (129rb26), ¶17 *laa n-aen* (121vb36), ¶156 *feacht n-aill* (129vb33), ¶191 *feacht n-aen* (131vb30). These expressions meaning, ‘one day’, ‘on one occasion’ or ‘on another occasion’, are common in Early Modern Irish narrative, and are also found in Céitinn.³¹² The expression *lá n-aon* is found a total of six times in IMP, namely: ¶8 *laithi n-aen* (121rb24), ¶17 *laa n-aen* (121vb36), ¶30 (122rb29), ¶98 (126va7), ¶98 *la n-aen* (126va12), ¶148 (129rb26), while *lá aon* and *lá éigin* do not occur. The expression *laithi airighthi* is used once in IMP, as an accusative of time but without nasalisation on *airighthi*, namely: ¶116 *aes na criche... ticit laithi airighthi* (127va21). The expression *feacht n-aill* is used twice in IMP, namely: ¶24 *feacht n-aill* (122rbx), ¶156 *feacht n-aill* (129vb33). The expression *fecht n-aen* is found once, namely: ¶191 *feacht n-aen* (131vb30), while *feacht aill* and *feacht aen* are absent. In contrast, the expression *lá n-aon* is never found in GM. Instead, Ó Mathghamhna uses *lá éigin*.³¹³ Similarly, the expression *feacht n-aill* is used once in the copy of GM found in R,³¹⁴ whereas in E it is replaced by *uair éigin*.³¹⁵

³¹⁰ Ibid., 479: IGT I §129. Mac Cárthaigh, *Art*, 130-31. For a discussion of this use of *fil* in IMP see ‘Verbal Forms’ below.

³¹¹ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 157.

³¹² Bergin, *TBg*, 10 and 444.

³¹³ Stokes, ‘Maundeville’, 234.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 236.

³¹⁵ Ó Gliaáin, *Scéal*, 25.

Nasalising relatives

I am aware of three nasalising relative clauses in IMP when the antecedent is the object of the verb of the relative clause.³¹⁶ In two examples the verb used is OIr. *ailid*, *t*-pret. *alt*,³¹⁷ and in the third it is OIr. *adraid*:

¶89 In ri didiu cu maithibh a righ 7 a thaisech for tulaigh aird oca
feithimh samlaidh 7 leomhuin for cuanairt lais o nach teidheadh fiadh for
bith na anmann eceannus archena or is forro ro-*n*-alt iat. (126ra9-14)

¶112 is fria galaib ro-*n*-altad sib. (127rb27)

¶23 do Macametus no-*n*-adhrum. (122rb23-25)

The fact that two of these nasalising relative clauses are constructed using the same verb and are almost identical, indicates that the phrase may have been a stock formula taken from another text. I will discuss in Chapter IV how this is a common feature of the Irish author of IMP. In all three cases these clauses are pseudo-archaisms in IMP, comparable to Ó Cléirigh's attempts to reconstruct Old Irish nasalising relative clauses in the *Beatha*.³¹⁸

I am not aware of any examples of nasalising relative clauses in IMP when the antecedent designates the time at or during which the content of the relative clause takes place.³¹⁹ I am aware of only one example, in the hand of the relief scribe, of lenition being marked after the temporal conjunction *cein*, namely: ¶79 in *cen bhis Cublay for a chuid* (125rbz).

³¹⁶ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 317.

³¹⁷ Strachan, *Paradigms*, 64.

³¹⁸ McManus, 'Language', 64-65.

³¹⁹ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 316.

2.3. Nominal Inflection

Methodology

The following paragraphs will discuss certain features of the nominal system in IMP, which draws on elements from Old Irish, Classical Irish and Early Modern forms. In order to best picture the range of linguistic forms used by the author of IMP, I have arranged paradigms of the nouns under discussion and aligned their inflection as occurs in IMP with their corresponding declensions in IGT to represent Classical Irish, and in Thurneysen's *Grammar of Old Irish* and DIL to represent Old Irish. This allows for a visualisation of the extent to which the Irish author was blending archaic language with Classical and Early Modern forms in IMP. A number of nouns in IMP fluctuate in gender and draw on more than one declension, as expected in Early Modern and Classical Irish.³²⁰ In order to display this I have arranged a number of paradigms which reflect the multiple declensions found in IGT and aligned them with the paradigm of the noun from IMP.

Each example in IMP has a footnote with my transcription from L of the passage which contains the nominal form in question. In the following paradigms the forms from IMP are found in the right column, with my transcriptions and corresponding paragraph number from Stokes's edition in the footnotes; Old Irish forms are found in the left column, and Classical forms in the middle. In paradigms which show two Classical Irish forms, these are arranged in the left and middle column, and the declension in IMP in the right column.

³²⁰ Ó Cuív, *Párliament*, 160; Ó Maolchonaire, *Desiderius*, xviii; Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, lvii-lviii.

u-quality

As expected in Classical Irish, *u*-quality is shown in the dat. sg. of the following *o*-stem nouns in IMP:

	PORT/CNOC/CORP/LORG/GORT					
	Old Irish		IGT §67		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	corp	coirp	port	na puirt	port ³²¹	lubhghuirt ³²²
acc.	corp n-	corpu		íar phurta	ria corp ³²³	
dat.	corp ³²⁴	corpaibh	don phurt	dona portaibh	cnuc ³²⁵ curp ³²⁶ lurg ³²⁷ / lorg ³²⁸	
gen.	coirp	corp	méd an phuirt	méd na port	puirt ³²⁹	

Nouns, such as *corp*, which resisted *u*-quality in Old Irish³³⁰ have been generalised to take *u*-quality in IMP and in Classical Irish. The inflection of these nouns shows allignment between IGT and IMP, but there is also the example of ¶113 *fora lorg* (127rb35), which displays loss of *u*-quality as in Middle and Early Modern Irish.

The presence of *u*-quality in monosyllabic *o*-stem nouns is a common feature of Early Modern Irish prose and is found in Ó Maolchonaire's *Desiderius*, who also has dat. sg. *curp*,³³¹ and in *LSN*, which contains dat. sg. forms *sceol*³³² and *neoll*.³³³ Williams has suggested that although dat. sg. masc. forms were still being used during

³²¹ 122ra31: ¶20 *conid airi sin is port airisim da gach aen.*

³²² 125ra25: ¶73 *lubhghuirt.*

³²³ 129ra25: ¶140 *ria chorp.*

³²⁴ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 107 and 177. *DIL s.v.* 'corp,' accessed 02/01/18 dil.ie/12497.

³²⁵ 121vb31: ¶16 *a cnuc.*

³²⁶ 127vb32: ¶120 *dia churp.*

³²⁷ 127vb18: ¶118 *fora lurg sin.*

³²⁸ 127rb35: ¶113 *fora lorg.*

³²⁹ 128ra4: ¶121 *in phuirt.*

³³⁰ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 107.

³³¹ Ó Maolchonaire, *Desiderius*, xxiv, 43:1217.

³³² Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, 41:907.

³³³ Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, 97:2516.

the seventeenth century these reflected orthographical norms rather than Early Modern pronunciation.³³⁴

I am aware of only two examples of *u*-quality occurring after a high vowel in the dat. sg. in IMP, namely: ¶9 *dá cét punt for cach n-eoch* (121va6). This is the dat. sg. form found in IGT.³³⁵ The full paradigm of this noun is shown in the following table:

	EACH					
	Old Irish		IGT §171		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	ech	eich	each	na heich	each ³³⁶	eich ³³⁷
acc.	ech	eocho	each	gabh eocho	each ³³⁸	eocho ³³⁹
dat.	eocho	eachaibh	don each	dona heachaibh	eocho ³⁴⁰	eachaibh ³⁴¹
gen.	eich	ech	méd an eich	méd na n- each		each ³⁴²

Similarly, *u*-quality is shown on the dat. sg. of the indef. pron. *neach* in three instances, namely: ¶21 *do neoch* (122rb6), ¶48 (123vb9), ¶52 (124ra4). I am also aware of one example of the nom. sg. form following the preposition *for*, namely: ¶119 *for neach dhe* (127vb29).

OIr. dat. sg. *neurt*,³⁴³ nom. sg. *nert*, is not attested in IMP, instead we find five examples of *nirt* (= *niort*): ¶7 *a nirt chatha* (121rb13), ¶117 (127vay), ¶122 (128ra23), ¶127 (128rb27), ¶156 (129vby). I am not aware of any use of the nom. sg. form *nert* in the dat. sg. in IMP.

³³⁴ Williams, 'Na Canúintí', 450.

³³⁵ IGT II §171.

³³⁶ 130vb32: ¶175 *each*.

³³⁷ 131vb6: ¶187 *eich*.

³³⁸ 126rb25: ¶96 *in t-each*.

³³⁹ 127rbx.

³⁴⁰ 121va6: ¶9 *for cach neoch*. Cf. also ¶121 *dh'eocho*. 128ra8.

³⁴¹ 127rb31: ¶113 *fora naghaidh dia eachaibh*.

³⁴² 123va13: ¶40 *a n-each*.

³⁴³ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 107: IGT II §65.

OIr. dat. sg. *ciunn*, nom. sg. *cenn*, is not attested in IMP, instead we find two examples of *cinn/cind* (= *cionn*), which is an alternative OIr. form and the form which occurs in IGT: ³⁴⁴ ¶61 *os cinn na curad* (124va2), ¶96 *fora cind* (126rb26). I am also aware of one example of the nom. sg. form being used after *for*, namely: ¶55 *faidhis teachta for ceann a laech* (124ra31).

There are two dat. sg. forms of *gleand* in IGT, namely *don ghlionn* and *don gh lind*,³⁴⁵ but only the second one of these is attested in IMP. It occurs three times, namely: ¶12 *a n-glind* (121va28), ¶15 *isin glind* (121vb21), ¶178 (131rax).

I am also aware of three examples in IMP where *u*-quality is shown in the gen. sg. of *o*-stem nouns in IMP, namely: ¶68 *a bh-faicsin neoil* (124vb32), ¶79 *na cairchi ciuil* (125rb34),³⁴⁶ ¶162 *imat gacha ceneoil napad* (130rb5).³⁴⁷ There is also one example in the nom. sg.: ¶187 *beoil leathna* (131vb3).³⁴⁸

Fluctuation in gender and mixed declensions

Gender fluctuates in the inflection of a number of nouns in IMP, as reflected in IGT.³⁴⁹ Following is the paradigm of *loingius*, which inflects both as an *o*-stem and as a *ā*-stem in the gen. sg. in IMP:

	LOINGIUS					
	IGT §53 (masc.)		IGT §54 (fem.)		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	loingeas	na loingis na loingsi	loingeas	na loingsi	loingius ³⁵⁰	loingis ³⁵¹
acc.	loingeas	tug loingsi	loinges	iar loingsi		
dat.	don	dona	don loingis	dona	loingius ³⁵²	

³⁴⁴ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 177.

³⁴⁵ IGT II §66.

³⁴⁶ Cf. IGT II §75: *reódh, don riúdh, don reódh, méd an riúdh, méd an reoidh, na riúdh, na reóidh, dona reódhaibh méd na reódh, féch riúdha 7 reódha.*

³⁴⁷ 130rb5.

³⁴⁸ 131vb3.

³⁴⁹ Ó Cuív, 'Grammatical', 89-92; McManus, 'Nua-Ghaeilge', 367-68.

³⁵⁰ 128vb11: ¶134 *is lia do loingius do innat srotha in beatha.*

³⁵¹ 128ra15: ¶122 *loingis in righ.*

³⁵² 129va13: ¶149 *gu ro clodhsat for culai cusin loingius doridhisi.*

	loinges	loingsibh		loingsibh		
gen.	méd an	méd na	méd na	méd na	loingis ³⁵³	
	loingis	loingseadh/ na loinges	loingsi	loingseadh/ loingeas	loingsi ³⁵⁴	

There are two gen. sg. of *loingius* in IMP, namely *o*-stem *loingis* and *ā*-stem *loingsi*, indicating that the Irish author was inflecting this noun both as masculine and feminine in the text.

Another noun with composite inflection is *dorus*, ‘door’, which occurs in IGT §54 beside *loingeas*. It forms its nom. pl. as a *u*-stem: ¶150 *osluicid aes na cathrach na doirrsi* (129vay). However, the gen. pl. *u*-stem + *adh* form *doirrseadh* is not attested in IMP, and instead we find gen. pl. *o*-stem form *dorus*: ¶77 *ac gabáil na ndorus* (125rb14), as permitted in IGT.

Fluctuation in gender is also found in the inflection of *taebh*, which inflects as a *u*-stem in the gen. sg., ¶96 *shaeri gacha taebha* (126rb12), ¶159 *cét míle gacha taebha dhi* (130ra23), and in the dat. sg., ¶8 *don taebh anaill* (121rb23), but also as an *ā*-stem in the dat. sg., ¶66 *don taeibh araill* (124vb11).³⁵⁵ In the acc. sg. we find *taebh*: ¶111 *fria taeb* (127rb19), ¶112 (127rb21), ¶112 (127rb22), ¶131 (128va13), ¶136 (128vb17), ¶143 (129ra33). This also reflects the forms in IGT, which are displayed in the following table, with the forms that occur in IMP highlighted in bold:³⁵⁶

	TAEBH					
	IGT §38 - masc.		IGT §39 - fem.		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	taebh	na taeibh/ na taebha	taebh	na taebha		
acc.	taebh	íar taebha	taeibh	íar taebha	taebh ³⁵⁷	fria taebhu ³⁵⁸

³⁵³ 129va16: ¶149 buailis in ainbhthine *forbha* in loingis fria taebhaibh 7 tractaibh na hinnsi.

³⁵⁴ 129va21: ¶149 tiaghait tricha míle don t-slogh loingsi sin.

³⁵⁵ 124vb11.

³⁵⁶ IGT II §38: trágh .f., don trágh, méd an tráigh, méd an trágha, na tráigh, na trágha, dona trághaibh, méd na trágh, iar thrágha. IGT II §39: trágh, .b. don tráigh, méd na tráighe, na trágha, dona trághaibh, méd na trágh, iar trágha.

³⁵⁷ 127rb11: ¶112 fria taebh.

dat.	don taebh	dona taebhaibh	don taeibh	dona taebhaibh	taebh ³⁵⁹ / taeibh	taebhaibh ³⁶⁰
gen.	méd an taeibh/ méd an taebha	méd na taebh	méd na taeibhe	méd na taebh	taebha	

Fluctuation in gender is also seen in the inflection of *cathair*. This form is the only one found in IMP, but is marked *lochtach* in IGT.³⁶¹ In the nom. sg. we find *cathair*: ¶3 *Glaisia is cathair oirechais di* (121ra27). In the gen. sg. and pl. we find *cathrach*: ¶11 *co nimat duinti 7 cathrach* (121va19), ¶148 *for aes na cathrac* (129vb34). In the dat. sg., both *cathair* and *cathraigh* are attested: ¶139 *don chathair sin* (129ra19). ¶8 *bai sliabh urard frisin cathraigh sin* (121rb23). This declension is the same as in IGT which has: *caithir, don chaithir, don chaithrigh*.³⁶²

The noun *talamh* is inflected as a masculine noun in the gen. sg. in two examples, namely: ¶58 *fria licuibh 7 tuinnidhibh in talmhan* (124rb24); ¶148 *do lorcuibh 7 tuinidhibh in talman forro* (129va5). Its gender is also revealed by the use of the 3rd sg. masc. poss. pron. *a* to refer to it in: ¶25 *do beanfadh in talamh a thoirthi foirn* (122va6). However it also inflects as a gen. sg. nasal stem noun in one example, namely: ¶135 *cathair na talmhan* (128vb16). This is also reflected in IGT.³⁶³

	TALAMH			
	IGT §19		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	talamh	na talmhain	talamh	
acc.	talamh	féich thalmhana		
dat.	don talmhain	dona talmhanaibh		
gen.	méd na talmhan / méd an talmhan	méd na talmhan	in talmhan/ na talmhan	

³⁵⁸ 125rb5: ¶75 *fria taebhu*.

³⁵⁹ 121rb23.

³⁶⁰ 125vb30: ¶186 *for culaibh 7 taebaibh in tighi*.

³⁶¹ IGT II §120.

³⁶² IGT II §120. Despite this prohibition forms based on *cathair* occur from time to time in Classical poetry.

³⁶³ IGT II §17 also shows *talamh* with *o*-stem inflection.

Fluctuation between masculine and feminine gender in another early neuter is found in the noun *tír*, as indicated in IGT.³⁶⁴ In one example *tír* nasalises the following adjective in the nom. sg., in pseudoarchaic reconstruction of the neuter, but feminine gender is expressed by the 3rd sg. fem. prep. pron. *fuirre*: ¶10 *tír n-aili fora h-or gu righ fuirre* (121va10). The following adjective is lenited in another example: ¶162 *tír shleibhtighi* (130va33). In the gen. sg. it takes the masculine article in: ¶118 *for loscudh 7 innreadh an tiri* (127vb8). In the dat. sg.: ¶121 *isin tír sin* (128ra7). I am aware of two examples of the dat. pl. form ¶90 *a tíribh ciana* (126ra21), ¶90 (126ra24). All other plural forms of *tír* are found in the compound *iltír*, for example in the gen. pl.: ¶162 *is anorach la rigaibh na n-iltire* (130rb9). Two dat. pl. forms occur in IMP, namely, *iltiribh* and *iltirthibh*: ¶188 *fria h-iltiribh* (131vb18), ¶162 *beruit iat dia creic a n-ilthirthaibh* (130rb7). The following table aligns the forms found in IGT with those which occur in IMP:

	TÍR			
	IGT §45 (masc. and fem.)		IMP	
nom.	tír	na tíre	tír n- ³⁶⁵ / tír ^L ³⁶⁶	
acc.		féich tíre		
dat.	don tír	dona tíribh	tír ³⁶⁷	iltiribh ³⁶⁸ / ilthirthaibh ³⁶⁹ / tíribh ³⁷⁰
gen.	méd na tíre/ méd an tíre	méd na tíreadh	an tiri ³⁷¹	na n-iltire ³⁷²

The dat. pl. form *ilthirthaibh* probably reflects a spoken form which displays the advancement of strong dental endings as distinctive plural forms during the late Early

³⁶⁴ IGT II §45.

³⁶⁵ 121va10.

³⁶⁶ 130va33.

³⁶⁷ 128ra7.

³⁶⁸ 131vb18.

³⁶⁹ 130rb7.

³⁷⁰ 126ra21.

³⁷¹ 127vb8.

³⁷² 130rb9.

Modern period, but are given as *lochtach* in IGT:³⁷³ *trí tirthi san n-ágh úaighfe .l.*³⁷⁴

The expansion of strong dental endings will be discussed under the next heading.

Formation of new plural forms

-adha

There are two plural forms given for of *io-* and *iā-*stems in IGT, namely *-a* and *-adha*. Both of these are attested in IMP. The following table compares the inflection of OIr. *io*-stem *escrae*, with its declension in IGT and its forms in IMP. I have also added a number of other nouns which follow the same inflection pattern as *escra* in IGT, and which will be discussed below.

	EASCRA					
	Old Irish		IGT §2		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	escrae ³⁷⁵	escrai	esgra	na h-esgra/ na h-esgradha	eascra ³⁷⁶ tunna ³⁷⁷	eascrai ³⁷⁸ / eascradha ³⁷⁹ tunna ³⁸⁰ cluitheadha ³⁸¹ reifeadha ³⁸²
acc.	escrae	escru	esgra	tug esgra/ esgradha		
dat.	escru	escraib	don esgra	dona esgruibh/		tunnaibh ³⁸³ fonnasaidhibh ³⁸⁴

³⁷³ Ó Cuív, *Párlament*, 161.

³⁷⁴ IGT II §45.

³⁷⁵ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 179.

³⁷⁶ 125vb34: ¶87 *eascra*.

³⁷⁷ 125rb22: ¶79 no bhí tunna ordha.

³⁷⁸ 125ra23: ¶125 ina taiscthe a cuaich 7 a n-eascrai.

³⁷⁹ 124ra5: ¶52 na h-eascradha.

³⁸⁰ 125rb23: ¶79 *cethri* tunna ordha.

³⁸¹ 121va32: ¶12 *cluitheadha* 7 *cleasa* imdha leo.

³⁸² 126rb5: ¶92 *reifeadha*.

³⁸³ 125rb27: ¶79 *cosna* tunnaibh.

³⁸⁴ 124vb1: ¶65 do cheangal do *reifeadhaibh* 7 *fhonnsaidibh*.

				dona esgradhuibh		ceansaidhibh ³⁸⁵ seomradhuibh ³⁸⁶
gen.	escrai	escrae	méd an esgra	méd na n- esgra/ méd na n- esgradh		cluitheadh ³⁸⁷

The phonological reduction of unstressed vowels to /ə/ during the Middle Irish period caused the distinctive inflectional endings of *io*-stem nouns to coalesce, which in turn led to a restructuring of the nominal sector. The new distinct plural form *-adha-* was derived from acc. pl. forms of nouns ending in *-d*.³⁸⁸ As was mentioned above, in the discussion of orthography and phonology of IMP regarding the forms *-adha-* > *-aí-*, two nom. pl. forms of the noun *eascra*,³⁸⁹ ‘vessel’, are attested in IMP, namely Classical Irish: ¶52 *na h-eascradha* (124ra5), and Old Irish: ¶125 *eascrai* (125ra23). I have argued above that *eascrai* shows how the Irish author was emulating OIr. *-io* stem nom. pl. endings in *-ai*, which became /ə/ during the Middle Irish period due to the phonological erosion of unstressed vowels.³⁹⁰ The author of IMP uses this Old Irish orthography in five other instances in the text: ¶18 *for culai* (122ra18), ¶80 *oo culai* (126ra14), ¶22 *a n-ilitrumh n-ordhai* (122rb4), ¶26 *fo-s-gebha fasach fodai* (122va13), ¶36 *araill dib la druinechus 7 lamhdhai* (123rb15). I believe these examples provide analogical evidence for the author’s tendency to use Old Irish *-ae* endings in IMP. Gray noticed a similar feature in the forms used in *Cath Maige Tuired*, written during the first half of the fifteenth century by Gilla Riabhach Ó Cléirigh.³⁹¹

Conversely, if *eascrai* were evidence of a phonetic form of *eascradha*, it would be the only such form in IMP of which I am aware. In fact, this dental ending is consistently found as *-adha-* or *-aidhi-* in IMP. O’Rahilly and Ua Súilleabháin have shown that the Middle and Early Modern Irish tendency to alternate palatal and non-

³⁸⁵ 125vb28.

³⁸⁶ 128vb32.

³⁸⁷ 126ra33: ¶91 *oirisid fein na shuidhi oc feithimh na cleas 7 na cluitheadh sin*.

³⁸⁸ Williams, ‘Na Canúintí’, 450-51.

³⁸⁹ IGT II §2.

³⁹⁰ Russell, *Introduction*, 60.

³⁹¹ Gray, *Cath*, 13. The text is found in: British Library MS, Harley 5280, 74b: ‘Gilla riabach mac Tuathail meic Taide caim I Clerich.’ Cf. Flower, *Catalogue* ii, 298-299.

palatal *gh* (/ɣ(ʰ)/) after *a* (*ai*)³⁹² gave rise to /əi/ in stressed syllables and /i:/ in unstressed syllables.³⁹³ This process of palatalisation of medial /ɣ/ is seen in the dat. pl. forms ¶65 *fonnsaidhibh* (124vb1) and ¶86 *ceansaidhibh* (125vb28) in IMP. On the other hand the tendency to retain broad /ɣ/ in *-adha-* is seen in dat. pl. form ¶137 *seomradhuibh* (128vb32).

Middle Irish reduction of unstressed vowels to /ə/ made the sg. and pl. forms of *io-* and *iā-*stem nouns indistinguishable, however they were still in use in Classical Irish and are represented in IGT.³⁹⁴ The use of nom. pl. *tunna* after the num. adj. *cethri* and of dat. pl. *tunnaibh* indicates that Old and Classical Irish plural forms ending in *-a* were also being used by the author of IMP.

There are three nom. pl. forms of OIr. *druí*³⁹⁵ in IMP. This noun is used only in the plural in IMP, and occurs in seven plene readings. The first form is the historic plural *druid*, (*druíd*, *druïd*),³⁹⁶ which occurs once: ¶32 *luidhset na druïdh fora cliathaibh fis* (123ra10). This form is not found in IGT, but it is attested in Middle Irish, for example in the second recension of the *Táin* from the Book of Leinster: *is ann luid Mac Con i n-imaccallaim fria druïd*.³⁹⁷ I believe the spelling *druid* in IMP is a recollection of the historic plural rather than a representation of final *-idh* > *-í*. The second form is *draidhe*, which occurs twice in IMP: ¶58 *faidhis Cublay a draidhe uadha* (124rb21), ¶164 *fiafraighit dia ndraidhibh* (130rb19). The third form is *draithi*, which occurs four times: ¶32 *do berar a ndraithi dia saighid* (123ra7), ¶32 *triallait na draithi* (123ra17), ¶58 *tecuit na draithi* (124rb25), ¶110 *fiafraghit dia n-draithibh* (126ra29). These last two forms are permitted in IGT, the second *ó chanamhain*.³⁹⁸

Plural forms in *-adha-* also occur on two *ī*-stem nouns in IMP, namely OIr. *inis* and *sétig*, which are displayed in the following paradigms. The OIr. forms of *inis* which Thurneysen does not list have been completed with examples from Old Irish Glosses listed in DIL, the references to which are found in the footnotes. Since *sétig* does not occur in IGT, I have compared the forms in IMP with the declension given by Thurneysen.

³⁹² O’Rahilly, *Dialects*, 178.

³⁹³ McManus, ‘Nua-Ghaeilge’, 354, 366 and 370; Ua Súilleabháin, ‘Gaeilge na Mumhan’, 486. Cf. also Williams, ‘Na Canúintí’, 451.

³⁹⁴ IGT II §1-3.

³⁹⁵ *DIL* s.v. ‘druí,’ accessed 02/01/18 dil.ie/18853. IGT II §85.

³⁹⁶ Ó Cuív, ‘Linguistic’, 21.

³⁹⁷ Dublin, Trinity College MS 1339, 288b37-38. Transcription is my own.

³⁹⁸ IGT II §85, l. 124.

	INIS					
	Old Irish		IGT §150		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	inis ³⁹⁹	indsí ⁴⁰⁰	inis	na h-innse	inis ⁴⁰¹	innseadha ⁴⁰² innsi ⁴⁰³
acc.	insi/ inis	insi ⁴⁰⁴		íar innse	inis ⁴⁰⁵	
dat.	insi/ inis	indsibh ⁴⁰⁶	don inis	dona innsibh		innsibh ⁴⁰⁷
gen.	inse/ inseo	inse ⁴⁰⁸	méd na innse	méd na n- innseadh	innsi ⁴⁰⁹	innseadh ⁴¹⁰

	SÉITIG			
	Old Irish		IMP	
nom.	sétig ⁴¹¹	séitchi	seitic ⁴¹²	seitheadha ⁴¹³
acc.	séitchi	séitchi	seitic ⁴¹⁴	
dat.	séitchi	séitchibh	seitigh ⁴¹⁵	seitchibh ⁴¹⁶
gen.	séitche	séitche		seitheadh ⁴¹⁷

These paradigms show the plural form *-adha-* was being used by the author of IMP though not reflected in IGT. This form was already in use during the Middle Irish

³⁹⁹ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 185-86.

⁴⁰⁰ Stokes, 'Fís Adamnáin', 190.31.

⁴⁰¹ 129rb15: ¶146 *inis mhuidhi*.

⁴⁰² 131rb32: ¶182 *genmotha innseadha na h-India Bice*.

⁴⁰³ 129vb25: ¶153 *seacht n-innsi*.

⁴⁰⁴ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* I, 301.

⁴⁰⁵ 131va13: ¶185 *fil inis lais*.

⁴⁰⁶ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* II, 299.

⁴⁰⁷ 128va5: ¶129 *for innsibh muiridhe*.

⁴⁰⁸ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* I, 301.

⁴⁰⁹ 130ra3: ¶156 *ri na h-innsi*.

⁴¹⁰ 131vb15: ¶188 *oirisiumh do sceluibh innseadh*.

⁴¹¹ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 185.

⁴¹² 122ra25: ¶19 *foifidh a sheitic*.

⁴¹³ 124ra12: ¶53 *ica mbit seitheadha*.

⁴¹⁴ 122vay: ¶27 *ni bhi col fria seitic doib*.

⁴¹⁵ 123rb17: ¶36 *in dun for comus don tseitigh*; 123rbz: ¶38 *cin sheitigh*.

⁴¹⁶ 123va34: ¶44 *la a seitchibh*.

⁴¹⁷ 123va10: ¶39 *imat seitheadh la gach aen*.

period and appears, for example, in *Cogad Gaedhel re Gallaibh: ro daingnit leis dano, dúin ocus daingni, ocus **inseda** ocus rigpuirt aireda na Mumhan.*⁴¹⁸

The absense of the *-adha-* form in the dat. pl. of these nouns may indicate a tendency to retain the original *ī*-stem ending in dat. pl. forms, since *-ibh* would have remained sufficiently distinctive even after reduction of unstressed vowels to /ə/ during the Middle Irish period. However, as I have shown above, dat. pl. forms in *-adhaibh* and *-aidhibh* are attested for other nouns in IMP, suggesting that the analogical pressure of nom. and acc. pl. forms in *-adha-* was already influencing the forms of the dat. pl. in IMP. The Middle and Early Modern pl. form *innseadha* occurs once in IMP, namely: ¶182 *genmotha innseadha na h-India Bice* (131rb33-34), and the gen. pl. form *innseadh* occurs once, namely: ¶188 *oirisiumh do sceluibh innseadh* (131vb14-15). On the other hand, the nom. pl. form *innsi* occurs twice, both after cardinal numeral adjectives, namely: ¶153 *seacht n-innsi* (129vb25), ¶182 *da mili dhech innsi* (131rb32). The use of the nom. sg. form *inis*, which occurs once, after a cardinal numeral substantive is discussed below: ¶153 *.uii. míle inis* (129vb26). This last form will be discussed in more detailed below regarding the nominal forms which follow numbers.

Regarding *séitig*, I am not aware of any plural forms occurring in IMP other than the ones cited in the paradigm above and transcribed in the footnotes.

-(e)adh in the gen. pl.

Williams has suggested that the gen. pl. form *-(e)adh* was the most common in Classical Irish.⁴¹⁹ The expansion of the dental plural *-adha-*, is also seen on a number of gen. pl. forms in *-(e)adh*, which do not have nom. pl. form in *-adha-*. In IMP, I am aware of the following:

OIr. *dúnad*, ‘fort’, occurs once in the gen. pl. as *dúintedh*: ¶123 *daingne a dhúintedh 7 a chathrach* (128ra29-30), besides its OIr. gen. pl. forms *duinte*, which occurs four times in the text: ¶11 *co n-imat duinti* (121va10), ¶128 *ac brised a duinte 7 a cathrach* (128rb36), ¶139 *a meadhon na n-duinte* (129ra11), ¶143 *imat duinte 7*

⁴¹⁸ Todd, *Cogad*, 140:3.

⁴¹⁹ Williams, ‘Na Canúintí’, 452.

chathrach (129ra34). This is reflected in IGT which gives both forms.⁴²⁰ The nom. pl. in IMP is *dúinti*, as in: ¶10 *toglait a n-dinna 7 a n-duinti* (121va14).

Similarly, the borrowed noun *eilifint*,⁴²¹ has two gen. pl. forms in IMP. I am aware of one attestation of the dental pl. form *-(e)adh* in IMP on this noun, namely: ¶42 *imud camhall 7 gribh 7 elifainteadh* (123va24). On the other hand the gen. pl. form *eilifint* occurs four times: ¶110 *m.m. elifint* (127rb15),⁴²² ¶113 *iar faicsin na n-eilifant* (127rb30), ¶113 *la homun na n-eilifant* (127rb31-32). ¶115 *cc. eilifant* (127va13). Although this word is not attested in IGT, the formation of the gen. pl. *-eadh* is permitted for the word *fírmamuint* in bardic language.⁴²³ The dental plural is not attested in any other pl. form of the noun *eilifint* in IMP, the nom. and acc pl. form being *elifainti*,⁴²⁴ and the dat. pl. being *elifaintibh*.⁴²⁵

I am unaware of the gen. pl. form *-(e)adh* being used in any grammatical situation other than the genitive, as was noted by Williams in Early Modern Irish of East Ulster.⁴²⁶

-the/ -te

As well as the formation of new plurals in *-adha-*, Middle and Early Modern Irish endings *-the*, *-te* are also attested in IMP. They are often found as alternative stems to those in *-adha-*, as was noted above in the discussion of the three pl. forms of OIr. *draí* attested in the IMP, namely, historical plural *druid*,⁴²⁷ attested once in IMP but not reflected in IGT,⁴²⁸ the form *draidhe*, which occurs twice in IMP and is found in IGT,⁴²⁹ and the form *draithi*, which occurs four times in the text, namely: ¶32 *do berar a ndraithi dia saighid* (123ra7), ¶32 *triallait na draithi* (123ra17), ¶58 *tecuit na draithi* (124rb25), ¶110 *fiafraighit dia n-draithibh* (126ra29), and is permitted *ó chanamhain* in IGT. These last examples show the advancement of the dental stem *-the* in plural forms.

⁴²⁰ IGT II §48.

⁴²¹ *DIL* s.v. 'elef(a)int,' accessed 02/01/18 dil.ie/19944

⁴²² Cf. gen. sg./pl. *elephant* in *Irish bardic poetry* p. 141.16 (Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhusa).

⁴²³ IGT II §3 and §13.

⁴²⁴ 124ra40: ¶55 *cethri h-elifainti*; 127va2: ¶114 *gonait na tartraigid na helifainnte*.

⁴²⁵ 126ra27: ¶91 *for elifaintibh*; 127va15: ¶115 *for eilifaintibh*.

⁴²⁶ Williams, 'Na Canúintí', 452.

⁴²⁷ 123ra10; Ó Cuív, 'Linguistic', 21.

⁴²⁸ IGT II §85, 124.

⁴²⁹ 124rb21: ¶58 *faidhis Cublay a draidhe uadha*; 130rb19: ¶164 *fiafraighit dia ndraidhibh*.

A similar situation is found in the inflection of *teach/teagh* in IMP, for which two pl. forms are attested, the first is *tighe*, which occurs twice once in the nom. pl. and once in the dat. pl.: ¶133 *gur brisedh a taidhbli 7 a tighi* (128vaz), ¶183 *impóidhit na firu for cula dia tighibh* (131va4-5). This is the only pl. form of *teach/teagh* which occurs in IGT.⁴³⁰ The second form which is used in IMP is *tithe*, in the dat. pl.: ¶92 *ina tithibh* (126rb4). I am not aware of any earlier attestations of this form, but it is the only form of the dat. pl. in the *Párliaement* (seventeenth century), occurring three times: *ionna ttighthibh*, *do na tighthibh*, *astigh ina ttighthibh*,⁴³¹ and is also found three times in the *Turas*, namely: *fo a ttighthibh ósta*, *dia ttighthibh* and *roi-dhes a tighthi*.⁴³²

I am aware of one other example in IMP which shows the advancement of *-the* during the Early Modern period, namely the dat. pl. of *tír*, mentioned above, in the compound *ilthír*: ¶162 *a n-ilthirthaibh* (130rb7). I am also aware of one instance of the strong dental ending *-the* in the gen. pl. form *tirthadh* in the Rennes manuscript version of GM.⁴³³ The form *títhe* is given as *lochdach* in IGT:⁴³⁴ *trí tírthi san n-ágh úaighfe .l.*⁴³⁵ It likely reflects a spoken form which was not permitted in bardic language.

The advancement of *-te* plurals may be exemplified in the noun *sliabh*.⁴³⁶ The nom. and dat. sg. forms are the same in IMP: ¶8 *bai sliabh urard frisin cathraigh sin* (121rb23), ¶8 *for an sliabh ucut* (121rb34). In the nom. pl. the form *sléibhte* is found, in: ¶116 *fasach eisiumh co m-beannuibh 7 sleibhti urarda na timcheall* (127va17), ¶178 *sleibhte 7 beanna urarda isin crich sin* (131ra26). This form is given in IGT *ó chanamhain*, besides the advised, *ceart*, nom. pl. inflection *sliabha* which is not present in IMP. On the other hand the gen. pl. *sliabh*, which is given in IGT as *ceart*, is the only gen. pl. form attested in IMP: ¶14 *fileat dithreabaigh a mainistreibh 7 a sepelaibh a m-beannuibh sliabh* (121vb17). The gen. pl. *ó chanamhain* in IGT, *sléibhteadh*, is not present in IMP. The inflection of this noun in IMP is a good

⁴³⁰ IGT II §31: plural forms: *toighe/tighe*; *toighibh/tighibh*; *toigheadh*; cf. IGT II §164: *teagh fionn mór, don tigh nó don toigh finn móir nó fhind mór nó fhionnmór, méd an tighe, méd an toighe, find móir acu uile, .l. moladh canamhna a ndiaidh an molta ceirt, na tighe fionna móra, mar sin ghabhas ar illradh*.

⁴³¹ Ó Cuív, *Párliaement*, 4:118, 106:3355, 117:3735.

⁴³² Walsh, *Imtheacht*, 66.

⁴³³ Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, 62r30.

⁴³⁴ Ó Cuív, *Párliaement*, 161.

⁴³⁵ IGT II §45.

⁴³⁶ See Ó Cuív, 'Linguistic training', 15, 24-25.

example of how the author was combining Classical Irish with spoken forms in the text.

	SLIABH					
	Old Irish		IGT §66		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	slíab	sléibe	sliabh	na sliabha/ na sléibhti	sliabh ⁴³⁷	sléibhti ⁴³⁸
acc.	slíab	sléibe	sliabh	íar shliabha		
dat.	sléib	sléibib	ar sléibh	dona sliabhaibh/ re sléibhtibh	sliabh ⁴³⁹	
gen.	sléibe	sléibe	méd an t- sliabha/ méd an t- sléibhe	méd na sliabh		sliabh ⁴⁴⁰

The advancement of strong plural ending *-ta* is seen on the noun *gael*, which appears in the plural only as *gaelta*, once in the dat. pl.: ¶121 *do ghaeltuibh* (122rb11), and three times in the nominative: ¶102 *a ngaelta* (126vb7), ¶109 *a ghaelta* (127ra24), ¶164 (130rb22). This form is permitted *ó chanamhain* in IGT.⁴⁴¹

Similarly, I am aware of one example of *seolta*: ¶145 *cethra seolta for gach luing dhibh* (129rb10), besides one example of *seola*: ¶185 *cona seola an aghaidh ghaeithi* (131va17). The *-t* plural is not found in IGT, which gives nom. pl. forms of the similarly inflected noun *reódh*, as *riúidh* and *reóidh*, and acc. pl. forms *riúdha* and *reódha*.⁴⁴² The plural form *seolta* probably corresponds to a spoken form,

⁴³⁷ 121rb23: ¶8 *bai sliabh urard frisin cathraigh sin*.

⁴³⁸ 127va17: ¶116 *fasach eisiumh co m-beannuibh 7 sleibhti urarda na timcheall*; 131ra26: ¶178 *sleibhte 7 beanna urarda isin crich sin*

⁴³⁹ 121rb34: ¶8 *for an sliabh ucut*.

⁴⁴⁰ 121vb l.17.

⁴⁴¹ IGT II §60.

⁴⁴² IGT II §75.

however I am unaware of any earlier attestations. It also occurs in the *Turas*, for example: *tógbhaid a seólta ainnséin*.⁴⁴³

-anna

I am aware of several examples in IMP which display the advancement of nasal plural endings, *-anna*, during the Early Modern period.

OIr. *druimm* occurs once in the plural in IMP, in the dat.: ¶14 *for dromunnibh* (121vb15). This pl. form is permitted *ó chanamhain* in IGT beside the form *droma*.⁴⁴⁴ OIr. acc. pl. *drummai* occurs in the Milan glosses.⁴⁴⁵

OIr. *uam* occurs once in the plural in IMP, in the dat.: ¶61 *i n-uamhunnaib* (124va8). This form is not attested in IGT, which only gives nom. pl. *uamha*, and dat. pl. *uamhaibh*.⁴⁴⁶ However, the nasal plural is a Middle Irish form and is already attested, beside *uamha*,⁴⁴⁷ in *Cogad Gaedhel re Gallaibh: ro sir lacha ocus linti ocus uamhanna na Fodhla fondardi*.⁴⁴⁸

OIr. *ainm* occurs six times in the nom. pl. as *anmanna*: ¶4 *Agiron 7 Baririm a n-anmunna* (121ra34), ¶19 (121ra27), ¶89 (126ra5-6), ¶148 (129rb28), ¶178 (131ra32), ¶186 (131va29-30). This form is permitted *ó chanamhain* in IGT,⁴⁴⁹ besides *anma*. In IMP, the nom. pl. of *ainm*, ‘name’, is identical to the nom. pl. of *anmann*,⁴⁵⁰ ‘animal’, for example: ¶179 *ní marbthar duine na anmanda aili leo* (131rb8), ¶27 *gin anmunna gin fhiadhmhila do mharbhud* (122vax). These plural forms are distinct from those of *anam*, <OIr. *ainim*, ‘soul’, which is *anma* in IMP, for example: ¶179 *a n-doigh anma do beith inntibh* (131rb11). In the gen. pl.: ¶12 *do nertad a n-anma do Macametus* (121vb2). The noun *anam* also has a distinct dat. sg. form: ¶34 *cu ro farcuibh cin anmain* (123ra33).⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴³ Walsh, *Imtheacht*, 8.

⁴⁴⁴ IGT II §41: *sgéith dhatha ar a ndromandaib*.

⁴⁴⁵ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* I, 52.

⁴⁴⁶ IGT II §39 and §41, derived from *na trágha* and *dona trághaibh*.

⁴⁴⁷ Todd, *Cogad*, 253:11.

⁴⁴⁸ Todd, *Cogad*, 188:1-2.

⁴⁴⁹ IGT II §41.

⁴⁵⁰ *DIL s.v.*, ‘1 anmann’ accessed 10/05/18 dil.ie/3675.

⁴⁵¹ See the various declensions of *anam* in IGT II §8, 11, 17, 19.

-acha

I am aware of the plural ending *-acha* on four nouns in IMP, three of which reflect the forms in IGT⁴⁵² namely: ¶45 *maithreachu* (123va36), ¶70 *cathracha* (125ra5), ¶107 *nathracha* (127ra10). The fourth example is the plural of the compound noun *túae*, ‘fort’, + *tebair*, ‘hill’, *tuaitheabhracha*,⁴⁵³ which is used in the following sentence in IMP: ¶61 *curo linsat na tolcha 7 na tuaitheabhracha for gech taebh do uaim* (124rb37-38). A similar sentence is found in the *Táin* from the Book of Leinster: *go ro lina grían glenta 7 fanta 7 tulcha 7 tuaidibreacha na hErend*.⁴⁵⁴ The presence of this form in the Lenster *Táin* indicates that guttural plural *-acha-* was already a productive form during the Middle Irish period.

This comparison also incidentally indicates the Irish author’s use of stock saga formulas in IMP, displaying the manner in which he was not only translating P but also adapting and remodelling it in a distinctly Irish manner. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV.

Interchanging of nom. pl. and acc. pl. forms

Acc. pl. forms in the nominative

The use of acc. pl. forms as the subject of the verb, has been exemplified in the following paradigms of *fear* and *rí*. The following table aligns the paradigm of these nouns in Old Irish, IGT and IMP:

	FEAR					
	Old Irish		IGT §65		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	<i>fer</i> ⁴⁵⁵	<i>fir</i>	<i>fear</i>	<i>fir</i>	<i>fear</i> ⁴⁵⁶	<i>fir</i> ⁴⁵⁷ / <i>firu</i> ⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵² IGT II §32 and §120.

⁴⁵³ *temair/tebair*, *DIL* s.v., ‘1 túaithebair’ accessed on 10/05/18 dil.ie/42192.

⁴⁵⁴ O’Rahilly, *Táin Leinster*, 129, 264: ‘until the sun rises into the vaults of heaven and fills the glens and slopes, the hills and mounds of Ireland.’

⁴⁵⁵ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 176.

⁴⁵⁶ 123rb14: ¶36 as *f* in *cetna inghen laa faifi fear dhibh*.

						/fira ⁴⁵⁹
acc.	fer n-	fíru	fear n-	meall fhira	fear n- ⁴⁶⁰	fíru ⁴⁶¹
dat.	fiur	feraib	d'fir	d'fhearaibh		fearaibh ⁴⁶²
gen.	fír	fer n-	mac fír	meic fhear		fear ⁴⁶³

	RÍ					
	Old Irish		IGT §21		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	rí ⁴⁶⁴	ríg	rí	na rígh	rí ⁴⁶⁵	righ ⁴⁶⁶ / righa ⁴⁶⁷ / righu ⁴⁶⁸
acc.	ríg	ríga	rígh	marbh ríogha	righ ⁴⁶⁹	righa ⁴⁷⁰
dat.	ríg	rígaibh	don rígh	dona ríghaibh	righ ⁴⁷¹	righuibh ⁴⁷²
gen.	ríg	ríg	mac an ríogh	mein na ríogh	righ ⁴⁷³	righ ⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁵⁷ 131vb3-4: ¶187 *leithighthir fria gach cethrar don droing dhaenna a bh-fhir 7 a mna.*

⁴⁵⁸ 131va4: ¶183 *impóidhit na fíru for cula dia tighibh.*

⁴⁵⁹ 131va11: ¶184 *gach cenel toraidh do thir 7 muir no melit fira.*

⁴⁶⁰ 122ra25: ¶19 *foifidh a sheitic la fear n-aili.*

⁴⁶¹ 129rbw: ¶148 *cu ro lásat ár for aes na cathrach, fíru, macu, mna.*

⁴⁶² 128rb18: ¶125 *la fearaibh.*

⁴⁶³ 131rby: ¶183 *oilén na bh-fhear.*

⁴⁶⁴ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 202.

⁴⁶⁵ 125vb5: ¶84 *no bidh in ri na shuidhi righ uaisdibh.*

⁴⁶⁶ 123ra21: ¶33 *ro gairmitt chuigi a righ 7 a thaisigh 7 a charuid; 122vb23: ¶29 ro umhlaighseat .uii. righ dho.*

⁴⁶⁷ 122vby: ¶31 *ro gairmit a righa 7 a thaisigh dia shaighid; 129ra1: ¶138 ro h-oirdneadh nai righa do Tartraidibh forro.*

⁴⁶⁸ 125va3: ¶80 *ni samhail doibh rigu nait slóig for bith.*

⁴⁶⁹ 121va10: ¶10 *gu righ fuirri.*

⁴⁷⁰ 124vb6: ¶66 *acht a riga.*

⁴⁷¹ 121vb5: ¶13 *ot clos do Alan .i. do righ na Tartraidhi.*

⁴⁷² 123rb3: ¶45 *do righuibh.*

⁴⁷³ 121ra2: ¶1 *bai bráthair righ an aibit san Fronsas.*

⁴⁷⁴ 126rb6: ¶92 *pupla na righ.*

These paradigms show how the Irish author was using Old and Classical Irish acc. pl. *firu/fira* and *riga/righu* in nominative position beside regular nom. pl. forms, thus: ¶187 *leithighthir fria gach cethrar don droing dhaenna a bh-fhir 7 a mna* (131vb3-4), is found beside: ¶183 *impóidhit na **firu** for cula dia tighibh* (131va4). The nom. pl. form only occurs once,⁴⁷⁵ and is used in nominative position, whereas the acc. pl. form occurs five times, and is used as an accusative twice, namely: ¶119 *do níatt a rinnadh forro, firu, macu, mna* (127vb25), ¶148 *for aes na cathrach, firu, macu, mna, firu* (129rb34), and three times as a nominative, namely: ¶183 *impóidhit na **firu** for cula dia tighibh* (131va4), ¶184 *fira amhainsi iat* (131va9), ¶184 *gach cenel toraidh do thir 7 mhuir no melit fira* (131va11). I am not aware of any examples of the nom. pl. form *firu/fira* being used as an accusative.

The nom. pl. *righ* is found four times as a nominative in IMP, namely: ¶33 *righ* (123ra21), ¶29 (122vb23), ¶54 (124ra21), ¶169 (130va17), but never as an accusative plural. On the other hand the acc. pl. forms *riga/righu* occur six times as nominatives: ¶31 *rogairmit a riga 7 a thaisigh dia shaigid* (122vbx), ¶91 *a riga 7 a thoisigh 7 a shlogha ina sreathaibh 7 ina neisibh allamuigh de* (126ra29), ¶127 *do gairit cuigi a riga 7 a thoisigh* (128rb24), ¶138 *rohoirdneadh nai riga do thartraidibh forro* (129ra1), ¶189 *.iiii. riga dhibh oc adhrad don fhirdhia* (131vb27), ¶80 *ni samhail doib rigu nait slúaig for bith* (125va3), ¶85 *a druim fho túath na righu for a dheis 7 na righna fora cli* (125vb20), and once as an accusative, ¶66 *acht a riga* (124vb6).

Besides these examples of acc. pl. *firu/fira* and *riga/righu* occurring in nominative position, I am aware of another three examples which show acc. pl. forms being used in the nominative, namely: ¶14 *cu treagduid a conu 7 a cuanarta don fhinna ghosidech* (121vb14), ¶15 *ní lamhat eonu na fiadhmhilu ceana beith for an sliab sin* (121vb25), ¶183 *mad maccu* (131va8). This brings the total number of examples of acc. pl. forms being used in the nom. pl. in IMP to twelve.

The variation in orthography of the acc. pl. forms, i.e. of *firu* beside *fira* and of *riga* beside *righu*, is explained in IGT: *gach ainm iollraidh cáol 7 a thochlughadh*

⁴⁷⁵ See example ¶187.

*leathan, ní cóir gan a réim connsaine do dhénamh, 7 as cóir deireadh a thochlaighthi a n-u. 's a n-o. 's a n-a,*⁴⁷⁶ and reflects detoning of final unstressed vowels.

Examples in IMP such as: ¶31 *ro gairmit a righa 7 a thaisigh dia shaighid* (122vbx), beside: ¶33 *ro gairmitt chuigi a righ 7 a thaisigh* (123ra21), may indicate that acc. pl. forms had lost grammatical significance and were being used as stylistic enhancers. In fact, the use of acc. pl. forms in nominative position may have added to the archaic tone of the text, enhancing the language of IMP by recalling Old Irish inflection irrespective of its correct grammatical use.

Nom. pl. forms in the accusative

That acc. pl. forms were falling into disuse and that nom. pl. forms were being used in accusative position is implied by IGT which indicates that it is incorrect to use a nom. pl. form, which has a distinctive acc. pl. form, as an accusative: *ní coir ainm iollraidh ar bioth a ndiaigh oibrighthi nó fuláirmhe acht a ccruth tochlughthe*.⁴⁷⁷ I am aware of six examples in IMP which display nom. pl. forms, which have distinct acc. pl. forms, being used as accusatives, namely: ¶10 *marbhuit a sin* (121va15), ¶107 *co treaghdad a cuirp* (127ra14), ¶129 *ni ro chuirset a n-oicc* (128va3), ¶163 *ceanglait a croinn* (130rb13), ¶165 *beanaid aes na criche a croinn a h-uir dia n-athcur doridais* (130rb29-30), ¶172 *loiscid a cuirp diblínaibh* (130vb12).

O’Rahilly noticed this incorrect use of nom. pl. forms in the language of Ó Maolchonaire’s *Desiderius*,⁴⁷⁸ for example: *ór mar cheangloid na cuisleanna 7 na féithe bhalla an chuirp nádúrtha dhá chéile, as amhlóidh sin cheanglas an creideamh boill chuirp spioradáltha mhisticdhe na hEaglaisi dhá chéile eatorra féin*.⁴⁷⁹ Similarly, Falconer noticed the use of nom. pl. forms in the acc. pl. in *LSN*,⁴⁸⁰ for example: *ro toccaib a lamha 7 a rusca fri Dia in cein co roiscc in ceilebrad*,⁴⁸¹ and;

⁴⁷⁶ IGT I §158. Mac Cárthaigh, *Art*, 148-49: ‘every slender nominative plural whose accusative plural is broad, it is incorrect not to lenite it when it is the object of a verb, and its accusative plural ending is correct in *u* and *o* and in *a*.’

⁴⁷⁷ IGT I §78. Mac Cárthaigh, *Art*, 104-05; ‘no nominative plural at all is correct after a verb or an imperative; rather, [it should be] in accusative plural form.’

⁴⁷⁸ Ó Maolchonaire, *Desiderius*, xxiv.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 134:4090-4094.

⁴⁸⁰ Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, lviii.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 76:1789-90.

*acus ina diaid sin do tocaib a ruisc 7 a lama docum ann Athar nemda.*⁴⁸² IMP is therefore not alone in going against the prohibitions of IGT.

This incorrect use of nom. pl. forms in the accusative in IMP is contrasted by a hypercorrect use of acc. pl. forms in the nominative, which, though grammatically incorrect, may have amplified the archaic tone of the text in a recollection of abandoned Old Irish inflections.

Acc. sg. fem. forms as direct objects

I am aware of two examples in IMP of a form identical to a dative singular form and distinct from nominative singular being used as an accusative, namely: ¶130 *do berait in cathraigh* (128va15), ¶133 *co tucsat in cathraigh* (128vb2). This practice is indicated in IGT:

*Lochtach ainm úathaidh asa téid a réim nó ainm iollraidh cáol gá mbí tochlughadh leathan a ndiaigh oibrighthi; ór a ccruth tuillréime as cóir an t-ainm úathaidh asa téid a réim a ndiaigh an oibrighthe, 7 gach ainm iollradh a ccruth tochlaighthe.*⁴⁸³

Besides the fact that the form *cathair* is marked *lochtach* in IGT, two dat. sg. forms for *caithir* are attested in the tracts, namely *don chathruigh* and *don chaithir*.⁴⁸⁴ In IMP, the dat. sg. form *cathair*, identical with the nom. sg. form of the noun, is more commonly used as the direct object of a verb, occurring four times in the text: ¶48 *fo gebhu cathair Siaudu for in conair* (123vb10), ¶99 *rannait a tri maic in cathair* (126va19), ¶138 *in tan ro irghabh magnus cam in cathair sin* (128vbz), ¶151 *do beruit in cathair iarsin* (129vb10). Furthermore, the acc. sg. form *cathraigh* is never found after the substantive verb *fil*, which takes the accusative: ¶6 *fil cathair* (121rb7), ¶8 (121rb21), ¶23 (122rb24), ¶68 (124vb29), ¶135 (128vb11), ¶136 (128vb17), ¶147 (129rb20). In fact, I am not aware of any examples of a dat. sg. form

⁴⁸² Ibid., 177:4366-67.

⁴⁸³ IGT I §79. Mac Cárthaigh, *Art*, 104-105: ‘Use of a nominative singular that is inflected in the accusative or a slender nominative plural that has a broad accusative plural is incorrect after a verb; because the nominative singular that is inflected in the accusative should take dative form after a verb, and every nominative plural should take accusative plural form.’

⁴⁸⁴ IGT II §120.

which is different from the nom. sg. occurring after *fil* or as the direct object of a sentence, except in the two examples listed above.

Adverbial use of *adhaigh*

The nom. sg. form *adhaigh*⁴⁸⁵ is never expanded in IMP, instead Scribe A uses the contraction *ag-*. Incidentally, the same contraction is employed to indicate the noun *aghaidh*, ‘face’, for example: ¶54 *aenta at aghaidh-si* (124ra21). The inflection of *aghaidh* in IMP has been arranged into the following paradigm, which compares the forms in IMP to those in IGT and Thurneysen:

	ADHAIGH/AGHAIDH					
	Old Irish		IGT §93		IMP	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	adaig ⁴⁸⁶	aidchi	adhaigh	na h- oidhchi	aghaidh ⁴⁸⁷	oighthi ⁴⁸⁸
acc.	aidchi	aidchi		sir oidhchi	aghaidh ⁴⁸⁹ /	
dat.	aidchi (<adaig)	aidchaib	don oidhchi	dona hoidhchibh	oighthi. ⁴⁹⁰	oighthibh ⁴⁹¹
gen.	aidche/ aithche	aidche	méd na hoidhche	méd na n- oidhcheadh	aighthi ⁴⁹² / oighthi ⁴⁹³ / oidhche ⁴⁹⁴	

The OIr. nom. sg. form *adhaigh*, which occurs once as a nom. sg. in IMP: ¶10 *amhail budh aghaidh*,⁴⁹⁵ also occurs three times in the acc. sg. as an accusative of time, once following the preposition *fri/ri*: ¶56 *ro niat-somh airisiumh risin aghaidh sin isin du*

⁴⁸⁵ IGT II §93.

⁴⁸⁶ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 185.

⁴⁸⁷ 121va12: ¶10 *amhail budh aghaidh*.

⁴⁸⁸ 125rb7: ¶76 *tri hoighthi da gach thaiseach dibh diaigh a ndiaigh ac faire in righ*.

⁴⁸⁹ 124rb6: ¶56 *ro niat-somh airisiumh risin aghaidh sin isin du sin*.

⁴⁹⁰ 131va2.

⁴⁹¹ 121rb18: ¶7 .u. la *cona oighthibh*.

⁴⁹² 125ra2.

⁴⁹³ 127ra8.

⁴⁹⁴ 125va16: ¶71 a *tus oidhche*.

⁴⁹⁵ 121va12.

sin (124rb6), and twice on its own, ‘for a night’: ¶101 *iar n-airisium adaigh dhoibh foran conair* (126va32), ¶121 *ni leiceann omhon na leoman do luing na do bharc oirisium adaig* (128ra4). The occurrence of the nom. sg. form *adhaigh* instead of the acc. sg. *aidhche* as an accusative of time may be as a result of the fusion of the accusative of time with the OIr. temporal form, originally a petrified dative < (n)d’ *adaig* ‘this following night’, which also occurs in IMP:⁴⁹⁶ ¶56 *Cublay didiu ro ghluais in aghaidh sin* (124rb10). The Classical Irish dat. sg. form *oighthi* also occurs once, following the preposition *co n-*, ‘with’: ¶183 *tri la co n-oighthi* (131va2).

I am aware of three examples of gen. sg. forms *aighthi/oighthi* occurring in the genitive of time⁴⁹⁷ following the adjective *cech/gach*: ¶69 *mili laech cech n-aighthi oc faire in righ* (125ra2), ¶107 *gabhuil sechnon na criche gach n-oighthi* (127ra8), ¶170 *in oiread cetna gach n-oidhche* (130vay). In this last example, *oidhche* is expanded from the contraction *o-*, which is used again for the gen. sg. in: ¶71 *a tús oidhche* (125ra16).

In the nom. and acc. pl., following the cardinal *tri*, the form *oighthi* is used once: ¶76 *tri h-oighthi da gach thaiseach dibh diaigh a n-diaigh ac faire in righ* (125rb7). Following cardinal substantives, i.e. multiples of ten,⁴⁹⁸ instead of the gen. pl. *oidhcheadh*,⁴⁹⁹ the contraction *ag-* is used again, indicating the nom. sg. form: ¶109 *.xl. la 7 aghaidh* (127ra24). This development is discussed below regarding inflection after numerals. The dat. pl. form occurs once in IMP: ¶7 *cóic la cona n-oighthibh* (121rb18).

The acc. sg. forms *adhaigh* and *séitig*⁵⁰⁰ after the preposition *fri* in IMP are indicative of the collapse of distinctive OIr. acc. sg. forms in *ī*-stem nouns. Despite this innovation, it is possible that an adverbial use of the nom. sg. form *adhaigh*, perhaps derived from a calcified OIr. temporal dative, may have increased the perception of archaism in IMP. Jackson’s observation that both *adhaigh* and *aidhchi* are used in the same adverbial construction in *Cath Maighe Léna* indicates that there may have been a choice as to which form could be used: *táinic Eógan began*

⁴⁹⁶ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 161 and 185-86.

⁴⁹⁷ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 159.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 244.

⁴⁹⁹ IGT II §93: *méd na n-oidhcheadh*. McManus, ‘Nua-Ghaeilge’, 374.

⁵⁰⁰ 122vay: ¶27 *ni bhi col fria seitic doib.*

*sochraidí beó-ghonta an adaigh sin arís d'aimdeóin Édaíne, and: tángadar go Carn mBuidhe an aidhchi sin.*⁵⁰¹

Note on *ciach*.

There is one occurrence of the noun *ciach* in IMP, which derives from the gen. sg. form of OIr. *ceo*, *ciach*:⁵⁰² ¶10 *fri re .uii. la airisis in ciaich sin* (121va19). It is used in the nom. sg. and displays slenderisation of the final consonant before the demonstrative pronoun *sin*. The classical paradigm of *ceo* is as follows: *ceo*, *don chiaigh*, *méd na cíach*, *na cíacha*, *dona cíachaibh*, *méd na cíach*, *iar ciacha*.⁵⁰³ It translates Lat. *obscuritas: tenentque obscuritatem huiusmodi quandoque diebus .VII.*⁵⁰⁴

I am aware of one other attestation of the nom. sg. form *ciach*, in the tale of the abbot of Drimnagh who turned into a woman:⁵⁰⁵ *'as mór' ar sé 'an ciach a fuilim.*⁵⁰⁶ The tale survives in three manuscripts from the fifteenth century: London, British Library MS Add. 30512,⁵⁰⁷ much of which was written by Uilliam Mac an Lega, whom Quin has suggested translated and authored *SE*;⁵⁰⁸ London, British Library, Egerton 1781, written in Breifne between 1484 and 1487, which also contains GM and *GSM*;⁵⁰⁹ Royal Irish Academy, MS 23 E 29, otherwise known as the Book of Fermoy, written for the Roches of Fermoy during the fifteenth century,⁵¹⁰ which once also contained *GSM*, now separated from the rest of the manuscript and found in a fragment in London, British Library, Egerton 92.⁵¹¹

These manuscripts, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III, indicate that *ciach* may have been a spoken form of *ceo* in use during the fifteenth century.

⁵⁰¹ Jackson, *Cath*, 16:407-07, 17:438, 112.

⁵⁰² I am grateful to Tadhg Ó Síocháin for making me aware of the use of *ciach* in the tale of the abbot of Drimnagh.

⁵⁰³ IGT II §97, although the form is also listed under IGT II §108: *annró*.

⁵⁰⁴ P.I.22.7.

⁵⁰⁵ Ó Síocháin, *The Case*; Bergin, *Anecdota* i, 76-79.

⁵⁰⁶ Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 23 E 29, p.113.25.

⁵⁰⁷ Flower, *Catalogue* ii, 470 and 475.

⁵⁰⁸ Quin, *Stair*, xxxviii-xl.

⁵⁰⁹ Flower, *Catalogue* ii, 526 and 542.

⁵¹⁰ *RIACat*, 3091-125.

⁵¹¹ Flower, *Catalogue* ii, 505-519.

Nom. sg. vs gen. pl. forms after cardinal numeral substantives

In Old Irish cardinal substantives, i.e. multiples of ten,⁵¹² were followed by the gen. pl. However, the levelling of distinctive inflectional endings of *io*- and *iā*-stem nouns during the Middle Irish period, triggered by the decline of unstressed final vowels to /ə/, caused the nom. sg. and gen. pl. forms of these nouns to coalesce.⁵¹³ With the formation of new distinctive plural forms, *-adha* in the nom. and *-eadh* in the gen., two forms were permitted after numeral adjectives 3-10,⁵¹⁴ namely: the OIr. pl. form *-e*, referred to in IGT as ‘ainm ísiol iollraidh’ and followed by lenition; and the new Middle Irish formation with *-adha*, referred to in IGT as ‘ainm ard iollraidh’ which was not lenited after numerals:

Gach focal bhíos d’úathadh 7 d’iollradh, séimh as coir a ainm ísiol iollraidh a ndiaigh an áirimh, mur so: ‘trí bhile’, ‘trí mhaide’, ‘trí uisge’; 7 lom as coir a ainm ard iollraidh ‘na dhiaigh mur so: ‘trí billeadha’, ‘trí maideadha’, ‘trí huisgeadha’.⁵¹⁵

Greene has argued that this use of the ‘ainm ísiol iollraidh’ following numeral adjectives came to be understood as a nom. sg. form, and caused the spread of nom. sg. forms in other declension classes to be used after cardinals.⁵¹⁶ This may have been further aided by the fact that OIr. nom. sg. and gen. pl. forms were identical in *o*-stem and *ā*-stem nouns. As it was elegantly summarised by Greene: ‘once an undoubted singular could be used after a numeral, as in *trí mharg*, the interpretation of the noun in *céad fear* ‘a hundred men’ as a nominative singular rather than a genitive plural became a possibility.’⁵¹⁷

In IMP I am aware of eight examples of nom. sg. forms, which have distinctive gen. pl. forms, being used after cardinal substantives which are multiples of ten, namely: ¶50 *x. m. lair gheal aroen fris* (124vb31). ¶109 *.xl. la 7 aghaidh*

⁵¹² Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 244.

⁵¹³ Greene, ‘Celtic’, 527.

⁵¹⁴ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 242.

⁵¹⁵ IGT I §18: Mac Cárthaigh, *Art*, 72-73: ‘Every noun that is the same in the singular and in the plural: its low nominative plural should be lenited after the numeral, like this: *trí bhile*, *trí mhaide*, *trí uisge*; and its high nominative plural should be unmutated after it, like this: *trí bileadha*, *trí maideadha*, *trí huisgeadha*.

⁵¹⁶ Greene, ‘Celtic’, 527-28.

⁵¹⁷ Greene, ‘Celtic’, 528.

(127ra24), ¶125 *cu tised neach ara mbiadh .c. suil dainm* (128rb9), ¶125 *nach tusmighfe nech ocambiadh .c. suil* (128rb11-12), ¶128 *innannson a berla na tartraigeach 7 cet suil asin bérla scoiteacda* (128rb31), ¶130 *gur inann son 7 cet suil* (128va13), ¶134 *dá c. cathair for a dhib taebuibh* (128vb9), ¶153 *.xl. 7 .uii. míle inis* (129vb26). There are also three examples of *elefaint* occurring after a cardinal substantive numeral, ¶110 *m.m. elifint* (127rb15), ¶115 *cc. elifant* (127va13), ¶156 *.xx. elefaint* (130ra9), there being two gen. pl. forms attested in IMP, namely *elifant* and *elifainteadh*. These forms have been arranged in the following table, which shows the Irish author's use of OIr. nom. sg. forms instead of Classical Irish gen. pl. forms:

OIr. and IGT nom. sg.	OIr. gen. pl.	IGT gen. pl.	nom. sg. after cardinal substantive in IMP	Other attestations of gen. pl. form in IMP
OIr.: láir ⁵¹⁸ IGT§201: láir	* <i>lairi</i> (not attested)	méd na lár/ méd na láirtheach	¶50 <i>x. m. lair gheal</i> <i>aroen fris.</i> ⁵¹⁹	¶36 <i>lairtheach.</i> ⁵²⁰
OIr: adaig ⁵²¹ IGT§93: adhaigh	aidche	méd na n- oidhcheadh	¶109 <i>.xl. la 7</i> <i>aghaidh.</i> ⁵²²	
OIr: súil ⁵²³ IGT§92: súil	súile	méd na súl/ méd na súileadh	¶125 <i>.c. suil,</i> ⁵²⁴ ¶125, ⁵²⁵ ¶128, ⁵²⁶ ¶130. ⁵²⁷	in the dual: súl ⁵²⁸

⁵¹⁸ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 175.

⁵¹⁹ 124vb31.

⁵²⁰ 123rb24: ¶36 *ba mian leo bainni a n-groigheadh 7 a lairtheach.*

⁵²¹ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 185.

⁵²² 127ra l.24: *.xl. la 7 aghaidh.*

⁵²³ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 190.

⁵²⁴ 128rb9.

⁵²⁵ 128rb11-12.

⁵²⁶ 128rb31.

⁵²⁷ 128va13.

⁵²⁸ 130rb3: *beann dimhor a comhroinn a dha shul.*

OIr. cathir ⁵²⁹ IGT§120: caithir	cathrach	méd na cathrach	¶134 <i>dá</i> <i>c. cathair</i> . ⁵³⁰	¶11 cathrach. ⁵³¹
OIr. inis ⁵³² IGT§150: inis	inse ⁵³³	méd na n- innseadh	¶153 <i>.xl. 7 .uii. míle</i> <i>inis</i> . ⁵³⁴	¶188 innseadh ⁵³⁵
Mr. borrowing: eilifint			¶110 <i>m.m. elifint</i> , ⁵³⁶ ¶115 <i>cc. eilifant</i> , ⁵³⁷ ¶156 <i>.xx. elefaint</i> , ⁵³⁸	¶42 <i>imud (...)</i> <i>elifainteadh</i> ⁵³⁹ ¶113 <i>la homun</i> <i>na n-eilifant</i> . ⁵⁴⁰

On the other hand, I am aware of only one example in IMP of a gen. pl. form, which has a different nom. sg. form, occurring after a cardinal substantive numeral multiple of ten, namely: ¶96 *.x. m. cathrach* (126rb29). This preference for nom. sg. rather than gen. pl. forms after cardinal numeral substantives, reveals a substrata of Early Modern Irish syntax operating in IMP, which has been coated in layers of linguistic archaicisms.

I am aware of the following forms occurring in IMP after a cardinal substantive numeral multiple of ten which could be either nom. sg. or gen. pl.: ¶9 *dá .c. punt* (121va6), ¶27 *.l. ainder la cech n-aen dibh* (122va30), ¶41 *.xxx. beim do luirg* (123va15), ¶42 *uidhi .xl. la* (123va19-20), ¶55 *.xxx.m. marcach* (124ra37), ¶60 *.c.m. laech* (124rb29), ¶92 *x.c. pupall* (126rb2), ¶92 *uidi .xx. la* (126raz), ¶96 *.u.c. each* (126rb22), ¶97 *.xxx. uaithne* (126rbx), ¶134 *uidi cét la fora fot* (128vb8), ¶100 *.u. .c. cubat* (126va24), ¶100 *uidhi ochtmadat la* (126va22), ¶101 *uidhi .xxx. la* (126va28), ¶109 *.xl. la* (127ra23), ¶111 *.lx. m. laech* (127rb15), ¶119 *tri cét rigan lasan rí bis*

⁵²⁹ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 202.

⁵³⁰ 128vb9.

⁵³¹ 121va19: ¶11 *co nimat duinti 7 cathrach*.

⁵³² Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 186.

⁵³³ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* I, 301.

⁵³⁴ 129vb26: ¶153 *.uii. míle inis*.

⁵³⁵ 131vb15: ¶188 *oirisiumh do sceluibh innseadh*.

⁵³⁶ 127rb15.

⁵³⁷ 127va13.

⁵³⁸ 130ra9.

⁵³⁹ 123va24.

⁵⁴⁰ 127rb31-32.

fuirre (127vb19), ¶122 .xx. *laech* (128ra17), ¶122 .x. *cét cubat fora lethet* (128ra15),
¶152 *nó gu hét lam beos* (129vb17), ¶175 .x. *mili each* (130vb33).

2.4. Verbal Forms

Reassessment of Ó Catháin's linguistic analysis of IMP

As far as I am aware, the only published article which deals with IMP in some detail is Seán Ó Catháin's 'Studies in the Development of Middle to Modern Irish',⁵⁴¹ in which Ó Catháin compares linguistic data from three Early Modern Irish texts, namely IMP, *Aided Fergusa* and *Imtheacht na Tromdháimhe*, with the language of the Annals of Ulster (AU) from the period 1057-1499, in order to assess the development of specific linguistic features from Middle to Early Modern Irish. Ó Catháin's objective was to study the decline of infixed pronouns, the transition of *ro* to *do* and the generalisation of *r*-endings in plurals of past tenses during the Early Modern Irish period. By comparing these linguistic features in IMP and AU, which he uses as a representation of the language of the period which they chronicle,⁵⁴² Ó Catháin determined that the language of IMP 'seems to have been consistently "archaised" to represent the language of the twelfth century.'⁵⁴³

In this chapter I have argued that the language of IMP contains features which range from across a much broader linguistic spectrum than that suggested by Ó Catháin. Old Irish features in IMP which include final *-th*, representation of hiatus vowels, and of unstressed final vowel endings in examples such as *escrai* and *for culai* are contrasted by Early Modern features such as the prevalence of nom. sg. forms after cardinal numeral substantives, nom. pl. forms used in the accusative and the use of pl. forms such as *tithe* and *tirthe* instead of Classical Irish *tighe* and *tíre*. Furthermore, as I have argued above, the Irish author's efforts to archaise the language of IMP may be discernable in the overuse of acc. pl. forms in the nominative. In this respect, the language of IMP is comparable to that of *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, about which McManus has stated: 'Ó Cléirigh's *Beatha* confronts the modern reader with a panoply of linguistic forms and constructions which no modern

⁵⁴¹ Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 1-47.

⁵⁴² Ibid., 2.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 32.

grammar knows and much of which is equally as foreign to the most detailed linguistic analysis of the language ever undertaken in its long history, namely the Irish Grammatical and Syntactical tracts.⁵⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the results yielded by Ó Catháin's linguistic analysis of IMP remain of great value to our understanding of the text, and can be used to study the manner in which the Irish author was archaicising the language of IMP and understand the techniques he employed. In the following paragraphs I will re-evaluate Ó Catháin's analysis of infixed pronouns and of the endings of plural forms in past tenses in IMP, before discussing other aspects of verbal syntax in the text. Ó Catháin's observations regarding the ratio between *ro* and *do* as preverbal particles in IMP and AU may be briefly summarised as follows.

Preverbal particles: ro vs do

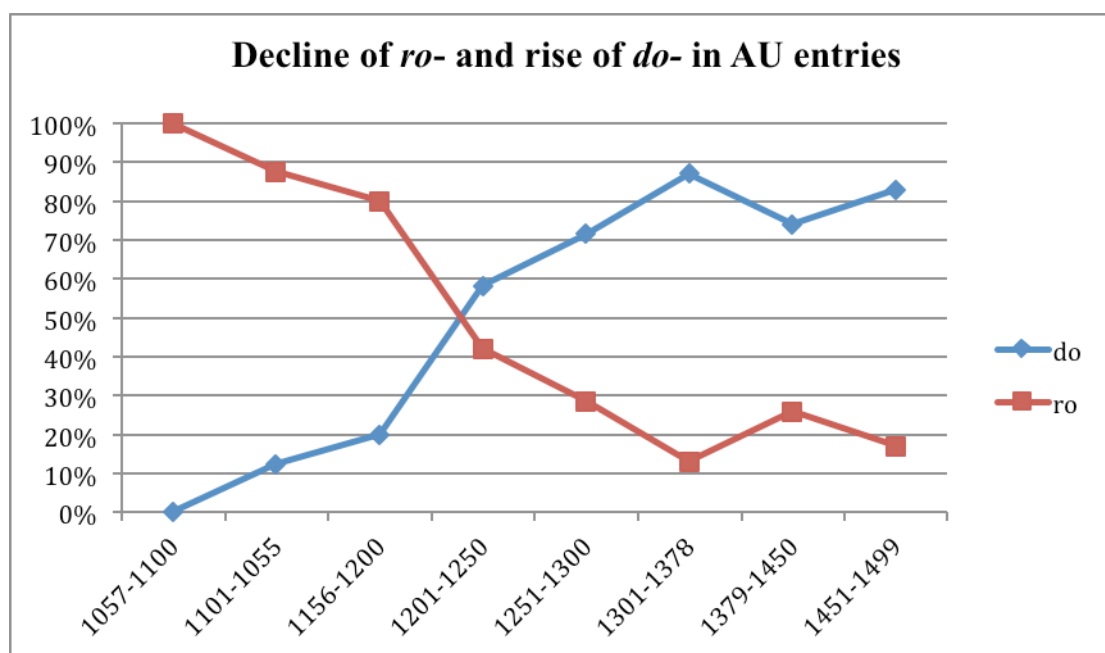
In his analysis of preverbal particles in IMP, Ó Catháin counted seventy-five occurrences of *ro* (83%) compared to fifteen occurrences of *do* (17%) in the text.⁵⁴⁵ This ratio is especially interesting when compared to the decline of *ro* and rise of *do* as a preverbal particle during the Middle and Early Modern periods of the language. In his article, Ó Catháin compares the ratio of *ro* against *do* in contemporaneous entries of AU from the eleventh century to the fifteenth, displaying the steady decline of *ro* and the rise of *do* during this period. I have arranged Ó Catháin's results regarding the incidences of *ro* and *do* in AU into the following table as they appear in his article, and followed this with a line chart of my own which helps visualise the decline of *ro* during the Early Modern period:

DECLINE OF <i>RO</i> AND RISE OF <i>DO</i> IN AU ENTRIES (Ó Catháin)			
AU years	<i>ro</i> vs <i>do</i>	occurrences	% of <i>ro</i>
1057-1100	<i>ro</i>	4	100%
	<i>do</i>	0	
1101-1055	<i>ro</i>	14	87.5%

⁵⁴⁴ McManus, 'Language', 54.

⁵⁴⁵ Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 14-17.

	<i>do</i>	2	
1156-1200	<i>ro</i>	32	80%
	<i>do</i>	8	
1201-1250	<i>ro</i>	13	42%
	<i>do</i>	18	
1251-1300	<i>ro</i>	8	28.5%
	<i>do</i>	20	
1301-1378	<i>ro</i>	5	13%
	<i>do</i>	34	
1379-1450	<i>ro</i>	10	26%
	<i>do</i>	28	
1451-1499	<i>ro</i>	15	17%
	<i>do</i>	73	



An interesting result of Ó Catháin's analysis of preverbal particles for the study of IMP is that IMP contains the exact opposite ratio of *ro* to *do* preverbal particles than that which occurs in AU entries written during the second half of the fifteenth century. In fact, while in IMP *ro* is used as a preverbal particle in 83% of instances

and *do* occurs in 17%, in AU entries written between 1451-1499 Ó Catháin found *do* in 83% of instances and *ro* in 17%.

Ó Catháin's analysis shows the systematic manner in which the Irish author was archaising the language of IMP, which, when we look at the ratio of preverbal particles alone, is reflective of the language found in AU during the twelfth century, roughly one hundred years before the *Travels* were first written and three hundred years before L was compiled. This methodical use of *ro* as a preverbal particle contributes to the sense of there being multiple linguistic layers in the text.

IMP is not alone in this late use of *ro* as a stylistic enhancer: Gray noticed that *ro* often replaces *do* in the version of *Cath Maige Tuired* written by Gilla Riabhach Ó Clérigh during the fifteenth century,⁵⁴⁶ and similarly Ó Cuív noticed that '*ro* occurs almost one-and-a-half times as often as *do*' in the version of *Cath Muighe Tuireadh* written by David Duigenan in 1651-1652.⁵⁴⁷ Likewise, Falconer remarked that '*ro* is much commoner in the past tense than *do*' in *LSN*,⁵⁴⁸ and Quin observed that 'the preverb *ro* is a good deal more frequent than *do*' in *SE*. Not counting the commonplace copula formations *rob* and *ro ba*,⁵⁴⁹ I am aware of no examples of the preverbal particle *ro* occurring in *SNL* and I have found only two⁵⁵⁰ examples in *GSM*, namely: *ni ro imthigheadh sé gan bas no gan guasacht d'fághail on dee sin*,⁵⁵¹ *drong ele dibh do hadhlacadh isin inad in ro marbadh*.⁵⁵² Therefore in the analysis of preverbal particles also, the language of IMP offers a striking contrast to that of the two other major translated texts which precede it in L, namely *GSM* and *SNL*. In the following paragraphs I will discuss how this is discernable in other features of verbal syntax in IMP.

Past plural endings: retention and spread of -s endings

As well as studying the decline of *ro* and the rise of *do* as a preverbal particle in the AU, Ó Catháin collected verbal forms from AU to study the spread of *-r* endings in

⁵⁴⁶ Gray, *Cath*, 20.

⁵⁴⁷ Ó Cuív, *Cath*, 16.

⁵⁴⁸ Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, lxix.

⁵⁴⁹ Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 115:1030: *o atchualaidh in t-Impir sin, rob ingnadh leis*.

⁵⁵⁰ Except the copula formation in: *ocus amhail ro bo dingbhala leat do geineamhain ar mu shon* (Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 90).

⁵⁵¹ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 10.

⁵⁵² *ibid.* 100.

past plural active forms from strong verbs which had the *t*-preterite and reduplicated preterite, to weak verbs which had the *s*-preterite. It is likely that confusion between active and deponent forms also played a part in this development from the Early Middle Irish period.⁵⁵³ Ó Catháin's analysis showed how MIr. forms such as *ro marbsat*⁵⁵⁴ and *co tucsat*⁵⁵⁵ were gradually superseded by *do marbadar*⁵⁵⁶ and *tucadur*⁵⁵⁷ during the Early Modern Irish period.⁵⁵⁸ This change happened in all three persons of plural past active forms, thus OIr. *s*-preterite 1st pl. *-sam/-sem*, 2nd pl. *-said/-sid* and 3rd pl. *-sat/-set* (henceforth *-s* endings) were steadily replaced by OIr. *t*-preterite and reduplicated preterite 1st pl. *-mar*, 2nd pl. *-id* and later *-ebair*,⁵⁵⁹ and 3rd pl. *-atar* (henceforth *-r* endings). I have copied Ó Catháin's results into the following table and displayed them in a line chart of my own which shows the decline of *-s* endings in the past plural forms of weak verbs during the late-Middle and Early Modern Irish periods in AU.

DECLINE OF -S ENDINGS IN PAST PLURAL FORMS OF WEAK VERBS IN AU ENTRIES (Ó Catháin)			
AU years			% of -s endings
1057-1100	-s	10	100%
	-r	0	
1101-1055	-s	24	100%
	-r	0	
1156-1200	-s	50	92.5%
	-r	4	
1201-1250	-s	30	81%
	-r	7	
1251-1300	-s	12	52%
	-r	11	

⁵⁵³ Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 38.

⁵⁵⁴ AU 1102.6.

⁵⁵⁵ AU 1128.8.

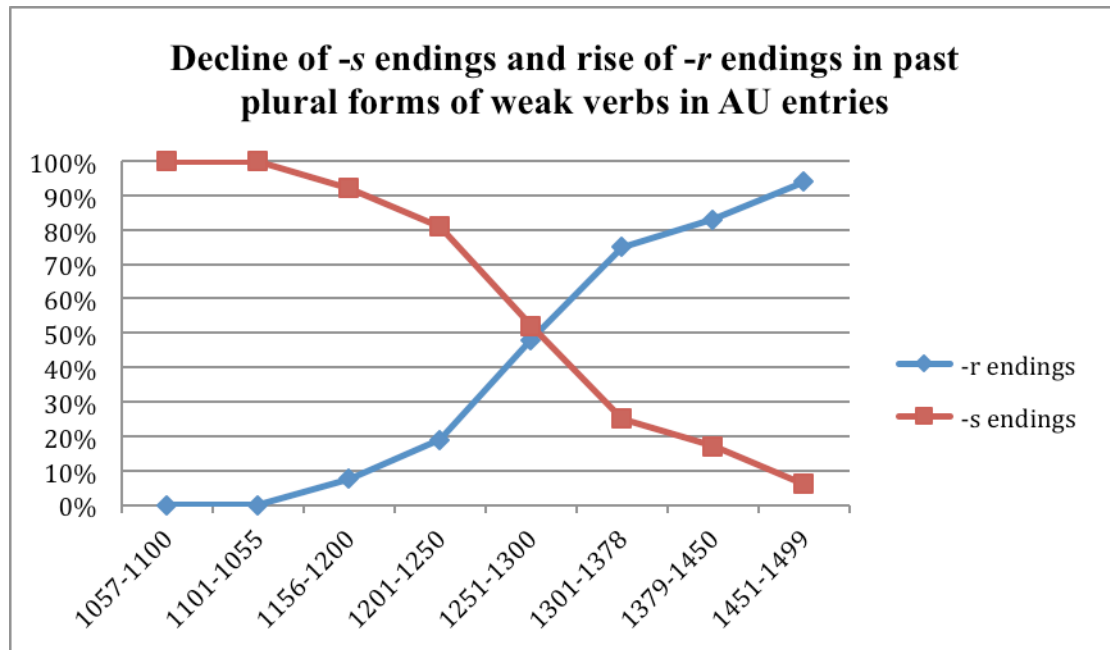
⁵⁵⁶ AU 1487.34.

⁵⁵⁷ AU 1457.4.

⁵⁵⁸ Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 21-29.

⁵⁵⁹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', 301 and 305.

1301-1378	<i>-s</i>	8	25%
	<i>-r</i>	24	
1379-1450	<i>-s</i>	6	17%
	<i>-r</i>	29	
1451-1499	<i>-s</i>	2	9%
	<i>-r</i>	20	



Ó Catháin's results indicate that in fifteenth-century entries in AU, *-r* endings had, by and large, replaced *-s* endings in past plural forms. It is striking therefore that, contrary to this development, IMP not only retains almost all *-s* endings in the past plural forms of *-s*-preterite verbs, but also extends these endings to the past plural forms of strong verbs which had *-r* endings in Old Irish.⁵⁶⁰ In fact, Ó Catháin noticed that instead of OIr. *lotar* or *lotair*, IMP has *luighset*: ¶150 *luighset a tir a n-inis Sipangu* (129va32-33), where the OIr. 3rd sg. preterite form *luid* has been inflected in the plural as an *-s*-preterite. Similarly, for OIr. *co n-dechutar*, IMP has both *co n-dechsats*, ¶54 *co n-decsats for leth* (124ra18), and *co n-decatur* ¶64 *co n-decatur gennte 7 cristaidi i n-dail chatha fri araili* (124va26-27).

The following table contains Ó Catháin's complete list and division of all instances of the active plural past forms in IMP. I have added one example which is

⁵⁶⁰ Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 20 and 32.

not found in Ó Catháin's list, namely: ¶153 *do cursid lucht taistil* (129vb23). Following this table is a discussion of how these verbs and their forms compare to those found in *SNL* and *GSM*.

	Weak Verbs	Strong Verbs
1 st pl.	¶166 <i>amail ro raidhsium romuinn</i> (130va1).	
2 nd pl.	¶12 <i>do ronabair</i> (121vb4), ¶35 <i>do ronsabair</i> (123rb7).	
3 rd pl.	¶17 <i>ro iarsat</i> (121vbz), ¶18 <i>gu rucsat</i> (122ra18), ¶98 (126va13), ¶28 <i>do ronsat</i> (122vb16), ¶32 (123ra13), ¶88 (125vb7), ¶137 (128vb27), ¶29 <i>ro umlaigseat</i> (122vb23), ¶29 <i>ro thimaircset</i> (122vb21), ¶30 <i>ar chansat</i> (122vbx), ¶32 <i>ro scoiltseat</i> (123ra32), ¶32 <i>tucsat</i> (123ra16), ¶57 (124rb16), ¶115 (125va11), ¶130 (128va13), ¶133 (128vb2), ¶32 <i>ro thoghairmset</i> (123ra11), ¶33 <i>ro gairsit</i> (123ra24), ¶35 <i>ro marbsat</i> (123rb9), ¶173 (130vb18), ¶56 <i>nir shailseat</i> (124rb8), ¶60 <i>ni ro fhinnsat</i> (124rb29), ¶150 <i>nir fhinnsad</i> (129vay), ¶61 <i>cu ro linsat</i> (124rb38), ¶61 <i>gur comdluthaigseat</i> (124rbx), ¶64 <i>do radsat</i> (124va23), ¶98 <i>ro gheallsat</i> (126va14),	¶8 <i>ro gabsat</i> (121va2), ¶33 (123ra23), ¶58 (124rb22), ¶128 (128rb35), ¶128 (128rbz), ¶133 (128vay), ¶148 (129rb29), ¶148 (129rb31), ¶148 (129rb31), ¶148 (129va5), ¶156 (130ra1), ¶8 <i>gu cualatar</i> (121rb24), ¶31 <i>fricartsat</i> (123ra4), ¶32 <i>luidhset</i> (123ra10), ¶150 (129va32), ¶33 <i>otconncatur</i> (123ra22), ¶118 (127vb10), ¶150 <i>atconncatur</i> (129vaz), ¶35 <i>foruaradar</i> (123rb10), ¶54 <i>co ndecsatsat</i> (124ra18), ¶114 (127va5), ¶64 <i>co ndecatur</i> (124va26-27) ¶57 <i>co facatur</i> (124rb13), ¶118 <i>cu riachtsat</i> (127vb8), ¶148 <i>gur fhacsat</i> (129va7), ¶150 <i>cu rancatar</i> (129va31).

¶102 <i>ro thoghsat</i> (126vb15), ¶113 <i>gur impoisit</i> (127rb32), ¶113 <i>nir fhétsat</i> (127rb30), ¶131 <i>nir fhédsat</i> (128va22), ¶115 <i>ni ro fhaelsat</i> (127va10), ¶148 (129rbx), ¶156 (129vbz), ¶125 <i>ro thircansat</i> (128rb7), ¶129 <i>gur iadhsat</i> (129va2), ¶149 <i>gu ro clodhsat</i> (129va12), ¶151 <i>scarsat</i> (129vb11), ¶153 <i>do cursid lucht taistil</i> (129vb23). ¶182 <i>do rímhset</i> (131rb31),	
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I am aware of only one example of a past plural form in IMP which displays the loss of *-s*, namely ¶12 *do ronabair*, which however also occurs as ¶35 *do ronsabair* later on in the text. Apart from this one example, which shows the spread of *-ebair* endings into *-s* preterite verbs, IMP preserves *-s* endings in all cases.

Although the linguistic data collected by Ó Catháin from AU indicates that plural *-s* endings were being steadily replaced by *-r* endings during the Early Modern period, they are still used in a great deal of Early Modern Irish texts and are even found as alternative past forms in Bonaventura Ó hEodhasa's seventeenth-century grammar of Irish, *Rudimenta Grammatica Hibernica*.⁵⁶¹ A closer look at other texts from L, such as *GSM* and *SNL*, reveals that *-s* endings were being used in texts which did not contain archaic language as alternatives to *-r* endings in weak verbs. In the following table I have compared a number of readings from IMP, *SNL* and *GSM* which contain the same verbs and show how *-s* endings were being employed in all three texts. In particular, this table shows that in *SNL* and *GSM* *-s* endings and *-r* endings are used interchangeably on the same verbs in a number of instances:

⁵⁶¹ Mac Aogáin, *Graiméir*, 152.

IMP	SNL	GSM
<i>beridh inleth fora tucsat sisim buaidh.</i> ⁵⁶²	<i>tucsat cath mor mimhaiseach da cheli.</i> ⁵⁶³ <i>cred in bas tucadur dho.</i> ⁵⁶⁴	<i>tucadar ucht ar a cheili.</i> ⁵⁶⁵
<i>co rucsat na laeic sin fair.</i> ⁵⁶⁶	<i>rucsat in lenabh ona mháthair.</i> ⁵⁶⁷	<i>rucsat leo é cum na cathrach.</i> ⁵⁶⁸ <i>rucadur leo iat isin cathair.</i> ⁵⁶⁹
<i>do ronsat palas rigda for loch.</i> ⁵⁷⁰	<i>do ronsat fesda mor na baindsi sin.</i> ⁵⁷¹	<i>do ronsat na Cristaighi ceithre tosaig.</i> ⁵⁷² <i>do rineadar na Seirrisdínigh a cuic.</i> ⁵⁷³
<i>in ait inar marbsat he fil derg aniu.</i> ⁵⁷⁴	<i>do mharbhsat míl muighi.</i> ⁵⁷⁵ <i>do mharbhatur drong acu.</i> ⁵⁷⁶	<i>do mharbhsat a namhait iat.</i> ⁵⁷⁷ <i>do mharbhatar moran dona Padhanachaibh.</i> ⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁶² 123ra16.

⁵⁶³ Mac Niocaill, ‘Sdair’, 109:804.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 115:1032.

⁵⁶⁵ Hyde, *Gabháltas*, 104-06.

⁵⁶⁶ 126va13.

⁵⁶⁷ Mac Niocaill, ‘Sdair’, 114:994.

⁵⁶⁸ Hyde, *Gabháltas*, 62.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 22.

⁵⁷⁰ 128vb27.

⁵⁷¹ Mac Niocaill, ‘Sdair’, 115:1028.

⁵⁷² Hyde, *Gabháltas*, 42.

⁵⁷³ Ibid., 42.

⁵⁷⁴ 130vb18.

⁵⁷⁵ Mac Niocaill, ‘Sdair’, 114:996.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 113:969.

⁵⁷⁷ Hyde, *Gabháltas*, 46.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 26.

As was mentioned in Part I, the language of *SNL* and *GSM* has not been archaised to the same extent as that of *IMP*, and both texts contain a great deal of modern features in both orthography and grammar. The use of *-s* endings as alternatives to *-r* endings in weak verbs in these texts may suggest that *-s* endings were not felt to have been particularly strong archaic features. On the other hand, there are a number of examples which show that *IMP* uses *-s* endings where *SNL* and *GSM* do not:

IMP	SNL	GSM
<i>co ndecsath fon coill gin comus dialaechaib.</i> ⁵⁷⁹ <i>co ndecatur gennte 7 cristaidi indail chatha fria raili.</i> ⁵⁸⁰	<i>cá ndechadar na righe.</i> ⁵⁸¹	<i>a ndechadar na Cristaighi.</i> ⁵⁸²
<i>gur fhacsath gin anmain iat.</i> ⁵⁸³	<i>do fhacbhatar an leanabh a nglaic croinn.</i> ⁵⁸⁴	<i>do fhacbhadar Marsirius amille becan buidhne.</i> ⁵⁸⁵
<i>ro gabsath araild dona gentib baisted.</i> ⁵⁸⁶	<i>do ghabhadur Sairristínigh nert.</i> ⁵⁸⁷	<i>do ghabhadur baistedh cuca.</i> ⁵⁸⁸

I am not aware of any examples of *co ndechsath*, *do fhacsath* or *do gabsath* in *SNL* or *GSM*, and conversely there are no examples of *do ghabhadur* or *do fhacbhatar* in *IMP*. These examples may suggest that the author of *IMP* was using *-s* endings as stylistic enhancers by using them on verbs which only inflected with *-r* endings, either because, like *-dechatur* they did so in Old Irish, or because their *-s* endings had become superseded, as may have been the case with *do fhacbhatar* and *do ghabhadur*. This use of *-s* endings in verbs which had acquired *-r* endings combined with the

⁵⁷⁹ 127va5.

⁵⁸⁰ 124va26.

⁵⁸¹ Mac Niocaill, 'Sdair', 104:568.

⁵⁸² Hyde, *Gabháltas*, 82.

⁵⁸³ 129va7.

⁵⁸⁴ Mac Niocaill, 'Sdair', 114:997.

⁵⁸⁵ 105rb31.

⁵⁸⁶ 121va2.

⁵⁸⁷ Mac Niocaill, 'Sdair', 116:1092.

⁵⁸⁸ Hyde, *Gabháltas*, 8. 96vb3.

prevalence of *-s* endings over *-r* endings in IMP, illustrates the techniques used by the Irish author to raise the style of his prose and archaïse the language of IMP. Although the use of *-s* endings is not unusual in an Early Modern Irish text, the preference for these endings in IMP antiquates the language considerably.

Often the use of *-s* endings in the plural coincides with a choice in vocabulary. For example, to say ‘the aforementioned’ and ‘they went’, the following forms are found in IMP, *SNL* and *GSM*:

IMP	<i>SNL</i>	<i>GSM</i>
<i>amail ro raidhsium romuinn.</i> ⁵⁸⁹	<i>do thagra dar risin easboc adubhramur.</i> ⁵⁹⁰	<i>tar an sruth adubhramar.</i> ⁵⁹¹
<i>luidhset na druidh fora cliathaib fis.</i> ⁵⁹²	<i>do chuatar isin coiccrich.</i> ⁵⁹³	<i>do chuadar chum na cathrach.</i> ⁵⁹⁴

In the first of these examples IMP uses OIr. *ráidid* in the 1st pl. past with its expected Middle Irish *-s-* preterite ending, whereas the Early Modern Irish *-r* ending is found in the 1st pl. past indicative of *adeir* in *SNL* and *GSM*. I am not aware of any examples of inflected forms of *ráidid* in *SNL* or *GSM* except in the verbal noun, as expected, and conversely *as-beir* does not occur in the 1st pl. past in IMP. In the second example, to say ‘they went’ in absolute position the historical preterite form *luid* is used in IMP whereas the OIr. perfect and EMIr. past indicative form *do chuaidh* is found in *SNL* and *GSM*. I am not aware of any examples of the historical preterite form *luid* in *SNL* or *GSM* or of the absolute form *do chuaidh* being used in IMP.

Ó Catháin’s analysis of past plural endings in AU and IMP indicates that the author of IMP was deliberately archaïsing the language of his text by incorporating *-s* endings in verbs which had *-r* endings in Early Modern Irish. However, the use of *-s* endings in past plurals is not an indication of archaïsation in itself, since they are found also in other Early Modern Irish texts which do not contain archaic language,

⁵⁸⁹ 130va1.

⁵⁹⁰ Mac Niocaill, ‘Sdair’, 91:51.

⁵⁹¹ Hyde, *Gabháltas*, 104. 107vb17.

⁵⁹² 123ra10.

⁵⁹³ Mac Niocaill, ‘Sdair’, 90:20.

⁵⁹⁴ Hyde, *Gabháltas*, 22. 98va2.

such as *SNL* and *GSM*, rather it is the overuse of the *-s* ending in past plural forms which creates the linguistic embellishment in IMP.

Infix pronouns vs independent pronouns

The third linguistic feature in IMP which Ó Catháin analysed in detail was infix pronouns. There are twenty-five infix pronouns in IMP,⁵⁹⁵ eight of which are meaningful or true, i.e. not used in combination with a noun or independent pronoun to express the object, and seventeen of which are pleonastic. Twenty-three of these infix pronouns occur as *-s-* in the 3rd sg. and pl., and two occur as *-n-* in the 3rd pl.

In the following table I have arranged all occurrences of infix pronouns in IMP and divided them according to person and to whether they are pleonastic or true. In the second table I have arranged a full list of all independent pronouns in IMP, which were also examined in Ó Catháin's study, according to whether they occur in combination with an infix pronoun or a noun, or whether they are used 'truly' independently. This will allow for a visualisation of the variety of pronominal forms employed by the Irish author in IMP, which is discussed below.

⁵⁹⁵ Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 9-11.

INFIXED PRONOUNS IN IMP		
3 rd sg.	Pleonastic: 12 examples. All -s-	¶2 <i>cidh fil ann tra acht ro-s-tinnta Pronsiscus in leabarso Mharcuis a Tartairidh a Laitin</i> (121ra20-22), ¶14 <i>feoil 7 righle no-s-toimlit</i> (121vb12), ¶26 <i>iar cur chuil frisin crichsin fo-s-gebha fasac fodai</i> (122va13), ¶42 <i>Ragu ummorro magh forlethan eisdhe. uidhi .xl. aitreabhus ann. sealg no-s-toimhlit</i> (123va12-13), ¶45 <i>ni tabhar crog la hingin i crichaib na tartraigec, na laeich no-s-ber crogh dia maithrecu</i> (123va34-36), ¶57 <i>conadh eadh ro-s-dúsigh in slógh as a suan</i> (124rb17-18), ¶61 <i>gur comdluthaigseat na catha re cheli in tan sin, cu ro-s-tocaib nel niamdha dá ndornclaidbib dathordha</i> (124rbx-z), ¶68 <i>co facuidh cublay ar bfaicsin neoil 7 rotha grene 7 esca celmaine do chuir do beith do de dia mbeith in sruth trithi cu ro-s-tocuibh in cathair don taeb araill don tsruth la tuaithleacht 7 amaindsi</i> (124vb32-35), ¶119 <i>feoil 7 righle no-s-toimlit</i> (127vb21-22), ¶166 <i>ni fhasann arbhur for bith na fineamain tre uir innte conadh righle no-s-toimhlit</i> (130rby-z), ¶169 <i>bai .c. 7 tri .m. do mhilibh ina timcell feact riamh gu ro-s-caith imghluaisecht mara la gaeith hi</i> (130va10-12), ¶173 <i>do ghní an úir sin icshlainti da gac aen no-s-toimliunn bec no mor dhi for dhigh</i> (130vb19-21).
	True: 4 examples All -s-.	¶98 <i>bliadain dó na giall aigi cu ro-s-leic forcula dia thigh fein</i> (126va14-15), ¶106 <i>dia tisat aidhigh no eachtrainn do thigh no do dhun dib dia carait é no-s-muirbhfit</i> (126vb34-35), ¶175 <i>ni thoimlit fin tria bithu 7 ni gabuid aeir na aithis in neich dhibh no-s-ibeann</i> (130vb27-29), ¶187 <i>Samsibár a ainm, ilchenala eathachdha no-s-aitreabann</i> (130vay-z).
	Pleonastic: 5 examples.	¶35 <i>in sliabh urard sin in ro adhnacht Sisim is ann ro-s-adhnachta ar ghein do righuib fora lurg</i> (123rb1-3), ¶52 <i>is ed asberitsium beos conudh iat na dei no-s-freasdlat iat</i> (124ra6-7), ¶101 <i>lointi imchuibh de no-s-berat leo dia siubal for damuibh 7 asanaibh</i> (126va28-29), ¶114 <i>gabait na h-eilifaint for miri 7 dasacht co n-decsat</i>

3 rd pl.	All -s-	<i>fon coill gin comus dia laechaib forro, cu ro-s-trascrait la dairghibh 7 omnuib in fheagha a caislana debtha cusin bhfialluch ngaiscid bui nambroinn (127va6-8), ¶183 in tan lamhnaigid na mna mad ingena no-s-berat no-n-alad fri druine 7 gresa (131va6-7).</i>
	True: 4 examples. Two -s- and two -n-	¶92 <i>pupla na h-ingenraide, sida uili no-s-ditneann (126rb5-6), ¶147 fil cathair oirecuis leou do roine in ri palas anorac na meadhon cu halla rigda 7 gu seomradhaib solusda ba do claruibh óir aithleaghtha ro-s-din diblinaib (129rb20-24), ¶183 in tan lamhnaigid na mna mad ingena no-s-berat no-n-alad fri druine 7 gresa (131va6-7), ¶189 as feardha a cathuibh iat ár is friu ro-nn-altadh oc imaireacc fria genntiu (131vb25-26).</i>

INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS IN IMP		
3 rd sg.	Infx. pron.: 1 example	¶169 <i>bai .c. 7 tri .m. do mhilibh ina timcell feact riamh gu ro-s-caith imghluaisecht mara la gaeith hi</i> (130va10-12).
	Indep. pron.: 24 examples	¶1 <i>guighit he fa an cetna dorida</i> (121ra9), ¶1 <i>do thadhaill mu rocsa he</i> (121ra17), ¶13 <i>ro mharbh é cona righuib 7 taisecaibh</i> (121vb7), ¶26 <i>no gabhad sal no dorcatu he</i> (122vb25), ¶29 <i>ro h-oirdned i righi leo he</i> (122vb17), ¶30 <i>do beradh do sisim hi</i> (122vb32), ¶34 <i>rodibraiceadh doshoighid he</i> (123ra32), ¶51 <i>toimhlit he</i> (124ra1), ¶55 <i>ba he lin in tslúaig do freagair he</i> (124ra36), ¶85 <i>do ronta he</i> (125vb7), ¶98 <i>berit he co Prespiter Seon amail ro gheallsat</i> (126va13-14), ¶99 <i>cuiris magnus cam faa smacht he</i> (126va21), ¶105 <i>ni rannuid ní is lugha he</i> (126vb31-32), ¶106 <i>dia carait é</i> (126vbx), ¶111 <i>ba he lin do freacair he</i> (127rb14), ¶120 <i>cuir a crannoic chumhdachta hi</i> (128vb31), ¶120 <i>cu nac faiceat daine na eathaite he</i> (128vb32-33), ¶140 <i>7 scribhthar aris he</i> (129ra22-23), ¶143 <i>toghuit hi</i> (128vby-z), ¶152 <i>marbhuit he</i> (129vb22), ¶164 <i>marbtur leo he</i> (130rb26-27), ¶173 <i>inar marbsat he</i> (130vb18), ¶179 <i>crothait forro hi</i> (131rb14), ¶191 <i>cuir cohadhnucul issu he</i> (131vby-z).
2 nd pl.	Indep. pron. 1 example	¶112 <i>is ferdha bar laeich in naid 7 is fria galaib ro-n-altad sib</i> (127rb26-27).
3 rd pl.	Infx. pron.: 1 example	¶52 <i>is ed asberitsium beos conudh iat na dei no-s-freasdlat iat</i> (124ra6-7).
	Indep. pron.	¶36 <i>no h-ailtea iat</i> (123rb20), ¶89 <i>is forro ro-n-alt iat</i> (126ra12-13), ¶94 <i>is lasnataiseachaib sin dosuidhighthe iat</i> (126rb12), ¶102 <i>indar leo is ar a maith ro thoghsat iat</i> (126vb15), ¶115 <i>beris Niscardyn iat</i> (127va13), ¶121 <i>gurub amlaid sin dhithaigid laeich nacrichi iat</i> (128ra11-12), ¶148 <i>gur fhacsat gin anmain iat</i> (129va-6-7), ¶149 <i>sreathais</i>

	15 examples	<i>ainbhthine dermair friaroili iat</i> (129va14-15), ¶151 <i>rotinnlaiced iatsom</i> (129rb10), ¶162 <i>beruit iat diacreic anilthirthaib</i> (130rb7), ¶167 <i>acht a mbeith deanocht amail thuismiter iat</i> (130va8), ¶169 <i>gu mbaidhter iat</i> (130va17), ¶185 <i>curannait eatarra iat iarnangabail</i> (131va18), ¶186 <i>ni fhil for talmain cenel frisa samalta iat</i> (131va24-25), ¶186 <i>co n-denann briscbruar diamballaib cutoimhlit iat iarum</i> (131va32-33).
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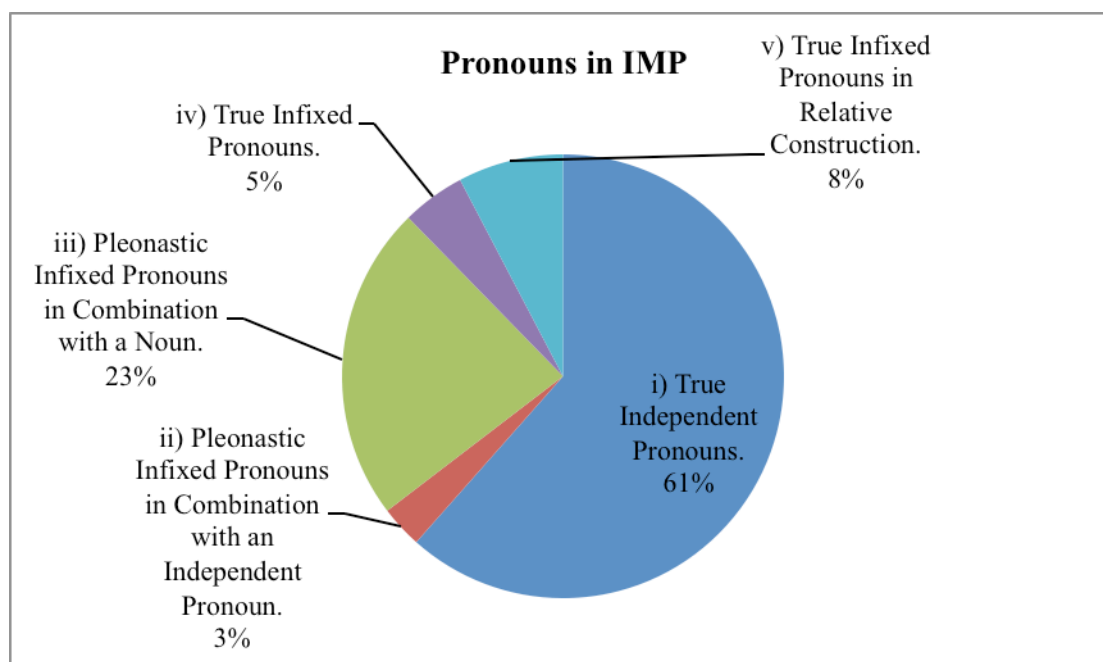
Further to the divisions in these tables, Ó Catháin noticed that of the eight true infixed pronouns in IMP five occur in relative construction.⁵⁹⁶ In fact, as was noted by Strachan, Class A infixed pronouns became generalised in Middle Irish and took over the relative function of Class C infixed pronouns.⁵⁹⁷ This resulted in a tendency of the generalised Class A infixed pronoun *-s-* to be used to express the relative. With this last consideration, the infixed and independent pronouns in IMP may be divided into five groups:

- i) 40 true independent pronouns: ¶1, ¶1, ¶13, ¶26, ¶29, ¶30, ¶34, ¶36, ¶51, ¶55, ¶85, ¶89, ¶94, ¶98, ¶99, ¶102, ¶105, ¶106, ¶111, ¶112, ¶115, ¶120, ¶120, ¶121, ¶140, ¶143, ¶148, ¶149, ¶151, ¶152, ¶162, ¶164, ¶167, ¶169, ¶173, ¶179, ¶185, ¶186, ¶186, ¶191.
- ii) 2 pleonastic infixed pronouns in combination with an independent pronouns: ¶52, ¶169.
- iii) 15 pleonastic infixed pronouns in combination with a noun: ¶2, ¶14, ¶26, ¶35, ¶42, ¶45, ¶57, ¶61, ¶68, ¶101, ¶114, ¶119, ¶166, ¶173, ¶183.
- iv) 3 true infixed pronouns: ¶98, ¶106, ¶183.
- v) 5 true infixed pronouns in relative construction: ¶92, ¶147, ¶175, ¶187, ¶189.

This division of the pronouns of IMP may be visualised in the following pie chart:

⁵⁹⁶ Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 11.

⁵⁹⁷ Strachan, 'Infixes', 159-160; Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 255-264.



This chart displays the proportion of IMP in which the direct object is expressed by an independent pronoun against the proportion of the text in which infixed pronouns are used, at times in combination with a noun, at others with a pronoun or in relative construction, and at times alone. The fact that there are three true infixed pronouns in IMP indicates that the Irish author was aware of how to correctly construct a sentence using this archaic syntax. On the other hand, the fact that the great majority of infixed pronouns are used either pleonastically, i.e. in combination with a pronoun or a noun, or are found in relative construction, suggests that the Irish author may have been softening the delivery of infixed-pronoun syntax in IMP in order to make it more intelligible to a fifteenth-century audience.⁵⁹⁸

The decline of infixed pronouns in Irish is a major syntactical development in the language, which had already begun in the Middle Irish period, some five-hundred years before L was compiled.⁵⁹⁹ In creating a pseudo-archaic text the Irish author would have therefore had to find a balance between Old and Early Modern Irish features so as not to render his text grammatically impenetrable to his less erudite

⁵⁹⁸ In contrast to this distribution of infixed pronouns in IMP, I have found no examples of infixed pronouns in *GSM* or *SNL*, where the independent pronoun is used throughout, for example: *do chuiretar a luing he* (Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 2), and, *ocus do lean Agiolandus iat* (Ibid., 24) in *GSM*, and: *do mharbh hē isin cath* (Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 92: 1.68) and, *co tuc dona leanbaibh do bhī maille ris iat* (Ibid., 96: 1.257) in *SNL*.

⁵⁹⁹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', 263-268.

contemporaries. This pie chart reveals the Irish author's methodology for incorporating infixed pronouns into the syntax of IMP. While on the one hand he was integrating obsolete archaisms into his prose, the Irish author was also finding ways to ease Old Irish grammar and render it comprehensible to his audience.

Note on *nisam*.⁶⁰⁰

This rare form of the copula is found at the beginning of IMP when the nobles request Proniscus to translate Marcus's book and Prosiscus replies that he has no fear of doing so:⁶⁰¹ ¶1 ***nisam*** *omhnachsa riasin leabarsa Mharcais or ni fhuil go ann* (121ra15-17). The absolute form *isam* is well attested as being a late-Middle and Early Modern development of 1st sg. of the copula, composed of *is*, 3rd sg. pres. of the copula, and *am* 1st sg. infixed pronoun Class A.⁶⁰² Some examples from Middle Irish texts are: *issam ingen rí 7 rigna*,⁶⁰³ from *Táin Bó Fraích* and, *ar asam senoir cena*,⁶⁰⁴ from *In Cath Catharda*. Its corresponding negative forms are *nída*, *nídam*, *nídom*, *nímda*, *ním*, *níam*, *níom* and *níum*.⁶⁰⁵ On the other hand the form *nisam* appears to be a combination of the negative particle *ni* + and the absolute *isam*. The form *nídam* occurs elsewhere in L in the hand of Scribe A, namely in CCC, when Mór ingen Aedha meic Echach says that she is not yet a woman to Ceallachán: *nídam ben-sa fós do*.⁶⁰⁶

I am aware of only one other attestation of *nisam*, namely in the copy of *Sansas Cormaic* (SC) found in the *Leabhar Breac*, written during the first part of the fifteenth century, in the entry under the word *prúll*: ***nisam*** *eolach imnid adbaig*.⁶⁰⁷ The form *nibsa* replaces *nisam* in the copy of SC found in British Library MS, Harley 5280, written by Gilla Riabhach Ó Cléirigh in Donegal during the first half of the

⁶⁰⁰ For infixed pronouns after the copula see Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 269-270.

⁶⁰¹ For a discussion of this scene in IMP, see Chapter IV.

⁶⁰² McManus, 'Nua-Ghaeilge', 416-417. McKenna, *Bardic syntactical tracts*, 252.

⁶⁰³ Meid, *Táin*, 6:149.

⁶⁰⁴ Stokes, *In Cath*, 402:5496.

⁶⁰⁵ *DIL* s.v. '1 is', accessed 02/01/18 dil.ie/29104.

⁶⁰⁶ 157ra5. Cf. Bugge, *Caithréim*, 54.

⁶⁰⁷ Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 23 P 16, p.271a22: 'I know no problematic suffering'. Transcription and translation are my own. Cf. Stokes, *Three Irish*, 36-38.

sixteenth century,⁶⁰⁸ as it does in the Yellow Book of Lecan copy of *SC*: *nibsa eolaig imnig odbaigh*,⁶⁰⁹ and in *Leabhar na Rátha*:⁶¹⁰ *nipsa eola imnid adpaig*. Unfortunately, the fragments of *SC* which survive in the Book of Leinster⁶¹¹ and the section of text which contained this word have been lost.

The rarity of this form of the copula is testimony to the Irish author's vast linguistic knowledge of obscure Old and Middle Irish forms. The choice of this form also exemplifies the Irish author's approach to enhancing the language of his text, showing how he introduced rare and archaic language while making sure that it did not obstruct the understanding of his text.

Substantive verb: *fil* vs *atá*

A distinctive feature of the language of IMP is the preference for *fil* over *atá* as the present substantive form in absolute position. Following is a list of all occurrences of *fil*, in the left column, compared to instances of *atá*, in the right column, in absolute position in IMP. There are three examples in IMP of the 3rd pl. form of *fil*, namely ¶14 *fileat* (121vb16), ¶53 (124ra11) and ¶189 (131vb27). I have excluded from these lists the examples of *fil* and *atá* when they occur as part of stock literary formulas such as *cidh fil ann trá* and *atá ni chena*, and instead counted only the occurrences where they are used as main clause verbs. I am aware of thirty-one examples of *fil* and nine examples of *atá* in absolute position, indicating that *fil* occurs in 78% and *atá* in 22% of instances of the present substantive verb in absolute position in IMP.

Absolute Present Substantive Forms in IMP	
<i>fil</i>	<i>atá</i>

⁶⁰⁸ I have not been able to consult this manuscript personally and go by Meyer's edition. Cf. Meyer, *Anecdota* iv, x.

⁶⁰⁹ Dublin, Trinity College MS 1318, col.75.6-7. Transcription is my own.

⁶¹⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 610, ff. 85rb14: Transcription is my own.

⁶¹¹ Dublin, Trinity College MS 1339, f. 179ra. This fragment of *SC* breaks off before the entry with *nisam*.

(31 examples - 78% of instances)	(9 examples - 22% of instances)
¶5 <i>fil</i> mainster isin crich sin 7 loch fria taebh (121rb2-3).	¶54 <i>atat</i> 7 na cetri righ fil fo mamus Naim (124ra21).
¶6 <i>fil</i> crich n-aili innti (121rb6).	¶71 <i>ata</i> clog romor fora lar (125ra14).
¶6 <i>fil</i> cathair oirdnidhi innte (121rb7).	¶90 <i>ata</i> taisech dia muintir co n-deich milib lais (126ra18).
¶8 <i>fil</i> cathair n-aili isin crich sin (121rb21).	¶116 <i>ata</i> magh isin crich sin (127va15).
¶12 <i>fil</i> ri fuirre (121va27).	¶116 <i>ata</i> ummorro dhairdi na h-aiti (127va28).
¶14 <i>fileat</i> dithreabhaigh a mainistribh (121vb16).	¶134 <i>ata</i> sruth for fod prouinnse Manguay (128vb7).
¶15 <i>fil</i> sliabh urard (121vb19).	¶163 <i>ata</i> coill isin crich sin (130rb12).
¶23 <i>fil</i> cathair naili uidhi dha la allamuigh don cathraigh sin (122vb24).	¶173 <i>ata</i> began Cristaidi imm on cathraigh mbic ina bhfhuil corp Tomás (130vb21).
¶26 <i>fil</i> sliabh urard isin crich sin (122vb15).	¶183 <i>atat</i> di inis a fudomhuin in mara sin (131rb35).
¶43 <i>fil</i> anmann n-aili ann (123va26).	
¶53 <i>fil</i> mainister la Cublay (124ra10).	
¶53 <i>filet</i> manuigh aili isin crich sin (124ra11).	
¶68 <i>fil</i> cathair n-aili la Magnus Cam (124vb29).	
¶81 <i>fil</i> tulach ard allamuigh don cathraigh sin (125va4).	
¶100 <i>fil</i> droicheat ac on chathraigh sin (126va22).	
¶104 <i>fil</i> prouinnsi Cariaiam fria thaebh sidhe (126vb21).	
¶105 <i>fil</i> loch isin crich cétna sin (126vb26).	
¶111 <i>fil</i> crich ele fria h-or na criche sin (127rb21).	
¶123 <i>fil</i> prouindsi ele fria toebh 7 ri fuirri	

(128ra23). ¶135 <i>fil</i> cathair n-aile isin crich sin (128vb11). ¶136 <i>fil</i> cathair n-aile, uidhi .u. laithe fria taebh sin (128vb17). ¶139 <i>fil</i> loch a medon na cathrach sin (129ra6). ¶143 <i>fil</i> crich n-aile iar facbáil Quinglay (129ra33). ¶147 <i>fil</i> cathair oirechuis leou (129rb20). ¶165 <i>fil</i> figbaidh isin crich sin (130rb28). ¶165 <i>fil</i> blogh d'aes na criche sin a m-bennuibh sliab (130rb32). ¶166 <i>fil</i> fighbad isin crich sin (130va2). ¶170 <i>fil</i> an India fria h-or na h-innsi sin (130va28). ¶185 <i>fil</i> inis lais (131va13). ¶189 <i>filet</i> fria h-aincreidiumh (131vb27). ¶190 <i>fil</i> escop naemhtha lat (131vby).	
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A similar ratio of *fil* to *atá* is found in the forms of the present substantive verb in direct relative position in IMP. Thus *fil* occurs twelve times as the direct relative form of the substantive verb, and *atá* occurs four times. I am not aware of any examples in IMP of the specifically relative form *file*.

Direct Relative Present Substantive Forms in IMP	
<i>fil</i> (12 examples - 75% of instances)	<i>atá</i> (4 examples - 25% of instances)
¶3 fo chis do Magnus <i>fil</i> si (121ra25). ¶25 masa dhith oir nó ilmaine n-anaitinte <i>fil</i> fort (122va11).	¶3 Glaisia is cathair oirechais di 7 ar muir <i>ata</i> si (121ra28). ¶4 isin tirsin <i>ata</i> sliab Armenia (121ra34).

¶54 <i>atat 7 na cethri righ fil fo mamus Naim</i> (124ra21).	¶5 <i>is fria toebh-sidhe ata proibinnsi Soranorum</i> (121rax).
¶71 <i>do cluinter a fhoghur isna cethri cúlaibh fil le</i> (125ra15).	¶169 <i>is ocun righ sin ata in cloch is ferr for bith</i> (130va22).
¶72 <i>istadh oirmitnech lasna .iiii. riguib fil forro</i> (125ra20).	
¶121 <i>fria h-or in mara fhil si</i> (128ra2).	
¶123 <i>Stactur ainm in righ fil fuirri</i> (128ra26).	
¶139 <i>for srothaib 7 uscedaib fil si</i> (129ra17).	
¶164 <i>don t-saeth fil fort</i> (130rb28).	
¶170 <i>in righ fil fuirri</i> (130va30).	
¶176 <i>asberuit conadh geal fil fuath in diabuil</i> (131ra12).	
¶178 <i>isin glind dithoghlaide fil fuithibh</i> (131ra36).	

These lists indicate that the Irish author was methodically using *fil* instead of *atá* in four out of five instances in IMP. The accusative following *fil*, as expected in Old Irish and Classical Irish,⁶¹² is marked by nasalisation in 53% of examples in which the adjective following the noun in the singular begins with a vowel. Out of fifteen examples in which an adjective following a singular noun after *fil* begins with a vowel, nasalisation is marked on eight: ¶6, ¶8, ¶23, ¶43, ¶68, ¶135, ¶136, ¶143, and nasalisation is not marked on seven: ¶6, ¶15, ¶26, ¶81, ¶111, ¶123, ¶147.

Thurneysen observed that *fil* is found often in ‘archaic texts and poetry (...) with the meaning “there is”’.⁶¹³ In fact, Mac Gearailt has shown that *fil* in absolute and relative position occurs in the Book of Leinster versions of the *Táin* and *Cath Ruis na Rígh* (CRR),⁶¹⁴ for example:

⁶¹² Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 479: IGT I §129. Mac Cárthaigh, *Art*, 130-31.

⁶¹³ Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 479.

⁶¹⁴ Mac Gearailt, ‘Archaisms’, 84.

*fail sund a n-as dech dagóc fer nHérend.*⁶¹⁵

(*Táin Leinster*)

*in folt craibach dúalach findbudi forórda forscailti fail immo
chend.*⁶¹⁶

(*Táin Leinster*)

*'fail áni a morabba damsa' bar Conchobor.*⁶¹⁷

(*CRR*)

*'fail a morabba damsa sain' bar Fergus.*⁶¹⁸

(*CRR*)

Mac Gearailt also noticed Ó Cianáin's use of *fil* instead of the expected absolute form in the *Turas*,⁶¹⁹ and likewise Ó Cuív noticed that it occurs in the version of *Cath Muighe Tuireadh* written by David Duigenan in 1651-1652.⁶²⁰ These observations indicate that *fil* was being used instead of *atá* for stylistic purposes as late as the seventeenth century in order to give the language of texts an archaic flair. The preference for *fil* over *atá* in IMP significantly alters the linguistic tone of the text, evoking the language of Middle Irish saga narrative.

On the other hand, I am not aware of any occurrences of *fil* in absolute or dependent relative position in *GSM* or *SNL*, in which *atá* occurs throughout, for example: *ata sruth fora lar a mbi moran d'iasgaibh dubha*,⁶²¹ in *GSM*, and: *ōr atāit trī srotha isin flaithimhnus*,⁶²² in *SNL*.

⁶¹⁵ O'Rahilly, *Táin Leinster*, 10:342,

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 43:1581-82.

⁶¹⁷ Best, *Book of Leinster*, IV, 761:22649.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 768:22899.

⁶¹⁹ Mac Gearailt, 'Archaisms', 84.

⁶²⁰ Ó Cuív, *Cath*, 16.

⁶²¹ Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 8: 96vb20.

⁶²² Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 100: 1.402. 115va11.

OIr. 3rd sg. absolute pret. forms: *-is* and *-us*.

I am aware of forty-six occurrences of the OIr. and Classical 3rd sg. absolute s-pret. form *-(a)is* in IMP, thirty-four of which are plene spellings. Of these thirty-four examples, thirty-two are OIr. 3rd sg. absolute pret. *-is*, and two are the relative form *-us*. Following is a table containing all plene spellings of the OIr. 3rd sg. absolute pret. forms, in the left column, and the two examples of the OIr. relative form *-us*, in the right column:

3 rd sg. absolute pret. forms in IMP	
<i>-is</i>	<i>-us</i>
¶8 <i>airisis</i> <i>air coidhche</i> (121va1-2), ¶10 (121va19), ¶24 <i>faidhis</i> <i>magnus cam feacht naill teachta</i> (122rbx), ¶30 (122vb26), ¶30 (122vb29), ¶55 (123ra31), ¶55 (123ra35), ¶58 (124rb20), ¶111 (127vb12), ¶117 (127va34), ¶128 (128rb34-35), ¶133 (128va33), ¶156 (129vb33), ¶156 (130ra3-4), ¶25 <i>foemuís</i> <i>magnus. doibh oirisium for dliged a sean</i> (122va11-12). ¶33 <i>muidhis</i> <i>for na hindecdhaibh</i> (123ra28), ¶63 (124va21), ¶56 <i>Naim ummorro gluaisis</i> <i>coslogh ndermhair lais</i> (124rb2). ¶62 <i>oirisis</i> <i>naim</i> (124va12), ¶66 (124vb4-5), ¶133 (128vb4-5), ¶94 <i>trialluis</i> <i>fora set</i> (126rb33-34). ¶98 <i>accainis</i> <i>Prespiter Seon</i> (126va7). ¶98 <i>gellaissium</i> <i>sin</i> (126va10). ¶99 <i>cuiris</i> <i>magnus cam fa a smacht he</i> (126va21), ¶169 (130va24). ¶112 <i>sreathais</i> <i>a scora fria taebh</i> (127rb21), ¶149 (129va14). ¶112 <i>gairis</i> <i>a thaisigh 7 a laeich gaili cuigi</i> (127rb24).	¶18 <i>airisius</i> <i>didiu an eaclais amail as deach bui riam</i> (122ra19-20). ¶111 <i>faidhius</i> <i>magnus cam taisec dia muintir cuslog ndearmhair lais dfurtacht prouindsi Oraandum</i> (127rb4-6).

¶115 <i>beris</i> Niscardyn iat co Magnus Cam (127va13-14).	
¶133 <i>gabais</i> omhan lucht na cathrach (128vb1).	
¶149 na taisigh ummorro <i>fasais</i> imfhorrac nura eatarra (129va7).	

The forms *-is* and *-us* are used interchangeably in IMP, suggesting that the ending *-us* no longer conveyed relative meaning. Mac Gearailt and Williams observed that though the OIr. absolute pret. form *-(a)is* was probably not used in speech already by the twelfth century, it continued to be used as literary forms until the eighteenth century,⁶²³ and Jackson suggested that the 3rd sg. absolute pret. form ‘seems to have regained some popularity in literary circles as a “high class” form in Early Modern Irish’.⁶²⁴ O’Rahilly counted sixteen instances of *-is* and eight of *-as* in Ó Maolchonaire’s *Desiderius* from the seventeenth century,⁶²⁵ however I am not aware of any examples earlier than IMP which display this confusion between the two forms. This confusion between the forms *-is* and *-us* is further indication that the OIr. 3rd sg. absolute s-pret. form was no longer in everyday use.

The spread of *-s* endings into strong verbs in IMP is seen in the pseudo-archaic construction *beris*, which inflected as a *t*-preterite - *birt* - in Old Irish. In IMP, the form *beiris* has been re-inflected as an *s*-preterite, perhaps by using the OIr. conjunct pres. form *-beir* as its stem. Mac Gearailt observed that this form is common in Ó Cianáin’s *Turas*,⁶²⁶ where it is also likely to be a purely literary form.

I am not aware of any examples in IMP of the 3rd sg. past form *-(a)sdar*, which spread from OIr. deponent forms.

Plural past passive forms: *-adh*, *-id* and *-ta*

Three forms of the past pass. plural occur in IMP, namely: the OIr. sg. conjunct perfect pass. form *-adh/-edh*; MIr. pl. past pass. form *-it/-id* in IMP; OIr. pl. perfect

⁶²³ Mac Gearailt, ‘Archaisms’, 83; Williams, ‘Na Canúintí’, 455.

⁶²⁴ Jackson, *Aislinge*, 131.

⁶²⁵ Ó Maolchonaire, *Desiderius*, xxvii.

⁶²⁶ Mac Gearailt, ‘Archaisms’, 72-73.

pass. form *-ta*, which occurred in OIr. strong verbs, is found on two verbs in IMP, namely OIr. *do-gní* and *ad-anaig*.

Of these forms, *-adh/-edh* is used for both the sg. and pl., as expected in Early Modern Irish. It occurs eight times with a plural noun and four times with plural pronouns, two of which are infixed:

With pl. noun:

¶49 *do ronad* istada rebroinn seilgi lais a ndiamhair in fheaga 7 ba do boicshimnibh *do ronad*. (123vb19-21).

¶55 *ro hindledh* cetri helifainti don rig 7 caislen claruig forro. (124rax-y).

¶74 *do rinnadh* fair beos do brechtrad gaca datha imhaighi na cath 7 na congal *do ratad* isna hiltirib sin. (125ra31-33).

¶133 *imat cloch* 7 aile ndimhor asta forsin cathraig *gur brised* a taidhbli 7 a tighi. (128vay-z).

¶138 *ro hoirdneadh* nai righe do tartraidibh forro. (129ra1-2).

¶142 *na nai righe ro hoirdned* for righe stactur. (129ra30-31).

¶148 *gabsat do lorcuibh 7 tuinidibh in talman forro curo coimmbriseadh a cnamha 7 a cuirp*. (129va5-6).

With pl. pronoun:

¶112 *is ferdha bar laeich innaid 7 is fria galaib ro-n-altad* sib. (127rb26-27).

¶151 *ro tinnlaiced* iatsom go cublay. (129vb10-11).

¶183 *in tan lamhnaigid na mna mad ingena no-s-berat no-n-alad* fri druine 7 gresa. (131va6-7).

¶189 *as feardha a cathuibh iat ár is friu ro-nn-altadh* oc imaireacc fria genntiu. (131vb25-26).

I am aware of five examples of the MIr. pl. past pass. form *-it/-id* in IMP, all of which occur with pl. nouns:

¶31 *ro gairmit* a righe 7 a thaisigh dia shaigid. (122vby-z).

¶33 *ro seindit* a sduic. (123ra24).

¶92 *ro cumdaigid teagduise la Cublay forin magh soin fria broinn sealga.*
(126raz- 126rb1).

¶114 *cu ro-s-trascrait la dairghibh 7 omnuib in fheagha a caislana debtha.*
(127va6-8).

¶127 *do gairit cuigi a riga 7 a toisigh.* (128rb23-24).

This use of the pl. past pass. form *-it/-id* with plural nouns complies with that indicated in *Rudimenta Grammatica Hibernicae* (*RGH*), in which Ó hEodhasa specifies that *-it/-id* be used with plural nouns, while the sg. past pass. form *-adh/-edh* be used with plural pronouns.⁶²⁷ The fact the sg. past pass. form *-adh/-edh* is used eight times in IMP with pl. nouns and that the pl. past pass. form *-it/-id* is only used five times, contrary to Ó hEodhasa's recommendation, may indicate that the pl. past pass. form *-it/-id* form was obsolete in speech, and that it was being used as an archaism. A similar situation is found in *LSN*, in which Falconer observed that the sg. past pass. form *-adh/-edh* is used with a pl. subject in at least six plene readings.⁶²⁸ Ó Corráin has shown that the pl. past pass. form *-it/-id* was not known to the seventeenth-century copyists of *RGH*, who wrote the Mlr. pl. past pass. form *-it/-id* as *-uidh/-aidh*, indicating their unfamiliarity with the form.⁶²⁹ Hull observed that the first example of the sg. past pass. form *-adh/-edh* being used with pl. subject in AU occurs in 1177, and after 1207 it is the only past pass. form used in AU.⁶³⁰ This suggests that the Mlr. pl. past pass. form *-it/-id* was not in current use during the fifteenth century, and was being used in IMP to enhance the language of the text.

I am aware of two verbs which use OIr. pl. perf. pass. form *-ta* in IMP, namely OIr. *do-gní* and *ad-anaig*. Interestingly, the pl. forms of these verbs are used both with sg. and pl. subjects. All examples of pl. perf. pass. forms *-ta* in IMP are listed below, and have been divided according to whether they have a sg. or pl. subject:

With sg. subject:

¶12 *do ronta palas rigda lais a nglind dithoghlaidi.* (121va26-28).

⁶²⁷ Mac Aogáin, *Graiméir*, 62:1717-18.

⁶²⁸ Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, lxxiv, note 4.

⁶²⁹ Ó Corráin, 'Rudimenta', 247.

⁶³⁰ Hull, 'Middle Irish', 108.

¶12 *as aire do ronta sin leo.* (121va33).

¶16 *ro hadhnachta in ri foithi.* (121vb32).

¶85 *in .c.na laithi don bliadain do ronta he.* (125vb7).

With pl. subject:

¶17 *ro iarsat a shaeirsiumh an ail dímhor fo ro hadhnachta a athair 7 sin na nIubhaidhe.* (121vbz-122ra1).

¶18 *in ail fo ro hadhnachtta a sin.* (122ra12-13).

¶35 *is ann ro-s-adhnachta ar ghein do righuib fora lurg.* (123rb2-3).

The three examples of *do ronta* occurring with sg. subjects (¶12, ¶12, ¶85) are especially interesting when compared with the the examples of the sg. past passive form *do ronad* being used with pl. subject, listed above: ¶49 *do ronad istada re broinn seilgi lais a ndiamhair in fheaga 7 ba do boicshimnibh do ronad* (123vb19-21). This example in particular shows how the Irish author was using OIr. pl. pass. forms for stylistic effect in IMP and was not concerned with implementing them according to correct OIr. usage. In fact, of the seven examples of OIr. pl. pass. forms *-ta* only three are used correctly with a pl. subject. Finally, the fact that the sg. past pass. form *-adh/-edh* is used as the pl. form in the majority of cases in IMP, suggests that distinctive pl. past pass. forms were literary features rather than reflections of the author's spoken practices.

Finally, Hull's observations that the pl. past pass. form *-it/-id* occurs in AU between 1014 and 1187⁶³¹ and in the Annals of Inisfallen between 1013 and 1282,⁶³² and that the OIr. perf. pass. ending *-ta* is last found in AU in 1207, indicates that the Irish author was reviving verbal forms in his prose which may have been out of use for at least three centuries.

⁶³¹ Hull, 'Middle Irish', 108.

⁶³² Hull, 'The preterite passive', 126.

2.5. Conclusions

This analysis of the orthography, nominal inflection and verbal forms of IMP has shown that the language of the text contains a mix of Old, Middle and Early Modern Irish features. The use of this linguistic style, which is not unusual in fifteenth-century Irish texts, shows an awareness of contemporary archaised prose styles. In particular this chapter has shown how the author was incorporating archaic language in IMP and adapting it to an Early Modern audience.

I have argued that the archaic spelling system employed in IMP was intended by the author of the text and was not a consequence of the orthographical tendencies of Scribe A. Phonological points of interest that I have raised in this chapter include: the spelling ¶79 *órdadh* (125rb30), by the relief scribe of f. 125rb, with unhistoric final *-dh*, which indicates that he pronounced final *-adh* as *-a*, a distinctive feature of spoken Irish of the southern half of the island since the fifteenth-century;⁶³³ and the unhistoric spelling *-ghth-* in two examples of the equitative, namely ¶116 *airdighthir* (127va18), ¶187 *leithighthir* (131vb3), also spelled *-th-* in ¶169 *glainithir* (130va23), which indicates that Scribe A pronounced unstressed *-ghth-* as *-h-*, as in Munster Irish. Preservation of archaic endings such as *-ai* in the nom. pl. form ¶125 *eascraí* (125ra23) and *-ea* in imperf. and past subj. pass. forms such as ¶17 *no berthea* (121vb38), indicate that the author was imitating the orthography of texts written prior to the decline of unstressed final vowels to /ə/. On the other hand, the use of distinctive plural endings *-adha* and *-the/-te* shows the influence of Early Modern forms on the language of the text.

The overall correspondence of the nominal system of IMP with IGT II is evidence of the linguistic training of the Irish author and might indicate familiarity with the training of schools of poetry, though this would not necessarily follow, as a scholar from any of the branches of Irish learning would have more than a working knowledge of the norms of Classical Irish. The use of acc. pl. forms in nom. pl. position, such as *fíru* and *rígu*, indicates that acc. pl. forms had lost grammatical significance and were being used for stylistic purposes, enhancing the language of IMP by recalling Old Irish inflectional endings irrespective of their correct grammatical use.

⁶³³ O’Rahilly, *Dialects*, 65-66.

The preference for *ro* over *do*, the use of 3rd pl. *s*-preterite endings and of infixed pronouns in IMP reveal the methodology adopted by the Irish author in archaising the language of the text. In particular, the use of pleonastic infixed pronouns in the text shows how he was adapting archaic verbal syntax for an Early Modern audience. The preference for *fil* over *atá* as the 3rd sg. pres. indic. of the substantive verb is another indication of the systematic manner in which the Irish author was writing IMP in a literary and quasi-artificial language. The confusion between 3rd sg. *s*-preterite past indic. ending *-ais* and the relative form *-us*, commonplace up to the mid-seventeenth century, shows that the author of IMP was employing verbal forms which were not in spoken use, and the various past passive forms in the text show how he was using forms from the Old, Middle and Early Modern language side by side.

In conclusion, the author of IMP was not interested in reviving Old or Middle Irish in IMP, rather he was using obsolete forms to give his prose a more antique tone. Comparison with the language of *GSM* and *SNL* indicates that this linguistic style is unique to IMP among the translated texts which deal with European and Oriental history in L, and that *GSM*, *SNL* and IMP do not form a linguistic unit in the manuscript. Comparison with the language of GM also indicates that the same linguistic style was not being used to adapt texts of the same genre in late fifteenth-century Munster.

The motivation behind the author's choice of style may lie in a desire to parade linguistic erudition and knowledge of Old and Middle Irish forms. Sophisticated language would have complimented not only the author of the text but also its audience, setting it aside from texts written *chum leasa na ndaoine simplidhe nách foil géarchúiseach a nduibheagán na Gaoidhilge*, to quote Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire.⁶³⁴ The different linguistic styles of *GSM* and *SNL* on the one hand, and IMP on the other may indicate that these texts were written with different audiences in mind. I will argue in Chapter IV that there are sections of IMP which were embellished and expanded by the Irish author because they offered parallels with the career and personal life of Finghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, patron of L. If these parallels are correct, and IMP was translated for Finghean Mac Carthaigh, it may be suggested that the language of

⁶³⁴ Ó Maolchonaire, *Desiderius*, 2.

IMP was archaised because the text was intended for the lord of Cairbre himself. In this respect IMP may be compared to Tadhg Ó Cianáin's *Turas* written in 1609 and Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh's *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*, written after 1616,⁶³⁵ which were composed with learned court audiences in mind.

⁶³⁵ Mac Craith, 'The *Beatha*', 36-37.

PART III

3. Narrative Styles of IMP

I have already discussed in Chapter I how the critical tone which permeates Pipino's translation of the *Travels* is not present in IMP. Instead, the prose of IMP alternates primarily between three distinctive narrative styles. The first is a clipped, terse, succinct style, which is evocative of the narrative of many Old Irish short tales, such as *Fingal Rónáin*, *Esnada Tige Buchet* or *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*. The second is a fluid narrative style, used for anecdotes and events. Some of its features include: multiple dependent clauses in each sentence; and ample use of direct speech. This style is common in other Early Modern Irish texts such as GM, *GSM*, *SNL* and *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bhás*. The third is the bombastic, alliterative, adjective-heavy prose style of the Irish *cath*, so called because it is most frequently found in Late Middle and Early Modern Irish battle narrative, in texts such as *Cogad Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, *Caithréim Cheallacháin Chaisil* and *In Cath Catharda*. The following paragraphs will analyse these three styles in IMP, examining how they alternate and adapt to the themes of the text.

3.1. Clipped style

P is divided into three books. For the most part, in each of these books, every chapter deals with a different region, or with a different custom of each region. There are of course exceptions, such as chapters one to ten of the first book, which describe the first journey of Matteo and Nicolò Polo, or chapters fifty-five to sixty-one of the first book which discuss the customs of the Tartars. However, examination of the chapter lists of P shows how, by and large, the text has been divided so that one chapter will contain information pertaining to a single region, province or city. Following is the list

of forty consecutive chapters, from eleven to fifty-one of the first book of P, which displays this feature:⁶³⁶

- XI. Descripcio orientalium regionum et primo de Minori Armenia.
- XII. De provincia Turchie.
- XIII. De Armenia Maiori.
- XIV. De provincia Çorçanie.
- XV. De regno Mosul.
- XVI. De civitate Baldachi.
- XVII. De civitate Taurisii.
- XVIII. De miraculo translacionis cuiusdam montis in regione illa.
- XIX. De regione Persarum.
- XX. De civitate Iasdi.
- XXI. De civitate Cremam.
- XXII. De civitate Camandu et regione Theobarle.
- XXIII. De campestribus formosa et civitate Cormos et Creman.
- XXIV. De intermedia regione inter civitatem Cormos et Crerman.
- XXV. De regione que media est inter Creman et civitatem Cobinam.
- XXVI. De civitate Cobinam.
- XXVII. De regno Thumochayn et arbore solis, qui vulgariter a latinis dicitur Arbor Sicca.
- XXVIII. De tiranno qui dicebatur Senex de Montanis et siccariis seu assessinis eius.
- XXIX. De morte eius et destructione loci eius.
- XXX. De civitate Sopurgan et terminis eius.
- XXXI. De civitate Balach.
- XXXII. De castro Taycam et terminis eius.
- XXXIII. De civitate Scassen.
- XXXIV. De provincia Balascie.
- XXXV. De provincia Bascie.
- XXXVI. De provincia Chesumur.
- XXXVII. De provincia Vocam et montibus altissimis.
- XXXVIII. De provincia Cascar.
- XXXIX. De civitate Samarcha et miraculo columpne facto in ecclesia beati

⁶³⁶ From Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, ff. 2ra-2vb.

- Iohannis Baptiste.
 XL. De provincia Carchan.
 XLI. De provincia Coram.
 XLII. De provincia Peum.
 XLIII. De provincia Ciarchiam.
 XLIV. De civitate Lop et deserto maximo.
 XLV. De civitate Sachion et ritu paganorum in combustione mortuorum.
 XLVI. De provincia Chamul.
 XLVII. De provincia Chynchyntalas.
 XLVIII. De provincia Siccuir.
 XLIX. De provincia Campicion.
 L. De civitate Ezina et alio deserto magno.
 LI. De civitate Carochoram et inicio dominii Tartarorum.

These chapters are connected to one another by the geographical location of the regions which they describe. Therefore, the chapter describing the province of Armenia Minor is followed by a chapter on Turkey, followed by one on Greater Armenia, which is followed by Georgia and so forth. Typically, the description of a region in one chapter will be followed by the description of a neighbouring region in the next chapter, and will often open with a sentence describing its position in relation to the region described in the previous chapter, such as: *euntes autem de Crerman versus Cobinam inveniunt viam pessimam que in longitudine .VII. dietas habet*,⁶³⁷ or *post discessum de Cobinam invenitur desertum, habens longitudinis dietas octo, ubi est ariditas magna*.⁶³⁸ These opening statements are usually followed by a description of the landscape and a list of the principal cities, where present, before the text moves on to notable features of the region and customs of its inhabitants.

This efficient and methodical approach to description and layout in P, was adapted in IMP to match the succinct, clipped and concise style common in many Old and Middle Irish prose texts.⁶³⁹ This may be observed in the following table which compares chapters ten to twelve of the third book of P, in the right column, with the corresponding sections of IMP, in the left column.

⁶³⁷ P I.25.1.

⁶³⁸ P I.27.1.

⁶³⁹ See for example Mac Gearailt, 'Issues', 105.

IMP	P
(¶157) IAna mor <i>fria huur</i> na righisin 7rí <i>fuirri cin comus</i> righ <i>for bith fair</i>. Tricha .c.m. a <i>timcill</i> na rí ghisin. is lan da <i>gac uili mhaithius for bith hi</i>.⁶⁴⁰	De insula magna Iana. Capitulum X. [1] Dimissa provincia Cymba navigatur inter meridiem et syrocom per miliaria .MCCCC., et pervenitur ad insulam magnam Iana, que in circuitu suo habet mensuram miliarium trium milium. [2] In hac insula rex est, qui nemini tributarius est. [3] Ibi est piperis, nucum muscatarum, spici, galange, cubeborum, garofolorum et ceterorum aromatum copia maxima. [4] Negotiatores multi illuc confluunt ubi lucra magna percipiunt. [5] Omnes habitatores insule ydolatre sunt. [6] Magnus Kaam nondum eam potuit obtinere.
(¶158) Gendur 7 gondur <i>fria hor</i> na righi sin. dá inis <i>muiridí iatsum co nimmat gaca maine</i> leo INIS leoach allamuigh dhibh sin. righi <i>forlethan</i> isside 7 ri <i>fuirri nac giallann</i> do righ <i>for bith</i> As <i>ferdha línmhar</i> a laeich. <i>immut oir</i> 7 ele <i>finnted fora feadh</i>.⁶⁴¹	De provincia Loath. Capitulum XI. [1] Dimissa insula Iana itur intra meridiem et garbinum per miliaria septingenta, et pervenitur ad insulas duas que dicuntur Sandur et Condur, ultra quas ad quingenta miliaria est provincia Loath, que grandis est et ditissima valde, regem proprium et linguam propriam habens, nulli tributum reddens nisi proprio regi. [2] Est enim fortis valde et a nemine

⁶⁴⁰ 130ra11-14.

⁶⁴¹ 130ra15-20.

	potest invadi. [3] Incole provincie ydolatre sunt. [4] In hac provincia crescunt birci qui domestici sunt et magni ut limones, qui valde boni sunt; ibi aurum invenitur in copia et sunt ibi elephantes multi. [5] Est ibi porcellana que pro moneta expenditur de qua dictum est supra. [6] Ad hanc provinciam pauci de aliis regionibus confluunt, quia regio non bene domestica est.
(¶159) INIS peantam didiu. tír isidhe <i>conimad</i> fheagh toir na timcheall. ceatra troigthi foradoimne .c.m. gaca taebha dhi nac tualang barc seolaid na sdiuraid for in muir sin.⁶⁴²	De insula Pentayn. Capitulum XII. [1] Post discessum a Loath navigatur per miliaria quingenta versus meridiem, et invenitur insula Pentain que etiam regio silvestris est valde. [2] Ibi sunt nemora arborum odoris magni et magne utilitatis. [3] Intra provinciam Loath et Penthayn per miliaria .XL. non invenitur altitudo maris ultra passus quatuor, propter quod oportet nautas elevare gubernacula seu temones. [4] Postea pervenitur ad regnum Maleuir, ubi sunt aromata multa in copia maxima. [5] Est etiam ibi proprium ydeoma.

Characteristics of this style in IMP include: a quick succession of brief independent clauses, with few subordinate or coordinate clauses, which often omit the main-clause verb, as in ¶158 above: *Gendur 7 Gondur fria h-or na righi sin. Dá inis muiridi iatsum co n-immat gacha maine leo. Inis Leoach allamuigh dhibh sin*; and a restraint in the use of adjectives, when compared to the bombastic alliterative style which is

⁶⁴² 130ra21-24.

discussed below, which are mostly predicative when used, as in ¶158 above: *as ferdha línmhar a laeich*.

These specific stylistic features are reminiscent of the opening lines of a number of Old Irish prose texts, which set the scene of their stories by listing the basic information and introducing the main characters of the tale using this same concise and abrupt narrative rhythm. The following extracts, display the similarity between the prose styles in the opening lines of *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*, *Fingal Rónáin*, *Esnada Tige Buchet* and IMP:

Boí rí amrae for Laignib, Mac Dathó a ainm. Boí cú occo. Im·dīched in cú Laigniu huili. Ailbe ainm in chon, oculus ba lán Hériu dia airdicus in chon. Do·eth ō Ailill oculus ō Meidb do chungid in chon. Immalle dano tāncatar oculus techta Ulad oculus Conchobair do chungid in chon chētna.⁶⁴³

(*Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*).

Rí amra ro boí for Laignib .i. Rónán mac Aeda, 7 Ethni ingen Chummascaig maic Eogain do Dēsib Muman na fharrad. Co rruc mac do .i. Mael Fothartaig mac Rónáin, mac is amru tānic Laigniu riam. Is immi con·ēirgitis fri dāla 7 dúnada 7 cluichi oculus cēti 7 tressa oculus dībircethi. Ba hé menmarc a n-ingen oculus lennán a n-ócbán uli Maíl Fothartaig.⁶⁴⁴

(*Fingal Rónáin*).

Boí coire fēile la Laigniu, Buchat a ainm. Tech n-oeged fer nHērenn a thech in Buchet. Nīro díbdad teni fo a choiriu ō ro gab threbad. Ingen do Chathaír Mór mac Fheidlimthe, do rí Laigen ina hucht .i. Ethni ingen Chathaír. Dā mac deac ar fhichit la Cathaír. Tictis-side do oīgidecht 7 do acallaim a sethar. Do·meltis oīgidechta fichtib 7 trīchtaib. Ba robec leo-som ón co mbertis aisceda.⁶⁴⁵

(*Esnada Tige Buchet*).

⁶⁴³ Thurneysen, *Scéla Mucce*, 1.

⁶⁴⁴ Greene, *Fingal*, 1.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., 28.

(¶134) Ata sruth for fod prouinnse manguay quian a ainm. uidi .c. la fora fot .x.m. foralethed. Dá .c.cathair foradhib taebuibh. is lia doloingius dó innat srotha in betha.

(¶135) Fil cathair naile isin crichsin sintuy ahainm. .lx.m. ina timceall .uii.m. droicheat for a feadh fo a ngabhunn bárc cu seol fuirri. dar leosum nífhuil arbith cathair islia laech innas Cathair singuy didiu inann son 7cathair na talman. (128vb7-16)

(IMP).

However, while the narrative of texts such as *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó* and *Fingal Rónáin* becomes more elaborate after the opening scene has been set, by the introduction of dialogue and the description of series of events, the clipped and concise style of IMP is found throughout much of that text. This is due to the fact that P itself is written so that the author is constantly opening and setting a new scene in each chapter. At times these geographical and ethnographical descriptions develop into an anecdote or an action sequence, but for the most part the prose of each chapter remains static, often functioning as no more than a series of notes on a particular region, such as in ¶190 *rigi Aden .i. soudan is ri forro-sum*.

3.1.1. Note on punctuation

The clipped, matter-of-fact style of most of IMP appears closely related to the feature of tight punctuation that is consistently imposed on the text throughout, one that is accompanied by a use of capital letters at the head of sentences and clauses. This feature may also be an innovation on the part of the Irish author. It is exemplified by many passages in IMP, of which the following is typical:

(¶117) Prouindsi cangigu fil fria thaebhsidhe. Bui ri amra fuirri 7 nir bo miadh lais magnus cam do beith na righ fair. Faidhis cublay slóg dia irghabail a nirt chatha. Gabuis serg galuir ri cangigu co táinic a thiughlaithe[.] Ro orduigh a adhnacul co hanorach 7 tor do thocbail for gac taebh dhe[.] .x. cubait in airdi cechae dib. Ceann co claradh oir for tor dibh 7 dí ordlach fora thighi. Cluic ordha uassa cu toghluaisedh gaeth a ceol. Cluic airgit forintor naild. (127va31-b6)

In this passage, there are only two points where an editor might augment the pre-existing punctuation of the manuscript, indicated as [.] above. Such punctuation is also unique in the context of the other major works of translation in L, such as *GSM* and *SNL*, which are written in a more fluid and continuous narrative style such as the one discussed below. This use of punctuation may suggest a familiarity with, and perhaps even an indebtedness to the style of the *itineraria* of medieval Europe,⁶⁴⁶ where formulaic recordings of places and details associated with them are frequent, a feature which also connects IMP stylistically to Ó Cianáin's *Turas*.⁶⁴⁷ Variants of the formulaic in IMP follow patterns such as placename + situation + what god is worshiped + peculiarities of the country, as in this example:

(¶20) LOP didiu cathair oirdnidi isidhe for bel fhasaigh dhimhoir. Imat gacha maine allamuich di conid airi sin is port airisim da gac aen fria creic 7 cundrad 7 maine hi. Do Macametus adhruit Camhaill 7 asail berar fa lóintibh la gac naen dia teit foran fasac sin. uisceda serba fair. magha gainmhidi 7 sleibti uiscide foran conuir. uidhi bliadna fora fot. uidhi .xxx. la fora leithed gin fhiadhmhila gin innile.⁶⁴⁸

A consideration of the feature of punctuation and presentation serves to highlight – and to isolate – all the more the intrusion of the alliterative, bombastic style in other parts of the text, namely paragraphs ¶57, ¶58 and ¶61, discussed below. It is that breach, or foreshortening, of the tacit objective distance between text and the impartiality of the translator that reveals his engagement with the narrative beyond an obvious wish to reveal to his audience the wonders, the manners and customs of the East, as recorded in a renowned European classic. This is reinforced by his realisation of the allegorical potential of the text for reflecting political developments in the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach territory in the second half of the fifteenth century, as I argue in Chapter IV; and at the less weighty end of the narrative spectrum, by a minor intrusion

⁶⁴⁶ See for example Geyer et al, *Itineraria et alia geographica*. For an investigation into the development of punctuation see Parkes, *Pause and effect*.

⁶⁴⁷ Ó Macháin, 'Observations', 189-90.

⁶⁴⁸ 122ra28-35.

such as that explaining the name of Bayam/Baiam as meaning ‘cétshúil’ *asin bérla scoiteacda*.⁶⁴⁹

The style used to set the scene in the Old Irish prose texts quoted above was well suited to translate the systematic layout of P, and was employed to write a great deal of IMP. In many cases however, the description of a region or a city develops into an anecdote concerning the ruler or the population of the province, at which point the pace of the prose accelerates, with longer clauses and the introduction of dialogue. In light of the efforts of the Irish author to archaise the language of IMP, discussed above, it is possible that the choice of this clipped, dry and succinct narrative style, which is found throughout most of the text, was also an attempt to give the text the resonance and tone of Old Irish prose. This is in contrast to the fluidity of Pipino’s Latin style, which is eloquent and profuse in its descriptions and narrative rhythm, and does not lend itself to the punctuated style of IMP. The clipped, terse and succinct style of IMP is also in contrast to the heavy, bombastic and alliterative style which is employed in other sequences of IMP, discussed below.

3.2. Fluid style

A fluid, continuous narrative style is employed in IMP to narrate anecdotes and events relating to a region or a people which has been previously described. It is mid-way between the concise, clipped style described above and the alliterative, bombastic style of the *cath*, discussed below, in that it is distinctly more fluid, with longer sentences and more dependent clauses, but does not contain the alliteration or the fast pace of battle narrative. It often resorts to direct speech in order to progress the narrative, even where this is not present in P. For example, in P, direct speech is not used in the prophet Mohammed’s description of paradise: *promittit enim infelicissimus Machometus sectatoribus sue legis quod in vita alia huiusmodi, ut dictum est, delectaciones habebunt*.⁶⁵⁰ On the other hand, IMP introduces direct speech: ¶12 *Macametús dia chantain friu ‘amail bethi abhus beithi thall am righi-siu iar m-blaisecht bhais’*. This preference for direct speech in IMP may be an effort on behalf

⁶⁴⁹ 128rb32.

⁶⁵⁰ P I.28.6: ‘In fact, the most unhappy Mohammed promised the followers of his law that they shall enjoy pleasures of this kind in the next life, as is said.’

of the Irish translator to enhance the otherwise plain and clipped narrative with brief action sequences and dialogue, in order to render his prose more vivid and involve his audience more actively.

The following extract from IMP displays how the concise and clipped style used throughout much of IMP and discussed above, is interwoven with the more fluid and continuous style described here, in order to relate the episode of the Church of Saint John the Baptist in Samarcand that remained standing after one of its supporting columns was removed by the pagans. The former style is underlined, whereas the latter is highlighted. I have inserted inverted commas and punctuation in the transcription below, which is my own, for ease of reading and to highlight the use of direct speech in IMP, discussed below.

(¶17) Columhain marmair foa lar dia himarchar cu saine gaca gresa fair ro bhatar diblinaibh for an lig reamhraidti.

(¶18) Atbath in ri focetoir 7 gabuis a mac righi dia eis et ni ro an for lurg a athar acht ro adhair do Macametus Otclos dona geinntib in ri do adhrad do Macameatus cuingit forna cristaigib in ail foro hadhnachtta a sin. ‘Nato itir’, ol na Cristaidi ‘no thoitfead eaclais Eoin dia cuirthe togluasacht foran lig sin.’ ‘Maith’ ol na geinnnte. ‘Rosia maine imdha duib fuirri’, ol na cristaidi. ‘Lig as dith duin’, ol nageinnti ‘7 ni maine.’ donertuigh inri lasna geinti 7 dobered fuirmeadh forsin cloich gu rucsat for culai hi Aitchit na cristaidi eoin 7 isa arna facsin sin. Airisius didiu an eaclais amail as deach bui riam. cobhfuil .iii.ra traigead uas talam aniu 7 biaidh co forceann mbratha

(¶19) PEIN ummorro tir forlethan isidhe conimat cathrac. uidhe .u. laithi for a fot.

This extract displays how the more fluid narrative style in IMP develops from the clipped and succinct style, which is used to describe the basic ethnographical and geographical features of a people or region. Furthermore, a comparison with the corresponding section of P illustrates how the use of dialogue is an innovation of the Irish author:

Factum est autem ut moreretur princeps, cui filius in regno sed non in fide successit: Sarraceni vero impetraverunt ab ipso ut christiani suum eis lapidem restituere cogerentur; offerentibus vero christianis illis precium de lapide magnum, renuerunt Sarraceni precium, volentes ut, sublato lapide, destrueretur ecclesia, cadente columpna.⁶⁵¹

The use of dialogue in IMP renders the scene more dramatic, giving a sense of immediacy and presence to the prose which is not present in P. Instead, P tells the episode from the perspective of an omniscient narrator. Once the anecdote, battle or miracle is described, using this more fluid narrative style, the prose reverts to the dry and concise style in order to introduce the following region. This fluid style is the second most common used by the author of IMP, and is also employed in the description of Cublay's palaces, feasts, hunts, conquests and battles. However, for one of the battles in IMP, the author chose a more identifiably native narrative style, namely that of the Late Middle and Early Modern Irish *cath*.

3.3. Alliterative *cath* style:

The third distinctive prose style which is present in IMP is that of the late Middle Irish *cath*,⁶⁵² so called because it is most commonly found in the battle narrative and action sequences of texts such as *Cogad Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, *Caithréim Cheallacháin Chaisil* (CCC) and *In Cath Catharda*. One of the principal characteristics of this style is the use of long sentences which contain a sequence of dependent clauses, rich in runs of attributive alliterating adjectives. Six battles take place in IMP,⁶⁵³ and although for each of these the narrative style picks up pace significantly from the clipped and succinct style used to describe the geography of the Far East, the alliterative *cath* style

⁶⁵¹ P I.39.3: 'And it came to pass that the prince died, and his son succeeded him in kingdom but not in faith: the Saracens obtained from him that the Christians would have to be compelled to hand back the stone to them; the Christians offered the great price of the stone to them, but the Saracens refused, desiring that the church be destroyed, by removing the stone which would cause the fall of the column.'

⁶⁵² Miles, *Heroic*, 142.

⁶⁵³ ¶33 (not bombastic, but continuous prose); ¶61-62 (*cath* style alliteration, see below); ¶112-115 (not bombastic, but continuous prose); ¶125-133 (not bombastic, but continuous prose); ¶148-151 (some alliteration, but mostly continuous prose); ¶156 (not bombastic, but continuous prose).

is only used for one of these battles, namely that in which Cublay faces the rebellion of his uncle Naim and his nephew Cadau,⁶⁵⁴ which opens the second book of P and IMP. The following two extracts exemplify the *cath* style, from CCC and IMP respectively. Alliteration has been highlighted and is in bold characters:

Is andsin ro eirghetar Clanna Eogain gu crodha ciallmar curata ima
caem-ri im Ceallachan cum an chatha. Ocus do coraighhedh gu calma
ag na curaduibh bro bhadhbha bith-aluinn bhuan-aicmheil bratac ocus
sonn sesmach sith-remhar sleagh 7 tor tenn triath-onchonta taisceh 7
grinne gasda gadhamail gormlann & lonn-bhuaile ladhach línanart
uman laechraid. ár ní rabhutar gorm-ait nait glan-luirecha 'gá n-gasraid.
Achtmad inair cuanna coir-tharblaithi & cotuin 7 muincedha maisecha
min-gresacha re diden corp 7 cnes 7 caeim-cenn.⁶⁵⁵

(*Caithréim Cheallacháin Chaisil*)

(¶61) Gabhait naslúaig sin a nasain gloinidi gorma glaisiaruinn 7 a
luireca daingne doibrisdi 7 a scabail cuana chumdachta fona
minnaib sliptha soradhaircc. Sinit a mergeda badbdha breacamlacha
risna sleaghuibh seimneca sithfhota. gur iadh gac deaglaech dibh ima
rig 7 ima thaisech curo linsat na tolcha 7 na tuaitheabhraca for gech
taebh do uaim. Gur comdluthaigseat na catha re cheli in tan sin. Cu
rostocaib nel niamdha dá ndornclaidbib dathordha 7 da
muincidib dualacha dergoir cor ba soighnen solusta a clethe nime os
cinn na curad ceachtardha sin. (124rb31-124va3).

(IMP)

The use of the *cath* style in IMP is a clear departure from the clipped and succinct style used to describe the geography of the Far East, and gives this section of the text a colour and intensity which accentuates and emphasises it. It is also distinct from the fluid style which is used in the description of anecdotes and other events in IMP. In paragraphs ¶57, ¶58 and ¶61 the author makes a clear effort to change the tone of the narrative, by conforming to the specific and well-defined style of the *cath*. As was

⁶⁵⁴ Nayam and Caydu in P.

⁶⁵⁵ Bugge, *Caithréim*, 6-7.

mentioned above, this *cath* style is found only in one of the six battles described in IMP, namely that between Cublay Khan and his rebellious uncle Naim and cousin Cadau. When this section of IMP is compared to the corresponding chapters of P,⁶⁵⁶ it becomes clear that the Irish author made significant rearrangements to the order of events and descriptions in P.⁶⁵⁷ For the first time since the prologue of the text, the translator departs quite noticeably from P, reshuffling the details and events into a new order in IMP.

It will be discussed in Chapter IV how particular attention may have been given to this section of the text in IMP because the war waged by Cublay's cousin and uncle against him may have offered parallels to the wars in Munster surrounding the succession to the Mac Carthaigh Riabhaigh lordship during the latter part of the fifteenth century, between Finghin, the likely patron of L, and his cousin Cormac.

3.4. Distribution of Narrative Styles in IMP

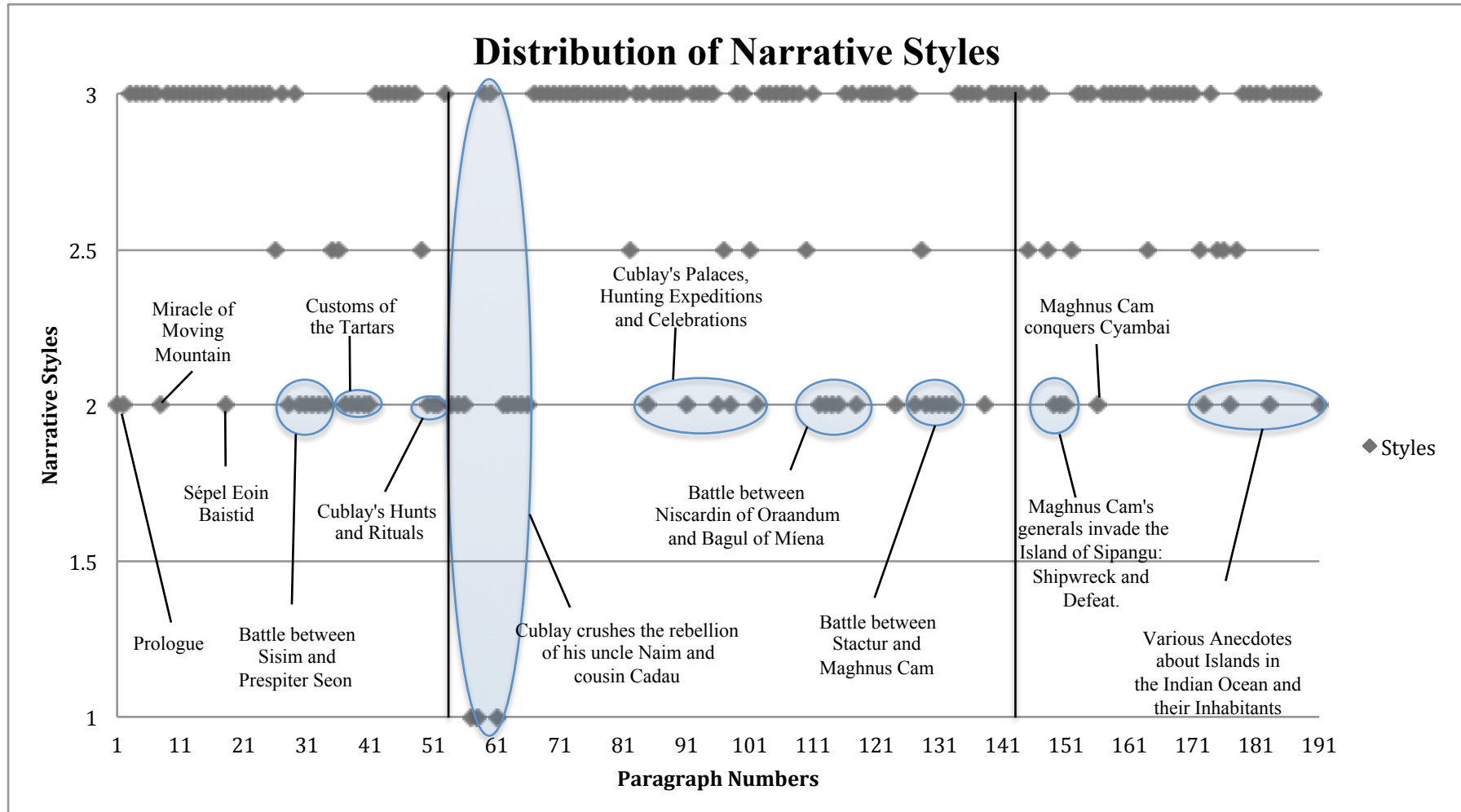
In order to display how the various narrative styles of IMP, described above, are distributed throughout the text, I have developed the following chart. This helps to visualise how variation in narrative style accentuates particular episodes within the text, comprising mainly of miracles, battles, feasts, hunts and rituals, and how it is used to distinguish the encyclopedic information regarding the geography of the Far East, from the more entertaining, action packed sequences in the text.

The X-Axis represents the chapters of IMP as designated in Stokes's edition, whereas the Y-Axis represents the various styles described in the previous paragraphs. The most common of these, the clipped style, has been given the value 3, found at the top of the chart. The fluid, continuous prose style has been given the value 2, in the centre of the chart. The value 2.5 has been given to paragraphs which alternate between these two styles, such that it is not possible to determine an overall stylistic tendency in the narrative. The value 1, at the bottom of the chart, has been given to the alliterative and bombastic style of the *cath*, which is found exclusively in one episode of IMP, namely that of the battle between Cublay and his relatives Naim and Cadau,

⁶⁵⁶ IMP ¶54-66; P II.1-II.8.

⁶⁵⁷ See Chapter IV.

which will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV. The three book divisions have been marked with two lines perpendicular to the X-Axis. In the chart below, I have highlighted the sections of IMP which are written in the fluid, continuous prose style, value 2, and the alliterative *cath* style, value 3, and given short titles of the accounts which they describe. This allows for a visualisation of the main events in IMP and of the narrative styles used to portray them.



3.5. Conclusions

Unlike the archaic linguistic style which is found throughout IMP, three different narrative styles alternate in the text and are used to emphasise particular aspects of the adaptation. The late Middle Irish style of the *cath* in particular is used to accentuate the battle between Cublay and his uncle Naim and cousin Cadau. This is contrasted by the clipped and succinct style used for the geographical description of the regions of the Far East and their inhabitants. The use of these native literary styles in IMP indicates that the *Travels* were being adapted to match the style of native historical texts. An interesting parallel in this regard is the language used by Rustichello da Pisa to write the original version of the *Travels*, the *Devisement*, in 1298: a Franco-Italian hybrid language most commonly used in Arthurian romances, which were widespread in Italy at the time.⁶⁵⁸ Ó Macháin has shown that Irish historical texts were considered to be of two genres by Medieval Irish learned men: on the one hand they were considered to be factual and authoritative collections of *seanchas*, and on the other they were literary explorations of history, tales which could be rewritten and readapted to suit the objectives of the author.⁶⁵⁹ The incorporation of native narrative styles in IMP is not an indication that Marco Polo's account of the Orient was taken to be false, rather it shows how the *Travels* was being assimilated to native texts and brought into the canon of Medieval Irish literature.

⁶⁵⁸ Larner, *Marco*, 46.

⁶⁵⁹ Ó Macháin, 'Aonghas', 162-163.

CHAPTER III: MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF P

Whereas IMP is unique to the Book of Lismore (L), the manuscript tradition of P is somewhat more complex, with copies and versions of the text surviving in a total of sixty-nine manuscripts. A study of the textual tradition of P is necessary in order to understand the place of IMP within its wider European context. Of the surviving manuscripts of P, none appear to have been the direct source of IMP. However, this study has discovered the branch of the *stemma codicum* of P to which the lost exemplar of IMP probably belonged. The following chapter examines how IMP relates to the other versions of P, in many cases consolidating previous observations on the various groups of this branch of the textual tradition of the *Travels*. It will begin with an account of previous research on the textual tradition of P, and give a full list of the manuscripts considered in this study. The focus of this chapter will be the examination of details from transcriptions made over the course of my research from a number of manuscripts of P, which elucidate the differences between many of the subgroups of P. The objective of this chapter is to shine light on the historical and textual context of IMP by examining the family of manuscripts of P from which it derives.

1. Manuscripts of P

P was written by the Dominican friar Francesco Pipino of Bologna between 1310 and 1324, however no autograph of the text has survived.⁶⁶⁰ The question of how to count all the surviving manuscripts of P is one with which previous scholars have struggled, since a number of abbreviated, reworked and translated versions of P also exist, some of which are so different from P that they are not considered as belonging to the P group.⁶⁶¹ For example, Gadrat excluded Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196 ‘*qui ne*

⁶⁶⁰ For a discussion of the life and works of Francesco Pipino see Chapter I.

⁶⁶¹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 263-75; Gadrat, *Lire*, 9 and 384-85.

contiennent pas à proprement parler le récit de Marco Polo’,⁶⁶² whilst she included the abridgement found in London, British Library, Harley 5115, as well as the version of P located in Cambridge, University Library, Dd.8.7 and Dublin, Trinity College E.5.20, which are also abbreviated versions of P. Dutschke on the other hand, considers all of the above in her numeration of the manuscripts of P. Dutschke was unaware, however, of a number of P manuscripts which were discovered after the submission of her thesis in 1993. It is necessary therefore, to give a brief summary of the past scholarship on the textual tradition of P.

De Benedetto was the first to give a description of the manuscripts that contained P, and counted fifty copies.⁶⁶³ Dutschke added a further eight copies to this count in her thesis on Pipino, bringing the total number of manuscripts up to fifty eight.⁶⁶⁴ Lastly, Gadrat added a further four manuscripts to this list, but removed two as they contained reductions of P which she considered separately.⁶⁶⁵ This brings the total manuscripts of P to sixty, plus a further nine manuscripts that contain abridgements and translations of P, among which is IMP.⁶⁶⁶ My research has not added any further manuscripts to those listed by Gadrat, but it has discovered that IMP derives from the English branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group of P manuscripts. The ‘fidelissimi’ group was discovered by Dutschke, and contains versions of P which are distinguished by the reading *fidelissimi* instead of *fidelis*, in the prologue of P.⁶⁶⁷ Dutschke also noticed that a large portion of the ‘fidelissimi’ manuscripts were written in England, and were distinguished by the lack of the reading *seu falcones pelegriini* in the explicit of the text.⁶⁶⁸ This thesis has corroborated and added to Dutschke’s finding of an ‘English’ branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group, with the discovery that all ‘fidelissimi’ manuscripts of English origin contain the scribal error *lacus* instead of *locus* in the Quinsay chapter, usually found at II.64 of P. A number of other such scribal errors have been discovered here which distinguish further groups

⁶⁶² Gadrat, *Lire*, 9.

⁶⁶³ De Benedetto, *Milione*, cxxxv-civl.

⁶⁶⁴ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 227-28.

⁶⁶⁵ Gadrat, *Lire*, 9; manuscripts of P added by Gadrat are: Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek 722 A; Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat.F.I.233; Skokloster, Folio 67. The manuscripts of P removed by Gadrat in her listing of manuscripts of P are: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 18624; Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196.

⁶⁶⁶ Gadrat, *Lire*, 384-85.

⁶⁶⁷ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 245.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 246.

within the ‘English’ branch and which explain a number of IMP’s divergences from P. Crucially, the present study has revealed the two manuscripts of P which share the most details with IMP and are its closest surviving relatives, these are: Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek 218 and Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84].

I have examined and made transcriptions from forty-seven of the sixty manuscripts which contain P. Transcriptions were also made from the two Latin abridged and edited versions of P found in Oxford, Digby 196 and in Würzburg, Diözesanbibliothek, I 58. The total list of manuscripts of P is as follows, with dates from Gadrat and Dutschke:⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁹ Gadrat, *Lire*, 357-85; Dutschke, *Pipino*, 263-75.

1.1. List of P manuscripts

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 1) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70 | 14 th C |
| 2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 618 | 1407 |
| 3) Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83 | 14 th C |
| 4) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17 | 14 th C |
| 5) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.8.7 | 14 th C |
| 6) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5 | 14 th C |
| 7) Dublin, Trinity College E.5.20 [Abbot 632] | 15 th C |
| 8) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi C.7.1170 | 14 th C |
| 9) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983 | 14 th C |
| 10) Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13 | 15 th C |
| 11) Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek 218 | 15 th C |
| 12) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84] Early | 15 th C |
| 13) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum V.6.8.[458] | 14 th C |
| 14) Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Hist. 61 | 15 th C |
| 15) Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Bosianus 4° 10 | 15 th C |

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 16) Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek 722 A | 15 th C |
| 17) Kórník, Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN, ms. 131 | 15 th C |
| 18) Kraków, Biblioteka Jagellonska, lat. 1441 [431] | 1441 |
| 19) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75 | 15 th C |
| 20) London, British Library, Add. 19513 | 14 th C |
| 21) London, British Library, Add 19952 | 1445 |
| 22) London, British Library, Arundel 13 | 14 th C |
| 23) London, British Library, Harley 5115 | 14 th C |
| 24) London, British Library, Royal 14. C. XIII | before 1352 |
| 25) Lucerne, Zentralbibliothek, KB Msc. 5. 4° | 14 th C |
| 26) Modena, Biblioteca Estense, lat. 131 [α.S.6.14] | 14 th C |
| 27) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 249 | 15 th C |
| 28) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 850 | 15 th C |
| 29) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5339 | 15 th C |
| 30) Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vindob. Lat. 50 [3273] | 15 th C |
| 31) Oxford, Merton College 312 | before 1344 |
| 32) Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, lat. 1616 | 15 th C |

33) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6244°	1439
34) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 17800	14 th C
35) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nal. 1768	14 th C
36) Prague, Knihovna Mertopolitni Kapituli, G. XXI	15 th C
37) Prague, Knihovna Metropolitni Kapituli, G. XXVIII	15 th C
38) Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University, Garrett 157	c.1400
39) Private Collection [prev. Devon, Library of Boies Penrose 23] ⁶⁷⁰ 1530	
40) Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana. 35.E.29 [III]	16 th C
41) Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat.F.I.233	15 th C
42) San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real monasterio, Q.II.13	15 th C
43) Skokloster, Folio 67	before 1469
44) Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Hist. 4° 10	15 th C
45) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1641	15 th C
46) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1875	1520
47) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1358	1433

⁶⁷⁰ Sold before September 1982 to an undisclosed private collector, by John Howell Books of San Francisco. Referred to in Dutschke as the Howell manuscript, for full description see Dutschke, *Pipino*, 1016-1018.

48) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1359	15 th C
49) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1846	15 th C
50) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3153	15 th C
51) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat lat. 5260	15 th C
52) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 7317	1458
53) Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X. 73 [3445]	1465
54) Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. X. 128 [3307]	15 th C
55) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3497	15 th C
56) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 12823	15 th C
57) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 3 Gud. lat. 3 ^o	15 th C
58) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 40	1450-1500
59) Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Fol 103	15 th C
60) Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Chart. F. 60	15 th C

1.2. Extracts, abridgements and translations of P

‘Digby’ Version:

61) Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196

c. 1440

This unique manuscript was made for personal use and contains miscellaneous texts including extracts from P written by a member of the English royal court *circa* 1440.⁶⁷¹

‘Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee’ Version:

62) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 1094

15th C

63) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 18624

1450-1500

64) Würzburg, Diözesanbibliothek, I 58 (previosly: Würzburg, Franziskamer-Minoritenkloster I 58)

1462

These manuscripts contain a much abbreviated version of P, which was written in either southern Germany or northern Austria during the mid-fifteenth century.⁶⁷²

French Translation:

65) London, British Library, Egerton 2176

15th C

66) Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Holm. M 305

15th C

These two manuscripts contain the same French translation, written during the second half of the fifteenth century in the north of France, as is shown by their respective colophons:⁶⁷³

Guillaume Gaubain clerc natif de Borooun ou diocese de Saint Malo en Bretagne, d’Angleterre en France. Vive le Roy de France d’Angleterre et duc de Bretaigne.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷¹ Gadrat, *Lire*, 206-07.

⁶⁷² Ibid., 91-94

⁶⁷³ Ibid., 86.

Cy finist le livre de messire Marc Paul natif de Venise de condicions et coustumes de principales regions de orient. Le quel livre a escript Guillaume Gauvain clerc natif de la paroisse de Broon ou diocese Saint Malo de l'isle en Bretagne. Le quel livre est et appartient a honorable homme et saige monseigneur maistre Jehan Gilbert sieur de la chambre des comptes du Roy nostre sire en son palais a Paris.⁶⁷⁵

Czech Translation:

67) Prague, Narodni Muzeum, III E 42 (15th C)

This unique Czech language translation of P, dating from the fifteenth century, contains the expanded version of the miracle of the moving mountain, which ties it to a very specific branch of the textual tradition of P, which will be discussed below.⁶⁷⁶ It is found alongside a Czech translation of Mandeville. This version was published by Prášek in 1902, beside the Latin text of Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vindob. Lat. 50.⁶⁷⁷

Venetian Translation:

68) Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ital.VI.56

15th C

This is a unique translation of P, found beside another Venetian translation of Pipino's *Tractatus De Locis Terre Sancte*.⁶⁷⁸

IMP

69) Chatsworth House, Book of Lismore

1478-1505

⁶⁷⁴ London, British Library, Egerton 2176. Inside cover as a pen test.

⁶⁷⁵ Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Holm. M 305, f. 101.

⁶⁷⁶ De Benedetto, *Milione*, cxlvii; Dutschke, *Pipino*, 233; Gadrat, *Lire*, 89.

⁶⁷⁷ Prášek, Justin V., *Milion: Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s příslušným základem latinským* (Prague, 1902).

⁶⁷⁸ De Benedetto, *Milione*, cxlvii; Gadrat, *Lire*, 89.

1.3. Early printed editions of P and a fifteenth-century English poem

In addition to the sixty-nine manuscripts listed above, it is worth noting the edition of P made by Gheraert Leeu and printed between 1483 and 11th June 1484 in Gouda, Holland.⁶⁷⁹ Two manuscripts in the above list were copied from this edition, namely Ghent, Universiteitsbiblioteek 13 and San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real monasterio, Q.II.13.⁶⁸⁰ This was the first printed edition of P, but the third printed edition of the *Travels*, the first and second editions having been being printed in 1477 and 1481, from the same German language translation of the Venetian translation of the *Travels*, known as the VA version.⁶⁸¹ Alongside P, Leeu also printed Ludolph of Suchem's *Travels to the Holy Lands* and the Mandeville text, an indication of the kinds of texts that were associated with the *Travels* in the mind of the late-fifteenth-century editor.⁶⁸² Leeu's edition of these three texts is known as the 'Gouda triplet'.⁶⁸³

However, the edition of P which enjoyed most success during the sixteenth century and after was the so-called Huttich-Grynaeus edition, first printed in Basel in 1532 as part of a collection of travels entitled *Novus Orbis Regionum Ac Insularum Veteribus Incognitarum*.⁶⁸⁴ The history of this edition was summarised by Dutschke as follows:

This Huttich-Grynaeus text was printed in German in 1534, in Latin in 1535, again in 1537 and again in 1554, then in French in 1556, in Italian (with some corrections from other versions) by Ramusio in 1559 (which then went into English in 1625, in 1811, and 1818), in Dutch in 1563, in Castilian in 1601, in a different German translation in 1609, in a different Dutch translation in 1664, back to Huttich-Grynaeus's Latin in 1671, itself into French in 1735.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁷⁹ For further discussion of the printed version by Leeu see Helling, *Marco Polo*, 278-303.

⁶⁸⁰ Gadrat, *Lire*, 86.

⁶⁸¹ De Benedetto, *Milione*, cxiv-cxix; Dutschke, *Pipino*, 228-29. For a discussion of the VA version, see the introduction to this thesis.

⁶⁸² Dutschke, *Pipino*, 232.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 229.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 229.

As well as the sixty-nine manuscripts of P considered in this study, a Portuguese translation was printed in Lisbon in 1502 by Valentim Fernandes.⁶⁸⁶ Whether this existed in manuscript form before the printed edition was made has been the matter of some debate. However, Gadrat has suggested that this translation was made from the printed edition of Gheraert Leeu.⁶⁸⁷ Lastly, a German translation of the Huttich-Grynaeus edition was made in 1582 and survives in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. germ. 937.⁶⁸⁸

The first English language translation of the *Travels*, entitled *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo together with the Travels of Nicolò De' Conti*, was translated during the reign of Elizabeth I by John Frampton from the Castilian version, and was printed in 1579.⁶⁸⁹ However, an English poem entitled *Off the Grete Cane* was composed during the late-fifteenth century, inspired both by Mandeville and the *Travels*, and survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. e Musaeo 160.⁶⁹⁰ The poem contains 313 verses, but the section relevant to this study has been copied below from Seymour's edition:

- 125 In Ser Markis tym felle sich a case
 that Cublay the Gret Caane did wyn
 the kyngdom of Mangy that worthy was
 a thowsande cetyes and thre hundreth was þerin.
 The hed cety was gretist men may myn.
- 130 **c. myle compas it was abowte**,
 waterit withowtyn and within,
 wheron shippis myght saile þat was fulle stowt.
 Ten thowsand bryggis forowtyn dowte
 Off ston was mad within the walle
- 135 That shippis saylid vnder and nedit not lowte.
 Quinsay the cety do they calle.
 When the Grete Cane had conquest alle
 the cetys and andis of Mangye,

⁶⁸⁶ De Benedetto, *Milione*, cxlvii-cxlix; Dutschke, *Pipino*, 1067, 1070-71 and 1141; Gadrat, *Lire*, 90-91.

⁶⁸⁷ Gadrat, *Lire*, 90.

⁶⁸⁸ De Benedetto, *Milione*, cxlix;

⁶⁸⁹ Gadrat, *Lire*, 124-25; Frampton, J., *The Most Noble And Famous Travels of Marco Polo together with the Travels of Nicolò De' Conti*, Penzer, N. M. (ed.) (London 1929).

⁶⁹⁰ Seymour, 'Mandeville', 39-52; Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Musaeo 160 ff. 109-115.

he dyvidet it into **iiii. kyngdoms** talle
 140 and gafe it to **iiii.** of his sonnys shortlye.⁶⁹¹

These verses draw on the chapter of the *Travels* containing a description of the city of Quinsay, at II.64 in P. Although Seymour identified the version of the *Travels* from which this poem draws inspiration as the P version, he did not identify which version of P was used to write this poem.⁶⁹² This may be done by examining the differences in the numbers of cities, bridges and kingdoms found in the English poem above and in the various manuscript versions of P. The relevant sections have been underlined and are in bold type in the excerpt of the poem above and in the transcriptions from P below. By comparing this section of the English poem with the corresponding sections of the text in various manuscripts of P it emerges that the numbers in the English poem are different to those in most versions of P.

Below are three transcriptions from the sections of the Quinsay chapter containing these numbers, from four manuscripts of P as well as from the VA version of the *Travels*, from which P was translated.⁶⁹³ The VA version is given in order to indicate which numbers were most likely in the original text, now lost, written by Pipino. Transcriptions from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983 were made by Dr Samuela Simion in preparation for a new edition of the *Travels*, in collaboration with Professor Burgio of Università di Ca' Foscari, Venice.⁶⁹⁴ All other transcriptions are my own. Transcriptions from Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi C.7.1170, are given because this is considered to be one of the earliest manuscripts that contains P.⁶⁹⁵ Transcriptions from Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84, are given because this is the manuscript that most closely resembles IMP.⁶⁹⁶ Representing the printed version of Gheraert Leeu is the transcription from the manuscript of Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, which was copied from the printed edition of P.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹¹ Seymour, 'Mandeville', 45-46; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. e Musaeo 160, f. 110v.

⁶⁹² Seymour, 'Mandeville', 39-40; Gadrat, *Lire*, 124-125.

⁶⁹³ Barbieri, A., Andreose, A., *Il «Milione» veneto. Ms. CM 211 della Biblioteca civica di Padova*, (1999).

⁶⁹⁴ I am grateful to both for having provided me with a full transcription of P from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, prior to its publication.

⁶⁹⁵ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 570.

⁶⁹⁶ This will be discussed below.

⁶⁹⁷ Gadrat, *Lire*, 86.

[4] Huius circuitus continet in giro miliaria 100 aut circa habet vero pontes lapideos 12.000.

[21] Hanc provinciam divisit Magnus Kaam in 4 regna.

[22] Provincia vero Mangi habet in universo civitates 1300.

(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13)

[4] Huius civitatis circuitus continet in giro miliaria centum aut circa; habet vero pontes lapideos .XII. milia.

[21] Provinciam Mangy divisit Magnus Kaam in regna .IX.

[22] Provincia enim Mangy habet in universo civitates .MCC.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983)

[4] huius civitatis circuitus continet in giro miliaria 100 aut circa habet vero pontes lapideos 12.000.

[21] provinciam mangi divisit Magnus Kaam in regna 9.

[22] provincia enim Mangi habet in universo civitates 1200.

(Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi C.7.1170)

[4] huius civitatis circuitus continet in giro miliaria 100 habet etiam pontes lapideos 12.000.

[21] provinciam Mangi divisit Magnus Kaam in regna 9.

[22] provincia enim Mangi habet in universo civitates 1200.

[4] Sapié per verità **ch'ella volze ben zento meglia** e à **dodexemillia ponti de piera**.

[42] Ancora ve digo che 'l Gran Chaan à partida la provinzia de Mangi **in nuove regniami**.

[45] E sapiate per zerto che la provinzia de Mangi si à plui de **mille e duxento zità**.⁶⁹⁸

The numbers found in the English poem, namely: *a thowsande cetyes and thre hundreth, c. myle compas it was abowte, ten thowsand bryggis* and *iiii. kyngdoms*, most closely resemble the numbers found in Ghent, Universiteitsbiblioteek 13 (a copy of Gheraert Leeu's printed edition of P), which reads: *civitates 1300, miliaria 100, pontes 12.000* and *regna 4*. The details are almost identical with the exception being in the number of bridges given as 10.000 in the English poem rather than 12.000, a discrepancy possibly due either to a scribal error of the poet or to a corruption of his exemplar. My study of forty-seven of the sixty manuscripts of P has found that the combination of the corrupt details *civitates 1300* and *regna 4* is unique to Gheraert Leeu's edition of P and to manuscripts derived from it and that therefore it is very likely that the author of this poem was working from this edition of P if not a copy of it. This group of the manuscripts of P is indicated by the letter γ_2 in the *stemma codicum* at the end of this chapter.

The methodology employed here is useful in identifying the group of manuscripts which most closely resemble IMP, and the relationship of the Irish adaptation to the P tradition.

⁶⁹⁸ Barbieri, A. and Andreose, A., *Il «Milione» veneto ms. CM 211 della Biblioteca Civica di Padova*, 214 and 216.: '[4] May you know in truth that it has one hundred miles in circumference and has twelve-thousand stone bridges.' '[42] Still I tell you that the Great Khan has partitioned the province of Magni into nine kingdoms.' '[45] And may you know for certain that the province of Mangi has more than one thousand and two hundred cities.'

2. Relationship of IMP to Manuscript Tradition of P

2.1. Methodology

The differences between IMP and the various manuscripts of the P tradition were identified by making partial transcriptions from forty-seven of the sixty manuscripts of P. A further two partial transcriptions were compiled from the Latin summaries and edited versions of P found in Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196 and Würzburg, Diözesanbibliothek, I 58. The excerpts transcribed from each manuscript were selected after completing a face-to-face reading of IMP and P and compiling a list of the instances in which the variations of IMP could be ascribed to misreadings of the Latin exemplar, rather than being deliberate interpolations and expansions of the Irish author. Just as it is possible to identify the version of P used as inspiration for the English poem *Off the Grete Cane*, as discussed above, by tracing the source of the corrupted numbers of cities and kingdoms, it is also possible to identify the group of manuscripts which most closely resemble the lost Latin exemplar of IMP.

The text of P from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983 was used as the base text for comparison with IMP because it is the most recently transcribed version of P and it was made available to me in digital format.⁶⁹⁹ The transcriptions made from the manuscripts of P are represented in two ways, referred to as Comparison A and Comparison B below.

Comparison A compares a full transcription, from each of the forty-seven manuscripts of P examined, of the chapter entitled: *de nobilissima et mirabili civitate Quinsay*, found at II.64 in most versions of P, with a full transcription of the corresponding section in IMP.⁷⁰⁰ This was done for a several reasons: firstly, the corresponding section of IMP contains a number of details that differ from those found in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983; secondly, a number of manuscripts of P contain details in II.64 that are different to those shared by IMP and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana R 983; thirdly, this chapter contains a great deal of numbers, used to measure distances and count soldiers or inhabitants of the city. As has been

⁶⁹⁹ I am especially grateful to Prof. Burgio for supplying a complete transcription of the Pipino text from this manuscript, ahead of publication. The transcription was made by Doctor Samuela Simion of Università di Ca' Foscari, Venice.

⁷⁰⁰ Henceforth referred to as the Quinsay chapter.

observed in the discussion of the English poem above, these sorts of details are particularly prone to scribal error, and a set of numbers differing from those in another manuscript can be markers of a group of closely connected texts; lastly, the Quinsay chapter is one of the longest chapters of P containing an average of 1100 words, a characteristic that allows for a more wide-ranging and precise comparison to be made of the various versions of P. In other words, the Quinsay chapter offers an ample enough portion of text for specific subgroups of the textual tradition of P to be corroborated by multiple scribal errors and variants, even where these readings are not represented in the Irish translation.

For this purpose, I give below my transcription of the section of IMP that translates the Quinsay chapter, found between folios 128vb17 and 129ra28 of L, chapters ¶136-¶141 of Stokes's edition. Stokes's paragraph numeration given in round brackets; numeration introduced for the purpose of this comparison is given in square brackets. The order of the sections and of the details given in the Quinsay chapter in P was changed significantly by the author of IMP, therefore I have divided and numbered the various sections of my transcription of IMP in order to facilitate comparison with the various versions of P. Lenition and abbreviations have been expanded in the following transcription, but length marks have not been added.

(¶136) [1] *fil cathair naili uidhi .u. laithe fria a thaebh sin* [2] *cét míle ina timcill* [3] *quinlay a hainm inan son 7 in cathair neamhdha dia teangaid siumh ár ni fhuil for bith cathair is mó inás.* [4] *da míle dhéc droicheat le fo ngabhuit longa dimhora cen trascradh seoil dibh* [5] *7 tor dithoghlaidhi for cech ndroicheat dibh 7 .iiii. mílid ag magnus ac fare for cech ndroicheat dibh ar omhun a himpóidh fair ór ba cathair oireachuis do righraidh manguay isidhe feacht riamh.*

(¶137) [6] *do ronsat palas rigda for loch a meadhon na cathrach sin ni fuil séd na samhail do phalas for bith do .xx. sluaightheach lais 7 .x. míle do thoimhleadh in gach sluaightheach dhibh 7 tene bithbeo a meadhon gacha bruidhne dhibh 7 míle do sheomradhuibh solusda fria suan 7 freasdal ina nur thimceall co neimh noir forra 7 co fuath gach anmanna eceannus for bith ar na rinnadh forro do ilbreachtadh gacha datha.*

(¶138) [7] in tan ro irghabh *magnus cam* in cathair sin 7 prouindsi manguay ro hoirdneadh nai riga do thartraidhi forro 7 do ronnad forro in da míle decc cathair bai isin rigi sin occus ni raibhi cathair dhibh gan drong do mileadhuib *magnuis cam* oca himcoimhet ar omhun a himpóidh fair.

(¶139) [8] fil loch a meadon na cathrach sin 7 .xxx. míle na uirtimcheall. di inis fair dun rigda a meadhon gacha hinnsi dibh ni la neach for bith iat som 7 in as fearr do bhiudh 7 deoch 7 mhainibh na cathrach cuirid a meadon na nduinte 7 inti dianad ail fleadhughadh do dhenamh tiagait dia tochaithimh inntibh 7 foghebha 7 ni la neach don cathraigh dinn ná caislén da fuil fora feadh acht coimhdheas da gach aen iatsumh 7 as eadh do beir an timat droicheat sin le for srothaibh 7 uisceadhaibh fil si 7 ni bhi an imtheacht for araili acht dibh [9] .xl. míle tighidhis .xl. feacht is aitreabhthaigh don cathair sin.

(¶140) [10] ni tusmidter gein innti nach scribhthar a ainm 7 in cruth forsa mbi in re 7 reanna nimhe oca tusmheadh 7 dia ndeach neach dibh as beantar a ainm as 7 scribhthar aris he 7 ainm a each 7 a maine 7 a aesa cumtha 7 loiscter diblinuibh ar aen ria chorp 7 dar leo gach a scribtha dho do beidis ar aen fris isin beathaidh naile.

(¶141) [11] Imut eclas noirmhitneach isin cathraigh sin 7 ni fhil acht aen eaclais dibh ag fognamh nó adhradh do dia.

The following Comparison A table compares the section which translates the Quinsay chapter in IMP, transcribed in the left column, with the Quinsay chapter from P of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, in the right column. In the left column, the Quinsay chapter from IMP has been rearranged to match the order of P, but numbered from [1] to [11] in order to illustrate its original order in IMP. This reshuffled order of the sections of the Quinsay chapter from IMP will be maintained in all Comparison A tables in order to facilitate comparison with the version of P with which IMP is being compared. The details translated in IMP are in bold

characters and have been underlined in order to help visualise the translation of IMP, and highlighting has been used where the details of IMP do not match those of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983.

Comparison A	
IMP	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983
[1] <i>fil cathair naili <u>uidhi .u. laithe</u> fria a thaebh sin</i> [3] <i>quinlay a hainm inan son 7 in <u>cathair neamhdha</u> dia teangaid siumh ár ni fhuil for bith cathair is mó inás.</i> [2] <u>cét míle ina timcill</u> [4] <u>da míle dhéc droicheat</u> le fo ngabhuit longa dimhora cen trascradh seoil dibh	[1] <u>Post recessum a civitate Singuy itur per dietas .V.</u> et inveniuntur in via civitates plures magne ubi negociaciones maxime fiunt. [2] Postmodum pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay quod in nostra lingua sonat <u>civitas celi</u>, que maior civitas orbis est et est principalior in provincia Mangi. [3] Ego Marchus fui in hac civitate et curiose et diligenter condiciones illius perscrutatus sum, quas summatim, ut reperi, et breviter enarrabo. [4] Huius civitatis circuitus continet <u>in giro miliaria centum</u> aut circa; <u>habet vero pontes lapideos .XII. milia</u> tante altitudinis ut navis sub eis ut plurimum transire possit; est autem civitas in lacunis ut civitas Venetiarum et si careret pontibus de vico ad vicum additus non pateret per terram, et ob hoc oportet ut ibi sint tot milia pontium. [5] In hac civitate sunt artes principales .XII. et pro qualibet ipsarum sunt in civitate .XII. milia stacionum, in quibus ipsarum artium artifices operantur; quelibet autem stacio operarios habet inter magistros et ministros .X. aut .XV. sive .XX., et sunt

[8] <u>fil loch a meadon na cathrach sin 7 .xxx. míle na uirtimcheall.</u> <u>di inis fair</u> dun rigda a meadhon gacha hinnsi dibh ní la neach for bith iat som 7 in as fearr do bhiudh 7 deoch 7 mhainibh na cathrach cuirid a meadon na nduinte 7 inti dianad ail fleadhughadh do dhenamh tiagait dia tochaithimh inntibh 7 foghebhá 7 ní la neach don cathraigh dinn ná caislén da fuil fora feadh acht coimhdheas da gach aen iatsumh 7 as eadh do beir an timat droichead sin le for srothaibh 7 uisceadhaibh fil si 7 ní bhi an	quandoque in aliquibus .XL. [6] Tanta est ibi artificum et mercacionum innumera multitudo quod hiis qui non viderunt incredibile penitus videretur. [7] Homines civitatis huius delitiosissime vivunt; divites, qui principales sunt, in stationibus artium honorifice valde vivunt et neque ipsi neque uxores ipsorum manibus propriis operantur; faciunt autem ministros alios operari: ex antiquo enim regni statuto consuetudo est ibi ut quilibet in domo propria teneat stationem et artem, sicut fecit hactenus pater eius, sed si dives est non cogitur manibus propriis operari. [8] In hac civitate sunt mulieres formose valde et communiter sunt multis delitiis enutrite. [9] <u>Versus meridiem est in ipsa civitate lacus magna que .XXX. miliaria in giro continet;</u> in hoc circuitu sunt multa palatia et multe domus magne nobilium et sunt interius et exterius mirabiliter adornate, sunt etiam ibi ecclesie ydolorum; <u>in medio lacus ipsius due parvule insule sunt</u> et in qualibet ipsarum est palatium nobile et pulcrum valde ubi sunt preparamenta et vasa omnia necessaria pro nuptiis et solemni convivio; si quis igitur vult in solemni loco tenere convivium accedit illuc, ubi potest convivium vel nuptias cum honore tenere. [10] In civitate hac Quinsay multe pulcherrime domus sunt. [11] Sunt etiam per vicos eius parve lapidee turre pro
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<i>imtheacht for araili acht dibh</i> [5] 7 tor dithoglaidhi for cech ndroicheat dibh 7 .iiii. mílid ag magnus ac fare for cech ndroicheat dibh ar omhun a himpóidh fair ór ba cathair oireachuis do righraidh manguay isidhe feacht riamh.	communi usu contrate ut quando fortuitu ignis accenditur possint convicini res suas ad prefatas turres ne comburantur deferre, quia enim in civitate domus lignee multe sunt; sepe in civitate ignis accenditur. [12] In hac civitate adorantur ydola. [13] Comedunt autem carnes equorum et canum et animalium omnium. [14] Et expenditur ibi moneta Magni Kaam. [15] In hac civitate custodia maxima fit ex mandato Magni Kaam ne vel civitas rebellare presumat aut ibi furta vel homicidia fiant. [16] In quolibet enim ponte civitatis de die et nocte .X. custodes sunt. [17] In hac civitate mons unus est super quem est turris et super turrem tabule sunt de aceribus; quando autem ignis in urbe accenditur, si custodes turris hoc videre possunt, cum ligneo maleo percutiunt tabulas, ut huius sonitus circumquaque per terram eminus audiatur et concurrant homines ad auxilium conferandum; simile etiam fit si pro quacumque causa commotio vel tumultus in civitate fiat. [18] Vie omnes civitatis sunt strate lapidibus ita quod civitas tota munda est valde. [19] In hac civitate sunt terme circiter tria milia pulcre valde et magne, in quibus sepe homines balneantur: multum enim student mundicie corporali. [20] Ultra civitatem Quinsay ad miliaria .XXV. ad plagam orientalem est Oceanum mare, et
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[7] in <i>tan</i> ro <i>irghabh</i> <i>magnus cam</i> in <i>cathair</i> sin 7 <i>prouindsi</i> <i>manguay</i> <u>ro hoirdneadh nai riga do thartraidhi forro</u> 7 do <i>ronnad</i> <i>forro</i> <u>in da míle decc cathair</u> bai isin rigi sin <i>occus</i> ni raibhi <i>cathair</i> dhibh gan <i>drong</i> do <i>mileadhuib</i> <i>magnus cam</i> oca <i>himcoimhet</i> ar <i>omhun</i> a <i>himpóidh fair</i>	ibi supra mare est civitas Ganfu ubi portus est optimus ad quem conveniunt naves in multitudine maxima de India et de regionibus aliis; a civitate autem usque ad mare est fluvius maximus per quem naves ad civitatem veniunt, qui fluvius transit per plurimas alias regiones. [21] <u>Provinciam Mangy divisit Magnus Kaam in regna .IX.</u> dans regem proprium unicuique regno iuxta sue beneplacitum voluntatis; sunt autem omnes hii reges potentes valde, sed subditi Magno Kaam, et oportet eos annis singulis de omnibus regnorum suorum proventibus et expensis et de suo regimine Magni Kaam officialibus reddere rationem; unus autem illorum regum in civitate Quinsay continue commoratur, qui sub ditione sua .CXL. civitates habet. [22] <u>Provincia enim Mangy habet in universo civitates .MCC.</u> et in singulis ipsarum per Magnum Kaam positi sunt custodes, ne forte presumant «rebellare»; hominum custodum innumerabilis est stupenda magnitudo; non sunt tamen omnes Tartari, sed sunt de diversis exercitibus et stipendiariis Magni Kaam. [23] In hac civitate Quinsay et in tota provincia Mangy consuetudo est ut statim cum puer nascitur parentes eius scribi faciunt diem et horam nativitatis eius et sub quo planeta natus est: in cunctis itineribus suis
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[6] do ronsat palas rigda for loch a meadhon na cathrach sin ni fuil séd na samhail do phalas for bith do <u>.xx. sluaighteach lais</u> 7 <u>.x. míle</u> do thoimhileadh in gach sluaighteach dhibh 7 tene bithbeo a meadhon gacha bruidhne dhibh	et factis astrologorum reguntur iudiciis, ideoque scire volunt sui ortum diem et horam. [24] Quando in hac provincia moritur quis, canapinis saccis eius consanguinei induuntur et mortui cadaver cum magno cantu et ymaginibus servorum, ancillarum, equorum et denariorum comburunt, que omnia de papiro faciunt, creduntque quod in vita alia talia obtinebit defunctus, qualia in similitudine sunt combusta; post hec cum leticia magna tangunt musica instrumenta, dicentes quod dii sui cum tali eos honore suscipiunt cum quali corpora comburuntur. [25] In hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabile in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangy tenebat curiam primo; locus magnus circumcinctus est muro per quadrum altitudinis magne que in giro continet miliaria .X., intra quos muros sunt viridaria pulcra valde cum fructibus delicatis; ibi sunt fontes et lacune in quibus multi et optimi pisces habentur. [26] In medio autem interioris spacii palatium pulcherrimum est et maius quod sit in mundo: habet enim aulas .XX. magnitudinis eiusdem <omnes>, in quarum qualibet comederent simul .X. milia hominum in multa commoditate et debita congruitate cunctis discumbentibus collocatis; sunt autem aule depicte et deaurate pulcherrimo opere. In ipso
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7 <u>míle do sheomradhuibh solusda</u> fria suan 7 freasdal ina nur thimceall co neimh noir forra 7 co fuath gach anmanna eceannus for bith ar na rinnadh forro do ilbreachtadh gacha datha	<u>etiam palacio sunt camere mille aut circa.</u> [27] In civitate Quinsay sunt ignes iuxta vulgare ytalicum seu familie tot numero, quod ad .CLX. tomani ascendunt in computacione summaria; tomani vero .X. milia continent, <u>sunt igitur tot in</u>
[9] <u>.xl. míle tighidhis .xl. feacht is aitreabhthaigh don cathair sin.</u>	<u>universo familie ut earum numerus ad mille milia et .LX. milia familiarum ascendat.</u> [28] Palatia autem multa in hac civitate sunt et pulcra valde. [29] <u>In tota</u>
[11] Imut eclas noirmhitneach isin cathraigh sin 7 <u>ni fhil acht aen eaclais dibh ag fognamh nó adhradh do dia</u>	<u>enim hac civitate una ecclesia sola christianorum nestorinorum est.</u> [30] In hac civitate et in tota provincia Mangy oportet ut quilibet pater familias super
[10] ni tusmidter gein innti nach scribhthar a ainm 7 in cruth forsa mbi in re 7 reanna nimhe oca tusmheadh 7 dia ndeach neach dibh as beantar a ainm as 7 scribhthar aris he 7 ainm a each 7 a maine 7 a aesa cumtha 7 loiscter diblinuibh ar aen ria chorp 7 dar leo gach a scribtha dho do beidis ar aen fris isin beathaidh naile	hostium domus sue scribi faciat nomen suum et uxoris sue et nomina omnia de familia sua et numerum etiam equorum suorum; cum autem quis de familia moritur vel domitilium mutat oportet ut deleatur inde nomen discedentis aut mortui, et scribatur ibi nomen cuiuscumque de novo nascentis vel ad familiam additi, et in hunc modum sciri faciliter potest numerus hominum qui in civitate sunt; similiter etiam stabularii seu hospitium receptores scribunt in suis quaternis nomina omnium viatorum quos in suis hospitiiis recipiunt, et quo mense et quo die in eius hospitium sunt ingressi.

Comparison A was designed with three objectives: firstly, to identify those manuscripts of P that might explain the changes, highlighted above, to [5] *.iiii. mílid* from [16] *.x. custodes*, and to [6] *palas for loch* from [25] *palatium mirabile [...]* *locus magnus circumcintus est muro*. Secondly, to exclude from this discussion of the

relationship between IMP and the manuscripts of P, versions of P lacking sections of the Quinsay chapter that must have been present in IMP's exemplar as well as versions of P containing different details to those shared by IMP and P in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983. Lastly, to corroborate the existence of the subgroups of P, which emerge from the previous two methods of comparison with IMP, by identifying additional readings distinguishing the various branches of the stemma of P, even where these readings are not discernible in IMP, such as the use of one Latin synonym for another. By using Comparison A tables to compare the Quinsay chapter in forty-seven of the sixty manuscripts of P with the corresponding section in IMP it is possible to identify a group of manuscripts of P, namely those belonging to the 'English' branch of the 'fidelissimi' group, that share the most details with IMP. The results of this comparative work, which will be discussed in the rest of this chapter, suggest that the Latin exemplar used to translate IMP was written in England.⁷⁰¹

Comparison B is a refinement of results established in Comparison A. It compares a set of ten readings from IMP and P selected on the basis that their respective translations in IMP differ because of a mistake on the part of the Irish translator or because of a scribal error in his exemplar, and are not conscious departures from P. Numbered below from [1] to [10] are the excerpts in question, which I have transcribed from L. Stokes's paragraph numeration is also given in brackets, for convenience of reference with his edition of IMP:

⁷⁰¹ This comparative work was accelerated significantly by the program Juxta, a cross-platform software designed for textual analysis and cross comparison of versions of a textual work. Developed by the University of Virginia, Juxta permits the user to visualise variations and scribal errors in multiple versions of the same text on the same platform and at the same time.

Comparison B	
IMP	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983
(¶23) [1] Fil cathair naili uidhi <u>dha la</u> allamuigh don cathraigh sin.	I.46 quod in longitudine vie continet <u>dietas tres.</u>
(¶27) [2] <u>.l. ainder</u> la cech naen dibh.	I.49 In hac civitate ydolatra quilibet habere potest <u>uxores .XXX.</u> vel plures
(¶29) [3] Cidh fil ann acht ro umhlaigseat <u>.uii. righ</u> dho la homun a imaireac.	I.52 brevi vero in tempore <u>provincias octo</u> cepit.
(¶29) [4] Bui laech amra [...] <u>Simisis</u> a ainm [...]	I.54 Primus igitur rex Tartarorum fuit <u>Chinchis</u> , secundus <u>Cui</u> , tercius <u>Bacui</u> ,
(¶35) Facbais mac dieis, <u>Caiter</u> a ainm. Facbais sin mac, <u>Satiu</u> a ainm. Facbais sin mac, <u>Roton</u> a ainm. Facbais Roton mac, <u>Mongu</u> a ainm. Is uadha sin ro chin <u>Cublay</u> .	quartus <u>Alau</u> , quintus <u>Manguth</u> , sextus <u>Cublay</u> qui modo regnat
(¶41) [5] <u>.xxx.</u> beim do luirg dhó nó <u>.lx.</u> mad cin is mo indás, nó a <u>.x. for cét</u> mad mo in treas feacht.	I.61 septem vicibus fuste ceditur, aut <u>.XVII.</u> , aut <u>.XXVII.</u> , aut <u>.XXXVII.</u> , aut <u>.XLVII.</u> , pro mensura enim peccati est percussionum <u>numerus usque ad C, semper addendo decem.</u>

(¶50) [6] <i>in tochtmad la déc</i> do mí August	I.66 Die autem <u>.XXVIII.</u> augusti Magnus Kaam
(¶84) [7] <i>in tochtmad la .xx.</i> do mhi <u>Decimbir</u>	II.14 Festum autem Magni Kaam est die <u>.XXVIII. septembris</u>
(¶94) [8] dá <i>thaisech déc</i> la Cublay 7 as iat ba coimsigh ara canta fris 7 uaidh <u>cethra cricha .xxx.</u>	II.22 Habet Magnus Kaam barones .XII. qui <u>.XXIII. provinciis</u> sunt prefecti
(¶101) [9] uidhi <u>.xxx.</u> la ina fot.	II.36 Protenditur autem in longum provincia per dietas <u>.XX.</u>
¶124 [10] cur mho ina <u>.x. mili</u> dibh sin.	II.53 singulis annis recoligi facebat pueros abiectos a matribus circa <u>.XX. milia</u>, quos suis sumptibus nutrirı optime faciebat.

Generally it is not possible to use scribal errors and variants in order to identify the exemplar of a translated text when the writer is actively engaging with the text and can choose to omit or correct his exemplar's mistakes. Similarly, whereas the use of one word in one version of a text and the choice of a synonym of that word in another version of the same text may be what set the two versions apart, these subtle differences are rarely noticeable once the text has been translated into another language. The exception to this is in the copying of numbers and proper names. This concept informed the selection of the excerpts included in Comparison B, which aims to collate those differences between IMP and P that are most likely due to scribal errors occurring somewhere between Pipino's lost autograph and IMP. For example, it

is easy to see how *dietas tres* might become *dha la*, or *die autem .XXVIII. augusti* might be copied as *in tochtmad la déc do mí Auguist*, from the loss of a minim and an *x* respectively. The principle behind this comparative technique is that at least some of the differences between IMP and P, which were not additions of the Irish translator but were already present in his exemplar, should appear in one or more of the surviving manuscripts of P, and that these manuscripts are the closest surviving relatives of IMP. Comparison B aims to provide a sort of barcode, comprised of a sequence of numbers and proper names that may be used to identify the group of manuscripts from which IMP derives.

2.2. IMP and the Latin Abridgements of P

In addition to being a translation of P, IMP is also a heavily reduced account of the *Travels*. Therefore it is necessary to demonstrate that IMP does not derive from any of the existing Latin abridgements and rearrangements of P, these are: the fifteenth-century version in Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196 and the fifteenth-century summary of P from southern Germany known as the ‘Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee’ version.⁷⁰² In addition to the two Latin abridgements of P listed under ‘Extracts, Abridgements and Translations of P’ above, also considered here are two heavily reduced versions of P found in the main list of P manuscripts, these are: the version that survives in Cambridge, University Library, Dd.8.7 and Dublin, Trinity College, E.5.20, and the unique version found in London, British Library, Harley 5115.

The position held by De Benedetto in this regard was in fact that the Irish translator must have been working from a reduced version of P:

‘il traduttore ebbe probabilmente dinanzi un testo già
frammentario o vigorosamente abbreviato.’⁷⁰³

Regarding the possibility that IMP was translated from an already much reduced version of P, it is worth mentioning the case of *Stair Fortibrais (SF)*, a fifteenth-

⁷⁰² The French, Czech and Venetian translations of P are not considered in this dissertation, since I have shown in Chapter I that IMP was translated from Latin.

⁷⁰³ De Benedetto, *Milione*, cxlvi: ‘the translator probably had before him a text which was either fragmentary or had been heavily abbreviated.’

century Irish translation of the Hiberno-Latin text *Gesta Karoli Magni* (*GKM*),⁷⁰⁴ which itself is a translation of the French epic poem *Chanson de Fierabras* (*CF*). Davies observed that ‘the relationship between *GKM* and the *CF* seems not nearly as close as that between *SF* and *GKM*,’⁷⁰⁵ and that *SF* is a close translation of its Latin original. Furthermore, Davies argued that the decision to abridge and reduce the size of *CF* was made by the Hiberno-Latin author of *GKM*, and not the Irish translator of *SF*. It cannot be ruled out therefore, that IMP was based on an already abridged version of P in Latin and that the Irish author simply translated IMP from it. It does not seem likely however, that any of the surviving Latin abridgements of P were the source of IMP. This can be demonstrated by comparing those details shared by IMP and P, but that have been skipped or edited out of the abridged versions. In the following paragraphs, this study will provide a description of these summaries and of the manuscripts that contain them, followed by a discussion on how they are related to IMP and to the other manuscripts of P.

2.2.1. ‘Digby’ Version

Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196 contains a miscellany of extracts from a number of historical, geographical and astronomical texts. Alongside excerpts of P, the manuscript contains selected extracts from Ranulf Higden’s *Polychronicon* and Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*, a text entitled *Descriptio Urbis Rome*, a *Disposicio Arche Secundum Augustinum*, an astronomical text entitled *Circuitus terrae et distantiae lunae atque planetarum*, a collection of prophecies, a list of English kings, a list of English placenames, a list of popes, a list of the names of the winds and a map of the world.⁷⁰⁶ The manuscript also contains a note on household expenses, suggesting a private use: *notae de variis expensis domesticis, pro carnibus, piscibus, vino*. Based on internal evidence, discussed by Dutschke, the manuscript may be dated to the 1430s and 1440s.⁷⁰⁷ Dutschke has suggested that it

⁷⁰⁴ Copeland, *From Fierabras*, 1.

⁷⁰⁵ Davies, ‘*Fierabras*’, 218.

⁷⁰⁶ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 795-97; Gadrat, *Lire*, 206-07.

⁷⁰⁷ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 795.

was most likely written by a single individual, probably a layman with access to a well-furnished library.⁷⁰⁸

The extracts of P contained in the Oxford manuscript are found in three separate sections of the manuscript and do not follow the original order of P. The chapters of P transcribed in this manuscript may be seen in the table below, divided into three sections according to their location in the manuscript.⁷⁰⁹ The extracts from section one have been highlighted, those from section two have been underlined, and those from the third section are in bold characters:

2r-5v	172r 1.30 – 173v 1.30	177v – 183v
II.58-70; III.chapter list; III.1-3.	<u>III.37-43; III.45</u>	I.11-16; I.18-19; I.21-27; I.30-31; I.33-47; I.49-51; I.54-58; I.65; I.67; II.8; II.12; II.25-26; II.35; II.37; II.41; III.15; III.48.

Below are the chapters contained in Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196, rearranged in the order they are found in P, highlighted, underlined and in bold characters according to the table above.

- **Book I.11-16; 18-19; 21-27; 30-31; 33-47; 49-51; 54-58; 65; 67.**
- **Book II.8; 12; 25-26; 35; 37; 41; 58-70.**
- **Book III chapter list and III.1-3; 15; III.37-43; 45; 48.**

This visualisation illustrates the extent to which the author of the Oxford manuscript reshuffled the contents of P. It is unlikely that any copyist of this manuscript would have been able to rearrange the extracts of P contained in the Oxford manuscript into

⁷⁰⁸ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 798; Macray, W.D. *Bodleian Library quarto catalogue*, t. IX: *Digby manuscripts* 212-218 (Copied from Gadrat & Dutschke, needs better footnote).

⁷⁰⁹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 796: 'book and chapter numbers cited above are given only as an indication of the copyist's roughly systematic approach to the Pipino version: chapters here vary from complete to one-line to reworking to omission.'

their original order, without the aid of a more faithful copy of P. It can therefore be deduced that the extracts of P contained in Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196, were not the direct source of IMP.

This is confirmed by the omission of certain chapters of P from the Oxford manuscript, which are however translated in IMP. The following table aligns the chapters of the first book of P, from the chapter list of P located between ff. 2ra-3rb of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, as transcribed by Dr Simion, in the central column, with the corresponding paragraphs of IMP, as divided by Stokes, in the left-hand column. The transcriptions of IMP in the table below are my own. A full transcription of IMP appears as Appendix I. In the right-hand column is the same transcription of the chapter list of the first book of P as in the central column, with the chapters that are omitted in Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196, removed. This table provides a visualisation of a number of facts:

Firstly, that Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196 was not the direct source of IMP, because IMP translates chapters that the Oxford manuscript omits. For example: I.17 *De civitate Taurisii*; I.28 *De tiranno qui dicebatur Senex de Montanis*; I.29 *De morte eius et destructione loci eius*, or the entire section in P from I.59 *De strenuitate, industria et fortitudine Tartarorum* to I.64 *De provincia Egregaia*, are all missing in the Oxford manuscript, but have been translated in IMP. The cells which lack these chapters have been highlighted in the table below.

Secondly, this table illustrates clearly which chapters in the first book of P the author of the ‘Digby’ version chose to omit.

Thirdly, by examining the left-hand and central column, this table throws light on the manner in which the Irish author was editing as well as translating P, choosing to omit entire chapters of P as he wrote IMP. This process will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV.

<u>IMP</u>	<u>Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983</u>	<u>Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196</u>
Prologue ¶1 - ¶2	Incipit prologus in librum domini Marchi Pauli de Veneciis de	

	condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum.	
¶3 IN airmein beac ceatamus (...) tursie .i. proibhinnsi fuil innti. ⁷¹⁰	11. Descripcio orientalium regionum et primo de Minori Armenia.	11. Descripcio orientalium regionum et primo de Minori Armenia.
	12. De provincia Turchie.	12. De provincia Turchie.
¶4 IN airmein mhor immorro. ⁷¹¹	13. De Armenia Maiori.	13. De Armenia Maiori.
¶5 IS fria toebh sidhe ata proibinnsi soranorum. ⁷¹²	14. De provincia Çorçanie.	14. De provincia Çorçanie.
¶6 Fil crich n-aili innti, rigi Musul iside. Fil cathair oirdnidi innte. Baldasi a hainm. ¶7 Luidh Alan .i. rí na Tartraidhi, do irghabhail a chathrach fair.	15. De regno Mosul.	15. De regno Mosul.
	16. De civitate Baldachi.	16. De civitate Baldachi.
¶8 FIL cathair naili isin crich sin. Taurisius a hainm. ⁷¹³	17. De civitate Taurisii.	
	18. De miraculo translacionis cuiusdam montis in regione illa. (Short version).	18. De miraculo translacionis cuiusdam montis in regione illa. (Short version).
¶9 Cricha na perfida immorro. ⁷¹⁴	19. De regione Persarum.	19. De regione Persarum.
	20. De civitate Iasdi.	
	21. De civitate Cremam.	21. De civitate Cremam.
¶10 Cricha Camandi. ⁷¹⁵	22. De civitate Camandu et regione	22. De civitate Camandu et regione

⁷¹⁰ 121ra25-28.

⁷¹¹ 121ra31.

⁷¹² 121rax.

⁷¹³ 121rb21.

⁷¹⁴ 121va4.

⁷¹⁵ 121va7.

	Theobarle.	Theobarle.
	23. De campestribus formosa et civitate Cormos et Creman.	23. De campestribus formosa et civitate Cormos et Creman.
	24. De intermedia regione inter civitatem Cormos et Crerman.	24. De intermedia regione inter civitatem Cormos et Crerman.
	25. De regione que media est inter Creman et civitatem Cobinam.	25. De regione que media est inter Creman et civitatem Cobinam.
	26. De civitate Cobinam.	26. De civitate Cobinam.
¶11 Timocauim <i>ummorro</i> . ⁷¹⁶	27. De regno Thumochayn et arbore solis, qui vulgariter a latinis dicitur Arbor Sicca.	27. De regno Thumochayn et arbore solis, qui vulgariter a latinis dicitur Arbor Sicca.
¶12 Cricha Mulete do Macumetus adrait. Fil ri fuirre Aloadam a ainm. ⁷¹⁷	28. De tiranno qui dicebatur Senex de Montanis et siccariis seu assessinis eius.	
¶13 Otclos do Alan. ⁷¹⁸	29. De morte eius et destructione loci eius.	
	30. De civitate Sopurgan et terminis eius.	30. De civitate Sopurgan et terminis eius.
	31. De civitate Balach.	31. De civitate Balach.
	32. De castro Taycam et terminis eius.	
¶14 (...) imat torc 7muc	33. De civitate Scassen.	33. De civitate Scassen.

⁷¹⁶ 121rb20.

⁷¹⁷ 121rb27.

⁷¹⁸ 121vb5.

nalltaighi leo. ⁷¹⁹ (I.33.2).		
	34. De provincia Balascie.	34. De provincia Balascie.
¶14 Bassia ummorro tir iside co nert ngrene fuirri. ⁷²⁰	35. «De provincia Bascie.»	35. «De provincia Bascie.»
	36. De provincia Chesumur.	36. De provincia Chesumur.
¶15 Fil sliabh urard isin crichsin. ⁷²¹	37. De provincia Vocam et montibus altissimis.	37. De provincia Vocam et montibus altissimis.
	38. De provincia Cascar.	38. De provincia Cascar.
¶16 Sermacam ummorro. ⁷²² (I.39.1). ¶17 Conudh e aireac meanman. ⁷²³ (I.39.2). ¶18 Atbath in ri focetoir. ⁷²⁴ (I.39.3-4).	39. De civitate Samarcha et miraculo columpne facto in ecclesia beati Iohannis Baptiste.	39. De civitate Samarcha et miraculo columpne facto in ecclesia beati Iohannis Baptiste.
	40. De provincia Carchan.	40. De provincia Carchan.
	41. De provincia Coram.	41. De provincia Coram.
¶19 Pein ummorro. ⁷²⁵	42. De provincia Peum.	42. De provincia Peum.
	43. De provincia Ciarchiam.	43. De provincia Ciarchiam.
¶20 Lop didiu. ⁷²⁶	44. De civitate Lop et deserto maximo.	44. De civitate Lop et deserto maximo.
¶21 Iarbhfacbhail na	45. De civitate Sachion	45. De civitate Sachion

⁷¹⁹ 121vb13.

⁷²⁰ 121vb9.

⁷²¹ 121vb19.

⁷²² 121vb28.

⁷²³ 121vb35-36.

⁷²⁴ 122ra8-9.

⁷²⁵ 122ra22.

⁷²⁶ 122ra22.

ndithrub sin. ⁷²⁷ ¶22 Gach marbh lasin cathraig sin. ⁷²⁸ (I.45.5-6-7).	et ritu paganorum in combustione mortuorum.	et ritu paganorum in combustione mortuorum.
¶23 Fil cathair naili (...) Camul a hainm. ⁷²⁹ ¶24 Faidhis Magnus Cam. ⁷³⁰ (I.46.6). ¶25 Faiditsium teachta for cula. ⁷³¹ (I.46.6-7).	46. De provincia Chamul.	46. De provincia Chamul.
¶26 IAr cur chuil frisin crichsin (...) Sing singcalas don taeb araill de. ⁷³²	47. De provincia Chynchyntalas.	47. De provincia Chynchyntalas.
	48. De provincia Siccuir.	
¶27 Cricha cambu ummorro (...) Campision is cathair oirecuis di. ⁷³³	49. De provincia Campicion.	49. De provincia Campicion.
	50. De civitate Ezina et alio deserto magno.	50. De civitate Ezina et alio deserto magno.
¶28 Caracorum ummorro. ⁷³⁴	51. De civitate Carochoram et inicio domini Tartarorum.	51. De civitate Carochoram et inicio domini Tartarorum.
¶29 Bui laech amra intansin duaislib na tartraigec (...) Simisis a ainm. ⁷³⁵ ¶30 Faidis prespiter seon neach dochuinghidh inchisa inn[ecda]	52. De primo rege Tartarorum Chinchis et discordia eius cum rege suo.	

⁷²⁷ 122rb1.

⁷²⁸ 122rb13.

⁷²⁹ 122rb24-25.

⁷³⁰ 122rbx.

⁷³¹ 122va5.

⁷³² 122va12-15.

⁷³³ 122va27-29.

⁷³⁴ 122vb1.

⁷³⁵ 122vb16-18.

fair. ⁷³⁶ (I.52.c. 3).		
¶31 Ba lan dferg 7 londus Sisim. ⁷³⁷ (I.53.1). ¶32 Gabhuit na sloigh chechtardha sin in roen fora nagaid. ⁷³⁸ (I.53.2). ¶33 Preispiter seon ummorro odclos dó cath do chuinghidh fair. ⁷³⁹ (I.53.3). ¶34 et in .ui.ed bliadain 32. dia fhlaithius. ⁷⁴⁰ (I.53.4).	53. De conflictu Tartarorum cum rege illo et victoria ipsorum.	
¶35 Facbuis mac di eis. ⁷⁴¹	54. Cathalogus regum Tartarorum 3a et qualiter illorum regum corpora sepeliuntur in monte Alchay.	54. Cathalogus regum Tartarorum 3a et qualiter illorum regum corpora sepeliuntur in monte Alchay.
¶36 Na tartraighidh ummorro cinedh linmar iatsein. ⁷⁴²	55. De generalibus consuetudinibus et moribus Tartarorum.	55. De generalibus consuetudinibus et moribus Tartarorum.
	56. De armis et vestibus ipsorum.	56. De armis et vestibus ipsorum.
	57. De cibis comunibus Tartarorum.	57. De cibis comunibus Tartarorum.
¶37 Natay indee dia nadrait do niter. ⁷⁴³ (I.58.1) ¶38 Dia teasdaídi oglach cin sheitig. ⁷⁴⁴	58. De ydolatria et erroribus eorum.	58. De ydolatria et erroribus eorum.

⁷³⁶ 122vb26-27.

⁷³⁷ 122vbx-y.

⁷³⁸ 123ra4-5.

⁷³⁹ 123ra33.

⁷⁴⁰ 123ra31-32.

⁷⁴¹ 123ra34-35.

⁷⁴² 123rb11.

⁷⁴³ 123rb30-31.

⁷⁴⁴ 123rbz.

(I.58.4). ¶39 ni bhi col do sheitig leo. ⁷⁴⁵ (I.58.4)		
¶40 at ferdha a cathuibh 7 at laechdha a nairm. ⁷⁴⁶	59. De strenuitate, industria et fortitudine Tartarorum.	59. De strenuitate, industria et fortitudine Tartarorum.
	60. De ordine exercitus Tartarorum et sagacitate bellandi.	60. De ordine exercitus Tartarorum et sagacitate bellandi.
¶41 dianderna nech cin noguim gin dlíged. ⁷⁴⁷	61. De iudiciis et iustitia eorum.	61. De iudiciis et iustitia eorum.
¶42 Ragu ummorro magh forlethan eisidhe. ⁷⁴⁸	62. De campestribus Burgi et de extremis insulis aquilonis.	62. De campestribus Burgi et de extremis insulis aquilonis.
¶43 Fil anmann naili ann. ⁷⁴⁹ (I.63.6-7). ¶44 Ni teascthar folt na ulcha laeich isin crichsin. ⁷⁵⁰ (I.63.8). ¶45 Ni tabhar crog lahingin. ⁷⁵¹ (I.63.9).	63. De regno Ergimul et civitate Sangui.	63. De regno Ergimul et civitate Sangui.
	64. De provincia Egregaia.	64. De provincia Egregaia.
¶46 Tenduc ummorro crich forlethan isside. ⁷⁵² (I.65.1-2-3). ¶47 Corra dubha. ⁷⁵³ (I.65.9).	65. De provincia Tenduch et Gog et Magog, et civitate Ciangamor.	65. De provincia Tenduch et Gog et Magog, et civitate Ciangamor.
¶48 IArbhfacbáil na crichisin (...) fugebhu cathair Siaudu. ⁷⁵⁴	66. De civitate Ciandau et nemore regali quod	

⁷⁴⁵ 123va8.

⁷⁴⁶ 123va10.

⁷⁴⁷ 123va14.

⁷⁴⁸ 123va19.

⁷⁴⁹ 123va26-27.

⁷⁵⁰ 123va44-45.

⁷⁵¹ 123va34.

⁷⁵² 123vaz.

⁷⁵³ 123vb4.

⁷⁵⁴ 123vb9-10.

(I.66.1). ¶49 Figh díthoglaídi friahor induin. ⁷⁵⁵ (I.66.3). ¶50 Tri mísa don bliadain bís for an seilg sin. ⁷⁵⁶ (I.66.4-5). ¶51 Diamarbthur laech. ⁷⁵⁷ (I.66.6). ¶52 Do niter latuaichlecht 7amuinsi. ⁷⁵⁸ (I.66.7).	est iuxta eam et quibusdam festivitibus Tartarorum et magorum illusionibus.	
¶53 Fil mainister la Cublay. ⁷⁵⁹	67. De monachis quibusdam ydolatriis. Capitulum 65.	67. De monachis quibusdam ydolatriis. Capitulum 65.
Explicit prima pars istius libri.	Explicit liber primus.	Explicit liber primus.
Incipit secunda pars.	Incipit capitula libri secundi.	Incipit capitula libri secundi.

Although the Digby manuscript was not the parent text of IMP, I have transcribed and analysed the Quinsay extract from this manuscript in order to ascertain whether the version of P which was the source of the Digby manuscript may have been in any way related to IMP.

The following Comparison A table compares my transcription of the Quinsay chapter from IMP with my transcription of the same chapter from Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196, which incidentally is the first excerpt of P to appear in the composite manuscript:

Comparison A	
IMP	Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196, ff. 2v-3v
[1] fil cathair naili <u>uidhi .u. laithe</u> fria a	[1] Post recessum a civitate Singuy itur <u>per dietas 5</u> et invenitur ad civitates

⁷⁵⁵ 123vb14.

⁷⁵⁶ 123vb25.

⁷⁵⁷ 123vbz.

⁷⁵⁸ 125ra3-4.

⁷⁵⁹ 124ra4.

<i>thaebh sin</i> [3] quinlay a hainm inan son 7 in <u>cathair neamhdha</u> dia teangaid siumh ár ní fhuil for bith cathair is mó inás. [2] <u>cét míle ina timcill</u> [4] <u>da míle dhéc droicheat</u> le fo ngabhuit longa dimhora cen trasradh seoil dibh	plures magne ubi maximo negotiationes fiunt. [2] Postmodum pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay quod in linguam sonat <u>civitas celi</u> que maior civitas orbis est et est in provincia Mangi civitas principalior. [3] Ego Marcus fui in hac civitate et curiose ac diligenter condiciones ipsius constintatus fui quas summatim ut reperi narrabo. [4] Huius civitatis circuitus continet in giro <u>miliaria 100</u> aut circa habet autem <u>pontes lapideos 12.000</u> tante altitudinis ut navis magna sub eis ut plurimum transire possit est autem civitas in lacunis posita sicut civitas venetiarum et si careret pontibus de vico ad vicum aditus non pateret per terram et ideo oportet ut ibi sint tot milia pontium. [5] In hac civitate sunt artes principales 12 et pro qualibet ipsarum sunt in civitate 12.000 stationum ut qualibet ipsarum artium artifices operantur quolibet autem stationem operarios habet inter magistros et ministros 10 aut 15 sive 20 et sunt quandoque in aliquibus 40. [6] Tanta est ibi artificium et mercationum innumera multitudo quod hiis qui non viderunt incredibile penitus videretur. [7] Homines civitatis huius delitiosissime vivunt divites qui principales sunt in stationibus artium honorifice vivunt et neque ipsi neque uxores ipsorum manibus propriis operantur et faciunt
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[8] <u>fil loch a meadon na cathrach sin 7 .xxx. míle na uirtimcheall.</u> <u>di inis fair</u> dun rigda a meadhon gacha hinnsi dibh ní la neach for bith iat som 7 in as fearr do bhiudh 7 deoch 7 mhainibh na cathrach cuirid a meadon na nduinte 7 inti dianad ail fleadhughadh do dhenamh tiagait dia tochaithimh inntibh 7 foghebha 7 ní la neach don cathraigh dinn ná caislén da fuil fora feadh acht coimhdheas da gach aen iatsumh 7 as eadh do beir an timat droicheat sin le for srothaibh 7 uisceadhaibh fil si 7 ní bhi an imtheacht for araili acht dibh	autem ministros alios operari ex antiquo enim statuto regni consuetudo est ibi ut quilibet in domo propria teneat stationem et artem sicut fecit pater eius hactenus sed si dives est non cogitur maniubs propriis operari. [8] In hac civitate sunt mulieres formose valde et communiter multis delitiis sunt enutrite [9] <u>Versus meridiem est in ipsa civitate lacus magna que continet in giro 30 miliaria.</u> In hoc circuitu supra lacum sunt multa palatia et multe domus nobilium magne et sunt interior et exterior mirabiliter adornate sunt etiam ecclesie ydolorum <u>in medio lacus illius due parve insule sunt</u> et in qualibet ipsarum est palatium pulcrum et nobile valde ubi sunt omnia preparamenta et vasa necessaria pro nuptiis et solemni convivio si quis enim vult in solemni loco tenere convivium accedit illuc ubi potest convivium vel nuptias tenere cum honore. [10] In civitate Quinsay multe ac pulcherrime domus sunt. [11] sunt etiam per vicos huius parve lapidee turres pro communi usu contracte ut quando fortuitus ignis accendit possint convicini res suas ad prefatas turres deferre ne comburantur quia in civitate hac multe domus lignee sunt et sepe in civitate ignis accenditur. [12] In hac civitate adorantur ydola. [13] Comedunt carnes equorum et canum et animalium
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[5] 7 tor dithoglaidhi for cech ndroicheat dibh 7 .iiii. mīlid ag magnus ac fare for cech ndroicheat dibh ar omhun a himpóidh fair ór ba cathair oireachuis do righraidh manguay isidhe feacht riamh. [7] in tan ro irghabh magnus cam in cathair sin 7 prouindsi manguay ro	omnium. [14] Et expenditur ibi moneta Magni Kaam. [15] In hac civitate custodia maxima fit ex mandato Magni Kaam ne civitas rebellare presumat aut furta ibi et homicidia fiant. [16] In quolibet enim civitatis ponte de die et de nocte 10 custodes sunt. [17] In hac civitate mons unus est super quem est turris et super turrim tabule sunt de asseribus cum autem ignis in urbe accenditur si custodes turris hoc videre possint cum ligneo malleo tabulas percussunt ut huius sonitus circumquaque terram omnis audiatur et concurrant homines ad auxilium conferendum simile etiam fit pro quamque causa commotio vel tumultus in civitate fiat. [18] Vie omnes civitatis lapidibus strate sunt ita quod civitas tota munda est valde. [19] In hac civitate sunt terme circiter 3000 pulcre valde in quibus homines sepe balneantur multum enim munditie corporali. [20] Ultra civitatem Quinsay ad miliaria 25 ad plagam orientalem est oceanum mare et ibi supra mare est civitas Ganfu ubi portus est optimus ad quem conveniunt naves in multitudine maxima de India et regionibus aliis a civitate autem usque ad mare est fluvius maximus per quem naves ad civitatem veniunt qui fluvius transit per plurimas alias regiones. [21] Provincia Mangi divisit Magnus
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<u>hoirdneadh nai riga do thartraidhi</u> <u>forro</u> 7 do ronnad forro in da míle decc cathair bai isin rigi sin occus ni raibhi cathair dhibh gan drong do mileadhuib magnus cam oca himcoimhet ar omhun a himpóidh fair	<u>Kaam in regna 9 dans regem proprium</u> unicuique regno iuxta sue beneplacitum voluntatis sunt autem omnes reges potentes valde sed sunt subditi Magno Kaam et oportet eos annis singulis de omnibus regnorum suorum proventibus et expensis et de suo regimine Magni Kaam officialibus rationem reddere unus autem illorum in civitate Quinsay continue immoratur qui sub dictione sua 140 civitates habet. [22] Provincia enim Mangi habet in universo civitates 1200 et in singulis ipsarum per Magnum Kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte rebellare presumant horum custodum multitudo est innumerabile et stupenda non tamen sunt omnes tartari sed sunt de diversis exercitibus et stipendiariis Magni Kaam. [23] In hac civitate Quinsay et in tota provincia Mangi consuetudo est ut statim quando puer nascitur parentes eius scribi faciunt diem et horam nativitatis eius et sub qua planeta natus est in cunctis vero itineribus suis et factis suis reguntur astrologorum iudiciis ideo scire volunt ortum sui diem et horam. [24] Quando autem moritur quis in hac civitate canapinis saccis eius consanguinei induuntur et mortuorum cadaver cum cantu magno et imaginibus servorum suorum et ancillarum equorum et denariorum comburunt que omnia de
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[6] <u>do ronsat palas rigda for loch a meadhon na cathrach sin ni fuil séd na samhail do phalas for bith do</u> <u>.xx. sluaighteach lais</u> 7 <u>.x. míle</u> do thoimhileadh in gach sluaighteach dhibh 7 tene bithbeo a meadhon gacha bruidhne dhibh 7 <u>míle do sheomradhuibh solusda</u> fria suan 7 freasdal ina nur thimceall co neimh noir forra 7 co fuath gach anmanna eceannus for bith ar na rinnadh forro do ilbreachtadh gacha datha [9] <u>.xl. míle tighidhis .xl. feacht is aitreabhthaigh don cathair sin.</u>	papiro faciunt creduntque quod in vita alia veraciter obtinebit defunctus qualia in similitudine sunt combusta post hec cum leticia magna tangunt musica instrumenta dicentes que dii sui cum tali honore eos suscipiunt cum quali corpora comburuntur. [25] <u>In hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabilis valde in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangi curiam tenebat primo lacus magnus est</u> circumcintus muro altitudinis valde magne qui in giro continet 10 miliaria intra quos muros sunt viridaria pulcra valde cum fructibus delicatis ibi sunt fontes et lacune in quibus multi et optimi pisces habentur. [26] In medio autem interioris spatii palatio pulcherrimo est et maius quod in mundo sit habet enim <u>aulas 20</u> eiusdem magnitudinis omnes in quarum qualibet simul comenderent <u>10.000 hominum</u> in multa commoditate et cogitate cunctis discumbentibus atque collocatis sunt autem aula picte et deaurate pulcherrimo opere in ipso palatio sunt <u>camere 1000 aut circa</u>. [27] In civitatem Quinsay sunt ignes iuxta vulgare italico seu familiae tot numero quo ad 160 tomani ascendunt in computatione summaria tomani vero 10.000 continet sunt enim ibi in universo numero familie ut earum numerus ad <u>mille milia et ad sexcenta milia (1.600.000) familiarum ascendat</u>. [28]
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[11] Imut eclas noirmhitneach isin cathraigh sin 7 ni fhil acht aen eaclais dibh ag fognamh nó adhradh do dia [10] ni tusmidter gein innti nach scribhthar a ainm 7 in cruth forsa mbi in re 7 reanna nimhe oca tusmheadh 7 dia ndeach neach dibh as beantar a ainm as 7 scribhthar aris he 7 ainm a each 7 a maine 7 a aesa cumtha 7 loiscter diblinuibh ar aen ria chorp 7 dar leo gach a scribtha dho do beidis ar aen fris isin beathaidh naile	Palatia in hac civitate multa sunt et pulcra valde. [29] <u>In tota hac civitate una sola ecclesia christianorum nestorinorum est.</u> [30] In hac civitate autem et in tota provincia Mangi oportet ut quolibet pater familias supra hostium domus sue scribi faciat nomen suus et uxoris sue et nomina omnia de familia sua et numerus equorum cum autem quis de familia sua moritur aut domicilium mutat oportet ut deleatur inde nomen mortui aut discendentis et scribatur ibi nomen cuiuscumque de novo nascentis et ad familia additi et isto modo defacili sciri potest numerus omnium qui in civitate sunt similiter etiam stabularii seu hospitium receptores scribunt in suis quaternis nomina omnium viatorum quos recipiunt in hospiciis in quo mense et in qua die in suis hospicium sunt ingressi.
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Highlighted in the table above are those details which do not correspond in the two versions of the text. The first is section [5] in IMP, which corresponds to section [16] in P, where IMP has .iiii. *mílid* and the Oxford manuscript version of P has *10 custodes*. The number four appears in IMP as well as in a minority of manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch, discussed below. It is therefore likely that the manuscript which was the source of the ‘Digby’ version was not closely related to IMP. Furthermore, at the end of section [7] of IMP, which corresponds to the end of section [21] of P, IMP has *in da míle decc cathair* whereas the ‘Digby’ version has *140 civitates habet*. In this case, it is the Oxford manuscript version of P that diverges from the majority of

versions of P which, in common with IMP, quote the number 1,200. It is not possible to discern whether this was a scribal error made by the author of the ‘Digby’ version, or whether this mistake was present in his exemplar, however such variance in details between the version of P contained in the Oxford manuscript and IMP is further evidence that the two texts are not closely related. Lastly, at section [25] of the ‘Digby’ version is the reading *lacus* instead of the more common *locus*. It will be advanced below, under ‘English’ branch, that this feature indicates that the ‘Digby’ version was probably copied from a manuscript of English origin, pertaining to the α branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group, the *stemma codicum* of which is displayed at the end of this chapter. IMP also belongs to this group of manuscripts of P, but further analysis has found a subgroup of the ‘English’ branch to which it is more closely related

As well as containing the reading *lacus* instead of *locus*, Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196 also contains a unique reading in the Quinsay chapters which separates it from all other manuscripts of P, but which is not discernible in IMP, namely the reading *consinatus sum* instead of *perscrutatus* or *perscriptatus sum*. This reading is numbered 19) in the *stemma codicum* at the end of this chapter:

19)

Ego Marcus fui in hac civitate et curiose ac diligenter condiciones ipsius **constintatus fui**.

(Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196, f. 2v)

Ego Marcus fui in hac civitate et curiose ac diligenter condiciones illius **perscrutatus sum**.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84, f. 233v)

Ego Marcus fui in hac civitate et curiose ac diligenter condiciones ipsius **perscrutatus sum**.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, VLF 75, f. 36v)

Ego Marcus fui in hac civitate et curiose et diligenter condiciones ipsius **perscriptatus sum**.

(Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi, C.7.1170,
f. 50ra)

Ego Marchus fui in hac civitate et curiose et diligenter condiciones
illius **perscrutatus sum**.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 65rb)

The above analysis has shown that IMP and Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196 are not directly related. However, the ‘Digby’ version is related to IMP in that they are both derived from the ‘English’ branch of the same ‘fidelissimi’ group of manuscripts of P.

2.2.2. ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ or β_3 Version

The same summarised version of P survives in two manuscripts written in England namely, Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.87 and Dublin, Trinity College, MS E.5.2 [Abbot 632].⁷⁶⁰

My study has concluded that the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version of P is not the source of IMP for two following reasons: firstly, this version is divided into thirty-one chapters, and lacks the tripart book division that is found in both P and IMP.⁷⁶¹ Secondly, this version of P lacks several chapters found in IMP, for example: in the chapter of the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version entitled *Item De Provinciis Orientis capitulum vi*, the author copies the end of Pipino’s chapter I.61 onto the end of Pipino’s chapter I.54, omitting all content between I.55 and I.61.3 of P, much of which is contained in IMP, and found between ¶36 and ¶41 of Stokes’s edition. This is shown in the following extract from Dublin, Trinity College E.5.20, with chapter markings inserted by me for convenience of reference with the transcription of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983:

[I.54] .20. milia hominum occiderunt [I.61.3] mores autem et
conditiones tartarorum alibi in libro converet sed quia modo intra
diversos populos sunt commixti indei suis consuetudinibus dimittentes
in pluribus provinciis aliorum aliorum morborum se conformant.⁷⁶²

⁷⁶⁰ Gadrat, *Lire*, 202-05. That these two manuscripts contain the same version of P was noted first by Gadrat. Transcriptions made over the course of this doctorate from these manuscripts confirm her observations.

⁷⁶¹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 548.

⁷⁶² Dublin, Trinity College, E.5.20, 55r.

The table below displays the content which has been omitted by the author of the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version, in the right-hand column, beside the respective paragraph incipits as found in Stokes’s edition of IMP between ¶35 and ¶41, in the left-hand column. The transcriptions of IMP in the following table have also been taken from Stokes’s edition of the text. The titles of the corresponding chapters of P from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, are listed in the central column:

IMP (Stokes’s Paragraph Incipits)	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983 (Chapter Titles)	Dublin, Trinity College, E.5.20, 55r (Text)
¶35 <i>Facbuis mac di eis.</i>⁷⁶³	I.54 Cathalogus regum Tartarorum et qualiter illorum regum corpora sepeliuntur in monte Alchay.	[I.54] .20. milia hominum occiderunt
¶36 Na <i>tartraighidh ummorro cinedh linmar iatsein.</i>⁷⁶⁴	I.55 De generalibus consuetudinibus et moribus Tartarorum.	
	I.56 De armis et vestibus ipsorum.	
	I.57 De cibis comunibus Tartarorum.	

⁷⁶³ 123ra34-35.

⁷⁶⁴ 123rb11.

¶37 Natay indee dia nadrait do niter. ⁷⁶⁵ (I.58.1) ¶38 Dia teasdaídi oglach cin sheitig. ⁷⁶⁶ (I.58.4). ¶39 ni bhi col do sheitig leo. ⁷⁶⁷ (I.58.4)	I.58 De ydolatria et erroribus eorum.	
¶40 at ferdha a cathuibh 7 at laechdha a nairm. ⁷⁶⁸	I.59 De strenuitate, industria et fortitudine Tartarorum.	
	I.60 De ordine exercitus Tartarorum et sagacitate bellandi.	
¶41 dianderna nech cin noguim gin dlíged. ⁷⁶⁹	I.61 De iudiciis et iustitia eorum.	[I.61.3] mores autem et conditiones tartarorum alibi in libro converet

Further to this analysis, which shows that the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version could not have been the source of IMP, I have made transcriptions of the Quinsay chapter from both manuscripts of this version in order to ascertain whether any of the scribal errors present in IMP are also present in the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version, indicating a close relationship between the texts. The following Comparison A table compares my transcription of the Quinsay chapter from IMP with my transcription of the same chapter from Dublin, Trinity College, MS E.5.2.

Comparison A	
IMP	Dublin, Trinity College, MS E.5.2. ff 73r-75r.
[1] fil cathair naili <u>uidhi .u. laithe</u> fria a	[1] Post recessum a civitate Singuy itur

⁷⁶⁵ 123rb30-31.

⁷⁶⁶ 123rbz.

⁷⁶⁷ 123va8.

⁷⁶⁸ 123va10.

⁷⁶⁹ 123va14.

<i>thaebh sin</i> [3] quinlay a hainm inan son 7 in <u>cathair neamhdha</u> dia teangaid siumh ár ní fhuil for bith cathair is mó inás. [2] <u>cét míle ina timcill</u> [4] <u>da míle dhéc droicheat</u> le fo ngabhuit longa dimhora cen trascradh seoil dibh	per <u>dietas 5</u> et sunt in via civitates plures magne. [2] Postmodum pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay que in nostra lingua sonat <u>civitas celi</u> que maior civitas est orbis et est in provincia Mangy principalior. [3] Ego Marcus fui in hac civitate et curiose ac diligenter condiciones ipsius perscrutatus sum quas summam ut reperi breviter enarrabo. [4] Huius civitatis circuitus continet <u>in giro miliaria 100</u> habet enim <u>pontes lapideos 12.000</u> tante altitudinis ut navis magna sub eis transire possit est autem civitas in lacunis sicut est civitas venetiarum et si careret pontibus de vico ad vicum aditus non pateret per terram etiam ideo oportet ut ibi sint tot milia pontium. [5] In hac civitate sunt artes principales 12 et pro qualibet illarum sunt in civitate 12.000 stationum in quibus ipsarum artium artifices operantur quolibet autem statio operarios habet inter magistros et ministros 10 aut 15 sicut 20 et sunt quandoque in aliquibus 40. [6] Tanta est ibi artificum et mercationum multitudo innumera quod hiis qui non videriunt incredibile penitus putaretur. [7] Homines civitatis huius deliciosissime vivunt divites qui principales sunt in stationibus artium honorifice vivunt et neque ipsi neque uxores eorum manibus propriis operantur faciunt autem ministros alios operari. [8] In hac civitatis sunt mulieres
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[8] fil loch a meadon na cathrach sin 7 .xxx. míle na uirtimcheall.

di inis fair dun rigda a meadhon gacha hinnsi dibh ní la neach for bith iat som 7 in as fearr do bhiudh 7 deoch 7 mhainibh na cathrach cuirid a meadon na nduinte 7 inti dianad ail fleadhughadh do dhenamh tiagait dia tochaithimh inntibh 7 foghebha 7 ní la neach don cathraigh dinn ná caislén da fuil fora feadh acht coimhdheas da gach aen iatsumh 7 as eadh do beir an timat droicheat sin le for srothaibh 7 uisceadhaibh fil si 7 ní bhi an imtheacht for araili acht dibh

[5] 7 tor dithoglaidhi for cech ndroicheat dibh **7 .iiii. mílid ag magnus ac fare for cech ndroicheat dibh** ar omhun a himpóidh fair ór ba cathair oireachuis do righraidh manguay isidhe feacht riamh.

formose valde et multis deliciis enutrite.

[9] Versus meridiem est in ipsam civitatem **lacus magna quem 30 miliaria in giro continet** in hoc circuitu super lacum sunt multa palacia et multe domus magne nobilium et sunt internis et externis mirabiliter adornate sunt etiam ibi ecclesie ydolorum **in medio lacus illius duo parve sunt insule** et in qualibet ipsarum palacium pulcrum est et nobile valde ibi sunt omnia preparamenta et vasa neccesaria pro nuptiis vel solemni convivio si quis igitur vult in solemni loco tenere convivio vel nuptias cum honore tenere accedit illuc. [10 omitted]

[11] Sunt etiam per vicos huius civitatis lapides turres pro communi usu contracte ut quando fortuna ignis acciderit possunt convicini res suas ad prefatas turres deferre ne comburantur quia enim in civitate multe domus lignee sunt sepe in civitate ignis accenditur. [12] Incole ydolatre. [13] Sunt carnes equorum canum et animalium omnium comedunt. [14] Currit ibi moneta Magni Kaam. [15] Ponitur ibi custodia maxima ne civitas rebellare presumat aut furta vel homicidia fiant. [16] **In quolibet ponte civitatis de die et nocte 10 custodes sunt.** [17] In hac civitate est unus mons super quem est turris et super turrim tabule sunt de asseribus quando autem ignis in urbe accenditur si custodes turris hoc videre

[7] in <i>tan</i> ro <i>irghabh</i> <i>magnus cam</i> in <i>cathair</i> sin 7 <i>prouindsi</i> <i>manguay</i> ro hoirdneadh nai riga do thartraidhi forro 7 do <i>ronnad</i> <i>forro</i> in da míle decc cathair <i>bai</i> <i>isin</i> <i>rigi</i> <i>sin</i> <i>occus</i> <i>ni</i> <i>raibhi</i> <i>cathair</i> <i>dhibh</i> <i>gan</i> <i>drong</i> <i>do</i> <i>mileadhuib</i> <i>magnus cam</i> <i>oca</i> <i>himcoimhet</i> <i>ar</i> <i>omhun</i> <i>a</i> <i>himpóidh fair</i>	possint cum ligneo malleo percutiunt tabulas ut huius sonitus circumquaque terram eminus audiatur et concurrant homines ad auxilium afferendum similiter autem fit si pro quacumque causa commotio vel tumultus fiat. [18 omitted] [19] In civitate in hac civitate sunt terme circiter 3000 pulchrum valde in quibus sepe homines lavantur munditie corporali multum student. [20] Ultra civitatem Quinsay ad 25 miliaria ad orientem est oceanum mare et ibi supra mare est civitas Ganfu ubi est portus optimus ad quem conveniunt naves in in multitudine maxima de India et de regionibus aliis. [21] Provinciam Mangi divisit Magnus Kaam in regna 4 dans proprium regem regno unicuique iuxta sue voluntatis beneplacitum sunt autem omnes reges potentes valde sed subditi sunt Magno Kaam et oportet eos annis singulis de omnibus regnorum proventibus et expensis et de suo regimine Magni Kaam officialibus rationem reddere unus autem illorum regnum in civitate Quinsay continue moratur qui sub dicione sua 140 civitates habet. [22] Provincia enim Mangi habet in universo civitates 1200 et singulis ipsarum per Magnum Kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte debellare presumant horum custodum multitudo est innumerabilis et stupenda. [23] in hac civitate Quinsay et in tota provincia
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[6] do ronsat palas rigda for loch a meadhon na cathrach sin ni fuil séd na samhail do phalas for bith do .xx. sluaighteach lais 7 .x. míle do thoimhileadh in gach sluaighteach dhibh 7 tene bithbeo a meadhon gacha bruidhne dhibh 7 míle do sheomradhuibh solusda fria suan 7 freasdal ina nur thimceall co neimh noir forra 7 co fuath gach anmanna eceannus for bith ar na rinnadh forro do ilbreachtadh gacha datha [9] .xl. míle tighidhis .xl. feacht is aitreabhthaigh don cathair sin. [11] Imut eclas noirmhitneach isin cathraigh sin 7 ni fhil acht aen eaclais dibh ag fognamh nó adhradh do dia [10] ni tusmidter gein innti nach scribhthar a ainm 7 in cruth forsa mbi in re 7 reanna nimhe oca tusmheadh 7 dia	Mangi consuetudo est quod statim ut puer nascitur parentes eius scribi faciunt diem et horam nativitatis eius sub quo planeta natus est in cunctis enim itineribus et factis suis reguntur astrologorum iudiciis ideoque scire volunt ortus sui diem et horam. [24 omitted] [25] In hac civitate Quinsay est palacium magnum valde cuius circuitus muri continet miliaria 20 inter quos muros sunt viridaria pulchra valde cum fructibus delicatis ibi sunt fontes et lacune in quibus pisces multi capiuntur. [26] in medio autem interioris spaciū palacium est pulcherrimum et maius quod in mundo sit habet enim aulas pulcherrimas eiusdem magnitudinis 20 in quarum qualibet simul comederent 10.000 hominum in ipso palacio sunt camere 1000. [27] In civitate Quinsay sunt ignes sive familie tot numero quod ad 160 tomanis ascendunt tomanis vero 10.000 continet sunt igitur in universo tot familie ut earum numerus ad mille milia et ad sexcenta milia (1.600.000) familiarum ascendat. [28] Palacia in hac civitate multa sunt et pulchra valde. [29] Una sola est ibi christianorum ecclesia nestorinorum. [30] Hospitum receptores omnes scribunt in suis quaternis nomina hominum viatorum quos in suis hospiciis recipiunt et quo mense et quo die in eius hospitium sunt ingressi.
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ndeach neach dibh as beantar a ainm as 7 scribhthar aris he 7 ainm a each 7 a maine 7 a aesa cumtha 7 loiscter diblinuibh ar aen ria chorp 7 dar leo gach a scribtha dho do beidis ar aen fris isin beathaidh naile	
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This table reveals three differences between the two texts that suggest that they are not closely related: firstly, section [5] of IMP, which corresponds to section [16] of P from the Dublin manuscript, shows that IMP's *.iiii. milid* and Dublin's *10 custodes* do not correspond. Secondly, section [7] of IMP reads *nai riga* where the corresponding section [21] of the Dublin manuscript reads *regna 4*. Thirdly, the last part of section [7] of IMP reads *in da mile decc cathair* where the corresponding detail in the Dublin manuscript, found at the end of of section [21], reads *140 civitates*. These different details suggest that IMP and the 'Cambridge-Dublin' version do not share a close relationship.

Finally, it is interesting to note how the author of the 'Cambridge-Dublin' version of P dealt with section [25], which in many manuscripts of the 'English' branch, contains the scribal error *lacus* instead of *locus*. The following examples show how the scribes of Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5 and Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), both manuscripts of the 'English' branch, also tried to make sense of their garbled exemplar. These manuscripts are compared with the same passage from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, which contains the passage without the scribal error, and from the Dublin manuscript, which omits the mistake entirely. All transcriptions and translations are my own, except for the transcription of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, which was made by Dr Simion:

In hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabile in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangi tenebat curiam primo locus magnus circumcinctus est muro per quadrum altitudinis magne que in giro continet miliaria 10.⁷⁷⁰

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 66vb)

In hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabile valde in quo Facfur quodam rex Mangi curiam tenebat primo lacus magnus circumcinctus est muris altitudinis valde magne qui in giro totius 10 miliaria.⁷⁷¹

(Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5, f. 268b)

In hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabile valde in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangi curiam tenebat lacus magnus est in circuitu muris cuius altitudo magna est valde quem in giro continet miliaria 9.⁷⁷²

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 234v)

In hac civitate Quinsay est palacium magnum valde cuius circuitus muri continet miliaria 20.⁷⁷³

(Dublin, Trinity College, MS E.5.2. f. 74v)

Although the author of the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version was omitting large portions of P and was composing his own version of the *Travels* from it, it may be suggested that in the case of section [25] of the Quinsay chapter, the author recognised that his source had been corrupted and chose to amend the text by omitting many of the details of the passage. If this is the case, then the source of the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version of P was a manuscript of the ‘English’ branch, all members of which contain the reading *lacus* instead of *locus*. This, in combination with the likelihood that the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version was written in England, indicates that the ‘Cambridge-

⁷⁷⁰ ‘In this city of Quinsay there is a great palace in which Facfur, who was once the king of Mangy, first kept his court, a great area is surrounded by a wall of great height in a square, and which has a perimeter of 10 miles.’

⁷⁷¹ ‘In this city of Quinsay there is a truly wonderful palace in which Facfur, who was once the king of Mangy, first kept his court. A large lake is surrounded by walls of great height for ten miles.’

⁷⁷² ‘In this city of Quinsay there is a truly wonderful palace in which Facfur, who was once the king of Mangy, first kept his court. A great lake is all around with walls which are of very great height and has a perimeter of 9 miles.’

⁷⁷³ ‘In this city of Quinsay there is a very large palace which has a wall that encompasses 20 miles.’

Dublin' version most probably derives from the 'English' branch of the 'fidelissimi' group.

Futhermore, the 'Cambridge-Dublin' version shares the reading *140 civitates habet* at section [21], with Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196, indicating that the two versions of P may have shared a parent text. If this is the case, it would support the proposal that the 'Cambridge-Dublin' version derives from the 'English' branch of P.

Gadrat has argued that the 'Cambridge-Dublin' version of P was used by John of Tynemouth during the mid-fourteenth century to write the *Historia Aurea* (HA), a vast historical tract which runs up to the year 1347, incorporating a wide range of sources including an early version of the contemporary *Polychronicon*, a chronicle of universal history and theology by Ranulf Higden.⁷⁷⁴ In addition, she has suggested that John of Tynemouth wrote this *résumé* of P before incorporating parts of it in HA.⁷⁷⁵ It has been argued that only reduced versions of HA survive and that it does not exist in full in any manuscript.⁷⁷⁶ In fact, not all versions of HA contain extracts from P, and the ones which do place them in different sections of the text: in London, Lambeth Palace 10-12, which comes from Durham priory and was already in the library there in 1395, the extracts from P are found after the year 1252, the date of the first expedition of the Polo brothers from Venice;⁷⁷⁷ on the other hand, in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 5, which was commissioned by William Wynterschulle of St. Albans shortly after 1420, the extracts of P are found at the beginning of the text, within a section entitled '*Descriptio Orbis*'.⁷⁷⁸

The Cambridge manuscript was written in England during the 1340s.⁷⁷⁹ The summarised version of P is followed by Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, ff. 15r - 355v. Dutschke has suggested that the association of these two texts in the manuscript indicates that its compiler attributed a historical value to the *Travels*, intending it 'as a recitation of actual events'.⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁴ Galbraith, 'The *Historia Aurea* of John, Vicar of Tynemouth, and the sources of the St. Albans Chronicle', *Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, éd. H. W. Carless Davis (Oxford 1927) 381; Gansden, *Historical Writing*, 56.

⁷⁷⁵ Gadrat, *Lire*, 204-05.

⁷⁷⁶ Galbraith, '*Historia*', 387.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., 385; Gadrat, *Lire*, 205.

⁷⁷⁸ Galbraith, '*Historia*', 385; Gadrat, *Lire*, 205; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 5-6, f.2v.

⁷⁷⁹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 545.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 547.

On the other hand, the Dublin manuscript was written in Norfolk, probably by a single scribe, during the mid-fifteenth century, and contains a miscellany of historical, geographical and philosophical texts.⁷⁸¹ Regarding the content of the Dublin manuscript, Dutschke noted that ‘the texts surrounding Marco Polo demonstrate an intense desire for knowledge, albeit a knowledge alien to the concrete realities available in the Marco Polo: palmistry, astrology, marvels, excerpts and proverbs amount to what the modern world qualifies as specifically “medieval” knowledge.’⁷⁸² For example, the manuscript contains: *Alexandri Magni iter ad paradisum*, a text on the dimensions, praise and marvels of Britain, a text on palmistry, extracts from Seneca’s *De Beneficiis*, moralistic passages from various classical and late classical authors, such as Cassiodorus, Petronius, Terence, Sallust and Boethius, a text on the Fall of Thebes and a dialogue on avoiding informers and false friends.⁷⁸³ Therefore, in contrast to the historical value which is attributed to the *Travels* in the Cambridge manuscript, by its association with the *Polychronicon*, the variety of texts surrounding P in the Dublin manuscript suggests that the text was being read and interpreted in the context of wisdom literature, or ‘*litríocht na gaoise*’ as Ó Macháin has coined it:

‘Bíonn idir léann diaga agus léann tuata i gceist i litríocht seo na gaoise mar sin, agus gabhann scata stíleanna reacaireachta léi, i véarsaíocht nó i bprós: an t-agallamh, an ceistiú, an tomhas, an tseanmóir, an fháistine, an tré nó an seachta, an teagasc lom, an aforaise agus an seanfhocal. [...] cineál litríochta é an ghaois ar cuma leis gabháil thar críochaibh ó *genre* go chéile.’⁷⁸⁴

The fact that the same version of P survives in two such different manuscripts, one concerned with history and fact, and the other with anecdotes and marvels, is indicative of the different ways in which the *Travels* was being received and considered by its medieval readers. In the preface to his edition of the *Travels*, published in the sixteenth century, Ramusio alludes to a generalised scepticism as to the veracity of Marco Polo’s account:

⁷⁸¹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 553-56: Colker, *Catalogue* II, 1093-1108.

⁷⁸² Dutschke, *Pipino*, 556.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 554.

⁷⁸⁴ Ó Macháin, ‘Buaine’, 334.

‘Il libro del quale (Marco Polo), per cause de infinite scorrezioni ed errori, è stato molte decine d’anni riputato favola, e che i nomi delle città e provincie fussero tutte fizioni e imaginazioni senza fondamento alcuno, e per dir meglio sogni.’⁷⁸⁵

Like the Dublin manuscript, IMP is surrounded by texts of various genres in L, including lives of saints, *fiannaíocht* texts, historical and ethnographical texts such as *Gabháltas Serluis Mhóir (GSM)*, *Sdair na Lumbardach (SNL)*, as well as apocryphal and anecdotal texts such as *In Tenga Bithnua*, *Scel na Samhna* or *Sgela an Trir Meic Cleirech*. Although the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version of P was not the direct source of IMP, the manner in which the compiler of the Dublin manuscript and the scribes of the L read and understood the *Travels* may be comparable, suggesting that the author of IMP perhaps did not consider P to be completely factual, but was still intrigued by the wisdom that it conveyed within the broader context of ‘*litríocht na gaoise*’.

2.2.3. ‘Harley’ Version

The abbreviation of P contained in British Library, Harley 5115 was written during the second half of the fourteenth century in England, possibly in Dorset by, or for, an individual named Robert Grey.⁷⁸⁶ Its relationship with the other manuscripts of the ‘fidelissimi’ group is represented in the *stemma codicum* at the end of this chapter. The manuscript also contains Hayton’s *Flos Historiarum Terre Orientis* and Geoffrey of Monmouth *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

The following Comparison A table compares my transcription of II.64 from ff. 36rb-36vb of British Library, Harley 5115 with my transcription of the corresponding section of IMP, found at ¶136-¶141 in Stokes’s edition. The corresponding sections of the ‘Harley’ version and the translations in IMP have been underlined and are in bold characters, while the sections of IMP that are not found in the ‘Harley’ version have been underlined, are in bold characters and have been highlighted, with the corresponding gap in the ‘Harley’ version filled in with the numbers of the sections

⁷⁸⁵ Ramusio, *Navigazioni*, 22: ‘Whose book (Marco Polo’s), due to a great number of mistakes and errors, has been considered a fable for many decades, that the names of cities were all fictions and imagined with no truth to them at all, or perhaps even dreams’.

⁷⁸⁶ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 702.

which have been omitted in square brackets, for convenience of reference with the transcription of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983. These have also been highlighted, underlined and are in bold characters:

Comparison A	
<u>IMP</u>	<u>London, British Library, Harley 5115</u>
[1] fil cathair naili <u>uidhi .u. laithe</u> fria a thaebh sin [3] quinlay a hainm inan son 7 in <u>cathair neamhdha</u> dia teangaid siumh ár ni fhuil for bith cathair is mó inás. [2] <u>cét míle ina timcill</u> [4] <u>da míle dhéc droicheat</u> le fo ngabhuit longa dimhora cen trascradh seoil dibh [8] <u>fil loch a meadon na cathrach sin 7 .xxx. míle na uirtimcheall. di inis fair</u> <u>dun rigda a meadhon gacha hinnsi dibh ni</u> <u>la neach for bith iat som 7 in as fearr do</u> <u>bhiudh 7 deoch 7 mhainibh na cathrach</u> <u>cuirid a meadon na nduinte 7 inti dianad</u> <u>ail fleadhughadh do dhenamh tiagaít dia</u> <u>tochaithimh inntibh 7 foghebha 7 ni la</u>	[1] Post recessum a civitate Singuy itur <u>per dietas 5</u> et inveniuntur in via civitates plures magne ubi maxime negotiationes fiunt [2] postmodum pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay que in lingua nostra sonat <u>civitas celi</u> que maior civitas orbis est et est provincia Mangi principalior [3] ego Marcus fui in hac civitate et curiose ac diligenter conditiones ipsius perscrutatus sum quas summatim ut reperi breviter enarrabo [4] huius civitatis <u>circuitus continet 100 miliaria</u> aut circa habet autem <u>pontes lapideos 12.000</u> tante altitudinis ut navis magna sub eos ut plurimum transire possit est autem civitas in lacunis sicut civitas venetiarum et si careret pontibus de vico ad vicum aditus non pateret per terram et ideo oportet ut ibi sunt tot milia pontium <u>[5-9 skipped]</u> [10] in civitate Quinsay multe et pulcherrime domus sunt [11] sunt autem per vicos huius parve lapidee turres pro communi usu contracte ut quando fortuitus ignis acciditur convicini res suas

neach don cathraigh dinn ná caislén da
fuil fora feadh acht coimhdheas da gach
aen iatsumh 7 as eadh do beir an timat
droicheat sin le for srothaibh 7
uisceadhaibh fil si 7 ni bhi an imtheacht
for araili acht dibh

[5] 7 tor dithoglaidhi for cech ndroicheat
dibh 7 .iiii. mílid ag magnus ac fare for
cech ndroicheat dibh ar omhun a
himpóidh fair ór ba cathair oireachuis do
righraidh manguay isidhe feacht riamh.

[7] in tan ro irghabh magnus cam in
cathair sin 7 prouindsi manguay ro
hoirdneadh nai riga do thartraidhi
forro 7 do ronnad forro in da míle decc
cathair bai isin rigi sin occus ni raibhi
cathair dhibh gan drong do mileadhuib
magnus cam oca himcoimhet ar omhun a
himpóidh fair

[6] do ronsat palas rigda for loch a
meadhon na cathrach sin ni fuil séd na
samhail do phalas for bith do

ad prefatas turres possint deferre ne
conburentur quia enim in civitate multe
domus lignee sunt sepe in civitate ignis
accenditur [12] in hac civitate adorantur
ydola [13] comeduntur carnes equos et
canum animalium omnium [14] ut
expenditur ibi moneta Magni Kaam [15-
19½ skipped] homines civitatis illius
multum student mundicia corporali [20]
ultra civitatem Quinsay ad miliaria 25 ad
plagam orientalem est oceanum mare et
ibi supra mare est civitas Ganfu ubi
portus est optimus ad quem conveniunt
naves in multitudine maxima de India et
de regionibus aliis a civitate autem usque
ad mare est fluvius maximus per quem
naves ad civitatem veniunt qui fluvius
transit per plurimas alias regiones [21]
provinciam Mangi divisit Magnus
Kaam in regna 9 dans regem proprium
unicuique regno iuxta sua beneplacitum
voluntatis [22-24 skipped]

[25] in civitate Quinsay est palatium
mirabile valde in quo Facfur quodam
rex Mangi curiam tenebat primo lacus
magnus circuitus est murus a quarum
altitudinis valde magne qui murus in giro
continet 10 miliaria intra quem murum
sunt viridaria multa pulcra valde cum
fructibus delicatis ibi sunt fontes lacune
in quibus multi et optimi pisces habentur

<u>.xx. sluaighteach lais</u> 7 <u>.x. míle</u> do <i>thoimhileadh</i> in <i>gach</i> <i>sluaighteach</i> <i>dhibh</i> 7 tene bithbeo a meadhon gacha bruidhne <i>dhibh</i> 7 <u>míle do sheomradhuibh solusda</u> <i>fria</i> <i>suan</i> 7 <i>freasdal</i> <i>ina</i> <i>nur</i> <i>thimceall</i> <i>co</i> <i>neimh</i> <i>noir</i> <i>forra</i> 7 <i>co</i> <i>fuath</i> <i>gach</i> <i>anmanna</i> <i>eceannus</i> <i>for</i> <i>bith</i> <i>ar</i> <i>na</i> <i>rinnadh</i> <i>forro</i> <i>do</i> <i>ilbreachtadh</i> <i>gacha</i> <i>datha</i> <u>[9] .xl. míle tighidhis .xl. feacht is aitreabhthaigh don cathair sin.</u> <u>[11] Imut eclas noirmhitneach isin cathraigh sin 7 ní fhil acht aen eaclais dibh ag fognamh nó adhradh do dia</u> <u>[10] ní tús midter gein innti nach scribhthar a ainm 7 in cruth forsa mbi in re 7 reanna nimhe oca tús mheadh 7 dia ndeach neach dibh as beantar a ainm as 7 scribhthar aris he 7 ainm a each 7 a maine 7 a aesa cumtha 7 loiscter diblinuibh ar aen ria chorp 7 dar leo gach a scribtha dho do beidis ar aen fris isin beathaidh naile.</u>	[26] in medio autem interioris spatii palatium pulcherrimum est et maius quod in mundo sit habet enim <u>20 eiusdem magnitudinis</u> omnes in quarum qualibet simul comederent <u>10.000 hominum</u> in multa commoditate et in debitate congruitate cunctis discumbentibus collocatis sunt autem aule pictae et deaurate pulcherrimo opere in ipso palatio <u>sunt camere 1000 aut circa</u> [27] in civitate Quinsay sunt ignes iuxta vulgare italicum seu familie tot numero quod ad 160 tomani ascenderent in computatione summaria tomani vero 10.000 continet sunt igitur tot in universo familie <u>ut earum numerus ad mille milia et sexcenta milia familiarum ascendat</u> [28] palatia in hac civitate multa sunt et pulcra valde [29] in tota autem hac civitate <u>una sola ecclesia christianorum et nestorinorum est</u> [30] in hac civitate et in tota provincia Mangi oportet ut quilibet pater familias supra hostium domus sue scribi faciat nomen suus uxoris sue et nomina omnia de familia sua et numerum equorum cum autem quis de familia moritur aut domus mutat oportet ut deleatur nomen mortui aut decedentis et scribatur ibi nomen cuiusque de novo nascentis vel ad familiam additi et isto modo de facili scribi potest numerus omnium qui est in civitate similiter et stabularii seu
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	hospitum receptores scribunt in suis quaternis nomina omnium viatores quos in suis hospitiiis recipiunt et quo mense et quo die in eius hospitium sunt ingressi.
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An examination of these transcriptions reveal that sections [5-9], [15-19½] and [22-24] of the Quinsay chapter of P, have been edited out of the ‘Harley’ version. Therefore, it follows that the ‘Harley’ version could not have been the direct source of IMP, because sections [8], [5] and the second half of [7] of IMP are translated from [9], [16] and [22] of P respectively, none of which are found in the ‘Harley’ version of P.

2.2.4. ‘Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee’ Version

This heavily abridged version of P survives in three manuscripts from the border area of Germany and Austria namely: Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 1094, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 18624 and Würzburg, Diözesanbibliothek, I 58 (previously, Würzburg, Franziskamer-Minoritenkloster I 58).⁷⁸⁷ The author of this summary is anonymous, however Gadrat has noticed that two of these manuscripts, namely those of Melk and of Tergensee, were located in two Benedictine abbeys which underwent the same monastic reform during the fifteenth century.⁷⁸⁸ Furthermore, Gadrat has suggested that the Tergensee text is a direct copy of the text found in the Melk manuscript, and that the Würzburg text and the Melk text were copied from the same source.⁷⁸⁹

The following Comparison A table contains my transcription of the Quinsay chapter from IMP and my transcription of corresponding section from folio 177v of Würzburg, Diözesanbibliothek, I 58. The numbers of the sections, as assigned by Burgio and Simion in their transcription of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, have been inserted accordingly. The numbers of the sections which have been omitted

⁷⁸⁷ Gadrat, *Lire*, 91.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 91-93.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 93.

have also been inserted. These numbers provide a visualisation of the reason why the ‘Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee’ version is not the direct source of IMP. In the following table, the sections of the Quinsay chapter from IMP which have been omitted in the ‘Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee’ version have been highlighted in the left-hand column, and the numbers of the missing sections from which they were translated have been highlighted in the right-hand column. Additions by the author of the ‘Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee’ version, which are not present in IMP, have been italicised in the right-hand column.

Comparison A	
IMP	Würzburg, Diözesanbibliothek, I 58
[1] <i>fil cathair naili uidhi .u. laithe fria a thaebh sin.</i>	[1 omitted]
[3] quinlay a hainm inan son <i>7 in cathair neamhdha dia teangaid siumh ár ní fhuil for bith cathair is mó inás.</i>	[2] De inde civitas Quinsay que maior civitas orbis est [2 ½ omitted]
[2] <i>cét míle ina timcill</i>	[3 omitted]
[4] <i>da míle dhéc droicheat le fo ngabhuit longa dimhora cen trascradh seoil dibh</i>	[4] cuius circuitus continet 100 miliaria habet pontes circa 12.000 tante altitudinis ut navis sub eis plurimum transire possit est autem civitas in lacunis posita et si careret pontibus non pateret transitus de domo in domum [5] in qua sunt artes principales 12 et pro qualibet sunt in civitate 12.000 stationes et tanta est ibi artium et mercationum multitudo quod non videntibus incredibile videatur [6-8 omitted] [9] in civitate Quinsay est
[8] <i>fil loch a meadon na cathrach sin 7 .xxx. míle na uirtimcheall. di inis fair dun rigda a meadhon gacha hinnsi dibh ní la</i>	

neach for bith iat som 7 in as fearr do bhiudh 7 deoch 7 mhainibh na cathrach cuirid a meadon na nduinte 7 inti dianad ail fleadhughadh do dhenamh tiagait dia tochaithimh inntibh 7 foghebha 7 ni la neach don cathraigh dinn ná caislén da fuil fora feadh acht coimhdheas da gach aen iatsumh 7 as eadh do beir an timat droicheat sin le for srothaibh 7 uisceadhaibh fil si 7 ni bhi an imtheacht for araili acht dibh	lacus continens in giro 30 miliaria [9½ omitted]
[5] 7 tor dithoglaidhi for cech ndroicheat dibh 7 .iiii. mílid ag magnus ac fare for cech ndroicheat dibh ar omhun a himpóidh fair ór ba cathair oireachuis do righraidh manguay isidhe feacht riamh.	[10-19 omitted]
[7] in tan ro irghabh magnus cam in cathair sin 7 prouindsi manguay ro hoirdneadh nai riga do thartraidhi forro 7 do ronnad forro in da míle decc cathair bai isin rigi sin occus ni raibhi cathair dhibh gan drong do mileadhuib magnus cam oca himcoimhet ar omhun a himpóidh fair	[20] ultra quem civitatem ad 15 miliaria est mare oceanum [21] provinciam Mangi divisit Magnus Kaam in 9 regna [22 omitted]
[6] do ronsat palas rigda for loch a	[II.63.2-3] est autem provincia Mangi ita popolosa que si homines in armis strenui essent totum mundu delorent sed sunt ibidem multi mercatores multi artifices multi medici et physisci [II.64.23-26½ omitted]

meadhon na cathrach sin ní fuil séd na samhail do phalas for bith do .xx. sluaightheach lais 7 .x. míle do thoimhleadh in gach sluaightheach dhibh 7 tene bithbeo a meadhon gacha bruidhne dhibh 7 míle do sheomradhuibh solusda fria suan 7 freasdal ina nur thimceall co neimh noir forra 7 co fuath gach anmanna eceannus for bith ar na rinnadh forro do ilbreachtadh gacha datha [9] .xl. míle tighidhis .xl. feacht is aitreabhthaigh don cathair sin. [11] Imut eclas noirmhitneach isin cathraigh sin 7 ní fhil acht aen eaclais dibh ag fognamh nó adhradh do dia [10] ní tusmidter gein innti nach scríbhthar a ainm 7 in cruth forsa mbi in	[26½] in civitate Quinsay est palacium quod habet 20 aulas mire pulchritudinis in quarum qualibet comederent simul 10.000 hominum cum multa commoditate sunt autem aule depicte decorate pulcherrimo opere in ipso autem palacio sunt circa 1000 cameras. <i>[II.67.1-3] in montibus Signi civitatis provincie Mangi transit rebarbarum et contiber in tanta copia quod pro uno veneto argenteo habentur 80 librum recentis et optimi cupilem civitatis cives comuniter utiutur vestibus de sericis iter</i> [II.64.27] in civitate Quinsay sunt familie tot quod ad 160 romaninos ascendunt romaninus autem 10.000 continet sunt autem in toto deces mille milia et .lx. milia familiarum. [28-30 omitted]
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re 7 reanna nimhe oca tasmheadh 7 dia ndeach neach dibh as beantar a ainm as 7 scribthar aris he 7 ainm a each 7 a maine 7 a aesa cumtha 7 loiscter diblinuibh ar aen ria chorp 7 dar leo gach a scribtha dho do beidis ar aen fris isin beathaidh naile.	
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A comparison with IMP shows that the Irish translator could not have derived his translation from this version of P directly. Specifically, the ‘Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee’ version is lacking sections [1], the second half of [2], the second half of [9], [16], [22], [25], [29] and [30], which are found in IMP and correspond to [1], the second half of [3], the second half of [8], [5], the second half of [7], [6], [11] and [12] respectively. Furthermore the author of the ‘Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee’ version incorporated sections from other chapters of P into his chapter on the city of Quinsay, namely sections [2] and [3] from the previous chapter II.63 *De nobili civitate Synguy*, which were inserted after section [21] of II.64, and sections [1], [2] and [3] from chapter II.67 *De Regno Fuguy*, after section [26] of II.64. These have been italicised in the Comparison A table above.

Two conclusions may be drawn from this analysis: firstly, that none of the surviving Latin abridgements of P were the direct source of IMP; and secondly, that the author of IMP was by no means alone in his reworking and editing of the material of P, but that it was commonplace for scholars and copyists of the *Travels* across Europe to edit and rearrange the material of P during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On the evidence of the surviving manuscripts, this activity seems to have been most common in England. In fact, three of the four surviving Latin summaries of P were compiled in England, two during the fourteenth century, namely the ‘Harley’ version and the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version, and the other during the first half of the fifteenth century, namely the ‘Digby’ version.

2.3. IMP and the Groups of P

Having concluded that IMP does not derive from any of the surviving Latin abridgements of P, this study shall now examine the relationship between IMP and

forty-seven of the sixty surviving manuscripts which contain the unabridged version of P. The aim of this exercise is to identify the version of P which most closely resembles IMP, in order to initiate a discussion on the geographical area and literary context in which the source text of IMP was written.

Due to the size of the corpus of surviving manuscripts of P, previous scholarship has not attempted to draw a complete *stemma codicum* of all sixty manuscripts, and of the nine abridgements of P.⁷⁹⁰ However, a number of groups were distinguished by De Benedetto and Dutschke, and Gadrat has taken some preliminary steps in drawing a partial *stemma* of P.⁷⁹¹ The description of a complete *stemma codicum* of all surviving manuscripts of P is beyond the immediate interest of this study, however an account of the distinguishable groups of P manuscripts is necessary in order to understand the relationship between IMP and the surviving manuscripts of P.

What follows is partial *stemma* of thirty-five of the sixty-nine manuscripts of P which can be distinguished into groups. The stemma of P belows draws heavily on Gadrat's work, '*qui n'est pas un stemma à proprement parler, mais une première tentative de classement de différents manuscrits de la traduction de Francesco Pipino*'.⁷⁹² To Gadrat's stemma I have added the 'Florence 1442' group and the group of the 'Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee' version, both of which Gadrat knew of, but did not include in her stemma.

I have also added IMP to this *stemma*, showing how it derives from the 'lacus' subgroup of the 'fidelissimi' group, corresponding to Gadrat's 'Angleterre' group and the 'English' branch described in this study,⁷⁹³ with several adjustments. These are: the addition of the following manuscripts to the 'lacus' group: Cambridge, University Library, Dd.87; Dublin, Trinity College, MS E.5.2 [Abbot 632]; Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek 218; Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum V.6.8.[458]; London, British Library Add 19513; London, British Library Arundel 13. The abridged version of P found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 196, was also not included in Gadrat's stemma, but is included here as deriving from the 'lacus' group, as discussed above. Private Collection [prev. Devon, Library of Boies Penrose

⁷⁹⁰ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 232-33 and 248.

⁷⁹¹ Gadrat, *Lire*, 85.

⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, 86: 'which is not strictly speaking a stemma, rather a first attempt to classify the different manuscripts of the Francesco Pipino translation'.

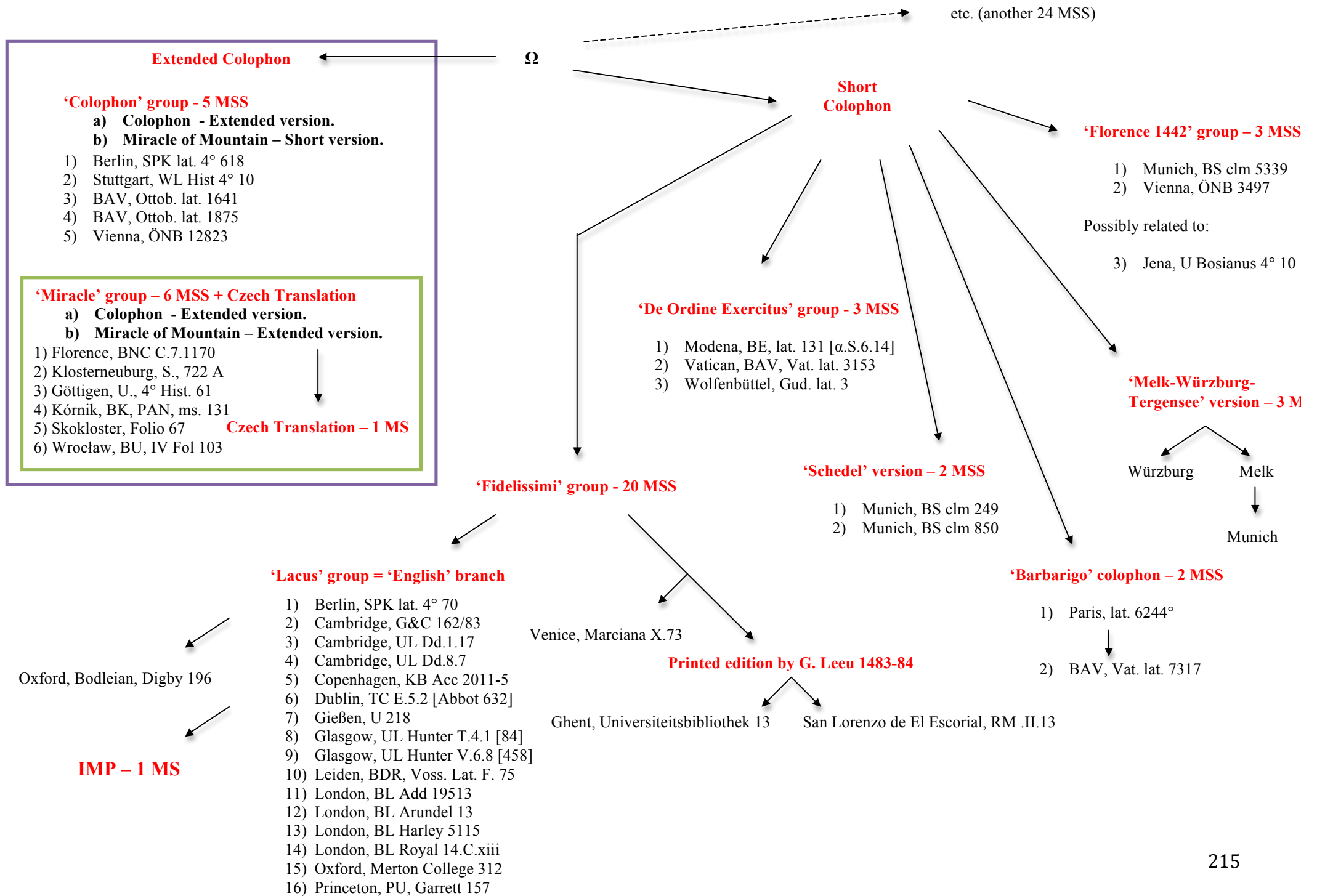
⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*, 78-82 and 85.

23] was removed from Gadrat's stemma because I have not been able to gain access to this manuscript and was therefore unable to verify its relation to the other manuscripts of the 'lacus' group.⁷⁹⁴

The discovery that IMP derives from the 'lacus' group of manuscripts of P was made by comparing IMP and all the manuscripts of the 'fidelissimi' group available to me, using the Comparison A and Comparison B techniques outlined in the methodology section above. This finding will be discussed under the heading 'English' branch (α).

Following this stemma are a summary and discussion of each of the various groups of P that are represented in the stemma, with a description of how they relate to IMP:

⁷⁹⁴ See footnote to this manuscript in the list of P manuscripts above for informatoin about why I have not been able to consult it.



2.3.1. Colophon Division

It has been suggested by Gadrat that a group of manuscripts of P are distinguished by an expanded *explicit* at the end of the third book.⁷⁹⁵ It must be noted however, that not all extended versions of this *explicit* correspond verbatim.⁷⁹⁶ In particular, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1641 and Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1875, contain a condensed version of this expanded explicit, which however is still not the same as the short colophon which is found in most other manuscripts of P.

The following transcriptions show this variation in the *explicit*. All transcriptions are my own, except for Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi, C.7.1170, which was made by Gadrat,⁷⁹⁷ and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, which was made by Simion.

Explicit liber tertius et ultimus domini Marchi Pauli de Venetiis de conditionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum. Quem librum frater Franciscus Pipini civis Bononie ordinis predicatorum credens et asserens ipsum verum et vera continere omnia in eo scripta de vulgari in grammaticam et bonam et intelligibilem latinitatem transmutavit.

(Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi, C.7.1170, f.69.)

Explicit liber tertius et ultimus domini Marchi Pauli de Veneciis de condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum. Quem librum ffrater Franciscus Pipini civis Bononie ordinis predicatorum credens et asserens ipsum verum et vera continere omnia in eo scripta de vulgari in gramaticam et bonam et intelligibilem latinitatem ut asseruit transmutavit. Laus tibi sit Criste quoniam liber explicit iste. Amen.

(Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Fol 103, 67ra.)

Explicit liber prudentis et eloquentis viri domini Marchi Pauli de Venetiis de mirabilibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum. Deo gratias.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 91b.)

⁷⁹⁵ Gadrat, *Lire*, 74-75.

⁷⁹⁶ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 256-57.

⁷⁹⁷ Gadrat, *Lire*, 74.

Explicit liber domini marci pauli de venetiis de condicionibus et
consuetudinibus orientalium regionum.

(Berlin, SPK, lat. 4° 70, 118v.)

Explicit liber domini marchi pauli de venetiis de condictionibus et
consuetudinibus orientalium regionum.

(Modena, BE, lat. 131 [α.S.6.14], 40va.)

It is not possible to verify whether an expanded explicit was present in the source text of IMP, because even if this had been translated, the final chapters of the Irish text are missing due to a loss of folios in L. However, evidence discussed with regard to the ‘English’ branch below, will show that IMP derives from a group of manuscripts that contain the short explicit.

2.3.2. ‘Miracle’ Group

The ‘miracle’ group is named after the chapter describing the ‘miracle of the moving mountain’, inserted after I.18 in a number of manuscripts of P.⁷⁹⁸ The chapter is present in VA, which was Pipino’s source text, but is omitted in most versions of P. Gadrat argues that this group is a subgroup of the ‘Extended Colophon’ group, because all manuscripts of the ‘miracle’ group also contain the expanded explicit discussed above. Dutschke noted that the ‘miracle’ manuscripts contain a slightly different reading in the explicit from those of the expanded colophon: in fact, the ‘miracle’ group reads *transmutavit* where the manuscripts of the expanded colophon read either *translatavit* or *translatus*.⁷⁹⁹ The ‘miracle’ version of P survives in seven manuscripts, including the fifteenth-century Czech translation, which translated the extended ‘miracle of the moving mountain’ chapter.

IMP does not contain the expanded episode of the miracle of the moving mountain. It may be that the source text of IMP contained the expanded version, and that the Irish author chose to omit it, as he did with many other chapters of P. However, the simpler explanation is that the extended version of the ‘miracle’ chapter was not in the source text of IMP.

⁷⁹⁸ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 253-55; De Benedetto, *Milione*, cxlvii.

⁷⁹⁹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 256-57; Gadrat, *Lire*, 74-75.

This may be observed in the following table which contains my transcription of the ‘miracle of the moving mountain’ section from IMP, along with the beginning of the following chapter on Persia, located at I.19 in P, in the left-hand column,⁸⁰⁰ with Simion’s transcription of I.18 and the beginning of I.19 from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983 in the central column, and my transcription of the expanded version of the same chapter, including the beginning of I.19, from Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Fol 103, in the right-hand column.

⁸⁰⁰ located at ¶18 of Stokes’s edition.

IMP – L. ff. 121rb-121va	Florence, BR 983 – ff. 10a-10b	Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Fol 103 - 7vb-9ra
bai sliabh urard frisin cathraigh sin 7 sliabh don taebh anaill gu cualatar na hiudhaidhi laithi naen amhal adeir in soiscél diadha ‘si abueritis fidem ut granum sinapis huic monti transi 7 transibit 7 nichil impossibile erit uobis .i. dia mbeth aireat in ghraine musdaird do sheirc ísa lat do thoghluaisfea in sliabh ar in sliabh araill diamad ail duit’ ‘is faidh guach in t-issa dia nadharthai’ ol na geinti ‘7 as briathra goo lais ár dia cuingheadh sibh for an sliabh ucut toghluassacht for an sliabh aile ni dingnad foraibh itir’ Tiaghuit na cristaidhi for	In illis regionibus inter Thaurisium et Baldachum, mons est qui olim de loco suo ad locum alium est translatus virtute divina. Volebant enim saraceni Christi Euvangelium vanum ostendere pro eo quod Dominus ait: ‘Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis dicetis huic monti transi hinc, et transibit, et nichil impossibile erit vobis.’ Dixerunt ergo christianis qui sub eorum dominio in partibus illis habitant: ‘Aut in Christi nomine montem istuc trasferte, aut omnes ad Machometum convertimini, aut omnes peribitis gladio.’ Tunc devotus quidam vir christianus,	In illis regionibus scilicet inter Thaurisium et Baldachium mons est qui olym de loco suo ad locum alium translatus est virtute divina. Volebant enim sarraceni Christi Euvangelim vanum ostendere, pro quod Dominus ait. ‘Si habueritis fidem sicut granum synapis dicetis huic monti transire hinc et transibit et nichil impossibile erit vobis.’ Dixerunt enim christianis qui sub eorum domino in partibus illis habitabant. ‘Aut in Christi nomine montem istum transferte aut omnes ad Machotetum convertimini aut omnes peribitis gladio tunc devotus quidam vir christianus confortans oracione fideliter ad dominus Iesum Christum montem illum vidente multitudine populorum transtulit ad designatum locum propter quod multi ex sarracenis ad Christum conversi sunt. <u>[BEGINNING OF EXPANDED VERSION]</u> Casus enim talis fuit in Baldach fuit quidam caliphus qui habebat odio omnes christianos ibi habitantes. Nam inter sarracenos multi habitant christiani qui sarracenis obediunt excepta fide. Inter Karium Babilonie viginti due christianorum ecclesie sunt ubi christiani colunt fidem christi scientibus sarracenis et saraceni colunt Machometum ad moscedas eorum iste caliphis cogitans die ac nocte demollire omnes christianos de Baldach et de illis partibus aut eos fidem Christi facere negare frequenter habebat consilium cum baronibus suis

aenchaí 7 guighit <i>in</i> taen ndia uman sliabh do claechlodh ‘A ísa’ oul siat ‘na leic idhuil 7 ainchreitmhigh diar bhfórrachne. Adre <i>in</i> sliabh <i>in</i> tan sin for an sliabh naill a bhfreacnaircus na slógh 7 airisis air coidhche et rogabsat araild do na geintibh baisdeadh lasin mirbhuil sin.	confortans se oracione fideliter ad dominum Iesum Christum, montem illum, vidente multitudine populorum, transtulit ad designatum locum, propter quod multi ex saracenis ad Christum conversi sunt.	super hoc. Ipsi ad hoc erant multum solliciti ad inveniendam causam iustam ut possent ipsos christianos destruere et occidere aut negarent. Unus vero ex sapientibus et consiliariis de caliphi dixit, ‘Ego inveni unam viam quam queritis contra christianos. Euvangelium christianorum dicit: ‘quisquis christianus habebit tanta fidem in Christo sicut est granum synapis et ipse dicit uni monti tolle te de hoc loco et vade ad alium locum quod mons ille obediet christiano,’ unde facite congregari in unum locum omnes istos christianos istarum partium et dicatis eis quod certo termino faciant moveri unum ex montibus nostris. Ipsi hoc facere non potunt et tunc vos dicetis eis quod non habent tantam fidem sicut est unum granum synapis et quod suum euvangelium non est bonum, unde respondeant nobis, aut velint esse saraceni aut mori omnes tam parvi quam magni.’ Quando caliphus hoc consilium intellexit, ipsum totalis acceptavit gaudenter misit pro christianis illarum partium qui multi erant et fecit eis legi Euvangelium suum predictum ac eos interrogavit si hoc erat verum. Ipsi (F <i>responderunt</i>)⁸⁰¹ quod sic. Caliphus dixit eis precipiendo aut facent infra X dies quod dictus mons tolleretur de loco suo. Aut negarent aut mortem expectarent. Tunc christiani hoc audito valde tribulati sunt et fuerunt sed iactaverunt cogitatum eorum in domino
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⁸⁰¹ Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Fol 103, 8rb first line, has a lacuna here, *responderunt* has been amended from Dutschke’s transcription of the same passage from Florence, BNC, Conventi Soppressi, C.7.1170, ff. 7vb - 9ra. See Dutschke, *Pipino*, 1337-43.

		nostro Ihesu Christo omnium salvatore, qui sperantes in se non deserit. Qui deberet eis succurrere in tanto periculo. Et tunc episcopi et sancti patres illius contrate ordinaverunt domino supplicare devote orando et ieiunando, ut eos a tanto periculo adiuveret. Finito autem tempore octo dierum unus angelus apparuit uni sancto episcopo in visione et dixit ei ex parte dei ut dicerent uni calzario monoculo qui oraret pro christainis et mons iste tolletur ad mandatum dicti caliphi et dixit ei nomen et domum ubi habitabat calzarius. Hanc visione habuit plures dictus episcopus et tunc termino caliphi propinquante misit pro isto calzario dicens ei visiones peredictas. Rogavit ut hanc orationem faceret pro christianis liberandis domino Ihesu Christo calzarius vero monocus excusando se dicebat, ‘Ego peccator sum et non sum dignus hac gratia.’ Ipse se excusabat propter humilitatem suam. Nam ipse erat homo sancte vite castus et honestus valde omni die audiebat missam et elemosinas erogabat iuxta posse suum. Ipsemet erruerat sibi oculum capitis sui dextrum hac de causa. Nam plures audiverat dici legi et predicari quod Euvangelium Christi dicebat, ‘Si oculus tuus scandaliset te errue eum et proiece a te.’ Ipse erat bone simplicitatis homo et credebatur quod ista verba sic deberent intelligi et fieri scripta sunt. Contingit enim unus talis casus est una vice. Una pulchra iuvenis venit ad ipsum dicens ei ‘Domine calzarie facite mihi duos calzarios.’ Respondit calzarius, ‘ostende mihi pedem
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		tuum.’ Ipsa vero iuvenis excessit modum et ostendit sibi nedum pedem sed crux ex ista ostensione ex demonis instigatione calzarius magnam temptationem et delectationem habuit in corpore suo. Ipse vero statim licentiavit ipsam iuvenem et incepit redire ad cor suum et trisati et dolore de temptatione ista et recordatus fuit ubi ubi dicti Euvangelium et statim eruit sibi oculum ipsemet propter contricionem illius talis temptationis et ideo christiani confidentes de eius orationibus rogaverunt eum ut rogaret deum ut eos a dicto periculo liberaret et promisit hanc orationem facere. Adveniente autem die termini prefixi a dicto calipho omnes cristiani surrexerunt tempestive iverunt ad ecclesias, fecerunt dici missas et orationes postea congregaverunt se omnes masculi et femine, parvi et magni et fecerunt portari ante se crucem et iverunt ad pedem dicti montis ipsi multi erant. Et statim caliphus venit cum maxima multitudine sarracenorum armatorum et paratorum ad occidendos christianos predictos non credentes ipsis posse facere quod dictus tolletur iuxta mandatum caliphi. Tunc autem idem calzarius dei amicus genu flexit devotissime ante crucem, levans manus ad celum rogavit dominum Ihesum Christum ut mandaret dictum montem tolli de illo loco iuxta mandatum caliphi. Statim facta ipsa oratione dictus mons elevavit se sicut avis et ivit ad locum petatum per caliphus quando sarraceni viderit hoc miraculum multum admirati sunt et caliphus cum eis et tunc ob
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Cricha na <i>perfida immorro</i> don teine adrait cricha <i>forleathan</i> isidhe cu nocht <i>righuibh fuiri</i>. Eich amhra le. Dá .c. punt for cach neoch.	De regione Persarum. Persida maxima provincia est que olim nobilissima fuit, nunc vero multum est a Tartaris dissipata.	hanc causacaliphus cum multis sarracenis fecerunt se christianos et vita christiana servaverunt. Et quando ipse caliphus obiit non fuit sepultus ut sarracenussed ut christianus et invenerunt in morte eidem calipho unam crucem ad collum. De regione Persarum. Persida maxima provincia est que olym nobilissima fuit nunc vero multum est a Tartaris dissipata.
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This comparison shows that none of the content from the expanded ‘miracle’ chapter was translated in IMP. Notwithstanding that the Irish author was summarising the content of P, often leaving out entire chapters and sections of text, the simpler explanation for the lack of the expanded ‘miracle’ chapter in IMP is that the exemplar used by the Irish author belonged to the much larger group of manuscripts of P which does not contain this expanded chapter.

Except for Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi, C.7.1170 and Skokloster, Folio 67 all manuscripts of the ‘miracle’ group originate from Eastern Europe.⁸⁰² The Florence manuscript is the only one that was written during the fourteenth century, with all others dating from the fifteenth century. It is also one of the oldest manuscripts of the corpus, and was written during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, most likely in Florence for the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella, in whose library the manuscript was housed in the late fifteenth century.⁸⁰³ Dominican ownership, combined with the early date of the manuscript and the quality of its production, has led Gadrat to suggest that this version of P may be one of the closest to the original produced by Pipino.⁸⁰⁴ Dutschke has argued that the ‘miracle’ group represents a second stage in the development of P, a second recension of the text, which expanded on a version of P that was already in circulation.⁸⁰⁵ Skokloster, Folio 67, on the other hand, was written in Italy during the mid-fifteenth century, but was located in Eastern Europe soon after its completion. This is discernable from the details it contains regarding the coronation of Mathias Corvinus I of Hungary and Croatia in 1458, several acts of Rudolf von Rüdeshheim, bishop of Wrocław between 1468 and 1482, as well as a number of brief essays in German.⁸⁰⁶

2.3.3. ‘Florence 1442’ Group

The ‘Florence 1442’ group is distinguished by a colophon copied from a lost manuscript written in Florence in 1442. None of the distinguishing features of the ‘Florence 1442’ group of P are discernible in IMP. In fact, due to loss of folios, no explicit or colophon survives in IMP. Discussion of the ‘English’ branch below, will

⁸⁰² Dutschke, *Pipino*, 254; Gadrat, *Lire*, 73.

⁸⁰³ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 569-70.

⁸⁰⁴ Gadrat, *Lire*, 75.

⁸⁰⁵ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 254.

⁸⁰⁶ Gadrat, *Lire*, 73.

prove that IMP derives from a different group of manuscripts of P.

Dutschke has suggested that this Florence manuscript ‘speaks of the hopes and visions’ during the years of the council of Ferrara-Florence, which sought to end the schism between the Greek and Latin churches.⁸⁰⁷ The colophon was transcribed by Dutschke and reads as follows:

et sic est finis huius libri completus florentie anno incarnationis dominice
M cccc xlii pontificatus Sanctissimi in christo patris et domini eugenii
pape iiii pontificatus sui anno duodecim quartadecima die mense
decembris et cetera.⁸⁰⁸

Two manuscripts, written in Germany and which preserve this colophon, survive. These are: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5339 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3497. Dutschke, based on limited evidence, has suggested that the Vienna manuscript was copied from the Munich manuscript, and that the Munich manuscript was copied from the Florence manuscript.⁸⁰⁹

My study has not investigated the relationship between these two manuscripts, however while compiling transcriptions of the Quinsay chapter from the forty-seven manuscripts examined, I discovered a number of unique readings which these two German manuscripts share with Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Bosianus 4° 10. These are: firstly, all three manuscripts share the combination of the word ubique instead of the more common circumquaque, with the loss of the word **conferendum**. These have been underlined and are in bold characters respectively in the transcriptions beneath the two manuscripts of the ‘Florence 1442’ group and the Jena manuscript, and three manuscripts from other parts of the stemma, which have been selected in order to show this variation. All transcriptions are my own except for that from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, which is from Simion.

cum malleo ligneo percutiunt tabulas ut huius sonitus ubique per terram
eminus audiatur et currunt homines ad auxilium; simile etiam fit si pro
quacumque causa commotio vel tumultus in civitate fiat.

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5339, 259r.)

⁸⁰⁷ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 259.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 771-72.

cum malleo ligneo percutiunt tabulas ut huius sonitus ubique per terram
eminus audiatur et currunt homines ad auxilium; simile etiam fit si pro
quacumque causa commotio vel tumultus in civitate fiat.

(Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3497, 102r.)

cum maleo ligneo percutiunt tabulas ut huiusmodi sonitus ubique per
terram eminus audiatur et currant homines ad auxilium; simile etiam fit si
in quacumque causa comotio vel tumultus in civitate fiat.

(Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Bosianus 4° 10, 97r-97v)

cum ligneo maleo percutiunt tabulas, ut huius sonitus circumquaque per
terram eminus audiatur et concurrant homines ad auxilium
conferendum; simile etiam fit si pro quacumque causa commotio vel
tumultus in civitate fiat.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, 66a)

cum ligneo maleo percutiunt tabulas et huius modi sonitus circumquaque
per terram eminus audiatur et concurrant homines ad auxilium
conferendum; simile etiam fit si pro quacumque causa comotio vel
tumultis in civitate fiat.

(Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, C.7.1170, 50va)

cum ligneo malleo percutiunt tabulas ut huiusmodi sonitus circumquaque
eminus audiatur et concurrant homines ad auxilium **conferendum**; simile
autem fit si quacumque causa vel tumultus in civitate fiat.

(Glasgow, UL, Hunter 84, 234r)

Similarly, the two manuscripts of the ‘Florence 1442’ group and the Jena manuscript, share the unique reading **transeunt**, instead of the normal **veniunt**. This variation is in bold characters in the transcriptions below. The same three manuscripts also share the reading **flumen** instead of **fluvius**, which has been highlighted in the transcriptions below. Lastly, the two manuscripts of the ‘Florence 1442’ group share the reading vadit instead of transit, which has been underlined in the transcriptions below and sets them apart from the Jena manuscript once again.

a civitate autem usque ad mare est fluvius maximus per quem naves ad civitatem **transeunt**, quod **flumen** vadit per plurimas alias regiones.

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5339, f. 259r.)

a civitate autem usque ad mare est fluvius maximus per quem naves ad civitatem **transeunt**, quod **flumen** vadit per plurimas alias regiones.

(Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3497, f. 102r.)

a civitate autem usque ad mare est fluvius maximus per quem naves ad civitatem **transeunt**, quod **flumen** transit per plures alias regiones.

(Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Bosianus 4° 10, f. 97v.)

a civitate autem usque ad mare est fluvius maximus per quem naves ad civitatem **veniunt**, qui **fluvius** transit per plurimas alias regiones.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 66rb)

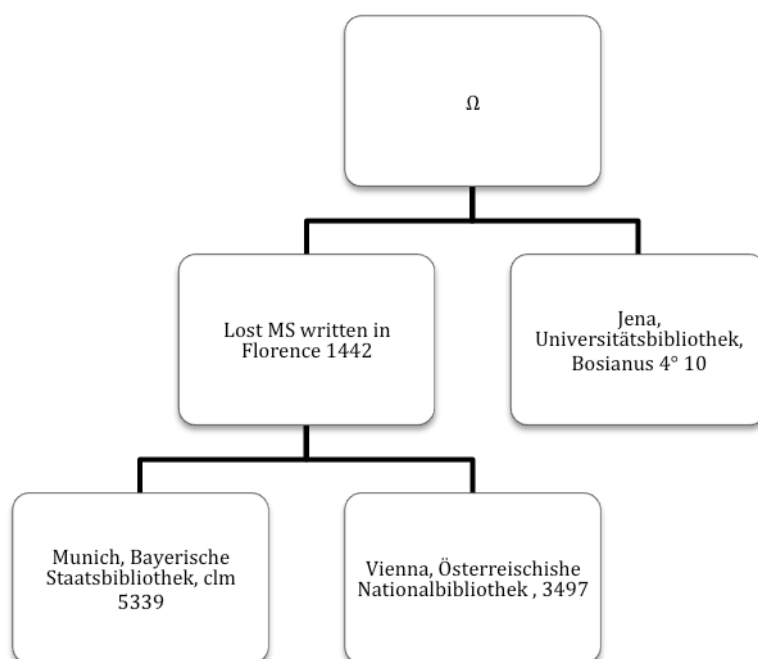
a civitate autem usque ad mare est fluvius maximus per quem naves ad civitatem **veniunt**, qui **fluvius** transit per plurimas regiones.

(Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, C.7.1170, f. 50va-b)

a civitate autem usque ad mare est fluminus maximus per quem naves ad civitates **veniunt**, qui **fluminus** transit ad plures alias regiones.

(Glasgow, UL, Hunter 84, f. 234r)

These observations suggest that although there may be a connection between the Jena manuscript and the ‘Florence 1442’ group, the two manuscripts of the ‘Florence 1442’ group share closer ties with each other than they do with the Jena manuscript. In fact, other than not sharing the reading vadit, which is unique to the ‘Florence 1442’ group, the Jena manuscript does not share the unique colophon of the ‘Florence 1442’ group, after which the group is named. It may be suggested therefore, that the Jena manuscript is a cousin to the ‘Florence 1442’ group, and that it was copied from a manuscript which shared the same source as the lost manuscript written in Florence in 1442, from which the Munich and Vienna manuscript were copied. The following stemma displays this theory.



2.3.4. ‘Barbarigo’ Group

The ‘Barbarigo’ group, distinguished by the colophon of Giacomo Barbarigo, is preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6244°, written in Florence between 1439 and 1440, and in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 7317, written in Rome in 1458.⁸¹⁰ Below is Dutschke’s transcription of the explicit of P from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6244°, which is shared by the two manuscripts:

Explicit liber tercius domini Marchi Pauli de Veneciis de condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum, quem scripsi ego Helias De Bosco Florentie pro nobili et prudenti viro magistro Iacobo Finaris et magistro hostiario sanctissimi domini nostri Pape Eugenii Quarti Pontificatus sui anno nono. Deo gracias. Amen.

Io Iacomo Barbarigo o leto questo presente libro di Marco Paulo e trovato molte cose di quele el dice essere vere e questo retifico per relatione di Ser Nicolo di Conti, venitiano el quale e stato gran tempo in

⁸¹⁰ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 839 and 949.

quele parte d'India e simelmente per molti mercadanti mori con i quali o
favelato.⁸¹¹

Like the 'Florence 1442' group, the Paris manuscript also has links with the Ferrara-Florence council of 1438-1445.⁸¹² Unfortunately, most of the Vatican manuscript is now illegible, however Dutschke was able to infer, by comparing the incipits and explicits of the two manuscripts where possible, that the Paris manuscript served as an exemplar for the Vatican manuscript.⁸¹³

I have not been able to examine Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6244°, in order to describe its relationship to IMP. However, evidence which will be discussed regarding the 'English' branch below, suggests that IMP does not derive from the 'Barbarigo' group.

2.3.5. 'Schedel' Group

The 'Schedel' group is comprised of a pair of manuscripts written in the south of Germany during the second half of the fifteenth century. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 249 was written in 1469 by Hermann Schedel (†1485), a German doctor who studied medicine in Leipzig and in Padua.⁸¹⁴ Hartmann Schedel (†1514), Hermann's younger cousin and also a doctor who had trained in Leipzig and Padua, inherited Hermann's library after his death. Dutschke has suggested that Hartmann Schedel then produced his own copy of his older cousin's version of P which now survives in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 850.⁸¹⁵ The 'Schedel' version of P is noticeably different from other copies of P, and often paraphrases and summarises the content of the original text. The reasons why it is unlikely that IMP derives from the 'Schedel' version of P will be discussed below.

⁸¹¹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 826-27. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6244° f.122: [Latin] 'Explicit of the third book of sir Marco Polo of Venice, of the conditions and customs of the regions of the Orient, which I Helias de Bosco of Florence have written for the noble and prudent man, master Iacobo Finaris and the master ostiarius of our most holy lord Pope Eugenio IV in the ninth year of his pontificate. Deo gracias. Amen. [Italian] I, Iacomo Barbarigo, have read this present book of Marco Polo and have found many of the things that he mentions to be true and this I ratify from the reports of ser Nicolò Dei Conti, a Venetian who has spent a great deal of time in that part of India, and also from the accounts of many Moorish merchants with whom I have discussed.'

⁸¹² Dutschke, *Pipino*, 260-61.

⁸¹³ Ibid., 848.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid., 258 and 743-45: Gadrat, *Lire*, 75.

⁸¹⁵ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 758-61.

This unique version of P is intriguing for the study of IMP because it offers parallels with the context of IMP. In fact, it has been considered in Chapter I that Aonghas Ó Callanáin, the second principal scribe of L, may have also had a medical background. The contribution of physician-historians to the manuscript corpus of the *Travels* has been noted by Gadrat, who remarked: *c'est une même formation, d'abord à la faculté des Art, puis à celle de médecine (...) qui a dû contribuer à leur donner une culture commune, marquée en particulier par une certaine ouverture d'esprit et une curiosité pour le mounde*.⁸¹⁶ Although Aonghas Ó Callanáin made no visible contribution to IMP, his involvement with the creation of L and the cultural milieu behind the manuscript reveal a link between IMP and fifteenth-century medical learning in West Cork.

Below is a Comparison A table of my transcription of the Quinsay chapter from IMP and my transcription of the corresponding chapter from the 'Schedel' version of P in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 249. The corresponding details have been underlined and are in bold characters, whereas those sections where the details differ have been highlighted:

Comparison A	
<u>IMP</u>	<u>Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek</u> <u>clm 249</u>
[1] fil cathair naili <u>uidhi .u. laithe</u> fria a thaebh sin [3] quinlay a hainm inan son 7 in <u>cathair</u> <u>neamhdha</u> dia teangaid siumh ár ní fhuil for bith cathair is mó inás. [2] <u>cét míle ina timcill</u> [4] <u>da míle dhéc droicheat</u> le fo ngabhuit longa dimhora cen trascradh	[1] Post <u>5 dietas</u> [2] pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay quod in nostra lingua sonat <u>civitas celi</u> que est maior in toto orbe civitas et in provincia Mangi principalior. [3] Ego Marcus in hac fui civitate et curiose et diligenter conditiones ipsius perscrutatus sum quos ut reperi breviter enarrabo. [4] Huius civitatis <u>circuitus 100</u> in giro continet miliaria vel circa <u>pontes habet lapideos 12.000</u> tante altitudinis ut navis magna sub eis ut plurimum transire possit; est

⁸¹⁶ Gadrat, *Lire*, 146.

seoil dib [8] <u>fil loch a meadon na cathrach sin 7 .xxx. míle na uirtimcheall. di inis fair</u> dun rigda a meadhon gacha hinnsi dibh ní la neach for bith iat som 7 in as fearr do bhiudh 7 deoch 7 mhainibh na cathrach cuirid a meadon na nduinte 7 inti dianad ail fleadhughadh do dhenamh tiagaít dia tochaithimh inntibh 7 foghebha 7 ní la neach don cathraigh dinn ná caislén da fuil fora feadh acht coimhdheas da gach aen iatsumh 7 as eadh do beir an timat droicheat sin le for srothaibh 7 uisceadhaibh fil si 7 ní bhi an imtheacht for araili acht dibh [5] 7 tor dithoglaidhi for cech ndroicheat dibh <u>7 .iiii. mílid ag magnus ac fare for cech ndroicheat dibh</u> ar omhun a himpóidh fair ór ba cathair oireachuis do righraidh manguay isidhe feacht riamh.	autem civitas in lacunis sicut civitas venetiarum et si pontibus careret de vico ad vicum per terram aditus non pateret. [5] In hac civitate sunt ad artes principales 12.000 stationum in quibus ipsarum artium artifices operantur ibi sunt mulieres formose supra et multis enutrite delitiis. [5½-8 omitted] [9] <u>Versus meridiem in ipsa civitate lacus est magna quem in giro 30 continet miliaria; in medio lacus due parve sunt insule</u> in quarum qualibet palatium est nobile et pulchrum ubi preparamenta et vasa pro nuptiis vel solemni convivio; reponuntur qui inde abducuntur cum nuptie solemnes a quopiam instituuntur. [10] In hac civitate multa sunt palacia pulcra maxime supra lacum memoratum et domus pulcherrime [11] Sunt ibi per vicos parve turres lapidee pro communi usu erette ut quando fortuitus accenditur ignis possint convicini ad eas res suas ne comburantur deferre. [12] Homines ibi idolatre sunt carnes. [13] Comedunt equorum canum et aliorum animaium in mundorum. [14] Ibi Magni Kaam currit moneta. [15] Magnus in civitate adhibere custodia ne civitas rebellare presumat ne ne latrocinia admittantur [16] <u>In quolibet enim ponte tam die quam nocte 10 deputantur custodes</u> [17] In hac civitate mons est turrim huius altissimam supra quam tabule sunt ex asseribus composite
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[7] in <i>tan ro irghabh magnus cam</i> in <i>cathair sin 7 prouindsi manguay</i> <u>ro hoirdneadh nai riga do thartraidhi forro</u> 7 do <i>ronnad forro</i> <u>in da mīle decc cathair</u> bai isin rigi sin <i>occus ni raibhi cathair dhibh gan drong do mileadhuib magnus cam</i> oca <i>himcoimhet ar omhun a himpóidh fair</i>	quando autem ignis in urbe accenditur custodes ligneo percuciunt maleo ut sonitus undique audiri possit et tunc concurrunt homines ad auxilium conferendum simile fit si pro quacumque causa comotio vel tumultus in civitate fit [18] et vie civitate omnis lapidibus sunt strate ita quod civitas munda est tota [19] in hac civitate terme sunt circiter 3.000 pulchre et magne in quibus sepe balneantur homines multum enim munditie student corporali. [20] Ultra civitate ad miliaria 25 ad plagam orientalem est mare oceanum et supra mare est civitas Ganfu ubi portus est maximus ad quem ex India et aliis regionibus naves in maxima conveniunt multitudine a civitate autem usque ad mare fluvius est maximus per quem transeunt naves. [21] <u>Provinciam Mangi divisit Magnus Kaam in regna 9</u> unicuique regem dans proprium iuxta sue beneplacitum voluntatis qui annis singulis de proventibus expensis et suo regimine officialibus Magni Kaam necessariam habent reddere rationem in civitate autem Quinsay unus ex regibus continue immoratur qui 160 sub sua habet iurisdicionem civitates. [22] <u>Provincia enim Mangi habet in universo 1200 civitates.</u> [23] In hac provincia talis est consuetudo ut cum nascitur puer parentes diem et horam nativitatis et sub quo
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[6] do ronsat palas rigda for loch a meadhon na cathrach sin ni fuil séd na samhail do phalas for bith do .xx. sluaightheach lais 7 .x. míle do thoimhileadh in gach sluaightheach dhibh 7 tene bithbeo a meadhon gacha bruidhne dhibh 7 míle do sheomradhuibh solusda fria suan 7 freasdal ina nur thimceall co neimh noir forra 7 co fuath gach anmanna eceannus for bith ar na rinnadh forro do ilbreachtadh gacha datha	planeta natus sit scribi faciunt in cunctis enim itineribus et factis suis astrologorum reguntur iudiciis ideo sui ortus diem et horam scire volunt. [24] Quando vero moritur aliquis consanguinei cancipinis induuntur saccum et mortuorum cadavera cantu magno cum imaginibus servuorum ancillarum equorum et denariorum quas ex papiro faciunt conburant creduntque quod in alia vita defunctus hec omnia sibi habeat famulantia post hec magna cum letitia tangunt musica instrumenta dicentes quod dii sui tali eum honore suscipiunt quali comburitur corpora. [25] In hac civitate palatium est mirabile in quo Furfur quondam rex Mangi suam tenebat curiam primo. Locus palatii muris per quadrum est circumcinctus. 10 in giro continens miliaria intra quos muros pulcra sunt viridaria cum fructibus delicatis ibi fontes et lacune sunt multe in quilibet multi habentur pisces. [26] In medio interioris spatii palatium consistit et est maius quod habet in mundo habet enim aulas 20 eiusdem magnitudinis in quarum qualibet 10.000 homini multa cum commoditate discumbentibus possent qui quidem aule pulcherrimo sunt opere picte et deaurate 1000 autem vel circa sunt in hoc palacio camere. [27] In civitate Quinsay sunt ignes sive familie iuxta tomani tomani vero 10.000
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[9] <u>.xl. míle tighidhis .xl. feacht is aitreabhthaigh don cathair sin.</u> [11] Imut eclas noirmhitneach isin cathraigh sin <u>7 ni fhil acht aen eaclais dibh ag fognamh nó adhradh do dia</u> [10] ni tussmidter gein innti nach scribhthar a ainm 7 in cruth forsa mbi in re 7 reanna nimhe oca tussmheadh 7 dia ndeach neach dibh as beantar a ainm as 7 scribhthar aris he 7 ainm a each 7 a maine 7 a aesa cumtha 7 loiscter diblinuibh ar aen ria chorp 7 dar leo gach a scribtha dho do beidis ar aen fris isin beathaidh naile	continet ut earum numerus <u>ad mille milia et xl milia (1.040.000) familiarum ascendat.</u> [28 skipped] [29] <u>in tota hac civitate una tamen christianorum nestorinorum est ecclesia.</u> [30] In hac civitate et tota provincia Mangi oportet ut quilibet pater familias nomen suus uxoris sue et omnium de familia ac numerum equorum suorum supra hostium domus scribi faciat et cum de familia moritur quis vel domicilium mutat oportet ut nomen deleatur discedentis aut mortui et scribitur ibi nomen cuiuscumque de novo nascentis vel superadditi et in hunc modum sciri de facili potest numerus hominum qui in civitate sunt similiter et stabularii seu hospitem receptores in suis scribunt quaternis viatorum nomina quos in sua receperunt hospicia.
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Although the ‘Schedel’ version omits the content of P from the second half of section [5] to [8], as well as section [28], these parts of P are not translated in IMP either. Therefore it cannot be ruled out that the ‘Schedel’ version of P was the direct source of IMP as in the case of the ‘Harley’ version and the ‘Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee’ version above. However, sections [5], [6] and [9] of the Quinsay chapter in IMP, which have been highlighted in the comparison table above, show that IMP contains different details to those of the ‘Schedel’ version.

Specifically, in section [5] of IMP, which corresponds to section [16] of P, IMP reads: .iiii. mílid ag magnus ac fare for cech ndroicheat dibh, where the ‘Schedel’ version reads: *in quolibet enim ponte tam die quam nocte **10** deputantur custodes.*

Similarly, in section [6] of IMP, which corresponds to section [25] of P, IMP reads: *do ronsat palas rigda **for loch** a meadhon na cathrach sin ni fuil séd na samhail do phalas for bith do*, where the ‘Schedel’ version reads: *in hac civitate*

*palatium est mirabile in quo Furfur quondam rex Mangi suam tenebat curiam primo. **Locus** palatii muris per quadrum est circumcinctus.* IMP's translation of section [25] of P, describing a 'royal palace on a lake', is explained and discussed below under the 'English' branch. It is due to a scribal error in manuscripts of P from the 'English' branch, which contain the word *lacus* instead of *locus*.

Finally in, section [9] of IMP, which corresponds to section [27] of P, IMP reads: *.xl. mīle tighidhis .xl. feacht is aitreabhthaigh don cathair sin*, where the 'Schedel' version reads: *mille milia et xl milia familiarum*. The result of IMP's calculation 40,000 x 40 is 1,600,000 inhabitants, which is the number found in most versions of P. On the other hand, the 'Schedel' version of P is unique in placing the number of inhabitants of Quinsay at 1,040,000. This too is probably due to the scribal error of mistaking an original .lx., which is found in most versions of P, for .xl., as is found in the 'Schedel' version. This detail is also discussed in relation to a complication within the 'English' branch below.

The three details discussed above, and highlighted in the Comparison A table, reveal that it is unlikely that the 'Schedel' version was the direct source of IMP.

2.3.6. 'De Ordine Exercitus' Group

Dutschke discovered a group of three manuscripts which all lack the chapter on Tartar military organisation, found at I.60 of most versions of P.⁸¹⁷ All manuscripts of this group were written in Italy; Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Lat. 131. α.s.6.14, during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3153, during the fifteenth century, and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Gud. lat. 3, between the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century.⁸¹⁸

Interestingly, IMP also does not translate the chapter on Tartar military organisation. This is striking, given the interest shown by the Irish author in war narrative in other areas of the text.⁸¹⁹ On the other hand, the tendency of the Irish translator to omit chapters and content of P has been noted before,⁸²⁰ and it comes as no surprise that certain chapters of P are not included in IMP. However, the

⁸¹⁷ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 249.

⁸¹⁸ Ibid., 721, 929-31 and 986-87.

⁸¹⁹ See Chapter II 'Narrative Styles of IMP', and Chapter IV 'Rebellion of Naim and Cadau'.

⁸²⁰ See the comparison between the chapter list of the first book of P from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, IMP and the version of P in Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196, in the discussion of the 'Digby' version of P above.

comparison of transcriptions from manuscripts of this group of P with the content of IMP reveals that the lack of the Tartar military chapter is the only major similarity between this version of P and IMP, and that the resemblance is due to similar editing processes rather than this group of P being the source of IMP. In order to prove that the ‘De Ordine Exercitus’ group of P is not directly related to IMP, it is sufficient to examine the following Comparison A table, which aligns my transcription of the Quinsay chapter in IMP with my transcription of the corresponding chapter from Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Lat. 131. α.s.6.14:

Comparison A	
<u>IMP</u>	<u>Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Lat. 131.</u> <u>α.s.6.14</u> <u>ff. 28vb-29vb</u>
[1] fil cathair naili <u>uidhi .u. laithe</u> fria a thaebh sin [3] quinlay a hainm inan son 7 in <u>cathair neamhdha</u> dia teangaid siumh ár ní fhuil for bith cathair is mó inás. [2] <u>cét míle ina timcill</u> [4] <u>da míle dhéc droicheat</u> le fo ngabhuit longa dimhora cen trasradh seoil dibh	[1] Post recessum a civitate Singuy <u>itur per dietas 5</u> et inveniuntur in via civitates plures magne ubi negotiationes maxime fiunt. [2] Postmodum pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay quod in nostra lingua sonat <u>civitas celi</u> que maior civitas orbis est et est in provincia principalior. [3] Ego Marcus fui in hac civitate et curiose et diligenter condictiones ipsius perscrutatus sum quas summatim ut reperi breviter enarrabo. [4] Huius civitatis circuitus continet <u>in giro miliaria 100</u> aut circa habet vero <u>pontes lapideos 12.000</u> tante altitudinis ut navis magna sub eis ut plurimum tranisre possit est autem civitas in lacunis sicut civitas venetiarum et si careret pontibus de vico ad vicum per terram aditus non pateret et ob hoc oportet ut ibi sit tot milia pontium. [5] In hac civitate sunt artes 12 et pro

[8] <u>fil loch a meadon na cathrach sin 7 .xxx. míle na uirtimcheall.</u> <u>di inis fair</u> dun rigda a meadhon gacha hinnsi dibh ni la neach for bith iat som 7 in as fearr do bhiudh 7 deoch 7 mhainibh na cathrach cuirid a meadon na nduinte 7 inti dianad ail fleadhughadh do dhenamh tiagait dia tochaithimh inntibh 7 foghebha 7 ni la neach don cathraigh	qualibet ipsarum sunt in civitate 12 milia stationum in quibus ipsarum artium artifices operantur quelibet autem statio operarios habet inter magistros et ministros 10 aut 15 sive 20 et sunt vero in aliquibus 40. [6] Tanta est ibi artificium et mercationum innumera multitudo quod hiis qui non viderunt incredibile penitus viderentur. [7] Homines civitatis huius deliciose vivunt divites qui principales in stationibus artium honorifice valde vivunt et neque ipsi et neque uxores eorum manibus propriis operantur faciunt ministros alios operari ex antiquo enim statuto consuetudo est ibi ut quilibet in domo propria teneat stationes et artem sicut fecit actenus pater eius et si dives est non cogitur propriis manibus operari. [8] In hac civitate sunt mulieres formose valde et communiter sunt multis delitiis enutrite. [9] Versus meridiem <u>est in ipsa civitate lacus magnus que 30 miliaria in giro continet</u> in hoc circuitu supra lacum sunt multa palacia et multe domus magne nobilium et sunt interius et exterius mirabiliter ornate sunt etiam ibi ecclesie ydolorum <u>in medio lacus illius due parvue insule sunt</u> et in qualibet ipsarum est palatium nobile et pulcrum valde ubi sunt preparamenta et vasa omnia necessaria pro nuptiis vel solemnibus convivio si quis igitur vult in solemnibus loco tenere convivium accedit illuc ubi
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dinn ná caislén da fuil fora feadh acht coimhdheas da gach aen iatsumh 7 as eadh do beir an timat droicheat sin le for srothaibh 7 uisceadhaibh fil si 7 ni bhi an imtheacht for araili acht dibh [5] 7 tor dithoglaidhi for cech ndroicheat dibh 7 .iiii. mílid ag magnus ac fare for cech ndroicheat dibh ar omhun a himpóidh fair ór ba cathair oireachuis do righraidh manguay isidhe feacht riamh.	potest convivium vel nuptias cum honore tenere. [10] In civitate Quinsay multe et pulcherrime domus sunt. [11] Sunt etiam per vicos eius parve lapidee tures pro communi usu contracte ut quando fortuitus ignis accenditur possint convicini res suas ad prefatas turres ne comburantur deferre quia enim in civitate multe domus lignee sunt sepe in civitate ignis accenditur. [12] In hac civitate adorantur ydola. [13] Comedunt carnes equorum et canum et animalium omnium. [14] Et expeditur ibi moneta curie Magni Kaam. [15] In hac civitate custodia maxima fit ex mandato Magni Kaam ne civitas rebellare presumat aut ibi furta vel homicidia fiant. [16] In quolibet enim ponte civitatis de die et de nocte 10 custodes sunt. [17] In hac civitate mons unus est supra quem est turris et super turrem tabule sunt de acceribus quando aut ignis in urbe accenditur si custodes turris hoc videre possint cum ligneo maleo percutiunt tabulas ut huius modum sonitus circumquamque per turrem eminus audiatur et concurrant homines ad auxilium conferendum simile etiam fit si pro quamcumque causa commotio vel tumultus in civitate fiat. [18] Vie omnes civitatis sunt strate lapidibus ita quod tota munda est valde. [19] In hac civitate sunt terme circiter 3000 pulcre valde et magne in quibus sepe homines balneantur
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[7] in <i>tan</i> ro <i>irghabh</i> <i>magnus cam</i> in <i>cathair</i> sin 7 <i>prouindsi</i> <i>manguay</i> <u>ro hoirdneadh nai riga do thartraidhi forro</u> 7 do <i>ronnad</i> <i>forro</i> <u>in da míle decc cathair</u> <i>bai</i> <i>isin</i> <i>rigi</i> <i>sin</i> <i>occus</i> <i>ni</i> <i>raibhi</i> <i>cathair</i> <i>dhibh</i> <i>gan</i> <i>drong</i> <i>do</i> <i>mileadhuib</i> <i>magnus cam</i> <i>oca</i> <i>himcoimhet</i> <i>ar</i> <i>omhun</i> <i>a</i> <i>himpóidh fair</i>	multum enim student munditie corporali. [20] Ultra civitate Quinsay ad miliaria 25 ad plagam orientalem est oceanum mare et ibi supra mare est civitas Ganfu ubi portus est optimus ad quem conveniunt naves in multitudine maxima de India et de regionibus aliis a civitate autem usque ad mare est fluvius maximus per quem naves ad civitates veniunt qui fluvius transit per plurimas alias regiones. [21] Provinciam Mangi <u>divisit Magnus Kaam in regna 9 dans</u> regem proprium unicuique regno iuxta sue beneplacitum voluntatis sunt autem omnes hiis reges potentes valde sed sunt subditi Magno Kaam et oportet eos annis signulis de omnibus regnorum suorum proventibus et expensis ed de suo regimine Magni Kaam officialibus reddere rationiem unus autem illorum regum in civitate Quinsay continue immoratur qui sub dictione sua 140 civitates habet. [22] Provincia enim Mangi habet <u>in universo mille civitas et duecentas</u> qui singulis ipsarum per Magno Kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte rebellare presumant hominum custodium multitudo est innumerabilis et stupenda non sunt tamen omnes tartari sed sunt de diversis exercitibus et stipendiariis Magni Kaam. [23] In hac civitate Quinsay et in tota provincia Mangi consuetudo est cum statim ut puer natus parentes eius scribi faciunt die et
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[6] do ronsat palas rigda for loch a meadhon na cathrach sin ni fuil séd na samhail do phalas for bith do <u>.xx. sluaightheach lais</u> 7 .x. míle do thoimhileadh in gach sluaightheach dhibh 7 tene bithbeo a	horam nativitatis eius et sub qua planeta natus est in cunctis enim itineribus et factis suis reguntur astrologorum iudiciis ideoque scire volunt sui ortus diem et horam. [24] Quando in hac provincia moritur quis canapinis saccis eius consanguinei induntur et mortuorum cadavera cum cantu magno et ymaginibus servuorum ancillarum equorum et denariorum comburunt que omnia de papiro fiunt creduntque quod in vita alia talia veraciter obtinebit defunctus qualia in similitudine sunt combusta post hec cum leticia magna tangunt musica instrumenta dicentes quod dii sui cum tali eos honorem suscipiunt cum quali coropora comburuntur. [25] In hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabile valde in quo Facfur quodam rex Mangi tenebat curiam primo. Locus magnus circumcintus est murus per quadrum altitudinis magne et in giro continet miliaria 10 intra quos muros sunt viridaria pulcra valde cum fructibus delicatis ibi sunt fontes et lacune in quibus multi et optimi pisces habentur. [26] In medio autem interioris spatii palatium pulcherrimum est et maius quod in mundo sit habet enim aulas 20 eiusdem magnitudinis omnes in quarum qualibet simul comederent 10.000 hominum in multa commoditate et debita congruitate cunctis discumbentibus
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meadhon gacha bruidhne dhibh 7 <u>míle do sheomradhuibh solusda</u> fria suan 7 freasdal ina nur thimceall co neimh noir forra 7 co fuath gach anmanna eceannus for bith ar na rinnadh forro do ilbreachtadh gacha datha [9] <u>.xl. míle tighidhis .xl. feacht is aitreabhthaigh don cathair sin.</u> [11] Imut eclas noirmhitneach isin cathraigh sin 7 <u>ni fhil acht aen eaclais dibh ag fognamh nó adhradh do dia</u> [10] ni tús midter gein innti nach scribhthar a ainm 7 in cruth forsa mbi in re 7 reanna nimhe oca tús mheadh 7 dia ndeach neach dibh as beantar a ainm as 7 scribhthar aris he 7 ainm a each 7 a maine 7 a aesa cumtha 7 loiscter diblinuibh ar aen ria chorp 7 dar leo gach a scribtha dho do beidis ar aen fris isin beathaidh naile	collocatis sunt autem aule picte et deaurate pulcherrimo opere in ipso etiam palatio sunt <u>camere 1000</u> aut circa. [27] In civitate Quinsay sunt ignes iuxta vulgare italicum seu familia tot numero quod ad 160 tomani ascendunt in computatione sumaria tomani uero 10.000 continet sunt igitur tot in universo familie ut earum numerus <u>ad mille milia et sexcenta milia (1.600.000) familiarum ascendat.</u> [28] Palatia in hac civitate multa sunt et pulcre valde. [29] In tota autem hac civitate <u>una sola ecclesia christianorum nestorinorum est.</u> [30] In civitate et in tota provincia Mangi oportet ut quolibet pater familias supra hostium domus sue scribi faciat nominis suum uxoris sue et nomina omni de familia sua et numerus etiam equorum suorum cum autem quis de familia moritur vel domicilium mutat oportet ut deleatur nomen discendentis aut mortui et scribatur ibi nomen cuiuscumque de novo nascentis vel ad familiam additi et in hoc modum sciri de facili potest numerus hominum qui in civitate sunt similiter etiam stabularii seu hospitium receptores scribunt in suis quaternis nomina omnium viatorum quos in suis hospitiiis recepiunt et quo mense et quo die in eius hospitio sunt ingressi.
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Like the ‘Schedel’ group comparison, sections [5] and [6] of IMP, which correspond to [16] and [25] respectively, contain different details to those found in P from the ‘De Ordinis Exercitus’ group. Specifically, IMP’s .iiii. *milit* does not correspond to P’s *10 custodes*, and IMP’s *palas rigda for loch* does not correspond to P’s *palatium mirabile [...] locus magnus circumcintus est murus*. My analysis of manuscripts of the ‘fidelissimi’ group, discussed below, has uncovered scribal errors in several manuscripts of English origin, which explain the different details found at [5] and [6] of IMP. The conclusion of this study, therefore, is that the exemplar used by the author of IMP was not a manuscript of the ‘De Ordinis Exercitus’ group.

2.3.7. ‘Fidelissimi’ Group

Dutschke noticed that a group of manuscripts, which she coined the ‘fidelissimi’ group, was distinguished from other manuscripts of P by the reading *fidelissimi* instead of *fidelis*, in the prologue of P.⁸²¹ For example, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, a manuscript of the ‘fidelissimi’ group, begins P thus: *librum prudentis honorabilis ac fidelissimi domini Marchi Pauli*,⁸²² while Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, which does not belong to the ‘fidelissimi’ group, reads: *librum prudentis et honorabilis viri atque fidelis domini Marchi Pauli*.⁸²³ Most of the manuscripts of this group of P were written in England, but the group also comprises Gheraert Leeu’s 1483-84 printed edition of P, discussed above in ‘Early Printed Editions of P’, and the two manuscripts which were copied from it, as well as a number of other manuscripts which were written in mainland Europe.

Below is the list of manuscripts which contain the reading *fidelissimi* in the *incipit* of P. The numeration of the manuscripts is maintained from the list of manuscripts of P found at the beginning of this chapter. This list combines the manuscripts which Dutschke ascribed to the ‘fidelissimi’, with the manuscripts added by Gadrat. I have arranged the manuscripts of the ‘fidelissimi’ group into subgroups according to the country in which they were written. Manuscripts copied from Gheraert Leeu’s printed edition of P have been given their own group:

⁸²¹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 245.

⁸²² Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, f.51v.

⁸²³ Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f.1a. The transcription from the Berlin manuscript is my own.

MSS copied from Gheraert Leeu's 1483-84 printed edition of P:

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 10) Ghent, Universiteitsbibliothek 13 | 15 th C |
| 42) San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real monasterio, Q.II.13 | 15 th C |

MSS written in Italy:

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 20) London, British Library, Add. 19513 | 14 th C |
| 53) Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X. 73 [3445] | 1465 |

MSS written in France:

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 13) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum V.6.8.[458] | 14 th C |
|---|--------------------|

MSS written in the Netherlands:

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 11) Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek 218 | 15 th C |
|--|--------------------|

MSS written in England:

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 1) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70 | 14 th C |
| 3) Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83 | 14 th C |
| 4) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17 | 14 th C |
| 6) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5 | 14 th C |
| 12) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84] Early 15 th C | |
| 19) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75 | 15 th C |

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 22) London, British Library, Arundel 13 | 14 th C |
| 23) London, British Library, Harley 5115 | 14 th C |
| 24) London, British Library, Royal 14. C. XIII | before 1352 |
| 31) Oxford, Merton College 312 | before 1344 |

The following manuscripts were also written in England, but cannot be firmly ascribed to the ‘fidelissimi’ group since the version of P they contain lacks the prologue in which the word *fidelissimi* is found. For this reason, Dutschke and Gadrat do not group these manuscripts with the ‘fidelissimi’ group. Following this list is a discussion of why the manuscripts have been included in the ‘fidelissimi’ group in this study:

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 5) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.8.7 | 14 th C |
| 7) Dublin, Trinity College E.5.20 [Abbot 632] | 15 th C |
| 38) Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University, Garrett 157 | c.1400 |

In the case of the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version of P, discussed above in ‘IMP and the Latin Abridgements of P’, the prologue was edited out. It has also been suggested above, that the text of P used as a source for the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version, contained the scribal error *lacus* instead of *locus* at section [25] of the Quinsay chapter, spurring the author of the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version to omit the corrupt detail entirely. This occurrence, combined with the likelihood that the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version was written in England, suggests that it may also belong to the ‘English’ branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group, and for the purpose of this study it has been considered thus.

In the case of the Princeton manuscript, the prologue is missing due to loss of folios at the beginning of the manuscript and therefore the reading *fidelissimi* is not

found.⁸²⁴ However, the manuscript does contain the scribal error *lacus* instead of *locus* at section [25] of the Quinsay chapter, indicating that it belongs to the ‘English’ branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group. The Princeton manuscript also shares separate reading 16) *bellare* with four other manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch, providing further indication that it belongs in this group.

The rest of this chapter will describe the scribal errors that I have observed in my transcriptions of the Quinsay chapter from manuscripts of the ‘fidelissimi’ group. These separate readings have been numbered and arranged into a *stemma codicum* of the ‘fidelissimi’ group, which is found at the end of this chapter. The numeration of the details discussed corresponds to the numeration given in the *stemma* and it will be useful to consult the *stemma codicum* while reading this chapter. The primary subdivision of this group of P is between the ‘English’ branch and the ‘Italian’ branch, which are referred to in the *stemma* as α and α_2 , respectively. This study will also refer to Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, in order to compare textual variants of the ‘fidelissimi’ group with those of most other manuscripts of P.

‘Italian’ branch (α_2)

Dutschke noticed that the printed edition of Gheraert Leeu shared a number of readings with Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X. 73.⁸²⁵ She reached this conclusion by comparing her transcriptions from the manuscripts of P of the opening rubric, incipits of the three chapter lists, incipits of the three books, explicit of the last book and the colophon of P, where present. This study has discovered four more readings in the Quinsay chapter that are unique to the Venetian manuscript and Leeu’s printed edition, reinforcing Dutschke’s theory that the two texts are closely related.

These readings are copied below, from the Venetian manuscript, Ghent Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, which is a copy of Leeu’s edition,⁸²⁶ and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983. All transcriptions are my own, except for those from the Florence manuscript, which were made by Simion. The numeration corresponds to that of the details in the *stemma* at the end of this chapter:

1)

⁸²⁴ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 881.

⁸²⁵ Ibid., 232-33.

⁸²⁶ Ghent is used because I was not able to gain direct access Leeu’s edition for this study.

In hoc circuitu super lacum sunt multa palatia et multe domus magne nobilium et sunt interius et exterius mirabiliter **ordinate**.

(Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, f. 51r).

In hoc circuitu super lacum sunt multa palatia et multe domus magne nobilium et sunt interius et exterius mirabiliter **ordinate**.

(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, f. 104rb).

In hoc circuitu sunt multa palatia et multe domus magne nobilium et sunt interius et exterius mirabiliter **adornate**.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 65vb).

3)

Homines civitatis huius **delitiose** vivunt.

(Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, f. 50v).

Homines civitatis huius **delitiose** vivunt.

(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, f. 104rb).

Homines civitatis huius **delitiosissime** vivunt.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 65va).

4)

Provincia Mangi divisit Magnus Kaam in **quattuor** regna dans regem proprium.

(Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, f. 51v).

Hanc provinciam divisit Magnus Kaam in **quattuor** regna dans regem proprium.

(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, f. 104va).

Provinciam Mangy divisit Magnus Kaam in regna **.IX.** dans regem proprium.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 66ra).

5)

Versus meridiem est in ipsa civitate lacus magna que .XX. miliaria in giro continet.

(Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, f. 52r).

Versus meridiem est in ipsa civitate lacus magna que .XX. miliaria in giro continet.

(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, f. 104rb).

Versus meridiem est in ipsa civitate lacus magna que .XXX. miliaria in giro continet.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, 65va).

The ‘Italian’ branch is therefore distinguished by the combination of four unique readings in the Quinsay chapter. These are: firstly, *ordinate* in manuscripts of the ‘Italian’ branch instead of *adornate* in most other versions of P, which is numbered 1) in the stemma; secondly, the reading *delitiose* instead of *delitiosissime*, in most other manuscripts of P, which is numbered 3) in the stemma; thirdly, the reading *in IV regna* instead of *in regna IX*, which is found in most other versions of P, numbered 4) in the stemma; lastly, the reading .XX. *miliaria* instead of the more common .XXX. *miliaria*, found in most other manuscripts of P, numbered 5) in the stemma. It is not the presence of one or two of these readings which distinguishes the ‘Italian’ branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group, rather the combination of all four scribal mistakes. In fact, it has been discussed above that other manuscripts contain some of the same variations, such as the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version of P containing the reading *in regna 4*,⁸²⁷ which corresponds to reading number 4) here. However, only the presence of all four of the readings listed above indicates that the manuscript in question belongs to the ‘Italian’ branch.

Two of the four extracts from the Quinsay chapter listed above, namely number 4) and 5), are translated in IMP, numbered in my transcription of the Quinsay paragraphs from IMP as sections [7] and [8] respectively. These are:

⁸²⁷ See discussion of the ‘Cambridge-Dublin’ version above.

4)

[7] in tan ro irghabh magnus cam in cathair sin 7 prouindsi manguay ro
hoirdneadh **nai riga** do thartraidhi forro.

5)

[8] fil loch a meadon na cathrach sin 7 .xxx. **míle** na uirtimcheall.

These transcriptions from IMP show that the Irish translation does not share the variations present in the ‘Italian’ branch, but contains the same details as those in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983. In fact, where IMP reads *nai riga*, Florence reads *regna .IX.* and Venice reads *quattuor regna*. Similarly, where IMP reads *.xxx. míle*, Florence reads *.XXX. miliaria* and Venice reads *.XX. miliaria*. Comparison between the details found in IMP indicates that the P exemplar of IMP did not originate from this branch of the stemma of P.

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, was copied in 1465 in Bologna for the Paduan physician Giovanni Marcanova, as indicated by its colophon which reads:

Opus absolutum ad petitionem Iohannis Marchanovae artium et medicinae
doctoris Patavni anno gratiae 1465. Bononiae.⁸²⁸

Dutschke has suggested that Gheraert Leeu may have been in Venice between 1482 and 1483, in order to acquire a new Venetian style font which he subsequently used to publish his ‘Gouda triplet’, consisting of P, Ludolph of Suchem’s *Travels to the Holy Lands* and Mandeville,⁸²⁹ and that during his stay he may also have acquired or made a copy of P, closely related to the copy that was made in Padua in 1465.⁸³⁰ In addition, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, contains at least one unique reading in the Quinsay chapter which is not contained in the Leeu version. This is the numbered 9) in the stemma:

⁸²⁸ Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, f.74.

⁸²⁹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 232-35. See above ‘Early Printed Editions of P and an English Poem’

⁸³⁰ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 234-36.

9)

Quando aut ignis accenditur in urbe, si **custodes urbis** possunt videre, cum ligneo maleo percutiunt tabulas.

(Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, f.51r).

Quando autem ignis accenditur in urbe, si **custodes turris** hoc possint videre, cum ligneo malleo tabulas percutiunt.

(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, f.104va).

Quando autem ignis in urbe accenditur, si **custodes turris** hoc videre possunt, cum ligneo maleo percutiunt tabulas.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 66ra).

The reading *custodes urbis* instead of the more common *custodes turris*, found in the Leeu version and in most other manuscripts of P, is unique to the Venetian manuscript. Another reading which shows how Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73 and the Ghent manuscript diverge from each other, and both diverge from all other manuscripts of P is numbered 10) in the stemma, and reads as follows:

10)

Provincia enim Mangy habet in universo civitates **.m.cccc.**

(Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, f. 51v).

Provincia vero mangy habet in universo civitates **.m. .ccc.**

(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, f. 104va).

Provincia enim Mangy habet in universo civitates **.MCC.**

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 66rb).

Where the Venice manuscript reads *civitates MCCCC*, the Ghent manuscript reads *civitates MCCC*. Both of these readings are different to those of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983 which reads *MCC*. In fact most other manuscripts of P agree with the Florence manuscript, and IMP also reads *in da mile decc cathair*. These differences suggest that the copies of P from the Venice manuscript and from the Ghent manuscript derive from a common source, rather than being copies of each other. These scribal errors are underlined under β_2 and γ_2 in the stemma below.

Scribal errors 4) and 10) have also been discussed above in relation to the fifteenth-century English poem *Off the Grete Cane*, which took inspiration from the *Travels* and *Mandeville*. This study has shown that the poem either used Gheraert Leeu's edition of P directly or a copy of it as its source. Significantly, scribal errors 4) and 10) are also copied in the English poem, suggesting that it too belongs to the 'Italian' branch of the 'fidelissimi' group.

'English' branch (α)

This branch was first distinguished by Dutschke, who noticed that the combination of the reading *fidelissimi* in the incipit and the absence of *seu falcones peregrini* in the explicit of P was unique to manuscripts of English origin, these are:⁸³¹

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70 | 14 th C |
| 3) Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83 | 14 th C |
| 4) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17 | 14 th C |
| 6) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5 | 14 th C |
| 12) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84] | Early 15 th C |
| 19) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75 | 15 th C |
| 22) London, British Library, Arundel 13 | 14 th C |

⁸³¹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 246.

23) London, British Library, Harley 5115	14 th C
24) London, British Library, Royal 14. C. XIII	before 1352
31) Oxford, Merton College 312	before 1344
38) Princeton, University Library, Garret 157 ⁸³²	15 th C

A further three manuscripts also contain these readings, but were not written in England. These are: 20) London, British Library 19513, written in Italy during the fourteenth century; 13) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum V.6.8. [458], written in France during the fourteenth century; and 11) Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek 218, written in the Netherlands towards the end of the fifteenth century.⁸³³ My study of the various groups of P, based on my transcriptions of the Quinsay chapter from forty-seven of the sixty surviving manuscripts of P, has discovered a number of details in the Quinsay chapter of the manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch, which reinforce and advance Dutschke’s theory that England was ‘unique in maintaining its own version of the Pipino translation,’ and that ‘perhaps its island geography provided protection from diverse and contaminating versions of the text.’⁸³⁴

The following separate readings distinguish the manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch into a number of subgroups. In the following discussion, each separate reading has been numbered for convenience of reference with the *stemma codicum* at the end of this chapter. The number of each reading is found next to its transcription.

Lacus vs locus (group a).

An important difference which is common to all but one of the manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch is the scribal error *lacus* instead of *locus*, at section [25] of the

⁸³² This manuscript begins defectively, therefore it is not possible to ascertain whether it contained the reading *fidelissimi*. However, the lack of *seu falcones peregrini* in the explicit, suggests that it does in fact belong to the ‘English’ branch. See Dutschke, *Pipino*, 881-84.

⁸³³ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 247, 667, 615-17 and 594-95; Gadrat, *Lire*, 78.

⁸³⁴ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 248.

Quinsay chapter in P.⁸³⁵ This separate reading is numbered 2), the step is given the letter α in the stemma and it is highlighted in yellow. The following transcriptions are taken from Glasgow, University Library, T.4.1 [84], Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, 218 and Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, which represent the ‘English’ branch, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73 which represents the ‘Italian’ branch, and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, which represents manuscripts which do not belong to the ‘fidelissimi’ group.

2)

English branch of ‘fidelissimi’ group:

In hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabile valde in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangi curiam tenebat **lacus** magnus est in circuitu muris cuius altitudo magna est valde quem in giro continet miliaria 9.⁸³⁶

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 234v)

In hac civitate est palatium mirabile valde in quo quondam rex Mangy curiam tenebat **lacus** magnus est in circuitu muris cuius altitudo magna est valde qui in gyro continet miliaria decem.⁸³⁷

(Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, 218 f. 89ra)

In hac civitate Quinsay est palacium mirabile valde in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangy curiam tenebat primo **lacus** magnus est circumcinctus muris altitudinis valde magne que in giro continet decem miliaria.⁸³⁸

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, f. 37v).

Italian branch of ‘fidelissimi’ group:

⁸³⁵ The only manuscript which does not contain this reading is Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum V.6.8 [458], which will be discussed below.

⁸³⁶ ‘In this city of Quinsay there is a great palace in which Facfur, who was once the king of Mangy, first kept his court. A large lake surrounds the walls, which are of very great height and have a perimeter of 9 miles.’

⁸³⁷ ‘In this city of Quinsay there is a great palace in which the once the king of Mangy, kept his court. A large lake surrounds the walls, which are of very great height and have a perimeter of 10 miles.’

⁸³⁸ ‘In this city of Quinsai there is a great palace in which Facfur, who was once the king of Mangy, first kept his court. A large lake is surrounded by walls of very great height which circle it for a perimeter of ten miles.’

In hac civitate Quinsai est palatium mirabile in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangy tenebat curiam primo **locus** magnus circumcinctus est muro per quadrum altitudinis magne que in giro continet miliaria .X.⁸³⁹

(Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, f.52r).

Not ‘fidelissimi’ group:

In hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabile in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangi tenebat curiam primo **locus** magnus circumcinctus est muro per quadrum altitudinis magne que in giro continet miliaria 10.⁸⁴⁰

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 66ra)

These examples show that the reading *lacus* instead of *locus* is a feature of the ‘English’ branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group, and is not shared for instance by the related ‘Italian’ branch or other branches of the manuscripts of P.

This sentence is translated in IMP as: [3] *do ronsat palas rigda for loch a medhon na cathrach sin.*⁸⁴¹ Therefore, in IMP the palace is situated on a lake (*lacus*) in the middle of a city, rather than in the middle of a place (*locus*), where it is found in almost all other manuscripts of P. It is easy to see how the Irish author may have derived this translation from a manuscript of the ‘English’ branch, for example Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1): *in hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabile valde in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangi curiam tenebat lacus magnus est in circuitu muris*, i.e. ‘in this city of Quinsay there is a spectacular palace, in which Facfur, once the king of Mangi, used to hold court, a great lake surrounds the walls’. This analysis suggests that the scribal error *lacus* for *locus* was present in the

⁸³⁹ ‘In this city of Quinsay there is a great palace in which Facfur, who was once the king of Mangy, first kept his court; a great area is surrounded by a wall of great height in a square, which has a perimeter of 10 miles.’

⁸⁴⁰ ‘In this city of Quinsay there is a great palace in which Facfur, who was once the king of Mangy, first kept his court, a great area is surrounded by a wall of great height, in a square, and which has a perimeter of 10 miles.’

⁸⁴¹ The detail regarding the location of the royal palace (*palas rigda*) is taken from the following sentence in P: *in medio autem interioris spacii palatium pulcherrimum est* (P II.64.26).

exemplar used to write IMP, and consequently that IMP also belongs to this branch of P.

Of the manuscripts examined, *lacus* for *locus* is found in only one manuscript outside the ‘fidelissimi’ group, namely: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 40.⁸⁴² This study has concluded that this similarity is coincidental, given that this manuscript bears no other resemblance to manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch, lacking both the reading *fidelissimi* in the incipit, and the absence of *seu falcones pelegrini* in the explicit.⁸⁴³

On the other hand, Glasgow, University Library, V.6.8. [458], which was written in France during the fourteenth century,⁸⁴⁴ is the only manuscript of the ‘English’ branch which reads *locus* at this point of the text. However, the scribe also mistook another reading of *lacus*, at section [9] of the Quinsay chapter, and copied *locus*:

Versus meridiem est **locus** magnum qui in giro .XXX. miliaria continet.

(Glasgow, University Library, V.6.8. [458], f. 76v).

Versus meridiem est in ipsa civitate **lacus** magnus qui .xxx. miliaria continet.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 234r).

Versus meridiem est in ipsa civitate **lacus** magnus qui continet in giro .xxx. miliaria.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, f. 37r).

Versus meridiem est in ipsa civitate **lacus** magna que .XXX. miliaria in giro continet.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, f. 65va).

⁸⁴² Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 40, f.42r: *in hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabile valde in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangi tenebat curiam primo lacus magnus circumcinctus est muris per quadrum altitudinis magne qui in giro continet miliaria decem.*

⁸⁴³ For further discussion of this manuscript see Dutschke, *Pipino*, 989-98.

⁸⁴⁴ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 615.

This scribal error sets a precedent for the scribe of Glasgow University Library, V.6.8. [458] mistaking the word *lacus* for *locus*, which may explain why this manuscript shows similarities with the ‘English’ branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group of P, such as the reading *fidelissimi* in the incipit and the absence of *seu falcones pelegrini* in the explicit, but does not read *lacus* at [25] of the Quinsay chapter where all other manuscripts of this branch do. Therefore, with a degree of caution, this study suggests that Glasgow, University Library, V.6.8. [458], also belongs to the ‘English’ branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group. Although it was written in France, it may well have been copied from a manuscript of English origin.

Therefore, with the exception of Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 40 and Glasgow, University Library, V.6.8. [458], the presence of *lacus* instead of *locus* at [25] of the Quinsay chapter of P, may be taken as a significant variant which distinguishes the ‘English’ branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group from other families of manuscripts of P.

Quatuor custodes vs decem custodies (group β).

An important marker of a group of manuscripts within the ‘English’ branch, is the copying of *quatuor custodes* instead of *decem custodes* at [16] of the Quinsay chapter. This separative reading has been numbered 6) in the discussion and stemma below; it can be found at step β of the stemma and has been highlighted in blue. The following first four transcriptions are taken from manuscripts that derive from the β branch. The next three are taken from manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch that do not derive from the β branch. Finally, the last transcription is taken from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, in order to represent the standard found in most manuscripts of P.

6)

Group β of English branch of ‘fidelissimi’ group:

In quolibet enim pontem civitatis de die et de nocte .iiii. custodes sunt.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 234r).

In quolibet enim pontem civitatis de die et nocte 4or custodes sunt.

(Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, 218, f. 89vb).

In quolibet enim pontem civitatis de die et nocte .iiii. custodes sunt.

(Oxford, Merton College, 312, f. 55vb).

In quolibet enim ponte civitatis de die et nocte .iiii. custodes sunt.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, f.100r).

Not part of group β, but still in the English branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group:

In quolibet enim ponte civitatis de die et de nocte .x. custodies sunt.

(Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5, p. 268a).

In quolibet enim ponte civitatis de die et de nocte .x. custodes sunt.

(Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83, f. 70r).

In quolibet enim civitatis ponte de die et de nocte .X. custodes sunt.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, f. 37r).

Not ‘fidelissimi’ group:

In quolibet enim ponte civitatis de die et nocte .X. custodes sunt.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, f. 66ra).

This scribal error may have originated due to the similarity between the Roman numeral X and the Medieval Arabic numeral 4 (figure 3). A total of six manuscripts of P contain separative reading 6) *4 custodes* for *10 custodes*. These all belong to the ‘English’ branch and are the following:



Figure 3: Arabic numeral 4, as it is commonly found in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Medieval European sources.

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70 | 14 th C |
| 4) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17 | 14 th C |
| 11) Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek 218 | 15 th C |
| 12) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84] Early 15 th C | |
| 22) London, British Library, Arundel 13 | 14 th C |
| 31) Oxford, Merton College 312 | before 1344 |

Further to these six manuscripts of P, IMP also reads: **.iiii. mílid** *ag Magnus ac fare for cech n-droichet*.⁸⁴⁵ This suggests that IMP also derives from group β of the ‘English’ branch. Therefore, separative reading 6) distinguishes group β in the *stemma* below.

1,000.000 vs 1,600,000 (group β/γ).

At this point of the discussion of the ‘English’ group of the manuscripts of P, a problem arises to which there are two possible solutions: all surviving Latin manuscripts of P which descend from group β, i.e. which contain the scribal error 6) *4 custodes* discussed above, put the number of families in the city of Quinsay at 1,000,000, at section [27] of the Quinsay chapter. This has been numbered as scribal error 8) in the *stemma*. On the other hand, IMP, which evidence suggests also derives from β, at section [9] reads: **.xl. míle tighidhis .xl. fecht** *is aitreabhthaigh don chathair sin*, restoring the number of families in the city to the original number 1,600,000, which is the most common number found in manuscripts of P not descending from β.⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴⁵ L f.128vb l.23.

⁸⁴⁶ IMP: ‘forty thousand households, forty times, is the number of families in that city’. A number of manuscripts contain a different number still, these are: the usually reliable Florence, BR 983, which however in this case reads on p. 67a *ad mille milia et .LX. milia familiarum* (1.060.000). Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Hist. 4° 10, which on f. 91r reads: *ut earum numerus ad mille milia familiarum ascendat* (1.000.000), but is unrelated to β; Vatican, Pal Lat 1359, which on f. 69r reads: *ut earum numerus ad mille et lx*

The first possible solution to this problem is that IMP descends directly from β , a hypothetical stage in the development of this branch of the ‘English’ group, for which IMP is the only surviving witness. In other words, IMP was copied from a manuscript which contained scribal error 6) *4 custodes* instead of *10 custodes*, but not scribal error 8) *1,000.000* instead of *1,600.000*. However, no manuscripts of P survive which support the theory that this step existed.

The second solution is that either the author of IMP or the scribe who copied the exemplar of IMP noticed the mistake and recalculated the number of families in Quinsay, based on information given immediately prior to the number 1,000,000. The following extracts show how this is possible:

8)

Group β/γ of English branch of ‘fidelissimi’ group:

In civitate Quinsay sunt ignes iuxta vulgare ytalicum in universo familie tot numero, quod ad **.CLX. comanos** conscendit et computatione summaria **comanus vero .X. milia continet**, sunt igitur in universo familia ut eorum numerus ad **mille milia familiarum** ascendat.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), ff. 234v-235r).

Not Group β/γ , but still part of English branch of ‘fidelissimi’ group:

In civitate Quinsay iuxta ignes iuxta vulgari ytalicum seu familie tot numero, quod ad **centum .LX. tomainos** ascendunt in computatione summaria; **tomainus vero decem milia continet** sunt enim ibi tot in universo numero familie ut earum numerus ad **mille milia et ad sexcenta milia familiarum** ascendat.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, f. 37v).

Not ‘fidelissimi’ group:

milia familiarum ascendat (1.060.000); Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.ch.f.60 which on 293vb reads: *ut earum numeris ad mille milia et .62. milia familiarum ascendat* (1.062.000); the ‘Schedel’ group manuscripts, which in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 850 on f. 54r reads: *ut earum numerus ad mille milia et .xl. milia familiarum ascendant* (1.040.000); the ‘Würzburg-Tergensee-Melk’ version which in the Würzburg manuscript on 177v reads: *sunt autem in toto decies mille milia et .lx. milia familiarum* (10.060.000).

In civitate Quinsai sunt ignes iuxta vulgarem ytalicum sue familie tot numero quod ad **centum sexaginta tomani** ascendunt in computatione summaria; **tomani vero .X. milia continent**, sunt igitur tot in universo familie ut earum numerus ad **mille milia et sexcenta milia familiarum** ascendat.

(Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi C.7.1170, f. 51rb).⁸⁴⁷

Pipino states that the city of Quinsay contains 160 *tomani*, and that one *tomanus* contains 10,000. Given that the number of families will be the same as the number of *tomani*, it follows that the families of the Quinsay should be 160 x 10,000, resulting in 1,600,000. If this second solution is correct, it is no longer necessary to hypothesise the existence of step β , and the steps β and γ may be fused together. In other words, scribal errors 6) *4 custodes* and 8) *1,000,000* may have been made by the same scribe. It is not possible to discern whether it was the scribe of IMP's Latin exemplar or the Irish author of IMP who corrected scribal error 8) *1,000,000* back to *1,600,000*. However, if this correction was made by the Irish author, it implies that he was actively engaging with the text he was translating, and was interested in restoring the text where possible, instead of mindlessly translating the mistakes and miscalculations of his exemplar. It will be discussed further in Chapter IV how the author of IMP rearranged a great deal of information in his adaptation, combining various episodes and details into his own unique version of the *Travels*.⁸⁴⁸

A further two separate readings, namely at sections [25] and [30] of the Quinsay chapter in P consolidate the theory of the β/γ branch, but were not translated by the Irish author and thus are not verifiable in IMP. These are 11) *pisces sunt* instead of *pisces habentur*, and 12) *ad familiam adherentis* instead of *ad familiam additi*:

11)

⁸⁴⁷ 'In the city of Quinsay there are hearths, as in the common Italian speech, or families in such numbers that they reach one-hundred-and-sixty *tomani*; *tomani* contain ten thousand, therefore such is the number of families in total that their number reaches one million and six hundred thousand (1,600,000).' Florence, BR 983 has not been used to compare this reading, because it does not contain the number most common at this point in manuscripts of P.

⁸⁴⁸ See Chapter IV, 'Rebellion of Naim and Cadau'.

ibi sunt fontes et lacune in quibus multi et optimi **sunt pisces**.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 234v).

ibi sunt fontes et lacune in quibus multi et optimi **pisces sunt**.

(Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, 218, f. 89ra)

ibi sunt fontes et lacune cum quibus multi et optimi **pisces sunt**.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, f. 100v).

ibi sunt fontes et lacune in quibus multi et optimi **sunt pisces**.

(Oxford, Merton College, 312, f. 56rb).

ibi sunt fontes et lacune in quibus multi et optimi **pisces habentur**.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, f. 37v).

ibi sunt fontes et lacune in quibus multi et optimi **pisces habentur**.

(Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University, Garrett 157, f. 37r).

ibi sunt fontes et lacune in quibus multi et optimi **pisces habentur**.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f.66vb).

12)

scribatur ibi nomen cuiusdam de novo nascentis vel ad familiam
adherentis.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 235r)

scribatur ibi nomen cuiuscumque de novo nascentis vel ad familiam
adherentis.

(Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, 218, f. 89ra).

scribatur ibi nomen cuiuscumque de novo nascentis vel ad familiam
adherentis.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, f. 101r).

scribatur ibi nomen alius de novo nascentis vel ad familiam **adherentis**.

(Oxford, Merton College, 312, f. 56va).

scribatur ibi nomen cuiuscumque de novo nascentis vel ad familiam **additi**.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, f. 37v).

scribatur ibi nomen cuiuscumque de novo nascente vel ad familiam **additi**.

(Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University, Garrett 157, f. 37r).

scribatur ibi nomen cuiuscumque de novo nascentis vel ad familiam additi.

(Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83, f. 71r).

scribatur ibi nomen cuiuscumque de novo nascentis vel ad familiam **additi**.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 67rb).

Provincias septem vs provincias octo (group δ).

A further distinction within manuscripts of the β/γ group exists in two manuscripts which contain scribal error 15) *provincias septem* instead of *provincias octo*, which is not found in the Quinsay chapter but at I.52.2 of P. This is group δ, which comprises of manuscripts 11) Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, 218 and 12) Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1). The variation of these two manuscripts may be observed in the following transcriptions:⁸⁴⁹

15)

Group δ of English branch of ‘fidelissimi’ group:

in brevi vero tempore **provincias .vii.** cepit.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 205r).

in brevi vero tempore **provincias .vii.** cepit.

(Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, 218, f. 79vb).

⁸⁴⁹ Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University, Garrett 157, contains on f. 13v the corruption, *in brevi vero tempore provincias accepit*, hence it was not included in the above comparison.

Not Group δ , but subgroup of Group β/γ of the English branch of ‘fidelissimi’ group:

in brevi vero tempore **provincias .viii.** cepit.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, f. 69r.).

in brevi autem tempore **provincias .viii.** cepit.

(Oxford, Merton College, 312, f. 14va).

Not Group β/γ of the English branch of ‘fidelissimi’ group:

in brevi vero tempore **provincias octo** cepit.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, 13v).

in brevi vero tempore **provincias octo** cepit.

(Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83, f. 41r.)

Not ‘fidelissimi’ group:

brevi vero in tempore **provincias octo** cepit.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, 24rb).

Due to the loss of a minim, this scribal error distinguishes a further subgroup of the ‘English’ branch. Significantly, IMP also contains this variant at paragraph ¶29 of Stokes’s edition, where it reads: *Cidh fil ann acht ro umlaigset .uii. righ dho la homun a imairec*. This suggests that the manuscripts which which IMP shares most details are 11) Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, 218 and 12) Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1).

The existence of group δ is corroborated by a further two unique readings found in the Quinsay chapter; however, the nature of these variants, which substitute one Latin synonym for another, does not allow for them to be verified in IMP. These scribal errors have been numbered 13) *transferre* instead of *deferre*, and 14) *subiecti* instead of *subditi*. The following transcriptions show how the two manuscripts of group δ , contain the same unique readings:

13)

quando ignis fortuitus accendit possint convicines res suas ad prefatas turres **transferre** ne comburantur.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 234r).

quando ignis fortuitus accenditur possint convicines res suas ad prefatas turres **transferre** ne comburantur.

(Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, 218, f. 89vb).

quando fortuitus ignis accenditur possint convicines res suas ad dictas turres **deferre** ne comburantur.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, f. 100r).

quando fortuitus ignis accenditur possint convicines res suas ad predictas turres **deferre** ne comburantur.

(Oxford, Merton College, 312, 55va).

quando fortuitus ignis accenditur possint convicini res suas ad prefatas turres **deferre** ne comburentur.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, 37r).

ut quando fortuitus ignis accendere contigeret possunt vicini res suas ad prefatas turres **deferre** ne comburantur.

(Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83, f. 70r).

quando fortuitu ignis accenditur possint convicini res suas ad prefatas turres ne comburantur **deferre**.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 65vb).

14)

sunt autem omnes reges potentes valde sed sunt **subiecti** Magno Caam.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 234v).

sunt autem omnes reges potentes valde sed sunt **subiecti** Magno
Kaam.

(Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, 218, f. 89ra).

sunt autem omnes reges potentes valde sed sunt **subditi** Magno
Kaam.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, 100v).

Sunt autem omnes reges potentes valde sed sunt **subditi** Magno
Kaam.

(Oxford, Merton College, 312, ff. 55vb-56ra).

sunt autem reges omnes potentes valde sed sunt **subditi** Magno
Kaan.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, f. 37r).

sunt autem suis reges potentes valde sed sunt **subditi** Magno
Kaam.

(Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83, f. 70r).

sunt autem omnes hii reges potentes valde, sed **subditi** Magno
Kaam.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 66rb).

The presence in IMP of three of the scribal errors and unique readings, namely *lacus*, *quatuor custodes* and *provincias septem*, which distinguish group δ of the ‘fidelissimi’ group, is a strong indication that the Latin exemplar used by the Irish translator belonged to this branch of the *stemma* of P. Scribal variants 13) *transferre* instead of *deferre* and 14) *subiecti* instead of *subditi*, further substantiate the existence of group δ , even though the nature of these variants means that they are not verifiable in IMP.

Group δ and Comparison B

The similarities between IMP and the manuscripts of group δ may be observed further in the following Comparison B table which compares the corresponding excerpts from IMP, in the left-hand column, from Glasgow, University Library,

Hunter 84 (T.4.1), in the central column, and from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, in the right column. The similarities shared by the Glasgow manuscript and the Florence manuscript have been highlighted in yellow in the central and right-hand column, whereas the unique readings which show how the Glasgow manuscript bears greater similarities to IMP have been highlighted in green, in the central and left-hand columns:

Comparison B		
IMP	Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1) (group δ)	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983
(¶23) [1] Fil cathair naili uidhi dha la allamuigh don cathraigh sin.	I.46 quod in longitudine vie continet diatas tres.	I.46 quod in longitudine vie continet diatas tres.
(¶27) [2] .I. ainder la cech naen dibh.	I.49 In hac civitate ydolatra quilibet habere potest uxores .XXX. vel plures.	I.49 In hac civitate ydolatra quilibet habere potest uxores .XXX. vel plures
(¶29) [3] Cidh fil ann acht ro umhlaigseat .uii. righ dho la homun a imaireac.	I.52 brevi vero in tempore provincias .vii. cepit.	I.52 brevi vero in tempore provincias octo cepit.
(¶29) [4] Bui laech amra [...] Simisis a ainm [...]	I.54 Primus igitur Tartarorum rex fuit Chinchis secundus Carter , trius Satyn ,	I.54 Primus igitur rex Tartarorum fuit Chinchis , secundus Cui , tercius
(¶35) Facbais mac dieis, Caiter a ainm. Facbais sin mac,	quartus Rothon quintus Mongu sextus Cublay .	Bacui , quartus Alau , quintus Manguth , sextus

Satiu a ainm. Facbais <i>sin</i> mac, Roton a ainm. Facbais Roton mac, Mongu a ainm. Is uadha <i>sin</i> ro chin Cublay.		<u>Cublay</u>
(¶41) [5] .xxx. beim do luirg dhó <i>nó</i> .ix. <i>mad</i> cin is mo indás, <i>nó</i> a .x. for cét <i>mad</i> mo <i>in treas feacht</i>.	I.61 septem vicibus fuste ceditur aut .xvii. aut .xviii. secundum mensuram peccati est percussio <u>numerus usque ad centum semper addendo decem.</u>	I.61 septem vicibus fuste ceditur, aut .XVII. aut .XXVII., aut .XXXVII., aut .XLVII., pro mensura enim peccati est percussio <u>numerus usque ad C, semper addendo decem.</u>
(¶50) [6] <i>in tochtmad la déc</i> do mí <i>August</i>	I.66 die autem .xxviii. augusti Magnus Caam	I.66 Die autem .XXVIII. augusti Magnus Kaam
(¶84) [7] <i>in tochtmad la .xx.</i> do mhi <u>Decimbir</u>	II.14 festum autem natalis magni caam cubay est .xxviii. die septembris.	II.14 Festum autem Magni Kaam est die .XXVIII. septembris.
(¶94) [8] dá <i>thaisech déc</i> la Cublay 7 as iat ba coimsigh ara canta <i>fris</i> 7 uaidh cethra cricha .xxx.	II.22 habet magnus caam barones xii qui xxxiiii provinciis sunt prefecti	II.22 Habet Magnus Kaam barones .XII. qui .XXIIII. provinciis sunt prefecti
(¶101) [9] uidhi .xxx. la <i>ina</i> fot.	II.36 protenditur	II.36 Protenditur autem in

	autem in longum provincia per dietas .xx.	longum provincia per dietas .XX.
¶124 [10] cur m ^{ho} ina .x. mlli dibh sin.	II.53 singulos etiam recolligi faciebat pueros abiectos a matribus circiter .xx. milia quos suis sumptibus nutriri optime faciebat.	II.53 singulis annis recoligi facebat pueros abiectos a matribus circa .XX. milia , quos suis sumptibus nutriri optime faciebat.

Of the ten transcriptions selected for Comparison B, four show that there is a closer similarity between IMP and the manuscripts of group δ , than between IMP and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983. In particular, reading [3] *.uii. righ*, which has been discussed above, is unique to manuscripts of group δ .

The second reading which shows how IMP is closer to the Glasgow manuscript than to the Florence manuscript is numbered [4] above, and concerns the genealogy of the Khans. The versions of the names found in IMP, namely: *Caiter*, *Satiu*, *Roton* and *Mongu*, are much closer to those found in the Glasgow manuscript, namely: *Carter*, *Satyn*, *Rothon*, *Mongu*, than to those found in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, namely: *Cui*, *Bacui*, *Alau*, *Manguth*.

The most striking of these variants are Florence's *Cui* for Glasgow's *Carter*, *Satyn* for *Bacui*, and *Rothon* for *Alau*, respectively. The following transcriptions of this extract are taken from a number of manuscripts across the stemma of P, and demonstrate how these names vary in the different manuscript groups. The first two transcriptions are from manuscripts of group δ , the third and forth are from manuscripts deriving from group ϵ , a group closely related to δ , which will be discussed below. The fifth transcription represents another manuscript of the 'English' branch but which does not descend from the β/γ group. The Ghent manuscript is a copy of the Leeu printed edition of P, and therefore is representative of the 'Italian' branch, discussed above. The last three transcriptions represent manuscripts of P not pertaining to the 'fidelissimi' group. The three names in question, which show the most variation in the manuscripts of P, have been highlighted, underlined and are in bold characters respectively.

secundus **Carter**, trius Satyn, quartus **Rothon** quintus Mongu sextus Cublay.
(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 206r).

2us **cuircer** 3us sachui 4us **bothon** 5us monu 6us cublay.
(Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 218, f. 80ra).

2us **carcter** 3us saim 4us **roton** 5us mongu 6us cublay.
(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz 4° 70, f. 69v).

2us **cartur** tertius satiu 4us **roton** 5us mongu 6us cublay.
(Oxford, Merton College, 312, f. 15rb).

secundus **caiter** tertius sacui quartus **rocon** quintus mongon sextus cublay.
(Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/15, f. 231v).

secundus **eny** 3us bacui quartus **Esu** quintus mongu sextus cublay.
(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, f. 90vb).

secundus **cui** tercius barchin quartus **alau** quintus mongu sextus cublai.
(Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Lat. 131. α.s.6.14, f. 11va).

2us **scui** 3u sbatu 4us **Esu** 5us manghu 6us cublay.
(Kórnik Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN, ms. 131, f. 13rb).

secundus **Cui**, tercius Bacui, quartus **Alau**, quintus Manguth, sextus Cublay.
(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f.25rb).

These transcriptions show that the changes to the *Caiter/Carter* type variant for *Cui*, appear to be unique to the ‘English’ branch (α), as do the changes to *Satiu/Satyn/Sachui* for *Bacui/Barchin*, and the changes *Rothon/Rocon/Bothon* for *Esu/Alau*. IMP’s versions *Caiter*, *Satiu* and *Roton* are therefore probably due to scribal corruptions that originated in manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch, and not innovations of the Irish author.

Another difference between IMP and P is numbered [5] in Comparison B above. Although IMP does not translate this passage precisely as it is found in the Glasgow manuscript, this study suggests that the exemplar used to establish the numbers found in IMP, namely: 30, 60 and 110, contained numbers more similar to those found in the Glasgow manuscript, namely: 7, 17, 18, ‘up to 100, always adding 10’, rather than those found in Florence BR 983, namely: 7, 17, 27, 37, 47, ‘up to 100, adding 10’. In the Florence manuscript, this method of punishment is explained by showing how the number of lashes is increased by 10, from 7 up to 47, before it says that this continues up to the number 100. On the other hand, in the Glasgow manuscript this meaning is lost, because insufficient numerical examples are given in order to convey the pattern by which the lashes are assigned, due to a textual corruption. This confusion may have given the Irish translator the incentive to reinvent these numbers entirely. Thus the numbers 7, 17 and 18 were changed to 30 and 60, while *usque ad centum semper addendo decem* was translated as *.x. for cét*. The following examples show how this section of P varies in a considerable number of the manuscripts that I have examined:

septem vicibus fuste ceditur aut .xvii. aut **.xviii.** secundum mensuram peccati est percussio numerus usque ad centum semper addendo decem.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 208r)

.vii. ictibus fusto ceditur aut xvii aut **xviii** pro mensura peccatum est percussio numerus usque ad centum semper addendo decem.

(Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 218, f. 80va).

.vii. ictibus fuste ceditur aut xvii aut **xxviii** pro mensura eius peccati est percussio numerus usque ad .c. semper addendo .x.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz 4° 70, f. 72r).

vii ictibus fuste ceditur aut xvii aut **xxviii** pro mensura eius peccati est percussio numerus usque ad .C. semper addendo .x.

(Oxford, Merton College 312, f. 17ra).

7. icibus fuste ceditur aut 17 aut **28** pro mensura eius percussionum
numerus usque ad centum semper .x. addendo.

(Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/15, p. 238a).

septem vicibus fuste ceditur autem decem et septem aut **xxvii aut .xxxvii.**
.xlvii. secundum mensuram peccati est percussionum numerus fiendus
usque ad centum semper addendo decem.

(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, f. 91vb).

vii ictibus fuste ceciditur aut xvii aut **xxvii aut xlvii** pro mensura ei peccati
est percussionum numerus usque ad centum semper addendo .x.

(Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Lat. 131. α.s.6.14, f. 12va).

septem vicibus fuste ceditur aut xvii.em aut **.xxvii.em aut xxxvii.em aut**
.xlvii.em pro mensura eius peccatum est percussionum numerus usque ad
centum semper addendo decem.

(Kórnik Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN, ms. 131, f. 14va-14vb).

septem vicibus fuste ceditur, aut .XVII., aut **.XXVII., aut .XXXVII., aut**
.XLVII., pro mensura enim peccati est percussionum numerus usque ad C,
semper addendo decem.

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, f. 28rb)

The above transcriptions show how another feature unique to the ‘English’ branch is the loss of the numbers 27, 37 and 47, which are substituted by the number 28 in most manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch, and by the number 18 in manuscripts of group δ. This study has suggested that the garbled account of the punishments used by the Tartars, which was present in the exemplar of IMP, confused the Irish author and prompted him to reinvent, or perhaps attempt to reconstruct the original meaning of the text, resulting in the transformation of the numbers 7, 17 and 18 of the exemplar into 30 and 60 of IMP.

Lastly, IMP shows similarities with most manuscripts of P in the number of provinces which are divided amongst the twelve barons of the Khan. This reading is numbered [8] in the Comparison B table above. Several manuscripts of P, including Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, contain the number 24, while most manuscripts

of P contain the number 34. The VA version from which Pipino translated and wrote P, contains the number 34. The ‘English’ group version also contains the number 34 at this point in the text. The following transcriptions display this variation:

habet magnus caam barones xii qui **xxxiiii** provinciis sunt prefecti.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 220r)

habet magnus kaam barones duodecim qui **xxxiiii** provinciis sunt prefecti.

(Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 218, f. 84va).

habet magnus kaam barones .xii. qui **xxxiiii**. provinciis sunt prefecti.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz 4° 70, f. 84v).

habet magnus kaam barones .xii. qui **xxxiiii**. provinciis sunt prefecti.

(Oxford, Merton College 312, f. 27vb).

habet magnus kaam barones xii qui **34** provinciis sunt prefecti.

(Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/15, f. 249a).

habet magnus caam barones xii qui **xxiiii** provinciis sunt prefecti.

(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13, f. 97vb).

habet magnus kaam barones xii qui **xxxiiii** provintiis sunt prefecti.

(Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Lat. 131. α.s.6.14, f. 20rb).

habet magnus kaam barones xii qui **xxx4**.or pronvitiis sunt prefecti.

(Kórník Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN, ms. 131, f. 22ra).

habet magnus caam barones xii qui **xxiiii**. provinciis sunt prefecti.

(Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. app. X.73, f. 35r).

habet rex barones .xii. qui **xxiiii**. provinciis sunt prefecti.

(Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3497, f. 90r).

habet rex barones .xii. qui .**xxiiii.** provinciis sunt.⁸⁵⁰

(Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5339, f. 243v).

habet rex barones .xii. qui .**xxiiii.**or provinciis sunt prefecti.

(Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Bosianus 4° 10, f. 66r)

El Gran Chaan à altrosi dodexe baroni ai quali elo à chomesso la so
autoritade a proveder quello che bixognia de ordenar e de far sopra
trentaquattro provincie.⁸⁵¹

(VA version).

Other groups of the English branch

The above discussion has demonstrated how IMP shares several unique readings with group δ of the ‘English’ branch of the ‘fidelissimi’ group of P. The two surviving Latin manuscripts of this group, namely Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1) and Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 218, were both written in the fifteenth century, the former in England, and the latter in the Netherlands. However, there are a number of manuscripts of P, closely related to group δ , which were written in the fourteenth century. These other groups of the ‘English’ branch will be discussed now:

Group ϵ .

This group is important because it sets a *terminus* before which the base manuscript of the ‘English’ branch was written. This is fixed by the text of P found in Oxford, Merton College 312, which was probably the manuscript used by Thomas Bradwardine for his major theological work, *De causa Dei contra Pelagium et de virtute causarum ad suos mertonenses*, completed c.1344.⁸⁵² This manuscript belongs to yet another subgroup of group ϵ , namely group η . The resemblance of P in manuscripts of group η has been previously remarked upon by Dutschke, who noticed that all manuscripts of this group also contain Hayton’s *Flos Historiarum Terre Orientis*.⁸⁵³ One of the most striking departures of this version of P, and its most distinguishing feature, is the relocation of the Quinsay chapter from the end of the

⁸⁵⁰ This copy lacks the word *prefecti*.

⁸⁵¹ Barbieri, Andreose, *Il Milione*, p.186

⁸⁵² Dutschke, *Pipino*, 807-08.

⁸⁵³ Ibid., 803 and 807.

second book to the end of the third book, specifically from II.64 to III.49. IMP follows the traditional order of chapters found in P, which excludes an immediate relationship with manuscripts of group η . However, the survival of the Oxford manuscript and its location within the ‘fidelissimi’ stemma shows that P was already being widely circulated and edited in England within twenty years of Pipino’s death. The following three manuscripts belong to group η of the ‘English’ branch:

4) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17 14th C

22) London, British Library, Arundel 13 14th C

31) Oxford, Merton College 312 before 1344

This study has not been able to ascertain the relationship between these three manuscripts, however I have noticed that these three manuscripts are closely related to Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz 4° 70, which constitutes group ζ . The Berlin manuscript maintains the traditional order of chapters and does not relocate the Quinsay chapter at the end of the third book. All four manuscripts of group ε share the unique reading *predictas/dictas* instead of *prefatas* in the Quinsay chapter. This separate reading, numbered 7) in the stemma, may be observed in the following transcriptions:

7)

quando fortuitus ignis accenditur possint convicines res suas ad
dictas turres deferre ne comburantur.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz 4° 70, f. 100r).

quando fortuitus ignis accenditur possint convicines res suas ad
predittas turres deferre ne comburantur.

(Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17, f. 55vb).

quando fortuitus ignis accendit possunt convicines res suas ad
predittas turres conferre ne comburantur.

(London, British Library, Arundel 13, f. 37v).

quando fortuitus ignis accenditur possint convicines res suas ad
predictas turres de ferre ne comburantur.

(Oxford, Merton College 312, f. 55va).

quando ignis fortuitus accendit possint convicines res suas ad
prefatas turres transferre ne comburantur.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 234r).

quando ignis fortuitus accenditur possint convicines res suas ad
prefatas turres transferre ne comburantur.

(Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 218, f. 89vb).

quando fortuitu ignis accenditur contingeret possint vicini res suas
ad **prefatas** turres deferre ne comburantur.

(Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/15, f. 268a).

quando fortunus ignis accenditur possint convicini res suas ad
prefatas turres deferre ne comburentur.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, f. 37r).

Although the readings of group η and group ζ do not correspond exactly, the Berlin manuscript having lost the *pre-* of *predictas*, this scribal variant does show that the two groups are more closely connected with each other than with the other manuscripts that maintain *prefatas*, which is the norm in other P manuscripts. Manuscripts of group ϵ also contain readings, 2) *lacus* for *locus*, 6) *4 custodes* for *10 custodes*, and 8) *1,000,000* for *1,600,000*, which are shared by manuscripts of group δ . On the other hand, manuscripts of group ϵ , do not contain reading 15) *provincias septem* for *provincias octo*, which distinguishes group δ , and which is found as *.uii. righ* in IMP. Group ϵ is therefore closely related to group δ , however it is unlikely that the exemplar used by the author of IMP derived from any manuscript of group ϵ .

‘Bellare’ group.

Another testimony to the early circulation of P in England, is the date of London, British Library Royal 14.C.xiii, which was written after 1330, date of Odoric of Pordenone’s *Relatio* contained within the manuscript, and before 1352, date of the

resignation of Simon of Bozoun as prior of Norwich, to whom there is an ownership note on folio 14 which reads *liber fratris Symonis Bozoun prioris Norwiciensis*.⁸⁵⁴ This manuscript may be related to another four manuscripts which contain reading 16) *bellare* instead of *rebellare* in the Quinsay chapter of P, these are:

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 3) Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83 | 14 th C |
| 6) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5 | 14 th C |
| 20) London, British Library 19513 | 14 th C |
| 24) London, British Library, Royal 14. C. XIII | before 1352 |
| 38) Princeton, University Library, Garret 157 ⁸⁵⁵ | 15 th C |

The following transcriptions show the variation of reading 16) in these five manuscripts:⁸⁵⁶

16)

in singulis ipsarum per magnum chaam positi sunt custodes ne forte
bellare presumant.

(London, British Library Royal 14.C.xiii, f. 259v).

in signulis ipsarum per magnum kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte
bellare presumant.

(London, British Library Add. 19513, f. 126rb).

in singulis ipsarum per magnum kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte
bellare presumant.

(Copenhagen, Konelige Bibliotek Acc. 2011/15, f. 268b).

⁸⁵⁴ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 711 and 808.

⁸⁵⁵ This manuscript begins defectively, therefore it is not possible to ascertain whether it contained the reading *fidelissimi*. However, the lack of *seu falcones peregrini* in the explicit, suggests that it does in fact belong to the 'English' branch. See Dutschke, *Pipino*, 881-84.

⁸⁵⁶ Florence BR 983 is not considered here as it does not copy the word *rebellare* (cf. 66a).

in singulis ipsarum pro magnum kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte
bellare presumant

(Princeton, University Library, Garret 157, f. 36v)

in singulis ipsarum per magnum kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte
bellare presumant.

(Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83, f. 70v)

in singulis ipsarum per magnum caam positi sunt custodes ne forte
rebellare presumant.

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), f. 234v)

in singulis ipsarum per magnum kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte
rebellare presumant.

(Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 218, f. 89ra)

in singulis ipsarum per magnum kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte
rebellare presumant.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz 4° 70, f. 100v)

in singulis ipsarum per magnum kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte
rebellare presumant.

(Oxford, Merton College 312, f. 56ra)

in singulis ipsarum per magnum kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte
rebellare presumant.

(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75, ff. 37r-
37v).

in singulis ipsarum per magnum kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte
rebellare presumant.

(Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi
C.7.1170, f. 50vb).

This study has not been able to corroborate the existence of the ‘bellare’ group with other readings unique to these five manuscripts. Furthermore, London, British Library Add. 19513 is one of the only manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch which was not written in England. However, the reading *fidelissimi* in the incipit, combined with reading 2) *lacus* in the Quinsay chapter, suggests that although it was written in Italy during the fourteenth century, its version of P may have been copied from an exemplar of English origin.⁸⁵⁷

This study has examined surviving manuscripts of English origin save for one, namely the manuscript previously known as Devon, Library of Boies Penrose 23, which was sold before September 1982 to an undisclosed private collector, and is thus unavailable for consultation.⁸⁵⁸ It was written in Westminster in 1530, and may therefore be related to the ‘fidelissimi’ group. However, further conclusions will have to be drawn when and if this manuscript becomes available in the future.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown that scribal mistakes in the exemplar of IMP account for a number of differences evident from a comparison of IMP and P. In particular, a number of these variants are still discernible in the surviving manuscripts of the ‘English’ branch. On the other hand, a great deal of other details are unique to IMP, and it is not possible to establish whether these were innovations of the Irish author or whether they derive from textual corruptions of the exemplar. Such is the case of Comparison B extracts [1] 1.46 *dietas tres* translated as ¶23 *dha la*; [2] I.49 .xxx. *uxores* becoming ¶27 .L. *ainder*; [6] I.66 *die autem* .xxviii. becoming ¶50 *in tochtmhad la déc*; [7] II.14 *Septembris* becoming ¶84 *Decimbir*; [9] II.36 *dietas* .xx. becoming ¶101 .xxx. *la*; and [10] II.53 .xx. *milia* translating to ¶124 .x. *mili*. The nature of these changes suggests scribal error, however no surviving manuscript of P displays this precise sequence of details. On the other hand, by examining the similarities between IMP and the versions of P, the manuscripts which bear the closest resemblance to the lost exemplar of IMP are those of group δ, namely: Giessen,

⁸⁵⁷ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 663.

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1016-1018.

Universitätsbibliothek 218 and Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1). What follows is a description of the two surviving manuscripts of group δ , which may help to shine oblique light on the context of the exemplar of IMP.

The Giessen manuscript was written in the Netherlands during the mid- to late-fifteenth century, as is suggested by the latest entries of the chronological texts and by the interest in the bishops of Utrecht and the counts of Holland.⁸⁵⁹ The latest bishop mentioned in the manuscript is *Rodolphus de Diepholt*, i.e. Rudolf van Diepholt, on folio 133va, who was in tenure between 1432 and 1455. As well as P, this manuscript contains the *Chronicon* of Eusebius of Caesarea, Poggio Bracciolini's *De Varietate Fortunae*, a unique *Chronographia* by Johannes de Beke, as well as a number of apochryphal texts and illustrations of maps of the world.⁸⁶⁰ The resemblance of the version of P found in the Giessen manuscript to that found in English manuscripts was noticed by Gadrat, who suggested that it was copied from an exemplar of English provenance.⁸⁶¹

Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), is the most interesting manuscript of the δ group for the study of IMP because it contains a number of other historical and travel texts, many of which also exist in translated Irish versions. The manuscript begins with *Historia destructionis Troiae* by Guido delle Colonne, with the colophon copied from the Italian exemplar of 1354 by Iohannuolus de Borrezio of Milan.⁸⁶² This is followed by the *Epitome* of Julius Valerius on Alexander the Great, known as *Liber Magni Alexandri*.⁸⁶³ Following this is Pseudo Turpin's *Historia Karoli Magni*, which is also found in an Irish translation in L, as *Gabháltas Serluis Mhóir* (GSM).⁸⁶⁴ Similar to the order found in L, in the Glasgow manuscript *Historia Karoli Magni* is followed by Pipino's *Travels*. After which, P is followed by Odoric of Pordenone's *Relatio*, and finally by the *Travels* of John Mandeville in the version of the second Latin translation made in England.⁸⁶⁵ Below is a description of each of these texts, with an account of how they relate to the corresponding Irish adaptations.

⁸⁵⁹ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 594-95.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid., 595-99.

⁸⁶¹ Gadrat, *Lire*, 79-80.

⁸⁶² Dutschke, *Pipino*, 603: Glasgow, UL Hunter 84 ff. 1-126.

⁸⁶³ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 604-05: ff. 127v-165; Ross, D. J. A., 'A Check-list,' 129; Parkes, 'Frampton', 114.

⁸⁶⁴ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 605-06: ff. 165v-190v.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid., 607-08; P at ff. 191-254; Odoric at 254-268v; Mandeville at ff. 269-340v.

The Irish version of the Troy story, *Togail Troí*, was in circulation by the eleventh century in Ireland, and may have been written by end of the tenth century.⁸⁶⁶ It was adapted and translated from *De excidio Troiae*, a sixth-century Latin text attributed to Dares Phrygius. On the other hand, Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae*, is a Latin chronicle written *circa* 1287 inspired for the most part by Benoît de Saint-Maure's poem *Roman de Troie*, which was written *circa* 1160.⁸⁶⁷ The main sources for the *Roman de Troie* were Dares Phrygius and a fourth-century Latin text entitled *Ephemeris belli Troiani*, attributed to Dictys. Therefore, although *Togail Troí* and *Historia destructionis Troiae* share a very distant relationship, they are not connected in any direct way.

An Irish version of the Alexander story, *Scéla Alaxandair*, also existed by the eleventh century, and may have been written as far back as the tenth, making it a contemporary of *Togail Troí*.⁸⁶⁸ It is a unique Irish version of the Alexander tale, for the most part based on three Latin narratives, namely: Paulus Orosius' *Historiarum adversum Paganos*; the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*; and the *Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo Rege Bragmanorum*.⁸⁶⁹ *Scéla Alaxandair* also incorporates material from Josephus' *Antiquitate Judaicae*, Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, Prician's *Periegesis* as well as incorporating material from Isodore's *Etymologiae*.⁸⁷⁰ On the other hand, the *Epitome* of Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius' translation of Pseudo Callisthenes on Alexander the Great, was written either before or during the ninth century, the date of the earliest surviving manuscripts.⁸⁷¹ The *Epitome* summarises the content of Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius' *Res Gestae Alexandri Magni*, a fourth-century Latin translation of a lost Greek 'Romance of Alexander' attributed to Pseudo-Callisthenes.⁸⁷² The *Epitome* survives in sixty-eight manuscripts, greatly superseding the manuscripts of the full text by Julius Valerius, which now survives only in two manuscripts.⁸⁷³ The *Epitome* is not the same as Leo of Naples' *Historia de Preliis*, written in the tenth century,

⁸⁶⁶ Fulton, 'History', 40.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid., 41.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., 43; Miles, 'Heroic', 55-57.

⁸⁶⁹ Peters, 'Die irische Alexandersage', 71: *dessen Hauptquelle und Gerüst die Historia des Orosius ist. 'whose main source and scaffolding is Orosius' Historia'*; Miles, 'Heroic', 55.

⁸⁷⁰ Peters, 'Die irische Alexandersage', 72-73; Clarke, 'Irish Achilles', 198; Miles, 'Heroic', 55-56.

⁸⁷¹ Ross, 'A Check-list', 127.

⁸⁷² Miles, *Heroic*, 56; Ross, 'A Check-list', 127.

⁸⁷³ Ross, 'A Check-list', 127.

another summary of Valerius' work that became widely known during the centuries that followed.⁸⁷⁴ I am not aware of any study which compares this ninth century *Epitome* of Julius Valerius with *Scéla Alaxandair*, however Miles has inferred that Peters was incorrect in establishing a link between *Scéla Alaxandair* and Julius Valerius' text.⁸⁷⁵ Furthermore, I am aware of no attempts to link *Togail Troí* and *Scéla Alaxandair* with specific subgroups of the Latin texts on which they are based.

There is no surviving Irish translation of Odoric of Pordenone's *Relatio*, nor were any of the surviving manuscripts that contain the text written in Ireland.⁸⁷⁶ However, FitzMaurice and Little have claimed that one manuscript which contains the *Relatio*, namely Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 903, written in 1422, was housed in a Franciscan monastery in Ireland until 1529, before being transferred to Regensburg.⁸⁷⁷ A curious note for the year 1331, in a manuscript from Udine, names one of Odoric's companions to the East as an Irish Franciscan friar named Jacobo de Ibernica, which has been anglicised to James of Ireland.⁸⁷⁸ However, I am not aware of any other reference to Jacobo de Ibernica, who, if the Udine manuscript is correct, would have travelled with Odoric to Sumatra, India and eastern China between 1316 and 1330.⁸⁷⁹ Although there is no Irish translation of the *Relatio*, Odoric's account of the East formed the basis for much of Mandeville's *Travels*, which are a work of fiction. Specifically, Marchisio has discovered the version of the *Relatio* that was used to write Mandeville's *Travels*, labelled subgroup C9.⁸⁸⁰ On the other hand, the version

⁸⁷⁴ Miles, *Heroic*, 55.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., 56; Peters, 'Die irische Alexandersage', 73.

⁸⁷⁶ Marchisio, *La Tradizione*, 82-87.

⁸⁷⁷ FitzMaurice and Little, *Materials*, 133.

⁸⁷⁸ Scott, 'Latin learning', 981; FitzMaurice and Little, *Materials*, 133; Yule, *Cathay*, 7: Venni, *Elogio*, 27. The note comes from a footnote in Venni's 1761 edition of the *Relatio*, in which he claims to have examined a manuscript in Udine, which contains the reference to Jacobo de Ibernica. Venni's footnote (b) on p. 27 reads: 'dal cit. libro pubblico d'Udine fol. 207. ter. intendiamo chi fosse il compagno del Beato. 'Die quinto Aprilis (1331.) dedit de mandato D. Gastaldionis F. Jacobo de Ibernica socio B. F. Odorici amore Dei, & F. Odorici marchas duas denariorum Aquilensium.'" Venni requotes this passage on p. 149, specifying its location, namely: 'Dai Libri de'Cameralj del Comune di Udine, Tom. x. fol. ccvII. ter.' I have not been able to find the current location or call number of this manuscript. All references which I have found regarding Jacobo de Ibernica seem to derive from Venni's footnote in 1761. A reexamination of and reference for the Udine manuscript is therefore extremely desirable.

⁸⁷⁹ Scott, 'Latin learning', 981.

⁸⁸⁰ Marchisio, *La Tradizione*, 49-53. In her thesis, Marchisio also implies that there may be a connection between Jean le Long who translated a version of the *Relatio*, from the C9 subgroup, into French circa 1351, and Jean de Mandeville, whose original *Travels* were written in France, from the C9 version, circa 1365. Cf. Marchisio, *La Tradizione*, 55-63.

of the *Relatio* contained in Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1) belongs to subgroup C3 of the *Relatio*, a parallel branch to C9 in the development of the various Latin versions of the text.⁸⁸¹ The version of the *Relatio* contained in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 903, belongs to an entirely different branch, labelled D.⁸⁸²

Gabháltas Serluis Mhóir (*GSM*) is an Early Modern Irish translation of Pseudo Turpin's *Historia Karoli Magni* (*HKM*). The earliest datable copy is in the hand of Tadhg Ua Righbhardáin, in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1304, which he wrote between 1474 and 1475.⁸⁸³ Walpole has shown, based on the comparisons of the different versions of *HKM* displayed in Meredith-Jones' edition of the text, that *GSM* derives from the C branch of the stemma of *HKM*, all manuscripts of which were written in England.⁸⁸⁴ Although there has been some discussion surrounding Meredith-Jones' other subdivisions of the manuscripts of *HKM*, the distinction of the C group is generally accepted as sound.⁸⁸⁵ Unfortunately, *HKM* in Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1) was not examined by Meredith-Jones for his edition, and indeed, another hundred odd manuscript copies of *HKM* remain unclassified.⁸⁸⁶ However, it may be concluded that *GSM* was translated from a version of *HKM*, group C, which was most widespread in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the manuscripts to contain this version, namely, London, British Library, Vespasian A XIII, was written by John Mauns, a Franciscan Friar from Hereford during the first quarter of the fifteenth century.⁸⁸⁷ It would be interesting, as a follow up to this study, to examine the context of the manuscripts of group C of *HKM*, and assess their relationship with the various manuscript copies of *GSM*. In particular, it would be desirable to learn if the version of *HKM* which appears at pp. 107-130 of Dublin, Trinity College MS 667 also belongs to group C.⁸⁸⁸ This manuscript is also the only source for the Hiberno-Latin text *Gesta Karoli*

⁸⁸¹ Marchisio, *La Tradizione*, 46.

⁸⁸² Ibid., 68-70.

⁸⁸³ Hyde, *Gabháltas*, x.

⁸⁸⁴ Walpole, 'Note to Meredith-Jones', 260-62. Meredith-Jones, *Historia*, 30-32.

⁸⁸⁵ Hamel, review of *Historia*, 251: 'The groups B and D should have been subdivided, for the manuscripts named by Meredith-Jones are of several distinct types; C, however, is homogenous': Smyser, review of *Historia*, 433-38.

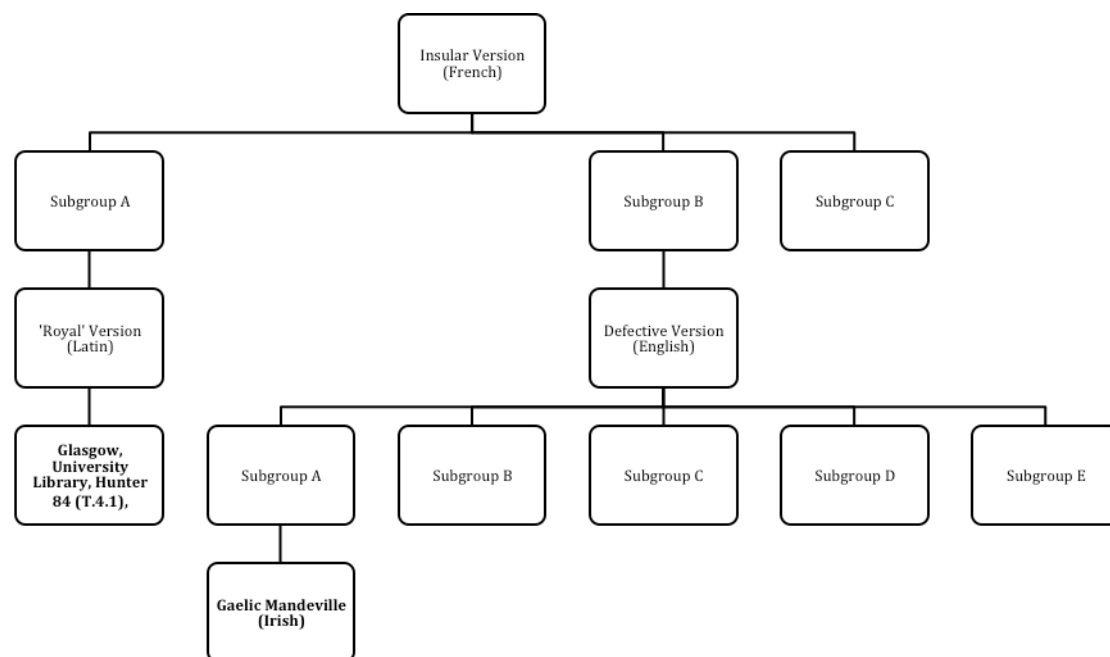
⁸⁸⁶ Walpole, 'Note to Meredith-Jones', 261.

⁸⁸⁷ Meredith-Jones, *Historia*, 13.

⁸⁸⁸ Colker, *Catalogue II*, 1141.

Magni, from which the Early Modern Irish text *Stair Fortibrais* was translated.⁸⁸⁹ Flower has suggested that it was written in a Franciscan friary in County Clare, perhaps in Ennis, *circa* 1455.⁸⁹⁰

The version of the *Travels* of John Mandeville found in Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1), has been identified by Seymour as being an exemplar of the ‘Royal’ version,⁸⁹¹ a Latin translation made from a text of subgroup A of the Insular Version, which is a French recension made in England before 1375 from the original French text.⁸⁹² On the other hand, Seymour has noted that the Irish translation of Mandeville (GM), was made from the Defective Version, subgroup A, an English translation made from a text deriving from subgroup B of the Insular Version.⁸⁹³ It follows therefore, that GM did not derive from a version of Mandeville closely related to the one found in Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1). The following diagram displays how Seymour describes the relationship between the Mandeville text found in the Glasgow manuscript and GM:



⁸⁸⁹ Davies, ‘*Fierbras*’, 284, 295-96, 436-37; Copeland, *From Fierabras*, 31-32.

⁸⁹⁰ Flower, *The Irish*, 122. Davies, ‘*Fierbras*’, 436-37.

⁸⁹¹ Seymour, ‘Sir John’, 47.

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.*, 47-49.

Seymour used Stokes's edition of GM to evaluate its relationship with the manuscripts of the Defective version.⁸⁹⁴ One of the crucial points of this analysis relies on the following passage from Stokes's edition, regarding an island off the Indian coast:

Atá do thes innti co tuitit [magairledha] daeine síis ara cossaib innti le mét
discáeilte in tesa.

'from the heat therein men's ballocks fall down on their legs, with the
dissolving power of the heat.'⁸⁹⁵

This passage corresponds to the following section in the Defective version:

But it is so hote þare in þat yle þat menys ballokez hongip down to here
schankis for þe grete dissolucioun of þe body.⁸⁹⁶

Of the nine manuscripts of subgroup A of the Defective version, only two contain the original reading *menys ballokez*, where the others all read *men*. Seymour thought that GM also contained this reading, presumably because he was working from Stokes's translation, leading him to exclude seven of the manuscripts of subgroup A as being closely related to GM. However, my transcriptions from Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, and London, British Library, Egerton MS 1781 demonstrate that the reading *margairledha* is not present in either of the two manuscripts which contain GM :

Atá do theas innti co tuitit daeine síis ar a cossaibh innte le méad discáeilte in
teasa.⁸⁹⁷

Atá do theas innti sin co tuitid daeine síis ar a cosuibh innti le med in teasa.⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁴ Seymour, 'The Irish Version', 364-66.

⁸⁹⁵ Stokes, 'Maundeville', 242-43.

⁸⁹⁶ Seymour, *Defective Version*, 79. Here amended to correspond to the reading in Corning Museum of Glass, New York MS 6, and Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 1955, which contain the reading *menys ballokez* according to Seymour, 'The Irish Version', 365 and Seymour, *Defective Version*, xvii-xix.

⁸⁹⁷ Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, f. 63vb.

In his edition of GM, Stokes gives no explanation as to why he has amended his transcription with *magairledha*.⁸⁹⁹ However, in the introduction to his edition of GM, Stokes mentions that he used Warner's 'recent' 1889 edition of Mandeville, in order to identify placenames:

‘For the sources of *the Buke of John Maundeville*, see Dr. Albert Bovenchen's *Quellen für die Reisebeschreibung des Johannis von Mandeville*, Berlin, 1888, and Mr. G. F. Warner's magnificent edition of an English and a French text, printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1889, from which I have borrowed most of the identifications of place-names.’⁹⁰⁰

This edition of Mandeville was edited from London, British Library, Egerton 1982, which contains a ‘conflation in English based on the Defective Version, subgroup A, and a lost English translation of the Royal Version, with reference to an Insular manuscript’.⁹⁰¹ The passage in question from this edition reads:

Bot it es so hate þare in þat ile þat men ballokes hynges doune to þaire schankes for þe grete violence of hete, þat dissoluez þaire bodys.⁹⁰²

This study suggests that Stokes's emendation *magairledha* derives from his comparisons with Warner's edition of Mandeville, rather than from any manuscript source of GM. If this is the case, Seymour's arguments about GM's origin in subgroup A of the Defective version of Mandeville are still valid, but the pool of eligible manuscripts must be widened to include the seven manuscripts which he excluded. These are:⁹⁰³

⁸⁹⁸ London, British Library, Egerton MS 1781, f. 139vb (fifth line from the bottom). Examined on microfilm.

⁸⁹⁹ The third manuscript source for GM is a fragment which only contains the first two-thousand words of GM, and therefore cuts off before the passage in question here. It has been edited and published in: Doyle, M. and Seymour, M., ‘The Irish Epitome of “Mandeville's Travels”’, *Éigse* 12.

⁹⁰⁰ Stokes, ‘Maundeville’, 1.

⁹⁰¹ Seymour, ‘Sir John’, 49.

⁹⁰² Warner, G. F. (ed.), *The buke of John Mandeuill*, 81.

⁹⁰³ Seymour, *Defective Version*, xvii-xix.

- 1) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17
- 2) Cambridge, University Library MS Ff. v. 35
- 3) Oxford, Balliol College, MS 239
- 4) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 33
- 5) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Musaeo 124
- 6) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 101
- 7) Oxford, Queen's College, MS 383

GM was written by Finghin Ó Mathghamhna in Ros Broin, West Cork, in 1475 and survives in three Early Modern Irish manuscripts, namely:⁹⁰⁴ London, British Library, Egerton 1781, written in Breifne between 1484 and 1487;⁹⁰⁵ Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, written in the Franciscan monastery of Cill Créidhe, founded in 1465 by Cormac Láidir Mac Carthaigh, a short distance west of Cork City;⁹⁰⁶ lastly, a fragment of GM survives in London, British Library, Add. 33993, written in Tipperary in the early sixteenth century.⁹⁰⁷

GSM instead survives in six manuscripts, namely: L, written for Finghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhaigh between 1478 and 1505, probably in the Franciscan Friary of Timoleague and is also the only manuscript source of IMP;⁹⁰⁸ Dublin, University College, Franciscan A9, written in the fifteenth-century;⁹⁰⁹ Dublin, King's Inn, MS 10, also written in the fifteenth century;⁹¹⁰ Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1304, written

⁹⁰⁴ Stokes, 'Maundeville', 1: Abercromby, 'Two 15th Century', 66-68.

⁹⁰⁵ Flower, *Catalogue* ii, 526-545.

⁹⁰⁶ Maher, *Kilcrea*, 1.

⁹⁰⁷ Fragment printed by Doyle and Seymour, 'The Irish Epitome', 30-36: Flower, *Catalogue* ii., 1-3.

⁹⁰⁸ See Chapter IV: Content and Innovations in the Prologue.

⁹⁰⁹ Grosjean, 'MS. A. 9', 160-169.

⁹¹⁰ de Brún, *Catalogue*, 20-24.

by a scribe named Tadhg Ua Righbhardáin around 1475;⁹¹¹ London, British Library, Egerton 92, which once formed part of Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 23 E 29, known as the Book of Fermoy, written for the Roaches of Fermoy during the second half of the fifteenth century;⁹¹² and lastly London, British Library, Egerton 1781, written in Breifne, which was introduced above and also contains GM.

Listing these manuscripts, their texts and their locations offers a glimpse into a milieu current in late fifteenth-century Ireland that was fascinated by texts concerning the Far East and tales of the wars between Christians and Saracens. An understanding of cultural context in which these translations and adaptations were generated would be significantly improved by a more precise examination of the relationship between the various manuscripts of GM and *GSM*, and regarding *GSM* in particular, its precise relationship with *Stair Fortibrais*, the fifteenth-century Irish translation of the Hiberno-Latin text *Gesta Karoli Magni*.⁹¹³ This chapter has shown that IMP, like GM and *GSM*, was translated from a manuscript of English origin which contained a version of P belonging to subgroup δ . Following is a photograph of f. 191r of the Glasgow manuscript, containing the beginning of P, subgroup δ .⁹¹⁴ This chapter has shown that this manuscript contains the copy of P which is closest to IMP:

⁹¹¹ Hyde, *Gabháltus*, x-xi.

⁹¹² Flower, *Catalogue* ii, 505-519.

⁹¹³ Copeland, *From Fierabras*, 1.

⁹¹⁴ I am especially grateful to the Special Collections Department of the University of Glasgow for their assistance while I consulted this manuscript in January 2017 and for their generosity with this image.

Inapit libey domini maya Pauli de Venecijs
de conditionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum.

Idem prudentis honorabilis ac fidelissimi domini maya
Pauli de Venecijs de consuetudinibus et conditionibus
orientalium regionum ab eo vulgari fideliter editum
et conscriptum compellor ego frater franciscus p pimus de
domina ordinis fratrum predicatorum a pleysis fratibus patribus
et singulis meis reverentia et fidei translatione de vulgari ad la-
tinum transducere ut qui amplius latino quam vulgari selectant
eloquio necnon et hi qui propter linguarum varietatem diosam aut
propter similitudinem ydiomatum proprietatem lingue intelligere omnino
aut facilius nequiant aut selectabilius legant seu libere
capiant. **P**orro per seipos laborem hunc quem me a fratribus
compellunt vel compulerunt officio plenius potant. Quod
propter contemplationem vacantes et infirmis sublimia asserentes
sicut reyna capo. ita reyna despecto perussant. Ego
autem eorum obtemperans iussioni libri ipsius continentiam fide-
liter et integraliter ad latinum planum et aptum transuli quem filium
hunc libri matris regimibat. **E**t ne labor huiusmodi
manus aut inutilis videatur considejam ex libri inspectioe
fideles vix posse multiplicis gratie meritum a domino percipi.
Omnesque in varietate decore et magnitudine creaturarum mira-
bila dei aspicientes ipsius potant virtutem et sapientiam
mirabilis administrari. Aut videntes gentiles populos tanta
veritatis tenebrositate tantisque sordibus involutos gratias
deo agent. qui fideles suos luce veritatis illustrans et tam
proculis tenebris vocans. Signatus est in admirabilis limen-
tum. Quorum ignorantie condolentes per illuminationem cordium
ipsorum dominum percipiunt vel incenotum christianorum desideria confun-
det. Quia infideles populi promptiores sunt ad venanda
simulacra quam ad reverentiam dei cultum prompti sunt qui christi
sunt caritate insigniti. Sine etiam religiosorum aliquorum cordi-
bus vocare poterunt pro ampliatione fidei christiane ut nomen
domini in ihesu christi in tanta multitudinis populorum oblatione
habundant. Deserant omni fruente domino obsecratis nationes
fidelium ubi quidem messio multa operari parati. **Q**uo

Parkes dated the Glasgow manuscript to the last decade of the fourteenth century, judging from ‘the decoration of large initials’, whereas Dutschke suggests a slightly later date, sometime during the early-fifteenth century.⁹¹⁵ It was written by a scribe who signed himself on folio 126 as *Ricardus plenus amoris Frampton*, or Richard Frampton.⁹¹⁶ Frampton (fl. 1390-1420)⁹¹⁷ was a professional scribe who wrote a number of manuscripts for members of the English ruling class during the early fifteenth century. His work was commissioned by the likes of John Holme, whose son became Baron of the Exchequer between 1446-1459, and John Leventhorp, Receiver General of the Duchy of Lancaster, who commissioned Frampton to make a transcript of the Great Cowchers, i.e. cartularies, relating to the Duchy for Henry IV.⁹¹⁸ Parkes has further argued that Frampton must have been working in Leventhorp’s office in Westminster during his employment by the Crown, where he annotated the original copies of the Cowchers.⁹¹⁹ It is not known who commissioned the Glasgow manuscript, however a donation note on folio 126 indicates that the manuscript was owned and given away by John Stafford after 1432, while he was chancellor of England and bishop of Wells, but before 1443, when he became archbishop of Canterbury.⁹²⁰ Also in the hand of Frampton is Cambridge, University Library, Mm.5.14,⁹²¹ which Parkes has suggested was written some years prior to the Glasgow manuscript.⁹²² Amongst the contents of this manuscript are *Historia destructionis Troiae* and *Liber Magni Alexandri*, both in Frampton’s hand, which are also found in the Glasgow manuscript. I am not aware of any study which compares the copies of these texts in the Cambridge and Glasgow manuscripts, however if they derive from the same source, it may be suggested that Frampton had access to the same library during the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries, from which he copied material for his clients, and in which there may have been a manuscript containing a copy of P belonging to group δ of the English branch, which Frampton used as his source for the Glasgow manuscript. Parkes’ observations regarding the location of Frampton during the early-fifteenth century may indicate that this library was in London.

With regard to the miscellany of texts which the Glasgow manuscript displays, Dutschke noted that:

⁹¹⁵ Parkes, ‘Frampton’, 117; Dutschke, *Pipino*, 610.

⁹¹⁶ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 610-13.

⁹¹⁷ Parkes, ‘Frampton’, 113.

⁹¹⁸ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 613-14; Parkes, ‘Frampton’, 122.

⁹¹⁹ Parkes, *Their Hands*, 51.

⁹²⁰ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 614.

⁹²¹ Hardwick, *Catalogue* iv, 320-21.

⁹²² Parkes, ‘Frampton’, 117.

‘The texts of the manuscript appear to fall somewhat outside the normal range for a Marco Polo of the Pipino translation: while Odoric, and to a contemporary reader, possibly even Mandeville could qualify as accounts of actual events, the stories of Troy, of Alexander the Great and of Charlemagne must have had the haze of legend. In the present company, then, even Marco Polo should probably be taken as a pleasurable account, an adventure in faraway lands rather than as a straightforward source of information.’⁹²³

This observation may also be made in regard to the perception and purpose of IMP, and may help to clarify the manner in which the Irish translator was approaching his exemplar, explaining why the factual and precise information contained in P and valued by many of its readers across Europe, took second place in the eyes of the translator, and was often modified in favour of a simpler or more entertaining version of events, conforming to what Jauss has called the ‘horizon of expectation’ of Medieval audiences.⁹²⁴

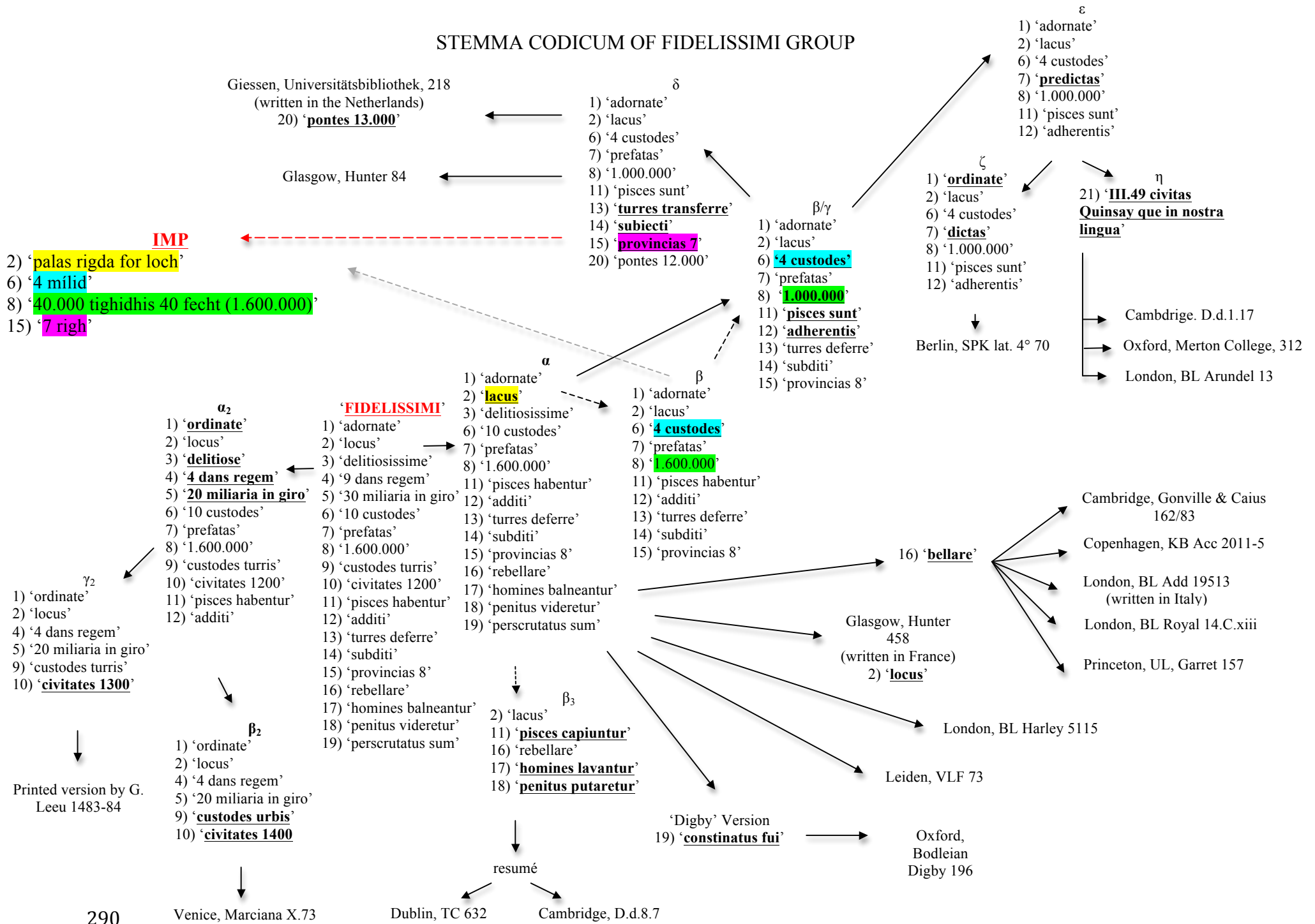
IMP is not a direct descendent of either the Glasgow or the Giessen manuscripts, however this chapter has shown that manuscripts of group δ are the closest surviving relatives of the exemplar used to translate IMP. Group δ is a subgroup of manuscripts which preserves a unique version of P that was most common in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England. The approximate date of the Glasgow manuscript and of Richard Frampton’s period of activity sets a *terminus* before which the base manuscript of δ was written to around 1400-1425. Perhaps one of the most interesting consequences of the study of the Latin manuscripts of P are the parallels between the literary and historical interests of whoever commissioned the Glasgow manuscript in England and the cultural milieu that produced IMP, *GSM* and *GM* during the second half of the fifteenth century in Ireland.

Below, is the *stemma codicum* of the ‘fidelissimi’ group, based on the research presented in this chapter.

⁹²³ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 612-13.

⁹²⁴ Jauss, ‘The Alterity’, p. 182.

STEMMA CODICUM OF FIDELISSIMI GROUP



CHAPTER IV

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF IMP

The previous chapter has already discussed some of the textual differences between IMP and P, and offered an interpretation of how these may have come about. In particular, it focussed on the fact that IMP shares readings with a number of English manuscripts of P, and that several differences between IMP and P were due to scribal mistakes in the translator's Latin exemplar. This chapter will focus on the innovations of IMP with respect to P, which are more likely to have been made by the Irish translator, and will offer possible explanations of and sources for these modifications. It will begin with an overview of how the Irish translator summarised the content of P, illustrating those parts of the text which he considered to be more important and the chapters he chose to omit. This will be followed by an analysis of some of the principal divergences from P found in IMP. The chapter will conclude with an examination of a number of secondary variations in the adaptation which indicate that the Irish author was influenced by a number of texts other than P. Such an analysis is important for determining the objectives and priorities of the Irish author, and ultimately for understanding the motivations behind the Irish translation of the *Travels*. The origins of these motivations may be located in contemporary Cairbre history which parallel elements in the narrative, and which permit us to offer a tentative date for the composition of IMP and to suggest candidates for its authorship.

1. Overview of differences between IMP and P and the reduction of IMP

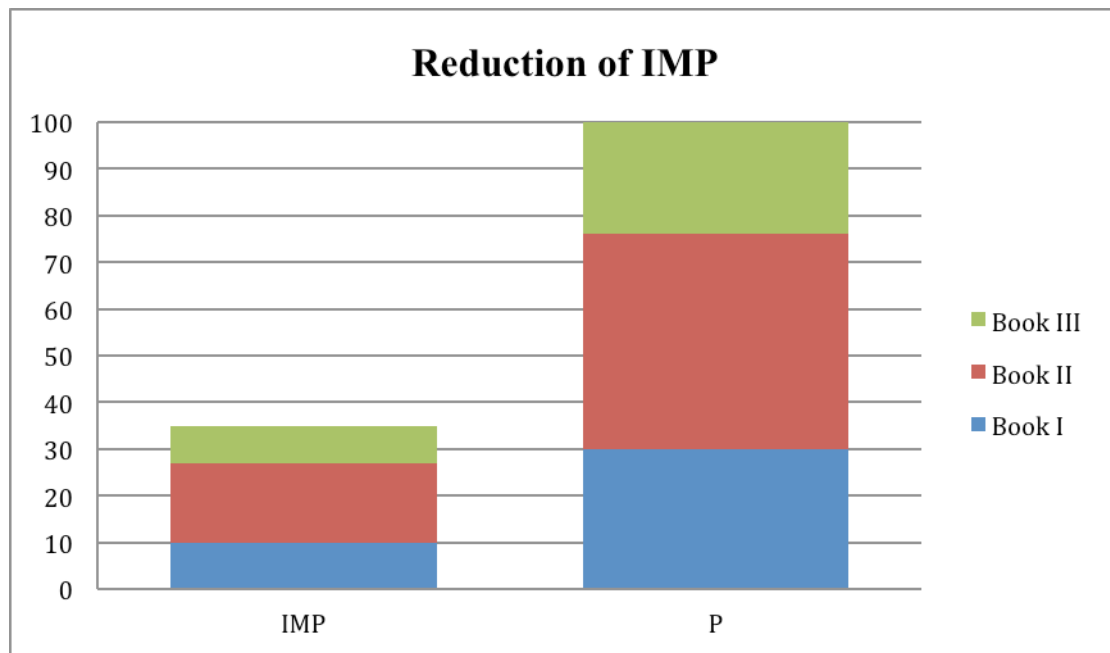
To understand how IMP relates to P, and in order to provide an overview of the manner in which P was being abridged and translated in IMP, this chapter will begin with the analysis of data based on word counts. Such an analysis will show that the author of IMP was giving particular areas of his translation more attention than others.

IMP is an abbreviated version of the *Travels*, and is a great deal shorter than P. This may be observed by making several simple calculations based on the word count

of P and IMP. In order for these calculations to be accurate, the final five chapters of P have been removed from the word count, because, assuming they were translated in IMP, they are now missing due to loss of folios at the end of the text. Similarly, the prologue and account of the journey of Matteo and Nicolò Polo, which covers the first ten chapters of the first book of P, have been omitted from the word count of P, because this part is incomplete in IMP due to loss of folios at the beginning of the text. Therefore, the word count in P from the beginning of I.11 *Descriptio Orientalium Regionum et Primo De Minori Armenia* to the end of III.44 *De Quodam Episcopo Christiano Quem Soldanus Aden Circumcidi Fecit*, is 39,293. The word count of the respective part of IMP, i.e. from Stokes's chapter ¶3 to ¶191, is 13,812. Thus, even taking into account that we are comparing word-counts in two different languages, it remains significant that when the volume of this part of IMP is compared to the corresponding part in P, IMP is revealed to be just over a third the size of P, or 35%.

Despite this reduction in volume of the text, the Irish author was able to maintain the proportion between the three books of P. The first book of P spans 30% of the text, and in IMP it likewise comprises 29%. The second book comprises 46% of P, while the percentage for IMP is 47%. The third book comprises 24% of both P and IMP.⁹²⁵ These calculations are represented in the following chart, which displays the volume of IMP next to that of P, with the corresponding book divisions:

⁹²⁵ P I.11 = 11715 (30% of P) / IMP I = 4028 (29% of IMP).
P II = 18230 (46% of P) / IMP II = 6543 (47% of IMP).
P III – III.44 = 9347 (24%) / IMP III = 3242 (24% of IMP).



Although the proportions of the books in P are maintained in IMP overall, their content has been significantly rearranged and edited. In fact, many of the chapters of P were skipped or edited out of IMP, whereas others were expanded. For example, the episode which deals with the rebellion of Naim and Cadau against Cublay comprises only 3% of P, whereas in IMP it takes up 8% of the text.⁹²⁶ Similarly, the account of the city of Cambalu comprises 4% of P, but 7% of IMP. On the other hand, the Irish author systematically skipped entire chapters of P, often placing regions alongside each other in IMP that are instead distant from one another in P, ignoring the vast geographical areas which lie in between. This suggests that the Irish author was less interested in transmitting the geographical accuracy of P in IMP, than he was in the accounts of Cublay Khan's wars and in the descriptions of the palaces in the Far East, which he remodelled in order to suit the expectations and curiosities of his audience.

In order to display the Irish author's systematic approach to translating and abridging the content of P, the following chapter list of the first book of P, from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana MS 983, contrasts the chapters which were translated and those which were omitted in IMP. Those chapters containing information that was translated in IMP have been highlighted, whereas the chapters

⁹²⁶ See below: 1053 words in IMP ¶54-66 (7.62%) = approx 8% of entire IMP; 1295 words in P II.1-7 (3.3%) = approx 3% of P.

that were skipped by the Irish author have been left in normal format. As stated above, the prologue and the first ten chapters of the first book of P have been omitted from the following example because they do not survive in IMP, due to loss of folios.⁹²⁷

XI. Descriptio orientalium regionum et primo de Minori Armenia.

XII. De provincia Turchie.

XIII. De Armenia Maiori.

XIV. De provincia Çorçanie.

XV. De regno Mosul.

XVI. De civitate Baldachi.

XVII. De civitate Taurisii.

XVIII. De miraculo translacionis cuiusdam montis in regione illa.

XIX. De regione Persarum.

XX. De civitate Iasdi.

XXI. De civitate Cremam.

XXII. De civitate Camandu et regione Theobarle.

XXIII. De campestribus formosa et civitate Cormos et Creman.

XXIV. De intermedia regione inter civitatem Cormos et Creman.

XXV. De regione que media est inter Creman et civitatem Cobinam.

XXVI. De civitate Cobinam.

XXVII. De regno Thumochayn et arbore solis, qui vulgariter a latinis dicitur Arbor Sicca.

XXVIII. De tiranno qui dicebatur Senex de Montanis et siccariis seu assessinis eius.

XXIX. De morte eius et destructione loci eius.

XXX. De civitate Sopurgan et terminis eius.

XXXI. De civitate Balach.

XXXII. De castro Taycam et terminis eius.

XXXIII. De civitate Scassen.

XXXIV. De provincia Balascie.

XXXV. De provincia Bascie.

XXXVI. De provincia Chesumur.

XXXVII. De provincia Vocam et montibus altissimis.

⁹²⁷ Although IMP does translate part of the prologue of P, it will be argued below that most of it has been lost due to loss of folios at the beginning of the text.

XXXVIII. De provincia Cascar.

XXXIX. De civitate Samarcha et miraculo columpne facto in ecclesia beati Iohannis Baptiste.

XL. De provincia Carchan.

XLI. De provincia Coram.

XLII. De provincia Peum.

XLIII. De provincia Ciarchiam.

XLIV. De civitate Lop et deserto maximo.

XLV. De civitate Sachion et ritu paganorum in combustionem mortuorum.

XLVI. De provincia Chamul.

XLVII. De provincia Chynchintalas.

XLVIII. De provincia Siccur.

XLIX. De provincia Campicion.

L. De civitate Ezina et alio deserto magno.

LI. De civitate Carochoram et inicio domini Tartarorum.

LII. De primo rege Tartarorum Chychis et discordia eius cum rege suo.

LIII. De conflictu Tartarorum cum rege illo et victoria ipsorum.

LIV. Catalogus regum Tartarorum et qualiter illorum regum corpora sepeliuntur in monte Alchay.

LV. De generalibus consuetudinibus et moribus Tartarorum.

LVI. De armis et vestibus ipsorum.

LVII. De cibis comunibus Tartarorum.

LVIII. De ydolatria et erroribus eorum.

LIX. De strenuitate, industria et fortitudine Tartarorum.

LX. De ordine exercitus Tartarorum et sagacitate bellandi.

LXI. De iudiciis et iustitia eorum.

LXII. De campestribus Bargu et de extremis insulis aquilonis.

LXIII. De regno Ergimul et civitate Sangu.

LXIV. De provincia Egregaia.

LXV. De provincia Tenduch et Gog et Magog, et civitate Ciangamor.

LXVI. De civitate Ciandau et nemore regali quod est iuxta eam et quibusdam festivitibus Tartarorum et magorum illusionibus.

LXVII. De monachis quibusdam ydolatriis.

This list shows that a total of nineteen chapters from the first book of P were omitted entirely in IMP. Furthermore, most of the chapters highlighted above were translated only partially, much of their information being condensed into a few lines or a few words. Examples include the translation of chapter I.15 *De regno Mosul* of P, which in IMP amounts to ¶6 *fil crich n-aili innti, rigi Musul iside 7 do Macametus adrait*, or the translation of chapter I.19 *De regione Persarum* of P, which in IMP amounts to ¶9 *Cricha na Perfida immorro, don teinid adrait. Crich forlethan isidhe cu n-ocht righuib fuirri. Eich amhra le, dá cét punt for cach n-eoch*. These examples are further indication that the author of IMP was less interested in listing the names of distant lands and describing their most noteworthy features, which is one of the primary functions of P, than he was in adapting the accounts of the battles of the Tartars and in describing the layout of their castles and palaces.

It is possible that this reduction in size and content of the *Travels* in IMP was not made by the Irish author but by the author of his exemplar.⁹²⁸ Regarding this possibility an analogy may be made with *Stair Fortibrais*, a fifteenth-century Irish translation of the Hiberno-Latin text *Gesta Karoli Magni*,⁹²⁹ which itself is an abridgement of the French epic poem *Chanson de Fierabras*. It is impossible to disprove that IMP was based on an already abridged, and now lost, version of P, however it has been shown in Chapter III that none of the surviving Latin abridgements of P were the source of IMP. There are also a number of variations in IMP that are distinctly Irish in flavour, such as the expansion of action sequences and the incorporation of the Medieval Irish *cath* style.⁹³⁰ This indicates that even if the Irish author was working from an abridgement of P, he was rewriting and reinventing parts of the text with a distinctly Irish flair.

The shift in focus to the more entertaining parts of the *Travels* has been alluded to in Chapter II in the discussion of narrative styles, which argued how certain sections of IMP have been accentuated in the text by the change from a terse, concise and succinct prose to a more fluid and prolix narrative which, in the instance of the battle between Cublay and his relatives, descends into the alliterative and bombastic style of the Medieval Irish *cath*. The reluctance of the author of IMP to translate

⁹²⁸ This has been alluded to in Chapter III: IMP and the Latin Abridgements of P.

⁹²⁹ Copeland, *From Fierabras*, 1.

⁹³⁰ See Chapter II.

chapter after chapter describing yet more regions in the Far East is made explicit in the third book of IMP, in which he writes:

Righi Cumar 7 righi Melibar 7 righi Gusurach 7 ríge Caria 7 rígh
Cambiaech 7 ríge Semanach 7 ríge Osmacoram, don India moir iat-
sumh 7 immat righi immale friu 7 **ro badh scith tenga fria tuarascbail
do tabairt.**⁹³¹

With this paragraph, the author of IMP condenses four chapters of P. In fact, whereas in P a chapter is dedicated to each of the kingdoms of Cumar, Melibar and Gusurach, namely at III.32, III.34 and III.35, the kingdom of Ely, which is described in chapter III.33 in P, is not mentioned at all in IMP. The source of the Irish author's, *ro badh scith tenga fria tuarascbail do thabhairt*, is found in chapter III.36, in which Pipino explains that he will not describe the regions of Thana, Cambaeth, Semenath and Resmacoram, in order to avoid 'excessive prolixity' in his book:

[1] Post hoc pervenitur per mare **Thana, Cambaeth, Semenath et Resmacoram** ad occidentalem plagam; in quibus regnis mercaciones maxime fiunt, unumquotque horum regnorum regem proprium habet et proprium ydeoma et sunt in Yndia Maiori. [2] **Non sunt ibi alia, que in nostro libro iudicaverim describenda; de Maiori autem Yndia non scripsi, nisi de terris et regnis que mari adiacent, vel de insulis quibusdam que in illo mari sunt, quia terras scribere que in Yndia sunt infra terram laboriosum esset valde et adderetur libro nostro prolixitas nimia.**⁹³²

A comparison of these sections of IMP and P suggests that the Irish author took advantage of Pipino's own reluctance to describe the regions of India Maior and its islands, deciding to add instead a number of other kingdoms to Pipino's list. Thus,

⁹³¹ Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 420, ¶181; 131rb25-30.

⁹³² P III.36: 'After this, by sea one reaches Thana, Cambaeth, Semenath, and Resmacoram on the western side; in which kingdoms, the most transactions are made. Each of these kingdoms has their own king and language and they are all part of India Maior. [2] Here there are no others, which in our book I would choose to describe; of India Maior in fact I have not written, nor of the lands and kingdoms which are adjacent to the sea, nor indeed of those islands which are in that sea, because it would be laborious to write of the lands which are in the land of India, and it would add an excessive prolixity to our book.'

righi Cumar 7 righi Melibar 7 righi Gusurach are added to the list of kingdoms which the Irish author admits to having shortened in his adaptation in order to avoid exhausting the tongue, *ro badh scíth tenga*. These words, combined with the manner in which the content from P III.32-III.36 is abbreviated in IMP, may be interpreted as a comment by the Irish author on the toil of translating information about an interminable list of eastern territories.

On the other hand, several episodes of the *Travels* are given considerably more attention in IMP than they are in P. In many cases, the information that they translate has been reordered significantly, as well as expanded. In fact, the Irish author was cutting certain parts of the *Travels* from his translation while expanding others, resulting in the three books maintaining more or less the same proportions to each other in IMP as they do in P. Some of the most noteworthy and interesting of these expansions are found in the treatment of the second book of P.

2. IMP's expansions in Book II

The first twenty-five or so chapters of the second book of P are not concerned with the geography of the Far East, rather they give an account of Cublay Khan's war against his relatives and a description of his palace, his hunting practices and the customs and celebrations at his court. This section of P is adapted much more attentively in IMP, so that the first twenty-three chapters of the second book are all translated by the Irish author.⁹³³ This approach to the second book of P is significantly different to that of the first book, discussed above, in which the author skips entire chapters and large portions of P in the adaptation, in particular regarding the geographical layout of the East.

In the first twenty-three chapters of Book II, however, there are two accounts in P which have been given particular attention in IMP, and a comparison of the two texts reveals that the Irish author put considerable effort into rearranging the material of P into a new order for IMP. The first of these episodes describes the rebellion of Cublay's uncle Naim and cousin Cadau. By calculating the proportions of the paragraphs of P and IMP which contain the rebellion of Naim and Cadau to the rest of

⁹³³ Stokes paragraphs ¶54-96.

the text, it is possible to envisage the extent of the Irish author's reworking of P at this point in the text. In fact, while the rebellion comprises only 3% of P, it takes up 8% of IMP.⁹³⁴ The second episode which has been expanded significantly in IMP is the account of the city of Cambalu, and of Cublay's palace therein, which comprises 4% of P, but 7% of IMP. For these sections of IMP, the author has not made a straightforward translation, rather he has rewritten and remodelled the structure of the text to suit his own needs in IMP. An analysis of the manner in which the Irish author was rewriting these sections of P as well as translating them in IMP is offered in the following paragraphs.

2.1. Rebellion of Naim and Cadau

The second book of P and of IMP opens with the description of a rebellion against Cublay Khan, initiated by Nayam (Naim in IMP), an uncle of Cublay, and Caydu (Cadau in IMP), a cousin of Cublay. It has been argued in Chapter II that the use of the alliterative and bombastic narrative style of the Medieval Irish *cath* accentuates this section of the text in IMP, however there are also other indications that this part of IMP was given particularly close attention. For example, the account of the rebellion is given between paragraphs ¶54 and ¶66 of IMP, which amounts to approximately 8% of the entire text. On the other hand, the same episode is told between chapters II.1 and II.7 in P, which amounts to approximately 3% of the text. Therefore, the episode has been expanded by about 5% in IMP, the greatest of such expansions in the adaptation. Furthermore, a comparison with its source reveals that the section has undergone an enormous amount of rearrangement, indicating perhaps that the Irish author was attempting to improve the narrative flow of his work after noticing flaws in the structure of P. For example, while Pipino repeats the description of Cublay Khan's appearance in II.1 and II.8, the Irish author gathers all this information in ¶55.

Below is my transcription of the beginning of the second book of IMP, which corresponds to Stokes's paragraphs ¶54 and ¶55. Simion's transcription of P from

⁹³⁴ 1053 words in IMP ¶54-66 (7.62%) = approx 8% of entire IMP; 1295 words in P II.1-7 (3.3%) = approx 3% of P.

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, is displayed in the footnotes, and shows how information contained in chapters one, two, three, four, five and eight, has been rearranged in the composition of this section of IMP.

Feachtus do Mhagnus Cam a cathair Cambalau *con fhacad teachta* dia shaighit. Beannuighit dó. Fochtus Maghnus scela dibh. ‘Fuigli ruin againn duit,’ ar na teachta. Adre Maghnus as in tsuidhi rigda i mbui co ndechsath for leth. ‘Naim’ ol na teachta ‘.i. brathair hatharsa⁹³⁵ ar ndiultadh umla righi duitsi. Do roine 7 Cadau .i. mac a brathar aenta at aghaidhsi.⁹³⁶ Atat 7 na cethri righ fil fo mamus Naim lín a slúaign ac toigheacht at rigisi .i. Fuci Orcra 7 Cauli 7 Barsceel 7 Suchitingni⁹³⁷ 7 asberit conad fearr a ndlighedh forsin righi annaisi.’ Ba tus rigi do Chublay in tan sin⁹³⁸ iar mbriseadh cath n-imdha lais for iltiribh.⁹³⁹ Ba gaeth in tí fris ar canad sin.⁹⁴⁰ Gnuis rigda lais co n-dercuibh dishoillsidhe.⁹⁴¹ Méd 7 calmacht mhiled lais.⁹⁴² Do oirdis a bhaill diaraili.⁹⁴³ Roraidh dono nach cuirfeadh a choroin rig dia chind no gu n-aitheadh forro in fuigiull sin.⁹⁴⁴ Faidhis teachta for ceann a laech 7 a rig n-imfhoicsi ar ba derb lais dia cuireadh togairm for a shloghu i cianuibh a fhis dfhaghbail do Naim 7 triall teitheadh do fo fhoitrib 7 daingnibh.⁹⁴⁵ Faidhis coimhead ar na conairibh

⁹³⁵ **P.II.2.1:** patruus eius quidam nomine Naiam etatis annorum .XXX., qui multis regionibus et populis preerat, cogitavit, iuvenili vanitate commotus, contra dominum suum Cublay insurgere subito cum exercito maximo.

⁹³⁶ **P.II.2.1:** ad hoc autem requisivit regem nomine Caydu, qui nepos erat Cublay regis sed ipsum exosum habebat.

⁹³⁷ **P.II.5.2:** quatuor igitur provincias tunc obtinuit rex, quarum ista sunt nomina: Fuciorcia, Cauli, Bascol et Sichintin.

⁹³⁸ **P.II.1.2:** cepit autem regnare anno domini nostri Iesu Christi .MCCLVI.: **P.II.2.1:** Causa autem hec est propter quam semel ex quo regnavit egressus est ad pugnam: anno Domini .MCCLXXXVI.

⁹³⁹ **P.II.1.3:** ...nam ante quam regni coronam acciperet, sepe egrediebatur ad bella et in omnibus probiter se gerebat.

⁹⁴⁰ **P.II.2.3:** ...concilio pollens et in exercitus ac populi gubernacione providus ac discretus...

⁹⁴¹ **P.II.8.1:** ... faciem habet rubicundam et candidam, oculos nigros...

⁹⁴² **P.II.2.3:** Est autem in armis strenuus, virtute robustus.

⁹⁴³ **P.II.8.1:** ... atque per singula corporis sui membra proporcionis est optime.

⁹⁴⁴ **P.II.3.1:** ... iuravit se numquam coronam regiam delaturum nisi de illorum prodicione et audacia se vindicaret.

⁹⁴⁵ **P.II.3.2:** In viginti autem duobus diebus congregavit ... millitum et peditum ... de hiis qui erant vicini civitati Cambalu; causa autem hec fuit quare non convocavit maiorem exercitum: quia subito voluit in hostes ex insperato irruere, ne si diutius fuisset in congregacione amplioris exercitus immoratus ad Nayam noticiam pervenisset et ex hoc aut retrocessisset omnino aut ad tutiora loca suum exercitum transtulisset.

ar omun scel dfhaghbail do Naim.⁹⁴⁶ Ba he lin in tslúaigh do freagair he .i. da chath dhég 7 .xxx. míle marcach in cech cath dibh⁹⁴⁷ 7 di troighech um cech marcach.⁹⁴⁸ Dia toghairmeadh a shloghu i cianaibh ni ria rimh forro.⁹⁴⁹ Ro h-indleadh ceithri helifainti don righ 7 caislen claruig forro.⁹⁵⁰ Teit ann dono i remtus in chatha 7 a meirgi huasa.⁹⁵¹ Di la for fhichit do oc tinol in morsluaigh sin.⁹⁵² (124ra15-rb1).

2.1.1. Textual analysis

One of the most striking differences between this section of IMP and its corresponding chapters in P is the opening scene in Cublay's court, with the arrival of messengers announcing to the Khan that his uncle, Naim, is marching towards him in open rebellion. This is not present in P, and is an innovation of the Irish author. In fact, P only mentions that Cublay had become aware of the rebellion: *interea Cublay rex cuncta didicit que per illos fuerant ordinata*.⁹⁵³ The Irish author employed dialogue and direct speech to portray this scene, rewriting the episode using a more linear narrative, creating suspense and anticipation for the battle that follows. Similarly, the introduction of the other kings who are fighting for Naim is brought forward to the beginning of the episode in IMP, whereas in P these are named in chapter five, after the battle is won by Cublay, and Nayam has been put to death. Likewise, the physical description of Cublay in IMP is brought forward from chapter eight in P, a chapter which has nothing to do with the battle itself and is dedicated to

⁹⁴⁶ **P.II.3.3:** Interim autem mandavit rex vias tanta diligencia custodiri ut Naiam preparacionem et adventum ipsius omnino presentire non posset.

⁹⁴⁷ **P.II.4.2:** Cublay rex ascendit in collem cunctosque sui exercitus milites distinxit in .XII. acies, ita ut quelibet acies triginta millia militum contineret. However, the translation *marcach* derives from **P.II.3.2:** trecenta et .LX. millia millitum et peditum centum millia; which in Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 218, representative of group δ reads: .iii.a lx.a militum **equitum** et peditum milia.

⁹⁴⁸ **P.II.4.2:** pedites vero iuxta milites tali ordine collocavit ut in quibusdam aciebus duo pedites tenentes lanceas hinc inde ad unius militis latera ponerentur donec peditum numerus compleretur.

⁹⁴⁹ **P.II.3.2:** nam tantam posset militiam et peditum multitudinem in paucis mensibus congregare quod, pre stupore gentis innumere, quasi incredibile videretur.

⁹⁵⁰ **P.II.4.3:** Rex autem in mirabili castro ligneo erat, quod ab elephantibus quatuor portabatur, ubi erat suum regale vexillum.

⁹⁵¹ **P.II.4.4:** Cum vidisset autem exercitus Naiam insignia et exercitum Cublay vehementer expavit

⁹⁵² **P.II.3.2:** in viginti autem duobus diebus congregavit.

⁹⁵³ P. II.3.1: 'In the meantime, Cublay learned of the all the things that had been ordered by them (Nayam and Caydu).'

the appearance of the Khan and his family, entitled: *De forma Cublay regis et de uxoris et filiis et ancillis*.⁹⁵⁴ By concentrating the descriptions of Cublay's appearance and Naim's generals in the opening section of the episode, and by introducing direct speech, the author creates more anticipation for the battle than is found in P. While there is also a build up towards the battle in Pipino's account, the Irish author was able to rearrange and exploit the information of his base text to create even more suspense before the battle by the introduction of these narrative techniques.

The perception that the war between Naim and Cublay occurred at the beginning of Cublay's reign in IMP, *ba tus rigi do Chublay in tan sin*, is probably due to a scribal error in manuscripts of group δ , shown in Chapter III of the present study to be the group of manuscripts to which the Latin exemplar of IMP belonged. In the second chapter of the second book, Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 218 contains the scribal error MCCLX instead of MCCLXXXVI of other manuscripts,⁹⁵⁵ setting the date of the beginning of the rebellion to only four years after the beginning of Cublay's reign, which is given in the previous chapter as MCCLVI.⁹⁵⁶ Therefore, setting this battle at the beginning of Cublay's reign is probably not an innovation of the Irish author, but rather a consequence of the inaccuracies of his exemplar.

Similarly, the translation *marcach* in *da chath dhég 7 .xxx. míle marcach in cech cath dibh*, derives from a variant in manuscripts of the English branch, which in the third chapter of the second book contain the variant *ccc et lx milia militum equitum*.⁹⁵⁷ However, the translation of the organisation of Cublay's army into twelve

⁹⁵⁴ II.8.

⁹⁵⁵ A similar corruption is also present in other manuscripts of the β/γ group, such as Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, f. 77r, which reads MMCLXXX, and Oxford, Merton College, 312, f. 20vb, which reads: MMCLXXX. On the other hand, Princeton, University Library, Garret 157, f. 20r, contains the original MMCLXXXVI, as does Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, 162/83, f.47r, which reads 1286. It is likely that a first mistake was made by the copyist of the β/γ base manuscript, namely the omission of VI from MMCLXXXVI, and that a further mistake was made by the copyist of the base manuscript of group δ , namely the omission of XX from MMCLXXX.

⁹⁵⁶ I only became aware of this scribal error in group δ after consulting Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84], and am therefore unable to confirm that it is also present in that manuscript. However, the similarity between the two manuscripts in other readings suggests that this may well be the case.

⁹⁵⁷ Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 218, f. 82ra, representative of group δ reads: *.iii.a lx.a militum equitum*. For the β/γ group: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, f.77r: *ccc et lx milia militum equitum*, and Oxford, Merton College, 312, f. 21ra: *ccc et lx milia militum equitum*. For other manuscripts of the English branch, namely the 'bellare' group: Princeton, University Library, Garret 157, f. 20r: *trescenta clx milia equitum*, and Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, 162/83, f. 47v: *300 et 60 milia equitum*. Cf. also the

battalions, *ba he lin in tslúaigh do freagair he .i. da chath dhég 7 .xxx. míle marcach in cech cath dibh*, derives from chapter four of the second book, which in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, reads: *distinxit in .XII. acies, ita ut quelibet acies triginta millia militum contineret*. None of the manuscripts of the English branch, which I have been able to consult for this reading,⁹⁵⁸ contain the scribal error *eques* at this point, suggesting that the Irish author condensed the two descriptions of Cublay's army found in the third and in the fourth chapter into one description in IMP, and in doing so, translated the scribal error *militum equitum*, from the third chapter of the English branch, into *marcach* in IMP.

2.1.2. Contemporary significance

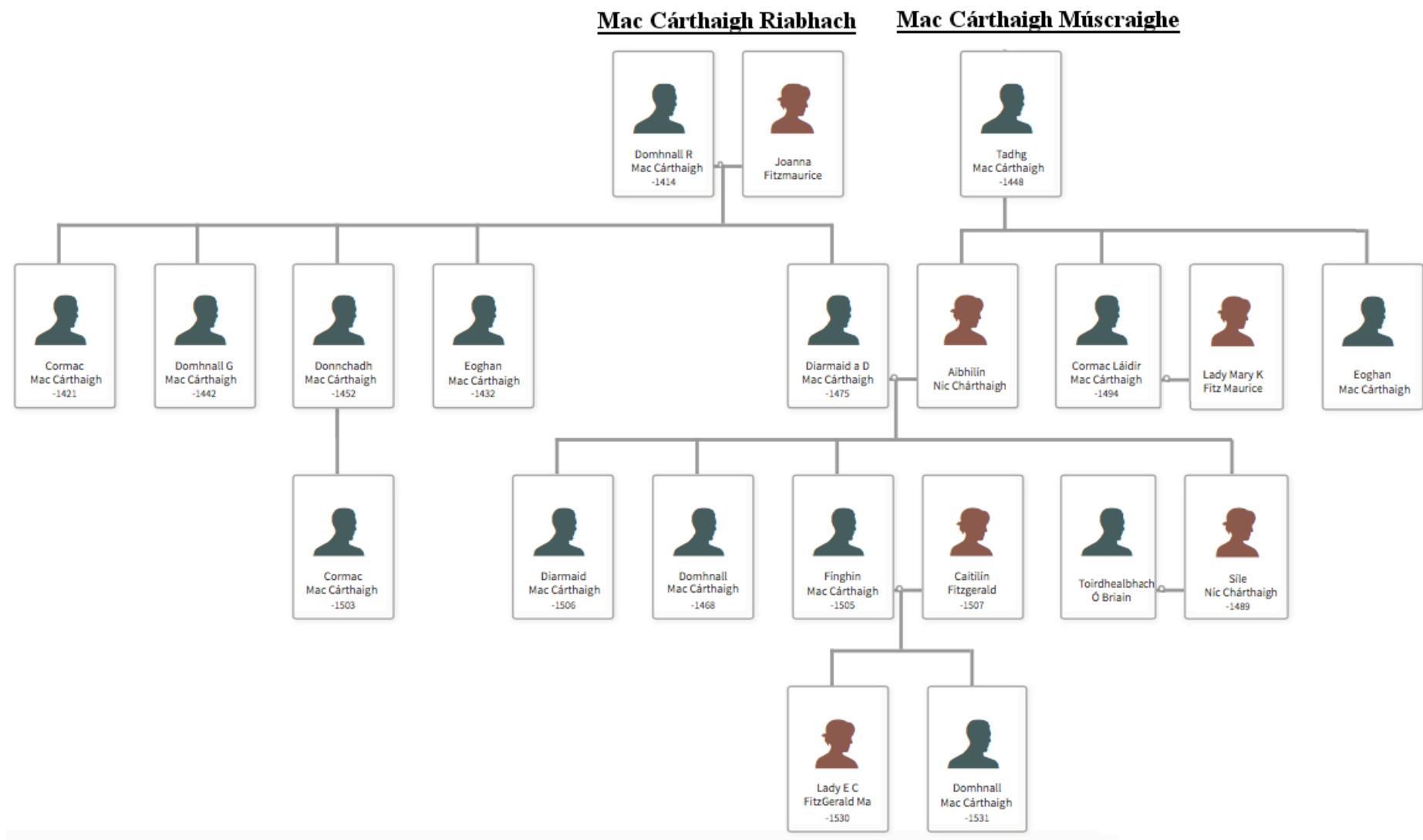
An examination of the footnotes to the extract above shows how IMP is a free reinterpretation of P at this point in the text, rather than a word-for-word translation. It has been mentioned above that this episode was expanded significantly in IMP, comprising 3% of P, but 8% of IMP. The motivation behind the reworking of this episode may be that the rebellion of Naim and Cadau against Cublay offered parallels to the wars in late-fifteenth century Munster, specifically to the usurping of the Uí Chairbre kingship from Diarmaid an Dúnaidh Mac Carthaigh Riabhach by his nephew Cormac Mac Carthaigh Riabhach in 1468, and the retaking of the kingship from Cormac by Diarmaid an Dúnaidh's son Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, patron of the Book of Lismore, in 1477.⁹⁵⁹ The following family tree displays the family relationships between these warring factions within the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family during the late-fifteenth century.⁹⁶⁰

reading without *equitum* from Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 13f. 94r: *ccc et lx milia militum*, showing how the reading *equitum* is only present in the English branch manuscripts of the *fidelissimi* group.

⁹⁵⁸ Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 218, 82rb: *distinxit in duodecennes ita ut quelibet acies 30 milia militum contineret*; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70, 77v: *distinxit in .xii. acies ita ut quelibet acies .xxx. milia militum contineret*; Oxford, Merton College, 312, 21rb: *distinxit in .xii. acies ita ut quelibet acies .xxx. milia militum contineret*; Princeton, University Library, Garret 157, 20v: *distinxit in .xii. acies ita ut quelibet acies .xxx. milia militum contineret*; Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, 162/83, 47v: *distinxit in 12 acies ita ut quelibet acies .xxx. milia militum contineret*.

⁹⁵⁹ Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 96.

⁹⁶⁰ These are taken from Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 96-101; Ó Cuív, 'A Fragment', 82-96. Domhnall Mac Carthaigh (†1468), Fínghean's brother, is mentioned in the Carew fragment edited by Ó Cuív. See also the genealogy of Mac Carthaigh Riabhach in *New History of Ireland* IX, 157; and for a general account of the lordship of Mac Carthaigh Riabhach see Butler, *Gleanings*, 157-94.



Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, to whom the poem *Ní théd an éigean a n-aisgidh* in the Book of Lismore is dedicated, was the son of Diarmaid an Dúnaidh Mac Carthaigh Riabhach and Aibhilín iníon Taidhg Mhic Chárthaigh Mhúsraighe.⁹⁶¹ He was married to Caitilín Fitzgerald, daughter of Tomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond (†1468). Fínghean's paternal cousin, Cormac mac Donnchaidh Mhic Charthaigh Riabhach, took the Mac Carthaigh Cairbreach kingship from his father, Diarmaid an Dúnaidh, during the wars which ensued after Tomas Fitzgerald, 7th Earl of Desmond, was beheaded by the Earl of Worcester on 14 February 1468 in Drogheda.⁹⁶² After the Earl's death, Tomas Fitzgerald's brother, Gearóid Fitzgerald, attempted to succeed to the Earldom of Desmond, and formed an alliance with Cormac Mac Donnchaidh Mhic Charthaigh Riabhach. Together they campaigned against Diarmaid an Dúnaidh in 1468, *ó Glaislinn go Ros*, i.e. from the Bandon estuary to Ros Ó gCairbre, in the heart of the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach lands,⁹⁶³ overthrowing Diarmaid and capturing key Mac Carthaigh Riabhach castles in Kilgobbin, on the banks of the Bandon east of Kilbrittain, in Monteen, west of Kilbrittain, and in Coolmain, south of Kilbrittain, effectively encircling the territories of the primary Mac Carthaigh Riabhach sept.⁹⁶⁴ Cormac also took two of Diarmaid's sons hostage, Fínghean and Diarmaid.⁹⁶⁵ Gearóid Fitzgerald's campaign against his nephew, Séamas son of the late Tomas Fitzgerald, was not as successful as Cormac Mac Carthaigh Riabhach's upheaval against his relatives, as Murchadh Ó Briain King of Thomond, Tadhg Mac Carthaigh Mór and Seán mac Uilliam De Barra all came out in support of Seamas' claim to the Earldom. This arrangement appears to have lasted until 1477, when Fínghean and his brother, who had been hostages of their cousin, managed to capture Cormac mac Donnchaidh Mhic Charthaigh Riabhach, with the help of their maternal uncle, Cormac Láidir Mac Carthaigh Músraighe, after which, in 1478, Cormac mac

⁹⁶¹ Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 96-101.

⁹⁶² Ó Cuív, 'A Fragment', 86.

⁹⁶³ Ó Murchadha, 'Glaislinn', 113

⁹⁶⁴ Cosgrove, 'Ireland', 582. Holland, *History*, 24 and 358. Ó Murchadha, 'The Castle', 79.

⁹⁶⁵ Ó Cuív, 'A Fragment', 93. NB: in the fragment of Irish Annals edited and translated by Ó Cuív, Fínghean's brother is called Donnchadh. However, in the Annals of the Four Masters, Fínghean's brother, who succeeds him as Mac Carthaigh Cairbreach for one year after his death, between 1505 and 1506, is named Diarmaid: AFM: 1506.12: *Mag Carthaigh Cairbreach .i. Diarmaid mac Diarmada an Dúnaidh mic Domhnaill Riabhach d'écc*. It has been suggested to me by Kenneth Nicholls, that the fragment analysed by Ó Cuív is an extract from the lost annals of Domhnall Ó Fithcheallaigh ('Donald Ó Fihely'), cf. Nicholls, 'The Development', 202, n. 111. In the early-eighteenth century genealogy of the Mac Carthaigh family, this brother is named Diarmaid, cf. Lainé, *Généalogie*, 83-84.

Donnchaidh was blinded and deposed.⁹⁶⁶ Gearóid Fitzgerald was also killed in 1477, perhaps during the same course of events which saw the capture of Cormac mac Donnchaidh, his old ally in the wars of 1468.⁹⁶⁷ The Annals of Connacht and the Annals of the Four Masters (AFM) contain similar entries describing the onslaught and devastation which ensued in the southern half of Munster in 1477:

Cocadh Mumhan amach uile d'erge tresan *n-gabháil*-sin 7 an leth thes do
mhilleadh uile eittir Ghallaibh 7 Gaoidhealaibh.

(*Annála Connacht* 1477.3)

Cocad Muman imach uile do erge trit sin cur milled uile etir Gall 7 Goidel
in léith tes.

(AFM 1477.9)

This scenario shows how both Fínghean and Caitilín's family had fought with close family members. In Fínghean's case, his cousin Cormac Mac Donnchaidh, had been Fínghean's captor for almost a decade and had taken the kingship of Uí Chairbre from his father, Diarmaid an Dúnaidh, by force in 1468. In Caitilín's case, her paternal uncle Gearóid had attempted to take the Earldom of Desmond from her brother Seamas during the same conflict, and had been killed in the ensuing war in 1477. That this conflict was formative in Fínghean and Caitilín's reign is commemorated by the poem beginning *Ní théd an éigean a n-aisgidh* on folio 158 in the Book of Lismore, composed by Mathghamhain Ó Dálaigh.⁹⁶⁸ The similarities between the injustices

⁹⁶⁶ *Ann. Conn.*: 1478.6: *Cormac Mac Donnchada Meg Carthaig do dallad la a braithreachaib fein iarna beith i llaim fada reme-side. Oidci na gaethaige doronad in gnim-sin.* Although this annal entry indicates that he was mutilated by his brothers, this may be a mistake for *col ceathracha* or *la clainn bhrathar a athar*, indicating that it was his old prisoners and enemies, Fínghean and Diarmaid, who did the deed. In the Annals of Loch Cé, the sons of Diarmaid an Dúnaidh castrate Cormac: ALC:14781: *Corbmac Mag Carthaigh do spochadh re cloinn Diermadai an Dúnaidh.*

⁹⁶⁷ *Ann. Conn.*: 1477.4: *Geroid mac Iarlaa Desmuman occisus est. Ocht fir x. do Geraltachaib do milled da esi sin.* Although the Annals do not specify that Gearóid was killed during the same events which saw the capture of Cormac Mac Donnchaidh, Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 99, implies that the two events may have been related, due to the fact that one entry immediately follows the other in the Annals of Connacht.

⁹⁶⁸ Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 98. According to an accompanying note, the poem was written by *Mathghamhain mac Domhnaill mheic Eoghain Ó Dálaigh*. See also McKenna, L., 'To Mág Carthaigh Riabhach', 664-668, for a poem dedicated to Domhnall mac Domhnaill Mac Carthaigh Riabhach (†1414), Fínghean's grandfather, attributed by two of its sources to Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh (†1387) and by the other two to Eóghan, his son. It is worth

suffered by Fínghean and his wife Caitilín from their respective families were apparent to Mathghamhain, who remarked upon them in verse 26 of his poem:

26 Inann eachtra d'Iarla Mhumhan
's do Mhág Carrthaigh nár chaill sídh:
nír áil ceachtar díbh 'na dúthaigh,
beantar a [d]tír dúthaigh díbh.⁹⁶⁹

Two verses later, the poet again highlights how Fínghean suffered at the hands of his family:

28 Dá shlicht féin ag fulang ainbhreath
aimsear fhada dá fholt bhug;
gérbh umhla iná gach aen oile
nír bh umhla a [d]taebh toile thuc.⁹⁷⁰

Mathghamhain's poem is primarily concerned with defending Fínghean's retribution on his cousin and justifying the use of force to regain his father's lands. The annal entries, quoted above for the year 1477, indicate that Fínghean's victory over Cormac was the result of a devastating war, which saw the destruction of 'the entire southern half of Munster'. In this context, the highly technical and legal language used in the poem, highlighted by Ó Cuív,⁹⁷¹ serves the purpose of legitimising Fínghean's bloody conquest, giving it an aura of authority and righteousness. Similarly, paralleling the injustices suffered by Fínghean and by Caitilín's brother furthers the idea that they were blameless victims in the events of 1468 and 1477. The justice of Fínghean's cause and his right to come into his inheritance by any means available to him is further asserted in a note which accompanies the poem on folio 150v. The author of

considering whether this Eóghan Ó Dálaigh, who wrote for Fínghean's grandfather, may have been the same Eóghan who is mentioned in the genealogy of Mathghamhain Ó Dálaigh in the accompanying note to his poem for Fínghean. Such a consideration is, of course, speculative in the absence of further evidence.

⁹⁶⁹ Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 105. 'Identical is what happened to the Earl of Munster and to Mág Carthaigh who lost not peace; nether of them was accepted in his own country; each was deprived of his own native territory.'

⁹⁷⁰ Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 106. 'For a long time the smooth-haired one suffered injustice from his own kin; though he was more modest than anyone else he did not yield in the matter of will.'

⁹⁷¹ Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 98.

this note, who is not necessarily Mathghamhain Ó Dálaigh himself, begins by explaining how Cormac mac Donnchaidh had committed an injustice:

Cuirimid ar ar son and so nach iad clann Diarmada Még Carrthaigh do-chuaidh le égcóir ar Cormac Mág Carrthaigh, acht sé fén do dhul tar sinnsireacht do bhuain a thighearnais dá shinnsir bráthar 7 nach dearnadh sin roimhe riamh acht umhlaghadh don sinnsir d'éis a chéli acca gu n-uigi sin. [...] 7 atá an laidh so thuas do-rinne Mathghamhain mac Domhnaill mhic Eoghain hÍ Dháluigh, duba comhthrom do Chormac Mág Carrthaigh, gá dhearbhadh gurab égcóir do-rinne Cormac ar Dhiarmuid Mág Carrthaigh do bhí 'na éndearbhráthair athar aigi 7 'na chairdeas Crisd 7 'na altroinn. 7 ar na haghbhuraibh sin do dhligh Fínghean Mág Carrthaigh tigheranas a athar do beanudh de go hégcóir do ghabháil cuigi gu cóir do bhreth Dé 7 a dhlighidh.⁹⁷²

This note highlights the close relationship between Cormac, Diarmuid an Dúnaidh and Fínghean, explaining that Diarmuid, who was the last remaining brother of Cormac's father, *na éndearbhráthair athar aigi*,⁹⁷³ had also been a godfather, *na chairdeas Crisd*, and foster-father, *na altroinn*, to his nephew Cormac. One conclusion that may be drawn from this is that it is in the context of close family betrayals within the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family and the Fitzgerald family of Desmond, that the rebellion of Naim and Cadau was being rewritten and read in L. The dialogue scene at the beginning of the second book of IMP, set in Cublay's court, which opens with the arrival of messengers announcing to the Khan that Naim, a brother of his father, *brathar h-atharsa*, was refusing to acknowledge his right to rule,

⁹⁷² Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 109. 'For our part we set down here that it was not the family of Diarmaid Mág Carthaigh that wrongly opposed Cormac Mág Carthaigh, but that he [Cormac] infringed the law of seniority and deprived his older kinsman of the lordship, although that had never been done before, for up till then all in turn had acknowledged the eldest. [...] And the above poem which was composed by Mathghamhain son of Domhnall son of Eoghan Ó Dálaigh who was unbiased as regards Cormac, establishes that Cormac wronged Diarmaid who was a brother of his father, his godfather and foster-father. And for these reasons Fínghean Mág Carthaigh was entitled, according to the judgement of God and his law, to take over for himself his father's lordship which was wrongly taken from him.' L f. 158va.

⁹⁷³ I suggest that Ó Cuív's translation of *éndearbhráthair athar* as 'a brother of his father', may be better rendered as 'the only brother of his father' or 'the one remaining brother of his father'. The probable meaning of this use of *én-* (<*aon-*>) is that Cormac's father and other uncles had died by the time Cormac betrayed his father's brother, i.e. Fínghean's father, i.e. Diarmaid an Dúnaidh, and that Diarmaid was therefore the only uncle, *éndearbhráthair athar*, Cormac had left.

ar ndiultadh umla righi duitsi, and that along with a son of Naim's brother, *mac a brathar*, he had formed an alliance against him, *do roine ... aenta at aghaidhsi*, must have sounded familiar to Fínghean and his family. If IMP was written at the same time as Mathghamhain's poem, the rebellion of Cublay's uncle and cousin, Naim and Cadau, against him may have been deliberately recrafted to mirror the struggles of Fínghean against his cousin Cormac mac Donnchaidh, and the dynastic troubles of Caitilín's brother, Séamas Fitzgerald, against their uncle Gearóid.

This parallel is not precise in terms of family relationships, in that Naim and Cadau are both related to Cublay through his side of the family, and not through his wife. Yet one does not have to look far in the family trees of fifteenth-century Irish nobility to find relatives at war with each other. A more general interpretation of the expansion of Naim's rebellion in IMP is that the Irish author knew that his audience would recognise Cublay's position of being besieged and betrayed by relatives, and that the circumstances of this war would resonate with them. If these parallels are correct, the vivid descriptions of the battles in the Far East between Cublay and his relatives in IMP would have been a stark reminder of the wars of 1477, which the Annals remember as terrible, and the poem in L is concerned with defending. If the author of IMP was working directly for Fínghean, as was Mathghamhain Ó Dálaigh, he may have decided to embellish the episode of Naim's rebellion in his adaptation in order to maximise its potential as a complement to Fínghean's triumph over his cousin Cormac, and the victory of Caitilín's brother Séamas over his uncle Gearóid. If this interpretation is correct, then the date of the composition of IMP must have been very close to the date of the writing of L.

2.2. The City and Palace of Cambalu

Another section of IMP that has a larger proportion to the rest of the text in IMP than it does in P, is the description of the city of Cambalu, modern day Beijing,⁹⁷⁴ and of the Khan's palace therein, found between chapters nine and thirteen of the second book of P, and broadly corresponding to the translated text between paragraphs ¶68

⁹⁷⁴ Yule, *Travels*, I:362-78.

and ¶83 of Stokes's edition. This section comprises 4% of P, and 7% of IMP.⁹⁷⁵ Here again the Irish author adapted the text rearranging the content of P as he had done previously with the episode of the rebellion of Naim. For example, whereas Pipino begins by describing *de mirabili palatio eius* (Cublay) *quod est in Cambalu* in chapter nine, before moving onto *descripcio civitatis Cambalu* in chapter ten and *de suburbiis et mercatoribus maximis civitatis Cambalu* in chapter eleven, the Irish author begins by describing the city of Cambalu and its suburbs, ¶68-¶71, and then recounts the details of Cublay's palace therein, between ¶72 and ¶83.

The following table aligns the titles of chapters nine to thirteen of the second book of P with the beginning of their respective paragraphs in IMP.⁹⁷⁶ The paragraphs of IMP have been rearranged to match the order in which they are found in P. This illustrates the efforts of the Irish author to rearrange and rewrite this section of his adaptation:

IMP	P
¶80 Tri mhissa gnathaighit bheith amhlaid sin.⁹⁷⁷ (II.9.1). ¶72 Palas in righ i meadhon na cathrac sin.⁹⁷⁸ (II.9.2 and 4). ¶77 .U. dhoirrsi toebh fria toebh.⁹⁷⁹ (II.9.3). ¶74 Sluaighthech ina meadon. Do marmuir rotocbhadh.⁹⁸⁰ (II.9.5). ¶75 SE .m. no bítis oc tocaithium.⁹⁸¹ (II.9.5). ¶73 Dinna na ningen 7 na laech.⁹⁸² (II.9.6-7). ¶81 Fil tuluch ard allamuigh.⁹⁸³ (II.9.8). ¶83 Atbath chemchini 7 rofhacuibh macc.⁹⁸⁴	9. De mirabili palatio eius quod est in Cambalu et mira illius loci amenitate.

⁹⁷⁵ P.II.9-13 = 1569 (4% of P) / IMP ¶68-¶83 = 954 (7% of IMP).

⁹⁷⁶ Except ¶82, which translates parts of P.II.8.4-6.

⁹⁷⁷ 125rbz-va1.

⁹⁷⁸ 125ra18-19.

⁹⁷⁹ 125rb11.

⁹⁸⁰ 125ra29.

⁹⁸¹ 125rb1.

⁹⁸² 125ra24.

⁹⁸³ 125va4.

(II.9.9).	
¶68 Fil cathair naili la magnus cam. ⁹⁸⁵ (II.10.1). ¶69 Batar .iiii. cula forincathraig sin. ⁹⁸⁶ (II.10.2). ¶71 Ata clog romor fora lar. ⁹⁸⁷ (II.10.3).	10. Descriptio civitatis Cambalu.
¶70 Ni deantur creic na cundrad. ⁹⁸⁸ (II.11.3).	11. De suburbiis et mercatoribus maximis civitatis Cambalu.
¶76 .iiii. taisigh imchoimeta fair. ⁹⁸⁹ (II.12.2).	12. Qualiter persona Magni Kaam magnifice custoditur.
¶78 No shuidhedh cublay inashuidhe righ. ⁹⁹⁰ (II.13.1-2). ¶79 No bhidh tunna ordha amedhon an rightoighi. ⁹⁹¹ (II.13.4-8).	13. De magnificencia conviviorum eius.

The above comparison of Stokes's paragraph numbers in the left-hand column of the table above, and the number of the chapter and section of P which they translate, shows how the Irish author changed the order in which the information he translated from P appeared in IMP. For example, he started by translating section [3] in chapter ten of the second book, followed by sections [2] and [4] from chapter nine of the second book, followed by sections [6] and [7] from chapter nine, followed by section [5] from chapter nine, followed by section [2] from chapter twelve.⁹⁹² This reshuffling of the order in which material from P is translated in IMP shows that the Irish author went to great lengths to rewrite this section of P, and was intentionally changing the manner of his translation, avoiding the more straightforward paraphrasing technique that he adopted for the geographical parts of the *Travels*, and choosing instead to rewrite and reimagine this part of the text. Below is a textual analysis of the manner in

⁹⁸⁴ 125va24-25.

⁹⁸⁵ 124vb29.

⁹⁸⁶ 124vb36.

⁹⁸⁷ 125va14.

⁹⁸⁸ 125ra4-5.

⁹⁸⁹ 125rb5-6.

⁹⁹⁰ 125rb15.

⁹⁹¹ 125rb21-22.

⁹⁹² My transcription of these paragraphs of IMP and footnotes to the corresponding sections of P are discussed below under 'Textual analysis'.

which the Irish author adapted the chapters of P relating to the city and palace of Cambalu.

2.2.1. Textual analysis

In IMP, the author describes the bronze doors of Cambalu and the impregnable towers in which the Tartars keep their weapons:

Batar .iiii. cula for in cathraigh sin 7 .iii. mile for cech n-ae .iii.a dorus umhaidhi for cech ceathramhain di 7 dind dithoghlaidhi for cech ndorus 7 for cech cuil dibh gu ngriananuibh solusda gu halladhaibh righda is annsin dia cuirter a n-airm 7 a n-eididh 7 a n-eirridh uili dia taiscidh co huair chatha dhoibh.⁹⁹³

In P however, the description of the city's walls and towers is more specific and less embellished:

Habet etiam portas principales duodecim in qualibet scilicet quadratura tres et super singulas portas singula palatia sunt, et in omnibus murorum angulis similiter palatia sunt in quibus sunt aule plurime ubi servantur arma custodum civitatis illius.⁹⁹⁴

In P there is no mention of the doors to the city being made of bronze, as in IMP's *umhaidhi*, or of the towers being impregnable, as in IMP's *dithoghlaidhi*. Similarly, P's *in quibus sunt aule plurime* is translated with *gu ngriananuibh solusda gu halladhaibh righda*, which bears no resemblance to the Latin. These differences are not due to misreadings in the exemplar of IMP, nor are they found in any other versions of P discussed in Chapter II, rather they are deliberate expansions of the Irish author.

Similarly, the account of Cublay's palace describes its regal halls and its sunlit balconies of pure marble, expanding significantly on the corresponding descriptions in P. In the following extract the descriptions in IMP which are not found in P, or in any of the other versions of P discussed in Chapter II, are in bold characters, allowing for a visualisation of the extent to which the author was embellishing his source text.

⁹⁹³ Transcription is my own from L ff. 124vb-125ra. Cf. Stokes ¶69.

⁹⁹⁴ P.II.10.2.

The corresponding sections of P are found in the footnotes. My transcription corresponds to Stokes, paragraphs ¶72-¶74:

Palas in righ i meadhon na cathrach sin. .iiii. cula lais. *Míle fod cech ae dibh.*⁹⁹⁵ *Istadh oirmhitneach lasna .iiii. riguibh fil forro, cu halladhaibh rigda 7 cu ngriananaibh solusda do mharmair ghloin 7 tuir dhithoghlaidhi* fora muraibh ina taiscthe a cuaich 7 a n-eascraí 7 a seotu aili.⁹⁹⁶ *Dinna na n-inghena 7 na laech archena for fiarlait in dúnaidh*⁹⁹⁷ 7 lubhghuirt *leasaighthe* fria taebhuibh,⁹⁹⁸ *cu toptraibh taitneamhucha,* cu fiadhmhilibh *eceannuis*⁹⁹⁹ *da gach mhonad for bith cu luibhibh ictha cacha teadhma.* Sluaigtheach ina meadhon.¹⁰⁰⁰ *Do marmar ro tocbhadh.* Adbhul a fhod 7 a leithed. Niamh oir fair allastig 7 dia n-eachtair.¹⁰⁰¹ Do rinnadh fair beos do brechtradh gacha datha imhaigi na cath 7 na congall do ratad is na hiltiribh sin¹⁰⁰² 7 *fuath gach anmhanna eceannus for bith, curbo dith amhaire do shuilibh dearcadh fair.*¹⁰⁰³ (125ra18-35).

A comparison of this extract of IMP with the corresponding sections of P shows that P is not the source of many of the descriptions found in IMP. IMP's regal halls, sunlit balconies of pure marble, impregnable towers, lodgings of the men and women throughout the fort and glittering wells are all inventions of the Irish author which do not exist in P or in any of the other versions of P discussed in Chapter II. Some of these descriptions are repeated throughout the text, as for example *halladha rigda*, *grianáin solusda* and *tuir dhithoghlaidhi*, found at paragraph ¶69 of Stokes's edition

⁹⁹⁵ **P.II.9.2:** Primo tocius palatii ambitus continet miliaria quatuor, ita ut quadratura qualibet unum miliare continet.

⁹⁹⁶ **P.II.9.4:** Intra palatia vero predicta que in faciebus muri prioris sunt in distantia congrua est alius murus ad modum alterius, qui simili modo octo palatia continet in quibus servantur alia vasa et utensilia pretiosa et iocalia magni regis.

⁹⁹⁷ **P.II.10.3:** Intra urbem vero multa et pulcra palatia sunt et alie domus multe pulcre sunt valde. P.II.11.1: suntque ibi palatia tam pulcra et magna ut interiora sunt, excepto regali palatio.

⁹⁹⁸ **P.II.9.6:** Intra muros vero prefatos et intra predicta palatia sunt viridaria pulcra in quibus prata sunt et ligna pomifera optima.

⁹⁹⁹ **P.II.9.6:** in his viridariis sunt animalia silvestria multa scilicet cervi albi, animalia illa in quibus muscatum invenitur, de quibus in primo libro dictum est, capree, damule, varii et alia animalia valde.

¹⁰⁰⁰ **P.II.9.5:** In spacio autem medio interiori est regale palatium.

¹⁰⁰¹ **P.II.9.5:** parietes aularum et camerarum omnes auro et argento tecti sunt.

¹⁰⁰² **P.II.9.5:** ibique sunt picture pulcherrime et hystorie bellorum depicte.

¹⁰⁰³ **P.II.9.5:** Propter huius autem ornamenta atque picturas palatium splendidum est valde.

and discussed above. These repetitions are found throughout IMP and give the text uniformity in its descriptions.

On the other hand, the idea that the lodgings of the maidens and heroes, *dinna na n-inghena 7 na laech*, are scattered around the fort among the lush gardens of the palace, *lubhghuirt leasaighthe fria taebhuibh*, is not found in the description of the Khan's palace in P, rather it has been derived from the statement of there being many splendid palaces in the city, *intra urbem vero multa et pulcra palatia sunt*,¹⁰⁰⁴ combined with the description of the gardens of the palace, *intra muros vero prefatos et intra predicta palatia sunt viridaria pulcra in quibus prata sunt et ligna pomifera optima*.¹⁰⁰⁵ By combining these two accounts, which are found in different chapters in P, the Irish author creates a more idyllic and picturesque description of the city of Cambalu, depicting its inhabitants as living amongst the green, fertile gardens of the palace, with its glittering wells, its wild animals of every species in the world and its herbs that can cure any disease: *lubhghuirt leasaighthe fria taebhuibh cu topraig taitneamhucha cu fiadhmhilibh eceannuis da gach mhonad for bith cu luibhibh ictha cacha teadhma*.¹⁰⁰⁶ The use of alliterating adjectives in *lubhghuirt leasaighthe* and *topraig taitneamhucha*, illustrates how the author was more concerned with enhancing his prose than accurately translating P. In fact, he is often indifferent to the precise details of his source text, generalising and reimagining the list of animals in the gardens of the palace, translating Pipino's 'white stags, goats, does and many other various animals', *animalia silvestria multa scilicet cervi albi [...] capree, damule, varii et alia animalia valde*, into 'every untamed wild animal of every species in the world', *cu fiadhmhilibh eceannuis da gach mhonad for bith*.

Similarly, the detail of the *sluaigtheach* being made of marble, *do marmair ro tocbhadh*, is also invented and is not found in the description of the same palace in P. However, a marble palace is described in chapter sixty-six of the first book of P, which describes the city of Ciandu, *in qua est marmoreum palacium maximum et pulcherrimum cuius aule et camere auro ornate sunt et mira varietate depicte*,¹⁰⁰⁷ which is translated in IMP as, *palas marmair fora lar co sluaigtheach rigda lais, co*

¹⁰⁰⁴ P.II.10.3.

¹⁰⁰⁵ P.II.9.6.

¹⁰⁰⁶ ¶73.

¹⁰⁰⁷ P.I.66.1.

*seomradhaibh solusta, co neim n-oir forro allamuigh 7 tall.*¹⁰⁰⁸ Therefore, in the same way that the descriptions of *halladha rigda* and *grianáin solusda* were expanded in the account of the of the Khan's royal palace in Cambalu, so also was the portrayal of the palace being made of marble. The following three transcriptions illustrate how variations on these descriptions of the palaces of the Far East are found throughout IMP. The first relates to the palace built by Aloadam in Mulete, in Northern Persia,¹⁰⁰⁹ the second to Cublay's palace in the city of Siaudu, the Chinese city of Chengu,¹⁰¹⁰ and the third relates to the capital city of Sipangu, modern day Japan.¹⁰¹¹ The standardised descriptions in question are in bold characters.

Cricha Mulete do Macametus adhrait. Fil ri fuirre. Aloadam a ainm. Do ronta **palas rigda** lais a **nglind dithoghlaidhi** for sliabh urard co **neimh n-oir fair co ngriananuibh solusta** lais cu **lubhghortaibh leasaighthe** cu **tobraibh solusda** fria thaebh.¹⁰¹²

Palas marmair for a lar co **sluaigteach rigda** lais co **seomraidhibh solusta** co **neimh n-oir forro allamuigh 7 thall.**¹⁰¹³

Fil cathair oireachuis leou. Do roine in ri **palas anorach** na meadhon cu **halla rigda 7 gu seomraidhibh solusda.**¹⁰¹⁴

¹⁰⁰⁸ ¶48.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Yule, *Travels*, I:141.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid., I:304.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid., II:256.

¹⁰¹² f. 121va. Stokes paragraph ¶12. **P.I.28:** [4] In valle enim quadam, que circunclauditur altissimis montibus, maximum ac pulcherimum viridarium fecit, ubi omnium herbarum, florum et fructuum delectabilium erat copia; ibi erant palacia pulcherima, mira varietate depicta et deaurata; ibi fluebant rivi varii et diversi, aque ac vini, mellis ac lactis. [...] [5] Erat autem ad introitum viridarii castrum fortissimum quod diligentissime custodiebatur, nec per aliam viam ad locum illum ingressus esse poterat vel regressus. [6] Tenebat autem Senex ille – sic enim in lingua nostra vocabatur, sed eius nomen erat Alaodim.

¹⁰¹³ f. 123vb. Stokes paragraph ¶48. **P.I.66:** [1] Post recessum a civitate Ciangamor ad .III. dietas ad aquilonem reperitur civitas Ciandu quam edificavit Magnus Kaam Cublai, in qua est marmoreum palacium maximum et pulcherrimum cuius aule et camere auro ornate sunt et mira varietate depicte.

¹⁰¹⁴ f. 129rb. Stokes paragraph ¶147. **P.III.2:** [5] Rex insule palatium magnum habet auro optimo supertectum, sicut apud nos ecclesie operiuntur plumbo. Fenestre omnes palatii auro ornate sunt et pavimentum aularum atque camerarum multarum aureis tabulis est opertum; que quidem auree tabule duorum digitorum mensuram in grossicie continent.

The result of repetitions such as *halladha rigda*, *lubhghoirt leasaighthe*, *seomradha* and *grianáin solusta*, and *tuir* and *gleanna dithoghlaidhi*, and their expansion to parts of the adaptation where they do not translate corresponding descriptions in P, is that the description of the cities and palaces in IMP becomes homogenised and the portrayal of the Far East becomes standardised. So it is that the detailed, first-hand account of the palaces of the royal houses of China are omitted. In describing the city of Cambalu the Irish author reverted to his learning and imagination, and relied on the recognition by his audience of more traditional descriptive styles. In many of these descriptions the author quotes himself, using the same adjectives to describe different palaces and cities in different parts of the world, ignoring the distinctions made by Pipino. However, these passages also echo other descriptions of palaces in other Medieval and Early Modern Irish texts, such as the description of the fortress given by Aengus Óg mac in Dagda to the three sons of Lugaid Menn, the King of Ireland in the *Agallamh*,¹⁰¹⁵ or the description of the fortress of Aodh Rua, given by Fionn in *Feis Tighe Chonáin*:

Dúnad 7 **dingna** 7 **baili** rigda rómhór co **sonnaighib** sith-árda 7 gu n-
griananaib gleorda glainidi 7 co **tighibh** rinn-radharcacha rómhóra isinn
inad bus áil dóibh.¹⁰¹⁶

(*Agallamh na Senórach*)

Dúna ríogha ró-mhaiseach 7 **pioláit** álaind iongantach 7 **sunnach**
íarnaidhe ina tiomchioll 7 mórán do **chuailibh** fada reamur maille ris 7
ceand duine ar gach aon cuaille dhíobh.¹⁰¹⁷

(*Feis Tighe Chonáin*)

Although these descriptions are not identical to the ones found in IMP, they are written in the same narrative rhythm, using the same formula which is rendered above: a series of conjunctive clauses composed of a noun, in bold, and a series of

¹⁰¹⁵ Stokes, 'Acallamh', 11: *trí meic Luigdech Mind meic Aengusa .i. trí meic rígh Eirenn. Ruidhi 7 Fiacha 7 Eochaid a n-anmanna.*

¹⁰¹⁶ Stokes, 'Acallamh', 13. Translation from Dooley, *Tales of the Elders of Ireland*, 15: 'a fortress and stronghold and great royal estate, enclosed by long and high palisades, with bright luminous sunrooms and great, lofty buildings, wherever they desire.'

¹⁰¹⁷ Joynt, *Feis*, 28. Translation is my own: 'a royal, ornate fortress, a beautiful great palace and an iron palisade around it, which had many long thick spikes, and human heads on the end of each of them.'

attributive adjectives, underlined. This indicates how the author of IMP was referencing a specific literary and descriptive style in his adaptation, gaelicising the *Travels* by rephrasing the long detailed descriptions found in P into a format recognised by Early Modern Irish audiences. The interest of the author was not in the accuracy or veracity of his descriptions, nor in staying true to his source and translating a text which might increase his audiences' understanding of the wonders of the East, rather he used the descriptions in P as a starting point upon which to develop his own representations of the Far East, in order to remain within and conform to the recognised margins of Early Modern Irish literature.

2.2.2. Contemporary significance

This special treatment of the city of Cambalu and of the Khan's palace in IMP, may reflect an effort on the part of the Irish author to cater to the interests of his patrons in his adaptation. Whether or not IMP was translated for Fínghean Mac Carthaigh (as seems likely), descriptions of the architectural features of castles and of the internal designs of towers and palaces would have been of interest to members of the fifteenth-century Irish ruling class who were involved in the construction of tower houses and other fortifications. In his archaeological survey of the tower houses of Cairbre, Wycliffe dated the construction of two of the major surviving tower houses in Mac Carthaigh Riabhach lands to the period immediately prior to Fínghean's tenure, namely: Kilgobbin, built in Diarmaid an Dúnaidh's time,¹⁰¹⁸ and An Monteen, built during Cormac mac Donnchaidh's time.¹⁰¹⁹ Furthermore, in her obit in AFM, Fínghean Mac Carthaigh's wife Caitlín Fitzgerald is remembered as having constructed An Bheann Dubh, identified by Wycliffe as Castle Salem:¹⁰²⁰

Caitilin inghen iarla Desmhumhan .i. Tomas mac Semais baintighearna Ua c-Cairpre ben dercach deigheinish d'écc, as lé do-rónadh an Benn Dubh, et Dún na m-Bend.¹⁰²¹

¹⁰¹⁸ Wycliffe, *Tower Houses*, 608.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid., 683.

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid., 351.

¹⁰²¹ AFM v, 1406.14. Nicholls has suggested that the *et* between Beann Dubh and Dún na mBeand is a mistake for *.i.*, and that the two locations are the same. Cf. Nicholls, 'The Development', 193, note 261.

Descriptions of the layout of castles and palaces in the Far East in P may have presented the Irish author with an opportunity to tailor his adaptation to the interests of his patrons. In the same way that Irish author expanded the section relating to Naim's rebellion in IMP, in order to incorporate stylistic features familiar to his audience, namely those of the Middle Irish *cath*,¹⁰²² and in order to create parallels between the wars of Cublay against his relatives and the internal struggles of Medieval Irish ruling families,¹⁰²³ rewriting and expanding the descriptions of the palaces of the Far East shifts the emphasis of IMP away from the endless list of distant lands which would tire one's tongue, *ro badh scíth tenga*, to parts of the text which the author's audience and the patrons of L would have found more interesting. In addition, given that a parallel between Fínghean and Cublay may have been made during the episode immediately preceding these descriptions, namely in the account of Naim's rebellion, embellishing the description of Cublay's palace and capital city may have been a way of flattering Fínghean further, by comparing his kingdom and possessions to those of the Great Khan.

3. IMP's rewriting of the prologue

3.1. The Missing Beginning and Lost Folios

The section of IMP in which the author departs the most from his source is the prologue of the text, which however is also incomplete. In fact, it is clear that the beginning of IMP is missing when it opens mid-sentence on folio 121ra, as is the conclusion of the previous text, *Sdair na Lumbardach (SNL)*, which cuts off abruptly at the end of folio 120vb indicating that at least one folio has been lost, containing the end of *SNL* and the beginning of IMP. Interestingly, the sequence in the Roman foliation,¹⁰²⁴ on folios 120r and 121r, reads *f. ll.xiii* (113) and *f. ll.xvi* (116), indicating the loss of two folios, originally numbered *f. ll.xiiii* (114) and *f. ll.xv* (115), between

¹⁰²² Discussed in Chapter II: Narrative Styles.

¹⁰²³ Discussed above in 'Rebellion of Naim and Cadau'.

¹⁰²⁴ The Roman foliation is found in the upper margin above column b of recto folios until f. 129. Known as foliation A in Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 275.

the end of *SNL* and the beginning of IMP.¹⁰²⁵ For the purpose of this study, these two lost folios, originally marked 114 and 115 in the Roman foliation, have been numbered 120+1 and 120+2 respectively. A later foliation, which uses Arabic numeration,¹⁰²⁶ is found in the top right corner of the recto folios of L and numbers folios 120r and 121r as *120* and *121*, illustrating how the two folios containing the end of *SNL* and the beginning of IMP had been removed from the manuscript by the time the Arabic foliation was introduced.¹⁰²⁷ Ó Cuív also proposed that these missing folios may have contained ‘some other short text or texts of the same genre.’¹⁰²⁸ In response to this comment, several considerations may be made regarding the content of the lost folios.

Mac Niocaill, the most recent editor of *SNL*, remarked that, for the most part, the translation remains close to its source, namely *De Sancto Pelagio Papa*,¹⁰²⁹ a chapter of Jacobus da Voragine's (†1298) *Historia Aurea* (*HA*).¹⁰³⁰ Therefore, by calculating the average words of *HA* translated in each column of *SNL*, it is possible to approximate how many columns the author would have needed to finish his translation. Given that the eight columns between 119ra and 120vb translate an average of 186 words of *HA* per column of L,¹⁰³¹ and that *SNL* cuts off in a section corresponding to a sentence of *HA* which finishes 573 words before the end of the chapter *De Sancto Pelagio Papa*, it would appear that, if the author had continued

¹⁰²⁵ MacAlister, *The Book*, xxi. See also, Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 285.

¹⁰²⁶ The Arabic foliation is found in the right corner of the top margin, and is the official foliation used by MacAlister and this study. It is called foliation **B** in Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 275.

¹⁰²⁷ Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 291.

¹⁰²⁸ Ibid., 285.

¹⁰²⁹ Alias *Historia Lombardica*.

¹⁰³⁰ Alias *Legenda Aurea*; Mac Niocaill, 'Sdair', 89: 'Freagraíonn an téacs Gaeilge dlúth go leor don chuid is mó den téacs Laidne.'

¹⁰³¹ L f. 119ra, translates **203** words from Graesse edition, beginning and ending: Quem cum sine audientia ... tu es ille vir. Graesse, *Historia*, 838-39. L f. 119rb, **188** words: qui maritum meum ad suggestionem ... de Italia in vincula conjecit. Graesse, *Historia*, 839. L f. 119va, **137** words: et quia Mediolanensis archiepiscopus ... duos armigeros sibi secretarios. Graesse, *Historia*, 839-40. L f. 119vb, **203** words: ad se vocavit dicens ... et legens scelas abboruit. Graesse, *Historia*, 840. L f. 120ra, **171** words: et radens subtiliter, quod dicebatur ... ut propitium sibi haberet. Graesse, *Historia*, 840-41. L f. 120rb, **138** words: Hic autem cuncta dissimulans synodo ... convolvit de Burgundia. Graesse, *Historia*, 841. L f. 120va, **188** words: Anselmus vir postmodum multa virtute ... hystoriam novam sancti Nicolai amodo decantate. Graesse, *Historia*, 841-42. L f. 120vb, **262** words: Hoc tempore ex Melinensi ... corporis dominici sibi detulerunt. Graesse, *Historia*, 842-43. Average words of *Historia Aurea* translated per column of *SNL* is: 203 + 188 + 137 + 203 + 171 + 138 + 188 + 262 = 1490 : 8 = 186.

translating the end of *HA* at the same average rate of words of *HA* per column of *L* that he maintained in the previous two folios, the end of *SNL* would fit into roughly three columns of *L*.¹⁰³² Although this hypothesis does not account for changes the author of *SNL* may have made to the end of his text, such as the expansions and additions which the author might have incorporated in his text and which are common in *IMP* and in other Medieval Irish adaptations,¹⁰³³ it does give a rough idea of how much source material the author had left to complete his translation and how many folios this would have required. On the other hand, such a calculation proves to be much more difficult with regard to *IMP*, because, as has been discussed above, the translator did not remain systematically close to his source, at times omitting entire chapters of *P*, and at others rearranging them into a new order, reinventing and expanding their content.

Further speculation regarding the content of the missing folios is made possible by considering how other texts of around the same length as and of a similar genre to *IMP*, begin in *L*. Each of the three major texts which precede *IMP* in *L*, namely *In Tenga Bithnua (TB)*, *Gabháltas Séarluis Mhóir (GSM)* and *SNL*, begin with large decorated initials in column *a* of the recto folios, 88ra, 96ra and 112ra respectively. Between the end and beginning of these texts the scribe has inserted a number of poems or anecdotes, such as, *ocht n-aerich na ndualuch don roichit for rith*, on folio 94va after the end of *TB*, the first of four poems which run to the end of 95vb, conveniently ending at the end of the verso of the folio so that *GSM* can begin on 96ra with a large decorated initial in the top left of the page.¹⁰³⁴ A similar editorial technique is adopted in the manuscript between the end of *GSM* and the beginning of *SNL*, wherein seven short anecdotes have been inserted, between 109ra and 111vb, none of which take up more than a folio each and which conveniently end on 111vb, so that *SNL* can begin with a large decorated initial at the top of 112ra. Ó Macháin has argued that this layout is due to the manner in which the manuscript was first conceived, namely as compilation of quires of eight folios, each of which contained at

¹⁰³² $573 : 186 = 3$. All word count calculations are based on the edition of *HA* in Graesse, *Historia*, 824-44.

¹⁰³³ Cf. Miles, *Heroic*, 103.

¹⁰³⁴ MacAlister, *The Book*, xx.

least one major text, more often than not beginning with an decorated initial at the top of column *recto a*.¹⁰³⁵

By following the analogy of the texts which precede IMP in L, and after having considered the amount of *HA* missing from the translation of *SNL*, it may be suggested that IMP began on folio 120+2ra, with a large decorated initial, and that 120+1 contained the end of *SNL*, with the *b* column on the verso possibly containing an anecdote or a poem which concluded at the end of the page, so that IMP could begin at the top of 120+2ra.

3.2. Content and Innovations of the Prologue of IMP

These considerations indicate that as many as four columns of IMP are missing, which, based on the average words per folio of Scribe A in the first four folios of IMP,¹⁰³⁶ would amount to roughly 1,370 words. This would be enough to cover an abbreviated account of the voyage of the Polo brothers, which is missing from IMP, and which is contained in the first ten books of the first book of P. A fragment of the translation of the prologue of P survives in IMP, in Stokes's chapters ¶1 and ¶2. Whereas in P, the prologue opens the text, preceding the account of the voyage of the Polo brothers, in IMP the prologue precedes the description of Minor Armenia, seemingly omitting the chapters concerned with the description of the voyage of the Polo brothers. Therefore, this analysis suggests that the Irish author began his text with the account of the voyage of the Polo brothers to the Far East, perhaps preceding it with a short prologue of his own, and following it with an adaptation of the prologue in P, the latter part of which survives on folio 121ra. The following table displays this rearrangement, aligning the first three paragraphs of IMP with the prologue and first twelve chapters of P.

IMP	P
Prologue ¶1 - ¶2	Incipit prologus in librum domini Marchi

¹⁰³⁵ Ó Macháin, 'Aonghas', 145.

¹⁰³⁶ 121ra-121vb = 1318 words; 122ra-122vb = 1408 words; 123ra-123vb = 1355 words; 124ra-124vb = 1399 words.

	Pauli de Veneciis de condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum.
Missing from IMP. Perhaps translated on 120+2, the second of the missing folios between 120 and 121, and therefore positioned before paragraphs ¶1 and ¶2 of the prologue.	1. Qualiter et quare dominus Nicolaus Pauli de Veneciis et dominus Matheus transierunt ad partes orientales.
	2. Qualiter regis maximi Tartarorum curiam adierunt.
	3. Quod apud prefatum regem gratiam invenerunt.
	4. Quod ab ipso rege ad romanum pontificem missi fuerunt.
	5. Qualiter expectaverunt Veneciis creacionem summi pontificis.
	6. Qualiter redierunt ad regem Tartarorum.
	7. Qualiter ab eo suscepti sunt.
	8. Qualiter Marchus natus domini Nicolai crevit in gracia coram rege.
	9. Qualiter post multa tempora obtinuerunt regis gratiam ad propria remeandi
	10. Quod Venecias redierunt.
¶3 IN airmein beac (...) tursie .i. proibhinnsi fuil innti. ¹⁰³⁷	11. Descripcio orientalium regionum et primo de Minori Armenia.
	12. De provincia Turchie.

It has already been shown how this kind of rearrangement of the material of P is not uncommon in IMP, especially in sections which were of particular interest to the Irish author, such as the rebellion of Naim or the account of Cublay's palace in Cambalu, discussed above. Similarly to these sections of the text, the Irish author altered both the content of his material as well as the order in which the information is found in the prologue of P. In fact, it is clear from the surviving part of the prologue of IMP that

¹⁰³⁷ 121ra25-28.

the Irish author made a number of substantial changes to the account of the voyage of the Polo brothers and the circumstances in which the *Travels* were written.

Below is my transcription of what survives of IMP's adaptation of the prologue of P, with my translation in the footnotes:

... riguibh 7 taiseachaibh na cathrach sin.

Bai brathair righ an aibit san Fronsas isin cathraigh in tan sin. Ba eolach dano isna hilibherlaibh, Fransiscus a ainm. Berur iarum dú a mbatar na maithe ucut 7 cuinghit fair in leabhor do clodh for cula o theangaidh na tartaireadh cusin teangaidh laitianda. 'Is omun leamsa,' ol se, 'saethar na meanmanradh do chaithimh fria gnímhradh idhul 7 ainchreitmeach.' Guighit he fa an ceadna doridisi. 'Do geantar,' or se, 'ár gidh scela aincristaighi fhaisneightar sunn, mirbhuili in fhirDhia iat-saidhe et gach aen do cluinfe in t-imut sa an aghaidh na hirisi Coimdetá, guighfidh co dichra fa a clodhsum for cula 7 in neach nach guighfe caithfidh calma a chuirp fria clodh. Nisam omhnach-sa riasin leabhor sa Mharcais, or ni fhuil go ann. Do thadhaill mu rosca he ac tabhairt mhind na heaclaisi naeimhe lais 7 rofhagaibh fria blaiseacht mbais gur fhír son 7 ba diadha in tí Marcus.'

Cidh fil ann tra acht rostinnta Proniscus in leabhor so Mharcuis a Tartairidh a Laitin et fa hiat bliadhna in tighearna in tan sin .u. bliadhain dec 7 da fhichit 7 .cc. 7 míle bliadhain.¹⁰³⁸

These paragraphs contain some of the most interesting alterations to the content of P in the adaptation. From them, we learn that in IMP, the *Travels*, known as 'this book of Marcus', *in leabhor so Mharcuis*, was written in the Tartar language, *rostinnta* ...

¹⁰³⁸ 121r: '... kings and leaders of that city. There was a brother of a king in the habit of Saint Francis in the city at that time. He was versed in many languages and Fransiscus was his name. He is brought there to where the nobles were and they ask him to translate the book from the language of the Tartars to the Latin language. "I am hesitant," he said, "to waste intellectual faculties on the deeds of idolaters and unbelievers." They beseech him again in the same manner. "It will be done", he said, "because, although non-Christian stories are reported here, they are miracles of the true God, and everyone who should hear of so much being against the Christian faith, will pray fervently for their conversion and he who does not pray shall dedicate the courage of his body for their conversion. I am not afraid of this book of Marco's, for it contains no lie. My own eye saw swearing it by the relics of the holy church (giving the relics of the holy church in support of it); and he declared while tasting death (on his deahbed) that it was true and that Marco was a godly man." In any case, Fransiscus translated this book of Marco's from Tartar into Latin, and it was the year of the lord at that time 1255.'

in leabhor ... a Tartairidh. This book is then handed to Pronsiscus¹⁰³⁹, a Franciscan friar, *an aibit san Fronsas*, versed in many languages, *ba eolach dano isna hilibherlaibh*, who is the brother of a king, *brathair righ*, so that he could translate the text from Tartar into Latin, *in leabhor do clodh for cula o theangaidh na tartaireadh cusin teangaidh laitiana*. Furthermore, since the use of the third person plural *cuinghit* in the phrase *berur iarum dú a mbatar na maithe ucut 7 cuinghit fair in leabhor*, indicates that the nobles, *maithe*, are in possession of the book, it would be logical to assume that these are the same nobles mentioned in the opening lines of the text, *riguibh 7 taiseachaibh na cathrach sin*, and that this sentence may have originally described how they came into possession of Marcus' book. In order to fully comprehend the extent of the Irish author's innovations in what remains of the prologue of IMP, it is necessary to examine and compare it with the prologue of P, which appears as Appendix II. Comparison between the prologues of IMP and P reveals several innovations of the Irish author which have intrigued previous scholars of the adaptation, such as De Benedetto and John Carey. Interpretations as to the origin and significance of these departures from P, as well as a discussion of previous scholarship, are offered in the following paragraphs:

3.2.1. *Bráthair righ an aibit san Fronsas*

One of the main points of interest in the prologue of IMP is the identification of Franciscus Pipino with a brother of a king in the habit of Saint Francis, *bai bráthair righ an aibit san Fronsas isin cathraigh in tan sin. Ba eolach dano isna hilibherlaibh, Fransiscus a ainm*. This is a reinterpretation of P's *ego, frater Franciscus Pipinus de Bononia ordinis fratrum predicatorum, a plerisque patribus et dominis meis veridica et fidei translacione de vulgari ad latinum reducere*. The depiction of Pronsiscus as the brother of a king is a deliberate departure from P at this point which I have not found in any version of P examined for this study and which might be explained in a number of different ways.

A first interpretation of *bráthair righ* is that either the Irish translator or the copyist of his exemplar misread *Pipinus* for *principis*, resulting in the corruption: *ego, frater Franciscus principis de Bononia*, 'I, Franciscus, brother/friar of the prince of

¹⁰³⁹ Henceforth, the character of Franciscus Pipino in IMP will be referred to as Pronsiscus, in order to distinguish him from the author of P.

Bologna.’ However, in my examination of forty-seven of the sixty manuscript copies of P studied during the course of this doctorate, I have found no distortion in the copying of the name *Pipinus*. Furthermore, given the other changes made by the Irish author in his adaptation of the prologue of P in IMP, such as the portrayal of Pipino as a Franciscan and the change of the original language of the *Travels* from the vulgar to Tartaric, which is discussed below, it seems likely that *bráthair righ* was a deliberate adjustment of the text rather than a consequence of a garbled exemplar.

The choice of the word *bráthair* may be a direct imitation of the Latin *frater*, and therefore used in a religious sense. However, in the section regarding Naim’s rebellion, discussed above, the Irish author uses the word *bráthair* to indicate a family relationship between Cublay and his uncle and cousin, namely: *brathair h-atharsa*, ‘a brother of your father’, which translates P’s *patruus*,¹⁰⁴⁰ and, *mac a bhrathar*, ‘a son of his brother’, which translates P’s *nepos*.¹⁰⁴¹ The fact that the author did not use the unambiguous *dearbhráthair* in these instances may indicate that *bráthair* was still understood as signifying ‘brother’ in the non-religious sense. On the other hand, the use of *éndearbhráthair athar* in the explanatory note to Mathghamhain Ó Dálaigh’s poem beginning *Ní théd an éigean i n-aisgidh*, dedicated to Fínghean Mac Carthaigh and discussed above, may suggest that *bráthair* was considered to be too ambiguous for the description of Cormac mac Donnchaidh’s relation to his paternal uncle, foster father and godfather Diarmaid an Dúnaidh, Fínghean’s father. However, since the author of the note uses *éndearbhráthair athar* in a sentence that draws attention to the closeness of the family relationship between Cormac and Diarmaid, *gurab égcóir do-rinne Cormac ar Dhiarmuid Mág Carrthaigh do bhí ’na éndearbhráthair athar aigi 7 ’na chairdeas Crísd 7 ’na altroinn*,¹⁰⁴² in order to chastise Cormac for having turned on such a close family member, the adjective *dearbh*, ‘sure’ and ‘certain’, in *éndearbhráthair* may have been employed to emphasise even more the closeness of their kinship, rather than being an attestation of *dearbhráthair* replacing *bráthair* as the normal word for ‘brother’.

A further consideration of this change in IMP was offered by De Benedetto, who suggested that the modification *bráthair righ* was due to a conflation of IMP with elements from the life of Hayton of Corycus:

¹⁰⁴⁰ P.II.2.1.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴² Ó Cuív, ‘A Poem’, 109.

‘ci parla infatti del libro di Marco come di un libro tartarico e fa di colui che lo tradusse in latino, associandolo confusamente ad Aitone l’armeno, un fratello di re.’¹⁰⁴³

Hayton of Corycus (†1320) was an Armenian prince, monk and historiographer, nephew of King Hethum I of Armenia and author of *Flos Historiarum Terre Orientis* (*FHTO*), composed c.1307, which offers a historical and geographical survey of Asia, with an account of the Muslim conquests and the Mongol invasions.¹⁰⁴⁴ The high regard in which De Benedetto’s pioneering work in the field of Polo studies is held, has caused this theory to be repeated in subsequent studies that mention the Irish adaptation.¹⁰⁴⁵ However, as far as I can tell, De Benedetto’s analysis was limited to the prologue of IMP, and I have found no trace of *FHTO* in the rest of the text. Furthermore, though Hayton was a member of the Armenian royal family, he was not himself the ‘brother of a king’. It would appear therefore, that the evidence for IMP’s being a conflation with *FHTO* is not as robust as De Benedetto suggested.

Another interpretation of *bráthair righ*, is that the author of IMP decided to modify the personal details of the Latin author of the *Travels*, in order to align them with those of a specific member of his community, or even his own personal details, thus leaving a dedication or personal signature of sorts in the prologue of IMP. As John Carey has suggested,¹⁰⁴⁶ this was possibly the motivation behind the transformation of Pipino from a Dominican into a Franciscan friar. There is no shortage of references to members of the clergy being of royal line and closely related to the *ceann fine* during the Early Modern period. For example, the annals record a friar Brian, son of Diarmaid Mac Donnchaidh, *tánaiste* of Uí Oilealla killed at Cuirrech Chinn Eitigh in 1397;¹⁰⁴⁷ and the bishop Ua hEidirsceoil, brother of Mac

¹⁰⁴³ De Benedetto, *Milione*, cxlvi: ‘In fact, he speaks of Marco’s book as a Tartaric book, and, mistakenly associating him with Hayton the Armenian, makes of he who translated it into Latin a brother of a king.’

¹⁰⁴⁴ Kosta-Théfaïne, ‘Pierpont’, 136.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 305-06: Gadrat, *Livre*, 6.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Carey, *forthcoming*. I am grateful to Professor Carey for allowing me to read a lecture on IMP which he prepared for the exhibition of the Book of Lismore in University College Cork in 2011. This lecture appears in summary form in Carey, ‘The Travels’, 22-25.

¹⁰⁴⁷ AFM iv, 1316.6: Mainistir Sliccigh do cumhdach (iarna loscadh feacht riamh) lá Brian brathair mac Diarmada Mec Donnchaidh. ‘The monastery of Sligo was re-erected (having

Con Ua hEidirsceoil, who died in 1418.¹⁰⁴⁸ Ulster and Connacht instances include: Rudhraighe Mac Donnchaidh Uí Dhomhnaill, grandson of Aodh Ruadh Mac Néill Ghairbh Uí Dhomhnaill (†1505),¹⁰⁴⁹ bishop of Doire and *bráthair ar aoi ttoile*;¹⁰⁵⁰ Connbhráthair Ó Ruairc, *bráthair mionúr d'fhuil úasuil*, son of Brian Ballach Ó Ruairc (†1561),¹⁰⁵¹ and brother of Brian na Múrtha (†1591),¹⁰⁵² rulers of West Bréifne during the second part of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁵³ Nor was it unusual for the *ceann fine* to abandon secular life and take religious vows, or to be buried in the habit of a friar, as for example, Murchadh Ó Conchubhair Failghe (†1421), who joined the Franciscans at Killeigh (Cill Achaidh) taking the habit of a Franciscan, *aibitt brathar do ghabháil dó uimme*, a month before he died,¹⁰⁵⁴ and Aodh Mac Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill (†1537), who died in the Franciscan friary of Donegal, *iar n-dol i n-aibitt San Froinséis*.¹⁰⁵⁵ A similar custom is described by Friar Francis Matheus O'Mahony regarding Cormac Láidir Mac Carthaigh (†1494), Fínghean's maternal uncle, who was buried in the Franciscan habit in the choir of the Franciscan friary of Kilcrea, which he had founded in 1465.¹⁰⁵⁶

Therefore, it ought to be considered whether by transforming Francesco Pipino from a Dominican friar from Bologna into a brother of a king in the habit of Saint Francis, the author of IMP was referencing the social structures of fifteenth-

been burned some time before) by the Friar Brian, the son of Dermot Mac Donough.' For references to Diarmaid Mac Donnchaidh, see AFM iv, 1397.6.

¹⁰⁴⁸ AFM iv, 1418.1: An t-epscob Ua h-Eidirsceóil, 7 Mac Con Ua h-Eidirsceoil (a dearbhrathair) tighearna Corca Laighe, 7 Diarmaid mac Mhég Cárthaigh Cluassaigh tanaisi Ua Cairpri d'écc. 'The Bishop O'Driscoll, Maccon O'Driscoll (his brother), Lord of Corca-Laighe, and Dermot Mac Carthy Cluasach, Tanist of Hy-Cairbre, died.'

¹⁰⁴⁹ AFM v, 1550.5.

¹⁰⁵⁰ AFM v, 1550.1: Rudhraighe mac Donnchaidh mic Aodha Ruaidh I Domnaill epscop Doire, 7 brathair ar aoi t-toile d'ecc an .8. October, 7 a adhnacal i n-Dún na n-Gall i n-aibitt S. Froinses. 'Rury, the son of Donough, son of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Bishop of Derry, and a friar by his own will, died, and was buried in the monastery of Donegal, in the habit of St. Francis.'

¹⁰⁵¹ AFM v, 1561.1.

¹⁰⁵² AFM vi, 1591.1.

¹⁰⁵³ ALC ii, 1579.9: bráthair mionúr d'fhuil úasuil. 'A friar minor of noble blood.' Cf. also Ó Macháin, 'Poems', *Celtica* 24, 253.

¹⁰⁵⁴ AFM iv, 1421.12: O Concobhair (.i. Murchadh) do thecht dia thigh iar sin, & galar anbhail dia ghabhail, & a dhul isna bráithribh i c-Cill Achaidh, & aibitt brathar do ghabhail dó uimme. 'O'Connor (Murrough) then returned home; but he was attacked by a dangerous disease, whereupon he retired among the friars in the monastery of Killeigh, and took the habit of a friar.'

¹⁰⁵⁵ AFM v, 1537.2: i Mainistir Dúin na n-Gall iar n-dol i n-aibitt San Froinséis. 'In the monastery of Donegal, having first taken upon him the habit of St. Francis.'

¹⁰⁵⁶ Jennings, 'Brevis Synopsis', 156 (p. 35-36 of MS).

century Ireland. It is conceivable that the author had a specific individual in mind in writing *bráthair rígh an aibít San Fronsés*, such as a relative of his patrons, an important figure in the community, or perhaps even the author of IMP himself. During the latter part of the fifteenth century, three ecclesiastics of noble families succeeded one another to the See of Ross, a bishopric whose boundaries roughly coincided with those of the ancient Corcu Loígde and which was central to the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach territory, from Courtmacsherry Bay to Cape Clear,¹⁰⁵⁷ and had its episcopal centre at Ross.¹⁰⁵⁸ These were: Aodh Ó hEidirsceoil (Odo O'Driscoll), Tadhg Mac Carthaigh (Thaddeus McCarthy) and Edmund de Courcey, all of whom had been¹⁰⁵⁹ or were Franciscans.¹⁰⁶⁰

John Carey¹⁰⁶¹ has argued that the change of Francesco Pipino from a Dominican to a Franciscan may reinforce the suggestion that L was produced in the Franciscan Friary of Timoleague, where some of its contents were copied by Míchéal Ó Cléirigh in the summer of 1629.¹⁰⁶² Further indication that the compilers of L were working in a Franciscan context is found in the complimentary quatrain to Saint Francis in the poem beginning *Ní théd an éigean a n-aisgidh*, discussed above, which was composed by Mathghamhain Ó Dalaigh for Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach.¹⁰⁶³ The significance of the Friary of Timoleague for the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family, and the role which the latter played in the development of the Franciscan community there must also be considered. The Annals of the Four Masters (AFM) report that Fínghean, his son Domhnall (†1531)¹⁰⁶⁴ and his grandson Donnchadh (†1576)¹⁰⁶⁵ were all buried in the family tomb in the Franciscan Friary of Timoleague. This information¹⁰⁶⁶ may have been based on Friar Francis Mattheus

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ó Murchadha, 'The Castle', 74-75; Murphy, 'Anatomy', 2-3; Ó Corráin, 'Corcu Loígde', 63-65 and 68.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Holland, *History*, 302. Alias Ros Ó gCairbre (Rosscarbery).

¹⁰⁵⁹ Aodh Ó Eidirsceoil had apparently entered and opted out of the Franciscan order during his early career. See Bolster, *A History*, 454.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Holland, *History*, 363-69.

¹⁰⁶¹ See note 1051 above.

¹⁰⁶² Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhuithe*, 233; Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 271 and 285.

¹⁰⁶³ Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 98 and 108.

¹⁰⁶⁴ AFM v, 1531.2. It is repeated at AFM v, 1528.6.

¹⁰⁶⁵ AFM v, 1576.1.

¹⁰⁶⁶ See also AFM iii, 1240.7: 'Mainistir Tighe Mo Laga h-i c-Cairpre isin Mumhain i n-epscopoidecht Ruis do shonnradh do thógbhail do braithribh .S. Franseis lá Mag Carthaigh Riabhach tighearna Cairpreach 7 a tumba fein do denomh h-i c-coraidh na m-Brathar. As innnte fos adnaicther an Barrach Mor, 7 Ó Mathghamna Cairpreach, 7 barún Cúrsach.' For a discussion on this date see Holland, *History*, 346-47.

O'Mahony's¹⁰⁶⁷ *Brevis synopsis provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum*,¹⁰⁶⁸ which was used by Míchéal Ó Cléirigh as the source for many of the Franciscan entries in AFM.¹⁰⁶⁹ Friar O'Mahony states that the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family tomb was still discernible in his time and was located in the choir of the Friary.¹⁰⁷⁰ Whether a member of the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family had actually founded the Friary, or whether this was done by a member of the de Barra family, was evidently a matter of contention already by the early seventeenth century, when Friar Donatus Mooney and Friar O'Mahony were writing their histories of the Franciscan order in Ireland in Saint Anthony's college in Louvain.¹⁰⁷¹

Holland has since made a strong case for the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family not being involved in the foundation of the Friary, which he fixes to the first half of the fourteenth century, and, relying on an citation by James Ware from a now lost 'Book of Obits of Timoleague', indicates Uilliam de Barra¹⁰⁷² (†1373) as the likely founder.¹⁰⁷³ In any case, the fact that the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family was strongly associated with the Friary, so far as to lead Early Modern historians to believe that they had been its founders, is testament to the family's involvement with the Franciscan community of Timoleague. Ware reports the addition of a steeple, dormitory, hospital and library¹⁰⁷⁴ to the Friary while the Franciscan Edmund de Courcey was Bishop of Ross between 1494 and 1517; and his burial in the Friary of Timoleague in 1518 along with that of his successor, John O'Murrilly, a Cistercian buried in the habit of a Franciscan in 1519, is a further indication of the central role of

¹⁰⁶⁷ Fr. Francis Mattheus alias O'Mahony, cf. Jennings, 'Brevis Synopsis', 139, n. 1.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Written in Saint Anthony's College, Louvain, between 1629 and 1630. cf. Jennings, 'Brevis Synopsis', 139-142.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans*, 18. Ó Cléirigh consulted Friar Maurice Ultach MacShane's Irish translation of the *Brevis synopsis*.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Jennings, 'Brevis Synopsis', 148 (p. 12 of MS): 'Primus hujus Conventus fundator censetur D. Willelimus Jacobi Barry, ab aliis autem et verius asseritur D. mac Carthy Riabach, Princeps Caribrisientium, cujus familiae sepulchrum in choro cernitur.' I have not been able to precisely locate a Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family tomb in the remains of the Timoleague Friary. There are however several unmarked tomb niches built into the north and south walls of the choir. Cf. Power et al, *Archaeological Inventory of County Cork* I, 351.

¹⁰⁷¹ Jennings, 'Brussels MS 3947', 67 (p. 48 of MS): 'Fundatus per Dominum de Barry pro familia Observantiae in ipso loco in quo antea ipse habebat castrum.' For O'Mahony's entry regarding the founders of Timoleague, see previous footnote.

¹⁰⁷² alias William de Barry (†1373). AFM iii, 1240.7.

¹⁰⁷³ Holland, *History*, 346-47.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ware, *De praesulibus*, 223: *caenobii illius campanile, dormitorium, noscomium, & bibliothecam is de novo construi curavit.*

the Friary played within the Diocese of Ross and the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach territories.¹⁰⁷⁵

The likely Franciscan origin of L is also suggested by its selection of texts. As was discussed in the conclusion to Chapter III, manuscripts written in Franciscan communities in Ireland during the late-Medieval period display a fascination with travel writing, ethnography and geography. Worthy of note are: Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, written after 1475 in the Franciscan monastery of Kilcrea, which was founded in 1465 by Cormac Láidir Mac Carthaigh, and which contains GM and *In Tenga Bithnua (TB)* along with a collection of various homilies and treatises on religion;¹⁰⁷⁶ Dublin, Trinity College MS 667, which was written *circa* 1455 in a Franciscan friary under the patronage of the Uí Bhriain of Thomond, perhaps in Ennis, Nenagh or Limerick, contains the Latin *Historia Karoli Magni*, from which *GSM* was translated, and also the only copy of the Hiberno-Latin text *Gesta Karoli Magni*, from which the Early Modern Irish text *Stair Fortibrais* was translated, among a plethora of other apocryphal, anecdotal and religious texts.¹⁰⁷⁷ Two manuscripts which cannot be anchored to any particular Franciscan community in particular but whose choice of texts is similar to the manuscripts listed above are: Dublin, University College, Franciscan A9, a fifteenth-century codex containing *GSM* and *Beatha Finchua*, two texts which are also found in L;¹⁰⁷⁸ and Dublin, King's Inn, MS 10, also written in the fifteenth century, which contains, amongst its religious matter and lives of saints, *Stair Fortibrais* and *GSM*.¹⁰⁷⁹ Similarly, Ó Clabaigh has drawn attention to Dublin, Trinity College MS 347, a late-thirteenth century manuscript which belonged to an Irish Franciscan house, which contains the only surviving copy of *Descriptiones Terrarum*, an introduction to a now lost history of the Tartars, with a geography of the known world, written by an Eastern European missionary, perhaps a Franciscan or a Dominican, between 1255 and 1263.¹⁰⁸⁰

¹⁰⁷⁵ Holland, *History*, 347; Ware, *De praesulibus*, 222-223. Although the friary was important for the ruling families of Cairbre during the fifteenth century, the episcopal centre of the diocese remained in Rosscarbery during this period, cf. Holland, *History*, 302-03.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Vétault, *Catalogue*, 255-260; Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans*, 137-38.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Colker, *Catalogue* II, 1123-1169; Davies, 'Fierbras', 284, 295-96, 436-37; Copeland, *From Fierabras*, 31-32; for a recent discussion on the origin of this MS see Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans*, 138-39; Ó Macháin, 'Buaine', 334; Ó Macháin, 'Prosodic analysis', 119-24.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Grosjean, 'MS. A. 9', 160-169.

¹⁰⁷⁹ de Brún, *Catalogue*, 20-24.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Górski, 'The Author', 254; Colker, 'America Rediscovered', 713 and 719-20; Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans*, 122.

Likewise, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 407 preserves *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, a travelogue written by an Irish Franciscan named Simon Fitzimon, describing his pilgrimage to Jerusalem between 1323 and 1324.¹⁰⁸¹ Lastly, among the books listed in the library catalogue of the Franciscan friary at Youghal, compiled in 1491, is Jacobus da Voragine's *Historia Aurea*,¹⁰⁸² the source of *SNL*, which precedes IMP in L.¹⁰⁸³ Bhreathnach and Ó Clabaigh have drawn attention to the 'proximity of castle, friary and school of learning'¹⁰⁸⁴ in Ireland during the fifteenth century and to the rise of the Observant movement after the erection of the Observant vicariate in 1460.¹⁰⁸⁵ In particular, Ó Clabaigh has indicated how the Observants were keen promoters and fosterers of Third Order communities during the fifteenth century and has argued that 'secular tertiary groups were established as a matter of course wherever there was an Observant friary' in order to associate 'lay-people with the reformed Franciscan movement.'¹⁰⁸⁶

The implication of these considerations regarding the modification in IMP of *bráthair righ in aibit San Fronsas*, is that the author of IMP may have been alluding to a Franciscan who was the brother of a king within his milieu, perhaps a member of a Third Order community around Timoleague after it was refounded as an Observant Franciscan house in 1461, or perhaps even himself.¹⁰⁸⁷ Fínghean did in fact have a brother, Diarmaid, who succeeded to the lordship of Cairbre for one year after his death, although I am not aware of any record which associates him with a mendicant order or a school of learning. Similarly, it ought to be considered whether the modification was a reference to one of the three Franciscan bishops of Ross during the second half of the fifteenth century, namely: Aodh Ó hEidirsceoil, Tadhg Mac Carthaigh and Edmund de Courcey.¹⁰⁸⁸ In particular, Tadhg Mac Carthaigh¹⁰⁸⁹, who died on 24th October 1492 in a pilgrims' hostel near Ivrea in Italy on his return from

¹⁰⁸¹ Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans*, 122. Esposito, *Itinerarium*, 2-22.

¹⁰⁸² Alias *Legenda Aurea*.

¹⁰⁸³ Chapters and excerpts of *HA* were the source of six independent Early Modern Irish translations, including *SNL*. See Mac Niocaill, 'Sdair', 89-90. For discussion of the Youghal library catalogue see, Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans*, 133-36 and 158-160.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Bhreathnach, 'mendicant orders', 361.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans*, 58.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans*, 85. Third Order communities consist of individuals who followed the rule of Saint Francis in their daily lives while retaining a lay status, and who can therefore hold land and property and raise families. Cf. Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans*, 82-85.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Bolster, *History*, 432.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Ibid., 454; Holland, *History*, 363-69.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Alias: Blessed Thaddeus Mac Carthy.

Rome where he had secured a papal mandate for the See of Cork and Cloyne,¹⁰⁹⁰ may have been a member of the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family, and therefore closely related to Fínghean, for whom L was written. In fact, in 1483, Tadhg was accused of removing his predecessor, Aodh Ó hEidirsceoil, from the bishopric of Ross, with the help of lay power.¹⁰⁹¹ It seems unlikely that this could have happened without the involvement of Fínghean, whose territories included the diocese of Ross. Similarly, Fínghean's name is not found in the papal bull from 1492 which mentions the leaders of the opposition to Tadhg's appointment to the bishopric of Cork and Cloyne.¹⁰⁹² In conclusion, whether *bráthair rígh in aibit San Fronsas* is a direct reference to Fínghean's brother Diarmaid, Tadhg Mac Carthaigh or the author of IMP, are theories which will have to remain in the realm of informed speculation.

3.2.2. *A Tairtridh a Laidin*

Another interesting modification in the prologue of IMP is found in the original language from which Pronsiscus translates *leabhar Marcuis*, namely the language of the Tartars: *cuinghit fair in leabhor do clodh for cula o theangaidh na tartaireadh cusin teangaidh laitianda*. This is a significant departure from the prologue of P, in which Pipino writes that he translated Marco Polo's book from the vernacular: *compellor ego [...] veridica et fideli translacione de vulgari ad latinum reducere*. In all manuscripts of P examined during the course of this study, no examples of a corruption *de tartari* were found and in light of the other differences between IMP and P in this section of the prologue, discussed above, it seems likely that this was also a deliberate adjustment by the author of IMP. By changing Marcus's book into a Tartar book, the Irish author gives his adaptation a more exotic and outlandish feel, perhaps in an effort to impress his audience and enhance the authority of his text.

It has been discussed above how this imaginative approach to the factual information of P is found throughout IMP, in regard to the battles fought by the Khan, in the description of his palaces and cities, and in the identity of Franciscus Pipino. The modification of *de vulgari* to *o thengaidh na tartairedh* is consistent with the Irish author's imaginative approach in adapting other sections of P, and should not be taken as a consequence of a corrupted exemplar.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Bolster, *History*, 456-59.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid., 451-52.

¹⁰⁹² Bolster, *History*, 455.

3.2.3. Pipino's justification for translating the *Travels* in IMP

Another subtle but important modification in the prologue of IMP is found in Pronsiscus' reluctance to translate Marcus' book and his hesitancy in accepting the nobles' request:

Berur iarum dú a mbatar na maithe ucut 7 cuinghit fair in leabhor do clodh
for cula o theangaidh na tartaireadh cusin teangaidh laitianda. 'Is omun
leamsa,' ol se, 'saethar na meanmanradh do chaithimh fria gnímhradh
idhul 7 ainchreitmeach.' Guighit he fa an ceadna doridisi. 'Do geantar,' or
se, 'ár gidh scela aincristaighi fhaisneightar sum, mírbhuili in fhirDhia
iat-saidhe...' (121ra4-12)

This is an expansion of Pipino's statement that he was compelled by his superiors to undertake the translation: *compellor ego, frater Franciscus Pipinus de Bononia ordinis fratrum predicatorum, a plerisque patribus et dominis meis veridica et fideli translacione de vulgari ad latinum reducere*. Dutschke has shown that Pipino's statement of being compelled by his superiors is a typical rhetorical device which appealed to Christian writers since it echoed 'biblical recognition of man's smallness in front of God,'¹⁰⁹³ and was 'a modesty or humility topos which reflects no objective reality.'¹⁰⁹⁴ It was especially common in religious works written in Italy during Pipino's time, but may be traced to the *deminutio* device described in *Rhetorica ad Herrenium*, written c.80 BC.¹⁰⁹⁵ On the other hand, the Irish author's description of the nobles of the city first requesting Pronsiscus, *cuinghit fair*, and then begging him, *guighit hé*, to translate Marcus's book, does not have the same undertones of compulsion or humility which are found in P. If anything, Pronsiscus's initial refusal of the nobles' request to translate Marcus' book creates the impression that he is their equal, if not their superior. He is, after all, the brother of a king. Similarly to the modification of Pipino's identity, which transforms him into the brother of a king in the habit of Saint Francis, the manner in which the nobles interact with Pronsiscus is more a reflection of the bond shared between secular rulers, learned classes and

¹⁰⁹³ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 210.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ibid., 209.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid., *Pipino*, 209.

mendicant orders in fifteenth-century Ireland,¹⁰⁹⁶ than a faithful adaptation of Pipino's admission of humility to his superiors.

Pronsiscus's moral struggle as to whether it is right for him, a holy man, to waste his intellectual faculties, *saethar na meanmanradh do chaithimh*, in translating the deeds of idolaters and unbelievers, *fria gnímhradh idhul 7 ainchreitmheach*, may also have parallels in the *Agallamh*. The author of the *Agallamh*, a copy of which is also contained in L, often portrays Saint Patrick ordering his scribe Brocán to write down the tales recited by Caílte, so that they might entertain good people and nobles until the end of time:

‘Ad-rae buaid 7 bennacht, a Cháilte!’ ar Pátraic; ‘7 caidhi Brocan?
Scribhthar in scél út lat, gomba gairdiughadh do fhlaithibh deridh domain
é.’ Ocus do scríb Brocan.¹⁰⁹⁷

‘Ocus maith, a Brogain’, ar Pátraic, ‘scribthar 7 lesaighther let scela Caiti
nach dechat a mudha, corub gairidiugud do drongaib 7 do deg-dáinib deirid
na h-aimsire iat.’¹⁰⁹⁸

In these examples from the *Agallamh*, Saint Patrick's request for Brocán to write down the tales of the *féinnidi* for the entertainment, *gairdiughadh*, of future lords and good people, *do fhlaithibh deridh domain* and *do drongaibh 7 do deg-dáinib deirid na h-aimsire*, represents the endorsement of *fiannaíocht* literature by the Church for the benefit of a lay community. The same literary topos, whereby secular and non-Christian literature receives backing from a holy or a devout figure,¹⁰⁹⁹ is found in IMP, in Pronsiscus's agreement to translate Marcus' book for the nobles of the city. Furthermore, although Pronsiscus's decision to translate Marcus' book because it contains evidence of the miracles of the true God, *mírbhuili in fhir-Dhia*, has its origin in Pipino's, *consideravi ex huius libri inspectione fideles viros posse multiplicis gratie meritum a Domino promereri*, it too offers parallels to Saint Patrick and Brocán's decision to commit Caílte's tales on the *féinnidi*, who, although pagan, understood that there was a God: *do thuicemar-ne uili cu raibhi Dia ann tré urchra aenoidche*

¹⁰⁹⁶ Bhreathnach, ‘mendicant orders’, 375.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Stokes, ‘Acallamh’, 30.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid., 217.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Murray, *Early Finn*, 31.

adconncamar.¹¹⁰⁰ The implication of this statement in the *Agallamh* is that although Fionn and his warband were pagans, their tales are validated by the fact that they were aware of the existence of God. Similarly, in IMP, although Marcus' book deals with the stories of pagans in far eastern countries, the wonders described in IMP are works of the one true Christian God, and are therefore worth documenting.

The effect of Proniscus's initial lack of enthusiasm for translating Marcus' book is twofold: it underlines his social status amongst the nobles of the city and reinforces the perception that he is of equal rank to them. But it is also a way for the Irish author to create parallels with other Medieval Irish texts, in this case perhaps the *Agallamh*, thus creating an echo between his translation and native Irish literature, and Gaelicising his adaptation. This process of gradual enhancement of the translation with new themes and allusions to Medieval Irish literature is discussed below.

4. Secondary Variations in IMP

IMP contains a number of variations from P which are inspired by other Medieval and Early Modern Irish texts. Miles has observed that the practice of incorporating new elements from other texts into Medieval Irish translations, in order to suit the tastes of the Irish audience, may be connected with the exercise of *amplificatio* of the Latin literary tradition, defined by Lausberg as 'a graded enhancement of the basic given facts by artistic means, in the interest of the party'.¹¹⁰¹ In the context of Irish literature, the practice of *amplificatio* therefore, describes the tendency of Medieval Irish translators and authors to expand their texts by integrating new material from scholia, commentaries and from the wider corpus of Medieval Irish literature. O'Hogan has shown how *In Cath Catharda*, the twelfth-century Irish adaptation of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, incorporates a great deal of explanatory material in the translation, much of which is traceable to the collections of scholia on Lucan known as *Commenta Bernensia* and the *Adnotationes super Lucanum*.¹¹⁰² Miles has argued that the enrichment of *Togail Troí* and the *Táin*, via the incorporation of details from

¹¹⁰⁰ Stokes, 'Acallamh', 41.

¹¹⁰¹ Lausberg, *Handbook*, 259; Miles, *Heroic*, 103.

¹¹⁰² O'Hogan, *Reading*, 22.

late-antique commentaries, not only displays ‘the author’s reading, but also conveys a humanist’s enthusiasm for ancient tradition’.¹¹⁰³

The variations in IMP are minor compared to the *amplificatio* found in the various recensions of *Togail Troí* or the *Táin*, and discussed by Miles.¹¹⁰⁴ They are, however, consequences of an analogous approach to translation and adaptation of foreign material, which sought to enhance the base material of P by incorporating elements from other texts and translations into IMP. By analysing the sources of these expansions in IMP, the literary influences of and sources referenced by the Irish author emerge.

The following discussion has been divided into two parts, in the first I will examine the Irish author’s expansions in IMP which have been sourced from foreign material, or Irish translations of foreign material. In the second part I will discuss the Irish author’s incorporation of native elements in IMP which echo expressions and passages found in a number of Medieval Irish texts, and which provided him with ready-made tools in his adaptation of the *Travels*, tools which simultaneously facilitated the act of translation/adaptation and created familiar resonances for readers or listeners. It is beyond the immediate interest of this study to conduct a survey of all the instances in which the Irish author modifies his source by incorporating variant information based on other material. However, the analysis of several occurrences of these secondary variations, three from foreign material and three from native material, can shine light on the Irish author’s approach to translating P and on the purpose which he envisioned for IMP.

4.1. Variations based on foreign material

4.1.1. *Alan and Balan*

In IMP, during the episode which recounts the siege of *Baldasi* (Bagdad) by *Alan*, king of the Tartars, against *Calipus*, king of the Saracens, the Irish author uses the names *Alan* and *Balan* interchangeably to indicate the same individual:

Fil cathair n-aili innti rigi Musul iside 7 do *Mhacamet*us adrait. Fil cathair
oirdnidhi innte Baldasi a hainm. Airdri na Sairrisineach as ri fuirri-seic.

¹¹⁰³ Miles, *Heroic*, 94.

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 95-144 and 145-193.

Calipus a ainm. Imat oir 7 maine lais, or ni hál dó laeich naid curaidh fora inchaibh.

Luidh **Alan** .i. ri na Tartraidhi do irghabhail a chathrach fair a nirt catha. Bai tor dithoghlidhi lais arna linadh d'ór 7 do mhainibh. Gabhtar Calipus guna thor 7 cona chathair ár ni rabhutar laeich oca imdhitean. 'Gia thucais anoir 7 airmhidin don or,' ol **Balan**, 'ni fhil anoir na airmhidin aigi fort aniu.' .u. la cona n-oghthibh do Chalipus gin digh gin biúdh curo mhoidh a chraidhi na clíabh do cumhaidh 7 doilghius a oir 7 a mhaine.¹¹⁰⁵

In a later episode in IMP, namely during the description of the war between Aloadam and the king of the Tartars, this character is again named *Alan*: *ot clos do Alan .i. do righ na Tartraidhi*.¹¹⁰⁶ Thus we have two occurrences of the name *Alan*, and one of the name *Balan*, to indicate the same character. This character is known as *Alau* throughout P,¹¹⁰⁷ and is said to have been the fourth king of the Tartars: *Primus igitur rex Tartarorum fuit Chinchis, secundus Cui, tercius Bacui, quartus Alau, quintus Manguth, sextus Cublay*.¹¹⁰⁸ It has been discussed in Chapter III how this part of P is corrupt in manuscripts of the English branch, and that the name *Alau* is replaced by *Rothon*,¹¹⁰⁹ thus explaining the *Roton* found in the respective section of IMP.¹¹¹⁰ However, in the instances where the name *Alau* was not corrupt in the Irish author's Latin exemplar of P, the name is rendered twice *Alan* and once *Balan*. The change of *Alau* in P to *Alan* in IMP is easily explained by the confusion of minims for *u* and *n*. On the other hand, the equation of *Alan* and *Balan*, and the modification of the name by adding an initial *b* is less intuitive, since *Alau* is never referred to as *Balau* or *Balan* in the English branch of P, nor in any version of P which I have examined.¹¹¹¹ The fact that the author used the name *Alan* twice, a name which closely resembles the *Alau* found in P, and *Balan* once, suggests that translator made a conscious choice to supply his audience with an alternative name for this character.

¹¹⁰⁵ Transcription is my own, L 121rb; Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 249. ¶6-¶7.

¹¹⁰⁶ cf. Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 252. ¶13.

¹¹⁰⁷ P.I.16.4: *magnus rex Tartarorum Alau obsedit eam*: P.I.16.5: *Nam Alau civitatem obtinuit*:

¹¹⁰⁸ P.I.54.1; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana MS 983.

¹¹⁰⁹ Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 84 (T.4.1), 206r.

¹¹¹⁰ 123ra36.

¹¹¹¹ E.g., Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz MS lat. 4° 70, 57v: *Alau*; Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek MS 218, 76va: *Alau*; Oxford, Merton College MS 312, 6ra: *Alau*; Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University MS Garrett 157, 5r.

This alternation between the names *Alan* and *Balan* may be explained in two ways: firstly, that the spelling of *Balan* was a mistake for *Alan*, and that a *punctum delens* beneath the *b* has been either eroded by time or that the scribe simply forgot to insert it. Secondly, a solution may be offered by *Stair Fortibrais* (*SF*) and its Latin original *Gesta Karoli Magni* (*GKM*), in which *Admirandus*, the legendary king of the Saracens and father of Fortibras, is also referred to by his proper name, *Balan*. In *GKM*, the name *Balant* is found as an alternative to the more common *Admirandus* a total of six times,¹¹¹² whereas in *SF* the author uses *Admirandus* in every instance except for one, where he is named *Balange*.¹¹¹³ The name *Balan* does not feature in either *GSM* or *SNL*, texts which precede IMP in L, however the character *Admiranntus*,¹¹¹⁴ *.i. ri na Baibliloine*,¹¹¹⁵ does appear in *GSM*. In P, *Alau* is first introduced in the first two chapters of P,¹¹¹⁶ during the account of the journey of the Polo brothers which does not survive in IMP. *Alau* in fact corresponds to the historical Hūlagū Khan, whose ambassadors accompanied Matteo and Nicolò Polo on their first expedition to China, an event which is described in the prologue of the *Devisement* and of P.¹¹¹⁷ It has been argued above that this section of P may have existed in the original version of IMP but was lost when folios 120+1 and 120+2 were removed from the manuscript. The facility with which the Irish author alternates the names *Alan* and *Balan* to indicate the same character in IMP raises questions as to whether the translator explained the links between *Admiranntus* of *GSM*, *Alan* of IMP, and *Balan* of *GKM* and *SF* in a now lost part of IMP, perhaps the prologue. Such a theory would indicate that the author of IMP had read or was aware of a tale containing the character *Balan*, perhaps *SF* or *GKM*, and was making a connection between the world described in the *Travels* and the world depicted in this other text.

4.1.2. *Prespiter Seon*

Presbiter Iohannes, known as *Prespiter Seon* in IMP, was the title of a legendary ruler of a Christian kingdom in the East. The legend surrounding the character grew

¹¹¹² Davies, 'Fierabras', 334-35, ¶ 76 (twice), p. 336, ¶ 79, p. 338, ¶ 86, p. 355, ¶ 116, p. 355, ¶ 117.

¹¹¹³ Stokes, 'The Irish version', 122-23, ¶ 86; Copeland, *From Fierabras*, 191-92.

¹¹¹⁴ Alias *Admiralldus* cf. L 104va. Hyde, 'The wars', 76-77.

¹¹¹⁵ Hyde, 'The wars', 48-49. L, 101 rb.

¹¹¹⁶ P.I.1.4 and P.I.2.1.

¹¹¹⁷ Gaunt, *Marco*, 1-39.

out of an account from Otto of Freisingen's *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, written in the twelfth century, which mentions a great Asiatic ruler, *qui ultra Persidem et Armeniam in extremo oriente habitans*,¹¹¹⁸ who routed the Persians, Medes and Samiardi, fighting in aid of the Church of Jerusalem, and was descended from the Magi of the Bible.¹¹¹⁹ During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the legend of *Presbiter Iohannes* grew, and he soon became associated with a Christian kingdom of India, and with the legend of the shrine of Saint Thomas there.¹¹²⁰ *Presbiter Iohannis* is of interest to IMP because although he features prominently in P, he is never directly connected with India by Pipino. In fact, in describing the origin of the Tartars, Pipino mentions that they were originally tributaries to a king named *Uncham*, known in Latin as *Presbiter Iohannes: sed tributarii erant magni regis qui dicebatur Uncham, quem Latini Presbiterum Iohannem vocant, de quo totus loquitur orbis*.¹¹²¹ In his translation of this section of P, the Irish author adds a note specifying that *Prespiter Seon* was *rí na hIndia: ni raibhi rí dhibh fein forro acht iat fo chis 7 chanachus do Prespiter Seon .i. do rígh na hIndia et robui ainm aile fair .i. Unccam*.¹¹²² This is part of a wider trend in IMP which specifically associates *Prespiter Seon* with the kingdom of India. Further to the example above, the Irish author writes that *Prespiter Seon* raised the 'Indian rent' on *Simsis*, king of the Tartars: *faidis Prespiter Seon nech do chuinghidh in chis Innecca fair*.¹¹²³ This is an expansion from the Latin original in which Pipino mentions that the Tartars paid a *tributum* to *Uncham*, it is not however an 'Indian' tribute: *transierunt desertum ad aquilonarem plagam et pervenerunt ad locum ubi prenominatum regem timere non potuerant, cui postea tributum reddere noluerunt*.¹¹²⁴ Similarly, when *Prespiter Seon* is defeated by the Tartars, IMP notes that *Simsis* took sovereignty over the Indians as a result: *ro marbadh Preispiter Seon 7 gabhais Sisim righe for Innecdhaibh in tan sin*.¹¹²⁵ On the other hand, in P, the lands over which *Uncham* gains power are not specified as being in India: *Chinchis tum victor extitit et Unchan rex occisus fuit. Regnavit vero Chinchis post mortem Unchan annis .VI., in quibus multas provincias*

¹¹¹⁸ Hoffmeister, *Ottonis episcopi*, 365.

¹¹¹⁹ Yule, *Travels*, I:233-34; Beckingham, 'The Achievements', 2-3.

¹¹²⁰ Yule, *Travels*, I:233-34; Beckingham, 'The Achievements', 8-9; Brewer, *Prester*, 273-74.

¹¹²¹ P.I.51.1.

¹¹²² Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 262, ¶28. L, f.122vb.

¹¹²³ Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 264, ¶30.

¹¹²⁴ P.I.51.2.

¹¹²⁵ Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 264, ¶33.

acquisivit. Likewise, while Pipino describes the river Caromora as flowing through the lands of Presbiter Iohannes, *quod de terris regis illius qui dicitur Presbiter Iohannes fluit*,¹¹²⁶ the Irish author writes that it flows through India, *sruth Coramora for teibersnaigh fora fedh, san India tocbhais cenn ar tus*.¹¹²⁷

These examples indicate that the Irish author made a conscious effort to connect Prespiter Seon with India in IMP, even though this was not done in P. In fact, though he is mentioned nine times in P,¹¹²⁸ Presibiter Iohannes is never connected directly with India by Pipino. Two other Early Modern Irish translations mention Prespiter Seon as the king of India: these are the Irish translation of the Letter of Prester John, which survives in London, British Library MS Egerton 1781 written in Bréifne during the 1480s,¹¹²⁹ and the Irish translation of Mandeville, written by Fínghean Ó Mathghamhna in Ros Broin in 1475.

Et madh ail libh techt 7 ar cumachtaine 7 ar tirne d'fhechain, tuic 7 creid
can cunntabairt **gurop misi righ na hInndhia** .i. en duine as saibhre i
ngach uile innmus ata fo neimh 7 a talmain.¹¹³⁰

(Irish Letter of Prester John)

Preter Iohannem .i. rí na h-Innía, is imdha oilein 7 righdhacht fáei, 7 a
Pintosgsór bis a comnuighi fein.¹¹³¹

(GM)

This comparison indicates how the translation of the *Travels* into Irish was not an isolated project, but was part of a wider intellectual consciousness which was current in fifteenth-century Ireland. It is possible that the author of IMP had read the Irish Letter of Prester John or GM, or even had them at his disposal while writing IMP. On the other hand, the Irish author may have learned that Presbiter Iohannes was the king of India from other sources, perhaps via an oral account. The fame and popularity of this eastern king is in fact laid bare in Pipino's statement about him, in his first

¹¹²⁶ P.II.52.1.

¹¹²⁷ Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 394, ¶122.

¹¹²⁸ P.I.51, once; P.I.53, once; P.I.65, twice; P.II.30, four times; P.II.52, once.

¹¹²⁹ Greene, 'Irish Versions', 118; Flower, *Catalogue*, v.ii, 526.

¹¹³⁰ Greene, 'Irish Versions', 121.

¹¹³¹ Stokes, *Maundeville*, 284. Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, folio 69a2.

appearance in P: *de quo totus loquitur orbis*.¹¹³² Though it is not certain that the information regarding Prespiter Seon being *rí na hIndia* in IMP was taken directly from the Irish translations of the Letter of Presbiter Iohannes or from GM, the expansion in IMP to include information about Prespiter Seon which is not found in P, shows how details regarding the Far East were finding their way into IMP from sources other than P, and that the author did not intend to create an Irish translation or abridgement of Pipino's work alone, but was open to incorporate other information which was available to him concerning the Far East, thus creating a new Irish version of the *Travels*, based on Pipino's translation.

4.1.3. Salamanders

Another section of IMP which shows influence from sources different from P is that which describes the fabric made from salamanders. Following is my transcription of the description of salamanders from IMP:

Iar cur chuil frisin crich sin fosgebha fasach fodai uidhi .ui. la ndec eisiumh. Sing singcalas don taebh araill de. Crich forleathan isidhe. Fil sliabh urard isin crich sin 7 salmandair fair. Beathadhuigh beacca iatsumh. Fogniat snáth do thusmheadh forsin talamhain a n-inaduibh inglana 7 no timaircthe la hoes na criche 7 no berthea dia nighi cu srothaibh 7 toptraibh 7 no brisdtea i leastraibh 7 i soithighibh prais. No aduighthea tendte leo dia cur fora lar 7 geal do thiceadh don gris iar loscudh a inglain. Do gnithea eduighi de as a haithli 7 ba uasal airmhitneach-somh 7 in tan no ghabhadh sal no dorchatu he. For an ngris no cuirthe dia glanadh 7 glan no thiceadh di.¹¹³³

This is loosely translated from chapter forty-seven of the first book of P which describes the province of Chynchyntalas, and in which Pipino describes 'the mines of *calibis*, *andanicus* and *salamandra*': *in hac provincia mons est ubi sunt minere calibis et andanici et salamandre, de qua fit pannus qui, si proiciatur in ignem, comburi non potest*.¹¹³⁴ In the same chapter, Marco Polo clarifies this description of 'the mines of

¹¹³² P.I.51.1.

¹¹³³ Transcription is my own. Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 260. ¶26.

¹¹³⁴ P I.47.4.

salamandra’, stating that he found no evidence of the serpent known as the salamander during his travels, which is found in Pipino’s translation as: *de salamandra vero serpente que in igne vivere dicitur, nichil audivi in orientalibus partibus*.¹¹³⁵ Pipino further states that the salamander is a mineral and not an animal, in his description of how a garment is made from the earth, *fit autem pannus hoc modo de terra*,¹¹³⁶ by extracting a fiber from the *salamandra* which is similar to wool, *que fila quedam habent lane similia*.¹¹³⁷

Pipino’s description of the salamander as a mineral and not an animal disagrees with the medieval depiction of salamanders as magical lizards which could extinguish and live in fire. This description is found in Isodore’s *Etymologiae*:

Salamandra vocata, quod contra incendia valeat. Cuius inter omnia venenata vis maxima est; cetera enim singulos feriunt, haec plurimos pariter interimit. Nam si arbori inrepserit, omnia poma inficit veneno, et eos qui ederint occidit; qui etiam vel si in puteum cadat, vis veneni eius potantes interficit. Ista contra incendia repugnans, ignes sola animalium extinguit; vivit enim in mediis flammis sine dolore et consummatione, et non solum quia non uritur, sed extinguit incendium.¹¹³⁸

A similar description of salamanders is also found in the Irish translation of the letter of Prester John, and in its Latin original. The Irish translation is copied from Greene’s edition and the Latin from that of Zarncke:

Atá ingnadh eile anar tirne .i. piast 7 salamandra a hainm 7 ní fedunn beth na bethaidh ach tar lar teinedh do gres 7 doni denadh ingantach na timchell amail doniad um an peist berus in sida. Et do clum 7 do canach na peisti sin .i. salamandra, donid bainntigherna edaighi dingbala damsa ar lar mo

¹¹³⁵ P I.47.5. Cf. also the VA version: ‘quella salamandra della quale e’ digo non è bestia ni serpente.’ Andreose, *Il Milione*, 152.

¹¹³⁶ P I.47.4.

¹¹³⁷ P I.47.4.

¹¹³⁸ *Isodore, Etymologiae*, XII.iv.36 (ed. and trans. Lewis, 257): ‘the salamander is so named because it prevails against fire. Of all the venomous creatures its force is the greatest; the others kill people one at a time, but the salamander can slay many people at once – for if it should creep in among the trees, it injects its venom into all the fruit, and so it kills whoever eats the fruit. Again, if it falls into a well, the force of its venom kills whoever drinks from it. This animal fights back against fire; it alone of all the animals will extinguish fire, for it can live in the midst of flames without feeling pain or being consumed – not only because it is not burned but also because it extinguishes the fire.’

rightighi moir fein; 7 is amlaid doniter int egusg righa sin do nighi, ar lar teinedh do gres.¹¹³⁹

In alia quadam provincia iuxta torridam zonam sunt vermes, qui lingua nostra dicuntur salamandrae. Isti vermes non possunt vivere nisi in igne, et faciunt pelliculam quandam circa se, sicut alli vermes, qui faciunt sericum. Haec pellicula a dominabus palatii nostri studiose ope ratur, et inde habemus vestes et pannos ad omnem usum excellentiae nostrae. Isti panni non nisi in igne fortiter accenso lavantur.¹¹⁴⁰

Although the Irish author does not add information to IMP regarding the salamander's ability to extinguish flame and withstand fire, as is found in the Letter of Prester John and in the *Etymologiae*, he does not accept Marco Polo's idea that salamanders are minerals rather than animals, and writes, *beathadhuigh beacca iat-sumh*. This is a rejection of new information offered by the *Travels*, in favour of a return to conservative and mainstream medieval descriptions of salamanders such as those found in the *Etymologiae* and the Letter of Prester John.

The mineral described by Marco Polo in the *Travels* is asbestos, from which a fibre is extracted that is renowned for its incombustible qualities still today.¹¹⁴¹ It is uncertain when the fibre extracted from asbestos became confused with the amphibian known as the salamander, however the legend of the salamander being unhurt by fire is at least old as Aristotle.¹¹⁴² Yule suggested that the origin may lie in a Persian pseudo-etymology of the word *samandar/samandal*, which was borrowed from Greek *σαλαμάνδρα*, as being composed of the elements *sam* 'fire', and *andar* 'within'.¹¹⁴³ In any case, the fireproof fabric made from asbestos became associated in the Medieval mind with the salamander and was understood to derive from the wool or the skin of the animal. Thus in the Irish Letter of Prester John, clothes are made from the fur and wool of the salamander: *do chum 7 do canach na peisti sin .i. salamandra, donid bainntigherna edaighi*. By correctly giving a mineral origin to this fire-resistant fabric in the *Travels*, Marco Polo was going against mainstream Medieval learning.

¹¹³⁹ Greene, 'Irish Versions', 123.

¹¹⁴⁰ Greene, 'Irish Versions', 128; Zarncke, *Abhandlungen*, 915: 42.

¹¹⁴¹ Yule, *Travels*, I:216.

¹¹⁴² Ibid.

¹¹⁴³ Ibid.

However, the author of IMP did not include Marco Polo's identification of the salamander as a mineral, specifying instead that the salamander was a small animal.

This description of salamanders in IMP, and its variation from the information found in P, exemplifies the Irish author's approach to his adaptation of P and illustrates how he valued the information he was adapting. For the author of IMP, P was not a source of scientific and precise information which could develop and improve Medieval learning, rather it was the source of pleasurable accounts and entertaining anecdotes which could be modified and improved in order to conform to an already established picture of the Far East.¹¹⁴⁴

4.2. Variations based on native material

4.2.1. *For cliathaibh fis*

In the paragraphs describing the scene immediately preceding the battle between Magnus Cam and Prespiter Seon in IMP, the Tartar hosts ask their druids to prophesise the outcome of the battle, *fiafraighid dib faitsine 7 celmaine in chatha nó cinnus no biath doib 7 do Preispiter Seon*.¹¹⁴⁵ In response, the druids went onto their 'wattles of knowledge', *luidhset na druidh fora cliathaibh fis*, and summoned around them the devils and gods of the air, *ro thoghairmset demhna 7 dei aerdha na n-docum*. After having gone on their 'wattles of knowledge', the druids split a large bulrush in two and name one half of it Prespiter Seon and the other Sisim, i.e Magnus Cam, *do berat bhoicshimhin n-dimoir leo, 7 ro scoiltset 7 do ronsat dá leth di, 7 do berat Preispiter Seon d'ainm for leth di 7 Sisim for in leth n-aill*. Through wizardry and cunning, *draidheacht 7 tuaichleacht*, the druids cause the two halves of the bulrush to contend with each other, and the half named Sisim is victorious.

Though the splitting of the bulrush and the use of incantations to make the two halves contend with one another is translated directly from P,¹¹⁴⁶ this section of IMP contains an addition which is distinctly Irish in flavour, namely the use of *cliatha fis*

¹¹⁴⁴ Jauss, 'The Alterity', p. 182.

¹¹⁴⁵ Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 265, ¶32.

¹¹⁴⁶ P.I.53.2: Tunc Chinchis rex Tartarorum precepit incantatoribus et astrologis suis ut predicerent qualem eventum futurum prelium habiturum erat; tunc astrologi in partes duas scindentes arundinem divisiones ipsas interposuerunt, unamque vocaverunt Chinchis, et alteram Unchan.

in order to prophesise the outcome of the battle. John Carey¹¹⁴⁷ has drawn attention to similar depictions of druids on wattles in Medieval Irish literature, in *Cath Findchorad*, in which druids go onto hides of old hairless bulls and on wattles of rowan tree, *do cuadar as a h-aithle ar seicheadhaibh seantarbh mael loar 7 ar cliathaibh caorthaind*,¹¹⁴⁸ and similarly in the Irish Life of Saint Berach, where druids go onto their hurdles of rowan tree, *dochúatar na draoithe ara ccliathaibh cáerthainn*.¹¹⁴⁹ This use of *cliatha* in prophetic rites is described in detail by Céitinn who mentions that the druids of the ancient Irish used hides of sacrificial bulls spread on round wattles of rowan tree in order to summon up the demons upon which they would lay geasa in order to obtain information from them:

Dála na ndruadh is é feidhm do-nídís do sheicheadhaibh na dtarbh n-iodhbarta a gcoimhéad ré hucht bheith ag déanamh *conjunction* nó ag cur na ndeamhan fá gheasaibh, agus is iomdha céim ar a gcuirdís geasa orra, mar atá silleadh ar a scáile féin i n-uisce, nó ré hamharc ar néallaibh nimhe, nó ré foghar gaoithe nó glór éan do chlos. Gidheadh an tan do cheileadh gach áisig díobh sin orra, agur fá héigean dóibh a ndícheall do dhéanamh, is eadh do-nídís cruinnchliatha caorthainn do dhéanamh agus seicheadha na dtarbh n-iodhbarta do leathadh orra agus an taobh do bhíodh ris an bhfeoil do chur i n-uachtar díobh, agus dul mar sin i muinighin a ngeasa do thoghairm na ndeamhan do bhuain scéal díobh, amhail do-ní an togharmach san chiorcaill aniú; gonadh de sin do lean an sean-fhocal ó shoin adeir go dtéid neach **ar a chliathaibh fis** an tan do-ní dícheall ar scéala d'fhagháil.¹¹⁵⁰

¹¹⁴⁷ I am grateful to Professor Carey for having shared his unpublished talk on IMP with me, which he gave in University College Cork in 2011.

¹¹⁴⁸ Dobbs, 'The Battle', 398-9.

¹¹⁴⁹ Plummer, *Bethada*, i.34.

¹¹⁵⁰ Céitinn, *Foras*, ii 348-51 (ed. and trans. Ua Duinnín): 'As to the druids, the use they made of the hides of the bulls offered in sacrifice was to keep them for the purpose of making conjunction, or laying geasa on the demons; and many are the ways in which they laid geasa on them, such as to keep looking at their own images in water, or gaze on the clouds of heaven, or keep listening to the noise of the wind or the chattering of birds. But when all these expedients failed them, and they were obliged to do their utmost, what they did was, to make round wattles of the quicken tree, and to spread thereon the offered in sacrifice, putting the side which had been next the flesh uppermost, and thus relying on their geasa to summon the demons to get information from them, as the conjurer does nowadays in the circus; whence the old saying has since been current which says that one has gone on his wattles of knowledge when he has done his utmost to obtain information.'

Céitinn's statement that such incantations were still practiced by conjurers in circuses during his day, *amhail do-ní an togharmach san chiorcaill aniu*, and that going *ar chliathaibh fis* was a proverb meaning 'to do one's best to obtain information', suggests that the Irish author's expansion in IMP does not derive from any Medieval Irish text in particular, but is rather a trope inserted by the Irish author in order to render the material of P more familiar to his Irish audience. By depicting a druidic ritual amongst the incantations of the Tartar wizards while retaining the original description of the spell on the two halves of the bulrush, the Irish author both Gaelicises the portrayal of the Far East and describes a foreign method of acquiring omens. This process of incorporating distinctly Irish elements into an adaptation of foreign material, produces a unique version of the *Travels*, which to a Medieval Irish audience would have contained numerous parallels between the Irish and the Eastern worlds, and would therefore enhance their interest in and connection with the text.

4.2.2. *Firu, macu, mná*

The sentence *firu, macu, mná*, is used twice in IMP to indicate an indiscriminate collective of people, much like English 'men, women and children'. In the first instance the Irish author is describing the people of Canhgigu, (Laos),¹¹⁵¹ and their custom of drawing tattoos on the bodies of their 'men, sons and women': *do níatt a rinnadh forro, firu, macu, mna*.¹¹⁵² This is a translation of Pipino's description of the 'men and wives of this region' who paint their bodies with a needle: *virī et mulieres huius provincie cum accubus pingunt facies suas, colla, manus et ventrem ac crura*.¹¹⁵³ In the second instance they are the object of a slaughter: *tiagait fuirre la nert lann 7 sciath, cu ro lásat ár for aes na cathrach, firu, macu, mna*.¹¹⁵⁴ This translates Pipino's: *de mandato ipsorum baronum decapitati sunt omnes*. In the first example the Irish author expands Pipino's 'men and wives', *virī et mulieres*, to include also 'sons', *macu*, in IMP. In the second example, the Irish author expands Pipino's *omnes* into *firu, macu, mna*, in order to more vividly depict the indiscriminate nature of the slaughter.

¹¹⁵¹ Yule, *Travels*, II:117-118.

¹¹⁵² Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 342, ¶119.

¹¹⁵³ P.II.46.7.

¹¹⁵⁴ Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 404, ¶148.

An explanation for the Irish author's preference of *firu, macu, mna* over more accurate translations of Pipino's *viri et mulieres* and *omnes*, may be that it was a set literary formula which echoed other Medieval Irish texts. It is in fact found in the *Agallamh*, in a verse of a poem recited by Cael Ua Neamhnainn in his effort to woo Crédhe ingen Cairbri cnes-bháin ingen rígh Ciarraigi Luachra.

Aibinn in tech ina tá
idir fhira is maca is mná,
 idir dhruidh agus aes ceoil
 idir dháiliumh is doirseoir.¹¹⁵⁵

This verse was certainly familiar to the scribe of IMP, i.e. Scribe A, since the *Agallamh* is also in his hand in L.¹¹⁵⁶ The same expression is used also by the author of *Riagail na Céle nDé*, to describe the duties of members of the Orders to hear the confessions of all the tenants of their church:

Nach fer graid gaibes eclais for a chubas is do dlegar anmchardine
 mhanach na heclaise sin, **firu, maccu, mna sceo ingena.**¹¹⁵⁷

The sense in these examples is that the expression *firu, macu, mna*, was an idiom signifying 'everyone, indiscriminately'. The significance of this phrase in IMP is that it illustrates how the Irish author could employ native, sometimes formulaic, expressions in his adaptation of the *Travels*, by molding the information of P to fit established formulas of Medieval Irish literature at the expense of a precise rendering of Marco Polo's account of the Far East.

For the author of IMP the importance of the detail that only *viri et mulieres* used to tattoo their bodies in the province of Canhigigu falls into second place when presented with the opportunity to incorporate a linguistically archaic idiom in the adaptation. Similarly, when Pipino writes *decapitati sunt omnes*, the Irish author seizes the chance and inserts the same expression.

¹¹⁵⁵ Stokes, 'Acallamh', 22:776-77.

¹¹⁵⁶ Cf. L f. 206va l.15.

¹¹⁵⁷ Gwynn, 'The Rule', 84-85: 'It is the duty of any one in Orders who undertakes the charge of a church to hear the confessions of that church's tenants, men, boys, women and girls.'

4.2.3. *Bonn fria meidhi*

In the description of the battle between Niscardyn, general of the Tartar army, and Bagul, king of Miena, the Irish author makes use of a formula found in a number of other Medieval Irish texts, namely: *ba calma do cuiread in cath soin leo alliu 7 anall, co m-benadh **bonn fria meidhi 7 méidhe fria bonn doibh***.¹¹⁵⁸ Similar expressions used to describe the carnage of battle are found in the first recension of the *Táin*: *dobert fóbairt bidbad fo bidbadaib forro co tochratár bond fri bond 7 méde fri méde*;¹¹⁵⁹ and in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*: *co mbenadh bond fri medi 7 medi fri aroile acu*;¹¹⁶⁰ and *gu mbenad bond fri medi aigi*.¹¹⁶¹ It is also found in a verse in AFM, commemorating the battle of Fochart in 732:

As don cath cedna at-rubhradh:

Ar n-Uladh im Aodh Róine
la h-Aodh Allán rí Ere
Ar coinnimh do Chill Chonna
Cuir-siom **bonna fri méidhe**.¹¹⁶²

The Irish author's use of this expression in IMP to translate Pipino's *fuit autem prelium durum valde*,¹¹⁶³ is yet another indication of his approach to translating P and his incorporation of native elements into the adaptation which evoked the idioms and passages common in Medieval Irish literature.

This discussion has illustrated that the author of IMP was altering the details of P and expanding on the information which he encountered in the *Travels* in two ways: firstly, he was incorporating additional accounts of the Far East in IMP from texts other than P. I have suggested that the author of IMP may have been familiar with *Sdair Fortibrais* in the case of the alteration between *Alan* and *Balan*, and that

¹¹⁵⁸ Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 390, ¶114; 127rb37-127va2.

¹¹⁵⁹ O'Rahilly, *Táin*, 70:2309-10: 'And he made upon them the attack of a foe upon his foes so that they fell, sole of foot to sole of foot, and headless neck to headless neck.' Cf. *ibid*, 118.

¹¹⁶⁰ Calder, *Imtheachta*, 140:2229-30.

¹¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 144:2315-16.

¹¹⁶² AFM I, 732.8: 'Of the same battle was said: "The slaughter of the Ulidians with Aedh Roin was made by Aedh Allan, King of Ireland; For their coigny at Cill Cunna he placed soles to necks."'

¹¹⁶³ P.II.42.7.

the ideas of Prespiter Seon being *rí na hIndia* and of salamanders being *beathadhuigh beacca* may have found their way into IMP from Mandeville's *Travels* or the Letter of Prester John, or their corresponding Irish translations. Secondly, the Irish author was incorporating elements from native Irish literature into his adaptation, subtly Gaelicising his depiction of the Far East and giving IMP a distinctly Irish feel. This approach to translation is not unique to IMP and is found in other Medieval Irish adaptations of foreign material. For example, the Irish author of *In Cath Catharda* (CC) expanded Lucan's *tot cecinere tubae*,¹¹⁶⁴ to include instruments more familiar to a Medieval Irish battlefield, *ro seinnit a sturgana ocus a cuirn comhairc ocus a n-adurca furfocra ocus a cuislendai cathai*.¹¹⁶⁵ Similarly, Harris has noted that Pompey arms himself in a distinctly Irish manner in CC, with two spears, and has suggested that the descriptions of his multi-coloured clothes and beautifully decorated armour are parallel to representations of Cú Chulainn and Fer Diad in the second recension of the *Táin*.¹¹⁶⁶ Stanford has pointed out analogous depictions of Hector in *Togail Troí* which, along with a number of other 'Gaelicisms', lend the text a decidedly Irish tone.¹¹⁶⁷

Herbert has summarised the process of Gaelicising foreign material in Medieval Irish literature by remarking that 'the public of early narrative did not seek to discover the unique world-view of a particular author, but rather, sought recognition of familiar codes and conventions shared from one work to another.'¹¹⁶⁸ This analysis of the secondary variations in IMP has shown that the Irish author was in places, altering P by aligning it with established and familiar Medieval Irish axioms and ideas. Whether this entailed equating Alan of the *Travels* with Balan of *Sdair Fortibrais* or specifying that Prespiter Seon was *rí na hIndia* and that salamanders were small animals and not minerals as Pipino suggested, or whether it meant incorporating Irish depictions of magic in the description of Maghnus Cam's druids going *for cliathaibh fis*, or the inclusion of archaic idioms such as *firu*, *macu*, *mna* or the saga formula *bonn fria meidhi*, the Irish author was creating a new version of Marco Polo's *Travels*, in a recognisably Irish idiom.

¹¹⁶⁴ Lucan, BC VI.130 (ed. Braund, Civil War, p. 110): 'so many trumpets sounded'.

¹¹⁶⁵ Stokes, In Cath, p. 266-67: 'their trumpets were sounded, and their noisy bugles, and their warning horns, and their battle-pipes.'

¹¹⁶⁶ Harris, Adaptations, p. 130; Stokes, In Cath, p. 350-53.

¹¹⁶⁷ Stanford, Ireland, p. 74-75.

¹¹⁶⁸ Herbert, 'Fled', p. 75.

This approach recalls a remark in Cicero's preface to his translation of the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines: 'I have translated not as an interpreter but as an orator, preserving the sentiments and their forms (so to say 'figures') from the original, but adapting the words to our own usage. I have not thought it necessary to translate word for word, but I have kept to the same kind of words, preserving their general meaning.'¹¹⁶⁹ With regard to a specifically Irish context, one is compelled to agree with the comment of Boyle and Hayden: 'When a vernacular text draws on Latin sources and *vice versa*, it can be difficult to disentangle the concept of "adaptation" from the process of translation.'¹¹⁷⁰

5. Conclusions

This chapter has shown that the Irish author significantly reduced the size of the *Travels* in his adaptation, creating a text that is just over a third of the size of P, or 35% of it. At the same time however, the author of IMP was also re-proportioning sections of the text to suit his own interests and those of his audience. In particular, I have illustrated how the Irish author was not as interested in accurately translating the geographical information of P, as he was in adapting and rewriting the accounts of the battles of the Tartars and the descriptions of the Khan's royal palaces in the text. In one section of IMP the Irish author even expresses his reluctance to translate the geographical details of the regions of the Far East with the sentence: *ro badh scíth tenga fria tuarascbáil do thabhairt.*

The sections of IMP which the Irish author expanded the most are the paragraphs relating to the rebellion of Naim and Cadau, Cublay's uncle and cousin respectively, and the passages describing the city and palace of Cambalu. I have suggested that these parts of P were given particularly close attention in the Irish adaptation because they offered an opportunity to incorporate native narrative styles and formulaic descriptions which echoed other Medieval Irish texts. In addition, I have offered a historical interpretation as to why the Irish author chose to focus on these specific sections of IMP. It is possible in fact that the Irish author used the account of Naim's rebellion against Cublay to draw parallels with family conflicts in

¹¹⁶⁹ Russel and Winterbottom, *Ancient literary criticism*, 253.

¹¹⁷⁰ Boyle and Hayden, *Authorities and adaptations*, xxiv.

fifteenth-century Ireland. In this respect, it is interesting to consider Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach's struggle against his cousin Cormac mac Donnchaidh for power in Cairbre during the 1470s, and the rebellion of Caitilín Fitzgerald's uncle Gearóid against her brother Séamus Fitzgerald, during the same conflict. However, as interesting as this parallel is, I do not believe it can be used to secure a date of composition for IMP, since family conflicts such as these were routine during the Early Modern period in Ireland.

One of the parts of IMP that has been modified most heavily by the Irish author is the prologue of the text, in which the Dominican friar Francesco Pipino is transformed into a Franciscan who is the brother of a king, *bai brathair rígh an aibit san Fronsas isin cathraigh in tan sin [...] Fransiscus a ainm*. I have offered several interpretations as to the motivations behind these modifications to Pipino's character, and while I do not feel that any of them can be argued conclusively, the portrayal of Pronsiscus as a Franciscan who is the brother of a king in IMP embodies Bhreathnach's argument of the 'proximity of castle, friary and school of learning'¹¹⁷¹ in Ireland during the fifteenth century and suggests that the adaptation may have been written in a Franciscan context. What the adjustment of these details in the prologue of IMP does show however, is that the Irish author was not interested in creating a precise translation of P, rather he was re-telling the story of the *Travels* by incorporating details which had a contemporary relevance to fifteenth-century Ireland.

This same approach of the Irish author in adapting P is also found in his incorporation of elements from secondary sources in IMP, such as the equation of *Alan* with *Balan*, which I have argued may derive from *Sdair Fortibrais*, and the explanation that Prespiter Seon was *rí na hIndia*, which may derive from Mandeville's *Travels* or the Letter of Prester John, or their corresponding Irish translations. Similarly, the author of IMP was Gaelicising his descriptions of the Far East, by using the same language as and quoting passages from native tales. The portrayal of Cublay's druids *for cliathaibh fis* and the use of stock Irish saga formulas such as *bonn fria meidhi*, nativise and render familiar the *Travels* and create a new picture of the Far East, which blends elements of Pipino's account with components from Medieval Irish literature, thus establishing common ground between the two.

¹¹⁷¹ Bhreathnach, 'mendicant orders', 361.

This textual analysis of IMP has shown how the Irish author approached the adaptation of P, using it as a starting point from which numerous expansions could be made which incorporated information from other sources. Similarly, the Irish author's lack of enthusiasm for the geographical descriptions of the eastern regions indicates that he did not intend his adaptation to be an accurate and factual account of the Far East. In this context it is interesting to recall Dutschke's comments on how the composition of texts in Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84], which I have shown in Chapter III to contain the same version of P as the exemplar used to translate IMP, shines light on how the *Travels* were categorised in the mind of whoever commissioned the manuscript, indicating that it was considered 'a pleasurable account, an adventure in faraway lands rather than a straightforward source of information.'¹¹⁷² Dutschke has shown that this is at odds with the acceptance of and conviction in Marco Polo's accounts expressed by Medieval readership in annotations and colophons to the *Travels* found in many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts.¹¹⁷³ However, Gadrat has shown that tales of travel and of exploration were also read purely for entertainment by Medieval audiences, and that the *Travels* may have been considered by some of its fourteenth- and fifteenth-century readers to be 'recreational' texts.¹¹⁷⁴ In relation to the increasing popularity of Mandeville's *Travels* during the fifteenth century in England, at the expense of Marco Polo's *Travels*, Dutschke remarked that 'a gradual shift, during the course of the fifteenth century, in the proportions of the reading audience away from a strictly academic public, towards one that included more individuals reading for pleasure could account for a movement from Marco Polo towards a preference for Mandeville.'¹¹⁷⁵

Although L contains no marginalia or annotations which capture an Early Modern Irish reaction to the IMP, this chapter has discussed the various ways in which the Irish author was redesigning P in his adaptation, so as to focus on the more entertaining aspects of the *Travels*. This indicates that IMP was conceived by its author as a recreational voyage text and not as a factual account of the Far East. When

¹¹⁷² Dutschke, *Pipino*, 612-13.

¹¹⁷³ Ibid., 43-99. Dutschke first analyses the reaction of readers who believed in the veracity of Marco Polo's account, pp 59-94, before mentioning the instances in which they express disbelief, pp.94-99.

¹¹⁷⁴ Gadrat, *Lire*, 156-57.

¹¹⁷⁵ Dutschke, *Pipino*, 243.

examined beside the texts which surround IMP in L, which range from lives of saints, to *fiannaíocht* literature, to historical and ethnographical texts such as *Gabháltas Serluis Mhóir* (GSM) and *Sdair na Lumbardach* (SNL), to apocryphal and anecdotal texts such as *In Tenga Bithnua* and *Scél na Samhna*, IMP comes within the broad categoray of *seanchas* and may be identified also within the family of wisdom literature, or ‘*litríocht na gaoise*’.¹¹⁷⁶

¹¹⁷⁶ Ó Macháin, ‘Buaine’, 334.

CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this dissertation was to conduct a general study of IMP both as a contribution to Early Modern Irish literature, and as a contribution to the textual tradition of the *Travels*. Each chapter has approached IMP from a different perspective in order to give a rounded view of the text. Chapter I began by describing the relationship between IMP and the broader textual tradition of the *Travels*, showing how it is a translation of P, Francesco Pipino's Latin translation of Marco Polo's account written between 1310-1324. It continued with an overview of L, discussing the various scribal hands and the milieu in which it was created. The collaboration between Scribe A, who wrote most of L, and the relief scribe on f. 125rb is suggestive of a scholastic milieu, and of an interaction between a tutor and a student. The potential family connections of Aonghas Ó Callanáin, the second most important contributor to L whom Ó Macháin has shown to have been working in tandem with Scribe A, with the Ó Callanáin medical family of Cairbre offers further insight into the cultural context in which IMP was received.

In Chapter II it was shown how the *Travels* were adapted to match well-established literary styles that were current in fifteenth-century Ireland. My linguistic analysis of IMP revealed how the Irish author enhanced the language of the text by blending archaic language with Early Modern forms. In this way, the author of IMP was able to adapt the *Travels* to a style that was reminiscent of an Old or Middle Irish narrative that had been recast in the Early Modern period, thus, perhaps, imparting a status of venerable antiquity to his abridgement. The archaic language of IMP displays the linguistic sophistication of both its author and its intended audience. In this respect IMP may be compared to Tadhg Ó Cianáin's *Turas* written in 1609 and Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh's *Beatha*, written after 1616,¹¹⁷⁷ which were composed with learned court audiences in mind. Furthermore, three distinct narrative styles alternate in the text: the first is a clipped, succinct style evocative of the prose of many Old and Middle Irish texts; the second is a fluid, continuous narrative style used for the description of anecdotes and events; the third is the style of the late Middle Irish *cath*.

¹¹⁷⁷ Mac Craith, 'The *Beatha*', 36-37.

The author of IMP alternated these styles to highlight particular sections of the narrative. The third of these styles, the bombastic and alliterative prose of the *cath* is used exclusively in one instance in IMP, that describing the rebellion of Naim, which I have argued in Chapter IV was expanded in the Irish adaptation because it mirrored events in Fínghean Mac Carthaigh's personal and political life.

In Chapter III it has been shown that the exemplar used to create IMP is closely related to the English version of P, and in particular, that the version of P most closely related to IMP survives in Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84, a manuscript written by a professional scribe named Richard Frampton between the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, probably in London. This indicates that the exemplar used by the Irish author was probably either written in England or copied from a manuscript of English origin. Another manuscript in the hand of Frampton is Cambridge, University Library, Mm.5.14,¹¹⁷⁸ probably written some years prior to the Glasgow manuscript,¹¹⁷⁹ which contains *Historia destructionis Troiae* and *Liber Magni Alexandri*, also found in the Glasgow manuscript. If Frampton used the same source to copy these texts as he did for the Glasgow manuscript, it may be suggested that Frampton had access to the same library during the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries from which he copied material for his clients, in which there may have also been a manuscript containing a copy of P belonging to group δ of the English branch, which Frampton used as his source for the Glasgow manuscript. Parkes's observations regarding the location of Frampton during the early-fifteenth century may indicate that this library was in London. Chapter III also showed that the contents of the Glasgow manuscript bear striking resemblance to those of L and of a number of other fifteenth-century Irish manuscripts which contain translations of European texts, such as the history of Troy, the adventures of Alexander the Great, the wars of Charlemagne, Mandeville's *Travels* and Marco Polo's *Travels*. These texts show that the literary and historical interests of whomever commissioned Richard Frampton to write the Glasgow manuscript at the beginning of the fifteenth century were aligned to those of Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, patron of L, of Fínghean Ó Mathghamhna who wrote GM in Ros Broin in 1475, of the patrons of Egerton 1781, written in Bréifne in 1484, and of the Roches of Fermoy, for whom the Book of Fermoy was written. A book such as the Glasgow manuscript,

¹¹⁷⁸ Hardwick, *Catalogue* iv, 320-21.

¹¹⁷⁹ Parkes, 'Frampton', 117.

containing a selection of texts concerned with European and Oriental history, may have been the source of IMP and of a number of other fifteenth-century Irish translation texts, such as *GSM* and *GM*.

In Chapter IV I compiled an in-depth textual analysis of IMP in order to evaluate which parts of the *Travels* the Irish author omitted and which he expanded in his adaptation. IMP is a much reduced account of Marco Polo's *Travels*, amounting to just over a third the size of P, roughly 35%. The section which has been expanded the most in IMP is the account of Naim's rebellion, which describes the war between Cublay and his uncle Naim and cousin Cadau. I have argued that the motivation behind the development of this part of IMP is that the war between Cublay and his relatives was being rewritten as an allegory for the war between Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach and his cousin Cormac mac Donnchaidh Mac Carthaigh, who had usurped the title of Mac Carthaigh Riabhach from Fínghean's father in 1468 and held it until 1477, when Fínghean was restored to power. If my argument is correct, it allows us to date IMP to shortly before the writing of L.

I will conclude this study of IMP by offering a narrative of how and why the *Travels* were translated into Irish during last quarter of the fifteenth century which can be inferred from the discoveries and arguments advanced in this dissertation.

1. At some stage during the fifteenth century, a copy of P, of subgroup δ , was brought from England, perhaps London, to Ireland. This copy of P may have been in a manuscript that contained a number of other texts that dealt with European and Oriental history, some of which, such as *GSM* and *GM*, were being translated and adapted elsewhere on the island. This rise in popularity of texts dealing with the Far and Middle East, describing the wars against Saracens and the customs of Muslims was not unique to Ireland, but was part of a surge in popularity of the genre all over the Christian world. The *Travels* in particular were copied and rewritten into a multitude of different versions, and P itself was being translated and adapted all over Europe. The 'Digby' version, the 'Cambridge-Dublin' version, the 'Harley' version and the manuscripts of group ϵ show that abridgements and rearrangements of P were already common in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and that the *Travels* was a popular candidate for retellings and abridgements.

2. Sometime after 1478, when Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach took back the lordship of Cairbre from his cousin and foster brother Cormac mac Donnchaidh, an erudite and learned writer translated P into Irish, recasting the text in a distinctly Irish literary style, incorporating archaic language and native narrative styles which placed the text firmly within the canon of Medieval Irish literature. In this new Irish version of the *Travels* he molded sections of the text to reflect political events which were formative in the life of his patron, Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach and his wife Caitilín Fitzgerald.

3. He may have even included a personal signature of sorts in the prologue of the text, signing himself as *bráthair rígh an aibit San Fronsas*. His transformation of Francesco Pipino from a Dominican into a Franciscan may indicate that IMP was written in the Franciscan friary of Timoleague, an hour's walk from Fínghean's home in Kilbrittain and location of the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family crypt. L, the manuscript in which IMP is contained, was also probably written here, between 1478-1505. The addition of a steeple, dormitory, hospital and library¹¹⁸⁰ to the friary of Timoleague between 1494 and 1517 shows that a significant investment was made in the establishment during the later years of Fínghean's lordship of Cairbre. This may have been a response to an expansion of the Franciscan movement in the Diocese of Ross and in the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach territories, and perhaps even to the fosterage of a Third Order community around the friary.

4. The scribes of L and who worked for Fínghean included: Aonghas Ó Callanáin, a learned historian who probably had a medical background and who was charged with copying *seanchas* and *fiannaíocht* texts in the manuscript; and Scribe A, who availed of the help of relief scribes, perhaps his student, and who wrote almost all of L. Known court poets of Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach during this period were Mathghamhain mac Domhnaill mheic Eóghain Í Dhálaigh, whose inaugural poem for Fínghean, *Ní théd an éigin a n-aisgidh*, survives on f. 158 of L, and An Giolla Dubh mac

¹¹⁸⁰ Ware, *De praesulibus*, 223.

Conchubhair Í Dhuinnín, who wrote a *caithréim* poem for Fínghean beginning *Ris féin is measda Mac Carthaigh*,¹¹⁸¹ commemorating Fínghean's victory over his cousin Cormac. Fínghean's political influence in Cairbre during the 1480s may be seen in the appointment of a relative as the bishop of Ross, Tadhg Mac Carthaigh, a Franciscan. Although Tadhg's precise family ties to Fínghean are unknown, and he is not mentioned in any of the genealogies of the Mac Carthaigh Riabhach family, it is interesting to consider whether *bráthair rígh in aibít San Fronsés* is a reference to him.

5. In conclusion, however, the author of IMP must remain anonymous. This investigation of the text has shown that he was an extremely well-read individual, an able writer of upper-register Classical Irish prose with a European *mentalité* who incorporated linguistic, stylistic and thematic elements of native literature into his adaptation in order to create a uniquely Irish version of Marco Polo's *Travels*.

¹¹⁸¹ Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 96; preserved in four later manuscripts: RIA 23 G 25 f.269a; RIA 23 M 33 f. 13; RIA 23 C 21 f. 88; RIA 23 H 28 f.64. Cf. *RIACat*, 492.

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APPENDIX I

Transcription and transliteration of the Irish Marco Polo from The Book of Lismore, ff. 121–131

Principles of transcription

The foliation followed is that of the facsimile and of the description on Irish Script on Screen.

Expansion of all abbreviations is indicated in italics. Tall *e* is represented by *ea*, unless (a) followed by an *i* or an *o*; (b) where a following slender glide is implicit as in *tEndte* > *tendte* (121vb27); (c) where occurring in the *ae* ligature (e.g. 123ra1, 126ra24, etc.), or in non-ligature formations such as in *roen* 123ra5, and *noen* 123va12. Roman numerals not transliterated. An attempt has been made to reproduce the word division of the manuscript, and also punctuation and capitalisation; the *ceann fo eite* is represented by //.

For convenience, Stokes's paragraph-arrangement of the text is referenced in the form [¶]

f. 121ra

1. riguibh 7 taiseachaib na cathrac sin. Bai brathair
2. righ[ui *expuncted*] anaibit san fronses isin cathraig
3. intan sin. Ba eoluch dano isna hilibherlaibh
4. Fransiscus a ainm. Berur iarum du a mbatar
5. na maithes ucit 7 cuinghit fair in leabhor
6. doclodh for cula otheangaidh na tartaireadh
7. cusinteangaidh laitianda. IS omun leamsa ol
8. se saethar na menmanradh do chaithimh fria
9. gnímhradh idhul 7 ainchreitmec. Guighit he fa
10. an cetna doridisi. Dogeantar or se ár gidh
11. scéla aincristaidhi fhaisneighter sum. mirbhuli
12. in fhiridh iatsaidhhe et gac aen docluinfe
13. in timutsa a nagaidh na hirsí coimdeta guighfidh
14. co dicra faaclodhsum for cula 7 in neach nac guigh
15. fe caithfidh calma a cuirp fria clodh. Ni
16. sam omhnachsa riasinleabarsa mharcais or
17. ni fhuil go ann. Do thadhaill murosca he
18. ac tabhairt mhind na heaclaisi naeime lais 7 rofhag
19. aibh fria blaisecht mbais gur fhirson 7 ba
20. diadha inti marcus. [¶2] Cidh fil ann tra acht ros
21. tinnta pronsiscus inleabarso mharcais a tar
22. tairidh a laitín et fahiat bliadhna in
23. tigerna in tansin .u. bliadhna dec 7 d[a on erasure] fhicit 7
24. 7 .cc. 7 .m. bliadan. // si. tir isidhe conimat
25. [¶3] IN airmein beac ceatamus fochis do magnus fil
26. cathrac 7maine nanaithnidi fria creic 7 cund
27. radh. Glaisia is cathair oireachais di 7 ar muir
28. ata si. tursie .i. proibhinnsi fuil innti. tír
29. shléibitighi isidhe 7 do macumetus adhruid
30. eich amra leo 7 imat sida. // mhamus
31. [¶4] INairmein mhor immorro tir forlethan isidhe. Fo
32. magnus fuil si. imut cathrac 7maine leo
33. da chathair oirdnidi le. agiron 7baririm
34. a nanmunna 7 isintirsin ata slíab ar
35. menia. IS airside ro airis ináirc iar ternam
36. odhilinn. [¶5] IS friatoebhsidhe ata proibinnsi sor
37. anorum 7sruth ola for teibirsin innsidhe do
38. gres dia lintar longa 7barcu na ceanntur foicsi

f. 121rb

1. 7 neamhfoicsi 7fuath aiquile argualuinn cach
2. ae dib ar na tusmedh. Do isa adhrat. Fil
3. mainister isin crich sin 7 loch friataeb. Sruth eof
4. ruis acteibirsin a pardhus inn. imat eiscc
5. o init cocaisc inn 7ganabheith nís síre.
6. [¶6] FIL crich naili innti. rigi musul iside 7 do
7. macumetus adrait. Fil cathair oirdnidi innte
8. baldasi a hainm. airdri na sairisineach
9. as ri fuirriseic. calipus a hainm. imat
10. oir 7 maine lais. or ni hal dó laeich naid

11. *curaid fora inchaibh. // a chathrac fair a*
12. [¶7] *Luidh alan .i. rí na tartraidhi do irghabhail*
13. *nirt catha. Bai tor dithoghlaídi lais arna*
14. *linadh dor 7 domhainibh. gabhthar calipus*
15. *gunathor 7 cona chathair ar ní rabatur laeich*
16. *oca imdhitean. Gia thucais anoir 7 airmidin*
17. *don or ol balan ní fhil anoir na airmidin*
18. *aigi fort aniu .u. la conanoighcib do chal*
19. *ipus gin digh gin biadh curomhoidh a craidhi na*
20. *cliab do cumaidh 7 doilghius a oir 7 a mhaine*
21. [¶8] *FIL cathair naili isin crich sin. Taurisius a hainm*
22. *conimut leag mbuadha 7 etac sireagda. Bai*
23. *sliabh urard frisin cathraighsin 7 sliab dontaeb*
24. *anaill. Gu cualatar na hiudaidi laithi naen*
25. *amal adeir in soiscel diadha. // dicetis*
26. *Si abueritis fidem ut granum sinapis*
27. *huic monti transi 7 transibit 7 nichil in*
28. *posibile erit uobis .i. dia mbeith aireat*
29. *in graine musdaird do sheirc isa lat do*
30. *thogluaisfea in sliabh ar in sliabh arail*
31. *diamad ail dhuit. IS faid guach intissa*
32. *dia nadharthai ol na geinti 7 as briatra goo*
33. *lais ár dia cuingheadh sibh for an sliabh ucut*
34. *togluasacht for an sliabh aile ní dingnad foraihb itir*
35. *Tiaghuit na cristaidi for aenchai 7guigit in taen*
36. *ndia uman sliab doclaechlod. A isa oul*
37. *siat na leic idhuil 7 aincreitmhigh diar*
38. *bhforracne. Adre insliabh intansin for an*

f. 121va

1. *sliabh naill a freacnarcus na slógh 7air*
2. *isis air coidhche et rogabsat araild*
3. *donagentib baisded lasin mirbuil sin*
4. [¶9] *Cricha na perfida immorro don teinid adrait*
5. *crich forletan isidhe cunocht righuib fuirri*
6. *eich amhra le dá .c. punt for cach neoch*
7. [¶10] *Cricha camandi ubla 7toirthi parrdhais*
8. *nomelit. Daimh gheala gu cluim foda*
9. *leo. reithidha leo meidithir fria hasal cech ae dib*
10. *Tír naili friahor gurigh fuirri. do bereat la*
11. *amhainsi 7tuaithle dorchá for dreich ngrene*
12. *amal budh agaidh. lecit sirthe focrichaib na ca*
13. *mandi 7 in lamh agaroili dhibh .x. .m.*
14. *a slogh. toglaít andinna 7anduinti 7*
15. *marbhuit asin 7doniat gialla da nocaib*
16. *et atconnuic marcus fesin in dishoillsi sin*
17. *na timthocht 7no rig for luas ator ditho*
18. *ghlaidhi dia anacal fuirri. Fri re .uii. la*
19. *airisis in ciaichsin // duinti 7 cathrach*
20. [¶11] *Timocauim ummorro tir forlethan isidhe conimat*
21. *fonn cáin le gin puinn toirthé. uisceda serbha*

22. le. *crann grene ina tuaisceart. crand direach eside*
23. *coremhe dermhair. Adbul a fhod. Duille geal*
24. *for leth de culethi ingantaigh. Duille uaine for*
25. *in leth naill. níthurcaibh crand tria uir .c. .m.*
26. *friataebhaibh // aloadam a ainm. Doronta*
27. [¶12] *Cricha mulete do macumetus adrait. Fil ri fuirre*
28. *palas rigda lais a nglind dithoghlaídi for sliabh*
29. *urard coneim noir fair congriananuibh solusta*
30. *lais culubghortaibh leasaigthe. cutobraibh*
31. *solusda friathaebh amal budtoil la menmanrad gac aein*
32. *laeich 7ingenrad imdha leo. cluitheda 7cleasa imda*
33. *leo. asaire do ronta sin leo. macametus diachan*
34. *tain friu amail bethi abhus beithi thall am righisiu*
35. *iarmblaisecht bhais. conidhairi sin rochaitdis a*
36. *bhfleagha 7abfuireaca 7 ba calma icathaibh*
37. *iatsom ár níraibhi omhun báis forru uair ba derb*
38. *leo beith iarnec amlaid sin // nistadhsin 7do*
39. *Parrthus talmhaidi domacametus adrait do berta foran*
40. *ronad tor dithoghlaídi fora bheol gin tsligid ind*
41. *acht treimit. noberthe oig na criche leo ind*

f. 121vb

1. *7 no berthe andaethain fleagh 7 fuireac dhoibh*
2. *co tuiteadh asuan forro do nertad ananma do maca*
3. *metus 7 ro chanad a bhfhis friu. Fón bhfleaghughadh*
4. *út doronabair abhus forbia mufhledhsa tall daibh*
5. [¶13] *Otclos do alan .i. do righ na tartraidhi insaeibh*
6. *dliged sin aru roibi aloadam doronad sloigheadh*
7. *lais 7 ro mharbh é cona righuib 7 taisecaibh 7 do*
8. *chuir a chathair darceann conarfhacoibh cloch for cloich di*
9. [¶14] *Bassia ummorro tir iside co nert ngrene fuirri. daim*
10. *dubha le. domacumetus adrait. toghairmit na demna*
11. *aieardha dia nimacallaim le draidheacht 7tuaichlecht*
12. *7 do berat dorchá fordreich grene. Feoil 7righle nostoim*
13. *lit. imat torc 7muc nalltaighi leo cutreagduid*
14. *aconu 7 a cuanarta don fhinna ghoisidec fuil for*
15. *dromunnibh 7 toebuibh dhoibh et ní umlaigit do righ*
16. *for bith. Fileat ditreabaig a mainistreibh 7 asepeilaib*
17. *a mbeannuibh sliabh actroscad 7ac idhbuirt do Macametus*
18. *conanoir 7airmhitin moir ocna maithibh uccut*
19. *forro. [¶15] Fil sliabh urard isin crichsin 7 gleann aluinn fria*
20. *a ucht. airdithir doshleibhtib inbeatha. imut caerac 7reithed*
21. *isin glindsin .ui. basa a lethi gacahadhairce dambi*
22. *for na reithidib sin condenta miasa 7 soithigi dhibh*
23. *dia tomhailte proinn 7 fleagha 7 gur dhin dia naedh*
24. *airibh foratighi 7 aitrebhú for sneacta 7 derdan et ní*
25. *lamhat eonu na fiadhmhilu ceana beith for an*
26. *sliabh sin la fuacht 7adhuath et gia adaighthe*
27. *tendte fair ní berbhtha biadh leo la tormac fuacda*
28. [¶16] *Sermacam ummorro cathair oirdnidi isidhe la mac magh*
29. *nus cam. do macumetus adrait. ro batur ile crisdaídi isin*

30. *cathraig sin. atbath inri. ro bui líc marmuir fô*
31. *anadhnaicthe nagennte acnuc urard alla*
32. *muigh frisin cathraig 7ro hadhnachta inri foithi. Gabhuis*
33. *a mac rigi dia eis. sigotan a ainm 7rocreid*
34. *dochoimdhidh nandul 7roghabh baisted na*
35. *heaclaisi noime et ba doirb la gentiu sin. [¶17] Conudhe*
36. *aireac meanman for uair sigotan laanaen. sép*
37. *el airmhitnec dothurbail isin cathraig ananoir*
38. *eoin. baistid. Noberthea cuigi anisdeach foruair*
39. *doshaeruibh facsi 7 neamhfaicsi 7 ro forcaill forro*
40. *dicium asaeirsi 7 a nealadan do chaithimh fris*
41. *Ro iarsat a shaeirsiumh an ail dímhor*

f. 122ra

1. *fo ro hadhnachta a athair 7sin na niubhaidhe*
2. *dothoghluasacht cusin du ambatar. dobersiumh*
3. *sin daibh. Ba galar lasnagentiu sin 7 ni roleic*
4. *oman inrigh dhoibh cron fair. Cidh fil ann tra acht ro*
5. *turbhadh inobairsin la healadain ingantaigh amail*
6. *budh toil la meanmain gac aein. Columhain marmair*
7. *foalar diahimarchar cu saine gaca gresa fair*
8. *robhatar diblinaibh for an lig reamhraidti. [¶18] At*
9. *bath in ri focetoir 7gabuis a mac rigi diaeis*
10. *et ni ro an for lurg aathar acht ro adhair do Macametus*
11. *Otclos donageinntib inri do adhrad do Macameatus*
12. *cuingit forna cristaigib in ail forohadhnachta*
13. *asin. Nato itir ol na Cristaidi nothoitfead eaclais*
14. *Eoin diacuirthe togluasacht foranligsin. maith*
15. *ol na geinnte. Rosia maine imdha duib fuirri*
16. *olna cristaidi. Líg as díth duin ol nageinnti 7ni*
17. *máine. donertuigh inri lasna geinti 7 dobered*
18. *fuirmeadh forsin cloich gu rucsat for culai hi*
19. *Aitchit na cristaidi eoin 7ísa arna facsin sin. Airisius*
20. *didu an eaclais amail as deach bui riam. cobhfuil .iii.ra*
21. *traigead uas talam aniu 7biaidh coforceann mbratha*
22. *[¶19] PEIN ummorro tír forlethan isidhe conimat cathrac. uidhe*
23. *.u. laithi fora fot. Diandecadh neach dibh forsét*
24. *no siubal dambia .xx. la gin toighecht forcula foi*
25. *fidh a sheitic la fer naili. uisceda serbha le. sruth*
26. *fora feadh conimat cloch mbuadh. iaspideis 7cal*
27. *sidonia ananmunna // mhoir. imat gaca maine*
28. *[¶20] LOP didu cathair oirdnidi isidhe for bel fhasaigh dhi*
29. *allamuich di conidairi sin is port airisim dagac aen*
30. *fria creic 7cundrad 7maine hi. Do Macametus adhruit*
31. *Camhaill 7asail berar fa lóintibh lagac naen*
32. *dia teit foran fasac sin. uisceda serba fair. magha*
33. *gainmhidi 7sleibti uiscide foran conuir. uidhi bliadna*
34. *fora fot. uidhi .xxx. la fora leithed gin fhiadhmhila*
35. *gin innile. Ticit na demnu dhacallaim na ndaine*
36. *foran conair. Diabhfhaghat nec dhibh anuathad o*
37. *a fheadhain goirit he naainm fein 7nashlonnadh*

38. 7 *leanaid* na deamna ár ni *fhidir* nac dia aes *cumtha*
39. iat 7 nithic *forcula triabithu*. seindit *nademna*
40. cruiti 7 *timmpana* dia *cur* na suan cum aimsighti *forro*

f. 122rb

1. [¶21] Iarbhfacbhail na ndithrub sin do gabar *crich*
2. *forlethan* 7cathair oirdnidi innti *conimat gaca*
3. maine. Do *macametus* adrait. 7 do nither oirisium
4. cian innti iar scis infhasaigh ucut og creicc
5. 7 *cunrad*. Sasion a hainm. Dátuismigher mac
6. do neoch innti berar da idbairt dona deeib 7r
7. eithe maraen fris 7berar *forcula araen* in
8. naidhe 7 inrethe 7doberur *comultus bliadna forro*
9. 7berur cohaltoir na hidbarta diblinaibh 7f
10. onaithe inrethe 7 doberur diathomhailt do
11. ghaeltuibh 7cairdib na naidhiun *conairmhitin nder*
12. mhair dona deeibh 7 cuirter a chnama for taiscidh
13. naninargaibh. [¶22] Gach marbh lasin cathraigsin no
14. cuirthe aneiltrum nordhai co netaigib sida 7
15. sirecdha for slis arighthoighi *conanair dermair*
16. fair gac noighthi do bhiudh 7dhigh 7 gac ní nothoimhledh
17. fecht riam ár ni hadnacter nec isincathraigsin culaithi
18. athuismeadha. *Conadhaire sin* rocuirthe luibhi
19. 7 *balsamam* uaisli friathimthocht. gu caithdis
20. a laeich 7a inginrad 7aes *cumtha* a proinn ma
21. roean fris amail budh beo et noloiscthe a corp
22. iar toidhecht in laithisin cu fleagacus 7 airmitin nder
23. mhair dona déibh // don cathraig sin. do *macametus*
24. [¶23] Fil cathair naili uidhi dha la [rubbed] allamuigh
25. non adhruinn. Camul a hainm. Diaticead aidhi
26. no *echtarcrich* dia [stain] taisdiul. indinn no
27. indun di co [stain]aroich. *arnafacsin* don
28. laech no don taisec bhis fair adre amach dar
29. beolu in duin 7 no berur a shetig diashaighid
30. dena dho so ol se amhuil budh mhisi no
31. anfudh isindunad 7cuirid eipistil scribhtha
32. forsin comloid 7triallaid fein for set 7faíidh in
33. ben lasin naighidh. Gac is deach dobiudh 7étgad
34. induin atnaigh fora chomus. Dercaidh inlaech
35. gac laithi forsin comloid diafhis in trialfad in taidhi
36. for set ar issed ba bes ineipisdil dothocbáil
37. dia triallad 7dia bhfaceadh nithicfad tria bithu
38. [¶24] Faidhis magnus cam feacht naill teachta co
39. neipistil leo doncathraigsin 7 issed bui innti. For
40. chongraim foruibh ol se clodh for cula on

f. 122va

1. tsaeibhdliged forataithe ór isahimut taebh
2. as dochar he ár nideimhin la neach acaibh in
3. lais in toighre [fhacbais dia eis inserted] 7is dith arbur seotuibh 7arbhar 4. mainibh atabairt for breith 7comus aidhedh no eachtarcrich
5. [¶25] Faiditsium teachta for cula comagnus la feirg

6. *7lonnus coneipistlib* leo *7issed* bui innta. A *magnuis*
7. cam ol siat aitchimit *fort for dheirc 7 troighi*
8. gin *ar clodh forcula* do *dliged* ar sean. ár dia
9. *ndernta dobeanfad in talam* a thoirthi foirn
10. *7 masadhith oir no ilmaine nanaitinte*
11. fil *fort doghebha gin chumca friut*. Foemuis
12. *magnus*. doibh oirisium *for dliged* asean. [¶26] IAr *cur*
13. *chuil frisin crichsin fosgebha fasac fodai*
14. uidhi .ui. la *ndec essium*. Sing *singcalas don*
15. taeb *araill de. crich forlethan isidhe*. Fil sliabh
16. *urard isincrichsin 7salmandair fair*. Beathaduigh
17. beacca *iadsom*. Fogniat snáth dothuismheadh
18. *forsin talam aninaduibh inglana 7notimaircthe*
19. la hoes na *criche 7 noberthea dianighi cusro*
20. thaibh *7topraibh 7 nobrisdtea ileastraibh 7*
21. *isoithigibh prais. no adaighthea tendte*
22. leo *diacur foralar 7geal dothiced don gris*
23. *iarloscad a inglain*. Do *gnithea eduighi de*
24. *asa haitli 7 ba [flaw in vellum] uasal airmhit*
25. *neachsom. 7 intan no gabhad sal nodorcatu*
26. he. *foran ngris nocuirthe diaglanad. 7 glan*
27. no thiced di. // *Campision is cathair oirecuís*
28. [¶27] *Cricha cambu ummorro crich fhairsing forlethan isidhe*
29. di. Do *macametus adrait acht uathad cristaidi lé. Atfísid*
30. *siumh arímh reann 7reatlann .l. ainder la cech naen*
31. *dibh. claeclaither cele lagach naindir mad doim he*
32. Nibhi rímh mis na raithi leo *acht ainm forleth*
33. *for cech laithi don bliadain*. Coic laithi airmhidneca
34. leo gin *anmunna gin fhiadhmhila domharbhud*
35. *cin tomhuilt feola leo. gin tsaethar gin obair*
36. Nibhi col *fria seitic doib acht siur no mathair*
37. Roairis *didu marcus bliadain isincathraig sin*

f. 122vb

1. [¶28] *Caracorum ummorro cathair oirechuis isidhe*
2. do *thartraidibh feact riam ar isaisdi ambunadus*
3. *Niraibhi ri dhib fein forro acht iat fochis 7 chan*
4. *achus do prespiter seon .i. do righ nahindia et*
5. *robui ainm aile fair .i. unccam*. Cidh fil *ann*
6. *acht rofhas cinedh na tartairedh acaracorum*
7. *curba linmur alaeich 7 athaisigh cumbai om*
8. an *animaireac fornacenntaruibh ciana 7 faicsi*
9. Ba lan dia *nomhun prespiter seon oc faircse*
10. na *tartraidhi antimut curad sin*. Asbert friu. *scailid*
11. olse anile *cricha ciana 7focsi ar nichumuing*
12. la *caracorum bar congball*. Robatar *fasaighe*
13. *foda moncathraig intansin gin duinti gin*
14. *istada leo. Conadhi comairli rocraitea la maithibh*
15. na *tartraighi triall forin fasac ucut dia aitreabadh*
16. *Doronsat amlaid*. [¶29] Bui laech amra *intansin duais*
17. lib na *tartraigec 7 rohoirdned irighi leo he ár*

18. ni raibhi rí *forro* feact riam. Simisis a ainm
19. airisit *fornadroibhelaib* 7 *fornadithrubaib* sin gin nert
20. righ *forbith forro*. Gac neach diachru bui seachnon
21. in *domain* rothimairset cohairm imbui Sisimis
22. Ba amra inri eisidhe. noberedh adhlige *dagac aen*
23. Cidh fil ann *acht* roumlaigseat .uii. righ dho la [h *above*]oman
24. aimaireac *ar* nilamhtha slad na *sarugad for dhun*
25. na cathair diatabradh umla dheonuch dhó
26. [¶30] Faidis *prespiter* seon neach dochuinghidh inchisa inn[ecda]
27. fair. Diultaiddh fris ár ni bui oman righ *fair*
28. Clodhait nateachta *forcula* 7 airisidh sisim *ina*
29. righi budessin et faidhis teachta laanaen do
30. chuinghidh a *ingine fair iarndiultad* a chisa dho et
31. issed isbert friu is taisce doloiscfedh a *ingin ana*
32. do beradh dosisim hi 7 foghebha bas dochrudh
33. *aracuingidh* olse 7dorad dímhicin for na
34. teachta 7 clodhuit *forcula* co sisim 7adfedhut
35. do archansat 7 *arcanad* friu. [¶31] Ba lan dferg 7londus
36. sisim dona haithiscib sin 7rogairmit arigha
37. 7a thaisigh diashaigid. ISed isail damhsa ol se

f. 123ra

1. ar ndula diblinaibh *for aenchaie re preis*
2. piter seon diaaithiu *fair in* dimhicin dorad fornd
3. ISail dúinne amlaid olseat amail bidh a haen
4. ghin friscartsat. [¶32] Gabhuit nasloigh *chechtardhasin*
5. in roen *foranagaid cin* anad *cinairisium* doib gu
6. magh tandud 7faidhit teachta corigh na
7. hindia dochuinghidh chatha *fair* 7do berar a ndraithi
8. dia saigid 7fiafraighid dib *faitsine* 7celmane
9. inchatha nó *cinnus* nobiath doib 7do *preispiter*
10. seon. Luidhset nadruiddh *foracliathaib* fis 7 ro
11. thoghairmset deamhna 7dei aerdha nandocum
12. 7 doberat bhoicshimhin ndimoir leo 7ro scoilt
13. seat 7doronsat dá leth di 7 doberat *preispiter seon*
14. dainm forleth di 7sisim *forinleth* naill 7cuirid
15. ladraidecht 7tuaichlecht di leth na simhne do co
16. lunn friaraili 7 beridh inleth *foratucsat* sisim bu
17. aidh. Triallait nadraithi *forcula* cu *tartraigibh fá*
18. luth 7 *ghairdecus indarleo* isiat bidchoscrach isin cath
19. [¶33] *Preispiter seon ummorro* odclos dó cath do chuinghidh *fair*
20. 7slúag *díairmhidí* dotoighecht rathaebh *rogairmitt*
21. chuigi arigh 7athaisigh 7acaruid focsi 7 chiana
22. Cidh tra otconncatar na *slúaig ceachtardhasin* aceli ro
23. gabsat aneirred imairic 7anidhna aidh *forro* 7
24. roseindit a sduic 7 *rogairsit* acaismerta
25. catha 7 gabhuit na *slóigh ceachtardha ocasearcuin*
26. araili ac scoltad mhind 7 sciath cu mba hár
27. *dairmidí* leo alliu 7anall. *Acht* ata ni cheana
28. muidhis for na *hindecdaibh* 7 roládh anar
29. 7romarbadh *preispiter seon* et gabhuis sisim righe

30. *for innecdhaibh intansin 7 foriltirib aile et*
31. *ba hesin in cetna rí dothartairibh [¶34] et in .ui.ed bliadain*
32. *dia fhlaithius rodibraiceadh doshoighid he icatraigh*
33. *fora raibi ic forbhais cu rofarcuibh cin anmain*
34. *et ro hadhnacht for sliabh alcahi. [¶35] Facbuis mac*
35. *di eis. caiter aainm. Facbuis sin mac. satiu*
36. *aainm. Facbuis sin mac. roton aainm. Facbuis*
37. *roton mac. mongu aainm. IS uadha sin ro*
38. *chin cublay 7 roderrscaigh cublay tarna*
39. *.u. righuib aile 7roderrscaig a righi tar righdacht*

f. 123rb

1. *crisdaidi 7 shairrisinec. Insliabh urard sin*
2. *in ro adhnacht sisim isann rosadhnachta ar*
3. *ghein do righuib foralurg. Gac neach idir laech*
4. *7 taisec dogheibhdis forsin conuir ac dul dia*
5. *nadhnacul romarbhtha leo 7issed rocanduis*
6. *friu. Deanaid umhla 7 immcoimet inrigh isin*
7. *beathaid naili amail doronsabair feacht riamh*
8. *et inri deighinec dohadhnacht dibh. isar. da*
9. *.m. laech romarbhtha dia cur lais 7romarbsat*
10. *anas deach foruaradar do eachraidh inrigh diacur lais*
11. *[¶36] Natartraighidh ummorro cinedh linmar iatsein ar nibhi*
12. *rim for mnaibh na ingena la nec dhib acht inmheit*
13. *ascumhuing leo do freasdul dobhiudh 7etgad*
14. *acht así incetna ingen laafaifi fer dhibh as for*
15. *tille fortha 7araill dib ladruinecus 7lamhdhai*
16. *7alaeich fria seilg 7gaisced 7 indun forcomus*
17. *dontseitigh. scéith lethair laalaechaib. ba*
18. *do sheichidib buabhall arnambruith iatsom et ba*
19. *dofhulaing dochath naile dibhracad a soigheat*
20. *forro ár isair no [h above]ailtea iat asambratuibh*
21. *beaca. Feoil 7bainni notomuiltea leo gin*
22. *coicill fheola dam nagraidhedh nachuanfart*
23. *acht nomeiltis cech feoil for bith. Ba mian*
24. *leo bainni angroigheadh 7alairtheach dothochaitim*
25. *fin find nobertis fair 7 nothoghladtis gaca sam*
26. *raidh a mbeannaib slíab 7anochtaibh ald laa*
27. *ngroighibh 7indilibh. Pupla for foluamhuin*
28. *uasta. ameic 7aningena leo guclodhatais*
29. *for cula la toighecht naduibhshine geimhrata*
30. *7 a pupla maraen friu. [¶37] Natay indee dia*
31. *nadrait do niter afhuath do rindudh ingach*
32. *dhind irighi na tartraigec 7fuath a mhna for*
33. *aghualainn cli 7 fuath a mheic ina fhreacnaircc*
34. *7 friatochaithium dhoibh nocomailtea an is*
35. *deach da mbiadhaib foghin 7ghlomhar dhó 7*
36. *damhnai 7da mac et doirtid an bruithi na*
37. *proinne tar beolu induin dia blaisecht diandéibh*
38. *adhartha Ar is derbh leo gurube natay fhollam*
39. *nuighis neam 7talam. [¶38] Dia teasdaidi oglach cin sheitig*

f. 123va

1. a *crichaib* na *tartraidhi* 7 ingen gin chele doniter
2. a *snaidm* *friaraili* iar *mblaisecht* bhais doibh
3. 7 is *aire* doníathair *diambeith* diblinaibh a *frec*
4. nairc nataui 7doberur *crogh* do *mhathair* nah
5. *ingine ár* nitabhar *crogh* la seitigh *icrichuibh*
6. *natartruigec* 7 anuit *acaruitsium* a ngael
7. 7 *chairdius* *friaraili* amail budh bheo no
8. bhetis. [¶39] ni bhi col do sheitig leo *acht mathair* no
9. siur *no ingen* cunadaire *sin* as línmhairiti alaeich
10. imat seitced lagac aen. [¶40] at *ferdha* acathuibh
11. 7atlaechdha *anairm* 7atcumaing lagac
12. noen dibh *beith* .x. la for set no sluagad cin
13. bhiagh gindigh *acht* toirthi *craebh* 7cru aneach
14. [¶41] dianderna nech cin *noguim* gin dligea a oig
15. eadha dhe .xxx. beim do luirg dhó *no* .lx. mad cin
16. ismo indás *no* a .x. *for* .c. mad mo in *treas feacht*
17. *no* mad cin búis lais anaei *naireat* uadha 7
18. saeiri dhó // la forafhod. mecrit *incinedh*
19. [¶42] Ragu *ummorro* magh *forlethan* eisdhe. uidhi .xl.
20. aitreabhus ann. sealg *nostoimhlit*. ní
21. thurcaib *arbhar* na *fineamain* os úir and
22. IS ann som ro *citer polus arcticus* .i. araill
23. doretlanduibh oirismhe na *firmaminti*
24. imud camhall 7gribh 7elifainteadh *isnacrichaib*
25. sin. Doim dhimora leo gucluim foda .iii.ra
26. boss abhfot gaca finna dhibh. [¶43] Fil *anmann*
27. naili ann adbul a mheit. deallrad fiadha
28. lais. Geinter *balsamam* anorac uadha. *musc*
29. atum a ainm. suail *nae* *icshlainti* eisiumh
30. di fhiacuil inech dhed dó .iii.ra bosa abh
31. fhot *cech* ae. [¶44] *Niteascthar* folt na ulcha
32. laeich *isincrichsin*. Aille domhnaibh a *ningena*
33. Ni *ar* uaisli na *airmhitin* fhaidit laaseit
34. chib *acht* ar cruth 7meit. [¶45] Ni *tabhar crog lahingin*
35. *icrichaib* na *tartraigec*. nalaeich nosber *crogh* dia
36. maithrecu // no ndhrat. dorigdacht na hinnia
37. [¶46] Tenduc *ummorro* crich *forlethan* isside 7 issu

f. 123vb

1. isidhe 7fomhamus do *magnus* cam doibsimh
2. O domarbad *prespiter* seon *feacht* riam do berat na
3. riga *fora lurg* *aningena* duaislibh na *tartraidec*
4. *marcleith* forabhíoch 7naimdinus. [¶47] Corra dubha
5. *isincrichsin*. adbul *amet*. Corra naili leo
6. *conilbrechtraid* gacadatha itir uaine 7 derg 7ghorm
7. Corra naile coneim noir forro. Corra
8. aile tí dubghlas 7tí derg dhibh // .iii.ra la
9. [¶48] IArbhfacbáil na *crichisin* doneoch diaeis uidhe
10. fugebhu cathair siaudu forin *conair* 7lacubla
11. uy .i. *magnus* cam *roturcbadh*. palas marmair

12. *fora lar cosluaigtec rigda lais coseomradaib*
13. *solusta co neim noir forro allamuigh 7*
14. tall. [¶49] *Figh dithoglaidi friahor induin condiguibh*
15. *7mhúraibh aelta na urtimcill .u.m. dec inatim*
16. *thocht. doim 7fiadha imdha lais 7inuili fiadmil*
17. *arceana. maga solusta 7srotha gainmhidi forsin*
18. *bhfigh sin. Bagnath lacublay commorad selga*
19. *forsin bfig soin. Doronad istada rebroinn seilgi*
20. *lais andiamhair infheaga 7 badoboicshimnibh do*
21. *ronad .u. ceme dec fod gacasibhne 7 .iii.ra bosa for*
22. *alethe 7 is la reidhfheadhuibh sídu rosnadmtha*
23. *iarna níamad do ór allastig 7 amuigh cunac*
24. *dernad doineann naderdun dith do na donfhiallach*
25. *bite foralar. [¶50] Tri mísa don bliadain bís foranseilgsin*
26. *.i. iunius iulius augustus. Tocabait inteachsín*
27. *leo intochtmad la dec domhi auguist. cotriall doibh*
28. *doridisi. Teacat for cula beos cucathair sia*
29. *udu. Triallait saathli sin cosliabh urard*
30. *do dhenam idburta dona déibh. macaibh mnaibh*
31. *innilibh .x.m. lair gheal aroen fris. iarndenamh*
32. *na nidburt sin no berthe bainni nalairtec ngealsin*
33. *aleastraib 7asoithigib togadi co magnus 7no*
34. *rannadh fair budhesin 7 forsin fuil rigda dia*
35. *ol 7 nithabhrad dochinedh naili nadodhaescarshluagh*
36. *Nodhoirted magnus in baindisin forinraen dia*
37. *blaisecht dona déibh. [¶51] Diamarbthur laech no*

f. 124r

1. *neach dodligned bais toimhlit he forsinidbairtsin*
2. *7 ni thoimlit diamad doshoeth no galar no dhighseadh*
3. [¶52] *Do niter latuaichlecht 7amuinsi freasdul inrigh gin*
4. *faircsi neich do neoch dia denumh acht namiasa*
5. *7 na heascradu for foluamain fria ucht. IS d asberitsium*
6. *beos conudhiat nadei nosfreadlat iat 7in ri*
7. *et dobearbhtha immat reithe leo acunnidhbairtsin 7*
8. *doberthe infheoil dona déibh 7 nodoirte intan*
9. *bruithi forsin talmáin indarleo isairi noberedh a torad doibh*
10. [¶53] *FIL mainister lacublay. da .m. manac lé*
11. *oc freasdul dona deibh 7ocidbairt doibh. Filet manuigh*
12. *aili isincrighsin 7drong acu icambit seitceda 7a*
13. *raill ac congáil a riaghla dona deibh. // partis*
14. *Expliscit prima pars istius libri. Incipit secunda*
15. [¶54] *FEACHTUS domhagnus cam acathair cambalau*
16. *confhacad teachta dia shaigid. Beannuighit dó. Fochtuis magnus*
17. *scela dibh. Fuigli ruin againn duit arna taehta. Adre*
18. *magnus. asin tsuidhi rigda imbui condecasat forleth*
19. *Naim ol nateachta .i. brathair hatharsa arndiultad*
20. *umla righi duitsi. Doroine 7cadau .i. mac abrathar*
21. *aenta atagaidsi. atat 7nacetri righ fil fomamus*
22. *naim lín a slúaig ac toighecht at rigisi .i. fuci*
23. *orcra 7cauli 7 barsceel 7suchitingni 7as*

24. berit *conad* fearr andliged *forsinrighi annaisi*
25. [¶55] Ba tus rigi dochublay *intansin iarmbrised cath*
26. nimdba [*space*] *lais for iltiribh. Bagaeth intí fris*
27. ar canad *sin. Gnuis rigda lais condercuibh dís*
28. hoillsidhe. *mét 7 calmacht mhiled lais. Do oirdis*
29. a bhaill diaraili. *Roraidh dano. nac cuirfead*
30. a choroin rig diachind *nogunaithed forro in*
31. fuighiullsin. *Faidhis teachta forceann alaeach 7a*
32. rig nimfhoicsi *arbaderb lais diacuiredh*
33. togairm *forashloghu icianuibh afhis dfhaghbail*
34. do naim 7triall *teithed do fó fhoitrib 7daingnib*
35. Faidhis coimhét *arna conairibh aromun scel dfhaghbail*
36. donaim. Bahe lin *intslúaig dofneagair he .i.*
37. da chath *dec 7 .xxx.m. marcach inech cath dibh*
38. 7 di troightec *um cech marcach. Diatoghairmeadh*
39. a shloghu *icianaib niria rimh forro. Rohindledh*
40. cetri helifainti *donrig 7caislen claruig forro*
41. Teit ann *dano i remtus in chatha 7amergi huasa*

f. 124rb

1. Di la *forfhichit do octinol inmorsluaig sin*
2. [¶56] Naim *ummorro gluaisis coslogh ndermhair lais a*
3. ndail cadau *for mag forlethan cosliabh*
4. urard friathaeb *irighi cublay. niraibhi*
5. cadau *forsinmagsoin amail rogeall. Ro*
6. niatsom *airisiumh risinagaigsin isindu sin*
7. Tocbait apupla *7sreathait forataebuibh*
8. ni bhui omhun *forro ar nir shailseat asc*
9. ela dobeith *lacublay. Cublay didiu roghluais*
10. inagaigsin *for set indail inmorshluaig sin ar*
11. nir bho ail doibh *in aithi do imluadh ar*
12. omun *afaircsina gureirigh ruithned ngreine forro*
13. araenchaei *frinaim. [¶57] Cofacatur namergeda*
14. ailli eiteca *7nasceith corcra cobradhacha 7*
15. nacathbairr *coindleacha cruaidhrighne*
16. osnamiledaib *croda cambulu. Cotucsat aithni*
17. *ar mergi cublay osnacathaib. Conadh eadh*
18. rosdúsigh *inslóg asuan. fogur na*
19. sdocc 7 *nasdurgan 7nalaech acgairm*
20. a caismert *catha. [¶58] Faidhis cublay a*
21. draidhe uadha *diafhis insoinmigi no doinmhigi*
22. nobhiath dó *doncath. Gabsat na laeich*
23. ac snas asleagh *7aglimad a lann 7a loirc*
24. fhearsat *fria licuibh 7 tuinidib in talman*
25. Tecuit na *draithi for cúla cu celmaine maitusa*
26. dho onchath. [¶59] Naim *didiu .u.c.m. lín a sluaig*
27. Ba *forlethan forro inuairsin ár nibui omun forro*
28. [¶60] Bai cadau *foraconair Gin toidecht intansin*
29. .c.m. laech *7nirofhinnsat fis lacublay*
30. *forro. Cidh fil ann tra ní artime dodheachaid*
31. do naim *sin. [¶61] Gabhait nasluaig sin anas*

32. ain gloidid gorma glaisiaruinn 7aluireca
33. daingne doibrisdi 7ascabail cuana chum
34. dachta fona minnaib sliptha soradhaircc
35. Sínit amergeda badbdha breac[vellum flaw]amlacha
36. risna sleaghuibh seimneca sithfhota. gur
37. iadh gac deaglaech dibh ima rig 7ima thaisec
38. curolínsat natolcha 7 natuaitheabhraca
39. forgech taebh do uaim. Gur comdluthaigseat
40. nacatha recheli intansin. Cu rostocaib
41. nel niamdha dá ndornclaidbib dathordha

f. 124va

1. 7 damuincidib dualacha dergoir cor
2. ba soighnen solusta a clethe nime oscinn
3. nacurad ceachtardha sin. Roeirig dano glasnel
4. uathmar oigrita dontaeb araill donaer
5. idir mhim 7asa idir shleigh 7tuaigh. Moigid
6. dona cathaib andail araili amail easa
7. fria halluibh gurba breasmaidm bratha i nallaib
8. 7 inuamhunnaib mongur nacurad accomghabail
9. a bfheadhmann catha 7fuaaim asoighit asa
10. sreanguibh 7 foluaman abfhagadh 7grechach
11. angreag aganguin 7oiccfedach ananruth
12. oc blaisecht bhais. [¶62] Oirisis naim anairinec
13. inchatha 7roigne arig 7a thaisec gumbroin
14. ndoinnsciath ndeallradtac na urtimchell
15. cundoiri sleagh coimrigin cruadha ima mergi
16. uasa Co fighuir nacroichi cesta arna rinnad
17. fuirri. [¶63] Ar bhfaicsin mergi naim dochublay
18. tocbais cath coimthiugh lais dia riguibh 7
19. anradaibh curoscail incath naili diadheis
20. 7cli conderna giall donaim iarcur áir
21. a mhiled lais. muidhis fora shloghuib iarsin
22. cuna riact rímh anecht. [¶64] Batar crisdaidi
23. fornacathaibsin diblínaib. Doradsat nagennti
24. tallann forandia 7forsin figuir bui i merge
25. naim 7gin furtacht fair. curofhas coin
26. blict mor itir in sluag sin condecatur gennte
27. 7cristaidi indail chatha fria raili a hucht
28. andee. Otconnuic cublay innisin ro
29. raidh. Fos a dheagmhuinnter. ole nata
30. bhraidh dimhicin for ihesu ar ni guth do
31. gin fhurtacht naim ár cristaidi nochanadh
32. fein fris 7nirbo gnima diadha lais ar
33. do impa fora thigerna. [¶65] SIdhuighit na
34. sluaig lasanaithiuscsin 7doberur naim a
35. fiadh[vellum flaw]nuise in righ amedon inoirechta
36. Cidh asni do so olsiat. Bas adhligheadh
37. ol magnus cam 7 nihail damsa achru do dh
38. or[t]ad fonuir la homan natoirtheadh do
39. clod forculu. Nitol dam beos grian

40. na esca dhfaicsin a bhais. Gurubi oighid do
41. radad fair: soidheach do clar[aib above] comdluthta

f. 124vb

1. do cheangal do reifedhaibh 7 fhonnsaidibh
2. doceanglad naim dáchur foralar 7gluasecht
3. dochur fair cumbith octeacmang diathaebhuibh
4. alliu 7anall co fuair bas amlaid. [¶66] Oirisis
5. cublay inarighi iarsin gin shlaid gin sharugad
6. gin triall cathaighi do acht arigha 7athaisigh
7. do chur laamacu acongaluibh 7 in mac noberedh
8. buaidh dhibh doberedh ardugad flaithiusa 7 múine dó
9. Doberedh beos clar aircdidi 7ainm magnuis caim arna
10. scribedh dolitrib ordha fair 7 leomhan 7 gribh
11. arna rinnad dontaeibh araill de icomurtha
12. coscair. Dorindta roth grene 7 esca fair 7 gac
13. neach oca faicthi inclar sin icrichaib na tar
14. traighi doberthi umhla dó ogac aen 7inneach nach
15. tabrad dogheibedh bas doliged in righ ==
16. [¶67] Magnus cam ummorro .iiii. rigna lais 7 in cetbean
17. laa faieann dib asi is fortailli fair 7 ase
18. in mac thuismeas isoigri air dia eis. Bit beos
19. ceatra dinna anorchu acu soin 7 .x.m. incech
20. dhinn dibh dia freasdal itir ingin 7oclách .C. ainder
21. naile lais 7 mna gu ngaeis 7gunaeis
22. crichtaigh leo diacur diafreastal ag
23. cublay ar saethaib 7gallraib 7 dotheacasc
24. druinecais 7bescna doibh. Madh ec dthingin
25. don .c. soin doberar ainder na hinat [no ait above] doburgo
26. guna .i. cinedh dhuaislib natartraigec iatsomh
27. conaindribh cruthacha leo 7 ni fhaieann ainder
28. dhibh lacele naile acht feitim for inrigh ==
29. [¶68] Fil cathair naili la magnus cam cathair camba
30. lu ahainm. As iside cathair oirecais nanuili
31. thartraigec. Bui didiu sruth fora feadh feacht riam
32. cofacuidh cublay arbfaicsin neoil 7rotha
33. grene 7 esca celmaine dochuir do beith do de dia
34. mbeith insruth trithi curostocuibh in cathair
35. don taeb araill don tsruth la tuaithleacht
36. 7amaindsi. [¶69] Batar .iiii. cula forincathraig sin
37. 7 .ui.m. for cech nae .iii.ra doruis umhaidi for
38. cech ceathramain di 7dind dithoghlaidhi for cech
39. ndorus 7for cech cuil dibh gu ngriananuib
40. solusda guhalladaibh righda. isann sin didiu
41. cuirter anairm 7aneided 7 a neirred uile

f. 125ra

1. dia taiscid co huain chatha dhoibh. Mili laech
2. cech naighthi ocfaire inrigh for gac ndoras
3. dondá ndoirrsib décsuin. ni bi oman arbith
4. fair. Acht mogh na righi docoimét. [¶70] Ni deantur creic
5. na cundrad isincathraigsin acht duinti 7 cathraca

6. allamuich di inandentur Ni hadluicter
7. marbh innti beos. A meadon na tarraidhe fuil si
8. as coimdheas na hiltire dhi. Nihurusa arim
9. indiull na cathracsin 7 a tic innti do clochaib búada
10. 7do eduighibh sirecdha 7 [vellum flaw] dagac maithius
11. arceana asna hiltirthib i cein 7 i bhfhocus
12. Nibhi in cathairsin tre bithiu gin .m. roth for fenaibh
13. 7 damhuibh 7asanaibh ac togluasacht shida
14. dia hinnsaigid. [¶71] Ata clog romor foralar
15. 7docluinte afhogur isna cetri cúlaib fil le
16. Ni lamhann neach asiubal atús oidche o beantar é
17. gin sutralla solusda lais curuithned ngrene
18. ara bharrach. [¶72] Palas in righ i meadhon naca
19. thracsin .iiii. cula lais .m. fod cech ae dibh
20. Istadh oirmitnec lasna .iiii. riguib fil forro
21. cu halladaib rigda 7 cungriananaib solusda
22. domharmair gloin 7tuir dhithoglaidi fora
23. muraib ina taiscthe acuach 7a neascrai
24. 7 a seotu aili. [¶73] Dinna na ningen 7 na laech
25. arcena for fiarláit indúnaidh 7 lubhghuirt leas
26. aighthe friataebhuibh cutopraibh tait
27. neamhacha cufiadhmhilaib eceannus dagach
28. mhonad for bith coluibhibh íctha cach teadma
29. [¶74] Sluaighthec ina meadon. Do marmuir rotochbhadh
30. adbhul a fhod 7 a lethed. niamh oir fair all
31. astigh 7 dia neachtair. Dorinnadh fair beos
32. dobrechtrad gaca datha ímhaighi na cath 7
33. na congall do ratad isna hiltiribsin 7fuath
34. gac anmanna eceannus for bith curbho dith
35. amhairc doshuilibh dercadh fair. [¶75] Seinistre glain
36. idhe lais cusduaghaib caemha cumdachta
37. forro. Seomrada 7sellada friataebhuibh fon

f. 125rb

1. ninnus sin. SE .m. no bítis oc tocaithium
2. immon righ isinsluaightec sin duaislib
3. na tartraigec 7 da .xx. mili dia láech
4. aibh 7 dia nanradaib nothochaithdis is
5. na tighibh friataebhu [¶76] .iiii. taisigh im
6. choimeta fair 7 .iii.m. laech la gac taisec
7. tri hoighthi dagac thaisec dib diaigh and
8. iaidh ac faire inrigh conadhamlaid sin no
9. chaithdis a remeas. Don mhogh righdha tra
10. rognithe laissium sin 7 ní ar omon cheana
11. [¶77] .U. dhoirrsi toebh fria toebh forsin rightheach
12. in dorus meadónac dhibh sduagha aille
13. amlacha fair. ár ni triallann neach inn acht
14. inri 7 a shluag ac gabáil na ndorus fria thaebh
15. [¶78] Noshuidhedh cublay inashuidhe righ 7a druim
16. budhthuidh 7 a agaidh budhdeas 7 in mac ba
17. sine lais foraláimh dheis 7arigha 7 a

18. thoisigh diaigh *andiaigh forinleth sin* do reir
19. a ndualgus 7 inrighan batogha laiss
20. foraclí 7 narighna eli na deagaid 7 mná
21. [na rígh *marg.*] 7 na taighsec for aneagar cubaid nandeaghaidh. [¶79] No [+
marg.]
22. bhi tunna ordha amedhon an rightoighi 7 cetri
23. tunna ordha budh lugha inassom fria ataobhaibh
24. 7fin actoighecht [indtib *above*] assum righa 7baruin ac freast
25. al na bruighne sin doshaine gaca bidh for bith
26. Eirgidh dona foireann ele dia toi secaibh
27. cosna tunnaibh 7 eascrada dimhora doderg
28. ór leó. Fedhm desilaoch animchar. Sreathaid
29. lasnaheascradaibh sin for culaib 7 cearna
30. ibh na bruigni 7 linaid cuach *no cupa órdadh*
31. as naheascraibh [dimora *transp.*] sin for fiarlait
32. na bruighni do gac aon curobhad meascdha medh
33. *arcaine*. Seinnter gac fodur 7 gac ceól for bith do
34. ibh combi antistad uile nacairchi ciuil. Do
35. ghniad foireann eli cleasaidhecht 7amuinsi do
36. ibh. Nibhi dano .ri. na taighsec dibh gen a ghlun
37. fria lar incen bís cublay fora chuid. [¶80] Tri mhissa

[*lower marg.*: + No bhídh in rí uas na sloghaibh oca bhfhairesí cur bhó comhard fria a bhondsumh mullach *gach* aein dia mhuinntir.]

f. 125va

1. gnathaighit bheith amhlaid sin .i. Decim
2. ber. 7 ianuaris 7februarius. Ni
3. samhail doib rigu nait slúaig for bith
4. [¶81] Fil tuluch ard allamuigh don cathraigsin
5. cufighbaidh foda natimcheall cendíchur
6. a duilli di triabithu 7 luibhi cen claeach
7. lodh andatha samlaid curbha miadh
8. menman lagac noen a bhfegad. In tuluch
9. uaine atberar fria. [¶82] Batar didiu .uii. meic
10. for .xl. lacublay. Doronad palas
11. rigdha forsin tulaig sin don mac roderrr
12. scaigh dib. Chemhíni aainm. Ba
13. laech amra eiseide. Do ratad indun do a
14. comartha oigrechta et rocuir ascribne
15. 7 a sheotu fine dondunsin dianimcoimet
16. Ba gnath lais dono iar facbail cathrac cam
17. balu triall don dunsin 7oirisium ann la
18. toil a menman. Bui tra dliged aigi fora
19. raibhi dothartraighibh tricha míle for cach toeb
20. donduinsin. sealg dodeanam for mucaib 7 aigibh
21. 7 forcech fiadhmil eceannus olcena 7 a mb
22. reith dondunsain gin dith forro. Baa
23. croicnibh nabhfiadhmilsin notaisced an
24. ri airm 7 eirred a muindteri 7 a mhiled. [¶83] At

25. bath chemchini 7 rofhacuibh macc
26. temin aainm. Dorat cublay indun do
27. Ár bá arlurg araili nogabhtha righi
28. na tartraidhi. [¶84] Dogniter dono festa lacu
29. blay a laithi athusmeda. Tri festada
30. dec airmhitneca dobeired dotartraigib isin bliadain.
31. Da .m. dhec dia righaibh 7 toiseachaibh nobhí
32. dis for in bhfleigsin condeisi naluinn nór
33. dha um gac aen dib. IArneacar intslóigthighi
34. sin leo doleicdís a ngluine fria huir
35. 7doghuiged gac aen dib in dia dia nadhrad im
36. shoinmhighi fhlaithiusa dfhagbail dochublay
37. In tochtmad la .xx. domhi decimbir doghniat in
38. fledugad sin. Doberedh inrí tidlaicthi dermhair

f. 125vb

1. da gac aen foleith door 7mhaínibh anaithintiu
2. doshuidhdis foranaitibh comoil doridhisiu
3. dotheighdis diuice 7iarlada dia freastal for
4. culuibh 7taebhuibh na bruidhne sin. Nobidh
5. in ri na shuidhi righ uaisdibh ocfairecsi for
6. na slogu. coscaildis foshellaidibh 7sheomradaib
7. iarceolaib 7cleasrad imdha // do ronta he
8. [¶85] Araile festa lacublay in .c.na laithi don bliadain.
9. is fris atbertissium sin. frisin láithi toisec domi Febra
10. Ni oiriseadh ri [vellum flaw] nataisec dibh in laithisin
11. gintriall andail cublay 7 eirred geal umgac
12. naen dibh uair in dar leo ba solus in bliagain
13. doibh samlaid on bliadain co araili. Nirbho ál
14. doib glacad na fairecsi neith for bith in laithi
15. sin acht ní solusta. Bui rigdacht na tartraigi
16. macu mna fon ninnus sin. IArndul dona
17. maithibhsin isin sluaightec. teit cublay na
18. shuidhi rig uaistib 7 a agad ar in solus ngrianda
19. budhdheas 7 a druim fho túath na righu for a dheis
20. 7na righna fora cli. eirghidh oclách i meadhon
21. nabruidhne conabair. eirgidh olse 7adhruidh
22. inrí amail dia. Lecit uile angluine 7 a
23. cinn fria huir. Eirget iarsin a bhfiadhnuise in
24. righ. Dobeir gac ri 7gac taiseach dhibh each bua
25. dha dhó. conadh .u.m. each do berit dó 7siat uili
26. geal. [¶86] Altoir onorach ameadon in righthighisin
27. clár corcra fuirri. Ainm inrigh arna rinnadh
28. fair dolitrib ordha. Tuis aschensaidib
29. ordha ac righuibh 7ac taisecuibh oca crothad
30. forculaibh 7 taebuibh in tighi. Dobeir gac aen
31. dona maithibhsin paxa conumhla dermhair
32. dainm inrigh. Scailid gac aen dibh na inadh
33. chomail iarsin. [¶87] Nitocaibhter cuach na cupa
34. na corn na eascra diafreasdul in laithi sin
35. nac gel uili bhít conadhair sin gairit in fesda gel

36. de 7 iseirred *gel* bis *impa uili inlásin*
37. [¶88] Do berur leomhain isteach ibhfiadhnuisi *inrigh*
38. intan *sin*. doniat *umla dhó amail doronsat*

f. 126ra

1. na maithe ucut. Mi dhoibh *forsin fleigh*
2. *sin*. [¶89] Do thiagat *forseilg asahaithle 7días*
3. brathar aigi na *conmaeruibh 7bataisech gac*
4. aen dib *for .x.m. conmaer 7 .u.m. cu*
5. lagac *commhaer* dib. Baym 7*nuncam a nan*
6. manna. *in* cailli selga *noghabhdais do*
7. sreathdais na uirtimcill lamh *fria laim*
8. cunac *facbatis dam natorc isin* cailli gin
9. *gluasacht 7marbad*. Inri *didiu*. cu maithibh a
10. righ 7athaisec *for tulaig aird oca feitim samlaid*
11. 7 leomuín *forcuanairt* lais onac *teidhedh fiadh*
12. forbith na *anmann eceannus arcena* or isforro
13. ronalt iat. Finna *gaisitec forru amail ingin*
14. no fiacuil oo culai. [¶90] Dogniter selg eli
15. la cublay *for enuibh 7ealtaib lahilcenel gaca*
16. seabac *for bith*. Ár *batar ocht ngribha ingneca* for .xl.
17. lais *ar naseolad* *for seilg nananmunn nae*
18. erdha et ata taisec dia *muintir con.x.m. lais fria*
19. seilg 7 *imcoimét asheabac curius .u.m. dhibh for tol*
20. chuibh 7 tuaithebraibh na crich a cein 7 a bhfoicsi
21. conac *dighsitis asheabaic i tíribh ciana iarnaleacan*
22. *for enuibh*. Ceolan beag nordha *forcois gacasebaic*
23. dibh 7ainm *inrigh arnarindad fair conaithneann gac*
24. aen he diacur *for cula diandighsedh* itirib ciana
25. [¶91] IN ri *didiu* is amhlaid bis ocuntseilgsin aseomra co
26. neim noir *fair 7 rotha fena fai oca imchur*
27. *for elifaintibh 7croicne leoman fair immuigh ica dhin*
28. *for fhuact 7derdun*. beridh inri elta *diagribhuibh*
29. lais *isinteagdussin*. A riga 7 *athoisigh 7a shlogha*
30. *ina sreathaibh 7 ina neisibh allamuigh de. Iar facsin*
31. na neltad naerdha dhoibh *tocbait nacroicne don*
32. tseomra 7lecidh inri na *griba futhaibh 7oirisid*
33. fein na shuidhi oc *feithim nacleas 7nacluitedsin*
34. *gurub gairdigad menman laissium 7 laarighaibh dercadh*
35. *fora nenluith dib linaib*. [¶92] Acasi mordín dano
36. doniter naselga *sin*. Magh *forlethan eside 7ní*
37. lamthar fiadha na eltada *domarbad la tartraidibh*
38. uidi .xx. la friathaebhuibh. Rocumdaigid *teagduise*

f. 126rb

1. la Cublay *forin maghsoin friabroinn sealga*
2. .x.c. pupall allin. M. laech nothochaited apu
3. paill *inrigh*. niam óir *fuirri. croicne leoman ngel*
4. 7 dub 7 derg *inatithib fuirri diadin ar shneacta 7 derdan*
5. reifedha sida allamuigh dibh. Pupla na
6. *hingenraide* sida uili nos ditneann. Pupla narigh 7na
7. *miledh inasreathuibh 7inasraitibh friataebhuib fonninnus*

8. robhátur acathraig cambalau. [¶93] Friami Marcius doibh
9. amlaidh sin. Triallaid forcul gocathair cambalau. [¶94] Dá
10. thaisec déc la cublay 7asiat bacoimsigh aracanta
11. fris 7 uadh. cetra cricha .xxx. doshaeri gaca taebhu don
12. cathraigsin. is lasnataiseachaib sin dosuidhighthe iat
13. do shoeiri no do dhoire dhosom. [¶95] Teora fighbhuidi
14. no fhasat imoncathraigsin 7is diacroicnib sin do nítheor
15. monad donrigh friacreic 7 cundrad na crichi 7 ni do
16. dhíth óir no indmhus doniterson laissium ár ba lia
17. doór 7 innmhus é ina aroibhi dorigaib forbith
18. [¶96] IN tan doniter nos no dliged donuaidiged dobereth
19. in da taisec dhécsin chuigi 7 do bereth scribhne dhoib
20. diacur foncrich dfhoillsiugad na nós soin. Do
21. chuiridissium teachta lasnascribhnbhsin for eachaibh luatha
22. ar bumó ina .u.c. each bui oconrigh arna sreathad
23. forsnacathracaib icein 7 ifoicsi anoirichill teachtadh. 7
24. niscuiridis inteach dia rith cumbascíth
25. hi. nofhacbhaitis inteachsin 7fogheibhtis each
26. ele isincathraig foracind 7 teigheadh fuirre gu
27. luas 7 denmne. Bui dia luassom cuceangailtea
28. amarcaig isnadillaitibh orda ar oman nac leanfaitis
29. dib. Conadh ar .x.m. cathrach doshiublaighdis techta
30. magnuis cam la scéla a dhlige 7 anos omaduín co feascor
31. [¶97] Feachtus domarcus ócc i fiadhnuisi mag[nuis] cam. Amharcuis
32. orse eirg laammaeruibhsi for fiarláit nacrich
33. 7 tuc afhis lat gac dal forambiat. trialluis
34. foraset cutarla sruth dímhór dhoibh forsin conair
35. 7droicheat do marmair tairis .ccc. cubat ina
36. fhot .x. cubhait ina lethedh .xxx. uaithne ful
37. aing fai cusaine gaca gresa forro. sduagha
38. cama cumdachta onuaithne có araili dibh

f.126va

1. Fuatha leoman 7 gac anmanna eceannus foradhibh
2. taebhuibh. da .m. déc leoman arnarinnad amarmair
3. fair. Fuli saingium ainm intsrotha sin. [¶98] Triallait
4. iarsin gucay cai. cathair oirdnidi isidhe do tocbad
5. ladarius ri feacht riam forbeluibh prespiter seon
6. .i. ri nahindia. iarnacur andaeiri dodharius
7. Accainis prespiter seon laanaen friashloghaibh indaeirse
8. iruibhi odarius. Batur moirsheiser dia muintir occois
9. teact fris intansin. Diatuctha alogh dhúinne olsiat
10. dobhermais indarius sin angiallnacht duit. Gellaissium sin
11. Triallaitsium cohairm imbai darius 7oirisit fora
12. theaglach. bliadain doibh aigi. Teid darius laanaen do seilg
13. co rucsat na laeicsin fair anuathad oa muintir. berit he
14. coprespiter seon amail rogheallsat. Bliadain dó nagiall
15. aigi curos leic forcula diathigh fein for forciull shidha
16. 7caencomraic dhoibh friaraile 7 batar samlaid airiut
17. ba beo iat. [¶99] Tiaguit iarum cucathair fun
18. di fa .xx.m. inahuirtimcheall. Iar nec inrigh

19. baifuirri rannait atri meic in cathair eatarra atri
20. Tairngit múir aelta trithe iarna toruinn doibh
21. Cuiris magnus cam faasmacht he. [¶100] Sruth quianfa
22. foralar. uidhi ochtmadat la fora fhot. Fil droicheat
23. aconchathraig sin. marmur essidhe itir sduaga 7f
24. ostada .u.c. cubat inafhod.x.cubait fora lethed
25. Din dfhighbadaib uaisli uasa cuseomradhuibh
26. 7sellaidhibh fuithibh anandeanuid creic 7cunnrad
27. [¶101] P[ro]binnsi tebeit didiu. tír isidhe cobfhasac bhfada
28. friahucht. uidhi .xxx.la ina fot. lóinti imchuibh
29. de nosberat leo dia siubal for damuibh 7asanaibh
30. Boicshimhne isfighbadh forsin conair sin.u.cubhait
31. dec fot cacha simne dhib 7 .iii.a basa fora lethed
32. IAr nairisium agaigh dhoibh foranconair adaighter ten
33. te doib docrinac nasimin sin. iar faicsin nateinnted
34. dona fiadmilaib neme rithait culuath diand
35. ithugad. Gurube furtacht foghebhtis lucht na
36. tennted fuaimm dobein acrinac namboicshibean
37. ocambrised cu teithdis nafiaidhmhila ón

f. 126vb

1. onbreasmaidm sin gindíth dodenam do[ib]
2. [¶102] IArfacbail infhasaigsindoibh foghabhat
3. probinnsi co.iii.riguibh le foaenmhod
4. Nifhaieann cele lahingin dibh gidh imdha
5. cele leo gurub amhlaid ellnighter aningina
6. gac dream doeachtarcrichaib triallus foraset friacreic
7. nogail. tiagait a maithreca 7 angaelta
8. co hairm ambit 7na hingenara maraen friu
9. dia nathchar forro. Foidhit lasnaceilib sin
10. incein airisit isna ceannturuibh sin 7nithiaghat
11. leo níisiriú. Bidh didiu. clar aireddi forucht
12. gacahaindre dhibh 7ainm gac cele lasafaíeat
13. arnarinnadh ann árisimoidi foghabat ceileda
14. isin crich gac mét lasafaíeat. indarleo isara
15. maith rothoghsat iat. [¶103] Curel ismonad doibh
16. friacreic 7 cunnrad. doníat cuma crutach fair
17. Imut torc 7 adh nallaid leo 7imut cuanart
18. fria seilg. Meidithir frihasal cach cú dhibh
19. Et is dothimthachtuibh abhfiadmil doniad eirreda
20. oirmítneca 7bucarem allastigh fris. ////
21. [¶104] FIL prouinnsi cariaiam friataebhsidhe 7.iii.
22. rigachta fuithi. Mac dochublay isri fuirri
23. Cusentemus aainm. Nithocuib fineamhuin
24. amullach tria úir fora feadh. cunad do rí[g below]le
25. 7 doluibhibh dogniat a bhfleaga. measc
26. dha fria fin doib he. [¶105] Fil loch isin crich cetna sin
27. .c.m. natimcheall. immut níamhann 7 cloch
28. mbuadha lais. dialeiced cublay ateaccar
29. dothicfad dia nimut nac biath anoir forro
30. Ór diairmidi inalluibh 7bruachaibh inlochasin

31. diandenuit caera 7 tinneadha oir 7 nirann
32. uid níslugha he *acht* a creic *aratruma*. [¶106] Ni cron
33. la neach isin righi sin diabhfhaie abean la *fer*
34. naile et diatisat aidhigh *no* eachtrainn dothigh
35. *no* do dhun dib dia *carait* é nosmuirbhfit
36. or darleo ní triallfa a anum *tarbel* induin
37. gin beith *araen* friu. Et rotairmisc *magnus cam ingnathugad* sin

f. 127ra

1. [¶107] Prouinns[e] chogaam didiu. Mac do *magnus*
2. cam is ri fuirri. iaci aainm. imut
3. donatracaib dimhora *fora fedh .x.* cubhuid
4. fot *cech* nathrac dhibh .x. troighthi *fora letheat*
5. Toimhlidh in loech *no* in leoman *taragin*
6. *no* gac anmann eceannus *archena*. a fidhacaibh
7. talman oirisit *cech* laithi 7gabait *secnon*
8. na *criche* gacnoighthi oc tomuilt acruidh
9. 7ahindile. Gurub amlaid dhith[*aigh*]it laeich na
10. criche nanathraca sin. Dul *arbeluibh*
11. na fidice talman dia neis 7 bera *iarnaidi*
12. do iniull *fair*. oc impod donanathrachaib
13. *for* cula *gusin* fidhicsin teacmait nabera dhoibh
14. cotreaghdad acuirp. cufarcbat cin *anmain*
15. Doniat nalaeich ahimfhuine 7a hindeonad
16. Foiridh adomblas aei gac neim *forbith*. Do
17. berait afeoil dorighuibh 7 uaislib
18. na *criche* 7dorgeibhit anoir dhi *airmhidi* fuirri
19. Cabhraidh sin beos *ingina* ria nidhnuibh
20. [¶108] Niberbthar feoil isin rigisin *acht* salann do
21. chaitim le omh // dhi. dia lamhnaighthe
22. [¶109] Prouindsi aroandum didiu. do rigi *magnus caim*
23. *ingen* *fora fedh* loighidh in laech *fria* re .xl. la
24. 7 agaig. tiaghait acharait 7aghaelta dia
25. fhis 7 bidh an *ingen* oca frithailim. [¶110] Seinsear
26. gacaduine as dia adhartha dhoibh. Nibí
27. liaigh na fisidh leo. Diangabhu searg
28. *no* teidm galair neach dīb fiafraighit dia
29. ndraithib inmbia furtacht *fair*. Tiagait na *druid*
30. dothogairm nandee ndemhnaidi ina nd
31. ail dfaghail chelmhuini in *tedhmasin*. diandech
32. didiu. indisit nac fuil furtacht *fair no* dambia
33. furtacht *fair* indisit do fearg nandee
34. dobeith fris 7asberait idberta dodenam doibh
35. Beruit leasdar doch[?]u an easlái leo 7 reith
36. eadha cu ceannuibh dubha leo 7dibraiccit
37. inchru anaieor anairdi *araen* redec[*ed?*]
38. nahidberta. Ticit nadee dianacallaimsium

f. 127rb

1. idhbraitsiumh in toth[ar] doibh siu 7 ta[ll] *above*
2. [¶111] FIL crich ele friahor nacrichesin míenaahainm
3. nirabha ri furriseic. rofhas *conblicht* iter

4. in cricsin 7prouindsi oraandum. Faidhius
5. magnus cam taisec dia muintir cuslog ndear
6. mhair lais dfurtacht prouindsi oraandum
7. ár nír umhul miena dho. niscardin ainm
8. intaisigh. da mili dhech marcach lin ashlóig
9. cen mothat troighthigh. Otclos do bagul
10. .i. dorigh miena slogh natartraigec do
11. thoidhecht friathaebh faidhis teachta ar
12. ceann arigh 7athaisech 7amhiled diatabairt
13. cuigi ar bahoman lais tartraiged dinnred
14. a crichi fair. Bahe lin dofreacair he
15. .lx.m. laech .m.m. elifint cocaislénaib
16. claraidh forro inambitis láeich friadeabhuidh
17. osnasloghuibh. Tiagait inslúag sin co
18. uocia cathair oirecuís miena isidhe. Gabait
19. longport friataeb. [¶112] Niscardyn ummorro otclos
20. do intimat sloighsin ac triall nadhail
21. sreathais ascora friataebh fheagha dithoghlaidi
22. bui fria taeb na cathrac dobail doibh. Gin
23. toighecht da [no for above] ndruim don tslóg romhór sin
24. Gairis athaisigh 7 alaeich gaili cuigi. Na
25. [vellum flaw] heaglaighidh na slóigh dimhora uc
26. [vellum flaw] ut olse ar is ferdha bar laeich in
27. naid 7 is friagalaib ronaltad sib. [¶113] M
28. oidhit naslóigh cechtardha sin andail aroili
29. amail tonna friatraigh. Natartraigid ummorro iar
30. faicsin naneilifant. dhoib nirfhétsat ceim
31. foranagaid dianeachuib [vellum flaw] lahomun na
32. neilifant. Gur imposit forcula cusinfigh
33. remhraitte gin comus marcach nasrein
34. forro. Gabhuis bagul conashloghuibh fora
35. lorg. Oirisit natartraigid foran figh
36. 7 snadmait aneochu don fhighbaid 7 do
37. beruit ucht ar bagul conashlogaib. [¶114] Ba calma
38. docuired in cathsoin leo alliu 7anall

f. 127va

1. combeanadh bonn fria meidhi 7meidhe fria bonn
2. doibh. Gonait na tartraigid na helifainnte
3. diasoidibh ár nirabha for bith friadibra
4. cadh soigheat slog budh fearr indat. Gabait
5. na heilifaint for miri 7dasacht condecasat foncoill
6. gin comus dialaechaib forro. Curostrascrait
7. ladairghibh 7omnuib infheagha acaislena deb
8. [tha] cusin bhfialluch ngaiscid bui nambroinn
9. innus gurdithaiged sloigh miena amlaid sin
10. [¶115] Natartraigidh ummorro nirofhaelsat fos fors
11. naheilifaintib. cutucsat saeire diangiallaibh
12. illogh a ceannsaighthi. Gabhuit na geil
13. .cc. eilifant doib sium. Beris niscardyn iat
14. comagnus cam ár nír aithnedh dia sloghuibh

15. *beith for eilifaintibh riam cosin.* [¶116] Ata magh
16. *isin crichsin. uidhi da la fora fhot 7 fora lethed*
17. *fasac eisium combeannuib 7sleibhti ur*
18. *arda natimcheall. Airdightir friaclethe*
19. *nimhe iatsom. is anamullach sin aitreabat*
20. *aes nacríche. Immut oir leo. Ticit laithi*
21. *airigthi anuas forin maghsin docreic anoir*
22. *for gac ni iseasbaidh doibh. Ticit didiu na hiltíri*
23. *acein 7 a foicsi na comdhail forsin magh an*
24. *laithisin do ceannach inoir. iar scarad dhoibh*
25. *friaraili ni leicit lucht na [vellum flaw]*
26. *críche neach forbith leo do dhecsain a*
27. *naitreabh. Conadhaire sin nac eolach nec for bith*
28. *foramodhuibh na forambescnadaib. Ata ummorro*
29. *dhairdi na haiti anairsit cumbit a noes*
30. *calma dá la 7 oidche ag teacht anuas*
31. *cus in magh nuccut // ri amra fuirri*
32. [¶117] *Prouindsí cangigu fil fria thaebhsidhe. Bui*
33. *7 nir bo miadh lais magnus cam do beith na*
34. *righ fair. Faidhis cublay slóg dia ir*
35. *ghabail anirt chatha. Gabuis serg galuir*
36. *ri cangigu co táinic athiughlaithe*

f. 127vb

1. *Roorduigh a adhnacul cohanorach*
2. *7tor dothocbail for gac taebh dhe .x. cubait*
3. *inairdi cechae dib. Ceann coclaradh oir*
4. *for tor dibh 7 dí ordlach forathighi. Cluic*
5. *ordha uassa cutoghluaisedh gaeth*
6. *a ceol. Cluic airgít forintor naild.*
7. [¶118] *Natartraigid ummorro gabuit forloscad 7 innred*
8. *antiri curiachtsat adlucad cangigu*
9. *Otconncatur in tor 7 namaine di airmhidi*
10. *forsna toraibh faidhit teachta co magnus*
11. *cam dia fhis cidh doghendais friu.*
12. *ár ba toil doibhsium aroinn eatarra. Acc*
13. *ol magnus cam ni toil damsa anoir righ*
14. *for bith bias fora adnacul dothurnamh*
15. *Doberait na slóig saeire donadnacul*
16. *for fuiglib magnuis caim 7gidh adhnacul carat*
17. *no namhat bis i crichaib natartraigec niturn*
18. *tar a onoir foralurg sin.* [¶119] *Umhlaigidh didiu in*
19. *ri[g above]sin [d]ocublay iar sin tri .c. rigan lasan*
20. *ríg bis fuirre. Imat oir leo. mi fhás*
21. *ann fineamain tre úir innti. Feoil 7righle*
22. *nostoimlit. Doniat balsamam onorac*
23. *doleomanuibh 7draicibh 7 anmannaib eceannuis*
24. *Cuirit saine gaca datha fair. doniatt*
25. *arinnadh forro firu macu mna cunach*
26. *scarat fris triabithu cumbi saine gaca*
27. *datha foramballaib 7 fuatha na nanmun*

28. *neceannuis ar narindad forro 7gac meit bhias*
29. *for neach dhe sin is moidi a anoir leosom*
30. [¶120] *Gac marbh theit isinrighi sin doniat luaith*
31. *dia churp 7cuirit a crannoic chumhdachta*
32. *hi ambeannuibh slíab 7anochtuibh all cunac*
33. *faiceat daine na eathaite he triabhithu*
34. [¶121] *Prouindsi singuy didiu. doniat earreda anór*
35. *cha docroicnibh 7 timthachtuibh abhfighbhuidi*
36. *imat leoman fora feadh cunac fetann neach*

f. 128r

1. *siubal a nuathad tharrsa. Fria [spiritus asper h]or in*
2. *mara fil si. Nileiceann omhon na*
3. *leoman doluing na dobharc oirisium*
4. *agaig. fria[sp. asp. h]or in puirt naacarsoitt*
5. *doshnaidm friatir. Nidheanann eis na*
6. *buidin dib suan fora conairib. Dingmad*
7. *di coin isintirsin inleoman. Conadhairi sin*
8. *nae togluasinn laec dochois na dheoch*
9. *gan dachoin 7glac lais or dailedh na*
10. *soigdi forinleoman incein bit nacoín*
11. *ac comhrac fris. Gurubamlaid sin dhithaigid*
12. *laeich nacrichi iat // teib[er]snaigh for*
13. [¶122] *Prouindsi cayguy. Srut cora mora for*
14. *afeadh. Sanindia tocbhuis ceann ar tus*
15. *Adbhul a fod .x.c. cubat foralethed. loingis*
16. *inrig foranacarsoidib fair inatriallunn*
17. *formuir .u.m. dec [long] a lin .xx. laec*
18. *ingac luing dibh fria freasdul .u. eich .x.*
19. *in gach luing ica freasdal la magnus cam*
20. *dobhiudh 7 dig 7 edgad no ecasc ár nihal*
21. *do ganbheith urlum do shlóg 7 loingis dia*
22. *triallait for oilenaib no insibh muiridi dia nir*
23. *ghabail a nirt catha. [¶123] Fil prouindsi ele fria*
24. *toebh 7ri fuirri. Ni ghiallann do Magnus beos.*
25. *Prouinsi mangua isidhe. Stactur ainm*
26. *in righ fil fuirri. Ni fhil isin uili domon*
27. *ri isfearr innás cenmotha cublay*
28. *ár niraibhi omhon righ forbith fair do lin*
29. *maire alaeach 7dodaingne adhúintedh*
30. *7acathrac ar niraibhi dun forbith lais*
31. *gin díc uiscidhi natimchell conurcur saigte*
32. *a fidhbach foralethi. [¶124] Batrocar essium frigac naen*
33. *7nilamtha slad nasarugad for fod arighi*
34. *nihiahdhtha teagh formuínib na setaibh*
35. *leo. Dochui-red teachta arfod a righi dia*
36. *athchar forro cech doini notruagh nobhiad*
37. *leo atidlacad diadunsom 7 gech naide*

f. 128rb

1. *dobhiath cenathair nomathair abreith chuigisium*
2. *dia freasdal 7doshnadhmad re araili a*

3. meic 7aningena cumainib leo intan ba [*spir. asp. h*]aes
4. mhur iat. cur mho ina .x.m. dib sin no
5. bhidh do shir ocambiathad 7 eided ascactur
6. [¶125] Bai cathair oirecais aigi cuinglay ahainm
7. Daingne do chathracaib betha dhi. Rothircansat
8. faidhe di feacht riam gin dul fuirri la feraib
9. domain cu tised neach ara mbiadh .c. suil dainm
10. suil ti diatogail. Dochuirsium amenma do
11. righ forbith dobeith fortill fuirri ár baderbh lais
12. nartusmhedh 7nactusmighfe nec ocambiadh
13. .c. suil. [¶126] Stactur ummorro dochuir omhon
14. a imairec fornahiltirib icein 7ifoicsi cunach
15. tabairte cath na conghal dó 7nac leiceadh a
16. omon clae nad foradhlige d. ar ni clae nadsom for nec
17. arbith. Oirisitsium isin tsoinmighi sin
18. nach raibe for meanmain righ nathaisigh
19. dhibh acht fledacus 7 cleasrad 7 ceola condeachaid
20. a ngail for bathad cunac raibhi arm na
21. earred imairic la laech nale milid dibh
22. [¶127] Magnus cam ummorro ba galar croidhi lais ri forbith
23. friathaebh gingiallad dho. Dogairit cuigi
24. arigha 7a toisigh 7alaithi gaile 7 gaiscid. ISed
25. is ail damsa olse slóig dhiairmidi acuibhse
26. do triall a prouinsi manguay diahirghabail
27. anirt catha ár ní miadh limsa stac
28. tur friam thaebh gin ghialladh dam. [¶128] Bui toisec
29. amra dia muintirsium accoistecht fris 7ba
30. toisech imghona lacublay esium baiaim
31. aainm. innannson aberla natartraigec 7 cetsuil
32. asin bérla scoiteacda. Dibhfhaghasa sloigh
33. limsa olbayam triallfat amanguay
34. 7dober angialla duitsi. Faidis cub
35. lay slóg labayam amanguay Gabsat
36. oc argan nacrichi 7ac brised aduinte 7acathrac
37. gur gabsat dí chathair déc diandinndaib dithoglaidi

f. 128va

1. [¶129] Stactur didiu. balan domun intsloighsin
2. he fein 7arigha 7athoisigh árba seanda a
3. churaid cum gaiscid 7nirochuirset a noicc
4. gugail lá saime intsidha conad hi comairli ro
5. craittea leo. triall doibh for innsibh muiridhe
6. bai leo onar thualaing cathaighi iat. Condecaidh
7. inri lucht .m. long fornahindsibh sin iar
8. bhfacbail choimhéta foradhuintibh. [¶130] Gabuid slóigh
9. na tartraigec forbhuis himauinglay 7sinit a
10. scora friataebhuibh 7 bahisidhe righchathair
11. stactur isidhe. Gabait na slóig foratogail
12. Otclos do shlóg nacathrac gurbaiaim a tais
13. each togl 7gur inann son 7 cetsuil dotucsat
14. celmhaine nandruadh feact riamh 7do

15. berait incathraig. [¶131] Triallaid inslóg tartraigec gu
16. siangfu. cathair dhithoglaidi lastactur is[i]dhe
17. 7muir friataebh 7 nir bhá tualaing nam
18. ais fuirri *acht for* cuil mbic dhi ar doticedh
19. loingius onrigh donahindsibh dfurtacht fuirri
20. Cidh fil anntra. badith laech *for* naslogaibsin
21. alliu 7anall actogail nacathrac et nír
22. fhédsat tartraidig dul fuirre friare .iii.ra
23. mbliadan. batar oc forbais *for* incathraig sin
24. [¶132] Faidit teachta co *magnus cam* dia innisin
25. do quinglay do dhul dibh. Bai *marcus*
26. 7aaes cumtha *araen fri magnus cam* iccois
27. *techt frisnateachtuibsin*. Badoirbh la
28. *magnus* na haithiusca sin. Cuingit *in* da
29. *marcus* 7 niclaus sais *fair* 7 doniat
30. .iii.ra sasa diandiubraicfidhi aili
31. dímhora donfhighbaid bui nafreacnairc
32. ár bateoluighsium i togail cathrac fecht
33. riamh. [¶133] Faidis *magnus cam* nateachta *for* cula
34. doridhisi lasnasasaibh gucuinglay
35. IAr rochtain doibh cuslogh baiam ro
36. gabsat [imat *marg.* cloch 7 aile ndimhor asta
37. forsin cathraig gur brised a taidhbli 7atighi.

f. 128vb

1. Gabais omhan lucht na cathrach lasna
2. hairdhibh anaithinti *sin* cotucsat incathraig
3. umlaighid cathraca manguay do *magnus*
4. *Cam* intansin 7oirisis stactur forna
5. hindsibh muiridi gen umhlugad do *magnus*
6. *cam ar* nir mhiadh lais umhla dorig
7. forbith. [¶134] Ata sruth *for* fod prouinnse
8. manguay quian a ainm. uidi .c.
9. la fora fot .x.m. foralethed. Dá .c.cathair
10. foradhib taebuibh. is lia doloingius dó
11. innat srotha in betha. [¶135] Fil cathair naile
12. isin crichsin sintuy ahainm. .lx.m. *ina tim*
13. ceall .uii.m. droicheat *for* a feadh fo a
14. ngabhunn bárc cu seol fuirri. dar leosum
15. nífhuil arbith cathair islia laech innas
16. Cathair singuy didiu inann son 7cathair na talman
17. [¶136] Fil cathair naili uidhi .u. laithe friaataebh
18. sin [.]c.m. inatimcill. quinlay a hainm
19. inan[n] son 7incathair neamhdha diateangaidsum
20. ar ní fhuil forbit cathair ismó inas Da
21. .m. dhec droicheat le fongabhait longa
22. dimhora centrascradh seoil dibh 7tor
23. dithoglaidi forcech ndroicheat dhibh 7 .iiii.m.
24. ag *magnus* ac fa[i]re *for* cech ndroiceat dibh
25. ar oman a himpóid fair órbacathair
26. oireachuis dorighraid manguay isidhe

27. feacht riam. [¶137] Doronsat palas rigda
28. forloch ameadhon na cathrac sin. nifuil set
29. na samail dophalas forbith do .xx. slóg
30. theach lais 7 .x.m. dothoimhledh in gac
31. slógthec dhibh 7 tene bithbeo ameadhon
32. gaca bruidhne dhibh 7 .m. dosheomradhuibh
33. solusda friasuan 7 freasdal ina nur
34. thimceall coneim noir forra 7cofuath
35. gac anmanna eceannuis for bith arnarinnadh
36. forro do ilbrechtadh gaca datha. [¶138] INtan
37. roirghabh. magnus cam in cathraig sin 7 prouindsi

f. 129ra

1. manguay. rohoirdneadh nai righa
2. dotartraidibh forro 7 doronad forro in da
3. .m. decc cathair bai isin rigisin OCCUS
4. niraibhi cathair dhibh gan drong do míl
5. eadhuib magnuis caim ocachimcoimet aromhun
6. a himpódh fair [¶139] Fil loch ameadon na
7. cathrac sin 7 .xxx.m. na uirtimcheall. Di inis
8. fair dun rigda a meadhon gacahinnsi dibh
9. Nila neach for bith iatsom et inasfearr do
10. bhiudh 7dig 7mhainibh nacathrach cuirid
11. a meadon nanduinte 7intí dianadail fledh
12. ughadh dodhenam tiagait dhiatochaithimh
13. inntibh 7foghebha et nila neach doncathraig
14. dinn na caislén dafuil fora feadh acht
15. coimdheas dagac aen iatsom et aseadh dobeir
16. antimat droicheatsin le. For srothaib 7uscedaib
17. Fil si 7nibhi animthecht foraraili acht dibh
18. .xl.m. tighidhis .xl. feac[t] isaitreabhthaigh
19. donchathairsin. [¶140] Nitusmidter geininnti
20. nac scribhthar a ainm 7incruth forsambi in
21. re 7reanna nime ocatusmhed 7diandec
22. neach dibh as beantar a ainm as 7scribh
23. thar aris he 7ainm a each 7amaine 7
24. a aesa cumtha 7 loiscter diblinuibh ar
25. aen riachorp 7dar leo gacascríbtha dho
26. do beidis araen fris isinbeathaidh naile
27. [¶141] IMut eclas noirmhitnec isin cathraig sin et
28. nifhil acht aen eaclas dibh ag fognam [no adhrad above] dodia
29. [¶142] Cidh fil ann tra diambeith gan dorighe
30. la Cublay acht na nai righa rohoirdned
31. for righi stactur dorachad os fhorbha
32. righ in beatha // criche Stactur. crich
33. [¶143] Fil crich naili iarfacbáil quinglay fri taebh
34. stucguy iside. imat duinti 7chathrac le
35. laeich amra le. Toimhlit feoil alaech
36. 7amiled 7ibhit abhfuil icathaibh 7toghuit
37. hi tar gac ndigh íttan forbith 7níthoimhlit

f. 129rb

1. madh doshaeth no dhigsed. Doprouinnsi man
2. guay iside. Explicit *secundus liber*. INci
3. piunt capitula *tercii libri* // ia ann so
4. [¶144] Tinnscnamh for mhachtnad 7tuarusbail nahinn
5. la *marcus foraloingius* ceatamus. [¶145] Faidhit dín
6. claraigh uasambarcuibh diandin ar na
7. tonnuibh muiridhe. Ni chuirid pic forro *acht*
8. ola 7caile 7cnaib do mhingearrad tritha 7acur
9. fuithib leanuidh dhibh tre bhithu *condineann*
10. abhfhaenscuil for inmuir. Cetra seolta
11. forgac luing dhibh. Cuirid clar foranclar
12. naili dhibh gaca bliadna. fri re.uui. mbliadan gum
13. bit .uii. clair druim ardrum forgac clar dhibh
14. 7 ní ascnamhait for muir leo niissire
15. [¶146] Sipangu didiu. inis mhuiridí isidhe 7ri fuirri
16. ginumlugad dorigh for bith. imad óir leo
17. nileic arigh dhoib achur acrichaib naile
18. acreic naa cunrad. A fudhomhuin fairge
19. fuil aninis si[n] gurub uathad long na
20. barc darubeolach hi. [¶147] Fil cathair oirecuís leou
21. doroinne in ri palas anorac nameadhon
22. cuhalla rigda 7gu seomradhaib solusda
23. Ba doclaruibh óir aithleaghtha ros dín
24. diblinaib. niraibhi forles fora fedh nach
25. le hor dohiatta 7fahedh sin diahurlar
26. [¶148] LA naon rofhaidh *magnus cam* slogh do
27. irghabáil nahinnsisin gunda taiseachuibh
28. forra. abatam 7uosanchim ananmunna
29. ascnait for muir inloingius sin. Gabsat
30. port asipangu. Facbhait alonga in
31. sin 7gabsat oc innred nacriche gur gabsat
32. inchathair dithoglaidi bui isin ninis. tiagait
33. fuirre lanert lann 7sciath curolásat
34. ar for aes nacathrac firu macu mna
35. *acht* aenochtar namma as nar fhaelsat braen
36. diacru dia reannuibh nadiafaebhraib
37. ar batar upthada deamhnaigi leo arnacur

f. 129va

1. ladruidhecht 7 deamhnaighecht tria tuaichleact
2. aclochuibh allastig diacroicnib gur iadhsat
3. nahalada dia neis gurubaire sin nar fetadh
4. anguin. Iar faghbail a fheasa sin dona tartraigib
5. gabsat dolorcuibh 7tuinidibh in talman forro
6. curo coimmbriseadh acnamha 7acuirp. gur
7. fhaesat gin anmain iat. [¶149] Na taisigh ummorro f
8. asais imfhorrac nura eatarra fa setaibh
9. 7 mainibh nacathrac 7 nacriche archena cunac
10. tuc nec dibh umla daroili gurbha
11. miscnigi lasnasloghuibh sin acheli ina
12. aes nacriche. Guroclodhsat forculai

13. *cusin loingis do ridhisi. IArndul doibh*
14. *inambarcuibh sreathais ainbhthine dermair*
15. *friaroili iat. Bai inis friatoebh. Buailis*
16. *in ainbhthine forbha in loingis fria taebhaibh*
17. *7tractaibh nahinnsi conar facbhadh clar*
18. *for clar dhibh cumbatar alaeich 7amilid for*
19. *immbathad. Gabhuid incuit ele don. loingus*
20. *icrichaib natartraighi foranadhaidh. Tiagait tricha*
21. *mile don tslogh loingsi sin atir isin ninis*
22. *forclaruibh 7seasaibh along iarngait*
23. *cheilli diananmain. Niriacht rímh for*
24. *ar baidhedh dhibh. Batar tartraidig foraninis*
25. *intan sin gin biad gin dig. [¶150] Ri sipangu*
26. *didiu. odclos do insaebhudh sin forloingius*
27. *natartraidec dobeir ashloghu diashaighid*
28. *trialluit inambarcuibh 7gabuit port*
29. *saninis ambatar natartraidig Tiaguid*
30. *atir diandithugad. Natartraidig ummorro*
31. *gabait conair aili dianeis curancatar*
32. *a mbarcu 7luighset atir aninissip*
33. *angu. tiaghait for beol na righcha*
34. *thrach. Osluicid aes nacathrac na*
35. *doirrsi cuhoibheil or nírfhinnsad*
36. *nar iat sloigh na criche atconncatur*

f. 129vb

1. *Gabhuit natartraigig inchathair et triallait sloigh*
2. *nahinnsi ambloigh diambarcuibh 7gabh*
3. *aid inraen for lurg natartraidec. [¶151] Arbhfaisin*
4. *doibh nacathrac do irghabail gairmter accu*
5. *a milid 7alaeich gaile icein 7ibhfoicsi 7doniad*
6. *forbhais fuirri. Gabhait ag deabhthaibh 7ag*
7. *tuargain achele gur bhó ár miled leo illiu 7anall*
8. *.uii. misa dhoibh forsanabartsin ár bui*
9. *suil natartraidec fria magnus cam diabhfurtacht*
10. *doberuit incathair iarsin 7rotinnlaiced iatsom*
11. *go cublay. Scarsat friaraili foshidh 7*
12. *chaenchomhrac. // laechuibh diaslogaib*
13. *[¶152] Sipangu didiu. righi forlethan isidhe. ailli de*
14. *7dianainndribh. Do idhlaibh 7arrachtaibh creidit*
15. *7rinntar abhfuatha leo cuteora ceannuibh*
16. *forro. no gu ceatra naighthibh foraeceann. nó*
17. *gu ndeich lamhuibh for aen corp no gu .c. lam*
18. *beos. In dar leosom gacimat cruth bias fora*
19. *ndee is liaidi acumhachta. Diangabhthar*
20. *gialla aheachtarcrich isin ninnsi di tucthar múine*
21. *diaeis fogeibh saeire. diambe ginfh*
22. *uaslucad lais marbhuit he 7do níat aber*
23. *bhudh 7a thomailt conanair moir. [¶153] Docursid*
24. *lucht taistil inmhara innecdha rímh fora*
25. *innsibh feact riamh. Conadh seact ninnsi for*

26. .xl. 7 .uii.m. inis frith *fuirri* 7is uathad dhibh
27. sin gin aitreabadh forro 7asimdha righi forlethan
28. dibhsom. [¶154] Ciamba *ummorro* inis mhuiridí isidhe
29. gu righ *fuirri*. Pibar geal fhasas isinrighisin
30. [¶155] Nibi *acht* da ghaeith isin bliadain fornahinnsibsin
31. leth na bliadna cen clódh for cula dhi 7 in leth
32. aili nahadhaigsium cen clódh // gu
33. [¶156] Faidis *magnus cam* feact naill toisec dia muintir
34. sloghuibh ndermhaire lais acyambai dia
35. hirghabáil anirt chatha. Bai dia daingne
36. 7dochalmacht alaeach narfhaelsat toghuil

f. 130ra

1. for dhun na for cathair dhibh. Gabsat
2. inslogh iarsin octeascad angort 7abhfinemna
3. Faidis *acupius* .i. ri na hinnsi teachta
4. do athchar chisa do *magnus* cisogatu .i.
5. an toísec 7 basheanda in ri intansin ár bai
6. dhimad cheiledh lais feacht riam curaibhi .xxx.
7. for .iii.ra .c. do claind lais 7 bamilidh calma
8. acathaibh tri.l. dibsom. Cidh fil ann tra *acht* do
9. beir umhla do *magnus cam* 7doberedh .xx. elefaint
10. do forro gaca bliadna. triabhithu. Scaraid 7 inslóag
11. re araile foshídh 7chaenchomhrac. [¶157] IAna
12. mor fria huur [*vellum flaw*] na righisin 7rí *fuirri* cin comus
13. righ for bith fair. Tricha .c.m. atimcill narí
14. ghisin. is lan dagac uili mhaithius forbith hi
15. [¶158] Gendur 7gondur friahor narighi sin. dá
16. inis muiridí iatsum *conimmat* gacamaine leo
17. INIS leoach allamuigh dhibh sin. righi forlethan
18. isside 7rí *fuirri* nacgiallann dorigh for bith
19. As ferdha línmhar a laeich. immut oir 7ele
20. finnted forafeadh // theach le 7 muir forthana
21. [¶159] INIS peantam didiu. tír isidhe *conimad* fheagh toir
22. natimcheall. ceatra troigthi foradoimne .c.m.
23. gaca taebha dhi nac tualang barc seolaid na sd
24. iuraid for in muirsin // .uii. righaib *fuirre*
25. [¶160] INIA iana beg didiu. tír fhoirlethan iside co
26. Dobhadhussa fein armarcus a se righachtaibh
27. dhibh. xx.c.m. atimcell nahindsi sin. ~~~
28. [¶161] Righi fear lech didiu. inchetna righi dhibh ina
29. rabhadhus do *macametus* adrait et in .c. ainmhidí
30. atcithfe gac aen dibh atús lai asé is
31. dia adhartha dho cuheirghi grene arnamarac
32. Toimhlit feoil con 7 daine. 7 gac eataide for bith
33. [¶162] Basmam didiu. indara righi dhibhsein. Tir shléib
34. tighi iside gin dliged forbith leo *acht* a mbetha
35. dochaithimh amail gac nanmann neceandsa
36. no biasdu et aderuid gurub do *magnus cam* adhrait
37. 7 nithabraith cain nadliged do. Imat onocorn

f. 130rb

1. *for fed naríghi sin. Clúmh buabhuill lais*
2. *7 ceann muice 7 cosa elefinnti. Beann dimor*
3. *acomhroinn adhá shul 7 teanga conimut*
4. *reann fuirri. Asi isarm dithaighthi lais. Imat*
5. *gaca ceneoil napad forbith isin crichsin. Doniat*
6. *sealg forcenel donapaib beca dhibh 7cruth daine*
7. *forro 7 beruit iat diacreic anilthirthaib 7ised*
8. *asberait conadh óicc iatt 7isanorac larigaibh*
9. *na niltire in fheoil sin [vellum flaw] friatomhuilt*
10. [¶163] *Samaria didiu. intreas righi dhibh. níphasann*
11. *fineamain nacruithnecht tre uir innti conadh arán*
12. *righle 7feoil chaithit. Ata coill isin crichsin*
13. *7ceanglait acroinn cusnigheann sugh friu*
14. *amail chusleanna uis[flaw]cidhe derg 7finn isdath dontsugsin*
15. *Timuircter sin asoithigibh cumdachta la haes na*
16. *criche cunad lor dhoibh dodigh abhfagat samlaid*
17. *7 isferr oldas infin // dia ngabha serg*
18. [¶164] *Dragoiam didiu. in ceathramad [flaw] righacht díbh*
19. *galair aen dibh fiafraighit diandraidhib inmb*
20. *ia furtacht fair. Tiagait na dra[ide] dhfhagail chelmaine*
21. *onadeibh. dia neibrit gin furtacht dobheith*
22. *fair. timsaighit a ghaelta 7acharait chuige*
23. *conabrait fris. nach fearr duit olsiat dotomuilt*
24. *duinne incein bias docruth 7tfheoil fort*
25. *ina dothomhuilt do phiasdaib na talman*
26. *iarnateillneadh dontsaeth fil fort. marbtur*
27. *leo he 7 caithit a fheoil gunonair moir*
28. [¶165] *Lambrii. In .u.ad righi dhibh. Fil figbaidh isin*
29. *crichsin. birsi ahainm. Beanaid aes nacriche*
30. *a croinn ahuir dianathcur doridhisi 7bid*
31. *.iii.ra bliadan osuir gen acur. ticit iarum co*
32. *torad anorac forro. Fil blogh daes na cri[che]*
33. *sin ambeannuibh sliab 7anochtuib all 7fa*
34. *sait earbaill foraseanaibh amhail chonu*
35. [¶166] *Fanfur inseised righi dhibhsein. nifhasann*
36. *arbhur for bith na fineamain tre uir innte*
37. *conadh righle nos toimhlit. Suighi na fidhbaide*

f. 130va

1. *as fleagha dhoibh amail roraidhsium romuinn*
2. *Fil figbad isin crichsin coremhe ndermhair. Dogheibh*
3. *lucht nacrichisin andáithin bígh domin 7 do*
4. *phughdar onorac allastigh do croicnibh nacrannsin*
5. [¶167] *IArgcur chúil risin cri[ch]sin fogebha inis muiridhi*
6. *necuram ahainm. do macametús adrait. Ni bhí*
7. *timthach arbith la laech na ingin dibh acht a*
8. *mbeith deanocht amail thuismiter iat // si sin*
9. [¶168] *Fogebtha inis [flaw] augamam friataebh nahinn*
10. [¶169] *righi forlethan isidhe conadhrait do macametús. Bai*
11. *.c. 7 tri .m. domhilibh. inatimcell feact riamh*
12. *guros caith imghluaisecht mara lagaeith hi*

13. *conach* fuil *acht* .xx.c.m. *inatimcheall inniu*
14. Toimdit aes na *cri[che]* sin *nách* fil *forbith* inis is
15. fearr innás. Nibhi edac *acht* lahuathad dia *dainib*
16. Tocbaidh nert gaéithe *imut* dibh isin muir gu
17. mbaidhter iat. ní umhlaiginn arigh dorigh for
18. bith. Ní [*flaw*] theit lucht na *cric[e]*sin a gcathuibh
19. *acht* dambe *conblicht* forro doberuit *eachtarchricha*
20. dia cabair 7 doberuit ceandac diamainib dhoibh
21. Imad leag mbuadha innti. IS ocunrigh sin
22. ata incloch isfearr forbith. *derg* iside. *métithir*
23. *fria* laim laeichhí 7reisi *forafedh*. glainithir
24. friagris gancrithir hi. CUIRIS *magnus cam teachta*
25. dochuinghid naclochi *buadasin* for inrigh sin. Ro
26. raidh in ri *gur sét* fine do righraidh seylam in
27. cloch sin 7 nac raibhi neart atidlaicthi aige fein
28. [¶170] Fil anindia *fria* hor nahinnsisin. Prouinn[*si*] ma
29. abar is foicsi dhi .u. riga *fuirri* in cetna righi *díb*
30. Buaar scuderba ainm inrigh fil *fuirri*. Lom
31. nocht trebithu chaithit ambetha. *imut* cloch
32. mbuada isin *crich* sin et is mod lasin righsin cheathra
33. leaga *buada* for .c. foabraghait tre bithu 7atuilled
34. dibh foralamhuibh 7chosaibh. Gabaidh .iiii. hor
35. thana for .c. frisna deibh *gac* laithi 7 inoiret
36. cetna *gac* noidchi dobheith furtachta nandee
37. fair .u. aindre sirdha lais. [¶171] Uar dano

f. 130vb

1. in *dara* righi dhíbh. damh is dia adurtha
2. doibh. Nímharbuid *dam* 7níthoimhlit
3. afhéoil diamarbthar. Doníat *balsamum*
4. anorac diafheoil 7 diagheir 7coimlit
5. fochulaib 7cearnuibh inbrogha *ardaigh comad*
6. naemtha inbrugh ogheir indaim naeim
7. dochomailt *fair*. [¶172] Madh éc donrigh no
8. do thaisec dhib. *marbhthar* leo aaes cumtha
9. 7 aes *gac* oifice bui lais diacur da
10. freastul isin beathaid *arail* 7marbhuit
11. a sheitig diacur lais *ar oman* cheli aili do
12. beith le 7 loiscid acuirp diblínaibh
13. [¶173] IS annsacrichsin domartradh tomas apstail
14. iar teact doproiceapt breithri dé doibh et
15. nitualang aen diamarand diarsma na
16. mbasaireadh sin triall isteach tar beolu
17. nahecuilsi in rohadnacht corp tomáis
18. et inait inarmarbsat he fil *derg* aniu
19. dia chrú *amail* bui in .c.la. Doghní an
20. úir sin icshlainti dagac aen nos toimliunn
21. bec no mor dhi for dhigh. Ata beagan *cristaidi*
22. *immon* cathraig mbic *inabhfhuil* corp tomáis.
23. As mór domhirbhulibh in fhirdhia foillsighther
24. and sin. [¶174] Uar didiu. nipeacad laneach dhibh

25. *peacad for bith do pecthaibh na mban. [¶175] Loighit aes*
26. *nacrichesin forsantalmáin 7isid atberat. don*
27. *talmáin sinn ar siat 7atalmáin rachmáit. Nithoim*
28. *lit fin tria bithu 7ní gabuid aeir na aithis*
29. *in neich dhibh nos ibeann. Dogniat osaic*
30. *gac láithe. Nibhi arm la neach dhibh acht gai 7*
31. *sciath. Nigadtar ní forbith leo. Nimarbh*
32. *thar aen aneismál leo. níphasann each*
33. *diangroighibh conadh .x.m. each gaca bliadhna*
34. *cheannghaid. Coic righ maabar. Feoil berbhtí*
35. *7 uighi 7righle thoimlit aneich. et is lom*
36. *nocht thiaghuid lucht nacrichesin for sét*
37. *latormac teasa nagrene or nífettar*

f. 131ra

1. *siubal na crichi sin acht atri misaibh san bliadain*
2. *.i. iunius iulius augustus .i. damhi deridh*
3. *in tsamhraidh 7.c.mhi in fhoghmhair. doberedh*
4. *bas íatsom lasna ruithnibh grianda. m*
5. *una bheth furtacht na missoin forro. is*
6. *suail dianeachuibh nac faghuibh bas gaca*
7. *bliadain. lasinmbeathaidh nanaithnidh Sebhuc*
8. *dhubha leo. anas fearr dosheabhcaibh*
9. *dhoibh. Fialtoca leo meidithir fre fiachu*
10. *[¶176] Righi na paghanac didiu in .u.ed righi do prouinn[si].*
11. *Maabar. damh is dia adhartha dhoib 7ised*
12. *asberuit conadh geal fil fuath indiabail*
13. *conadaire sin rindaitsium fuath andee dubh*
14. *7cuirir uindiminte 7oladha duba futhaibh*
15. *badhesin cumbid foraeen ndath friandeibh*
16. *7mad geal aen dibh ocá thuismed níoirisid*
17. *cu mba dísholus he. [¶177] Diandecuit icath no*
18. *aconghal berit leo clúmh indaim dia nadrait*
19. *amail dia 7 nibhi leo máine isairmitnighi*
20. *in nassom // fhuil si 7ní umhlaigh dorigh*
21. *[¶178] Righi Musili didiu. fria hor righi napaganac*
22. *for bith. Nifhuilet srotha nait aibhne for*
23. *feadh nacri[ce]sin acht tobair sholusda ag*
24. *snighi afudhoman thalman leo. Foghabhuid*
25. *imat cloch mbuada inntibh iartragad doib la turcbáil*
26. *ngrene. Sleibhte 7 beanna urarda isin cricsin*
27. *gunaquibh geala forthaibh 7 conimut nathrac*
28. *neimhe conadiat nanatraca sin thoimhlit*
29. *nahaquile dímhora 7 cruthaigter leacca*
30. *buada inntibh dibsom nach faghthar a naith*
31. *ghin for fot inbetha acht annsom adhamoint*
32. *ananmanna. inannson 7diamont*
33. *Oirisid nahaquile sin ambilibh dimhora*
34. *gurubomhun lahaes na criche triall ina ngaire*
35. *la acalmacht conudh feolbaighe berait isin glind*
36. *[flaw] dithoghlaidi fil fuithibh. Tecut na*

37. haicile anuas iarbhfaicsin nafeola

f.131rb

1. Tiaghait dano aes na criche dia neis 7 fogabhit
2. naclocha buada inaningleanuibh iarcu nanaiquiled
3. dhibh 7 anas fearr dhibh bit ocna righuibh
4. imfhoicsi 7dogabur in chuid ele dibh fria creic
5. for fiarlait in betha // amini insloinneadh
6. [¶179] Righi Lae didiu. ní chanuit gó tria bhithu. abrai
7. aitreabhus innte. ní thoimhlit fin na feoil tre
8. bhithu 7ní marbhthar duine naanmanda
9. aili leo. aeinshétigh snadhmtha la gac naen
10. dibh. Nibeauit crann na duille ur a
11. ndoigh anma do beith [a exp.]inntibh. Lomnocht bhid
12. tria bithu 7dam in dia dianadrait. Iar nég
13. [don marg.] damhsin doniat luaith diachnamhaibh 7
14. crothait forro hi. ISáintec troisctec dona deibh
15. iatsom. Bíth fuath daim arnarinnadh a
16. nedan gac aein dibh 7duilledha crand parduis
17. na miasa foratoimhlit. // nigiallann do
18. [¶180] Crich coylus didiu. righi fhoirlethan isidhe
19. righ for bith 7nifhaieann neach laceli dibh
20. muna rabhut in treas glun dfhialus
21. diblínaibh nó seitig [flaw]a athar no abhrathar
22. dianeis. Immat leoman ndubh isincrichsin
23. Docithir polus articus innti cubut ar
24. turebail ós muir // surach 7 righi
25. [¶181] Righi cumar 7righi melibar 7righi Gu
26. Caria 7 righi cambaech 7 ríge semanach
27. 7 righi osmacoram don india moir iat
28. sumh 7immat righi immale friu et robadh
30. scith teanga friatuarascbail dotabairt
31. [¶182] Dorímhset eolaig inmhara feacht riam .uii.
32. .c. for da .m. dhec innsi forin muir nind
33. [flaw] eagdasin. Genmotha innseadha na hind
- 34.ia Bice et ticfamait tar beagan
35. dibh annso. [¶183] Atat di inis afu
36. domhuin inmara sin 7 isé issu adhrait
37. Oilén nanIngen 7oilén nabhfhear doberar forro
38. Nighluaisit na hingena asa niniss fein

f. 131va

1. tria bithu acht na laeich ag triall co hairm ambít
2. tri la conoighthi [transp. in gach mis] dhoibh icomamus friaraili
3. gac laech laashetigh dhibh inanaraglaib badhesin
4. frisin re sin. Impóidhit nafiru forcula dia ti
5. ghibh iarum cusin mis naill conadhamlaid sin do mhe
6. lit ambeathaidh. In tan lamhnaigid namna
7. mad ingena nos berat nonalad fri druine 7gresa mad
8. maccu dano berat coanaitribh diatabairt frilaechdacht
9. [¶184] Fira amhainsi iat friaseilg for fiadhmhila
10. mara 7tiri. Loimm 7carna 7gac cenel toraidh

11. do thir 7mhuir nomelit firamnaa
12. eascop as ceann forro. [¶185] Intescopsin didiu
13. fil inis lais Scoria ahainm .u.c.m.
14. uaidhibsium conilibh do dhaínibh lais fria
15. creidium 7araill friahidhlacht. Gin tlact na edac
16. leo friambeathaid. Impoidhid nahidhla na longa
17. cona seola anagaidh ghaeithi laangeinntleacht
18. curannait eatarra iat iarnangabail. [¶186] IAr
19. bhfacbail scoria iarum uidhi .x.c.m. foghe
20. bha inis ndimoir [flaw] is mo dooilenuibh
21. talman. da.xx.c.m. nathimcell. madei a ainm
22. ILI chenela daine le. do macametus adrait. car
23. na camull mhelit. Nihurusa arímh ina fil
24. do chamhullaib leo. Gealason dano. 7 ni fhil
25. for talmáin cenel frisasamalta iat ar mheit
26. Feagha dímhora leo. Dergason dano. idir duille
27. 7 rúscu. Ialla imdha leo do ilcenel én idir
28. gnath 7ingnath. Ealtada dimhora forroside
29. ba móomh do enuibh intalman. Rúc anan
30. manna tocbhuit nahelifinnti inacrobhaib
31. isin firmamint coleicit anuas dor
32. idhisi condenann briscbruar diamballaib
33. cutoimhlit iat iarum // mheitsidhe
34. [¶187] Faghebha oilen naill iarsuidhiu. Adhbhul a
35. .xx.c.m. natimcheall. Samsibár a ainm
36. ilchenala eathachdha nosaitreabann

f. 131vb

1. Srona dímhora atulaibh anetan
2. aruisc for tuaithbhil. fuilt dubha leo
3. 7beoil lethna. Lethightir friagac ceathrar don
4. droing dhaenna a bhfhir 7a mna 7 nihairdi
5. oldait nadaine ele. calma oldas c
6. eathrar for neart 7chathugad. ni bhit eich
7. leo acht for elifinntibh 7camhallaib cathaigit
8. Ni bhi tlacht na édac leo. carna 7 loim
9. 7righle chaithid. dogniter fleagha leo do
10. shiucra 7righle 7 luibhibh imdha archeana
11. or nibi fineamain leo. Coleicid deocha
12. dia nelifinntib 7 dia camullaib dona fledibsin
13. domhétugad a meanman 7andasachta doncathugad
14. [¶188] Cidh ni fuil sunn budhesta acht oirisiumh
15. dosceluibh innseadh 7crich nahindia iar
16. toidhecht tar beag dib ár níthicfadh linn
17. a rimh. acht asiat so críchaidhechta inda
18. india friahiltiribh Anindia mhor didiu.
19. adothea probinnsi maabar guros
20. macorum et anindia beag adothea cai
21. amba gumechile // righaibh fuirre
22. [¶189] Abaschia didiu. righi dímhór isidhe co .uii.
23. .iiii. righa dhibh ocadhrad don fhirdhia 7

24. cros óir atul *eduin gacaein* dibh 7 as
25. feardha acathuibh iat *ár* is friu ron
26. naltadh oc *imaireacc* friagenntiu. Na .iii.ra
27. riga aili *dano*. fileat *fria* haincreidiumh 7
28. idlacht [¶190] Et rigi aden .i. soudan isri
29. *forrosum*. [¶191] *Conadhi* aireac meanman for
30. *fhuaire* riabascia feacht naen. *triall*
31. cuhairm irraibhe issu *arnaadlucadh*
32. Nato idir olamhaithe 7amhilid *fris* ár
33. robudh omhun linne *gennti* dotmarbad
34. *foranconair* *ár* istritha noghebtha
35. Fileascop naemhtha lat olsiat 7 [flaw] c
36. uir cohadhnucul issu he *conimat* oir lais

APPENDIX II

Transcription and translation of the prologue of P

The following transcription of the prologue of P was made from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, by Dr Samuela Simion in preparation of a critical edition of the *Travels*. I am grateful to Dr Simion and Professor Burgio for providing me with a full transcription of P from this manuscript ahead of publication. The translation in the footnote is my own.

Dr Simion's Transcription of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, ff. 1ra-2ra:

Incipit prologus in librum domini Marchi Pauli de Veneciis de condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum.

[1] Librum prudentis et honorabilis viri atque fidelis domini Marchi Pauli de Venetiis de condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum, ab eo in vulgari fideliter editum et conscriptum, compellor ego, frater Franciscus Pipinus de Bononia ordinis fratrum predicatorum, a plerisque patribus et dominis meis veridica et fideli translacione de vulgari ad latinum reducere, ut, qui amplius latino quam vulgari delectantur eloquio, nec non et hii, qui propter vel linguarum varietatem omnimodam aut propter diversitatem ydeomatum proprietatem lingue alterius intelligere omnino aut faciliter nequeunt, aut delectabilius legant seu liberior capiant. [2] Porro per se ipsos laborem hunc, quem me assumere compulerunt, perficere plenius poterant, sed altiori contemplacioni vacantes et infimis sublimia preferentes sicut terrena sapere ita terrena describere recusarunt. Ego autem eorum obtemperans iussioni libri ipsius continenciam fideliter et integraliter ad latinum planum et apertum transtuli, quoniam stilum huiusmodi libri materia requirebat. [3] Et ne labor huiusmodi inanis aut inutilis videatur, consideravi ex huius libri inspectione fideles viros posse multiplicis gracie meritum a Domino promereri, sive quod in varietate et decore et magnitudine creaturarum mirabilia Dei opera aspicientes ipsius poterunt virtutem et sapientiam venerabilius admirari, aut, videntes gentiles populos tanta cecitatis tenebrositate tantisque sordibus involutos, gratias Deo agant, qui fideles suos luce veritatis illustrans de tam periculosis tenebris vocare dignatus est in admirabile lumen suum, seu illorum ignorancie condolentes pro illuminatione cordium ipsorum Dominum precabuntur vel indevotorum christianorum desidia confundetur, quod infideles populi promptiores sunt ad veneranda simulacra quam ad veri Dei cultum prompti sunt plurimi ex hiis, qui Christi sunt caractere insigniti; sive etiam religiosorum aliquorum corda provocari poterunt pro ampliacione fidei christiane, ut nomen Domini nostri Ihesu Christi in tanta multitudine populorum oblivioni traditum

deferant, spiritu favente divino, ad accecatas infidelium naciones, ubi messis quidem multa operarii vero pauci. [4] Ne autem inaudita multa atque nobis insolita que in libro hoc in locis plurimis referuntur inexperto lectori incredibilia videantur, cunctis in eo legentibus innotescat prefatum dominum Marchum horum mirabilium relatores virum esse prudentem, fidelem et devotum atque honestis moribus adornatum, a cunctis sibi domesticis testimonium bonum habentem ut multiplicis virtutis eius merito sit ipsius relatio fidedigna; pater autem eius dominus Nicolaus totius prudentie vir hec omnia similiter referebat; patruus vero ipsius dominus Matheus, cuius meminit liber iste, vir utique maturus, devotus et sapiens, in mortis articulo constitutus, confessori suo in familiari colloquio constanti firmitate asseruit librum hunc veritatem per omnia continere. [5] Propter quod circa translationem ipsius laborem assumpsi, consensu tutiore, ad consolationem legentium et ad laudem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cunctorum visibilium et invisibilium creatoris. [6] Liber autem iste in tres libros dividitur, qui per propria capitula distinguuntur, quorum librorum principiis ad faciliorem contentorum in ipsis invencionem sunt capitulorum tituli prenotati.

Explicit Prologus.

Translation (my own):

Here begins the prologue in the book of master Marco Polo of Venice, regarding the circumstances and customs of the eastern regions. [1] The book of the prudent and honorable man and truthful master Marco Polo of Venice, regarding the circumstances and customs of eastern regions, edited and composed by him in earnest in the vernacular, I, brother Franciscus Pipinus of Bologna, of the order of the Friars Preachers, am compelled, by many of my seniors and superiors, to make a truthful and accurate translation from the vernacular into Latin, since more are able to understand Latin than the vernacular, and moreover for the benefit of those, who, on account of the diversity of all languages, on the one hand, or the variety of idioms, on the other, can not easily or at all understand the property of another language, so that they can read it more easily and understand it more freely. [2] Furthermore, this work, which they compelled me to undertake, they would have been able to complete more satisfactorily themselves, however, since they are dedicated to a higher contemplative state and prefer sublime matters to lowly concerns, in the same way that they refused to know earthly matters, likewise they refused to transcribe such earthly matters. Therefore, I, in compliance with their command, translated the content of this book faithfully and in totality, into a clear and understandable Latin, a style which the subject matter of such a book required. [3] And, so that labour of this kind seem not in vain and pointless, after inspecting this book, I considered that truthful men might be worthy of the merit of the Lord's many graces, and that they might either admire the virtue and wisdom of God, by seeing his wondrous works in the variety, beauty and size of the creatures, or, upon discovering the pagan populations enveloped in such blind misery and squalors, they might thank God, who by enlightening those faithful to him with the light of truth deigned himself to call (them) from such dangerous darkness into his glorious light, or, empathising with their ignorance, they might pray to the Lord for the enlightenment of their hearts, or, the idleness of undevoted christians might be interrupted, because the infidel populations are more

ready to venerate idols than many of these, who are marked with the sign of Christ, are ready for the worship of the true God; or, furthermore, they might call the hearts of certain believers for the advancement of the Christian faith, so that they might bring to the blind nations of unbelievers the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, which has been lost in the oblivion of such a great multitude of peoples, with the help of the Holy Ghost, 'the harvest, indeed, is great, the workers few,' (Matthew 9:37). [4] So that the many unusual and unheard of things which are referred to in many parts of this book do not seem unbelievable to the inexperienced reader, let it be known to all who read this book that the aforementioned master Marco, relator of these wondrous things, is a prudent, trustworthy and devoted man, equipped with an honest character, having a good witness from all his servants so that by merit of his multiple virtues, this account of his is reliable; indeed, his father, master Nicolaus, a man of complete prudence recalled all these things in a similar way; master Matheus, his uncle, to whom this book is dedicated, a man by all means mature, devoted and wise, of sound mind on the point of death, in a friendly conversation with his confessor, assured with unremitting firmness that this book contained the truth in every aspect. [5] Wherefore, I have undertaken the work of this translation, with a more resolute conscience, for the benefit of the readers and the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, creator of all things visible and invisible. [6] This book is divided into three books, which are divided into chapters and whose chapter titles are noted down at the beginning of the books, for an easier organisation of the content.

Here ends the prologue.