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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 *Travels* **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 *Travels* **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
Iomlat: the interchanging of unstressed syllables. 45
a o u. 46
ai oi ui 46
e and i. 46
ai and oi in stressed syllables. 46
ai and ei 47
aile/aili and ele/eli. 47
a and i in pretonic syllables. 48
ai and a in final position. 49
ea and e in final position. 50
y in personal and place names. 52
Long vowels 52
á and ó alteration. 53
ó ou and o3 53
Combinations of vowels and lenited spirants. 55
Diphthongs 56
ai oi ui alteration. 56
ae oe ao and *ái* 57
aei oi ai 59
2.1.2. Consonants 60
Nasals 60
nn and *nd.* 60
mm 60
Liquids 61
rr. 61
ll and *ld* 61
Labials 62
f ph p b 62
Gutturals 63
cc 63
ch gh 63
Dentals 63
tt 63
Spirants 63
Slender *th* and *ch* alteration in medial position. 63
Slender *th* and *ch* alteration in final position. 64
-dhch- -ghth- > /h/ 64
Treatment of Old Irish *gh dh.* 64
-ai and *-adha* 65
gh dh th alteration in medial position. 66
Final *-th* 67
mh and *bh* 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
u-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 *adhaigh* ... 94
Note on *ciach*. ... 96
Nom. sg. *vs* gen. pl. forms after cardinal numeral substantives ... 97
2.4. Verbal Forms ... 101
Reassessment of Ó Catháin's linguistic anaysis 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 *nisam.* ... 119
Substantive verb: *fil* vs *atá* ... 120
OIr. 3rd 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 *cath* 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
Lacus vs locus (group α). 251
Quatuor custodes vs decem custodies (group β). 255
1,000.000 vs 1,600,000 (group β/γ). 257
Provincias septem vs provincias octo (group δ). 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. *Bráthair righ an aibit san Fronses* 324
3.2.2. *A Tairtridh a Laidin* 332
3.2.3. Pipino's justification for translating the *Travels* in IMP 333
4. Secondary Variations in IMP 335
4.1. Variations based on foreign material 336
4.1.1. *Alan* and *Balan* 336
4.1.2. *Prespiter Seon* 338
4.1.3. Salamanders 341
4.2. Variations based on native material 344
4.2.1. *For cliathaibh fis* 344
4.2.2. *Firu, macu, mná* 346
4.2.3. *Bonn fria meidhi* 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 adaptaion 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 mileu 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 accentute 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 otherwised 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 adaptaion 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 mileu 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 verison 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*: *Seignor, je voç di que le Grant Sire de Tartars ne vit unques nul latin et a grant desider et volunté 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. anç 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, Bibliotheque 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, surivives 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 conists 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 Portugese 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]

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[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)

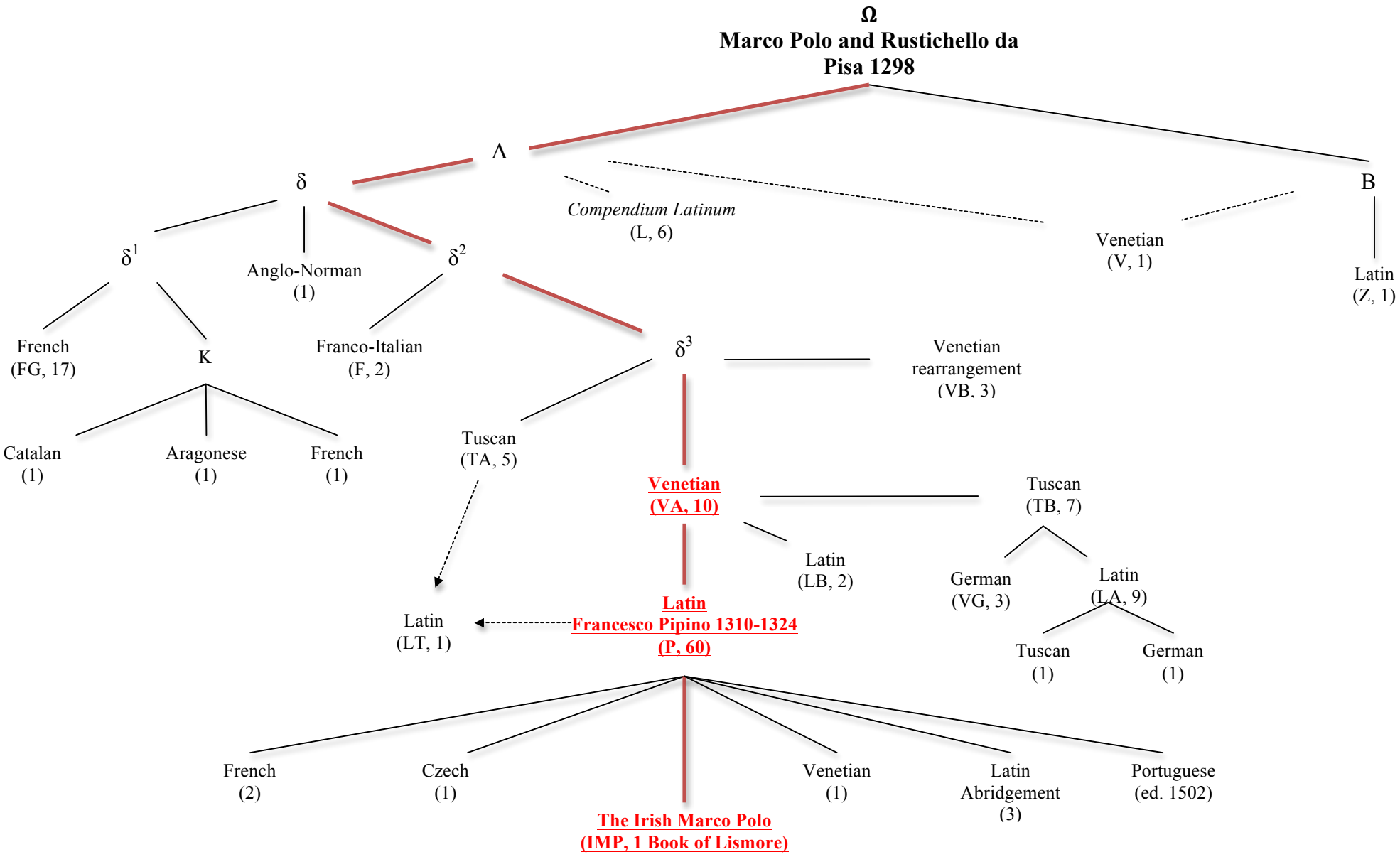
This unique Venetian version is represented by one manuscript, namely: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 424. Dutschke and Gadrat-Ouerfelli (henceforth Gadrat) argued that this version of the *Travels* is closely related to Z,[50] however Simion has recently shown that it also bears resemblances 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 medieval del *Devisement dou Monde* (Secoli XIV-XV)', *Medioevo Romanzo* (2018), *forthcoming*.


Ω
Marco Polo and Rustichello da Pisa 1298
A
δ
B
Compendium Latinum (L, 6)
Venetian (V, 1)
Latin (Z, 1)
δ1
Anglo-Norman (1)
δ2
French (FG, 17)
K
Franco-Italian (F, 2)
δ3
Venetian rearrangement (VB, 3)
Catalan (1)
Aragonese (1)
French (1)
Tuscan (TA, 5)
Venetian (VA, 10)
Tuscan (TB, 7)
Latin (LB, 2)
German (VG, 3)
Latin (LA, 9)
Latin (LT, 1)
Latin Francesco Pipino 1310-1324 (P, 60)
Tuscan (1)
German (1)
French (2)
Czech (1)
Venetian (1)
Latin Abridgement (3)
Portuguese (ed. 1502)
The Irish Marco Polo (IMP, 1 Book of Lismore)

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 Fronses*.[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 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 peregrinacione 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 relatorem virum **esse** prudentem, fidelem et devotum atque honestis moribus adornatum, a cunctis sibi domesticis testimonium bonum **habentem** ut multiplicis virtutis eius merito sit ipsius relacio 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 translatum.*[78] This comment implies that the *Chronicon*, which has yet to be edited, was written after Pipino had translated the

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[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]

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[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 accidently 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:

> Expliscit p*r*ima p*ar*s isti*us* libr*i*. I*n*cip*i*t sequ*n*da pa*r*tis.[91]

> Explicit s*ecun*dus lib*er*. INcipiunt **capitula** t*er*cii 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]

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[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 131[102] 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 detatched 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]

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[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 A[109] 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* descnding 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 Finnchua* on f. 72rbz. However, Hyde's discovery[112] 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 Finnchua*, 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 shown[115] 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 colums 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 hIceadha 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 Rosscarbery[122] 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 Arnalldi on Bhaile Nua do tarrang a Laidin a nGaedhilg dEoin O Call*annáin* 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 involement 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 rhymer 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. fo*r*acli 7narighna eli na deag*aid* 7 mná
21. [na rígh *marg*.] 7 na taighs*e*c f*or* aneagar cub*aid* nandeaghaidh. No **[+ *marg.*]**
22. bhi tun*n*a ordha am*edh*o*n* an rightoighi 7 cet*r*i
23. tun*n*a ordha budh lugha inass*om* f*r*ia ataobhaibh

[*lower marg*.: **+ No bhidh in rí uas na sloghaibh oca bhfhaircsi cur bhó comhard f*r*ia a bhondsumh mullach g*a*c*h* aein dia mhuinnt*ir***.]

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 *deglaech*. 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 noteably 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 firthearc chuirid uathadh ar na connsainibh 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. sgriobhthar 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. Cuirthear fós go minic ae, ar son, ao, 7 ái ar son aoi . agas fós oi ar son aoi. sompla air sin mar sgriobhthar go minic aedh as ionann 7 aodh 7 cael as ionann 7 caol. Agas bói 7 fós bái as ionann 7 báoi. Sgriobhthar go minic e ar son a sna seinleabhraibh, mar ata die, as ionann 7 dia, cie, as ionann 7 cia. etc Sgriobhthar go minic I ar son A mar ata so do chuaidh, as ionann 7 di chuaidh. Sgriobhthar 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 sttíle 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 hEódhusa'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 archaicisms 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 Tadgh 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 belogning 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 lingusitic 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 Gliasáin[169] 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 assertain 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 tomailt* 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 *éistecht* 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., xliv-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 occurences of the Old Irish preoposition *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 fanāmhad* ***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: l.572.
[180] Ibid., 90: l.8.
[181] 121va18.
[182] 124rby.

(121rb3), ¶10 (121va9), ¶10 (121va10), ¶11 (121va26), ¶12 (121va31), ¶15 (121vb19), ¶20 (122ra30), ¶8 ***frisin*** (121rb23), ¶16 (121vb32), ¶10 ***fri*** (121va18), ¶12 ***friu*** (121va34), ¶12 (121vb3), ¶17 ***fris*** (121vby), ¶1 ***riasin*** (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 ocus* ***re*** *San Sem.*[183] Likewise, I have found no examples of Old Irish *fri* replacing *re* in *SNL*, for example: *ar ngabhāil na hEtāile* ***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: l.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.

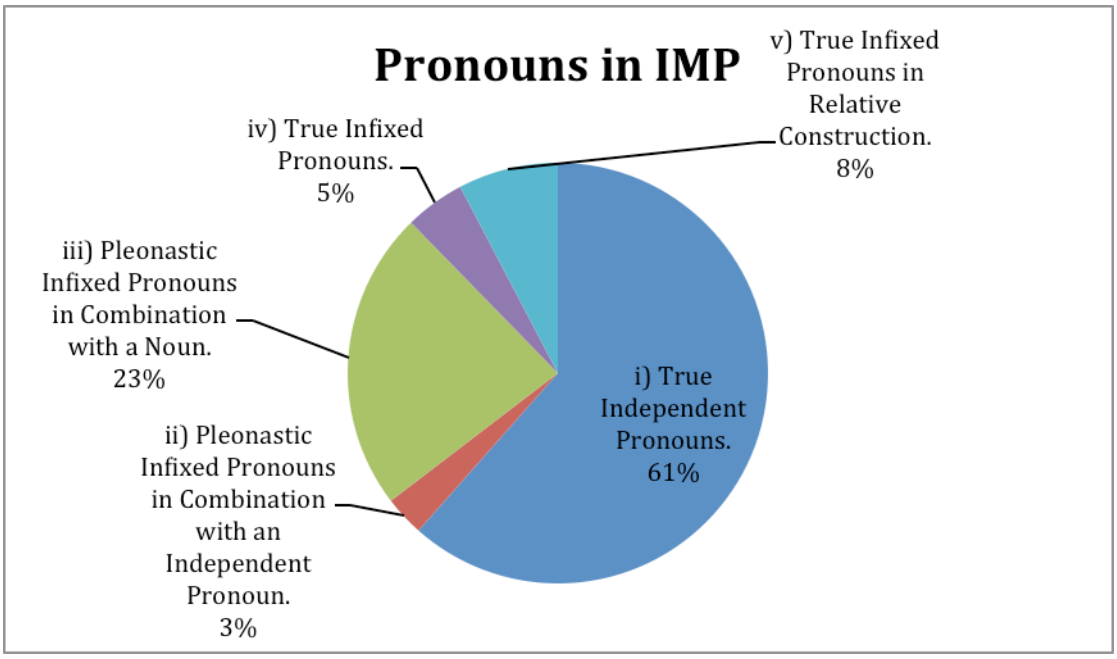
example: *do ghabh in rī in crann do bhī* ***ag*** *cosaibh a leaptha 7 do bhī* ***aga*** *dhīn co feramhail lais*;[191] and, ***ac*** *cōmhradh risin aingel*.[192]

These observartions 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 shown[193] that IMP contains a total of twenty-five [194] 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 ue of grammatical archaisms in IMP, I have summarised these divisions in the following pie chart:

[191] Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 94: l.164-65.
[192] Ibid., 97: l.280.
[193] Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 9-11.
[194] A full list of these examples is found belown 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: l.68.
[198] Ibid., 96: l.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 disucss 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 langauge 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 stylising 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-áit 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 *marcuis* (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 gein*n*ti (124va23), ¶64 gein*n*te (124va26), ¶134 p*ro*uin*n*se (128va7), ¶143 p*ro*uin*n*si (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 *araill*, namely: ¶8 *araill* (121rb30), ¶8 *araild* (121va2), ¶26

[213] Ó Maolchonaire, *Desiderius*, xvii.
[214] Ó Cuív, *Parliament*, 152.
[215] Mac Gearailt, 'Archaisms', 77.

araill (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 troigthi 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 righa 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 lingusitic 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, occuring 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 endings[228] *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 samhalta* (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-archaicising of adjectives and nouns, as in ¶22 *a n-eilitrumh 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 conjuct 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 *Cublauy* (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 aí úi uí 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 *í* 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 *uaire*,[237] may have influenced the vowel length of the *a* in the conjuction *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 oȝ

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 ȝ, namely: ¶96 *d'fhoillsiugud na* ***nóȝ*** *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* occuring with the *us* symbol, namely: ¶50 ***beoȝ*** (123vb28),[239] ¶52 (124ra6),[240] ¶65 (124va39), ¶66 (124vb9), ¶67 (124vb18), ¶70 (125ra7), ¶107 (127ra19), ¶123 (128ra24), and ¶64 ***foȝ*** (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] *bſoȝ*.
[240] *beoȝ*.
[241] *foȝ*.
[242] *bſos*.
[243] *beos*.

Caoimhín Breathnach has shown that the symbol ȝ 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 ȝ 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 *taíseach* 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.

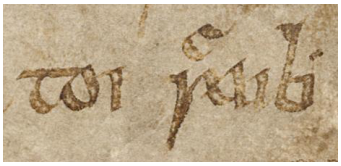


Figure 2: toi [space] s*ea*caibh (125rb26)

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] Breatnach, '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 *boí* in IMP.

The diphthongs *aí* and *oí* alternate in the word *taísech* 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 8124va13), ¶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, *oí* and *uí* alternate in the verb *moídid*. 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*, xlvi.
[249] lo ſch.

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 hen*n*dia,[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-dáith*an* 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 lái 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 aenchaei* (123ra1), ¶56 *ar aenchaei* (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*: **dacaldui*mh*** mar*t*an cu torinis,[268] in *Beatha Findéin*: luid iar si*n* fi*n*den 7 cathmhael 7 d*aibhi*d 7 gillas **dagaldui*mh*** righ b*r*eta*in* do chuinghidh i*n*aidh reclesa fair,[269] and lastly in *Beatha Ciaráin*: bad*ar* on trath co araile andsin ic **imacalduim** 7 oc denumh an aent*adh*.[270] In the *Lives*, this Old Irish spelling[271] is often found beside the Early Modern Irish spelling *agallamh*, for example: acall*uimh*.[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 possibile 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: '**ɑldəs** 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

f ph 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 *remhraitti* (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 ni 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 IGT[288] 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 *aí*.[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 *fiafraghit dia n-draithibh* (126ra29). These two forms are permitted in IGT, the second *ó chanamhhain*.[292] The third form is the historic plural *druíd* (<*druïd*):[293] ¶32 *luidhset na druidh 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-i*maccallaim fria drúid.[294] I believe the spelling *druid* 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 *ídal*, found in IGT as *ídhal* and *iúdhal*, occrs 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 ˇ over the consonant in the hand of Scribe A in IMP, for example: ¶1 *nisam oṁnaċ-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-irghabail a nirt catha* (128ra23).

I am also aware of lenition being marked in the following gramamtical 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-inflecte) 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 fhaisneighter 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 *righi Musili didiu fria hor righi 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-g****lind dithoghlaidhi for sliabh urard, co neimh* ***n-o****ir fair* (121va27-30), ¶16 *ro creid do Choimdhidh na* ***n-d****ul* (121vb34), ¶19 *co* ***n-i****mat cloch* ***m-b****uadh* (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 time[311] 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 Gliasáin, *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 di*diu* cu maithibh a righ 7 a thais*ech* f*or* tul*aigh* aird oca feit*himh* saml*aidh* 7 leom*h*ui*n* f*or* cuanairt lais o n*ach* teidh*ead*h fiadh f*or* bith na a*n*man*n* ece*annus* arc*hen*a or is forro ro-***n***-alt iat. (126ra9-14)

> ¶112 is f*r*ia galaib ro-**n**-alt*a*d sib. (127rb27)

> ¶23 do M*aca*m*etus* no-**n**-adhru*n*n. (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 disucss 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 conjuction *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 Irish[330] have been generalised to take *u*-quality in IMP and in Classical Irish. The inflection of these nouns shows allignement 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 *con*id airi sin is port airisim da g*ach* 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 f*or*a lurg si*n*.
[328] 127rb35: ¶113 f*or*a lorg.
[329] 128ra4: ¶121 i*n* p*h*uirt.
[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	eochu	each	gabh eocha	each[338]	eochu[339]
dat.	eoch	echaibh	don eoch	dona heachaibh	eoch[340]	eachuibh[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 e*a*ch.
[337] 131vb6: ¶187 eich.
[338] 126rb25: ¶96 i*n* t-e*a*ch.
[339] 127rbx.
[340] 121va6: ¶9 f*or* cac*h* neoch. Cf. also ¶121 dh'eoch. 128ra8.
[341] 127rb31: ¶113 fo*r*a nag*haidh* dia e*a*chuib*h*.
[342] 123va13: ¶40 a n-ea*c*h.
[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 ghlind*,[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	lo*in*gi*us*[350]	lo*in*gis[351]
acc.	loingeas	tug loingsi	loinges	iar loingsi		
dat.	don	dona	don loingis	dona	lo*in*gi*us*[352]	

[344] Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 177.
[345] IGT II §66.
[346] Cf. IGT II §75: *reódh*, *don riúdh, don reódh, méd an riúidh, méd an reoidh, na riúidh, 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 lo*in*gi*us* do i*n*nat s*r*otha in b*eath*a.
[351] 128ra15: ¶122 lo*in*gis in rig*h*.
[352] 129va13: ¶149 gu ro clodhsat f*or* culai c*us*in lo*in*gi*us* doridhisi.

	loinges	loingsibh		loingsibh		
gen.	méd an **loingis**	méd na loingseadh/ na loinges	méd na **loingsi**	méd na loingseadh/ loingeas	loingis[353] loi*n*gsi[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 occurrs 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 f*or*b*h*a in loingis fria taebh*aibh* 7 tractaibh na hinnsi.
[354] 129va21: ¶149 tiag*hait* t*r*icha mile do*n* t-slogh loi*n*gsi si*n*.
[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, íar thrágha. IGT II §39: trágh, .b. don tráigh, méd na tráighe, na trágha, dona trághaibh, méd na trágh, íar trágha.
[357] 127rb11: ¶112 f*r*ia taebh.

dat.	don **taebh**	dona taebhaibh	don **taeibh**	dona taebhaibh	taebh[359] / taeibh	taeb*h*aibh[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	féch thalmhana		
dat.	don talamhain	dona talmhanaibh		
gen.	méd **na talmhan**/ méd **an talmhan**	méd na talmhan	in talmhan/ na talmhan	

[358] 125rb5: ¶75 f*r*ia taebhu.
[359] 121rb23.
[360] 125vb30: ¶186 f*or* 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 *tir n-aili fora h-or gu righ fuirre* (121va10). The following adjective is lenited in another example: ¶162 *tir 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 tir 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 righaibh 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	tir n-[365]/ tir[L 366]	
acc.		féch thíre		
dat.	don tír	dona tíribh	tir[367]	iltiribh[368]/ ilthirth*aibh*[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 tírthi 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 *eascra* 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	e*a*scr*a*[376] tunna[377]	e*a*scr*a*i[378] / e*a*scr*a*dha[379] tunna[380] cluitheadha[381] reifeadha[382]
acc.	escrae	escru	esgra	tug esgra/ esgradha		
dat.	escru	escraib	don esgra	dona esgruibh/		tunnaibh[383] fonnsaidhibh[384]

[373] Ó Cuív, *Párliament*, 161.
[374] IGT II §45.
[375] Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 179.
[376] 125vb34: ¶87 e*a*scr*a*.
[377] 125rb22: ¶79 no bhí tun*n*a ordha.
[378] 125ra23: ¶125 ina taiscthe a cuaich 7 a n-e*a*scr*a*i.
[379] 124ra5: ¶52 na h-e*a*scr*a*dha.
[380] 125rb23: ¶79 cet*hr*i tunna ordha.
[381] 121va32: ¶12 cluith*eadh*a 7 cle*a*sa imdha leo.
[382] 126rb5: ¶92 reifedha.
[383] 125rb27: ¶79 cosna tunnaibh.
[384] 124vb1: ¶65 do che*a*ngal do reif*eadh*aibh 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-eilitrumh 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 oiris*i*d fein na shuidhi oc feith*imh* na cle*a*s 7 na cluithe*a*dh 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 Taidc caim I Clerich.' Cf. Flower, *Catalogue* ii, 298-299.

palatal *gh* (/ɣ(′)/) 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 druidh 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 drúid*.[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 *séitig*, 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.

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[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]	indsi[400]	inis	na h-innse	i*n*is[401]	in*n*se*a*dha[402] i*n*nsi[403]
acc.	insi/ inis	insi[404]		íar innse	inis[405]	
dat.	insi/ inis	indsibh[406]	don inis	dona innsibh		in*n*sibh[407]
gen.	inse/ inseo	inse[408]	méd na innse	méd na n-innseadh	innsi[409]	in*n*se*a*dh[410]

	SÉITIG			
	Old Irish		**IMP**	
nom.	sétig[411]	séitchi	seitic[412]	seitc*hea*d*h*a[413]
acc.	séitchi	séitchi	seitic[414]	
dat.	séitchi	séitchibh	seitigh[415]	seitchib*h*[416]
gen.	séitche	séitche		seitc*hea*d*h*[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 i*n*is mhuirid*h*i.
[402] 131rb32: ¶182 ge*n*motha in*n*se*a*dha na h-I*n*dia Bice.
[403] 129vb25: ¶153 se*ach*t n-i*n*nsi.
[404] Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* I, 301.
[405] 131va13: ¶185 fil inis lais.
[406] Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* II, 299.
[407] 128va5: ¶129 f*or* i*n*nsibh muiridhe.
[408] Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* I, 301.
[409] 130ra3: ¶156 ri na h-in*n*si.
[410] 131vb15: ¶188 oirisiumh do sceluibh in*n*se*a*dh.
[411] Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 185.
[412] 122ra25: ¶19 foifidh a sheitic.
[413] 124ra12: ¶53 ica mbit seitc*hea*d*h*a.
[414] 122vay: ¶27 ni bhi col f*r*ia seitic doib.
[415] 123rb17: ¶36 i*n* d*un* f*or* com*us* don tseitigh: 123rbz: ¶38 ci*n* sheitig*h*.
[416] 123va34: ¶44 la a seitchib*h*.
[417] 123va10: ¶39 imat seitc*hea*d*h* la g*ach* 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 míli dhec 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 *firmamuint* 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 *fiafraghit 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.

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[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 cet*h*ri h-elifainti; 127va2: ¶114 go*n*ait na t*ar*t*r*aig*i*d na helifai*n*nte.
[425] 126ra27: ¶91 for elifaintibh: 127va15: ¶115 f*or* eilifaintibh.
[426] Williams, 'Na Canúintí', 452.
[427] 123ra10; Ó Cuív, 'Linguistic', 21.
[428] IGT II §85, 124.
[429] 124rb21: ¶58 faidhis Cublay a d*r*aidhe uadha; 130rb19: ¶164 fiaf*r*aighit dia nd*r*aid*hibh.*

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 occurrs 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 *Párliament* (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 verison of GM.[433] The form *tírthe* is given as *lochtach* 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 *slíabh*.[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 mainistribh 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 ndíaidh an molta ceirt, na tighe fionna móra, mar sin ghabhas ar illradh.*
[431] Ó Cuív, *Párliament*, 4:118, 106:3355, 117:3735.
[432] Walsh, *Imtheacht*, 66.
[433] Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, MS 598, 62r30.
[434] Ó Cuív, *Párliament*, 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.: ¶21 *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 ura*r*d f*r*isi*n* cathr*ai*gh si*n*.
[438] 127va17: ¶116 fas*ach* eis*iumh* co m-be*an*nuib*h* 7 sleibhti ura*r*da na timcheall; 131ra26: ¶178 sleibhte 7 be*an*na ura*r*da isi*n* c*r*i*ch* si*n*
[439] 121rb34: ¶8 f*or* 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 dromunnnibh* (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 marbhthar 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 aware of the plural ending *-acha* on four nouns in IMP, three of which reflect the forms in IGT[452] 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 línsat 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 tuaidibrecha 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.	fer[455]	fir	fear	fir	fe*a*r[456]	fir [457] /firu [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 í in cetna ing*hen* laa faifi f*ear* dhibh.

						/fira[459]
acc.	fer n-	firu	fear n-	meall fhira	fe*a*r n-[460]	firu[461]
dat.	fiur	feraib	d'fir	d'fhearaibh		fe*a*raibh[462]
gen.	fir	fer n-	mac fir	meic fhear		fe*a*r[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]/ rig*h*u[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 l*ei*thight*hir* fria g*ach* cethrar don d*r*oing dhaenna a bh-fhir 7 a mna.
[458] 131va4: ¶183 imp*óidh*it na firu f*or* cula dia tighibh.
[459] 131va11: ¶184 g*ach* cenel tor*aidh* do thir 7 muir no melit fira.
[460] 122ra25: ¶19 foifidh a sheitic la f*ear* n-aili.
[461] 129rbw:¶148 cu ro lás*a*t ár f*or* aes na cathrach, firu, m*ac*u, mna.
[462] 128rb18: ¶125 la fe*ar*aibh.
[463] 131rby: ¶183 oil*én* na bh-fhe*a*r.
[464] Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 202.
[465] 125vb5: ¶84 no bidh in ri na shuidhi righ uaisdibh.
[466] 123ra21:¶33 ro ga*ir*mitt chuigi a righ 7 a thaisigh 7 a cha*r*uid; 122vb23: ¶29 ro umhl*aigh*se*a*t .uii. righ dho.
[467] 122vby: ¶31 ro ga*ir*mit a righa 7 a thaisigh dia shaigh*id*; 129ra1: ¶138 ro h-oirdne*a*dh nai righa do Ta*r*tr*aidibh* fo*r*ro.
[468] 125va3: ¶80 ni samhail doib*h* rigu nait slóig f*or* bith.
[469] 121va10: ¶10 gu righ fuirri.
[470] 124vb6: ¶66 *acht* a riga.
[471] 121vb5: ¶13 ot clos do Alan .i. do righ na Ta*r*t*r*aidhi.
[472] 123rb3: ¶45 do righuibh.
[473] 121ra2: ¶1 bai br*á*tha*ir* righ an aibit san F*r*onses.
[474] 126rb6: ¶92 p*upla* na righ.

These paradigms show how the Irish author was using Old and Classical Irish acc. pl. *firu*/*fira* and *righa*/*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 *righa*/*righu* occur six times as nominatives: ¶31 *rogairmit a righa 7 a thaisigh dia shaigid* (122vbx), ¶91 *a righa 7 a thoisigh 7 a shlogha ina sreathaibh 7 ina neisibh allamuigh de* (126ra29), ¶127 *do gairit cuigi a righa 7 a thoisigh* (128rb24), ¶138 *rohoirdneadh nai righa do thartraidibh forro* (129ra1), ¶189 *.iiii. righa 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 righa* (124vb6).

Besides these examples of acc. pl. *firu*/*fira* and *righa*/*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 ghoisidech* (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 *righa* 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 gramamtical 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 ndíaigh oibrighthi nó fuláirmhe acht a ccruth tochluighthe*.[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 treaghdat 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 doridhisi* (130rb29-30), ¶172 *loiscid a cuirp diblínaibh* (130vb12).

O'Rahilly noticed this incorrect use of nom. pl. forms in the langauge of Ó Maolchonaire's *Desiderius*,[478] for example: *ór mar cheangloid na cuisleanna 7 na féithe* ***bhalla*** *an chuirp nádúrtha dhá chéile, as amhloidh 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 ttéid a réim nó ainm iollraidh cáol gá mbí tochlughadh leathan a ndíaigh oibrighthi; ór a ccruth tuillréime as cóir an t-ainm úathaidh asa ttéid a réim a ndíaigh an oibrighthe, 7 gach ainm iollradih 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 am*hail* bud*h* ag*haidh.*
[488] 125rb7: ¶76 t*r*i hoighthi da g*ach* thais*each* dib*h* diaig*h* a *n*diaigh ac fa*ir*e in rig*h*.
[489] 124rb6: ¶56 ro niat-so*mh* a*ir*isiu*mh* risin ag*haidh* si*n* isin du si*n.*
[490] 131va2.
[491] 121rb18: ¶7 .u. la *con*a oighthibh.
[492] 125ra2.
[493] 127ra8.
[494] 125va16: ¶71 a t*us* o*idhche*.
[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* occuring in the genitive of time[497] following the adjective *cech*/*gach*: ¶69 *mili laech cech n-aighthi oc faire in righ* (125ra2), ¶107 *gabhuit 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 substanstives, 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.

sochraidi 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*, *íar 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.

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[501] Jacskson, *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 ndíaigh an áirimh, mur so: 'trí bhile', 'trí mhaide', 'trí uisge'; 7 lom as coir a ainm ard iollraidh 'na dhíaigh 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 tartraigech 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 subtantive numeral, ¶110 *m.m. elifint* (127rb15), ¶115 *cc. eilifant* (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	**lairi* (not attested)	méd na lár/ méd na láirtheach	¶50 *x. m. lair gheal aroen fris*.[519]	¶36 l*air*theach.[520]
OIr: adaig[521] IGT§93: adhaigh	aidche	méd na n-oidhcheadh	¶109 *.xl. la 7 aghaidh*.[522]	
OIr: súil[523] IGT§92: súil	súile	méd na súl/ méd na súileadh	¶125 *.c. suil*,[524] ¶125,[525] ¶128,[526] ¶130.[527]	in the dual: súl[528]

[518] Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 175.
[519] 124vb31.
[520] 123rb24: ¶36 ba mian leo bai*n*ni a n-groigheadh 7 a l*air*theach.
[521] Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 185.
[522] 127ra l.24: .xl. la 7 ag*haidh*.
[523] Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 190.
[524] 128rb9.
[525] 128rb11-12.
[526] 128rb31.
[527] 128va13.
[528] 130rb3: be*an*n di*mh*or a comhroin*n* a dha shul.

OIr. cathir[529] IGT§120: caithir	cathrach	méd na cathrach	¶134 *dá c. cathair*.[530]	¶11 cathrach.[531]
OIr. inis[532] IGT§150: inis	inse[533]	méd na n-innseadh	¶153 *.xl. 7 .uii. míle inis*.[534]	¶188 in*n*se*a*dh[535]
MIr. borrowing: eilifint			¶110 *m.m. elifint*,[536] ¶115 *cc. eilifant*,[537] ¶156 *.xx. elefaint*,[538]	¶42 *imud* (…) *elifainteadh*[539] ¶113 *la homun na n-eilifant*.[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, occuring 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 ríg bis*

[529] Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 202.
[530] 128vb9.
[531] 121va19: ¶11 co ni*m*at duinti 7 cathrach.
[532] Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 186.
[533] Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* I, 301.
[534] 129vb26: ¶153 .uii. m*íle* i*n*is.
[535] 131vb15: ¶188 oirisiumh do sceluibh in*n*se*a*dh.
[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 cét lam beos* (129vb17), ¶175 *.x. míli each* (130vb33).

2.4. Verbal Forms

Reassessment of Ó Catháin's linguistic anaysis 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 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 *tírthe* 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.

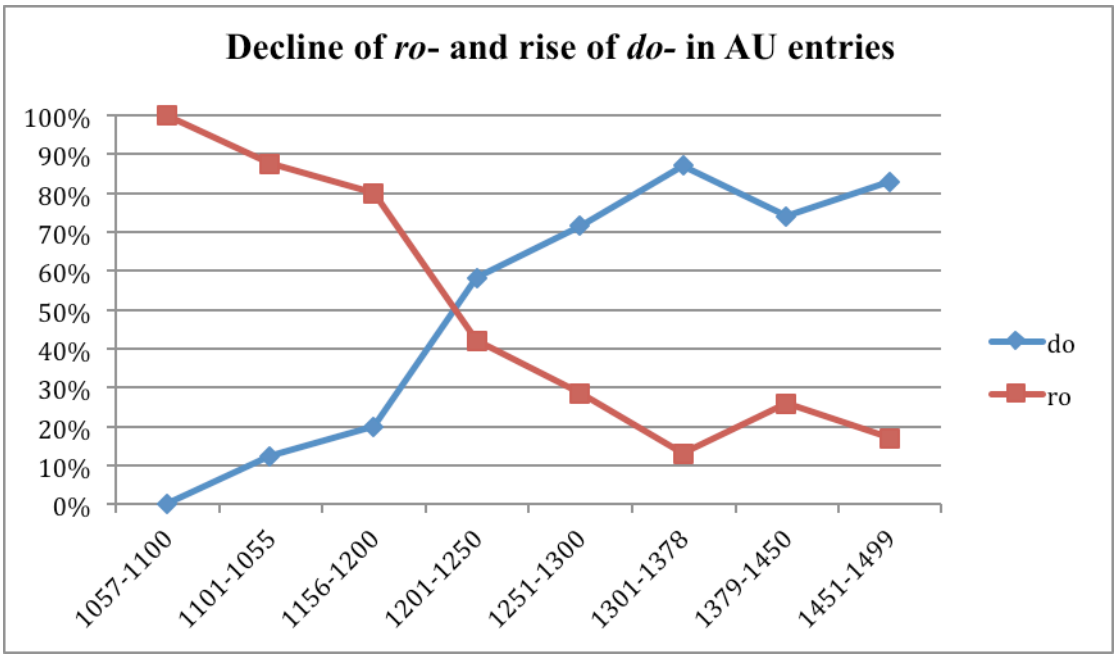
Preverbal particles: ro vs do

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

[544] McManus, 'Language', 54.
[545] Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 14-17.

	do	2	
1156-1200	*ro*	32	80%
	do	8	
1201-1250	*ro*	13	42%
	do	18	
1251-1300	*ro*	8	28.5%
	do	20	
1301-1378	*ro*	5	13%
	do	34	
1379-1450	*ro*	10	26%
	do	28	
1451-1499	*ro*	15	17%
	do	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 two[550] 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

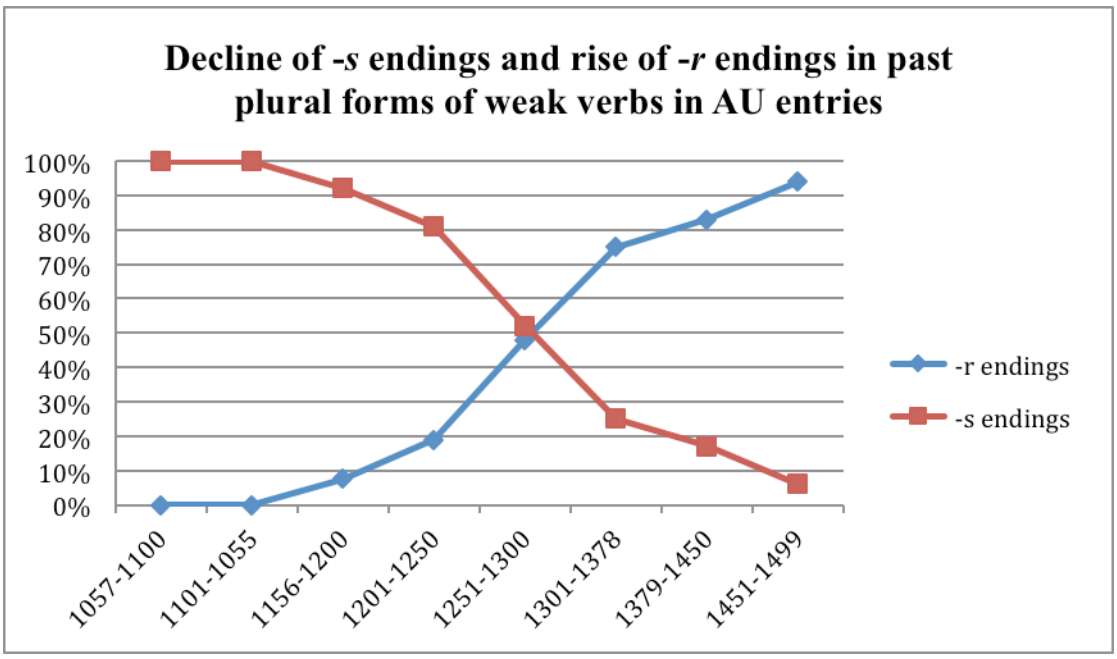
[546] Gray, *Cath*, 20.
[547] Ó Cuív, *Cath*, 16.
[548] Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, lxix.
[549] Mac Niocaill, *Sdair*, 115:1030: *o atchualaidh in t-Impir sin, rob ingnadh leis.*
[550] Except the copula formation in: *ocus amhail ro bo dingbhala leat do geineamhain ar mu shon* (Hyde, *Gabháltais*, 90).
[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	*-s*	8	25%
	-r	24	
1379-1450	*-s*	6	17%
	-r	29	
1451-1499	*-s*	2	9%
	-r	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-dechsat*, ¶54 *co n-decsat 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**
1st pl.	¶166 *amail ro* ***raidhsium*** *romuinn* (130va1).	
2nd pl.	¶12 *do* ***ronabair*** (121vb4), ¶35 *do* ***ronsabair*** (123rb7).	
3rd pl.	¶17 *ro* ***iarsat*** (121vbz), ¶18 *gu* ***rucsat*** (122ra18), ¶98 (126va13), ¶28 *do* ***ronsat*** (122vb16), ¶32 (123ra13), ¶88 (125vb7), ¶137 (128vb27), ¶29 *ro* ***umlaigseat*** (122vb23), ¶29 *ro* ***thimaircset*** (122vb21), ¶30 *ar* ***chansat*** (122vbx), ¶32 *ro* ***scoiltseat*** (123ra32), ¶32 ***tucsat*** (123ra16), ¶57 (124rb16), ¶115 (125va11), ¶130 (128va13), ¶133 (128vb2), ¶32 *ro* ***thoghairmset*** (123ra11), ¶33 *ro* ***gairsit*** (123ra24), ¶35 *ro* ***marbsat*** (123rb9), ¶173 (130vb18), ¶56 *nir* ***shailseat*** (124rb8), ¶60 *ni ro* ***fhinnsat*** (124rb29), ¶150 *nír* ***fhinnsad*** (129vay), ¶61 *cu ro* ***línsat*** (124rb38), ¶61 *gur* ***comdluthaigseat*** (124rbx), ¶64 *do* ***radsat*** (124va23), ¶98 *ro* ***gheallsat*** (126va14),	¶8 *ro* ***gabsat*** (121va2), ¶33 (123ra23), ¶58 (124rb22), ¶128 (128rb35), ¶128 (128rbz), ¶133 (128vay), ¶148 (129rb29), ¶148 (129rb31), ¶148 (129rb31), ¶148 (129va5), ¶156 (130ra1), ¶8 *gu* ***cualatar*** (121rb24), ¶31 ***fricartsat*** (123ra4), ¶32 ***luidhset*** (123ra10), ¶150 (129va32), ¶33 ***otconncatur*** (123ra22), ¶118 (127vb10), ¶150 ***atconncatur*** (129vaz), ¶35 ***foruaradar*** (123rb10), ¶54 *co* ***ndecsat*** (124ra18), ¶114 (127va5), ¶64 *co* ***ndecatur*** (124va26-27) ¶57 *co* ***facatur*** (124rb13), ¶118 *cu* ***riachtsat*** (127vb8), ¶148 *gur* ***fhacsat*** (129va7), ¶150 *cu* ***rancatar*** (129va31).

	¶102 *ro* ***thoghsat*** (126vb15), ¶113 *gur* ***impoisit*** (127rb32), ¶113 *nir* ***fhétsat*** (127rb30), ¶131 *nír* ***fhédsat*** (128va22), ¶115 *ni ro* ***fhaelsat*** (127va10), ¶148 (129rbx), ¶156 (129vbz), ¶125 *ro* ***thircansat*** (128rb7), ¶129 *gur* ***iadhsat*** (129va2), ¶149 *gu ro* ***clodhsat*** (129va12), ¶151 ***scarsat*** (129vb11), ¶153 *do* ***cursid*** *lucht taistil* (129vb23). ¶182 *do* ***rímhset*** (131rb31),	

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*
beridh inleth fora ***tucsat*** *sisim buaidh*.[562]	***tucsat*** *cath mor mimhaiseach da cheli*.[563] *cred in bas* ***tucadur*** *dho*.[564]	***tucadar*** *ucht ar a cheili*.[565]
co ***rucsat*** *na laeic sin fair*.[566]	***rucsat*** *in lenabh ona mháthair*.[567]	***rucsat*** *leo é cum na cathrach*.[568] ***rucadur*** *leo iat isin cathair*.[569]
do ***ronsat*** *palas rigda for loch*.[570]	*do* ***ronsat*** *fesda mor na baindsi sin*.[571]	*do* ***ronsat*** *na Cristaighi ceithre tosaig*.[572] *do* ***rineadar*** *na Seirrisdínigh a cuic*.[573]
in ait inar ***marbsat*** *he fil derg aniu*.[574]	*do* ***mharbhsat*** *míl muighi*.[575] *do* ***mharbhatur*** *drong acu*.[576]	*do* ***mharbhsat*** *a namhait iat*.[577] *do* ***mharbhatar*** *moran dona Padhanachaibh*.[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***
co ***ndecsat*** *fon coill gin comus dialaechaib*.[579] *co* ***ndecatur*** *gennte 7 cristaidi indail chatha fria raili*.[580]	*cá* ***ndechadar*** *na righa*.[581]	*a* ***ndechadar*** *na Cristaighi*.[582]
gur ***fhacsat*** *gin anmain iat*.[583]	*do* ***fhacbhatar*** *an leanabh a nglaic croinn*.[584]	*do* ***fhacbhadar*** *Marsirius amille becan buidhne*.[585]
ro ***gabsat*** *araild dona gentib baisded*.[586]	*do* ***ghabhadur*** *Sairristínigh nert.*[587]	*do* ***ghabhadar*** *baistedh cuca.*[588]

I am not aware of any examples of *co ndechsat*, *do fhacsat* or *do ghabsat* in *SNL* or *GSM*, and conversely there are no examples of *do ghabhadar* 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 ghabhadar*. 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 archaise 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	***SNL***	***GSM***
amail ro ***raidhsium*** *romuinn*.[589]	*do thagradar risin easboc* ***adubhramur***.[590]	*tar an sruth* ***adubhramar***.[591]
luidhset *na druidh fora cliathaib fis*.[592]	*do* ***chuatar*** *isin coiccrich*.[593]	*do* ***chuadar*** *chum na cathrach.*[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 archaising 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 archaisation 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.

Infixed pronouns vs *independent pronouns*

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

3rd pl.	All *-s-*	*fon coill gin comus dia laechaib forro, cu* ***ro-s-trascrait*** *la dairghibh 7 omnuib in fheagha a caislena 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).
	True: 4 examples. Two *-s-* and two *-n-*	¶92 *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).

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

	15 examples	*ainbhthine dermair friaroili* ***iat*** (129va14-15), ¶151 *rotinnlaiced* ***iatsom*** (129rb10), ¶162 *beruit* ***iat*** *diacreic anilthirthaib* (130rb7), ¶167 *acht a mbeith deanocht amail thuismiter* ***iat*** (130va8), ¶169 *gu mbaidhter* ***iat*** (130va17), ¶185 *curannait eatarra* ***iat*** *iarnangabail* (131va18), ¶186 *ni fhil for talmain cenel frisa samalta* ***iat*** (131va24-25), ¶186 *co n-denann briscbruar diamballaib cutoimhlit* ***iat*** *iarum* (131va32-33).

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.

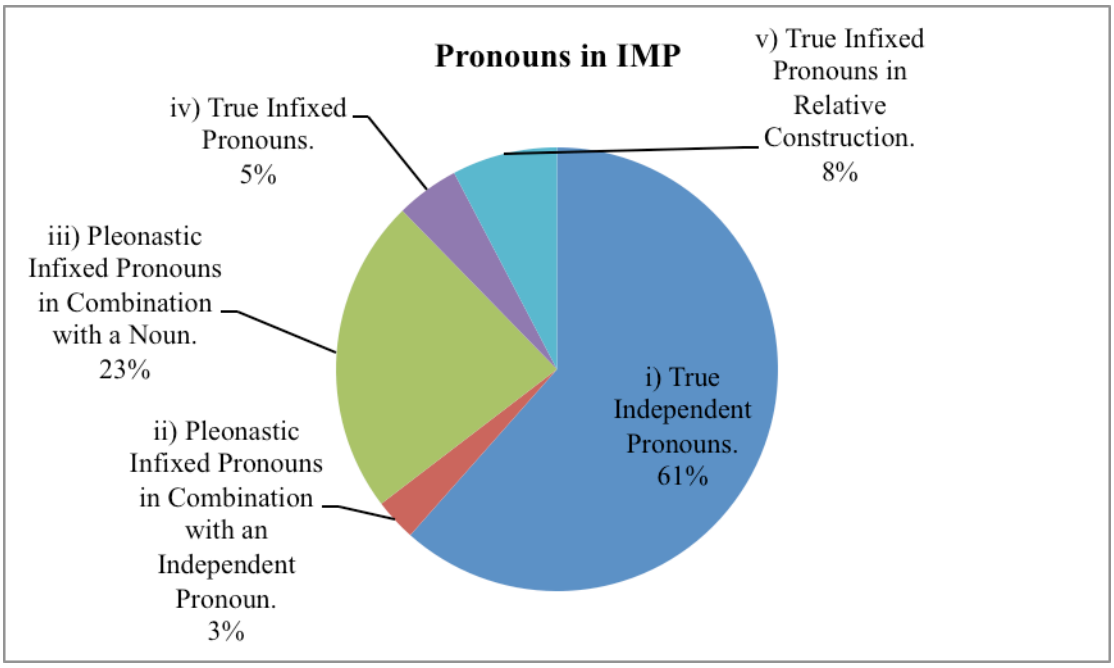
iii) 15 pleonastic infixed pronouns in combination with a noun: ¶2, ¶14, ¶26, ¶35, ¶42, ¶45, ¶57, ¶61, ¶68, ¶101, ¶114, ¶119, ¶166, ¶173, ¶183.

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 visusalised in the following pie chart:

[596] Ó Catháin, 'Studies', 11.
[597] Strachan, 'Infixed', 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: l.68) and, *co tuc dona leanbaibh do bhī maille ris iat* (Ibid., 96: l.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 Pronsiscus 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 ríg 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: *nidam 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 Leinster[611] 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 forumlas 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	
fil	*atá*

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

(128ra23). ¶135 ***fil*** *cathair n-aile isin crich sin* (128vb11). ¶136 ***fil*** *cathair n-aili, uidhi .u. laithe fria taebh sin* (128vb17). ¶139 ***fil*** *loch a medon na cathrach sin* (129ra6). ¶143 ***fil*** *crich n-aili iar facbáil Quinglay* (129ra33). ¶147 ***fil*** *cathair oirechuis leou* (129rb20). ¶165 ***fil*** *figbaidh isin crich sin* (130rb28). ¶165 ***fil*** *blogh d'aes na criche sin a m-bennuibh sliab* (130rb32). ¶166 ***fil*** *fighbad isin crich sin* (130va2). ¶170 ***fil*** *an India fria h-or na h-innsi sin* (130va28). ¶185 ***fil*** *inis lais* (131va13). ¶189 ***filet*** *fria h-aincreidiumh* (131vb27). ¶190 ***fil*** *escop naemhtha lat* (131vby).	

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	
fil (12 examples - 75% of instances)	*atá* (4 examples - 25% of instances)
¶3 *fo chis do Magnus* ***fil*** *si* (121ra25). ¶25 *masa dhith oir nó ilmaine n-anaitinte* ***fil*** *fort* (122va11).	¶3 *Glaisia is cathair oirechais di 7 ar muir* ***ata*** *si* (121ra28). ¶4 *isin tirsin* ***ata*** *slíab Armenia* (121ra34).

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

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 craíbach dúalach findbudi forórda forscaílti ***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: l.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:

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

¶115 ***beris*** *Niscardyn iat co Magnus Cam* (127va13-14). ¶133 ***gabais*** *omhan lucht na cathrach* (128vb1). ¶149 *na taisigh ummorro* ***fasais*** *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 ímhaighi 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 righa do tartraidibh forro.* (129ra1-2).
> ¶142 *na nai righa* ***ro hoirdned*** *for righi 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 righa 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 caislena debtha*. (127va6-8).

¶127 ***do gairit*** *cuigi a righa 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 MIr. 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 MIr. 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 1187[631] 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 intented 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 *eascrai* (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 *firu* and *rigu,* 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 gramamtical 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-seventeeth 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 Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, patron of L. If these parallels are correct, and IMP was translated for Fínghean 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 noteable 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 f*r*ia hu*ur* na righisi*n* 7rí f*uir*ri ci*n* com*us* righ f*or* bith f*air*. T*r*icha .c.m. a ti*m*cill na rí ghisi*n*. is lan da g*a*c uili mhaithi*us* f*or* bith hi.[640]	De insula magna Iana. Capitulum X. [1] Dimissa provincia Cymba navigatur inter meridiem et syrocum 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, cubebarum, 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 f*r*ia hor na righi si*n*. dá inis muir*id*i iatsu*m co nim*mat g*a*ca mai*n*e leo INIS leoach allamuigh dhibh si*n*. righi f*orlet*han isside 7 ri f*uir*ri n*a*c giall*ann* do righ f*or* bith As f*er*dha línmh*ar* a laeich. i*m*mut oir 7 ele finnt*e*d f*or*a feadh.[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 di*diu*. tír isidhe *con*im*a*d fheagh toir na ti*m*cheall. ceat*r*a t*r*oigthi f*or*adoi*m*ne .c.m. g*a*ca taebha dhi na*c* tual*ang* b*ar*c seol*aid* na sdiur*ai*d f*or* in muir si*n*.[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 iat-sum 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, ocus ba lán Hériu dia airdicus in chon. Do·eth ō Ailill ocus ō Meidb do chungid in chon. Immalle da*no* tāncatar ocus techta Ulad ocus 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 m*ai*c 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 ocus céti 7 tressa ocus dībircthi. Ba hé menmarc a n-ingen ocus lennán a n-ócban 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 ríg Laig*en* ina hucht .i. Ethni ingen Chathaír. Dā mac deac ar fhichit la Cathaīr. 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 s*r*uth f*or* fod p*r*ouin*n*se manguay quian a ai*n*m. uidi .c. la f*or*a fot .x.m. f*or*al*eth*ed. Dá .c.cath*air* f*or*adhib taebuibh. is lia doloi*ngius* dó i*n*nat s*r*otha in b*et*ha.

(¶135) Fil cath*air* naile isin c*r*ichsi*n* si*n*tuy ahai*n*m. .lx.m. i*n*a ti*m*ceall .uii.m. d*r*oicheat f*or* a feadh fo a ngabhu*n*n b*ár*c cu seol f*uir*ri. d*ar* leos*um* nífhuil *ar*bith cath*air* islia laech i*n*nas Cath*air* singuy di*diu* i*n*an*n* son 7cath*air* na talm*an*. (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 + peculiarites 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 lointibh 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 succint 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 *Macametus 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 Samarcan 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) Columhai*n* m*ar*m*air* foa l*ar* dia him*ar*ch*ar* cu sai*n*e g*a*ca g*r*esa fair ro bhat*ar* dibli*n*aibh f*or* an lig reamhraidti.
>
> (¶18) Atbath in ri foc*et*oir 7 gab*uis* a m*a*c righi dia eis et ni ro an f*or* lurg a athar *acht* ro adh*air* do M*aca*m*etus* Otclos do*n*a gein*n*tib in ri do adhr*a*d do M*a*cameat*us* cui*n*git forna c*rist*aigib in ail foro hadhn*acht*ta a sin. 'Nato it*i*r', ol na Cr*istaid*i 'no thoitfead eacl*ais* Eoi*n* dia cuirthe togluas*acht* f*or*an lig si*n*.' 'Maith' ol na gein*n*te. 'Rosia maine imdha duib f*uirr*i', ol na cr*istaid*i. 'Líg as díth dui*n*', ol nageinnti '7 ni máine.' don*er*tuigh i*n*ri lasna g*ein*t*i* 7 dob*ered* fuir*m*eadh f*ors*i*n* cloich gu r*u*csat f*or* culai hi Aitchit na cr*istaid*i eoi*n* 7 ísa *ar*na f*acsin* si*n*. *Air*isius di*diu* an eacl*ais* am*ail* as deach bui ria*m*. cobhfuil .iii.*r*a t*ra*igead uas tal*am* aniu 7 biaidh co f*or*cean*n* mb*r*atha
>
> (¶19) PEIN u*mmorr*o tír f*orleth*a*n* isidhe coni*m*at cathr*a*c. uidhe .u. laithi f*or*a fot.

This extract displays how the more fluid narrative style in IMP develops from the clipped and succint 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 omniscent 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 taisech 7 grinne gasda gadhamail gormlann & lonn-bhuaile ladhach línanart uman laechraid. ár ni 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 nasl*úaig* si*n* a nasain gloin*id*i gor*m*a glaisi*ar*ui*n*n 7 a luir*e*ca dai*n*gne doib*r*isdi 7 a scab*ail* cuana chu*m*d*acht*a fona min*naib* sliptha soradh*air*cc. Sínit a m*erge*da badbdha b*r*eacaml*ac*ha risna sleaghuibh seimn*e*ca sithfhota. gur iadh g*a*c deaglaech dibh ima rig 7 i*m*a thais*e*c curo línsat na tolcha 7 na tuaitheabhr*a*ca f*or* gech taebh do uaim. G*ur* co*m*dluth*aig*seat na catha re cheli i*n* tan si*n*. Cu rostocaib nel niamdha dá ndor*n*cl*aidbi*b dathordha 7 da muinc*id*i*b* dualacha d*er*goir cor ba soighne*n* sol*us*ta a clethe ni*m*e os ci*nn* na cur*a*d cea*chtar*dha si*n*. (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.

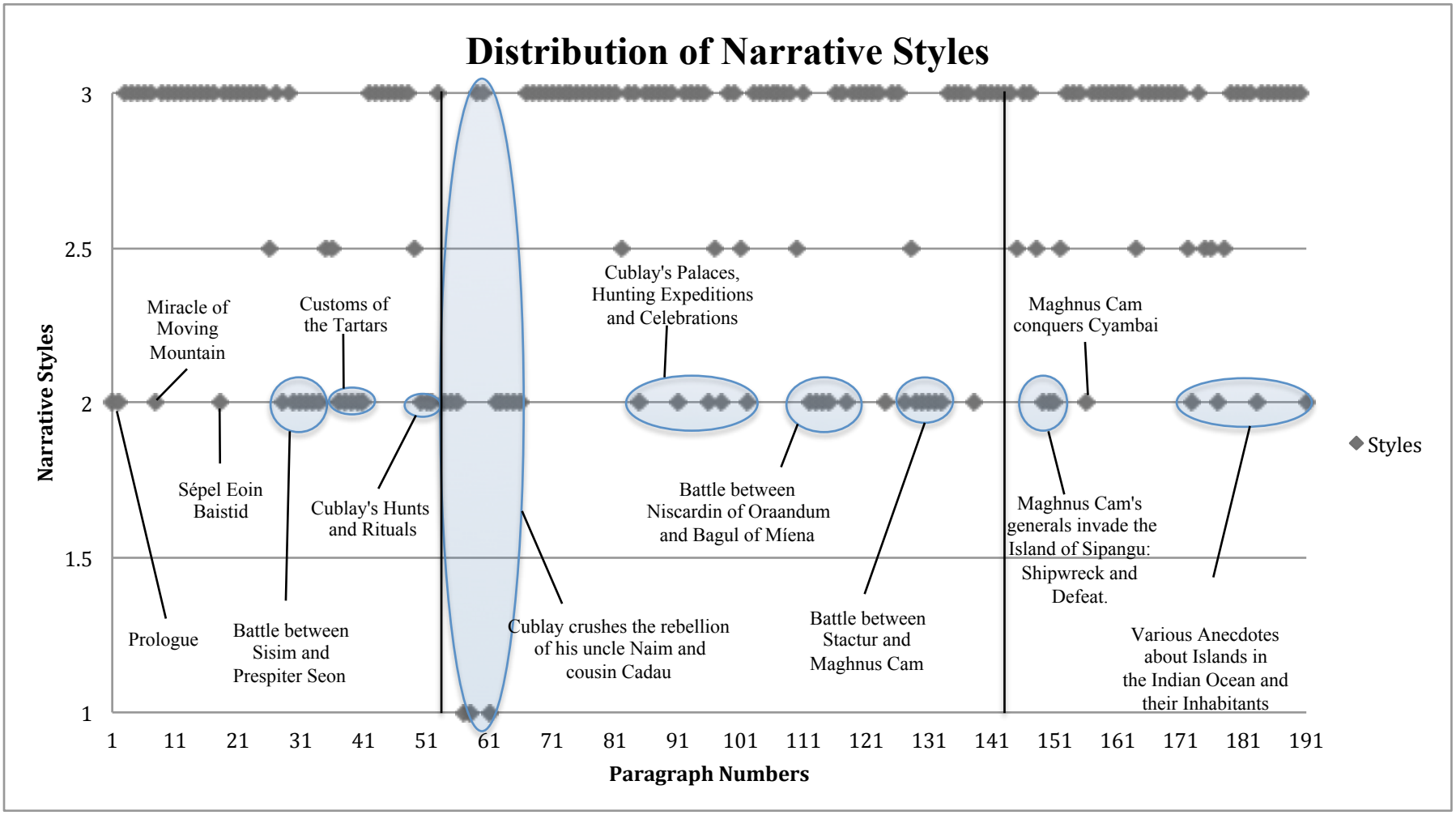
3.4. Distribution of Narrative Styles in IMP

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.


Distribution of Narrative Styles
Narrative Styles
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
1
11
21
31
41
51
61
71
81
91
101
111
121
131
141
151
161
171
181
191
Paragraph Numbers
Styles
Miracle of Moving Mountain
Customs of the Tartars
Cublay's Palaces, Hunting Expeditions and Celebrations
Maghnus Cam conquers Cyambai
Sépel Eoin Baistid
Cublay's Hunts and Rituals
Battle between Niscardin of Oraandum and Bagul of Míena
Maghnus Cam's generals invade the Island of Sipangu: Shipwreck and Defeat.
Prologue
Battle between Sisim and Prespiter Seon
Cublay crushes the rebellion of his uncle Naim and cousin Cadau
Battle between Stactur and Maghnus Cam
Various Anecdotes about Islands in the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants

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 succint 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 Franesco 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 pelegrini* 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, Universitätsbiliothek 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 Preußicher Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70 14th C

2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußicher Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 618 1407

3) Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83 14th C

4) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17 14th C

5) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.8.7 14th C

6) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5 14th C

7) Dublin, Trinity College E.5.20 [Abbot 632] 15th C

8) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi C.7.1170 14th C

9) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983 14th C

10) Ghent, Universiteitsbiblioteek 13 15th C

11) Gießen, Universitätsbiliothek 218 15th C

12) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84] Early 15th C

13) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum V.6.8.[458] 14th C

14) Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Hist. 61 15th C

15) Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Bosianus 4° 10 15th C

16) Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek 722 A — 15th C

17) Kórnik, Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN, ms. 131 — 15th C

18) Kraków, Biblioteka Jagellonska, lat. 1441 [431] — 1441

19) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75 — 15th C

20) London, British Library, Add. 19513 — 14th C

21) London, British Library, Add 19952 — 1445

22) London, British Library, Arundel 13 — 14th C

23) London, British Library, Harley 5115 — 14th C

24) London, British Library, Royal 14. C. XIII — before 1352

25) Lucerne, Zentralbibliothek, KB Msc. 5. 4° — 14th C

26) Modena, Biblioteca Estense, lat. 131 [α.S.6.14] — 14th C

27) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 249 — 15th C

28) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 850 — 15th C

29) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5339 — 15th C

30) Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vindob. Lat. 50 [3273] — 15th C

31) Oxford, Merton College 312 — before 1344

32) Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, lat. 1616 — 15th C

33) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6244° 1439

34) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 17800 14th C

35) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nal. 1768 14th C

36) Prague, Knihovna Mertopolitni Kapituli, G. XXI 15th C

37) Prague, Knihovna Metropolitni Kapituli, G. XXVIII 15th 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 [IIII] 16th C

41) Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat.F.I.233 15th C

42) San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real monasterio, Q.II.13 15th C

43) Skokloster, Folio 67 before 1469

44) Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Hist. 4° 10 15th C

45) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1641 15th 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 15th C

49) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1846 15th C

50) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3153 15th C

51) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat lat. 5260 15th 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] 15th C

55) Vienna, Österreischishe Nationalbibliothek 3497 15th C

56) Vienna, Österreischische Nationalbibliothek 12823 15th C

57) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 3 Gud. lat. 3° 15th C

58) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 40 1450-1500

59) Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwesytecka, IV Fol 103 15th C

60) Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Chart. F. 60 15th 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 Boroon ou diocese de Sainct 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 principalles regions de orient. Le quel livre a escript Guillaume Gauvain clerc natif de la paroisse de Broon ou diocese Sainct Malo de l'isle en Bretaigne. 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

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[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:

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.
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
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 Benedtto, *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
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, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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 provintiam divisit Magnus Kaam **in 4 regna.**

[22] Provincia vero Mangi habet in universo **civitates 1300.**

(Ghent, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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] provintiam 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.**

(Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84)

[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 sì 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 cath*air* naili uid*h*i .u. lait*h*e f*ri*a a t*h*aeb*h* sin **[2]** c*ét* m*íle* i*n*a ti*m*cill **[3]** quinlay a hai*n*m inan son 7 i*n* cath*air* ne*a*m*h*d*h*a dia te*a*ng*aid* siu*mh* ár ni f*h*uil f*or* bit*h* cath*air* is mó inás. **[4]** da m*íle* d*h*éc d*r*oic*hea*t le fo ngab*h*uit lo*n*ga dim*h*ora cen t*r*asc*r*ad*h* seoil dib*h* **[5]** 7 tor dithogl*aidh*i for cec*h* nd*r*oic*hea*t dib*h* 7 .iiii. m*ílid* ag magnus ac fa*r*e f*or* ce*ch* nd*r*oiche*at* dib*h* ar o*mh*un a himp*óidh* fair ór ba cath*air* oire*ach*uis do rig*hr*aidh ma*n*guay isid*h*e feacht riam*h*.

(¶137) **[6]** do ro*n*sat palas rig*da* f*or* loc*h* a me*a*d*h*on na cat*hr*a*ch* sin ni fuil s*éd* na sam*hail* do p*h*alas for bit*h* do .xx. sl*uaight*h*e*ach lais 7 .x. m*íle* do t*h*oim*h*il*eadh* in g*ach* sl*uaightheach* d*h*ib*h* 7 tene bithbeo a me*a*d*h*on gacha b*r*uid*h*ne d*h*ib*h* 7 m*íle* do s*h*eomrad*h*uib*h* sol*u*sda f*ri*a suan 7 f*r*easdal i*n*a nur t*h*imceall co nei*mh* noir f*or*ra 7 co fuat*h* gach anman*n*a ece*a*nn*us* f*or* bit*h* a*r* na rin*n*ad*h* f*or*ro do ilbre*acht*ad*h* gacha datha.

(¶138) **[7]** in ta*n* ro irg*h*ab*h* mag*nus* c*am* in cath*air* si*n* 7 p*r*oui*n*dsi manguay ro hoirdne*a*d*h* nai riga do tha*r*tr*aidhi* fo*r*ro 7 do ronn*ad* fo*r*ro in da m*íle* decc cath*air* bai isin rigi sin occ*us* ni raib*h*i cath*air* d*h*ib*h* gan d*r*ong do mile*a*d*h*uib mag*nuis* c*am* oca hi*m*coi*mh*et ar om*h*un a himp*óidh* fa*ir*.

(¶139) **[8]** fil loc*h* a me*a*don na cat*h*ra*ch* sin 7 .xxx. m*íle* na uirti*mch*eall. di in*i*s f*air* dun rigda a me*a*d*h*on gacha hin*n*si dib*h* ni la ne*a*ch f*or* bit*h* iat so*m* 7 i*n* as fe*a*rr do b*h*iud*h* 7 d*eoch* 7 m*h*ainib*h* na cathr*ach* cuirid a me*a*do*n* na nduin*t*e 7 inti dian*a*d ail fl*eadh*ug*h*ad*h* do d*h*ena*mh* tiag*a*it dia toc*h*aithim*h* in*n*tib*h* 7 fog*h*eb*h*a 7 ni la ne*a*ch don cat*h*r*aigh* di*n*n ná caisl*én* da fuil fora fe*a*d*h* ac*h*t coim*h*d*h*e*a*s da g*ach* aen iats*umh* 7 as ead*h* do b*eir* an timat d*r*oic*h*e*a*t si*n* le f*or* s*r*oth*aibh* 7 u*isceadhaibh* fil si 7 ni b*h*i an i*m*th*eacht* f*or* araili *acht* dib*h* **[9]** .xl. m*íle* tig*h*id*h*is .xl. fe*ach*t is ait*r*eab*h*th*aigh* don cat*h*air si*n*.

(¶140) **[10]** ni t*us*m*i*dt*e*r gein i*n*nti n*ach* scr*i*b*h*t*h*ar a ainm 7 in c*ruth* f*or*sa mbi in re 7 rean*n*a ni*mh*e oca t*us*m*headh* 7 dia nd*each* ne*a*ch dib*h* as be*a*ntar a ai*n*m as 7 scr*i*bht*h*ar aris he 7 ainm a e*a*ch 7 a mai*n*e 7 a aesa cumt*h*a 7 loisct*e*r diblinuib*h* a*r* aen ria chorp 7 da*r* leo g*ach* a scr*i*bt*h*a d*h*o do beidis a*r* aen f*r*is isin be*at*haid*h* naile.

(¶141) **[11]** Imut ecl*as* noirm*h*itn*ea*ch isi*n* cat*h*r*aigh* sin 7 ni fhil *acht* aen e*a*clais dib*h* ag fogn*amh nó* ad*h*r*adh* 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] fil cath*air* naili **uid*h*i .u. lait*h*e** f*r*ia a t*h*aeb*h* sin	[1] **Post recessum a civitate Singuy itur per dietas .V.** et inveniuntur in via civitates plures magne ubi negotiaciones maxime fiunt. [2] Postmodum pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay quod in nostra lingua sonat **civitas celi**, 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 **in giro miliaria centum** aut circa; **habet vero pontes lapideos .XII. milia** 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
[3] quinlay a hai*n*m inan son 7 i*n* **cath*air* ne*a*m*h*d*h*a** dia te*a*ng*aid* siu*mh* ár ni f*h*uil f*or* bit*h* cath*air* is mó inás.	
[2] **c*ét* m*íle* i*n*a ti*m*cill**	
[4] **da m*íle* d*h*éc droic*hea*t** le fo ngab*h*uit lo*n*ga dim*h*ora cen t*r*asc*r*ad*h* seoil dib*h*	

	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] **Versus meridiem est in ipsa civitate lacus magna que .XXX. miliaria in giro continet**; in hoc circuitu sunt multa palatia et multe domus magne nobilium et sunt interius et exterius mirabiliter adornate, sunt etiam ibi eclesie ydolorum; **in medio lacus ipsius due parvule insule sunt** 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 turres pro
[8] fil loc*h* a me*a*don na cat*h*ra*ch* sin 7 .xxx. m*íle* na uirti*mch*eall. **di in*i*s f*air*** dun rigda a me*a*d*h*on gacha hin*n*si dib*h* ni la ne*a*ch f*or* bit*h* iat s*o*m 7 i*n* as fe*a*rr do b*h*iud*h* 7 d*eoch* 7 m*h*ainib*h* na cathr*ach* cuirid a me*a*do*n* na nduin*t*e 7 inti dian*a*d ail fl*eadh*ug*h*ad*h* do d*h*ena*mh* tiag*ai*t dia toc*h*aithim*h* in*n*tib*h* 7 fog*h*eb*h*a 7 ni la ne*a*ch don cat*h*r*aigh* di*n*n ná caisl*én* da fuil fora fe*a*d*h* ac*h*t coim*h*d*h*e*a*s da g*ach* aen iats*umh* 7 as ead*h* do b*eir* an timat d*r*oic*h*e*a*t si*n* le f*or* s*r*oth*aibh* 7 u*isceadhaibh* fil si 7 ni b*h*i an	

i*m*th*eacht* f*or* araili *acht* dib*h*	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 Occeanum mare, et
[5] 7 tor dithogl*aidh*i for cec*h* nd*r*oic*hea*t dib*h* **7 .iiii. m*ílid* ag magnus ac f*a*re f*or* ce*ch* nd*r*oiche*at* dib*h*** ar o*mh*un a himp*óidh* fair ór ba cath*air* oire*ach*uis do rig*hr*a*idh* man*g*uay isid*h*e feacht riam*h*.	

[7] in ta*n* ro irg*h*ab*h* mag*nus* c*am* in cath*air* si*n* 7 p*r*ouin*d*si manguay **ro hoirdnead*h* nai riga do thartr*aidhi* f*o*r**ro** 7 do ronn*ad* f*or*ro **in da m*íle* decc cath*air*** bai isin rigi sin occ*us* ni raib*h*i cath*air* d*h*ib*h* gan d*r*ong do mile*a*d*h*uib mag*nus* c*am* oca hi*m*coi*mh*et ar om*h*un a himp*óidh* fa*ir*	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 Mangy divisit Magnus Kaam in regna .IX.** 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] **Provincia enim Mangy habet in universo civitates .MCC.** 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

	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**
[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 **m*íle* do s*h*eomrad*h*uib*h* sol*u*sda** f*r*ia suan 7 f*r*easdal i*n*a nur t*h*imceall co nei*mh* noir f*or*ra 7 co fuat*h* gach anman*n*a ece*a*nn*us* f*or* bit*h* a*r* na rin*n*ad*h* f*or*ro do ilbre*acht*ad*h* gacha datha **[9] .xl. m*íle* tig*h*id*h*is .xl. fe*ac*h*t* is ait*r*eab*h*th*aigh* don cat*h*air si*n.*** **[11]** Imut ecl*as* noirm*h*itne*a*ch isi*n* cat*h*r*aigh* sin **7 ni fhil *acht* aen e*a*clais dib*h* ag fogn*amh nó* ad*h*r*adh* do dia** **[10]** ni t*us*mi*d*te*r* gein i*n*nti n*ach* sc*ri*b*h*th*a*r a ainm 7 in c*ruth* f*or*sa mbi in re 7 reann*a* ni*mh*e oca t*us*m*headh* 7 dia nd*each* ne*a*ch dib*h* as be*a*ntar a ai*n*m as 7 sc*ri*bht*h*ar aris he 7 ainm a e*a*ch 7 a mai*n*e 7 a aesa cumt*h*a 7 loiscte*r* diblinuib*h* a*r* aen ria chorp 7 da*r* leo g*ach* a sc*ri*bt*h*a d*h*o do beidis a*r* aen f*r*is isin be*ath*aid*h* naile	**etiam palacio sunt camere mille aut circa.** [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, **sunt igitur tot in universo familie ut earum numerus ad mille milia et .LX. milia familiarum ascendat.** [28] Palatia autem multa in hac civitate sunt et pulcra valde. [29] **In tota enim hac civitate una ecclesia sola christianorum nestorinorum est.** [30] In hac civitate et in tota provincia Mangy oportet ut quilibet pater familias super 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 hospitiis 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 cath*air* naili uid*h*i **d*h*a la** allamuigh don cathr*aigh* s*in*.	I.46 quod in longitudine vie continet **dietas tres.**
(¶27) [2] **.l. ai*n*de*r*** la ce*ch* nae*n* dib*h*.	I.49 In hac civitate ydolatra quilibet habere potest **uxores .XXX.** vel plures
(¶29) [3] Cid*h* fil an*n acht* ro um*h*la*i*gse*a*t **.uii. rig*h*** d*h*o la *h*om*un* a ima*ir*e*a*c.	I.52 brevi vero in tempore **provincias octo** cepit.
(¶29) [4] Bui laech am*ra* […] **Simisis** a ai*n*m […] (¶35) Facb*ai*s m*a*c dieis, **Caiter** a ai*n*m. Facbais sin mac, **Satiu** a ai*n*m. Facb*ai*s s*in* m*a*c, **Roton** a ai*n*m. Facb*a*is Roton m*a*c, **Mongu** a ai*n*m. Is uad*h*a sin ro chi*n* **Cublay**.	I.54 Primus igitur rex Tartarorum fuit **Chinchis**, secundus **Cui**, tercius **Bacui**, quartus **Alau**, quintus **Manguth**, sextus **Cublay** qui modo regnat
(¶41) [5] **.xxx.** beim do luirg dhó *nó* **.lx.** m*ad* ci*n* is mo indás, *nó* a **.x. f*or* cét** m*ad* mo i*n* t*re*as fe*acht*.	I.61 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**.

(¶50) [6] **i*n tocht*ma*d* la *déc*** do mí Aug*uist*	I.66 Die autem **.XXVIII.** augusti Magnus Kaam
(¶84) [7] i*n* to*cht*m*a*d la .xx. do m*h*i **Decimb*ir***	II.14 Festum autem Magni Kaam est die .XXVIII. **septembris**
(¶94) [8] dá t*h*ais*ech* d*éc* la Cublay 7 as iat ba coi*m*sig*h* a*r*a ca*n*ta f*ri*s 7 uaid*h* **cet*hr*a c*r*ic*h*a .xxx.**	II.22 Habet Magnus Kaam barones .XII. qui **.XXIIII. provinciis** sunt prefecti
(¶101) [9] uid*h*i **.xxx.** la i*n*a fot.	II.36 Protenditur autem in longum provincia per dietas **.XX.**
¶124 [10] cur m*h*o i*n*a **.x. m*íli*** dib*h* s*i*n.	II.53 singulis annis recoligi facebat pueros abiectos a matribus circa **.XX. milia**, quos suis sumptibus nutriri 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 occuring 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, '*Fierbras*', 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 l.30 – 173v l.30	**177v – 183v**
II.58-70; III.chapter list; III.1-3.	III.37-43; III.45	**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 footonote).
[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.

IMP	**Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983**	**Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196**
Prologue ¶1 - ¶2	Incipit prologus in librum domini Marchi Pauli de Veneciis de	

	condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum.	
¶3 IN air*m*ein beac ceata*mus* (...) tursie .i. p*r*oibhi*nn*si fuil in*n*ti.[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 *air*mei*n* mhor im*morro*.[711]	13. De Armenia Maiori.	13. De Armenia Maiori.
¶5 IS f*r*ia toebh sidhe ata p*r*oibi*nn*si 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 cath*air* naili isi*n* c*r*ich si*n*. Taurisi*us* a hai*n*m.[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 C*r*icha na *per*fida im*morro*.[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 u*mmorro*.[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 C*r*icha Mulete do M*a*cum*etus* ad*r*ait. Fil ri fuirre Aloadam a ai*n*m.[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 (…) i*m*at 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 u*mmorr*o tir iside co n*er*t ngr*e*ne f*uir*ri.[720]	35. ‹De provincia Bascie.›	35. ‹De provincia Bascie.›
	36. De provincia Chesumur.	36. De provincia Chesumur.
¶15 Fil sliabh ur*ar*d isi*n* c*r*ichsi*n*.[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 u*mmorr*o.[722] (I.39.1). ¶17 C*on*udh e aireac meanm*an*.[723] (I.39.2). ¶18 Atbath in ri foc*et*oir.[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 u*mmorro*.[725]	42. De provincia Peum.	42. De provincia Peum.
	43. De provincia Ciarchiam.	43. De provincia Ciarchiam.
¶20 Lop di*diu*.[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.

ndithr*ub* si*n*.[727] ¶22 Gach m*ar*bh lasi*n* cathr*aig* si*n*.[728] (I.45.5-6-7).	et ritu paganorum in combustione mortuorum.	et ritu paganorum in combustione mortuorum.
¶23 Fil cath*air* naili (...) Camul a hai*n*m.[729] ¶24 Faidhis Magn*us* Cam.[730] (I.46.6). ¶25 Faiditsiu*m* tea*cht*a f*or* cula.[731] (I.46.6-7).	46. De provincia Chamul.	46. De provincia Chamul.
¶26 IAr c*ur* chuil f*r*isi*n* c*r*ichsi*n* (...) Si*n*g si*n*gcalas do*n* taeb *ar*aill de.[732]	47. De provincia Chynchyntalas.	47. De provincia Chynchyntalas.
	48. De provincia Siccuir.	
¶27 Cricha cambu u*mmorr*o (...) Campisio*n* is cath*air* 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 u*mmorro*.[734]	51. De civitate Carochoram et inicio dominii Tartarorum.	51. De civitate Carochoram et inicio dominii Tartarorum.
¶29 Bui laech am*r*a i*n*tansi*n* duaislib na t*artr*aige*c* (...) Simisis a ai*n*m.[735] ¶30 Faidis p*re*spit*er* seo*n* neach dochui*n*ghidh inchisa inn[*ec*da]	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 df*e*rg 7 lond*us* Sisim.[737] (I.53.1). ¶32 Gabhuit na sloigh ch*echtar*dha si*n* in roen f*o*ra nag*aid*.[738] (I.53.2). ¶33 P*re*ispit*er* seo*n* u*mmorr*o odcl*os* dó cath do chui*n*ghidh f*air*.[739] (I.53.3). ¶34 et in .ui.*ed* bl*ia*d*ain* 32. dia fhlaithi*us*.[740] (I.53.4).	53. De conflictu Tartarorum cum rege illo et victoria ipsorum.	
¶35 Facbu*is* m*a*c 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 t*art*raighidh u*mmorr*o cin*ed*h linm*ar* iatsei*n*.[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 nad*r*ait do nit*er*.[743] (I.58.1) ¶38 Dia teasd*aid*i ogl*ac*h ci*n* 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 f*er*dha a cathuibh 7 at laechdha a n*air*m.[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 diand*er*na nech ci*n* nogui*m* gin dlig*ed*.[747]	61. De iudiciis et iustitia eorum.	61. De iudiciis et iustitia eorum.
¶42 Ragu u*mmorr*o magh f*orlet*han eisidhe.[748]	62. De campestribus Burgi et de extremis insulis aquilonis.	62. De campestribus Burgi et de extremis insulis aquilonis.
¶43 Fil anman*n* naili an*n*.[749] (I.63.6-7). ¶44 Ni teascth*ar* folt na ulcha laeich isin c*r*ichsi*n*.[750] (I.63.8). ¶45 Ni tabh*ar* c*r*og lah*ingin*.[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 u*mmorr*o c*r*ich f*orlet*han 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 IArbhfacb*áil* na c*r*ichisi*n* (...) fogebhu cath*air* 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 díthogl*aid*i fr*i*ahor i*n*dui*n*.[755] (I.66.3). ¶50 T*r*i mísa do*n* bl*iadain* bís f*or* an seilg si*n*.[756] (I.66.4-5). ¶51 Diam*ar*bthur laech.[757] (I.66.6). ¶52 Do nit*er* latuaichl*echt* 7a*m*uinsi.[758] (I.66.7).	est iuxta eam et quibusdam festivitatibus Tartarorum et magorum illusionibus.	
¶53 Fil mainister la Cublay.[759]	67. De monachis quibusdam ydolatris. Capitulum 65.	67. De monachis quibusdam ydolatris. 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 cath*air* naili **uid*hi* .u. lait*he*** fr*i*a a	[1] Post recessum a civitate Singuy itur **per dietas 5** et invenitur ad civitates

[755] 123vb14.
[756] 123vb25.
[757] 123vbz.
[758] 125ra3-4.
[759] 124ra4.

t*h*aeb*h* sin **[3]** quinlay a hai*n*m inan son 7 i*n* **cath*air* ne*a*m*h*d*h*a** dia te*a*ng*aid* siu*mh* ár ni f*h*uil f*or* bit*h* cath*air* is mó inás. **[2]** **c*ét* m*íle* i*n*a ti*m*cill** **[4]** **da m*íle* d*h*éc droic*hea*t** le fo ngab*h*uit lo*n*ga dim*h*ora cen t*r*asc*r*ad*h* seoil dib*h*	plures magne ubi maximo negotiationes fiunt. [2] Postmodum pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay quod in linguam sonat **civitas celi** 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 **miliaria 100** aut circa habet autem **pontes lapideos 12.000** 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

[8] <u>fil loc*h*</u> <u>a me*a*don na cat*h*r*ac*h</u> <u>sin 7 .xxx. m*íle*</u> <u>na uirti*mch*eall.</u> **<u>di in*i*s f*air*</u>** dun rigda a me*a*d*h*on gacha hin*n*si dib*h* ni la ne*a*ch f*or* bit*h* iat s*o*m 7 i*n* as fe*a*rr do b*h*iud*h* 7 d*eoch* 7 m*h*ainib*h* na cathr*ac*h cuirid a me*a*do*n* na nduin*t*e 7 inti dian*a*d ail fl*eadh*ug*h*ad*h* do d*h*ena*mh* tiag*ai*t dia toc*h*aithim*h* in*n*tib*h* 7 fog*h*eb*h*a 7 ni la ne*a*ch don cat*h*r*aigh* di*n*n ná caisl*én* da fuil fora fe*a*d*h* ac*h*t coim*h*d*hea*s da g*ach* aen iats*umh* 7 as ead*h* do b*eir* an timat d*r*oic*hea*t si*n* le f*or* s*r*oth*aibh* 7 u*isceadhaibh* fil si 7 ni b*h*i an i*m*th*eacht* f*or* araili *acht* dib*h*	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 miliairia</u>**. In hoc circuitu supra lacum sunt multa palatia et multe domus nobilium magne et sunt interius et exterius 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

[5] 7 tor dithogl*aidh*i for cec*h* nd*roich*e*at* dib*h* **7 .iiii. m*ílid* ag magnus ac f*a*re f*or* ce*ch* ndroiche*at* dib*h*** ar o*mh*un a himp*óidh* fair ór ba cath*air* oire*ach*uis do rig*hraidh* man*g*uay isid*h*e feacht riam*h*.	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 conferandum 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 occeanum 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**
[7] in ta*n* ro irg*h*ab*h* mag*nus* c*am* in cath*air* si*n* 7 p*r*oui*n*dsi manguay **ro**	

hoirdne*adh* nai riga do thar*tr*a*idhi* f*o*r*r*o 7 do ronn*ad* f*or*ro **in da m*íle* decc cath*air*** bai isin rigi sin occ*us* ni raib*h*i cath*air* d*h*ib*h* gan d*r*ong do mile*adh*uib mag*nus* c*am* oca hi*m*coi*mh*et ar om*h*un a himp*óidh* fa*ir*	**Kaam in regna 9 dans regem proprium** 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

	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] **In hac civitate Quinsay est palatium mirabilis valde in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangi curiam tenebat primo lacus magnus est** 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 **aulas 20** eiusdem magnitudinis omnes in quarum qualibet simul comenderent **10.000 hominum** in multa commoditate et cogritate cunctis discumbentibus atque collocatis sunt autem aula picte et deaurate pulcherrimo opere in ipso palatio sunt **camere 1000 aut circa.** [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 **mille milia et ad sexcenta milia (1.600.000) familiarum ascendat**. [28]
[6] do ro*n*sat palas rig*da* f*or* loc*h* a me*adh*on na cat*hrach* sin ni fuil s*éd* na sam*hail* do p*h*alas for bit*h* do	
.xx. sl*uaight*h*e*ach lais 7 **.x. m*íle*** do t*h*oim*h*il*eadh* in g*ach* sl*uaight*h*eac*h d*h*ib*h* 7 tene bithbeo a me*adh*on gacha b*r*uid*h*ne d*h*ib*h* 7 **m*íle* do s*h*eomrad*h*uib*h* sol*u*sda** f*r*ia suan 7 f*r*easdal i*n*a nur t*h*imceall co nei*mh* noir f*or*ra 7 co fuat*h* gach anman*n*a ece*a*nn*us* f*or* bit*h* a*r* na rin*n*ad*h* f*or*ro do ilbre*acht*ad*h* gacha datha **[9] .xl. m*íle* tig*h*id*h*is .xl. fe*acht* is ait*r*eab*h*th*aigh* don cat*h*air si*n.***	

[11] Imut ecl*as* noirm*h*itn*ea*ch isi*n* cat*h*r*aigh* sin **7 ni fhil *acht* aen e*a*clais dib*h* ag fogn*amh nó* ad*h*r*adh* do dia **[10]** ni t*us*mi*d*te*r* gein i*n*nti n*ach* sc*ri*b*h*t*h*ar a ainm 7 in c*ruth* fo*r*sa mbi in re 7 reann*a* ni*mh*e oca t*us*m*headh* 7 dia nd*each* ne*a*ch dib*h* as be*a*ntar a ai*n*m as 7 sc*r*ibht*h*ar aris he 7 ainm a e*a*ch 7 a mai*n*e 7 a aesa cumt*h*a 7 loiscte*r* diblinuib*h* a*r* aen ria chorp 7 da*r* leo g*ach* a sc*ri*bt*h*a d*h*o do beidis a*r* aen f*r*is isin be*ath*aid*h* naile	Palatia in hac civitate multa sunt et pulcra valde. [29] **In tota hac civitate una sola ecclesia christianorum nestorinorum est.** [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.

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 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 *perscruptatus 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 conditiones illius **perscrutatus sum**.
>
> (Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84, f. 233v)

> Ego Marcus fui in hac civitate et curiose ac diligenter conditiones ipsius **perscrutatus sum**.
>
> (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, VLF 75, f. 36v)

> Ego Marcus fui in hac civitate et curiose et diligenter conditiones ipsius **perscruptatus 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 consuetutinibus dimittentes in pluribus provincis 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 Facbu*is* m*a*c di eis.[763]	I.54 Cathalogus regum Tartarorum et qualiter illorum regum corpora sepeliuntur in monte Alchay.	**[I.54]** .20. milia hominum occiderunt
¶36 Na t*art*raighidh u*mmorr*o cin*ed*h linm*ar* iatsei*n*.[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 nad*r*ait do nit*er*.[765] (I.58.1) ¶38 Dia teasd*aid*i ogl*ac*h ci*n* 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 f*er*dha a cathuibh 7 at laechdha a n*air*m.[768]	I.59 De strenuitate, industria et fortitudine Tartarorum.	
	I.60 De ordine exercitus Tartarorum et sagacitate bellandi.	
¶41 diand*er*na nech ci*n* nogui*m* gin dlig*ed*.[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 'Cambride-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 cath*air* naili **uid*hi* .u. lait*he*** fr*i*a a	[1] Post recessum a civitate Singuy itur

[765] 123rb30-31.
[766] 123rbz.
[767] 123va8.
[768] 123va10.
[769] 123va14.

t*h*aeb*h* sin **[3]** quinlay a hai*n*m inan son 7 i*n* **cath*air* ne*a*m*h*d*h*a** dia te*a*ng*aid* siu*mh* ár ni f*h*uil f*or* bit*h* cath*air* is mó inás. **[2]** **c*ét* m*íle* i*n*a ti*m*cill** **[4]** **da m*íle* d*h*éc droic*hea*t** le fo ngab*h*uit lo*n*ga dim*h*ora cen t*r*asc*r*ad*h* seoil dib*h*	per **dietas 5** et sunt in via civitates plures magne. [2] Postmodum pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay que in nostra lingua sonat **civitas celi** 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 summatim ut reperi breviter enarrabo. [4] Huius civitatis circuitus continet **in giro miliaria 100** habet enim **pontes lapideos 12.000** 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 quelibet 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

[8] fil loc*h* a mea*d*on na cat*h*ra*ch* sin 7 .xxx. m*íle* na uirti*m*che*a*ll.	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
di in*i*s f*air* dun rigda a me*a*d*h*on gacha hin*n*si dib*h* ni la ne*a*ch f*or* bit*h* iat s*o*m 7 i*n* as fe*a*rr do b*h*iud*h* 7 d*eoch* 7 m*h*ainib*h* na cathr*ach* cuirid a me*a*do*n* na nduin*t*e 7 inti dian*a*d ail fl*eadh*ug*h*ad*h* do d*h*ena*mh* tiag*ai*t dia toc*h*aithim*h* in*n*tib*h* 7 fog*h*eb*h*a 7 ni la ne*a*ch don cat*h*r*aigh* di*n*n ná caisl*én* da fuil fora fe*a*d*h* ac*h*t coim*h*d*h*e*a*s da g*ach* aen iats*umh* 7 as ead*h* do b*eir* an timat dr*oich*e*a*t si*n* le f*or* s*roth**aibh* 7 u*isceadhaibh* fil si 7 ni b*h*i an i*m*th*eacht* f*or* araili *acht* dib*h*	
[5] 7 tor dithogl*aidh*i for cec*h* ndr*oich*e*a*t dib*h* **7 .iiii. m*ílid* ag magnus ac f*a*re f*or* cec*h* ndroiche*at* dib*h*** ar o*mh*un a himp*óidh* fair ór ba cath*air* oire*ach*uis do rig*h*r*aidh* m*a*nguay isid*h*e feacht riam*h*.	

[7] in ta*n* ro irg*h*ab*h* mag*nus* c*am* in cath*air* si*n* 7 p*r*oui*n*dsi manguay **ro hoirdnea*dh* nai riga do thar*tr**aidhi* fo*r*ro****	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 occeanum 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 racionem 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
7 do ronn*ad* fo*r*ro **in da m*íle* decc cath*air*** bai isin rigi sin occ*us* ni raib*h*i cath*air* d*h*ib*h* gan d*r*ong do mile*ad*huib mag*nus* c*am* oca hi*m*coi*mh*et ar om*h*un a himp*óidh* fa*ir*	

	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 spacii 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 homium viatorum quos in suis hospiciis recipiunt et quo mense et quo die in eius hospitium sunt ingressi.
[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 **[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	

nd*each* ne*a*ch dib*h* as be*a*ntar a ai*n*m as 7 sc*r*ibht*h*ar aris he 7 ainm a e*a*ch 7 a mai*n*e 7 a aesa cumt*h*a 7 loiscte*r* diblinuib*h* a*r* aen ria chorp 7 da*r* leo g*ac*h a sc*ri*bt*h*a d*h*o do beidis a*r* aen f*r*is isin be*ath*aid*h* naile	

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. mílid* 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 míle 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 circumcintus 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 ommitting 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 hight 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 Hidgen'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]

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[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:

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[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	
IMP	**London, British Library, Harley 5115**
[1] fil cath*air* naili **uid*hi* .u. lait*he*** fr*i*a a t*h*aeb*h* sin	[1] Post recessum a civitate Singuy itur **per dietas 5** et inveniuntur in via civitates plures magne ubi maxime negotiationes fiunt [2] postmodum pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay que in lingua nostra sonat **civitas celi** 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 **circuitus continet 100 miliaria** aut circa habet autem **pontes lapideos 12.000** 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 **[5-9 skipped]** [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
[3] quinlay a hai*n*m inan son 7 i*n* **cath*air* nea*m*h*dh*a** dia te*a*ng*aid* siu*mh* ár ni f*h*uil f*or* bit*h* cath*air* is mó inás.	
[2] c*ét* m*íle* i*n*a tim*c*ill **[4] da m*íle* d*héc* droic*h*ea*t*** le fo ngab*h*uit lo*n*ga dim*h*ora cen t*r*asc*r*ad*h* seoil dib*h*	
[8] fil loc*h* a mea*d*on na cat*h*r*ach* sin 7 .xxx. m*íle* na uirti*mch*eall. di in*is* f*air* dun rigda a mea*d*hon gacha hin*n*si dib*h* ni la nea*c*h f*or* bit*h* iat so*m* 7 i*n* as fearr do b*h*iud*h* 7 d*eoch* 7 m*h*ainib*h* na cathr*ach* cuirid a mea*d*o*n* na ndui*n*te 7 inti dian*d* ail fl*eadh*ug*h*ad*h* do d*h*ena*mh* tiag*ai*t dia toc*h*aithim*h* in*n*tib*h* 7 fog*h*eb*h*a 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	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 occeanum 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**]
[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	[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

.xx. sl*uaight*h*e*ach lais 7 **.x. m*íle*** do t*h*oim*h*il*eadh* in g*ach* sl*uaight*h*ea*c*h* d*h*ib*h* 7 tene bithbeo a me*a*d*h*on gacha b*r*uid*h*ne d*h*ib*h* 7 **m*íle* do s*h*eomrad*h*uib*h* sol*u*sda** f*r*ia suan 7 f*r*easdal i*n*a nur t*h*imceall co nei*mh* noir f*or*ra 7 co fuat*h* gach anman*n*a ece*a*nn*us* f*or* bit*h* a*r* na rin*n*ad*h* f*or*ro do ilbre*acht*ad*h* gacha datha **[9] .xl. m*íle* tig*h*id*h*is .xl. fe*acht* is ait*r*eab*h*th*aigh* don cat*h*air si*n.*** **[11]** Imut ecl*as* noirm*h*itn*ea*ch isi*n* cat*h*r*aigh* sin **7 ni fhil *acht* aen e*a*clais dib*h* ag fogn*amh nó* ad*h*r*adh* do dia** **[10]** ni t*us*mi*d*t*e*r gein i*n*nti n*ach* sc*r*i*bh*t*h*ar a ainm 7 in c*ruth* f*or*sa mbi in re 7 reann*a* ni*mh*e oca t*us*m*headh* 7 dia nd*each* ne*a*ch dib*h* as be*a*ntar a ai*n*m as 7 sc*r*ibht*h*ar aris he 7 ainm a e*a*ch 7 a mai*n*e 7 a aesa cumt*h*a 7 loiscte*r* diblinuib*h* a*r* aen ria chorp 7 da*r* leo g*ach* a sc*r*i*b*t*h*a d*h*o do beidis a*r* aen f*r*is isin be*ath*aid*h* naile.	[26] in medio autem interioris spatii palatium pulcherrimum est et maius quod in mundo sit habet enim **20 eiusdem magnitudinis** omnes in quarum qualibet simul comederent **10.000 hominum** in multa commoditate et in debitate congruitate cuncits discumbentibus collocatis sunt autem aule picte et deaurate pulcherrimo opere in ipso palatio **sunt camere 1000 aut circa** [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 **ut earum numerus ad mille milia et sexcenta milia familiarum ascendat** [28] palatia in hac civitate multa sunt et pulcra valde [29] in tota autem hac civitate **una sola ecclesia christianorum et nestorinorum est** [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

	hospitum receptores scribunt in suis quaternis nomina omnium viatores quos in suis hospitiis recipiunt et quo mense et quo die in eius hospitium sunt ingressi.

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 (previosly, 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] fil cath*air* naili uid*h*i .u. lait*h*e fr*i*a a t*h*aeb*h* sin.	[1 omitted]
[3] quinlay a hai*n*m inan son 7 i*n* cath*air* ne*a*m*h*d*h*a dia te*a*ng*aid* siu*mh* ár ni f*h*uil f*or* bit*h* cath*air* is mó inás.	[2] De inde civitas Quinsay que maior civitas orbis est [2 ½ omitted]
	[3 omitted]
[2] c*ét* m*íle* i*n*a ti*m*cill	[4] cuius circuitus continet 100 miliaria
[4] da m*íle* d*h*éc d*r*oic*h*ea*t* le fo ngab*h*uit lo*n*ga dim*h*ora cen t*r*asc*r*ad*h* seoil dib*h*	habet pontes circa 12.000 tante altitudinins 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
[8] fil loc*h* a me*a*don na cat*h*ra*ch* sin 7 .xxx. m*íle* na uirti*m*c*h*eall. di in*i*s f*air* dun rigda a me*a*d*h*on gacha hin*n*si dib*h* ni la	est ibi artium et mercationum multitudo quod non videntibus incredibile videatur [6-8 omitted] [9] in civitate Quinsay est

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 occeanum [21] provintiam Mangi divisit Magnus Kaam in 9 regna [22 omitted]
	[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
[6] do ronsat palas rigda for loch a	[II.64.23-26½ omitted]

me*a*d*h*on na cat*hr*a*ch* sin ni fuil s*éd* na sam*hail* do p*h*alas for bit*h* do	
.xx. slu*aigh*t*h*each lais	[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.
7 .x. m*íle* do t*h*oim*h*il*eadh* in g*ach* slu*aigh*t*heach* d*h*ib*h* 7 tene bithbeo a me*a*d*h*on gacha b*r*uid*h*ne d*h*ib*h* 7 m*íle* do s*h*eomrad*h*uib*h* sol*u*sda f*r*ia suan 7 f*r*easdal i*n*a nur t*h*imceall co nei*mh* noir fo*rr*a 7 co fuat*h* gach anman*n*a ece*a*nn*us* fo*r* bit*h* a*r* na rin*n*ad*h* fo*rr*o do ilbre*acht*ad*h* gacha datha	*[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*
[9] .xl. m*íle* tig*h*id*h*is .xl. fe*ac*h*t* is ait*r*eab*h*th*aigh* don cat*h*air si*n*.	[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.
[11] Imut ecl*as* noirm*h*itne*a*ch isi*n* cat*hr*a*igh* sin 7 ni fhil *acht* aen e*a*clais dib*h* ag fogn*amh nó* ad*hr*a*dh* do dia	[28-30 omitted]
[10] ni t*us*mi*d*te*r* gein i*nn*ti n*ach* sc*r*i*bh*th*a*r a ainm 7 in c*ruth* fo*r*sa mbi in	

re 7 reanna nimhe oca tusmheadh 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 loisctер diblinuibh ar aen ria chorp 7 dar leo gach a scribtha dho do beidis ar aen fris isin beathaidh naile.	

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] resepectively. 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 scholarhip 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 included 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, Univeristy Library, Dd.87; Dublin, Trinity College, MS E.5.2 [Abbot 632]; Gießen, Universitätsbiliothek 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

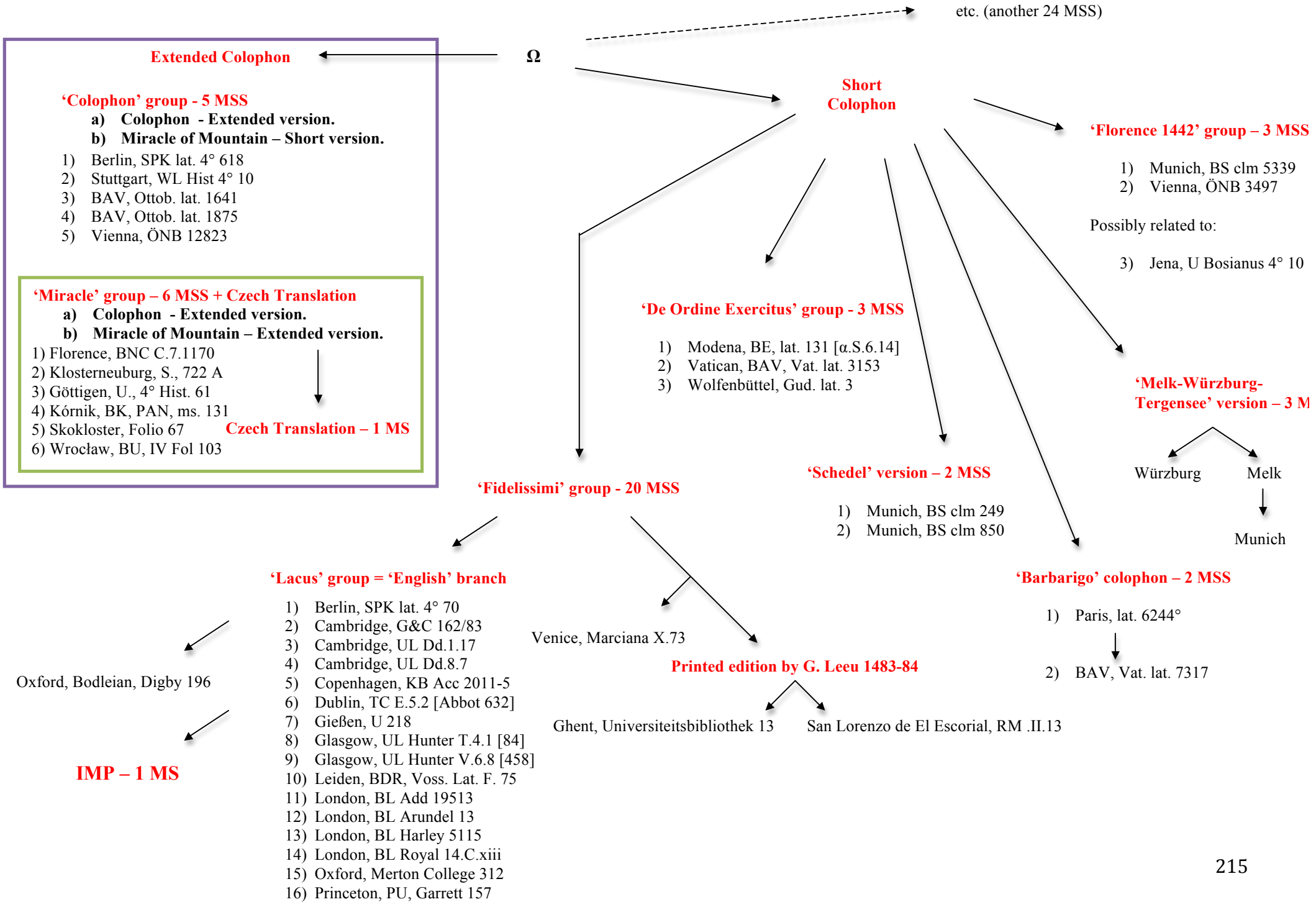
[790] Dutschke, *Pipino*, 232-33 and 248.
[791] Gadrat, *Lire*, 85.
[792] Ibid., 86: 'which is not strictly speaking a stemma, rather a first attempt to classify the different manuscripts of the Francesco Pipino translation'.
[793] Ibid., 78-82 and 85.

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.


etc. (another 24 MSS)
Extended Colophon
Ω
Short Colophon
'Colophon' group - 5 MSS
a) Colophon - Extended version.
b) Miracle of Mountain – Short version.
1) Berlin, SPK lat. 4° 618
2) Stuttgart, WL Hist 4° 10
3) BAV, Ottob. lat. 1641
4) BAV, Ottob. lat. 1875
5) Vienna, ÖNB 12823
'Florence 1442' group – 3 MSS
1) Munich, BS clm 5339
2) Vienna, ÖNB 3497
Possibly related to:
3) Jena, U Bosianus 4° 10
'Miracle' group – 6 MSS + Czech Translation
a) Colophon - Extended version.
b) Miracle of Mountain – Extended version.
1) Florence, BNC C.7.1170
2) Klosterneuburg, S., 722 A
3) Göttigen, U., 4° Hist. 61
4) Kórnik, BK, PAN, ms. 131
5) Skokloster, Folio 67
6) Wrocław, BU, IV Fol 103
Czech Translation – 1 MS
'De Ordine Exercitus' group - 3 MSS
1) Modena, BE, lat. 131 [α.S.6.14]
2) Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3153
3) Wolfenbüttel, Gud. lat. 3
'Melk-Würzburg-Tergensee' version – 3 M
Würzburg
Melk
Munich
'Schedel' version – 2 MSS
1) Munich, BS clm 249
2) Munich, BS clm 850
'Fidelissimi' group - 20 MSS
'Barbarigo' colophon – 2 MSS
1) Paris, lat. 6244°
2) BAV, Vat. lat. 7317
'Lacus' group = 'English' branch
1) Berlin, SPK lat. 4° 70
2) Cambridge, G&C 162/83
3) Cambridge, UL Dd.1.17
4) Cambridge, UL Dd.8.7
5) Copenhagen, KB Acc 2011-5
6) Dublin, TC E.5.2 [Abbot 632]
7) Gießen, U 218
8) Glasgow, UL Hunter T.4.1 [84]
9) Glasgow, UL Hunter V.6.8 [458]
10) Leiden, BDR, Voss. Lat. F. 75
11) London, BL Add 19513
12) London, BL Arundel 13
13) London, BL Harley 5115
14) London, BL Royal 14.C.xiii
15) Oxford, Merton College 312
16) Princeton, PU, Garrett 157
Venice, Marciana X.73
Printed edition by G. Leeu 1483-84
Ghent, Universiteitsbibliothek 13
San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RM .II.13
Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 196
IMP – 1 MS

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 condictionibus 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 Uniwesytecka, 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 colum,[800] with Simion's transcription of I.18 and the beginning of I.19 from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983 in the cenral column, and my transcription of the expanded version of the same chapter, including the beginning of I.19, from Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwesytecka, IV Fol 103, in the right-hand column.

[800] located at ¶8 of Stokes's edition.

IMP – L. ff. 121rb-121va	Florence, BR 983 – ff. 10a-10b	Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwesytecka, 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 imposibile 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 habitabant: '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 inpossibile 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. **[BEGINNING OF EXPANDED VERSION]** Casus enim talis fuit in Baldach fuit quidam calipfus 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

aenchai 7 guighit i*n* tae*n* ndia uman sliab*h* do claechl*odh* ‘A ísa’ oul siat ‘na leic idhuil 7 a*inch*reitmhigh diar bhforr*ach*ne. Adre i*n* sliabh i*n* tan si*n* f*or* an sliabh naill a *bh*freacna*ircus* na slógh 7 a*ir*isis air coidhche et rogabs*a*t araild do na geintib*h* baisd*eadh* lasin mirb*huil* sin.	confortans se oracione fideliter ad dominum Iesum Christum, montem illum, videnti 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 conscilium 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 *responderunt*)[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

[801] Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwesytecka, 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 adiuvaret. Finito autem tempore octo dierum unus angelus apparuit uni sancto episcopo in visione et dixit ei ex parte dei ut dicerent uni calzolario monoculo qui oraret pro christainis et mons iste tolletur ad mandatum dicti caliphi et dixit ei nomen et domum ubi habitabat calzolarius. Hanc visione habuit plures dictus episcopus et tunc termino caliphi propinquante misit pro isto calzolario dicens ei visiones peredictas. Rogavit ut hanc orationem faceret pro christianis liberandis domino Ihesu Christo calzolarius vero monoculus 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 credebat 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 calzolarie facite mihi duos calzarios.' Respondit calzolarius, 'ostende mihi pedem

		tuum.’ Ipsa vero iuvenis excessit modum et ostendit sibi nedum pedem sed crux ex ista ostensione ex demonis instigatione calzolarius 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 christaini 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 calzolarius 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 petitum per caliphus quando sarraceni viderit hoc miraculum multum admirati sunt et caliphus cum eis et tunc ob

		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.
C*r*icha na p*er*fida im*morro* don tein*e* ad*r*ait c*r*icha f*orleath*an isidhe cu nocht righuib*h* f*ui*ri. 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.	**De regione Persarum.** Persida maxima provincia est que olym nobilissima fuit nunc vero multum est a Tartaris dissipata.

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, Flolio 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 Rüdesheim, 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 incarnacionis 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, Österreichishe 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, Österreischishe 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 **conferandum**; 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, Österreischishe Nationalbibliothek 3497, f. 102r.)

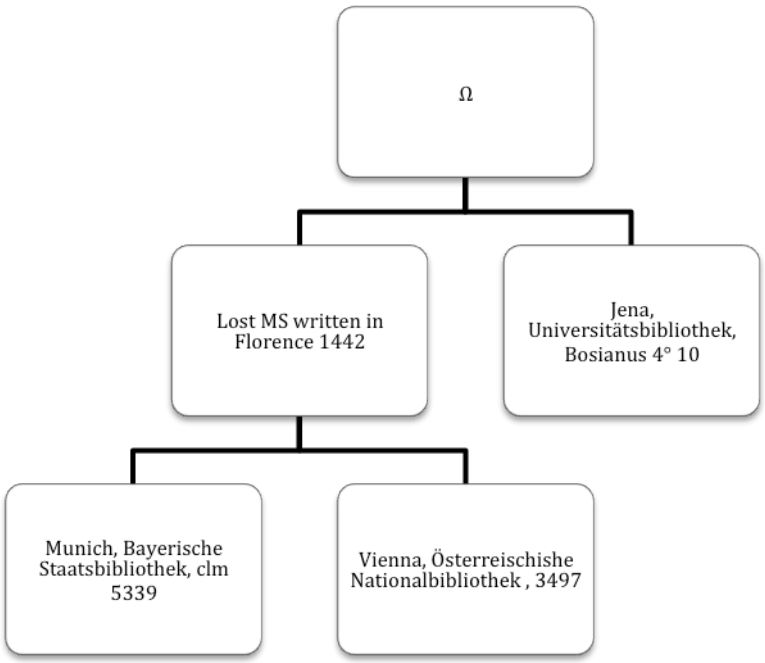
a civitate autem usque ad mare est fluvius maximus per quem naves ad civitatem **transeunt**, quod flumen transit per plures alias regiones.
(Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Bosianus 4° 10, f. 97v.)

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 Jacomo 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.

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[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	
IMP	**Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 249**
[1] fil cath*air* naili **uid*h*i .u. lait*h*e** fr*i*a a t*h*aeb*h* sin **[3]** quinlay a hai*n*m inan son 7 i*n* **cath*air* ne*a*m*h*d*h*a** dia te*a*ng*aid* siu*mh* ár ni f*h*uil f*or* bit*h* cath*air* is mó inás. **[2]** **c*é*t m*íle* i*n*a ti*m*cill** **[4]** **da m*íle* d*h*éc droic*hea*t** le fo ngab*h*uit lo*n*ga dim*h*ora cen t*r*asc*r*ad*h*	[1] Post **5 dietas** [2] pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay quod in nostra lingua sonat **civitas celi** 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 **circuitus 100** in giro continet miliaria vel circa **pontes habet lapideos 12.000** tante altitudinis ut navis magna sub eis ut plurimum transire possit; est

[816] Gadrat, *Lire*, 146.

seoil dib **[8]** **fil loc*h* a me*a*don na cat*h*r*ach* sin 7 .xxx. m*íle* na uirti*mch*eall. di in*i*s f*air* dun rigda a me*a*d*h*on gacha hin*n*si dib*h* ni la ne*a*ch f*or* bit*h* iat so*m* 7 i*n* as fe*a*rr do b*h*iud*h* 7 d*eoch* 7 m*h*ainib*h* na cathr*ach* cuirid a me*a*do*n* na ndui*n*te 7 inti dian*a*d ail fl*eadh*ug*h*ad*h* do d*h*ena*mh* tiaga*i*t dia toc*h*aithim*h* in*n*tib*h* 7 fog*h*eb*h*a 7 ni la ne*a*ch don cat*h*r*aigh* di*n*n ná caisl*én* da fuil fora fe*a*d*h* ac*h*t coim*h*d*h*e*a*s da g*ach* aen iats*umh* 7 as ead*h* do b*eir* an timat droic*h*e*a*t si*n* le f*or* sroth*aibh* 7 u*isceadhaibh* fil si 7 ni b*h*i an i*m*th*eacht* f*or* araili *acht* dib*h* **[5]** 7 tor dithogl*aidh*i for cec*h* ndroic*h*e*a*t dib*h* **7 .iiii. m*íl*i*d* ag magnus ac fa*r*e f*or* ce*ch* ndroiche*at* dib*h*** ar o*mh*un a himp*óidh* fair ór ba cath*air* oire*ach*uis do rig*h*r*aidh* m*a*nguay isid*h*e feacht riam*h*.	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] **Versus meridiem in ipsa civitate lacus est magna quem in giro 30 continet miliaria; in medio lacus due parve sunt insule** 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 animlaium in mundorum. [14] Ibi Magni Kaam currit moneta. [15] Magnus in civitate adhibere custodia ne civitas rebellare presumat ne ne latrotinia admittantur [16] **In quolibet enim ponte tam die quam nocte 10 deputantur custodes** [17] In hac civitate mons est turrim huius altissimam supra quam tabule sunt ex asseribus composite

[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	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 occeanum 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] **Provinciam Mangi divisit Magnus Kaam in regna 9** 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] **Provincia enim Mangi habet in universo 1200 civitates.** [23] In hac provincia talis est consuetudo ut cum nascitur puer parentes diem et horam nativitatis et sub quo

[6] **do ro*n*sat palas rig*da* f*or* loc*h* a me*a*d*h*on na cat*h*r*ach* sin ni fuil s*éd* na sam*hail* do p*h*alas for bit*h* do **.xx. slu*aigh*t*h*each lais** 7 **.x. m*íle*** do t*h*oim*h*il*eadh* in g*ach* slu*aigh*t*h*ea*ch* d*h*ib*h* 7 tene bithbeo a me*a*d*h*on gacha b*r*uid*h*ne d*h*ib*h* 7 **m*íle* do *sh*eomrad*h*uib*h* solusda** f*r*ia suan 7 f*r*easdal i*n*a nur t*h*imceall co nei*mh* noir f*or*ra 7 co fuat*h* gach anman*n*a ece*a*nn*us* f*or* bit*h* a*r* na rin*n*ad*h* f*or*ro do ilbre*acht*ad*h* 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 teneabat 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 spacii 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

[9] .xl. m*íle* tig*h*id*h*is .xl. fe*ac*h*t* is ait*r*eab*hth*a*igh* don cat*h*air si*n*. **[11]** Imut ecl*as* noirm*h*itne*a*ch isi*n* cat*h*r*aigh* sin **7 ni fhil *acht* aen e*a*clais dib*h* ag fogn*amh nó* ad*hradh* do dia** **[10]** ni t*us*mi*d*te*r* gein i*n*nti n*ach* sc*ri*b*hth*ar a ainm 7 in c*ruth* fo*r*sa mbi in re 7 reann*a* ni*mh*e oca t*us*m*headh* 7 dia nd*each* ne*a*ch dib*h* as be*a*ntar a ai*n*m as 7 sc*ri*bht*h*ar aris he 7 ainm a e*a*ch 7 a mai*n*e 7 a aesa cumt*h*a 7 loiscte*r* diblinuib*h* a*r* aen ria chorp 7 da*r* leo g*ach* a sc*ri*bt*h*a d*h*o do beidis a*r* aen f*r*is isin be*ath*aid*h* naile	continet ut earum numerus **ad mille milia et xl milia (1.040.000) familiarum ascendat.** **[28 skipped]** [29] **in tota hac civitate una tamen christianorum nestorinorum est ecclesia.** [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 hospitum receptores in suis scribunt quaternis viatorum nomina quos in sua receperunt hospicia.

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 teneabat 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. míle 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	
IMP	**Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Lat. 131. α.s.6.14 ff. 28vb-29vb**
[1] fil cath*air* naili **uid*hi* .u. lait*he*** fr*i*a a t*h*aeb*h* sin	[1] Post recessum a civitate Singuy **itur per dietas 5** et inveniuntur in via civitates plures magne ubi negotiationes maxime fiunt. [2] Postmodum pervenitur ad nobilissimam civitatem Quinsay quod in nostra linga sonat **civitas celi** 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 **in giro miliaria 100** aut circa habet vero **pontes lapideos 12.000** 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
[3] quinlay a hai*n*m inan son 7 i*n* **cath*air* ne*a*m*h*d*h*a** dia te*a*ng*aid* siu*mh* ár ni f*h*uil f*or* bit*h* cath*air* is mó inás.	
[2] **c*ét* m*íle* i*n*a ti*m*cill**	
[4] **da m*íle* d*h*éc droic*hea*t** le fo ngab*h*uit lo*n*ga dim*h*ora cen t*r*asc*r*ad*h* seoil dib*h*	

	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 propris 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 **est in ipsa civitate lacus magnus que 30 miliaria in giro continet** 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 **in medio lacus illius due parvue insule sunt** et in qualibet ipsarum est palatium nobile et pulcrum valde ubi sunt preparamenta et vasa omnia necessaria pro nuptiis vel solemni convivio si quis igitur vult in solemni loco tenere convivium accedit illuc ubi
[8] fil loc*h* a me*a*don na cat*h*r*ac*h sin 7 .xxx. m*íle* na uirti*mch*eall. **di in*i*s f*air*** dun rigda a me*a*d*h*on gacha hin*n*si dib*h* ni la ne*a*ch f*or* bit*h* iat s*o*m 7 i*n* as fe*a*rr do b*h*iud*h* 7 d*eoch* 7 m*h*ainib*h* na cathr*ac*h cuirid a me*a*do*n* na nduin*t*e 7 inti dian*a*d ail fl*eadh*ug*h*ad*h* do d*h*ena*mh* tiag*ai*t dia toc*h*aithim*h* in*n*tib*h* 7 fog*h*eb*h*a 7 ni la ne*a*ch don cat*h*r*aigh*	

di*n*n ná caisl*én* da fuil fora fe*a*d*h* ac*h*t coim*h*d*h*e*a*s da g*ach* aen iats*umh* 7 as ead*h* do b*eir* an timat d*r*oic*h*e*a*t si*n* le f*or* s*r*oth*aibh* 7 u*isceadhaibh* fil si 7 ni b*h*i an i*m*th*eacht* f*or* araili *acht* dib*h* **[5]** 7 tor dithogl*aidh*i for cec*h* nd*r*oic*h*e*a*t dib*h* **7 .iiii. m*íl*i*d* ag magnus ac fa*r*e f*or* ce*ch* nd*r*oiche*at* dib*h*** ar o*mh*un a himp*óidh* fair ór ba cath*air* oire*ach*uis do rig*h*r*aidh* man*g*uay isid*h*e feacht riam*h*.	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

[7] in ta*n* ro irg*h*ab*h* mag*nus* c*am* in cath*air* si*n* 7 p*r*oui*n*dsi manguay **ro hoirdnea*dh* nai riga do thar*tr*a*idhi* fo*rr*o** 7 do ronn*ad* fo*r*ro **in da m*íle* decc cath*air*** bai isin rigi sin occ*us* ni raib*h*i cath*air* d*h*ib*h* gan d*r*ong do mile*a*d*h*uib mag*nus* c*am* oca hi*m*coi*mh*et ar om*h*un a himp*óidh* fa*ir*	multum enim student munditie corporali. [20] Ultra civitate Quinsay ad miliaria 25 ad plagam orientalem est occeanum 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 **divisit Magnus Kaam in regna 9 dans** 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 **in universo mille civitas et duecentas** 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 excertibus et stipendiariis Magni Kaam. [23] In hac civitate Quinsay et in tota provincia Mangi consuetudo est cum statim ut puer nascitus parentes eius scribi faciunt die et

	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
[6] do ro*n*sat palas rig*da* f*or* loc*h* a me*a*d*h*on na cat*h*r*ach* sin ni fuil s*éd* na sam*hail* do p*h*alas for bit*h* do **.xx. sl*uaigh*t*h*each lais 7 **.x. m*íle*** do t*h*oim*h*il*eadh* in g*ach* sl*uaigh*t*h*e*ach* d*hib*h 7 tene bithbeo a	

me*a*d*h*on gacha b*r*uid*h*ne d*h*ib*h* 7 **m*íle* do s*h*eomrad*h*uib*h* sol*u*sda** f*r*ia suan 7 f*r*easdal i*n*a nur t*h*imceall co nei*mh* noir f*or*ra 7 co fuat*h* gach anman*n*a ece*a*nn*us* f*or* bit*h* a*r* na rin*n*ad*h* f*or*ro do ilbre*acht*ad*h* gacha datha **[9] .xl. m*íle* tig*h*id*h*is .xl. fe*ac*h*t* is ait*r*eab*h*th*aigh* don cat*h*air si*n.*** **[11]** Imut ecl*as* noirm*h*itne*a*ch isi*n* cat*h*r*aigh* sin **7 ni fhil *acht* aen e*a*clais dib*h* ag fogn*amh nó* ad*h*r*adh* do dia** **[10]** ni t*us*mi*d*te*r* gein i*n*nti n*ach* sc*r*i*bh*th*a*r a ainm 7 in c*ruth* f*or*sa mbi in re 7 reann*a* ni*mh*e oca t*us*m*headh* 7 dia nd*each* ne*a*ch dib*h* as be*a*ntar a ai*n*m as 7 sc*r*ibht*h*ar aris he 7 ainm a e*a*ch 7 a mai*n*e 7 a aesa cumt*h*a 7 loiscte*r* diblinuib*h* a*r* aen ria chorp 7 da*r* leo g*ach* a sc*r*i*b*t*h*a d*h*o do beidis a*r* aen f*r*is isin be*ath*aid*h* naile	collocatis sunt autem aule picte et deaurate pulcherrimo opere in ipso etiam palatio sunt **camere 1000** 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 **ad mille milia et sexcenta milia (1.600.000) familiarum ascendat.** [28] Palatia in hac civitate multa sunt et pulcre valde. [29] In tota autem hac civitate **una sola ecclesia christianorum nestorinorum est.** [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 hospitiis recepiunt et quo mense et quo die in eius hospitio sunt ingressi.

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. mílid* 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 Preußicher 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 Preußicher 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, Universiteitsbiblioteek 13 15th C

42) San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real monasterio, Q.II.13 15th C

MSS written in Italy:

20) London, British Library, Add. 19513 14th 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] 14th C

MSS written in the Netherlands:

11) Gießen, Universitätsbiliothek 218 15th C

MSS written in England:

1) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70 14th C

3) Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83 14th C

4) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17 14th C

6) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5 14th C

12) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84] Early 15th C

19) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75 15th C

22) London, British Library, Arundel 13 14th C

23) London, British Library, Harley 5115 14th 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 14th C

7) Dublin, Trinity College E.5.20 [Abbot 632] 15th 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 separative 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 separative 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 Universiteitsbiblioteek 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, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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 provintiam divisit Magnus Kaam in **quatuor** regna dans regem proprium.

(Ghent, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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 ta*n* ro irg*h*ab*h* mag*nus* c*am* in cath*air* si*n* 7 p*r*oui*n*dsi manguay ro hoirdne*a*d*h* **nai riga** do thar*t*r*aidhi* fo*r*ro.

5)

[8] fil loc*h* a me*a*don na cat*h*r*ach* sin 7 **.xxx. m*íle*** na uirti*mch*eall.

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 aquire 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, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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).

Provintia vero mangy habet in universo civitates **.m. .ccc.**

(Ghent, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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 míle 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 14th C

3) Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/83 14th C

4) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17 14th C

6) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5 14th C

12) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84] Early 15th C

19) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 75 15th C

22) London, British Library, Arundel 13 14th C

[831] Dutschke, *Pipino*, 246.

23) London, British Library, Harley 5115 — 14th 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] — 15th 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 separative readings distinguish the manuscripts of the 'English' branch into a number of subgroups. In the following discussion, each separative 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 α).

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 separative 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:

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[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 mirable in quo Facfur quondam rex Mangy tenebat curiam primo **locus** magnus circumcinctus est muro per quadrum altidudinis 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 resemblence 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 Preußicher 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 dio 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 Preußicher Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 70 14th C

4) Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17 14th C

11) Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek 218 15th C

12) Glasgow, University Library of the Hunterian Museum T.4.1 [84] Early 15th C

22) London, British Library, Arundel 13 14th 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 housholds, 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:

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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 familiorum 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 separative 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 Preußicher 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 Preußicher 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 **addi*ti.***
(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 Preußicher 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 h-omun 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 Preußicher 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 fortunus 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 Preußicher 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 similarites 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 cath*air* naili uid*h*i **d*h*a la** allamuigh don cathr*aigh* s*in*.	I.46 quod in longitudine vie continet **dietas tres.**	I.46 quod in longitudine vie continet **dietas tres.**
(¶27) [2] **.l. ai*n*de*r*** la ce*ch* nae*n* dib*h*.	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] Cid*h* fil an*n* *acht* ro um*h*la*i*gsea*t* **.uii. rig*h*** d*h*o la *h*om*un* a ima*ir*ea*c*.	I.52 brevi vero in tempore **provincias .vii.** cepit.	I.52 brevi vero in tempore **provincias octo** cepit.
(¶29) [4] Bui laech am*ra* […] **Simisis** a ai*n*m […] (¶35) Facb*a*i*s* m*a*c dieis, **Caiter** a ai*n*m. Facbais sin mac,	I.54 Primus igitur Tartarorum rex fuit **Chinchis** secundus **Carter**, trius **Satyn**, quartus **Rothon** quintus **Mongu** sextus **Cublay.**	I.54 Primus igitur rex Tartarorum fuit **Chinchis**, secundus **Cui**, tercius **Bacui**, quartus **Alau**, quintus **Manguth**, sextus

Satiu a ai*n*m. Facb*a*is s*in* m*a*c, **Roton** a ai*n*m. Facb*a*is Roton m*a*c, **Mongu** a ai*n*m. Is uad*h*a sin ro chi*n* **Cublay**.		**Cublay**
(¶41) [5] **.xxx.** beim do luirg dhó *nó* **.lx.** m*ad* ci*n* is mo indás, *nó* a **.x. *for* cét** m*ad* mo i*n* tr*e*as fe*acht*.	I.61 **septem** vicibus fuste ceditur aut **.xvii.** aut **.xviii.** secundum mensuram peccati est percussionum **numerus usque ad centum semper addendo decem**.	I.61 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**.
(¶50) [6] ***in tocht*mad la *déc*** do mí Aug*uist*	I.66 die autem **.xxviii.** augusti Magnus Caam	I.66 Die autem **.XXVIII.** augusti Magnus Kaam
(¶84) [7] i*n* to*cht*ma*d* la .xx. do m*h*i **Decimb*ir***	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 t*h*ais*ech* d*éc* la Cublay 7 as iat ba coi*m*sig*h* a*r*a ca*n*ta fr*i*s 7 uaid*h* **cet*hr*a cric*h*a .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] uid*h*i **.xxx.** la i*n*a 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*h*o i*n*a **.x. m*íli*** dib*h* s*i*n.	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, Universitätsbibiliothek 218, f. 80ra).

2us carcter 3us saim 4us **roton** 5us mongu 6us cublay.
(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußicher 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, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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 sbatiu 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 percussionum 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 percussionum numerus usque ad centum semper addendo decem.
>
> (Giessen, Universitätsbibiliothek 218, f. 80va).

> .vii. ictibus fuste ceditur aut xvii aut **xxviii** pro mensura eius peccati est percussionum numerus usque ad .c. semper addendo .x.
>
> (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußicher Kulturbesitz 4° 70, f. 72r).

> vii ictibus fuste ceditur aut xvii aut **xxviii** pro mensura eius peccati est percussionum 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, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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, Universitätsbibiliothek 218, f. 84va).

habet magnus kaam barones .xii. qui .**xxxiiii**. provinciis sunt prefecti.
(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußicher 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, Universiteitsbiblioteek 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.
(Kórnik 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 provinciys 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 **trentaquatro** provinzie.[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, Universitätsbibiliothek 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 separative 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, Universitätsbibiliothek 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 14th C

6) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5 14th C

20) London, British Library 19513 14th C

24) London, British Library, Royal 14. C. XIII before 1352

38) Princeton, University Library, Garret 157[855] 15th 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, Universitätsbibiliothek 218, f. 89ra)

in singulis ipsarum per magnum kaam positi sunt custodes ne forte **rebellare** presumant.

(Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußicher 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 conlcusions 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 survivng 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 t-ochtmhad 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. míli*. 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 verison 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 Ibernia, which has been anglicised to James of Ireland.[878] However, I am not aware of any other reference to Jacobo de Ibernia, 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 Ibernia. 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 Ibernia 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'Camerarj 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 Ibernia 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.

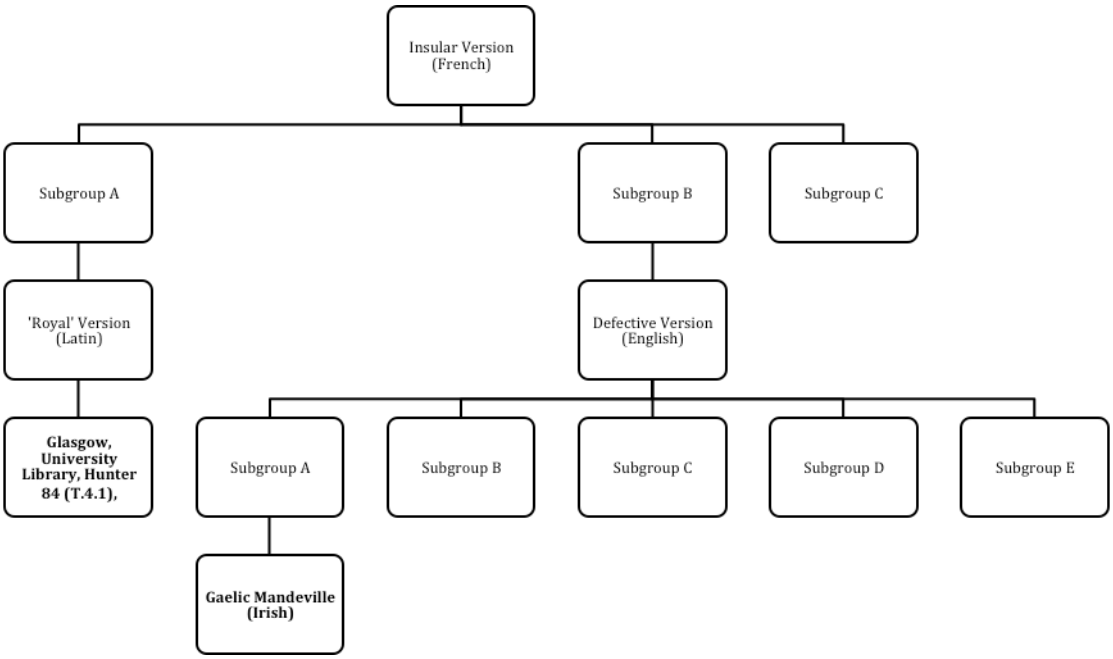
of the *Relatio* contained in Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 84 (T.4.1) belongs to subgroup C3 of the *Relatio*, a parallel branch to C9 in the development of the various Latin versions of the text.[881] The version of the *Relatio* contained in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 903, belongs 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 manuscripts 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:

> At*á* do thes innti co tuitit [magairledha] daeine sís ara cossaib innti le mét díscáeilti 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 hongiþ doun 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 :

> At*á* do t*hea*s in*n*ti co tuitit daei*n*e sís a*r* a cossaib*h* in*n*te le m*éad* díscáeilte i*n* te*a*sa.[897]
>
> At*á* do t*h*eas in*n*ti sin co t*uitíd* dai*n*e sís ar a co*suibh* i*nn*ti le *m*ed i*n* te*a*sa.[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 Johanns 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 hyngez 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]

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[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 Fínghean 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.

Liber primus.

Incipit liber domini Hayton Armeni de Veneys
de mirabilibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum.

Illum prudentis honorabilis ac fidelissimi domini Hayton Armeni de Veneys de consuetudinibus et conditionibus orientalium regionum ab eo vulgari fideliter editum et constipatum, compellor ego frater Franciscus primus de nouem ordinis fratrum predicatorum a plerisque fratribus patribus et meis veridica et fideli translatione de vulgari ad latinum transferre, ut qui amplius latino quam vulgari delectantur eloquio, necnon et hii qui aptae linguae varietatem diuersam aut aptae suffitatem phrematum pretatem lingue intelligo omnino aut facilius nesciunt aut delectabilius legant seu libentius capiant. Dudum et sepius laborem hunc quem me assumere compellunt vel compulerunt precibus plenius potuerunt. Et alii contemplationi vacantes et intimis sublimia prospicientes sicut terrena capio, ita terrena despicio jerusalem. Ego autem eorum obtemperans missioni libri ipsius continuam fideliter et integraliter ad latinum planum et aptum tituli quem sublimissimus libri materia gerunjebat. Et ne labor hujusmodi manus ant inutilis videat consideram ex libri inspectione fideles quos posse multiplicis gratie munitum a deo principi. Cuius et in varietate decoris et magnitudine creaturae mirabilia dei aspicientes ipsius potuit virtutem et sapienciam mirabilius admirari. Aut videntes gentiles quos tanta cecitatis tenebrositate tantis et crebris inuolutos gratias deo agent qui fideles suos lucis vitatis illustrans de tam periculosis tenebris vocatos dignatus est in admirabile lumen suum. Et eorum ignorancie condolentes et illuminatos credimus quos dum prehibent vel inuenerint christianos desiderio confundantur. Cum infideles populi promptiores sint ad veritatis similitudinem qui ad veri dei cultum prompti sunt qui christi sunt capacius insigniti. Cum etiam religiosos aliquos corde inuocato potuerint pro ampliacione fidei christiane ut nomen dei nichil christi in tantam multitudinem populorum obtinuerit habitum desiderant omni fluenta divino obtenebratos nacios fidelium ubi quidem messis multa operarii pauci. Et de

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 mansucript.[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:

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[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 pleasureful account, an adventure in faraway lands rather than as a straightforward source of information.'[923]

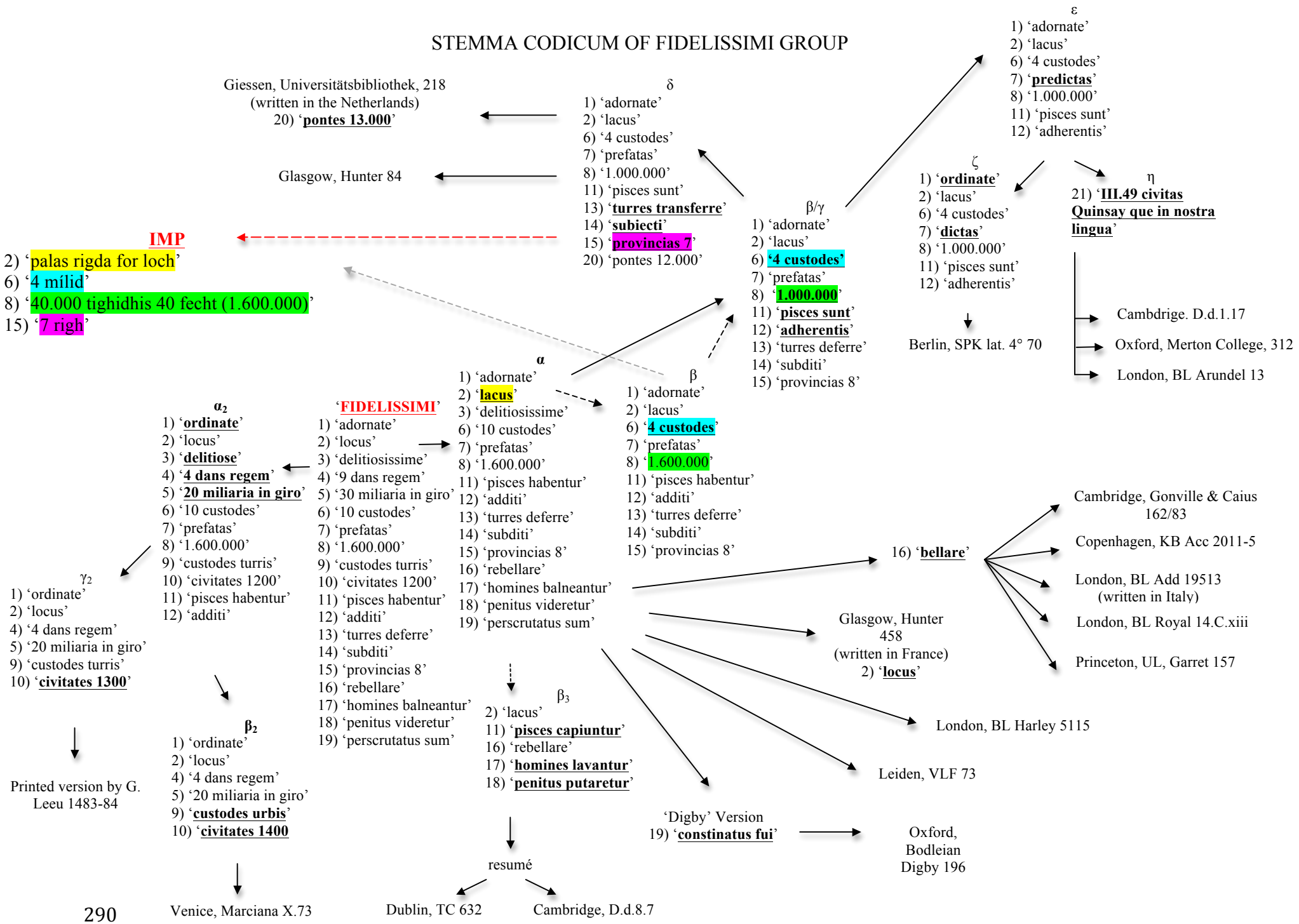
This observation may also be made in regard to the perception and purpose of IMP, and may help to clarify the manner in which the Irish translator was approaching his exemplar, explaining why the factual and precise information contained in P and valued by many of its readers across Europe, took second 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

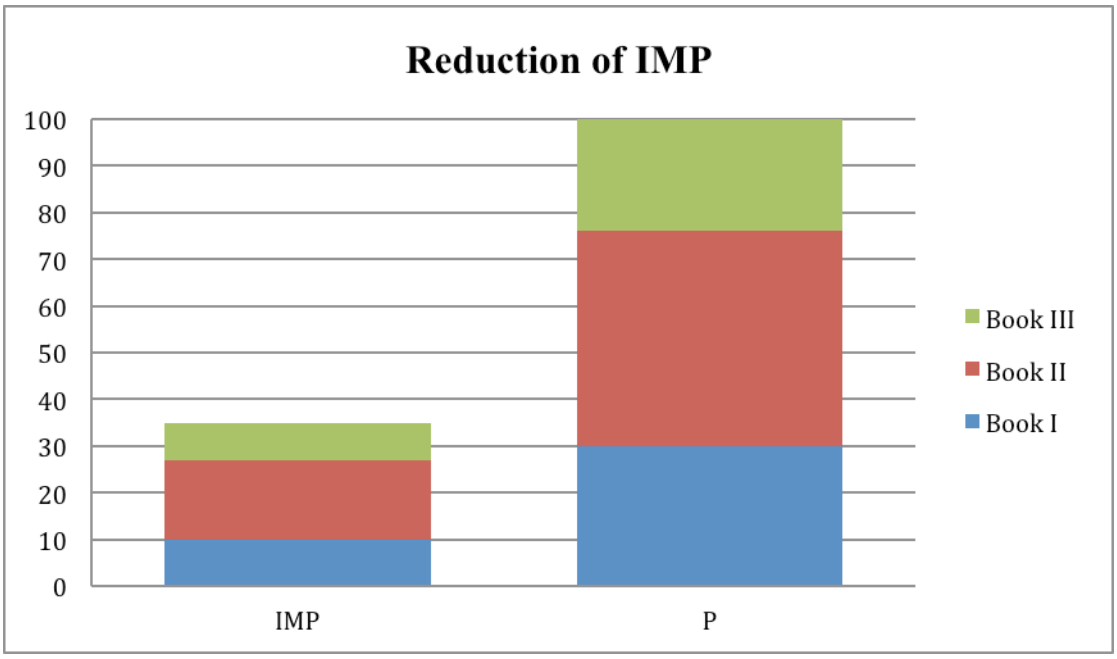
To understand how IMP relates to P, and in order to provide an overview of the manner in which P was being abridged and translated in IMP, this chapter will begin with the analysis of data based on word counts. Such an analysis will show that the author of IMP was giving particular areas of his translation 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 *Descripcio 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. 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.

[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 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.
LII. De primo rege Tartarorum Chychis et discordia eius cum rege suo.
LIII. De conflictu Tartarorum cum rege illo et victoria ipsorum.
LIV. Cathalogus 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 Sangui.
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 festivitatibus Tartarorum et magorum illusionibus.
LXVII. De monachis quibusdam ydolatris.

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 succint 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 ríghe Caria 7 ríghi Cambaech 7 ríghe Semanach 7 ríghe 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 scíth tenga fria tuarascbáil 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 M*h*agn*u*s Cam a cath*air* Ca*m*balau c*on* f*h*ac*a*d te*acht*a dia s*h*aig*h*it. Be*ann*uig*h*it dó. Fo*chtus* M*aghnus* scela dib*h*. 'Fuigli r*uin* agai*n*n d*ui*t,' a*r* na te*acht*a. Ad*r*e Mag*hnus* as i*n* tsuid*h*i rigda i mbui c*o n*d*ech*sat f*or* l*eth*. 'Naim' ol na te*acht*a '.i. b*rath*a*ir* hath*ar*sa[935] ar ndiult*adh* umla rig*h*i d*ui*tsi. Do roi*n*e 7 Cadau .i. m*ac* a b*rath**ar* aenta at ag*haidh*si.[936] Atat 7 na cet*hri* rig*h* fil fo *ma**mus* Naim lín a sl*úaigh* ac toig*heacht* at rigisi .i. Fuci Orcra 7 Cauli 7 Ba*r*sceel 7 Suchitingni[937] 7 asb*er*it c*on*ad fe*a*rr a ndlig*hedh* f*or*sin rig*h*i annaisi.' Ba tus rigi do C*h*ublay i*n* tan si*n*[938] ia*r* mb*ris**eadh* cat*h* n-imd*h*a lais f*or* iltirib*h*.[939] Ba gaet*h* in tí f*r*is ar can*a*d si*n*.[940] Gnuis rigda lais co n-d*er*cuib*h* dis*h*oillsid*h*e.[941] M*éd* 7 calm*acht* m*h*il*ed* lais.[942] Do oirdis a b*h*aill diaraili.[943] Roraid*h* do*n*o n*ach* cuirfe*adh* a c*h*oroi*n* rig dia chi*n*d no gu n-aith*eadh* f*or*ro in fuigiull sin.[944] Faid*h*is te*acht*a f*or* ce*a*nn a laech 7 a rig n-imf*h*oicsi ar ba d*e*rb lais dia cuire*adh* toga*irm* f*or* a s*h*log*h*u i cianuib*h* a f*h*is df*h*ag*h*b*ail* do Naim 7 t*r*iall teith*eadh* do fo f*h*oit*r*ib 7 dai*n*gn*ibh*.[945] Faid*h*is coim*héad* ar na cona*ir*ib*h*

[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 esercito 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 retrocessiset omnino aut ad tutiora loca suum exercitum transtulisset.

ar om*un* scel df*h*ag*h*b*ail* do Naim.[946] Ba he lin in tsl*úaigh* do f*r*eaga*ir* he .i. da c*h*at*h* dh*é*g 7 .xxx. m*íle* mar*c*ac*h* in ce*ch* cat*h* dib*h*[947] 7 di t*r*oig*h*te*ch* um cec*h* mar*c*ach.[948] Dia tog*h*a*ir*me*a*d*h* a s*h*log*h*u i cian*aibh* ni ria rim*h* f*or*ro.[949] Ro h-i*n*dl*eadh* ceit*hr*i helifai*n*ti do*n* rig*h* 7 caislen cla*r*uig f*or*ro.[950] Teit an*n* do*no* i remt*us* in c*h*at*h*a 7 a m*eir*gi huasa.[951] Di la f*or* f*h*ic*h*it do oc tinol i*n* morsl*uaigh* s*in*.[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, Universitätsbiliothek 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 uxoribus 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, Universitätsbiliothek 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 Preußicher 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, Universitätsbiliothek 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]

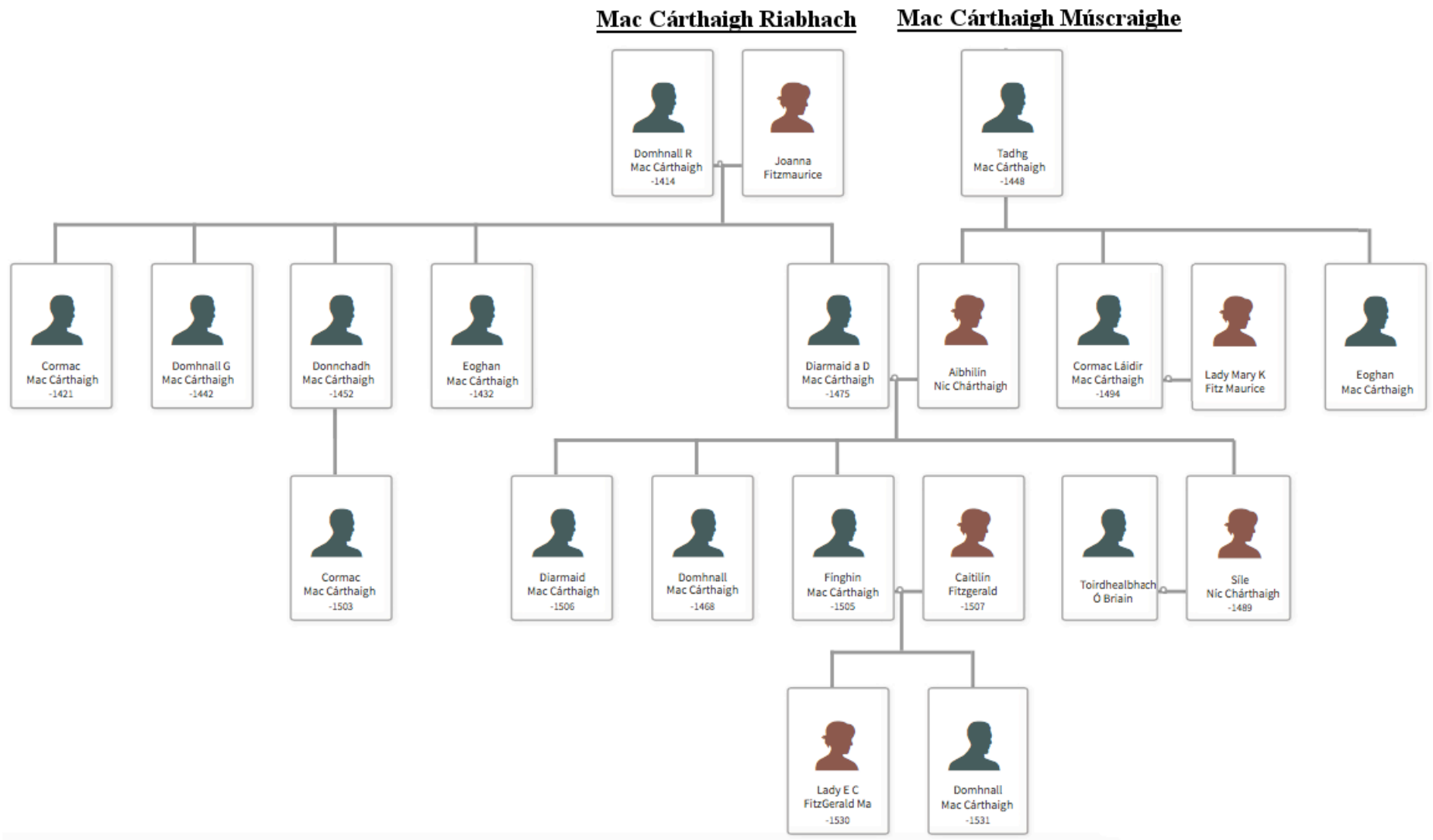
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reading without *equitum* from Ghent, Universiteitsbiblioteek 13f. 94r: *ccc et lx milia militum*, showing how the reading *equitum* is only present in the English branch manuscripts of the *fidelissimi* group.

[958] Giessen, Universitätsbiliothek 218, 82rb: distinxit in duodecennes ita ut quelibet acies 30 milia militum contineret: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußicher 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.


Mac Cárthaigh Riabhach
Mac Cárthaigh Múscraighe
Domhnall R Mac Cárthaigh -1414
Joanna Fitzmaurice
Tadhg Mac Cárthaigh -1448
Cormac Mac Cárthaigh -1421
Domhnall G Mac Cárthaigh -1442
Donnchadh Mac Cárthaigh -1452
Eoghan Mac Cárthaigh -1432
Diarmaid a D Mac Cárthaigh -1475
Aibhilín Nic Chárthaigh
Cormac Láidir Mac Cárthaigh -1494
Lady Mary K Fitz Maurice
Eoghan Mac Cárthaigh
Cormac Mac Cárthaigh -1503
Diarmaid Mac Cárthaigh -1506
Domhnall Mac Cárthaigh -1468
Finghin Mac Cárthaigh -1505
Caitilín Fitzgerald -1507
Toirdhealbhach Ó Briain
Síle Nic Chárthaigh -1489
Lady E C FitzGerald Ma -1530
Domhnall Mac Cárthaigh -1531

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 Mhúscraighe.[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 Mheic Charthaigh Riabhaigh, with the help of their maternal uncle, Cormac Láidir Mac Carthaigh Múscraighe, 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 Cairpreach 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 Riabhaigh 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:

> Coccadh 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 leíth 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 Dalaigh.[968] The similiarities between the injustices

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[966] *Ann. Conn.*: 1478.6: *Cormac Mac Donnchada Meg Carthaig do dallad la a braithrechaib 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 Dalaigh*. 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
nírbh 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 inheritence 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 Mathghamhan 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:

> Cuirimíd 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 laídh so thuas do-rínne Mathghamh*ain* mac Domhnaill mhic Eoghain hÍ Dháluigh, duba comhthrom do Chormac Mág Carrthaigh, gá dhearbhudh gurab égcóir do-rinne Cormac ar Dhiarmuid Mág Carrthaigh do bhí 'na éndearbhráthair athar aigi 7 'na chairdeas Crí*sd* 7 'na altroinn. 7 ar na haghbhuraibh sin do dhligh Fínghen Mág Carrthaigh tigheranas a athar do bean*u*dh de go hégcóir do ghabháil cuigi gu cóir *do bh*reth 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 Crísd*, 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 trumph 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 epsiode 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 T*r*i mhissa gnathaighit bheith amhl*aid* sin.[977] (II.9.1). ¶72 Palas in righ i meadhon na cathr*a*c sin.[978] (II.9.2 and 4). ¶77 .U. dhoirrsi toebh f*r*ia t*oebh*.[979] (II.9.3). ¶74 Sluaight*he*c ina meadon. Do marm*uir* rotocbhadh.[980] (II.9.5). ¶75 SE .m. no bítis oc toc*ai*thiu*m*.[981] (II.9.5). ¶73 Din*n*a na ni*ngen* 7 na laech.[982] (II.9.6-7). ¶81 Fil tuluch *ar*d 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 cath*air* naili la mag*nus* c*am*.[985] (II.10.1). ¶69 Bat*ar* .iiii. cula f*or*incathr*aig* si*n*. [986] (II.10.2). ¶71 Ata clog romor f*or*a lar. [987] (II.10.3).	10. Descripcio civitatis Cambalu.
¶70 Ni deant*ur* c*r*eic na cu*n*dr*a*d.[988] (II.11.3).	11. De suburbiis et mercatoribus maximis civitatis Cambalu.
¶76 .iiii. taisigh imchoimeta f*air*.[989] (II.12.2).	12. Qualiter persona Magni Kaam magnifice custoditur.
¶78 No shuidh*ed*h cublay i*n*ashuidhe righ.[990] (II.13.1-2). ¶79 No bhidh tun*n*a ordha am*edh*o*n* 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:

> Bat*ar* .iiii. cula f*or* in cathr*aigh* si*n* 7 .iii. m*íle* f*or* cech n-ae .iii.a dorus umhaid*h*i f*or* cech ceathram*hain* di 7 di*n*d dithoghl*aidh*i f*or* cech ndor*us* 7 f*or* ce*ch* cuil dibh gu ngr*i*ananuib*h* sol*us*da gu hall*adh*aibh righda is an*n*si*n* di*a* cuirt*er* a n-airm 7 a n-eid*idh* 7 a n-eirr*idh* uili dia taiscidh co huai*r* 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 tranlsated 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 rig*h* i me*adh*on na cathr*ach* sin. .iiii. cula lais. M*íle* fod ce*ch* ae d*ibh.*[995] Istad*h* oirm*hi*tne*ach* lasna .iiii. riguib*h* fil fo*rro*, **cu hall*adhaibh* rigda** 7 **cu ngr*ianan*an*aibh* solusda do mhar*ma*i*r* g*h*loi*n*** 7 tuir **dhithog*h*l*aidh*i** fora muraib*h* ina taiscthe a cuai*ch* 7 a n-e*a*scr*a*i 7 a seotu aili.[996] **Di*nn*a na n-i*nghena* 7 na laech a*rchen*a f*or* fia*r*lait i*n* dún*aidh***[997] 7 lubhghuirt **le*a*saighthe** fria taebhuibh,[998] **cu top*r*aibh taitne*a*mhucha**, cu fiadhmhil*ibh* ece*a*nn*uis*[999] **da gach mhon*a*d f*or* bith cu luibhibh ictha cacha te*adhm*a.** Sluaight*each* i*n*a me*a*d*h*o*n.*[1000] **Do mar*mar* ro tocbhadh**. Adbhul a fhod 7 a l*eithed.* Niamh oir fa*ir* allastig 7 dia n-e*acht*a*ir*.[1001] Do rin*n*adh fa*ir* beos do bre*cht*r*adh* g*ach*a datha imhaigi na cath 7 na c*on*gal do rat*ad* is na hiltirib*h* sin[1002] 7 **fuath gach anm*h*an*n*a ece*ann*u*s* f*or* bith, curbo dith amha*ir*c do shuil*ibh* d*ear*cadh fa*ir***.[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

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[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 topraibh taitneamhucha cu fiadhmhilibh eceannuis da gach mhonad for bith cu luibhibh ictha cacha teadhma*.[1006] The use of alliterating adjectives in ***l**ubhghuirt **l**easaighthe* and ***t**opraid **t**aitneamhucha*, 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.

> C*r*icha Mulete do M*a*cam*et*u*s* ad*hr*ait. Fil ri fuirre. Aloadam a ai*n*m. Do ro*n*ta **palas rigda** lais a n**gli*n*d dithoghl*aidh*i** f*or* sliabh ura*r*d co **nei*mh* n-oir** fa*ir co n***gr*ianan**uibh **sol*us*ta** lais cu **lub*h*ghortaibh le*a*saighthe** cu **tobraibh sol*us*da** f*r*ia thaebh.[1012]
>
> **Palas mar*ma**ir** for a la*r* co **sluaigt*eac**h* rigda** lais co **seomr*aid**hibh* sol*us*ta** co **nei*mh* n-oir** f*or*ro allamuigh 7 t*h*all.[1013]
>
> Fil cath*air* oir*eachuis* leou. Do roi*n*e in ri **palas anor*ach*** na me*a*dhon cu **halla rigda** 7 gu **seom*rai*dh*ibh* sol*us*da**.[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 circuncluditur 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** rígda 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 **pióláit** álaind iongantach 7 **sunnach** íarnaidhe ina tiomchioll 7 mórán do **chuaillibh** 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 conjuctive clauses composed of a noun, in bold, and a series of

[1015] Stokes, 'Acallamh', 11: *trí meic Luigdech Mind meic Aengusa .i. tri 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 adapation, 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 deigheinigh 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 ... convolavit 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 incorportated 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 resepectively. 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 air*m*ein beac (...) tursie .i. p*r*oibhi*n*nsi fuil in*n*ti.[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 taise*ach**aibh* na cathr*ach* si*n*.
>
> Bai b*r*atha*ir* righ an aibit san F*r*onses isi*n* cathr*aigh* in tan si*n*. Ba eolach da*no* isna hilbherlaibh, Fransisc*us* a ai*n*m. B*er*ur iar*um* dú a mbat*ar* na maithe ucut 7 cuinghit fa*ir* in leabhor do clodh f*or* cula o the*a*ngaidh na ta*r*taire*a*dh c*us*in te*a*ng*aidh* laitianda. 'Is o*m*un leamsa,' ol se, 'saetha*r* na me*a*nm*an*radh do chaithimh fria gnímhr*adh* idhul 7 ai*n*chreitm*eac**h*.' Guighit he fa an c*ead*na doridisi. 'Do ge*a*ntar,' or se, 'ár gidh scela ai*n*cr*iostaigh*i fhaisneight*ar* su*n*n, mírbhuili in fhirDhia iat-saidhe et g*ach* aen do cluinfe in t-i*m*ut sa an ag*haidh* na hirisi Coi*m*de*t*a, guighfidh co dic*hr*a fa a clodhsum f*or* cula 7 in ne*a*ch n*ach* guighfe caithfidh calma a chuirp f*r*ia clodh. Nisam omhnach-sa riasi*n* leab*hor* sa Mha*r*cais, or ni fhuil go ann. Do thadhaill mu roscsa he ac tab*hair*t mhi*n*d na he*a*cl*ai*si naei*mh*e lais 7 rofhagaibh f*r*ia blaise*ach*t mbais gur fhír so*n* 7 ba diadha in tí Ma*r*c*us*.'
>
> Cidh fil a*n*n t*r*a a*cht* rosti*n*nta P*r*onsisc*us* in leab*hor* so Mha*r*cuis a Tartairidh a Laitin et fa hiat bliadhna in tig*hear*na i*n* tan si*n* .u. bl*iadhain* dec 7 da fhichit 7 .cc. 7 m*íle* bl*iadhain*.[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 langauge, *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 Pronsiscus[1039], a Franciscan friar, *an aibit san Fronses*, versed in many languages, *ba eolach dano isna hilbherlaibh*, 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 laitianda*. 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 Fronses*

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 Fronses isin cathraigh in tan sin. Ba eolach dano isna hilbherlaibh, 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 fideli 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 survery 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-Théfaine, '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 losccadh 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 Domhnaill (†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-aibítt 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-

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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 Laíghe, 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-aibítt 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'Conor (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-aibítt 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 righ an aibit San Fronses*, 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 been[1059] or were Franciscans.[1060]

John Carey[1061] 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 information[1066] 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: 'Mainestir 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 innte 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's[1067] *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 Barra [1072] (†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 library[1074] 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, 'Brussles 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 treaties 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 Fronses*, 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 Carthaigh[1089], 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 Fronses* 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:

> B*er*ur iar*um* dú a mbat*ar* na maithe ucut 7 cuinghit fa*ir* in leabhor do clodh f*or* cula o the*a*ngaidh na ta*r*taire*a*dh c*us*in te*a*ng*aidh* laitianda. 'Is o*m*un leamsa,' ol se, 'saetha*r* na me*a*nm*an*radh do chaithimh fria gnímhr*adh* idhul 7 a*in*chreitm*eac*h.' Guighit he fa an c*ead*na doridisi. 'Do ge*a*ntar,' or se, 'ár gidh scela a*in*cr*iostaigh*i fhaisneight*ar* su*n*n, 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? Scríbhthar in scél út lat, gomba gairdiughadh do fhlaithibh deridh domain é.' Ocus do scríb Brocan.[1097]

> 'Ocus maith, a Brogain', ar Pátraic, 'scribthar 7 lesaigther let scela Cailti 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 gracie 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 countires, the wonders described in IMP are works of the one true Christian God, and are therefore worth documenting.

The effect of Pronsiscus'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 adaptaion. 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 cath*air* n-aili in*n*ti rigi Musul iside 7 do M*ha*camet*us* adr*ait*. Fil cath*air* oirdni*dhi* i*nn*te Baldasi a hai*n*m. Airdri na Sairr*is*ine*a*ch as ri fuirri-seic.

[1103] Miles, *Heroic*, 94.
[1104] Ibid., 95-144 and 145-193.

> Calip*us* a ainm. I*m*at oir 7 mai*n*e lais, or ni hál dó laeich naid cur*aidh* fo*r*a i*n*chaibh.
>
> Luidh **Alan** .i. ri na Ta*rtr*aidhi do irghabhail a chathr*ach* fair a nirt catha. Bai tor dithoghli*dhi* lais a*r*na li*n*adh d'ór 7 do mhainibh. Gabhtha*r* Calip*us* gu*n*a thor 7 *con*a chatha*ir* ár ni rab*h*ut*ar* laeich oca imdhite*a*n. 'Gia thucais anoir 7 a*ir*m*h*idi*n* don or,' ol **Balan**, 'ni fhil anoir na a*ir*m*h*idi*n* aigi fo*r*t aníu.' .u. la cona n-oighthibh do Chalip*us* gi*n* digh gi*n* b*iúdh* curo mhoidh a c*hr*aidhi na cl*íabh* do cu*mh*aidh 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, Universitätsbiliothek 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 *Balangc*.[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 Hülagü 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, '*Fierbras*', 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 righ 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 Innecda 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 bís 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 c*ur* chuil f*r*isi*n* c*r*ich si*n* fosgebha fas*ac*h fodai uidhi .ui. la ndec eisium*h*. Si*n*g si*n*gcalas do*n* taeb*h* araill de. C*r*ich f*or*l*eath*a*n* isidhe. Fil sliabh ura*r*d isin c*r*ich si*n* 7 salmanda*ir* fa*ir*. Be*a*th*adh*uigh be*a*cca iat-s*umh*. Fogniat snáth do thusmhe*adh* f*or*si*n* tal*amhain* a n-inaduibh ingla*n*a 7 no ti*mair*cthe la hoes na c*r*iche 7 no b*er*thea dia nighi cu s*r*othaibh 7 top*r*aibh 7 no b*r*isdtea i leas*t*raibh 7 i soith*igh*ibh p*r*ais. No aduighthea te*n*dte leo dia cur f*or*a la*r* 7 geal do thic*ead*h don g*r*is ia*r* losc*u*d*h* a inglai*n*. Do gnithea eduighi de as a hait*h*li 7 ba uasal a*ir*mhitne*a*ch-so*mh* 7 i*n* tan no ghabh*adh* sal no dorc*h*atu he. Fo*r* an ng*r*is no cuirthe dia glan*ad*h 7 g*lan* no thic*ead*h 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 salamanndra a hainm 7 ni 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 nì 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 clum 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 Maghnus 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 Maghnus 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 wizadry 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 Carey[1147] 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 similiarly 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 *conjuration* 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 conjuration, 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 aniú*, 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 indicicate 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: *viri 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', *viri 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 ocus 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 of Miena, the Irish author makes use of a formula found in a number of other Medieval Irish texts, namely: *ba calma do cuired 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 médhe**.[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 adaptaion 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

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[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 furfoccra 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 righ an aibit san Fronses 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 pleasureful 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 analysises 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 beeen 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, succint 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 resemblence 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 comissioned Richard Frampton to write the Glasgow manuscript at the beginning of the fifteenth century were alligned 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 righ an aibit San Fronses*. 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 library[1180] 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 righ in aibit San Fronses* 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 taiseach*aib* na cathr*a*c si*n*. Bai b*r*ath*air*
2. righ[ui *expuncted*] anaibit san f*r*onses isi*n* cathr*aig*
3. intan si*n*. Ba eoluch da*no* isna hilbherlaibh
4. Fransisc*us* a ai*n*m. B*er*ur iar*u*m du a mbat*ar*
5. na maithe ucut 7 cuinghit f*air* in leabhor
6. doclodh f*or* cula otheangaidh na t*ar*taireadh
7. c*us*inteang*aidh* laitianda. IS o*m*un leamsa ol
8. se saethar na menm*an*radh do chaithimh fria
9. gnímhr*adh* idhul 7 ai*n*chreitm*e*c. Guighit he fa
10. an ce*t*na doridisi. Dogeant*ar* or se ár gidh
11. scéla ai*n*cr*istaidh*i fhaisneight*er* su*n*n. mirbhuili
12. in fhirdhia iatsaidhhe et g*a*c aen docluinfe
13. in ti*m*utsa a nag*aidh* na hirsi coi*m*d*e*ta guighfidh
14. co dic*r*a faaclodhsu*m* f*or* cula 7 i*n* neach n*a*c guigh
15. fe caithfidh calma a cuirp f*r*ia clodh. Ni
16. sam omhnachsa riasi*n*leab*ar*sa mh*ar*cais or
17. ni fhuil go an*n*. Do thadhaill muroscsa he
18. ac tabh*air*t mhi*n*d na heacl*ais*i naei*m*e lais 7 rofhag
19. aibh f*r*ia blaisec*h*t mbais gur fhirso*n* 7 ba
20. diadha intí m*ar*c*us*. [¶2] Cidh fil an*n* t*r*a *acht* ros
21. tin*n*ta p*r*onsisc*us* inleab*ar*so mh*ar*cuis a tar
22. tairidh a laitin et fahiat bliadhna in
23. tig*er*na i*n* tansi*n* .u. bl*iadna* dec 7 d[a *on erasure*] fhicit 7
24. 7 .cc. 7 .m. bl*iadan*. // si. tir isidhe *con*im*at*
25. [¶3] IN air*m*ein beac ceata*mus* fochis do magn*us* fil
26. cathr*a*c 7mai*n*e nanaithn*idi* f*r*ia c*r*eic 7 cu*n*d
27. radh. Glaisia is cath*air* oireachais di 7 *ar* muir
28. ata si. tursie .i. p*r*oibhi*n*nsi fuil in*n*ti. tír
29. shléibtighi isidhe 7 do m*a*cumet*us* adhruid
30. eich amra leo 7 i*m*at sida. // mham*us*
31. [¶4] IN*air*mei*n* mhor im*morro* tir f*or*l*et*han isidhe. Fo
32. magn*uis* fuil si. i*m*ut cathr*a*c 7mai*n*e leo
33. da chath*air* oirdn*id*i le. agiron 7bariri*m*
34. a nanmu*n*na 7 isintirsi*n* ata slíab ar
35. menia. IS *air*side ro airis i*n*áirc i*ar* t*er*na*m*
36. odhilin*n*. [¶5] IS f*r*iatoebhsidhe ata p*r*oibi*n*nsi sor
37. anorum 7s*r*uth ola f*or* teib*ir*sin in*n*sidhe do
38. g*re*s dia lint*ar* lo*n*ga 7b*ar*cu na ceann*tur* foicsi

f. 121rb

1. 7 neamhf*oi*csi 7fuath aiq*u*ile *ar*gualui*n*n ca*c*h
2. ae dib ar na t*usmed*h. Do isa adhrait. Fil
3. mai*n*ist*er* isi*n* c*r*ich sin 7 loch f*r*iataeb. S*r*uth eof
4. ruis acteib*ir*si*n* a p*ar*dh*us* in*n*. imat eiscc
5. o init cocaisc in*n* 7ga*n*abheith níis síre.
6. [¶6] FIL c*r*ich naili in*n*ti. rigi musul iside 7 do
7. m*a*camet*us* adr*ait*. Fil cath*air* oirdn*id*i i*nn*te
8. baldasi a hai*n*m. airdri na sairr*is*ineach
9. as ri fuirriseic. calip*us* a hai*n*m. i*m*at
10. oir 7 mai*n*e lais. or ni hal dó laeich naid

11. cur*aid* fo*r*a i*n*chaibh. // a chathr*a*c fair a
12. [¶7] Luidh alan .i. rí na t*artr*aidhi do irghabhail
13. nirt catha. Bai tor dithoghl*aid*i lais *ar*na
14. li*n*adh dor 7domhainibh. gabhthar calip*us*
15. gu*n*athor 7 *con*a chath*air* ar ni rabat*ur* laeich
16. oca imdhitean. Gia thucais anoir 7 *air*m*i*di*n*
17. don or ol balan ni fhil anoir na *air*m*i*di*n*
18. aigi f*or*t aniu .u. la *con*anoighcib do chal
19. ip*us* gi*n* digh gin b*iadh* curomhoidh a c*r*aidhi na
20. cl*iab* do cu*m*aidh 7 doilghi*us* a oir 7 a mhaine
21. [¶8] FIL cath*air* naili isi*n* c*r*ich si*n*. Taurisi*us* a hai*n*m
22. *con*i*m*ut leag mbuadha 7 et*a*c sireagda. Bai
23. sliabh ur*ar*d f*r*isi*n* cathr*ai*ghs*i*n 7 sliab do*n*taeb
24. anaill. Gu cualat*ar* na hiud*aid*i laithi nae*n*
25. am*al* ade*ir* in soisc*el* diadha. // dicetis
26. Si abueritis fide*m* ut g*r*anu*m* sinapis
27. huic mo*n*ti t*r*ansi 7 t*r*ansibit 7 nichil in
28. posibile erit uob*is* .i. dia mb*eit*h aireat
29. in g*r*aine m*us*d*air*d do sheirc isa lat do
30. thogluaisfea i*n* sliabh *ar* in sl*iabh* araill
31. diam*a*d ail dhuit. IS faid guach intissa
32. dia nadh*ar*thai ol na geinti 7 as b*r*iat*r*a goo
33. lais ár dia cuingheadh sibh f*or* an sliabh ucut
34. togluas*acht* f*or* an sl*iabh* aile ni di*n*gn*a*d f*or*aibh it*ir*
35. Tiaghuit na cr*istaid*i f*or* aenchai 7guigit i*n* tae*n*
36. ndia u*m*an sliab doclaechl*od.* A isa oul
37. siat na leic idhuil 7 ai*n*creitmhigh diar
38. bhforr*a*cne. Adre i*n*sliabh i*n*tansi*n* f*or* an

f. 121va

1. sliabh naill a f*r*eacn*ar*c*us* na slógh 7*air*
2. isis air coidhche et rogabs*a*t araild
3. donagentib baisd*ed* lasin mirb*uil* sin
4. [¶9] C*r*icha na *per*fida im*morro* don tein*id* ad*r*ait
5. c*r*ich f*or*le*t*an isidhe cunocht righuib f*uir*ri
6. eich amhra le dá .c. punt f*or* cach neoch
7. [¶10] C*r*icha camandi ubla 7toirthi p*ar*rdhais
8. nomelit. Daimh gheala gu cluim foda
9. leo. reithidha leo meid*ithir* f*r*ia hasal ce*ch* ae d*i*b
10. Tír naili f*r*iahor gurigh f*uir*ri. do b*er*eat la
11. amhai*n*si 7tuaithle dorcha f*or* d*r*eich ng*re*ne
12. am*al* budh ag*aidh*. lecit sirthi foc*r*ich*aib* na ca
13. mandi 7 in lamh agaroili dhibh .x. .m.
14. a slogh. toglait andinna 7anduinti 7
15. marbhuit asin 7doniat gialla da noc*aib*
16. et atcon*n*uic m*ar*c*us* fesi*n* in dishoillsi sin
17. na timtho*cht* 7no rig f*or* luas ator ditho
18. ghlaidhi dia anacal fuirri. F*r*i re .uii. la
19. airisis i*n* ciaichsin // dui*n*ti 7 cathrach
20. [¶11] Timocauim u*mmorr*o tir f*or*le*t*han isidhe coni*m*at
21. fon*n* caín le gi*n* puin*n* toirthe. uisc*e*da s*er*bha

22. le. c*r*ann g*re*ne i*n*a tuaisceart. c*r*and direach eside
23. coremhe d*er*mh*air*. Adbul a fhod. Duille geal
24. f*or* l*et*h de cul*et*hi ingantaigh. Duille uai*n*e f*or*
25. in l*et*h naill. níthurcaibh c*r*and t*r*ia uir .c. .m.
26. f*r*iataebhaibh // aloadam a ai*n*m. Doro*n*ta
27. [¶12] C*r*icha mulete do m*a*cum*etus* ad*r*ait. Fil ri fuirre
28. palas rigda lais a ngli*n*d dithoghl*aid*i f*or* sliabh
29. ur*ar*d conei*m* noir f*air con*gr*i*ananuibh sol*us*ta
30. lais culubghortaibh leasaigthe. cutobraibh
31. sol*us*da f*r*iathaebh am*al* budtoil la m*en*m*anr*ad g*a*c aei*n*
32. laeich 7ing*enr*a*d* i*m*dha leo. cluith*ed*a 7cleasa i*m*da
33. leo. asaire do ro*n*ta si*n* leo. m*a*camet*us* diachan
34. tai*n* f*r*iu am*ail* bethi abh*us* beithi thall am righisiu
35. i*ar*mblais*echt* bhais. *con*idhairi si*n* rochaitdis a
36. bfhleagha 7abfuireaca 7 ba calma icathaibh
37. iatso*m* ár níraibhi omhu*n* báis fo*r*ru u*air* ba d*er*b
38. leo b*eit*h i*ar*nec aml*aid* si*n* // nistadhsi*n* 7do
39. Parrth*us* talmh*aid*i dom*a*cam*etus* a*drait* do berta foran
40. ron*a*d tor dithoghl*aid*i fo*r*a bheol gi*n* tslig*id* ind
41. *acht* treimit. nob*er*the oig na c*r*iche leo ind

f. 121vb

1. 7 no b*er*the a*n*daethain fleagh 7 fuireac dhoibh
2. co tuiteadh asuan fo*r*ro do n*ert*a*d* anan*n*ma do m*a*ca
3. met*us* 7 ro chan*a*d a bhfhis f*r*iu. Fón bfhleaghugh*adh*
4. út doronab*air* abh*us* fo*r*bia mufhl*edh*sa tall daibh
5. [¶13] Otclos do alan .i. do righ na t*art*raidhi i*n*saeibh
6. dlig*ed* si*n* *ar*u roibi aloada*m* doron*a*d sloigheadh
7. lais 7 ro mh*ar*bh é *con*a righuib 7 tais*ec*aibh 7 do
8. chuir a chath*air* d*ar*ceann con*ar*fhacoibh cloch f*or* cl*oic*h di
9. [¶14] Bassia u*mmorr*o tir iside co n*er*t ng*re*ne f*uir*ri. daim
10. dubha le. dom*a*cum*etus* ad*r*ait. togh*air*mit na de*m*na
11. aieardha dia ni*m*acall*aim* le d*r*aidhea*cht* 7tuaichlecht
12. 7 do b*er*at dorcha f*or**dr**e*ich g*re*ne. Feoil 7righle no*s*toi*m*
13. lit. i*m*at torc 7muc nalltaighi leo cut*r*eagduid
14. aconu 7 a cuan*ar*ta do*n* fhin*n*a ghoisid*e*c fuil f*or*
15. d*r*omu*n*nibh 7 toebuibh dhoibh et ni uml*aig*it do righ
16. f*or* bith. Fileat dit*r*eab*aig* a mai*n*ist*r*ibh 7 asepel*aib*
17. a mbean*n*uibh sliabh act*r*osc*a*d 7ac idhbuirt do M*aca*m*etus*
18. *con*anoir 7*air*mhitin moir ocna maithibh uccut
19. fo*rr*o. [¶15] Fil sliabh ur*ar*d isi*n* c*r*ichsi*n* 7 gleann aluin*n* f*r*ia
20. a ucht. *air*d*ithir* doshleibhtib inbeatha. i*m*ut caer*a*c 7reith*ed*
21. isi*n* gli*n*dsi*n* .ui. basa a l*et*hi g*a*cahadh*air*ce dambi
22. f*or* na reith*idib* si*n* *con*denta miasa 7 soith*ig*i dhibh
23. dia tomhailte p*r*oin*n* 7 fleagha 7 g*ur* dhin dia naedh
24. *air*ibh fo*r*atighi 7 ait*r*ebhu f*or* sneacta 7 d*er*da*n* et ní
25. lamhat eonu na fiadhmhilu ceana b*eit*h f*or* an
26. sliab si*n* la fuacht 7adhuath et gia adaighthe
27. tendte f*air* ni b*er*bhtha biadh leo la torm*a*c fuacda
28. [¶16] Sermacam u*mmorr*o cath*air* oirdn*id*i isidhe la m*a*c magh
29. n*us* cam. do m*a*cum*etus* a*drait*. ro bat*ur* ile c*r*isd*aid*i isin

30. cathr*aig* si*n*. atbath inri. ro bui líc m*ar*m*uir* fó
31. anadhnaicthe nagen*n*te acnuc ur*ar*d alla
32. muigh f*r*isi*n* cathr*aig* 7ro hadhn*acht*a i*n*ri foithi. Gabh*uis*
33. a m*a*c rigi dia eis. sigotan a ai*n*m 7roc*r*eid
34. dochoimdh*id*h nandul 7roghabh baisd*ed* na
35. heacl*ais*i noi*m*e et ba doirb la gentiu si*n*. [¶17] C*on*udhe
36. aireac meanm*an* f*or* uair sigotan laanae*n*. sép
37. el *air*mhitn*e*c dothurcb*ail* isi*n* cathr*aig* ananoir
38. eoin. baist*id*. Nob*er*thea cuigi anisdeach f*or*u*air*
39. doshaeruibh f*a*csi 7 neamhfhaicsi 7 ro f*or*caill f*or*ro
40. diciu*n*n asaeirsi 7 a neal*ad*an do chaithimh f*r*is
41. Ro i*ar*sat a shaeirsiumh an ail dímhor

f. 122ra

1.fo ro hadhn*acht*a a ath*air* 7sin na niubhaidhe
2. dothoghluas*acht* cusi*n* du ambat*ar*. dob*er*siumh
3. sin daibh. Ba gal*ar* lasnagentiu si*n* 7 ni roleic
4. om*an* i*n*righ dhoibh c*r*on f*air*. Cidh fil a*n*n t*r*a *acht* ro
5. t*ur*cbhadh i*n*ob*air*si*n* la heal*ad*ai*n* ingan*t*aigh a*m*ail
6. budh toil la meanmain g*a*c aei*n*. Columhai*n* m*ar*m*air*
7. foal*ar* diahim*arch*a*r* cu sai*n*e g*a*ca g*r*esa fair
8. robhat*ar* dibli*n*aibh f*or* an lig reamhraidti. [¶18] At
9. bath in ri foc*et*oir 7gab*uis* a m*a*c righi diaeis
10. et ni ro an f*or* lurg aathar *acht* ro adh*air* do M*ac*am*etus*
11. Otclos do*n*agein*n*tib inri do adhr*a*d do M*a*cameat*us*
12. cui*n*git forna c*rist*aigib in ail forohadhn*acht*ta
13. asin. Nato it*i*r ol na Cr*istaid*i nothoitfead eacl*ais*
14. Eoi*n* diacuirthe togluas*acht* fo*r*anligsi*n*. maith
15. ol na gein*n*te. Rosia maine imdha duib f*uirr*i
16. olna cr*istaid*i. Líg as díth dui*n* ol nageinnti 7ni
17. máine. don*er*tuigh i*n*ri lasna g*ein*t*i* 7 dob*er*e*d*
18. fuir*m*eadh f*or*si*n* cloich gu r*u*csat f*or* culai hi
19. Aitchit na cr*istaid*i eoi*n* 7ísa *ar*na f*a*csi*n* si*n*. *Air*isius
20. di*diu* an eacl*ais* am*ail* as deach bui ria*m*. cobhfuil .iii.*r*a
21. t*ra*igead uas tal*am* aniu 7biaidh cof*or*cean*n* mb*r*atha
22. [¶19] PEIN u*mmorr*o tír f*or*l*et*ha*n* isidhe coni*m*at cathr*a*c. uidhe
23. .u. laithi f*or*a fot. Diand*e*cadh neach dibh f*orsét*
24. no siub*al* dambia .xx. la gi*n* toigh*echt* f*or*cula foi
25. fidh a sheitic la f*er* naili. uisc*e*da s*er*bha le. sruth
26. f*or*a feadh *con*imat cloch mbuadh. iaspideis 7cal
27. sidonia ana*n*mu*n*na // mhoir. imat gaca mai*n*e
28. [¶20] LOP di*diu* cath*air* oirdn*id*i isidhe for bel fhasaigh dhi
29. allamuich di *coni*dairi si*n* is port *air*isi*m* dag*a*c aen
30. f*r*ia c*r*eic 7cu*n*dr*a*d 7maine hi. Do M*a*cam*etus* adhruit
31. Camhaill 7asail b*er*ar fa loi*n*tibh lag*a*c nae*n*
32. dia teit f*or*an fas*a*c si*n*. uisc*e*da s*er*ba f*air*. magha
33. gai*n*mh*id*i 7sl*eib*ti uisc*i*de f*or*an co*n*uir. uidhi bl*iadna*
34. f*or*a fot. uidhi .xxx. la f*or*a leith*ed* gi*n* fhiadhmhila
35. gin innile. Ticit na de*m*nu dhacall*aim* na ndai*n*e
36. f*or*an co*n*air. Diabhfhaghat n*e*c dhibh anuath*ad* o
37. a fheadhai*n* goirit he naai*n*m fein 7nashlon*n*adh

38. 7 lean*aid* na deamna ár ni fhid*ir* n*a*c dia aes cu*m*tha
39. iat 7 nithic f*or*cula t*r*iabithu. seindit nade*m*na
40. cruiti 7 ti*m*mpa*n*a dia c*ur* na suan cum ai*m*sighti f*or*ro

f. 122rb

1. [¶21] Iarbhfacbhail na ndithr*ub* si*n* do gab*ar* c*r*ich
2. f*or*le*t*han 7cath*air* oirdn*id*i in*n*ti *con*imat gaca
3. maine. Do m*a*came*tus* ad*r*ait. 7 do nith*er* oirisiu*m*
4. cian in*n*ti i*ar* scis infhasaigh ucut og c*r*eicc
5. 7 cun*nr*ad. Sasion a hai*n*m. Dátuismight*er* m*a*c
6. do neoch in*n*ti b*er*ar da idb*air*t don*a* deeib 7r
7. eithe maraen f*r*is 7b*er*ar f*or*cula araen in
8. naidhe 7 i*n*rethe 7dob*er*ur co*m*ult*us* bl*iadn*a f*or*ro
9. 7b*er*ur cohaltoir na hidb*ar*ta diblinaibh 7f
10. onaith*er* i*n*rethe 7 dob*er*ur diathomhailt do
11. ghaeltuibh 7c*air*dib na naidhiu*n* *conair*mhiti*n* nd*er*
12. mhair do*n*a deeibh 7 cuirt*er* a chna*m*a f*or* taiscidh
13. nanin*ar*g*aib*h. [¶22] Gach m*ar*bh lasi*n* cathr*aig*si*n* no
14. cuirthe aneilit*r*um nordhai co ne*taigi*b sida 7
15. sir*ec*dha f*or* slis arighthoighi *co*nan*air* d*er*mair
16. f*air* g*a*c noighthi do bhiudh 7dhigh 7 g*a*c ní nothoimhl*ed*h
17. fe*ch*t ria*m* ár ni hadn*ac*t*er* ne*c* isi*n*cathr*aig*si*n* culaithi
18. athuismeadha. *Con*adh*air*e si*n* rocuirthi luibhi
19. 7 balsam*am* uaisli f*r*iathimthocht. gu caithdis
20. a laeich 7a i*n*ginr*ad* 7aaes cu*m*tha a p*r*oin*n* ma
21. roean f*r*is am*ai*l budh beo et noloiscthe a c*or*p
22. i*ar* toidh*echt* in laithisi*n* cu fleag*acus* 7 *air*miti*n* nd*er*
23. mhair dona déibh // do*n* cathr*aig* si*n*. do m*aca*m*etus*
24. [¶23] Fil cath*air* naili uidhi dha la [*rubbed*] allamuigh
25 non adhru*n*n. Camul a hai*n*m. Diaticead aidhi
26. no e*cht*arc*r*ich dia [*stain*] taisdiul. indin*n* no
27. indun di co [*stain*]aroich. *ar*naf*a*csi*n* don
28. laech *no* do*n* taise*c* bhis f*air* adre amach d*ar*
29. beolu i*n* dui*n* 7 no b*er*ur a shetig diashaighid
30. dena dho so ol se amhuil budh mhisi no
31. anfudh isindun*a*d 7cuir*id* eip*ist*il sc*r*ibhtha
32. f*or*sin coml*aid* 7t*r*iall*aid* fei*n* f*or* set 7faíidh i*n*
33. ben lasin naighidh. G*a*c is deach dobiudh 7étg*a*d
34. indui*n* atnaigh f*or*a chom*us*. D*er*caidh i*n*laech
35. g*a*c laithi f*or*si*n* coml*aid* diafhis in t*r*ialf*a*d in taidhi
36. f*or* set *ar* iss*ed* ba bes i*n*eipisdil dothocb*áil*
37. dia t*r*iall*ad* 7dia bhf*a*ceadh nithicf*a*d t*r*ia bithu
38. [¶24] Faidhis magn*us* cam feacht naill teachta co
39. neip*ist*il leo do*n*cathr*aig*si*n* 7 iss*ed* bui in*n*ti. For
40. chong*r*aim f*or*uibh ol se clodh for cula on

f. 122va

1. tsaeibhdlig*ed* f*or*ataithe ór isahi*m*ut taebh
2. as doch*ar* he *ár* nideimhi*n* la neach acaibh i*n*
3. lais i*n* toighre [fhacb*ais* dia eis *inserted*] 7is dith *ar*b*ur* seotuibh 7*ar*bh*ar* 4. mai*n*ibh
atab*air*t f*or* b*r*eith 7com*us* aidh*edh* *no* ea*cht*arc*r*ich
5. [¶25] Faiditsiu*m* tea*cht*a f*or* cula comagn*us* la f*eir*g

6. 7lon*nus con*eip*istlib* leo 7iss*ed* bui in*n*ta. A magn*uis*
7. cam ol siat aitchimit f*or*t f*or* dheirc 7 t*r*oighi
8. gin *ar* clodh f*or*cula do dlig*ed* ar sean. ár dia
9. nd*er*nta dobeanf*a*d i*n* tal*am* a thoirthi foirn
10. 7 masadhith oir *no* ilmai*n*e nanaiti*n*te
11. fil f*or*t doghebha gi*n* chu*m*ca f*r*iut. Foe*m*uis
12. mag*nus.* doibh oirisiu*m* f*or* dlig*ed* asean. [¶26] IAr c*ur*
13. chuil f*r*isi*n* c*r*ichsi*n* fosgebha fas*a*c fodai
14. uidhi .ui. la ndec essiu*m*. Si*n*g si*n*gcalas do*n*
15. taeb *ar*aill de. c*r*ich f*or*le*t*han isidhe. Fil sliabh
16. ur*ar*d isinc*r*ichsi*n* 7salmand*air* f*air*. Beath*ad*uigh
17. beacca iads*om*. Fogniat snáth doth*uis*mheadh
18. f*or*si*n* tal*am* ani*n*aduibh ingla*n*a 7noti*mair*cthe
19. la hoes na c*r*iche 7 nob*er*thea dianighi cus*r*o
20. thaibh 7top*r*aibh 7 nob*r*isdtea ileast*r*aibh 7
21. isoith*ig*ibh p*r*ais. no adaighthea te*n*dte
22. leo diacur f*or*al*ar* 7geal dothic*e*d do*n* g*r*is
23. i*ar*losc*a*d a inglai*n*. Do gnithea eduighi de
24. asa haitli 7 ba [*flaw in vellum*] uasal *air*mhit
25. neachso*m*. 7 i*n*tan no gabh*ad* sal nodorc*a*tu
26. he. f*o*ran ng*r*is nocuirthe diaglan*a*d. 7 g*lan*
27. no thic*e*d di. // Campisio*n* is cath*air* oirecuis
28. [¶27] Cricha cambu u*mmorr*o c*r*ich fh*air*sing f*or*lethan isidhe
29. di. Do m*ac*am*etus* a*drait acht* uath*ad* c*ristaid*i lé. Atfisid
30. siumh arímh rean*n* 7reatl*ann* .l. ai*nder* la ce*ch* nae*n*
31. dibh. claecl*aither* cele lag*ach* nai*n*dir m*a*d doi*m* he
32. Nibhi rímh mis na raithi leo *acht* ainm f*or*le*t*h
33. f*or* cech laithi don bl*iadain*. Coic laithi airmhidn*e*ca
34. leo gi*n* anmun*n*a gi*n* fhiadhmhila domh*ar*bhud
35. ci*n* tomhuilt feola leo. gi*n* tsaeth*ar* gi*n* ob*air*
36. Nibhi col f*r*ia seitic doib *acht* siur *no* math*air*
37. Roairis di*diu* m*arcus* bliad*ain* isincathr*aig* si*n*

f. 122vb

1. [¶28] Caracorum u*mmorr*o cath*air* oir*e*chuis isidhe
2. do th*artr*aidibh feact ria*m ar* isaisdi ambun*a*dus
3. Niraibhi ri dhib fei*n* f*or*ro *acht* iat fochis 7 chan
4. ach*us* do p*r*espit*er* seon .i. do righ nahi*n*dia et
5. robui ai*n*m aile f*air* .i. unccam. Cidh fil an*n*
6. *acht* rofhas ci*ned*h na t*ar*tair*ed*h ac*ar*acorum
7. curba linm*ur* alaeich 7 athaisigh cumbai o*m*
8. an anim*air*eac f*or*nacennt*ar*uibh cia*n*a 7 faicsi
9. Ba lan dia nomhu*n* p*r*espit*er* seo*n* oc f*air*cse
10. na t*artr*aidhi anti*m*ut cur*a*d si*n*. Asb*er*t f*r*iu. scail*id*
11. olse anile c*r*icha ciana 7f*o*csi *ar* nichu*m*ui*n*g
12. la caracoru*m* b*ar* co*n*gb*ail*. Robat*ar* fasaighe
13. foda moncathr*aig* intansi*n* gin duinti gin
14. ist*a*da leo. *Con*adhi co*mair*li roc*r*aitea la maithibh
15. na t*artr*aighi t*r*iall forin fas*a*c ucut dia aitreab*adh*
16. Doronsa*t* aml*aid*. [¶29] Bui laech am*r*a i*n*tansi*n* duais
17. lib na t*artr*aig*e*c 7 rohoirdn*e*d irighi leo he ár

18. ni raibhi rí f*or*ro feact ria*m*. Simisis a ai*n*m
19. airisit f*or*nad*r*oibhel*aib* 7 f*or*nadithr*ubaib* si*n* gi*n* ne*r*t
20. righ f*or*bith f*or*ro. G*a*c neach diachru bui seachn*on*
21. in dom*ain* rothim*air*cs*e*t coh*air*m imbui Sisimis
22. Ba am*r*a inri eisidhe. nob*ered*h adhlig*ed* dag*a*c aen
23. Cidh fil an*n acht* roumla*ig*seat .uii. righ dho la [h *above*]om*an*
24. aim*air*eac *ar* nilamhtha slad na s*ar*ug*ad* f*or* dhun
25. na cath*air* diatab*r*adh umla dheonuch dhó
26. [¶30] Faidis p*re*spit*er* seo*n* neach dochui*n*ghidh inchisa inn[*ec*da]
27. fair. Diultaidh f*r*is ár ni bui om*an* righ f*air*
28. Clodhait natea*cht*a fo*r*cula 7 airisidh sisi*m* i*n*a
29. righi budesi*n* et faidhis tea*cht*a laanaen do
30. chui*n*ghidh a ingi*n*e f*air* i*ar*ndiult*a*d a chisa dho et
31. iss*ed* isb*er*t f*r*iu is taisce doloiscf*ed*h a ing*in* ana
32. do b*er*adh dosisim hi 7 foghebha bas dochr*ud*h
33. *ar*acui*n*gidh olse 7dorat dímhici*n* for na
34. teachta 7 clodhuit f*or*cula co sisi*m* 7adfedhut
35. do archans*a*t 7 *ar*can*a*d f*r*iu. [¶31] Ba lan df*e*rg 7lond*us*
36. sisim dona haithisc*ib* sin 7rog*air*mit arigha
37. 7a thaisigh diashaig*id*. IS*ed* isail damhsa ol se

f. 123ra

1. ar ndula diblinaibh f*or* aenchaei re p*re*is
2. pit*er* seon diaaithiu f*air* i*n* dimhici*n* dor*a*d fo*r*nd
3. ISail dúinne aml*aid* olseat am*ail* bidh a hae*n*
4. ghin f*r*iscartsa*t*. [¶32] Gabhuit nasloigh ch*echtar*dhasi*n*
5. in roen fo*r*anag*aid* ci*n* an*a*d ci*nair*isiu*m* doib gu
6. magh tandud 7faidhit teachta corigh na
7. hi*n*dia dochuinghidh chatha f*air* 7do b*er*a*r* a nd*r*aithi
8. dia saig*id* 7fiaf*r*aighid dib faitsi*n*e 7celm*an*e
9. inchatha nó cin*nus* nobiath doib 7do p*re*ispit*er*
10. seon. Luidhs*e*t nad*r*uidh fo*r*acliath*aib* fis 7 ro
11. thogh*air*ms*e*t deamhna 7dei aerdha nandocu*m*
12. 7 dob*er*at bhoicshimhi*n* ndi*m*oir leo 7ro scoilt
13. seat 7doronsa*t* dá l*e*th di 7 dob*er*at p*re*ispit*er* s*eon*
14. dai*n*m fo*rle*th di 7sisim fo*r*inl*e*th naill 7cuirid
15. lad*r*aid*echt* 7tuaichl*echt* di l*e*th na simhne do co
16. lun*n* f*r*iaraili 7 b*er*idh inl*e*th fo*r*at*u*csat sisi*m* bu
17. aidh. T*r*iallait nad*r*aithi fo*r*cula cu t*ar*traigibh fá
18. luth 7 gh*air*dec*us* i*n*d*ar*leo isiat bidchosc*r*ach isi*n* cath
19. [¶33] P*re*ispit*er* seo*n* u*mmorr*o odcl*os* dó cath do chui*n*ghidh f*air*
20. 7sl*úag* dí*air*mh*id*i dotoigh*echt* rathaebh rog*air*mitt
21. chuigi arigh 7athaisigh 7ac*ar*uid fo*c*si 7 chiana
22. Cidh t*r*a otcon*n*cat*ar* na sl*úaig* cea*chtar*dhasi*n* aceli ro
23. ghabs*a*t aneirr*ed* im*air*ic 7anidhna aidh fo*rr*o 7
24. rosei*n*dit a sduic 7 rog*air*sit acaism*er*ta
25. catha 7 gabhuit na sl*óigh* ceacht*ar*dha oceas*arcuin*
26. araili ac scolt*a*d mhi*n*d 7 sciath cu mba hár
27. di*air*m*id*i leo alliu 7anall. *Acht* ata ni cheana
28. muidhis f*or* na hi*n*dec*d*haibh 7 roládh anar
29. 7rom*ar*b*adh* pr*ei*spit*er* seo*n* et gabh*uis* sisi*m* righe

30. f*or* in*nec*dhaibh intansi*n* 7 f*or*iltirib aile et
31. ba hesi*n* in c*et*na rí doth*artair*ibh [¶34] et in .ui.*ed* bl*iadain*
32. dia fhlaithi*us* rodib*r*aiceadh doshoighid he icat*r*aigh
33. f*or*a raibi ic f*or*bhais cu rof*ar*cuibh ci*n* a*n*m*ain*
34. et ro hadhn*acht* f*or* sliabh alcahi. [¶35] Facbu*is* m*ac*
35. di eis. caiter aai*n*m. Facb*uis* si*n* m*ac*. satiu
36. aai*n*m. Facb*uis* si*n* m*ac*. roton aai*n*m. Facb*uis*
37. roton m*ac*. mongu aai*n*m. IS uadha sin ro
38. chi*n* cublay 7 rode*r*rscaigh cublay t*ar*na
39. .u. righuib aile 7rode*r*rsc*aig* a righi t*ar* righd*ach*t

f. 123rb

1. crisd*aid*i 7 shairr*is*in*e*c. Insliabh urard sin
2. in ro adhn*acht* sisim isan*n* rosadhn*acht*a *ar*
3. ghei*n* do righuib f*o*ralurg. G*a*c neach id*ir* laech
4. 7 tais*e*c dogheibhdis f*or*sin *con*uir ac dul dia
5. nadhn*a*cul rom*ar*bhtha leo 7iss*ed* roca*n*duis
6. f*r*iu. Dean*aid* umhla 7 i*m*mcoi*m*et inrigh isin
7. beath*aid* naili am*ail* doronsab*air* feacht riamh
8. et inri deighinec dohadhn*acht* dibh. isar. da
9. .m. laech rom*ar*bhtha dia cur lais 7ro*mar*bs*a*t
10. anas deach f*oru**ar**ad**ar* do eachr*aidh* i*n*righ diac*ur* lais
11. [¶36] Nat*artr*aighidh u*mmorr*o cin*ed*h linm*ar* iatsei*n* *ar* nibhi
12. rim f*or* mnaibh na ing*en*a la ne*c* dhib *acht* inmheit
13. ascumhui*n*g leo do f*r*easdul dobhiudh 7etg*a*d
14. *acht* así incetna ing*en* laafaifi f*er* dhibh as f*or*
15. tille f*or*tha 7araill dib lad*r*uin*ecus* 7lamhdhai
16. 7alaeich f*r*ia seilg 7gaisc*ed* 7 i*n*du*n* f*or*com*u*s
17. dontseitigh. scéith l*et*hair laalaech*aib*. ba
18. do sheich*idib* buabhall *ar*namb*r*uith iats*om* et ba
19. dofhulai*n*g dochath naile dibhrac*a*d a soigheat
20. forro ár is*air* no [h *above*]ailtea iat asamb*r*atuibh
21. beaca. Feoil 7bai*n*ni notomuiltea leo gin
22. coicill fheola da*m* nag*r*aidh*edh* nachuanf*ar*t
23. *acht* nomeiltis ce*ch* feoil f*or* bith. Ba mian
24. leo bai*n*ni ang*r*oigheadh 7al*air*theach dothochaiti*m*
25. fín fi*n*d nob*er*tis f*air* 7 nothoghl*ad*tis g*a*ca sa*m*
26. raidh a mbeann*aib* sl*íab* 7ano*cht*aibh ald laa
27. ng*r*oighibh 7i*n*dilibh. Pupla f*or* foluamhuin
28. uasta. ameic 7aninge*n*a leo guclodhatais
29. f*or* cula la toigh*echt* naduibhshine geimhr*a*ta
30. 7 a pupla maraen f*r*iu. [¶37] Natay indee dia
31. nad*r*ait do nit*er* afhuath do ri*n*dudh ingach
32. dhind irighi na t*artr*aige*c* 7fuath a mhna for
33. aghual*ainn* cli 7 fuath a mheic ina fhreacn*air*cc
34. 7 f*r*iatochaithium dhoibh nocomailtea an is
35. deach da mbiadh*aib* foghin 7ghlomh*ar* dhó 7
36. damhnai 7da m*ac* et doirtid an b*r*uithi na
37. p*r*oinne t*ar* beolu i*n*dui*n* dia blais*echt* dia*n*déibh
38. adh*ar*tha Ar is d*er*bh leo g*ur*ube natay fholl*am*
39. nuighi*s* neam 7talam. [¶38] Dia teasd*aid*i ogl*ac*h ci*n* sheitig

f. 123va

1. a c*r*ich*aib* na t*artr*aidhi 7 ing*en* gin chele donit*er*
2. a snaid*m* f*r*iaraili i*ar* mblais*echt* bhais doibh
3. 7 is *air*e doníath*air* diamb*eith* dibli*n*aibh a f*r*ec
4. nairc nataui 7dob*er*ur *cr*ogh do mh*athai*r nah
5. ingi*n*e *ár* nitabh*ar* c*r*ogh la seitigh ic*r*ichuibh
6. nat*artr*uig*e*c 7 anuit acaruitsiu*m* a ngael
7. 7 ch*air*dius f*r*iaraili ama*il* budh bheo no
8. bh*et*is. [¶39] ni bhi col do sheitig leo *acht* m*athai*r no
9. siur *no* i*ngen* cun*ad**air*e si*n* as línmh*air*iti alaeich
10. imat seitc*e*d lag*a*c aen. [¶40] at f*er*dha acathuibh
11. 7atlaechdha an*air*m 7atcu*m*ai*n*g lag*a*c
12. noen dibh b*eit*h .x. la for set no sluagad cin
13. bhiagh gindigh *acht* toirthi c*r*aebh 7cru anea*ch*
14. [¶41] diand*er*na nech ci*n* noguim gin dlig*ed* a oig
15. eadha dhe .xxx. beim do luirg dhó *no* .lx. m*a*d ci*n*
16. ismo indás *no* a .x. f*or* .c. m*a*d mo in t*r*eas fea*cht*
17. *no* m*a*d ci*n* búis lais anaei n*air*eat uadha 7
18. saeiri dhó // la f*or*afhod. mecrit i*nci**ned*h
19. [¶42] Ragu u*mmorr*o magh f*orlet*han eisidhe. uidhi .xl.
20. aitreabh*us* an*n*. sealg nostoimhlit. ní
21. thurcaib *ar*bh*ar* na fineam*ai*n os úir and
22. IS an*n* som ro cit*er* pol*us* ar*c*tic*us* .i. araill
23. doretla*n*duibh oirismhe na firmam*in*ti
24. imud camhall 7g*r*ibh 7elifainteadh isnac*r*ich*aib*
25. sin. Doim dhimora leo gucluim foda .iii.*r*a
26. boss abhfot gaca fin*n*a dhibh. [¶43] Fil anman*n*
27. naili an*n* adbul a mheit. deallr*a*d fiadha
28. lais. Geint*er* balsam*am* anor*a*c uadha. m*us*c
29. atum a ai*n*m. suail n*a*c icshlai*n*ti eisiumh
30. di fhiacuil incech dhed dó .iii.*r*a bosa abh
31. fhot ce*ch* ae. [¶44] Niteasct*h**ar* folt na ulcha
32. laeich isinc*r*ichsi*n*. Aille domhnaibh a ni*ngen*a
33. Ni *ar* uaisli na *air*mhitin fhaidit laaseit
34. chib *acht* ar c*r*uth 7meit. [¶45] Ni tabh*ar* c*r*og lah*ingin*
35. ic*r*icha*ib* na t*artr*aig*e*c. nalaeich nosb*er* c*r*ogh dia
36. maithrecu // no ndhr*at*. dorigd*ach*t na hi*nn*ia
37. [¶46] Tenduc u*mmorr*o c*r*ich f*orlet*han isside 7 i*ss*u

f. 123vb

1. isidhe 7fomham*us* do magn*us* cam doibsi*mh*
2. O dom*ar**bad* p*r*espit*er* seon fea*cht* ria*m* do b*er*at na
3. righa f*or*a lurg ani*ngen*a duaislibh na t*artr**aide*c
4. m*ar*cleith f*or*abhfích 7nai*m*di*nus*. [¶47] Corra dubha
5. isinc*r*ichsi*n*. adbul am*et*. Corra naili leo
6. *con*ilbre*chtraid* g*a*cadatha it*ir* uaine 7 d*er*g 7ghor*m*
7. Corra naile conei*m* noir f*orr*o. Corra
8. aile tí dubghlas 7tí d*er*g dhibh // .iii.*r*a la
9. [¶48] IArbhfacb*áil* na c*r*ichisi*n* doneoch diaeis uidhe
10. fogebhu cath*air* siaudu f*or*in *conair* 7lacubla
11. uy .i. mag*nus* cam rot*ur*cb*adh*. palas m*ar*m*air*

12. f*or*a l*ar* cosluaigt*e*c rigda lais coseomr*ad*a*ib*
13. sol*us*ta co nei*m* noir f*or*ro allamuigh 7
14. tall. [¶49] Figh díthogl*aid*i f*r*iahor i*n*dui*n* *con*diguibh
15. 7mhúr*aibh* aelta na urti*m*cill .u.m. d*ec* i*n*ati*m*
16. thocht. doi*m* 7fiadha i*m*dha lais 7i*n*uili fiad*m*il
17. arceana. maga sol*us*ta 7s*r*otha gai*n*mh*id*i f*or*si*n*
18. bhfigh si*n*. Bagnath lacublay co*m*mor*a*d selga
19. f*o*rsin bfig soi*n*. Doron*a*d ist*a*da reb*r*oin*n* seilgi
20. lais a*n*diamh*air* i*n*fheaga 7 badoboicshimnibh do
21. ron*a*d .u. ceme d*ec* fod g*a*casibhne 7 .iii.*r*a bosa f*or*
22. alethe 7 is la reidhfeadhuibh sídu rosnad*m*tha
23. i*ar*na níam*a*d do ór allastig 7 amuigh cun*a*c
24. d*er*n*a*d doineann nad*er*du*n* dith do na do*n*fhiallac*h*
25. bite f*or*al*ar*. [¶50] T*r*i mísa do*n* bl*iadain* bís f*or*anseilgsi*n*
26. .i. iuni*us* iuli*u*s aug*ust*u*s*. Tocbait i*n*teachsi*n*
27. leo i*n*to*cht*m*a*d la d*ec* domhi aug*uist*. cot*r*iall doibh
28. doridisi. Teacat f*or* cula beos cucath*air* sia
29. udu. T*r*iallait saaithli si*n* cosliabh ur*ar*d
30. do dhena*m* idb*ur*ta do*n*a déibh. m*a*caibh mnaibh
31. in*n*ilibh .x.m. lair gheal *ar*oen f*r*is. iar*n*denamh
32. na nidb*ur*t si*n* no b*er*the bai*n*ni nal*air*t*e*c ngealsi*n*
33. aleast*r*aib 7asoith*igib* tog*a*di co magn*us* 7no
34. ran*n*adh f*air* budhesi*n* 7 f*or*si*n* fuil rigda dia
35. ol 7 nithabhr*a*d dochin*ed*h naili nadodhaesc*ar*shl*uagh*
36. Nodhoirt*ed* mag*nus* in bai*n*disi*n* f*or*inraen dia
37. blais*echt* do*n*a déibh. [¶51] Diam*ar*bthur laech *no*

f. 124r

1. neach dodlig*ed* bais toimhlit he f*or*sinidb*air*tsi*n*
2. 7 ni thoimlit diam*a*d doshoeth no gal*ar* no dhighseadh
3. [¶52] Do nit*er* latuaichl*echt* 7a*m*uinsi f*r*easdul i*n*righ gin
4. faircsi neich do neoch dia de*n*umh *acht* namiasa
5. 7 na heasc*r*adu f*or* foluam*ain* f*r*ia ucht. IS *d* asb*er*itsiu*m*
6. beos *con*udhiat nadei nos*fr*easdl*at* iat 7in ri
7. et dobearbhtha i*m*mat reith*e* leo acu*n*nidhb*air*tsin 7
8. dob*er*the infheoil do*n*a déibh 7 nodoirtte i*n*tan
9. bruithi f*or*sin talm*ain* i*n*d*ar*leo is*air*i nob*er*e*d*h a tor*a*d doibh
10. [¶53] FIL mainist*er* lacublay. da .m. man*a*c lé
11. oc freasdul do*n*a deibh 7ocidb*air*t doibh. Fil*et* ma*n*uigh
12. aili isinc*r*i*ch*si*n* 7d*r*ong acu icambit seitc*e*da 7a
13. raill ac co*n*gb*á*il a riaghla do*n*a deibh. // p*ar*tis
14. Expliscit p*r*ima p*ar*s isti*us* lib*r*i. I*n*cip*i*t sequ*n*da
15. [¶54] FEACHTUS domhagn*us* cam acath*air* ca*m*balau
16. *con*fhac*a*d tea*cht*a dia shaig*id*. Bean*n*uighit dó. Fo*chtuis* m*agnus*
17. scela dibh. Fuigli rui*n* again*n* d*ui*t *ar*na tae*cht*a. Ad*r*e
18. mag*nus*. asi*n* tsuidhi rigda imbui *con*dec*s*at f*orlet*h
19. Naim ol natea*cht*a .i. b*r*ath*air* hath*ar*sa *ar*ndiult*a*d
20. umla righi d*ui*tsi. Doroi*n*e 7cadau .i. m*a*c abr*ath**ar***
21. aenta atag*aid*si. atat 7nacet*r*i righ fil fo*m**amus***
22. naim lín a sl*úaig* ac toigh*echt* at rigisi .i. fuci
23. orcra 7cauli 7 b*ar*sceel 7suchitingni 7as

24. b*er*it *con*ad fearr andlig*ed* f*or*sinrighi annaisi
25. [¶55] Ba tus rigi dochublay i*nta*n*si*n i*ar*mb*ris*e*d* cath
26. nimdba [*space*] lais f*or* iltiribh. Bagaeth i*n*tí f*r*is
27. ar can*a*d si*n*. Gnuis rigda lais *con*d*er*cuibh dís
28. hoillsidhe. m*ét* 7 calm*acht* mhil*ed* lais. Do oirdis
29. a bhaill diaraili. Roraidh d*an*o. n*a*c cuirfead
30. a choroi*n* rig diachi*n*d nogunaith*ed* f*or*ro in
31. fuighiullsi*n*. Faidhis tea*cht*a f*or*cean*n* alaech 7a
32. rig nimfhoicsi *ar*bad*er*b lais diacuireadh
33. tog*air*m f*or*ashloghu icianuibh afhis dfhaghb*ail*
34. do naim 7t*r*iall teith*ed* do fó fhoit*r*ib 7dai*n*gn*ib*
35. Faidhis coimh*ét* *ar*na *conair*ibh *ar*om*un* scel dfhaghb*ail*
36. donaim. Bahe lin intsl*úaig* dof*r*eag*air* he .i.
37. da chath d*ec* 7 .xxx.m. m*ar*cach ince*ch* cath dibh
38. 7 di t*r*oight*e*c um cech m*ar*cach. Diatogh*air*meadh
39. a shloghu ician*aib* niria rimh f*or*ro. Rohi*n*dl*ed*h
40. cet*r*i helifai*n*ti do*n*rig 7caislen cl*ar*uig f*or*ro
41. Teit an*n* d*an*o i remt*us* in chatha 7am*er*gi huasa

f. 124rb

1. Di la f*or*fhichit do octinol i*n*morsl*uaig* sin
2. [¶56] Naim u*mmorr*o gl*uais*is coslogh nd*er*mh*air* lais a
3. ndail cadau f*or* mag f*or*l*et*han cosliabh
4. ur*ar*d f*r*iathaeb irighi cublay. niraibhi
5. cadau f*or*si*n*magsoi*n* am*ail* rogeall. Ro
6. niats*om* *air*isiumh risinag*aig*si*n* isindu si*n*
7. Tocbait apupla 7s*r*eathait f*or*ataebuibh
8. ni bhui omhu*n* f*or*ro ar nir shailseat asc
9. ela dob*eit*h lacublay. Cublay di*diu* roghl*uais*
10. inag*aig*si*n* f*or* set i*n*dail i*n*morshl*úaig* si*n* ar
11. nir bho ail doibh in aithi do imluadh *ar*
12. om*un* af*air*csi*n*a g*ur*eirigh ruithn*ed* ngr*ein*e f*or*ro
13. araenchaei f*r*inaim. [¶57] Cofacat*ur* nam*erge*da
14. ailli eit*e*ca 7nasceith corc*r*a cob*r*adhacha 7
15. nacathbairr coi*n*dleacha c*r*uaidhrighne
16. osnamil*edai*b c*r*oda cambulu. Cot*u*cs*a*t aithni
17. *ar* m*er*gi cublay osnacath*aib*. *Con*adh eadh
18. rosd*ús*igh insl*ógh* asasuan. fog*ur* na
19. sdocc 7 nasdurg*an* 7nalaech acgair*m*
20. a caism*er*t catha. [¶58] Faidhis cublay a
21. d*r*aidhe uadha diafhis i*n*soi*n*m*ig*i *no* doi*n*mh*ig*i
22. nobhiath dó do*n*cath. Gabsat na laeich
23. ac snas asleagh 7aglim*a*d a lan*n* 7a lo*ir*c
24. fhearsat fria licuibh 7 tuin*idi*b i*n* talm*an*
25. Tecuit na d*r*aithi f*or* cúl*a* cu celm*ain*e m*aitus*a
26. dho onchath. [¶59] Naim di*diu* .u.c.m. lín a sl*uaig*
27. Ba f*or*l*et*han f*or*ro i*nuair*si*n* *ár* nibui om*un* f*or*ro
28. [¶60] Bai cadau f*or*aco*n*air Gin toid*ech*t i*n*tansi*n*
29. .c.m. laech 7nirofhin*nsa*t fis lacublay
30. f*or*ro. Cidh fil an*n* t*r*a ní *ar*time dodheach*aid*
31. do naim sin. [¶61] Gabhait nasl*úaig* si*n* anas

32. ain gloin*id*i gor*m*a glaisi*ar*ui*n*n 7aluir*e*ca
33. dai*n*gne doib*r*isdi 7ascab*ail* cuana chu*m*
34. d*acht*a fona min*naib* sliptha soradh*air*cc
35. Sínit am*erge*da badbdha b*r*eac[*vellum flaw*]aml*ac*ha
36. risna sleaghuibh seimn*e*ca sithfhota. gur
37. iadh g*a*c deaglaech dibh ima rig 7i*m*a thais*e*c
38. curolínsat natolcha 7 natuaitheabhr*a*ca
39. f*or*gech taebh do uaim. G*ur* co*m*dluth*aig*seat
40. nacatha recheli i*n*tansi*n*. Cu rostocaib
41. nel niamdha dá ndor*n*cl*aidbi*b dathordha

f. 124va

1. 7 damuinc*id**ib* dualacha d*er*goir cor
2. ba soighne*n* sol*us*ta a clethe ni*m*e osci*nn*
3. nacur*a*d cea*chtar*dha si*n*. Roeir*ig* d*an*o glasnel
4. uathm*ar* oig*r*ita dontaeb *ar*aill do*n*aer
5. id*ir* mhi*n*n 7asa id*ir* shleigh 7tuaigh. Moig*i*d
6. do*n*a cathaib andail araili am*ail* easa
7. f*r*ia halluibh g*ur*ba b*r*easmaid*m* b*r*atha i nall*aib*
8. 7 inuamhu*n**naib* mong*ur* nacur*a*d acco*m*ghab*ail*
9. a bfheadhman*n* catha 7fuai*m* asoighit asa
10. s*r*eanguibh 7 foluam*an* abfhagadh 7g*r*echach
11. angreag aganguin 7oiccf*e*dach ananr*ut*h
12. oc blais*echt* bhais. [¶62] Oirisis naim an*air*in*e*c
13. inchatha 7roigne arig 7a thais*e*c gumb*r*oi*n*
14. ndoi*n*nsciath ndeallr*ad*ta*c* na urti*m*chell
15. cu*n*doiri sleagh coi*m*rig*in* c*r*uadha ima m*er*gi
16. uasa Co fighuir nac*r*oichi cesta *ar*na ri*nnad*
17. fuirri. [¶63] *Ar* bhf*ai*csin m*er*gi naim dochublay
18. tocb*ais* cath coi*m*thiugh lais dia riguibh 7
19. anr*a*daibh curoscail i*n*cath naili diadheis
20. 7cli *con**der*na giall donaim i*ar*cur áir
21. a mhil*ed* lais. muidhis f*or*a shloghuib i*ar*sin
22. cuna riact rímh anecht. [¶64] Bata*r* c*r*isd*aid*i
23. f*or*nacath*aib*si*n* diblín*aib*. Dor*a*ds*a*t nagen*n*ti
24. tallann f*or*andia 7f*or*sin fig*uir* bui i m*er*ge
25. naim 7gi*n* furt*acht* f*air*. curofhas coi*n*
26. blict mor it*ir* in sl*uag* sin *con*decat*ur* gen*n*te
27. 7cr*ist**aid*i indail chatha f*r*ia raili a hucht
28. andee. Otco*n*nuic cublay i*n*nisi*n* ro
29. raidh. Fos a dheagmhui*n**nter*. ole nata
30. bhraidh dimhici*n* f*or* ihes*u* *ar* ni guth do
31. gin fhurt*acht* naim ár cr*ist**aid*i nochanadh
32. fei*n* f*r*is 7nirbo gnima diadha lais *ar*
33. do impa f*or*a thig*er*na. [¶65] SIdhuighit na
34. sl*uaig* lasanaithi*us*csi*n* 7dob*er*ur naim a
35. fiadh[*vellum flaw*]n*uis*e in righ amedo*n* i*n*oir*echt*a
36. Cidh asni do so olsiat. Bas adhligheadh
37. ol m*agnus* c*am 7* nihail damsa achru do dh
38. or[t]*a*d fonuir la hom*an* natoirtheadh do
39. clod f*or*culu. Nitol dam beos grian

40. na esca dhf*ai*cs*in* a bhais. G*ur*ubi oighid do
41. rad*ad* f*air*: soidheach do cl*ar*[aib *above*] co*m*dluthta
f. 124vb
1. do cheangal do reif*ed*haibh 7 fhon*n*saidibh
2. doceangl*ad* naim dáchur f*or*al*ar* 7gluas*echt*
3. dochur f*air* cumbith octeacm*ang* diathaebhuibh
4. alliu 7anall co fu*air* bas aml*aid*. [¶66] Oirisi*s*
5. cublay i*n*arighi i*ar*si*n* gin shlaid gi*n* sh*aruga*d
6. gin t*r*iall cath*aig*thi do *acht* arigha 7athaisigh
7. do chur laam*acu* aco*n*galuibh 7 in m*a*c nobe*red*h
8. buaidh dhibh dob*ered*h ardug*ad* fl*aithius*a 7 múi*n*e dó
9. Dob*ered*h beo*s* cl*ar* *air*cd*id*i 7ai*n*m mag*nuis* c*aim* *ar*na
10. sc*r*ibhadh dolit*r*ib ordha f*air* 7 leomha*n* 7 g*r*ibh
11. *ar*na rin*nad* dontaeibh *ar*aill de ico*m*urtha
12. coscair. Dori*n*dta roth g*r*e*ne* 7 es*ca* f*air* 7 g*a*c
13. neach oca faicthi incl*ar* si*n* ic*r*ich*aib* na *t*ar
14. t*r*aighi dob*er*thi umhla dó og*a*c aen 7inneach nach
15. tabr*a*d dogheib*ed*h bas dolig*ed* in righ ==
16. [¶67] Magn*us* c*am* u*mmorr*o .iiii. rigna lais 7 in c*et*bean
17. laa faieann dib asi is fo*r*tailli f*air* 7 ase
18. in m*a*c th*uis*meas isoig*r*i air dia eis. Bit beos
19. ceat*r*a din*n*a anorchu acu soi*n* 7 .x.m. ince*c*h
20. dhin*n* dibh dia freasdal it*ir* i*ngi*n 7ocl*ách* .C. ai*nder*
21. naile lais 7 mna gu ngaeis 7gunaeis
22. c*r*ichtaigh leo diacur diafreastal ag
23. cublay *ar* saethaib 7gallr*aib* 7 dotheacasc
24. d*r*uin*e*cais 7bescna doibh. Madh ec dhi*n*gin
25. don .c. soi*n* dob*er*ar ai*nder* na hi*n*at [*no* ait *above*] doburgo
26. guna .i. cin*ed*h dhuaisl*ib* nat*ar*tr*aige*c iats*o*mh
27. *con*aind*r*ibh cruthacha leo 7 ni fhaiean*n* ainde*r*
28. dhibh lacele naile *acht* feiti*m* f*or* inrigh ==
29. [¶68] Fil cath*air* naili la mag*nus* c*am* cath*air* camba
30. lu ahai*n*m. As iside cath*air* oir*e*cais na*n*uili
31. th*artr*aige*c*. Bui di*diu* sruth fo*r*a feadh fea*cht* ria*m*
32. cofacuidh cublay *ar*bf*ai*cs*in* neoil 7rotha
33. g*r*e*ne* 7 es*ca* celm*ain*e dochuir do b*eit*h do de dia
34. mb*eit*h ins*r*uth t*r*ithi curostocuibh in cath*air*
35. don taeb *ar*aill don ts*r*uth la tuaithlea*cht*
36. 7amaindsi. [¶69] Bat*ar* .iiii. cula fo*r*incathr*aig* si*n*
37. 7 .ui.m. f*or* cech nae .iii.*r*a dor*uis* umhaidi f*or*
38. cech ceathram*ain* di 7di*n*d dithoghl*aidh*i f*or* cech
39. ndor*us* 7f*or* ce*ch* cuil dibh gu ng*r*iananuib
40. sol*us*da guhall*ad*aibh righda. isan*n* si*n* di*diu*
41. cuirt*er* an*air*m 7aneid*ed* 7 a neirr*ed* uile
f. 125ra
1. dia taiscid co huai*n* chatha dhoibh. Mili lae*c*h
2, cech naigthi ocf*air*e inrigh f*or* g*a*c ndoras
3. do*n*dá ndoirrsib décsoi*n*. ni bi om*an* *ar*bith
4. f*air*. *Acht* mogh na righi docoi*mét*. [¶70] Ni deant*ur* c*r*eic
5. na cu*n*dr*a*d isincathr*aig*si*n* *acht* duinti 7 cathr*a*ca

6. allamuich di inandent*ur* Ni hadluict*er*
7. m*ar*bh in*n*ti beos. A meado*n* na t*artr*aidhe fuil si
8. as coi*m*dheas na hiltíre dhi. Nihur*us*a ari*m*
9. indiull na cathr*a*csi*n* 7 a tic in*n*ti do cloch*aib* b*úada*
10. 7do eduighibh sir*ec*dha 7 [*vellum flaw*] dag*a*c maithi*us*
11. *ar*ceana asna hiltirth*ib* i cein 7 i bhfhocus
12. Nibhi in cath*air*si*n* t*r*e bithiu gi*n* .m. roth f*or* fe*n*aibh
13. 7 damhuibh 7asanaibh ac togluas*acht* shida
14. dia hin*n*saig*id*. [¶71] Ata clog romor f*or*alar
15. 7docluint*er* afhog*ur* isna cetr*i* cúl*aib* fil le
16. Ni lamhan*n* neach asiub*al* at*ús* o*idche* o beantar é
17. gi*n* sut*r*alla sol*us*da lais curuithn*ed* ng*re*ne
18. ara bh*ar*rach. [¶72] Palas in righ i meadhon naca
19. thr*a*csin .iiii. cula lais .m. fod ce*ch* ae d*ibh*
20. Istadh oirm*i*tne*c* lasna .iiii. riguib fil f*orr*o
21. cu hall*adai*b rigda 7 cungr*ianan**aib* solusda
22. domh*ar*m*air* gloin 7tuir dhithogl*aid*i fora
23. muraib ina taiscthe acuaich 7a neascr*ai*
24. 7 a seotu aili. [¶73] Din*n*a na ni*ngen* 7 na laech
25. *ar*cen*a* f*or* fiarláit i*n*dún*aidh* 7 lubhghuirt leas
26. aighthe friataebhuibh cutopr*aibh* tait
27. neamhacha cufiadhmhil*aib* eceann*us* dagach
28. mhon*a*d f*or* bith coluibhibh íctha cacha tead*m*a
29. [¶74] Sluaight*he*c ina meadon. Do marm*uir* rotocbhadh
30. adbhul a fhod 7 a l*e*th*ed*. niamh oir f*air* all
31. astigh 7 dia nea*chtair*. Dorinnadh f*air* beos
32. dobre*chtrad* g*a*ca datha ímhaighi na cath 7
33. na *con*gal do rat*a*d isna hiltiribsi*n* 7fuath
34. g*a*c anman*n*a eceann*us* f*or* bith curbho dith
35. amh*air*c doshuil*ibh* d*er*cadh fair. [¶75] Seinistr*e* gl*ain*
36. idhe lais cusduaghaib caemha cumd*acht*a
37. f*orr*o. Seomr*a*da 7sell*ad*a fr*i*ataebhuibh fon

f. 125rb

1. nin*nus* sin. SE .m. no bítis oc toc*ai*thiu*m*
2. i*m*mon righ isi*n*sluaight*e*c si*n* duaisl*ib*
3. na t*ar*traig*e*c 7 da .xx. mili dia láech
4. aibh 7 dia nanr*a*daib nothochaith*dis* is
5. na tighibh fr*i*ataebhu [¶76] .iiii. taisigh im
6. choimeta f*air* 7 .iii.m. laech la g*a*c tais*e*c
7. t*r*i hoighthi dag*a*c thais*e*c dib diaigh a*n*d
8. iaidh ac f*air*e inrigh *con*adhaml*aid* si*n* no
9. chaithdis a remeas. Do*n* mhogh righdha t*r*a
10. rognithe laissiu*m* si*n* 7 ní ar omon cheana
11. [¶77] .U. dhoirrsi toebh fr*i*a t*oebh* f*or*sin rightheach
12. in dor*us* meadón*a*c dhibh sduagha aille
13. amlacha f*air*. ár ni tr*i*allan*n* neach in*n* *acht*
14. inri 7 a shl*uag* ac gab*áil* na ndor*us* fr*i*a thaebh
15. [¶78] Noshuidh*ed*h cublay i*n*ashuidhe righ 7a dr*uim*
16. budhthuaidh 7 a ag*aidh* budhdeas 7 in m*a*c ba
17. sine lais f*or*aláimh dheis 7arigha 7 a

18. thoisigh diaigh a*n*diaigh f*or*inl*e*th si*n* do reir
19. a ndualg*us* 7 inrighan batogha laiss
20. f*or*acli 7narighna eli na deag*aid* 7 mná
21. [na rígh *marg*.] 7 na taighs*e*c f*or* aneagar cub*aid* nandeaghaidh. [¶79] No [+ *marg*.]
22. bhi tun*n*a ordha am*edh*o*n* an rightoighi 7 cet*r*i
23. tun*n*a ordha budh lugha inass*om* f*r*ia ataobhaibh
24. 7fin actoighecht [i*n*dtib *above*] assu*m* righa 7baru*in* ac f*r*east
25. al na bruighne sin doshai*n*e g*a*ca bidh f*or* bith
26. Eirgidh dona f*oir*ean*n* ele dia toi s*e*caibh
27. cosna tun*n*aibh 7 eascr*a*da dimhora dod*er*g
28. ór leó. Fedhm desilaoch ani*m*ch*ar*. Sreathaid
29. lasnaheascr*a*daibh sin f*or* culaib 7 cearna
30. ibh na b*r*uigni 7 linaid cuach *no* cupa órd*a*dh
31. as naheascraibh [dimora *transp*.] si*n* f*or* fi*ar*l*ait*
32. na b*r*uighni do g*a*c aon c*ur*obhad meascdha m*edh*
33. *ar*cai*n*e. Sein*nter* g*a*c fod*ur* 7 g*a*c ceól f*or* bith do
34. ibh co*m*bi antist*a*d uile nac*air*chi ciuil. Do
35. ghniad f*oir*ean*n* eli cleasaidh*echt* 7amui*n*si do
36. ibh. Nibhi d*an*o .ri. na taighs*e*c dibh gen a ghlu*n*
37. f*r*ia l*ar* incen bís cublay f*or*a chuid. [¶80] T*r*i mhissa

[*lower marg*.: + No bhidh in rí uas na sloghaibh oca bhfhaircsi cur bhó comhard f*r*ia a bhondsumh mullach g*ach* aein dia mhuinnt*ir*.]

f. 125va

1. gnathaighit bheith amhl*aid* sin .i. Deci*m*
2. ber. 7 ia*nuar*ius 7febru*ar*ius. Ni
3. samhail doib rigu nait sl*úaig* f*or* bith
4. [¶81] Fil tuluch *ar*d allamuigh do*n* cathr*aig*si*n*
5. cufighb*aidh* foda nati*m*cheall ce*n*díchur
6. a duilli di t*r*iabithu 7 luibhi ce*n* claech
7. lodh andatha saml*aid* curbha miadh
8. m*en*m*an* lag*a*c noe*n* a bhfeg*a*d. I*n* tuluch
9. uai*n*e atb*erar* f*r*ia. [¶82] Batar di*diu* .uii. meic
10. f*or* .xl. lacublay. Doron*a*d palas
11. rigdha f*or*sin tul*aig* si*n* don m*a*c rod*er*rr
12. scaigh dib. Chemchíni aain*m*. Ba
13. laech am*r*a eiside. Do rat*a*d i*n*du*n* do a
14. co*mar*tha oigre*cht*a et rocuir asc*r*ibne
15. 7 a sheotu fine do*n*du*n*si*n* diani*m*coi*met*
16. Ba gnath lais do*no* i*ar* facb*ail* cathr*a*c cam
17. balu t*r*iall do*n* dunsi*n* 7oirisiu*m* an*n* la
18. toil a m*en*ma*n*. Bui t*r*a dlig*ed* aigi fora
19. raibhi doth*artr*aighibh t*r*icha m*íle* f*or* cach toeb
20. do*n*duinsi*n*. sealg dodeana*m* f*or* muc*aib* 7 aig*i*bh
21. 7 f*or*cech fiadhmil eceann*us* olc*en*a 7 a mb
22. reith dondu*n*sai*n* gin dith f*orr*o. Baa
23. c*r*oicnibh nabhfiadhmilsi*n* notaisc*e*d an
24. ri *air*m 7 eirr*ed* a mui*n*dt*er*i 7 a mhil*ed*. [¶83] At

25. bath chemchini 7 rofhacuibh macc
26. temi*n* aai*n*m. Dor*a*t cublay i*n*dun do
27. Ár bá *ar*lurg araili nogabhtha righi
28. na t*artr*aidhi. [¶84] Dogniter do*no* festa lacu
29. blay a laithi ath*us*me*d*a. Tri festada
30. dec *air*mhitn*e*ca dobeir*e*d dot*ar*traig*ib* isi*n* bl*iadain*.
31. Da .m. dhec dia righaibh 7 toiseach*aibh* nobhí
32. dis f*o*r in bhfleigsi*n* *con*deisi naluin*n* nór
33. dha um g*a*c aen dib. IArn*ecar* i*n*tslóigthighi
34. si*n* leo doleicdís a ngluin*e* fria huir
35. 7doghuig*e*d g*a*c aen dib i*n* dia dia nadhr*a*d im
36. shoinmhighi fhlaithi*us*a dfhagb*ail* dochublay
37. I*n* to*cht*m*a*d la .xx. domhi decimb*ir* doghniat i*n*
38. fl*ed*ug*ad* si*n*. Dob*ered*h inrí tidl*aic*thi d*er*mh*air*e

f. 125vb

1. da g*a*c aen foleith door 7mhaí*n*ibh a*n*aithi*n*tiu
2. doshuidhdis foranaitibh co*m*oil doridhisiu
3. dotheighdis diuice 7i*ar*l*ad*a dia f*r*eastal for
4. culuibh 7taebhuibh na b*r*uidhne si*n*. Nobidh
5. in ri na shuidhi righ uaisdibh oc*fair*csi f*or*
6. na slog*u*. coscaildis foshell*aid*ibh 7sheomr*ad**aib*
7. i*ar*ceolaib 7cleasr*a*d imdha // do ronta he
8. [¶85] Araile festa lacublay in .c.na laithi do*n* bl*iadain*.
9. is f*r*is atb*er*tissiu*m* si*n*. f*r*isi*n* láithi tois*e*c do*m*i Febr*a*
10. Ni oiriseadh ri [*vellum flaw*] nataise*c* dibh in laithisin
11. gintriall a*n*dail cublay 7 eirr*ed* geal umg*a*c
12. naen dibh u*air* in d*ar* leo ba sol*us* in bliag*ain*
13. doibh saml*aid* on bl*iadain* co araili. Nirbho ál
14. doib glac*a*d na f*air*csi neith f*or* bith in laithi
15. sin *acht* ní sol*us*ta. Bui rigd*acht* na t*artr*aigi
16. m*a*cu mna fo*n* nin*nus* si*n*. IArndul dona
17. maithibhsi*n* isi*n* sluaight*e*c. teit cublay na
18. shuidhi rig uaistib 7 a ag*a*d ar i*n* sol*u*s ng*r*ia*n*da
19. budhdheas 7 a d*r*uim fho t*úath* na righu f*o*r a dheis
20. 7na righna f*or*a cli. eirghidh oc*lách* i meadhon
21. nab*r*uidhne *con*ab*air*. eirgidh olse 7adhruidh
22. inrí am*ail* dia. Lecit uile angluine 7 a
23. cin*n* f*r*ia huir. Eirg*e*t i*ar*si*n* a bhfiadhn*uis*e in
24. righ. Dob*eir* g*a*c ri 7g*a*c taiseach dhibh each bua
25. dha dhó. *con*adh .u.m. each do b*er*it dó 7siat uili
26. geal. [¶86] Altoir onorach ameado*n* in righthighisi*n*
27. clár corc*r*a f*uir*ri. Ai*n*m i*n*righ *ar*na rin*n*adh
28. f*air* dolitrib ordha. Tuis aschensaidib
29. ordha ac righuibh 7ac taise*c*uibh oca c*r*oth*ad*
30. f*or*culaibh 7 taebuibh in tighi. Dob*eir* g*a*c aen
31. dona maithibhsi*n* paxa *con*umhla d*er*mhair
32. dai*n*m inrigh. Scail*id* g*a*c aen dibh na inadh
33. cho*m*oil i*ar*si*n*. [¶87] Nitocaibht*er* cuach na cupa
34. na corn na easc*r*a diaf*r*easdul in laithi si*n*
35. n*a*c g*el* uili bhít *con*adh*air*e si*n* g*air*it in fesda g*el*

36. de 7 iseirr*ed* g*el* bis impa uili inlásin
37. [¶88] Do b*er*ur leomhai*n* isteach ibhfiadhn*ui*si i*n*righ
38. intan si*n*. doniat u*m*la dhó am*ail* doro*n*sat

f. 126ra

1. na maithe ucut. Mi dhoibh f*or*si*n* fleigh
2. si*n*. [¶89] Do thiag*a*t f*or*seilg asahaithle 7dias
3. brath*ar* aigi na *con*maeruibh 7bataise*c*h g*a*c
4. aen dib f*or* .x.m. *con*maer 7 .u.m. cu
5. lag*a*c *con*mhaer dib. Baym 7nu*n*cam a na*n*
6. man*n*a. i*n* cailli selga noghabhdais do
7. s*r*eathdais na uirtimcill lamh f*r*ia lai*m*
8. cun*a*c facb*a*tis da*m* natorc isi*n* cailli gin
9. gluas*acht* 7m*ar*b*ad*. Inri di*diu*. cu maithibh a
10. righ 7athais*e*c f*or* tul*aig air*d oca feit*im* saml*aid*
11. 7 leomui*n* f*or*cuan*air*t lais on*a*c teidh*edh* fiadh
12. forbith na a*n*man*n* eceann*us ar*cen*a* or isforro
13. ronalt iat. Fin*n*a gaisit*e*c f*or*ru am*ail* i*n*gi*n*
14. no fiacuil oo culai. [¶90] Dognit*er* selg eli
15. la cublay f*or* enuibh 7ealt*ai*b lahilce*n*el g*a*ca
16. seab*a*c f*or* bith. Ár bat*ar* o*cht* ng*r*ibha ingneca for .xl.
17. lais *ar* naseol*ad* f*or* seilg nana*n*mu*n*n nae
18. erdha et ata tais*e*c dia m*uintir con*.x.m. lais f*r*ia
19. seilg 7 i*m*coi*mét* asheab*a*c c*ur*ius .u.m. dhibh f*or* tol
20. chuibh 7 tuaithebr*a*ibh na c*r*ich a cei*n* 7 a bhfoicsi
21. con*a*c dighsitis asheab*ai*c i tíribh cia*n*a i*arn*aleacan
22. f*or* enuibh. Ceolan beag nordha f*or*cois g*a*caseb*ai*c
23. dibh 7ai*n*m i*n*righ *ar*nari*n*d*ad* f*air con*aithnean*n* g*a*c
24. aen he diac*ur* f*or* cula diandighs*edh* itirib cia*n*a
25. [¶91] IN ri di*diu* is amhl*aid* bis ocu*n*tseilgsi*n* aseom*r*a co
26. neim noir f*air* 7 rotha fena fai oca i*m*chur
27. f*or* elifai*n*tibh 7c*r*oicne leom*an* f*air* i*m*muigh ica dhi*n*
28. f*or* fhuact 7d*er*dun. b*er*idh i*n*ri elta diag*r*ibhuibh
29. lais isi*n*teagd*us*si*n*. A righa 7 athoisigh 7a shlogha
30. i*n*a s*r*eath*aibh* 7 i*n*a neisibh allamuigh de. I*ar* f*ac*sin
31. na nelt*a*d naerdha dhoibh tocb*ai*t nac*r*oicne do*n*
32. tseom*r*a 7lecidh i*n*ri na g*r*iba futhaibh 7oiris*i*d
33. fei*n* na shuidhi oc feith*im* nacleas 7nacluit*e*dsi*n*
34. g*ur*ub g*air*d*iga*d me*n*m*an* laissiu*m* 7 laarighaibh d*er*cadh
35. f*or*a nenluith dib li*n*aib. [¶92] Acasi mordín d*an*o
36. donit*er* naselga si*n*. Magh f*or*l*et*han eside 7ní
37. la*m*th*ar* fiadha na elt*a*da do*mar*b*ad* la t*artr*aidibh
38. uidi .xx. la f*r*iathaebhuibh. Roc*um*d*aig*id teagd*uis*e

f. 126rb

1. la Cublay f*or*in maghsoi*n* f*r*iabroin*n* sealga
2. .x.c. pupall allin. M. laech nothochait*ed* apu
3. paill i*n*righ. nia*m* óir f*uir*ri. c*r*oicne leom*an* ng*el*
4. 7 d*ub* 7 d*erg* i*n*atithib f*uir*ri diadi*n ar* shneacta 7 d*erdan*
5. reifedha sida allamuigh dibh. Pupla na
6. hi*ngenraid*e sida uili no*s* ditnean*n*. P*upla* narigh 7na
7. mil*edh* i*n*as*r*eathuibh 7i*n*as*r*aitibh f*r*iataebhuib fo*nn*i*nn*u*s*

8. robhát*ur* acathr*aig* cambalau. [¶93] F*r*iami M*ar*ci*us* doibh
9. aml*aidh* si*n*. T*r*iall*aid* fo*r*cul g*o*cath*air* cambalau. [¶94] Dá
10. thais*e*c d*éc* la cublay 7asiat bacoi*m*sigh *ar*aca*n*ta
11. f*r*is 7 uadh. cet*r*a c*r*icha .xxx. doshaeri g*a*ca taebhu do*n*
12. cathr*aig*si*n*. is lasnataiseach*aib* si*n* dosuidhighthe iat
13. do shoeiri *no* do dhoire dhoso*m*. [¶95] Teora fighbhuidi
14. no fhas*a*t i*m*oncathr*aig*si*n* 7is diac*r*oicnib si*n* do níthear
15. mon*a*d do*n*righ f*r*iac*r*eic 7 cu*n*dr*ad* na c*r*ichi 7 ni do
16. dhíth óir no i*n*dmh*us* do*n*it*er*so*n* laissiu*m* ár ba lia
17. doór 7 in*n*mh*us* é i*n*a aroibhi dorigaib f*or*bith
18. [¶96] IN tan donit*er* nos *no* dlig*ed* donuaid*ig*e*d* dob*ere*th
19. in da tais*e*c dhécsi*n* chuigi 7 do b*ereth* sc*r*ibhne dhoib
20. diacur fo*nc*rich dfhoillsiug*ad* na nós soi*n*. Do
21. chuirdissiu*m* tea*cht*a lasnasc*r*ibhnibhsi*n* f*or* each*aib*h l*uat*ha
22. *ar* bumo i*n*a .u.c. each bui oco*n*righ *ar*na s*r*eath*ad*
23. fo*r*snacathr*acaib* icei*n* 7 if*oi*csi anoirichill tea*cht*adh. 7
24. niscuirdis i*n*teach dia rith cumbascíth
25. hi. nofhacbhaitis inteachsi*n* 7fogheibhtis each
26. ele isincathr*aig* fo*r*aci*n*d 7 teigheadh fuirre gu
27. luas 7 de*n*mne. Bui dia luass*om* cuceang*ail*tea
28. am*arcaig* isnadill*ait*ibh orda ar om*an* n*a*c leanf*ai*tis
29. dib. *Con*adh ar .x.m. cath*rach* doshiubl*aig*hdis te*cht*a
30. mag*nuis* c*a*m la scél*a* a dhlig*ed* 7 anos om*a*dui*n* co feasc*or*
31. [¶97] Fea*cht*us do*marcus* ócc i fiadhn*uis*i mag[*nuis*] c*am*. Amh*arcuis*
32. orse eirg laa*m*maeruibhsi f*or* fiarl*áit* nac*r*ich
33. 7 tuc afhis lat g*a*c dal fo*r*ambiat. t*r*ialluis
34. fo*r*aset cut*ar*la s*r*uth dímhor dhoibh fo*r*si*n* *conair*
35. 7d*r*oicheat do m*ar*m*air* t*air*is .ccc. cubat i*n*a
36. fhot .x. cubhait i*n*a l*ethedh* .xxx. uaithne ful
37. aing fai cusai*n*e g*a*ca g*r*esa fo*r*ro. sduagha
38. cama cu*m*d*acht*a onuaithne có araili dibh

f.126va

1. Fuatha leom*an* 7 g*a*c anman*n*a eceann*us* fo*r*adhibh
2. taebhuibh. da .m. déc leom*an* *ar*narin*nad* am*ar*m*air*
3. f*air*. Fuli saingiu*m* ai*n*m i*n*ts*r*otha sin. [¶98] T*r*iallait
4. i*ar*si*n* gucay cai. cath*air* oirdn*id*i isidhe do tocb*a*d
5. lad*ar*ius ri fea*cht* ria*m* fo*r*beluibh p*r*espit*er* seon
6. .i. ri nahi*n*dia. i*ar*nac*ur* andaeiri dodh*ar*ius
7. Accai*n*is p*r*esp*iter* s*eon* laanae*n* f*r*iashloghaibh i*n*daeirse
8. iraibhi od*ar*i*us*. Bat*ur* moirsheis*er* dia m*uintir* occois
9. teact f*r*is i*n*tansi*n*. Diat*u*ctha alogh dhúin*n*e olsiat
10. dobhermais i*n*d*ar*i*us* si*n* angiallna*cht* du*i*t. Gell*ais*siu*m* si*n*
11. T*r*iallaitsiu*m* coh*air*m imbai d*ar*i*us* 7oirisit fo*r*a
12. theagl*ac*h. bl*iadain* doibh aigi. Teid d*ar*i*us* laanae*n* do s*ei*lg
13. co r*u*csa*t* na laeicsi*n* f*air* anuath*ad* oa m*uintir*. b*er*it he
14. cop*r*espit*er* s*eon* am*ail* rogheallsa*t*. Bl*iadain* dó nagiall
15. aigi curo*s* leic fo*r*cula diathigh fei*n* f*or* fo*r*ciull shidha
16. 7caenco*mrai*c dhoibh f*r*iaraile 7 bat*ar* saml*aid air*iut
17. ba beo iat. [¶99] Tiaguit iar*um* cucat*hair* fun
18. di fa .xx.m. i*n*ahuirti*m*cheall. Iar nec inrigh

19. baif*uir*ri ra*n*nait at*r*i m*ei*c i*n* cath*air* eat*ar*ra at*r*i
20. T*air*rngit múir aelta t*r*ithe i*ar*na toru*inn* doibh
21. Cuiris mag*nus* c*am* faasm*acht* he. [¶100] S*r*uth q*ui*anfa
22. f*or*al*ar*. uidhi ochtm*a*dat la f*or*a fhot. Fil d*r*oicheat
23. aconchathr*aig* si*n*. m*ar*m*ur* essidhe it*ir* sduaga 7f
24. ost*a*da .u.c. cubat i*n*afhod.x.cubait f*or*a l*e*th*ed*
25. Din dfhighb*ad**aib* uaisli uasa cuseom*r*adhuibh
26. 7sell*aidh*ibh fuithibh anandeanuid c*r*eic 7cun*nrad*
27. [¶101] P[ro]bin*n*si tebeit di*diu*. tír isidhe cobfhas*a*c bhf*a*da
28. f*r*iahuc*h*t. uidhi .xxx.la i*n*a fot. loi*n*ti i*m*chuibh
29. de no*s*b*er*at leo dia siub*al* f*or* da*m*uibh 7asa*naibh*
30. Boicshimhne isfighbadh f*or*si*n* *conair* si*n*.u.cubhait
31. dec fot cacha si*m*ne dhib 7 .iii.a basa f*or*a l*e*th*ed*
32. IAr n*air*isiu*m* ag*aigh* dhoibh f*or*an*conair* adaight*er* te*n*
33. te doib doc*r*in*a*c nasim*in* si*n*. i*ar* f*ai*cs*in* natei*nnt*ed
34. do*n*a fiad*m*il*aib* ne*m*e rithait culuath diand
35. ithug*ad*. G*ur*ube furt*acht* foghebhtis lucht na
36. ten*nt*ed fuai*m*m dobei*n* ac*r*in*a*c na*m*boicshibean
37. ocambris*ed* cu teithdis nafiaidhmhila ón

f. 126vb

1. onbreasmaid*m* si*n* gi*n*díth dodenam do[ib]
2. [¶102] IArfacb*ail* infhasaigsi*n*doibh foghabhat
3. p*ro*bin*n*si co.uii.riguibh le foae*n*mhod
4. Nifhaiean*n* cele lahing*in* dibh gidh imdha
5. cele leo g*ur*ub amhl*aid* ellnight*er* ani*n*gi*n*a
6. g*a*c d*r*eam doea*ch*tar*c*rich*aib* t*r*iall*us* f*or*aset f*r*iac*r*eic
7. nogail. tiagait a maithreca 7 a*n*gaelta
8. co h*air*m ambit 7na hi*ngen*a maraen f*r*iu
9. dia nathch*ar* f*or*ro. Foidhit lasnaceil*ib* si*n*
10. incein *air*isit isna cean*ntur*uibh si*n* 7nithiaghat
11. leo níisiriu. Bidh di*diu.* cl*ar* aircd*id*i f*or*ucht
12. g*a*cahaind*r*e dhibh 7ai*n*m g*a*c cele lasafáieat
13. *ar*narin*n*adh an*n* *ár*ismoidi foghab*a*t ceil*ed*a
14. isin c*r*ich g*a*c m*ét* lasafaíeat. i*n*d*ar*leo is*ar*a
15. maith rothoghs*a*t iat. [¶103] C*ur*el ismon*a*d doibh
16. f*r*iac*r*eic 7 cunnr*ad*. doníat cuma c*r*utach f*air*
17. Imut torc 7 adh nall*aid* leo 7imut cuan*ar*t
18. f*r*ia seilg. Meidi*thir* f*r*ihasal cach cú dhibh
19. Et is dothi*m*th*acht*uibh abhfiad*m*il doniad eirr*ed*a
20. oirm*i*tn*e*ca 7bucare*m* allastigh f*r*is. ////
21. [¶104] FIL p*ro*uin*n*si c*ar*iaiam f*r*iataebhsidhe 7.uii.
22. rig*acht*a fuithi. Mac dochublay isri f*uirr*i
23. Cusentem*us* aai*n*m. Nithocuib fineamhui*n*
24. amullach t*r*ia úir f*or*a feadh. cun*a*d do rí[g *below*]le
25. 7 doluibhibh dogniat a bhfleaga. measc
26. dha f*r*ia fi*n* doib he. [¶105] Fil loch isi*n* c*r*ich c*et*na sin
27. .c.m. nati*m*cheall. i*m*mut níamhann 7 clo*c*h
28. mbuadha lais. dialeic*e*d cublay ateacc*ar*
29. dothicf*a*d dia nim*u*t n*a*c biath anoir forro
30. Ór di*air*m*id*i inalluibh 7b*r*uach*aibh* inlochasi*n*

31. diande*n*uit caera 7 tin*n*eadha oir 7 niran*n*
32. uid níislugha he *acht* a c*r*eic *ar*at*r*uma. [¶106] Ni c*r*on
33. la neach isi*n* righi si*n* diabhfhaie abean la f*er*
34. naile et diatisat aidhigh *no* eacht*r*ain*n* dothigh
35. *no* do dhu*n* dib dia c*ar*ait é nosmuirbhfit
36. or d*ar*leo ni t*r*iallfa a anu*m* t*ar*bel i*n*dui*n*
37. gi*n* b*eit*h *ar*ae*n* f*r*iu. Et rot*air*misc mag*nus* c*am* i*n*gnath*ug*ad si*n*

f. 127ra

1. [¶107] P*r*ouin*n*s[e] chogaam di*diu*. Mac do mag*nus*
2. cam is ri fuirri. iaci aai*n*m. i*m*ut
3. donatr*ac**aib* dimhora f*or*a f*ed*h .x. cubhuid
4. fot ce*ch* nathr*a*c dhibh .x. t*r*oighthi f*or*a l*et*heat
5. Toimhlidh in loech *no* in leom*an* t*ar*agi*n*
6. *no* g*a*c anman*n* eceann*us* *ar**chen*a. a fidhacaibh
7. talm*an* oirisit ce*ch* laithi 7gabait s*e*cno*n*
8. na c*r*iche g*a*cnoighthi oc to*m*uilt acruidh
9. 7ahi*n*dile. G*ur*ub aml*aid* dhíth[*aigh*]it laeich na
10. criche nanathr*a*ca si*n*. Dul *ar*beluibh
11. na fidice talm*an* dia neis 7 b*er*a i*ar*n*aid*i
12. do in*n*iull f*air*. oc impod donanathr*achaib*
13. f*or* cula g*us*in fidhicsin teacm*ai*t nab*er*a dhoibh
14. cot*r*eaghdat acuirp. cuf*ar*cb*a*t ci*n* a*n*m*ain*
15. Doniat nalaeich ahi*m*fhui*n*e 7a hi*n*deon*a*d
16. Foiridh adombl*as* aei g*a*c nei*m* f*or*bith. Do
17. b*er*ait afeoil dorighuibh 7 uaisl*ib*
18. na c*r*iche 7dogeibhit anoir dhi *air*mh*id*i fuirri
19. Cabhraidh si*n* beos ingi*n*a ria nidhnuibh
20. [¶108] Nib*er*bth*ar* feoil isi*n* rigisi*n* *acht* salan*n* do
21. chaiti*m* le omh // dhi. dia lamhnaighthe
22. [¶109] P*r*oui*n*dsi aroandu*m* di*diu.* do rigi mag*nuis* c*aim*
23. i*ngen* f*or*a f*ed*h loighidh in laech f*r*ia re .xl. la
24. 7 ag*aig*. tiaghait ach*ar*ait 7aghaelta dia
25. fhis 7 bidh an i*ngen* oca f*r*ithail*im*. [¶110] Seinsear
26. gacadui*n*e as dia adh*ar*tha dhoibh. Nibí
27. liaigh na fisidh leo. Diangabhu se*ar*g
28. *no* teidm galair neach d*í*b fiaf*r*aighit dia
29. ndraith*ib* inmbia furt*acht* f*air*. Tiag*ai*t na d*ruid*
30. dothog*air*m nandee ndemhn*aid*i i*n*a nd
31. ail dfaghail chelmhui*n*i i*n* t*edh*masi*n*. dia*n*d*e*ch
32. di*diu*. i*n*disit n*a*c fuil furt*acht* f*air* *no* dambia
33. furt*acht* f*air* i*n*disit do fe*ar*g nandee
34. dob*eit*h f*r*is 7asb*er*ait idb*er*ta dode*nam* doibh
35. B*er*uit leasd*ar* doch[?r]u an easl*áin* leo 7 reith
36. eadha cu cean*n*uibh dubha leo 7dib*r*aiccit
37. inchru anaieor an*air*di araen red*e*c[*ed*?]
38. nahidb*er*ta. Ticit nadee dianacall*aim*si*um*

f. 127rb

1. idhbraitsiumh in toth[ar] doibh siu 7 ta[ll *above*
2. [¶111] FIL c*r*ich ele f*r*iahor nac*r*ichesi*n* míenaahai*nm*
3. nirabha ri f*ur*riseic. rofhas *con*blicht it*er*

4. in c*r*icsi*n* 7p*r*o*u*i*n*dsi oraandu*m*. Faidhius
5. mag*nus* cam taise*c* dia m*uintir* cuslog ndear
6. mh*air* lais dfurt*acht* p*r*o*u*i*n*dsi oraa*n*dum
7. ár nír umhul miena dho. nisc*ar*di*n* ai*n*m
8. intaisigh. da mili dhec m*ar*cach li*n* ashl*óig*
9. ce*n* mothat t*r*oighthigh. Otclós do bagul
10. .i. dorigh miena slogh nat*artr*aige*c* do
11. thoidh*echt* f*r*iathaebh faidhis teachta ar
12. ceann arigh 7athaise*c*h 7amhil*ed* diatab*air*t
13. cuigi *ar* bahom*an* lais t*artr*aige*d* din*nred*
14. a c*r*ichi fair. Bahe lin dofreac*air* he
15. .lx.m. laech .m.m. elifi*n*t cocaisl*énaib*
16. clar*aid*h f*or*ro i*n*ambitis láeich f*r*iadeabhuidh
17. osnasloghuibh. Tiagait insl*úag* si*n* co
18. uocia cath*air* oire*cuis* miena isidhe. Gab*a*it
19. longp*or*t f*r*iataeb. [¶112] Nisc*ar*dyn u*mmorr*o otclos
20. do intimat sloighsi*n* ac triall nadhail
21. s*r*eathais ascora f*r*iataebh fheagha dithoghl*aid*i
22. bui f*r*ia taeb na cathr*a*c dobail doibh. Gin
23. toighecht da [*no* f*or above*] nd*r*uim don tsl*óg* romhór sin
24. G*air*i*s* athaisigh 7 alaeich gaili cuigi. Na
25. [*vellum flaw*] heaglaighidh na slói*gh* dimhora uc
26. [*vellum flaw*] ut olse *ar* is f*er*dha b*ar* laeich i*n*
27. naid 7 is f*r*iagalaib ronalt*a*d sib. [¶113] M
28. oidhit naslóig*h* ce*chtar*dha si*n* a*n*dail aroili
29. am*ail* to*n*na f*r*iat*r*aigh. Nat*artraig*id u*mmorr*o iar
30. f*ai*csi*n* naneilif*an*t. dhoib nirfh*étsa*t ceim
31. f*or*anagaid dianeachuib [*vellum flaw*] lahomu*n* na
32. neil*ifant*. Gur i*m*poisit f*or*cula c*usin*figh
33. remhraitti gi*n* com*us* m*arcac*h nasrein
34. f*or*ro. Gabh*uis* bagul *con*ashloghuibh fora
35. lorg. Oirisit nat*artr*aigid f*or*an figh
36. 7 snad*m*ait aneochu don fhighb*aid* 7 do
37. b*er*uit ucht *ar* bagul *con*ashlog*aib*. [¶114] Ba cal*ma*
38. docuir*ed* i*n* cathsoi*n* leo alliu 7anall

f. 127va

1. combeanadh bon*n* f*r*ia meidhi 7m*eidhe* f*r*ia b*onn*
2. doibh. Go*n*ait na t*artr*aig*i*d na helifai*n*nte
3. diasoigdibh ár nirabha f*or* bith f*r*iadib*r*a
4. cadh soigheat slog budh fearr i*n*dat. Gab*ai*t
5. na heil*ifaint* f*or* miri 7das*acht con*dec*s*at fo*n*coill
6. gi*n* co*mus* dialaech*aib* f*or*ro. Curost*r*asc*r*ait
7. lad*air*ghibh 7o*m*nuib infheagha acaisle*n*a d*e*b
8. [tha] c*us*in bhfialluch ngaisc*id* bui namb*r*oin*n*
9. in*nus* gurdithaig*ed* sloigh miena a*m*l*aid* si*n*
10. [¶115] Nat*artr*aigidh u*mmorr*o nirofhaelsat fos f*or*s
11. naheilif*aintib*. cut*u*cs*a*t saeire diangiall*aibh*
12. illogh a cean*n*saigthi. Gabhuit na geil
13 .cc. eilif*ant* doib siu*m*. B*er*is niscardyn iat
14. comag*nus* c*a*m *ár* nir aithn*ed*h dia sloghuibh

15. b*eit*h f*or* eilifai*n*tibh ria*m* cosi*n*. [¶116] Ata magh
16. isi*n* c*r*ichsi*n*. uidhi da la f*or*a fhot 7 f*or*a l*eth**ed***
17. fas*a*c eisiu*m* combean*n*uib 7sleibhti ur
18. *ar*da nati*m*cheall. *Air*dight*i*r f*r*iaclethe
19. nimhe iatso*m*. is anamull*ac*h si*n* ait*r*eab*a*t
20. aes nac*r*iche. I*m*mut oir leo. Ticit laithi
21. air*igth*i anuas f*or*in maghsi*n* doc*r*eic a*n*oir
22. f*or* g*a*c ni iseasb*aid*h doibh. Ticit di*diu* na hiltíri
23. acei*n* 7 a f*oi*csi na co*m*dhail f*or*si*n* magh an
24. laithisi*n* do ceann*a*ch i*n*oir. iar scar*a*d dhoibh
25. f*r*iaraili ni leicit lucht na [*vellum flaw*]
26. criche neach f*or*bith leo do dhecsain a
27. nait*r*eabh. *Con*adh*air*e si*n* n*a*c eol*ac**h* ne*c* f*or* bith
28. f*or*amodhuibh na f*or*ambescn*a*d*aib*. Ata u*mmorr*o
29. dh*air*di na haiti an*air*sit cumbit a noes
30. calma dá la 7 o*idche* ag tea*cht* anuas
31. c*us* in magh nuccut // ri am*r*a fuirri
32. [¶117] P*r*ou*in*dsi cangigu fil f*r*ia thaebhsidhe. Bui
33. 7 nir bo miadh lais ma*gnus* c*am* do b*eit*h na
34. righ f*air*. Faidhi*s* cublay sl*óg* dia ir
35. ghab*ail* anirt chatha. Gab*uis* s*er*g galuir
36. ri cangigu co táinic athiughlaithe

f. 127vb

1. Roorduigh a adhn*a*cul cohanorach
2. 7tor dothocb*ail* f*or* g*a*c taebh dhe .x. cub*ait*
3. in*air*di ce*ch*ae dib. Ceann coclaradh oir
4. f*or* tor dibh 7 dí ordlach f*or*athighi. Cluic
5. ordha uassa cutoghluais*ed*h gaeth
6. a ceol. Cluic *air*g*i*t f*or*intor naild.
7. [¶118] Nat*art*raigid u*mmorr*o gabuit f*or*losc*ad* 7 in*nred*
8. antiri curiachts*a*t adluc*ad* cangigu
9. Otcon*n*cat*ur* in tor 7 namaine di *air*mh*id*i
10. f*or*sna toraibh faidhit tea*cht*a co mag*nus*
11. cam dia fhis cidh doghendais f*r*iu.
12. *ár* ba toil doibhsiu*m* aroi*n*n eat*ar*ra. Acc
13. ol mag*nus* c*am* ni toil da*m*sa anoir righ
14. f*or* bith bias f*or*a adn*a*cul dothurnamh
15. Dob*er*ait na sl*óig* saeire do*n*adnacul
16. f*or* fuigl*ib* mag*nuis caim* 7gidh adhn*a*cul c*ar*at
17. *no* namhat bis i c*r*ich*aib* nat*art*raigec niturn
18. t*ar* a o*n*oir f*or*alurg si*n*. [¶119] Umhl*aig*idh di*diu* in
19. ri[g *above*]si*n* [d]ocublay i*ar* si*n* t*r*i .c. riga*n* lasa*n*
20. ríg bis f*uir*re. Imat oir leo. mi fhás
21. an*n* fineam*ain* t*r*e úir in*n*ti. Feoil 7righle
22. no*s*toimlit. Doniat balsam*am* o*n*or*a*c
23. doleo*m*anuibh 7d*r*aicibh 7 a*n*mannaib eceann*uis*
24. Cuirit sai*n*e g*a*ca datha f*air*. doníatt
25. arin*n*adh f*or*ro firu m*a*cu mna cun*ac**h***
26. sc*ar*at f*r*is t*r*iabithu cumbi sai*n*e g*a*ca
27. datha f*or*amball*aib* 7 fuatha na na*n*mu*nn*

28. neceann*nuis ar* nari*nd*a*d* fo*r*ro 7g*a*c meit bhias
29. f*or* neach dhe si*n* is moidi a anoir leoso*m*
30. [¶120] G*a*c marbh theit isi*n*righi si*n* doniat luaith
31. dia churp 7cuirit a c*r*ann*o*ic chumhd*achta*
32. hi ambeann*u*ibh sl*íab* 7ano*cht*uibh all cun*a*c
33. faiceat dai*n*e na eathaite he t*r*iabhithu
34. [¶121] P*r*ou*in*dsi singuy di*diu*. doníat earr*ed*a anór
35. cha doc*r*oicnibh 7 ti*m*th*acht*uibh abhfighbhuidi
36. im*at* leom*an* fo*r*a feadh cun*a*c fetan*n* neach

f. 128r

1. siub*al* a nuath*ad* th*ar*rsa. F*r*ia [*spiritus asper* h]or in
2. m*ar*a fil si. Nileiceann omhon na
3. leom*an* dolui*n*g na dobh*ar*c oirisiu*m*
4. ag*aig*. f*r*ia[*sp. asp.* h]or i*n* puirt naac*ar*soitt
5. doshnaid*m* f*r*iatir. Nidheanan*n* eis na
6. buidi*n* dib suan f*or*a *con*airib. Di*n*gm*a*d
7. di coi*n* isi*n*tirsi*n* inleom*an*. *Con*adhairi si*n*
8. n*a*c togluasin*n* laec dochois na dheoch
9. gan dachoi*n* 7glac lais or dail*ed*h na
10. soigdi f*or*inleom*an* i*n*cei*n* bit nacoi*n*
11. ac comhrac f*r*is. G*ur*ubaml*aid* si*n* dhith*aig*id
12. laeich nac*r*ichi iat // teib[*er*]snaigh f*or*
13. [¶122] P*r*ou*in*dsi cayguy. S*r*ut cora mora for
14. afeadh. Sani*n*dia tocbh*uis* ceann *ar* tus
15. Adbhul a fod .x.c. cub*at* fo*r*al*e*th*ed*. loi*n*gis
16. inrig f*or*anac*ar*soid*ib* f*air* i*n*at*r*iallu*nn*
17. f*or*muir .u.m. dec [long] a li*n* .xx. laec
18. ing*a*c lui*n*g dibh f*r*ia f*r*easdul .u. eich .x.
19. in g*ach* lui*n*g ica freasdal la mag*nus* c*am*
20 dobhiudh 7 d*ig* 7 edg*a*d *no* ecasc ár nihal
21. do ganbh*eit*h urlu*m* do shló*g* 7 loi*n*gi*s* dia
22. t*r*iall*ait* f*or* oilen*aib no* insibh muir*idi* dia n*ir*
23. ghab*ail* a nirt catha. [¶123] Fil p*r*ou*in*d*si* ele f*r*ia
24. toebh 7ri f*uir*ri. Ni ghiall*ann* do Mag*nus* beos.
25. P*r*ou*insi* mangua isidhe. Stactur ai*n*m
26. in righ fil f*uir*ri. Ni fhil isi*n* uili do*m*on
27. ri isfearr i*n*nás ce*n*motha cublay
28. ár niraibhi omho*n* righ f*or*bith f*air* do li*n*
29. m*air*e alaech 7dodai*n*gne adhúint*ed*h
30. 7acathr*a*c *ar* niraibhi du*n* f*or*bith lais
31. gi*n* díc uiscidhi nati*m*chell *con*urc*ur* s*aigte*
32. a fidhb*a*c fo*r*al*e*thi. [¶124] Bat*r*oc*ar* essiu*m* f*r*ig*a*c nae*n*
33. 7nila*m*tha slad nas*ar*ug*ad* f*or* fod arighi
34. nihiadhtha teagh f*or*muínib na s*et*aibh
35. leo. Dochuir*e*d tea*cht*a *ar*fod a righi dia
36. athch*ar* f*or*ro ce*ch* doini not*r*uagh nobhiad
37. leo atidlac*a*d diadu*n*so*m* 7 gech naide

f. 128rb

1. dobhiath cenath*air* nom*athai*r ab*r*eith chuigisiu*m*
2. dia f*r*easdal 7doshnadhm*a*d re araili a

3. meic 7ani*nge*na cumainib leo i*n*tan ba [*spir. asp.* h]aes
4. mhur iat. cur mho i*n*a .x.m. dib si*n* no
5. bhidh do shir ocambiath*ad* 7 eid*ed* acscact*ur*
6. [¶125] Bai cath*air* oire*c*ais aigi *cu*inglay ahai*nm*
7. Dai*n*gne do chathr*acaib* b*et*ha dhi. Rothirca*nsa*t
8. faidhe di fea*cht* ria*m* gin dul f*uir*ri la f*eraib*
9. dom*ain* cu tis*ed* neach *ar*a mbiadh .c. suil dai*nm*
10. suil ti diatog*ail*. Dochuirsiu*m* am*en*ma do
11. righ f*or*bith dob*eit*h f*or*till f*uir*ri ár bad*er*bh lais
12. n*artus*mh*ed*h 7n*actus*mighfe n*e*c ocambiadh
13. .c. suil. [¶126] Stact*ur* u*mmorr*o dochuir omhon
14. a im*airec* f*or*nahiltír*ib* icei*n* 7if*oi*csi cun*a*ch
15. tab*air*te cath na *con*ghal dó 7n*a*c leiceadh a
16. om*on* claen*a*d f*or*adhlig*ed*. *ar* ni claen*a*dso*m* f*or* n*e*c
17. arbith. Oirisitsiu*m* isi*n* tsoi*n*mighi sin
18. nach raibe f*or* meanm*ain* righ nathaisigh
19. dhibh *acht* fl*eda*c*us* 7 cleasr*ad* 7 ceola *con*deachaid
20. a ngail f*or* bath*ad* cun*a*c raibhi *arm* na
21. earr*ed* im*air*ic la laech nale mil*id* dibh
22. [¶127] Mag*nus* c*a*m *ummorr*o ba galar c*r*oidhi lais ri f*or*bith
23. f*r*iathaebh gi*n*giall*ad* dho. Dog*air*it cuigi
24. arigha 7a t*oisigh* 7alaithi g*aile* 7 g*aiscid*. IS*ed*
25. is ail da*m*sa olse sl*óig* dhi*air*m*id*i acuibhse
26. do t*r*iall a p*r*ouin*si* ma*n*guay diahirghab*ail*
27. anirt catha ár ní miadh limsa stac
28. tur f*r*iam thaebh gi*n* ghiall*adh* da*m*. [¶128] Bui tois*e*c
29. amra dia m*uintir*si*um* accoist*echt* f*r*is 7ba
30. t*oisech* imghona lacublay esi*um* baiam
31. aai*n*m. i*n*nannso*n* ab*er*la nat*art*raig*e*c 7 c*et*suil
32. asi*n* b*érla* scoiteacda. Dibhfhaghasa sloigh
33. limsa olbayam t*r*iallf*a*t amanguay
34. 7dober angialla d*ui*tsi. Faidis cub
35. lay sl*óg* labayam amanguay G*a*bs*a*t
36. oc *ar*g*an* nac*r*ichi 7ac br*is*e*d* adui*n*te 7acathr*a*c
37. g*ur* g*a*bs*a*t dí chath*air* d*éc* diandin*n*daib dithogl*aid*i

f. 128va

1. [¶129] Stactur di*diu*. balan do*m*un intsloighsi*n*
2. he fei*n* 7arigha 7athoisigh árba seanda a
3. chur*aid* cum gaisc*id* 7nirochuirs*e*t a noicc
4. gugail lá sai*m*e intsidha *cona*d hi co*mair*li ro
5. c*r*aittea leo. t*r*iall doibh f*or* in*n*sibh muiridhe
6. bai leo on*ar* thualai*n*g cath*aig*thi iat. *Con*dec*aidh*
7. inri lucht .m. long f*or*nahi*n*dsibh si*n* iar
8. bhfacb*ail* choimh*éta* f*or*adhui*n*tibh. [¶130] Gabuid sl*óigh*
9. na t*art*raig*e*c f*or*bhuis himauinglay 7si*n*it a
10. scora f*r*iataebhuibh 7 bahisidhe righchath*air*
11. stactur isidhe. Gabait na sl*óig* f*or*atog*ail*
12. Otclos do shl*óg* nacathr*a*c gurbaiam a tais
13. each togla 7g*ur* inan*n* so*n* 7 c*et*suil dot*u*cs*a*t
14. celmhai*n*e nand*r*uadh feact riamh 7do

15. b*er*ait incathr*aig*. [¶131] T*r*iall*aid* insl*óg* t*artr*aig*e*c gu
16. sia*n*gfu. cath*air* dhithogl*aid*i lastact*ur* is[i]dhe
17. 7muir f*r*iataebh 7 nir bhá tual*aing* nam
18. ais f*uir*ri *acht* f*or* cuil mbic dhi ar dotic*ed*h
19. loingi*us* onrigh do*n*ahi*n*dsibh df*urtacht* f*uir*ri
20. Cidh fil an*ntr*a. badith laech f*or* naslog*aibsin*
21. alliu 7anall actog*ail* nacathr*a*c et nír
22. fh*éd*sat t*ar*tr*aidig* dul fuirre f*r*iare .iii.*r*a
23. mbl*iadan*. bat*ar* oc f*or*bais f*or* incathr*aig* sin
24. [¶132] Faidit tea*cht*a co mag*nus* c*a*m dia in*n*isin
25. do qui*n*glay do dhul dibh. Bai marc*us*
26. 7aaes cumtha *ar*aen f*r*i m*agnus* c*a*m iccois
27. te*cht* f*r*isnatea*cht*uibsi*n*. Badoirbh la
28. mag*nus* na haithi*us*ca si*n*. Cui*n*git i*n* da
29. m*arcus* 7 niclaus sais f*air* 7 doniat
30. .iii.*r*a sasa diandiubraicfidhi aili
31. dímhora donfhighbaid bui naf*r*eacn*air*c
32. ár bateoluighsiu*m* i tog*ail* cathr*a*c fe*cht*
33. riamh. [¶133] Faidis m*agnus* c*am* natea*cht*a f*or* cula
34. doridhisi lasnasasaibh gucui*n*glay
35. IAr rochtai*n* doibh cuslogh baiam ro
36. gabsat [imat *marg*. cloch 7 aile ndimhor asta
37. f*or*sin cathr*aig* gur bris*ed* a taidhbli 7atighi.

f. 128vb

1. Gab*ais* omhan lucht na cathr*ach* lasna
2. h*air*dhibh anaithinti si*n* cotucs*a*t incath*raig*
3. umlaighid cathr*a*ca manguay do m*agnus*
4. Ca*m* intansi*n* 7oirisis stactur f*or*na
5. hi*n*dsibh muir*id*i gen umhlug*ad* do m*agnus*
6. c*a*m *ar* nir mhiadh lais umhla dorig
7. f*or*bith. [¶134] Ata s*r*uth f*or* fod p*r*ouin*n*se
8. manguay quian a ai*n*m. uidi .c.
9. la f*or*a fot .x.m. f*or*al*eth*e*d*. Dá .c.cath*air*
10. f*or*adhib taebuibh. is lia doloi*ngius* dó
11. i*n*nat s*r*otha in b*et*ha. [¶135] Fil cath*air* naile
12. isin c*r*ichsi*n* si*n*tuy ahai*n*m. .lx.m. i*n*a ti*m*
13. ceall .uii.m. d*r*oicheat f*or* a feadh fo a
14. ngabhu*n*n b*ár*c cu seol f*uir*ri. d*ar* leos*um*
15. nífhuil *ar*bith cath*air* islia laech i*n*nas
16. Cath*air* singuy di*diu* i*n*an*n* son 7cath*air* na talm*an*
17. [¶136] Fil cath*air* naili uidhi .u. laithe f*r*iaataebh
18. sin [.]c.m. i*n*atimcill. quinlay a hai*n*m
19. inan[n] son 7i*n*cath*air* neamhdha diateang*aid*sium
20. ar ni fhuil f*or*bit cath*air* ismó inas Da
21. .m. dhec d*r*oic*h*eat le fongabhait lo*n*ga
22. dimhora cent*r*asc*r*adh seoil dibh 7tor
23. dithogl*aid*i f*or*ce*c*h nd*r*oicheat dhibh 7 .iiii.m.
24. ag magn*us* ac fa[i]re f*or* ce*ch* ndroiceat dibh
25. ar oman a himp*óid* f*air* órbacath*air*
26. oireachuis dorighr*aid* manguay isidhe

27. feacht riam. [¶137] Doro*n*sat palas rigda
28. f*or*loch ameadhon na cathr*a*c si*n*. nifuil s*et*
29. na sam*ail* dophalas f*or*bith do .xx. slóg
30. theach lais 7 .x.m. dothoimhl*ed*h in g*a*c
31. sl*óg*thec dhibh 7 tene bithbeo ameadhon
32. g*a*ca b*r*uidhne dhibh 7 .m. dosheomradhuibh
33. sol*us*da f*r*iasuan 7 f*r*easdal i*n*a nur
34. thimceall conei*m* noir f*or*ra 7cofuath
35. g*a*c anman*n*a eceann*uis* f*or* bith *ar*narin*n*adh
36. f*or*ro do ilbre*cht*adh g*a*ca datha. [¶138] INta*n*
37. roirghabh. mag*nus* c*am* i*n* cath*raig* si*n* 7 p*r*ouindsi

f. 129ra

1. manguay. rohoirdneadh nai righa
2. dot*ar*tr*aidibh* f*or*ro 7 doron*ad* f*or*ro in da
3. .m. decc cath*air* bai isi*n* rigisi*n* OCCUS
4. niraibhi cath*air* dhibh gan d*r*ong do míl
5. eadhuib ma*gnuis* c*aim* ocahi*m*coi*m*et *ar*omhun
6. a himpó*d*h f*air* [¶139] Fil loch ameadon na
7. cathr*a*c si*n* 7 .xxx.m. na uirti*m*cheall. Di i*n*is
8. f*air* dun rigda a meadho*n* g*a*cahin*n*si dibh
9. Nila neach f*or* bith iats*om* et i*n*asfearr do
10. bhiudh 7d*ig* 7mhainibh nacathr*ach* cuirid
11. a meado*n* nanduin*t*e 7i*n*tí dian*a*dail fl*ed*h
12. ughadh dodhena*m* tiag*ai*t dhiatochaithimh
13. in*n*tibh 7foghebha et nila neach do*n*cathr*ai*g
14. din*n* na caisl*én* dafuil fo*r*a feadh acht
15. coi*m*dheas dag*a*c aen iats*om* et aseadh dob*eir*
16. antimat d*r*oicheatsi*n* le. F*or* s*r*oth*aib* 7usced*aib*
17. Fil si 7nibhi ani*m*th*echt* fo*r*araili *acht* dibh
18. .xl.m. tighidhis .xl. feac[t] isait*re*abhth*aig*h
19. donchathairsi*n*. [¶140] Nit*us*m*i*dt*er* geinin*n*ti
20. n*a*c sc*r*ibhth*ar* a ai*n*m 7inc*r*uth f*or*sambi i*n*
21. re 7rean*n*a ni*m*e ocat*us*mh*ed* 7diand*e*c
22. neach dibh as beant*ar* a ai*n*m as 7sc*r*ibh
23. th*ar* *ar*is he 7ai*n*m a each 7amai*n*e 7
24. a aesa cumtha 7 loiscte*r* diblinuibh *ar*
25. ae*n* riachorp 7d*ar* leo g*a*casc*r*ibtha dho
26. do beidis *ar*ae*n* f*r*is isinbeathaidh naile
27. [¶141] IMut ecl*as* noirmhitn*e*c isin cathr*aig* sin et
28. nifhil *acht* aen eacl*as* dibh ag fogn*am* [*no* adhr*ad above*] dodia
29. [¶142] Cidh fil an*n* t*r*a diamb*eit*h gan dorighe
30. la Cublay *acht* na nai righa rohoirdn*e*d
31. f*or* righi stactur dorach*ad* os fhorbha
32. righ in beatha // c*r*iche Stactur. crich
33. [¶143] Fil c*r*ich naili i*ar*facb*áil* quinglay f*r*i taebh
34. stucguy iside. i*m*at duinti 7chathr*a*c le
35. laeich amra le. Toimhlit feoil alaech
36. 7amil*ed* 7ibhit abhfuil icathaibh 7toghuit
37. hi t*ar* g*a*c ndigh íttan f*or*bith 7níthoimhlit

f. 129rb

madh doshaeth no dhigs*ed*. Dop*r*oui*nn*si man
guay iside. Explicit s*ecun*dus lib*er*. INci
piunt capitula t*er*cii libri // ia an*n* so
[¶144] Tin*n*scnamh f*or* mhachtn*a*d 7tu*arus*cb*ai*l nahi*nn*
la m*arcus* f*or*aloi*ng*i*us* ceatam*us*. [¶145] Faidhit dín
cl*ar*aigh uasamb*ar*cuibh diandi*n ar* na
ton*n*uibh muir*id*he. Ni chuirid pic f*or*ro *acht*
ola 7cailc 7cnaib do mhi*n*gearr*ad* t*r*itha 7ac*ur*
fuithib leanuidh dhibh t*r*e bhithu *con*dinean*n*
abhfhaenscuil f*or* inmuir. Cet*r*a seolta
f*orga*c lui*n*g dhibh. Cuirid cl*ar* f*or*anclar
naili dhibh g*a*ca blia*dna*. f*r*i re.uii. mbl*iadan* gu*m*
bit .uii. cl*air* d*r*uim *ar*d*r*uim f*orga*c cl*ar* dhibh
7 ní ascnamhait f*or* muir leo niissire
[¶146] Sipangu di*diu*. inis mhuir*id*i isidhe 7ri f*uir*ri
ginumlug*ad* dorigh f*or* bith. im*a*d óir leo
nileic arigh dhoib achur ac*r*ich*aib* naile
ac*r*eic naa cun*nra*d. A fudhomhui*n* f*air*ge
fuil ani*n*is si[n] gurub uath*ad* long na
barc d*ar*ubeol*ac*h hi. [¶147] Fil cath*air* oir*ecuis* leou
doroi*n*e in ri palas anor*a*c nameadhon
cuhalla rigda 7gu seom*r*adh*aib* sol*us*da
Ba docl*ar*uibh óir aithleaghtha ros di*n*
diblinaib. niraibhi f*or*les f*or*a f*ed*h na*c*h
le hor dohiatta 7fah*ed*h si*n* diahurl*ar*
[¶148] LA naon rofhaidh mag*nus* c*am* slogh do
irghab*áil* nahin*n*sisi*n* gu*n*da taiseachuibh
forra. abatam 7uosanchi*m* ananmu*nn*a
ascnait f*or* muir inloi*ng*i*us* si*n*. Gabsat
port asipangu. Facbhait alonga i*n*
sin 7gabs*a*t oc in*nred* nac*r*iche g*ur* gabsat
inchath*air* dithogl*aidi* bui isi*n* ni*n*is. tiag*ai*t
fuirre lan*e*rt lan*n* 7sciath curolás*a*t
ar f*or* aes nacathr*a*c firu m*a*cu mna
acht aeno*chtar* na*m*ma as n*ar* fhaelsat brae*n*
diacru dia rean*n*uibh nadiafaebhr*aib*
ar bat*ar* up*tha*da deamhn*aig*i leo *ar*nacur

f. 129va

lad*r*uidhe*cht* 7 deamhnaigh*echt* t*r*ia tuaichleac*t*
aclochuibh allastig diac*r*oicnib g*ur* iadhs*a*t
nahal*ad*a dia neis g*ur*ub*air*e si*n* n*ar* fetadh
anguin. I*ar* faghb*ail* a fheasa si*n* dona t*artr*aigib
gabs*a*t dolorcuibh 7tuin*id*ibh in talm*an* f*or*ro
curo coi*m*mb*r*iseadh acnamha 7acuirp. g*ur*
fhacs*a*t gin a*n*mai*n* iat. [¶149] Na taisigh u*mmorr*o f
asais imfhorr*a*c nura eat*ar*ra fa s*et*aibh
7 main*ibh* nacathr*a*c 7 nac*r*iche *ar*c*hen*a cunac
tuc ne*c* dibh umla daroili gurbha
miscn*ig*i lasnasloghuibh si*n* acheli i*n*a
aes nac*r*iche. Guroclodhsat f*or*culai

13. c*us*in loi*n*gi*s* do ridhisi. IAr*n*dul doibh
14. inamb*ar*cuibh s*r*eathais ainbhthine d*ermair*
15. f*r*iaroili iat. Bai i*n*is f*r*iatoebh. Buailis
16. in ainbhthine f*or*bha in loi*n*gis f*r*ia taebh*aibh*
17. 7t*r*actaibh nahin*n*si con*ar* facbhadh cl*ar*
18. f*or* clar dhibh cumbat*ar* alaeich 7amil*id* f*or*
19. i*m*mbath*ad*. Gabhuid i*n*cuit ele don. loi*ng*u*s*
20. icrich*aib* nat*ar*t*r*aighi f*or*anadhaidh. Tiag*ai*t t*r*icha
21. mile do*n* tslogh loi*n*gsi si*n* atir isi*n* ninis
22. f*or*cl*ar*uibh 7seasaibh along i*ar*ngait
23. cheilli diananm*ain*. Niriacht rímh f*or*
24. ar baidh*edh* dhibh. Bat*ar* t*ar*tr*aidig* fo*r*ani*n*is
25. inta*n* si*n* gin b*iad* gin d*ig*. [¶150] Ri sipangu
26. di*diu*. odclos do i*n*saebhudh si*n* f*or*loingi*us*
27. nat*ar*tr*ai*dec dob*eir* ashloghu diashaighid
28. t*r*ialluit i*n*amb*ar*cuibh 7gabuit po*r*t
29. sani*n*is ambat*ar* nat*ar*tr*aidig* Tiaguid
30. atir diandith*ugad*. Nat*ar*tr*aidig* u*mmorr*o
31. gabait *conair* aili dianeis cura*n*cat*ar*
32. a mb*ar*cu 7luighs*e*t atir ani*n*issip
33. angu. tiaghait f*or* beol na righcha
34. thrach. Osluic*id* aes nacathr*a*c na
35. doirrsi cuhoibheil or nírfhin*n*sad
36. nar iat sloigh na c*r*iche atcon*n*cat*ur*

f. 129vb

1. Gabhuit nat*ar*tr*a*aig*ig* inchath*air* et t*r*iall*ait* sloigh
2. nahin*n*si ambloigh diamb*ar*cuibh 7gabh
3. aid i*n*raen f*or* lurg nat*ar*tr*aide*c. [¶151] Arbhf*ai*csi*n*
4. doibh nacathr*a*c do irghab*ail* g*air*mt*er* accu
5. a mil*id* 7alaeich g*aile* icei*n* 7ibhf*oi*csi 7doniad
6. f*or*bhais f*uir*ri. Gabhait ag deabhthaibh 7ag
7. tu*argain* achele g*ur* bhó ár mil*ed* leo illiu 7anall
8. .uii. misa dhoibh f*or*sanab*ar*tsi*n* ár bui
9. suil nat*ar*tr*aide*c f*r*ia mag*nus* c*a*m diabhfurt*acht*
10. dob*er*uit incath*air* i*ar*si*n* 7rotin*n*laic*e*d iatso*m*
11. go cublay. Scarsat f*r*iaraili foshidh 7
12. chaenchomhrac. // laechuibh diaslog*aib*
13. [¶152] Sipangu di*diu*. righi f*or*l*et*han isidhe. ailli de
14. 7dianainndr*i*bh. Do idhlaibh 7arr*acht*aibh c*r*eidit
15. 7rin*ntar* abhfuatha leo cuteora ceannuibh
16. f*or*ro. no gu ceatr*a* naighthibh f*or*aenceann. nó
17. gu ndeich lamhuibh f*or* aen c*or*p *no* gu .c. la*m*
18. beos. In d*ar* leoso*m* g*a*cimat c*r*uth bias f*or*a
19. ndee is liaidi acumh*acht*a. Diangabhth*ar*
20. gialla ahea*chtarcr*ich isi*n* nin*n*si di t*u*cth*ar* múi*n*e
21. diaeis fogeibh saeire. diambe ginfh
22. uaslu*c*ad lais m*ar*bhuit he 7do níat ab*er*
23. bhudh 7a thomailt *con*an*air* moir. [¶153] Doc*ur*sid
24. lucht taistil inmh*ar*a in*nec*dha rímh f*or*a
25. innsibh feact riamh. *Con*adh seact ni*n*nsi f*or*

26. .xl. 7 .uii.m. i*n*is f*r*ith f*ui*rri 7is uath*ad* dhibh
27. sin gi*n* aitreab*ad*h fo*r*ro 7asi*m*dha righi fo*r*le*t*han
28. dibhso*m*. [¶154] Ciamba u*mmorr*o inis mhuir*id*i isidhe
29. gu righ f*ui*rri. Pib*ar* geal fhasas isi*n*righis*in*
30. [¶155] Nibi *acht* da ghaeith isin bl*iadain* fo*r*nahin*n*sibsi*n*
31. l*e*th na blia*dna* cen clódh f*or* cula dhi 7 in l*e*th
32. aili nahadhaigsiu*m* cen clódh // gu
33. [¶156] Faidis mag*nus* c*a*m feact naill toise*c* dia m*uin*t*ir*
34. sloghuibh nd*er*mh*air*e lais acyambai dia
35. hirghab*áil* anirt chatha. Bai dia dai*n*gne
36. 7dochalm*acht* alaech n*ar*fhaelsat toghuil

f. 130ra

1. for dhun na f*or* cathair dhibh. Gabs*a*t
2. inslogh i*ar*si*n* octeasc*a*d angort 7abhfi*nem*na
3. Faidis acupi*us* .i. ri na hin*n*si teachta
4. do athch*ar* chisa do mag*nus* cisogatu .i.
5. an toíse*c* 7 basheanda i*n* ri i*n*tansi*n* *ár* bai
6. dhim*a*d cheil*ed*h lais feacht ria*m* curaibhi .xxx.
7. f*or* .iii.*r*a .c. do clai*n*d lais 7 bamil*id*h calma
8. acathaibh t*r*i.l. dibso*m*. Cidh fil an*n* t*r*a *acht* do
9. b*eir* umhla do mag*nus* c*am* 7dob*ered*h .xx. elefaint
10. do fo*r*ro g*a*ca blia*dna*. t*r*iabhithu. Sc*ar*aid 7 i*n*sl*óag*
11. re araile foshídh 7chaenchomhr*a*c. [¶157] IAna
12. mor f*r*ia hu*ur* [*vellum flaw*] na righisi*n* 7rí f*ui*rri ci*n* com*us*
13. righ f*or* bith f*air*. T*r*icha .c.m. ati*m*cill narí
14. ghisi*n*. is lan dag*a*c uili mhaithi*us* fo*r*bith hi
15. [¶158] Gendur 7gondur f*r*iahor narighi si*n*. dá
16. inis muir*id*i iatsu*m* *con*i*m*mat g*a*camai*n*e leo
17. INIS leoach allamuigh dhibh si*n*. righi f*or*le*t*han
18. isside 7ri f*uir*ri n*a*cgiall*ann* dorigh f*or* bith
19. As f*er*dha línmh*ar* a laeich. i*m*mut oir 7ele
20. finnt*e*d f*or*afeadh // theach le 7 muir f*or*tha*n*a
21. [¶159] INIS peantam di*diu*. tír isidhe *con*im*a*d fheagh toir
22. nati*m*cheall. ceat*r*a t*r*oigthi fo*r*adoi*m*ne .c.m.
23. g*a*ca taebha dhi na*c* tual*ang* b*ar*c seol*aid* na sd
24. iur*ai*d f*or* in muirsi*n* // .uii. righaib f*uir*re
25. [¶160] INIA iana beg di*diu*. tír fhoirl*et*han iside co
26. Dobhadh*us*sa fei*n* arm*ar*c*us* a se righ*acht*aibh
27. dhibh. xx.c.m. atimc*ell* nahi*n*dsi si*n*. ~~~
28. [¶161] Righi fear lech di*diu*. inchetna righi dhibh i*n*a
29. rabhadh*us* do m*a*cam*et**us* ad*r*ait et i*n* .c. ai*n*mh*id*i
30. atcithfe g*a*c aen dibh atús lai asé is
31. dia adh*ar*tha dho cuheirghi g*r*ene arna*m*ar*a*c
32. Toimhlit feoil co*n* 7 dai*n*e. 7 g*a*c eat*ai*de f*or* bith
33. [¶162] Basma*m* di*diu.* ind*ar*a righi dhibhsei*n*. Tir shl*éib*
34. tighi iside gi*n* dlig*ed* fo*r*bith leo *acht* a mb*et*ha
35. dochaithimh am*ail* g*a*c na*n*ma*n*n neceandsa
36. *no* biasdu et ad*er*uid g*ur*ub do mag*nus* ca*m* adhr*ai*t
37. 7 nithab*r*aith cai*n* nadlig*ed* do. I*m*at o*n*ocorn

f. 130rb

1. f*or* fe*d* narígh*i* si*n*. Clúmh buabhuill lais
2. 7 cean*n* muice 7 cosa elefin*n*ti. Bean*n* di*m*or
3. acomhroin*n* adhá shul 7 teanga *con*imut
4. rean*n* fuirri. Asi is*ar*m dith*aig*thi lais. I*m*at
5. g*a*ca ce*n*eoil nap*a*d f*or*bith isi*n* c*r*ichsi*n*. Doniat
6. sealg f*or*ce*n*el donap*aib* be*c*a dhibh 7c*r*uth dai*n*e
7. f*or*ro 7 be*r*uit iat diac*r*eic anilthirth*aib* 7is*ed*
8. asb*era*it *con*adh óicc iatt 7isanor*a*c larig*aib*h
9. na niltire i*n* fheoil sin [*vellum flaw*] f*r*iatomhuilt
10. [¶163] Samaria di*diu*. int*r*eas righi dhibh. nífhasa*nn*
11. fíneam*ain* nac*r*uithn*echt* t*r*e uir in*n*ti *con*adh *ar*án
12. ríghle 7feoil chaithit. Ata coill isi*n* c*r*ichsi*n*
13. 7ceanglait ac*r*oin*n* cusnigheann sugh friu
14. am*ail* ch*us*leanna uis[*flaw*]cidhe d*er*g 7fi*nn* isd*a*th do*n*ts*u*gsi*n*
15. Tim*uir*c*ter* si*n* asoith*ig*ibh cumd*achta* la haes na
16. c*r*iche cun*a*d lor dhoibh dodigh abhfag*a*t saml*aid*
17. 7 isf*er*r oldas i*n*fin // dia ngabha s*er*g
18. [¶164] Dragoiam di*diu*. in ceathr*amad* [*flaw*] righ*acht* d*íbh*
19. gal*air* ae*n* d*ibh* fiaf*r*aighit diand*r*aidh*ib* i*n*mb
20. ia furt*acht* f*air*. Tiag*ai*t na d*r*a[*ide*] dhfhag*ail* chelm*ain*e
21. onadeibh. dia neib*r*it gi*n* furt*acht* dobh*eit*h
22. f*air*. timsaigh*i*t a ghaelta 7ach*ar*ait chuige
23. *con*abr*a*it f*r*is. nach fearr d*ui*t olsiat doto*m*uilt
24. dui*n*ne i*n*cei*n* bias doc*r*uth 7tfheoil f*or*t
25. ina dothomhuilt do phiasd*aib* na talm*an*
26. i*ar*nateillneadh do*n*tsaeth fil f*or*t. m*ar*bt*ur*
27. leo he 7 caithit a fheoil gunon*air* moir
28. [¶165] Lambrii. In .u.*a*d righi dhibh. Fil figb*aidh* isi*n*
29. c*r*ichsi*n*. birsi ahai*n*m. Bean*aid* aes nac*r*iche
30. a c*r*oin*n* ahuir dianathc*ur* doridhisi 7bid
31. .iii.*r*a bl*iadan* osuir ge*n* acur. ticit iar*um* co
32. tor*a*d anor*a*c fo*r*ro. Fil blogh daes na c*r*i[*che*]
33. si*n* ambean*n*uibh sl*iab* 7anochtuib all 7fa
34. sait earbaill f*o*raseanaibh amhail chonu
35. [¶166] Fanfur i*n*seis*ed* righi dhibhsei*n*. nifhasa*nn*
36. *ar*bhur f*or* bith na fineam*ain* tre uir i*n*nte
37. *con*adh righle no*s* toimhlit. Suighi na fidhb*aid*e

f. 130va

1. as fleagha dhoibh am*ail* roraidhsiu*m* ro*m*ui*n*n
2. Fil figb*ad* isi*n* c*r*ichsi*n* coremhe nd*er*mh*air*. Dogheibh
3. lucht nac*r*ichisi*n* andáith*in* bígh domi*n* 7 do
4. phughdar onor*a*c allastigh do c*r*oicn*ibh* nac*r*an*n*si*n*
5. [¶167] IArgcur chúil risi*n* c*r*i[*ch*]si*n* fogebha i*n*is m*uir*idhi
6. necura*m* ahai*n*m. do ma*ca*me*tus* ad*r*ait. Ni bhí
7. timthach *ar*bith la laech na i*ngin* dibh *acht* a
8. mb*eit*h deanocht am*ail* th*uis*m*iter* iat // si sin
9. [¶168] Fogebtha i*n*is [*flaw*] augama*m* f*r*iataebh nahi*n*n
10. [¶169] righi f*or*le*t*han isidhe *con*adhr*ait* do ma*ca*me*tus*. Bai
11. .c. 7 t*r*i .m. domhil*ibh*. i*n*atim*cell* feact riamh
12. guros caith imghluais*echt* m*ar*a lagaeith hi

13. *con*ach fuil *acht* .xx.c.m. i*n*atimcheall i*n*niu
14. Toimdit aes na c*r*i[*che*] si*n* n*ách* fil f*or*bith inis is
15. fearr i*n*nás. Nibhi ed*a*c *acht* lahuath*ad* dia dai*nib*
16. Tocb*aid*h n*er*t gaéithe i*m*ut dibh isi*n* muir gu
17. mbaidht*er* iat. ni umhl*aig*i*n*n arigh dorigh f*or*
18. bith. Ni [*flaw*] theit lucht na c*ric*[*e*]si*n* a gcathuibh
19. *acht* dambe *con*blicht f*or*ro dob*er*uit ea*cht*archricha
20. dia cab*air* 7 dob*er*uit ceand*a*c diamai*n*ib dhoibh
21. Im*a*d leag mbuadha in*n*ti. IS ocu*n*righ sin
22. ata i*n*cloch isfearr f*or*bith. d*er*g iside. m*étithir*
23. f*r*ia lai*m* laeichhí 7reisi f*or*af*ed*h. glainith*ir*
24. f*r*iag*r*is ganc*r*ithir hi. CUIRIS mag*nus* ca*m* tea*cht*a
25. dochui*n*ghid nacl*oc*hi b*uada*si*n* f*or* inrigh si*n*. Ro
26. raidh in ri g*ur* s*ét* fi*n*e do righr*aid*h seylam i*n*
27. cl*oc*h si*n* 7 n*a*c raibhi neart atidl*aicth*i aige fein
28. [¶170] Fil ani*n*dia f*r*ia hor nahin*n*sisi*n*. P*r*oui*n*n[*si*] ma
29. ab*ar* is f*oi*csi dhi .u. righa f*uir*ri i*n* ce*t*na righi d*íb*
30. Bua*ar* scud*er*ba ai*n*m i*n*righ fil f*uir*ri. Lom
31. no*c*ht t*r*ebithu chaithit amb*et*ha. imut cloch
32. mb*uada* isi*n* c*ri*c*h* si*n* et is mod lasi*n* righsi*n* cheathra
33. leaga b*uada* f*or* .c. foab*r*aghait t*r*e bithu 7atuill*ed*
34. dibh f*or*alamhuibh 7chosaibh. Gab*aid*h .iiii. hor
35. thana f*or* .c. f*r*isna deibh g*a*c laithi 7 i*n*oir*et*
36. cetna g*a*c no*idchi* dobheith furt*acht*a na*n*dee
37. fair .u. ai*n*d*r*e sirdha lais. [¶171] Uar d*an*o

f. 130vb

1. in d*ar*a righi dhíbh. damh is dia ad*ur*tha
2. doibh. Nímh*ar*buid da*m* 7níthoimhlit
3. afhéoil diam*ar*bhthar. Doníat bals*amu*m
4. anor*a*c diafheoil 7 diagheir 7coi*m*lit
5. fochul*aib* 7cearnuibh inb*r*ogha *ar*daigh co*ma*d
6. nae*m*tha inbrugh ogheir indai*m* naei*m*
7. dochomailt f*air*. [¶172] Madh éc do*n*righ no
8. do thais*e*c dhib. m*ar*bth*ar* leo aaes cu*m*tha
9. 7 aes g*a*c oifice bui lais diacur da
10. f*r*eastul isin beath*aid* *ar*aill 7marbhuit
11. a sheitig diac*ur* lais *ar* om*an* cheli aili do
12. beith le 7 loiscid acuirp diblín*aib*h
13. [¶173] IS an*n*sac*r*ichsi*n* domart*r*adh tomas aps*tai*l
14. i*ar* teact dop*r*oiceapt b*r*eithri dé doibh et
15. nitual*ang* aen diam*ar*a*n*d di*ar*sma na
16. mbas*air*eadh sin t*r*iall isteach t*ar* beolu
17. nah*ec*uilsi in rohadn*acht* c*or*p tomais
18. et i*n*ait in*ar*marbs*a*t he fil d*er*g aniu
19. dia chrú am*ail* bui in .c.la. Doghní an
20. úir si*n* icshlai*n*ti dag*a*c aen nos toi*m*liu*nn*
21. b*e*c no mor dhi f*or* dhigh. Ata beagan cr*istaid*i
22. i*m*mo*n* cathr*aig* mbic i*n*abhfhuil c*or*p tom*ais*.
23. As mór domhirbhuil*ibh* in fhirdhia foill*sighther*
24. and si*n*. [¶174] Uar di*diu*. nipeac*ad* laneach dhibh

25. peac*ad* f*or* bith do p*ecthaib*h na mban. [¶175] Loighit aes
26. nac*r*ichesi*n* f*or*santalm*ain* 7iss*ed* atb*er*at. don
27. talm*ain* sin*n* ar siat 7atal*main* rachm*a*it. Nithoi*m*
28. lit fin t*r*ia bithu 7ni g*a*buid aeir na aithis
29. i*n* neich dhibh no*s* ibean*n*. Dogniat osaic
30. g*a*c laithe. Nibhi *ar*m la neach dhibh *acht* gai 7
31. sciath. Nig*a*dtar ní f*or*bith leo. Nim*ar*bh
32. thar aen aneisim*al* leo. nifhasan*n* each
33. diang*r*oighibh *con*adh .x.m. each g*a*ca bliadhna
34. cheann*n*ghaid. Coic righ maab*ar*. Feoil b*er*bhthi
35. 7 uighi 7righle thoimlit aneich. et is lom
36. nocht thiaghuid lucht nac*r*ichesi*n* f*or* s*ét*
37. latorm*a*c teasa nag*r*ene or nifettar

f. 131ra

1. siub*al* na c*r*ichi si*n* *acht* at*r*i misaibh san bl*iadain*
2. .i. iunius iuli*us* aug*ustus* .i. damhi d*eridh*
3. in tsamhr*aidh* 7.c.mhi in fhoghmhair. dob*ered*h
4. bas íatso*m* lasna ruithnibh g*r*ianda. m
5. una bh*eth* furt*acht* na missoi*n* f*orr*o. is
6. suail dianeachuibh n*a*c faghuibh bas g*a*ca
7. blia*dain*. lasi*n*mbeath*aidh* nanaith*nid*h Sebhuic
8. dhubha leo. anas fearr dosheabhcaibh
9. dhoibh. Fialtoca leo meid*ithir* f*r*e fia*c*hu
10. [¶176] Righi na paghan*a*c di*diu* in .u.*e*d righi do p*r*oui*nn*[*si*].
11. Maab*ar*. damh is dia adh*ar*tha dhoib 7is*ed*
12. asb*er*uit *con*adh geal fil fuath i*nd*iab*ail*
13. *con*ad*air*e si*n* ri*n*daitsiu*m* fuath a*n*dee dubh
14. 7cuirit ui*n*dimi*n*te 7ol*ad*ha d*u*ba futhaibh
15. badhesi*n* cumbid f*or*ae*n* ndath f*r*ia*n*deibh
16. 7m*a*d geal aen dibh ocá th*uis*me*d* níoirisid
17. cu mba dísho*l*u*s* he. [¶177] Diand*e*cuit icath no
18. aconghal b*er*it leo clúmh i*n*dai*m* dia n*a*dr*ait*
19. am*ail* dia 7 nibhi leo mái*n*e is*air*mi*t*nighi
20. in nass*om* // fhuil si 7ní umhl*aigh* dorigh
21. [¶178] Righi Musili di*diu.* f*r*ia hor righi napagan*a*c
22. f*or* bith. Nifhuil*et* s*r*otha nait aibhne for
23. feadh nac*r*i[*ce*]si*n* acht tob*air* shol*us*da ag
24. snighi afudho*man* thalm*an* leo. Foghabhuid
25. imat cl*o*ch mb*uada* in*n*tibh i*artrag*ad doib la t*urcbáil*
26. ngrene. Sleibhte 7 bean*n*a ur*ar*da isi*n* c*ric*si*n*
27. gunaq*u*ilibh geala f*or*thaibh 7 *con*i*m*ut n*a*thr*a*c
28. neimhe *con*adiat nanatr*aca* si*n* thoimhlit
29. nahaq*u*ile dímhora 7 cruth*aigter* leacca
30. b*uada* in*n*tibh dibso*m* nach faghth*ar* a naith
31. ghin f*or* fot inb*e*tha *acht* an*n*so*m* adhamoi*n*t
32. ananman*n*a. inan*n*so*n* 7diamont
33. Oirisid nahaq*u*ile si*n* ambilibh dimhora
34. g*ur*ubomhun lahaes na c*ri*c*he* t*r*iall i*n*a ng*air*e
35. la acalm*acht* *con*udh feolb*aig*he b*er*ait isi*n* gli*n*d
36. [*flaw*] dithoghl*aid*i fil fuithibh. T*ec*ut na

37. haicile anuas i*ar*bhf*ai*cs*in* nafeola
f.131rb
1. Tiaghait da*no* aes na c*r*iche dia neis 7 fog*a*bhit
2. nacl*och*a b*uada* i*n*aninglanuibh i*ar*cur na*n*aiq*u*il*ed*
3. dhibh 7 anas fearr dhibh bit ocna righuibh
4. imfhoicsi 7dogab*ur* in chuid ele dibh f*r*ia c*r*eic
5. f*or* fi*ar*l*ait* in b*et*ha // amini insloin*n*eadh
6. [¶179] Righi Lae di*diu.* ní chanuit gó t*r*ia bhithu. ab*r*ai
7. ait*r*eabhus in*n*te. ni thoimhl*it* fi*n* na feoil t*r*e
8. bhithu 7ní m*ar*bhth*ar* dui*n*e naanmanda
9. aili leo. aei*n*shétigh snadh*m*tha la g*a*c naen
10. dibh. Nibeanuit cran*n* na duille ur a
11. ndoigh a*n*ma do b*eit*h [a *exp*.]i*n*ntibh. Lomnocht bhid
12. t*r*ia bithu 7dam in dia dian*a*dr*a*it. Iar nég
13. [do*n marg*.] damhsi*n* doniat luaith diachnamhaibh 7
14. c*r*othait f*or*ro hi. ISaínt*e*c t*r*oisct*e*c do*n*a deibh
15. iatso*m*. Bíth fuath dai*m a*rnarin*n*adh a
16. nedan g*a*c aein dibh 7duill*edh*a c*r*and p*ar*duis
17. na miasa f*or*atoimhlit. // nigiall*ann* do
18. [¶180] Crich coylus di*diu*. righi fhoirl*et*han isidhe
19. righ f*or* bith 7nifhaiean*n* neach laceli dibh
20. muna rabhut in t*r*eas glu*n* dfhialus
21. diblín*aib*h nó seitig [*flaw*]a ath*ar* no abhrath*ar*
22. dianeis. I*m*mat leom*an* ndubh isi*n*crichsi*n*
23. Docithir polus *ar*tic*us* in*n*ti cubut *ar*
24. turcbail ós muir // surach 7 r*ighi*
25. [¶181] Righi cumar 7righi melib*ar* 7righi Gu
26. Caria 7 r*ighi* cambaech 7 r*íghe* sema*n*ach
27. 7 r*ighi* osmacoram don i*n*dia moir iat
28. sumh 7i*m*mat righi i*m*male f*r*iu et robadh
30. scith teanga f*r*iatu*ar*ascb*ail* dotab*air*t
31. [¶182] Dorímhs*e*t eol*aig* inmh*ar*a feacht ria*m* .uii.
32. .c. f*or* da .m. dhec in*n*si f*or*in muir ni*n*d
33. [*flaw*] eagdasi*n*. Ge*n*motha in*n*seadha na hi*n*d
34.ia Bice et ticfamait t*ar* beaga*n*
35. dibh an*n*so. [¶183] Atat di inis afu
36. domhui*n* inm*ar*a si*n* 7 isé i*ss*u adhrait
37. Oilén nanI*ngen* 7oil*én* nabhfhear dob*erar* f*o*rro
38. Nighluaisit na hi*ngen*a asa niniss fei*n*
f. 131va
1. t*r*ia bithu *acht* na laeich ag t*r*iall co h*air*m ambít
2. t*r*i la *con*oighthi [*transp.* in g*ach* mis] dhoibh ico*m*am*us* f*r*iaraili
3. g*a*c laech laashetigh dhibh i*n*an*ar*aglaib badhesi*n*
4. frisi*n* re si*n*. Imp*óidh*it nafiru f*or*cula dia ti
5. ghibh iar*u*m c*us*in mis naill *con*adhaml*aid* si*n* do mhe
6. lit ambeathaidh. I*n* tan lamhn*aig*id namna
7. m*a*d i*ngen*a nos b*er*at nonalad f*r*i d*r*uine 7g*re*sa m*a*d
8. m*ac*cu d*an*o b*er*at coanait*r*ibh diatab*air*t frilaec*h*d*acht*
9. [¶184] Fira amhainsi iat f*r*iaseilg f*or* fiadhmhila
10. mara 7tiri. Loi*m*m 7c*ar*na 7g*a*c cenel tor*aidh*

11. do thir 7mhuir nomelit firamnaa
12. eascop as ceann for*r*o. [¶185] I*n*teascopsin di*diu*
13. fil inis lais Scoria ahai*n*m .u.c.m.
14. uaidhibsiu*m* conilibh do dhaínibh lais f*r*ia
15. c*r*eidiu*m* 7*ar*aill f*r*iahidhl*acht*. Gi*n* tlact na ed*a*c
16. leo f*r*iambeath*aid*. Impo*idhid* nahidhla na lo*n*ga
17. *con*a seola anag*aidh* ghaeithi laangein*n*tleacht
18. curan*n*ait eat*ar*ra iat i*ar*nangab*ail*. [¶186] IAr
19. bhfacb*ail* scoria iar*u*m uidhi .x.c.m. foghe
20. bha inis ndi*m*o*ir* [*flaw*] is mo dooilenuibh
21. talm*an*. da.xx.c.m. nathimc*ell*. madei a ai*nm*
22. ILI chenela dai*n*e le. do m*a*came*tus* ad*r*ait. c*ar*
23. na ca*m*ull mhelit. Nih*ur*usa arímh i*n*a fil
24. do chamhull*aib* leo. Gealaso*n* da*no*. 7 ni fhil
25. f*or* talm*ain* cenel f*r*isasam*al*ta iat *ar* mheit
26. Feagha dímhora leo. D*er*gaso*n* d*an*o. id*ir* duille
27. 7 r*ús*cu. Ialla imdha leo do ilce*n*el én id*ir*
28. gnath 7ingnath. Ealt*a*da dimhora f*or*roside
29. ba móomh do e*n*uibh intalm*an*. Rúc ana*n*
30. man*n*a tocbhuit nahelifi*nn*ti i*n*ac*r*obh*aib*
31. isin fir*m*ami*n*t coleicit anuas dor
32. idhisi *con*denan*n* b*r*iscbru*ar* diamball*aib*
33. cutoimhlit iat iar*um* // mheitsidhe
34. [¶187] Faghebha oile*n* naill iarsuidhiu. Adhbhul a
35. .xx.c.m. nati*m*cheall. Samsibár a ai*n*m
36. ilchenala eathachdha nosait*r*eaba*n*n

f. 131vb

1. Srona dímhora atulaibh anetan
2. aruisc f*or* tuaithbhil. fuilt dubha leo
3. 7beoil lethna. Lethight*ir* f*r*iag*a*c ceathr*ar* don
4. d*r*oing dhaen*n*a a bhfhir 7a mna 7 nih*air*di
5. oldait nadai*n*e ele. calma oldas c
6. eathr*ar* f*or* neart 7chath*ugad*. ni bhit eich
7. leo *acht* for elifin*n*tibh 7camhall*aib* cath*aig*it
8. Ni bhi tlacht na éd*a*c leo. c*ar*na 7 loim
9. 7righle chaithid. dognit*er* fleagha leo do
10. shiuc*r*a 7righle 7 luibhibh imdha *ar*cheana
11. or nibi fineam*ain* leo. Coleicid deocha
12. dia nelifin*n*tib 7 dia ca*m*ull*aib* do*n*a fl*ed*ibsi*n*
13. domh*ét*ug*ad* a meanm*an* 7andas*acht*a do*n*cath*ugad*
14. [¶188] Cidh ni fuil sun*n* budh*est*a *acht* oirisiumh
15. dosceluibh in*n*seadh 7c*r*ich nahi*n*dia iar
16. toidh*echt* t*ar* beag dib ár níthicfadh lin*n*
17. a rimh. *acht* asiat so críchaidhechta inda
18. india f*r*iahiltiribh Ani*n*dia mhor di*diu*.
19. adotha p*ro*bin*n*si maabar guros
20. macoru*m* et ani*n*dia beag adotha cai
21. amba gumechile // righaibh f*uir*re
22. [¶189] Abaschia di*diu*. righi dímhor isidhe co .uii.
23. .iiii. righa dhibh ocadhr*a*d don fhirdhia 7

24. cros óir atul eduin gacaein dibh 7 as
25. feardha acathuibh iat *ár* is friu ron
26. naltadh oc imairreacc friagenntiu. Na .iii.ra
27. riga aili dano. fileat fria haincreidiumh 7
28. idlacht [¶190] Et rigi aden .i. soudan isri
29. forrosum. [¶191] *Con*adhi aireac meanman for
30. fhuair 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 *con*imat 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 liberius 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 illuminacione cordium ipsorum Dominum precabuntur vel indevotorum christianorum desidia confundetur, quod infedeles populi prompciores 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 relatorem virum esse prudentem, fidelem et devotum atque honestis moribus adornatum, a cunctis sibi domesticis testimonium bonum habentem ut multiplicis virtutis eius merito sit ipsius relacio fidedigna; 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. [5] Propter quod circa translacionem ipsius laborem assumpsi, conscentia tutiore, ad consolacionem legentium et ad laudem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, cunctorum visibilium et invisibilium creatoris. [6] Liber autem iste in tres libros dividitur, qui per propria capitula distinguntur, 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.